CHAPTER VI

WORLD VIEW

In the previous chapter, an attempt was made to describe the economic life of the Yanadi. In this chapter, efforts will be made to analyse the world view of the Yanadi.

The survey of the studies of tribal communities shows no "consistent presentation of world view" (Redfield 1958:67). Evans-Pritchard's description of the time and space among the Nuer is partial description of their world view (Evans-Pritchard 1940). In the words of Redfield, Kluckhohn described the world view of the Navaho (of course he had not used the concept world view) as "the basic ways in which Navaho arrange their experiences, to identify the categories in which the Navaho group thinks or to relate these cognitive aspects of their outlook on life to their emphasis and ordering of values" (Redfield 1958:69).

Kluckhohn writes, "speculation and reflection upon the nature of things and of man's place in the total scheme of things have been carried in every known culture. Every people has its characteristic set of 'primitive postulates'" (1949:306-64).
Holmberg (1950) tried to know the concept of the universe from Sirino. He tells, "the Sirino conception of the universe is an almost completely uncrystallised one. My Indian friends never voluntarily talked about cosmological matters, and when I attempted by questions to get some insight into their ideas about the nature of the universe, I almost always met with failure" (1950:46).

It was Redfield (1952:30-31) who noted that common to all world view is the division of the total field of human experience according to relations to god, to nature, and to man. There are other constant categories, the biological universal of the life cycle, some kind of economic and ceremonial metronome for the year, the necessity of arranging space and time in some regular fashion.

Redfield attempted to develop the concept of world view and he sketched the world view of Maya villagers. He writes about the structure of natural and supernatural universe as Maya see it. "These people see the cosmos as quadrilateral, with importance attached to the four corners of things - house, cornfield, village, earth and sky. This four cornered universe is conceived of as in the layers, with under world below and heavenly world above, and within
this layered cube exist or move supernatural beings that have hierarchical relationships as well as special functions and responsibilities" (1958:87). Further he discussed, "about the symmetry of the man-god relationship and conception of a sort of sacred arrangement between man and the supernaturals" (1958:87).

Mandelbaum thinks that "world view of a people is their characteristic outlook. It is the inside view, the ways in which a person of the group typically sees himself in relation to his world. It includes his mapping of that world, that is to say, the categories he uses in his perception of the familiar and of the strange. It includes the emphasis he places on what he sees, the choices he makes from among the alternatives he knows" (1955:233). Mandelbaum summarized the world view of Kota, a South Indian tribe as, "gods are potent but not capricious; they can be recalcitrant to man's efforts, but is not the centre of interest. The best man is one who does not allow himself to be deprived, one who responds vigorously to any threat of deprivation in social relations" (1955:239).

Holland and Tharp (1964) describe the world view of Tzotzil Indians of Southern Mexico and explain the curing ceremony for "disease of the spirit" among them in the light of their world view.
Keeping this discussion in view, the world view of the Yanadi is attempted here.

**Dichotomous Division of the World**

The Yanadi forms of thought and structural arrangements are dichotomous in nature. This dichotomy is also manifested in the Yanadi attitude towards life and various relationships with men, animals, gods and devils which is graphically represented in figure 4. It represents the Yanadi conception of earth and celestial bodies and also the settlement pattern of all beings on the earth. The Yanadi consider that the earth is very big and in semicircular bridge shape. They believe that the west and south of the earth are elevated than that of East and North. The Sun and Moon revolve around the earth, which is static.

According to the Yanadi, the world is divided into two - the visible world of human beings (naralokam) and invisible world of gods, devils and deceased ancestors, just above the earth (dibalokam). The only difference between the two is that in the former the human beings can be seen with naked eyes whereas in the latter world they cannot be seen. When one of the worlds is active the other remains in rest. Therefore, when there is day in the
visible world, it is night for the inhabitants of the invisible world and vice-versa.

In the Figure 4 each block conceptually separates various settlements on the earth. It can be observed that in each settlement, the gods live either in south or in the west direction to the Yanadi, whereas the Yanadi live north or east to Gods. The gods and non-Yanadi live in elevated (egung) locations which is located on the west and south to Yanadi settlement. The settlement pattern indicates the inferiority of the Yanadi in relation to gods and non-Yanadi.

Dichotomy of Benign and Malign

As indicated earlier, the Yanadi dichotomise all living beings including men, animals, plants, gods and devils into two coexisting, but opposing categories living either in visible or invisible worlds, one being benign and the other being malign. Within each category, there are various degrees of benign and malign effects they bestow or inflict on the Yanadi.

Figure 5 represents the above categorisation of the Yanadi separated by solid perpendicular lines. All the benign beings are represented by positive sign whereas
FIG-4 YANADI SETTLEMENT PATTERN
the malign with the negative sign. The invisible world constitutes the gods, devils and deceased ancestors.

Yanadi's gods include some from the Hindu pantheon, and also deceased ancestors. Lord Brahma is the superior most and Lord Venkateswara and Chenchamma are considered to be of equal status but most powerful among the gods. Less powerful to them are village goddesses who are fifteen in number and Sun and Moon, Pothuraju, and Veerlu. They are followed by Maindevathalu, and deceased ancestors, benign Tata, benign Kateri, and Parantalu. Parallel to gods, among the devils, Dhurthulu is the most powerful followed by less powerful Shakthulu. They are followed by Grahalu, adavi Tatalu, adavi Katerlu, Kannelu and Deyyalu.

**Dictionary of Superiority and Inferiority**

As shown in the Figure 5, in the visible world men are divided into the Yanadi and non-Yanadi. The Yanadi consider themselves as "poor", "innocent", and "ignorant" of many matters of non-Yanadi, whereas non-Yanadi are considered as "prudent", "aggressive", "rich" and "intelligent". The non-Yanadi are further divided into benign, who help and protect the Yanadi and malign ones who cheat and harm them. The benign non-Yanadi are identified as close to the gods whereas the malign ones are identified close to devils. The benign non-Yanadi
FIG-5 YANADI CATEGORISATION OF BEINGS
maintain patron-client relationship with the Yanadi by extending help to them at the same time chide, scold, censure in order to control their behaviour. The malign non-Yanadi do not have patron-client relationships with the Yanadi life and harm them by way of insulting, cheating and canning them.

The Yanadi consider that the benign non-Yanadi are superior to malign non-Yanadi. So, whenever malign non-Yanadi harass the Yanadi, they approach the benign non-Yanadi for help. When the benign non-Yanadi are not able to help them, they would only submit themselves to malign non-Yanadi because the benign non-Yanadi directly face the malign non-Yanadi, argue with them and absolve the Yanadi from the entanglement of malign non-Yanadi. Hence, the Yanadi try to maintain close contact with the benign non-Yanadi and avoid malign non-Yanadi.

Life is Cyclical

The Yanadi consider that man lives temporarily (adava) in this visible world and every one has to go back to invisible world as per the order of the Lord Brahma, who sends man back and forth. The Lord Brahma recalls man to his world under the pretext of disease, snakebite and the like. Death means, transfer of man from visible to invisible world. Therefore, birth and death are means by which a
Yanadi comes to the visible world and goes to invisible. In between the birth and death, the Yanadi interacts and maintains relationships with his relatives and nature, to satisfy his bio-social needs. Apart from this, he establishes relationships with his gods, goddesses and deceased ancestors to achieve his well being when the nature and his relatives fail to help him.

The Yanadi believe that man possess three 'lives' (prānālu or yāṭhabondi), one in the head, second in the heart and the third spread in all the joints of the body. The life is conceived by him as air (gāli). When a person dies the life of the person goes out of the body in the form of air. The life of the head goes to the 'town of elders' (peddala nagaru), that of heart reaches the 'city of Brahma' (brahma patnam). The third transforms itself into ghost (deyyam) (See Figure-6).

When the life of a person goes to the town of elders in the invisible world, they ask him to stay in a temporary hut, little away from their own huts. They provide him food in a separate plate and glass to drink water. They consider that he is polluted and therefore, keep him at a distance. When the relatives of the dead person in the visible world perform post-funeral ceremonies
FIG. 6. LIFE IS CYCLICAL

INVISIBLE WORLD

CITY OF LORD BRAHMA

TOWN OF DECEASED ANCESTORS

DEVIL

DEATH

CONCEPTION

BIRTH

VISIBLE WORLD
(punyāham or karamanthram) then this person becomes free from pollution. Then the elders accept him as one of their members.

When the life from the heart reaches Lord Brahma, he enquires "On what cause you have come here?" This person tells the cause of his death. If the man dies by committing suicide, Lord Brahma chides him by saying, "It is not good on your part to do like this". Then his life is put in the womb of a woman, animal or bird depending on the good or bad that he did. The good deeds are to provide food when a person is hungry, and water when thirsty, removing thorns from the feet, killing lice from the head, and not quarreling with others. The bad deeds are to abuse and quarrel with others.

When a child dies, his/her life remains in tact and transforms into a god (Manidevathalu). The Manidevathalu stay along with the gods, mostly with Brahma. The Yanadi believe that a person who is married and engages in sexual life does not become a god. But according to them, the sexual play of the children will be pardoned by the gods who are considered as innocents and hence transform into Manidevathalu when they die. In the invisible world, when they grow to marriageable age, the gods celebrate their
marriage and on begetting children who also become Manddevathalu. These gods will be very kind to their relatives in the visible world and always help them. The life of a dead pregnant woman transforms into benign Kateri who protects the pregnant woman against killing of the embryo. And a few women transform into malign Kateri and try to harm the pregnant Yanadi women.

The Yanadi Interaction with Invisible World

The rangam is performed to preserve and protect; and prevent and perpetuate the human life. It is most pervasive single method of keeping continuous communication and dialogue with the invisible world through rankadu, who acts as pleader of the Yanadi in the invisible world and spokesman of the gods and deceased ancestors of the invisible world. After food, rangam seems to be the most important means of survival in the visible world.

Preservation and protection of life begins as soon as a woman is declared pregnant and it continues throughout the life of the Yanadi through rangam. It is also performed to prevent and nullify the wrong doings of malign beings. At the same time perpetuation of human life is maintained through rangam by advising separation, divorce of the couples. Therefore the analysis of rangam is divided
into two categories: (a) rangam for preservation and protection and (b) rangam for prevention and perpetuation.

In reality for a Yanadi to separate rangam in the above categories would be difficult but for the purpose of analysis, it has been done so.

Rankadu: The most crucial role in rangam is played by the rankadu who is in every case a male relative of the cluster members. Twenty such rankadus were identified in the island. In other words, there is one rankadu for every seven families. Generally, in a cluster of huts within a settlement, there is a rankadu who is related to every member of the cluster. Rankadu invariably performs rangam for his own relatives. It is this reason, that he is assisted by his sister or mother in addition to his wife. Any Yanadi can learn rangam from a rankadu. In majority of the cases, it is an individual's choice to learn the rangam and become rankadu.

Rangam: The rangam is a ritual performance in which a rankadu contacts the beings of the invisible world to solve difficulties of visible world. Each rankadu has his own "temple hut". Every evening any one of the family members kindles fire in the hut. The rangam should be conducted in a state of ritual cleanliness and so the
r ankadu takes bath before conducting rangam. He closes his eyes and sits in the temple hut. He starts playing on a tinibal (palaka) and sings songs in praise of the gods. His wife or sister or mother kindles fire in front of him. She goes on feeding the fire with firewood and at the same time repeating the prosaic songs. After some time the rankadu enters into trance but keeps on singing and talking with gods and deceased ancestors whom only he can see. He requests the personal god of the sick person, Chencharma, Perantalu and deceased ancestors to assemble, later he asks them about the reasons for the problem. The rankadu requests them to solve the problem and he continues requesting until the gods act favourably.

The rankadu should not be beaten by others and if beaten the gods who are worshipped by him become indignant and do not appear to him in rangam and also cause diseases. The Tanadi were heard often saying, "how can we beat him when the gods are on his head"? The Tanadi believe that the life of the rankadu and the woman who repeats the songs go to the invisible world and move with the gods. But the rankadu can only see them but not the woman.
The figure-7 provides the interaction pattern of the Yanadi, non-Yanadi, gods, devils, plants and animals in both the visible and invisible worlds. Through rangan problems of the Yanadi life are taken care. It also helps in finding out the reasons for sickness and methods of cure. Rangan is performed to protect the pregnancy and for easy delivery. It is also performed to dedicate the infant in the custody of a god and to extend the life span of the Yanadi.

**Preservation and Protection:** Rangan is performed for an individual while he/she is still in the mother's womb. When a woman conceives, rangan is conducted to safeguard the embryo against the malign beings. At that time the goddess Kateravva is requested to protect the pregnant woman against the malign Kateravva and other malign beings of invisible world would not harm her. When malign Kateravva touches the pregnant woman, she eats the embryo often resulting in a difficult delivery. Then delivery becomes difficult, rangan is conducted to get the help of other gods to drive away the malign Kateravva.

When a person sleeps the life of the head leaves the body and wanders in those places, where the individual had been moving around during day time. During this time, the inhabitants of the invisible world will be active.
FIG-7 YANADI INTERACTION PATTERN WITHIN THEIR WORLDS
While the life of the head moves here and there, the invisible malign beings like the Grahalu, adavi tatalu or ghosts catch hold of it and this causes disease to the person. It is believed that the human life forms their food and therefore, they catch them. As they continue eating the life, the sickness of the person increases and when the life is completely eaten the sick person dies. The Yanadi also believe that a person also becomes ill due to biological imbalance caused by eating harmful food.

In rangam when the gods tell that the sickness is due to the absence of the 'life' (Yathahandi) the rankadu requests the gods to catch hold of the devil who has snatched the life. Then all these gods approach the particular village goddess where the ghost lives. They collectively search the devil along with the village goddess and after beating get the life of the sick person released.

**Prevention and Perpetuation:** The rangam is conducted to dedicate an infant in the custody of a god. The custom is that the children should be given in the care of gods of both wife and husband. The child is offered to the god who accepts the responsibility to take care of the infant through out the life.
The personal god is believed to help in providing a happy living with sufficient food and also saves from imminent dangers. The personal god apart from helping the Yanadi also inflicts disease when the Yanadi make any mistake. The god gets annoyed especially when the individual is beaten by cane, sandals, broom or kicked by feet or has made any mistake. The personal god makes known the anger by causing disease to the individual. It is done in order to prevent the person from indulging in such activities.

Sometimes the gods inform the rankadu that the sick person has 'short life' (sachchu rāta). In such case, the gods express their inability to cure the sickness and the sick person may die shortly. The gods, advise the rankadu to go to Lord Brahma to get 'long life' (gatti rāta). By gatti rātha the Yanadi mean the extension of the life span of a person. Sometimes the gods also ask the rankadu to 'meet/come' on a particular day with flowers, camphor and incense. On the appointed day the sick person should provide all these things to the rankadu, to visit Lord Brahma. On the appointed day the rankadu offers them to the gods in the temple hut in the evening and starts the rangam. This rangam lasts for about twelve hours or sometimes even more than that.
In the rāgasam the rankadu assembles the personal god, Chenchaman, Perentalu and others. All in a group go to the village goddess. They get the 'life history' (rātha kāgitam) of the sick person, from her. With this information all of them go to meet Lord Brahma. As said earlier the life of the rankadu and that of the woman who repeats the songs also accompany the gods. In order to reach the city of Brahma, they have to cross fourteen seas of different colours. They travel in a chariot on the road passing through in the midst of the sea. Finally on reaching the city of Lord Brahma, they approach him and appeal that he had written a short life to the person concerned. They request him to write a long life and hand over the 'life history'. Lord Brahma takes the history sheet and writes strong writing by keeping the history sheet behind his back and throws it away again from behind. One of the gods picks up the history sheet. They go back and again cross the fourteen seas to reach to the town of the village goddess. The history sheet is kept in her custody. Then the rankadu is asked to go back to visible world. By doing so the Yanadi believe that the sick person would recover and live long.

While bringing the history sheet from the town of Lord Brahma, the malign beings try to snatch away it.
If they succeed in matching it, the Yanadi believe that the sick person would die. Therefore, the gods should be very careful while bringing the history sheet.

The Yanadi believe that the gods go to the sea every morning and evening from their respective towns to take bath. If the Yanadi happen to cross their way the gods get angry and inflict diseases on such persons. When the rangam is performed to know about the cause of sickness often the gods tell the yankadu "doesn't he (the sick person) know that we come to the sea for bath?"

The Yanadi believe that the goddess Paddapalepama, Nukalesma, Kandlakalakamma, Gavadalama, Vathi Bedama and Aggemma are associated with small pox, chicken pox, measles, cholera, and boils respectively. These goddesses visit all the Yanadi families one after the other in a year. During this time, if they are found in sexual intercourse in the hut, cooking non-vegetarian food, they become angry and inflict diseases on them. When one or two persons suffer from these diseases, the Yanadi try to avert this lest others may also get and some even die. The settlement should be calm and quiet without noise. On such occasions sexual intercourse is avoided in the hut. The children are not allowed to play in the settlement with loud noise.
and *tangam* are prohibited during these days. Therefore, if a Yanadi wants to conduct *tangam* during this time, they do so in the forest away from the settlement.

During the menstrual period, women are considered in the state of pollution. So women during this period do not enter in the temple hut. Others are expected to avoid touching them. Any violence is not tolerated by the gods lest it is resulted in sickness. When a Yanadi go for fishing or hunting, it is said that the deceased ancestors ask them betel leaves, cigars or beedies. Since these are not visible to the Yanadi, they cannot offer them these things. Then they get angry and catch hold of their life and thus cause sickness. While fishing, when the Yanadi find less fish in a pond they attribute it to the misdeeds of the deceased ancestors. They say "this is the act of 'elders' and therefore let us offer something to them". So they throw a few cigars or beedies in the water.

**The Yanadi Dichotomous Existence**

The Yanadi believe that every Yanadi has a duplicate life (*perantalu*) of opposite sex who stays in the invisible world. So male Yanadi has a female *perantalu* living in the invisible world. The *perantalu* are labourers of the gods in the invisible world and the gods punish them
in the same way as the Yanadi are punished in the visible world when they commit any mistake. The person whose perantalu is punished in the invisible world, falls sick in the visible world.

According to the Yanadi it is the perantalu who appears in the dreams of the opposite sex and sometimes make love also. Like any other god perantalu also gets angry with his/her counterpart in the visible world when he/she commits any mistake or does any menial job. For example, when a Yanadi working in SNAR hospital fell sick, in rangam it was found that his perantalu became angry because he had carried placenta from the maternity ward to the garbage can. During rangam the perantalu told that he had handled placenta and therefore, he was inflicted with sickness. The perantalu asked him not to do such menial jobs in future. The rankadu had to call Chenchamma for help, who exorted the perantalu telling that, "in the visible world one has to do such jobs sometimes or one has to move about different places. So you should not take it seriously." Then the perantalu returned the life of the sick Yanadi to Chenchamma who inturn gave back to the Yanadi. The sick Yanadi slowly recovered from the sickness.

A few Yanadi get the perantalu to the earth through rangam and keep him with himself. It is believed
that such person can procure food easily and they never return home empty handed if they go for fishing, hunting expeditions. The Yanadi believe that the perantalu help them in this way. But such persons should not have been ill-treated and beaten or abused by others. Hence except few, not every Yanadi can get his/her perantalu. In order to prevent separation between wife and husband in the visible world, rangam is performed and the perantalu of both the couple are tied together in the invisible world.

The Yanadi World View

The essential elements of the Yanadi world view as depicted in the above analysis shows that: The Yanadi conceive the universe in dichotomous categories whether human beings, animals, plants, gods or devils. The Yanadi consider that life is cyclical and continuously move from visible to invisible world and vice-versa. The Yanadi live simultaneously in two worlds. The gods and devils and non-Yanadi are superior to the Yanadi. The benign non-Yanadi and gods always help the Yanadi and at the same time chide them when they misbehave. The malign non-Yanadi and devils always harm them. The Yanadi try to maintain harmony with the inhabitants of both the worlds by subjugation for their survival. The rangam is the most important method for survival after the food.
Yanadi Women Working in Casurina Plantation.

Yanadi workers with the Cane They Brought for a Contractor.
A Yanadi Mother Showing a Bird to Her Child.

A Yanadi Girl Carrying Younger Sibling.
(Note the Palmyra Fruit in Her Hand)