THE KUI PEOPLE: CHANGES IN BELIEF

AND PRACTICE

by

Barbara Mather Boal

Thesis Presented for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

of the

University of Edinburgh

in the

Faculty of Divinity

1978

VOLUME II

pages 337 - 601
CHAPTER V

THE CHURCH IN THE KOND HILLS
In 1908 John Biswas, the Telugu-speaking student at Cuttack Theological College had offered to work in the Kond Hills. The Orissa Mission Board would not send him without an Indian companion and there was a long delay for Oriya pastors and students alike were afraid of the unhealthy climate. Ultimately the school teacher from Russellkonda offered to join him—a surprising decision until his personal motives were realised: he hoped thus to gain a place in the Theological College, for he had been considered unsuitable in an earlier application. John Biswas and he spent May of 1909 in the hill-tracts. The schoolmaster then retired on six months’ sick leave but John Biswas stayed to settle among the Konds. Despite his being a plainsman, he earned an unusual place in their regard, still being mentioned with respect fifty years later. The bungalow already built beside the Oriya government post at G. Udayagiri became his headquarters.

By 1910 two more bungalows had been built at Gudripori, one mile south-west of Udayagiri. The panga-land which the Konds gave for the purpose had been the cremation ground for women who died in childbirth, hence it was believed to be haunted by their restless and greatly feared spirits. This again was a sound practical move by the Konds, who could not have used it themselves.

Preaching tours now became more extensive and regular, though curiosity or suspicion was the usual response. From the beginning the pioneer team had urged their home board to send medical workers, for the two local priest-diviners were in bad repute usually being found in, or lying around, the British-sponsored liquor shop in Udayagiri. (This was soon to be closed by the Konds’ united action).
However, no medical colleague was forthcoming for many years, and not medicine but education became the focus of the work.

The master-mind of the group was Oliver J. Millman. He had already been teaching for six years in William Carey’s college at Serampore in Bengal. Before his arrival in the hills, one or two government schools had opened at Oriya centres in the hill-tracts. These were run by Hindu teachers using the Oriya language and were making no impact on the Konds. Millman, however, conducted his first school in the Kui language and held it under the central shade-tree in the village of Mallikapori, a mile south-east of Udayagiri. He rapidly attracted not only men and boys but even a very few girls. Unlike Captain Frye half a century earlier, he used not Oriya but Roman script, excluding the redundant ‘c’, ‘q’ and ‘y’. So great was the response that in his brief ten years’ service in the hills, Millman established three Primary schools (to Class IV) each earning Government grants; a Middle school in Udayagiri with boys’ boarding hostel; enough teachers, including one qualified girl-teacher, to staff all these; and a most successful night-school for adults. His Kui primers had been adopted and published by the government and a number of his scholars had gone with considerable success to the government Training School in Phulbeni and to High Schools on the plains. Also he had established a Mission Education Board for the whole state of Orissa.

It was on Easter Sunday, 1914, that the first four converts were baptised, beginning a household pattern that has been common ever since. These were Bisi, a Pan priest, his wife Lasuri, their son Bondia, and his brother-in-law Kusu. Three years earlier Christian interest had caused Bisi to withdraw from priestly office in his village of Mallikapori. He now led this solitary household in making
a decision totally unacceptable to his kin-group and to the wider community. This proved to be a turning point. Here and there other households were baptised, enduring both the mockery and the hardships that arose from their neighbours' fears. Water rights at the community spring were denied them for fear of 'contamination' resulting from the anger of outraged Kond deities. This meant much arduous labour in carrying heavy water-pots up and down the hillside to some inconvenient and therefore little used spring. Similarly they were blamed and ostracised for any outbreak of sickness or deaths in the community. The situation was all the more difficult to explain if their own family suffered any disease or misfortune. But when Poto, another Mallikapori Pan, who had become a respected government teacher, was baptised along with his wife in the presence of his fellow teachers, the first church was formed there at Mallikapori, the village of Millman's earliest Kui school. Thither groups of 'learners' walked in from villages round about. By 1920 there were thirty baptised church members and the foundations of the first church-building were laid - unknowingly at the place suggested by Goadby many years before, "on Kumbarikupa hill." Also, a mile away in Udayagiri about fifty people gathered regularly in John Biswas' bungalow.

During these early years of the Church, the First World War raged in Europe, and in 1917 it drew in even the Kui people. Edward Evans, a missionary recruit who was to serve longer than all the others, retiring only in 1949, was requested to form a Labour Corps and accompany it as Chaplain to Basra on the Mesopotamian front. Through sudden deaths and constant ill health among the missionaries, the staff had been sadly depleted in the hill-tracts, Evans himself having lost his bride the previous year. But a strong link was forged between Edward Evans and his 300 lonely young Kui recruits who for
The highly respected school-teacher, Foto Aba, and his wife on the fortieth anniversary of their baptism in 1915 at Mallikapori.
the first time were far beyond their usual walking distance from home and kin. This link led many of them to be baptised in the years following the end of hostilities and their return home. Some of them had been Millman's schoolboys and for the first time a literate church leadership began to emerge. These were mostly Fans, who had not only five years' schooling behind them but who had "seen the world".

The plea for a medical missionary continued to be made to the Home Board without success. The British administration did little better, seeming to be satisfied with the following report in the Gazetteer of 1908:

"Hospitals and dispensaries are only on the plains; the District Collector and Sub-Assistant Agent take a hospital assistant on their cold season tours and thus bring medical aid within reach of the hill-tribes."

- one unqualified Indian assistant visiting a small portion of the tracts once a year, and that during the only reasonably healthy season!

Winfield, the linguist whose Kui Grammar and Vocabulary were to be highly praised by the Asiatic Society of Bengal as 'a most welcome addition to our knowledge of Dravidian linguistics', wrote of the crowd awaiting the missionaries each day for medicine:

'a young fellow with a fearful ulcer in his thigh... a boy with a gash in his foot from cutting wood in the forest, whose wound the village priest has smeared with filth and soot, hoping to heal it by covering it from sight. It is a case for quick and severe treatment. A mother brings her tiny infant because it won't take its food and is starving. An old man's sight is failing. Malaria, liver troubles, sore eyes, ringworm, scalds, etc. And from lack of knowledge, means and time we have to say "We can do little for you." Sometimes only a few come; sometimes forty or fifty.'

We have never had a doctor in the Kend Hills. The medical work, which has been done, has been ventured by theological or educational missionaries. During 1921 4,000 people were helped by us - folk suffering from malaria, black-water fever, venereal disease, ophthalmia, influenza, dysentery, pneumonia, tuberculosis, tetanus, skin diseases of all kinds, burns, scalds, snake-bites and accidents. How long must these poor folk be left to the mercies of amateurs?"

1 Imperial Gazetteer of India, New Edition, Vol.XII, Oxford, 1908,
2 Pearce-Carey, Dawn on the Kend Hills, p.90 pp.157-158.
Millman, too, speaks of one of his young pupils slowly developing leprosy. He was turned out of home and village in the belief that the leprosy spirit had punished him for some wicked action - or even, perhaps, for omitting some simple gift-offering. Correct treatment for incipient leprosy could have prevented his appalling distress.

It was in 1923 that the B.M.S. eventually committed themselves not only to sending the much-needed doctor but to building the Moorshead Memorial Hospital in honour of Dr. Fletcher Moorshead of the Home Board, whose dream it had been ever since Arthur Long had conducted him through the hill-villages in 1906. Even so, years went by in planning the type of building and its most suitable position before an appeal for funds could even be made to the British churches. Great was the frustration and near-despair of the missionaries when lack of skilled knowledge was misinterpreted by the Kui people as lack of the will to help.

'One day,' says Freda Laoughlin, 'when I only knew a little Kui, I went to a village. In a very few minutes the whole place was in the street. Sick babies with inflamed eyes, folk with festering wounds, others begging me to go and see a badly-burned woman, others expecting me to cure consumption with a dose of cough mixture, malaria with a dose of quinine, running sores with one application of ointment. I could not move for the crowd. Never had I so longed for medical knowledge.'

The group in greatest need was perhaps the Kui mothers, most of them anaemic, who by the demands of traditional behaviour were attended in childbirth and the following month only by their oldest women relatives. Infant and maternal mortality was so high that the deceaseds' spirits had become second only to the spirits of tiger-killed victims in fearfulness.

Eventually in 1930 Dr. Hugh Craig of Edinburgh arrived in Udayagiri.

He had gained experience both at the Livingstone Dispensary in Edinburgh's Cowgate and in the Tropical Diseases Hospital. However, just after passing his second year language exam and marrying his nurse-fiancée, they both contracted malaria and returned home.

The Church continued its slow, steady growth. In 1930 the membership totalled over 400 baptised believers. These with their children and many 'learners' met for worship in 16 village centres. The first three Kui evangelists had been appointed, but of necessity missionaries and Kui day-school teachers led most of the Sunday services - a pattern which continued through the first half-century of the Church. In each local church Dadaru ('elder brothers') and Belisaka ('elder sisters') were appointed to act as deacons in liaison between Mission and local church, especially regarding 'inquirers' and matters of local discipline. The Senior Elder from each local church also met with the missionaries in Udayagiri two or three times per year to discuss serious matters of discipline. After these consultations, the missionaries pronounced on the necessary disciplinary action, the 'Evans Aba' by then being firmly regarded as the missionaries' patriarch whose word was law. At that time Church rules and their corresponding discipline were clear and legalistic. All misdemeanours fell within one of three categories: as Grade I, II or III sins, with Grade I, II or III punishment to follow. This legalism was to some extent mitigated by the paternalism whereby every Christian was personally known to the missionaries who, for instance, annually provided a small Christmas present of clothing for each Christian.

These meetings of the Senior Elders also dealt with common financial concerns and the appointment and placing of evangelists. There were soon five of these, and for the first time a Kui student entered Cuttack Theological College on the plains.
1931 was an outstanding year. All the local churches united under the name of the Kond Hills District Church Union. Also the first Deri Sobha ('Great Gathering') took place that dry season (spring) around that earliest church in Mallikapori. There, local Christians built a wattle-and-leaf shelter to accommodate the entire Kui church-membership. Meetings were planned from the Tuesday to Thursday, and by that Monday night a great circle of cooking fires marked the encampment of 800 people. All Church members were expected to attend along with their children, and many 'learners' in addition. Each group brought its own rice, but lentils, cooking oil and cooking pots were provided through mission funds. Business matters concerning evangelists, church rules and discipline were all concluded on the first day. The rest of the time was devoted to teaching and preaching. On the Thursday night 1,500 folk attended the closing session then set out next morning to walk perhaps 25 miles back to their own villages, taking with them a totally new experience of the Church as one family, for the few Konds and the many Fan Christians had sat - and even eaten - together.

A Church Feast
Perhaps the widest valley in the Kond Hills, in 1965. Above the white bungalows of the Forestry Department (mid-right) can be seen the trees shading the Moorshead Memorial Christian Hospital and mission buildings at Gudripori. The Salki River in its gorge flows across the centre of this picture from the Mallikapori direction (left of standing figure) toward G.Udayagiri (off right). The battles described by Macpherson (See Vol.II pp.422-427) took place in this valley.
After the young doctor's brief sojourn ended in his return to Scotland in 1932, three missionary nurses were seconded to the Kond Hills with greater success; but the acuteness and frequency of outbreaks of dysentery, smallpox and cholera, as well as the many and varied emergency cases often requiring surgery, demanded the services of a doctor. Then came the sudden death of the B.M.S. Medical Secretary in London, Dr. Fletcher Moorshead, champion of medical aid to the Konds. This heavy blow was turned to good account when the speeding up of a hospital building was planned as a memorial to him. By 1936, two doctors, Honor and Gordon Wilkins, had arrived. Their temporary 'wards' in some store-sheds were quickly filled to overflowing, and the first Kui girl was trained as a nurse in the older B.M.S. hospital down on the plains at Berhampur. Then in 1938 amid great rejoicing, the Moorshead Memorial Hospital was opened at Gudripori, the Mission centre one mile south-west of C. Udayagiri.

Meanwhile the Church maintained its steady growth. The B.M.S. Annual Report for 1936 stated that:

'In the Kond Hills there are now eighteen organised churches (and nine more baptised groups without a church building); ten whole-time evangelists; a membership of 932; five new chapels built by themselves this year; the printed Romans added to the Gospels and the Acts (and I and II Corinthians ready for the press, thanks very specially to Mrs. Evans \(^1\)); three more Elementary Schools and two Adult Training Centres, and two students being maintained in the Cuttack Theological College. Mr. Grimes has been nominated by the Government as the representative and spokesman for the Hill Tribes in the Advisory Council of the new Province of Orissa.' \(^2\)

Of the thirty churches established by 1940, five were further west among the Pans of the Balliguda area, with a small group of

---

1 Edward Evans had remarried some years previously.
inquirers right over at the westward foot of the hill tracts in the village of Komonkhole. To meet the increasing difficulties of pastoral oversight, the region was divided into six Areas and six senior pastors or day school teachers were appointed as full time Area Supervisors. These had responsibility, under District Missionary supervision, for the local churches and the Union's evangelists.

The last and most patriarchal member of that pioneer group of missionaries left the Kond Hills in 1949. The recruits who had taken their place during the previous decade were younger than the Kui members of that central committee of 'Elder Brothers'. At the instigation of the former and after weeks of day- and almost night-long sessions, a Constitution was hammered out for the forty-nine churches in the Kond Hills District Church Union (known as 'the Union'). It was finally accepted at a stormy session during the Deri Sobha 'Great Gathering' of 1950. These gatherings became the Annual Meetings of the Union.

The teething troubles of the new Constitution were many. On the one hand, certain older members were dismayed at what they deemed to be the irresponsibility of the young missionaries, particularly the abolition of the Discipline Committee with its orderly array of penalties, also other branches of centralised authority. These loyal older men and their wives were the fruit of the protective, and sometimes possessive, love of the paternalistic era. Their cry: "You do not love us as our missionary-fathers did. They would not have done this!" was perhaps tinged with fear that change was coming to traditionalist attitudes in Kui society generally as well as to their new found security as Pains in the Church. On the other hand, some of the middle age-group, particularly certain of the teacher-
leaders in the pride of their professional status and authority, swung to the opposite extreme. They seized the new freedom avidly, realising that power now went with membership of central committees. So for a few years, the Church in the Kond Hills was battered by some strong cross currents. For a further five years it was taken for granted that the Union President would continue to be selected annually from among the men missionaries, though from the earliest formation of the Union a Kui Christian had filled the office of Union Secretary. Then in 1955, Jaganath Naik, a gifted Pan layman, the headmaster of the Middle School, carried through a most successful year of office as the first Kui President. In succeeding years Jaganath Abe (father) and certain others of seniority and wisdom gradually assumed a new and more advisory role in relation to the missionaries.

During this same period political change came to the Kond Hills. In 1947 the Indian nation had gained Independence. For some time previously Indian local government officials had been replacing Europeans. Thus Ollenbach's type of paternalist government had gone; but it was rapidly replaced by an Indian counterpart. The declared policy of the Central Government in New Delhi was to provide protection and assistance to all the nation's Adibasi (autochtones).

In the case of the Konds, several Ashram schools were set up, providing free education and board for Kond boys, though not at all for the Kui-Pans alongside them. These included vocational as well as academic subjects in their curricula, the whole being within a Hindu setting with Oriya-speaking teachers - for the policy was two-fold: to 'advance' the Konds into equality with the Oriyas; and on a broader basis, for obvious reasons, to bring the widely disparate peoples of India into some likeness of national unity, through acculturation. For some years the response was discouraging. The
boys, often with no previous schooling, were pitch-forked suddenly from the freedom of village life with its fully comprehended sanctions, into a strange environment of 'rules' both in classroom and hostel, all administered in an alien tongue. Not unnaturally, they rapidly and repeatedly fled for home. (In later years, through the perseverance of the authorities and the much greater desire for education, the response became very different).

This policy of protection provided that posts in the administration at various levels be reserved for tribal peoples. For many years this could only be the ideal rather than the practice in the Kond hills, for the number of Konds sufficiently educated to become even the lowest office-peon were few indeed - nor would their attitude to the occupations befitting a Kond have allowed their acceptance.

Perhaps the most practical aid to them by this policy over all was that land remained untaxed and could not legally be transferred to non-Konds. Indeed, strong efforts were made to return it to the original Kond owners where it had been lost to Oriya or Pan traders during the past generation in payment of debts. Nevertheless, many of these drink-loving Konds fail to retain their coveted paddy-fields for very long. One drunken Kand resold his for a pot of alcohol, much to his later disgust. His friend followed suit, for a few shillings: "because we were drunk and wanted another drink!"

An added difficulty to these totally illiterate groups was in dealing with even the simplest official correspondence, necessarily in an alien language:

'A postcard acknowledging receipt of an application for return of land can cause such worried incomprehension and fear of "Government reprisals" (unspecified and unfounded) that men will walk miles to the Christian pastor for elucidation; and even then it may be produced weeks later, dirty, crumpled, but carefully preserved, for a "second opinion". With
generations of only traditional forms of land exchange behind them, confusion and fear are not surprising. Some Konds indeed are not anxious to regain their land thus, especially if the present owner is a worthy man. Their sense of justice, sharpened by awareness of the omnipresent supernatural world, leads them to say: "The original bargain was made and we've "eaten" the money. We can't go back now on our family's legitimate agreement." The most noteworthy political change made only a slight ripple on the surface of daily life for most Konds: that was the election in 1951 of their own Member of Legislative Assembly to sit in the new parliament of Orissa State. Cuttack, the former British capital, was abandoned in favour of the ancient Hindu religious centre of Bhubaneswar where a great complex of government offices was built alongside the ruined temples. Now for the first time the tribal vote was sought, and at the weekly markets and other Oriya centres in the hills, the Konds were subjected to impassioned speeches encouraging them to go to the polls and put their mark against a certain picture on their card - be it of a plough, an umbrella, or whatever symbol had been adopted by that speaker's party. Their bewilderment was considerable. One very intelligent but illiterate young Kond, more familiar than most with the Oriya colony at G. Udayagiri, nevertheless could not set this new thing alongside his traditional view of justice and order, where either trial by ordeal or the elders' deliberations clearly settled matters beyond all doubt or dispute. He asked, with a real desire to know: "How do you tell which is the one speaking the truth and which are the deceivers?"

That was an unanswerable question to such Konds as did yield to outside pressures and cast their vote on that first occasion - after which life continued for them in exactly the same way as for the thousands who disregarded the whole situation. The missionaries,

1 Boal, Fire is Easy, p.30.
like all other expatriates, had undertaken not to take part in politics as a condition of entry into the country. But the various political parties were by no means as unaware as the Konds themselves of the enormous potential of the Adibani vote. Here were whole communities to be cultivated, and if possible won, before the next election took place five years later. Not only were the nation-wide parties politically interested but the new Kui Samaj began to make its identity known and its presence felt in the eastern and more Oriya-infiltrated sector of the hills around Phulbani and G. Udayagiri. Politics were only one aspect of this party’s activities; it was concerned with the cultural uplift of Kui society along Oriya lines.¹ Professor M. N. Srinivas' definition of the term "Sanskritization" covers the general aims of this party: 'Social climbing by conforming to an all-India standard of respectable behaviour'. In the early 1950’s, however, such political and cultural awareness was the interest of the very few even in that north-eastern region where the proportion of Oriyas, Pans and other non-Konds is the highest in the hill-tracts.

During those same years of the early 1950’s further change came to the Kond hills. A considerable and increasing Roman Catholic movement was organised by Spanish missionaries operating first from their plains headquarters at Surada. Their policy was to deploy their celibate, and thus more mobile, missionaries over a number of village-centres reached via the Deegi Ghat-foot track and other foot approaches further south. Their emphasis rapidly proved to be on education. They began with free primary education with hostel facilities in their newly-built Raikia headquarters twelve miles west of G. Udayagiri on the Balliguda road. Their project grew steadily.

¹ For a fuller treatment see F. G. Bailey's Tribe, Caste and Nation concerning political change at this period in the eastern Kondmals Sub-division.
until it covered all age-groups and included teacher-training. A confession of faith which at first demanded fewer changes from the old life and its ways - especially regarding liquor-drinking - as well as their more colourful form of worship, proved attractive not only to non-Christians but to Protestants smarting under Church discipline for the most common reasons of drink or adultery. In the early years, the Catholics continued to use the Oriya language, as they had done in Surada. Their work at that period was mainly among Oriya-speaking Pans.

Early in 1956 the United Christian Missionary Society of the American Disciples of Christ who had been working for many years in rather static situations in North India, asked the Baptist Missionary Society if they might co-operate in the more progressive work in Orissa. As a result, one of their experienced missionaries, Dr. Donald McGavran, visited the Kond Hills. He had earlier made a detailed study of 'people movements' into the Church, and now after a few days' stay, he produced an objective appraisal of the life and work of the Baptist Church in the Kond Hills. Had he been able to spend longer in the area, some of his thoughts and recommendations might have been modified or even omitted, but much of his document was of considerable constructive value.

It was with some sense of shock that the missionary staff faced the most significant fact that emerged from his study: that the Church in the Kond Hills was not a Kond Church at all but overwhelmingly

'A Pan people movement which began about 1927, gained great power before the war, grew little during the war, had two good years in 1946 and 47, and has grown slowly since then. Here and there Konds were won, as individuals, as families, and very occasionally as small groups of families.'
There is no way of finding out exactly how many Konds there are in total membership. ... Several of the preachers thought that Pans and Konds in the proportion of 2,000 Pans and 320 Konds would be generous toward the Konds. One Kond said there were less than 100 Konds in the Church. In village after village, all the Christians are from the Pans, and the Christian houses stop abruptly at the first Kond house. In Lokebadi we were told that 7 or 8 families of Konds became Christian in 1934, when the movement was pulsing with enthusiasm. When they went to the Christian feast that year and found that they had to eat with the sweeper Dom from Kottangadu who had also become Christians, they refused and reverted.

An appreciable part of the picture is the persistent hope that the 100,000 Konds 1 will espouse Christianity. The first impression which this Church gives... is that of a non-caste situation with Konds and Pans living more or less as one community and about equally likely to become Christians. This is quite erroneous, but the persistent hope encourages the impression. .......The Pans are being won and can be won. Some say that there are about 50,000 of them. About 4,000 have already become Christian. About 46,000 remain. Careful investigation in several villages convinced me that very considerable numbers are ripe for conversion now.... The major effort in a situation as ripe as this should be to disciple as many of these fine people (i.e. Pans) as possible. This is the responsive community. These are the Israelites who are waiting staff in hand and loins girded to leave the land of bondage. It would be unwise to spend much time and effort trying to persuade the Egyptian aristocracy and land owners that they too should start the march to Canaan. The "Kond Hope" in the past, I feel, deflected some effort from the responsive community. But peoples turn to God when he has prepared them in His own mysterious way. While welcoming all who will come, we would do well to consider the Pans as our special responsibility." 2

This eminently practical assessment went much against the grain with the Gudivopori missionaries; but Dr. McGavran's points seemed irrefutable. In an attempt to meet their "Kond Hope", as he termed it, he suggested that a final decisive test might be made of the responsiveness of the Konds:

'Suppose we were to make up a Kond team of the best men we could get, all of them pure Konds, give the team a missionary, and a mandate to disciple as many Konds as possible in the most favourable area of the highlands - the Church leaders thought this would be a long way from Udayagiri. The team would work the area intensively, saturating a group of villages with teaching and preaching aimed at decision. Six months would tell the

---

1 This figure very greatly underestimated the number of Konds in the area.
2 From an unpublished report circulated by Dr. McGavran among the B.M.S. and U.C.M.S. missionaries concerned and their headquarters staff.
story. If the door were proved to be open by the conversion, let us say, of twenty or more families in groups, further discipling on the edges of this growing Church should be pushed. If the door were not open, if a few scattered baptisms were all that had occurred, it should be concluded that at this time the Konds are no more responsive than they have been for fifty years. ¹

Dr. McGavran realised that the Kond and Pan people recognised themselves as superior and inferior respectively. He did not, however, appreciate the depth of this difference, nor thus its effect on the basic, less easily perceptible relationship between them. He notes, for instance, the refusal of the Konds to eat with Pans, and the defilement of their food and eating vessels if a Pan - or even a Kond married to a Pan - touches them; but he falls into the error of many "Indianists" in relating tribal values too readily to a Hindu context. This, he says: "is typical caste behaviour. There is probably more of it today than there was fifty years ago." In fact, quite the reverse is the case. The separation between Konds and Pans is less stringent now than in the past; for then it was based not just on the master/servant relationship, but on the strictly limited number of 'honourable' tasks open to the master-race and the multitude of jobs, often 'dishonourable' if not downright dishonest, which the inferiors performed. The Konds considered them the more despicable not just because one of their chief jobs was to obtain human lives through bargaining or trickery-abduction, but because they did it for purposes that were deep-rooted not in their own religious values but in Kond. (Again an example of Kond ambivalence, for they viewed the purchased victims as essential and appropriate to their own belief and practice, however much they despised the Pan purchasers).

¹ Ibid.
The missionaries felt this deep difference between Konds and Fans rather than analysed it or explained it fully enough to Dr. McGavran. But it accounted for their unease at his frequent references to the Fans as "this fine people...This is the responsive community...God's chosen people", and so on: for they knew that, generally speaking, it was the Fans' nature to bend with whatever wind seemed likely to blow them in an advantageous direction.

In fact, the theme of Dr. McGavran's report shows that almost parallel to the missionaries' "Kond Hope" which he so deprecated, his own emphasis on what might be termed a "Fan Certainty" could lead to equally mistaken conclusions; as the following paragraph illustrates:

"Incidentally, the surest way to win the Konds is to establish a strong, luminous, spirit-filled Church of 50,000 Fans (i.e. the total Fan population). When the foundation of this highland society is Christian, the Konds will one day wake up and see the same salvation. Many more Kond conversions will take place when the spirit-tide is running strongly among the Fans." 1 (italics mine)

Dr. McGavran's belief that the Fans were the foundation of this highland society was surely a serious error in his otherwise timely and provocative report.

Within days of Dr. McGavran's visit the monsoon rains arrived. That was in June 1956. During the following months, Konds and Fans alike were absorbed in their essential paddy cultivation; and communications between Udayagiri and the distant villages was, as always in the rainy season, near-impossible. The Union's working committee (all Fans) with more than a little misgiving, decided that it must adopt the recommendation and second the one and only Kond pastor to lead a team of Kond laymen - if they could be found - but (and one could hear the relief) nothing could be attempted until the

---

1 Ibid.
cold season at the end of the rains.

This team was never again discussed, for the whole situation was to change decisively.
The Kond Entry into the Church: 1956-1966

In 1946 two small churches had been formed in the higher hills a day's walk south of Balliguda. Both were amongst Fan communities, one of them Kui-speaking and the other an Oriya-speaking group on the old disused revenue road. Neither appeared to make any impact on the Konds and were far from strong in their own membership. In 1955, for instance, when the writer visited the Kui-speaking group, only one adult male was in the village, all the rest being in jail for murder. The remaining one had escaped arrest as he had temporarily absconded with a neighbour's wife.

In 1951, however, three Kond couples seven miles yet further south had asked for Christian teaching and were baptised the following year. These were brothers in one street in Fokari, a large village twenty-five miles south of Balliguda, again near the old revenue road. For four years this tiny group barely grew, then suddenly in the rainy season of 1956 - quite unknown to the (Fan) church leaders and missionaries at Gudripori - the Fokari villagers became actively interested. This was the very time when the Executive Committee in Gudripori was discussing Dr. McGavran's suggestion of a last effort to reach the Konds before abandoning 'the Kond Hope' and working only among the Fans.

The Fokari church doubled its membership within the year and spread its contacts to north and south, for though the East India Company's old road had long been impassable to wheeled traffic, it was an important foot-track over the hills and forested passes to the Saturday market at Balliguda. Moreover, a basic tenet of the Konds that agamic relationship traditionally involves unity in religious practice caused relatives scattered over the surrounding area to be particularly strongly influenced.
A typical case of this emphasis on unity was shown by those first three brothers, all married, who lived in adjoining houses in one of Pokari's main streets. The eldest had decided to become a Christian so he handed over custodianship of the family's household spirit to the second brother. This spirit was believed to dwell in a three-inch white china doll, with MADE IN JAPAN printed in the hollow underside, and in a braided purple velvet cap, doubtless the property long ago of some travelling minstrel. The power wielded by this spirit was believed to be particularly strong because it had come from the highest mountain in the hill-tracts, visible only in certain weather conditions. It had travelled to Pokari in a pedlar's pack some generations ago. After a month, the second brother and his wife decided to follow the elder brother's lead and therefore handed these sacred objects to the youngest brother. A little time later, he too wished to become a Christian but the village objected through fear of possible reprisals on the community if the spirit were made homeless. After much local discussion, the circuit pastor was called in. Further public discussion followed. Finally, with the approval of the whole community, the pastor stood on the threshold of the youngest brother's house, the other two brothers and their families sat inside their own doorways, and the rest of the community squatted silently in the street. The pastor read from the Bible concerning the casting out of spirits, invoked God's presence, then loudly commanded the family-spirit in the Name of Jesus to go back to its distant hill-top. The whole community was confident of the outcome and - after a suitable interval for proof that their confidence was not misplaced - the majority of Konds in the village requested Christian instruction.

During those same months of 1956 a parallel movement was taking place along a similar north-south trading route to Haikia market,
roughly halfway between Balliguda and the mission centre at Gadripori. The pattern was much the same: in 1950 the men of four closely-related Kond households which formed one 'square' of Terevadi village walked eighteen miles to the pastor's house in Raikia market-place to announce their decision to dispose of their family gods. It transpired that they had been talking with Pan Christians both at the market and as they passed to and fro along the track. Within a few days, watched in silence by their fellow-villagers, they removed the sacred objects from the miniature hut that uncharacteristically housed them in this particular area. These comprised a red cloth for the family spirit to wear, a brass dish for his cooked rice, a bottle of liquor for his refreshment and a silver rupee by which he could feel both 'comfortably off' and cared for by the currently living members of his kin. They burned or cast out these objects just beyond the village boundary, and asked the elderly and highly respected (Pan) Area Supervisor to smash the hut which had contained them. (On later occasions demolition was always carried out by the Konds themselves). For several years this group hardly increased in numbers, but during that same rainy season of 1956 they, like the Pokari Konds, doubled or trebled the membership of their home church and widely influenced their surrounding kin and neighbourhood groups as well as those passing up and down the foot-track to market. In the years following 1956 similar requests for Christian instruction were constantly being received by the Union both from tiny hamlets and larger village groups. Through this spontaneous enthusiasm of pre-literate Christians the over-all picture of Kond church membership was suddenly changed. For the previous forty years very occasional Kond households - following a period of hospitalization or similar individual contact - had joined the Pan church-groups, which numbered fifty-eight immediately
This kond had just chopped down 'the household gods' place' in his home. He watches the smoke as he burns the remains just outside his village boundary and considers how best to dispose of the liquor bottle and red cloth (foreground), the property of the gods in question.
Map of the Kond Hills showing churches established before 1956 and those from 1956-61.

(G.U.= G. Udayagiri)
before the Kond 'explosion'. In the next five years, fifty new Kond churches were established. The early 1960's showed yet swifter growth for there were fifty more new Kond churches in the two years, 1962 and 1963, with more than forty worshipping groups under instruction but not yet baptised.

Further east within a ten-mile radius of Gudripori, the churches remained predominantly Pan - with a few notable exceptions - and grew more slowly. Requests for teaching were constantly received throughout the next decade, and even in this 'older' area they came chiefly from Kond households.

The following comparison of figures clearly shows this sweeping growth of newly established churches each with a baptised adult church membership:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Churches</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1945</td>
<td>40 (Pan)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1955/56</td>
<td>63 (mostly Pan)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kond 'explosion'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1958</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1962</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>163 (+ 40 worshipping groups under instruction)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Ways in which the Church Spread

The significance of kin connections in the spread of the Church cannot be overemphasised, but two other ways must be mentioned. One is when the community follows some individual's personal search for God, and the other occurs when the community itself makes a calculated decision. Some years ago, one of the pastors described the first type as applying to only a few very thoughtful Konds who "knowing the things of the spirit, search for salvation". Using the village method of percentage calculation, he and his fellow pastors assessed
these few seekers as "two annas-worth in the rupee", the remaining
"fourteen annas-worth" being those who make their approach either from
more material motives or as part of community solidarity.

Of the first type, let one example suffice. It is taken from a
letter written in June 1958, by Miss Sybil Staples, a district mission-
ary, following her visit to the large and thriving two-year-old
church in Samstivadi. When touring that area in 1955, she had met
on the track a non-Christian Kond called Kuti. He begged for a New
Testament (published in Kui for the first time that year). Her
supply had been sold out but she said that if ever he came near
Gudripori, he should receive one.

In March 1956, he walked in many miles and claimed his New
Testament. No one knew then that he could not read. He took
it home, threw out his gods, and said: "I cannot read this
Book, but it contains the words of the One True God. I believe
in Him and worship Him. We cannot see Him, but this Book is
to show that he is in my house." 1

Not long after this, the pastor and I were walking between two
Christian villages some distance away when this man, Kuti, and his
young wife intercepted us in the jungle with the request that we go
to their house 'nearby' (c. 4 miles). A literate lad joined us there,
though the rest of the village most uncharacteristically stayed out of
sight. Only the priest and his friends could be seen watching from
their doorway. Kuti told us that a few days previously, at the time
of the great Kedu sacrifice, the Konds had attacked his house. It
was on the third day's Cutting of the Flesh (see Chapter III (c)),
when the whole village was riotously drunk. By refusing to come for
his portion of flesh and join in the final feast, Kuti had broken the
community solidarity for the first time, offended the spirits and
ancestors, and roused the village to action. They surrounded his

1 Circular letter written by S.M. Staples to the Baptist Missionary
Plan of a Kui village, showing the distribution of Konds and Pans and the chief social and religious sites.

Sametivadli in 1962
house for hours, shouting that they would burn it down if he did not take his portion of meat. He and his wife remained quiet, though very frightened. By midnight, however, drunken sleep overcame the celebrants and they flung the strip of flesh against his door and left him.

Following that first invitation, the pastor continued to visit the village. Miss Staples' letter added that by January 1958, the man who had led the attack had become the Senior Elder of the newly formed church:

'Nevertheless, persecution was still being carried on by the powerful priest of the area. But at the end of January there was great jubilation. The priest had taken an axe and chopped down his sacrificial post and then gone on to the church service.'

'The church building is now a year old. Already there are plans to enlarge it, for it is quite inadequate. Who started all this? An illiterate man who was faithful to his vision of God. The leader of the persecution... and the priest, together with others, are literate men, and are reading the New Testament for themselves. So often I have found that folk have become Christian because of the influence of Christian relatives, but as far as I can see, that is not so in this case.'

The other way of moving from the Kond traditional religion into the Church, that of community decision, is typical of many Kond villages at this period. To underline the similarity of approach, the following reconstruction is made not from one village alone but from several. Of these, two particular examples are Subornogiri and Kolengi. Both are in the south western area of high hills, formerly known as Chinna Kimedy, that part where Mr. Bannerman, Magistrate of Ganjam had made his dangerous expedition in 1838. Though only approximately 20 miles from each other, these two villages were not formerly in communication for Subornogiri is orientated towards the old Balliguda-Kotgarh-Kalahandi track, while Kolengi's orientation is towards the old Raikia-Daringbadi-Farlakimedi track, roughly parallel but lying further

1 Ibid.
east. The stages described in this reconstruction are as follows:

(i) A Kond village council discusses whether to become Christian or not;

(ii) Subornogiri's Kond elders go as a delegation to tell the older church at Pokari of their decision, and to seek their help.

(iii) Examination for baptism at Kolengi.

(iv) The baptismal day.

(i) A Kond village council discusses whether to become Christian or not.

(This discussion would not take place with a European present. It was described to me by a Kui friend and is typical of other Kond villages. There is one visitor present, a non-Christian Kond from a neighbouring village).

The entire village gathered in the reha after the evening meal. The elders formed the inner circle, squatting on one of the dried-mud verandahs with the other householders close beside them - though always with the Konds' natural regard for seniority. The rest of the men ranged themselves conveniently around, while the women and children sat in the nearest doorways well within hearing distance, for they, like every other person, were free to interpolate remarks, to applaud or to dissent. After a considerable time spent in introductory conversation, the spokesman came to the main subject:

"We wish to talk with you, friend, because your paternal cousins have become Christians. You have watched it all; we want you to tell us about it. We are wearied with sacrificing to the spirits, for we still suffer just as we did last month." (His son had died of fever). "Tell us whatever you can."

And so the guest whose kinsmen had become Christians replied along these lines: "It is quite true that you don't have to go on sacrificing. They say the Great God is more powerful than our gods, so it isn't necessary."
The group showed its appreciation of that point for constant animal-sacrifice had led them all into debt; it would be a relief to become a follower of such a God. "But", someone inquired, "what does this Great God expect then?" "It is like this: they build a special house for him and call it God's House. They all meet inside; you can hear them talking and singing. Their leader reads God's Book and invokes the Great God for help. He is paid to lead them, and comes from a distant village to live near. He travels round several Christian villages doing the same thing." The idea of paid work arouses some dissatisfaction: "Only fans work for money. That's not for us Kondis!"

But the spokesman and some of the other men were concerned with more immediate issues: "It seems good that we would not have to sacrifice, but we heard that we would not be able to join in any of our usual rituals nor in drumming - not even with our own kinsmen - nor in their drinking either." That roused the opposition of the older men but gained the approval of the women, particularly those married to habitual drunkards, whose children frequently went hungry for several days following a drinking party.

Underlying their consideration of these and other practical points was the deeper issue: "Is it really best for our well-being that we become Christians?" - a question pondered in awareness of the nearby dem-ahrine and its guardian spirit, and of the grove sacred to the Earth Goddess, and not least of the all-pervading presence of the ancestors, so closely involved in the lives of their descendants.

So the talk swayed back and forth. The spokesman was in influential land-owner. Many laboured in his fields and received their wages in grain, and other help in time of need. Deeply rooted
in their minds was the attitude: "If he thinks it good, how should we differ?" But another landowner there was the darni keeper and priest's assistant in religious rituals. He and his dependents could not tolerate such a break in the traditional pattern. This was the smallpox season. Was not the whole village committed to the annual sacrifice to ward off disease? Unthinkable to leave the door wide open just now for any and every malicious spirit to enter the community! Fear lent anger to the strongest threat this group could devise. "If you become Christians, we won't help with your funerals unless you continue to pay towards village rituals."

This indeed brought home the truth. For some to become Christian could only mean a split in ranks that had always thought and acted as one. Incorporate as they were, all could appreciate the fear that prompted the threat. Equally they realised the extreme hardship for poorer members of the community if aid were withheld at times of death - wood for the cremation and food and hospitality for the crowd of mourners, but more than that, community strength through the group's performing 'with one heart' every action necessary for the rehabilitation of the dead person's spirit. Thus to insult the new ancestor could only lead to disaster.

Discussion continued. The arguments that spoke strongly to this undernourished, fever-ridden group were those of well-being and economic gain, but there would be other benefits, too, in being linked with this growing number of Christian groups - and with the European style hospital and schools at the Mission centre.

Late that night the step was taken: they would send a delegation to ask for teaching. Thus the spokesman and his followers made their decision. Others sat pondering; they would wait and see whether disease or disaster resulted. But a third group, the conservatives,
rose and went off in fear and anger. Quarrels and disagreements might come and go in any group, but this was different. For the first time, they felt, community solidarity was imperilled right at its heart.

(ii) A delegation arrives

By 1959 there were 200 baptized adult members in the Pokari church, most of them Konds. Of these, three were in the ministry, full or part-time, while many of the lay members not only accompanied the circuit-pastor on his tours but went themselves in answer to requests from new groups seeking instruction.

One day, from the remote hills twenty miles further south, a small band of Kond men set out for Pokari. They had finished threshing their scanty rice harvest and beating out the small heaps of lentil-pods on the hill-side, so their families would have food during their few days' absence. Wearing only loin-cloths and with their long hair knotted in traditional fashion high on their heads and their ritual axes on their shoulders, they walked all day over the rocky track to Pokari. Their arrival at sunset was totally unexpected, but at once they became the centre of a hospitable group. At the pastor's house they told of the forty households who had ceased to perform their traditional rituals and were waiting for someone to come and teach them. It was the tenth such request from large groups in the Pokari area during the past two years.

All evening they talked together, then the guests joined in Christian worship for the first time and lay down to sleep by the fire. So eager were the Pokari Christians to co-operate that thoughts of the arduous treks ahead, with the loss of several days' work each time, seemed not the slightest obstacle.
Thus instruction begins - and the first difficulty immediately arises. These Kond 'inquirers' have baskets of grain, also pigs, chickens, special cloths and other objects which have been devoted to the spirits. They are keen to dispose of them: but how? In dealing with the problem a few weeks earlier at another village, these same Pokari church members had divided the spoils amongst themselves.

At the following monthly class for laymen this course was strongly condemned; such goods were to be burned, the trained and senior men said: for 'Our God is not poor that he needs what has been offered to idols!' The younger men felt it to be a waste, but they complied. So this time, inquirers, pastor and Pokari men put all the combustible articles on a bonfire just outside the village boundary. Any bronze-emblems (household gods) \(^1\) were ground to dust.

Instruction continues for a period varying between six months and a year, under the supervision of the pastor. Where a strong church like Pokari is within walking distance (involving an overnight stay, with continued teaching in the evening), members of these neighbour-congregations frequently conduct Sunday worship. But as the perimeter continually moves further out into areas which are probably 100% pre-literate, the communication line to a larger church becomes attenuated. The result can be seen only too clearly, for instance at Kolengi, far down the Raikia-Daringbadi-Parlakimedi track.

(iii) Examination for Baptism (Kolengi, March 1966)

On the appointed day the wild-buffalo horn, previously blown only for important ritual sacrifice, called the people together. The forty-five candidates and their children gathered outside the mud-and-wattle church which they had built as soon as they became inquirers. At the centre of the group were the circuit pastor and the Area Super-

\(^1\) See Section (d) of this chapter: The Significance of the Konds' bronze emblems.
(Top) Calling the people to their baptismal exam. at Kolengi with the aid of the wild-buffalo horn formerly used at the Merish/Kedu.

(Below) A typical small-village group of Christians outside their first church building.
visor, (a Pan, the Rev. Sunampatro Naik, the first Kui man to gain the L.Th. degree at Serampore College in Bengal).

The latter had come from Gudripori, far enough in mileage but an immeasurably greater distance in ideas and experience. In the realm of time, for instance, here was a group finding no need to measure more exactly than "tomorrow", "today", or "yesterday". An inflexion of the voice could indicate a rather longer period, or a rising high note put one right back into the times of the ancestors. Nor in this region are there weekly markets as elsewhere, dividing time into "so many markets ago"; so a first attempt to grapple with an abstract time-scale has come as the group becomes Christian; "my child has had fever since one church-worship ago" (since the previous Sunday), or "We set out for the District Meetings after two worships, do we?"

Again, in the realm of persons, so strong is the feeling of community and so irrelevant the labelling of the individual that no man, woman or child possesses a personal name. If identification (i.e. to the outsider) be necessary - as in drawing up the list of baptismal candidates - the name is taken of the village from which the mother has come in marriage. A masculine ending is added for her boy-children, meaning "Big One", "Middle" and a colloquial term for "Little One", with feminine endings similarly added for the girls. Thus several sets of children have the same name, for their mothers have come from the same neighbourhood-group. Sad experience has proved it unnecessary to allocate more than three names to each sex for, though the mother might have ten or more pregnancies, only a few children have survived. So the baptismal examination began. Pastor and Supervisor took their place on the mat spread under a tree and the men came forward in turn, with their wives. As in all Kui villages, they numbered themselves in households. Here were not forty-five individuals, but the mature
members of nineteen homes. Uncharacteristically, the first man had three wives. He gave two reasons for this: neither the first nor the second had given him children; but also as owner of considerable land, he needed more hired help than one wife could oversee. Plurality of wives is permitted within the Kui Church if they were established before the husband became a "learner", so all four candidates were examined together.

To the first question: "Why are you calling this God the True God?" came the answer: "Because He succours us. We call Him Lord for our well-being's sake... He is able to save our spirits."

"How?"

"When we reject the old gods and traditional ritual and hold to the new laws."

"But has He himself done anything for us, to save us?"

"Er... We are only just learning; we've only been learning a year!"

(i.e. an indefinite time not exceeding one rice-growing season).

The next candidate gave the other most common answer: "So much sacrificing filled us with despair; and our children died anyway. We just couldn't afford all the necessary sacrifices; so we came to try the new law. We want baptism!". They were not able to remember the name of Jesus nor to connect Him with God. Then one couple gave the birth story of Jesus in one sentence while the next knew the name of "the Jesus God" and that Jesus suffered for our sins and overcame death though they were unable to remember how He died. One very sincere young man said: "I touched the Bible; that's how it began," but he could not explain whether this was a physical action or spoken metaphorically to cover a far deeper experience, possibly both. Another couple said they prayed for God's presence with them whenever
they went out to work on the hill-side or visited another village. They could repeat much of the Lord’s Prayer and knew that “Jesus rose on the third day,” though they could not say from what or where. The younger man and his older-looking wife who followed them were totally blank to any and every question. They were followed by an equally speechless husband with a keenly intelligent and articular wife who was radiant in her certainty that Jesus not only rose again but is ever-living. The next couple, who, unusually enough, had stayed together although childless, added firmly: “We can pray to him at any time - out working or cooking or anything.” The husband assured the pastor that he was not going to take a second wife in the hope of heirs, and went on to show himself much more conversant with the formal rules of the Church than with the Christian faith.

Several widows followed, among whom two old ladies said: “We are throwing out the old traditional laws and keeping the new laws. All the old spirits were devouring us” (i.e. making us use up all our substance in providing sacrifices to appease them), while another insisted that Jesus died of old age (N.B. the only respect-worthy way for him to die) but “through his own sin”. And when a teenage lad was asked why he sought baptism, he simply said - using the inclusive-plural structure of the verb as the various couples had done:

“because we wish it!” He apparently knew no facts about Jesus in reply to direct questioning. Later he led in prayer as he had begun to do at home. His petition, repeated in a variety of ways, was for the strength and companionship of Jesus; rhythmically, almost as a refrain throughout his prayer, he reiterated: “We know your presence with us!” Two more elderly widows followed. One was without a word; the other, when asked whom she was worshipping, replied: “The God who succours me.” She knew in outline the facts of the birth,
life, death and resurrection of Jesus and replied to the question:
"Where is He now?" with the great affirmation: "Alive in heaven, and alive - with us!" Amongst the rest, a very young couple - the wife could barely have been fifteen - were the only pair of whom both were eagerly full of their faith in "the True God" and both were clearly informed about the life, death and resurrection of Jesus.

After consultation, Sunam, the Area Supervisor, prepared to announce the results of this daunting examination. Quietly and sympathetically he told them that:

Only nineteen of the forty-five candidates seemed ready for baptism and church membership, but that the others should have a month's intensive instruction to enable them to follow speedily; the pastor would be released from his circuit duties in other villages to stay and teach them; and the date for another baptismal service would be fixed here and now. This announcement brought everything to a halt. So great was the solidarity of the community that there could be no such division. The dilemma was the greater because the first candidate with his three wives was not thought to be ready. As headman and chief landowner, he was the acknowledged leader for whom much poorer neighbours worked. Public opinion was largely his to order and he had been in the vanguard regarding Kolangi's decision to become Christian. Voices grew louder but were unwaveringly unanimous. "We will all be baptised. We wish it!" Some, vainly seeking ways to express their inexpressible unity, added: "See! The goat for the baptismal feast is tied behind you. We all bought it; we shall all eat it!" Eventually the only

---

1 Boal, Fire is Easy, pp.222-225.
acceptable solution was for the nineteen to wait until the whole group could be baptised together. ¹

That way too, the goat could be eaten and another bought later - for it was unthinkable to anticipate and then forego that rarity, a meat meal.

(iv) The Baptism

Baptisms throughout the churches in the Union take a similar form. The circuit pastor is joined by his pastor-colleagues of that Gossi (presbytery) who certainly for a first baptism bring with them Christians from neighbouring congregations. Cymbals and drums accompany the long procession that winds from the village down through the paddy fields to the river or pond. The singing is lusty but the chain so attenuated that different verses - even different hymns - may add to the atmosphere of spontaneity. When they reach the river someone wades in to test the depth and find the most convenient place. The crowd stand or squat at all levels up the bank and on the rocks, while a group of non-Christians probably watches close by. So the service begins: a hymn, a prayer, a statement on the meaning of baptism, a prayer of committal, and the time has come for four pastors to climb down into the river and for the first two couples to wade out to them. (or in the case of Kolengi, the headman and his three wives together, for no wife is allowed precedence over the others). There is a hush as each pastor places a hand on a candidate's head. One asks whether they desire baptism and the candidates respond. Then, addressing them by name and stating that it is at their own request, the pastors immerse them

in the name of the Trinity, while the congregation bursts into the chorus of a hymn. The candidates emerge and put on new clothes, while other couples take their place in the water. When all are baptised, the senior pastor, still in the water, raises his hands in the blessing, and the joyful colourful throng returns to the village and feasts together. Probably on the next Sunday the newly-baptised members meet for their first service of Holy Communion. Later at their first church meeting, they elect their men and women elders. Usually within a matter of months there is a second baptismal service, of those who had preferred to let others take the decisive step ahead of them. At this service the new elders assist; and so another local church is established.

Preconditions for Joining the Church in the Kond Hills

Springing from their common humanity as Kui people, the basic search of both Pans and Konds has long been for any form of relief from disease, early death and all the miseries of life lived in the poverty of a disaster-ridden area. Nevertheless, and not surprisingly when one considers the totally different position in Kui society which Pans and Konds have held for centuries, the preconditions by which the two groups enter the Church have differed widely. As a European missionary-group, we sensed this difference without seeking to analyse it.

For those earliest Pan Christians around the mission centre, there was not only the explicit background of their social and religious inferiority in Kond eyes, but the very jobs they had to do for the Konds (though also serving their own interests) brought them into contact with Oriya traders and low-ranking government officials or their clerks. These regarded the Konds themselves as barbarously
uncultured and potentially dangerous, their hills and its climate as actively malevolent, and the Pans as inferiors quite unworthy of any consideration or respect. Higher government officials, both Indian and European, of more liberal attitudes, were inevitably more remote from the hundred and one small indignities imposed on the Kui people. Mekundo, the mission hospital clerk, himself a Pan Christian, shared his reflections on those early years:

"Our chief concern has always been with anything that helps us to get the bare necessities of life; and as the missionaries didn't consider us untouchable, Pans began to become Christians to get their help. Then, missionaries toured the villages and helped where there was fever and sickness, fears and misfortunes, and misunderstandings with the government. Sometimes they gave a little money or clothing where necessary, especially at Christmas; so people thought: "If they have helped him/her, they'll help me too." This was the incentive in becoming Christian.

It raised our status too, for Christians were a little bit more acceptable to Ciyas. Also you could be sure of a place in the missionaries' car. There were no buses then and missionaries would take the car out even in the middle of the night if they were called. So people became Christian to get help. At that time most village people were not tidy or clean. Some, seeing the results of good food, regular bathing, tidy hair and so on, thought: "They really have been bettered; we'll be bettered too!"

These were the uneducated folk. All who came to the Mission school had other opportunities, too – it was the only Middle School in the Kond Hills then. At first only boys attended, with the exception of one girl; but five more girls joined after a while. There were tremendous discussions in school comparing Kui practices with Christian. These were led by our Kui Christian teachers. Missionaries couldn't discuss because they only knew the Bible.

So it wasn't really a matter of spiritual salvation at first. Only very slowly did we go on to know anything about that; and I can't say that all can claim to have reached the second stage or they wouldn't walk so blatantly in sinful ways! This area (around Udayagiri) is declining in its Christian witness. The prevalent feeling is: "Jesus has forgiven my sin; He is a loving One – so what odds if I sin some more."

The proudly independent Konds, on the other hand, have always maintained a certain dignity and integrity over against the orenaka ('outsiders' i.e., all non-Kui speakers). Their gift for ambivalence permits their realisation of the power these outsiders wield to co-exist with an
innate conviction of their own unconquerable right to be themselves, make their own decisions and act on them. Hence it was their dissatisfaction with the old religion that provided the basic precondition for the great Kond movement into the Church from 1956 onwards. Kolengi's answers to the question: Why are you worshipping this God now as the True God? are repeated in all villages and hamlets when they are at this turning point between the two religions:

'We are wearied of the never ending sacrifices" (the term "sacrifice" here includes everything from community sacrifice to protective charms against witchcraft and sorcery).

"So much ritual-observance was destroying us; we couldn't afford it any longer."

"We exhausted our money without any profit whatever."

"The priest kept on telling me to sacrifice a pig. I sacrificed every pig in the village, and still I was sick."

"The cost of appeasing the spirits was ruining us - and our children still died anyway. So we came to try 'the new laws'.'"

To these can be added many who turn to Christianity because some member of the family recovers from sickness through Christian care.

Once this basic dissatisfaction with the old world-view is articulated, the next step is inevitable for the keen minded and practical Konds: as in Macpherson's day, they must find a greater and more comprehensive world-view. At the same time new pressures were also bearing in upon them, for the end of an era had been reached. The final abolition of human sacrifice in 1855 had been followed for the majority of Konds by exactly a century of barely perceptible contact with outsiders. Now, in the mid 1950's, the outer ripples of a steadily advancing wave of change had begun to touch Konds living along the north-south foot tracks. Once these had been reached, each clan's dual institutions of agnatic kinship and clan exogamy caused this tide of change to flow with steadily widening influence during the next decade, into villages far off the beaten
track. It doubtless gave impetus to the Konds' almost unconscious
search for a more adequate world-view, while at the same time creating
possible tensions within the Konds' third basic institution, that of
clan unity in religious practice.

As Sunam, the Area Supervisor, put it:

'When people catch the first gleam from the light of a new
civilisation, they begin to think and reason for themselves.
For instance, the first time someone sees an aeroplane pass
overhead he is awestruck and responds: "Johari!" (with hand-
gesture of respect); but by the second time, he knows that
man made it! So the Kond follows his own rites until he is
challenged by the fact of his relatives' or friends' new faith.
He asks himself: "What is this different thing that they have
done? Is it good for them, or not good?" Soon his next
question follows: "Is it good for me?" At the same time he
realises that the god he has worshipped has not done anything
for him at some specific point of need. These two things
lead to a struggle in his mind, and sometimes to sharp antagonism
between him and even his very close relatives.'

These factors give rise to the other set of answers commonly given to
the question: "Why are you worshipping this God as the True God?"

"Because we want to belong to 'the big group'" (Protestant Church).

"Because we want baptism." (i.e. proper initiation into this new
group that extends far beyond the village).

"Because we are all going to be baptised today." (i.e. the non-
Christian minority in a village may join the rest through the
sheer pull of togetherness).

"Because God saves us if we keep the new laws about not taking
a second wife, or marrying our daughters to non-Christians,
and giving up drinking and sacrificing" (the attitude of many).

(Women) "Oh, the relief of hearing the drums yet knowing our men
are sober! We used to dread the end of a drumming session, for
they came home drunk, beat us up, quarrelled with each other
and were unfit for work for several days, so the children went
hungry."

(Illiterate youth) "I touched the Book... That's how it all
began." (i.e. his first experience of seeing the written word,
with the added awe of its being "God's Book").

Add to these, numbers of Christian boys wishing to marry non-
Christian girls (or vice versa), so the family encourages the
other side to become 'learners' in order to avoid the church's
discipline of ex-communication.
Certainly a poor standard of teaching has much to do with these answers, but it must be remembered that this new, formal intellectualised learning and questioning is so different from their previous experience as to seem quite irrelevant to daily living. What Kolengi and similar newly Christian communities kept adding was the quite unsolicited and, to them, totally astonishing "good news": "God is with us! He stays with us now!" and "He is True God, the greatest of all!" Many add: "We can pray to Him anywhere - at home, out in the fields, even in the jungle!"

In other words, through the gracious operation of the Holy Spirit, their natural awareness of a Creator Sustainer God somewhere distant from them has been miraculously changed to that of a Creator Sustainer God present in personal relationship with their own community - though far from fully known in Jesus Christ. Here, as in J.V. Taylor's study of the Church in Buganda, "is an incalculable gap between the Gospel that is preached and the Gospel that is heard." The message preached was of individual conversion through repentance for one's sins, and faith in the Atonement of Christ: but "the message received .......was primarily news about the transcendent God...." 1

The obverse might also be added: that both the missionaries and the Fan leaders of the Church in the Kond Hills, trained in western style conversion-theology, could not hear the proclaimed word from these pre-literate converts regarding God Himself as Salvation-Presence.

For the great new fact that has changed their lives is not that of the saving work of Jesus Christ but that the transcendent God is here - he is concerned with us. Instead, having so intellectualised their beliefs as to remove them from village level reality, the Church was less open than these Konds to the operation of the Holy Spirit as Truth-Bringer.

Thus the Church insists that Kolengi - that supreme example of corporate unity - may not be baptised until each individual has learned

---

to concentrate on deliverance from his own sin by equally individual repentance (i.e. on deliverance from a situation they are not experiencing at this point.) Meanwhile in Kolengi's ears this is heard as an imposed requirement that the 'belonging' they need and long for in the new fellowship depends on each one's individual ability to do two things: to repeat certain facts about Jesus Christ (possibly viewed as a quite unexpected new God) and to keep incomprehensibly important rules concerning drink, age old rituals and regulations laid down by outsiders regarding that which lies at the heart of traditional society - the kin-group's right to select marriage partners for its own members.

A further difference between literate and non-literate societies tends to increase this dichotomy, for in non-literate societies all beliefs and values are communicated between individuals in face-to-face contact. Thus: 'What the individual remembers tends to be what is of critical importance in his experience of the main social relationships... What continues to be of social relevance is stored in the memory while the rest is usually forgotten.'

In considering the statements of non-literate Christians quoted above, it is clear that from all the material orally transmitted to them by the pastor and visiting laymen, they sift out certain elements as being important in their main social relationships. The rest becomes a forgotten residue. On analysis their statements suggest the following elements:

1. A search for salvation from ill-health - thus, implicitly, from the supernatural beings involved in it and/or ill-wishers responsible for it through sorcery and witchcraft.

2. For salvation from near-desperation regarding the sheer economic pressures of the old religion, especially the cost of sacrifice and of protective charms against witchcraft and sorcery.

3. Disenchantment with the old religion; even open reference to lack of "results" (implying an expectation of visible returns for one's money, homage and counter-medicine).

4. Belief that "The True God" is now personally involved in their community and that he, being "Greatest of All", can be trusted to safeguard them from lesser spirits.

5. Insistence that baptism, like conversion, is a community act, to be undertaken in households and groups of households.

6. Belief that to benefit fully from "belonging", one's household must be formally joined to the Church by baptism - a public act of initiation following a satisfactory probation, i.e., every household must have destroyed all visible tokens of the old religion, ceased all forms of respect to other spirit gods (including ancestors), and be observing rigidly an entirely new set of "laws" regarding alcohol, marriage, etc., these "laws" being imposed by influential Christians from beyond the clan (Pan nationals, with white missionary involvement).

7. Implicit in 6. is the knowledge that the breaking of these "laws" brings punishment, even to the point of excommunication - which places one's household in the unthinkable state of "unbelonging", without a place in either the old or the new forms of community life.

8. Personal prayer is now possible at any time, and every household is expected to practice corporate prayer daily, joining frequently with neighbouring families.

Anything in the Gospel preached to them which accords with these factors has been remembered. But anything that does not seem to be of immediate relevance in their efforts to adapt to socio-religious change has been forgotten. Even after some members of the community learn to read, the group still participates in the orally transmitted religion which allows both for the teacher to make unconscious adjustments to his hearers' needs as he sees them, and for them to retain it or not according to their total experience. The group therefore continues unwittingly to harmonise its precepts and practices as best it may to the changes occurring within its society. 1

Of one thing the Konds are utterly certain: that it is by their own decision that they are coming into the Church. A high ranking Hindu

1 Boal, Casting Out the Seven Devils, pp.344-345.
government officer, visiting this south-western region suggested to them that they were becoming Christians through pressure from European missionaries. He received an immediate and unequivocal reply from an illiterate Church elder: "No! We become Christians, then they come, and we take their advice on things we should give up - like excessive drinking." This reply, doubtless politically reassuring, underlines the need both for these new churches and the Pan leadership to realise that the vacuum left by abandoning traditional religious beliefs and values cannot be filled simply by negative rules and prohibitions.

It has already been mentioned that throughout this period it was Indian government policy to 'advance' the tribal peoples by making available grants for educational and other purposes. Pans on the other hand, were not so treated. Even the small monthly 'stipend' officially available to help Pans with boarding fees in mission or government school hostels was often restricted to so-called Hindu (i.e. non-Christian) Pans. This led some Pan Christian parents to falsify their statement of religion in order to further their children's education. The Kond stipend was not only larger but was easily obtainable for all, regardless of religion. Apart from the financial aspect, however, by the middle of the 1950's, Konds - with the exception of the 200 or so Christian Konds - seemed to fall into dual categories in government terminology: socio-politically they were true adibasi ('original inhabitants', tribals), yet for religious purposes they were termed 'Hindu'. Most of them, especially in the south west, had little if any concept of the Hindu religion despite the presence of Oriya Hindus in certain centres: as previously stated, only in parts of the north-eastern half of the Kondmals Sub-division was there any real mingling of the two. The difficulties
of this terminology only began to be apparent in the early 1960's when the Kond movement had gained sufficient momentum to arouse the attention of Hindu government officers. One of these in particular made it his business to try to stem the tide, telling the Konds forcefully that it was illegal for them to change their 'Hindu' religion. This of course went quite against India's Charter giving all groups freedom both to practice and to propagate their religion. The officer overstepped his authority when he ordered the totally pre-literate and poverty stricken Kond Christians in one village to tear down their new-built mud-and-wattle church - if not at the point of the gun, at least while he stood holding the rifle he normally carried in his jeep. Their dismay and incomprehension was pitiful. This incident, however, led to the recall of the officer, and the Christians rebuilt their church on a better site in the centre of the village.

It is noticeable that pre-literate Kond groups seem most susceptible to fear when vague threats and rumours of adverse government action (often unfounded) fly round the villages; but when real disaster strikes, it welds them immediately into a united and supportive force. The money-gifts that were collected and sent to that persecuted group of Christians by other Kond churches were symbolic of this firm closing of the ranks against abnormal misfortune. Thus 'Christian aid' breaks through their old traditional pattern of keeping one's concern entirely within one's kin-group. Moreover, any suggestion of persecution from 'outside' brings a chain reaction of conversions and the formation of new groups in the area concerned. This was particularly the case in late 1966 when another over-zealous government officer arrested three Christians: these were an Area Supervisor, the pastor and a pre-literate elder of a congregation right out on the southwest perimeter of the Church's expansion. The charge was one of
persuading Konds to give up their 'Hindu' beliefs. The wearying
months of the judicial inquiry were also months when several hundreds
more preliterate Konds in that area joined the Church, declaring aloud
their refusal to be intimidated. The case was eventually dismissed
by the High Court on the grounds that it went against India's avowed
policy of religious freedom; but meanwhile it had greatly strengthened
the Church in that area, not only in numbers but in a new unity develop¬
ed through shared concern.

The desire to become literate grew rapidly among many of the new
congregations and Literacy Workers were sent to two villages some
distance apart. Mud-and-wattle houses were built for them by the
local people so that their homes could become centres for literacy
instruction, especially in the evenings. One middle-aged man of
Pdiheri, gifted both in music and verse, gained his Literacy Proficiency
Certificate in record time for he was strongly motivated by the desire
to write and sing the Gospel in the village idiom. His dialogue
between two brothers (or cousins) - one of whom (here named 'A') had
become a Christian though the other ('B') had not - is the first recorded
attempt at an indigenous theology. Written in 1966, it begins:

A. 'Come, O my friend,
   I'll tell you the things concerning holy God.'

B. 'I refuse, O friend, my friend!
   I don't want to know anything about God!"

A starts telling him nonetheless, but B taunts him that his real reason
for becoming a Christian was:

B. 'Because you couldn't afford a chicken, chum,
   You worshipped the Christ-God!
   Because you hadn't so much as a grain of kareri rice
   For the priest to go into trance....'

and he indicates that A has made himself no longer a Kond, as he will
find to his cost at certain critical points in life:
B. 'When you go to betrothe your daughter,
   You have become a Gahi (sweeper), chum!
   O friend, you have taken hold of Christ-God,
   You have become a Pan, O chum and friend!' or again:
   'You perhaps like it -
   To have become one of the Gahi-ilk!
You perhaps even desire it -
   To have become one of the Pan ilk!'
Despite B's taunts, A continues to tell him who God is and how Jesus lived, interspersing his teaching not only with advice to turn away from worshipping the gods handed down to them by their ancestors, but also with graphic practical advice:
A. 'Turn from sago-palm-toddy, 0 friend;
   You'll die of withered livers, for sure!
   Turned from distilled liquor, 0 friend;
   You'll die of withered lungs, for sure.....
   Paternal grandfather gave you the household god you worship;
   It is a voiceless being, isn't that so?
The God of Increase whom paternal great-grandfather gave you,
   It is a sightless being, isn't that so?
   For our sins Christ let his blood ooze out.
   For our sins Jesus received hanging on a cross.....'
Throughout the song the writer clearly affirms that God is Creator and Sustainer of the world and all in it. His descriptive teaching regarding Christ's ministry is also accurate if terse; but not so his understanding of Christ on the cross. Here even though the writer shows much greater Biblical knowledge than did the Kolengi group mentioned earlier, there is something of the same confusion about the work and the person of Jesus Christ:
A. 'In order to free us from evil
   Jesus received nailed-up hanging.
   In order to free us from evil
   He received sword-piercing.
   Jesus who had hatched out the world
   Became an evil person!
   The one who had created the earth
   Became an evil person!'
Eventually, however, A wins the day and B becomes an inquirer.
The aspect of salvation that seems to mean most to him is that of having found the most powerful God:

B. 'This matter of Christ's saving work, tell me all about it! This good matter about the powerful God, Tell it to me! Show me the authority-power Of this all-conquering Father!.....

'I've understood, chum, O my chum, my companion!..... I have thrown over the Darni God through you. Man! I won't ever throw over Jesus-God!..... Life and strength will go, chum, But, friend, I won't let go of God!

The convert's final ascription of praise is however preceded by some of the traditional oaths still firmly believed by most Christians:

B. 'If I eat sacrificial flesh, friend, May my eye burst out! ..... If I drink palm-toddy, chum, May a tiger eat me! If I drink distilled liquor May a bear drag me away! May our Lord Jesus alone receive praise! May our Lord Christ alone be famed all around!'

Again as in Kolengi, this response indicates the convert's presupposition that the Christian life depends upon strict observance of Church rules and prohibitions.

With the author accompanying himself on the traditional two-stringed gourd-resonated 'violin', and with a colleague to sing the part of the convert, this song-dialogue was well received. The full script of it and of the same author's song-narrative pressing for total abstinence from all forms of liquor are to be found in the Vol.II Appendix.

Brief reference has already been made to one unexpected result of the movement of the Konds into the Church, that is, their revealing of the existence of bronze clan-emblems. The discovery of these bronzes will now be discussed and a classification suggested according to their probable traditional function within the clans and the wider Kond communities.
The Significance of the Konds’ Bronze Emblems

In 1855 the Konds were persuaded that the Earth Goddess would accept buffalo-substitutes. It was exactly a century later that some of their descendants in the eastern and central part of the hills when turning to Christianity unexpectedly brought out from secret recesses their tribal bronzes, some of which are illustrated here. Similar bronzes do not appear to have been in the possession of the clans further south and west.

The existence of these bronzes was unknown at the time. Research now shows that Thurston mentioned a collection in the Madras Museum in 1892, some of which may possibly be included in those brought to the Victoria and Albert Museum in 1916. Several museums in England also have a very few. A considerable number, however, were handed to missionaries by Kond elders in the mid-nineteen fifties.

The only suggestion regarding their use had come from Thurston who stated that the Madras collection was catalogued as Kond wedding gifts in the Calcutta Exhibition in 1883 and in the Ganjam Manual as ‘brass playthings, such as horses, etc. for the bridegroom.’

From study of the fragmentary documentation available I suggest rather that these bronzes fall roughly into four categories: first, those used formerly in human sacrifice, secondly, lineage-group emblems; thirdly, those included in brides’ dowries; and fourthly, artifacts for various purposes. All these are classed by the Konds today as dorbo, ‘bronze articles’ or ‘valuables’, and some are always referred to as pradi dorbo, ‘ancient bronze valuables’.

1 The Journal of Indian Art, Edgar Thurston, Brass Manufacture in the Madras Presidency, Vol. IV, No. 34, 1891.
First, bronzes used in human sacrifice:

Of the many animal and reptile emblems brought out by these Konds, most of the hollow cast larger ones were quite dissimilar even when representing the same animal, but small stylized 'double-peacocks' appeared repeatedly and were as like each other as hand-modelling can make. Similarly there were well over a dozen solid cast bulls, mostly very small. Light was shed on the prevalence of these peacocks and bulls by two early texts. The first is the very earliest report on the Meriah or human sacrifice compiled by the Hon. Mr. Stevenson, Commissioner for the Goomsur (east-central) area in 1836. After a month of drumming, feasting and drinking, he said, on the day prior to the sacrifice the garlanded victim is made to sit tied to the sacrificial stake 'on the top of which is an effigy of a bird, and at the foot of which the brass effigy of the same bird is buried'. This stake is beside the village's central shrine which is 'represented by three stones and near to which the brass effigy of a bird, before alluded to, intended to represent a peacock, is always buried'.

The other reference is by Colonel Meadows Taylor in 1875 who points out that in Boad State (northern area) the Earth Goddess was worshipped under the form of a bull and in Goomsur as a peacock, though he does not mention brass effigies.

Thus it would be necessary for every sacrificing village, that is, every major lineage group, to possess in Goomsur a bronze peacock or in Boad a bronze bull.

Also in this category is the only example I have seen of a dish on its chain from which the Earth Goddess might sip the offerings of human blood, presented in this case by the lineage group whose kin-

1 Madras Journal of Literature and Science, No.16, July 1837, p.44.
Bronze bulls and styleized 'double-peacocks' typical of many more probably used in human sacrifice. Some are heavily daubed with blood. Note the feather from a more recent sacrifice adhering to the largest bull and the thick coating of blood and food-offerings in the simulated paniers (extreme right).
emblem is a deer.

Secondly, lineage group emblems:

Like many people who are not only hunters and gatherers but agriculturalists living in well-settled communities, in addition to a complexity of gods and spirits the clan-ancestors hold an important place in the Kond religious system. Far more than was earlier realised, their lineage groups have been marked by animal or reptile emblems or even by inanimate objects. Probably some unusual happening long ago served to connect the animal or object with that kin-group and so led the two to form a mythological union. Their respective clans then treated these with reverence and observed taboos on killing and touching them and also at some stage presumably had cire perdue (hot-wax) replicas made.

In a dark corner of the main room in every Kond home in "the ancestors' place" where the head of the family makes libation and offering to the ancestors alone, calling them by name as far back as he is able and then collectively. He never invites other gods to this place as is the Kond habit at most other sacrificial spots. It is here that the bronze lineage emblems are kept. The Konds are uncharacteristically reticent about the whole subject even to each other, and this must surely be the reason why these first two sets of bronzes were mentioned only in the very first British report and not apparently again until the remarkable rejection of them by certain Kond groups in 1955. Perhaps the Konds were taken unawares by the pressing curiosity of these white strangers, a curiosity their fellow-clans never dreamed of showing on this subject. Thus Stevenson was able to state in 1836: 'They make in brass figures of elephants, peacocks, dolls (i.e. humans), fishes, these and the like, and keep them in
Hollow-cast tortoise, double-cobra and deer; probably lineage emblems. There are cavities for offerings within the necks of the cobras, and two solid-cast birds sitting on their heads with a third being swallowed.
making special offerings to them at times of affliction or sickness in the household or in connection with a recent ancestor's death. He adds that they assemble the ancestors (here denoting household images or gods) at the ritual naming of a child when the diviner seeks to learn from them which ancestor's name is to be given.

Konds of the central area seem to take their emblems from wild life and natural objects whereas some clans on the periphery include artifacts. In an article: Totemism Among The Khonds, read to the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1904, J.H. Friend-Pereira gives as examples for the central Konds: the frog, snake, button quail, lesser florican, crow pheasant, mahua (tree from which liquor is distilled) and grass. To these may be added: spotted deer, nilghai, antelope, leopard, black panther, bear, chameleon, crab, owl, jungle cock, tortoise and doubtless more. Thus, Friend-Pereira maintains, in Kond religious observance each 'totem ranks as the spirit of the ancestor-founder of the stock, who is also their chief tutelary deity, and secondly, the totem class is considered as a manifestation of the chief tutelary deity.' At the same time it acted as a guide to kinship and descent for this pre-literate people in their observance of the rules of clan exogamy; for a man might not marry within his own totem-stock nor even with a different totem-stock which was in alliance with his own (in the days of clan warfare), only from potential enemy stocks.

1 Madras Journal, p.41.
Head of hollow-cast leopard with human victim, showing the use of wax threads mentioned on p. 391. Note the victim's hand, with bracelet, clutching the leopard's nostril.
Thirdly, as part of a bride’s dowry:

Thurston’s quotation from the Ganjam Manual 1 describes a typical Kond wedding where the bride is finally carried shoulder high to the bridegroom’s home: ‘Music is played and in the rear are carried brass playthings such as horses, etc. for the bridegroom’, along of course with other articles of her dowry such as small cire perdue pots and ladle, and plains-style brass vessels, ornaments, and as presents for the groom, bow and arrows, traditional feathered headdress and red cloth. The Madras Mail in 1894 added that as soon as the bride enters the groom’s house: ‘She has enormous bracelets, or rather handcuffs of brass, each weighing 20 to 30 pounds, attached to each wrist.’ 2 For three days the unfortunate girl had to sit wearing these to prevent her running back home. After that she is presumed to be reconciled.

“These bangles are made on the hills and are curiously carved in fluted and zig-zag lines and kept as heirlooms in the family to be used at the next marriage in the house.” 3 They are in fact also bronze pradi torbo, ancient valuables. Today they form a symbolic part of the dowry rather than an unhappy reception for the bride: their name, godu, means snapping, breaking off, just as the bride is ‘snapped off’ from dependence on her former kin and becomes a member of the husband’s kin-group. Heavy iron bead necklaces performed the same function.

All these bronze articles may form part of the dowry among richer Konds today. Elephants as well as horses are given, often with riders shouldering either kukri or gun. These perhaps date from the Goomsur Wars onwards (post 1835) when the British Officers’ use of draught elephants surprised the Konds, familiar only with the ferociously

1 Ibid., The Ganjam Manual
2 Madras Mail, 1894, quoted by E. Thurston
3 Ibid.
Two hollow-cast Kond mothers with babies. Compare the accuracy of the facial tattoo with that of the woman (left), also the jewellery with that of the photograph following p. 292.
(Top) Solid-cast woman with water-pots, and drummer on 'bamboo-slatted' bed.

(Below) Pathan cavalry soldier with kukri - presumably c.1835-1845.

(illustration Crown Copyright, Victoria & Albert Museum)
destructive wild variety. Horses would be only slightly more familiar where there was contact with contiguous peoples. Musician-figures such as the drummer are sometimes included in these dowries. Whether there is any exchange of animal emblems of a totemic nature at the coming together of two clans in marriage is not entirely clear, though Thurston accepts this without query.

There is a certain element of 'foreignness' in some of this group of bronzes. The horses and elephants with riders are often more finely finished and decorated than are the traditional and sacrificial objects and some lineage emblems. Some are in fact closer to the cira perdue techniques of North Orissa, Bihar and West Bengal. But this does not apply to the traditionally tattooed mothers with their babies symbolising hoped-for fertility of every Kond marriage and reminding the groom's clan that the bride's kin are giving away a very valuable asset in the person of the bride.

Dr. Mohan K. Gautam of the Rijksmuseum Voor Volkenkunde in Leiden suggests that all gifts from the bride's father to the groom would symbolise aspects of the groom's new role (i.e. as husband, protector, prospective father and mature member of his group). Thus, to describe these bronzes as playthings for the bridegroom does not ring true to Kond values even in the days when he might be only twelve or thirteen years old.

Fourthly, a variety of artifacts are made such as the upper shaft and handle of the ritual axe and the pair of miniature wild-buffalo horns on the charm bracelet illustrated here; also occasional little dish-lamps, the bell-mouths of certain primitive oboes and the long

---

1 In personal discussion at the Museum, Leiden, in June 1976.
Bronze charm bracelet, axe shaft and axe.
thin 'antlers' fastened to the waist-drum for the wedding dance. These last three result from contacts outside traditional Kond communities and the two musical instruments are played by hired Pan musicians found also among neighbouring peoples.

The Making of the Kond Bronzes

Cire-perdue or lost-wax metal casting is an art of the ancient world that is still practised in a number of Indian States today, including Orissa. For traditional Konds, however, the only honourable occupations were hunting, warfare and cultivating. Therefore to supply them with the bronze objects of religious and social significance to which they must have become accustomed centuries ago, two or three small groups of metalsmiths settled beside Kond and Pan villages in the east and north-central area. They probably came from Belugunta in the Ganjam District of Orissa's plains. Belugunta has long been locally famous for its metalsmiths and has a market to which Pan traders from the Kond Hills go annually to buy buffaloes, trekking back with them for Kond sacrifices or paddy cultivation.

These immigrant workers use both methods of lost-wax manufacture: solid casting for smaller figures, and the less expensive hollow casting for larger. In solid casting (see illustrations of the bulls, standing figure and drummer) the required object is carefully modelled in beeswax then a solid wax draining 'tube' is put at its base and the whole is gently besmeared with the soft clay, leaving the 'tube' protruding. When dry the clay takes the shape of the wax model. Other layers of clay are plastered over the whole and it is finally fired at great heat in a simple outdoor hearth-furnace with the aid of goat-skin bellows. The wax melts, drains out of the now-melted channel (thus the name 'lost wax') and molton bronze is poured into
(Broken) wax replica-ladle moulded round a clay bowl, ready to be covered with outer clay, baked, drained of wax and filled with bronze. (Illustration Crown Copyright, Victoria & Albert Museum).
the channel to fill the exact contours of the model. When cool, the clay is removed and the bronze object remains. Elsewhere, roughnesses are filed and polished away, but not so the Kond bronzes.

In Crissa the hollow casting method is more widely practised. A simplified clay and sand core is modelled for the body, neck and head of the animal; this is from 1/16th to 1/8th smaller than the desired article. The method in other parts of India and East Asia is then to place thin wax sheets over the clay, encircling body, neck and head and joining the sheets together very carefully. Wax legs, horns, ears, tail, etc. are then hand rolled and pressed into place. The whole is covered by layers of clay with an exit-cum-entrance channel as before. The molten bronze flows into the thin space left by the melted wax between the inner core and outer clay. Sometimes a vent is also left for expanding gasses to escape from the clay core.

However, the metal workers of the Kond Hills, like those of Belugunta, have long practised the lattice-work variation of the hollow casting method seen in the majority of the Konds' animal figures. Thurston first described this Belugunta method in 1891: after shaping the clay core as usual, instead of placing wax sheets over it, 'thin wax threads are first made and arranged over the core so as to give a network, or placed in parallel lines or diagonally as the form of the figure or the fancy of the artist dictates.' The horns, legs, tail etc. are modelled in the usual way but wax thread is added for eyes, leopard spots, cocks' combs, spiral designs and pure decoration. The warmed wax threads must be used speedily before they become brittle. (See the diagram of the bamboo tube with perforated brass

---

1 The Journal of Indian Art, Thurston, op. cit.

2 See Ruth Reeves, Lost-Wax Metal Casting in India, (Crafts Museum Series, ed; Ajit Hookerjee, published by the Crafts Museum, All India Handicrafts Board, Ministry of Commerce & Industry, Government of India) for a detailed account of the process, though not touching on the Belugunta craftsmen nor those of the Kond Hills.
plate used for making wax threads).

Some of the bronzes have been ritually 'purified' with cowdung and covered with sacrificial blood, which obscures the sharpness of detail. Though some are of recent date, at least those connected with human sacrifice are obviously older. An attempt was made at thermoluminescence dating but they proved unsuitable for measurement owing to the unusually fine-grained clay in the cores. This was probably due to the addition of fine termite-hill soil and cowdung to ordinary clay from the paddy-fields or river banks. Through picking up oxygen from the air this clay gave false signals and impeded the separation of oxygen of archaeological interest from this in-take oxygen. The bronze itself is of normal composition with a little zinc, except for the twin-headed cobra which is 97% tin and 3% antimony, with no arsenic.

Wax-wire press as used by Belugunta craftsmen, Ganjam, Orissa, for squeezing out wax threads. (After E.B.Havell, The Journal of Indian Art, Vol. IV, No.34, January 1892, p.7)
CHAPTER VI

SOME REFLECTIONS ON CHANGE AND RESISTANCE TO CHANGE AMONG THE KONDS
Some Reflections on Change and Resistance to Change Among the Konds.

Kond reaction to events at certain significant points in the tribe's life has been discussed in the foregoing chapters. These reactions appear constantly to have increased the Konds' strong sense of identity as a people, with their religious practices unconsciously seeking to manipulate mystical force in a manner that will uphold and increase that sense of identity. In seeking to understand their motivation more fully, Kond action and reaction must now be set within the wider framework of Grissa's history by looking more closely at Kond origins in relation to population movements in India and the tribe's probable movements down the centuries. This will include the effect of further immigrant or invading peoples on the Konds and the tribe's ability to turn events - even apparent defeats at the hands of more powerful 'outsiders' - to substantiate their own world-view. Finally their movement into the Church will be discussed in the light of that world-view.

(a) Origins

'The very earliest inhabitants of India are thought to have been negritos of the Andaman Island type, which survive in (certain tribes) of the forests in the extreme south'.

The Cambridge History of India dates these earliest peoples at several millenium BC, describing them as 'a dark negroid race of low culture'. Earlier immigrants of higher culture then arrived, coming possibly via Baluchistan. These established themselves in the north, probably between 4,000 and 2,500 BC, then spread over the Deccan right to the south. Intermarriage doubtless occurred between

them and some of the aboriginal inhabitants, especially those along
the regular routes of communication in the valleys. The more in-
hospitable villages of the higher hill-area were probably less affected.

Thurston says of the two groups:

'It is the pre-Dravidian aborigines and not the later and more
cultured Dravidians who must be regarded as the primitive exist-
ing race... These pre-Dravidians... are differentiated from the
Dravidian classes by their short stature and broad (platyrhine)
noses.' 1

So the Cambridge History sums it up:

'It would seem probable then that the original speakers of the
Dravidian languages were invaders, and that the ethnographical
'Dravidians' are a mixed race. In the more habitable regions
the two elements have fused, while representatives of the
aboriginals are still to be found in the fastnesses to which
they retired before the encroachments of the newcomers.' 2

It is thought to be between 1700 BC and 1300 BC that waves of
Aryan invaders came in from the north-west - some peacefully and some
by conflict. A study-group of Indian tribal leaders working together
in 1965 wrote thus:

'The Indo-Aryans and other hordes of immigrants into the Indo-
Gangetic basin were stronger in physique, numbers, organisation
and arms, and hence succeeded in imposing their will on the
weaker groups, compelling the latter either to surrender to
complete absorption or to escape to the inaccessible areas in
the fastnesses of the forests and the mountains. This is
perhaps the main reason why the biggest concentration of tribal
people can be found in Central India and South-Western India.
These people are truly Indian in the sense that racially they
do not seem to be akin to people from other parts of the world.' 3

It was following this Aryan invasion that the first collections
of the great Vedic hymns were compiled, most notably the Rig-Veda.

This literature provides the earliest idea of India's religious beliefs:

'The divine powers believed in and worshipped by these early
Nordic colonists are Powers of Nature in the first instance,
and there is to begin with no idea of a single supreme Godhead.
Indeed the primary notion seems to be that of plurality of Powers,
not even personal ones, but connected with the various objects,
occurrances or episodes of daily life.' 4

3 Tribal Awakening, A Group Study, Christian Institute for the Study
The Vedic religion also included veneration of the ancestors or fathers, calling them pitri (Latin pater). This appears to be the first slight link with the people known today as the Konds. In 1836 — over two and a half millennia later — Stevenson several times alludes in the first report ever written about the Konds to the importance of the petri, their ancestors or founding fathers, in their religion, now represented in the eastern region by bronze animal-emblems. My own recent records also confirm the importance of the pideri (this dental 'd' and 't' are almost interchangeable) or pideri pita, the ancestors or founders of the clan. As in the Rig-Veda, Kond ancestors are believed to accept the essence and benefits of sacrifices in the same way as the other gods and spirits. But the Konds reject, or are ignorant of, the Rig-Veda's theme of Paradise for the good and a bottomless pit for evil-doers. Kond ancestors must be rehabilitated in their former homes whatever their earlier nature; only if the manner of their death has been violent and untimely do they suffer restless homelessness, for their living relatives fear to permit them entry.

Following the death of Alexander the Great in 323 BC the Mauryan Empire of Chandragupta, with its close links with Greece, spread eastward as far as the Ganges delta; but it did not impinge upon the Konds until Chandragupta’s grandson, Asoka, advanced down the east coastal plain and in about 262 BC conquered the kingdom of Kalinga in what is now south Orissa. One of Asoka’s remarkable Rock Edicts gives details of that terrible campaign: 150,000 became captives, 100,000 were slain 'and many times that number died in the consequent famine and pestilence.'

so pitiless the ravaging of land and people that in horror at his own brutality, Asoka became a notable patron of the Buddhist faith. As Rock Edict XIII states:

'Just after the taking of Kalinga the Beloved of the Gods (Asoka) began to follow dharma (the practice of the law of piety).... When an unconquered country is conquered, people are killed, they die, or are made captive. That the Beloved of the Gods finds very pitiful and grievous....Today, if a hundredth or a thousandth part of those who suffered in Kalinga were to be killed, to die or to be taken captive, it would be very grievous to the Beloved of the Gods.' 1

He adopted a policy of toleration for other religions and ruled with great wisdom. But his toleration was, probably too late to stop the movement of small tribal groups - or their battered remnants - up into the hill-tracts away from the highly organised and equipped invaders. Some at least of the tribes had not escaped the attention of that remarkably thorough conqueror:

'The Beloved of the Gods even reasons with the forest tribes in his empire, and seeks to reform them. But the Beloved of the Gods is not only compassionate, he is also powerful, and he tells them to repent lest they be slain. For the Beloved of the Gods desires safety, self-control, justice and happiness for all beings.' 2

Some groups certainly remained behind and continued probably in subservient roles, gradually adopting the Aryan incomers' language. Scattered hamlets of Oriya-speaking Hinduised Konds could still be found in the mid-nineteenth century on the plains, and today small bilingual partially acculturated Konds live in the foothills and the north and east borders of the hills.

---


2. Ibid.
Those, however, who were determined on maintaining their independence are believed to have retreated from the coastal plains and fertile Mahanadi delta up into the inhospitable Eastern Ghats immediately to their west and south-west. We shall consider later how this pattern probably recurred down the centuries on occasions of unrest or disaster.

(b) Arguments for Kond Antiquity

It is impossible to know to what extent those early migrants were pre-Dravidian groups, or mixed groups of Dravidians and those earlier peoples; nor whether any pre-Dravidian groups were already inhabiting the hill-tracts when the infiltrators moved in. There is, however, some evidence of considerable antiquity to be found among the hill-Konds, particularly in the isolated central and western regions. From careful measurement and many years of observation, Risley identified this type in his ethnographical classification as still to be found among the peoples of east-central India, characterised thus: 'Their stature is short or below mean; the complexion very dark approaching black; hair plentiful with an occasional tendency to curl; eyes dark; head long; nose very broad, sometimes depressed at the root, but not so as to make the face appear flat.'

Though there is a wide variety of skin colour, this is a good description of many Konds, especially if he had added a note about the full and rather protruding lips. (See photographs).

Some Kond music also suggests a very early origin. On hearing tapes of Kond songs, Ronald Stevenson, the composer and musicologist, observed that though in common with other Indian tribes there are

2 From personal discussion with Ronald Stevenson in West Linton, Peeblesshire, November 1975, during an informal evening arranged for him to hear recordings of Kond music.
(Top) Kuttia Kond woman and child.
(Below) Kuttia Kond young man holding the sacrificial knife at the Biha sacrifice. Note the stakes on the right.
pentatonic elements in some Kond songs, a few most unusually are
bitonic, a two-note scale which is the most primitive possible. These
songs are in fact characterised by constant use of the monotone, a
single reiterated tonic or fundamental note. From this the 'melody'
always rises, by an interval generally no higher than a Third (major
or minor) or at the most a Fourth - though in that case it is
generally treated as ornamental, an appoggiatura (grace note) back
to the Third. Thus the way the Konds are feeling the scale is
essentially the tonic and Third. Any notes under the tonic are
anacrusis (leading in) and always move very rapidly up to the tonic;
these are even less essential to the main outline of the melody than
is the Fourth. All this, in Stevenson's view, argues for very great
antiquity, as does the fact that there is little difference between
music associated with religious, social or work occasions. Recently
when hearing the first music recorded from the South Indian Alu
Kurumba tribe, mostly in the expected tribal pentatonic mode, I
was startled not only to hear one song in this ancient bitonic scale
but to recognise it as the Konds' Cradle Song and then to learn that
it was also the Cradle Song of the Alu Kurumba. These are a remote
and little known 'Dravidian' group nearly a thousand miles away at
the southern end of the great Deccan hill-mass of which the Konds are
on the north-east side. The Alu Kurumba like the western Konds are
shifting cultivators, food gatherers and trap-and-snare hunters, and
are one of the smallest numerically as well as one of the most ancient
and least disturbed of South India's tribal peoples. Their 35 hamlets
lie between 2,000 and 6,000 ft. above sea-level on the southern and

---

1 Music recorded in India by Dr. Dieter Kapp, of the South Asia
Institute, University of Heidelberg, and played during the Workshop
for Tribes in South Asia held at the Seminar für Ethnologie,
University of Berne, March 4-7, 1977.
Kond deka, or two-stringed gourd-resonated bamboo stick-violin, the lower of the two strings being the drone. This commonly has a second, smaller gourd-resonator.
eastern ranges of the Nilgiri Hills and are difficult of access not only from outside but even for inter-communication within their own territory. The two Cradle Songs await comparison by a musicologist in Heidelberg.

Finally at least one musical instrument must be mentioned in connection with the possible dating of Kond movements from the plains to the hills. This is the Kond deka used by musical Konds for personal pleasure in accompanying their singing when sitting round the hearth in the winter or on the doorstep in the hot season. The deka (see illustration) is a very primitive instrument which Popley states as 'not being in use today' (1921) though he mentions that Madras beggars made a similar dhenga with two coconuts as resonators and cowrie-shell frets. In its early bamboo-and-gourd form which the Konds use, it can be seen in ancient Indian sculptures and paintings, supposed in Hindu myth to have been invented by a musician of Indra's heaven for accompanying Rig-Vedic hymns to that great god. The compilation of the Rig-Veda is known to have been completed by 800 BC at the latest, possibly some centuries earlier. The only difference in the two instruments is that Popley's illustration (from the Indian Museum, Calcutta) has seven frets - thus being able to play the full octave - whereas the Kond instrument is more primitive having five frets, sufficient for their more primitive notation.

Under whatever pressures and at whatever period they arrived there, it seems probable that the hill-Konds had little contact with the Aryans of the plains by the end of the third century AD, possibly considerably earlier. When the Gupta Empire ushered in the Golden age of Hindu philosophy, literature, art and architecture c.370 AD,
the Brahmans received presents of land from the small princely states along the banks of the Mahanadi to the north, the eastern coastal plains and also the south-west borders of the Kond country. The self-aggrandisement of the Brahmans into an almost unassailable priestly caste made an indelible impression on all that was connected with Hinduism - on all, that is, except the independent hill tribes up in their hill-tracts.

(c) **Additional Migrant Groups**

Any ancient memories resulting from the Aryan invasions would almost certainly be increased by further waves of disturbance on the Kond periphery. To mention but a few down the centuries: in 1040 AD the Chola Empire in South India expanded northwards to include the Kalingas of Orissa's coastal plains and probably caused stirrings on the south and south-east of the Kond country. Then in the first half of the fourteenth century the Muslim Sultanate of Delhi reached its greatest extent, stretching over almost the whole of India and, in name at least, including the areas occupied by Orissa's unpacified hill-tribes. Akbar's founding and strengthening of a Mughal Empire in the late sixteenth century brought him as far as the Mahanadi delta. Though up-river and in the hill-tracts the petty rajas maintained their independence, it is probable that small movements again took place among groups affected on the borders. Next, Akbar's successors replaced his policy of conciliation by one of political and religious intolerance. Pressure increased as the Empire attempted to expand over the Deccan and its eastern and western hill-fringes, always accompanied by heavy taxation to meet the declining Empire's near-

---

bankruptcy. This intolerance provoked a Hindu reaction and by the end of the seventeenth century the Marathas of the Deccan and the Rajputs and Jats of the north-west led a revolt that spread through northern and central India against the Muslims. When the much weakened Mughal Emperor granted a strip of Orissa's coast to the British East India Company about 1770 the petty Rajas of Bengal and Orissa were, however, still dominant in their own princedoms. It was through holding these in respect that the British remained in ignorance of the Konds' existence and sacrificial practices until the devastating Goomsur Wars of 1835-37.

It may well be that one of these successive waves of unrest resulted in the migration to the Kond hill-tracts of the ancestors of the group whom Macpherson found to be occupying c.2,000 square miles in the south-east - those who vehemently refused to participate in human sacrifice but who, unlike all other Konds, practised female infanticide. Similarly the forbears of the two much smaller groups in the Deegi and Surada areas who practised neither human sacrifice nor female infanticide may well have been migrants fleeing from yet another (perhaps later) conqueror's push along the narrow bottleneck of Orissa's coastal plain. The fact that almost all of the latter settled along one of the main eastern foot-tracks up from the plains endorses this view.

One Kuttia Kond myth contains unusual 'historic' memories in stating that though Para-mugatti, the earliest male member of the Kuttia Konds, was already the first-born in the Under World, the Muslim Pathans were actually the first to emerge into the outer world, later followed by the first Kond:

'Paramugatti was born in the Under World. After some time he desired to come up to the Earth. Then the Pathans were born. The first Pathans were Alenja-Firtenja and Deolenj-Gubbalenj.'
These were the first two human beings. They said to one another, "Paramugatti is preparing to come up to the earth. When he comes he will take it all into his power." So they went up first and emerged into the world at Saphaganna. They wandered from place to place establishing villages and erecting pillars in honour of Darni Kinnu (Earth Goddess). In front of each pillar they used to prepare a patch of ground with their own urine and excrement, thinking that this would please the goddess. But it made her very angry and she drove these Musalmans away. Then she herself left the world and went down to the Under World. There she took the name of Mirantali. When Mirantali saw Paramugatti was ready to go up to the world, she took him by the hand and went up with him. At that time there was nothing but rocks in the Kond country. Mirantali covered them with soil. Then Paramugatti put an axe on his shoulder and took a hoe in his hand and went out to look for a woman... (A wife is eventually supplied by Mirantali)... 'Paramugatti was very pleased with his wife; they lived together and from them the first Konds were born.'

The description of the origin and traditional form of human sacrifice which follow in the myth adds that it always took place at the pillars previously set up by Pathans. Is this perhaps a clue to the origin of the durni-shrine stones, so important to all Konds? Durni stones are comparatively small but in human sacrifice are used in conjunction with a sacrificial post which perhaps replaces the stone pillar. This might be an otherwise forgotten reason for the inordinate care taken by the Kuttia Konds of each village in copying minutely the measurements and pattern of their previous sacrificial stake each time a fresh one is carved.

The myth certainly suggests that the Kuttia had contacts - presumably from the Deccan direction - with infiltrators from the north-west on some early occasion. This could have been when Babur's Empire spread from Kabul right across India to Bihar (1526-30) or during the Mughal Empire that followed it. However vague, this Kuttia reference underlines the variety both of the pressures and the directions from which they came upon the Konds. It speaks too of

1 V. Elwin, Tribal Myths of Orissa, p.546.
the unvarying disdain in which Konds held 'outsiders' and their habits, a disdain which did not prevent their adopting as potentially power-laden some new thing that the outsiders introduced, in this case the pillars set up to the Earth Goddess. Their presumption that outsiders necessarily regard Konds as their superiors is expressed both in the Pathans' realisation that Paranagatti's appearance on earth will mark the end of their authority and in the 'fact' that he was really the earliest man despite all outward appearance such as the Pathans' prior birth into the outer world!

One presumably immigrant people who are not classed as Outsiders, however, are the Pans. It seems impossible to determine the date at which Pan groups moved into their present relationship with the Konds, as with other hill-tribes of the Eastern Ghats. Fawcett described them in 1901 as 'an outcaste jungle people who inhabit the forests of the high lands... who are not allowed to live within a village but have their own little hamlet adjoining the village proper.'

The Konds, he says, held them in contemptuous inferiority! Nevertheless the relationship obviously goes back many centuries: the Konds being dependent on Pan weaving, trading, money-lending, assistance in corpse-disposal, and previously, for a supply of human sacrificial victims, while the Pans live on the proceeds of these activities, use Kui as their mother tongue, and fit into the Kond customs and observances as their regular way of life.

(a) Early Kond Life and Ritual

Ritual for the hill-Konds was almost certainly clan-centred from the earliest days, with clan and lineage heads as natural inter-

---

mediaries between their kin groups and the supernatural powers. It follows that the likely emphasis would be upon the ancestors' relationship with their living kin. Any clans involved in migration would doubtless have worked through the problem of reassuring themselves of the presence and co-operation of their ancestors whose former territory they were about to quit - all this being part of their strong determination to preserve their identity rather than be absorbed into the powerful and better organised but alien culture of the current wave of invaders. If there were pockets of pre-Dravidian inhabitants already in the hills, these too would almost certainly be clan-based in small localised groups.

Possibly for centuries co-operation would remain within the confines of the clans as each group battled for survival against its hostile environment where jungle beasts, cerebral malaria and similar killers constantly depleted their numbers. Whatever their former mode of life, they would now live by slash and burn cultivation supplemented by hunting and gathering - a form of subsistence that demands the voluntary splitting up of any group that grows too large for its territory. As axe-cleared plots of this type must lie fallow for long periods after raising crops for only two years, quite a large area is required to support even a moderate-sized group.

Moreover, the battle for survival was not only against the environment but against all non-associated clans. The clans which co-operated best within their group would produce more offspring by virtue of their young warriors remaining alive, whereas poor co-operators were killed, thus doubly depleting their clans by having no heirs. The Kond system of 'war-making brotherhoods' has also been described (See Chapter) when a weaker clan called into alliance a stronger but unrelated clan in order to keep its land secure against
the continual depredations of some strong enemy clan, the land itself being shared with the ally when the enemy was defeated. Thus this earliest form of co-operation beyond one's legitimate clan was rather the desperate but highly practical submission of an inferior group to a take-over bid by a larger clan of its own choice in order to avoid the greater evil of extermination or exile; for by this means the weaker group maintained itself on at least a continuing share of its own territory.

(e) The Rise of Human Sacrifice

The localised clan's concentration on maintaining its identity and well-being on its land appears thus to have become the key to Kond traditional behaviour. But memories of their bitter experience with the Aryans and continuing movements on the Kond periphery must have taught them the need to co-operate on a wider scale as Konds against the orenake, those of the outside world. It was this need, I suggested (Chapter III (c)), that led to the complicated socio-religious inter-clan involvement of the human Neriah sacrifice and its necessary adjunct, the office of high priest to act on behalf of these unprecedented inter-clan groupings. It should be mentioned that this office appears to have little in common with the perhaps chronologically parallel formation of a whole priestly caste of the highly aristocratic but self-interested Brahmans down on the plains, for the Kond priesthood is only in the loosest sense hereditary and of no different grade in the social scale - the office devolves on the descendant in the priest's family who is best suited, whether male or female, and any other Kond may also be 'seized' by the spirits and thus start a new line.
Many peoples in the past sacrificed human victims in times of stress or special festivity. *Führer-Haimendorf* \(^1\) mentions the secret performance of human sacrifice in the depths of the forest by certain small groups of Gonds, and the horror with which it was regarded by all other Gonds; and *Fraser* \(^2\) speaks of the Oraons of Chota Nagpur whose fertility goddess, Anna Kuari, always required human food.

Of the many tribes in east-central India these two are 'Dravidian' like the Konds, and are reasonably close neighbours to west and north. It is impossible to determine the direction in which the ritual may have passed between the three, but its utter centrality to Kond life makes them the likely originators. Few if any peoples have sacrificed human victims in the routine fashion of the hill-Konds. For their regular calendrical rituals as well as for special occasions, for one individual's fever as well as for devastating epidemics or famines, at times and seasons when a goat or a chicken might be the expected offering, the Konds offered their human victim 'for all the world'.

Although it is also impossible to say on present evidence at what point they developed the Meriah sacrificial rite, all available Kond and Kuttia Kond myths suggest that it was not their practice in the beginning, nor their choice if it could have been avoided without, as they believed, disaster to all concerned. It would seem unlikely that the ritual was formed on the plains and fortuitously confined to those clans who merged to become the hill-Konds, without becoming a regular practice in other tribes of Orissa. Their closest neigh-

---


bours, in fact, respected the Konds inordinately for this very practice. Elwin reported in 1955 that the Saoras, for example, probably never practised human sacrifice.

'but they evidently regarded it as a solemn and important matter, one which placed the Konds very definitely in a superior position in relation to the supernatural.' ¹

If Saoras wish to migrate north, he was told, they have to be very careful, for

'it is Kond land, not ours. So when we want to settle anywhere we must first get permission from the Konds and their gods, and only afterwards from the government. It is the Konds not the forest guards who give us permission to make clearings in the jungle. So to please the Konds we sacrifice a cow and a pig every year for Keriah-god and the Kond ancestors, so they will not torment us, and we all share in the feast.' ²

A similarly subservient attitude was shown by the Gonds, a tribe four times the size of the Konds, at the Kuttia Konds Buffalo Sacrifice at Belagad described previously (chapter III (c)).

I suggested earlier that the strong inter-clan involvement in the Meriah sacrifice which bound them together as Konds even while separating them from all non-Konds, brought socio-political advantages through strengthening the identity of the tribe. The need for this had doubtless become pressing to strengthen them against external enemies, but internal pressures would arise too. A well-regulated pattern of slash-and-burn cultivation within each clan territory would result in an improvement in diet, supplementing the more chancy hunting and gathering of wild produce. This would permit greater domestic development. Better nutrition would result in greater fecundity, and improved settlements would provide for some progress in infant-care, however slight. Thus as populations increased among successful clans, there would be pressure on lineage groups to split

² Ibid.
off and find new areas of jungle to exploit. The holding together of fragmented groups would not be achieved through any planned policy but through common allegiance to strong religious beliefs, particularly regarding relationship with the land. In this realm, however, the highly practical Konds could nevertheless confuse genuine insight and magical suppositions. Confusion between the two resulted in their attributing accidental events such as the failure or success of a harvest to the deliberate intervention of supernatural forces regardless of their practical knowledge of the conditions necessary for a bountiful yield - for are not even these physical conditions subject to supernatural intervention, they would argue.

For a tribe that in part at least has been on the move and that contains elements still being affected by outside pressures from one direction or another, its religious preoccupation with fertility increases in direct relation to this interest in more settled cultivation. The view that permanence of settlement gives rise to increased elaboration of institutions is amply supported by the Konds in their development of the intricate pattern of inter-clan rights and responsibilities in the Meriah sacrifice. Eliade suggests that according to the myths of the more settled horticulturalists of the tropical regions, 'the edible plant is not given in nature; it is the product of a primordial sacrifice.' It is usually, he states, a semi-divine being who is sacrificed and this in connection with the origins of cereals in particular, for these are believed to grow from the blood and the flesh of the mythical creature ritually sacrificed 'in the beginning'. Here in effect is the Kond myth of the Earth Goddess, herself taking human form as Mirantali-Kapantali.

(western region) or Amali-Baeli (eastern region) and through whose death the shaking, boggy land becomes both firm and fertile. Thus the mystical force that operated on that first occasion must be regenerated repeatedly by the sacrifice of other human victims; for, says Eliade, "the ritual makes creation over again." 1 And when fertility is more widely interpreted by the Konds as negi ava, well-being, and applied to all situations in which the community's welfare or potential is at stake - health and sickness, safety and disaster as well as fertility of crops and family - no form of ritual sacrifice can be too costly if it provides the greatest possible opportunity for the regeneration of this ever-precarious life-force.

In this belief would lie the Konds' vindication (had they felt one to be necessary) of the frequency with which they performed the terrible act. That they obviously felt a certain guilt is made clear in the pre-sacrificial dialogue between headman, priest and victim's representative. Yet regular celebration of this act initiated by their powerful Founder-figure, the Earth herself, constantly made manifest their two-fold relationship: relationship with each other as Konds, the people exclusively fitted for her worship; and their relationship to the land itself, through her and their part together in her.

(f) Maintaining Control

This same concentration on maintaining their identity as Konds can be seen in the way they deal with events that have broken in on them. We shall consider two occasions when this was shown most clearly. The first concerns their adoption of paddy cultivation while rejecting Hinduism and the Hindus who brought it. The

1 Ibid.
second arose from their adoption, under British pressure, of the buffalo-substitute and led to a development of their own Kond theology. First, the arrival of paddy cultivation: The Golden Age of Brahmanism during the long period of comparative stability on Orissa's plains had ended in the thirteenth century. For the following five centuries the plains were overrun repeatedly by armies of the Muslim powers, and the near-destitute Rajas could no longer support the arts, the scholarship and religion of the Brahmans and other high caste Hindus. These became unemployed. Unaccustomed poverty compelled them to scatter and take up new occupations such as stone-working or the cultivation of garden crops on the plains; but some, perhaps about the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, are believed to have pushed their way up into the eastern and northeastern Kond hill-tracts where the widest valleys are to be found. Bailey quotes the Oriya groups in the northern (Kondmals) area as saying that they originated in a village of Athmallick District, north of the Mahanadi; then many years ago their fore-fathers 'crossed the river and took service with the Raja of Bodd ....Some time later their ancestors began to push up from the plains of Bodd into the Kond hills, first in the north-east.'

From there they spread gradually westwards and southwards, though no further than Tikaballi. Their second move was made, they say, about eleven generations ago (250-300 years). But as Bailey points out: 'Genealogies are often telescoped and the date of the invasion may be yet further back.'

There is no written account of the doubtless warlike reception they received from the Konds, but these better organised and more

2 Ibid.
advanced Oriya bands, including warriors, must have won their permission to settle. Bringing their knowledge of paddy cultivation with them they built Oriya-Hindu ghetto villages and lived quite separately from the Konds. The latter, still slash-and-burn cultivators supplemented by hunting and gathering, must have observed the full cycle of paddy-growing with close attention, including the use of draught-animals. In time, some of the eastern Konds also began to make paddy fields where suitable land remained to them, growing rice with sufficient success for the innovation to creep slowly westward through the centuries, though not yet being practised in the most remote areas.

Significantly, however, the Konds adopted paddy as a good new food crop but they rejected the Hindu practices that came with it. Instead with great unanimity they appear to have applied the stages of paddy cultivation to their basic Kond theology. When I was translating Kui accounts of the paddy practices into English, the sheer orthodoxy and regularity of the rituals made it almost possible to foretell the next move, whereas some of the more ancient Kond rituals often contain unexpected symbolic action or use symbolic material which no non-Kond could foretell. These paddy-growing rituals may thus be presumed to be little over three hundred years old but are firm examples of Kond ability to select such things as aid their practical well-being while in no way moving away from the principles governing their self-identity as a people.

About two centuries later this independence of thought and action caused some Konds even to rethink their age-old beliefs in the light of their theological discoveries of 1844. It will be remembered that after nearly ten years of British persuasion all the clans of Goomsur District entirely abandoned human sacrifice.
When they found that despite the lack of human blood the summer of 1344 brought good rains, a plentiful harvest and no rise in epidemics nor infant mortality, the elders of the Goomsur clans began to think out the implications, both practical and theological, of the change they had made.

Of all the Konds these elders of the Goomsur District had experienced the greatest and most shattering impact from their contacts with the British and alien Indian military invaders during the Goomsur Wars. Now they turned these to good account. While bowing to the inevitable regarding the buffalo-replacement, far from slipping into a subservient attitude toward the obviously more powerful British, they allowed events to stimulate them into theological action.

First they effected a radical and well-reasoned reform of their priesthood (See Chapter III (a)), and secondly, they followed up their theological reflections by that most significant act of worship and dedication to Dura, their God of Light, as being Supreme God - thus deposing the Earth Goddess with her evil requirements. (Chapter II). Macpherson reporting it hastens to add that this act, performed simultaneously throughout Goomsur, did not result from any proselytisation from the British - that was indeed strictly forbidden by Government order - but arose amongst themselves from their own deliberations.

In due acknowledgment of the presence of the ancestors in the making of such a decision, they declared that their forbears had not been wrong in their previous attitudes and ways of worship but that the situation had changed; now it was through the worship of Dura that the tribe would be blessed. Clearly aligning Dura, Creator, Sustainer and God of Light, with the beneficent God of the British, the crux of their argument was that one only needed to look at these Europeans for proof that God blessed them with greater abundance of 'power' than
the Konds had received from their former divinities. This, therefore, was the way ahead, and they were clearly confident of maintaining their customary solidarity with their ancestors in taking this step.

(g) Reasons Underlying the Kond Movement Into the Church

In the light of the Kond ability to re-think their theological position and follow it by corporate decision and action, the question now arises whether the movement of numbers of kin-groups into the Church in the mid-1950's was yet another example of the subconscious preoccupation of the tribe in maintaining its identity.

For pre-literate groups religion must be totally relevant to daily life. Rituals which lose relevance fall into disuse or are developed to meet some new situation (e.g. the new Vaccination Foha - see Vol. II Appendix). It is apparent therefore that the Keriah ritual had retained vital relevance for more than a century despite the buffalo substitute. Yet by the 1950's groups of Konds, some quite independently of each other, had begun to find this ritual wanting in the light of surrounding events.

What were these events? Ever since 1837 the Konds had been accustomed to 'government' official control, first by British with Oriya assistants, then after Independence in 1947, entirely by Oriya officers. This remained reasonably remote from the everyday affairs of the village Kond and appears to have had little effect on normal ritual life, after that one initial change made by the Goomsur Konds. What then had changed so significantly?

In 1909 missionaries of the Baptist Missionary Society had come to stay. Again after the slightest ripple amongst Konds in a very localised area around G. Udayagiri, Kond religious beliefs and behaviour continued their uninterrupted course. It was nearly half
a century later that realization of the situation seems to have come both to the missionaries and to large numbers of Konds at the same time, though quite independently.

For the missionaries it was Dr. Donald MacGavran's visit to study church growth in the Kond Hills that brought home the truth. (See Chapter V (b)). His rapid review revealed to the missionaries that it was a Pan and not a Kond Church to which they were ministering. After forty-five years' work, with over 4,000 adult Pan members (i.e. a total of over 7,000 including their children) yet only between 100 and 200 Kond members, it was time, Dr. MacGavran urged, to 'abandon the Kond Hope' and turn to the Pans. The monsoon rains intervened, with the necessary cessation of district work, before any new policy could be formed. It was at that point, probably during the same pre-monsoon hot season when field work is minimal and village discussion at its height with everyone sitting outside their houses in the hot evenings, that village elders and their family members reached the decision to become Christians. For them the arrival of the monsoon meant urgent agricultural activities, but the decisions had been made - to get into touch with the Christian Church as soon as their seasonal work-peak was over. So these pre-literate but utterly determined representatives walked from their Kond strongholds sometimes as much as twenty miles to visit Pan pastors or Pan Christian Groups. 'Our gods are destroying us (economically) and they are no longer effecting good health and wellbeing for us. We have cast them out.' 'We have come to join the new way - to follow the Christian rituals.' 'We have come to join - to belong!' And these first groups were not from the Dura-worshipping Konds of Goomsur, but from the old Chinna Kimedy (now Baliguda District) who had continued to believe in the preeminence of the Earth Goddess,
even though necessarily *feeding* her with buffalo flesh and blood.

So these Konds came to an organisation led by the traditionally despised Pans, many of whom had now become literate, the newly emerging professional class of teachers, pastors and nurses, some even beginning to buy land. What prompted the Konds to take this totally unprecedented step, and to take it in corporate groups, not individual households like the meagre sprinkling of Kond Christians of the previous forty-five years?

The late N.K. Bose, Minister for Tribal Affairs and Professor of Sociology, when writing about the decay of tribal peoples in east India in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and their assimilation into Hindu culture, cites the large tribal groups to the north of the Konds (he had little information about the Konds at the time):

'[...a factor which helped the process of decay of aboriginal cultures was the virtual absence of any pride among either the Juangs or the Mundas with respect to their own culture.]

That certainly was not the picture presented by the Konds in those centuries. With their jungle weapons of slings, bows and arrows, and battle-axes they had proved mighty in battle in a vain attempt to preserve their rights against the 'civilised' armoury of the invading British, and only reward-hungry Pan informants ultimately caused the capture of their clan leaders. Their standards of bravery and pride won the respect of their victors in several military reports, as in this note by Macpherson regarding Kond preference for death rather than capture:

'A Kond captured by our troops in Baramootah immediately tore out his tongue by the roots and died; another made prisoner after maintaining a long and gallant conflict with a horseman, until he was stabbed by another assailant from behind, sternly refused food and perished on the fourth day.'

2 Macpherson, Memorials, p.67.
Nor was their intellectual stamina any less when one considers their ability to adopt new practices like paddy-growing while rejecting the Hinduism in which its arrival was wrapped; or their radical rethinking of the implications of their own theology following the abandonment of human sacrifice. Professor N.K. Bose continues concerning those other tribes in earlier days:

'Now that conditions have changed, their own culture only seemed to keep them on hungry stomachs, and they could feel little pride in something which failed them at their hour of need.'

Does this mean, then, regarding the Konds that in 1956 the Christian message won where Hinduism had failed? A pious 'Yes' would be altogether too facile, for those Kond elders and their groups had not the slightest understanding of the Christian message in the way it had been taught. Here, as J.V. Taylor had found in Buganda, 'is an incalculable gap between the Gospel that is preached and the Gospel that is heard.'

The message preached was of individual conversion through repentance for one's sins and faith in the atoning activity of Christ. But ignoring all that seemed to them irrelevant about the person and work of Jesus Christ, the Konds had heard something the Church certainly affirmed but had not set out specifically to teach as the spearhead of its evangelistic thrust:

'The Great God is here, with us Konds, now!'

'He stays with us, wherever we go - at work upon the hills, in the dangers of the jungle, in the home...'

In fact, again like the Buganda Church, 'the message received was primarily news about the transcendant God.' Moreover it was heard and received in Kond traditional manner by corporate groups, thus

1 Bose, Ibid.
3 Ibid.
bringing its own authenticity in a way that no call for individual conversions could do. Thus their natural awareness of a Creator-Sustainer-God somewhere distant from their daily affairs had now changed to an awareness that this Creator-Sustainer-God could be actively present within their own community and home - astonishing news indeed, for it seemed that mystical force at its greatest had now become available for them. Once again though, their ancestors were cleared of any suggestion that they had been mistaken in the past, or their gods false gods. It was simply that their own contemporary situation had changed so radically that the ancestors' gods were no longer in control: 'We have sacrificed in every way we can - to the point of being ruined - and still our children die!'

Behind their cry was surely an awareness that they couldn't halt the tide of change that was creeping steadily towards even the more remote villages and which seemed likely to submerge their whole essence as Konds. Pre-literate and linguistically limited as they were, through Pan interpreters they viewed even the best of Oriya government officials with suspicion, and the worst with fear at their loud-voiced dealings with Kond "stupidity". In their economic world, poverty was increasing; in their physical world, sickness and death continued to strike although they had heard tell of new medicines; and in their social world, in a manner unimaginined even in their parents' time, Pans were rising above Konds by this new world's standards - and, they might have added, the advantages obviously accruing to Europeans from being followers of this God were beyond description.

Nevertheless I maintain that it was not as 'rice Christians' that the Konds came into the Church, not yet on the principle that 'If you can't beat them, join them!' On the contrary, I suggest that the Konds believed that it was in joining, even to the point of co-operat-
ing with Christian Pans, that they could expect in the long run to uphold their identity as Konds and maintain their pride of race.

For study of Kond rituals in the light of their history reveals their basic belief in a mystical power in the universe which can be tapped for corporate increase and well-being or which antisocial persons may use to diminish the life-force of others even to the point of death. (See Chapter IV) Obviously the Europeans manipulated this power with maximum success for their own well-being, and the Pans were learning to use it to their own great advantage. A Kond decision surely becomes inevitable: they too must apprehend this power. But with true Kond insight they recognise it as a two-way channel. In order to work within the sphere of this power they must first be taken up into it, made to 'belong'. It is a similar two-way action that the Apostle Paul seeks to put into words through his double use of the verb ἅρπαξ, μάθεω to grasp, apprehend or make something one's own: 'I press on to make it my own (apprehend or grasp it) because Christ Jesus has made me his own (apprehended or grasped me).' (Phil.3,12.) Paul of course is speaking of the prevenient grace of Christ, a thought not yet known to the Konds though unwittingly sought after. They in their turn are speaking not simply as individuals seeking salvation, but with a corporate solidarity that Paul longed to see in the young Churches of his time.

This Kond move was made with such conviction not only of its rightness but of what it demanded of them, that all had stopped worshipping their household and other deities and 'cast out' their bronze emblems some time before making contact with Christians - thus placing themselves in a limbo of 'unbelieving' which would normally be too fearful to contemplate. But they were convinced that all their former ritual ways of seeking to manipulate mystical
power must be totally abandoned in order that they might fully grasp and be grasped by 'the Great God'.

Thus I believe that the Konds' unprecedented approach to the Church in the mid-1950's involved for them a convinced and dramatic change in their religious practices but, at that stage, without a change in their basic philosophy concerning the manipulation of mystical power and the importance of their corporate identity as Konds. The depth of Christian understanding in their ensuing life in the Church will depend to a great extent on the content and manner of Christian teaching they receive: its relevance to all that is fine in Kond life and values, and the wise channelling of their gifts and insights in the rapidly expanding world about them.
HISTORY OF ORISSA'S 'AGENCY' (KOND HILL TRACTS)

c.250 B.C.
Asoka's conquest of Kalinga (coastal plains of S.Orissa) added it to his vast empire stretching from N.W.Frontier almost to present Madras. Policy of religious toleration; quinquennial circuits of officials to proclaim moral law & discharge normal duties; teachers appointed to inculcate piety & make charitable endowments. (Asoka was Buddhist?)
c.370 A.D.
Samudragupta added the Ganjam area of Kalinga to the Gupta Empire. Revival of Brahmanism. Golden Age of Hindu philosophy, literature, indigenous art & architecture. Western influence in coinage & astronomy, By the 4th century A.D. Arvan invaders had taken over all good land on plains of Orissa.

10-13th Centuries
Orissa's plains were part of a free prosperous kingdom stretching from Bengal to River Godavari. The Oriya Rajahs:-
1) supported the architects sculptors & painters who built the Hindu temples.
2) greatly respected Brahman scholars at court & rewarded them with gifts of land.

13-17th Centuries
Orissa's plains were overrun repeatedly by armies of the Muslim powers from Northern India, & so became part of the Mughal Empire by end of 17th C.

5 centuries of growing poverty led to economic destitution. Independent Rajahs in Orissa could give no further support to the arts, scholarship & religion. Thus upper caste Hindus, including Brahman, became unemployed, compelled to scatter & take up unaccustomed occupations, eg. stone-working, garden crops on plains, & ghettos of paddy cultivation (Oriya Hindu) in the best valleys on the eastern side of the Kond Hills.

c.1770 - The Mughal Emperor granted N.Orissa to the East India Company (British).

TURNING POINTS FOR THE KONDS
Most Konds (ancient Dravidian inhabitants) were pushed westwards & southwards off the plains into the foothills ('Benniah' Konds) and/or up to the hill-plateau ('Maliah' i.e. hill-Konds).

The Maliah Konds presumably lived for more than 1300 years in the hills - by hunting, gathering & slash-and-burn cultivation.

From the 17th Century onwards:

Practice: Konds of the eastern side of the hills gradually adopted paddy-growing from the incomer Oriyas (where any suitable land remained).

Theology: Konds ignored Hindu paddy-practices & corporately applied Konds theology to the stages of paddy-cultivation.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1835 - 1837</th>
<th>1837 - 1845</th>
<th>1846</th>
<th>End of 19th Century</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Rajah of Goomsur's rebellion &amp; flight resulted in the Goomsur Wars. East India Company discovers with horror that thousands of humans are constantly sacrificed in Goomsur ritual.</strong></td>
<td><strong>East India Company's long campaign to persuade the Konds to cease both human sacrifice and female infanticide - successful in Goomsur area.</strong></td>
<td><strong>European rule is established over the whole Kond Agency (hill-tracts).</strong></td>
<td><strong>Continuing government of the Agency by European heads with Oriya or Telugu assistants and clerks.</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**A Kond Turning Point**

**Confrontation with Europeans & with their guna. European policy of exterminating clan-heads.**

**Practice:** Elders explain that their ritual of human sacrifice is essential for fertility.

**Theology:** Human blood is necessary (as food for the Earth Goddess) for the wellbeing of "all the world".

**N.B.** No one person is responsible for the death, viz. the expiatory dialogue & united slashing of the flesh.

**1845 Kond Turning Point**

**Practice:** Konds sacrifice animal substitutes. (Very good harvests & good health among their children follow this first year of testing.)

**Theology:** Konds of Goomsur District make the united decision that Tari (Earth Goddess) is not greater than Bura God (Creator). They organise an act of unification of Kond religion between the Goomsur Konds and the former infanticide regions of Surada & Bodghoro.

**N.B.** This does not extend far into Chinna Kimedy nor to the Kuttia Konds, where Tari remains the supreme deity.

**1846 Kond Turning Point**

**Practice:** 50 years sees the new sacrifice of a buffalo-substitute firmly established (the occasional wavering lends localised groups to human sacrifice).

**Theology:** A revised form of invocation is in regular use reminding the Earth Goddess to blame the Europeans for the lack of human blood (N.B. Still in use by the Kuttia Konds & western areas that do not acknowledge Bura God's supremacy).

**Theology:** "Why have such a powerful & costly high-priesthood now that they are no longer needed for human sacrifice?"

**Practice:** "We can perform all the regular rituals for ourselves."

Thus the rise of the lay office of darni-keeper, with the darni remaining as the central shrine for every village. Corresponding decline of Jani high-priests.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Following several cold season visits, Baptist missionaries settle near Goomsur-Udnyagiri in 1909.</strong></td>
<td><strong>1947 India gains Independence.</strong></td>
<td><strong>1st national General Election, 1951.</strong></td>
<td><strong>2nd General Election, 1956.</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Rise &amp; development of many Pan Christian groups, with church buildings &amp; widespread organisation; a very few isolated Kond member-households.</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>1st national General Election, 1951.</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Turning Point for 2 widely separated Kond villages - Pokari &amp; Teravadhi.</strong></td>
<td><strong>1950 Turning Point for 2 widely separated Kond villages - Pokari &amp; Teravadhi.</strong></td>
<td><strong>1951 - a 3rd Kond village, Sametivadi, follows.</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Practice: In each of these villages several households together cast out their household gods &amp; ask for Christian teaching.</strong></td>
<td><strong>Theology: They become Christians, are baptised and join the predominantly Pan organisation of local churches.</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Theology: They make group decisions to become followers of &quot;The Great God&quot;, &quot;the True God&quot;, &quot;God Who is with Us&quot; &amp; join the Christian Church - though Pans are its educated leadership.</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Practice: They give away (to missionaries) or destroy their household gods.</strong></td>
<td><strong>Several thousands are baptised.</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX ONE
APPENDIX ONE

KOKD RITUALS

INDEX

A. RITUALS RECORDED 1836 - 1845 BY S.C. MACPHERSON

Worship of the First Class of Deities:

(1) Ritual for the God of War (No other versions) 422
(2) A Kond fight between two hostile clans 424
(3) Peace-making after war 426
(4) Song to the God of War 428

Rituals for Bura Penu, God of Light:

(5) The planting of the silk-cotton tree when founding a village 430
(6) The great yearly festival 431
(7) The dragging festival 432
(8) Bringing out the seed-paddy 433
(9) Legend: a religious war between the sects of Bura and Tari 434
(10) Ritual for the God of Increase and Gain 435
(11) Ritual for the God of Rain 436
(12) Ritual for the God of the Chase (See C(5) p.481) 438
(13) Ritual for the God of Boundaries (No other versions) 439

Worship of the Second Class: of Inferior Deities 441

Worship of the Third Class: of Nature Deities, etc. 441

(14) Ritual for the Household God (See more detailed account recorded by Stevenson, Vol.I pp.386-387)

(15) Ritual for the River God (No other versions) 441
(16) Ritual for the Hill God (See C(55) p.544) 441
(17) Ritual for the Village God (No other versions) 442
(18) Ritual for the God of Springs 442
(19) Ritual for the Goddess of Smallpox (See C(52) p.538) 443
(20) A 'raised up' marriage (See B(F-P) p.447; B(12) p.460; & C(26) p.499) 444

(21) Tiger-transformation (See C(64) p.550) 446

INDEX B

B. RITUALS RECORDED IN THE EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY

(F-P) Marriage Customs of the Khonds, recorded in 1901 by J.E. Friend-Fereira (See A(20) p.444; B(12) p.460; & C(26) p.499) 447

Rituals recorded c.1910-1915 by Kogera Prodhan, classified as described in Vol.I, Chapter IV:

(a) Rituals of Ordered Relationship Between God, Man and the Land:

(1) 'Opening up the beans' (No other versions) 453

(2) Griha (Mid)-Wet season ritual " " " 454

(3) 'Births' ritual (See Vol.II C(8) p.485) 455

(4) Millet harvest ritual (See C(11) p.489) 456

(5) Dry-rice harvest ritual (See C(12) p.489) 458

(6) Afflictions ritual (See C(13) p.490) 458

(7) Ritual to begin harvesting (Buda) paddy (See Sheets A(i) & A(ii) in Vol.I back pocket) 459

(8) (Paddy) Empty ears ritual (See Sheets B(i) & B(ii) in Vol.I back pocket) 459

(9) Threshing-floor ritual (See Sheets C(i) & C(ii) in Vol. I back pocket) 460

(10) The Day of Scattering (See Sheets D(i) & D(ii) in Vol.I back pocket) 460

(b) Rituals Seeking the Blessing and Co-operation
I of the Clan's Ancestors:

(11) Bullock ritual (See Sheets E(i) & E(ii) in Vol.I back pocket) 460

II of the Clan or Village's Founding Fathers

(None recorded by Kogera)
III of Clan-Ancestors in Matters Involving Other Clans

(12) A 'raised up' marriage (See A(20) p.444; B(3-P) p.447; & C(26) p.499) 460

(13) Taking a secondary wife (No other versions) 463

(c) Rituals to Guard Against Diminishment Through Pollution

(14) Pregnancy Care (See C(33) p.512) 465

(No others recorded by Kogera)

(a) Rituals in Life-Destroying Situations

I Due to Disturbed Spirits:

(15) Bad Humour Dance (See Sheets G(i) & G(ii) in Vol.I back pocket) 467

(16) Doha for fever (See C(54) p.543) 467

(17) 'Heats' ritual (See C(34) p.513) 468

(18) Buffalo Ritual (See C(9) p.488) 469

II Due to Man's Ill-Will

(19) Cure for Evil-Eye (See Sheets H(i) & H(ii) in Vol.I back pocket) 470

(e) Socio-Political Rituals of Justification & Reparation

(20) Ordeal by boiling water (See C(68) p.552) 471

(No others recorded by Kogera)

(21) A Kond Myth: How Dura God Gave Sago-Palm Toddy and Divination to the Konds (No other versions) 473

(22) A Pan Ritual for Patkondo Peru, God of all Pans 475

INDEX C

C. RITUALS RECORDED IN THE MID-TWENTIETH CENTURY by Barbara M.Boal, classified as described in Vol.I, Chap.IV

Two sub-ceremonies of purification:

(1) Plastering the House-Floor (Gruhka) (No other versions) 478

(2) Changing the Cooking Pots (Tekinga Maspa) " " 479
(a) **Rituals of Ordered Relationship Between God, Man and the Land:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Ritual Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>Casting out the hoes (No other versions)</td>
<td>480</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>'Festival Ritual' (Mentioned but not described by Kogera)</td>
<td>481</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(5)</td>
<td>Hunting ritual (See A(12) p.438)</td>
<td>481</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(6)</td>
<td>Wild fruits ritual (No other versions)</td>
<td>483</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(7)</td>
<td>Mango-flour ritual</td>
<td>484</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(8)</td>
<td>'Births' ritual (See B(3) p.455)</td>
<td>485</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(9)</td>
<td>Buffalo ritual (See B(15) p.469)</td>
<td>488</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(10)</td>
<td>Xori ritual when paddy-grain forms (No other versions)</td>
<td>488</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(11)</td>
<td>Millet harvest ritual (See B(4) p.456)</td>
<td>489</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(12)</td>
<td>Dry-rice harvest ritual (See B(5) p.458)</td>
<td>489</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(13)</td>
<td>Afflictions ritual (See B(6) p.458)</td>
<td>490</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(14)</td>
<td>Ritual for harvesting the paddy-fields (See Sheets A(ii) &amp; A(i) in Vol.1 back pocket)</td>
<td>491</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(15)</td>
<td>Bullock ritual (See Sheets B(ii) &amp; B(i) in Vol.1 back pocket)</td>
<td>491</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(16)</td>
<td>Threshing floor ritual (See Sheets C(ii) &amp; C(i) in Vol.1 back pocket)</td>
<td>491</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(17)</td>
<td>The Day of Scattering (See Sheets D(ii) &amp; D(i) in Vol.1 back pocket)</td>
<td>491</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(18)</td>
<td>Hill-lentil harvest ritual (No other versions)</td>
<td>492</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(19)</td>
<td>Cow-byre ritual</td>
<td>492</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(b) **Rituales Seeking the Blessing and Co-operation of the Clan's Ancestors:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Ritual Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(20)</td>
<td>Bullock ritual (See Sheets B(ii) &amp; B(i) in Vol.1 back pocket)</td>
<td>493</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(21)</td>
<td>Ritual for the lineage group's spirits (No other versions)</td>
<td>493</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(22)</td>
<td>Setting up the ancestors' shrine in a new home</td>
<td>496</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(23)</td>
<td>Bringing home the new ancestor after a death (See C(42) p.525: Ritual for a normal death: third day)</td>
<td>497</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
II of the Clan or Village's Founding Fathers:

(24) Removal of a village to a new site (No other versions) 497

(25) Changing the darni-keeper " " " 498

III of the Clan's Ancestors in Matters involving other Clans:

(26) A 'raised up' marriage (See A(20) p.444; B(P-P) p.447; & B(12) p.460) 499

(27) A 'ground-level' marriage (No other versions) 504

(28) Showing an infant to its maternal kin " " " 507

(29) Rituals to Guard Against Diminishment Through Pollution

(29) Hearths (No other versions) 508

(30) Concerning menstruation " " " 509

Purification for re-entry into the tribe and clan:

(31) - after marrying outside the tribe (No other versions) 510

(32) - after maggot-infestation of a sore " " " 511

Three pregnancy rituals:

(33) - Tying the thread (See B(14) p.465) 512

(34) - 'Heats' ritual (See B(17) p.468) 513

(35) - Hysteria in pregnancy (No other versions) 514

(36) Giving birth " " " 515

(37) - Purification and ritual re-entry into the family after giving birth (No other versions) 516

Rituals for children:

(38) - Blessing a beaten child " " " 518

(39) - Treatment for wearing the first cloth " " " 518

(40) - Remedial care for a girl born facing the back of the house (No other versions) 519

(41) - Tattooing of face " " " 519

Rituals concerning death:

(42) - Normal death " " " 521
(43) - 'Unripe' (untimely) deaths  (No other versions)  528
Community purification from 'unripe' death:
(44) - by tiger-kill  (No other versions)  530
(45) - in childbirth  " " "  532
(46) - of a new-born infant  " " "  534
(47) - by hanging, drowning, falling from a tree or murder  (No other versions)  535
(48) - leprosy  " " "  536
(49) - incest  " " "  536
(a) Rituals in Life-Destroying Situations
   I Due to Disturbed Spirits:
(50) Iron God ritual (formerly God of War) (No other versions)  536
(51) Bad Humour Dance  (See Sheets G(ii) & G(i) in Vol. I back pocket)  538
(52) Smallpox Foha for whole district  (No other versions)  538
(53) Vaccination Foha (modern)  " " "  542
(54) Foha for fevers, cholera, etc.  (See B(16) p.467)  543
(55) Ritual for the Hill God (sacred grove) (No other versions)  544
   and note regarding gods of springs, rivers etc.  (See A(15) (16) (18) p.441-442)
   II Due to Man's Ill-Will:
(56) Evil-eye, and  544
(57) To counter evil-eye  (See Sheets H(ii) & H(i) in Vol. I back pocket)  544
(58) Witchcraft  (No other versions)  545
(59) Treatment of illnesses of suspected witchcraft origin  (No other versions)  546
(60) Sorcery  " " "  548
(61) Treatment: sucking out the 'grit'  " " "  548
(62) Curse  " " "  549
(63) Counter-curse  " " "  549
(64) Tiger-transformation (See A(21) p.446) 550

(e) Socio-Political Rituals of Justification and Reparation

Trials by Ordeal:

(65) - Walking the fire-trench (See Vol.I pp.25-26) 550
(66) - Ducking in water (No other versions) 551
(67) - Holding the red-hot iron bar " " " 552
(68) - Ordeal by boiling water (See B(20) p.471) 552
(69) - Drinking the soil (No other versions) 554
(70) Casting a (preventive) spell " " " 554
(71) Spell-reversal ritual " " " 555
(72) Slaying the lizard " " " 555
(73) Holding the leprosy-like jungle-creep " " " 556
(74) Splitting the mango stone " " " 556
(75) Hand-beating " " " 556

Five oaths to prove innocence:

(76) - Lighting the lamp " " " 556
(77) - Touching one's child " " " 557
(78) - Touching one's eye " " " 557
(79) - Dissolving salt " " " 557
(80) - Breaking the egg " " " 557

Five oaths concerning theft

(81) - The exposing test " " " 557
(82) - Razor-fragments oath " " " 558
(83) - Swinging the tiger-firebrand " " " 558
(84) - Giving the grains of rice " " " 558
(85) - Carrying God's book on the head " " " 559
WORSHIP OF THE FIRST CLASS OF DEITIES

(1) RITUAL FOR THE GOD OF WAR (lit: Iron God) - LOHA LAKA

TIME: Loha Penu becomes highly incensed if war is not declared when the maintenance of rights requires it. His wrath results in the ravages of tigers & of disease. When such signs appear he must be worshipped before any battle (a) between clans, (b) between friends & foreign enemies; but he never presides over contests within a clan.

Note: A grove sacred to the God of War is only found above certain villages.

SPECIALIST & HIS ACTIONS

OTHERS INVOLVED

1. Elders assemble & deliberate. They review their group's past history to discover the breach of laws that may have offended Loha Penu.
2. If they determine to go to war with the enemy
3. They call the priest,
4. & all the fighting men of the clan ritually wash & dress their hair.
5. Priest, elders & warriors take a fowl, rice & arrack to the grove sacred to Loha Penu where lie an ancient piece of iron +, an ancient bow & arrows & iron war-drum. These lie buried, their tips appearing just above ground, but they emerge a little further before a battle & subside when it is concluded.
6. The priest takes the fowl, rice & arrack & invokes all the other deities to assemble & witness proceedings.
7. Then he prays to Loha Penu: 1
8. Then all the men snatch up their arms.
9. The priest commands silence & recites the myth 2 & invocation 3:
10. After it, he cries: "Now arm & march!"
11. He accompanies them to the enemy's boundary.
12. There by sickle-divination he selects first a warrior then an arrow from that warrior's bundle.
13. The warrior shoots the arrow over the enemy's boundary
14. Then men lop a branch from a tree in enemy territory & carry it off.
15. Priest & warriors return to the village.
16. There the headman dresses the branch in clothes & arms,
17. sets it up to impersonate the enemy
18. & calls upon the God of Light (Bura) & all the other gods: 4
19. Then all the warriors about their prayer-request: 5
20. They all take the dressed-up branch to Loha Penu's grove & throw it down at his shrine.

Note: They must then give their enemies full time to complete similar rites before they attack them.

+ Believed to be a relic of the time when the Earth Goddess introduced 'poison' into iron, amongst other evils giving it the power to kill.
1. **Invocation**  "O God of War!

We have doubtless omitted to give battle, it may be through forgetfulness of your laws, or through weakness, or through considering too much the immature age of our youth, or the scantiness of our provisions; but now from the ravages of tigers, from the fevers, the diseases of the eye, the ulcers & the pains in every limb from which we suffer, we conceive that you indicate to us that you have given us sufficient strength, provisions & wisdom for war.

We bring to you our weapons. You have made them strong, now make them keen! We go out to fight our enemies. Send home the erring shaft! Send our stones straight to the mark! Let our axes crush cloth & bone as the jaws of the hyena crush its prey!

Make the wounds we give to gape! Let our little men slay big men! When the wounds of our enemies heal, let lameness remain! Let their stones and arrows fall on us as softly as the flowers of the mohua tree fall in the wind! Let our wounds heal as quickly as the blood drops from them on the ground! Make the weapons of our enemies as brittle as the long pods of the karta tree.

You are our War God. Do you thus aid with your strength us & our allies (named). May the weapons of all of us when we return from the fight be changed in hue. May our women be proud & happy to serve food in battle to brave men like us, so that when other clans shall hear of their happiness & pride, they shall desire to unite their women to us.

May we plunder in victory the villages of our foes of bullocks & tobacco & brass vessels, which our women may bear proudly as presents to their parents.

O Loha Penui!

We worship you with fowls & goats & hogs & buffaloes.

We only ask for the aid you gave to our fathers in past fights (naming them) & no new thing. We are their children!"

2. **Myth about the origins of war**:

"In the first time, when the God of Light created the hills & the woods & the streams great and small, & the plains & the rocks & the boundaries, & the tame animals & the game of the forests, & man, then too he made the iron of these weapons, but the hands of our forefathers did not know how to use them.

There was a mother, Umbally Bylee (i.e. Amali Baeli) with two children Allonguarr (Ulang Kuara) & Patanguarra (Patang Kuara), warriors. They came to her one day all wounded & with bleeding breasts. She said: "What has befallen you?" They answered: "We have been fighting outside people with sword-grass." Their mother cured their wounds & said: "It is an improper way of fighting. Do not fight so again." A few days after, the children came again covered with burs & spikes of grass as goats are covered with hair, & said: "We have fought the outside people with bur (or spear) grass." Their mother cured them & said: "This mode of fighting is improper. Bring the iron of the Hindu country & make blades for axes & for arrows, & take the damun-tree for axe-handles, & make bows of the thornless bamboo, & wind skins & cloth round the body, & adorn the head with feathers, & go forth to fight. Then shall you become awakened & improved, & cloth & salt & sugar will come to you, & you will see men of different nations & different minds." And they made arrows of this form, & went out to battle, & on both sides very many fell."
Then the children came & said to their mother: "Mother! We have obeyed your orders & very many have died, none of the wounded have lived! We cannot endure the deadly keenness of this iron." She answered: "My child, it is not the fault of the weapons that all whom they wound die. The destructive (or terrible) goddess who made the iron what it is mingled in its composition no drop of pity. Heat the iron in the fire & beat it." They did so & it became changed, & it slew only those who were ready to die. The mother then said: "Make your arrows henceforth in another form. This arrow, with whatever skill you may shoot, will slay those only who are ready to die."

And this form has remained & to this day it has defended every man's boundaries & property & rights."

3. Invocation: "O God of War! Now give to our arms the qualities of the first merciless iron, Then shall we be rich in every form of wealth, And we will pay to you the richest worship."

4. Invocation to Bura God & all the other gods:
"Bear witness that in all these proceedings we have conformed to the rules of the God of War, that victory is therefore now due to us, & that our sufferings from tigers, from fevers & from every pain ought to cease!"

5. Warriors' shout: "To suffer death we do not object, but, O gods! Let us not be mutilated in battle! We are the children of such & such great ancestors (naming them). Ye gods! Raise our name by giving us victory!"

[WM. Macpherson's footnote p.362: 'A drawing would be necessary to explain the difference between the two forms of arrow-heads.']

(2) A KHOND FIGHT between the hostile clans of Baro Muta & Bura Dea whose separating boundary is the Salki River - from an eye-witness description given to Macpherson (pp.79-80)

The warriors' dress: - they are protected from neck to loins by skins; - a cloth wound round their legs to the heel. - The arms are quite bare. - Many wind cloths round their heads (also binding wild buffalo horns to their temples.)

+ Baro Muta is the clan-area in which both Kogera Prothan's rituals (1910-1915) and B. MacBeal's rituals (1966) are based a century later.
Khond arms:
- a light long-handled axe with curiously curved blade,
- the bow & arrow;
- the sling.
No shields are used; the axe is used with both hands to strike & to guard, its handle being partly defended by brass plates & wire.

For distinction the people of Baro Muta wore peacock feathers in their head-cloths; those of Bura Des wore cocks’ tail plumes.

ATTACKERS FROM BURA DES (B.D.)
DEFENDERS OF BARO MUTA (B.M.)

1st day, about noon:
1. The people of B.D. began to advance in a mass across the Salki River into the plain of Aourmingia . . . . .
   2. Where a much smaller force was arrayed to oppose them.

3. They advanced with horns blowing & hollow drums beating when they passed a village.
   On both sides:
5. the women followed behind carrying pots of water & food;
6. also the old men, too old to bear arms but giving advice & encouragement;
7. and each army’s own priest.

As the adverse parties approached:
8. The women handed stones for the slings.
9. Showers of stones flew from either side.
10. When they came within range, arrows flew.
11. Many fell back wounded.

At length:
12. Single combats sprang up between individuals who had advanced ahead of the rest.
13. When the first man fell, all rushed to dip their axes in his blood
14. & hack the body to pieces.
15. The first man to slay his opponent while remaining unwounded himself, struck off the opponent’s right arm
16. & rushed with it to his priest at the rear,
17. The priest took it to Loha Penti’s grove as an offering.
18. The right arm of the rest of the slain were similarly cut off
19. but heaped at the rear beside the women.
20. The wounded were also carried there for care,
21. & fatigued men constantly retired for water.

Gradually:
22. The entire conflict became hand-to-hand fighting,
23. at times fierce; at times pausing by common consent for a moment’s breathing.

In the end:
24. The attackers (B.D.) though greater in numbers began to give way
25. The B.M. warriors drove them back across the Salki
26. leaving 60 B.D. dead on the field,
27. while B.M. lost about 30.
28. An equal number of the wounded died later owing to Khond ignorance of healing.
29. The right hands of the slain were hung up by both parties on the trees of the villages
30. & the dead were carried off to be burned.

2nd Day: morning
31. B.D. warriors flung a piece of bloody cloth on to the battlefield as a challenge to renew the conflict.
32. B.K. warriors quickly accepted it.

3rd Day: ditto
So the contest was kept up for 3 days.

Note: (Macpherson, p.81) 'Though hostility is modified by special compacts, war is still the rule & peace the exception. Hence, while within each clan order & security prevail, beyond, all is discard & confusion; everywhere is seen an incipient or dying feud, & every clan has an unsettled account against the zemindar.'

(3) PEACE-MAKING AFTER WAR

TIME: When the 2 parties are tired of contest & wish for peace (also because the rains arrive so cultivation becomes urgent.)

SPECIALIST & HIS ACTIONS

1. They make their wish known to some friendly clan
2. Who send 3 or 4 old men to act as mediators.
3. These visit one side (Group A) to learn their feelings.
4. Then the other side (Foe) to persuade them to make peace.
5. The foe reply in this strain: "Peace & war is not in our hands but in the hands of the god: & if he requires war the arrows will fly of their own accord from our bows.
6. Mediators reply: "This is true; but we pray you that if the arrows do not fly, you will put all hostility away & worship the gods."
7. They also propose that the foe ascertain god's will in their presence,
8. & persuade them to send word to their enemies of their intention to do this
9. & to suggest that Group A do likewise.
10. Each side then sends 2 old men to witness the ceremony & to observe the minds of their opponents.
11. The priest sets out a basket of rice in his house (or the headman's)
12. & places upright in it the ancient arrow of Loha Fenu.
13. If it falls, the peace ritual may proceed.
14. The whole population go to the range.

15. The Priest carries some rice & 2 eggs.
16. invokes the witness-presence of all the other gods.
17. then calls upon Loha Penu asking him to make his will plain.
18. Then he fills a dish with hog's fat, 
sticks a cotton wick in it & lights it.
19. If the flame burns straight, it is war; 
""" curved, "" peace.

3rd Test:
20. The priest turns an earthen pot, used for ritual offerings, upside down.
21. & puts some rice on the inverted bottom of it.
22. Then he tries if an egg will stand in the rice,
23. while addressing Loha Penu thus: 2
24. No new answer is then required of Loha Penu.

The Peace Dance
Negotiations proceed through a long course until the hosts of both sides join for 3 or 4 hours in the Peace Dance. All (men, women & children) are frantic with excitement, conceiving it to be inspired by Loha Penu & thus impious to resist it.

Note: The joy of the peace dance is regarded as the very highest joy attainable on earth, & the exhaustion which follows it is considered to demand 15 days' repose.

1. Invocation: "O Loha Penu!
You aided us in this fight to prevent our dishonour, or because your will was war, or that our enemies might not rise upon our heads, or you engaged us in this war to prevent our being occupied with the service of pernicious gods, or your reason is one proceeding from your divine mind which is hid from us, or perhaps you preferred that we should die by war rather than in any other way, or it may be that the smiths, the weavers & the distillers solicited you apart for their benefit that there should be war, or it may have been that you were angry that our arms hung rusty in our houses, or it may be that the jungle yams complained that they were being extirpated in the forests, where all penetrate fearlessly in times of peace.
Or did the honey-bees complain that they had no life from persecution in the leisure of the long peace? Or the bullocks that they were dying beneath the yoke in clearing new land? Or did the birds & beasts of the forest complain that they were suffering extirpation? Or is it that the paths to our friends' houses are worn into stream-beds by the feet of passers to & fro, & that they prayed for war? Or is it your reason that there have been breaches of solemn engagements?
From whatsoever cause, & through whosoever - whether smith, honey-bee, breach of engagement, etc. - this war arose, all now seek peace. This is the disposition of our minds. Do you make plain to us the meaning of the sign of your will."
2. Invocation: "O God of War! Explain these signs;
But if they are for peace, do not therefore become inattentive.
Give us full strength to the very end, until we & our enemies
to the last man have laid down our arms; and do you support
us in future, through all generations, as you do now.
If we shall have peace now, we shall provide liberally for your
worship & increase your service. We your servants pray you to
make the minds of all consent to this peace. Do you ascertain
distinctly the minds of our enemies, & of their gods, & act
accordingly. And let there be perfect harmony in our hearts;
& may our feet raise such a cloud of dust in the Peace Dance
that it shall not settle in 3 days even though the skies
should flood the earth:
O Loha Pennu! upon that day
Let there be no rain, & no trouble in childbirth.

(4)
SONG TO THE GOD OF WAR
'the most devoutly worshipped God in the Kond pantheon' (Macpherson 1836-37)
rendered into English by the well-known D.L.R. 'lately' (i.e. 1848) appeared in columns of Hurkara & now quoted in The Calcutta Review Vol. V, No. IX, pp.55-56.

1
Great God of battles, oh, forgive
(For Thou our wants & weakness saw)
If we so long have seemed to live
Regardless of thy glorious law;
Our herds were few, our fields were bare,
Our bravest warriors bowed with care.

2
But how fate scowlith on the foe,
And famine haunts each cot & bower,
And some the fever blasts lay low
And some the gaunt wild beasts devour;
Unnerved is many a manly limb
And many a youthful eye is dim.

3
Oh Laha Pennu, Lord of strife,
Watch all our weapons as thine own,
And at each mark of mortal life
Direct the shaft & hurl the stone;
Make wide the wounds on every frame,
Deface the dead, the living maim.

+ A mis-spelling of Loha (Iron); not laha (lazv).
B.M.B.
Oh, let our ponderous axes fall
Like blows of death from tiger’s paws,
Or crush bone, flesh and garb & all,
As ’twixt the fierce hyaena’s jaws;
Let arms not ours as brittle be
As long pods of the Karta tree.

Each aim misguide, unnerve each hand
Of those to mock our might that dare,
Make all their weapons light as sand,
Or kowa blossoms borne on air;
Or let our wounds quick dry again
As blood drops on the dusty plain.

May every axe wear ruddy hue
As home we pant from vict’ry’s field;
And while woman, proud & true,
Their stores of sweet refreshment yield,
May neighbouring beauties seek our bowers,
And yearn to mix their blood with ours.

Our war-gained wealth let all behold,
Brass vessels, herds & scented leaf,
And Maids present to parents old
The trophies of our struggles brief;
And fowl & buffaloe & sheep
Thy shrine in sacred blood shall steep.

Oh Laha Pennu, God of war,
Not new the favor now we crave;
For they fierce smile, like lurid star,
Oft led to strife our fathers brave;
And we their sons, when danger lours,
Still hail their honored God & ours.

+ A mis-spelling of Loha (Iron); not Laha (lazy).
RITUALS FOR BURA PENU*, GOD OF LIGHT OR OF THE SUN.

(5) THE PLANTING OF THE SILK-COTTON TREE

TIME: At the foundation of a village, or on changing the site of an old one.

Note: In the Bura-worshipping area the shrine for the Village God (Neju Penu) is simply a stone placed under the great silk-cotton tree that stands in or near every village - being planted at the foundation of every village and regarded with veneration.

SPECIALIST & HIS ACTIONS

1. The elders call the village priest
2. and fix a day for the ceremony
3. The priest brings from the jungle the stem of a young cotton tree 6-8 feet long, with its root & top cut off but all its twigs retained & its long sharp thorns unbroken (older trees lose these).
4. All the people assemble
5. with dancing & music,
6. & much fermented rice (kenna)
7. The priest enters the village and says to the young tree: "I bring you by the order of Bura Penu, who commanded us to build the village, as did such & such gods" (naming 10 or 12).
8. Priest & elders dig a hole in which the tree is planted.

About 2 days later:
9. The priest (by trance or divination) ascertains whether the Village God requires a hog or buffalo
10. The men provide the animal
11. All assemble by the young tree.

The following 'rude masque' takes place:

12. An old man of stupid & clownish look comes out of the village to join the people.
13. He asks the priest: "What, I pray you, may be the meaning of the planting of this stick?"

14. The priest replies: "If you don't know, friend, you must assuredly be a great block - a mere jungle-stick-yourself! And how, 0 friend block, may I ask, did you find legs to bring you hither? You must have acquired them in some wonderful way. But since you are come to us I will enlighten you & make a man of you. Know then that when Bura Penu first ordained that villages should exist, he gave us the tree which you now see planted, for a model in all these respects; that our families should spread like the branches of the great tree, strongly &

* The ritual for Tari Penu, the human/buffalo sacrifice, is not described in this Appendix as it is fully discussed in Vol.I, Chapter III (c).
widely; that our women should resemble its lovely & glowing red flowers; that, as the birds are attracted by the love of those sweet flowers, so the youths of neighbouring clans should come, attracted by our young daughters that as of the flowers of this tree not one falls barren but all unblighted bear fruit, so should it be with our women; that our sons should in their youth be rough, sharp & keen like the young branches of this tree, which are covered with thorns; but that as those thorns disappear with age, so should they become smooth & cool when youth is past. And lastly, this tree is given us as an example that we should live as long as it, a most long-lived tree. Bura Penu thus ordained & gave us this model tree."

15. The old man then says: "And for what purpose, I pray, is this hog (or buffalo)?"

16. The priest replies: "One places things which are of value on a stand. We place flesh upon leaves (i.e. plates); rice in vessels of earth or metal; a man rests upon a couch; and this animal is an offering upon which the commands of the deity may rest."

17. Then they kill the animal victim,
18. mix some of its dung with straw & put it on the cut top of the tree
19. (cooked food-portion offered to Naju Penu) &
20. (a village feast)

(6) GREAT YEARLY FESTIVAL - SALO KALLO
('Salo' in Oriya = cattle byre; kallo (kalu) = arrack liquor).

TIME: paddy harvest (time of greatest human sacrifice in Tari Sect).
PLACE: celebrated by every clan, lineage group & village as a great social rite in which everyone takes part. Representatives go from every village to the clan chief's celebration.

CELEBRANT: only a fully instructed priest.

LENGTH: 5 days

SPECIALIST & HIS ACTIONS
1. All the community gathers together
2. The priest recites the story of the creation of the world & of man, including: - the contest between Bura & his rebel consort Tari, & - the acceptance of evil by all mankind except the few who were deified, & - the fall into a state of brutish degradation & the creation of inferior deities.
In the worship of Bura Penu alone of all the gods an offering is not absolutely required but it is never omitted, so:
3. They obtain a hog (considered the most valuable victim)
4. The priest selects the cattle-pen for the sacrifice.
5. He & the elders hang up the hog by its hind legs.
6. When stabbed in the neck, its blood scatters widely around
7. While the priest prays to Bura
   to confer every kind of benefit.
8. & each individual prays for the
   good he specially desires.

(7)

THE DRAGGING FESTIVAL - JAKRI LAKA

PURPOSE: To commemorate the interference of Bura by the agency of a
   minor god who dragged forth a buffalo to be sacrificed
   instead of a man as an oblation to Tari.

WORSHIPPERS: Everyone in the clan or lineage group, a festive occasion
   lasting several days.

SPECIALIST & HIS ACTIONS

   1. The elders select a bull buffalo,
      consecrating it from its birth.
   2. They allow it to range at will
      over all fields & pastures until 5 or 6 yrs. old
   3. They fasten several ropes to its
      neck & hind legs
   4. About 50 men seize the ropes &
      rush about with the animal until it is brought
      up exhausted at the tree of sacrifice.

   Day 1

   5. There the priest declares its submission to be a miracle;
   6. and he recites the legend of the origin of the rite:

   Note: These Khonds believe that natural tigers kill game only to benefit
   men, for they generally find it only partly devoured & share it;
   while man-eaters are either Tari in tiger form for purposes of
   wrath or men aided by a god to assume tiger-form (Mleea tigers).

   "The woman Umbally Bylee appeared as a tiger & killed game
   every other day & all ate of it. There was at that time a fight between
   the people of Kotrika & those of Mundika. But it was private strife
   carried on in womanish fashion before the art of taking life & that
   of public battle were known. Umbally Bylee said: "I will kill any
   one of your enemies you please." They said to her: "Kill so & so,"
   & she went as a Mleea tiger & killed him. Then the people placed
   unbounded faith in her & said to her: "Teach us this new knowledge &
   show us the art of killing." She replied: "I will teach you but thence¬
   forward you must do one thing." And she accordingly taught the art
   of Mleea to a few so that they practised it, & then she said: "Now
   you must worship me by the sacrifice of men, or the earth shall sink
   beneath your feet & water shall rise in its place & will abandon you."
   The earth heaved terribly, as some think, from the wrath of Bura Penu;
   some, in obedience to the power of the Earth Goddess. Fear filled
   the minds of all & as directed, they set up a pole beyond the village
   & brought human victims & all was prepared for the sacrifice. But now
   the God of Light sent a god bearing a mountain who straightway buried
   Umbally Bylee therewith & dragged forth a buffalo from the jungle, &
   said: "Liberate the man & sacrifice the buffalo. I will teach you the
   art of Mleea in every form." And he taught that art & the art of public
   war."
7. The priest continues with numerous recitals in honour of the God of Light, including this account of another interposition of Bura by the agency of defeated sinless men, gods of the clans.

The Earth Goddess taking on herself the shape of a woman & calling to herself a number of attendants of a like nature, came to the hill country & said to the people: "See what hills & waste lands & jungles are here; worship me with human blood & the whole shall become a cultivated plain & you shall have vast increase of numbers & wealth." She thus tempted the people, there being no greater temptation to hold out. Then the God of Light beholding her proceedings, sent Mahang Meru & Kopung Meru, Adi Ponga & Boru Ponga, gods of clans, to counteract her. We had prepared everything for the sacrifice of a man when the agents of Bura wounded with the forked axe two of the attendants of Tari. The woman Umbally Rylee, seeing the hand of the God of Light, fled instantly with the wounded towards Kourmingia. In that tract there was a great lake & an island in the midst where they settled, & there they fed on greens & other mud produce. We followed to attack them but could not on account of the water & returned.

(Then is related the fall into the great sin of human sacrifice)....

Now Tari made a way for the waters of the lake through the hills & it became dry; & Tari said to the people: "See the power of my divinity! Worship me with the blood I require." And the people believed in her power & performed the required worship & became like savage beasts, until by intercourse with us, as in receiving wives, they became civilised.

8. The priest generally recites (as at the 'Salo Kallo') the history of the conquest of the Earth Goddess by Bura.

9. The priest then offers up prayers for every benefit

10. & finally slaughters the buffalo at the sacrificial tree.

11. Every form of wild festivities continues, with drinking, eating, frantic dancing & loud music.

(8)

**BRINGING OUT THE SEED-PADDY**

**TIME:** At the beginning of the ploughing season (April-May)

**SPECIALISTS & THEIR ACTIONS**

1. The representative of the first ancestor of the clan (whether actual chief or not) & the priest go out to a (paddy) field.

2. The priest invokes Bura & all the other gods

3. & offers a fowl with rice & arrack, saying:

Invocation: 

"O Bura God! & O Tari Goddess!

& all other gods (naming them)!

You, O Bura God, created us giving us the attribute of hunger; thence corn-food was necessary to us & thence was necessary producing fields. You gave us every seed & ordered us to use bullocks, to make ploughs & to plough. Had we not received this art, we might still indeed have existed upon the natural fruits of the jungle & the plain, but in our destitution we could not have performed your worship. Remembering this - the connexion betwixt our wealth & your honour - do you grant the prayers which we now offer.
In the morning we rise before the light to our labour carrying the seed. Save us from the tiger & the snake & from stumbling blocks. Let the seed appear earth to the eating birds & stones to the eating animals of the earth. Let the grain spring up suddenly like a dry stream that is swelled in a night. Let the earth yield to our ploughshares as wax melts before hot irons. Let the baked clods melt like hailstones. Let our ploughs spring through the furrows with a force like the recoil of a bent tree. Let there be such a return from our seed that so much shall fall & be neglected in the fields, & so much on the road carrying it home, that when we shall go out next year to sow, the paths & the fields shall look like a young cornfield. Let us continue to receive it. Remember that the increase of our produce is the increase of your worship & that its diminution must be the diminution of your rites."

(9) Legend: A RELIGIOUS WAR BETWEEN THE SECTS OF BURA & TARI

'a specimen of a large class of Khond legends recited at festivals in honour of Bura' (Macpherson, p.111).

'Long ago the people of Bura Fenu resolved for his honour to make war upon the tribes which worship Tari with human sacrifices. The followers of Bura chose for their enterprise the month of the year in which human victims are chiefly offered & their army moved into Deegi in the country of the people of Tari.

Difficulties however arose in another quarter which obliged them first to break up their force & eventually to postpone their understand ing until the same month of the next year; but they resolved to maintain their ground in Deegi by leaving there the two great leaders named Dorgoma & Kitchima, with a small party.

The tribes which offer human sacrifices then took counsel together & determined that it was absolutely necessary to destroy that detach ment & its leaders; for said they: "If they shall be permitted to remain, ere the return of the invading army they will have learned all our secret plans & become perfectly acquainted with our country." The people of the Earth Goddess accordingly assembled a vast host, every man of which carried a load of ashes, while the women attended with provisions, & they appeared like a swarm of bees upon the hills above the small party of the people of the God of Light.

The two leaders of that party said to their men: "We two are here for the glory of the God of Light & by the order of the clans who are party to this enterprise, & we must live or die. But no such obligation lies upon you. You are at perfect liberty to save your lives." Of their men a few then returned home & a part retired to some distance, while the rest declared that they would die with their chiefs.

These then prayed thus to their God: "O God of Light! You prevailed in the contest with the Earth Goddess - that is our first ground of hope. Again when the Earth Goddess & her ministers came to delude us into her worship, you sent the divine four who drove her from our country; this is our second ground of hope. We have come here to establish your power, & if we shall perish your authority will be diminished, your past superiority will be forgotten. O give us arms!"
As they prayed, a great wind rushed from a cavern in the side of the hill called Oldura & scattered to the four quarters of the earth the ashes which the host of the Earth Goddess had brought to overwhelm the band of Dura God.

In evidence of these events the wind roars from that cavern until this day; while the brave chiefs & brave men who stood by them obtained possession of Deegi, & that rich tract is now divided amongst five or six clans, their descendants.

With respect to the projected invasion, it was determined by the triumphant people of the God of Light, after mature deliberation, to forego it. It was considered that no good could possibly arise from attacking the people of the Earth Goddess for - they are like the red ants - however much you may cherish them, they will continue to sting you; while if you kill them, what is gained?

The remaining rituals recorded by Macpherson (see (10) to (21) below) refer to all Konds of both the Sects of Dura and Tari.

(10) RITUAL FOR THE GOD OF INCREASE & GAIN - FITTERI PENU LAKA

Note: The name of this ritual is dependent upon its site in each case: e.g. The Mahua Tree Ritual, or the Pond-side Ritual, etc.

SPECIALIST & HIS ACTIONS OTHERS INVOLVED

1st Day
1. They get a Pan to make a new basket
2. then set it on sticks tied to bamboo rollers.
3. The priest takes this 'cart' to the house of the lineal head (for correct precedence must be observed in all agricultural rituals).
4. His household contributes a little of every kind of seed & some feathers.
5. So does every household in the village.
6. The priest & elders take the basket of grains to a field outside the village.
7. accompanied by all the young men, who beat each other & strike the air violently with long sticks.
8. They call this seed the share of "evil spirits, spoilers of the seed" so they carry these evil spirits out with the basket.
9. They abandon the basket & its contents to the evil spirits, who thus have no excuse for interfering with the rest of the seed-grain.

2nd Day
10. The head of each house slays a hog &
11. sprinkles the blood over his seed-grain
12. while invoking Fitteri Penu 
13. These elders feast on mahua spirit and hog-flesh.
14. The young men in revenge for their exclusion from the good cheer, enjoy the privilege of waylaying & pelting them with jungle fruits as they return from the feast.

3rd Day
15. The lineal head goes out to sow his seed,
16. then all the rest sow theirs.
1. **Invocation:** "O Pitteri Penu! This seed we shall sow tomorrow. Some of us, your suppliants, will have a great return, some a small return. Let the least favoured have a full basket, let the most favoured have many baskets! Give not this seed to ant or rat or hog. Let the stems which shall spring from it be so stout that the earth shall tremble under them! Let the rain find no hole nor outlet whereby to escape from our fields! Make the earth soft like the ashes of cowdung. To him who has no iron wherewith to shoe his plough, make the wood of the dhon-tree like iron. Provide other food than our seed for the parrot, the crow & all the fowls & beasts of the jungle. Let not the white ant destroy the roots, nor the wild hog crush the stem to get at the fruit; & make our crops of all kinds have a better flavour than those of any other country. We are unskilled in adapting our seeds to different soils; give us wisdom to suit them to each other.

Thou art a god created by Bura Penu.

O Pitteri Penu! If pleased, your bounty is boundless.
Be gracious to us!"

(11)

**RITUAL FOR THE GOD OF RAIN - PLJU PENU**

**TIME:** when it is resolved to invoke the God of Rain (i.e. April-May)

**PLACE:** Because the Rain God is necessarily regarded as the great cause of vegetation, his worship is in practice closely identified with that of Burbi Penu, goddess of new vegetation. So his rites are usually held at her shrine, i.e. a stone or tree near every village.

**SPECIALIST & HIS ACTIONS | OTHERS INVOLVED**
--- | ---
1. The elders make their arrangements, |  
2. call the priest |  
3. & proceed through the village, |  
   calling out: "Vessels ho! Vessels ho!" |  
4. Every household brings out a vessel of arrack |  
5. Parties of 10 or 12 carry these to deposit them under Burbi Penu's tree |  
6. Then they all seat themselves. |  
7. A 'great priest' & 2 'smaller priests' & some of the principal elders perform the worship on the panga away from the crowd: |  
8. They take with them eggs, rice & a goat. |  
9. The great priest calls first on Bura & Tari then on the Rain God, who ranks first after them, & on all the other major gods: Iron God, God of Boundaries, etc.; (for he considers it very important to call a strong assembly of the peers of the Rain God in the hope of their exerting influence on him). |  
10. Then the great priest invokes the Rain God: |  
11. After that they kill the goat but do not eat it. |  
   Its flesh must be given to the Distillers (Sundi) or Gonds if present; if not, it must be left on the panga. |  
12. But those taking part do drink the liquor with wild shouts & dancing.
13. Then the elders & others return home.

14. In case any god may have been forgotten in the earlier bidding & may now be demanding the cause, the priest & a few old men take a few steps homeward & then turn back to address them:

1. Invocation: "O God of Rain, hear us! What have we done short in our service? In what have we diminished ancient usage? We say not that we have not failed towards you; but if we have failed unconsciously, it was your part to have remembered the constant service of our fathers & to have intimated to us our fault, not to have visited us thus in wrath.

Behold your peers, the God of War, etc. We have worshipped them even as we have worshipped you. Their favour has not diminished toward us.

"O God of Rain! Is it that you have given your daughter in marriage to the son of some god who is hostile to us, or have made his daughter your son's bride, & under his influence injure us? We men cannot comprehend your divine thoughts, but your fellow gods, the God of War, God of Increase, the Hill God, etc. know them & judge them. We know not; we cannot know your counsels; but we pray you to remember, to reflect that if you shall not give us water, half our land must remain unploughed; that the seed in the ground will rot; that we & our children must perish for want of food; that our cattle must die for want of pasture; that the sambur, the spotted deer, the wild hog & all other game will quit our country, seeking other haunts. We pray of you to remember all this & that should you hereafter, when it is too late, relent either from pity towards us or from desiring your own food & worship, or from doubting of your reception - should you, when we are no more, seek the worship of another village - we pray you to reflect how little any gift of water will then avail, when there shall be left neither man nor cattle nor seed. Therefore we now address to you these entreaties, while we also beseech all of you, ye assembled gods, to aid & enforce our prayer to the God of Rain, taking to your hearts all that we have said.

"O God of Rain! For you we have brought eggs & arrack & rice & sheep. Be pleased to eat, & to entertain these assembled gods, receiving from them all the credit due for the goodness of the feast! O, give us abundant rain, enough to melt the hill-tops! Go & fetch water for us, if need be by force or fraud, from the stores of your friends the gods of rain. Bring it in brass vessels & hollow gourds, & resting on the sky above our land pour the water down on it through your sieve until the sambur, unable to live in the forests, shall seek shelter in our houses, & till the soil of the mountains shall be washed into our valleys. Strip off all old leaves & bring out new. Let the vegetation be such that shoots springing from the newly planted melons shall follow our footsteps, & let it be of such strength that our cooking pots shall burst next year from the force of the swelling rice. Let the bamboo sprouts shoot out rapidly. Let all the neighbouring clans come to buy rice of us, & let them alone experience the pains of surfeit! Let there be such a gathering of the beasts of the chase in our green & favoured country that our axes shall be blunt with cutting them up!
But do you, moreover, recollect that we cannot go out in the falling floods. Then do you don your hat & laying your stick over your shoulder, guard our unenclosed fields from both the wild animals & the tame cattle. Let our full springs gush upwards. Do thus, & we will next year provide eggs, fowls, & goat & liquor for a feast at least equal to this for the maintenance of your character for hospitality with your brother-gods!"

2. "If we have unconsciously omitted to do honour on this occasion to any god, we pray of the other deities to intercede for us & pacify him."

(12) RITUAL FOR THE GOD OF THE CHASE - PLAMBU RENU
(See C(5) p.431)

TIME: Whenever a hunting party is formed.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SPECIALIST &amp; HIS ACTIONS</th>
<th>OTHERS INVOLVED</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. The men ask the priest to propitiate the God of the Chase.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. The priest directs them to pile their weapons by a rivulet.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. He sprinkles water over them with a handful of long grass</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Then offers &amp; slays a fowl</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. With invocation to the god.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. If all is propitious, the god enables him to indicate the direction in which game is to be sought, &amp; occasionally how many will fall.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Plambu Renu punishes the slightest infraction of his rules for division of the game: e.g., (a) head & tail belong to the person who kills it for being the greatest delicacies - he will wish to present them to the old men of his family; (b) the under portion belongs to the person on whose land it falls.

TIME: When the huntsmen fail to find game.

Note: This is a hilarious god who insists on hilarity among the huntsmen; weeping is most offensive to him & thus is taboo during a hunt.

1. The elders call the priest to ascertain the cause of their failure.

2. The priest (by divination or trance) declares that the huntsmen have violated: (a) some law of the chase; or (b) some of the many rules re dividing & eating game; or (c) that as the hunters left the village, someone in it wept.

   As a result, Plambu Renu or some other god (a) ordered the jungle to hide its game; or (b) made the hunters' arrows pointless; or (c) ordered the streams to take away the weariness from the pursued game.

3. The priest directs each household to bring offerings of rice, an egg & a fowl & place these on the round stone of Plambu Renu beside the village.
on which all game is deposited when brought in, & divided into proper shares, & (often) also cooked there

5. When all the offerings are collected there the priest invokes the god:

6. After that he rubs an arrow or axe on Plambu Penu's stone

7. The men all do the same with their weapons

8. Then all go out to the forest & bring home something, even if only a small bird.

Invocation: "O Plambu Penu! You are our God of the Chase! You gave game to our fathers & were used also to make our arrows sure, to give force to our axes, & keenness to the mouths of our dogs; while, at your shrine, the cooking-fire was never extinguished & the blood never dry!

Behold it now, O Plambu Penu! Lay aside your anger!
One cannot always stay the tears of children.
Who at a feast can restrain a greedy-guts? This you know; & why therefore do you record the faults against us on your knotted string?

We speak thus but the benefit of the chase is no less yours than ours. Let us again see the sambur & the spotted deer, & the bison & the wild hog & the hare as we leave our thresholds; & when these animals hear our shout, may their limbs become disobedient & their hearts panic struck!

Give to our arrows & our axes the poison of the first iron against our game. Make the earth preserve its footmarks. Make a cool wind ever blow from the hill & the forest upon our huntsmen.

O Plambu Penu! Make your name great!"

The Khonds keep all accounts (or dates for engagements involving others beyond the local group) by knots on string.

(13) RITUAL FOR THE GOD OF BOUNDARIES - SANDI PENU

The God of Boundaries is necessarily considered a deity common to any two parties whose lands adjoin.

TIME: When some form of blessing appears to be withheld from the village, as signified by disease, wild animals entering, cattle straying etc.

SPECIALIST & HIS ACTIONS OTHERS INVOLVED

1. The elders request the priest to come & find out the cause.

2. If he declares it to be the God of Boundaries,

3. He takes a fowl or goat, an egg & some arrack

4. & goes to a point upon the boundary fixed by ancient usage, generally where a path crosses it,

5. & makes the offering with invocation:
**AT A MARRIAGE** - The God of Boundaries is invoked by the bride's father for the blessing of the bride's safety in passing from her father's to her husband's house.

**AT WAR** between the two contiguous parties:

The priest in each party invokes the God of Boundaries
(a) asking him to bear witness to the justice of its cause
(b) & to favour its arms - for this god in a fight (1) sends the arrows of the enemy to the hands of those he favours;
(2) closes their wounds that they may not gape fatally;
(3) saves their battle-food from being lost in the confusion & from turning sour.

**Note:** As both parties may not propitiate him on the same day, the battle is postponed if necessary so that they can do it on two successive days.

1. **Invocation:**

"O Sandi Penu!

Keep disease from our boundary, the disease epilepsy & disease of the eye, of the arms, of the legs. Let not the hostile gods of other regions cross our boundary, nor allow the tigers nor the snakes to cross our limits. Do you attract the water of higher regions to our boundary, & do not let stray our useful animals or our game, but do you let pass easily all noxious beasts. Permit not our tame cattle to pass our boundary, but make them grow large within it, like the swelling bitter gourd. You were always wont to do us these favours, now for a small reason your heart is changed.

I, your servant, pray you to dismiss that feeling from your breast.

I present to you this fowl, this egg & this arrack.

Moreover, we pray you to remember, O God of Boundaries! that it is your part to meet & conciliate the hearts of all who approach us.

I now go. Do you give a propitious answer so that henceforth I may have to render you worship in pleasure, not in pain!"
WORSHIP OF THE SECOND CLASS OF INFERIOR DEITIES

These are the deified & sinless men of the first age (see Creation Myth, p. 90)

'Any observances are slight & infrequent. They appear to require no notice beyond what is given in any statement of the tenets of the Khonds.' (Macpherson p. 366) They were not mentioned in the mid-twentieth century.

WORSHIP OF THE THIRD CLASS OF NATURE DEITIES, ETC.

the minor deities who fill nature or preside over the details of human life, e.g. the Household God, River God, Hill God, Village God, God of Springs, Goddess of Smallpox:

(14) **RITUAL FOR THE HOUSEHOLD GOD - IDU PENU LAKA**

**TIME:** (1) At every general sacrifice by a clan or village;
(2) When the head of the household transacts any private business of importance, e.g. a marriage settlement or sale of property.
(3) Specially invoked at all domestic ceremonies - namings, marriages etc.

**SPECIALIST:** The head of the household offers a hog or fowl with rice & arrack while invoking the Household God. If favourable he blesses them by increasing the store of grain in their bins.

(15) **RITUAL FOR THE RIVER GOD - JORI PENU LAKA**

**TIME:** On occasions of particular contact, e.g. a bride passing over to her husband's home.

**SPECIALIST:** The head of the house offers fowls, eggs, rice & arrack & invokes the River God to ensure that water may abound in her new home etc.

(16) **RITUAL FOR THE HILL GOD - SORU PENU LAKA**

(as for River God, though invoking the blessing of the bride's/or any member's safety in going to hill-work etc.)

1. Typical invocation to these 2 deities:

"O God of the River (the Hill)!
You visit us with evils, withdrawing your favour on account of our sins. We cannot say that we are faultless, but we have been unable to afford to you a large & full supply of food in worship. Were we, O River God, constantly to expend our means upon your rites, & upon those of all the other gods, we should lose our lands; & then, we pray you to consider, where would be your worship? Considering this we are unable to expend much upon your rites. Oh receive this
apology! We now make small offerings of a fowl or an egg, according to our ability; accept of them graciously. Look with favour upon us, on our wives & our children, on our cattle, our sheep, our pigs & their offspring. Do not let them be hurt in going to the water (or to the hill, if the hill god be addressed.) Give us increase of wealth. Accept our worship graciously & give us your blessing."

(17) RITUAL FOR THE VILLAGE GOD - NAJU PENU LAKA

'The great object of the familiar worship of the Khonds: the prosperity or ruin of villages is in his hands.' (Macpherson)

TIME: His patronage is implored for almost every undertaking.

NO SPECIALIST is required. He is familiarly approached by all at his shrine which is simply a stone placed under the great silk-cotton-tree that stands in or near every village - being planted at the foundation of every village & regarded with veneration: (See planting ceremony described earlier (No.(5)).

(18) RITUAL FOR THE GOD OF THE SPRINGS - SUGA PENU LAKA

TIME: When a spring dries up (i.e. end of dry season, April-May). The gods of springs are objects of the most anxious worship.

SPECIALIST & HIS ACTIONS OTHERS INVOLVED
1. The elders instantly send for the priest 1. The elders fast all day
2. They implore him with the most liberal promises of reward to bring back the water.
3. The priest first attempts to propitiate & move the God of the Spring. If he fails, he tries the following process:
4. The elders fast all day
5. The priest (also fasting) plucks the cocoon of a wild silkworm from a bamboo tree & empties it.

Dead of night:
6. He steals to some living spring
7. & tries by secret invocations to induce the god to transfer a portion of its waters to the deserted spring. (Note: He goes in imminent risk of his life if his errand were discovered by the spring's owners).
8. He mutters alone for a long time over the spring;
9. then fills the cocoon shell from it,
10. & returns to the dry one repeating prayers as he goes.
11. These, if favourably heard, make a stream of water follow his footsteps underground.

12. The headman & elders, still fasting, await his return at the dry spring.
13. The presence of women would be fatal & youths also are refused.
14. The elders clear out the empty basin.
15. The priest places the cocoon upon it.
16. Then sacrifices a goat or hog to Suga Penu.
17. who, if now propitiated, either restores the spring at once or gives signs of satisfaction from which its reappearance may be confidently hoped.

(19) **RITUAL FOR THE GODDESS OF SMALLPOX - JOOGAH PENU LAKA**

(See C(52) p.538)

**Note:** The Goddess of Smallpox is a dreadful power who cannot be appeased by any worship, & for which the Khonds have no distinct place in their mythology. In her wrath, she "sows smallpox upon mankind as men sow seed upon the earth."

**TIME:** When smallpox appears in a village:

**SPECIALISTS & THEIR ACTIONS**

1. All but a few desert the village.
2. The few remain to offer continually the blood of buffaloes, hogs & goats.
   3. The people of neighbouring hamlets can only attempt to prevent her approach by barricading the path with thorns & deep ditches,
   4. & boiling upon them cauldrons of stinking oil.

**OTHERS INVOLVED**
Boys of 10-12 years are married to girls of 15 or 16.

Note: The arrangement is completed by the parents and is virtually a transaction between lineage groups.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>BRIDE'S FAMILY</th>
<th>HUSBAND'S FAMILY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. The boy's parents arrange the marriage with . . . .</td>
<td>4. The boy's father pays 20 or 30 lives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. The girl's parents</td>
<td>5. The boy's father, family &amp; friends bring a quantity of rice &amp; liquor in procession to the girl's house.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. The 2 parties fix the bride-price in 'lives'</td>
<td>6. There the priest tastes the liquor bowl &amp; pours out a libation to the gods</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. &amp; takes them to the bride's people.</td>
<td>7. Then the parents of both parties join hands &amp; declare that the contract shall be completed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. The marriage is at once solemnized thus:</td>
<td>9. All (men) share in liquor-drinking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. The priest takes the couple to the shed used for beating rice</td>
<td>10. The priest sprinkles them with turmeric water.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. &amp; binds turmeric-dyed thread round their necks 'after the Hindu fashion',</td>
<td>12. A feast is prepared at the bride's house - or else at some convenient place near the groom's house.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. The burdens are suddenly exchanged &amp; the uncle of the groom disappears with the bride.</td>
<td>15. When everyone has eaten, the evening is spent in dancing &amp; song. When the night is far spent:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. The whole assembly divides into 2 parties, the bride's friends trying to prevent her flight &amp; the groom's party to cover it.</td>
<td>16. Bride &amp; groom are raised by an uncle of each upon his shoulders &amp; carried through the dance.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Men, women &amp; children mingle in mock conflicts which are often carried to great lengths. Thus the semblance of forcible abduction attends the withdrawal of the bride with the Orissan tribes as many other people &amp; places.</td>
<td>19. The priest attends the couple homewards to rehearse a charm wherever a brook crosses their path. In the groom's home:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. The priest attends the couple homewards to rehearse a charm wherever a brook crosses their path. In the groom's home:</td>
<td>21. The new wife lives with her husband, if a boy, in his father's house, sleeping with him &amp; helping his mother in domestic duties.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the groom's home:

The value of property is estimated not in money but in 'lives' which are readjusted in each case. Any domestic animal or commodity may be a 'life'; e.g. 100 lives might comprise 10 bullocks, 10 buffaloes, 10 baskets of grain, 10 sets of brass pots, 20 goats, 10 pigs and 30 fowls.
22. She lives in greater retirement than an unmarried girl, abstaining from much dancing & the most riotous feasts.
23. When the husband grows up, he gets a home of his own, unless he is the youngest son.
   Macpherson sees 'the superior age of the bride as proof of the supremacy of the paternal authority amongst this singular people'.
   The parents obtain very valuable domestic servants & make their selection with that end in view. Despite payment made by the groom's father, the wife is not considered to be the property of the husband. Thus:

24. If childless she may quit her husband at any time, & even if pregnant, within 6 months of marriage; the bride-price must be returned to the husband in either case.
25. The marriage is dissolved & she is dismissed to her parental home when the husband discovers her in adultery, also generally when he has indisputable proof by other evidence. If he has ocular testimony he has the right to put the man to death.
26. In some areas, a wife who voluntarily or by such a conviction is parted from her husband, cannot again contract marriage.
27. A married man may contract a 2nd marriage or take a concubine, but only with the permission of his wife, not otherwise. Concubinage is not considered disgraceful. In some areas the children only inherit a half-share, but elsewhere they are considered on an equal footing.
The following myth recorded by Macpherson indicates that the Earth Goddess was the originator of this activity before Bura God intervened. It was believed by the Bura sect to be one of her ways of compelling men to offer her human blood; for only by temptations and threats, they maintained, could a portion of mankind be induced to adopt the Merah rite.

'Umbally Bylee appeared in the form of a tiger amongst certain tribes which were at war in the time before the art of taking life and of public battle were known. She first killed game daily, to the delight of all who partook of it. She then offered to one of the parties to kill any one of their enemies they should designate, and having killed him, all regarded her with unlimited faith and prayed her to teach them the art of assuming the form of beasts (called the art of Mleepa 1) and the art of killing in war. She consented and taught the art of Mleepa to a few persons, upon the condition that they, in return, would do one thing which she should require. This proved to be, that they should worship her with human sacrifices, the goddess threatening instant destruction if they hesitated. They brought out a man for sacrifice, but Boora interposed and then taught to men both the art of Mleepa and that of war. 2

1. In Macpherson's account there is some confusion between the two forms of this verb. Mliva means: to change oneself or one's nature, to be transformed or subject oneself to metamorphosis, e.g., into a tiger. Mlipa (or Mleepa) means: to change or transform someone else or something else. Thus mlipa can also mean: to bewitch or curse, for this entails changing their circumstances.

B. **RITUALS RECORDED IN THE EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY**

(F-P) Marriage Customs of the Khonds, recorded in 1901 by J. F. Friend-Pereira (See A(20) p.444; B(12) p.460; & C(26) p.499)

Rituals recorded c.1910-1915 by Kogera Prodhan, classified as described in Vol. I, Chapter IV:

(a) **Rituals of Ordered Relationship Between God, Man and the Land**

1. 'Opening up the beans' (No other versions) 453
2. Griha (Mid)-Wet season ritual 454
3. 'Births' ritual (See Vol. II C(8) p.485) 455
4. Millet harvest ritual (See C(11) p.489) 456
5. Dry-rice harvest ritual (See C(12) p.489) 458
6. Afflictions ritual (See C(13) p.490) 458
7. Ritual to begin harvesting (Bula) paddy (See Sheets A(i) & A(ii) in Vol. I back pocket) 459
8. (Paddy) Empty ears ritual (See Sheets B(i) & B(ii) in Vol. I back pocket) 459
9. Threshing-floor ritual (See Sheets C(i) & C(ii) in Vol. I back pocket) 460
10. The Day of Scattering (See Sheets D(i) & D(ii) in Vol. I back pocket) 460

(b) **Rituals Seeking the Blessing and Co-operation**

I of the Clan's Ancestors:

11. Bullock ritual (See Sheets B(i) & B(ii) in Vol. I back pocket) 460

II of the Clan or Village's Founding Fathers

(None recorded by Kogera)

III of Clan-Ancestors in Matters Involving Other Clans

12. A 'raised up' marriage (See A(20) p.444; B(F-P) p.447; & C(26) p.499) 460
13. Taking a secondary wife (No other versions) 463
(c) **Rituals to Guard Against Diminishment Through Pollution**

(14) Pregnancy Care
(See C(33) p.512) 465
(No others recorded by Kogera)

(a) **Rituals in Life-Destroying Situations**

I **Due to Disturbed Spirits**

(15) Bad Humour Dance
(See Sheets G(i) & G(ii) in Vol.I back pocket) 467

(16) *Foha* for fever
(See C(54) p.543) 467

(17) 'Heats' ritual
(See C(34) p.513) 468

(18) Buffalo ritual
(See C(9) p.488) 469

II **Due to Man's Ill-Will**

(19) Cure for Evil-Eye
(See Sheets H(i) & H(ii) in Vol.I back pocket) 470

(e) **Socio-Political Rituals of Justification & Reparation**

(20) Ordeal by boiling water
(See C(63) p.552) 471
(No others recorded by Kogera)

(21) A Kond *Myth*: How Bura *God* Gave Sago-Palm Toddy and Divination to the Konds
(No other versions) 473

(22) A Pan Ritual for Patkondo *Fenu* God of all Pans
" " " 475
MARRIAGE CUSTOMS OF THE KONDALS, recorded in 1901 by J.E. Friend-
Pereira, a government official at the Phulbani headquarters of the
Kondals Sub-Division. His name indicates that he was probably
of Anglo-Portuguese descent, and the spelling 'Pereira' (not
'Perera') places him in a high social order. He may have been a
Roman Catholic or been of no particular religious persuasion.

This account is slightly abridged where Friend-Pereira included
some Hindu customs, for this is the north-east area where Hindu
influence has been the strongest since small groups of Oriyas arrived
there about 300 years ago. (See A(20) p. 444; B(12) p. 460; C(26) p. 499)

TIME: When the boy attains puberty.

BRIDE'S FAMILY

1. When the boy attains puberty, the head of the family (father, uncle or
   eldest brother) sets about finding him a wife right outside the clan.

2. The boy's mother &/or aunt makes some pretext to visit the girl’s
   village. She watches the unsuspecting girl stealthily to discover her
   suitability (Serî Bura - Seeing the Bride).

3. If this is satisfactory, the head of the family asks 2 or 3 kinsmen to
   negotiate & 'Seek the Bride' (Serî Dahpa)

4. These approach the girl’s village but wait outside until nightfall,
   then find someone to be a 'go-between' (Sitenu).

1st visit (by the Go-Between)

5. He sounds out the girl’s parents.

6. If favourable, he sends word to the 'Bride Seekers'.

7. They take 2 small pots of liquor to the girl's village (Sîte Kalu), also
   an axe &/or bow & arrows.

8. At the Go-Between's house they offer libation with one pot of liquor,
   praying for success in their enterprise, then drink together.

9. Then the Bride Seekers & Go-Between go to the girl's house.

2nd visit (Go-Between & Bride Seekers)

10. The girl's household give them no welcome nor invite them inside.

11. They wait in the rhâ while the girl's father discusses it with kinsmen & friends.

12. The women are consulted & speak with authority.

13. If it is established that:
   (a) the boy's family is not tainted with witchcraft,
   (b) his mother is not bad tempered or quarrelsome,
   (c) they are economically suitable,
14. A leading kinsman says: "She is merchandise that has come into your possession; you can't keep her always, she must therefore be sold; & as well to this one as anyone."

15. Then the axe is carried into the house as a sign of acceptance, & tobacco & fire are put before the guests.

After courtesies . . . . 17. The Seekers broach the subject through the Go-Between.

18. The girl's family pretend not to understand.

19. The Go-Between requests the betrothal.

20. The girl's father replies indifferently that she is too young.

21. The Go-Between points out that they do not want her at once. It will take time to collect the bride-wealth.

22. Then they agree: "She was born to be sold, & as well to you as anybody. We believe we can entrust her future happiness to you."

23. Both sides consider the matter settled & express their mutual sense of honour at the alliance of the 2 families.

24. They also remind each other that promulgu damages must be paid (a buffalo for a feast) if any idle rumours break the engagement.

25. So the leader of each party dips a gourd into the 2nd little pot of sakte liquor & pours out a libation to the tutelary spirits:

'O Iswar Parboti, (Hindu names for the High God & his consort) today having caught the Go-Between & having brought the betrothal-settlement liquor, We have come to the 'in-laws'. We have not come on this visit for health or wealth.

O ye ancestor gods & goddesses -
Earth Goddess, Village God, God of the Refuse Heap, God of the Dunghill,

Be ye propitious!
Keep away (lit. let there not be) tigers & bears!
Keep away thorns & splinters!
Keep away sin & hatred!
Keep us from tripping against stones & boulders!
Keep away the fever affliction!

We five men sitting together are working out the bride price. Protect us from worms! Protect us from vermin!

From today she has become our ancestral group. Wherever you be, from our side or her side, below or above, Do not be disagreeable & absent yourselves.

She has become ours, head & body. We have exchanged the bride-wealth. We have made relatives-in-law.

According to ancient usage We have made our younger & elder sisters her relatives-in-law, our father's sister her mother-in-law.

All of them having become relatives-in-law, keep ye them so! Let all of them remain so, O Iswar Parboti! If they go back on their promise, they will give damages (a buffalo)

If we go back on our promise, we will give damages.
We are pouring out liquor; all of you drink, eat!
Let there not be quarrels & fights!
Let there not be fever-affliction!
O Earth Goddess! O Village God!
O God of the Rubbish Heap, O Gods of the Dunghill,
O Ancestor Gods & Goddesses, O Iswar Parbotil!

26. & all present drink to the solemn compact.

27. The Bride-Seekers give a little of the bride-wealth to publicise the contract.

28. They all spend a convivial night.
Next morning:

29. Each side receives a knotted string showing the number of days after which they should return with further items of bride-wealth.

THE BETROTHAL (Seri Mala) -
3rd visit: on the day when the last knot is untied:

30. The Bride Seekers & a few friends take 2 or 3 head of cattle & a large pot of 'liquor for leaving the bride wealth'.

31. The bride's family receive them with great hospitality.

32. All offer libation in the raha.
33. & join in a drinking party.

34. Eve: The bride's father kills a pig or goat & makes a feast.
35. The young people dance to the Pan musicians' band.

36. Morn: The guests are given a pick-me-up of double-distilled liquor in the back yard, then go to bathe.

37. Noon: All attend a feast & drink to 'the putting on of the necklace'; i.e. the leading Bride Seeker puts a string of beads round the struggling bride's neck or a brass or bell-metal bangle on her wrist.

38. The girl goes round making obeisance to each person in turn.

39. Night: The dancing & drinking continues, & a feast from the liver & entrails of one of the bride-wealth buffalo.

40. Next day: The rest of the carcass is returned to the groom's father who gives a feast in his village.

INTERVAL BETWEEN BETROTHAL & MARRIAGE

1. The boy's family informally send occasional cattle payments.

2. The boy takes all chances of seeing his bride at public festivals, & may give her little presents, but he does not yet visit her home.

The Daughter's Feast

3. On a pre-arranged day the girl's father gives a feast (buffalo or pig) to his kinsmen & male friends.

4. That evening they go to the groom's house for a similar feast & dancing.

Next morning:

5. After the liquor pick-me-up, they all go to the gota & select cattle for the bride-wealth.

+ the gota = the open space where the village cattle collect before being taken out to graze for the day.
6. They pour libation there, drink together & go to bathe.

7. When they return, the groom's father puts 2 large earthenware pots of liquor in the living room & they make libation to his ancestors.

8. Then a cockerel, a little rice & some liquor are taken to the outskirts of the village & offered to Fenu the Village God, Turki Fenu, & God of the rubbish-heap, & Goberi Fenu, God of the Dunghill.

9. The day is spent in feasting, music & merriment. Enormous quantities of liquor are drunk, the young men begging rice, etc. from door to door & bartering it for more liquor from the liquor vendors.

10. The women play practical jokes on the drunken guests, pelting them with mud & filth & kadu (wild berries?)

11. After a drink & leave-taking, the men depart with the selected cattle.

12. Saying that the buffalo are wild & unmanageable, they persuade the groom to help, & stage by stage he finally accompanies them to the bride's village.

Following day

'The Leaving of the Bride Wealth!:

13. On this (his 1st) visit, the groom has the ordeal of saluting everyone - men, women & children, even to the Pan serfs; but 2 close friends accompany him.

14. The 3 stay for several days, feasting, dancing & drinking.

15. His father-in-law gives him a silver bangle & length of cloth - and also to his 2 friends - before they all return home.

Marriage

Time: a year or two after the betrothal.

1. The boy's side send a request that the day may be fixed for bringing the bride

2. The boy's party are entertained overnight & sent back next morning with another knotted string.

3. They untie a knot each morning

On the last day:

4. The boy's father gives a great feast (village)

Evening

5. Then they all proceed to the bride's house.

6. There both sides drink together & enjoy themselves.

7. Some of the girl's side then bring a shallow basket containing pieces of charcoal (i.e. 'buffalo'), clods of earth ('bullocks') & bits of stone ('pigs').

8. The basket is put ceremoniously in the midst of the groom's party,

9. After consultation, they take out a certain number of the symbols, showing how much they wish to give, & return the basket.

10. Elders of the bride's party add a few & send it over again.

11. So it passes back & forth until both sides agree.

* These two gods appear to be worshipped only in this north-eastern area.
12. Then all the buffalo, bullocks & pigs & all the brass utensils that have been sent from time to time are added up. If anything is found to be due, the groom's party jest that these cattle fell into a hole on the way.

Next (Hindu influence?)

13. The groom is led to the bride's father who takes his hand & kisses his cheeks.

14. Libations of liquor are poured while he makes obeisance to each person.

15. The men drink, & feast together (in the reha).

16. The bride stays inside the house, weeping loudly with her mother & aunts.

For a day or two - the groom stays as her father's guest.

Bride's Departure Morning:

1. Her girl-friends take her to a stream, bathe her, wash her hair, rub turmeric & oil on her body, & put on her the new cloth her father gave. She weeps copiously, often genuine tears.

2. The groom's friends do the same for him.

3. After a little food & much wailing among the women, the bride & groom are led into the reha - she wearing her dowry ornaments (gold & silver).

4. The groom puts on the national loin cloth & a red blanket over his shoulder; he grasps his battle-axe in the right hand & bow with 3 or 5 arrows in his left - all are gifts of his father-in-law.

5. The bride is made to stand on the block of wood (stool) used when pounding paddy & the husband beside her but a little behind, on a cattle yoke.

6. (? Hindu) The people scatter paddy from a winnowing fan over the couple's feet;

7. (? Hindu) The girl's mother pours a leaf-cup of turmeric & rice on their heads;

8. (? Hindu & all press forward & kiss the newly wedded pair.

9. An old woman suddenly rushes forward, flings the bride on her back & carries her off.

10. A man catches the groom & puts him astride his shoulders.

11. The human horses neigh & prance about, then rush outside the village.

12. The bride's girl-friends give chase & pelt them with clods of earth, stones, mud, oowdung & (?) rice.

13. When the mock assault is ended, the older people come up & all accompany the pair to the groom's village.

14. Servants or relations carry the dowry in large baskets *

On arrival at the husband's village:

1. The groom's mother or sister comes & washes his feet & then his bride's.

2. The couple are again made to stand on the wooden stool & cattle-yoke, paddy is again scattered on their feet & turmeric & rice poured on their heads.

3. (? Hindu) A piece of cloth is stretched across the doorway & another overhead & the groom leads his bride into the house.

4. A great feast takes place with buffalo, pig & goat-meat & much liquor. All partake (both parties), even Pan aehr's receive their portion.

All night The dancing, music & merry-making continue.
Next aft. At another feast the 'Bridal Liquor' is drunk. Then the guests depart, each with a small gift of food.

For 7 days the bride is a guest in the house. Her husband continues to sleep in the youths' dormitory.

5. 8th day The couple take a pig, a cock, some paddy & a jar of liquor & go to her parents' house.
6. They stay in a detached out-house where she cooks a meal for themselves.
7. Noon: The ancestors' priest husks the paddy in the living room & feeds the pig & cock with some of the rice.
8. & places some in 3 little heaps on the ground.
9. He/she sacrifices the pig & the cock, sprinkles the blood on the grain & makes libation (of liquor) in the name of the ancestors.
10. The bride cooks the rest of the rice & shares it among kin & friends.

For a day or two the young couple stay on as guests of her parents - or the youth may return home leaving his bride for a few days. On her return, she still resides with his parents.

After 4 or 5 days:
11. The youth gives a farewell supper to the youths in the dormitory.
12. The same evening his father drinks himself into intoxication & goes to sleep in their detached house.
13. At midnight the mother slips away from the side of the sleeping girl, & at a given signal the groom is brought in silently by his bachelor friends; they push him into the room where his bride lies sleeping & close & bolt the door behind him.

For people in good circumstances the following may be the bride's dowry:

One or two gold-nose-rings (guna), a number of silver rings (kiseni) worn along the auricle of the ear, a pair of gold ear-lobes rings (guna), some brass or bell-metal bangles for the arm (patanga, kuslanga, matinga), some silver hair-pins or hair ornaments (gubia), some silver necklets (gacanga), some brass or bell-metal toe-rings that jingle in walking (visanga) & rings for the big toe (jutanga), a pair of brass or bell-metal anklets (gagolaka) & armlets of the same (jutinga), a small loin-cloth (dipeni), a cloth with red bands at either end (kapta), 2 checked cloths (luga) some brass water pots (guranga), brass cups (madringa) & small brass cups (kasinga).

The following may be presents to the groom:

a pair of gold ear-rings (guna), a string of gold beads (mali), a pair of silver bangles for the wrist (karu), a gun, a sword, a bow & quiverful of arrows, a drum, a battle-axe (tangi), a narrow loin cloth some 30 cubits long (gajli), a red blanket, & a head-dress of egret's feathers (era punga).
Rituals Recorded c.1910-1915 by Kogera Prodhan

In a brief list of 'rituals that take place in a village each year' Kogera mentions 3 which he does not describe: the Buffalo Sacrifice (Koru Laka) 'to bring out the paddy-seed', presumably in May; the Buffalo Slaying (Koru Saperi) of which no details are given; and the 'Festival Ritual' (Kedu Lakseri) in order to weed the growing millet and have freedom to eat wild mushrooms & wild leaves (as vegetables) - these are available in late June. It thus appears that Kogera's 'Festival Ritual' is parallel to the Wild Fruits Ritual (C 6 ) in the 1966 account; and that the 1966 'Festival Ritual' is the equivalent of the first of these three rituals of Kogera's, the Buffalo Sacrifice. In timing, however, they are all within a period of a very few weeks, dependent on the arrival date of the monsoon. Hence on present evidence the order of these first two or three rituals of the farming year can not be categorically stated. Kogera in much greater detail then describes the rituals given below. Again he did not place these in any particular order but they have been arranged here according to my classification as described in Vol. I, Chapter IV.

(a) Rituals of Ordered Relationship Between God, Man and the Land:

(1) OPENING UP THE BEANS - SAI EPKA

(No other versions)

TIME: (Late June-July) They also perform this ritually annually, for they say: "We shall eat the new sweet-potatoes, new tubers, Conju-dates and use the Paeri jungle-creeper for rope-making."

N.B. "For these 3 harvests a fowl or chicken is not sacrificed".
(i.e. the Millet, the Dry-Rice & the 'Bean' rituals).

SPECIALIST & HIS ACTIONS (no others are involved)

1. The darni-keeper (d.k.) puts on a clean-washed cloth
2. and goes off to the jungle.
3. He brings back nipped-off tendrils of Paeri-creeper, calling them "beans",
and "opens" them at the darni in this manner:

With this invocation, he splits open the Paeri creeper (i.e. "beans") at the darni.

'From that day they will eat the sweet-potato tubers, yam-like tuber sprouts, dates, and use the Paeri plant.

Also, "The Old Year is now past", they say. "And whatever you can obtain, you are free to eat!" And when the beans are brought down (from growing over the roof), they say: "New Year has gone!"

1. Invocation: "From today
   We shall eat sweet-potatoes, tubers, Gonju-dates & use Paeri;
   We shall eat them.
   Don't squeeze out filth from our stomachs!
   Don't squeeze out filth from our intestines!
   Don't give us diarrhoea!
   Don't give us 'proud stomach!' (d. & v.)
   Tie a knot in us!
   Suspend it by tying a knot for us!
   Don't make tigers come! Don't make bears come!
   Don't make snakes come! Don't make frogs come!
   O God of the Village, God of the Hamlet,
   Watch over us! Look out for us!"

(2) (Mid) - WET SEASON RITUAL - GRIHA LAKA

(NO other versions)

TME: (Early August) "When the rice-planting is completed in the paddy-fields, the Griha ritual is performed - in certain paddy-fields by tradition, as well as in those which permanently hold water (i.e. 'buda'-fields).

SPECIALIST & HIS ACTIONS (No others are directly involved).

MORNING:
1. Owner takes a chicken & an egg to the paddy bund
2. and begins to pray thus: while praying,
3. he keeps on pulling out the chicken's feathers.
4. He mixes them with uncooked rice, and
5. places the egg on top, while he goes on praying.
6. When he finishes the invocation, he cuts the chicken's throat
7. & sprinkles its blood on the rice & the egg.
6. He roasts the chicken in a fire,
7. then cuts it into small pieces.
10. He then takes a little of the liver & roasts that,
11. adds it to cooked rice & "throws (the mixture) down".
12. He eats rice & meat himself.
   After that it is time to come home and
13. he buries the egg in the middle of the paddy-field,
14. Then comes home, carrying the cooking pot.
1. Invocation: "Let mice depart & not chew!  
Let it not be diseased!  
Let the bund & edges not be burned!  
O Losmi Bura God!  
Come down! Await!  
From everything to do with my paddy-growing,  
Let layer upon layer of harvest be gathered!  
Let it yield double-fold!"

(3) 'BIRTHS' RITUAL - MARANGA LAKA
(See Vol.II C(8) p.85)

TDE: "They perform the 'Births' ritual annually in August,  
& they sacrifice 2 chickens at it.  
After performing it, they will eat the mango kernels,  
new leaf-vegetables & herbs."

SPECIALISTS & THEIR ACTIONS

Preparation: morning:

1. The boy-children go out with  
   hard pick-axes & fetch  
   flowering shrubs:-  
   2 Susurudi sticks  
   Pena Sikeri branches,  
   some Padeli shrub  
   & Muheli creeper.  
   These are for 'thrashing the house'.

2. They place all these on the  
   darni.

3. The darni-keeper (d.k.) cuts a  
   Susurudi stick very exactly and  
   roasts it, before beginning his  
   sacrifice. After he has made these  
   'maranga sticks'

4. The boys also make 'maranga  
   sticks' & roast them.

5. The d.k. places a chicken  
6. & some eggs on the darni;  
7. anoints the chicken with turmeric  
   paste, & anoints  
8. himself with turmeric paste;  
9. and prays:  
10. While praying thus, he holds the chicken  
    in his hand & keeps pulling out its feathers  
11. He puts them on the darni along with the rice,  
12. while uttering a prayer:  
13. He cuts the chicken's throat as he prays.  
Later; praying in the same way,  
14. he roasts a bit of the liver,  
15. adds it to cooked rice,  
16. & 'throws it down' on top of the offering  
   of uncooked rice.  
17. Then he eats his rice.
Later: evening:
18. D.k. holding some Pena Sikeri flowering shrub,
19. goes to every door & pours
20. out a little water.

21. After him, the boy-children throw Indian corn plants & pumpkin leaves (edible 'greens') inside each house.
22. Starting at the back & working round, they thrash the walls of each house all over.
23. When they have finished, they bring their sticks & lay them on the Darni.
24. Then they eat rice.

"That is how they perform the 'Births' ritual".

1. **Invocation:**

   "Village God, Hamlet God!
   Darni God, Jakeri God!
   Let our farming, let our growing,
   neither die nor grow mottled!

   From now onwards, as we eat new leaf-vegetables, new herbs,
   Don't let them give us diarrhoea, nor give us 'proud stomach'!
   Tie a knot in our stomachs!
   Tie a knot in our intestines!

   And as we eat the kernel of the mango fruit,
   As we eat flour from the kernel of the mango fruit,
   Don't send tigers! Don't send bears!
   Don't send snakes! Don't send frogs!
   From bottom to top of the village
   Watch over us, look out for us!
   Guard the bullocks, buffalo, goats & pigs!
   Agree to children! Assent to offspring!
   Let there be much seed-grain, much seed-grain!"

2 & 3 Invocation:

"Take a grain of rice! Take flour!
Take a feather! Take a bristle!
Take blood! Take gore!
......(repeated continuously) ......"

(4) **MILLET HARVEST - KUBRI KUBRI**

(See C(11) p.489)

**TND:** 'They perform the Millet Harvest ritual annually at the end of August or early September. They do it in order to eat this year's new crop.'
1. The dami-keeper's (d.k.'s) wife brings in a sheaf of Early Millet (Kara) and threshes it.
2. Then she bathes in water & puts on a new (or freshly-washed) cloth, before parching the millet in a new cooking pot, and pounding this parched grain.
3. The d.k. bathes 'right over his head' & puts on a freshly-washed cloth.
4. He cooks the grain with water in a Sal-leaf cup.
5. He puts the cooked grain on the dami, & makes this invocation:
6. Making invocation this way, the D.K. throws down the cooked millet on to the dami.
7. Then, after cleaning his teeth, he eats a millet meal.

"From that day they all eat millet, Early Millet, wild paddy, Arka-millet, Indian corn, & pumpkin leaves."

1. Invocation:

   "Darni God! Jakeri God!
   God of the Village! God of the Hamlet!
   Paga God of the Upper Darni! Kota God of the Lower Darni!
   Take the bitali portion of this new fruit!
   Take the fully-ripe portion of this new increase!
   And when we are eating and drinking our new fruit, our new increase,
   Don't give us diarrhoea!
   Don't give us "proud stomach"! (diarrhoea & vomiting)
   Don't squeeze out filth from our stomachs!
   Don't squeeze out filth from our bowels!
   Tie a knot in us!
   Suspend it with a knot for us!
   Don't give us scabies! Don't give us dry-itch!
   Don't give us malaria! Don't give us fever!
   Don't make tigers come! Don't make bears come!
   Don't make snakes come! Don't make frogs come!
   God of the Village! God of the Hamlet!
   Watch over us!
   Look out for us!"
TIME: "After celebrating the Millet Harvest ritual, they perform the Dry-Rice Harvest ritual, also late August or early September."

SPECIALISTS & THEIR ACTIONS

1. The darni-keeper's (d.k's) wife brings in a sheaf of dry-rice.
2. She threshes it.
3. She bathes in water.
4. She puts on a freshly-washed cloth.
5. Then parches the dry-rice paddy in a new cooking pot.
6. And pounds it.

7. The d.k. bathes 'with water right over his head'.
8. And puts on a freshly-washed cloth.
9. Then he cooks the rice in a Sal-leaf cup.
10. And as he did for the Millet Harvest ritual - he repeatedly makes invocation to the God of the Village.
11. While doing this, he throws down the cooked rice on the darni.
12. Then, after cleaning his teeth,
13. He eats rice himself.

"From that day they will eat Dry-Rice."

1. Invocation: Same as for Millet Harvest ritual (B (4))

AFFLICTIONS RITUAL - JUGANGA LAKA

TIME: 'The Afflictions Ritual is performed annually in the village in September, & a piglet is sacrificed.'

SPECIALISTS & THEIR ACTIONS

1. All men who wish to participate stay fasting.
2. They weave a so-called 'grain-bin' from thin strips of bamboo - like a small basket.
3. They collect together 4 branched stakes in the ruha.
4. & build a high platform.
5. They bring a little dry thatching grass, and
6. Spread it out on the platform.
After that, the d.k. takes hold of a piglet & an egg, and washes them. Also he anoints himself with turmeric. He sets the egg in position in the basket, on top of the sand poured earlier. Holding the piglet, he prays:  
Praying thus at great length, (he) cuts the piglet's throat & sprinkles blood on the egg. When the pig is well roasted, they cut it into pieces. (D.k.) takes out a bit of the liver, puts it with some cooked rice, & prays as before;  

Then  

When the meat & rice are ready, as many men as had fasted, now join together in a feast.  

Invocation:  

'Bura Venu! Bura Penu!  
Great Bural! Little Bura!  
Village God! Hamlet God!  
Don't torment us!  
Don't afflict us!  
From our farming, our cultivation, Our millet, our thatching grass, You gods, go!  
From our hamlet, go!  

Like sap from the mahua-fruit,  
Like oil from the crown of the head,  
Let the sprouting tips be drawn out!  
Draw out the colour!  
Crush the wingless insects (maggots) for us!  
Crush the winged insects (locusts) for us!  
Let it yield layer upon layer!  
Let it yield produce two-fold!

(7) RITUAL TO BEGIN HARVESTING PADDY - KUDINGA KOVA TINI LAKA  
See sheet A (i) in the back pocket of Vol. I for this ritual, and sheet A(ii) for its parallel in 1966.

(8) (Paddy) EMPTY FARM RITUAL - SISA LAKA  
See sheet B (i) in the back pocket of Vol. I for this ritual, and sheet B(ii) for its parallel in 1966.
(9)  **THRESHING FLOOR RITUAL - KLAJ LAKA**

See sheet C(i) in the back pocket of Vol.I for this ritual, and sheet C(ii) for its parallel in 1966.

(10)  **THE DAY OF SCATTERING - POPKONDI GAJA**

See sheet D(i) in the back pocket of Vol.I for this ritual, with D(ii), its parallel in 1966 on the same sheet.

(b)  **Rituals Seeking the Blessing and Co-operation**

I  **of the Clan's Ancestors:**

(11)  **BULLOCK RITUAL - KODI LAKA**

See sheet E(i) in the back pocket of Vol.I for this ritual, and sheet E(ii) for its parallel in 1966.

II  **of the Clan or Village's Founding Fathers:**

(Non recorded by Kogera)

III  **of Clan-Ancestors in Matters Involving Other Clans:**

(12)  **A 'RAISED UP' MARRIAGE - SENDONI SERI**

(See A(20)p.444; B(P-F)p.447; & C(26)p.499)

If a man of "Twelve Mutas" hears that a certain man's daughter in "Eighteen Mutas" is a good person, & he thinks of betrothing his son to her, he calls a man of his own village & sends him off to ask about it. So the man goes to the other person's home & asks: "Will you give your daughter to our - & his - son?" And he replies: "Yes. If you bring proper bride-wealth for her, I will give her to you. For the daughter of a Fan man goes to a Fan man; the daughter of a Kond goes to a Kond; & a rajah's daughter goes to a rajah! That's how it is in our "Eighteen Mutas" & "Twelve Mutas". So you go & tell your friend that he said: 'If your friend desires it, I will give her' and add: "How should they not give her? He will give her to you!" Then, when they have made the messenger accept rice & curry, liquor, food & drink, they send him back home. He comes & reports the whole matter at home.
TIES: 'After hearing all about it':

PRINCIPALS & THEIR ACTIONS

DAY 1
1. The boy's father & mother both go there, carrying a silver or gold necklace, a waist-belt (?) & strip of coloured cloth for tying a coil of hair.
2. They sleep there that night.

DAY 2
3. The 2 sets of 'in-laws' sit down together.
4. They call 2 or 3 men of that village,
5. & hold a discussion.
6. If the girl's father says: "I will give you my daughter!"
7. They say: "From today this girl is our daughter!"
8. & they fasten on the necklace & things they have brought.
9. Then, after drinking liquor . . . . (together) . . . . . . .
10. & having a rice & curry meal in that house . . . .
11. The boy's parents return home.

After 2 or 3 months:
1. Boy's parents take a part of the gati.
2. When they have taken portions
2 or 3 times,
3. Girl's father binds up, ready for carrying, a load containing: 2 large twisted ear-rings, a gold necklace on a twisted strand of threads, 2 bauraka, one cloth umbrella & 2 cloths (wearing)
4. he also gives 2 buffaloes & 2 goats.

Eve of bride's departure day
5. he slaes these animals
6. (his household) cook rice & curry.
7. & he gives a feast; . . . . . (community feast)
Next morning, furthermore:
8. he gives a large basketful of 'cakes' & a basketful of flaked rice.
9. Everyone cleans their teeth, then
10. shares this out & eats them.

c.10 a.m. - 12 noon
11. The girl is bathed & clothed.
12. The boys is bathed, clothed & arrayed in the gold & silver ornaments of his father-in-law's choice.
13. One man seats the boy astride the back of his neck;
14. Another man seats the girl similarly.
15. With hollow drums & bass drums beating
everyone dancing & leaping,

the men carry them to the bottom of the village

and then to the top.

Then they lead them home & sit them down "in one place" (i.e. close)

After feeding them on liquor, & with hollow-drums & bass-drums beating

The bass-drummers "wage war", & everyone has a great dance.

The rice & curry is ready, they all have their meal;

then those on the boy's side come home.

2 days later:

Girl's (male) kin come along the track to give to the boy's kin:

two storage binsful of rice, a buffalo, some cooked rice & curry, & liquor.

The "husband's" men will also be taking a buffalo, cooked rice & curry & a pot of liquor along the track to give to the girl's kin.

The men from the 2 different directions exchange the rice, liquor & buffalo that are being brought/taken.

After all have shared a meal of the cooked food there,

They come (to the boy's village) carrying the rice on shoulder-poles.

The boy's kin slay the buffalo

& share it out among those who have brought the girl.

These take it away (to the girl's village).

The boy's kin store the rice

& then everyone goes off to his own home.

Two to three, or even four to five years later:

When the girl matures & the boy becomes a young man:

1. Girl's father sorts out goods to send to the husband's home, so that the two may be married: gold & silver, brass pots & vessels, clothing & things of different kinds; also a variety of ornaments for the girl to wear.

2. Also, he slays a buffalo & cooks rice & curry, and .

3. with drums beating, they dance.

4. (girl's kin & village) all dance.

Afterwards, when everyone has eaten .

The men take the girl on her way along the track.

On that same day:

6. The husband's party coming along the track to carry off the bride, keep up a continual skirmishing.

When they have taken her to their home:

7. They (boy's parents, etc) also kill a buffalo, cook rice & curry &

8. prepare a feast . . . . . . . . 9. with great beating of drums.
On the day after the girl's departure:

11. her "fathers" go & give all the goods
   & chattels, the brass vessels & her clothing.
   They carry them over on shoulder-poles on
   that feast day, to the husband's house.

'That is the day when they count up all the goods, the brass vessels,
the clothes, the marriage ear-rings & twisted ear-rings, the toe-
rings, and how many ornaments the girl is wearing: that is, the
anklets, necklets & metal hair-pins. All the men will know how many
twenties-worth (of rupees) it is; & if it is many twenties, the
word goes round that: "His bride alone has brought a great quantity
of things!" But if it is only a little, they shame the girl. Thus
when a couple become married, they do their work well & after
children are born, they rear them.'

Giving the Bride to the Husband after she has been 'brought'.

Two days go by after the feast ends:

12. Then, the priest takes the lad & girl to a flowing
   water-channel.

13. He takes eggs & thread in his hand, &

14. makes the couple squat down.

15. He looks upwards,

16. gives the "Johari" - greeting,

17. & recites thus:

18. While saying this he 'frees' the egg by setting
   it aside - to discover the mind of the god.

19. He puts a thread necklace on each of them.

20. They come home.

21. The womenfolk put them
   into a house.

22. There they stay as man
   & wife, doing their daily
   work, bearing children
   & going about the country
   side.

1. Invocation:

   "From today
   Let them not quarrel!
   Let them give birth to healthy children!
   Let them not get sickness & disease!
   Let them not get fevers & malaria!
   Let them not get 'heat sickness'"
   (fever due to a wandering malignant spirit)

(13)  TAKING A SECONDARY WIFE - DOGERI OTIKANI ITA

(No other versions)

Temp: 'When a man has already taken one bride and goes to bring home
another one, the earlier bride will beat her the moment she
comes to the husband's house.'
PRINCIPALS & THEIR ACTIONS

DAY 1
1. Husband goes to fetch Bride (2)

2. Villagers (i.e. his kin) say to the first Bride (B (1)) "Tomorrow don't beat her. We will cause water to be poured for you with bangles or a necklet," and thus they give rest to her anger.

DAY 2
2. B(2) takes their advice.

3. She puts a pounding rod on B(1)'s threshold, then

4. Sews a leaf cup & puts one piece of charcoal in it, &

5. Then they (men) pour water into the cup for her.

6. B(2) puts the anklets over the soles of B(1)'s feet

7. Husband's elder brothers & paternal uncles, & all the men of the village say: "From today, after becoming of one heart like this, don't quarrel! From today, the two of you both do your hill-work & field work together!"

9. So, if the husband is a rich man, he gives Rs.2 or 3 for a buffalo (i.e. a feast)

10. Then all the women in his lineage group say: "He's gone & put in a secondary wife!" and all of them - i.e. his elder brothers' wives, or his younger sisters-in-law & younger brothers - these all thrash the place where they will sleep, either with sticks or with their hands; and if they can't get hold of a stick, they pelt it with whatever they can find, "because the couple have troubled them beyond endurance!"

OTHERS INVOLVED

1. Villagers say to B(2): "You have come to live with the head of this household, fully understanding the situation. Pour water for her with bangles or a silver necklet."
A week or two later:

11. The husband buys a buffalo to feed both wives with the bitali portion.
12. He cooks rice & the meat, then
13. takes out a little boiled rice & puts it on a leaf, first of all for B(2).
14. He roasts a tiny portion of the liver in the ashes, plucks it out & adds the rice.
15. Holding the rice & liver-portion
16. he says:
17. While uttering words like these, he goes on to feed B(1) with a little rice (& meat).

18. Then the whole company shares in the feast,
19. All return to their own homes.

1. "From today let there be no quarrels!
   Let there be no sores or wounds!
   May both of them never be without the means of work to do - household & agricultural work.
   May they buy cattle & buffalo, goats & pigs!
   May they have food & possessions!
   May their cooked food never be weak & sloppy!
   (i.e. never need to be, from lack of rice)

(c) Rituals to Guard Against Diminishment Through Pollution

(14) PREGNANCY CARE - LOPKA KATA
(See C(33) p.512)

TIME: "When they say that for a certain young woman to give birth to a baby the priest will need to utter incantations on her behalf & give her 'care-treatment':"

SPECIALIST & HIS ACTIONS OTHERS INVOLVED

1. The husband goes & seeks for a pig
2. then calls the priest.
3. The priest . . . . . . . . . . . . . . & the young couple take the pig, 2 eggs, the branch of a Saré thorn tree, a branch of the Lomru-berry tree, & a bitter gourd,
4. carry them to the river.
5. Then the priest goes into trance
6. & inquires whether all will go well
   or not well.
7. Priest . . . . . . . . . . . . & couple
   stand there in the river, with clean
   clothes on, & 'bathe right over their
   heads'.
8. Priest takes the gourd & plucks out
   the seeds.
9. He starts twisting some cotton-thread
   into string & threads 2 seeds on it,
10. smearing them with turmeric.
11. Then he sets upright, in the water,
   the thorn branch & the Londru branch
12. and he makes . . . . . . . . . . . .
   the man & his wife stand a-
   stride just below the
   branches he has set up.

13. The priest takes an egg.
14. & makes invocation: 1
15. He prays at great length like this:
16. & does the same with another egg. 2
17. Then, with 8 gourd-seeds on the thread
   necklace he had begun,
18. he looks in the direction of the sunrise
19. & makes invocation, saying: 2
20. Saying this, he touches the woman's face 7 times
21. & puts the necklace round her throat.
22. He puts one round her husband's neck in the same way.
23. Then he passes one egg & the offered rice between
   the couple's
   straddled legs,
24. & allows the water to carry it away.
   25. Then the couple both come
   back to their house
   26. without looking back,
   27. & without speaking to, or
   answering people coming &
   going on the path.

28. & the priest takes the other egg,
29. makes invocation by himself: 3
30. while saying this he sets the egg apart
   by placing it in a bush.
   Next day
31. They (i.e. the priest . . . . . . & couple (or husband only)
32. go to see whether the egg is all right or has been taken.
   33. Then they give the priest
   whatever things are to be
given.

"This is how they carry out the care treatment. If that woman
through God's love becomes pregnant after a little while, that priest becomes
famous through folk's saying: 'When that priest gave care-treatment
to that woman who is going to give birth, she became child-bearing!"
1. **Invocation:**
   "Great Bura, Little Bura!
   Indoro-woman, Jomoro-woman!
   God of the Upper Darni! God of the Lower Darni!
   You made the face, you made the visage!
   The binding up of the hills, the binding up of the ponds,
   In the region of the hills, in the region of the ponds!
   A golden child, a silver child!
   Let it not be *tuti*! Let it not be *bagi*!
   Let it not be cracked open! Let it not snap off!"

2. "If this treatment of mine, this care-ritual,
   is worthy, is prosperous,
   Blow the blood to me! Blow the gore to me!
   Make the large black hornet crawl towards me!
   Let the winged insect scratch up the dust towards me!"

3. "If my care-treatment, my baby-ritual,
   is worthy, is prosperous,
   While we are sleeping, while we are slumbering,
   Don't let a tiger eat the egg!
   Don't let a bear eat the egg!
   Let it not crack open!
   Let it not snap off!"

---

(a) **Rituals in Life-Destroying Situations**

I. Due to Disturbed Spirits:

(15) **THE BAD HUMOUR DANCE - LERO ENDA**

See sheet G (i) in the back pocket of Vol.1 for this ritual,
and sheet G(ii) for its parallel in 1966.

(16) **POHA for Fever**

(See C(54) p.543)

**SPECIALIST & HIS ACTIONS**

"When a man has fever" ..............

1. They (his household) say:
   "Let us clearly understand why this man has fever."

2. So they call the priest

3. and make him go into trance.

4. While uttering incantations, he may say: 
   "If you go & perform a *Poha* to Dumaleri Fenu by means of a piglet,
   the fever will release him."

5. Then they seek out a piglet,
   a few flowers, a small pot,
   & a split-bamboo rattle
They fashion clay images & seek out turmeric powder, soot, a little unboiled rice & an egg.

Then the household calls the priest & makes him perform the Poha:

1. Priest holds the piglet in his hand
2. & swings it in circles over the patient's head,
3. Swinging the piglet round & round in this manner, and
4. taking the necessary cooking-pots, the rice & all the other things,
5. He (or men of kin) goes along the path
6. & sacrifices the piglet,
7. praying as before:  
8. After cooking rice & meat ... they eat it and all come home.
9. Then they give a tambi-measure (3 lbs.) of rice to the priest
10. and send him home.

Invocation:

"Dumaleri Sauteri!
Unstable One, Insane One!
Stuttering Female, Dumb Female!
Black One! One with Fitted Sores! Smallpox-Worker!
Female Dung-Beetle! Female Centipede!
Don't give malaria, don't give fever!
Don't burn the head, don't burn the body!
Don't prevail over us, don't increase over us!
Four a jet of water, pour out a jet of water,
With the arrow-bird's sound, with the Golden Oriole bell-sound,
Cleanse the mouth! Cleanse the skin-eruptions!
I will give you blood, I will give you gore!
On the path, on the track!"

"HEATS" RITUAL - KARANGA LAKA
(See C(34) p.513)

TIME: There is a ritual named "The Heats Ritual"...performed when a sick person gets steadily more and more thin & dried up.

SPECIALIST & HIS ACTIONS

1. If the priest's divining goes in such a way that he decrees "Heats":
2. then, the priest holds a young chicken in his hand
3. & swings it, circling over the patient's head,

OTHERS INVOLVED

1. His household make the priest perform divination.
2. (household seek out the chicken & all other necessary ritual elements).
5. saying:
6. After encircling him in this manner, he takes rice, a cooking pot, wood, salt, turmeric & a firebrand.
7. & goes to a place where there is water.
8. There (sacrificing the chicken) he makes invocation as before. 2
9. He cooks rice & the meat; (& eats?)
10. then he comes home.
11. Later, they give the priest his payment, in rice & paddy, for the work he has done for them.

1 & 2 Invocation: "Dori-mai, Paga-mai!
Inda-heat, Hearth-heat, Jomo-dai, Jomo-keri!
You made us, you fashioned us, Don't exhaust our heart!
Don't make us faint!
You will not eat a fistful!
You will not eat a handful!
A full stomach, full intestines,
Tie a knot, tie an end!
Don't give malaria, don't give fever!
Like wax, like resin,
Make it still, make it dori!
Shake water out of a little brass pot!
Sprinkle drops out of the pot!"

BUFFALO RITUAL - KORU LAKA
(See C(9) p. 488)

TIME: Annually, late August or early September, "in order to eat the gravy with the new rice."
This must have been a regular occasion for human sacrifice to the Earth Goddess in the past.

SPECIALISTS & THEIR ACTIONS

PREPARATION:
1. Everyone in the village assembles & holds a discussion referring to the buffalo as "Earth". They discuss:
(a) from whom they will obtain a buffalo to sacrifice on the following day;
(b) how much money will need to be collected from each house in repayment for the buffalo;
(c) and matters like that.
DAY 1

"On the selected day:"

1. Everyone stays within the village - for on that day the buffalo will be sacrificed.

2. The derni-keeper (d.k.) alone makes invocation to the Earth Goddess:
   While the d.k. prays thus,

3. he continually sets aside grains of rice & (plucked) hairs from the buffalo.

4. They (d.k. & elders) slay the buffalo

5. and chop up its flesh.

6. D.K. roasts a little of the liver in the fire;

7. mixes it with cooked rice,

8. & praying in the same way,

9. he "throws down the liver" and rice.

10. Then he cleans his teeth

11. & eats some of the rice & curry.

12. After that, they chop up and share out the rest of the meat.

1. Invocation: "Earth Goddess, Earth Goddess,
   A male buffalo, a seed buffalo,
   I have trapped for you,
   I have held fast for you,
   Do not sport, with your hand,
   Do not play, with your arm,
   On the labour of cultivation that we have done!
   From the cultivating we have done with the aji-plough,
   From the farming we have done with the bite-plough,
   You gods, go!
   You gods, depart!
   So let it be!
   And the seed-paddy we shall keep in store,
   The seed-paddy we shall keep in store,
   Like a cat,
   Like a pussy,
   Let it sleep!
   Let it snooze!"

(a) Rituals in Life-Destroying Situations

II Due to Man's Ill-Will:

(19) CURE FOR EVIL EYE - MELI CHIVA KATA

See sheet H (i) in the back pocket of Vol. I for this ritual,

and sheet H(ii) for its parallel in 1966.
ORDEAL BY BOILING WATER - ATAMANI SIDHU SARRA

(See C(68) p. 552)

Tell: "In a certain village when Melura's brass bowl was stolen, he accused Manira, saying: 'You have stolen my rice-bowl!' He replied: 'No! I haven't taken your rice-bowl!' But Melura said: 'No! You alone have carried off my rice-bowl!' And when he added: 'If you haven't taken it, swear on oath by ordeal!' then:

SPECIALISTS & THEIR ACTIONS

OTHERS INVOLVED

the people of his village

---

1. Manira gathered together...

2. He said to them: "Melura is accusing me of theft by saying that I took his rice-bowl. Listen to me! Tomorrow I will undergo ordeal by boiling-water!

3. When he said that, his village folk questioned Melura: "Is it true that you are accusing Manira of theft?"

4. Melura said: "Yes I certainly am accusing him of theft! Let Manira undergo trial by ordeal!"

5. And he added: "If Manira is not scalded by the ordeal, I will perform the blessing by means of a buffalo."

6. Then all the men said to Manira: "If you have stolen it, don't undergo the ordeal!"

7. But Manira replied: "I don't even know his brass bowl! Give me the ordeal!"

8. And even when the entire village spoke about it,

9. Manira said: "No! I haven't taken it!"

10. Then all the men sat down to decide the matter.

11. When they asked Manira: "If you are scalded by the ordeal, what repayment will you make?"

12. He replied: "If I am scalded by the ordeal, I will give Melura 2 brass rice-bowls, and

13. I will give a buffalo to my elder brothers & my father's younger brothers (i.e. his village elders)

14. On his saying that, they made the decision: "Tomorrow morning we shall boil (water for) the ordeal."
15. So on that same day, Manira went & bought a new earthen cooking-pot,
16. then took a wooden pole & whatever else, and
17. went & put them at the spot where the ordeal would take place.

DAY 2 - "While it is still night - & therefore too early for the women-
18. Manira will take the new cooking-pot to the spring,
19. give himself a bath,
20. & take the new pot, full of water, (to the place of ordeal)
21. There he heats it until it bubbles & boils,
22. (previously) When Manira was still in the village, he had asked . . . . his father's younger brother,
23. & now he sends him to watch the ordeal,
24. The menfolk will come & watch the ordeal too.

25. Then Melura also comes
26. holding a little rice
27. Melura scatters the rice-grains
28. with this invocation: ¹
29. After saying this, he gives the Johari-greeting
30. & scatters more rice
31. Then Manira dips his hand into the boiling water.

If he is burned
32. Everyone says: "It is true that Manira stole the brass rice-bowl!"
33. & they make him give 2 brass rice-bowls, and
34. they ask him for a buffalo.

If he has not taken it, when the ordeal does not scald him
35. they ask the accuser for a buffalo or a pig or Rs. 4 or 6, & say to him:
36. "You accused him unfairly & he became ceremonially unclean."

"That's how they perform trial by ordeal. That is the way they do it."

1. Invocation: 'God of the Sun, God of the Heat of the Sun:
   God of Water! God of Water!
   If this man, Manira, has truly stolen my rice-bowl,
   Pick (him) up, making him gasp with suffering!
   If he has not (stolen it),
   With an unripe + hand, a sober hand,
   Knowing your mind, having your assent,
   Like the Iron God, like the guiding spirit,
   Decide the contest! Apportion the blame!"

¹ i.e. unburned hand
A KOND MYTH: HOW BURA GOD GAVE SAGO-PALM TODDY AND DIVINATION TO THE KONDS

(In no other versions)

In a certain village there were seven brothers, sons of the same man. One day, they went off to cut and plane wooden ploughs and yokes. And six of the brothers went along one track while the youngest went by himself along another track. And these six brothers smoothed off the wood for their ploughs and came home; but the youngest lad was tired when he had planed his plough, and he lay down in the shade of a sago-palm tree. And when he had slept there for a little while, he got up, but being very hungry and thirsty, he wept.

And Bura God Losmi heard his weeping and went and asked: "O Father (sir), why are you weeping?" He replied: "It's like this, woman (Mother) + I smoothed off my ploughing yoke, and now I am crying because I am so hungry and thirsty. Then Bura God Losmi made this revelation to him, saying:

"O sir,
That female, Tala-mai Binja-mai,
She who was born from elephant dung,
She who was born from horse-dung,
In the root, in the soft indentation,
A breast is suspended, milk is suspended.
Cut these!
Chop these!
Water will come out; liquid will come out.
It will be a pond, a pool,
And you will eat that, drink that;
And you will be intoxicated.
You will be filled full.
Your hunger will go;
Your thirst will go!"

So he cut into that root, he chopped into that soft indentation where the milk was suspended, the sap was suspended. And when he cut, when he chopped, he says that water appeared, liquid appeared. An overflow came, a pool came. He says that he drank it, he ate it. He says that he was intoxicated, he was filled full! He stuck a Tilko flower in his hair, a Gamberi flower in his top-knot. Then holding his battle-axe in one hand, holding his bow in the other hand, he danced and he pranced. So he stayed there six or seven days without going home.

Then his wife cried: "O fathers! Abandoning your own blood - the younger brother that was born to you - you are not telling me how and what has happened when you say that some tiger or bear has eaten him or he has died by being tied up and hanged! You yourselves killed him and came home, abandoning him!"

+ In this myth the Konds apparently consider that the High God incorporates both sexes: 'Bura God Losmi' is addressed as a female early in the account yet as a male in the later paragraphs.
When she said this, they were angry. "How should we come home like that after killing our younger brother?" they said, and angrily took up their battle-axes and bows and went in search of him.

And there they saw him, dancing, holding his axe and bow, and with the Tilko flowers and the Gamberi flowers sticking out of his hair. And when they questioned him: "Younger brother, how is it with you? And what have you had to eat?" he replied: "0 elder brothers! You come right here! I will show you and tell you, and you too will eat and drink and you will not hunger nor thirst; and you will be intoxicated and filled full!" And he showed them all. So they drank and ate, were intoxicated and filled full; and, like him, they danced and they pranced.

They too stayed there without going home; and their wives wondered why they hadn't come, and went to look for them. And when they saw all of them - just like the first one - with Tilko flowers and Gamberi flowers in their hair, dancing all over the jungle, they asked them: "0 menfolk! What has happened to you and what have you had to eat? And why are you dancing all over the jungle?" They replied: "0 womenfolk! What are you thinking about? Come, and we will show you, and you too will eat and drink and be intoxicated and filled full!" And they took them to that place. Then they too were intoxicated and filled full, and they didn't feel any hunger or thirst at all.

After going on like that for a while, one day when one of the women drank during her period, the wine 'died'. Then their husbands wept because they couldn't get any wine to drink. While they were weeping in this way, Bura God Losni came and questioned them. They replied: "0 Sir, since the wine-gruel we were drinking 'died', we have all kept on weeping. Now what shall we drink and eat?" Bura God said: "No, no! Don't you cry! Because the wine was on the ground, cattle and pigs were drinking it; all the wild animals and all the wildfowl drank too. So the drink became fit to stick in your throat. It was for this reason, when the menstruating woman drank, it went upwards. And up there, the milk will increase, the sap will increase." So he spoke and showed it to them. And when the man said: "However can I climb up there so high? And if I do climb up high, however shall I drink there!", God replied: "No! High up on the tree-top, on the topmost tuft, You will hack at the suspended milk, the suspended sap - a young male tiger's thing; a young male bear's thing - You will bring a bamboo pole and raise it up, a sturdy full-grown bamboo. Tie it to the tree-trunk! Climb up aloft, And cut, and hack!"

The man did as God said, and wine came into existence, 'gruel' took form! And he kept on dipping into it with his hand. Then God came and said: "Don't do it like that, you! Go and fetch a potter's earthen pot, then the drops, dripping into it and loading it up, will gather in the pot in plenty. They will fill it to the brim.
Then sitting together in a golden group,  
Sitting together in a silver group,  
You will eat and drink these  
With your friends and companions,  
With your 'in-laws' and widespread folk!  
And you will be intoxicated,  
You will be filled full!"

After doing this for some time, one day the wine 'died'. He dismantled the pots and the long bamboo pole and was on his way home. Then Bura God asked him: "Where are you going?" He replied: "O Father! Now that the wine I was drinking has died, I am on my way home," he said, "for what shall I eat now? What shall I drink? That's why I am taking all the pots and poles home." And God said: "O man! Bring a feathered arrow, a bow's arrow, and purify a jriki vasi tara, mandri vasi tara (a pot?). And he said: "With what shall I cleanse it, purify it?" And God said: "Bring me vaki; they will become divining gudinga (grain?). Bring me the leaf of a sago-palm; that will become the winnowing tray (for divining). And bring me the knife you are using to cut with; that will become the red (ingu) iron, the red (bogu) iron. If you make it pure, if you make it holy in this way, the wine will flow, the 'gruel' will flow," he said. And when the man did this, the wine flowed, the 'gruel' flowed.

We Kui people still hold firm to this belief to this day and perform the sago-palm wine divination.

(22) RITUAL FOR PATKONDO FENU, God of the whole Pan Group -  
DOMANGANI FUTAA FENU LAKA  
(No other versions)

TED: "This they do when God afflicts a person".

SPECIALIST & HIS ACTIONS    OTHERS INVOLVED

2. The head of the lineage group invokes him thus:  
3. He makes this invocation while keeping on scattering rice &
4. giving Johari-greetings  
5. And in his house all his relatives gather together  
6. He . . . . . . . and . . . they 'show' the goat  
7. They "show" the pig . . . in the same way.
At cock-crow on the day for showing these
8. the head of the family goes & bathes.

9. They also habitually seek out
two chickens - one red ("bloom-
coloured") & the other white;
both must be cock-birds

10. When he returns, he bathes the
cocks with water,
11. anoints them with turmeric
12. & anoints himself with turmeric, too.
When the sun is just bursting forth
13. he 'shows' the white cock first
in this way: 3
14. While saying this, he keeps on
scattering rice
15. & giving Johari-greetings to God
16. He goes on & on unceasingly.
17. they all . . . . . . . . . remain for that day.

1 & 2 Invocation: "Johari, O God!
Don't give us malaria, don't give us fevers!
Today I am setting apart a young male animal for you,
Today I am setting apart a young male girl for you,
Today make things increase for us! Make things multiply
for us!

Arrest "heat"! Arrest mites!
Neither to man nor to woman give malaria, give fever!
Assent to children! Assent to offspring!
Today (we give) to you an uncastrated male goat, an evil goat.
Today sitting on a horse, sitting on an elephant,
Travel to & fro! Go & take them!
Our bullocks or our buffalo,
While they are grazing, or while they are doing
their work,
Don't push them towards a tiger!
Don't press them towards a bear!

May our cooking, our cooking,
Our handfuls of green vegetable, our handfuls of
popcorn,
Our cultivating, our agriculture.
May it load layer upon layer! May it be in excess!
When we go trading, when we go trading,
Befriend us! Companion us!
Don't make us stumble! Don't make us break anything!"

3 Invocation:

God of the Sun, God of the Heat of the Sun!
You are giving us malaria; you are giving us fevers.
I am setting apart this male creature for you!
I am setting apart this clawed one for you!
Don't give diseases to our children!
Don't give sickness to our youngsters!
Don't give us hunger!
Don't give us excess of it! (i.e. famine)
Don't give us malaria! Don't give us fevers!
Don't give us colds! Don't give us coughs!
Don't give us diarrhoea! Don't give us 'proud stomach'

Our trading, our commerce,

Akankatari viantara.

You gods, go! From our hamlet, Go!
0 You Creator, You Ornamented!
0 Bura God, Bura-Maju

For twenty years, for twelve years,
Watch over us! Look out for us!

Don't make us mad! Don't make us faint!
Don't strike us in the ribs! Don't strike us on the body!

Olang-Kuara Dari-Kuara,
Amali-Baei Sanjuli-Binjuli,
Deal with us as in former times!

Make us increase!

Note: These Pan prayers appear largely to be extracts from those spoken by the Konds on specific occasions. Here the Pans make of them a composite prayer with certain necessary additions, such as their petition for good trading and for journeying mercies. The use of three separate victims - a goat, a pig and a cock - argues a similar non-theological superfluity, as does the ceaseless repetition of the ritual greetings to God and the scattering of rice (see points 14, 15 & 16 in the text above).
INDEX C

RITUALS RECORDED IN THE MID-TWENTIETH CENTURY by
Barbara McBeal, classified as described in Vol.1, Chap.IV

Two sub-ceremonies of purification:

(1) Plastering the House-Floor (Gruhka) (No other versions) 478
(2) Changing the Cooking Pots (Tekinga Naga) 479

(a) Rituals of Ordered Relationship Between God, Man and
the Land:

(3) Casting out the hoes (No other versions) 480
(4) 'Festival Ritual' (Mentioned but not described by Kogera) 481
(5) Hunting ritual (See A(12) p.438) 481
(6) Wild fruits ritual (No other versions) 483
(7) Mango-flour ritual 484
(8) 'Births' ritual (See B(3) p.455) 485
(9) Buffalo ritual (See B(13) p.469) 488
(10) Bori ritual when paddy-grain forms (No other versions) 488
(11) Millet harvest ritual (See B(4) p.456) 489
(12) Dry-rice harvest ritual (See B(5) p.458) 489
(13) Afflictions ritual (See B(6) p.458) 490
(14) Ritual for harvesting the paddy-fields (See Sheets A(ii) & A(i) in Vol.1 back pocket) 491
(15) (Paddy) Empty ears ritual (See Sheets B(ii) & B(i) in Vol.1 back pocket) 491
(16) Threshing floor ritual (See Sheets C(ii) & C(i) in Vol.1 back pocket) 491
(17) The Day of Scattering (See Sheets D(ii) & D(i) in Vol.1 back pocket) 491
(18) Hill-lentil harvest ritual (No other versions) 492
(19) Cow-byre ritual 492

(b) Rituals Seeking the Blessing and Co-operation
I of the Clan's Ancestors:

(20) Bullock ritual (See Sheets E(ii) & E(i) in Vol.1 back pocket) 493
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PAGE</th>
<th>(21) Ritual for the lineage group's spirits (No other versions)</th>
<th>493</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(22)</td>
<td>Setting up the ancestors' shrine in a new home</td>
<td>496</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(23)</td>
<td>Bringing home the new ancestor after a death (See C(42) p.525: Ritual for a normal death: third day)</td>
<td>497</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>II of the Clan or Village's Founding Fathers:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(24)</td>
<td>Removal of a village to a new site (No other versions)</td>
<td>497</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(25)</td>
<td>Changing the shadok-keeper</td>
<td>498</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>III of the Clan's Ancestors in Matters involving other Clans:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(26)</td>
<td>A 'raised up' marriage (See A(20) p.444; B(F-P) p.447; &amp; B(12) p.460)</td>
<td>499</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(27)</td>
<td>A 'ground-level' mariage</td>
<td>504</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(28)</td>
<td>Showing an infant to its maternal kin</td>
<td>507</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(29)</td>
<td>Rituals to Guard Against Diminishment Through Pollution</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(29)</td>
<td>Hearths</td>
<td>508</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(30)</td>
<td>Concerning menstruation</td>
<td>509</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Purification for re-entry into the tribe and clan:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(31)</td>
<td>- after marrying outside the tribe (No other versions)</td>
<td>510</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(32)</td>
<td>- after maggot-infestation of a sore</td>
<td>511</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Three pregnancy rituals:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(33)</td>
<td>- Tying the thread</td>
<td>512</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(34)</td>
<td>- 'Heats' ritual</td>
<td>513</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(35)</td>
<td>- Hysteria in pregnancy</td>
<td>514</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(36)</td>
<td>Giving birth</td>
<td>515</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(37)</td>
<td>Purification and ritual re-entry into the family after giving birth (No other versions)</td>
<td>516</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rituals for children:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(38)</td>
<td>- Blessing a beaten child</td>
<td>518</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(39)</td>
<td>- Treatment for wearing the first cloth</td>
<td>518</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>Remedial care for a girl born facing the back of the house</td>
<td>519</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>Tattooing of face</td>
<td>519</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>Normal death</td>
<td>521</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>'Unripe' (untimely) deaths</td>
<td>528</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Community purification from 'unripe' death</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>by tiger-kill</td>
<td>530</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>in childbirth</td>
<td>532</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>of a new-born infant</td>
<td>534</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td>by hanging, drowning, falling from a tree or murder</td>
<td>535</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td>leprosy</td>
<td>536</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49</td>
<td>incest</td>
<td>536</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>Rituals in Life-Destroying Situations:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51</td>
<td>Iron God ritual (formerly God of War) (No other versions)</td>
<td>536</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52</td>
<td>Smallpox  Poha for whole district (No other versions)</td>
<td>538</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53</td>
<td>Vaccination  Poha (modern)</td>
<td>542</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54</td>
<td>Poha for fevers, cholera, etc.</td>
<td>543</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55</td>
<td>Ritual for the Hill God (sacred grove) (No other versions)</td>
<td>544</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>and note regarding gods of springs, rivers etc.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(See A(15) (16) (18) p.441-442)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56</td>
<td>Evil-eye, and</td>
<td>544</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57</td>
<td>To counter evil-eye</td>
<td>544</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(See Sheets H(ii) &amp; H(i) in Vol.I back pocket)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58</td>
<td>Witchcraft</td>
<td>545</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59</td>
<td>Treatment of illnesses of suspected witchcraft origin</td>
<td>546</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(60) Sorcery (No other versions) 548

(61) Treatment: sucking out the 'grit' 548

(62) Curse 549

(63) Counter-curse 549

(64) Tiger-transformation (See A(21) p.446) 550

(a) Socio-Political Rituals of Justification and Reparation

Trials by Ordeal:

(65) - Walking the fire-trench (See Vol.I pp.25-26) 550

(66) - Ducking water (No other versions) 551

(67) - Holding the red-hot iron bar 552

(68) - Ordeal by boiling water (See B(20) p.471) 552

(69) - Drinking the soil (No other versions) 554

(70) Casting a (preventive) spell 554

(71) Spell-reversal ritual 555

(72) Slaying the lizard 555

(73) Holding the leprosy-like jungle-creeper (No other versions) 556

(74) Splitting the mango-stone 556

(75) Hand-beating 556

Five oaths to prove innocence:

(76) - Lighting the lamp 556

(77) - Touching one's child 557

(78) - Touching one's eye 557

(79) - Dissolving salt 557

(80) - Breaking the egg 557

Five oaths concerning theft:

(81) - The exposing test 557

(82) - Razor-fragments oath 558
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>558</td>
<td>(83) - Swinging the tiger-firebrand (No other versions)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>558</td>
<td>(84) - Giving the grains of rice</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>559</td>
<td>(85) - Carrying God's book on the head</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
RITUALS RECORDED IN THE MID-TWENTIETH CENTURY

by Barbara M. Boal, & classified as described in Vol. I, Chapter IV.

Two sub-ceremonies of purification:

(1) PLASTERING THE HOUSE-FLOOR - GRUHKHA

(No other versions)

TIME: 'Gruhka is performed whenever the house is dirty, and even if it isn't dirty, it must be done for any important sacrificial ritual:

i. particularly by mothers following birth-uncleanness; and

ii. is essential at the Bullock Sacrifice for the ancestors (Sept.)

iii. also before harvesting the buda paddy (end of Nov. - Dec.)

iv. on any occasion of takina maga (changing the cooking pots)

v. following every menstrual period (on the final day when a woman 'washes her cloths' & her sleeping mat) because women sleep in the main room on these occasions.'

In order to perform gruhka, the housewife:

1. wearing a clean cloth (i.e. having just bathed) and with freshly-washed hair,

2. brings in some earth from the panga or the back plot;

3. makes it moist by sprinkling water on it.

4. Then she sprinkles the house floor until it is quite wet.

5. Next she grates and rubs the floor with a potsherd

6. & slaps on mud, plastering over any holes & flaky areas or levelling it where lumps stick up.

7. Then, constantly sprinkling water, she smooths it over by means of a very smooth, rounded stone (keeping up a continuous hissing: "Sssss-Sssss" between her teeth).

8. When that process is completed, either the same day or the following one, she spreads cowdung smoothly over the whole area. This is done by hand, without adding more water, "so that the house will look well cared for".

'If the women do this work in the morning, it dries by evening and the house looks good. Some women use a long bean-pod if they cannot get hold of a smoothing stone.

In between times, too, if the floor becomes a little rough, they may rub on cowdung; for if that is not done, a house that simply receives the gruhka mud-process has the unfinished look of an unoiled face!'
CHANGING THE USED COOKING POTS - TEKINGA MASPA

(No other versions)

TIME: - after a birth;
- at a death;
- at the 'Bringing out of the new seed-paddy' & new food-stuffs (late May), "because they have been cooking meat & fish in the pots & have eaten these things".
- at the time of the Bullock Sacrifice (Sept.) & the less frequent Lakseri Giva, both for the ancestors.
- before harvesting the Buda Paddy (end of Nov.) Konds say: "because we have cooked meat, fish & vegetables in these old cooking pots, & eaten these things, the pots belonging to each one of us have become unclean."

To perform tekinga maspa:

The women of the household:

1. must wash all the household's clothing.
2. Then, wearing a clean cloth & with freshly-washed hair,
3. they must gruhka the house floor.
4. They gather up all their old earthen pots, the bamboo tray, the gourd-ladle, the bigger pot for cooking rice, the rice-straining spoon, the little rice-basket (tambi) & the raffia-carrying ring (or sometimes they just wash some of these clean!)
5. They take them all to the panga to throw away - or to the cremation ground following a death.
6. They change them for new earthen pots, new carrying ring, gourd-ladle, strainer, bamboo tray & little rice-basket.

Head of household - sacrifices a chicken to the household gods

(in the middle room?)

For a few days. (i.e. during harvest) they will not eat goat-meat, green beans, varieties of hill-beans, & 'dog's tongue' vegetable, nor the parched rice that is made with salt. They will not eat the salt fish from the market, only the tiny fresh fish from the buda fields (already harvested) & parched rice made from unboiled (i.e. pure) paddy.

'This ritual of changing the cooking pots is performed for fear that: 'If we don't first change them and offer sacrifices, Femu-maju will decrease the yield from our cultivation.'
(a) Rituals of Relationship Between God, Man and the Land:

(3) CASTING OUT THE HOES - GODINDA TUPPA

(No other versions)

TIME: As soon as the first call of the Matta-Topoo bird is heard (Cuckoo family) folk say: "The time has come!" i.e. in late April-May.

It is performed so that seed-grain may be sown and also hunting may begin. (The ritual use of a hard-wood hoe from each house indicates the antiquity of the rite - not only before the paddy-growing era when all seed was laboriously hand-planted on the hill-slopes, but also before the use of iron blades on the hoe.)

SPECIALISTS & THEIR ACTIONS

The previous day:

1. The dami-keeper (d.k.) informs the village, especially the small boys.
2. That same day, the men try to collect from every household a weeding hoe made from hardwood from the hills. 
3. The d.k. places these on the dami.

Next morning as soon as dawn breaks:

4. The d.k. rouses the boy-children
5. The boys gather up the hoes from the dami
6. & also a little seed-grain from the d.k.'s house,
7. & take them down the path beyond the lower boundary.
8. There they light a fire on the path
9. & sit grouped around it shouting the hunting call: "Sa-sa! Sa-sa!"
10. After shouting like this for a while, they 'sow' their seed on the path
11. & 'weed' it with the wooden hoes. +
12. Next they daub the smallest child's face with wood-ash from the fire (sometimes 2 children) "tattooing" them to resemble hares.
13. Then they hunt them over the panga.
14. After catching the children with the hare-like faces, they sling them from a carrying-pole (by their arms & legs)
15. & bear them off to the dami.
16. There the d.k. sprinkles a little water over them.
17. The children beg a little mahua from each house,
18. bake it & pound it, then share it out amongst themselves & eat it.

Afterwards:

19. The d.k. takes a chicken, some mahua & some rice
20. & offers them at the dami.
21. He slays the chicken,
22. cooks the rice & meat
23. (? offers the bitali portion)
24. & eats his own portion.

From that day, the housewives can bake or boil mahua indoors for food. The men can begin to sow their seed and also may go out hunting.

+ Modern hoes have iron blades.

+ In Konobageri area they burn the hoes on their fire after that.
TIME: Soon after the group-ritual for Casting Out the Hoes. Here the derni-keeper, representing the community, seeks blessing on 'the bringing out of everyone's seed-paddy and other seeds.'

SPECIALISTS & THEIR ACTIONS (NO OTHERS INVOLVED)

1. On the previous day: d.k. and wife perform Gruhka and Tekinga Maspa in their own home.
2. Next morning they both remain fasting.
3. D.k. goes to bathe at the spring,
4. then brings back water in a new pot.
5. He squats at the derni, placing on it an egg and some turmeric.
6. Then holding a chicken,
7. he prays:
8. He cuts the chicken's throat
9. & pours its blood on the derni.
10. After making a fire at the derni,
11. He sings the chicken's feathers off,
12. cuts up & cooks the meat & some rice.
13. He offers the bitali portion of liver at the derni to Bura God
14. & eats his own portion there.
15. His wife eats her portion indoors.

1. Invocation: "O Bura God Above!
Let all the sowing we are doing at this time
Turn out well!"

Note: Though this is the only description of a 'Festival Ritual', Kagora earlier mentioned a buffalo sacrifice at this point 'to bring out the seed'. In earlier days this highlight in the agricultural year would almost certainly have involved a human victim, but this would be replaced by a buffalo through the persuasion of the East India Company, around 1845. Macpherson also reports on a ritual named 'Bringing Out the Seed' (A(8) p. 433), but that, he says, was in the Bura-worshipping area that never offered human victims whereas Mallikapori is in the area that worshipped the Earth Goddess and still maintains a Meriah Grove.

(5) **HUNTING and its Ritual - FLAMBU LAKA**

(See A(12) p. 438)

TIME: Only after the ritual 'Casting Out the Hoes'

HARES

1. The men call through the village: "Come on! Let us go and hunt for hares!" They take pointed sticks and go off to the hill with their dogs.
Two or three climb high rocks or a tall tree to look all around. The rest form a line and keep beating and slashing the bushes.

If they drive out a hare, they all give chase shouting over and over again: "Ho-ha! Ho-ha!" One of those who had climbed to a high spot shouts directions: "Go that way" etc.

There is a great outcry if they catch sight of the hare again. They drive it down to the panga, where their dogs attack it. The men beat it with sticks, all threatening and shouting.

If they catch it, they cut a branch of jargi (hard wood), tie the hare to it and give it to a boy to carry. They put it on the upper darni, and do the same with as many hares as they catch.

Afterwards all the men cut up the hares into little pieces. They give a little meat to the darni-keeper (i.e. for the darni-gods), then share out the rest. Each takes his own portion home.

1. Macpherson noted 130 years before that the God of Hunting was a jovial god who demands shouting and hilarity from his followers - and no crying in the village, even by children.
WILD FRUITS RITUAL - BORA LAKA

(NO OTHER VERSIONS)

TIME: June

NOTE: The Bora plant is a wild fruit-bearing creeper associated by the Konds with lavish provision, especially of wild fruits.

SPECIALIST & HIS ACTIONS (NO OTHERS INVOLVED)

1. On the chosen day the darni-keeper fasts
2. and goes to bathe at the spring.
3. He returns bringing water (for cooking)
4. & offers an egg, turmeric, rice & a chicken at the darni.
5. After placing the egg, turmeric & some of the rice in the darni stones,
6. he holds the chicken and prays:
7. Then he cuts the chicken's throat
8. & pours the blood over the egg on the darni.
9. He prepares & cooks the remaining rice & the chicken.
10. He offers the bitali portion of cooked food at the darni
11. along with pounded lumps of dried mango & whole green mangoes.
12. He eats his own portion beside the darni.

1. Invocation: 'O Bora God Above,
   Where we have sown our seed
   There we shall clear the weeds from our cultivation;
   So make all our farming prosperous for us!
   We shall now eat the new wild-fruits -
   That is, green mangoes, ripe mangoes, mahua, wild dates & similar varieties of wild fruits.
   Let them be for the well-being of us all!'

Note: In recent years this Wild Fruits Ritual has sometimes been incorporated within the 'Births' Ritual (See C(8) below) in Mallikapori, for most of the surrounding hills are now only covered with secondary scrub-jungle offering fewer wild fruits. Elsewhere the ritual remains of greater importance.
MANGO-FLOUR RITUAL - BISA LAKA (lit: Poison Ritual)
(No other versions)

TIME: In the 'Hungry Season' (April to July) after all the paddy is finished.

The Kui people do not usually throw away mango stones in the wild-mango season. After eating the mango, they store the stones very carefully in baskets in the cowbyre. When it becomes difficult to find enough to eat they place the mango stone on a (real) stone and bang it repeatedly with another stone. Thus they remove the kernel - that is, the 'moon' inside the stone. These are put on one side very, very carefully and are very well washed. The kernels are then pounded into flour - this flour must only be made from very well-washed kernels. Next, they press the damp flour into a basket-sieve and pierce the mass a number of times with a stick, right down to the basket. It is then hung over the main-room hearth for a day. When hanging it up they say: 'Today we have hung up the old woman'.

On the evening of the following day:
The men cover the flour with a couple of leaves then take this 'old woman of the kernel-flour' to a running river or where an irrigation stream falls down the paddy-field bank, and submerge it there. The water percolates through the holes in the flour.

Throughout the night & until dawn the 'poison' in the kernels is washed away - just like washing away the dye in a dyed garment.

Next morning the women taste the kernel-flour. Sometimes if it is astringent, they say the 'poison' hasn't gone, and submerge it again. If it isn't astringent: 'It has all gone away satisfactorily', they say, and take it home.

There they hang it up, pour on a little salt, squeeze it dry and make it into 'cakes'.

The head of the house places a little on a leaf and thrusts a burning brand into it with the invocation:
"The first man who ate you,  
The first man who drank you,  
Make him sick! Make him purged!  
Oh! We eat you because of hunger,  
So make us not sick! And purge us not!"

Then with a leaf beneath the cake and another leaf on top, they place it in the red-hot embers with more embers on top, and so bake it. When it is cooked they break it up, share it out and eat it. Mango-kernel cakes are usually rather 'sharp'.

They may also mix mango-flour with a little cooked rice to make a 'pudding', and eat it dripping with rice-water. Mango kernel food certainly has not a pleasant flavour in the mouth, but those who eat it gain strength. There is less of this food eaten now in the Udayagiri area, but much still in the south-west region.
(The pith of a certain palm-tree is also dried and used for food in cases of desperate necessity.)
BIRTHS RITUAL - MAR Angus Laka

(See B(3) p. 455)

TIME: Late August-September "All sowing and planting is completed by this time so the ritual is performed to obtain good results from all the cultivating: i.e. from paddy-planting, the sowing of dry rice and millet, & of sweet-corn in the garden-plots, & of peas, snake-gourds, cucumbers and pumpkins.

SPECIALISTS & THEIR ACTIONS

1. The darni-keeper (d.k.) & men of the village gather for discussion to decide:-(a) which shall be the day of sacrifice (b) what kind of animal shall be victim (normally a buffalo, but in this particular area the very poor were permitted to substitute several chickens).

When it is a buffalo

2. they must buy one from Pan buffalo traders,

3. & bring it to the village.

4. All heads of households & their wives must fast.

5. They collect alg - rice offerings from every house

6. & also make a cash-collection with which to buy a chicken.

DAY 1 'On the appointed day'

7. D.k. takes his axe and goes to the hill
to cut branches from a bamboo-type of tree (Supururi Sahundi).

9. He also brings Bora 'Hair-Creepers' & leaves, which he steeps in a brass jar of water.

11. He places all these on the darni

12. A growing sweet-corn plant is pulled up from a garden-plot

13. & put on the darni too.

'At the time of sacrifice':

14. The d.k. squats by the darni

15. holding an egg, some rice & turmeric,

16. & he worships thus:

17. Saying this, he slays the buffalo,

18. sprinkles its blood on the darni

19. & puts the egg under the darni-stones

20. He chops up the flesh

21. & cooks a portion,

22. & performs the bitali ritual.

23. Then all the men & women clean their teeth

24. & cook portions of meat & rice in the middle of the street in front of the darni.

25. The men drink liquor.

26. All the people eat with great joy.

27. One or two selected men from neighbouring villages join them in this ritual.
In the evening

28. All the lads & girls of the village gather around the *darni*.

The leaves of the hair-like *Bora*-creep have been steeping in the jar of water previously offered to the *darni*-god;

29. Now with the shout: "*Bora-water!* Bora-water!"

30. The *d.k.* throws the water over the group.

31. When they are sprinkled with it, the boys & girls struggle together to get hold of the leaves.

32. Successful girls stick these in their hair: "If you put a *Bora-Flower* in your hair, your hair grows thick and glossy" is the thought in their minds.

33. Then every household puts cooked rice into a leaf-cup & takes it to the bottom of the village for the girls to have a feast later.

34. The lads and small boys beat on each house with a bamboo rod.

35. The girls (both older & younger) each take a grass-"front of the kind used for sweeping brushes; then starting at the top of the village, they work their way down both sides, sweeping under the eaves.

36. They enter each house, dancing & singing a song: "Eye-flies-Oj"

37. Thus they drive out the eye-flies (bringers of blindness) & the mosquitoes (bringers of malaria).

38. When they have finished sweeping out (at the bottom of the village) they sit down (there) to their food.

39. Meanwhile the lads have finished their own meal in the village street, and have gone off to collect 3 kinds of inedible berry from the jungle.

40. Now, amid great hilarity, they pelt the girls with these & chase them round the village.

During the evening:

44. *D.k.* mixes a little uncooked rice with water & *turmeric* powder & gives it to the people, calling it "*Bees-rice*".

45. He takes water in a brass pot & pours out a little in each doorway for that household.

46. The women catch the water in their winnowing-trays & sprinkle it over the top of the grain-storage bins.

On that celebration day: .... 49. People give rice, paddy, wood & various fruits to the *d.k.*

DAY 2

50. *D.k.* & three or four men who have kept themselves ritually 'holy' go fasting to the *Paga Yenu* (upper *darni*)

51. There they sacrifice a chicken.
52. They go & do the same at the Kota Venu (lower darni)
53. then (cook &) offer bitali portion & eat a meal together. Until then they have not eaten food, they have only drunk wine.

54. Their wives also have fasted throughout the day.

When they have finished feasting:
55. they imprint marks in red on their faces, backs & elbows,
56. & carry a bamboo satari above them.
57. They clothe one man in a red cloth
58. while another tries to carry him on his shoulders.
59. Yet another beats a brass plate or dish & shouts aloud.
60. Drumming like this they call at the door of every house in the village,
61. asking for rice & money as they go.
62. Still shouting, they finally enter the d.k's house.
63. They go right into 'the spirit's place'.
64. Then they take the rice & money with them & go off to drink.

After this: the whole village may eat any new fruits and grains excepting new rice (which being the staple food demands special ritual treatment).

1. Invocation:

"O Bura God Above:
Make good for us all that we have cultivated.
Let it bear good fruit!
Let it be good food for us!
As we eat new leaf-vegetables, herbs & pumpkins,
Let them be for our whole well-being!
Deliver us from the tiger, the bear, the snake - from all these venomous beasts!
Deliver us from all manner of disease;
Deliver us from all suffering unto death!
And from all our enemies!"
LATE AUGUST-early September, 'when the first fruits of the early-grain make the Hungry Season retreat!'

In Kogera's earlier account the Buffalo Ritual took place at the same time of year and for the same reason - to eat the first fruits of the early-grain harvest. Kogera, however, still addressed the invocation to the Earth Goddess despite Mallikapori's being by then in the Bura-worshipping area. This and the fact that his account specifies varieties of millet as the first fruits with no mention of paddy suggests that the ritual has been performed over a very long period, probably before the arrival of paddy-cultivation from the plains. The buffalo in that case would be a substitute-victim for a human being.

In the rapidly changing culture of Mallikapori, the ritual now appears to be changing from a direct sacrifice to the Earth Goddess into one incorporated in the 'Birth' of the new season's vegetables about the same time, (the 'Births' or Maranga Ritual), for they say now:

'This ritual is performed on behalf of the whole village; and with the added hope: 'Let the bula paddy (later) increase well!'

In order to eat the early harvest of pumpkin leaves, maize & varieties of millet, such as Early White Millet, the Arka and Rende varieties, and mango stones, they do the 'Births' Ritual (Maranga Laka) to drive away the eye-flies.

For this a chicken is sacrificed but in a place nearby they sacrifice a buffalo - hence the name Buffalo Sacrifice. In the evening the young women collect cooked grain-food from every house and take their bamboo sticks and household sweeping brooms with them as they go and eat their food a little way along the track; but the lads go and eat in the morning.

(This is clearly an abbreviated version of the full 'Births' Ritual (See C(8) p. 485) with the buffalo victim and the now less-pressing purpose of the Buffalo Sacrifice incorporated).

(10) RITUAL WHEN THE PADDY GRAIN FORMS - BORI LAKA
(No other versions)

TIME: 'When the rice-grain begins to form in the ear'.

SPECIALISTS & THEIR ACTIONS (no 'Others Involved')
1. The men (farming that group of fields) buy a pig or goat & take it to the place of sacrifice (traditional spot beside one of the fields).
2. They pull an ear of paddy from every single field
3. & tie them in a bundle
4. which they place on the sacrificial spot.
5. They sacrifice the animal in the Name of Bura God Above.
6. Invoking him thus at the time of sacrifice:
7. Saying this they (the owner of each traditionally selected field)
slay the animal
8. & pour its blood on the sheaf of paddy.
9. They cook (rice and) the flesh,
(10) (offer the bitali portion?)
11. & eat a meal of rice & meat.
12. They drink liquor too.

1. Invocation: 
    "O Bura God Above!
    Let no insects eat the produce we have laboured for in
    the paddy-fields!
    Nor let them be destroyed by any disease whatever!"

(11) MILLET HARVEST RITUAL - KEBRI KEBRI
(See B(4) p.456)
TIME: Late August - early September.

This ritual has declined in importance in Mallikapori. The unusually wide valleys surrounding this village-group have encouraged concentration on paddy cultivation to a much greater extent than anywhere else except the north-eastern Khondmals region. As already stated, the ritual for the first-fruits of the millet harvest is therefore incorporated now in the Buffalo Ritual (C(9) above).

(12) DRY-RICE HARVEST & 'SCATTERING' - KONDIA KOBI POPKA
(See B(5) p.458)

Note: 'Dry-rice is that which is grown on the panga, irrigated solely by "heavenly water" (rain). This crop must be sown in the first week of June & is harvested in September, the end of the Griha season.' (Griha = slippery, slimy, drizzly)

TIME: 'Immediately before reaping begins on the dry-rice, for it is to free the crop for eating.'

SPECIALIST & HIS ACTIONS

| 1. The darni-keeper (d.k.) must first
  bathe at the spring;  |
| 2. then, still wearing wet clothes, he
  bathes his ploughing cattle.  |
| 3. He brings home some of his ripe
  dry-rice paddy ............. 4. which his wife threshes & parches it in a new earthen pot, thus preparing it for cooking. |

OTHERS INVOLVED
5. He also brings in some Padeli leaves
6. & offers both the dry-rice & the leaves at the darni.
7. while praying: 1
8. As he says this he places an egg inside the darni-stones.
9. Then he suspends an ear of dry-rice, rolled up in a Padeli leaf, over the darni;
10. & inside his house he suspends similar packages over his back & front doors.
11. Outside in the reha, he cooks & eats a dry-rice meal.

Later:
12. 'All the householders in the village observe this practice, performing it privately. If they harvest & eat dry-rice without doing it, they fear that tigers will attack - & even kill - their bullocks, buffalo & goats (i.e. all their domestic animals that wander in search of grazing).
13. Also, if there should be fever in the house later on, & in any case when the year is up, they take the leaf-package down, throw away the straw & place this "divining paddy" carefully in a gourd-scoop; for this paddy is required for divination purposes.+ (N.B. Apparently the superior Buda paddy is not used for divining perhaps because only rich Konds possess the necessary wet-fields, whereas the majority have at least one dry-paddy field).

+ See B(21) p. 473 for an account of how Bura God gave the materials for divination to the Konds, along with the gift of palm-toddy.

1. Invocation: "O Bura God Above!
   We shall be eating this new crop.
   Let it be for the well-being of our bodies!"

(13) THE AFFLICTIONS RITUAL - JUGANGA LAKA
(See B(6) p. 458)

TIME: 'In any year when insects totally destroy roots and all of the seedlings planted in the paddy fields.'

SPECIALIST & HIS ACTIONS		OTHERS INVOLVED
1. All the people of the village gather for discussion.
2. & for the collection of money.
3. They buy a pig.
4. The darni-keeper (d.k.) & men build a miniature hut from very small pieces of wood.
5. Also, they gather wood-shavings & make a miniature grain-storage bin,
6. and pour into it sand-"grain".
7. They bring some insect-eaten seedlings from each paddy-field 'Next'
8. The d.k. sacrifices the pig on the heap of sand.
Then he cooks a little rice in a leaf,
& offers the cooked rice & liver
with invocation;
then 'throws them down' (bitali)

'Afterwards'

All the (male) people of
the village divide the pig-
flesh amongst every house-
hold to cook & eat at home.
(N.B. Only men eat pork).

Those elders who eat the
head are the only ones who
cook & eat their meal of
rice & the head-meat outside
in the raha.

RITUAL FOR HARVESTING THE PADDY FIELDS - KOVA DELI KETA LAKA
See Sheet A(ii) in the back pocket of Vol. I for this ritual,
and Sheet A(i) for its parallel in c. 1910.

(Paddy) EMPTY EARS RITUAL - SISA LAKA
See Sheet B(ii) in the back pocket of Vol. I for this ritual,
and Sheet B(i) for its parallel in c. 1910.

THRESHING FLOOR RITUAL - KLAI LAKA
See Sheet C(ii) in the back pocket of Vol. I for this ritual,
and Sheet C(i) for its parallel in c. 1910.

THE DAY OF SCATTERING - POPKONDI GALA
See Sheet D(ii) in the back pocket of Vol. I for this ritual,
with D(i), its parallel in c. 1910, on the same sheet.
HILL - LENTIL RITUAL - KANGA LAKA

(No other versions)

TIME: When the hill-lentils are ripe (February) in order to harvest the crop.

1. There is no need to call the priest.
2. All the men working the hill-plots in that area collect money,
3. buy a chicken or pig,
4. & go to the (traditionally) chosen hill-plot.
5. They make the sacrifice,
6. offer the bitali portion,
7. then feast together.

Note: Until that sacrifice is performed, not one lentil must be eaten from any of these plots. "If you eat them, they will disagree with you and a tiger or bear will get you!"

After the sacrifice, they are able to pick them, cut them, beat the grain out, and so eat them.

THE COWBYRE RITUAL - GOHELLI LAKA

(No other versions)

This ritual is performed in the name of the God of the Byre for the continued well-being of the cattle & buffalo that sleep there or in their cases of need, e.g. sickness of cattle, or danger from tigers and leopards in the dry season when the cattle roam unherded.

SPECIALIST & HIS ACTIONS (No others involved)

The previous day:
1. The head of the household (h.h.) prepares the required elements: some rice, a chicken, an egg & some gravel.
2. and he buys a new earthen pot.

The day of sacrifice:
3. h.h. goes to bathe at the spring
4. He returns carrying water in the new pot,
5. & pours the gravel into the byre (from a basket).
6. After that, he cooks the rice in the new pot.
7. Then, holding the chicken & the egg, he squats in the middle of the byre
8. & prays thus:
9. While saying this, he cuts the chicken's throat
10. & smears its blood on the egg.
11. He plucks some feathers from the chicken
12. & ties them with the egg in a package of Duderi leaves.
13. He then hangs this package from the main beam inside the byre.
14. After roasting the chicken
15. (& offering the bitali portion with some of the cooked rice)
16. he eats his own portion of meat & rice as soon as it is cooked.

Evening:
17. When the cattle enter the byre that evening, he sprinkles them with water
18. invoking the name of the God of the Byre.

Thus the ritual is completed.
1. **Invocation:**

   O God of the Byre!
   You who are Bora God Above!
   The cattle which you have given us sleep in this byre.
   Let them continually remain fit!
   Preserve them for us by delivering them
   From all varieties of disease;
   From dangerous wild beasts;
   And from the presence of our enemies!"

(b) **Rituals Seeking the Blessing and Co-operation**

I Of the Clan's Ancestors:

(20) **THE BULLOCK RITUAL - KODI LAKA**

See Sheet B(ii) in the back pocket of Vol. I for this ritual, and Sheet B(i) for its parallel in c. 1910.

(21) **RITUAL FOR THE LINEAGE GROUP'S SPIRITS - SIRE VENGA LAKA**

or **LAKSERI GIVA - "THE RITUAL ACT" for the Household Gods.**

(No other versions)

**TIME:**

1. Before any new or significant step is taken by the family;
2. Simply because a long interval has elapsed since last time;
3. When feverish sickness or similar trouble in the home indicates its defilement; i.e. caused by the household spirits seeking to inform their living relatives that they are feeling dehydrated.

**Note:** In the north-eastern region this ritual is becoming less frequent & is only observed by devout Kond households.

**SPECIALISTS & THEIR ACTIONS**

1. The head of the household (h.h.) calls the diviner-priest, and
2. makes the priest go into trance.
3. If he then says: "There must be a sacrifice for the household gods",
   his duties end . . . . . 4. & the h.h. becomes chief officiant.
4. & the h.h. becomes chief officiant.
5. h.h. & wife must immediately grind some rice-flour, indoors

**OTHERS INVOLVED**

1. The head of the household (h.h.)
2. makes the priest go into trance.
3. If he then says: "There must be a sacrifice for the household gods",
4. & the h.h. becomes chief officiant.
5. h.h. & wife must immediately grind some rice-flour, indoors

**DAY 1**

6. Both h.h. & his wife fast "without even cleaning their teeth or drinking water."
7. He must immediately obtain a goat.
   (If they have not a goat in their house, nor can immediately buy one, they go and get one belonging to anybody & tie it up in their house).
8. When he has got the rice & the goat, h.h. goes to bathe and
9. covers his head with potter's clay.
10. Without washing it off, thus still fasting, he goes to perform Tekinga 
    Maspa (casting out the cooking pots).
11. When he returns to the rah, the couple granke their house-floor.
    That same day the women sew leaf-plates.
12. Then, still fasting, he scatters rice grains in the house, praying:
13. & he ties up the goat indoors.
14. & he ties up the goat indoors.
15. Then the old men of the family sit down in the main room
16. & sprinkle a libation.
17. The women cook rice in the new pots - all the old pots will 
    have been broken up outside.
18. H.h. cleanses his clay-covered head; 'Only when he sees that the stars have come out'
19. the couple eat their evening meal.

DAY 2
20. A little fine earth from a termite hill must be rubbed carefully 
    on the coor-posts, back & front, & the outside surface of the 
    doors where people can conveniently see it;
21. & similarly inside the main room & inner room, wherever there is 
    a smooth surface on the roof-posts.
22. The women grind some more rice 
    into powder,
23. & mix it thoroughly into paste,
24. & by dipping their fingers in, they imprint white spots on the 
    door-posts (outside) & indoors 
    on the grain-bin.
25. They throw a little rice-powder up into the roof too.
26. The women also plaster a goti in the main room (an area about 
    1 sq. foot) with fine termite-earth.
27. Chickens must never step on this goti, & 
    no-one must cross it; So they cover it with 
    a basket.
28. The h.h. brings a certain stone to the goti, 
    referring to it as the "god-stone". 
    Normally it is kept very, very carefully in its 
    place in the inner room.
29. Over this, he offers the goat, praying:
30. Then he cuts the goat's throat,
31. collects the blood in a leaf-cup.
32. & places the severed head on the goti,
33. covering it with a basket.
34. Either h.h. or his wife sprinkle the blood with their fingers 
    in all the places where the white dots were imprinted.
35. Every house related to them has come & given some rice to this worshipping household.

36. Rice & the meat are cooked.

37. H.h. offers the mitali liver-portion along with a little cooked rice.

38. & prays briefly, calling on the spirits by name & repeating the invitation to come and eat.

39. Then he eats a little himself as he shares it with the spirits.

40. He puts "the god-stone" back in its inner place as carefully as he brought it out.

"Until he has prayed & done this, no one may eat; but afterwards:

41. every single member of their kin has a meal, including all their children.

42. But they may not share the rice or meat with anyone outside their own worshipping kinsfolk.

43. The household roasts the goat's head & cooks more rice & goat-meat.

44. If there are 2 - or perhaps 3 - old folk in the group, the head is given to them alone.

45. & they feast on it, along with the family (who eat ordinary meat).

The goat's head must never be given to children, because they eat in other people's homes & thus are not "holy" (separate) enough; whereas old folk do not.

Twilight: If there should be any of the goat remaining until evening - for instance, skin, horns, hooves, or any part that is not good to eat, or if the family is too scattered for some members to come & eat their share - all such portions, along with the leaf-plates, bones, etc. must be buried inside the house. They do not throw anything at all outside. Never must it be given to other people; that is taboo!

1. Invocation: "As long as we have a home -
   Even going into debt for it -
   We will buy a goat & sacrifice it for you.
   And for as long a period as this sacrifice clears us of the need to repeat it,
   From all forms of fevers & sicknesses,
   And from hunger & starvation,
   Do you guard us! Wait over us!"

2. Invocation: "O ancestor spirits,
   Mothers, fathers, relations, friends,
   And all you villagers,
   We have given this animal for you,
   Eat it!"
"No sacrifice is offered to one spirit alone; all the spirits & the family ancestors are especially present. Ancestors of the wider community are mentioned out of respect & involvement."

3. Note: In the Kalingia area beside the main trade route from the plains, nowadays the goti is sometimes made in the raha outside the house, & the 'leavings' are thrown out below the village.

(22) SETTING UP THE ANCESTOR-SHRINE IN A NEW HOME.

(Time: When a newly-married couple have been living for some time in his parents' home (perhaps after the birth of the first child). The father & mother of that household begin to prepare a separate house for them:

SPECIALIST & HIS ACTIONS

1. When they have completed all the preparations
2. & bought all the necessary earthen pots & utensils,
3. they settle on a day for cooking to begin (i.e. they call the priest)
4. Then after cleaning the house & performing gruhka throughout,
5. the young wife prepares to cook with new pots on the chosen day.

6. The priest makes the young couple sit down within the 'Middle Room'
7. & places a miniature earthen pot in front of them.
8. Putting some alga rice & an egg in it,
9. He prays for them:
10. While finishing the prayer, he slays the chicken
11. & pours its blood on the little pot.
12. The young couple then give a greeting to the pot
13. saying it is the dwelling of their lineage-god.
14. People then cut up the chicken
15. Putting the liver on one side while the meat is cooked.
16. When the rice is ready,
17. The priest makes the bitali offering to the clan-gods - a little cooked rice & the uncooked liver.
18. After that, he puts the miniature pot inside a new earthen cooking pot
19. which is placed for ever in the 'Middle Room'.
20. There it is spoken of as the lineage-god.
21. As soon as the priest has eaten,
22. The young couple give a feast to all their relations & friends...
From that day forward the young couple stay there carrying on their means of livelihood, taking their turn in community jobs & generally going about their daily labours.

1. **Invocation:**

> Whatever seed-grain & paddy-seed is stored by (this householder) Let it increase enormously without ever coming to an end! Let them establish a family! May children be born! Let them always have abundance to eat And let them be wise householders!

(23) **BRINGING HOME THE NEW ANCESTOR AFTER DEATH - PIDERI TAPKA**

The new ancestor is rehabilitated in his family home in the form of a spider ritually sought and found at his place of cremation. See Ritual for a Normal Death: (Third Day), Vol. II, C(42) p. 525.

(b) **Rituals Seeking the Blessing and Co-operation**

II Of the Clan or Village's Founding Fathers:

(24) **REMOVAL OF A VILLAGE TO A NEW SITE**

(No other versions)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SPECIALISTS &amp; THEIR ACTIONS</th>
<th>OTHERS INVOLVED</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'A year before the removal':</td>
<td>1. The people of the village hold a discussion thus:--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) &quot;These houses have been in use for very many years now&quot;;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) &quot;Our cultivating is not turning out well;&quot;</td>
<td>2. And so they make their decision &quot;Let us build new houses!&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(c) &quot;Moreover, we ourselves are constantly falling sick.&quot;</td>
<td>3. They seek out the priest,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4. then cut &amp; bring in a single new wooden beam from the jungle.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. The priest &amp; darni-keeper (d.k.) set it up alongside the d.k.'s house.</td>
<td>6. &amp; make a hole in the top of the beam.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Priest invokes Bura God Above,</td>
<td>8. &amp; asks that if the removal be acceptable to the gods &amp; spirits, the egg will remain safely in the hole for the coming year.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. He then places the egg in the hole</td>
<td>10. &amp; ties it in with prickly twigs.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The following year (if the egg is still in place):

11. They erect temporary huts on the new site, for food-storage & sleeping.
12. & pull their old houses down
13. Then, mingling new wood from the new site, with wood from their former home,
14. they each build a house for themselves.

15. The beam that was erected in the old
   raha the previous year, now becomes
   the ridge-beam of the d.k's main room.
When everybody's house is finished:
At evening time they enter the village
16. With drums beating in front,
17. Everyone leaping & dancing, they process from the bottom of the
    village to the top three times, with all their pots & pans, their
    brass ladles & rice-strainers & all their cattle, buffalo, goats
    & chickens. *
18. Then turning round at the top, they each go to their homes.
   Henceforward this is known as a new village, & at this time they
   commit the Darni God to the care of a different man.

Note: 'For One Family's Entry Into a New House (i.e. in an established
    village), they dance only twice up & down the village with
    all their possessions & then enter their new home.'

+ Very heavy possessions, like the grain-storage bin, are put into
  the house previously, because of the dancing!

(25)

-changing the darni-keeper

(time: (a) On building & entering a new village.
    (b) In any village where the same man has been Darni-keeper
        for many years, & the village feels that a change is
        necessary.
    (c) It is essential if an ill-omen occurs, e.g. a tiger enters
        the raha.

specialists & their actions
'at the time of such a change:'
3. The priest goes into trance
4. & so names the new custodian, or seizes his hand.

- on the day of the ritual:
5. The selected man must fast.
6. He & his home folk wear new clothes that day.
7. He takes the tray, covering it with the red cloth.

others involved
1. The village procures pigs, goats, chickens & eggs
2. then seeks out the priest.
5. The men of the village buy a
   red patterned cloth & a new
   winnowing tray.
9. Then he goes to the former darni accompanied by the priest & several men.
10. They plant beside the darni a bamboo pole with a white cloth on (sata)
11. They sacrifice a goat
12. They search for & take out a spider from inside the darni,
13. addressing it as the Darni God,
14. & place it inside the wrapped winnowing tray.
15. Then they carry the tray to the new custodian's house.
16. After building a new darni in the reha against his house-wall,
17. they place the god in it,
18. & cover the darni with the red cloth.
19. Then they perform the same ritual for the darnis above & below the village. In all three places they cover the darni with a red cloth.
20. Priest & new d.k. place eggs inside each darni,
21. kill chickens or a pig at each darni
22. & pour the blood on it, & on the eggs within the darni stones.
23. They cook & offer the bitali portion
24. The meat from the sacrificial animals is cooked, also rice.
25. All the men drink liquor, & all greatly enjoy a good feast;
26. They give money & rice & a new cloth to the priest;
27. & see him all the way home.

(b) Rituals Seeking the Blessing and Co-operation
III of the Clan's Ancestors in Matters Involving Other Clans:

(26) A 'RAISED UP' MARRIAGE - SENDONI SIRI
(See A(20)p.444; B(F-P)p.447; & B(12)p.460)

TIME: This must begin in the girl & boy's childhood. It is for (comparatively) wealthy Konds.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>BRIDE'S FAMILY</th>
<th>HUSBAND'S FAMILY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st visit</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. The girl's father &amp; senior male kin...&amp; the boy's father &amp; male kin decide on a betrothal.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. The boy's side give the 'Witness Money' (lit: 'I gave rupees' - usually Rs.2) &amp; perhaps some of the bride-wealth.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Then both parties sit in the girl's village &amp; drink the &quot;Witness Liquor&quot;.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. From that time the boy &amp; girl are called husband &amp; wife.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd visit, some years later when the children begin to grow up:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. The girl's parents go to have an unofficial look at the boy's household - as though simply village-visiting.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. The boy's parents do the same to see the girl's home &amp; surroundings.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
7. If as the boy grows up, he asks to meet the girl, it must be granted.

These things are all very important.

3rd visit

8. Next, the boy's father & men kin, led by the hollow & brass drums, take bride-wealth.

9. Then folk of both parties sit & drink together at the girl's home & settle the extent of the bride-wealth: brass pots & vessels of all shapes & sizes, cattle, buffalo & money.

11. The boy's family have until the children mature to complete payment.

12. The girl's parents won't wish to 'send her out' until the whole amount is given; they will refuse to let her go.

4th or more visit some years later, after receiving all the bride wealth:

13. The girl's side plan for the 'attack feast'.

14. Her father goes for (government) leave to distil spirits.

15. He stocks up with earthen cooking pots, leaf plates, goats & buffalo.

16. Then he sends out messengers to call the boy's father's party: "On (such a day) come to the 'attack roasting'.

17. So when the day comes, the boy's father sends someone to call out the invitation to all his mutes & folk in the various villages.

18. Then all the people of that area men, lads & boys together, go by night with drums beating.

19. When they get to a point below the village everyone ties his cloth more firmly in case it becomes loose or is pulled off in the fight.

20. First the hollow drums, then the bass drums, after that the older men, then the lads; all enter the girl's raha leaping & dancing.

21. Then the girl's menfolk, tying their cloths more firmly, leap & dance from the top of their village to the bottom.

22. & start to jostle the other party.

23. So they learn by action which side can overcome the other.

24. Occasionally a real quarrel breaks out because of the playing of the drums, & they start beating each other up.

After that:

25. The host gives leaf-plates of rice & curry to all who should receive food from his hand.

26. So everyone sits down to their rice at cock-crow (c. 4 a.m.)
BRIDE'S FAMILY

When the sun rises:
27. they clean their teeth & give out flaked rice, 'cakes' & rice popcorn.
28. After that all the men drink liquor.
29. Then they carry the girl on a boy's shoulders up & down her raha.
30. & after eating rice & meat again at midday,
31. the boy's party returns home.

6th visit, after some days
32. The girl's 'fathers' come to meet... the boy's 'fathers' on the path, giving him storage bins full of rice.
33. They also bring cooked rice & liquor for both parties.
34. who now drink together & eat the meal.
35. Then the boy's party take the store of rice to their home.

7th visit, when the girl matures:
36. The boy's family make the 'completion payment' of the bride wealth.

HUSBAND'S FAMILY

A month or even 2 months before the wedding,
37. the drums are beaten in her village every evening & the young men & girls of nearby villages gather to hear & to dance - "they dance right up to 9 p.m. & afterwards they all behave just any old how!"
38. Also a month before the wedding, the bride's fathers go for government permission to distil spirits.
Saying they need 5, 10 or even 15 potsful, they ask for a month's leave to distil it; & while that lasts they secretly distil more & cover it away somewhere.
39. Men of the bride's village & muta all wash their clothes & gather to join in making leaf-bowls & other wedding arrangements.
40. Then they go to the husband's house for the Bringing Out Contract:

41. There they drink liquor together
42. & the boy's family kills a buffalo.
43. Both sides feast together & settle on the marriage day.
"We will send out the body sometime in the next fortnight", they decide.
45. At that point the girl goes to visit her maternal uncles.
46. There she receives the family's silver ornaments (necklets, etc.)
47. They give her Rs.10 or Rs.15 at the extraction of her many tiny ear-sticks
48. & at their house she replaces these with her wedding ear-rings.

On the day they give the bride away:
49. After everyone has gathered, the bride's father brings out all their valuables & displays them in the raha:
various kinds of brass bowls & vessels, bronze dorbo elephants, horses, suringa ancient heavy iron-bead necklet, godu bracelets etc., also long loin-cloths, coloured ones & small patterned ones, & nowadays shirts & woven sheets - as presents to the husband.
sitting down & value all the valuables, the gold & silver ornaments & the clothing, reckoning up the total being taken away.

51. Meanwhile the bride's family has killed a buffalo, cut it up and cooked it.

52. Then the men concerned try to pile the gifts into baskets & take it all to the house where the feast is prepared.

53. By now some of the men who have kept on drinking are really drunk. They beat the hollow & bass drums, & with some of them 'sheltering' under umbrellas & others swarming black drum-oil on themselves while beating the drums, they indulge in a dance festival in the reha.

54. Some of the unmarried girls make 'tails' with their clothes hanging from the waist & the drummers & sham player make them dance.

55. Others go through to the back regions & accept rice & curry in leaf bowls which they take hither & yon to eat.

As regards the bride:

56. That morning some of her women relatives gather to bathe her & anoint her with oil & turmeric.

57. She begins to weep: "I'm leaving you & going to a different home."

58. Hearing her the women weep too: "You are leaving us & going right away" & "From today anything we could ever do for you has come to an end."

59. During this they put her cloth on her, comb her hair & fasten on her silver necklets, bracelets, gold nose-ornaments, pulu gonanga & silver headband.

60. By now everyone has finished eating their rice & curry - but nothing is given to the bride to eat & drink all that day because when she is being carried shoulder-high 'sitting horseback', food might make her want to get down to relieve herself; so they don't give her any.

By this time

61. The husband's party accompanied by their drummers enter the village saying: "We have come for the body."

62. Once & then again they go from bottom to top of the village spinning themselves round as they leap & dance: first go the hollow drums, then the bass drums, after that the men & the lads, all of them leaping & dancing.

63. When they see this, the bride's menfolk 'bring out the body': going right into the house they set the girl on a man's shoulders. As 'festal maiden' she sits 'on high' sheltering under an umbrella hung about with silver ¼ & ½ rupee coins.
64. Twice or three times they carry the girl up & down the village, & sometimes she scatters small copper coins.

65. After that they go out to give her to her husband.

**On the way to her husband's village:**

A strong man of the husband's party must pull the girl off her first 'horse' & on to his own shoulders.

66. On leaving the village, the husband's men try to rush ahead because at this time of 'pulling the body' there will be a real battle.

67. So without trying immediately to get hold of the body, they go quite a distance ahead then transfer the girl.

68. Meanwhile the bride's girl-friends belabour him & his assistants about their feet & legs with strong sticks.

69. But the husband's strong man puts the body horseback on his shoulders & so makes her "run".

70. Until the bride reaches her husband's house she must not be put down on any path whatever however tired they get. Simply by exchanging men's shoulders & being kept sitting up on high she must be carried there. For if he lets the bride fall, the husband's side must give a buffalo to her 'fathers'. So they rush along with all their force.

71. In this manner they reach the husband's home.

72. In the raha the groom's younger brothers yoke her with a cattle-yoke & then drive her into the house.

73. The festal maiden's girl-friends, fellow village women & a host of girls & lads will come to put her on her way.

**Next day:**

74. The bride's fathers get a man to load his carrying-yoke with all those valuables which they displayed outside the house.

75. Now they go & give them to the husband's family.

76. The husband's family prepare a feast at their home.

77. Two or three of the bride's girl-friends stay to settle her into her new home, but all the rest return after the feast.

78. These girl-friends go home after a few days with a small money present from the husband.

**Some time later:**

80. The bride & her husband go back to her home for the Bako Visit.

81. She carries a small basket of rice on her head

82. & they take a boy with them to lead a buffalo or goat for her family & village.
504.

BRIDE'S FAMILY

83. At the close of this Bako Visit
her parents prepare a large basket
or two of rice, a goat & a carrier's
load of flaked rice & rice-popcorn.

HUSBAND'S FAMILY

84. With this, she returns to her
husband's home.
And so it ends.

(27)

A GROUND-LEVEL MARRIAGE - NEDENI SERI
This is for poorer Konds & for Fans.
(No other versions)

TIME: After selecting a (matured) girl to marry:

BRIDE'S FAMILY

1st visit:
1. The 'husband' & his close friend
go to her home saying they have
heard of the good cooking pot'
in their home or to see 'the
flower that is blooming' in that
village.
2. They stay there 1 or 2 days,
joining in whatever work is afoot:
ploughing, fetching firewood from
the jungle, etc.
3. The girls of that village see
them off along their path home.
4. The lads ask: "When shall we
come again?"
5. The girls reply: "Come at the full
moon in less than 2 weeks' time if
you like.'
That is, if the girl wants to marry the lad, her friends suggest
this very short interval, but if she doesn't, the girls suggest
a long time ahead: "after the rains" or "some time after the
late-paddy is harvested" etc.

HUSBAND'S FAMILY

2nd visit: . . . . . . . . . . .
6. This next time, the lads take Rs.2
7. That day or the next, the girl's fathers'
& men villagers bring liquor & drink it
with them.
8. Then the villagers ask: "Where have you
come from & why have you come?"
9. They reply: "We have come for
the girl"
10. & they give the Rs.2 Witness Money
11. with which the men buy the Witness Liquor
From that time the girl is called his wife.

Note: But if they come a 2nd time or more without providing the Witness
Money, thus withholding the Witness Liquor, the men do not feel
happy to refer to him as husband: "How can we call you husband?
Until you give us the Witness Money, we can only say: 'He has
come wanting our girl!'"
When he has given the Witness Money:

12. They fix the amount of bride wealth:
   various kinds of large & small brass vessels, cattle, buffalo & money.

13. The boy's fathers seek for it wherever they can (i.e. from male kin)

14. When they have gathered the required amount, they go to the girl's village

15. & request: "Send us the body."

3rd visit:

16. At this point the girl's family seek out 'the necklace things', i.e. gold &/or silver ornaments & new clothes in preparation for sending her.

17. On that day the men of both parties drink liquor together while they finalise the giving of the bride wealth,

18. & the girl's household makes a feast for them by killing a buffalo, goat or pig.

19. They themselves only take one of the hindlegs & the intestines & put all the rest for the 'in-laws'.

Next morning

20. The girl's fathers accompany the husband's party partway along their homeward track, carrying a cooked meal & the carcass.

21. There on the path, they feed the husband's party on liquor & the meal & see them off.
   This is called the Bringing Out Contract.

Then one day the girl's household & friends

22. dress her (weeping) in all the finery & send her off with her girl-friends to her husband's home.
   Just as the husband didn't at all care to go alone to his brand new parents-in-law when first seeking his wife but would only go with a friend, so when the time comes for the girl to go to her husband, she also won't go alone the first time. Two or three of her friends go with her to settle her in.

23. The husband's party comes out to meet them & take them home.

24. After the bride's girl-friends have stayed a day or two

25. the husband gives them between Rs.1 & 5 for coming.

26. & they return to their own village.

After the girl has been there alone some time:

27. she & her husband go back to her home for the Bako Visit:

28. (see above - Just as for an On High Bridal except that they only take a chicken & receive less from her parents).
Some time after that:

29. The menfolk of her husband's home, or else his parents, put the wedding rings in her ears for her. (Some may be gold).

When she puts these on folk say: "She has settled down steadfastly in her husband's home." Until she wears these she is still called a girl, but when she is wearing them they know she has become 'a woman of the house'.

If a girl comes & goes too much without settling down, they say she is keleri kenda; also if her husband's parents don't look after her well, they make her feel unsettled & homesick.

For very poor people:

Sometimes to save expense, some days after giving the Witness Money to the girl's people:

1. The lads go again to her home
2. then when the time comes for the girls to see them off on the way home,
3. they seize her & carry her off with them.

4. After 2 or 3 days, her fathers come to seek her at her husband's house.
5. There the lads feed them on liquor
6. & they discuss various matters together.
7. After slaying a buffalo, goat or pig for them to eat,
8. the lad's party go along the path with them to see them off.

This too fulfils the Bringing Out Contract.

When very, very poor people wish to marry:

1. The Lad's side first give the Rs.2 Witness Money
2. then later Rs.3 for the Bringing Out Contract.

In this way the entire wedding costs them Rs.5.
(28) THE 'SHOWING' OF AN INFANT TO MATERNAL KIN - MIDA TOSPA

(NO OTHER VERSIONS)

TIME: Some months later.

SPECIALISTS & THEIR ACTIONS

1. The mother goes to her maternal uncle's village to 'show' the child.

Preparation

Fearing that she will receive the Evil Eye on the path:

2. Her husband's family smear a little earth from a footprint, or else soot from a cooking pot, on her face for her; or

3. If it be a distant village, they go too.

4. They take kurri leaves & brush the dust from their feet, saying: "If witches & sorcerers have followed us, they will go away!"

This ritual is not only performed when going to 'show' a baby, but at times of village-visiting too.

Some women cook a gonju-nut in castor-oil, thread it on a cord, or tie it to the child's upper arm; for if a gonju-nut is thus tied on, the Evil Eye doesn't reach them (gonju-nuts cause eye-inflammation).

When they arrive at her maternal uncle's village:

6. She lays the child before them.

7. Its grandparents give it on arrival a buffalo or goat, chickens & rice. The grandparents bless the child with a vedrang chicken (or small chick)

8. The grandfather takes the child's hand

9. & 'shows' the chicken, praying thus:

   "Like a cat, like a kitten, may he sleep, may he slumber! May he not weep! May he not lament!"

10. The child's maternal uncles, aunts & grandparents' generation take the child's hand when they first meet it, & say:

    "I am his maternal uncle (great uncle, etc.); May the child not cry! May he not lament!"

11. and they drop a little spittle on its brow, blessing it. If the baby cries incessantly, they take it home.

When they go back to the husband's village:

12. They take the vedrang chick, or larger fowl, home with them. It may only be eaten by those of the grandparents' generation in the husband's village.

13. The goat or buffalo is also brought back alive & slaughtered.

14. Then it is eaten joyfully by the entire village.

15. Any other presents are taken back just to the husband's house. That is usually the custom for a first child.

When subsequent children are born:

16. They only eat the vedrang chicken that was ritually 'shown'.

17. They store anything else that might be given freely (i.e. not to fulfil ritual) & eat it in due course.
The earthen pot in which women boil their cloths is called the laundry-pool pot. They never under any circumstances use that pot for other work. Sometimes nowadays they boil cloths in a (paraffin) tin; they don't count that as defilable.

After touching the laundry-pool pot they will not enter the house without washing their arms and legs. They always keep this pot out of the house. Sometimes nowadays they boil cloths in a paraffin; tin; they don't count that as defilable.

The hearth at which they always boil cloths is called the laundry-pool hearth. It is close beside a spring or suitable place for clothes washing. Occasionally women boil cloths on their living room hearth, also in the laundry-place pot; but if so they say: "Laundry water (i.e. boiling water) may have splashed about so the laundry-place has become spattered," so they smear it over with cow-dung to purify it (ghukka).

When any woman comes back from washing her cloths at the end of her period she will first go and put her laundry-pool pot outside the back door. They make it a matter of defilement to carry the laundry-pool pot through the front raha. After putting the laundry-pool pot out at the back and washing their arms and legs, they smooth a little oil on the face and anoint their arms and legs, smoothing some on their hair too, then they eat their meal. To eat their meal without thus smearing on oil would be a matter of defilement.

The cook-room hearth is exclusively used for cooking rice meals.

The middle-room hearth: perhaps if totally unfamiliar strangers came visiting the village they might cook for them on this middle-room hearth.

The living room hearth is for warming oneself at the fire & for parching popcorn from dry rice, millet or parched rice and for various other things of that kind. Some very poor people, if they are short of wood and kindling, or if anyone is in a hurry or comes back very late to do the cooking, may cook their rice on this living room hearth.

Some women have another pot which they call the outside pot, for cooking rice-gruel (for helpers etc.). They don't take this one into the family cook-room but keep it in store and cook in it in the living room when required. Also every woman has a pot for taking her own rice-gruel to the hill-plots. That one also is kept separately.

The men each obtain their own pot for cooking pig flesh and put that one somewhere apart. Women don't at all want to touch that one (pork is taboo for women).
Turmeric hearths: right away outside or else in the back garden or the threshing floor or in the reha, the men dig small trench-fire-places to cook turmeric. They call these turmeric hearths.

Cook room hearths usually have 2 hollows, each of which has 2 'eyes'. That is to say, after scooping two holes out of the same dried-mud platform, they build the two hearths in such a way that two pots can be placed side by side at the same time. Each rests on its own 3 'eyes'.

(30) CONCERNING MENSTRUATION

(No other versions)

For 3 days of her period a Kond woman has no association in the home with her husband:—
- she does not do the cooking
- she sleeps alone (traditionally, in a lean-to hut; not in the house)
- she puts her rice-bowl & washing-pot in a separate place from the family's;
- she does not go to the spring or well.
- she does not go into the reha - for the Darni God would find that an abomination & go right away, leaving the village to suffer sickness & death. Therefore she only comes & goes by the back way.

(The vernacular term for menstruation = to become "Out by the back way").

On the 4th day, she washes her clothes at the spring by boiling them in wood-ash; she washes her hair with potter's clay & bathes herself.

Thus her pollution departs. From that day she is purified:
- she is able to do all her household chores;
- " " " cook again;
- " " " associate with her husband, & with her fellow villagers.

A girl's first menstrual period is an occasion of open pride & joy in the family. As a sign to the community, her earthen clothes-boiling pot is allowed to crash backwards off her head as she returns from the spring after ritually washing her clothes & herself on the 4th day. Then she observes all the required taboos (above).

PREGNANCY DANGERS TO BOTH HUSBAND & WIFE

1. 'A pregnant woman will not come & go to the river, nor will she cross any running water. The belief is that as the river water flows away, so the babe in the womb will be destroyed by flowing away, & be gone for ever.

2. If the husband goes to visit a distant village during his wife's pregnancy, he ties a reed round his hand; for while he is on the journey, whatever gods are around will always clutch at a man in a state of birth-pollution. If that happens, his wife - who may be asleep at home - will have fits & fall ill.

3. No wife in a state of birth-pollution (i.e. pregnancy) will ever go far in any direction, for the gods will clutch at her & cause fits.
Purification for Re-Entry into the Tribe & Clan:

AFTER MARRYING OUTSIDE THE TRIBE — JATI GIVA

(No other versions)

TIME: (a) 'When a girl pleases herself & marries a Pan or Gahi lad, after a little while she may refuse him & return to her home. But by marrying into another race, of lower degree, this woman has eaten with them & must be restored by performing the ritual.

(b) Similarly if a Kond lad takes a wife or girl of lesser degree, his own status goes.

(c) Sometimes Kond lads & girls lose their status through drinking, and eating rice-soup or rice-water with lesser folk. If this happens, the ritual restoration must be performed.

(Nowadays, in the north-east area, they are not observing this so strictly).

SPECIALIST & HIS ACTIONS

OTHERS INVOLVED

1. The mother & father of the girl (or lad) initiate the ritual.
2. They seek out the priest.
3. & buy a pig or goat.
4. A group of her family elders take them (priest, parents & girl) to the river.

5. They (priest & elders) bathe.
6. Then offer & slay the animal & cook rice too.

(8) They offer the bitali portion)

9. The priest boils water in a new earthen pot,
10. & dissolves some lime in it.
11. He then feeds the woman with it.
12. cuts her finger-nails ( & toe nails)
13. & scrapes her teeth with a knife
14. Sometimes he also cuts her hair.

'After that':

15. She puts on a new cloth & goes home.

From that day she is free to marry a Kond man.

16. The priest & kin-elders then eat the cooked rice & meat.
Purification for Re-Entry Into the Clan:

AFTER MAGGOT INFESTATION OF A SORE - VIHA KOPKA (Lit. 'fly-sitting')

(No other versions)

TIME: 'When a man or woman has a sore or small-pox, & if they don't receive good care, flies settle on the sore & lay eggs. These grow bigger & turn into maggots which enter right into the flesh. When that happens, Kui people do not put on any medicines. The maggots grow bigger and, left to themselves, come out of the sore of their own accord. When the sore is healed:

SPECIALIST & HIS ACTIONS

1. The entire lineage group gathers (males?)
2. & calls the previously maggot-infested man or woman into their midst.
3. They seek out a pig.
4. Then they go & bathe at the river.
5. There they cook rice in a new earthen pot.

6. The head of the lineage-group offers the pig
7. & cuts its throat.
8. They cook the flesh
9. & offer the cooked food (to the ancestor spirits, presumably).
10. Then they scrape the patient's teeth
11. & all his (finger & toe) nails with a knife.
12. The head of the group mixes lime in water, also a little cowdung,
13. boils it up
14. & feeds it to the ex-patient to restore his status.

'After that' . . . . . . . . . . . 15. he shares out the cooked rice & meat amongst his own people gathered there.
16. They eat it.

'From that day, he is reunited with...his own folk - for, from the day when the fly settled, no one would beg, or eat, any vegetables, rice nor fire (i.e. a fire-brand to light their own cooking fire) from such a house.'

N.B. See parallel ritual for purification & restoration to the kin group after being polluted by marrying outside the tribe.
Three Pregnancy Rituals:

TYING THE THREAD - NUDU TOLPA

(See B(14) p.465)

'There are various forms of care-treatment. This is part of ante-natal care.'

TIME: When a woman is 2 or 3 months pregnant.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SPECIALIST &amp; HIS ACTIONS</th>
<th>OTHERS INVOLVED</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Her husband seeks out a piglet or chicken.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Then he calls the priest.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. The priest takes the couple to a paddy-field irrigation stream.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. There he sets a Saré thorn branch upright in the water.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. &amp; makes the woman stand astride the stream.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. He makes invocation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. &amp; sacrifices the piglet or chicken.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Then sends her home forbidding her to look back.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Early next morning:

9. The priest takes the wife & husband, 2 eggs, some new thread, a seed-gourd, rice & powdered turmeric to the same stream.
10. Then he twists some cotton-thread & threads gourd-seeds on it.
11. He dyes it with turmeric,
12. Turns toward the sun, & begins the ritual to the Sun God:-
13. He puts the necklace on her,
14. Then puts an egg through the woman's straddled legs
15. & lets the stream carry it away.
16. He anoints the second egg with turmeric, rice & soot
17. & makes an offering of it, placing it in a bush,
18. While praying:
19. With this request, he sets that egg apart in a bush
20. Along with turmeric, rice & such things.

The following day

21. The priest & husband go off to see.
22. If the egg is there, the baby will stay in the womb satisfactorily: if it is not there, the priest must seek the reason by divination & they have to do the ritual all over again.

Note: 'From that day until she gives birth, the woman will not cross running water. This taboo is especially strong in the case of a first child.'

1. Invocation: "If the baby is going to be destroyed,
   Or if she is going to have a miscarriage,
   May some animal or other eat this egg!
   But if nothing is to happen to the baby
   May nothing happen to the egg!
   If the baby is to remain in the womb satisfactorily,
   May nothing happen to this egg!"
TIME: Associated generally with rituals in the second half of a pregnancy.

(a) If the woman grows thin & lacks energy (lit: "withers"), the couple must perform the Heats Ritual at about 4 months (see below (c)).

(b) In all cases about the middle of the pregnancy, the following ritual is performed:

**SPECIALIST & HIS ACTIONS**

1. The couple provide a poulet

2. The priest takes them, with it, to an irrigation stream.

3. He prays:
   "May the child in the womb have a good birth!
   May no heats-fevers or eclamptic fit-giving spirits flare fitfully at the mother
   May she reside securely & safely until the time of delivery!"

4. Meanwhile, he cuts off one of the chicken's toes

5. & ties it with a thread round the woman's neck.
   (Some days after the baby's birth, the priest sacrifices that chicken and he and the menfolk offer and eat it.)

(c) Then the Heats Ritual must always be performed one or two weeks before the time of the birth:

1. The husband finds a chicken,

2. then calls in the priest in order to secure for the woman a safe delivery without undue suffering.

3. The priest takes both the husband & wife to the same irrigation stream.

4. He offers the chicken

5. with invocation on her behalf,

6. then cuts the chicken's throat.

7. When the offering is completed: the woman returns home

8. without looking back

9. or speaking to anyone - otherwise the baby will be destroyed.

10. The priest cooks & offers the bitali portion.

11. Then he and the husband cook & eat a rice & meat meal,

12. & return home later.
HYSTERIA IN PREGNANCY - ABRONG AVA

(No other versions)

TIME: During pregnancy some women lose their strength (anaemia) then when they have to walk a long distance or do some heavy piece of work, they quickly have a bad 'turn'. Sometimes they suddenly start laughing, sometimes crying, & sometimes it is just as though they were subject to fits & heat boils out of them.

Then Kui people say: "Somewhere while walking about, she has been startled or frightened. Perhaps, going to the spring or to fetch wood or to relieve herself in the jungle, the spirit of a woman who died in child-birth has touched her - or else some angry gods, or a smallpox victim's spirit - & this hysteria has gripped her. And occasionally if ancestors touch them, they go like that."

SPECIALIST & HIS ACTIONS

1. They quickly lay the patient flat in her house;
2. bring the priest;
3. & cause a fire to be made.

4. The priest shuts the doors- sometimes leaving one a little ajar-
5. & pelts the patient's body with damp paddy and mustard seed.
6. He throws some on the fire too.

7. Inside the house they throw on to the hearth & burn small chilli peppers (very strong).
8. Then neighbours bring pig-dung, cow's or any kind of old bones, & other dung, making them smoulder with a bad smell - for no spirit would stay to endure the stench.
9. The priest shouts: "Go!" & drives off whatever spirit it may be.

If that doesn't cure her:

10. They put live embers on a broken potsherd
11. & burn mustard-seed, damp paddy & chilli peppers on top.
12. Then they cover the patient with a large cloth, with the smouldering mixture inside as an inhalation.
13. They wrap the cloth thickly round her, so that the smoke can't get out. It is very astringent & makes her sneeze: "Tree-ho! Tree-ho!"
14. She can't endure it - especially the chilli-peppers - she sneezes, splutters & becomes lively.
15. She/the spirit shouts: "Free me! I'm going!"
16. The priest asks: "Will you go? Will you truly go right away from her?"

If no priest is near at the time, a selected elder may take over his duties because of the urgency. This treatment is applied to Christians & non-Christians alike. The only modern change is that rubber, if available, is added to the fire.
In a Kond home when a woman's time of delivery is at hand and her pains begin:

**SPECIALISTS & THEIR ACTIONS**

1. Her mother-in-law or 2 or 3 closely related women support the labouring woman's back for her (in squatting position).

2. After she has given birth, they do not touch her again.

3. When she has recovered, or after the placenta has come away, she cuts the umbilical cord herself with a sickle.

**OTHERS INVOLVED**

4. The husband takes a paddy-pounding rod if it is a girl, or an axe or cattle-goad if it is a boy, & hurls it from the front reha, bumping over the house-roof to the back.

5. Thus the village knows the sex:
   - if it is a boy he will prepare hill-fields with his axe or hold the goad when ploughing; if a girl she will work at pounding grain.

6. After that, he digs a hole with a crowbar in the back regions, to bury the placenta.

7. The newly-delivered woman mixes a little chaff with the blood, gathers it all up on an old potsherd, goes out at the back & tips it into the hole.

8. Then the husband fills in the hole.

9. The women of the house must immediately heat water,

10. then the newly-delivered woman must bathe herself - if she has sufficient strength, from the head right down; but if her strength fails, she only bathes from the waist down.

11. After she has finished, she warms herself a little by the fire.

12. then bathes the baby & warms it at the fire.

13. After that, laying the baby down, she too lies down beside the fire.

14. The women of the house cook rice-soup & give it to her as soon as it is ready.

15. She eats it very, very slowly, using a leaf-spoon.
16. For a day - or up to 3 days, - she keeps on warming her stomach & back a lot at the fire.
17. And for a day or two, after bathing the baby, she warms it too, rubbing it with castor-oil.

Ever since the moment of birth: ... 18. the women of the house have been unclean. All the other women will not touch or mix with them.

Also at the moment of birth: some children, of either sex, are delivered facing the back of the house or else they fall 'biting the ground' - that is to say, they are wrong way round. This is a fault. So they must be given the strict ritual-care-treatment prescribed for such children; i.e. when they have grown a little bigger, a chicken, pig or piglet is taken to running water & the care-treatment is performed on them now that they are sturdy. This needs a priest.

3 or 4 days after the birth, the infant's cord will fall away.
19. Until then, the mother does not wash cloths, but on that day she washes the "cord-cloths"; that is, she leaves the infant & takes all the blood-stained cloths & rags to the spring & boils them in wood-ash.
20. Thenceforward, she washes all her own clothing twice a week until the ritual of "Entering the Home", after one month.

During all this period, the mother & infant may not come outside the front of the house; they can only come & go by the back way.

(37) PURIFICATION & RITUAL RE-ENTRY INTO THE FAMILY AFTER GIVING BIRTH

(No other versions)

A month after the birth:
1. The head of the household prepares for the ritual "Entry into the Home".
2. If he is wealthy, he buys a buffalo or goat & a chicken; if poor, just a chicken
3. The women prepare rice for cooking a feast.
4. They cast out all the old cooking pots
5. & make ready his new pots, rice-strainers & ladles.
6. The women grunha the whole house with cow-dung.
7. The newly-delivered woman goes to wash all her clothes.

When everything is purified & the new mother has returned from the spring,
8. She takes the new earthen pots & fetches water,
9. & cooks rice in one of them.
10. The householder kills the animal & chicken (just a chicken, if poor).

After the food is ready:

11. the woman dips a chicken-feather in a little castor-oil

12. & brushes her husband's right hand with it,

13. also the right hands of the female relations who looked after her.

14. She includes any hired folk who may be in the home, & those eligible to eat the purification meal, anointing them too,

15. & saying the ritual words to each one:

"You looked after me, cared for me.
Therefore may you not have any dizzy turns, any swooning turns!
May you not get sores, not get scabies!
May you not get fever, not be sick unto death!"

16. Her husband, then the others, rubs the oil on his brow.

At that point, if they are a rich family, ... 

17. the wife's parents buy her a new cloth

18. & because of the cloth - or money for it - and in an excess of joy because of the new baby,

19. they anoint her with oil as they give it, saying:

20. "By this cloth (or money) I anoint you with oil!"

That same day: mango skins had been brought in earlier & steeped in water.

21. The household now splash this water around the house, saying:

22. "Let her uncleanness go away!" (i.e. her separation from others)

23. Then the woman puts oil on the baby,

24. wraps it in a clean cloth,

25. & takes it out into the front street.

26. On that day, all the other women take the child & caress it,

27. & also touch & associate with the women of the household as they did before.

28. From that time, people will eat food from that woman's hand.

29. The household eats first of the chicken;

Afterwards 30. the cooked buffalo or goat meat is given with rice & vegetables to neighbours & friends.

31. All join in the rejoicing, And so it ends.
Rituals for Children:

(38) **BLESSING A BEATEN CHILD - MELA GIVA**

(No other versions)

**TIME:** If someone beats a child.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SPECIALIST &amp; HIS ACTIONS</th>
<th>OTHERS INVOLVED</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. The child; its spirit departs because of the beating, thus it suffers pollution.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. So its grandfather, grandmother or father's elder brother must offer a chicken.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Then holding the chicken, he must give ritual blessing to the child.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. After blessing him, they kill the chicken,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Cook rice and the flesh,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. &amp; eat it joyfully . . . . . . so do the children.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(39) **'TREATMENT' FOR WEARING THE FIRST CLOTH - LOPKA**

(No other versions)

**TIME:** When the child comes to the age of 'knowing modesty'.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SPECIALISTS &amp; THEIR ACTIONS</th>
<th>(Only the child and its parents are involved).</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. The parents take the child to the river</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. &amp; ritually clothe it with a new cloth.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Then they bathe it, wearing the new cloth.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Such children must then have a little turmeric smeared on their foreheads.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Note:** A torn old cloth must never be worn before this care-treatment has taken place with a new cloth.
Remedial Care for a Girl Born Facing the Back of the House

(No other versions)

Time: 'When a girl-child in a Kond home is losing her first teeth (c. 6 - 7 years old) it is time for her ears to be pierced. But before piercing them, if at her birth she was delivered facing the back of the house, she must receive ritual care-treatment. Kui people believe that any girl-infant born facing that way will be capable of tiger-transformation, & ritual treatment is necessary to remove the baby tiger from her brow.' (She can never become a dami-keeper's wife; & boy-children born that way can never become dami-keepers.)

Specialist & His Actions

1. The father calls the priest
2. & seeks out a chick, pig or piglet, & some rice.
3. The priest takes the girl & her parents to a flowing stream.
4. He makes the child stand with feet astride the running water.
5. Holding the chick, he prays, requesting the baby tiger to come out of her.
6. Completing his prayer, he allows the running water to sweep away the chick.
7. (And sacrifices the pig?)
8. Next, he makes the girl sit down
9. & bites all over her brow,
10. drawing all sorts of things from her, so sucking out the baby tiger.
11. Finally he adorns her with a necklace of gourd-seeds.

'If girls' ears are pierced or their faces tattooed without their receiving this treatment, they will never heal properly.'

Ear-Piercing: 'Only the village woman who annually does the ear-piercing is permitted to do this. Two or three women hold the child very firmly indeed. The woman pierces one ear with a needle & pushes tiny slivers of split bamboo into the holes, (about 20 of these; necessary later for her wedding rings). Then every morning & evening, the child's mother washes them with hot water & replaces the tiny sticks with others. When one ear heals, they pierce the other in the same way.'

1 The back half of the house is the 'female'/polluted side; the front half is the 'male'/pure side.

Tattooing - Tikanga Uhe

(No other versions)

Time: When a girl is beginning to grow up (c. 10 years old), a care-ritual must be performed for her by the priest. Her face is then tattooed in the traditional Kond pattern. Boys are not tattooed.
520.

SPECIALISTS & THEIR ACTIONS

'The day before her tattooing . . .

1. The girl's father goes to the 
   duberi (woman-tattooist) &
   fixes the day.

2. The priest says that a chicken (or 
   piglet) must be sacrificed.

3. This he does, with

4. the invocation: "May she not get fever!"

Next day

5. They prepare rice-'cakes', a 
   good rice & curry meal &
   various foods, all for the 
   girl to eat.

6. The mature girls & women 
   gather together & take the 
   girl to meet the duberi.

7. The duberi prepares for the 
   tattooing in a deserted place in 
   the jungle.

8. The women feed the girl on 
   liquor, opium & hashish, to 
   make her too drunk to feel the 
   pain. Some girls refuse the 
   liquor.

9. The duberi makes the girl lie down 
   on her back there in the jungle.

10. She first draws lines on the brow 
    & both cheeks with wood-ash.

11. So that the girl can't move 
    about 3 or 4 women press the 
    child firmly down.

12. Then the duberi ties 3 needles 
    together & 'pounds' her face with 
    them along the lines already drawn.

13. Then the girl makes a great 
    out-cry.

14. When blood comes the duberi wipes 
    it with a bit of cloth & pours in 
    a little soot.

15. She pounds in this manner until 
    the brow & both cheeks are completed. 
    This first time is the forehead & nose tattooing.

16. When it is over, they carry 
    her picka-back to the girls' 
    dormitory-hut; other girls in 
    the age-group may be similarly 
    tattooed.

The girl's face will be swollen for a week & she won't be able to eat 
   easily. Her mother & aunts will come to bathe her face next morning 
   & rub it (lit. "grind") with "tattooing grasses" which they have 
   brought to anoint her sores. They believe that if the markings do 
   not produce sores then "drink" the dye well, she won't be well-marked. 
   So they anoint her daily until the sores heal.

OTHERS INVOLVED
Taboo:
1. The girl(s) must not come into the front reha, but remain in the back.
2. No vegetables nor relishes must be given; she only has water, ground linseed & ground mustard seed for her meals. Her face heals by the end of a week.

The following year her chin is tattooed. That ends the tattooing process.

Reasons given for tattooing:
1. "Any woman who has not been so tattooed may not become a darni-keeper's wife" (i.e. prevents her husband becoming d.k.)
2. Also, "such women know how to turn into tigers", hence potential husbands will not take them. So parents say to their reluctant daughters: "Would you refuse to be tattooed? Do you want to become a tiger-transformationist?"
3. "Because in ancient time, rajahs used to come up from the plains & destroy our Kond girls (rape by a non-Kond also pollutes the whole lineage group); so Kond men established the custom of multiple piercing of the ears & facial tattooing for girls in order to free the Kui people of that trouble" (i.e. by diminishing their charms).

RITUAL FOR A NORMAL DEATH
(No other versions)

SPECIALISTS & THEIR ACTIONS

At the moment of death:
1. The women of the house put a handful of cooked rice into the corpse's mouth, for if he doesn't receive food now his spirit will hunger hereafter.
2. Then they anoint the corpse with oil & wrap it in an old cloth.
3. If it is a woman, her personal ornaments are put on her: e.g. bracelets & silver neck chain, anklets & finger rings. A rich family may add gold ear & nose-rings - even a gold necklace.
4. They also feed a silver coin into the mouth, a rupee or ½ or ¼ rupee, with the thought: "May he/she be a person of means hereafter!"
5. All neighbours immediately start to wail the lament.
6. The men of direct blood-kin gather to discuss whether a 'great' or 'small' funeral-festival should be celebrated.
7. Brothers & nearest cousins arrange for the collection of funds.

For a 'great' funeral festival:
8. The local Pan drummers (2 or 3) are brought.
9. They climb on to the roof-ridge to beat the bass-drum for a few minutes to announce the death.

10. Then they continue drumming at the foot of the reha for 4 days & nights.

11. The head of the household (h.h.) takes a long log of firewood from his supply & carries it to the cremation ground, lamenting all the way.

12. Each householder in the village follows him carrying his own piece.

(If there is none in the village, all join in bringing it from the jungle).

13. They build a pyre in the shape of a hollow rectangle (lit. a 'trap')

14. In the bereaved home, loudly lamenting women are preparing the goods to be poured on the corpse's chest & burned: paddy, rice, maize, millet, etc. in leaf-cups & tiny baskets; his personal rice-bowl, vegetable-bowl, brass water 'glass', all his clothing & any personal possession he might have.

15. A wealthy family may also take 2 or 3 of the family's larger brass vessels.

Note: With the exception of the drumming, a 'small' funeral is the same.

When all is properly prepared:

16. A burning firebrand is taken from the bereaved home, never from another house for fear that death will visit it too.

17. Then everyone helps as the corpse is carried out through the back door, never through the front reha for that would defile the darni & offend the darni god. "To disgrace him by such pollution would result in his bringing further deaths in reprisal", they fear.

18. So with drums beating, the corpse is carried out by the back of the village.

19. Occasionally nowadays it may be sheltered by an umbrella, regardless of weather, as a token of respect.

20. Both men & women relatives carry the leaf-cups & other goods.

At the cremation ground:

21. They march the corpse once round the pyre & pour on its chest the paddy & all the other things.

22. If large offerings of paddy have been taken, the poor (fans) put some aside for food when the rest is thrown on the fire.

23. "Others" (i.e. fans from that village) remove the ornaments from the corpse before the fire is lit.

24. Also a little heap of rice is poured out nearby.

25. Then the men build up the firewood all round the body but without touching it, & finally place more firewood on top.

26. Then the dry reeds placed underneath are ignited.

27. The whole company squats round ceaselessly lamenting.

28. The drums are beaten continuously throughout the cremation.

29. When the fire has been well ablaze for a while, each man takes a little rice with his left hand from the heap nearby.
34. They scatter this backwards towards the burning pyre, saying:
"Because you have died, because you have died,
We cremated you!"
35. Thus they keep walking away, with their backs to the pyre, &
go to the spring.
36. But before bathing they perform this ritual again, this time
sprinkling water not rice.
37. After that they all (men, women & children) bathe.
38. They must rinse all clothes worn at the cremation - though not
wash or boil them properly in wood-ash.

Niju Taka - Wiping the Oil
39. As they are returning in their damp clothes, everyone who has
attended the cremation now forms a line at the foot of the village.
40. An old Pan or Gahi takes a little linseed-oil in a small leaf-cup
41. & a chicken's tail feather, or else he makes a ring from a grass-
frond.
42. Then the long file of people all hold out their left hands
43. & he goes along smearing their palm with the feather dipped in oil.
44. While doing this he says the ritual words:
"May we not go & fall into any kind of abomination!"
45. Each person responds by spitting into his palm & rubbing the oil
from there on to his head,
46. Then they all enter their own homes.
47. Their rinsed clothing must not be spread to dry in the reha out
of respect for the dami god, but right outside the village,
below or at the back.

Note: (a) This oil ritual is performed on the first day & again on
the 3rd day before the guests arrive for the funeral
celebrations.
(b) During these 3 days no one must sweep rubbish from the
street - or the dami god will cause death to sweep through
the people.

The rest of the day:
48. The Pans must sell the ornaments
& brass vessels salvaged from
the corpse & buy liquor.
49. Then all the men (Konds & Pans) enjoy a drinking party, except
for the bereaved family. They make no objection however as long
as the goods are sold. Anyone, even from that family itself, may
buy them cheaply as "scorched funeral goods".
50. With drums beating all night, the drinking party sees the dawn in.
51. Meanwhile the bereaved family continues its lamentation
52. & goes at intervals to the pyre to mend the fire & mourn.
53. The household must fast until the cremation is complete.
54. Even then for the 3 days until the festival they must not cook food
55. for everyone would say: "They aren't sad at the death.
Look! They are only thinking of their own food!"
56. So their relations & friends supply them with food, for all the
neighbouring women may cook & eat & do their chores as usual.
57. But no one goes out to the fields or forest for the 3 days; the
community remains "of one mind & heart" (Christians & non-
Christians).
2nd day morning:
58. Again no one goes off to work.
59. All the men gather for a drink
60. then send out the teenage lads to inform distant relations-in-law;
    "Tomorrow there will be a mara festival".

61. Also the men of the village ask
    the bereaved householder:
    "What goods do you wish to dispose of for the deceased's sake?"

62. If he suggests only a small amount
63. they press him insistently:
    "Dispose of a paddy-field or a dry-field, brass storage or
    cooking pots, or a buffalo or bullock."

64. Then he says: "Yes"

65. & those who organise the sale
    buy sufficient liquor for all
    the mourners (village & guests) until the funeral ends.

All that day:
    drumming continues at the foot of the reha.

During the evening:
66. The household place a small leaf-cup
    containing water under the eaves
    outside the house. This is for all the spirits of those who have
    previously died in that village to come & drink.
67. They supply the drummers with a young pig.

Around midnight
68. the drummers kill, cook & eat it.
    If no pig is available, vegetables are substituted for this "Food
    Against the Cold" for the drummers.

3rd day morning:
69. The possessions which the householder had been persuaded to sell
    are set out at the bottom of the reha beside the drummers: - the
    yield-equivalent in rice from the donated field is poured into
    basket-bins, other baskets of rice, etc. are stacked on them, &
    the brass vessels & bowls put on top or beside them.
70. The Fans will sell all these &
    must then repay it in liquor
    for the following 3 or 4 days' drinking (by Konds & Fans)
71. Only if there is any in excess
    at the end, may those Fans
    share it.

72. The bereaved family spread some paddy in their main room,
73. & place 4 or 5 small baskets of rice in a row on the roof-ridge
    outside.
74. For a "Great Festival" a red saree is stretched above the back door
    right over the roof to the front door.
75. A satarti - red cloth on top of a long bamboo pole - is erected at
    the back door (or both doors) to guide spirits & mourners to the
    home.
76. A metal cow-bell may be hung at the door too.
77. If a paddy - or dry - field has been given, a flag must be erected
    in the middle of it.
78. but a donated buffalo or bullock must be tied to a post by the pyre.
Tekinga Nasca - Changing the Cooking Pots

Now the household prepares for this ritual:
79. They take a little of their next year's seed-paddy for the deceased's use,
80. put it into a tiny basket or winnowing tray
81. & tie it up in a clean white cloth
82. Relatives & village women come out of the back door carrying this seed, a live chicken & the household's cooking pots (not the big storage pots).
83. All the rest of the village joins in & the drummers lead the procession to the cremation ground.
84. There they cast the pots away
85. Then call out the dead person's name, saying:
"Don't be angry! Don't be unsettled!"
86. as they scatter the seed grain for him on the smouldering ashes.
87. They also place a little previously cooked rice there for the ancestor spirits to share 'on account of the new death'.

The Search for the Ancestor-Spirit (spider)
88. The near relatives search round the pyre for a spider.
89. "Here is the deceased's spirit", says the one who finds it - & by the spirit's appearing to him they realise that he is the favourite. If a spider cannot be found, one of two species of ant will suffice.
90. He stretches out his hand very gently to make it climb on unaided.
91. If it goes off to one side they think the spirit is displeased.
92. Then the spider is put very very carefully into the little basket, covered with the cloth & taken home.
93. There it is set free within the house.
94. The chicken-offering is slain & cooked
95. but only the household elders & other very old people may eat it:

The 'Wiping of Oil' & the 'Bitter Licking Ritual'
96. Both the women and men go to bathe.
97. On their way back, the old Pan anoints them with oil just as it was done on the day of the death (see Day 1).
98. But also the Bitter Licking Ritual is performed:
99. For this the men will have caught 'bitter fish' while bathing
100. & put them with water into 2 leaf-cups placed apart for men & women.
101. On returning, everyone is 'washed' with a grass-frond (or feather?) dipped in the water.
102. & rubs it into their hand then licks it & rubs it on their head.
103. Then they go home and change out of their damp clothes.
104. A Pan also takes a piglet to the foot of the village & slays it, piercing its intestines & throwing away the 'bitterness' (bile).
105. This is the 'Bitter piglet'. If it is small, he throws it away; if large, he will eat it with one or two friends.
106. Meanwhile every household (except the bereaved) prepares a meal.
107. While it is cooking, the men collect a copper or two from each house & buy liquor for themselves, the 'bitter liquor'. Then they eat.

This ritual completes the community's purification. They are free now to mix with their wider kinsfolk.
3rd Day afternoon - The Mara Festival

1. The women begin to cook the donated rice for the expected guests.
2. & the men put ready local tobacco (now with cigarettes) for more guests
3. & fill in the time by taking another drink.
4. Mourners begin to arrive from many directions; groups of 10 or 15 may come from one village, often more women than men.
5. Men guests come & sit on the verandahs.
6. Greetings are exchanged & a villager gives them tobacco in welcome.
7. One of the newly-arrived relatives-in-law collects the money his group has brought toward funeral expenses. There is no fixed amount; it may be as little as half a rupee or as much as Rs. 5 - even Rs. 10 or 15 may occasionally be given for prestige, or a buffalo or pig.
8. Women guests file into the bereaved home & join in the wailing.
9. After a few minutes, with an older girl or woman to lead them & another behind them, the stumbling, weeping women-guests are led either to the spring or to large water pots placed outside at the back & are helped to bathe their faces.
10. Then they are led into one of several houses set aside for the preparation of guests' meals & to sit down to their rice.
11. This process is repeated for every group as it arrives. Each person knows what he or she is to do all the time & what others will do in return; it is one whole.
12. When a great throng of friends & relations has gathered, 3 or 4 women & girls come out of the house carrying coins on brass plates.
13. They call the drummers to lead them & go wailing up & down the street scattering the coins (about 1 rupee in small change).
14. Visiting children eagerly gather these up.
15. Traditionally, local youths then play the kondri (Kui tambourine) & make the visiting girls dance. The boys may jig a little with their instruments but the girls are the real performers.
16. For a 'great festival' the professional team of male (Pan) dancers may have been engaged for the ritual funeral dance, Kraha Knda.

Bride-seizing:
17. At the conclusion of the dancing it is time for the girls to leave.
18. If any boy & girl wish to marry, a group of lads will seize her by force & carry her off to the boy's house.
19. They usually capture her somewhere along her homeward path.
20. A few days later, or perhaps a week, her parents & male relatives come to the boy's house for discussion.
21. When the marriage arrangements have been duly made
22. they ask for the traditional 'siti liquor money' & 'sending out money' & take these away with them.
23. Following this, the boy's family gives the bride-wealth.
24. It is quite common for the girl's family to have expressed the wish earlier: "Let her go to the mara & be seen by plenty of lads!"

Note:
In recent years the custom has also grown up of boys going with their drums to play & sing in the raha of a marriageable village & for the girls to come out & dance for them - with the same objective.
'Setting Free' the Mara - i.e. concluding it.
When everyone has assembled & enjoyed the day's hospitality:
25. Their kinsmen in the host-village announce them by name, shouting
"So-o-so and party have attended."
26. Then they take them to the bottom of the village & give them money.
Amounts given to relatives-in-law vary, for definite rates were
fixed long ago between any two villages and have held mutually
for all subsequent funerals, e.g. Konobageri: Nuasa = Rs 2,
but Rotongando: Nuasa = Rs 1, and Mallikapori: Nuasa = ½ rupee.
27. Unrelated friends simply receive 4 or ½ rupee for 'liquor for
bathing'.
28. Some guests may have brought a buffalo or a pig; if so, a portion
must be returned to them.
29. But if these are slain on the Mara day, eating them is taboo to
Konds.
30. Hence they are usually slain one day later & the donor may stay
to take away his portion of his own animal.
31. More commonly he requests money in lieu of the portion; the rate
is Rs. 2.50 for a portion of either a buffalo or pig.
32. Anyone bringing a buffalo must always return the hide to the Pan
trader who sold him the animal, for he only bought the flesh not
the hide.
Thus the ritual for dismissing visiting mourners is concluded.

When the guests have gone:
unrelated members of the village must be given money varying from
Rs. 5 to Rs. 2 for their 'liquor for bathing'.
33. The little baskets of rice are brought down from the roof-top
& placed at the foot of the raha with that previously collected.
34. The drums & any other goods are put there too.
35. A Pan man then takes a little water in a brass ladle
36. & sprinkles it ritually over the rice & everything else
37. with a brief invocation.
38. Then all those who have slept in the village for the 3 nights
(i.e. blood-kin) & the drummers and members of the village gather
to receive a share of the rice in the baskets.
39. All that remains - the dedicated field & the other valuables -
are sold (as previously stated) to repay the debt on liquor.
40. And if a little is left over, the Pans share it amongst themselves.

4th Day:
41. The bereaved household washes all its clothes
42. & purifies the house-floor with gruhka
43. then fetches new cooking pots & cooks rice.
44. According to their means they slay a buffalo, goat or pig
45. also the donated animals, if any.
46. The entire village helps in sharing out the meat.
(At this point, a Pan funeral differs from a Kond:
As soon as the meal is ready, Pans place a live chicken on a
winnowing tray & cover it with a new cloth.
Then 4 or 5 men & women hold the tray together & go to the cremation
ground to bring home the new ancestor spirit.
There they search for the spider & when they find it, call it
"the spirit" and place it on the tray.
Then they bring it home & release it inside the house.
They kill the chicken which they had taken out with them, chop it up & cook it & some rice.
Only senior male members of the house & elderly villagers may eat it.)

48. The whole ritual (for Konds & Fans) concludes with a meal of the previously cooked rice & meat. From that day community rites for the new ancestor are completed.

5th Day Everyone resumes work. If it was a 'Small Mara' urgent work may have been done on the 4th day, but never from the 1st to the 3rd day.

The Bironga Ritual

This must be performed within a week of the death for: "We have been wailing the lament, beating drums & blowing the shawm; also women from many different villages entered our streets to weep at the mara, (i.e. possible menstrual pollution). So the shrine god came out & went away."

1. 3 or 4 men place an egg in the darni stones
2. then sacrifice a pig at the darni shrine,
3. invoking the god with the prayer:
   "Let the Darni God come back now to its own place!"
4. They pour the blood over the egg & the stones,
5. offer the bitali portion
6. & finally cook & share a rice & meat meal.

Casting Out Rice:

A week or two later.

1. Younger & elder sisters of the deceased who have married into distant communities return from their husband's homes
2. & on their way to the parental home they go round by the cremation ground
3. and scatter a little rice on the dead ashes of their ancestor.
4. Then they go home.

(43) Concerning 'UNRIFE' DEATHS (i.e. Unforeseen) - SIDI SAKI SAVA

(No other versions)

Sudden deaths are considered to have highly dangerous consequences for the living members of both kin & community.

a) Death through tiger-maul is the most feared of all (Kradi Timba).
b) Death in childbirth or in the month of birth-pollution ranks second (Silungeri Sava).
c) Death by hanging, drowning, falling from a tree or by murder (Sidi Singali) rank only slightly less fearsome.

All these forms of abnormal death pollute the darni & thus the whole community.

They result in restless, unsettled ancestor spirits who are envious both of the living & of the 'settled' dead. Such spirits are desperate to claw someone else into joining them in their unbearably lonely state.
Tiger-Kill: (lit. tiger-food)

(See Vol. I, p.318 for Kui beliefs concerning the activities of the dangerous spirits of men and women who have been killed by tigers or leopards - the word Kradi is used commonly for both.)

Death in childbirth:

(See rituals concerning childbirth & the silungeri-spirit of the dead mother, p. 532 ff.)

Her pyre must be built right away from the regular cremation ground and a safe distance from the village. Only old men build it, or touch the corpse. There is no Mara (3rd day festival).

Death by hanging:

They do build his/her pyre at the cremation ground and take firewood from the village supplies. But if the hanging took place from a tree they cut it down, or else they cut the actual branch and burn it on the pyre for the spirit would call another member of the kin to hang from it. If the hanging took place indoors, the beam 'responsible' is burned on the pyre. Sometimes they even pull down a hanged man's house and rebuild elsewhere for the family.

Death by falling from a tree:

The tree may similarly be cut down (despite its often being a toddy-palm & the climber drunk), for it has become 'unsafe' & the spirit would clutch at the next man to climb it.

Death by drowning:

The two most common forms are (1) by being swept away by a river in spate during the monsoon - the slippery banks not being blamed, for the clutching spirit is reaching out from the water; and, (2) falling into a well - in which case the well must be emptied of all its spiritually-polluted and 'clutching' water.

Murder by Violence:

The body is probably cremated on its way back to the village either because it may have been dead for several days before discovery or, nowadays, because the police have had it for a post-mortem. (Following community purification from death by hanging, drowning, falling from a tree or murder, the Mara festival is however performed).
All these forms of 'Unripe Death' result in an inheritable condition whereby the blood can 'jump' within the family, e.g., murdering becomes an inherited trait within the murderer's kin, & being a victim becomes a similarly inherited trait within the victim's kin. It is Kui belief, moreover, that the trait may miss a generation & suddenly reappear.

(44) COMMUNITY PURIFICATION FROM THE POLLUTION OF TIGER-KILL, etc.

(Specialist & his Actions)

1. All the men gather to arrange for the bringing home of the body.

(Unless it is the most feared form of all, TIGER-KILL (KRADI TINBA), in which case:

No one but direct blood-kinsmen dare handle the body.

It must be cremated where it was found, on the hill, not at the usual cremation ground.

2. The village calls in the priest.

3. He arrives & settles his fee with the village men before taking up his duties (a large sum of Rs.20 or more, depending on the size of the village & nature of the case.)

4. They also buy unlimited quantities of liquor.

5. Everyone prepares for themselves new cotton thread knotted to fit their throat, with gourd-seeds & go to the jungle to cut a growing bamboo, branches of a certain thornbush & growing rushes.

When all is prepared:

6. The priest takes a chicken in one hand & a piglet in the other & all the other materials on his shoulder & goes to the bottom & top of the victim's rah making sweeping movements with his arms.

10. Thus he gathers all together, both the living people and the spirits, just above the top of the village.

11. Certain men place some red powder from a tree very, very carefully for his use. (Red ink or red dye may be substituted nowadays).

12. Then he takes the entire community to a flowing stream.

13. He plants the 2 thorn bushes, one on either side of the stream, & either does the same with the bamboo or lays it crossways.

14. Then he ties each person's yellow thread-gourd-seed necklet on to their throat & sprinkles the people with running water. It must be flowing water, so if there is no stream, the falling water in a paddy-irrigation channel is used.
18. Then each person passes through the flowing water under the arch of thorn branches & emerges on one side.

19. The priest stands facing them
20. then from 3 places on the brow of each
21. he bites & sucks the infection of the dead man’s blood which has 'jumped' into them all, & spits it out as a red liquid.

22. All the people bathe & go home
23. then come out from every home carrying their cooking pots.
24. They throw these out on the hill-side

From that day they must observe the following taboos until they are purified at the ritual’s end:

a) They may not cook;

b) “” enter any other village;

c) nor may any other villagers enter their streets.

Their kinsmen from other villages come & give them meals, leaving food below the afflicted village or out at the back. Any household without kinsfolk elsewhere may cook for themselves so long as they do it outside at a certain spot well behind the village. All this must be the daily practice for a fortnight - previously a whole month, but in some areas nowadays only for a week.

Still on that 1st day
25. The priest offers & slays the piglet & chicken
26. & casts the carcases into the running water.

Note: He need not do that again until the final day, but all the rest of the ritual connected with the bamboo, the thorn-arch, the sprinkling with running water, the wearing of the necklet & the sucking out of the blood must all be strictly performed by everyone each day.

The final day:
1. Priest & people perform the regular ritual.
2. Again the priest offers & slays a piglet & chicken.

After that:
3. They make a hole through a termite hill, large enough for a man to enter.
4. Everyone passes through this.
5. Both when they go under the thorn-arch & through the termite-arch they call upon the names of all gods, spirits & ancestors, saying:

"Don't let us be in this plight again!"

After the termite-hill ritual:
6. The men take out their axes again (i.e. for work beyond the village)

7. The priest now performs the ritual which permits them to move safely about the jungle again - for ever since that first day they had feared that the 'blood-infection' would cause them to become tiger-victims the moment they entered the jungle.

8. The priest stands on the edge of the trees
9. and calls as loudly as he can: "If the blood is still here

Let the tiger seize us now!

10. They all wait.
11. Then he shouts as though driving off a dog:

"Dree-voo! If the blood is still here
although the thread necklace contains power,
Come out & get us now!
If you can't, then go away for ever!"

12. They make payment to the priest (rice & money)

13. Everyone moves about the jungle
again & carries on his work
but they usually pray on entering
the jungle:

"Preserve me from seeing a tiger!
Preserve me in the leaves & bushes!"

15. & as they climb up to their hill-plots they pray to their ancestors
for protection while working in
such danger -

for the 'inherited power' in a tiger-kill makes it the most
dangerous of all forms of death.

(45) **COMMUNITY PURIFICATION FOLLOWING A DEATH IN CHILDBIRTH -
**

SILUNGERI SAVA

(No other versions)

'If a Kond woman lacks strength when the time for delivery is near
she is delivered of the child with great difficulty & suffering:

**THE MOTHER**

If there are elderly women in her
house, they stay close beside her,
to hold her,

but if there are no elderly women,
she gives birth alone, using
whatever she can to help her.
In this way despite all difficulties, she may come through it,
But through not receiving any care, & owing to her lack of strength:
(a) she will try to throw her arms & legs all over the place
(b) & she herself is quite unable to lie down peacefully.
(c) she will be exceedingly tired
(d) & will burst out sometimes laughing, sometimes weeping.
(e) She is totally unable to recognise the baby or her own folk.

When she is like this:
Other women will say: "She will rise (from death) & return again
as a silungeri and claw us all!" So her husband's younger sisters
& younger brothers won't go anywhere near her, for it is usually
they whom she claws when she returns like that. Only her husband's
elder brothers & elder sisters might approach her very tentatively
& say: "Don't claw us!" If she doesn't receive care, she dies
after a period of great suffering.

**AFTER HER DEATH:**

1. The priest is called in
2. & they hammer large nails into her brow, her hands & her feet,
3. & large nails into both back & front doors too - for they think
that if you do this, the silungeri is not able to rise up.
But despite this hammering in of nails:
(a) none of the Kond men will touch her, for they reason thus:
"If I touch a young woman who has died in childbirth, my wife will die in childbirth too."
(b) And the women themselves think similarly: "I will die in childbirth" and are afraid to touch her too.
4. The men build the pyre in a separate place some distance from the cremation ground.
5. It is only the old men among the Pans or Gahis who lift up such a woman & take her away.
6. After placing her body on the pyre these men remove all her silver & gold ornaments and then get the fire burning.
7. When the body is completely burnt away they go off to bathe without fulfilling any of the customary rituals.
When they return home to the village
8. Knowing that all the men were afraid to be involved with the corpse, the Gahis & Pans always try to charge the bereaved man of the house an extra heavy price. He has to give them many rupees for liquor.
9. The village men - with Pans as agents - drink liquor for 2 or 3 days using that money and the cash resulting from the sale of her ornaments.
10. Then after another 3 weeks, the householder causes the house to be freshly plastered with dung (gruhka) & the cooking pots to be ritually cast out & replaced (tekinga mapa)

Note: Other young women will not wish to marry the widower of a woman who died in this way. "We'd die that way too; he'd make us a loan of it," they say fearfully.

CHANGING INTO A SILUNGERI SPIRIT (through death in childbirth)

(No other versions)

1. Often in the rainy season on cremation grounds or other parts of the panga there is a flash of light in the darkness like a leaping flame. They say this is a silungeri. Only women who have died in childbirth are able to turn into a silungeri (or dahani).
2. No one would go near such a woman's cremation place, for they would be afraid. She rises from there during the night and as she rises, she makes a sound like fire burning: "Guru-lupu guru-lupu".
3. These silungerisaka (pl.) usually seek out their husband's younger sisters or his younger or elder brothers' wives, also any pregnant women or any during their month of birth-pollution. Their task is to give these women fits & to claw them, bite them or make them faint. A pregnant woman touched by one falls unconscious & is likely to die a similar death.
4. Wherever this fire-like flame flashes or moves around, folk say: "They are searching for frogs & for pigs' droppings", for they wander over the whole panga nibbling at this kind of food, so folk report.
5. If such a woman is cremated too near the village, she may return & wander about at the back of the raha in which she died. She has long nails & not only tries to claw her younger sisters-in-law, girl-cousins & all females younger than herself, but tickles them until they laugh hysterically, especially if pregnant.
6. Sometimes in the noon-day heat - that is, when no one else is around - women are not only afraid to go near the cremation place of silungerisaka or where smallpox victims' bodies have been thrown out, but near the spring too. That is because spirits & silungerisaka may be taking their bath, or the latter may be holding their babies there to bath them. The Kui people (men included) believe that such people will swallow you.

7. Sometimes both men & women give ear-witness accounts of these wanderings of silungerisaka & this bathing of their babies on the banks of rivers or streams or at springs: "We heard the sound of a baby crying continually: 'Ohe - ohe! Ohe - ohe!' and the mother-silungeri lovingly caressing & comforting it: 'There, There, my princess...my gold jewel, my silver jewel!' and talking to it in this way as she gives it its bath, she murmurs: 'Coo-cho! Coo-cho! Don't cry, little mother! or 'Don't cry, little father!'"

DEATH OF A NEW-BORN INFANT - GRASU MIDA

(No other versions)

1. If a birth-polluted infant dies immediately after being born, the head of the household digs a pit for it outside at the back of the house and buries it there along with all the blood-stained cloths. Other people do not go to the home to wail.

2. When a birth-polluted infant dies after one or two weeks, it must be cremated at the cremation ground but no women - apart from its mother - will go to wail.

No Mara funeral-celebration must be performed for these deaths despite the normal Kond custom. The women say of such an infant: "It has gone via the threshing-floor", because an unpurified infant is like an unpurified threshing.

But as Kond custom decrees for the birth of any baby, after one month has passed, the house-floor of such infants is plastered with cow-dung (gruhka) and the cooking pots are thrown out (tekinga naspa). And so it ends.

3. If the infant dies even the day following the gruhka and Tekinga naspa ritual (i.e. involving the purification of mother and child, and its acceptance within the lineage group) there must be a full Mara funeral - celebration and the bringing home of the new ancestor-spirit (see Death Ritual).
(47) PURIFICATION FROM A DEATH BY HANGING, DROWNING, FALLING FROM A TREE OR MURDER - SIDI SINGALI

(No other versions)

TIME: When someone falls from a tree, falls into a river or pond, dies by hanging or by murder with violence.

SPECIALIST & HIS ACTIONS OTHERS INVOLVED
1. The entire village must fast.
2. Between 1 & 3 days later, they send for the diviner-priest to come to restore them from their great pollution.
3. They prepare their thread-necklets.

Next day, in the morning

4. He first 'sucks out the blood' from the members of the victim's household,
5. then sucks it out for all the rest of the villagers,
6. He also drags a bamboo branch through the reha
7. & takes it to the river where he sprinkles water on them all with it.
8. Then he fastens on to them their necklets of gourd-seeds on new thread
9. He sprinkles them again with water.
10. & they come home, cook & eat.

They all follow this pattern daily for two weeks.

On the final day:

11. The priest goes on to 'suck the blood' from the tree from which the victim fell (or was hanged)
12. & from the place where he hit the ground;
13. also he 'sucks the blood' from the spring which supplies the village - for "A desire to hang oneself might come from it" they say.
14. Then he takes a pig to the flowing water,
15. offers & slays it.
16. He either casts it into the running water or he & one or two old men of the village cook & eat it.
17. After this purification is completed, they hold the (normal) Mara festival
18. & the rehabilitation of the ancestor spirit (spider) from the cremation ground back to its former home; thus people from other villages can mix with them again.
19. For anyone who dies either by falling from a tree or by hanging, they hammer 7 nails into the spot, saying: "Let them never rise up again!". They also cut down the branch & throw it away, saying: "It will summon other people by calling: 'Come & hang yourself from me!'"
DEATH FROM LEPROSY does not come into the SIDI SARI category because it is not sudden but slow, though in the Kond view, inevitable.

1. Leprosy sufferers are made to dwell away from the village.
2. They are not permitted to fraternise with their household or kin.
3. When they die, their kin cremate them on some large flat rock, or without cremating, simply cast the body out on a hill.
4. They will not bury him because it is said that whoever cultivated the ground at that place would contract leprosy.

INCEST

(No other versions)

TIME: If ever two members of the same lineage group have sexual relations.

This is the most serious of all forms of pollution to that kin-group and to the whole community, for it 'pollutes the earth' (i.e. the Earth Goddess). If not fully expiated it will bring total disaster on all forms of fertility.

On the rare occasions when this situation arises, ritual treatment in the Mallikapori area consists of the purification ritual for the whole clan, as already described in G(3l), but with the additional shaving of the woman's hair. The couple are then driven out of the clan territory. As they cannot ever return, this is a severe form of sacrificial extermination for it cuts them off from the living and also denies them access to the world of the ancestors when their own physical death takes place.

Stories remain from former days of the ritual beating to death of the offenders, whose blood was thus offered to the Earth Goddess by the community in expiation of its involvement in this greatest of all pollution-dangers.

(a) Rituals in Life-Destroying Situations

I Due to Disturbed Spirits:

RITUAL FOR THE IRON GOD (formerly God of War) - LOHA LAKA

(No other versions)

TIME: 'In a year when the monsoon rains utterly fail throughout the country'; mid-June to mid-July.

This ritual is very rarely performed, possibly only once in 20 years; only in extreme drought.

They call it the Iron Ritual because they offer an ancient small iron battle-axe or bow & arrow which they have in their keeping. The traditional Keeper of the Iron God offers the sacrifice at the goti formerly used by their ancestors.
1. The people of a whole clan-region call the diviner-priest into their midst.

2. They make him to into trance.

3. If he declares: "The Iron must be offered!"

4. The people of each village meet to discuss: (a) whether they should buy a goat, a pig, or a buffalo; (b) the collecting of money to buy the animal & the liquor; (c) the provision of all other necessary materials.

5. Each household gives rice & money.

6. Eggs are collected, too.

7. They buy the animal-victim.

DAY 1
8. A man goes through every village calling out: "The Iron Ritual is being performed. Do not go off to the jungle, nor in any other direction, for the rain will come!"

9. From the surplus money after buying the victim, they buy spirits.

10. The Keeper of the Iron God - this is only its name; it is not truly an iron god - pours out a libation.

11. From that time until the end of the ritual he & his wife must observe the rules of fasting & chastity.

DAY 2 'On the day when the Iron is cast out'.
12. He and the elders go apart to bathe.

13. Then they climb the hill to the ancient place of sacrifice, taking the victim & all the materials of sacrifice.

14. They have also bought, & bring with them sufficient meat for one man's meal.

15. They bring the bass-drum to the goti, beating it.

16. They blow the 'oboe' too.

17. By that (rhythm) the whole area knows that the Iron Ritual is taking place.

18. At the ancient goti, they pray:

19. During this invocation, the Keeper of the Iron God sacrifices the victim & pours the blood over the offered eggs & rice.

20. He falls to the ground & gives the tribal greeting: "Johari!"

21. Then he rises & sticks a blood-sprinkled grain of rice on his forehead.
23. The drum beats continually.
24. The people below know that the sacrifice is being made to the Iron God & that rain will fall.
25. So they cook & eat their collected rice, so that the coming rainstorm will not spoil the food.

27. He & the elders burn the entire victim on a wood fire.
28. The Keeper then eats rice & the bought meat.
29. He gobbles his portion in great haste, "before the rain comes", then
30. leaps up in the middle of eating,
31. digs a hole & buries every remaining bit of food.
32. Then, picking up the battle-axe, he rushes from the poti, followed by the 'booe'-player.
33. They run into the nearby jungle, out a Sal branch (for 'umbrella')
34. offer it with invocation,
35. & return home.

That night the Lero Enda (Dance of the Bad Humour Lament) is performed in every village throughout the group. (See separate account).

**DAY 3** Libation is again poured; and they disperse the assembly.

1. **Invocation:**
   "O Iron God! Bura God Above!
   You send us rainstorms,
   This year rainstorms are totally absent;
   Our bodies & cultivation are ill:
   Therefore we are crying to you!
   Give us rain!
   Make good for us all our cultivation!"

(51) **THE BAD HUMOUR DANCE - LERO ENDA**

See Sheet G(ii) in the back pocket of Vol. I for this ritual, and Sheet G(i) for its parallel in c.1910.

(52) **SMALLPOX POHA FOR THE WHOLE DISTRICT**

**TIME:** Whenever villagers fall sick with smallpox, Kui folk declare:
"Dumareri Goddess has sown this disease on us, just like sowing seed", and they are frightened.

This ritual is necessary for all cases of smallpox, chickenpox, measles & sometimes for conjunctivitis; also for cowpox & Asian foot-and-mouth disease - for the PoHa, is also performed for animals at the times when they need it.
When the worst of the epidemic shows signs of abating:

1. The people of those villages hold a discussion
2. and call in the priest.
3. The priest, after going into trance, tells them: "If you perform the Poha with a bullock (or a pig or a goat) the Small-pox Goddess will go away, & people will recover."
4. Then they fix the arrangements for the Poha
5. & a money collection is made in each village - sometimes even for just one village.
6. With it they buy whichever animal the priest had said,
7. & they give instructions to the (Pan) basket-maker: "Tomorrow without even your early morning face-wash, (i.e. totally fasting), weave us a Poha basket from new bamboo.
8. Then they broadcast the news in each village: "Tomorrow (or the next day) the Poha will take place!"

POHA DAY:
9. They call the priest very early.
10. He bathes before going to the village,
11. & makes his clapper by splitting a strip of bamboo into 3 tongues;
12. then dabs a "rash" on himself with red dye.
13. He splits one end of a branch of firewood into 2 prongs and sticks these through the Poha basket.
14. The elders decorate the basket with red flowers & grass fronds & an egg.
15. One or more tiny chicks are tied to it
16. & the men place it in the middle of the raha.
17. The priest "sews" 2 leaf-cups,
18. puts powdered turmeric in one & soot in the other
19. and places both in the Poha basket
20. Then:
21. The priest pours out a libation of liquor with his own hand, to initiate the Poha.
22. Thenceforward, he drinks steadily, often dancing & swaying, with his long hair swinging loose.
22. The Gehi (sweeper; never a Kond) who annually carries the basket picks it up & shoulders it.
23. The drummer continuously beats his drum, & the wind-player blows his 'oboe'.
24. Everybody else goes to sit in a close family circle in his own home.

25. The priest then enters each house in turn.
26. Holding his clapper in the right hand & a black chicken in the left, also a peacock plume, if available, he swings the chicken in circles over the sitting family's heads.
27. Incessantly rattling his bamboo-clapper, he invokes the goddess thus:

28. Then "sweeps out the seed-rash" saying: "Go! Go! Go! Go!" as he leaves that house.

29. The musicians move along to play outside each house as he enters;
30. & the teenage girls go dancing along with him (after he has visited their homes);
31. & each householder comes out & puts leaf-cups of soot, turmeric powder, & algu-rice and eggs in the basket,
32. & makes obeisance with the Johari-greeting.

34. In this way the priest treks round every house in that village.

Then

35. The men garland the bullock or goat with flowers.
36. The Gehi carrying the roha basket leads the way down the raha to the village boundary where the main track goes off.

37. He is followed by the priest.
38. Then the elders follow with the animal,
39. & all the people go, too.

40. There at the village boundary, the priest sprinkles water over the people (from a gourd), blessing them in the name of God.
41. Most people then go away to bathe & return home.

42. But the priest & several elders, along with the Gehi carrying the basket, go on to the next village (until the whole group is "swept").
Afterwards

43. The priest, & two elders - or just one - from each village, go a little way down the track to the traditional place for Foha sacrifice (near water for cooking).

44. The musicians accompany them.

45. There, the Gahi sets the basket down.

46. They all engage in wild dancing.

47. Then they release the tiny chicks tied to the Foha basket, & free them to flee into the jungle carrying off the evil.

48. The sacrificial animal's tether is cut,

49. But the priest grabs the animal, getting its neck in the right position.

50. Then he makes a preliminary small cut

51. & an elder chops the head off with one stroke, sacrificing the animal in the name of Dumareri Goddess.

52. He immediately pours its blood over the Foha basket,

53. & places the head close to the basket.

54. They also sacrifice the large chicken previously held by the priest.

55. The priest cooks & offers the bitali liver-portion with rice.

56. Nearby, the elders cook rice & then meat.

57. The priest pours out a libation of liquor, then they drink together.

58. The priest eats

59. & the few elders also eat rice & meat merrily.

60. They throw away all the excess food; it is taboo to take it home for their families, & nothing must be put aside for the next day.

61. They all return home together.

Note: 'If a bullock is the victim, it is never eaten. It is either sacrificed and left as a whole-offering, or, if the priest decides that it should bear away the evil, he drives it off, saying:

"It has gone - carrying away the seed-rash. It must be driven off; not eaten!" (Nowadays he may collect it secretly from the jungle that evening!)

Sometimes many animals - chickens, goats & pigs - are slain for this sacrifice if the epidemic is even more severe than usual.'

1. Invocation: "O female Dumareri-Goddess,
Take away the seed-rash sown in this house!
Stop afflicting these people!"

2. Invocation: "Go! Go! Go! Go!
Go away from this district and from us!
Go! Go! Go! Go!"
DEATH FROM SMALLPOX - there is no cremation because of the belief that infection would spread with the smoke. The bodies are thrown into a ravine. All these spirits, too, are miserable in their isolation, & therefore wander about trying to clutch the living for companionship.

(53) THE VACCINATION POHA - TIPA POHA

(No other versions)

This is a modern ritual connected with the Oriya vaccinator & the need for a ritual safeguard against this 'contact' with the dreaded Smallpox Goddess.

SPECIALISTS & THEIR ACTIONS

OTHERS INVOLVED

1. The village headman calls out:
   "Tomorrow the children of every village will be vaccinated."

2. Then the parents know they must give ritual care-treatment (lopta) to their children.

3. & go to the vaccinator.

4. There the father's name & the child's name must be written down. If a child has not been named, they give it its grandparent's name.

5. Then it is vaccinated.

After that they wait 2 or 3 days, then:

6. They first go & bathe their children in a paddy-field irrigation channel (i.e. flowing).

Next day

7. they make a bundle of Nim leaves & so bathe it with that.

After a few more days when the children have recovered - or even if they haven't -

8. They make a collection in every village (? the men)

9. & perform the PoHa (driving out) ritual with a piglet on the main track.

   "For if they don't get rid of Ajamahapuru she will take hold of other people; therefore it is necessary to perform the PoHa".

Note: The above ritual has developed in the eastern region. In the 1960's the people of the wilder south-west still fled to the jungle on the day scheduled for the vaccinator's arrival in their village. They feared any connection at all with the dreaded Smallpox Goddess & her possible reprisals.
**POHA for any Serious Feverish Illness**

(See B (16) p. 467)

**TIME:** When one of the parents or children in a household is seriously ill with fever.

**SPECIALIST & HIS ACTIONS**

1. The household calls in the priest & makes him perform divination;

2. that is, the priest places grains of rice on a knife or sickle-blade & observes the way they 'fly'.

3. From that he declares whether the **poha** is to be performed with a chicken or a pig, etc.

**OTHERS INVOLVED**

4. After learning this, the household head seeks out a chicken or pig.

5. Before sunrise . . . . . . 6. he calls in the priest again.

7. He makes his bamboo rattle & sticks it through a broken winnowing tray or a basket hastily woven of thinly-split bamboo.

8. They 'sew' 2 leaf cups

9. then put turmeric powder in one, soot in the other, & place both on the tray.

10. The priest then swings the chicken or piglet in circles above the patient's head, while making invocation all the time.

11. Then the householder shoulders the winnowing tray (& contents)

12. & leads the way out of the village.

13. Ceaselessly rattling his rattle,

14. The priest follows him.

15. After going a little distance, they put down the tray on the track.

16. The priest makes invocation

17. & cuts the throat of the chicken or pig.

18. After offering the **bitali** portion,

19. they cook and eat rice & the meat,

20. then come home.

21. But they do not eat offerings made to the fearsome **Birongamaulaka** spirits (i.e. in cases of Cholera, Dysentery & T.B.). They throw out the whole sacrificed animal & come home.
RITUAL FOR THE HILL GOD - SORU PENU LAKA

(No other versions)

The Sacred Grove:

'On the lower slope of the hill nearest to the village there are various great and tall trees. These are called 'God's trees'. The man who is custodian of the gods of that hill is not able to be free and easy in his eating habits. He may not eat a meal in a different district.

A dami is placed in the midst of this grove and 12 stones are reconsecrated there annually by their custodian. This is done so that all the people of the village, along with their cattle will enjoy security; moreover, tiger-transformed persons coming there will not be able to stay, nor will witches and sorcerers be able to come that way without difficulty. Through this faith in them, the hill-gods will watch over the people of that village very well.

So eggs must be consecrated for them. If at that time anything eats the consecrated eggs, then the people must call in the priest, make him go into trance and consecrate eggs all over again.

Occasionally an uncastrated male goat or buffalo must also be 'shown' to the hill-god by the custodian. It is then released until it is fully grown. They will not sell it for money nor kill it. It can wander around outside until it is grown up. If a tiger kills it or a snake bites it, they say: "The tiger killed it because the custodian's guardianship was unfitting". So they make the priest go into trance again and thus they give the hill-gods into the guardianship of another man. "That man had perhaps become unclean so was unable to be 'holy'," they thought; that is why they call the priest and cause a different man to become custodian.

If the branch or the trunk of a sacred tree near the village - or even of an ordinary tree - should suddenly fall, they think thus: "The gods came to sit on it, and because the tree couldn't endure it, it fell flat!"

Note: Other gods and spirits are believed to reside in natural objects such as rivers, springs, outstanding rocks or trees, especially trees struck by lightning. Their importance - and therefore the ritual observances associated with them - depends upon their nearness and importance to the local community.

1. In this saying, an archaic form of the Infinitive is used for 'to sit', suggesting that the idea is of considerable antiquity.

(a) Rituals in Life-Destroying Situations

II Due to Man's Ill-Will

(56) EVIL EYE - KANU MUJU

(57) TO COUNTER EVIL EYE - MELI GIVA

See Sheet H(ii) in Vol. I back pocket for these rituals, and Sheet H(i) for the parallel c.1910.
WITCHCRAFT

Kui Classification of Gods & Witches

The Kui people discriminate between the attitudes of the gods towards men and the attitudes of the demonic powers with whom (human) witches & sorcerers associate to cause harm.

1. As a rule all gods are angry ones & may be hot-tempered for long periods. Then chicken feathers, turmeric, algu rice, blood & the slain chicken must be poured out as an offering on the darni stone. Their hot temper lasts for a long period. If for instance they do not receive this offering once a year, all gods become angry. Some of them will wait for a year - or possibly even 2 years - but for others food-offerings must be made once a week.

2. Bironga-iiaulaka & occasional ones among the hill-gods are witches' gods, or so it is said. All gods associated with witchcraft & the Bironga-iiaulaka are permanently angry, whereas other gods will act as guardians against feverish illnesses as long as they receive exactly the right offering for their hot-temperedness.

3. The disposal ravine of people who have died from 'Heat' (Smallpox) is of itself a fear-transmitting place. Everyone is terrified to go there. Pregnant women without exception wouldn't think of going anywhere near it, for if they did & received a shock, the dead victims of 'Heat' would swallow them & folk would say: "That's why she had a fit."

4. The spirits of men, women & children who die at home become ancestor spirits & people are frightened of them too. The sacrifice of a bullock, or for some people a goat or a pig, must be made annually - or at the very least, every 2 or 3 years; for these ancestor spirits also bring feverish illnesses if they don't receive this offering for their hot-temperedness over too long a period. Sometimes witches join up with the ancestor spirits too & perform witchcraft on family members. Then folk say that the witches have put pressure on these ancestor spirits.

5. The tutelary, or spiritual 'marriage-partner', of the witch is also believed to co-operate with him/her against someone.

Witches & their Methods of Attack

1. When the people of the Kui country hear the word "witchcraft" they are very much afraid. They look on any man who is fat as a terrifying sight. No one dares to hold conversation with him. Also if they see his face in their dreams, they believe that he surely practises witchcraft. If priests, by divination, say the same thing about him too, then the whole village's conviction is reinforced. Anyone who behaves strangely or has a fearsome appearance is similarly suspected.
2. By stealing a person's spirit: a strong belief that witches operate at night arises from everyone's experience of dreams. While one's body remains on the sleeping-mat, one's wandering spirit encounters not only pleasant but nightmare situations with no escape. This is when the sleeping witch sends out his or her spirit to capture the innocent 'wanderer' as a food-offering for tutelary witches: 'Whoever practises witchcraft chews up a man or woman right inside so that the person falls ill & dies. If a witch doesn't manage to catch anyone for a really long time to give to these spiritual witch-partners, they say to them: "I'll eat my own household, either my children or my wife"; and so their home-folk die. This is what we Kui people believe.'

3. Human spirits caught in this or any other way are believed to be collected together in a safe place: perhaps stored in the witch's house, covered by an upturned basket or cooking pot, or even tied up; or else outside in a thicket, or up a heavily jungled hill, or under a stone. This is necessary only while the victim's body is physically following his spirit into death, so completing the witch's transaction with his/her confederates.

4. The witch may be aided in this (2 or 3 above) by the Bironga-Maulaka demons, who are able to take the form of fabulous animal-familiars resembling the pig.

Illnesses believed to be due to witchcraft

1. Rapid wasting illness such as acute TB & Sonne Dysentery (lit.: 'to be dying of drying up' or 'withering') is due to 'ordinary' witchcraft where the Bironga-Maulaka have given the person's spirit for witches' food & the body is therefore understandably dying. Slow wasting illness is due to witchcraft alone.

2. Cholera is also the result of Bironga-Maulaka demonic co-operators, & results in even quicker 'drying-up' (dehydration) so that the body almost visibly follows its stolen spirit. Also other members of the family may be affected (in Western medical terms infected.) Severe infective gastro-enteritis is regarded similarly.

3. When an injury or sore on the extremity of a limb fails to close up and heal normally, & instead the surrounding flesh putrifies & breaks down thus increasing in size.

(59) TREATMENT FOR ILLNESSES OF SUSPECTED WITCHCRAFT ORIGIN

(No other versions)

SPECIALIST & HIS ACTIONS

OTHERS INVOLVED

1. The terrified household calls in the priest to go into trance - as in all serious situations of uncertain origin.

2. They send a boy to the spring to fetch water for the priest's feet.
3. The boy must fill the pot in one single scooping movement.
4. The priest must wash his hands and feet before entering the house.
5. He squats inside the patient's house.
6. Takes a little rice on a winnowing tray.
7. Then swinging his hair round & round,
8. He invokes by name all the gods to whom Kui people pay homage
9. & so goes into trance.
10. After that he takes the patient's hand & sucks from its skin,
11. & says: "Witches are eating this man! If you give him the care-treatment with a goat or a pig, he will be cured."
12. So they buy the goat or pig just as the priest directed,
13. Also a small earthen pot & collect certain leaves.

At cock-crow next morning:
15. The priest 'breathes' on the patient's body.
16. Then swinging the piglet - or sometimes his chicken - in one hand
17. & rattling his split-bamboo with the other,
18. He circles several times round the patient
19. Saying: "Go, go, go, go!
   0 Bironga - Maulaka,
   Go, go, go, go!
20. & he quickly hustles the demons 2 or 3 furlongs from the village,
21. There on the track he makes further invocation
22. & he & the adult male relatives slay the piglet & chicken.
23. Usually after sacrificing the pig, they cast it away as a whole offering because of their fear.
24. Afterwards (i.e. back in the village) they offer & slay another piglet for 'The Reversal of the Evil'. (This meat is presumably cooked & shared).

If the patient recovers through this ritual, then people state their beliefs: "That man (named) was certainly a witch; he was devouring him!" But if the patient die - as is often the case with these diseases - they say: "Witches joined the Bironga Spirits & caused them to enter the patient's body & eat it."
25. Then they demand money (for liquor) from the man accused of witchcraft "for the dead man's sake", and they drive him right out of the community.

Note: Sometimes in cholera cases, after trance, the priest pours liquid (milk) over the patient's feet & announces loudly: "We are performing the poha on you!" Then when the patient is a little better (if he recovers) on the day before the poha, the patient anoints himself with turmeric & oil; when his bathing water is heated for him, he takes it outside the back of the house & bathes. Then within that week they do the poha. There is always witchcraft accusation preceding this.
Illnesses Believed to be Due to Sorcery

1. When the arms, legs, whole body & all its joints ache, folk believe that: "Sorcerers have put something or other into their stomachs."

2. For acute persistent headache the priest divines that "large black dung beetles have been introduced & are flying round inside the skull."

3. When the stomach or neck swells & for all kidney disorders they say: "Sorcerers have thrown his spirit into a pond or spring for him; so his stomach will swell!"

4. Severe diarrhoea may be another result of the same action by sorcerers as in No. 3.

5. Diabetes, when sorcerers' action may not only bring urinary frequency but makes the patient "call like a glutton in his longing for certain foods" (This is distinguished from the violent fancies for certain foods which may attack pregnant women. The Kui people say that ("orpa") can also cause swollen limbs but when the craving is satisfied, the swelling goes down, for it is simply seen as a sign from the child.)

6. Severe anaemia or any deficiency-weakness, especially of pregnancy, is caused by sorcerers' jealousy for it causes debility just when the mother symbolises the family's future.

Treatment of Illnesses Due to Suspected Sorcery

SUCKING OUT THE (EVIL) 'GRIT' - SIDARI VESKA

(No other versions)

SPECIALIST & HIS ACTIONS

1. The patient's household calls in the priest.

2. By divination he says that the trouble is due to particular foreign bodies put into the patient by the sorcerer: e.g. for limb pains - small particles of grit, pebbles etc. for headache - black dung beetles flying round in the skull.

3. He rubs castor oil on the painful area,

4. & sprinkles the part with water.

5. Then he blows over the skin with his mouth, searching for the place where the foreign bodies entered.

6. Finding it, he carefully places his lips & sucks them out (having earlier secreted live beetles or tiny stones in his cheek).

7. He shows them to the patient.

8. then casts them one by one into the fire.

9. The priest may call on the patient 3 or 4 times & perform veska sucking treatment like that at each visit. If the pain diminishes a little &

10. the patient says "It feels a little easier to me",
They all decide: "Sorcerers (male), whoever they are – had indeed put these things inside you!" and they all believe that the patient will recover.

(62) **CURSE – MLIPA**

(MLipa literally means: to transform, metamorphose)

**TED:** 'Whenever a man or woman, or a group of people, is angry with someone and speaks out their anger, saying: "Let him (them) be destroyed by any means whatsoever".'

**Note:**
1. 'Only older people can mlipa their juniors.
2. Most commonly mother's brothers or father's sisters' husbands curse their more junior relatives.
3. When one is cursed thus, results vary: sometimes trading becomes unprofitable; cultivation fails, crops are eaten by deer or mice; insects weaken the stems so the plants wither, or the ears rot off without bearing grain; if one has teenage children, they disobey their parents and live prodigally in sexual immorality, and thus are disqualified from making good marriages; clothing also is eaten by rats and termites.'

Typical MLipa words are as follows:

'Let her (them) be broken into little pieces!
Let her (them) be reduced to fragments!
Let them 'dance' uselessly like crows, like kites!
May none of her (their) cooking ever be digestible!
May they miss the cooking pot
and pour their rice into the fire!
Let all their trading
Let all their farming
Dissolve away like salt in water!
As truly as I am their mother's brother (etc.)
May my curse never become ineffective!'

(63) **COUNTER-CURSE – Ruhpa**

**TED:** 'Whoever is struck by such a curse, finding for instance that their eggs don't hatch out, cries: "MLipa has reached out and got me!" So they call an old man or old woman to perform the counter-curse.

Especially if a woman in labour is unable to be delivered of her child, an aged relative of the grandmother, mother-in-law or grandfather, must perform Ruhpa.'
1. He/she rises at earliest light,
2. pulls a little thatch from the eaves
3. and breaks it into equal lengths.
4. They take a bronze ladleful of water,
5. then stand the cursed person in the doorway
6. saying: "By this water, by this liquid,
   May that which has reached out from the mouth
   Return to the sender!
   Let it be driven off!
   Let it be cast aside!
   Let it go!
   For I am performing rupee;
   I am working salvation!
7. the aged one says this while sprinkling water on the sufferer
8. then takes a little in the mouth
9. & spits it on to the sufferer's feet.
10. So the curse departs.

Note: If non-hatching eggs are the victim, the ritual is done
     over those; similarly over a woman in difficult labour.'

(64) **TIGER-TRANSFORMATION - KRADE MLIVA**

(See A(21) p.446)

There appears to be no ritual directly connected with the power
some people are believed to possess and by which they transform
themselves into tigers in order to harm others.

They have been observed by reliable eye-witnesses to 'slip
away into the jungle and emerge a few minutes later as a tiger or
leopard. When an educated Christian Kond challenged a man regarding
his ability to do this, the two went out to put it to the test. This
was in the Udayagiri area where tigers are now rare. It happened
exactly as stated above. The challenger escaped unharmed but
unshakeably convinced.

(e) **Socio-Political Rituals of Justification and Reparation**

Trials by Ordeal:

(65) **WALKING THE FIRE TRENCH - KANDA TAKA**

(No other versions)

See Vol. I, pp. 25-26 for this ritual.
DUCKING IN WATER - SIRU TANI DIVA

(NO OTHER VERSIONS)

THE: When a man is accused of witchcraft or theft or starts a noisy quarrel about a paddy-field, shouting: "This is ours! This is ours!"

SPECIALISTS & THEIR ACTIONS

1. The headman of the village summons all the Muta elders to a council.

2. If they are unable to settle the matter by witnesses' statements,

3. They decide to find out the truth by ordeal, so fix the day & the type.

4. They also ensure that the man proved guilty will pay a fixed fine to the innocent, extra money 'for shame' & that he will bless the innocent one.

Early next morning:

5. They choose 2 men, one from each side, to duck themselves in water. (Not the accused & accuser themselves).

6. They also select an old man to pour the milk, rice & egg.

7. The old man, still fasting, goes to cut down 2 Sal branches & takes them to the waterside.

8. The 2 contestants go to the water without even cleaning their teeth... accompanied by all the other men.

9. The two bathe... 10. the other men search them all over their bodies saying that they may be concealing some kind of medicine to make them win.

11. The old man also bathes

12. then climbs down the bank where the water is deep

13. & sticks the 2 branches firmly upright in the water.

14. The two men wade in & each takes hold of a branch.

15. The old man stands between them & anoints them,

16. scattering the rice-grains over them,

17. while making invocation: 1

18. Next he gives the Johari-greeting in all 4 directions

19. and one to the sun.

20. Then while saying: "Whichever of them is not a wrongdoer may he keep on sitting underwater!"

21. he puts a hand on the head of each & makes them both squat underwater at the same moment.

22. He places the egg on the water over them

23. & takes 2 pots of milk, one given by each 'side', & pours the milk on the water as though pouring on top of their heads.

24. When that milk enters the ears, eyes & nose of the guilty man - going "Guru-guri" inside them, he will not be able to keep on squatting there. The water quickly tries to throw him out on top.
25. Whichever man's body is visible first, that man must be apprehended. The one who is able to stay down for a long time has no sin, so they believe.

1. Invocation: "O High Bura God! We have come today to judge a matter of theft (sorcery, etc.) between . . . . . . (speaking their names) If he (the accused, by name) has performed a wrong, Throw him up to us rapidly from underwater!"

HOLDING THE RED-HOT BAR - KANDA AHPA

(NO OTHER VERSIONS)

TDE: When a man accused of any form of misconduct wishes to undergo the 'Red-Hot Holding' ordeal, his accuser permits it.

SPECIALISTS & THEIR ACTIONS

1. The elders meet in council
2. Then call the blacksmith

3. The blacksmith bathes
4. Then heats the iron bar.
5. The accused returns from bathing.
6. Anoints himself with castor oil
7. & grasps 7 Fimal leaves.
8. The accuser holds rice-grains & makes invocation
9. While he scatters the rice-grains.
10. The blacksmith puts the red-hot bar into the accused's hand by means of pincers.
11. If he can hold it, he is an honest man; if he can't, he is guilty.

1. Invocation: "O Bura God Above! You who are God of Iron!"
   If this man has committed a wrong
   May he be burned by this iron!
   If there is no wrongdoing
   May he not be burned!"

ORDEAL BY BOILING WATER - SIRU ATA

(See B(20) p.471)

TDE: 'When a valuable possession belonging to someone disappears through theft & they don't know who took it; or else the person who did take it says he didn't:'

SPECIALISTS & THEIR ACTIONS

1. The accuser calls together . . . . the village council.
2. They call the accused to a meeting.
3. If the accused says vehemently to them: "I haven't taken it! I'll undertake whatever trial by ordeal you will give me!"

4. They make the decision to heat water into which he must dip his hand repeatedly.

5. Without cleaning their teeth
6. the council members take a new earthen pot & go to the water.
7. When they enter the water, they scoop it up from the spring (with one single action) & bring it out.
8. Then they heat it near the spring.
9. They drop a pai (small coin) into the heated water.

Next day:

10. The accuser bathes,
11. & ritually scatters grains of rice around & over the boiling pot,
12. saying these words: 1
13. Then the accused makes invocation: 2
14. & dips his hand into the boiling water.
15. If nothing happens to him at that time, the fact of his innocence is clearly known.

1. **Accuser's declaration:** "Because I have lost my valuable possession - whether brass eating-bowl, brass water-beaker, or gold or silver - I accuse this man of theft.
If he, or his wife, or any of his children, whoever it may be, has taken it, Let him be scalded till he gasps!
Till it takes the skin off him!"

2. **Accused's invocation:** "Bura Above! Bura Below! God of the (Meriah - captive's) iron ring!
You who, as the sun, art the One who comes & the One who goes!
You have observed me!
If I, or my wife, or my children, have taken or touched or played with his valuable possession,
Let me be scalded till I gasp!"

**Variations of the Ordeal by Boiling Water:** (No other versions of this and the remaining rituals (69) to (85))

(a) **TIME:** 'Sometimes someone loses some article and thinks: "This man - or that man - has taken it!" Yet it is difficult to accuse him of theft because of his strength, so they themselves secretly dip a chicken's foot in boiling water, thus:

'Bearly in the morning'
1. Two or three men take a chicken
   & water to a certain place.
2. They bathe themselves, and,
3. still in wet clothes,
4. heat the water.
5. After bathing the chicken,
6. they scatter rice-grains,
7. while uttering the names of men in a certain village or household,
8. & praying: 
9. & they thrust the chicken's foot into the water.
10. Then they watch its foot carefully for 2 or 3 days.
11. If its skin comes off, realising that their accusation is absolutely true,
12. they go & seize the man;
   but if nothing happens (to the chicken's foot) they believe he is innocent.

1. Invocation: 'If he - or they - have taken it,
   Let this chicken's foot be scalded till the skin comes off!'

(b) 'Sometimes when they don't know who is the thief, they do the same test privately with a chicken, uttering many names until they find the thief's name. Then they take the village council to that man's house, apprehend him and take back the stolen goods, or else they keep watch on the man and so catch him.'

(69) DRINKING THE SOIL - VIRA UNBA

TIME: When 2 men quarrel severely regarding a paddyfield or dry field.

Method: In order to know precisely to whom this land belongs, the field's own soil is drunk; that is, soil from it is thoroughly mixed with a little water & the 2 disputants drink it. If one dies after drinking it, the ground was not his.

(70) CASTING A (Preventive) SPELL - TARI ITA

TIME: When it is necessary to guard growing vegetables (i.e. when they are ripening), they cast a spell over them. This normally applies to mustard leaf, beans, pumpkins, corn-on-the-cob, sweet potatoes, the long runner-bean, lentils, grain & similar produce. It is not applied to paddy cultivation. The spell is cast with bark from the Piasal tree in the following way, though there are variations:

SPECIALIST & HIS ACTIONS
1. The householder calls in the priest to perform it (or an old man)
2. The priest (or old man) goes to bathe
3. then takes his axe to the trunk of a Piasal tree (hardwood)
4. With the upper edge of his axe-blade he shaves off the bark, starting from the bottom upwards.

OTHERS INVOLVED

5. He brings the bark back.
6. Splits a bamboo at the tip & wedges the bark into it.
7. Then he stands in the middle of the vegetable plot & says:

"Let no one eat the vegetables, the produce, from this plot,
Nor carry it off without obtaining my order!
May any woman who does such a thing
Menstruate with a noisy rush!"
8. After saying that, he gives the Johari-greeting
9. & plants the pole in the middle of the mustard plot or the beans etc.
10. If the plot is large or the spell is to cover a whole clearing,
he will plant 2 or 3 in easily visible places.
Then if any woman suffers a heavy menstrual loss, she thinks:
"I am like this because I have eaten some produce or other on
which the Piasal bark spell has been cast."

(71)

THE SPELL-REVERSAL RITUAL - RUPHA

TIME: When the crop has ripened:

Early one morning:

1. They call in the person who first cast the spell. If he
   is not available only a priest
   or someone older than the
   former man is able to perform
   Rupha.

2. He takes the bark from whatever cursed produce they are blaming
3. & goes to stand in a flowing stream.
4. There he says: "That spell which I cast,
   Let it yield, let it be severed!
   Let it not reach out to anyone at all!
   By this water, by this bubbling stream.
   Let it go!
   I am uttering this reversal! I am causing deliverance from it!"
5. While he speaks, he throws the bark into the flowing water
6. & uses green (i.e. unripe) rushes from the bank to sprinkle drops
   of stream-water.
7. He also rinses out his mouth with a little water and spits it out.

(72)

SLAYING THE LIZARD

TIME: When they wish for clarification regarding some misdeed:

1. The householder calls in the priest.
2. The priest comes after bathing
3. & they catch a lizard.
4. The priest takes it along the main track
5. & says: "Whoever has done this misdeed
   If he steps over this as he goes along
   May he quickly die!"
6. While uttering these words he kills the lizard
7. & places it on the path.
   If the wrongdoer should die, the oath has caught him.
HOLDING THE TURSIKA JUNGLE-CREEPER (with leprosy-like nodules):
This oath is performed in a variety of situations.

(a) An unmarried lad & girl may fall in love & have intercourse then afterwards one or other takes a different marriage-partner. The rejected lover gathers short lengths of Tursika creeper from the jungle & beats the ground with it, saying: "Because you refused to take me as your wife (husband) may leprosy fall on you!" Because they have 'died of refusing' (i.e. separated) & because their belief is strong, they do contract leprosy.

(b) Or a young couple may marry after performing this oath and then separate. The result is believed to be the same.

(c) Men sometimes perform it regarding land-disputes about either a paddy or dry field. Then they believe that whoever cultivates that field unjustifiably would be caught by the oath & die of leprosy.

(d) When a chicken, a goat or anything else is stolen by an unknown culprit, the loser may perform this oath. (Fans)

In all these cases, it is believed that in some days' or months' time the wrongdoer's toes & fingers will very slowly develop sores & then drop off. The same result is obtainable by beating one's body with switches from the castor-oil bush, the "Wind Bird" flowing shrub, Mutari creeper, Ledi Thorn or the Green Stem creeper.

SPLITTING THE MANGO-STONE

TIME: When there is an irreconcilable quarrel within a kin group. They perform this oath as a declaration of refusal to be reunited, meanwhile splitting the mango-stone with a wooden mallet.

BEATING WITH THE HAND

TIME: Also for an irreconcilable quarrel within a kin-group. In order to refuse any possibility of being reunited, they beat the ground 7 times with the hand & say:
"If I rejoin them may I die!"

Five Oaths to Prove Innocence in any form of wrong-doing:

Lighting the Lamp
1. The accused person bathes
2. then in front of all the people,
3. he/she places a small burning oil lamp on the head
4. & says: "If I have done this wrong,
   May I be quickly extinguished like this lamp!"
(77) **Touching One's Child**
The accused touches his/her child's head & says:
"If I am guilty of this wrongdoing
May my child burst open & die!"

(78) **Touching One's Eye**
The accused touches one of his eyes, saying:
"If I have done this misdeed
May my eye burst out of its socket!"

(79) **Dissolving Salt**
The accused takes salt, saying:
"If I have done wrong,
May I dissolve like salt in water!"

(80) **Breaking the Egg**
The accused breaks an egg on his head, saying:
"I have done no wrongdoing!"

If he should die later, they realise that the egg-ordeal overtook him.

Five Oaths Concerning Theft, which are therefore particular to the Fans, who have certain notorious "thieves' villages" in addition to individual cases.

(81) **The Exposing Test** (Vesa = to bring out into the open, expose, redeem).

**THE:** When they don't know who is the culprit (in Baro Muta)
1. The victim of the theft takes some rice-grains & an egg.
2. Then goes with 3 or 4 men to a land-erosion ravine named Kalanga
3. From the bamboo thicket there they cut down one bamboo
4. & split one end into two tongues.
5. Two of the men who have bathed & remained fasting,
6. now tie one end each strongly to their waists,
7. & another man bathes
8. & scatters grains of rice while he makes invocation:
   "O Bura God Above,
   If a wrongdoing has been committed
   May these split bamboos come together!
   If there is no wrongdoing
   May they not unite!"
9. Then he calls out the names of several villages.
10. At one of the village-names the ends of bamboo reunite.
11. Then they take the names of each household in that village
    & make invocation in its name with the same bamboo-test.
12. After that they go themselves to whichever household in that
    village has caused the bamboo ends to unite.
13. There they catch the person & take back the object stolen.
This test is also used for clarification regarding a possible wrongdoing. If the bamboo unites, they know there is wrongdoing; if they don't unite, there is not.
(82) Razor-Fragments Oath

TIME: After a theft when the culprit's identity is unknown.
1. The householder-victim secretly has a razor made by the blacksmith
2. Then without anyone knowing, he calls the priest.
3. The priest bathes
4. & brings Sadari leaves
5. He takes these to the track near the village.
6. & cuts them into fragments with the razor,
7. dropping them on the path while saying:
   "Whoever has stolen this thing
   may his stomach & bowels be cut into fragments
   going "kitti-koto kitti-koto" inside (i.e. in spasm)
   So may they pass blood & die!" (i.e. severe dysentery).
Then if anyone should die that way - a woman or a man - they believe that this oath has caught him.

(83) Swinging the Tiger-Firebrand
The burnt embers from the pyre of a tiger's victim are called 'tiger-firebrands'.
(a) If there is a lot of theft in a village the elders get the priest to go all round it swinging aloft a tiger-firebrand as he says:
   "May whoever is stealing be eaten by a tiger!"
   If someone dies that way, they believe him/her to be the thief.
(b) Individual trial is also made by placing a tiger-firebrand on the head saying: "May I be eaten by a tiger if I have done this thing!"
(c) A tiger skin may be carried on the head & shoulders in protest of innocence: "May a tiger eat me if I have done this misdeed!"

(84) Giving the Grains of Rice
TIME: When someone loses something valuable:
1. They first look for it
2. & then call out in the raha:
   "Whoever has taken it, give it back to us!
   If you don't, we will go & give rice grains to the potter!"
That evening:
3. They ask for, or collect, 2 or 3 rice grains from each house,
4. tie them into a leaf package
5. & go & give them to the potter.
6. The potter puts them on to the wheel he is turning.
The people believe this: "The folk in the household which has carried off the valuable possession will become dizzy like the turning of the potter's wheel."
(85) Carrying God's Book on the Head (this originated with Pan Christians)

The accused places the Bible on his head & says:
"If I have done wrong, If I have done wrong
May God send blindness on me & cause me to die!"
If he becomes blind or dies after this, they believe the oath overtook him.

Thus in every village people are constantly employing many, many little oaths. They learn these things in childhood. For instance, even really little children immediately speak out when something happens & they quarrel & accuse each other; they say: "If I have taken it (or eaten it, or given it to someone, or broken or destroyed it) may a tiger eat me!" And if a firebrand is handy - or if not, the fronds of a grass sweeping-broom - they carry that on their heads while saying it. Sometimes they put a box on their heads with a cat or puppy in it in lieu of a tiger-skin!

Other occasions when oaths are sworn hastily are when a husband & wife quarrel. They will touch a leper saying: "If I have committed this fault let my leprosy fall upon me!" or "If I double-cross on my promise let......" And husbands say to wives: "If you desert me & go to another husband may leprosy......", or the woman says: "If you desert me & go to fetch another girl may leprosy fall on you to your absolute & uttermost limits!" And they touch the leper as they say it.
APPENDIX TWO
Key Elements in the Heriah Ritual
(See Vol. I, p.268)

The following key elements in the human Heriah Ritual are not found in other Kond sacrificial rites:

1. The sacrificial stake: selected, prepared and carved very carefully and with great attention to detail. The carved bands of chevrons, lozenges and similar forms vary from village to village, but are copied meticulously within each village. The burial of the bronze peacock (? or bull in Bond) adds to the importance and centrality of the stake in the movement of the ritual.

2. The satari: a woven bamboo 'wheel' covered with red and white cloth and fixed on a pole which is mounted on the longest available bamboo, close beside the stake. Some form of satari appears to be used in Nepal and also by the Gonds of Central India; in both these areas diviner-priests fulfil a similar function to those of the Konds. The purpose of the satari is to attract the divinities and enable them to centre their attention on the right sacrificial spot, hence the peacock feathers waving on top (now replaced by a cock) and the jerked ropes on to which bells are tied along with strips of strong-smelling pork-flesh, thus attracting by sight, sound and smell.

3. The roughly carved wooden clappers shaped like a peacock whose head and tail are jerked up and down by attached twine. These are used in conjunction with the bell-rope, again to attract the attention of the Earth Goddess while the Heriah song is being chanted before leaving the dami for the sacrificial spot.

4. The supposed 'voluntary' nature of the victim, drugged or drunk though he be, and with limbs broken if he still retains spirit enough to resist. His bonds are loosed before death to 'prove' this point, for unlike other Kond sacrifices, he is 'offering himself' not just for the Konds but 'for all the world'.

5. Temporary peace-pacts: necessary on a human level because non-associated (and therefore warlike) villages will be entertained, and all will drink deeply. These pacts are rationalised through the religious sanction of the Earth Goddess' requirement that there should be no quarrelling throughout the ritual if it is to be efficacious.

6. 'Unstable ground': the mythical cause of this whole ritual. A crack in the earth or similar indication is therefore found as the immediate cause, indicating the Earth Goddess' continuing need of human blood.

7. The Heriah Song, recalling by name and deed the human form adopted by the Earth Goddess at the beginning of Kond creation.
8. The slices of flesh whose cutting forms the highest point in the ritual. This is shared not only by priest and people of the host-village, but by a cross-section of other villages through their representative flesh-carriers, every person being vitally aware of the presence of the Earth Goddess here at her own feast.

9. Burial of the flesh: consigned to the earth (Earth) as speedily as possible, while the blood is still 'living' and moist and the day is still 'alive' (before sunset).

10. The victim's head is guarded and then disposed of with great care and reverence, possibly because it represents the part that will become divine, as promised in the dialogue between headman, priest and victim's representative before the slaughter.

11. Mock battles: by women of the host-village against the flesh-carriers, and by the carriers among themselves in their own villages. (These have been discussed earlier in the text).

12. The Funeral Feast at the end of the three days' mourning. This is normal procedure for a death, but not for an animal sacrifice. Here it is attended by the village and by all the flesh-carriers from other villages, and still continues despite the buffalo-substitute. This is the final stage in the series of unifying acts performed in the sacrificial year, after which the village communities separate.

13. The Valka flesh: a year later (3rd year), drawing them again into close communion in the intricate pattern which gives three years of interaction though with the major expense of only one victim. (N.B. Some of the same people may be engaged in other Keriah rituals within that period).

Additional Elements in the Buffalo Kedu

1. The two purification rituals of Gruhka floor-plastering and Casting out the Cooking Pots which occur in the Kedu, probably took place also before each Keriah ritual. Macpherson and his colleagues would not be in a position to note such preliminaries inside Kond homes.

2. The divining egg placed in the eyelet hole in stakes set up at the three darnis are a major part of the new First Year Kedu ritual that was added as a preliminary to the former first year of Keriah days.

3. Egg-offerings: three eggs offered at each of the three darnis possibly indicate, among other meanings, the increased importance of the upper and lower darnis after security palisades were no longer in general use.

4. Paddy-chaff in the sacrificial hole: this was probably in use, though escaped comment, in the Keriah days too. It might symbolise fertility of harvest, for the blood falls on to it within the hole in the ground.
5. Hoof, ear, horn, tail and the tip of the tongue are all put into the hole. The anatomy of the buffalo’s being so dissimilar to that of man would make it necessary to follow some new ritual form. These parts - doubtless each with symbolic relevance - are similar to those offered to the ancestors or clan-founders in the Bullock Ritual and may have commended themselves for that reason, the Earth Goddess in human form being the original founder.

6. The 'Bitter Water' sub-ceremony takes place at all funerals and would almost certainly be part of the earlier Meriah ritual, though unreported. The fact that it is continued even with the animal substitute strengthens this likelihood.

7. The 'Secret Flesh': the full significance of this further visit of the flesh-carriers to the main sacrificing village - adding yet another year to the right performance of the whole ritual - requires further investigation, as do all the above points if their significance is to be more fully understood.
1) **HYPOTHETICAL VERSION OF A MERIAH IN THE GOOMSUR DISTRICT**

(See Vol. I, p.245)

A 3-year cycle celebrated in rotation by each Muta in an associated group of Mutas:

**YEAR 1** - a strip of human flesh is brought to Muta 1's main village (V.1) from an associated Muta (V.2)

**YEAR 2** - Meriah sacrifice at V.1, while V.3, 4 & 5 take away flesh.

**YEAR 3** - the final Yalke offering of a pig in V.1

---

**YEAR 1** - **BRINGING A PIECE OF FLESH**

(a) **PREPARATION**

*Group Decision*

- V.1 is informed by V.2 of its Meriah date
- V.1 selects men to bring flesh from V.2
- & summons its priest.

*Drumming, dancing & drinking each evening for the prelim. month.*

(b) **THE APPROACH** (1st day of V.2's 3-day climax)

*Purification*

- V.1 priest & flesh-bringers bathe, wash their cloths & remain fasting.

*Libation*

- to village founders & ancestors; drinking party.

*Specialised Preparation* - They select & cut a long bamboo pole

- then weave a bamboo satari 'wheel';
- cover it with red & white cloths
- & top it with peacock feathers.
- Priest & flesh-bringers perform the Bringe sub-ceremony outside V.1

(c) **THE OFFERING**

*Symbolic Actions*

- Priest & rest of V.1 wait at home.
- V.1's drums lead the dancing flesh-bringers to V.2
- They join V.2 men & flesh-bringers from V.3, 4, 5 etc.
- All join in drumming & dancing round victim
- They dance through V.2 singing the Meriah Song
- & taking the victim to the Meriah grove.

*The Anointing*

- After V.2's anointing of the victim.
- they all join in the Niju Taka sub-ceremony.

*Invocation & Sacrifice takes place at V.2*

- After V.2's invocation & sacrifice
- all flesh-bringers leap in & cut their strip, quickly roll it in Googlut leaves & rush away home
- while V.2 pelt them with stones & clods of earth.
- Approaching V.1, their flesh-bringers cushion the flesh on a handful of grass.
- Fasting heads of houses & priest come to meet them.
- Priest receives flesh & deposits it at Jakeri.
- He divides the flesh into 2 equal portions then subdivides one half into no. of household heads.
The Invocation - Priest invokes Earth Goddess & prays for fertility of V.1, then sits on ground beside Jakeri stones & scrapes a hole.

Sacrifice & Shedding of Blood
- With back turned & without looking,
- he places the half-portion of flesh in the hole.
- Each head of house adds earth to bury it.
- Priest pours water on the spot from a hill-gourd.
- Each householder rolls his shred of flesh in leaves.
- All shout with exultation at work done.
- Wild battle starts with stones & mud; many injured.
- Householders renew fight at young men’s dormitory;
- they knock it down or damage it.
- Finally each goes alone to favourite field & buries his flesh in same way as priest.
- All go to eat & drink (sometimes eat together).

3 days ritual mourning in all associated villages: no house swept, no wood cut, no fire exchanged; strangers forbidden.

(d) SHARED MEAL - All participants reassemble in V.2 (See YEAR 2)

YEAR 2 - MERIAH SACRIFICE AT V.1

(a) PREPARATION
Group Decision - V.1 settles date & informs associated Hutae
- arranges household collections in V.1
- & buys victim from Fans (if not already bought);
  grown men most esteemed because most costly.
- Price paid in brass vessels, cattle, goats, grain, cloth, veges, etc.
- Victim housed with headman; treated very kindly.
- Kept continuously drunk.
- May have sexual intercourse with any woman in V.1
- Fettered only if/when realises imminent fate.

Drumming, dancing & drinking for 1 month before sacrifice.

(b) THE APPROACH
Purification - Victim 'devoted' by head-shaving (10-12 days before)
- Ritual bath taken by all intending participants & all wash their cloths at the spring.

Specialised Preparation - Tree selected for Meriah stake;
- cut, carved & fixed in place at Meriah grove.
- Other posts cut & placed = 1 at Jakeri stones & 4 round Meriah stake.
- Long bamboo cut & satar made, peacock’s feathers stuck in top.
Symbolic Actions - Reps from associated villages are all welcome for the sacrifice 'for all mankind'.
- Intoxicated victim is put to sit at foot of stake by Jakeri stones (where bronze peacock is buried).
- (1st Day & night) Tari inspires all to frantic revelry; considered impious to resist.
- (2nd morn.) Victim washed & dressed in new cloth.
- Procession headed by drums & sateri pole leads or carries victim through village to Meriah grove;
- All follow dancing & chanting Meriah Song.
- Priest seats victim, binding his back to foot of carved stake.
- Toomba garlands victim with flowers (i.e. small hind boy under 7 & kept from all impurity).
- Everyone carries out Hiju Taja sub-ceremony & cont. for relics of the Meriah; (his spittle or bits of turmeric paste especially prized by women).
- Many roughly made wooden or clay birds & beasts are stuck on short poles.
- In dark, men sent to probe ground round grove; the 1st deep chink is the sacrificial spot.
- Loud renewal of drinking & festivities.
- Victim refreshed with palm wine.
- (Noon) Crescendo of drumming & dancing.
- Victim stupefied with opium &/or intoxicated.
- Arms (if nec. legs) broken: 'Must not suffer bound'.
- Long recital of legends and invocations;
- Exculpatory dialogue of headman & priest with victim-impersonator.
- Priest, headman & 1 or 2 elders insert victim's neck or chest in cleft branch of a green tree; priest closes its open ends with aid of cords.
- Priest slightly wounds victim with his axe.
- All the yelling men leap in & strip off the flesh; they avoid the head, face (? & intestines).
- Priest rushes to bury a piece of flesh beside the Jakeri stones & bronze peacock; with his back turned he places it in a hole there, without looking behind.
- V.1 heads of houses bury their shreds of flesh similarly but in their own fields on the village boundary.
- Reps from V.3, 4, 5 etc. rush off to do the same in their own villages - while V.1 women pelt them with stones & clods of earth.
(e) **RETURN TO THE NORM**

**Disposal of Remaining Sacred Elements**

- 1st pay the (previously bought) Duli buffalo to the Dan procurer of the victim as final instalment of the price.
- Meanwhile victim’s head & intestines are strongly guarded against animals or non-Tari worshippers.
- In some villages these are buried in a hole beside the Jakari;
- or next day they are burnt on a funeral pyre, with goat offering & the ashes scattered over the fields,
- or laid as paste over the houses & grain stores.
- 3 days of ritual mourning follow (as at a normal death); no house is swept in any participating village;
- fire may not be exchanged;
- wood may not be cut;
- no stranger may be received;
- (in some places) silence is observed.

(d) **THE SHARED MEAL**

- (4th day feast after mourning)
- All gather at the place of sacrifice.
- Priest invokes the presence of Tari & other deities & prays Tari for fertility in return for the flesh.
- He kills a buffalo,
- Offers bitali portion,
- all eat.

(e) **RETURN TO THE NORM.** (Contd.)

**Disposal of remains**

- Inedible remains of the buffalo are left for the new Meriah spirit.

**Dismissal of the Priest**

- The priest is paid in rice & a pig or calf;
- & dismissed to his home.

**YEAR 3**

**ONE YEAR LATER - THE VALKA - Strip of Flesh**

The same priest makes a final petition for fertility benefits
- then offers a pig to the Earth Goddess;
- this is called the Valka offering.
2) HYPOTHETICAL VERSION OF A KEDU IN THE GOOMSUR DISTRICT

(See Vol. I, p.245)

Now a 5-year cycle:

YEAR 1 - The Showing of the Buffalo
YEAR 2 - The Washing of the Buffalo's Feet & Bringing a Piece of Flesh
YEAR 3 - The Fall of the Buffalo
YEAR 4 - The Strip of Flesh Setari. (Valka Uju)
YEAR 5 - The Secret Flesh

YEAR 1 - THE SHOWING OF THE BUFFALO

(a) PREPARATION

Group Decision (after a patient's sickness has been diagnosed as a sign from the Earth Goddess.)
- Patient's kin & V.1 select the day.
- They notify associated villages.
- Kin collect money from each V.1 household & buy ritual items: an old buffalo, pigs, cocks, black chick, cloths, mahua for distilling, etc.
- Obtain govt. licence & distil much liquor.
- Summon priest 'best able to trample the Earth Goddess'.
- He & V.1 men settle his wages for 5-year Kedu.
- In trance he selects new darni keeper (d.k.)

Drumming, dancing (esp. men) & drinking for 1 month before ritual.

(b) THE APPROACH

Purification - Priest & d.k.'s household take daily ritual bath.
(DAY 1) - d.k.'s household (only) perform uruhka & tekinga maspa
(DAY 2)
Libation - (morning) by d.k., priest & patient's male kin;
- they drink together in the raha.

Specialised Preparation
- Drummers lead the men out to jungled hill.
- Priest selects 3 Sal trees for stakes.
- These are cut & brought to raha with drumming.
- Eyelet holes are cut near their tops.
- Holes are dug for the stakes at the 3 darnis.

(c) THE OFFERING

Symbolic Actions
- Priest offers eggs & rice with invocation;
- he buries them in hole at central darni as he & helpers erect the 1st stake;
- repeats offering & erects 2nd stake at lower darni;
- " " " 3rd " " upper "
- Crowd dances round them to continuous drumming.

Anointing
- Priest & d.k. put on new cloths,
- tie new cloth round buffalo's neck & anoint it with turmeric paste.
- Men dance to the spring; bathe buffalo & selves;
- return with it to darni.
Symbolic Actions
Contd.
- With d.k. & patient's male kin, priest offers more eggs & rice at darni, invoking Bura God for health & prosperity,
- then puts an egg in eyelet hole in the stake;
- repeats this at upper & lower darni stakes
- but suddenly rushes like madman to Leriah grove.
- Crowd seizes buffalo & rushes after him.
- He probes ground with spear & finds 'unstable' spot.
Invocation & Petitions
- Patient's male kin hold buffalo beside the spot
- while priest & d.k. dig hole with hand-picks.
- They put in eggs & rice
- while priest invokes Bura & former victims,
- then fill in hole & put large stone on top.
Sacrifice & Shedding Blood
- Priest sacrifices a pig at central darni.
- Much liquor drinking; also fed to buffalo.
- (eve.) drunken buffalo put in patient's byre.

(a) THE SHARED MEAL

The Bitali
- Priest makes the bitali food-offering.
The Feast
- The men cut up & cook the flesh & some rice.
- They eat, drink & celebrate all night.

(e) RETURN TO THE NORM
- stakes left in place at each darni;
- buffalo freed to sleep in patient's byre
- but it belongs to the Leriah grove.
Dismissal
- Priest paid in rice & money & seen home.

YEAR 2 - THE WASHING OF THE BUFFALO'S FEET (in V.1)

Exactly at early-paddy harvest (Sept.)
i.e. 4 months to 1 year later.

(a) PREPARATION

Group Decision
- Ex-patient's lineage canvassed to raise money.
- All V.1 men meet to fix date.
- Necessary ritual items are bought,
- govt. licence obtained & much liquor distilled.
- Ex-patient's kin summon the priest.
Drumming, dancing & drinking in evenings for 1 month.

(b) THE APPROACH

Purification
- Priest, d.k. & ex-p's male kin fast.
Libation
- Priest pours out libation in raha
- then he, d.k. & ex-p's male kin settle to drink.
(No Specialized Preparation required; last year's stakes used).

(c) THE OFFERING

Symbolic Actions
- Priest & d.k. put on new cloths, then
- tie new cloth & thread necklace round buffalo's neck
Anointing  - & anoint it with turmeric paste.
Symbolic Actions  
Contd.  - Priest & d.k. offer egg at foot of lower darni post;  
- Ex-p's kin drag buffalo to spring.  
- Drummers & V.1 men dance along with them.  
- They all bathe  
- then bath the buffalo & wash its feet.  
- Drummers lead everyone back to the village.  
- They dance, driving buffalo to upper & lower darni  
- then tie it to central darni stake.  

Invocation  - Priest quickly offers eggs, rice & a pig (& chicken)  
with invocation to Sura God.  
- (Evening) buffalo put in byre.  

(a) THE SHARED MEAL  
The Bitali  - Priest makes the bitali offering.  
The Feast  - The men cut up & cook the flesh, & rice,  
- eat, drink & celebrate all night.  

(e) RETURN TO THE NORM  
Dismissal  - after 2 more days' hospitality,  
priest receives money & rice & is seen home.  

YEAR 2 contd. - probably 4 months later, in January.  

BRINGING A PIECE OF FLESH  

(a) PREPARATION  
Group Decision  - V.1 hears of V.2's approaching sacrifice.  
- V.1 selects men to bring flesh from V.2  
- & collects money, buys ritual items.  
- obtains licence & distils much liquor.  
- (3 days before Kedu begins) V.1 flesh-bringers  
visit V.2 taking money & liquor & make peace pact.  
- V.1 calls its priest.  

Drumming, dancing & drinking for 1 month before Kedu (evenings)  

(b) THE APPROACH  
Purification  - V.1's d.k. (only) performs gruhka.  
& priest, d.k. & some men fast  
Specialised  - and prepare satari pole with pig sacrifice  
Preparation  - (See 3rd year)  
- then purify it at spring  
- & erect it at their darni.  
- (Kedu eve in V.2) V.1 priest tugs satari rope,  
makes invocation & sings Kedu Song.  
- (Kedu Day) V.1 all fast; great drinking party.  
- V.1 priest, d.k. & flesh-bringers gather at V.1's  
darni & untie satari.  
- Drums lead them to bathe at spring & wash satari.
(c) **THE OFFERING**
Symbolic Actions
- Priest offers eggs & rice at darni with invocation.
- Drum & dance with satari to upper & lower darni, 3 times;
- then go dancing to Kedu village (V.2);
- d.k. takes sacrificial knife & brass pot for flesh.
- d.k.'s wife & friends carry special food;
- men carry axes, hoping to get some flesh too.
- on arrival at V.2, V.1 men continue dancing.
- V.1 d.k.'s wife anoints buffalo with turmeric paste & feeds it on 'cakes' & cooked rice & lentil relish;
- V.1 d.k.'s wife & friends carry special food & men carry axes, hoping to get more flesh too.
- V.1 men go dancing to Aedu village (V.2);
- d.k. takes sacrificial knife & brass pot for flesh.
- d.k.'s wife carries sacrificial knife & brass pot for flesh.
- d.k.'s wife & friends carry special food.
- men carry axes, hoping to get more flesh too.
- on arrival at V.2, V.1 men continue dancing.
- 7.1 d.k.'s wife anoints buffalo with turmeric paste & feeds it on 'cakes' & cooked rice & lentil relish;
- then stays in the pen with the other women, singing the Kedu song, baiting the buffalo, jerking the clappers & pulling the bell ropes.
- All visitors join V.2's dance to Meriah grove & witness their sacrifice.
- V.1's d.k. receives strip of flesh from priest & V.1 men dash madly off to own village.
- while V.2 pelt them with stones & clods of earth.
- V.1 men give the flesh to their priest at own darni;
- priest sacrifices chicken & egg to Darni Goddess.
- They take the flesh to their Meriah grove.
- Priest & d.k. bury it, invoking Earth Goddess.
- Back at darni priest sacrifices another pig with further invocation.

(d) **THE SHARED MEAL**
Cooking
- V.1 men cut & cook the pig-flesh & drink together.
Bitali
- Priest cooks & offers bitali portion
Feast
- all the men feast & dance until daybreak.

YEAR 3 - THE FALL OF THE BUFFALO in V.1
from 6 mths. to 1 year after 'Bringing Away the Flesh'.

(a) **PREPARATION**
Group Decision
- Ex-patient's male kin & V.1 household heads meet.
  (i) to fix the date
  (ii) to arrange cash & rice collection to buy ritual items.
- They inform associated villages of the date.
- They buy another (larger) buffalo, the Duli buffalo, & pigs, cocks, chickens, mahua, new cloths, etc.
- obtain licence & distil much liquor
- then summon the same priest as before;
  he stays in the d.k.'s house.
- Representatives (flesh-takers) from associated villages come bringing cash & liquor to make temporary peace-pacts.
Drumming, dancing & drinking every evening for 1 mth before the ritual.
- ex-patient's house perform gruhka & tekinga maspa
- Priest & d.k. fast throughout the day.
- by priest, d.k. & patient's male kin; they drink together in the reha.

Specialized Preparation
- Drummers lead priest, d.k. & some men to the jungle.
- Priest selects best bamboo & scatters rice for the spirits.
- Men cut the bamboo but do not trim it.
- Drums lead it back to V.1 without crossing running water.
- It is placed on ground beside central darni.
- They go to bathe at the spring.
- (Evening) Priest sacrifices a pig at the darni
- All drink & feed liquor to the buffalo.
- The men prepare & cook the meat & rice.
- Only after seeing moon or stars, priest offers bitali portion, then he & d.k. eat.
- All eat; drumming & dancing all night.

(DAY 2)
- All men remain fasting.
- Priest offers libation then drinks with selected stake-cutters.

Specialized Preparation
- Drums lead them up the jungled hill.
- Priest selects the trees & makes rice offering to spirits.
- The men cut 2 large stakes & 6 or 7 smaller ones
- Drums lead them all back to the darni.
- Priest & d.k. bathe at the spring.
- Priest offers eggs, a cook & rice at darni, with invocation, then slays the cook.
- All drink & feed liquor to the buffalo.
- Priest cooks & offers bitali portion
- while the men prepare & cook the cook & rice.
- All eat; drumming & dancing all night.

(DAY 3)
Specialized Preparation contd.
- Priest, d.k. & men erect tallest stake at darni
- & 2nd tallest at merah grove (at last year's spot)
- Also smaller stakes: 1 at back of d.k.'s house
- 1 at d.k.'s front door
- 1 by wall of lowest house
- 1 " " topmost house
- 1 by darni, for tying the buffalo.

- They build a wooden buffalo pen enclosing the darni
- & tie intoxicated buffalo inside to protect it against outsiders.
- They make wooden bird-clappers
- & last of all the safari: they smooth the long bamboo pole, make a 'wheel' of woven bamboo strips, cover it with a red & a white cloth & fix it to the tip of the bamboo pole.
THE OFFERING

Symbolic Actions

- D.k. & priest put on new cloths.
- All men go to the spring taking the satari & pole, they bathe, bath the buffalo & wash satari & pole.
- Still constantly drumming, they return to the pen.
- Priest offers eggs & a cock at the derni, ties (living) cook just beneath the satari, then sacrifices a pig at the derni.
- They bind the satari on its long bamboo to the largest stake, whose foot is already set at the derni.
- They tie 4 kinds of bells to a rope (jungle creeper) also the pig's entrails, named 'castrated strips'; they secure the rope to top of satari pole, dangling to the ground.
- All continue drinking.

(shared meal) - (Kedu Eve) Priest cooks & offers the bitali portion & eats his own portion.
- The men cook & eat the pig-flesh & rice but the buffalo fasts.
- All drum, dance & drink until daybreak.

(KEDU DAY)

- No one must eat until the completion of the Kedu, nor even clean their teeth (i.e. swallow spittle)
- All (including women) may drink liquor.
- (Daybreak) Entire village crowds in round buffalo pen; jerking the bird-clappers, pushing & baiting the victim, sitting or dancing around; all drunk.
  Kedu Song is chanted continuously until end of Kedu.
- (morning) Priest offers eggs & rice at derni then at bottom & top dernis.
- Brief conference of all the men, to insist:
  (i) No quarrels, however drunk;
  (ii) Expense no quarrels with visiting flesh-takers;
  (iii) Every part of Kedu must be completed in peace.
- All Val tidy themselves joyfully; bathe, put on best clothes & ornaments.
- (noon) When everything is ready for the sacrifice priest & d.k. put on new clothes;
- Drums lead them, satari-bearers & buffalo attendants to bathe at the spring.
  Attendants carry spring-water back & bath buffalo.
- D.k.'s wife anoints her pre-cooked mixture of linseed oil & tumeric from head to tail of buffalo, feeds it with 'cakes', cooked rice & hill-lentil relish.
- Priest, d.k. & others also crouch in pen offering eggs & rice at derni.
- All rest of Val dance outside pen.
- Flesh-takers, d.k.'s & wives arrive from 3, 4, 5 etc.
- Each d.k.'s wife anoints & feeds buffalo & remains in pen with Val women, jerking clappers, pulling bell-rope, baiting victim & singing Kedu Song.

Anointing
- When all have completed the anointing & feeding, it is time to go in procession to the Meriah grove.
- Led by drums, reps. of V.1 shoulder their satari pole, others drag the drunken buffalo, the whole assembly dances after them;
- All go 3 times to upper & lower darni,
  - where priest & d.k. offer eggs every time.
  (Even go to some associated villages if very close).
- Reaching the grove, they lead buffalo to all 4 corners
  - then tie it to the large stake there
  & bind the satari pole to this too.
  - Priest & d.k. put satari pole through Levi & dance after it.
- (sometimes also Sal-tree bark & thatching grass).

**Invocation**
- Priests go in eggs & rice.
- Drumming doubles in tempo & reaches crescendo:

**Sacrifice & shedding of blood**
- Priest plunges sacrificial knife into victim's ribs
  - & cuts out a bit of its liver
  - & praying: 'Earth Goddess! Land Goddess!
  Drink blood! Drink gore!'
  - as he drops it into the hole.
  - With great speed he cuts off a hoof, an ear, a horn, the tail & tip of tongue & drops them in the hole.
  - He rapidly slashes flesh from still-breathing victim & gives it to the flesh-takers from V.3, 4, 5 etc.
  - They drop it into their brass pots,
  stop these up with leaves & rush away, leaping & dancing.
  - V.1 stones them, as in a fierce quarrel.
  - Priest & d.k. carefully fill up the hole.
  - Pans & Gahis drag away carcass to eat elsewhere.
  - All V.1 dance back to darni & re-erect satari

**(Invocation)**

**Sub-sac. for small feast**
- Priest sacrifices a pig & chicken at the darni, & offers the bitali portion.
  - The men cut up & cook the meat.
  - All V.1 men feast well
  & spend night in drumming, dancing & drinking.

(d) **THE SHARED MEAL**
- Priest & V.1 sacrifice the large Duli buffalo & offers the bitali portion.
  - Every household helps to share out the meat.
  - Their wives cook their household's portion.
- The reps. from V.3, 4, 5 etc. come to feast.
- Everyone receives meat, even Pans & Gahis.
- Another day & night of festivities.
(e) **RETURN TO THE NORM**

**Poha**
- All fasting, priest offers rice at the darni
- then he himself unties the satari from the stake.
- Entire community take it to lower & upper darnis
- then gather at lower darni.
- Priest holds gourd of 'Bitter Water' & invokes
  spirits & sprinkles the people, using wet rushes.
- Women & children return home.
- Drums lead men further down track.
- At chosen place, they lay satari on ground;
  priest offers a chicken & rice & invokes the
  spirits to go away now,
  - he cuts chicken's throat & smears blood on the
    pole.

**Disposal of Sacred Elements**
- They remove red & white cloths for the next satari
- then chop the pole & satari into fragments.

**Cleansing**
- All the men go to bathe & wash their cloths
- then go home to eat.

**Dismissal of Priest**
- Priest receives hospitality for 2 more days.
- V.l households pay him in money & rice
  & see him home.

**YEAR 4 - THE VALKA IUJU or THE STRIP OF FLESH SATARI**

(a) **PREPARATION**

**Group Decision**
- when they receive news of the Fall of the Buffalo
  in another of the associated villages,
- V.l call in their priest.

(b) **THE APPROACH**
- Led by their drums, the priest selects,
  & the men cut & prepare, another long bamboo pole.
- They make a new satari of plaited bamboo-strips
  - cover it with the former red & white cloths
  - & set up the satari & pole on its former stake.

(c) **THE OFFERING**
- Their chosen flesh-bringers attend the Buffalo's
  Fall in the other village,
- receive flesh from that priest
  - & dance back to V.l with it.
  - Their priest offers, then buries, it at the darni
  - with the same invocations as before.

(d) **THE SHARED MEAL**
- V.l priest sacrifices a pig &/or chicken
  - then performs the bitali sub-ceremony.
  - The eat cut up and cook the meat & rice.
  - They all eat.

(e) **RETURN TO THE NORM**
- V.l dispose of their satari (See Year 3)
  - keeping the red & white cloths for future use.
  - They bathe and return home.
  - They pay & dismiss their priest to his home.
YEAR 5 - THE SECRET (or STOLEN) FLESH

(a) PREPARATION

Group Decision
- when they hear of the Fall of the Buffalo at yet another of the associated villages,
- V.1 selects men "to go as friends".
- They do not make a satari
- but they call in their priest.

(b) THE OFFERING

(kedu Day)
- After a ritual bath,
- the selected men take liquor & drink it with the men of the other village.
- (Later) when the flesh-bearers of other villages have dashed off with their portions,
  VI men secretly slice off a little,
  bring it home
  & their priest buries it.

(c) THE SHARED MEAL

- That night the priest sacrifices a pig & chicken.
- He offers the bitali portion.
- The men cut up & cook the meat & rice.
- They share in a feast.

(d) RETURN TO THE NORM

- Next day they give the priest the final instalment of all his dues.
- They see him home.

This completes all parts of the Kedu.
APPENDIX FOUR
Two songs written by a newly-literate Christian of Ñiheri village and accompanied by him on a two-stringed gourd-resonated stick-violin, using the simple bitonic scale.

1) A Song-Dialogue between Two Men of Close Kin

one of whom (here styled 'A') has very recently become a Christian and wishes his cousin/brother (here styled 'B') to join him:

PART I

A. "Come, O my friend, I'll tell you the things concerning holy God. Come, boon-companion, I'll tell you the things concerning holy God."

B. "I refuse, O friend, my friend! I don't want to know anything about God! I refuse, O companion! I won't listen to anything about Jesus!

A. "If you knew the things of God, friend, When Kaluburi (Calvary) took place! If you heard the things of Jesus, friend, When he 'lost clan', was polluted! On account of our sin Jesus died on the cross; On account of our sin the Lord received hanging on a cross. See this, O my companion and friend! On Kaluburi hill Jesus received great suffering; On Golgota hill, on Kaluburi hill, Jesus received hanging. The One who at a word gives brightness to the sun and moon, The One who has set the hills and trees, the rivers on the earth!"

B. "I still refuse, companion, friend! I refuse, O friend! I won't know about Christ! Never! I refuse, O my companion! I won't hear about Jesus! Never! You had taken your stand beside your grandfather, hadn't you, friend?

Falling down before your Household God You worshipped your great-grandfather, didn't you, friend? And gave a 'Johari' to the God of Increase. Perhaps you even like it - to have become one of the Gahi-ilk! (sweepers) You perhaps even desire it - to become one of the Pan-ilk! No; my father delivered it to me, friend; I shall not lop off the shoots from the branch of the Manda creeper. My paternal uncle delivered it to me, friend; I shall not lop off the shoots from the Paeri creeper. 1

1 Parasitic creepers which are put to ritual use.
B. You sacrificed the Meriah buffalo, chum, 0 my chum;  
   The virgin-boy will drink the blood! 1 
   You sacrificed the Meriah buffalo, 0 my friend; 
   The priest will eat the blood, my friend and companion! 
   Because you couldn't afford a chicken, chum, 
   You worshipped the Christ-God! 
   Because you hadn't so much as a grain of kareeri rice 
   For the priest to go into trance, 
   You gave algur rice, chum, for divining purposes! 
   You will take a kui sickle, chum, for divining purposes; 
   You will take a plains sickle, chum. 
   When you go to betrothe your daughter, 
   You have become a Gahi, chum! 
   O friend, you have taken hold of Christ-God; 
   You have become a Pan, 0 chum and friend, 
   For you have taken hold of Jesus-God! 

   You will shave your temples, friend. 
   Go and bathe in the river, friend; 
   Let the bad odour go away! 
   Go and bathe in the pond, chum, 0 chum; 
   Let the dirt go away! 
   Here's linseed oil, chum, 0 chum. (for anointing after a bath) 
   I will come and take away your hair, shall I? 4 
   Here's a little oil, 0 my friend; 
   I will smooth it on your body for you, shall I? 
   Turn from sago-palm toddy, 0 friend; 
   You'll die of a withered liver for sure! 

   1 A reference to the Toomba boy-child's part in the Meriah ritual, 
      though only here are he and the priest described as drinking the 
      human victim's blood. 

   2 A traditional Aond form of 'grace' before certain meals in this 
      area, when an ear of grain is held between the two hands as a 
      form of prayer to the God of Increase. 

   3 The same noun is used for gods and for head-lice; the verb is that 
      used for pigs rooting. 

   4 For fear that sorcerers would use it against him.
A. Turn from distilled liquor, 0 friend;
You'll die of withered lungs for sure!

       Will you not observe, my companion, 0 chum, my chum?
Father gave you a Paeri creeper;
       It will break off and fall!
Paternal uncle gave you a Mandi creeper;
       It will snap off and fall!
Paternal grandfather gave you the Household God you are
       worshipping;
       It is a voiceless being, isn't that so?
The God of Increase, whom paternal great-grandfather gave you,
       It is a sightless being, isn't that so?
For our sins Christ
       Let his blood ooze out.
For our sins Jesus
       Received hanging on a cross.

Look here, my friend and companion:
He cured the dead daughter of Jairoso;
He went and brought forth Lajaro from the burial hole;
He gave sight to blind Barimaya;
He caused the paralysed man to carry his bed;
He fed a crowd of people on five rolls and fish!

Look here, my companion and friend:
Search in the twentieth chapter of the Old Testament;
Look at the third chapter of John's book, verse sixteen;
Search in the first chapter of Genesis, one-fifteen!

Goodness me, my friend, my companion!
He alone has created the sun!
He alone has created the moon!
He alone has placed rivers in the world!
The Creator of birds, the wild-fowl, wingless-insects,
The worms, the animals and beasts;
The people-folk, cattle and buffalo.
He is the Giver of Life!

B. "Tell me, my friend and companion,
This matter of Jesus' love,
       Tell me a little about it!
This matter of Christ's saving work,
       Tell me all about it!
This good matter about the powerful God,
       Tell it to me!
Show me the authority-power
       Of this all-conquering Father!
Look, my friend and companion,
Tell us the matter about Jesus' birth;
Show me the matter about Christ emptying out his blood;
Tell me about Jesus' hanging on a cross;
Show me the matter about Jesus' coming to save;
Teach me the whole matter of Jesus' receiving suffering;
Tell me the whole matter of Christ's overcoming death!"
A. "Listen then, my companion and friend!
   Two thousand years ago
   Jesus was born
   In Bethlehem village;
   The world-saving God
   Lay in a trough.
   Jesus willed it to be a stinking cattle shed;
   Jesus willed it to be a pitch dark cattle shed.
   To the filthy hut Jesus gave light.
   To work deliverance from suffering and evil,
   Jesus has come!
   To work deliverance from death,
   Christ has come!
   Jesus received death on a cross
   On account of our evil;
   Jesus received burial in a grave
   On account of our deliverance.
   In order to free us from evil
   Jesus received nailed-up hanging,
   In order to free us from evil
   He received sword-piercing.
   Jesus, who had hatched out the world,
   Became an evil person!
   The one who had created the earth
   Became an evil person!"

B. "I've understood, chum, O my chum, my companion!
   On account of our evil
   Jesus came to the world.
   On account of our evil
   Christ came to the earth.
   Alan! My friend and companion!
   I have thrown over the Darmi (God) through you;
   Man! I won't ever throw over Jesus-God!
   I have cast out Bondari (God) through you;
   Friend! I won't ever let go of Christ-God!
   Life and strength will go, chum,
   Yet, friend, I won't let go of God!
   Soul-strength will go, chum,
   Yet, companion, indeed I won't let go of God!
   Jesus alone has given his life for me;
   Christ alone has given his soul-life for me!
   I will finish my days holding fast to Jesus-God;
   I will finish my time holding fast to Christ-God;
   So let each day go by!
   If I eat sacrificial flesh, friend,
   May my eye burst out!
   If I eat ritual flesh, chum,
   May my eye be plucked out!
   If I drink palm-toddy, chum,
   Let a tiger eat me!
   If I drink distilled liquor, my pal,
   Let a bear drag me away!
   May our Lord Jesus alone receive praise!
   May our Lord Christ alone be famed all around!"
1. "My beloved queen,  
Hear this matter of mine!  
I'm joining my elder brothers  
And we're going off together.  
I'm joining my father's young brothers  
And we're going off together!"

2. "Where are you going, husband?  
Tell me that!  
You stop drinking liquor, husband,  
Every single day!  
All our possessions, husband,  
You, you are destroying!"

3. "It's to the liquor vendor's hearth, dear,  
That we are going.  
After we've drunk liquor, dear,  
We'll return at night.  
After we've drunk liquor, dear,  
We'll return at evening."

4. "You stop drinking liquor, husband,  
Every single day!  
Your very life has gone, husband,  
Through drinking liquor.  
Your very soul has gone, husband,  
Through drinking liquor."

5. "Don't try to prevent me, dear!  
We are really going!  
I'm joining my elder brothers.  
We'll return at night.  
I'm joining my father's young brothers.  
We'll return at evening."

6. "It's you I'm telling, husband,  
You're refusing to hear!  
Your very life has gone, husband,  
Through drinking liquor.  
Your very soul has gone, husband,  
Through drinking liquor."

7. When his elder brothers returned  
After drinking liquor  
They had assaulted him with a stick  
And taken his life.  
They had beaten him up  
And taken his life.
8. They said to his wife:
   "Go & take away the lad.
After drinking liquor
He has fallen down.
He is lying there
Right on the path!"

9. His wife started out
   To look for her husband,
When she saw her husband, friend,
   She began to weep.
When she saw her husband, friend,
   She began to lament:

10. "I said to you, husband,
   'Don't go!' I said!
Because you didn't listen to my words,
   You have received death!
Because you didn't heed my advice
   You have received death!

11. "How many times I told you, husband,
   You didn't listen!
Seeing you thus, husband,
   My heart is hot-distressed.
Seeing you thus, husband,
   Sorrow has me in its grip."

12. Therefore, O my fathers,
   Hear this matter of mine!
Let us utterly refuse, friends,
   Ever to drink liquor!
Let us altogether refuse, friends,
   Ever to drink liquor!

13. Therefore, O my fathers
   Hear this matter of mine!
The Lord Jesus came to this world, friends,
   For all our sakes.
The Lord Jesus came to earth, friends,
   For all our sakes.

14. Therefore, O my fathers,
   Hear this matter of mine!
Let us fall at Jesus' feet
   And greet him with a 'Johari'!
Let us fall down at Jesus' feet
   And greet him with a 'Johari'!

15. Therefore, O my fathers,
   Hear this matter of mine!
It was for us that Jesus Christ, friends,
   Died on a cross.
It was for us that the Lord Jesus Christ, friends,
   Suffered and died.
Therefore, O my fathers,
Hear this matter of mine!
For our sakes the Lord Jesus, friends,
Gave his own blood.
For our sakes the Lord Jesus Christ,
Gave up his own purity! 1

1 The word used here indicates that Jesus was totally polluted by shedding his blood in this way.
GLOSSARY OF KUI WORDS

Note: The exact meaning is not known of occasional words in Kogera's prayers and in certain songs. These words have therefore been left in their vernacular form in the text.
In the list below, (K.K.) indicates Kuttia Kond usage.

ABA - father; also 'Mr.' or 'Sir'.
ALEGU - rice obtained from paddy without boiling it, therefore used ritually.
ARKA - a species of millet.
BAGOLEENJU/BAGOLEERI - prowling spirit of a man/woman killed by a tiger.
BAKO - first visit of bride and groom to her kin after a wedding.
BAI (pl. BAISAKA) - elder sister(s), women Church-elders.
BARJI - Meriah grove.
BIHA - K.K. equivalent of KEDU, Buffalo Sacrifice.
BINU - small brown monkey.
BISA - a state or level of purity from defiling contacts.
BITALI - special portion of a sacrifice offered to the deity.
BOJI (Early records: 'BAJI') - a feast.
BORK or BORÉ - species of thorn bush with yellowish fruit.
BRINGA - ritual safeguarding of village during the men's absence.
BUDA paddyfields - stream-irrigated, growing the finest type.
BUTI - day labour, daily wage.
DADA (pl. DADARU) - elder brother(s), men Church-elders.
DANGARI IJU - dormitory for unmarried boys/girls.
DARNI - caim-shrine to the village god(s).
DARNI AHPA GATAJU/GATARI - darni keeper/wife.
DARNI AHPA GATAI - darni keeping couple.
DEKA (HENKA) - 2-stringed gourd-resonated violin.
| DERI SOBHA | - 'Great Gathering', i.e. Annual Meetings. |
| DINGA | - the life-spark, soul. |
| DOLA | - large bass kettle-drums. |
| DORBO | - bronze valuables. |
| DUBERI | - traditional woman-tattooist. |
| DULI | - final instalment paid. |
| GATI | - bride-wealth, or each item of it. |
| GODU | - heavy bronze bracelets to prevent bride's escape. |
| GONJU | - bush with inedible caustic fruit. |
| GOSSI | - lineage group or clan. |
| GOTA | - a herd, flock. |
| GOTI | - a small prepared place, sacred to sacrifice. |
| GRUHKA | - mud and dung plastering of floor. |
| IDU | - a dwelling. |
| INGU-BOGU | - ? red. |
| JAKERI | - founder of a village, patriarch. |
| JANI | - a priest, leader in religious worship and sacrifice. |
| JOHARI | - Kond salutation of greeting or reverence. |
| JUGA (pl. JUGANGA) | - affliction(s). |
| KALA PROHPA TORÉ | - war-making brotherhood. |
| KALU | - sago-palm toddy. |
| KARERI | - rice formerly used in inducing trance. |
| KEDU | - a festival, sacrifice (the Buffalo Sacrifice). |
| KEPA-KLEGA | - sorcery, witchcraft. |
| KOTA | - inner wall between two houses. |
| KOTA DARNI | - darni at the foot of the village. |
| KRAIDI | - tiger, leopard, panther. |
- ritual battle-dance performed at funerals.
- millet.
- (adverb & postposition) above, over, on top, upon.
- the Kond people.
- grain-beer.
- divination, (occasionally sorcery).
- leader in worship and sacrifice, diviner-priest/priestess.
- blood-related members of family.
- worship, sacrifice, offering.
- 'Festival Ritual'
- bad humour.
- to go/be sent, intentionally, into trance.
- (K.K.) headman of a village (western side).
- (K.K.) ritual emblems formerly used in human sacrifice.
- headman of a village (Eastern side).
- 3rd day funeral feast.
- to transform someone/be transformed oneself; mlipa also = to change by cursing.
- Kui term for Meriah human sacrifice.
- burial of human sacrificial flesh.
- tree with caustic sap (against witchcraft, etc.)
- group wellbeing.
- the oil-wiping sub-ceremony.
- backyard, rear of house.
- 'outsiders', non-Kui-speaking peoples.
- medicine, a charm.
- parasitic creeper whose leaves are used for making cups & plates, and the creepers for ropes.
- to attack, swoop down on, wrestle.
- Upper darni at top of village.
- common land above paddy fields, below hills.
- a god or spirit.
- ? balance phrase for the High God, Bura.
- spirit of a deceased person.
- ancestral spirits.
- 'Bitter Water' sub-ceremony.
- sacrifice to drive away evil from the village.
- a married couple; the two main darni stones.
- to scatter (archaic Infinitive).
- ancient bronze valuables.
- compensation, damages paid by offender.
- the open space between opposite rows of houses; a street.
- Early millet.
- shared joy, gladness.
- voluntary aid, a loan.
- an only child; used also of the 3rd darni stone.
- a counter-curse.
- hollow drum of large circumference.
- things or person from the plains, esp. Oriyas.
- (umbrella) ritual cloth on a bamboo pole.
- 'flag' on long bamboo pole, to attract the attention of the Earth Goddess at the Meriah/Kedu sacrifice.
SEKRI AHPA LOKU - bride-siezing group.
SEKRI MALA - bridal necklace (i.e. a betrothal)
SIALI (K.K.) - See PARI
SIDI SAKI - unripe (i.e. untimely) death.
SIRI - pertaining to the lineage or clan.
SISA - a head of grain after grain is beaten out.
SITI (or SITE) KALU - liquor given by the Go-Between to fix a betrothal with the bride's father, etc.
SIIJHERI - homeless spirit of a woman who died in childbirth.
SUERINGA - ancient heavy iron-bead necklace.
TAMBI - small bamboo basket-measure for 31bs. (grain)
TANGI - ceremonial and war axe.
TEKINGA NASPA - ritual changing of the used cooking pots by casting them out.
TONKI - great annual festival for human sacrifice, at 1st full moon in Jan. (Word now obsolete).
TOOMBA - unpolluted boy-child used at human sacrifices.
UBA AHPA - to be put involuntarily into trance by the spirits.
VALKA - a strip of flesh (formerly human).
VEERANGA - ? (meaning unknown).
VERU (pl. VERINGA) - a god or spirit (archaic form).
(Thus: SIRI VERINGA - Lineage or Clan gods).
VESKA - to extract harmful substances from a patient's body by sucking.

GLOSSARY OF OTHER INDIAN WORDS

ADIBASI - autochthons, original inhabitants.
BEHNIAH KONDS (1836) - free, but Oriya-influenced Konds of the foothills.
BEYTIH KONDS (1836) - labourers on the plains under Oriya masters.
- title of the Oriya hereditary chiefs over the Konds; they were also agents of the Rajah.

CHOWKIDARS
- the 'Watch'.

DHARMA
- practice of the law of piety (Buddhist).

GANJE
- hashish.

GHATS
- precipitous hill-slopes down to the plains.

GHIRA
- drizzly latter part of the monsoon.

KUKRI
- curved knife of the Pathans etc. from N. India.

KUT SAMAJ
- Kui Party (political)

LOHAR
- blacksmith.

MAHUA tree (Bassia Latifolia) - strong liquor is distilled from the flowers.

MAHAAH KONDS
- the true hill-Konds.

MERIAH
- both the human victim & the whole ritual.

MULIA
- paid daily labour.

MUTA
- a small area of land including its villages.

NUZZUR
- cash offering in token of allegiance.

PAI
- very small copper coin.

PATRO
- non-Kond Muta-head.

PUJA
- Oriya for laka; ritual or sacrifice.

SAL (Shorea Robusta)
- hardwood tree, like teak.

SUNDI
- distiller caste (Hindu).

TAHSILDAR
- government officer put in authority by the British when they annexed the Rajah's principality.

ZEMINDAR
- Oriya 'chiefs' placed over the Konds by the East India Company.
THE MAJOR KOND DIVINITIES IN GOOMSUR

BURA Penu - Supreme God, God of Light, also called
VELA Penu - God of the Sun, creator.

TANA or TARI Penu, or DONDOD Penu - Earth Goddess

or RANGU Pinnu (K.K.)

BAKKI Penu - spirits of human victims who died in each
particular peri`ah groove.
LOHA Penu - God of War, Iron God.
PIJU Penu - God of Rain.
BURHI or BORA Penu - God of new leaves (vege) & wild fruits.
PITTERI Penu - God of Increase (esp. seed time).
PLANGU Penu - God of Hunting.
SANXI Penu - God of Boundaries.
DARNI Penu - Darni deity (Associated with Earth Goddess).
JAKERI Penu - Founder deity ("""")
(BRODALI Penu - Pen equivalent of Darni/Jakeri Penu)
NAJU Penu - village deity.
PIDERANGA - recently dead ancestors.
PIDERI PITA - the ancestor-spirits' group.
DU Pennga - lineage & household founder-deities.

Nature deities:
SORU Penu - God of each hill.
JORI Penu - """" river.
SUGA Penu - """" spring.
GOSSA Penu - God of the jungle.
also Gods of certain trees, rocks and other local features.
The foreign 'incomer' Smallpox Goddess known as:

JUGA Penu, DJUMBERI, INDORERI-JOMORERI,

who may also be given as many of her foreign names as are known:-

Takurani, Musama, Doramai-Pagamai, Kama Penu, Darma Penu, Ajamahapuru.

WITCH-GODS - i.e. spirit-partners whom witches 'marry'.

BIRONGA-MAULAKA - evil spirits who co-operate with witches.

(TURKI Penu, God of the rubbish heap, & GOERRI Penu, God of the dunghill, are mentioned in the Phulbani area, c.1900.
BONDARI Penu & JENA Penu (see p.580) are ? local to the Daringbadi area).

Titles of Rulers in Hill-Orissa, 1835-1854

(Konâ) - heads of households.

" - headmen of villages.

" - lineage/clan heads (No Paramount Chief).

(Oriya) - Muta heads (Hindu)

" - Bisaves (Hindu) - agents of the Rajahs and hereditary patriarchs 'over' the Konâs.

" - Tahsildars, by British appointment; to collect the tribute from Muta heads for the District Collectors.

" - Rajahs: hereditary rulers of zemindaries (principalities)

   e.g. Goomsur, Boad, etc.

(British) - Collector for the Board of Revenue for Ganjam District

   e.g. Mr. Stevenson - with Deputy Collector (Indian).

" - Magistrate of Ganjam District, e.g. Mr. Bannerman.

" - Governor's Agent in Ganjam, over the hill-tracts Agency, e.g. S.C. Macpherson. (Similarly, Bengal).

" - Special Commissioner for the Board of Revenue of Madras Presidency; the Hon. Mr. Russell.

" - Surveyor-General for Madras Presidency, with Assistant Surveyor. (Similarly Bengal).


" - The Governor-General, Supreme Government of India, Calcutta.
BIBLIOGRAPHY

A. Published Sources.


BAIKSS, Sir Athelstane. Ethnography (Castes and Tribes) with a list of the more important works on Indian Ethnography by W.Siegling. Karl J.Trubner, Strasbourg, 1912.


CAMPBELL, Major-General John, A Personal Narrative of Thirteen Years' Service Among the Wild Tribes of Khondistan, for the Suppression of Human Sacrifice, London, 1864.


DALTON, E.T. Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal, Calcutta, 1872.


ELWIN, Verrier. The Tribal Art of Middle India, Oxford University Press, London, 1951.


FERREIRA, John V. Totemism in India, Oxford University Press, London.


FRANCIS, W. Gazetteer of the Vivagapatam District, Vol. I, 1907


FRYE, J.P. Dialogues and Sentences in the Kondh Language with an Oriya Translation, Orissa Mission Press, Cuttack, 1851.


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Publisher</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Niggemeyer, Hermann</td>
<td>Kuttia Kond: Dschungel-Bauern in Orissa</td>
<td>Johann Wolfgang Goethe Universität, Frankfurt-am-Main</td>
<td>1964</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reeves, Ruth</td>
<td>'Lost Wax' Metal Casting in India</td>
<td>Crafts Museum Series, Ministry of Commerce &amp; Industry, Government of India</td>
<td>1962</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richardson, Alan</td>
<td>A Theological Wordbook of the Bible (Metanoia).</td>
<td>Student Christian Movement Press, London</td>
<td>1950</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Risley, Sir Herbert H.</td>
<td>Tribes and Castes of Bengal</td>
<td>Bengal Secretariat Press, Calcutta</td>
<td>1891</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schule, P.V.P.</td>
<td>Kuvi Grammar</td>
<td>Madras, 1911</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Religion of the Kuvi-Kond: their Customs and Folklore</td>
<td>Graves, Cookson &amp; Co., Madras, 1912</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Vocabulary of the Kuvi-Kond Language</td>
<td>Madras, 1913</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skinner, John</td>
<td>Genesis</td>
<td>T. &amp; T.Clark, Edinburgh</td>
<td>1910</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taylor, Michael</td>
<td>Variations on a Theme</td>
<td>Galliard, London</td>
<td>1973</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Temtels, Rev. Fr. Placide</td>
<td>Bantu Philosophy</td>
<td>Presence Africaine, Paris</td>
<td>1952</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


----- A Vocabulary of the Kui Language (Kui-English). The Asiatic Society, Bengal, Calcutta, 1929.

B. Periodicals and Articles


Baptist Missionary Society Archives, London, Annual Reports etc. from c. 1860.
W.Crooke, Secret Messages and Symbols Used in India.
Bihar & Orissa Government Press.

British Museum and Library: nineteenth & early twentieth century pamphlets, etc. on the Kui and Kuvi language 'for the use of officers and others'.


Vol. V, No. IX (Jan-March, 1846)
Vol. VI, Nos. XI & XII (July-Dec. 1846)
Vol. VIII, Nos. XV & XVI (July-Dec. 1847)
Vol. X, Nos. XIX & XX (July-Dec. 1848)

These lengthy articles, pronounced by Macpherson to be 'remarkable in their accuracy', are based on 'Various Official Documents - hitherto unpublished but rendered accessible (to the Rev. Dr. Alexander Duff, Editor of the Calcutta Review) by the liberal policy of Lord Hardinge', then Governor-General of Southern and Eastern India; also upon Macpherson's 'Report upon the Khonds of the Districts of Ganjam and Cuttack', (Bengal Military Orphan Press, Calcutta, 1842); the Madras Journal of Literature and Science, July & Oct. 1837 and Jan. & April 1838, etc.


Madras Journal of Literature and Science, No. 16, July 1837.


Correspondence and Unpublished Material


Bose, the late Professor N.K., Minister for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, Government of India, New Delhi: unsolicited personal correspondence with the writer arising from his sending her a copy of his review of her book: The Church in the Kond Hills, which he had submitted to the journal Man in India, 1965.

Kond rituals: (1) 26 rituals as practised in the Mallikapori area, recorded in the vernacular by Kogera Prodhan, c.1910-1915, B.M.S. discovered and translated by Barbara M. Boal, 1975. (2) 86 rituals as practised in the Mallikapori area, recorded in the vernacular by Barbara M. Boal, 1950-66, translated by her in 1973-74.

Kond Christian Songs. Two songs written by a Kond Christian of Piliheri village, near Daringbadi, collected and translated by Barbara M. Boal.

McGavran, Dr. Donald: The work and the Church in the Kond Hills, an unpublished report circulated among India missionaries of the B.M.S. and United Christian Missionary Society, and the officers of their Home Boards in Britain and the U.S.A.

Naik, Bhagyaboti: Concerning the Use of the Old Testament Among the Konds of Orissa; dissertation offered from Union Biblical Seminary, Yeotmal, K. India, for the degree of B.D. (Serampore).

Staples, S.M.: Circular letter written from the Baptist Mission in the Kond Hills to the B.M.S., London, for distribution to Baptist churches in Britain.

Thomas, Dr. S.P., Medical Superintendent of the Moorshead Memorial Christian Hospital, Gu. Udayagiri, correspondence following discussions with hospital staff.

Note: Letters were written to the Anthropology Department at Utkal (Orissa) University, and to the Utagal Museum at Bhubaneswar, capital of Orissa, seeking information regarding possible recent studies of the Konds. These unfortunately received no reply.
I am deeply indebted to the following who have provided much useful information through conversation and discussion:

Edinburgh College of Art, Department of Sculpture - general discussion with the staff regarding the making of the 'lost wax' bronzes, and detailed discussion with Mr. William Scott, himself a modern bronze worker by the 'lost-wax' method.


Gautam, Dr. Mohan K, of the Rijks museum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden, and the University of Leiden, concerning tribes of the Eastern Ghats of India.

India Office Library staff, several departments, including study of the original hand-drawn map of the Kond region, made by Capt. Hill, Assistant Surveyor-General, and counter-signed by Capt. Waugh, Surveyor-General of India, in 1845.

Kapp, Dr. Dieter, Senior Research Fellow of the South Asia Institute, University of Heidelberg, concerning the Dravidian tribes of the South Deccan.

Kulke, Dr. Hermann, of the South Asia Institute, University of Heidelberg, an authority on the mediaeval history of Orissa.

Lowry, John, Assistant Keeper, India Section, Victoria and Albert Museum, concerning the Kond bronzes.

MacKerrell, Dr. H., Museum of Antiquities, Edinburgh and other Research Department staff - who also attempted thermoluminescence dating of the Kond bronzes.

Higgenmeyer, Professor Hermann, of the University of Frankfurt; the authority on the Kuttia Konds of West Orissa.

Stevenson, Ronald, of West Linton, Peebleshire, Scotland: pianist, composer and musicologist with experience of African tribal music.

Note: Other museums consulted were:
- The Hominian Museum and Library, London.
- The University Museum of Archaeology & Ethnology, Cambridge.