CHAPTER 2
SOCIAL AND CULTURAL ORGANIZATION OF BĀRĀDI KUṆNBĪ.

a) Location

Bārādi is a village situated in the taluka of Salcette in Goa between the villages of Betul in the South, and Velim in the North at the foot of the Bārādi hill. Adjoining it are a range of smaller hills beyond which lies the plateau of Betul and the villages of Fatorpa, Kaṅangiṇīm, Honant and an area called Musllamfondd through which runs a fresh water stream.

Around Bārādi there are a number of springs, the most famous being one at the foot of the Bārādi hill. There is also a larger stream flowing through the village of Panpelim which enters Betul. It is quite popular among the people of Bārādi.

The village comes under the administration of the panchayat of Velim. The people of Bārādi call themselves Bārādkars and identify themselves as KuṆnbī. They are all Christians converted in the year 1585 along with some vangodds from Velim and Ambelim.[1] The Bārādkars were part of the parish of St. Francis Xavier of Velim. At the vaddo called Tollecanṭo situated next to Bārādi, is the church of St. Roque. This was initially a chapel, raised to the status of church three decades ago. The population increase in Velim, Bārādi and Betul created the need for a new parish. Hence Velim and Tollecanṭo are now two parish areas. The people of Bārādi belong to St. Roque church along with the people of Tollecanṭo and Betul.

Bārādi is divided into three vaddde or wards (singular vadddo).
Zorivodd, Modemvodd and Horta. Velim is divided into Baga, Caxetta, Cappleam vaddo, Caeram vaddo, Cumbeabhat, Goemchem bhatt, Gorcomorodd, Zaino, Tollecanto and small area called Velim Ambelim. Betul is divided into Muxer, Bapsoro, Zůvear, Rangalli, Poklevodd and Pirvaddo. Betlant is the area across the river the edge of which forms a cliff overlooking the mouth of river Sal and is known as Handdint. The narrow strip of land reaching across the area of Handdint is known as Mobrar (Mobar).

The population of Baradi is approximately 1,385 in roughly 280 households. They are located in a cluster without separating fences. A few houses have been either repaired or reconstructed, in recent years and have compound walls separating them from the cluster of houses.

Each house consists of three typical rooms: Randchi kudd (cooking room) Yepar dorpa kud (store room) and Raupa kudd (living room). Each family in a single household consists of parents and their children. After the marriage of a son, each household builds a new house for him. The eldest son may retain his residence with his parents.

The terms Kuṇṇbi is said to mean cultivator. According to the BārādkaSa Kuṇṇbi are those who dwell on the hills and practice cultivation (‘kamot marta te’ or ‘kumeri marta te’). This is commonly known as shifting cultivation. There were others who lived on the slopes and in the plains. They are called Gavddi. There is also another group called Velip who practice kumeri.

The People of Velim identify themselves as chardde, which
the equivalent of kshatriyas. They proudly speak of their warrior ancestry. The people of Betul identify themselves as Gavddi, Kuṇnbi and Render. There are other fifty families called the G'abti (fishermen). These came to Betul in search of fishing opportunities three decades ago. They call themselves Konkñne or Gabit.

In Bārāḍī today opinions are divided on nomenclature. Few call themselves Gavddi while others call themselves Kuṇnbi. The Bārāḍkars say that they do not live in the mountains any more. Until the Liberation of Goa they practiced kamot marop cultivation in Musllam fondd, but they lived there seasonlly, six months spent at Bārāḍi.

Kumeri marop is done in hilly tracts freshly cleared for cultivation. The Bārāḍkars say they cultivated khazan lands before Liberation. They grew gongdt (ragi) and vegetables, and three varieties of wild rice called urio, damgo, pakod only at Musllam.

Some people in Bārāḍī say there are no Kuṇnbi among them, that the Velip are actual Kuṇnbi. The Velip insist that there are no Kuṇnbi among them. Opinions are divided even among the Bārāḍkar, and no clear distinction is available.[2] So, I shall call Bārāḍkar Kuṇnbi in this work.

The Ėhardde of Velim and the Render of Muxer and Zūear call them Kuṇnbi, but they refer to the people of Betul, Rangalli, and Poklevodd as Gavddi. The Bārāḍkars give their daughters in marriage to the Gavddi of Betul, and bring women as daughters-in-law to Bārāḍi.
Bārāḍī hill in south Salmat offers a panoramic view for people. There is a large cross on the hill which is reputed to be miraculous. Devotees flock to it every Friday to make vows or pray.

b) Vangodd The Kunnbi of Bārāḍī are internally divided into three vangodd: Raikar, Gōykar and Gāydo4. Each vangodd is made of several kuṭumb that claim a common ancestor. A kuṭum consists of a man, a woman, and their children. Occasionally it may include grandchildren. The Kunnbi sometimes refer to their vangodd as kuṭum. In this sense they see the entire vangodd as their family.

Each vangodd is headed by a budvont, also known as vhodil, or vhod. The budvont is always a male member. He comes from a fixed family. However if there is no male member to be the next budvont, any other male member, who has taken sufficient interest in the life of the Bārāḍkar is appointed by consensus at the ganvpoṇn.

The kuṭum of the three vangodd are roughly distributed into the three vādde of Bārāḍi. The Zorivodd is inhabited by Gāydo4kars, the Raikars are concentrated in the modern vod, and the Gōymkars in Hotra.

As a rule the Kunnbi have nuclear residence. Joint residence is an exception. In Bārāḍi there are three houses with joint residence. Two houses were built jointly by brothers who went on board the ship, and a third brother who went to the Gulf for employment. Although joint residence is not the rule, jointness is maintained through extremely strong kinship ties, so much so
that they regard the entire vangodd as a single kutum.

Until a decade ago all Bārādkars had houses with mud walls, and thatched roofs. A zhodd (external matting from coconut leaves) covered the outer walls of the house. Few houses have stone fences enclosing them. The land was thought to belong jointly to the entire kutum or the vangodd. Being a common family land, no fencing was required. The entire vadḍo is like a large house, with the kutum residing in each smaller house.

Each vangodd also has a house which is known as the voddlem ghor. This house is not called so because of its physical size. It is said to be the house where the original ancestor lived. Here vhoolė refers to the special status it has, as the place where their ancestors reside. A vhoolė ghor can be a small hut, but it is central to the lives of the Kunnbi. It is almost treated like a place of worship. Each vhoolė ghor has a small corner in the yepar dorpa kud, where a coconut symbolizing their ancestor is kept. The coconut is kept on a paat (stool) with copper coins. These copper coins are the ancestors of the vangodd.

The vangodd celebrate all important festivals at the vhoolė ghor. The sotti (initiation of the child), marriage, Mell, Feṭi, (ritual meal to the ancestors) and death rituals are all held only at the vhoolė ghor. Since the vangodd is also the kutum, it had to celebrate all important events in the house that ancestrally belonged to everybody, that is the vhoolė ghor. The actual inhabitants from the vhoolė ghor change from generation to generation. The eldest son or the Mhalgoddo lives with his
kutmō. But all vangodd members have privileges in the vhodle ghor. Although each male member of the vangodd builds a separate house, it still remains as a common house of the entire vangodd. The structure of the households appear to be inevitably linked to the vhodle ghor. It is equivalent to the Raupa kuḍḍ, and the other kutum houses equivalent to the kuḍḍ of the house. The vaḍdo can be said to consist of a single ghor with several kuḍḍ, each of them housing the kutum of the vangodd.

The Raikar vangodd is addressed as the poilo vangodd (first vangodd). The Gōykar are second, and Gāydolkar are third. Though there is no hierarchy among the Bāṛāṅkars, every person unmistakably, repeats the three vangodd names in the sequential order — Raikar, Gōykar, Gāydolkar. Here the ordering is sequential rather than hierarchical. Because the Kuṇṇbi also insist that vhodlo or dhakto vangodd does not exist. It is just that the Raikars have the first privilege during certain important ceremonies like the Mell.

The members of a single vangodd are known as Ek Mogkechī. (Mogki is a large earthen or copper vessel used to boil paddy). According to the elder members the kutumō cultivated land jointly. All the other allied activities like harvesting, boiling of paddy, bhat kandop (pounding paddy to make rice) was all done collectively at the vhodle ghor. The mogki stood as a symbol of jointness in matters of cultivation and otherwise.

Due to a sheer rise in population the kutumō of the vangodd had to undergo a segmentation or fission. The division was called mogki vanṭli. Literally it means the mogki has been divided.
SHARING A COCONUT MEAL AT THE CROSS

INVOCATIONS AT THE CROSS

BUDVONTS GOING TO THE MAAND

THE MEN AT THE MAAND
MEI OFFERING PRAYERS AT THE ABODE OF BARADKARN (CHARDDE WOMEN IN BACKGROUND) OF MEI.

PASSING THE LIGHTED LAMP TO THE HOUSE

BARADKARS AT THE COLLECTIVE RITUALS

BUDVONT BREAKING A COCONUT AT THE CROSS

PROCEEDING TO HANĐINT TO HONOUR THE HAPŠI
COCONUT AND COINS - ANCESTORS

STONES OF THE ANCESTORS

STONES CROSS OF THE ANCESTORS

COCONUT AND COINS - ANCESTORS AT THE VODÉ GHOR
Actually it meant a division of the vangodd into 2 groups, each having at least one ancestor traceable to four generations back.

Each vangodd becomes a lineage group. Through the lineage fission the vangodd divides into 2 groups, maintaining an autonomy in matters of cultivation, through modki vantop, and unity in rituals and religious ceremonies. After the formation of Don moqkeo (two modki). The cultivation is done separately and, those who now form each new lineage group boil their respective paddy together. From Ek modki, are formed Don moqkeo, and each member of the respective modki are again called Ek modki or Ek moqkechirm (belonging to single modki).

Often the Ek modki members may boil their paddy in separate houses, for the sake of convenience. Want of drying space force them to set up two moqkeo for boiling. However this does not amount to moqki vantli. Modki symbolizes a corporate identity for the lineage group.

Each new modki that is formed, also sets up a new vhodle ghor. The house of the eldest male member after modki vantli becomes a vhodle ghor. For the rest of the descent group it is the vhodle ghor. It is only during the Mel that the entire kutumb gather at the original vhodle ghor, for the ceremonial meal. Even the budvont, if he is not a resident of this vhodle ghor, comes in order to initiate the ceremonies. Just as boiling of paddy is done separately by Ek modki, for the sake of convenience, so do the various kutumb have separate meals, in separate aangans to making serving and eating feasible. They only gather at the vhodle ghor as a symbol of their corporate unity.
Those who remain within the modki of the original vhodle ghor become the manḍkaram, meaning caretakers of the mand. These kutumbs have the privilege of looking after the mands for major occasions like the Meḷḷ, Feti, and the ritual meals. (see Meḷḷ pg.7)

The mand is an area outside the vhodle ghor, or in its vicinity, which is used for the kutumb to assemble, and offer collective sacrifices. It has a deeper significance than just meeting place. The mand becomes sacred during such occasions and it is treated as a space apart (see concepts of space and time pg5?).

The male member of the three vangodd meet together at the ganvpon and the Meḷḷ. This is a time when every male member of the vangodd exhibit their corporate identity. The Meḷḷ proceedings or the ganvpon is delayed till all the members have assembled. At the ganvpon neighbourhood feuds, disputes between the kutumb or a respective Ek modki are settled by the budvont. the Expenditure and finances of the mel are also discussed.

Though there may be several modkeo with, their respective vhodle ghor, there is a single budvont for each vangodd. when a budvont grows old, the next budvont is selected by a consensus between the elders of the vangodd.

Each vangodd has its respective vangodd deity. The Raikars have Tamaskin (Sree Kamakshi) from Shiroda. The Goyinkars have Sree Shantadurga Faterpekariṇ (Mamai Saibin) and the Gāṇḍolkars have the Bāṛādkarm Saibin. The vangodd bear an allegiance to their particular deity. The Gāṇḍolkars inhabit the actual abode of the Bāṛādkarm Saibin. They have been entrusted with the role of maintaining it. Bāṛādkarm Saibin is actually the Saibin of the
entire village of Bārāḍī, but the Gāṇḍolkars have taken her on as their vangodd deity. They shares a confraternity through their affiliation to the respective deity.

After a marriage or the birth of a child the members of the kuṭumbo (a few men and women) have to visit their duty at the temple and offer tributes of Kajal, Kumkum, red cloth, bananas, coconuts, and flowers. The temple priest obilges them, by offering lunch. They are accepted as devotees of the deity.

After the Meg the three vangods send offerings of coconuts to the Bārāḍkarn, who now resides at Cānacona. At the gampon the budvonts appoint some representatives to carry the offerings. These are from the Raikar and Gāykar vangodd may also accompany them. During the annual zatras of the Mamai Saibin and Tamaskin, the respective vangodd representatives taking offerings of coconuts and flowers to their temples. The after marriage visit to the temples is significant for the women of the vangodd. They have to obtain the maan (blessings) from the duties in order to attain motherhood.

c) Economy

The year 1962 marked a profound change in the annual occupational cycle in the line of the Bārāḍkars. Kumeri cultivation was banned by the government of Goa. Kumeri marop had been the occupation of the Kuṇṇbi's since antiquity. The Bārāḍkars had been engaged in kamot marop on the hills of Musllam fondd, a place about seven kms away from Bārāḍi. The people spent six months from June to November setting up their seasonal residence at the fondd. The next six months were spent back at Bārāḍi.
The Kuññbi chose the most thinly forested areas for kamot marop. It was a simple method wherein the forest was cleared. The wood was stacked in piles for burning. The ashes were allowed to spread with the first showers of the rain. The soil was mixed to allow the ash to mix. By this it would be mid June, time for the Kuññbi to shift residence to Musllam fondd.

Each Kuṭumū erected a 'homp' (hut). All the requirements ranging from food, to medicines were taken to Musllam fondd only those who were too old to travel the journey uphill remained back at Bārāḍi. The crops such as gonde (nañe, ragi), uric, damgo, lātūr, pakod, were sown, and harvested in October. The grain was brought back to Bārāḍi. The huts were demolished.

Prior to 1962 the Bārāḍkars did not cultivate khazan lands, adjoining Bārāḍi. They began cultivation of those lands only after 1962. Their supply of paddy otherwise came from Musllam fondd.

Division of labour is gender specific in the case of certain jobs and occupations. Plucking coconuts, repairing roofs, cutting firewood, fishing, ploughing fields, stacking the paddy into kutorl (bales) are occupations performed only by the men. Collecting firewood, weeding, transplanting paddy, pasting cowdung on the floor, washing clothes, collecting medicines, is the responsibility of the women. Other jobs like cooking, fetching water, looking after the children, cleaning the house, is done by men and women.

During the monsoons the Bārāḍkars now cultivate the khazan
lands. The men take up jobs as wage labourers at Velim. After the monsoon they engage themselves in fishing and helping at the trawlers. The women take up jobs as maid servants, fish sellers, and labourers. There are also a few men who have gone on board the ship, or found employment in the Gulf. Giving up Musllam-fondd, brought about other changes in the economy. As the people did not have to go to the hills for half a year, they could seek regular salaried jobs. Some took up jobs as bus conductors, waiters, helpers at grocery stores, and the like. It was the younger men and women (age group of 20-25) who first took up such jobs. The elders continued with their previous occupations.

The men and the women are bread earners in the family. The elders speak of money entering into their live, after coming from Musllam fondd. Earlier there was little money with the people. Many families would often lives for months, without owning any money. The B3drdkaars had managed a life without much money, for two reasons. One, their food included rice, occasionally curry, chillies, salt, vegetables, fish, and meat. Breakfast is pes (conjee) or bakri made from rice (rice cake). Rice and vegetables are cultivated, coconuts are plucked from the place. Fish is obtained from the river, and meat is shared from the kutum hen house or piggery. Occasionally wild boar and beef is eaten.

The basic food requirements do not require much money. Other groceries like chillies, onion, cocum, oil, jaggery, are exchanged through a system of barter. Money is used for buying items like cloth, foot wear, soap, and miscellaneous articles like, bangles, beads, gold ornaments, paint, copper vessels etc.
Some money is also spent for the education of the children.

Many commodities can be bartered in exchange for other goods or services. Rice can be exchanged for firewood, onion, coconuts, jaggery. Coconuts can be exchanged for a day's labour, fish and rice. Cocum is exchanged for liquor, fish can be exchanged for wood, liquor, rice. Baskets can be got in exchange for rice and coconuts. Beside individual kutums exchanging goods. A single mođki can also barter the common paddy grain in exchange for other items. These items in turn are distributed to the kutum in the mođki

Through these exchanges the Bārādkars also maintain a close network of social relationships with their exchanging kutums. The exchanges are not merely economic exchanges, but have a deeper significance. Exchange becomes a cohesive force in the community. It transcends the economic function and becomes a moral obligation. Such exchange and their significance for the social structure have been explored by earlier anthropologists among other tribal groups.[3]

The economy of the Bārādkars is partly monetary and partly barter. Economic life is not much affected by the market. Social relations are dependent on their exchange pattern and are independent of the market forces outside the community. The localized exchange structure coupled with selective use of money has kept the Kuṇṇbi on primary relations with one another. The exchanges cut across vangodd and Ek Mođki kutums. They bring together kutum of different vangodd, maintaining close ties even when kinship relations do not exit. It is not only kinship that
keeps a group cohesive but the exchanges too play a decisive role.

d) Food

Food is an important aspect of maintaining good health. The Kunnbi have an elaborate nutritional programme, through which ill health is sought to be avoided. The local deities too should be offered the appropriate food items to ensure good health to the Baradkars.

The type of food consumed is season specific, and even varies with the time of the day. The system of hot-cold classification of food, found in several other parts of the world, is present among the Kunnbi too. Here the people believe that some diseases can be caused by excess heat, or cold in the body.

Temperature changes in nature also bear a relationship to the respective diseases. Diet has to be changed depending on seasons. Certain foods can give rise to a hot disease or a cold disease. Accordingly such foods are classified as hot or cold. The foods for the winter (including monsoon) includes liberal intake of hot foods. In the summer months a lot of fruits and vegetables are eaten.
AMOUNT OF INTAKE | WINTER DIET | SUMMER DIET
-----------------|-------------|-----------------|
LIBERAL | dry fish, sea shells, beef, mussels, fish, pumpkin, bakri, prawns | goūi bhaji, cucumber, red bhaji, pez, watermelon, amla, vayēi bhaji, cocum |
LESS | allū, potato, pork, sweet potato, fish, fowl, kurdu bhaji, eggs, taykilo bhaji, oil, prawns |
VERY LITTLE | cucumber, wild boar, melons, milk, flotation |
STANDARD INTAKE | rice, (načni) amil, curry | rice, amil, curry |

Foods are termed as hot or cold depending on the type of disease they will give, if eaten in excess. Underlying the hot/cold dichotomy have been found associations of disease with heat and cold.[5]

DISEASES ASSOCIATED WITH HEAT | DISEASES ASSOCIATED WITH COLD
heat boils | common cold
scabies | cough
measles | whooping cough
chicken pox | asthma
german measles | painful joints
jaundice | rheumatism
diarrhoea | paralysis
dysentery | flu
sore eyes
stomach upsets

The entire diet is a balancing of hot and cold foods depending on the season. Diseases like heat boils, sore eyes, chicken pox, stomach upsets are frequent in the season, whereas common cold, rheumatism, are frequent in winter. The changes in temperature in nature are related to occurrence of disease. Further particular types of foods which give rise to the same disease are termed as hot cold respectively.
Foods are also termed as light or heavy depending upon the approximate time taken for digestion. Munda rice (without spine) is light, because it is digested sooner than the korgut rice (with spines). Tendli vegetable is heavy, whereas red bhaji is light. Heavy food if eaten in excess causes heat.

The people are aware of a relationship between food and disease. They face an ambiguity when it comes to the exact nature of this relationship. The food codes and tabus are followed strictly. Over eating of any food is a bad deed and speaks of bad character.

Good health depended on the deeds of a person. Man being a microcosm of the universe, his body had to be adapted to the seasons through proper dietetics. Good health depended a lot on proper food habits.

There are a number of food more to be followed. Harmful spirits can enter the body through the food. Eating food items along the roads at night is strictly forbidden. If food has to be eaten in a strange place a small portion has to be thrown aside for possible evil spirits.

Food items should not be eaten by a single person in the company of others. Such a person is likely to suffer a stomach upset (ādē podta). The food going into the body has the desire (aas) of the people around. The food turns into a harmful substance in the stomach.

Flora and fauna which form part of the diet are also used as medicine. Plants and animals have multidimensional uses. Foods
CROSS OF THE BARADKARN ON HER ROCK.
THE SITE OF HER ANCIENT ANTHILL IN
BACKGROUND
under certain circumstances can be harmful, and under others, be of medicinal value.[7]

a) Moong and jaggery water makes a good tonic for people suffering from colds.

b) Mutton leg soup (bokde dōke) is good for people with rheumatism and asthma.

c) Beef bone soup is good for people with chronic asthma and anaemia.

d) Rice water (nivoll) and jaggery is a common febrifuge.

e) Papaya is eaten in case of constipation.

f) Blood of monitor lizard is used against asthma. (The meat is edible as food).

g) Amil made from fermented načni is used for healing wounds, dissolving kidney stones, and bringing skin infections under control. Sick persons with old wounds are kept on an amil diet.

h) Jambul (zamblā) and karella fruits are eaten to prevent diabetes.

i) Rice congi (pez) is the only diet for people with fevers.

e) Social Categories among the Kuṇmbi

The Kuṇmbi of Bārādi have distinctive divisions of male and female among them. There are fundamental divisions between 'types of male and types of female.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TYPES OF MALE</th>
<th>TYPES OF FEMALE</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Ėeǹ - boy</td>
<td>1. Ėeȩu - girl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Dadlo - man</td>
<td>2. Bail - woman</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3. **Ghaḍdi** — Shaman  
4. **Budvont** — Headman of vangoḍd  
5. Munis — person  

A Ėnḍo becomes a dadlo, a dadlo can become a ghaḍdi or Budvont, and they are all munis. But at any given point of time a Ėnḍo, is not the same as dadlo. A ghaḍdi and budvont are dadle (men). But a dadlo and a ghaḍdi or budvont are different. A Ėnḍum is not the same as a bail, and a bail is not the same as avoi. They are not referred to as munis. The people refer to a group of men and women as Munšā. But a group of men alone are referred to as Munis. Though munis is used to mean a person, it is also used to distinguish a human being from an animal. When identifying the types of individuals, the biological distinction of male and female are not primary, but an individual’s cultural position such as Ėndo, dadlo, is his biological distinction itself.

**GHADDI, BUDVONT (VOḌIL)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GHAḍDI</th>
<th>BUDVONT (VOḌIL)</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ĖNṛDO</td>
<td>(boy)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ĖNṛDU</td>
<td>(girl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ĖNṛDO</td>
<td>(boy)</td>
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<td>ĖNṛDU</td>
<td>(girl)</td>
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<tr>
<td>DADLO</td>
<td>(man)</td>
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<tr>
<td>BAIL</td>
<td>(woman)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MUNIS</td>
<td>(man)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AVOI</td>
<td>(woman)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MONZAT</td>
<td>(animal)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Man is at the centre of the social organization. The ghaḍdi and the budvont are at the apex. A Ėnḍo is contrasted by Ėnḍum. A Dadlo by a Budvont or ghaḍi. Munis becomes a corporate term to include men and women as contrasted by monzate. A Ėnḍo becomes a
dadlo after his marriage. A Ėchedum becomes a Bail after puberty. A Bail becomes an Avoi after the birth of a child. An Avoi is also a Bail, but a Bail need not be an Avoi. Similarly the ghadi and the Vodil have to be a dadlo and not a Ėchedo.

All these categories as we shall see later (Chp. 4.) are useful in classifying diseases that generally are thought to affect the people. Certain kinds of illnesses like dist are known to be caused by a Bail and not Ėchedum. There are again illnesses that afflict only a Bail, like those connected with pregnancy and menstruation. Certain healing rituals can be performed by a budvont or ghadi. Others can be performed only by the dadle. Certain medications can be given only by a Bail. These classifications of functions are important for the process of healing. Distinctions between types of individuals are fundamental to the organization of social life and for healing.

There is no ghadi among the Bārāṅkars today. Earlier, as the elders narrate the Budvont himself played the role of the ghadi, for finding out the reason of some misfortunes. The budvonts were also known as the zolmi. However the ghadi also existed besides the budvont, in order to make contact with the spirits of the dead (see Chp. 5).

Animals and Nature: Animals are distinguished from man on immediate external differences, discernable to them. Animals live in the forests, they wear no clothes. They have no devospoñ (worship). People often use the phrase - Tum munis o monzot? (Are you a man or animal?) to show disgust at a person's behaviour. Animals are different from man and they are lower in status than
man. It is only the sorop, or Nag (Cobra) that is treated with almost reverence. This reptile is not addressed by name even when narrating any event related to it. A hand gesture showing the spreading hood is made. The word mama is also frequently used to refer to a nag.

Some animals can identify dadlo from bail. The makod (monkey) is not afraid of a bail or a Ėkedum. They can be a nuisance, during the cashew season. The women folk tend the cashew orchards given on lease to some of the Bārādkars. The monkeys come in large numbers to feast on the fresh cashew apple. They flee at the sight of a men or boy. With the womenfolk they play traitant, often hurling twigs and cashew nuts at them. It is extremely difficult for the women or girls, to drive away the monkey. To fool the monkey, the women wear men’s clothing when they go to guard the orchards. The makod sees the appearance of a man and they flee.

The divode (rat snake) also frightens women. The serpents will jump up and wriggle themselves in front of the women. They will not bite until attacked. Whereas in the presence of a man the divode simply crawls away (unless attacked). Even the animals can make differences between women and men.

Raan, (nature, forest) with its plants, animals, rivers, streams, hills, and forests is a world by itself, distinct from the place where the people live (Baradi). When people go into the hills, they know they are entering another world. This world is governed by beings and laws other than those that they have. They are consuming from this other world.
Just as you give back after you take, so should you give back to the forest and sea after you take from them. The Kunnbi system of exchange extends even unto nature. Their economy includes an exchange with nature too. Nature is personified. They exchange with people and with nature just as if nature was also part of the entire community. (see Mell) They take from the hills and have to give in return. They take from the sea and likewise they have to give in return. When the Kunnbi give back, it is not to the plants or animals or to the sea water. The exchange is between the Bārāḍkars and the personified form of nature. Thus offerings are made to the Dhoni of the forests (Lord). The Dhoni of the sea, and the Dhoni of the Šim (borders of the village). These are representative of the world of Nature. (see Hapśi).

The Kunnbi are confident of full protection accorded to them by nature. They have treaded the forest paths for generations, and not a single Bārāḍkar has been injured. How could they? Because they have paid their debts to the raan. Harm can befall only to those who have not paid debts.

Kunnbi may hunt for wild boar, or porcupine, but a portion is always offered to the Dhoni. No one kills or injures a snake, expect if it attacks. How can they kill? say the Kunnbi. They are in the property of the snake. They should be grateful that the snake has not attacked them for trespassing.

In the village of Bārāḍi, they are the gaunkars. They have a right to the land. But in the hills they are intruders, and therefore they have to respect the creatures of the raan. The Kunnbi do not touch a roen (termite mound). They consider it to
be very sacred. (see p. 48) Zaddā (Trees) are classified as: 1) Zaddām - trees. 2) Rompuleo - small plants, herbs. 3) Rouke - very large trees. Zaddā also stands for plants as opposed to animals. Zadda are of two types. (a) Zaddā, and (b) Vokti zaddā (medicinal plants).

Tolob (rocks and boulders) grow slowly but continuously. If a rock was just above the surface, it can rise above and even grow in size. The Betul Plateau, was known to be the home of the Pandavas. There are carved forms of men, and kings on the rocks there. But the rocks have grown so much above the ground that the carvings cannot be discerned. Just as plants grow, so do the rocks.

Kuṇṇbī Sense of Time

Kuṇṇbī have a method of organizing their temporal sense. The past is term poralized through significant events which are taken as temporal nodes. The earliest times begin with the Bārādkarn.
WITH A
SYMBOLIC ME
DURING THE SO
MAKING BEA
BUNDLES FOR
A COLLECTIVE MEA
A MIDWIFE
WITH A BAB
The time of their birth, or the occurrence of an event is related to the respective temporal node. A woman of eighty years explained her age as follows: Her grandfather was of the zorie fuğli pilği (next generation after the plague). Her father and her self were the next successive pilği. She is that old (not those many years old). Her children were born 'vedna zuzam choltalim tedna.' (When the Packle were fighting against the liberation movement in Goâ).

The Church of Velim and Tolecanço were built by the Pandavas. They built them in one night. This is a significant period for the Bārādkars. The Pandavas were living in their hills at this time. Their home was the plateau of Betul. The Pandavas left a box of jewels for the Bārādkars, before they left for the sea at Cabo de Rama. They built two Dovorni (a stone bench to rest a load carried on the head). These were done so that ne
people could rest their bundles of firewood, on the way back to Bārādi.

Time is important, because certain curative ceremonies are to be held at particular moments. Diseases can be caused at certain times. Under certain conditions time becomes sacred.

Time shows a characteristic of repetition and irreversibility. The repetition of sacred time through festivals is an attempt to deny death through a constant revival of sacred time.[8]

Sacred time is recreated, during the religious ceremonies. Such instances are repeated in order to rejuvenate the community.[9] Here the Bārāḍkars repeat sacred time for the well being of the community.

Concept of Space: A zago (space) can be sacred or profane. A profane space can become sacred just like time. Sacred space is accessible to men at certain times and to women at times other than that of the men. A sacred space can also be a tabu for women. There are other spaces (sacred) where the women alone can be present. The presence of a man can be a tabu. The removal of dist (see chp. 5) requires the diśṭikarn to make a space sacred. She can remove dist only in this sacred space created by her. The Maand is a space outside the vhodle ghor. This is a place used by the people for all important events like marriages, ancestor worship, Mēll, and the ganvpoṇ. This is a space which is sacred during these events, except the ganvpoṇ. During the maandaći jevṇa, prior to the Mēll, the ancestors visit this place to
partake in the festive meal. The maand is therefore a sacred space. The madi is fixed at the centre of the maand during the Mell (see Mell). The madı with the flag and the maulem (brass lamp), installed by the budvont, make it a sacred space. The space is used for healing by the budvont.

There are certain spaces, which are known to be the abodes of the Hapši (see Hapsi). These are also sacred spaces, at all times. They were always sacred, at no point of time do they, or can they become profane. These spaces are never accessible to the women, or girls. The men can go to such spaces whenever they have to make offerings.

The Shim are sacred spaces because they are treaded by the Hapši. A very sacred ritual called Shim marop is performed during the Mell. At this time the Shim becomes a sacred space. It is to be treated with utmost respect. The sacrifice of blood should be performed accordingly, for in this space, at that time nothing should go wrong. If any of the rituals cannot be performed in the right manner the shim becomes a source of untold misfortunes during the year.

The sacrecy of space in linked to time. The particular spaces like the maand, the Shim, or the place where the dišt is removed, become sacred during certain times. The abodes of the Hapši, and the Bārādkarn Saibin are sacred all the time, they are sacred independent of time, and are not affected by it.

e) Marriage and Kinship

Until a decade ago the Bārādkarss did not contract marriages outside the village. Cases of marriage outside Bārāđi were
extremely rare. There are a few women who were brought in marriage from Fatorpa, Betul, and Cumbeabhat. By far marriages were contracted between the three vangodd of Bārādi. Marriage with members of the same kuṭumṅ could not take place because they had the same blood. All three vangodd contracted exogamous, consanguinous marriages. A daughter was given in marriage to her mothers brothers son, and a son was given in marriage to his fathers sisters daughter.

With the formation of several Modki within a vangodd Marriages within the same vangodd have been allowed. (though they are few). Marriage within a modki is however strictly not allowed.

For the Kuñnb marriage within a modki is Zod lagin (too close in blood) whereas marriage outside the modki is pois, and can take place. Most marriages in Bārādi have taken place between the Raikars and Gūṃkars. The Raikars had stopped giving their daughters in marriage to the Gāṃdolkars. As the incident is narrated, a woman was once devoured by a tiger, from a Gāṃdolkar household. She happened to be a daughter from the Raikar vangodd. The Raikars then stopped giving their daughters in marriage to the Gāṃdolkars. They were afraid of the safety of their daughters. The Gāṃdolkars could now contract marriages only with the Gūṃkars in Bārādi. Kuñnb marriage is an exchange of a bride and a bridegroom from one vangodd to another. If a woman from the Raikars has been given in marriage to the Gūṃkars the following year the Gūṃkars had to take a woman from the Raikars. Where a woman was brought in marriage from Betul or Fatorpa similarly,
the following year a woman Fatorpa had to be brought into the respective vangodd in Baradi. The people say that the giving of women has to be batak baat, meaning when one takes from another, one has to give back. Giving a daughter-\textit{mou-hou} is also a mark of respecting each kutum’s alliance, for matters of exchange and social relationships. One is reminded of the 'gifts' that Mauss speaks of. It is a serious offence if a kutum does not complete the batak baat. The kutum can never hope to receive any help from the other kutum, and they are likely to suffer misfortunes. This would include the woman who had been given in marriage to the other kutum.

All marriages in Bārādi had to take place before the Mel in the month of March. A few months before the Mel the kutums went looking for brides in the vangodds that they had given their daughters to in the previous year. Marriages were arranged by the male members of the kutum. The budvont accompanied the group of men. The woman would only discuss matters in the household. The official ‘utor’, (betrothal) where the marriage was agreed upon was done by the men.

The members of the boys kutum accompanied by the budvont set out for the girls house in the early hours of the morning. (The Kuñnbi rise by 5:00 a.m.). The desire to take the daughter in marriage was announced in a ceremonious or poetic manner. The girls family would ask them: ‘Tumi kiteak yeileaim’? (why have you come?)

Boys family: ‘Tumger ek ful fulolam, tea pormollan ami yeileaim’. (we have smelt the perfume of a flower that has bloomed in your
Girls family: 'Tesh zalan, yeai bodi geai, ani bitor sorai'. (in that case you may come in).

A burning stick was handled over to a member of the boys family. This indicated their consent to give the girl in marriage. The age of marriage when the people were at the Musllam fond was 12 years for women and 16 years for the men. A girl had to be given in marriage before she attained puberty. If a girl menstruated before her marriage she could not be given in marriage to any of the two vangods within Bārādi. The bride had to be given in marriage outside the village. The Bārādkars said about such a woman: 'Tem Devar podona'. (she is not good for marriage within the village).

The bride and the bridegroom did not live together after the marriage. The woman came to her husbands house in the morning, did work with the family, and returned to her own house or stayed with the relatives of the husband. The marriage was consummated only when the woman reached the age of 15-16.

A woman can give her daughter in marriage to her brother's son (bañā) but not vice versa. A woman can also marry her mother's father's brother's son (avoiço bapulbhav). Marriage with the father's brother's children (bapulbhav/boin) is strictly prohibited, marriage with the mother's bapulbhav is allowed because the relationship is pois. In a single kutumō, the son and the daughter marry into the same vangod. A Raikar man may marry a woman from the Gōmkars. In exchange the Gōmkars have to take a daughter from their vangod. So a Raikar woman also is given in marriage to a Gōykar man.
With the exchange of women from one vangodd, a woman often has her daughter-in-law from her own vangodd. Her daughter's children also belong to her vangodd. It is only the women who move from their father's vangodd to their husbands vangodd after marriage. The men remain in a single vangodd throughout their life.

A man or a woman belong to the vangodd of their father. After her marriage a woman is affinally related to her husband's vangodd. But she is still the daughter from her father's vangodd. When a woman is asked her vangodd she replies - Ao Raikaralē Ėddu, mak Gōykarager dilık, (I am a daughter of the Raikars, given in marriage to the Gōykmars). The women do not identify themselves as members of their husbands vangodd primarily.

Though she is still a daughter all her husbands vangodd, she
has to fulfill all social obligations of her husband's vangodd. She is a member of her father's vangodd by blood, and a member of her husband's kuṭumb by marriage. Women only change residence, they do not change vangodd. However, they are affected by their husbands' kinmen, by virtue of their marriage.

The Kuṇnbi perform an important ceremony called śhim katrop' after the marriage jevon. The kuṭumb members (dadle) of the bride and bridegroom, go to the śhim of the village. A stick is placed across the road, and the two kuṭumb members standing on either side of the stick hold a long blade of grass, (like in a tug of war). The blade is snapped and liquor is splashed on either side of the śhim. The ceremony is performed in honour of the purvoz, who have to be remembered on the occasion of marriage.

The formal entry of the bride into her husband's kuṭumb takes place through the ceremony called Modi Eodovni. The bride lights the fire to the modki, in which the kuṭumb boil rice for the guests. The symbolic lighting of the modki is her incorporation as a member of her husband's modki.

Kinship among the Bārādkars is maintained through a system called Ek rogot or Ek rogtači (one blood). Members of a vangodd are said to have Ek rogot. Those who have ek rogot cannot marry each other. In a kuṭumb the children have the blood of their father. Their mother has the blood of her father in turn. She does not share Ek rogot with them. Kinship bond is strongest among brothers. Children of the brothers are treated as bhav ani boinam (brother and sister).
The fathers parents are called vodlo pai and vodli māi, also mataab and matavoi. The eldest brother and wife are also called vodlo pai and vodli māi. There are three terms for the fathers sister (a) Titin (b) kak (c) Timāi.

The father's sister husband, and the mother's brother are known as mam. The children of the father's brother are called bapul bhav and bapul bhoin, they are also called bhav ani bhoin. The children of the mother's brother are also called bhav ani bhoin.

Descent is patrilineal, traced to four generations before a man. Ego's pai (father), Abpai (father's father), and shepai (father's grandfather). All other relatives older than the shepai are called by a single term purvoz (ancestors). The moγki remains together through the male members and the relations that bind them together. Hence relations between the male members of a vangodd are very strong. The kinship bonds extend even to the male purvoz. In life, so in death the kinship relations simply continue.

f) Ancestors and the Hapśi

The elaborate rituals that the Kuṇṇbi undertake in honour of their dead, speak of a very deep relationship between the people and their ancestors. They perform an important functions of protecting the Kuṇṇbi here on earth.

Each vangodd traces its origin to a separate progenitor. This purvoz is symbolised through a coconut placed in the vhodlē ghor.
Not all dead can qualify as purvoz. Only certain categories of the dead become purvoz. Men and women who have beethoven children, and have died in old age can be called purvoz. Fudli pilgi dovrunt geleä te log (those who have left a generation of people behind) can only be called so. As we have seen earlier (Kuunnbi categories) age is an important indicator for the definitious of dadlo and bail. The zanțelim (old people) on their death become purvoz. A Ėkedo and Ėkedum on their death do not constitute purvoz.

A Kuunnbi traces his purvoz from his fathers vangodd. All those purvoz will also have ek rogot, (one blood) like himself. A woman's purvoz are those of her father's lineage. When she marries, her husbands purvoz become her purvoz by virtue of the marriage. Here even though she does not possess ek rogot with them, she comes under their domain, because now she is married to a man who has ek rogot with the said purvoz. Through her marriage she establishes a symbolic blood relationship with:

a) her husband and his moğki
b) his purvoz and
c) his vangodd.

The melleli are those who have died recently. They are different from purvoz. The categorization of the dead into melleli and purvoz depends on generic distance from the living members. Those dead, and are three generations apart from the living members, become purvoz.

There are certain categories of the dead who became malevolent after their death. These include:
a) A boy and a girl who die at a marriageable age.
b) A man who is newly married and dies under some tragic circumstances.
c) A woman who dies in her pregnancy delivery, or after the birth of the child.

Aas dovrungi leelai ti (Dying with unfulfilled wishes). Such a dead man is called a khetro and the woman is called an Alwantin. They cannot be placed with the purvoz.

While the purvoz offer protection, the Alwantin and the Khetro have to be appeased for they can cause harm to their kutumb members through their ek rogot. When people die at such crucial stages of their lives like marriage, or child birth, their strong desire to fulfill those stages brings them back to their kutums. They become envious of the other members who are undergoing the same stages. The spirits begin to affect them, causing harm to their bodies.

The Alwantin or Khetro can affect a person having one blood. Both can affect persons only from their fathers or husbands lineage. If a person's mam, (mother's brother) or masen (mother's sister) becomes an Alwantin or Khetro they cannot affect him. Whereas his father's brother's son, father's sister can affect him.

The children from the mother's kutum cannot be affected by any Alwantin from her kutum. Only the Alwantins from the father's kutum can affect them. The malevolent spirits sharing one blood with their vangodd members, can affect their body. Affectivity though one blood is continued their living members and between the purvoz.
Blood relations therefore, are extremely binding on the modki members. Rituals to be performed collectively by modki members are held with solemnity, because blood relations are influential even after death. The purvoz protect the members of the vangodd whereas the Alwantin and Khetro can cause harm to the modki members. Just as purvoz protect through one blood the Alwantin and Khetro affect through the one blood.

Prior to the Mall, the Bārādkars hold special ceremonial meals in honour of their purvoz. These are called the Mandaśe Jevon or Melleśe Jevon. The meal has to be cooked at the vhodlí ghor. If a vangodd has several Modkeo, than for the sake of convenience each modki may have its own jevon. All vangodd members have to be present for this jevon. It is believed that the purvoz are also present for this gathering to partake in the jevon.

Such a belief exists among some tribes in Africa too. The Baloma or the spirits of the dead come once a year for the annual festivals. The annual meal is specially held as a mark of gratitude for the protection given to the Bārādkars.

The budvont directs all the procedures of these meals. He decides the day. He formally announces that cooking can begin. He lights the fire. When the meal is cooked he eats the first mouthful and tells the rest to eat. Each kutump brings a share of coconuts, rice, vegetables, jaggery, chillies, fire wood.

The Raikars have the meal in a different manner. It is called the vāḍī korop and is done before the meal. The Raikars
gather at the vhöôlë ghor before dawn. They make the vodde (puris) under the supervision of the budvont. The vodde are stealthily placed at the door step of the Gôykar vhöôlë ghor. They are also placed, one each at the houses of all the others in Bârâdî. In the morning the people find the puris. Each kutum member has to take a bite of it. With the vodde they know that the Raikars are having their Mandaâeval Jevon. Mandkaranim, (Raikars) about the meal. Gôômkarank sanglem, (Raikars have informed the Gôômkars). At the Raikars vhöôlë ghor a young boy and a girl are dressed in new clothes and served the puris in front of the purvoz (symbolized through the coconut). After they finish and leave, the budvont lights the fire once again for cooking the meal. The puris that remain cannot be given to any person besides the Raikars. If there are a few left they have to be thrown away.

The Gâydolkars at zorivoll, perform the most elaborate ceremony as part of their meal. Their meal continues for three nights, with worship for the Ancestors, Hapâi, and Bârâdkarn. The vangodd members gather at night under a matov (central place with canopy). Persons from other vangodd are brought to the canopy, to eat the jevon. These persons represent those Gâydolkars who have died the previous year. If seven members have died, seven persons are brought, and so on. While they are outside the canopy the Budvont and a few other elderly male members of the vangodd go to the place called Handint which is across the river from Bârâdî. Here they make the necessary offering of liquor and a poli (loaf) to the Hapâi or the Šimêco Dhoni. On their way back they perform another ritual at the Mus (stone bridge). This is the site of the reen of the Bârâdkarn Saibin. The budvonts place
fresh fish (one of the budvonts from the party goes to catch the fish) along with three pairs of coconut pendi (very young fruits). Covering himself with a camol (tweed blanket) he releases the items placed in a pōvli (sheath covering the coconut inflorescence), into the water.

When the budvont and the party comes back, the Gaydolkars formally invites the representatives of the dead to join the meal. The vangodd members have to be present. On the second night, five members of the vangodd, offer five coconuts, kajal, kumkum, flowers and bangles to the Bārādkarn at her zor (spring), at the foot of the Bārādi hill. They wash themselves and come back to the canopy to eat. After these offerings are made, no one is allowed to go to the spring that night. It is said that the Saibin comes there for her annual visit to Bārādi.

On the third day of the meal, a fowl is offered to the Bārādkarn, before day break. The meal is held during the night. The Gaydolkars perform the rituals on behalf of the three vangodd.

The second important event in honour of ancestors is called the Feti. Presently it is celebrated on the eve of All Souls Day. Feti was otherwise celebrated after the first rice was made from the annual paddy crop. Here too the members of the kutumā gather at the vhoḍle ghor at sundown. Each brings a portion of the paddy, coconuts and jaggery, and they make the fov (puffed rice) out of it. The women take turns for the fov kandop (pounding rice with the pounding stick). The budvont initiates all the procedures of making fov. Fov kandop is done throughout the night. The women may take turns in catching some sleep too, but
the kutumb cannot sleep during the night, it has to be a zagrut raat (a night of awakening) or as the people say raat marunk zai, (they have to remain awake) in honour of the ancestors.

Early the next morning, the fov are prepared with jaggery and coconuts. One portion is offered to the purvoz in the house, and another portion is offered to the melleli of the vangodd. Any fruit or vegetable from the first harvest has to be offered to the purvoz. When they have been served the rest of the kutumb can share the sweet meal. The rest of the fov cannot be brought home. They had to be kept outside the house for the melleli.

On All Souls Day the Baradkars may go for mass to the Chapel. Most older people do not necessarily go for the mass. They feel that the fov kandop and the offering to the ancestors is the way in which they honour their dead. The main celebration is the feiti, and mass is only included as part of the celebration of feiti, not vice versa. Pressures from the Church have resulted in some families giving up on the night long pounding ritual. Instead they bring fov from the market. The members gather at the vhod ghor and have the meal before going for mass. Only some families in the three vangodd perform the feiti today. When a kutumb has to separate into two modkeo due to its sheer increase in size, it can be done only by offering a meal to the purvoz. This is like obtaining their consent to separate. On the day of the maanda jevon, the two kutumbs wishing to separate have to have two separate meals. If one has it in the afternoon the other should have it at night. This collective meal amounts to a mutual consent from both modkeo and from the ancestors.
The Kūnbi have a practice of ḍunk vosop (to bring home) for their purvoz and melleli. When an elderly male or female person from the families dies, a year later this person has to be brought home. He is treated as a part of the kuṭumb, yet given a sacred place. The budvont and a few kuṭumb members go to the house of the ghaḍi where he does the maan korop (divination). He brings the dead man’s spirit to the place, and announces to him, that his kuṭumb has come to take him back. He breaks a coconut with one stroke. If the two halves fall kernel side up, it means the dead man’s spirit has agreed to come home. If the first coconut does not fall in the required manner, the ghaḍi has to break another one and so on. Next he has to get the answer by breaking a fruit called the foṭli fol like the coconut. Sometimes it takes even one dozen coconuts to get the dead man’s spirit home.

When the dead man’s spirit agrees to come home a man or a woman represent the spirit. They are dressed in clean clothes and asked to accompany the spirit home (with the budvont’s party). The ghaḍi brings the spirit on a copper coin. This coin is brought home by the budvont. The man or woman representative are brought into the house along with the coin. Their head is oiled, they can leave after having a meal served to them. The coin is placed on the paṭ (stool) where the coconut is kept. Each vhodlā ghor has several copper coins which are the purvoz of that kutumb. Sometimes the spirit makes it known to the ghaḍi that he wishes to stay on a coconut tree or at the original vhodlā ghor of the vangodd. The kuṭumb members must respect his wishes and place the coin on a coconut tree or the place of his request. Those who had
represented the spirit during the adjunk vosop, cannot come into the house where he now resides, for one year.

Coming back to the Moḍki vantop meal held prior to the Meḷ, each separating Moḍki has to bring home one another dead person's spirits in the first year. If a kuṭumā divides into Moḍki A and Moḍki B, A has to bring home the first person who can fall under the category of purvoz, and similarly B should bring home the first person to become the purvoz of Moḍki A. It is a symbolic act, wherein the moḍkeo though separated for convenience and cultivation, still maintain jointness by accepting the others ancestors as their own. Thus each moḍki in a vangodd has the first purvoz belonging to the other separating moḍki. The jointness of the entire vangodd is maintained through a network of keeping one another's purvoz. In this manner all the Moḍkeo of a vangodd share common purvoz and therefore though separate for cultivation and mundane activities, the several moḍkeo make up a single kuṭumā - the vangodd.

The Hapśi is a being who is neither Dev (god) nor atmo (spirit) he is the denvēkar (demon). He has no name and is called by various metaphors such as Rakhno, Hapśi, Zageaço zolmi, Simeço dhoni, or just tho (he). He was never living in Baradi like the other Bārādkars, nor is he dead. He always existed in this present state.

He can take several forms, no one knows what his actual form is like, for he does not have such a thing as an actual or original form and hence he does not possess a definite name.
The Hapši may take many forms. He can appear as an old man, a warrior with a sword and big boots or a young gallant man. He may also take the form of animals such as a buffalo, a bull, a dog, a goat. A Hapši never takes the form of a woman. He possesses extreme qualities of being very good and very bad. To those who respect and revere him, he can be very helpful. He will protect against any evil. But to those who do not respect him the Hapši will show no mercy. He can even kill people.

He knows when his people are in need, and helps people find their path home when returning late in the evening. He also knows when his people are afraid. He calls out their names to make his presence felt. Old men and women are often accompanied by him upto their door steps.

Bārādī is full of examples of the deeds of the Hapši. Anyone who unknowingly curses the Hapši, or abuses a bull or old person long the roads at night might fall prey to his wrath. There is no way to know if the old man, or animal is the Hapahi. Bārādkars never curse or abuse anyone unfamiliar on the roads they are gently persuaded to get aside, lest one of them turn out to be the Hapši.

No person gets the bhar from the Hapši. Bhar can come only from a Dev, Devi, or a otmo (spirit). The Hapši is neither of these so no person can be possessed by him. He can cause harm and death simply by his desire to do so. The Hapši has his own abodes. Certain parts of the Bārādī Hill are part of the areas of his abodes. The border with Cumbeabhat is another abode. There is a third one in the place called Hanḍint across the river Sal.
No women are allowed into the abode of the Hapsi. All devotions to him should be done by the men alone. It has to be done with utmost precision, for the Hapsi does not even tolerate mistakes from his people. The common offerings are urrac, hare (dry fish) poli (local bread), and sur (toddy). The Bāradkars' ancestors held a zagor once a year to honour him. This celebration has however died away. Presently there is no zagor, but the Hapsi is venerated in a special way during the Meļ. At this time the Bāradkars visit all the abodes of the Hapsi. They are, (a) Handint (b) Muser (c) Gorcomorod (d) Bāradī Hill. An important ritual called the Šim katrop has to be performed in honour of the Hapsi. This is done during the Meļ. The budvontis along some male elders sacrifice a fowl at the Šim. This ensures protection from the Hapsi, for the entire community. It is a collective ritual for the collective well being of the community. If anything untoward happens during the Šim katrop, it could bring harm to the people the following year. Anyone could be harmed by the Hapsi. No one could insure himself against such misfortunes. Thus the Šim katrop had to go right, for nothing can stop the harm done to the people by the Hapsi. He is most feared by the Bāradkars.

The Hapsi, besides being called the denvēar is also called the purus or the ganv purus. There are no shrines for the Hapsi.

b) The Meļ

The Meļ is the most important festival for the Kuṇbī. Rather than calling it a festival it is apt to call it a season in their annual labour cycle. The season begins in spring time. About a
month before the Meļļ, the divli or maulem (lamp) is brought out from the house of the maandkarā i.e. the Raikars. It is cleaned to the singing of chourong (verses in konkani) and animated drumming. The maulem is lighted by the budvont at the maand. It is called maand dorlo (maand has been prepared). For a month the maulem has to be lighted at night accompanied by the drumming. Due to the price of oil, and the changing work cycle of the vangodd members the maulem is often lit about ten days before the commencement of the Meļļ. In the meantime the melliančim jelnam are held at the vhodlē ghor of each vangodd. The Kūnnbi Meļļ culminates into the final revelery and rituals from a Friday evening two days before the beginning of the Carnival or Intruz. The final celebrations (also to be referred here as Meļļ itself) last for five days.

DAY 1 — Friday The whole of Bārādi gathers at the maand. At the centre lies the maulem with the national tri colour hoisted in the centre too. With the lighting of the maulem, the nature of the space of the maand changes from profane to sacred. No footwear is allowed, and women are strictly forbidden to enter the maand while the men are in it. Even the path leading to the Chapel is tabu for women at this time.

The three budvont, each wielding a torsad (sword), lead an assembly of men outside the Chapel in Bārādi (adjoining the maand). In front of a candle lit cross, they invoke the deities of Baradi:

Ae Bārādkarni, Aiz tuji, Meļļyeta,
vorsači, ek dandian porot votle.
Ae Odu Paika, Aiz tuji, Meļļ yeta, vorsaži, ek danqian, porot votle. 
Ae Piravoni, Aiz tuji, Meļļ yeta, vorsaži ek danqian, porot votle. 
Handintlea Hapšia, Aiz tuji, Meļļ yeta, vorsaži, ek danqian, porot votle.

The invocation are a public announcement of the Meļļ comming together for worship, and a promise that they will also go their ways in peace as they have come together. Each time an invocation is pronounced the budvants hit the swords on their shoulders, indicating a promise. After the invocations the people recite an Our Father and Hail Mary. After these prayers the Meļļ comes to the maanq. The men fix a meği (wooden pole) with three fagre (branches). Each fagro represents a vangoqd. Each budvont heralds the beginning of the festivities by climbing up the three fagre. Here the order of the climbing is reverse of the usual way of addressing the three vangodd. The Gāydolkar climbs first, next comes the Gōykar, and then the Raikar.

The men dance animatedly around the maulem to the tunes of the chourong. The Meļļ disperses in the early hours of the morning. This ceremony is called the Maği. It cannot commence without a representative from the Charddes from Velim. A member of the Caeiro family represents them.

DAY 2 - Saturday The Bārādkars assemble at the maanq in the morning. The maanq is forbidden to women. The Budvont breaks the previous years coconut that had stood by the maulem in the vhodi'ā ghor of the Raikars. Every body shares the kernel. The Raikar budvont then plucks a fresh coconut to be kept for the ancestor
as a collective offering of the community. The deities are
invoked, and an Our Father and Hail Mary offered by the budvonts.
Only the budvonts can do the Sangne (praying to God) on behalf of
the people. During the Mel the budvonts take on the role of
healers. They are bestowed with sacred attributes by virtue of
which they can heal. The Kunmbi have the first privilege of
offering prayers. Only after all have finished can the Kender,
and Chardde offer prayers through the budvont. People bring
offerings of candles, urrac, coconuts and flowers.

The men come to the maand and put kajal tilak on one
anthers forheads. This is a symbol of brotherhood. The first
 tilak is put by the Caeiro representative on the forehead of the
Raikar budvont. The men then move out of the maand. Now the women
can move into the maand to apply the holy oil from the maulem.
While the women are at the maand no man is allowed to step in.

The women then follow the Mel, to the Bārādi hill. On their
way they stop at the abode of the Bārādkarn Saibin. Here the
budvonts invoke the Saibin and the other deities, light candles,
offer kajal, kumkum false hair, flowers, and areca nut to her.
Women are not allowed inside the Saibins enclosure.

This was the site of her roen. It was not accessible to men
and women during the year. Only during the Mel the budvonts may
enter the area to place offerings.

The Mel next visits surrounding areas, collecting coconut
offerings and dancing. They come up the Bārādi hill following a
particular route which is said to have been taken by their
ancestors. At the hill the budvont perform the Pradakshīna in the anticlockwise direction, around the famous Bārāḍī Cross. The coconuts are shared by each person present at the hill. To go back without having a piece is a tabu.

About ten meters away from the large Cross is another smaller Cross erected on a rock, this is the Bārāḍkarnicho Huris (Cross of Bārāḍkariṇ). Here the budvont breaks a coconut to find the fate of the community in the forthcoming year. If the two halves fall on kernel side up, it is a good sign. If not, there is something in the way to obstruct harmony and wellbeing. Similarly the budvont breaks two more coconuts on either side of the large Cross, to ascertain if all will be well.

The Meḷḷ returns back to Bārāḍī via the hills of Bārāḍī. The women have to go back through the main road leading down the hill. They are forbidden to turn back while they are going down hill. No woman can also follow the Meḷḷ through the forests. When the Meḷḷ is entering Bārāḍī, women cannot be seen on the roads. They have to enter the nearest house. The open roads are only accessible to the men.

With conclusion of this ceremony the Bārāḍkars - vaat ugti kortat (open the way of the Meḷḷ). Only after the Bārāḍkars invocations can other Meḷḷs come to the Cross on the hill. Meḷḷ from Cumbeabhat, Gōpēzembhat, Velim, Chinchimin, Sarzora, Ambleim, Assolna, Tollecanto all come to the Bārāḍī hill. They perform pradakṣiṇa around the Cross and share the coconut meal. Each Meḷḷ carries the national flag.

The Meḷḷ come to Bārāḍī for two reasons; they commence their
own Melt festivities, and also play their official visit to the Bārāḍkars. The Bārāḍkars reciprocate but not moving outside their šim (boder). They stay in the village to welcome the other Melt.

DAY 3 - Sunday. There is no visiting for the Bārāḍkars, because Melt from other areas keep coming. They come visiting their bhav (brothers) in and around Bārāḍi. The entire village comes alive to the vibrant drummings of the dhol and tase. There is spontaneous street dancing. Men, women and children pour onto the street to frolic.

DAY 4 - Monday. The Melt gathers at the maand invokes the deities, and go visiting the neighbouring areas like, Asslona, Tollecanto, Goemchembhat, Betul, Zuvear, Caxetta. The women wait for their return at lunch time. After performing the Šen Shitole (sprinkling of cowdung water, for cleansing) all sit down to eat. Earlier, the budvonts only drink Šena udok (cowdung water) for cleaning themselves. They do not eat any food until noon.

After lunch the Melt sets out again covers areas that they had stopped at. When they return in the evening there is more dancing at the maand. On this day the local youth perform the khell. These are satirical skits, performed on the streets, without a stage. On their way home the budvonts are escorted with drumming and dancing.

DAY 5 - Tuesday - The Bārāḍkars gather at the maand. Recite the invocations, and later also do the sangne galop on behalf of the people. Sick people queue at the side of the maand for the healing touch of the budvonts. This is the day when the Bārāḍkars
- vaat bond kortat (close the way to the Meḷḷ). All Meḷḷ festivities come to an end on this day. Once again the Meḷḷ with women and children, set out from the maand, for the Bārāḍī hill. On their way they stop at the roen of the Bārāḍkarn, for prayers and offerings.

The budvonts pour oil on all the purmozace fator (ancestors stones). This is meant to protect the Bārāḍkars from floods, and assure safety during fishing. The offering also protects the Bārāḍkars from illness and misfortunes. Newly married women have a compulsion of pouring oil on the purmozace factor. It symbolizes their entrance into a new state - a wife. Through appeasing the ancestors, they can protect her through her first pregnancy.

The Meḷḷ proceeds to the hill, then to Zuvel vaddo, Rangallim, Poklawod, and to the Taar. At the Rangallim Sim, the budvonts pour oil over a stone linga and a Nandi. This Sim is the most sensitive because of its proximity to the sea. The oil that the budvont pours is thought to reach down to the sea, to cool its fury.

The Meḷḷ now proceeds across the taar to the place called Handint. Here they invoke the Hapāsi. The next halt is at a place called Pirwada. There is a turbath (tomb of saint) of a Muslim saint called Babar Pir. The Kūnنبي Meḷḷ goes to the turbath, and dance around it. The Mullah offers them coconuts and jaggery along with some firewood. The budvonts today narrate how the Muslims from this vaddo kept a sweet dish of rice, packed in a budkulo (pot) near the spring of the Pir. The pot was placed on
the night of the Urus. A few weeks later when the Melt came to make their official visit they were offered the sweet in remembrance. Today they are offered coconut and jaggery.

The Melt has to return to Baradi from over a particular path over the hills. On no account can they change the route going back to Bārādi. When the women folk hear the Melt approaching from over the hills, they do the Sen Šitolā and wait for their arrival.

At about 5:30 p.m. the Melt sets out once again from the maand this is the final detour of the village to bring the Melt to a close. The entire village come out onto the streets to welcome the Melt, and there is much dancing and frolic than the rest of the days. The Melt takes the first halt at the cross at Norta. Here after invocations and prayers the Melt moves towards the place called Borkomoroq. Here lies one of the Šhim of Bārādi. There is a stone known as Odu Paikačo fator (Odu Paik's stone). It is anointed with oil. The Rakhno or Hapši is called Odu Paik here.

The Charddeačo Melt comes from Tollecanto to greet them. The budsvonts exchange embraces. The two Melt join together and proceed to the Tollecanto Šhim. They stop at road side crosses for prayers, and follow the traditional paths to the Šhim. The men and youth indulge in several hours of frenzied dancing. Many of the dancers go into a trance.

The two Melt part ways. The Bārādkars return to Bārādi. with their return the Bārādkars - vaat bond kortat (close the Melt festivities). No Melt can come towards the hill after them. The
Mel comes to a close. The Bārādkars now perform two rituals in the night.

a) Toloi divop (passing the lighted lamp. (b) Sim katrop.

For the Toloi divop, the budvonts and a small party of drummers visit each house in Bārādi with the lamp. Playing the drums and singing the chourong they take offerings of coconuts, and the poli (sweet rice cake) from the people. Those families that are in mourning are avoided.

Later the party performs the Sim katrop ceremony at the three Šhimo of Bārādi. Here the Hapsi is invoked, a fowl’s blood and urrac is offered to him. This is the offering to Hapsi, to ask for protection the year round.

Kitem urta tem Hapshian polon gerăcem. (The Hapsi will see to the rest). This is the phrase used to describe the ceremony.

After the Sim katrop has been done no Bārādkar can venture outside the house. The roads, sims, hills, in fact the entire space of Bārādi becomes tabooed, until day-break. The next afternoon all the male members of the three vangodd have a ganvpon (zomat, meeting). Here they settle accounts, and settle petty inter vangodd tensions.

During the Mel the entire Baradi is transformed, though ephemeral, but the transformations are extremely important for the people. Their corporate identity is articulated at the Mel through the reenactment of the myths like those of the Babar Pir, Pandavas jewels, Baradkarn Saibin. The ancient routes that are deliberately taken form part of their articulation. Also important is the budvonts role, as healer and medium. He is
thought to have the power over nature, through Bàrâdkarn he can control the fury of the sea and make the forest safe from wild animals.

The budvonts though apparently drumming and dancing, perform all rituals with drastic precision. If people suffer from frequent illnesses, misfortunes it is immediately related to the rituals of the Mell. No ritual should be done haphazardly.

h) Birth and Death

The birth of a child in Kuñîñbi society is the power of fertility. It is the power of the woman to procreate. A woman becomes a mother, and a man becomes a bâpoi (father). These states are important for the membership in the Modî or Kuñîñbîî. They are closer to becoming purvoz. If there are no fudleo pilgeo (next generations) then the vangodd cannot survive. Purvoz are for the fudli pilgi, so that they may be protected.

An Avoi brings a new person into the vangodd. When the child is just born the state of the mother is sensitive, if she dies she becomes an Alwantin. Avoipon (motherhood) is therefore significant for the Kuñîñbi. A pregnant woman is a a Nozo zaloli bail. This can have many meanings. It is a particular status accorded to her, because of her body condition, which is not like the body of other women.

The birth of a child takes place at the house of the woman’s husband. The voijîn (midwife) assists bâlonzt zatana (delivery). When a child is born, he is not yet a member of the vangodd. He becomes so only after the sixth night, when the Soți is done.
This is a ceremony performed in honour of the Soṭi Mai, who is a Saibin giving the child its noṣib (destiny). Only when Soṭi Mai koplar boroita (Soṭi Mai writes on the forehead) can it be said that a child is like the other Kuṇbī. He is the member of the Modki.

The Soṭi also marks the mother’s end of the period of Nozo zaloli (period of confinement). She comes back to normal routine life. Before soṭi an avoi does not perform any chore in the house. The Soṭi is held at the father’s house. The mama mai (mothers mother) comes to the house of her avoi with a bottle of urrac and oil. When she comes to the doorstep all neighbours and the child’s relatives come to greet her. All the people enter the house and shut the door. No person can enter or leave the house until the Soṭi is over. The mama mai feeds the mother and her child with a meal of Ėōvio (wild beans) coconut and jaggery. The child is given a symbolic meal. The mama mai passes her finger in the bowl of beans and puts the jaggery syrup onto its tongue.

The budvont blows into a tambio (copper pot) making sounds of phoo - phoo - phoo; and he turns it round the child, thrice. Then still blowing into the pot he comes to the outer room where the people are waiting. He initiates the dancing of the fugdi. Only the women can participate in the dance. The men play the gumot. There are two dances, the fugdi and the girgirī.

The only meal for the night are the Ėōvio. The kuṭumā cannot cook anything else. The Ėōvio are tied into small bundles in leaves and kept outside all the houses in Bārādi. This is done after the people have gone home from the Soṭi. The next morning
each kutumb shares the ēvīra, to partake in the Soti of the child.

When the Soti is on for a child, it is dangerous to keep another child without a Soti, in the neighbourhood. The Soti of the one child may interfere with the Soti of the other that is to be held, and the child may face problems throughout life. The destiny of one cannot be mixed with the destiny of the other. A baby kept in the neighbourhood would not have a clearly given nosib. Once a destiny is given nothing can change it. A good nosib remains forever. A destiny that is not clear also remains so forever. All other new born babies are taken away during the night of the Soti, to avoid the Soti lagop (interference).

Death, like birth is also a new life. Different from the kind that proceeds birth. A person enters another world. He belongs to the sōusar (world) of the mellelī nevertheless death is mourned. Rituals and mourning has to be properly followed after the death of kutumb members.

The dead become powerful after they die. They can protect their families in this world or they can even harm them. All the dead have contact with their kutumb. They come back to their favourite places in Bārāḍī. They visit their fields, houses, and places of worship. Kuṇjbī divide their time as — time of the mellelī, and the time of the Bārāḍkars. Night time is the time of the mellelīn. Bārāḍkars respect their time by not moving outside at night.

When a woman loses her husband she has to go for a ceremonial meal to her father's house. She is accompanied by
another widow. At the house the meal is laid, for both women. The widow cannot make eye-to-eye contact with any kūṭum member. The fathers kūṭum members keep a black kāpod (saree) oil, and black bangles for her. The accompanying widow oils her hair and drapes the black kāpod in a dēntūli (Kūnbi style of the sari). The woman is declared as raan (widow). Her status as raan is stamped through this ritual meal and draping at her fathers house. It launches her into a life of widowhood.

1) Bārādkarn Saibin

The Saibin was living in Bārādi before any human being came. Her name is Shenvtē (Chrysanthemum). Her dwelling place was a roen at the Mus. (An arched stone bridge). She bathed at the spring at Zorivoli. Bārādkarn had ankle length hair which she combed with a golden comb. She liked jasmines. The entire mus area was full of jasmine shrubs.

She protected her people very jealously. Nothing could happen to them as long as she was there. Bārādkarn also punished without mercy, anyone who offended her. There are many stories telling her of sense of justice and protection.

Once there was a great flood that threatened the whole of Bārādi. Bārādkarn came to the Mus and kicked the water. The flood waters began to recede. Since then there has never been a flood in Bārādi.

Once there was a girl who saw her sitting on a tree. She did not recognize her as the Saibin, and abused her. Bārādkarn was so angered she made the girl childless after marriage. Even after
her marriage she was always sick. She never led a healthy life ever.

When her roen was cut down by a man, his son was taken by her. She kept him for several days. No one in Bärāqi could find him. When he was found near fields in voḍatholi, he said he was taken by a long haired lady who gave food for three days. Bārādkarn also punished people who did not obey. A drunken man, a menstruating woman were not allowed to pass by the roen. If they did they were sure to fall sick.

Bārādkarn is the deity of the Gāydolkar vangoḍd. But she is also the Saibin of the Bārādkars. After people began rearing pigs in Bārāqi, she could not tolerate the pollution, and went and stayed in Canacona (Sreesthal). Now she comes during the Feṭi and the Meḷ, to visit her people. One month before the Meḷ the people light a candle at the Zor, acknowledging her visit. They also leave offerings of flowers, kajal, kumkum, and bangles. When women go to her they have to wear the hompo (a plain knot of hair on the left side of head). They had to wear the denṭuli, without the blouse.

The Saibin is given extreme characteristics, like the Hapśi. the same qualities are seen to govern their kinship relations. The Bārādkars affection for their kin is without bounds. They protect them selflessly. If they are offended by some one, the entire kuṭumbh will seek revenge, without giving up. Since Bārādkarn still protects her people, they have the obligation of taking an annual offering of coconuts to her present home in Sreesthal.
The next day after the Mell, Bārādkarn goes back to Canacona. The three budvont pluck a sack of coconuts. These are carried to Sreesthal by a group of Gāydolkars and their budvont. The coconuts have to be plucked only by the budvonts, it angers the Saibin if others have plucked them.

The Gāydolkars have to go walking along the ancient paths to the temple. They have to drop bits of sweet laodu on their way back from Sreesthal. This is meant for 'vaat tong korpak'. The paths are made safe for walking. These paths are through thick lonely forests, the people travelling at dusk hours could face attacks from wild animals, some could be attacked by the spirits. Only the Bārādkars can make the path safe because they are the people of Bārādkarn.

Their trip to Canacona is significant as they have to perform this ritual. It is their duty in honour of Bārādkarn to exercise their power to control the safety of the path. Only when they sprinkle the sweet can it become safe for firewood collectors, shepards, and travellers. Once again this trip to Sreesthal becomes an articulation of their identity.

Though Bārādkarn has gone to Canacona the roen is still worshipped as a sacred area. It is associated with Bārādkarn Saibin and the nag (cobra) who is thought to reside in it. The Kuṇñbi never kill a nag, expect if it about to strike. These symbols of the fertility cult of Santeri are alive among the Kuṇñbi. It is an active religious cult.

j) Sant Huris and Christianity
Christianity is first known to have come to Bārāḏkars in the year 1585 when some of the vangōdd of Velim were converted. The Kuṇṇbi who had a proffessed loyalty to the Charddes in Velim also converted. However till date the Kuṇṇbi assert that they are Kuṇṇbi first and then Christian. They have absorbed elements of Christianity into their culture. In the process they have synthesized a kind of Christianity that is distinct from the Charddes of Velim.

The Sant Huris (Holy Cross) is an important symbol. It is evident from the number of Crosses around Bārāḏi. The Sant Huris is important not so much as a Christian symbol, but as a symbol of all the local deities of Bārāḏi. It does not primarily represent the suffering of Christ, as in Catholicism. The Sant Huris is itself personified and deified like the rest of the deities in Bārāḏi.

All deities of pre-christian times were aniconic. They were represented by mere space, as abodes, like those of the Hapāsi, or they were granite/laterite boulders like those of the Odu Paik, and the purvoz. In Bārāḏi there are seven boulders, known as the purmozace factor (ancestors stones). They were also represented through the roen, as the Bārāḏkarn Saibin.

With the Sant Huris these deities, got a common symbol. They were all incorporated into a single form i.e. the Cross. There are Crosses representing the deities. Thus the Crosses erected at the abodes of the Bārāḏkarn are known as Bārāḏkarnīče Huris, Odu Paik's abode has an Odu Paikačo Huris. Betal has a Betalačo Huris, the abode of the Hapāsi has an Hapāsačo Huris. There is yet
another Cross erected at a Da Zannāco Zago (public square or meeting place of ancestors). To represent the da zaŋ, there is a da zaŋaño Huris. The Sant Huris is a polysemic symbol which is itself personified. The Bārādkars refer to the Sant Huris, as Tho (He). It is during the Melt that one can see the articulation of this polysemic form of the Sant Huris. The budvonts invoke all deities through the Cross.

At the Mus the Huris erected on the rock is referred to as the Bārādkarıŋ. The people seldom say Bārādkarnation Huris, the Cross is directly called the Saibin. Pointing to the Cross the people will say - Ee amge Saibin (This is our Saibin).

Any single motif has no universal meaning. Symbols are culturally constructed. Religious symbols encompass many referents some of which may not be compatible. One culture's symbolic analogy is another culture puzzle.[11]

The incorporation of the deities in the symbol of the Sant Huris, is a reflection of the nature of synthesis between Christianity and Kuṇnbi culture. Certain important pre-christian celebrations are still held. They are held to coincide with christian festivals. The Mèl is held at a time when christians celebrate the Intruz. The Feti is held during All Souls Day. And the Raknea Fest is held a couple of days before the feast of the Sant Huris in Bārādi.

During the celebration of the Mèl, Feti, or Raknea Fest, the Kuṇnbi are actively involved in the celebrations. But in the christian parallel celebration they become passive observers, their vangodd or budvont takes no active part. Though the
Bārāṅkars revere the Babar Pir from Pirwaḍa, they do not go there for the annual Urus. For during the Urus the Kunnbi would not be active participants. They go during the Mell, because then they are the main celebrants in the festival. The Urus, and the Christian festivals do not find parallels with their social organization.

They have chosen to transform Christian symbolism in order to keep the participatory nature of their culture alive.

References

1. A document preserved by the Fernandes family, Maṅṅkars of Baga Velim, shows the list of vodil converted to Christianity in 1585.


