CHAPTER-VI

ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION

The economic system or organisation is very important, because unless a minimum of material supplies are available for survival, every feature of social life collapse. Probably this is one of the reasons why Anthropologists are interested in studying the economic activities. But Anthropologists differ from the professional Economists, who are more particularly concerned with the production of wealth and its distribution, consumption, use of economic sources, and such different things. They are not concerned with the manners and procedures of holding the wealth which may influence the structure of the society.

Further, they are not concerned with the exchange of gifts, the co-operation of kins and neighbours, the religious rites which often encourage and coordinate labour. Prof. Raymond Firth (as quoted by Maitra 1983:120) has pointed out that "the Anthropologist is interested in the structure and organization of the economic activity for two reasons: many social relations are primarily concerned with economic values. most social relations have an economic co-efficient."

As said earlier that economy has occupied a distinguished place in all aspects of life of the people.
Economy shapes the mode of life. It implies that social phenomena directly connected with the material needs mould other social phenomena which are not so connected.

The present study tries to represent the economic organization of the Killekyathas living in different villages. Most of the Killekyathas of the Amarnathpur, Agatoor and Surdi villages depend on agriculture for their livelihood whereas the number of agriculturists in Bommagaripal and Kushalpur is very less. Most of them believe in mutual economic aid. At the time of harvesting usually a farmer invites the whole community or a part of it to help him in the field. This is called 'Muyya' (helping each other). The villagers work jointly and take their meals with liquor, which is served at the cost of the landlord. For many of the agricultural needs, they depend on the services of agricultural labourers. These labourers of villages are remunerated in cash. For agricultural services such as the repair of a plough or sharpening of tools by carpenters and blacksmiths, they pay in cash. Formerly, the members of different casts of the villages who followed their traditional economic works were remunerated in kind, and these were called as 'jajamans'. But now none of them have remunerated in kind; because they are not satisfied with the traditional payments in kind as they put it—'The prices have
gone very high and the conventional payments remain the same'. So, before rendering a service they would like to settle the remuneration.

OCCUPATIONS:

In this section the researcher has made an attempt to describe the various economic activities of the Killekyathas.

In the villages of our survey, among the 150 families, 116 families are settled and 34 families are nomadic. Among the nomadic families, occupations of men principally comprise (1) Drama coaching, (2) Harikatha, (3) Leather puppet shows, (4) Fastening salvage of blankets, (5) Fishing and (6) Agricultural labour. Women are primarily engaged in (1) Stitching quilts and (2) Domestic work. Among the subsidiary occupations, besides the above two, women have the occupations of Tattooing and Buffalo rearing. Table-6:1 shows the main and subsidiary economic activities of the nomadic families.

Among settled families, it may be seen that the main occupations followed by men are farming, Government service and labour. The subsidiary occupations chiefly are farm labour; casual labour, and buffalo rearing. Women are found to be doing mainly domestic work and stitching quilts, with cases of doing the work of farm labour also. Among the subsidiary occupation
TABLE 6:1

Main and subsidiary economic activities of the nomadic Killekyathas.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupational Categories</th>
<th>No. of Persons and Occupations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Males</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drama coaching</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harikatha Pravachana</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leather Puppet Play</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fastening Selvage of blankets</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fishing</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farm labour and farming</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stitching quilts</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestic Work</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tattooing</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buffalo rearing</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>51</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N.B: Those below ten years of age and those studying in schools are not included.

stitching quilts, poultry, buffalo rearing, domestic work and agricultural labour are followed by almost half of the women, and remaining half are not found to be doing any subsidiary work. Table-6.2 gives the information regarding main and subsidiary economic activities of the settled families.
Table No: 6.2

Main and Subsidiary economic activities of the settled families.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupational Categories</th>
<th>No. of persons and occupations followed</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Main Subsidiary</td>
<td>Main Subsidiary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farming</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farm labour</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government Service</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Casual labour</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stiching quilts</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buffalo rearing</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poultry</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestic work</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N.B. Those below ten years of age and those studying in schools are not included.

Land Tenure and Land Holding:

Explaining the land holdings of Killekyathas, it is necessary to discuss the prevailing land tenure system and sharecropping which are traditionally known to the formers.

(1) Swatah: This means self cultivation. The owner of the land himself cultivates or supervises agricultural operations by employing labourers. The latter are paid in kind or cash as per oral agreement and the entire yield goes to the land owner.
(2) **Agav Lavani**: An agreed sum is required to be paid to the land owner in advance by the tenant, in lieu of the entire yield.

(3) **Koru Palu**: In this type, the entire yield is shared equally between tenant and the land owner. The cultivation is done solely by the tenant, but the land owner has to pay the actual costs incurred during the cultivation like labour, purchase of fertilizer, seeds etc.

(4) **Kattagulu**: Land is given to a tenant with the condition that the latter give a fixed quantity of grains, generally, Jowar, Ragi to the owner. The land owner has no right to the yield for the period in question.

The Killekyathas of Bommagaripal and Kushalpur while giving information of lands owned by them were not frank. On these questions, they gave answers in usual terms by telling that some 2-3 acres of lands are hold by them, or some of them cultivates lands, or as they are nomads how they can own lands etc. But details of lands owned by each families were taken and later varified orally by the close acquaintances. The data on land possession and the type of land tenure for both the nomadic and settled families of Killekyathas is shown in table-6.3
Table No: 6.3

Land possessed by Killekyathas and types of land tenure

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nature of land holding</th>
<th>Settled Families</th>
<th>Nomadic Families</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No. of families</td>
<td>Extent of land (in acres)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Land owned and self cultivated</td>
<td>41(35.34) 90.0(60.00)</td>
<td>4(11.76) 16.0(22.53)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Land leased out</td>
<td>9(7.75) 32.0(21.33)</td>
<td>23(67.64) 40.0(56.33)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lands taken on lease</td>
<td>10(8.62) 28.0(18.66)</td>
<td>5(14.70) 15.0(21.12)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not possessing any land</td>
<td>56(48.27) --</td>
<td>2(5.88) --</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>116(100) 150(100)</td>
<td>34(100) 71(100)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N.B. Figures in parenthesis denote percentages to total.

It may be observed that the land leased out by the nomadic families are very high. In case of those families who are shown as self cultivators are stated to be following the tenure called as 'Swatah' as described before. But some of them too supervise their lands by employing agricultural labour. The other three kinds of tenure, namely 'Koru palu', 'Agav lavani' and 'Kattagalu' is also followed by the nomadic families. The latter usually do not worry for personal cultivation of their land as they can accept the above stated land tenures by which they can get the desired benefit from
their land. The system was more beneficial to land owners before the Tenancy Act was brought into force. But due to various land reform measures some of the Killekvathas are facing certain troubles such as tenants unwillingness to keep promise to pay the rents etc. In many cases, therefore, among the settled families they are taking to 'Swatah' cultivation. In the case of the nomadic families the small quantity of land held by them does not make much dent on their taking to nomadic life. So they usually give their land to their kin or any peasant who are willing to accept their terms and tenure.

**PRACTICES CONNECTED WITH AGRICULTURE:**

Completing the discussion on different means, or factors of occupation, now we turn to the actual description of the agricultural production i.e., crops grown in the villages of our survey.

The Kharif, the Rabi, the Jeth are the three main crops grown in the villages. Cultivation of land is an age-old institution and as such, has developed established practices and techniques for different operations. The agricultural season which starts in the middle of February at a slow pace gathers momentum until the completion of sowing in August. Thereafter these will be a respite for about six week when intensive works begins again till the middle of January. The
operations are seasonal and carried on according to traditional practices. That is the sowing is done on different stars or during fool moon days. Thus groundnut is sown during 'Rohini' or 'Kritika', chillies seedling sown 'Agge hunnime' and transplanted during 'Aridra', jowar and ragi during Ashlesha and horsegram during 'Magha'. The time of sowing of any crop is thus determined in advance taking into consideration its duration.

Cultivation of Jowar:

Jowar is the main cereal and its cultivation engages the attention of all farmers. The field is ploughed with an iron plough to prepare the soil for sowing jowar. A certain amount of moisture retained in the soil after the previous harvest is essential for this operation. If the field is wet due to rains, wooden plough is used instead of an iron plough. After ploughing, the land is exposed to sun until the early summer rains. The clods are broken after the first rains in the month of March. The next operation is 'Haraguvadu' (Harrow) in which the implement 'Kunte' (harrow) is yoked to a pair of bullocks and passed over the clean field twice or thrice as the case may be. When this is completed the field is ready for sowing.

Jowar is sown during 'Punarvasu' star locally called 'Hire pushya' early in July. Sowing is commenced either on
Wednesday or Friday. The common implement used for sowing is called 'Koorgi'. This operation is also done by hand by dropping the seed in the furrow. Immediately the seed sown, the 'Murugadde Kunnte', a type of agricultural implement is traversed over the field, so that the seeds sown are covered up. Interculture operation starts about 20 days after sowing. Generally three 'Edekunte' are yoked to one pair of bullocks and driven by three men. This operation is carried on twice or thrice at intervals of 10 to 15 days during the month of August. Weeding operation is taken up once during September. The weeds are removed by an implement called 'Khurpi'. Sometimes two weedings are done.

The duration of the crop is about four months, and is harvested in the first week of November. There are two methods of harvesting. One is to cut off the cobs and the other is cutting the entire plant leaving a stump of 3". If it is the former, the cobs are stored, dried and threshed. The stalk after a few days is separately cut and stacked for being used as fodder. If it is the latter, the crop is transported in a cart immediately to the threshing floor. A couple of days prior to threshing the cobs are cut with sickle. Threshing is done with the help of stone roller drawn by bullocks or by a threshing machine in the last week of December and it may take a period of fifteen to twenty
days. The interspersing crops of 'arhar' and 'horsegram' if so, are also harvested during the last week of December and early January.

Festivities connected with Jowar cultivation

**Kurgi Puja:** Many rituals are observed in connection with the cultivation of crops. The operation of the sowing of seeds commences by a worship of 'Kurgi'. After being set for use the 'Kurgi' is decorated with a saree and ornaments to represent a woman. The 'Kunte' is dressed in the fashion of a man. 'Kankana' which means a bracelet consisting of an unbroken betelnut, cashewnut, and turmeric root is tied up in a betel leaf by means of an yellow thread and is tied to 'Kurgi' and the 'Kunte'. Even the household members wear 'kankana' to their wrists. Six small conical heaps of cowdung, at the top of each of which are inserted a few grass blades are placed infront of the 'Kunte' and the 'Kurgi'. Worship is offered to the family deity, 'Kurgi', 'Kunte' and other agricultural implements, bullocks and cows. The seed grains are heaped on a black blanket and offered worship. A small quantity of seed is taken to the temple and after consecration, it is mixed with the seeds to be sown. After that the 'Kurgi' and 'Kunte' are taken to the field. Nine rows of seeds are sown in the easterly direction. Then worship is offered to the earth, the implements the Bullocks
PHOTO 18: WORSHIP OFFERED TO THE 'KURGI'
PHOTO 19: AT THE TIME OF SOWING
and 'naivedy' (sacred food) are distributed amongst those present. Rice is strewn all round thrice shouting 'Huligya'. It is supposed to appease the unseen spirits and prevent their harm to the crops.

Koylu Puja (worship at cutting): Harvesting is also accompanied by what is called 'Koylu Puja'. On the day fixed for commencing the cutting of the crop, sweet rice prepared at home is carried to the land. Five small earthen mounds are made in each of which a stone is inserted atop. While hands are drawn on the stones. Five sheaves of the crop are cut and placed near mounds. Rice and Plantain are placed on a plantain leaf spread in front of them. Worship is offered and rice is thrown round thrice shouting 'Huligya'. After this the crop may be harvested at any time according to convenience.

The threshing and bringing of grains home are again occasions for offering such worships. After the threshing-floor is prepared, concentric circles are drawn using a thick solution of ash. It is called 'Panthukattuvadu', and is believed to help to ward off evil spirits. Whereupon the household members are emboldened to sleep alone in the threshing-floor in the night times. On any Monday, the central pole is erected as instructed by the priest. The harvested crop is brought in a decorated bullock-cart from
PHOTO 20: THRESHING FLOOR
the land to the threshing-floor, where worship is first offered. 'Naivedya' is distributed. saying of 'Huligya' is repeated as common and each evening as long as threshing operation continues.

After threshing, the grain is also formed into a heap and worshipped and the day is known as 'Kanada habba', which is an occasion for great rejoicing. The grainless cobs are taken to the temple and burnt into ash. Round the grain heaps three concentric circles are marked with this ash and by a deft sprinkling of this ash, designs of a man, Bullock, plough, Kunte, sickle, etc., are also drawn on the grain heaps. Then worship is offered with all varieties of leaves and flowers collected round about the place, care being taken not to omit 'Muthuga' and 'Tumbe' flowers. A feast is given at the 'kana' itself and a few persons being invited to join.

**Paddy (Irrigated)**

Low lying, waterly land is most suitable for the cultivation of paddy. The fields are manured in the month of June before rain. There are two methods of growing paddy in the villages of our study - transplantation method, and the seed spreading method.

In the spreading type or sowing type, the fields are prepared by ploughing twice or thrice, then the fields are
left-over for a few days. By this process the weeds in the field are cleared up. Then again, ploughing is done twice or thrice and the whole field is levelled. Then the seeds are scattered all over the field and the process of levellings continues carefully. Then it is left-over for getting necessary supply of rain, or it is watered by means of pumping by a well or stream water. The seeds are never sown on Saturday and Sunday, as believed it brings misfortunes. After a period of fifteen or twenty days of sowing, the seedlings come up.

In the transplantation type of cultivation seeds are grown in small area of land and it is left for further growth. In the rainy season, in the month of 'Shravana', when the paddy fields are submerged by water, the fields are ploughed twice or thrice and it is levelled up, and left over for getting dried by the sun. When the seedlings grow up to a height of six to twelve inches, the seedlings are transplanted in the fields already prepared. The paddy so cultivated needs water continuously up to two or three months.

The crop become ripe in the month of 'Ashwini' (October), when the plants turn yellow and grains bright yellow. Members of the family themselves reap the crop and sometimes employ labourers, who get one out of every fifteen bundles as their remuneration. The harvested crops are
brought into 'Kana' where threshing and winnowing are performed.

**Millet and Ragi**

The minor millets commonly grown in the villages are 'Navane' and 'Bajra' (Sajji). The agricultural operations are the same as for jowar. It is usual to raise minor millets after a crop of chillies is grown. Such a rotation obviates the necessity for the application of manure. Otherwise, four cart loads of manure are applied. The preparation of the land will be over about the middle of June. Immediately after the 'Aridra' rains, Ragi is sown. 'Navane' and 'Bajra' are sown during August. When the crop is twenty to twenty-five days old, the plots are intercultivated for the removal of the weeds. This operation is repeated thrice at intervals of 10 or 12 days. The quantity of seed required is three local 'seers' in the case of 'Navane' or 'Bajra' and two and half 'seers' in the case of Ragi. This is common to sow field beans also, alternatively, with Ragi. These crops are cut in November and threshed in the last week of January or early February. Usually 'Navane' is the last to be threshed.

**Groundnut.**

A more intensive tilling of land is necessary in the case of groundnut and chillies, which are commercial crops.
The cultivators have a preference for iron ploughs which they sometimes borrow. This method of cultivation is done in January and requires for ploughing, one acre of land, the use of three pairs of Bullocks for a day and a half. If rains are help up, an implement called 'corodu' is used applying adequate pressure to break the clods. Later the field is ploughed once with an wooden plough. Then the 'haragu kunte' (harrow) is run over the field.

Just a few days prior to sowing, the land is cleared and levelled. If this process of cultivation is followed or manure had been spread during the previous year, then there will not be any need for spreading manure again. Otherwise, the land is ploughed thrice using the wooden plough at an interval of eight days and manure is spread to the field. The operation of 'haraguvadu' is carried on as explained under jowar. Sowing is done in the month of April. Seeds are dropped in pits with the help of a hallow bamboo piece. The harrow is drawn thereafter to cover the seeds with earth. Approximately 30-35 local seers of seed is required per acre.

In the month of June the plots are intercultivated twice allowing an interval of 10-15 days. Hand weeding is done in July. The crop ripens during September and as all the nuts are in a single cluster the plants are hand plucked by
labourers. The plant residue is stacked and used as fodder which the cattle relish greatly. Like this the operations for groundnut start during March and end in September. Being a commercial crop it is quite remunerative.

Chillies and Cotton

The preparation of land for growing of chillies and cotton is same to what has been explained for groundnut. In the first week of June, just before 'Mrigashira' rains, manure is spread to the field after being ploughed both lengthwise and breadthwise. The intersection of the two furrows is called 'guni'. Dry manure is spread to each 'guni'. Meantime seedlings of chillies are raised in a nursery. It is also not uncommon to purchase seedlings or sometime prepared themselves in the field. Transplanting is done during the last week of June or early July after sufficient rains, and the seedlings are planted at intervals of one and half feet. Twenty to twentyfive days are allowed for the seedlings to come up and get established.

Then interculture is done five to six times, each with an interval of four to six days. During the first and second interculture, a single harrow is used, while a double harrow is used during the remaining of the operations. These operations would be completed during August. Once the hand
weeding is done. immediately after 'Ashlesha' rains, cotton seeds are sown in the chillies plot (two seeds being put in the furrow at regular intervals). One month later, the plot is intercultivated twice. The picking of chillies commences during November and extends till the end of January. The ripe chillies are picked up once in a fortnight and dried in the open for four to five days.

Cotton is ready for picking by the second half of December. Three pickings are done at an interval of fifteen days.

Cotton is also grown as a single crop, not mixed with chillies. In a year, there are two periods for sowing cotton. If a cultivator wants to raise the first crop, he will commence preparing the land in the manner described before. About five cart loads of farmyard manure are usually spread for an acre of land. The manure may be either broadcast, or put in the pit as in the case of chillies. These operations would be over just before the commencement of the 'Rohini' rain. Sowing is done with 'Kurgi' having two drills to which bamboo hollow pipes (sadde) are tied behind, in case the manure is broadcast. Sowing is done either with the help of a 'Kurgi' or by dropping the seeds in the pit.
The latter method involves the use of lesser quantity of seeds. After one month the plots are intercultivated. This is done as usual at periodical intervals. Hand weeding is taken up once, sometime in the month of August. Flowering commences in November, and the appearance of the blossoms will continue till about the end of February. Picking is done once in eight days. If the weeding operations are not carried out and manure is not spread in adequate quantities the crop will naturally be poor.

The second crop is sown in August when 'Pushya' and 'Ashlesha' rains are expected. The operations are similar to the one in the first crop. The cotton blossoms during 'Pushya' i.e., December and continues till the end of February. The yield is less than the first crop.

Vegetables

Besides the seasonal crops they produce vegetables for consumption in the family and also for sale in the markets. Usually they grow vegetables like brinjal, beans, cucumber, tomato, onion, garlic, potato, cabbage etc. Some vegetables are grown on a large scale.

In the villages of our survey more number of Killekyatha families depend on agriculture. But the pattern of agriculture is neither extensive nor intensive.
Intensification of agriculture depends on the use of proper manure, irrigation facilities, sufficient healthy livestock, time punctuality and freedom from debt. A Killekyatha lacks all the requirements of intensive agriculture. The little pieces of land separated at a distance make intensive agriculture and use of modern methods, impossible. Thus some Killekyathas will borrow bullocks from one and a plough from the other.

Fishing

For the Killekyathas of Kushalpur, Agatoor and Bommagaripal, fishing is one of the most important occupation. The villages which are covered with a net work of rivers and streams, fish has become an important item of diet. During summer, the adults of the villages catch fish in the rivers while during other seasons. They catch it from the local stream. Another way of catching it, is to put a barrier against the stream in such a way that water passes to the other side of the barrier through only two small holes in it. After sunset fishes move through the current. The fishermen put traps near the small holes so that at night the fishes moving through the holes, fall into the trap, and are collected. The other indigenous method of catching fish is by net. As discussed earlier, nets are of several types. The most common method is by drift gill nets. These nets
FIGURE 6. OCCUPATION OF FISHING

Source: (Nayak, 1984 : 11)
consists of a wall of webbing held vertical by the weights at the bottom and supported by floats (burdes) at the top. The catching of fish in these nets is based on their swimming into the net and projecting their heads through the net-holes in the webbing. The mesh avoids the body of the fish from passing through. When the fish attempts to withdraw its head, the twine of the net passes forward and under the gill covers, thus preventing its escape by either forward or backward movement.

One more type is that of the trap in which the 'stake gill net' is fixed to three pieces of thick bamboo strips which form triangular frame. One of the strips protrudes, which serves as a handle. They hold the net in the water of a shallow stream and walk up the stream. After some distance, they raise it and catch the fish.

The catching of fish by poisoning is very easy to them. The poison for this purpose is got from the roots and bark of some trees. After powdering it they throw it into the stagnant water of either pond or into a certain part of a stream. As the fishes are drugged, their movements are slowed down, and are caught. This becomes a diet as well as a profitable sale.
SUBSIDIARY OCCUPATIONS

This is very difficult for an agriculturist to take out his living solely out of cultivation. It is true of a Killekyatha farmer as of other farmers. Two crops in a year are insufficient to provide him with a reasonable standard of living. This compels him to supplement agriculture with a subsidiary occupation.

Factory Work

In Bommagaripal and Kushalpur, when the pressure on land in a particular family is heavy, some of the males leave their village for employment in industrial cities. Whenever they are required in the village during crop period or monsoon they leave the job and return to the village. In general they serve in cities during summer when they have practically no work in the field.

Wood Cutting

Another subsidiary work is the cutting and selling of wood. The Killekyathas of Amarnathpur have abundant wood in forests around their locality. When they are free from agriculture labour and are in need of money, they engage themselves in this vocation. The 'peekjali', which is abundantly used as a fuel wood in this area, is also used for preparing charcoal for different purposes. During hard times
they remove the wood from the forest and sell it to the villagers or to the charcoal makers.

Poultry

In all villages Killekyatha families possesses a number of fowl. They form an item of their food and the eggs are cooked in many ways. No guest is supposed to be served well, without a fowl dish. The fowls are sold in the nearest market. The birds, destroy the insect pests in the fields and protect the crops from destruction. They know and diagnose some of their diseases and administer to them a few of the indigenous herbs. Despite the seeming importance of fowl, they do not take to this profession in a scientific or systematically arranged way. The fowls are collected and covered under a basket in the evening and are let loose next morning.

In the village of Agatoor, some attention is paid to rearing of fowls and there they provide cages at night for them. This saves them from the attack of some wild animals. In case any infectious disease among them is discovered, they visit the veterinary hospital for treatment.

Agriculture Labour

Under this, all the labourers engaged and entrusted to
any work of agriculture on the basis of daily payment in cash or kind or both come. From early morning to evening, except for the one hour lunch-break in between, they are always engaged in work. The labourers engaged in transplantaion of paddy seedlings get five 'seers' of grain, and the harvesting labourers get one bundle out of every twenty bundle (harvested). Females carry the work of weeding the grass and the harvesting the crop. The wages are subject to variation according to the law of demand and supply. During harvesting times the rates increase. While in summer when there is seasonal unemployment, the rates fall.

Animal Husbandry

Animal husbandry is also a household occupation needing the co-operation of all the members of the household. Some of the households rear livestock according to their needs and capacities. The larger the extent of land cultivated by a family, the more will be the livestock owned.

Special attention is paid to the feeding of bullocks as they do more strenuous work in the lands. They are usually fed on straw and varieties of bran. Between the months of March and July, when the work is heavy, the bullocks are also given cotton seeds, horsegram, split-ragi etc., twice a day. Split-ragi or split-horsegram are soaked over night in water and given to the Bullocks. They are fed on dry grass till
green grass becomes available.

Milch cows or buffaloes are given three feeds a day, green fodder when available is given plenty. Immediately after giving birth to a calf, the cow is given a feed of gruel of jowar, and a boiled mixture of split-horsegram and cotton seeds for a period of three or four days, but green fodder is avoided during this period. Daily she will be washed with warm water. Dry cows graze in the pasture. Milch buffaloes are fed on green grass, and other cattle feed. During dry period the feed is reduced and consists only of jowar stalks.

Preparation of Manure

Manure is important for the agriculturist to increase the productivity of the soil and prevent its impoverishment. The daily refuse of cattle is collected and is converted into manure. Usually a pair of bullocks yield 5 cart loads of manure per year, one buffalo about 4 cart loads and one cow about 2 cart loads. This is the most important source of supply of organic manure.

Manure acts as a catalytic agent in the healthy growth of crops when the soil by regular cultivation diminishes its fertility. It is composed of the dung of all the farm animals. The system is to collect the dung at a distance of
some 40 yards from the shed. In course of time the collected
dung which is mixed with the refuse from houses decomposes and
becomes manure.

By using Bullock carts, dung heap is taken to the
fields. Some Killekyathas do not seem to be very particular
about the usefulness of manure, for they carelessly use the
dung cakes as fuel.

Factory-made manure which is purchased from town is also
used by them. This manure includes, super phosphate,
aluminium sulphate, potash, urea etc., which are sold at
different rates. When once this manure is used it is to be
used every year in that field; otherwise, no crops will be
grown. It is felt by the experienced farmers that regular
use of this factory-made manure destroys the original
fertility of the soil. So, alternate use of 'Deshi Gobar'
(organic manure) is very necessary to protect the growing
capacity of the soil.

NOMADIC OCCUPATIONS:

The specialized occupations which have relevance on the
nomadism of the Killekyathas have been dealt here at some
length. Since several generations, the Killekyathas have
been following such occupations like fastening selvage of
blankets, performing leather puppet plays by men and
stitching quilts, tattooing by women.

**Fastening salvage of blankets**

In some of their neighbouring villages i.e., in Southern and middle Karnataka, the rural folk use cotton sheets (chadar) and blankets made of woolen (kambli) for their covering, while sleeping particularly during winter season. The selvages (kare) of Chadar and kambli are not stitched when they are manufactured at the looms and mills, as a result the threads of wool and cotton get loosened and torn. The threads at both the selveages need to be fastended by stitching or weaving so that the original threads do not come out, and thus the materials last longer. Since long, the Killekyathas have taken up the art of fastening salvages of blankets. The families who have taken up the job go to villages for providing this service, and when they find customers, bargain the charges for the service, and set to do the job. White and coloured threads are used for fastening to make their work more attractive.

For the operation of the fastening salvages of blankets, two persons are needed. The nomadic Killekyathas move with their wives and younger children. Wives assist their husbands in the work.

The thin threads are twined by means of a bobbin (takli)
and made into spools. The operation is done by manually interweaving the thread-ends of the blankets etc., with those used by the Killekyathas. Both sides of the material need such fastening. The time taken for such work is half an hour for one blanket or chadar.

**Leather Puppet Plays**

Except Amarnathpur, Killekyathas of other four villages of my survey possess number of leather puppets. The Killekyathas perform the plays in tune with the leather puppets, story telling and music. The stories narrated are from epics. But recently one of the Bellary district artist has given a TV programme by narrating a story regarding India’s independence war (Swatantra Sangram). In between the story narration certain local comics are also included. There are two types of plays viz., small leather puppet play 'Chikka Togalu Bombeyata' and large leather puppet play 'Dodda Togalu Bombeyata'.

For performance of small leather puppet play, the materials required are:

1. Two cots, 2. three blankets, 3. one thin quality headgear, 4. Oil lamp or electric lamp, 5. four bamboo poles, and 6. a few thorns of all (thorny babul tree). All these materials are procured from the rural folk, the
Killkeyatha artists bring with them the leather puppets and some of the musical instruments. The stage is arranged either on a raised platform, or by placing wooden planks on 2-3 empty drums if they are available and thus making a platform. On two sides the cots are placed horizontally at a distances of nearly eight feet. The front side is left for screen. A portion equivalent to one fourth of the white thin headgear is covered with a blanket and the other three fourth is draped so as to act as the screen. To avoid folds the screen is fixed with throns. The other three sides are fully covered with the blankets. The bamboo poles are tied to the cots vertically to hold the oil lamp. When bright light falls on leather puppets they reflect and shine on the white translucent screen. The artist sits at the place covered with blankets. While other artists like harmonium and tabla players and singers sit outside screen.

On the other hand, the stage of the 'Dodda Togalu Bombeyatadavaru' is built on a raised platform, and decorated with plantain and mango leaves. It is spacious enough to accommodate within its curtains the whole troupe, furnished with fiddle, drum, cymbals, etc. The women do the singing, while the men show the puppets over the curtain.

The plays from the epics often enacted are as described as such:
FIGURE 7. STAGE FOR PERFORMING LEATHER PUPPET PLAYS

Source: (Morab: 1977)
1. **Ramanyana**: Ramanayana comprising Dasarath’s plight, vanavasa (wanderings in the forests) of Rama, Rama Pattabhisheka (ascending of throne by Rama).

2. **Mahabharat**: Pagadi (Dice) play of the Pandavas and Kauravas, Aranya Parva (wanderings in forests), Virata Parva (one year of disguise) and Kurukshetra (battle between Pandavas and Kauravas)

More number of the leather puppets represent divine characters. The Killekyatha artists, however, keep in their possession a few puppets of human characters also which are needed for their narration of local anecdotes and comics for entertaining the audience. When Krishnaji from Surdi village was asked to give the list of leather puppets in his possession, he gave the following list:

1. **RAMAYANA**: Rama, Lakshamana, Bharat, Shatrughna, Dasharatha, Seeta, Surpanaki, Ravana, Vali, Hanumanta, Vasishtha, Vibhishana, Maricha, Sugriva, Kumbhakarna, Indrajit, Atikaya, Ahiravana, Mahiravana, Sukrachary, Lava, Kush, Baladevi etc.

2. **MAHABHARAT**: Dharmaraja, Bheema, Arjun, Nakula, Sahadeva, Shakuni, Duryodhana, Bhishma, Dusyasan, Drona, Shallya, Krishna, Balarama, Ganapati, Draupadi, Kunti etc.

3. **Animals And Birds. Etc.**: Deer, Eagle, Fish, Ashokvana, Mountain, two to three men and women characters are designed
PHOTO 21: LEATHER PUPPET OF HUNTERS OF WILD-PIG
PHOTO 22: LEATHER PUPPET OF RAVAN
(CHARACTER IN RAMAYANA)
PHOTO 23: LEATHER PUPPET OF DHASHARATHA (CHARACTER IN RAMAYANA)
PHOTO 24: LEATHER PUPPET OF VISHNU (IN SEARCHING OF DIAMOND)
PHOTO 25: LEATHER PUPPET OF RAMA
AND SITA (PLAYING DICE)
PHOTO 26: LEATHER PUPPET OF HORSE WHICH IS READY TO MOVE FOR 'ASHWAMEDHAYAGA'

(1725 A.D.)

Source: (Pandurangi, 1988: 98)
PHOTO 27: LEATHER PUPPET OF 'ASHWAMEDHAYAGA' HORSE WHICH IS TIED

Source: (Pandurangi, 1988: 101)
in leather puppets with a peculiar comical characters of those two important characters like of Killekyatha and his wife Bangarakka.

From this it is observed that most of the heroic characters of the epics are represented. For the purpose of leather puppet plays some amount of moving in villages is needed. Some artists of Surdi, Bommagaripal, Agatoor and Kushalpur have established good name for themselves as artists. The Killekyatha artists were found to posses leather puppets since several generations. At present no one is found to be making leather puppets. If the leather puppets get torn, they are to be replaced by better ones. Previously, a large number of leather puppets were available with the Killekyatha artists. But they were 'left in the water' whenever an artist stops performing, or often one's descendents taking to other calling. The idea of 'leaving the leather puppets in water' which became unfit for their plays is to destroy them. While sinking the leather puppets, worship is made by breaking a coconut and offering sweet dish.

The leather puppet performers move in villages and camp there. The villagers make contracts with them for a particular show. The charges for the show are generally two hundred fifty rupees. During festival days they have greater
demand and their earnings during that period are more. There is a belief that 'there will be plenty of rains if Killekyathas conducted the play, and hence during drought conditions people arrange their plays in the villages. Generally the plays start at 10.00 p.m. and end at 2.30 a.m.

Some of the Killekyathas have occasionally been given 'inams' for their profession, of which some exist in the Karnataka State, though the condition of service has been removed.

Drama Shows

There are some families in Agatoor, that the occupation of drama shows, taken by them, is quite strange. Here two-three families started a drama company and some of them are employed by neighbouring villages for drama coaching. These artists have all equipments like musical instruments, screens, hundreds of chairs, speaker sets etc. Ramadojirao along with his company moved to the villages of middle and Northern part of Karnataka. Whenever they camp in any village for their shows, they made all necessary arrangements like, suitable ground for tent, electricity etc. After that they went on announcing their arrival in the village by the drama's name which is to be staged. The charges for a show are usually in the series of five, ten and fifteen rupees for
one person. In each village they camped about one month. Then after earning they moved to another village.

**Stitching Quilt**

Of the nomadic families, women members follow the occupation of stitching quilts which helps them to supplement their incomes whenever they are on their movement along with their menfolk. In the villages, there is a great demand for the quilts which locally known as 'Koudis'. Torn pieces of various kinds of garments are collected from the parties wanting to have the quilts stitched. The quilts replace woollen blankets during winter season. The quilt is not only used for covering, but used also for spreading. Since the raw material that is torn out of rags are provided by the clients, the latter have to pay only the labour charges for stitching them into quilts. The women carry the work on contract basis, and the time taken for stitching each quilt is subject to variation.

There are three stages in preparing a quilt. In the first stage, the rags are soaked in water and then cut into pieces together in layers and stiched roughly. Later they are put up for drying. The second stage covers the stitching of the different layers, as usually, a quilt has three layers. In the third stage, with fine stitching, finishing is done. Since three stages are involved in preparing a
quilt, they usually take up the work stitching of more than two or three quilts at a time. It is estimated that on an average a woman stitches three quilts in a week.

**Tattooing**

So far as tattooing is concerned, Nanjundayya and Iyer (1935:440) state that, in Mysore both the sexes are tattooed by trained women of Kukke Koramas, Koravanji Koramas, Medars, Burde Besthas, Puppet show exhibitors of Maratha castes etc. Here Killekyathas are nothing but puppet show exhibitors of Maratta castes.

The question arises as to when the art of tattooing came very handy to the Killekyatha women? Morab (1977:27-28) states that "the art of tattooing became popular during the reign of Muslims in Karnatak and Maharastra especially when Shivaji established his principality and was fighting the Muslim chieftains. As a revenge the Maratha women were abducted by the Muslims. Since they too were Marathas, there was the danger of their women being abducted. Usually, the Muslims were not abducting women with marks made in dark colours. Women with tattoo marks were left scotfree. Therefore, these women learnt the art for saving themselves from the wrath of the Muslim's atrocities."
Whatever be the reason, when they got the job of tattooing, still many Killekyatha women earned ten to twenty-five rupees in a village per day. But it is said, that women of the younger generation are not taking up tattooing job. Table-6.1 shows that among nomadic families only women have said to follow it, and that too, as a subsidiary occupation. The causes adduced by elderly Killekyatha women were:

1) Formerly, large number of tattoos were a prestigious sign of women, now women do not bother for too many tattoo marks. They are contented with a symbolic sign on the forehead, hand etc;

2) This made some training from childhood because pricking by needle is to done without causing any pain;

3) The earnings have dwindled on account of the attitude of the settled people going in for fewer signs of tattoo.

These causes are responsible for decline in the number of Killekyatha tattooers.

The articles needed for tattooing are - the ink, a bunch of thin sharp needles and turmeric. The ink is prepared by collecting the suit by keeping an oil lamp. The client has to give a coconut, camphor or sandal sticks. The tattooer offer worship to their deities and begin the operation.
First, the tattooer draws the design by the ink and then starts the tattooing by the needles. After its completion turmeric is sprinkled on the tattoos which heals the wound. The charges depend upon the number and size of the tattoos. Generally the charges vary between ten to fifteen rupees. They know a few designs like the Scorpion, Sword, Chariot, Maruti (deity), Peacocks etc. Some women prefer to have long strap tattooings on their forehead while others have round marks on their forehead in between the eyebrows for applying vermilion.

AREA OF MOVEMENT OF THE NOMADIC FAMILIES

Nomadism, is a way of life of the people who do not live continually in the same place, but move cyclically or periodically. It is distinguished from migration, which is noncyclic and involves a total change of habitat. Nomadism does not imply unrestricted and undirected wandering but focusses on temporary centres whose stability depends on the availability of food supply and technology for exploiting it. The term 'nomad' covers three general types: nomadic hunters and gatherers, pastoral nomads, and tinker or trader nomads.

Although hunting and gathering generally imposes a degree of nomadism on a people, it may range from daily movements, as among some Kalahari Bushmen, to monthly,
quarterly, or semi-annual shifts of habitat. In areas where resources are abundant or where there are storage facilities, populations may be more or less stable. Nomadic hunters and gatherers are usually organised into small, isolated bands that move through a delimited territory where they know the water holes, the location of plants, and the habits of games.

Pastoral nomads, who depend on domesticated live-stock, migrate in an established territory to find pasturage for their animals. Most groups have focal sites which they occupy for a considerable period of the year. Pastoralists may depend entirely on their herds or may also hunt or gather, practice some agriculture or trade or with agricultural people for grain and other goods. Some semi-nomadic groups in Southwest Asia and North-Africa cultivate crops between seasonal moves. The patterns of pastoral nomadism are many, often depending on the type of livestock, the topography, and the climate. Some nomadic groups are associated with a larger society but maintain their mobile way of life. These include tinker or trader nomads, who may also make and sell simple products, hunt, or hire out as labourers (Philip, 1988:753).

We find a number of non-pastoral nomadic groups in India who also move from place to place. Their movements are organised in search of work. Bose (1956:5) has shown
thus- "... along with the castes who practise settled forms of life in rural India, there are quite a few who form there complement and who have more or less nomadic form of existence. This nomadism is unlike the nomadism of pastoral people is so far as the dependence is not so much on animals as in the latter case, and the movements are guided by the needs of trade rather by the needs of food of the animals reared". As has been discussed earlier, the Killekyatha's movements are mainly guided by the consideration of getting work for their livelihood.

Here an attempt will be made to precisely demarcate the area of movement of the Killekyathas. The main questions relevant to the study, namely, area of movement, period of movement, mode of movement etc., are dealt with in the schedule discussed here. Since the Killekyathas move in individual families, the method of interview was adopted to get detailed information in each case.

The Killekyathas move from one village to the other, generally starting from their village which they consider as their permanent places since long and return to their permanent places periodically. When the data of the past years was taken in each case, they told the names of prominent villages. In order to get a picture of the areas where each family moved, names of the prominent villages and
the talukas where they are situated were ascertained. Table-6.4 gives the number of nomadic families moving in different talukas of different districts.

Table No. 6.4

Area of the nomadic Killekyathas

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of the district</th>
<th>Name of the Taluka</th>
<th>Number of individual families visiting the talukas</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1) Dharwar</td>
<td>Navalgund</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Naragund</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dharwar</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hubli</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hangal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Haveri</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kalghatagi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gadag</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2) Raichur</td>
<td>Manvi</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sindhanur</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Deodurg</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Koppal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gangavati</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kushtagi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Raichur</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yelburga</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3) Bellary</td>
<td>Hadagali</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bellary</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4) Kolar</td>
<td>Bagepalli</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gudibande</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gauribidanur</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sidlaghatta</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Chikkaballapur</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kolar</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bangarpet</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mulbagal</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5) Coorg</td>
<td>Somwarpet</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total :5</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
There are cases of a few families moving in other talukas also, but they may be taken as individual cases of occurrences where the concerned families have established contacts and have been found to be moving. The nomadic Killekyatha families move in a particular taluka and visit those villages where they would be finding work. Bigger villages are found to be convenient both for stay and getting work and from such bigger villages they move to smaller villages in the neighbourhood during the day time and return to their temporary camps. Some of the Killekyathas have proved to be well versed in the fine arts like singing, playing instruments, acting etc. For example Krishnappa, Maruti, Shrishail of Surdi village participates in the prayers (bhajans) held in the villages. While Ramdoji rao and his company of Agatoor have staged many dramas. Women also participate in the singing of folk songs (shobhan) on such occasions like child birth, marriage, and puberty ceremonies held in the houses of some other castes. While the Killekyathas provide their service on cash payments; sometimes they get payment in kind as a gesture of friendship of those with whom they have developed intimacy. In times of illness, close acquaintances among other communities in the villages take care in providing medicines etc.
The Killekyathas find it useful to move in specific areas every year. The taluka or its neighbourhood where they move are broadly fixed. Sometimes, there may be small variation. For instance, if a family wishes to return to their villages for attending marriages, or for any other reasons, there may be a termination or slight change in the route. In most cases they move in areas where they are known. In this way their movements are repetitive.

Length and Mode of Movement

The nomadic families were found to be moving since several years. To the query regarding this, the response was in terms of approximate years. The table-6.5 shows the length of their movement.

Table no: 6.5

Nomadic families and their length of movement

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl.No</th>
<th>Years of movement</th>
<th>No.of families</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Between 10-20 Years</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>29.42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Between 21-30 Years</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>35.29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>More than 30 Years</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>35.29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is observed that 70.58%(24 families) were found to be
moving since more than twenty years. This indicates that among the nomadic families, there is continuity in leading nomadic life. Children of the nomadic families from early age become accustomed to leading nomadic life as they would be moving along with their parents. As they grow up they gradually learn the nomadic professions of their parents from very early age and generally follow their elder’s professions.

The Killekyathas move from one village to the other on foot. Some own horses. They carry their belongings which consists of a few utensils and clothes. If the distance from one place to another is more than ten miles, those who do not have horses, go by buses. For example, when one desires to move into Naragund and Navalgund talukas of Dharwar district, one takes recourse to walking from one village to the other. In case, if one wants to go to Kalghatgi or Hangal talukas of the same districts, they use to go by bus since these places are too far. Those who follow the profession of fastening selvages of blankets and conducting leather puppet plays, personal baggages are very few and members of the family can carry them easil y. The baggages of the people engaged in drama activities are heavy. In such cases they carry their luggages by truck. This is the economy of movements of nomadic Killekyathas in Karnataka as studied by the researcher.