



BONALU, VILLAGE GODDESS WORSHIP AND LIVING CULTURAL HERITAGE: A STUDY OF POCHAMMA WORSHIP AT WADDEPALLY, HANUMAKONDA

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Abstract:

Bonalu is one of the significant ritual traditions associated with Telangana's cultural landscape. Although its contemporary public form is frequently associated with the worship of Mahankali and other manifestations of the Mother Goddess, its ritual vocabulary also intersects with the older and more localized traditions of village-deity worship. This paper examines *Bonalu* through a historical-anthropological study of *Pochamma* worship at Waddepally in Hanumakonda. It combines field observations, oral testimony, ritual descriptions and local historical information with anthropological approaches to village religion, goddess worship, ritual performance, cultural memory and processes of religious transformation.

The study argues that *Bonalu* at Waddepally cannot be understood merely as a religious festival. It constitutes a complex cultural system in which household devotion, village protection, women's ritual participation, food offerings, animal sacrifice, sacred objects, folk performance, processions and community memory converge. The transformation of *Pochamma* from a relatively localized village deity into an image-based goddess, while retaining elements such as the stone representation of *Poturaju*, animal offerings, neem symbolism and localized ritual practices, illustrates the dynamic interaction between localized religious traditions and wider Shakta and Hindu religious forms.

Particular attention is given to the ritual relationship between *Pochamma* and *Poturaju*, the preparation and offering of *Bonam*, the practice of *Saaka*, animal sacrifice, the *Palaharam Bandi* procession and the embodied performance of *Poturajus*. The paper further examines the role of women and non-Brahmin ritual specialists and considers the festival as a form of intangible cultural heritage. Rather than viewing village-deity worship as a static survival of an ancient past, the study interprets it as a continually reconstructed religious and social institution whose meanings are negotiated by communities in changing historical circumstances.

Keywords: *Bonalu*, *Pochamma*, Telangana, village goddess, *Poturaju*, folk religion, oral history, ritual, cultural heritage, historical, Waddepally.

1. Introduction

Cultural traditions provide important ways through which communities express collective identity, social belonging and historical memory. Festivals occupy a particularly significant position in this process because they bring together ritual, food, dress, performance, music, gender relations, religious belief and community participation. In Telangana, *Bonalu* occupies an important place within this cultural landscape alongside *Bathukamma* and several regional and local festivals.

Bonalu is generally celebrated during *Ashadam* and is associated particularly with the worship of *Mahankali* and a range of mother-goddess traditions, including *Pochamma*, *Yellamma*, *Maisamma* and other local deities. Government cultural sources describe the *Bonam* as an offering of food prepared in a decorated earthen or brass vessel, traditionally carried by women to the goddess. The festival also includes *Poturaju* performances, processions and, in some traditions, oracular practices. Thus, *Bonalu* combines household ritual with public performance and collective religious activity.



Pochamma Temple & Pochamma Idol of Waddepally

The present study shifts the analytical focus from the large and highly visible urban *Bonalu* celebrations to a localized village context. It examines the worship of *Pochamma* at Waddepally in Hanumakonda and asks how a village goddess is remembered, worshipped and represented in contemporary Telangana. Waddepally Village in Warangal, Telangana, India, is located at approximately 17.9814° N latitude and 79.5539° E longitude. This village is located approximately 20 kilometres from the Warangal Fort, 10 kilometres from the Warangal railway station, and 4 kilometres from the Kazipet railway junction, which connects the major urban centres of Hyderabad, Chennai, and Nagpur.

The field material demonstrates that *Pochamma* worship incorporates several layers of religious practice. The goddess is now represented by an image within a small shrine, but the ritual complex surrounding her retains features associated with localized village-deity traditions. The stone representation of *Poturaju*, the use of neem leaves, food offerings, *Saaka*, animal offerings and the participation of women all point towards a ritual system in which the goddess is simultaneously understood as a protector of the locality, a recipient of vows and offerings, and a figure with connections to household devotion.

The study therefore approaches *Bonalu* not simply as a “festival” but as a cultural institution. It asks how ritual practices preserve historical memory while simultaneously adapting to contemporary social conditions.

2. Research Objectives

The principal objectives of the study are:

1. To examine the historical and cultural significance of *Bonalu* in Telangana.
2. To analyse the relationship between *Bonalu* and village-deity worship.
3. To examine the ritual traditions associated with *Pochamma* at Waddepally.
4. To document the preparation and offering of *Bonam* and related ritual foods.
5. To analyse the ritual relationship between *Pochamma* and *Poturaju*.
6. To examine animal sacrifice as a component of vow fulfilment and goddess worship.
7. To study the *Palaharam Bandi* procession and *Poturaju* performances.



8. To examine women's participation in *Bonalu* and the production of ritual meaning.
9. To investigate the transformation of a localized village shrine through image worship and institutional reconstruction.
10. To interpret *Bonalu* as an example of living and continuously reconstructed intangible cultural heritage.

3. Sources and Methodology

This study is based primarily on field material collected at Waddepally in Hanumakonda. The research employs a qualitative historical-anthropological methodology combining field observation, oral testimony, ritual documentation and local historical information.

The field investigation focused on the *Pochamma* shrine, ritual practices during the *Bonalu* season, the preparation and offering of food, the role of *Poturaju*, animal offerings, the *Palaharam Bandi* procession and the participation of women.

The supplied field material records interviews with women from the Waddepally Smt. Poloju Aruna, aged 43, Smt. Kassubojjula Yakalakshmi, aged 40, Smt. Marubaka Radha, aged 55 years, Smt. Maturi Aruna, aged 40, Smt. Marubaka Priyanka, aged 29 and Sri. Dasyam Vinaya Bhaskar, Aged 55, etc.

The material also identifies women associated with ritual service at the shrine: Danchanala Ananthalakshmi, aged 62, Danchanala Saraswathi, aged 50, Danchanala Maniyamma, aged 48, Danchanala Rani, aged 37 and Danchanala Sarala, aged 45.



Priests of Pochamma Goddesses

We also interviewed men who were dressed as *Poturajus*, namely Mr. Makkala Sandeep, aged 31, and Mr. Shivanna Gari Balesh, aged 36. etc.

The field notes identify the interviewed women and ritual specialists by name, age, locality and social background. Such information is particularly valuable because it allows the researcher to analyse ritual knowledge as embodied and socially transmitted knowledge rather than merely as an abstract description of religious practice.

The methodology may be characterized as participant observation combined with oral history and ritual ethnography. The researcher observed the shrine, offerings, ritual objects, procession, *Poturaju* performances and associated practices. Oral testimony was used to understand local interpretations of the deity and ritual.

At the same time, oral testimony must be treated critically. Community narratives are important historical sources, but they represent remembered and meaningful interpretations rather than automatically verifiable historical facts. Accordingly,



the paper distinguishes between: local belief, oral tradition, field observation, local historical information, and interpretations supported by wider scholarship.

4. Historiographical and Theoretical Framework:

4.1 Village Deities and Local Religious Worlds:

Village-deity traditions occupy an important place in the anthropology of South Asian religion. Earlier scholarship frequently described village gods and goddesses as remnants of pre-Brahmanical or “primitive” religion. Such evolutionary terminology is now regarded as problematic because it places different religious traditions within a simplistic hierarchy of development.

A more useful approach is to understand village deities as localized religious institutions. They may be associated with particular settlements, territories, families, occupational groups, ecological environments, diseases, fertility, protection and collective well-being.

H. Whitehead's *The Village Gods of South India* remains an important early ethnographic study of village-deity traditions, although its theoretical vocabulary reflects the intellectual context of early twentieth-century anthropology. Later anthropologists have complicated this framework by demonstrating that local goddesses are not isolated from wider Hindu traditions but interact with them through processes of reinterpretation, incorporation and ritual transformation.

The Waddepally evidence is particularly useful in this respect. *Pochamma* cannot be placed neatly into a binary distinction between “folk” and “classical” religion. Her worship incorporates both localized ritual features and an increasingly formalized image-based representation.

4.2 Sanskritization and Religious Transformation:

M. N. Srinivas's concept of Sanskritization provides one possible framework for understanding changes in local religious practice. Srinivas originally developed the concept from fieldwork in South India and used it to describe processes through which communities adopted practices, beliefs and ritual forms associated with socially prestigious groups.

However, the transformation observed at Waddepally should not automatically be described as Sanskritization. The evidence indicates a shift from an older symbolic representation of the goddess towards an image-based shrine, but the field material does not establish that this transformation was caused specifically by Brahmanical influence.

A more cautious interpretation is ritual institutionalization and religious incorporation. The local goddess retains her territorial identity and traditional ritual relationships while acquiring features associated with a more formal temple tradition.

The recent study of *Peddamma* worship in South India is useful in this context because it demonstrates how localized mother-goddess traditions can be incorporated into wider Sanskritic religious frameworks while retaining elements of their local identity.

5. Historical Background of Mother-Goddess and Village-Deity Worship:

The supplied material connects village-deity worship with the long history of female divinity, agricultural society and localized religious traditions. It refers to prehistoric female figurines from Harappan archaeological contexts and interprets some of them as evidence for mother-goddess worship.

This interpretation requires caution. Archaeological figurines cannot automatically be identified as representations of a mother goddess merely because they possess female characteristics. The function and meaning of many prehistoric



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figurines remain contested. Therefore, rather than establishing an unbroken religious continuity from the Indus civilization to contemporary Telangana, it is methodologically safer to speak of recurring themes of female sacred power, fertility and protection while recognizing that the historical connections between specific ancient figurines and modern village goddesses cannot be demonstrated conclusively.

Similarly, the proposition that village-goddess worship directly originated from a prehistoric matriarchal social order should not be treated as an established historical fact. Modern anthropology generally rejects simple evolutionary sequences in which societies are assumed to have moved universally from matriarchy to patriarchy.

Nevertheless, the association of female deities with fertility, agricultural well-being, disease protection, territorial protection and household welfare is historically significant. These themes remain visible in many South Indian goddess traditions.

The village goddess therefore needs to be understood through her social function. She is not merely an abstract theological figure. She may represent the well-being of a settlement, the protection of households, the management of danger and disease, and the continuity of community identity.

6. Village Goddess Worship in Telangana:

Telangana possesses a rich network of local goddess traditions. Popular traditions identify several female deities as sisters or related figures, including *Pochamma*, *Maisamma*, *Balamma*, *Yellamma*, *Mutyalamma*, *Mahankalamma* and *Peddamma*. *Poturaju* is frequently represented in popular religious narratives as the brother or protective male counterpart of the Mother Goddess.

The relationship between the goddess and *Poturaju* is particularly important for understanding *Bonalu*. It demonstrates that the ritual system is organized through a gendered sacred relationship in which the female deity embodies divine power and the male figure performs a protective and performative function.

The Telangana government's cultural description of *Bonalu* similarly emphasizes the worship of Mahakali and related local goddesses and identifies *Poturaju* as an important figure in festival processions.

Thus, *Bonalu* can be understood as a ritual system linking: goddess → household → offering → protection → procession → performance → community.

7. *Pochamma* of Waddepally:

7.1 The Shrine:

Waddepally, in Hanumakonda, provides a valuable micro-level case study of village-goddess worship.

According to the field observations, the *Pochamma* shrine is relatively small, measuring approximately five to six feet in length and width. The scale of the shrine differs from large institutional temples and corresponds more closely to the localized character of many village-deity shrines.

The present form of *Pochamma* is significant because the goddess is represented by an image rather than simply by a tree, tree stump or unworked stone. This suggests a transformation in the material representation of the deity.

Yet the transformation has not erased older ritual symbolism. Immediately opposite the shrine is a stone representation of *Poturaju*. Thus, the ritual landscape preserves a distinction between the image-based female deity and the natural-stone male protective figure.



This juxtaposition is analytically important. It suggests that religious change does not necessarily involve the complete replacement of older ritual forms. Instead, new forms can be added to existing sacred landscapes.

7.2 Pochamma as Village and Family Goddess:

Local understandings represented in the field material identify *Pochamma* as a village deity and boundary/protective goddess. At the same time, the shrine has acquired a family dimension.

This illustrates the multiple scales at which a local deity operates. She can simultaneously be: a village goddess, a territorial protector, a recipient of household vows, a deity associated with individual families, and a participant in the wider cultural system of *Bonalu*.

The distinction between “village deity” and “family deity” is therefore not necessarily rigid. Religious relationships may expand from household to locality and from locality to household.

8. Bonam as Ritual Food and Sacred Exchange:

The central ritual object of *Bonalu* is the *Bonam*, literally connected with food or a meal offered to the goddess.

The Telangana government's description similarly identifies *Bonam* as a food offering prepared with rice and associated ingredients in a decorated earthen or brass vessel. Women traditionally carry these vessels to the goddess.



A Women with Bonam

At Waddepally, the field observations record a diverse range of offerings, including: 1) turmeric rice, 2) leafy vegetable preparations, 3) curd rice, 4) sweet *Pongal*, 5) dal-based food, 6) jaggery, 7) onions and dried chillies, and 8) coconuts.



Offerings to Goddesses

These offerings are significant because food is transformed from an ordinary household necessity into a sacred gift.



The *Bonam* may therefore be interpreted through the anthropological concept of ritual exchange. The devotee offers food to the goddess, while the goddess is believed to provide protection, fulfilment of vows and well-being.

This exchange is not simply economic. It is emotional, symbolic and relational. The devotee's offering expresses gratitude, dependence, obligation and hope.

The preparation of the *Bonam* also brings household labour into the religious sphere. Women participate centrally in preparing, decorating and carrying the offering. Thus, women's domestic labour becomes publicly visible as religious agency.

9. Women and Ritual Agency:

One of the most important dimensions of *Bonalu* is women's participation.

The field observations at Waddepally indicate that women play a major role in the preparation and offering of *Bonam*. This is consistent with wider descriptions of *Bonalu* in Telangana, where women carry decorated vessels containing the food offering.

Women should not therefore be treated merely as passive participants in a male-controlled ritual system. Their role involves: 1) preparation of sacred food, 2) ritual decoration, 3) carrying the *Bonam*, 4) making vows, 5) participating in collective worship, 6) transmitting ritual knowledge, 7) and maintaining household religious continuity.

The women interviewed for this study are particularly important from a methodological perspective because they represent multiple generations of ritual memory.

Their participation demonstrates that religious knowledge is transmitted not only through formal religious instruction but also through everyday practice and intergenerational learning.

This makes *Bonalu* an important site for studying gendered cultural transmission.

10. Neem, Turmeric and Ritual Materiality:

Ritual objects are not merely decorative elements. They participate in the production of sacred meaning.

Neem leaves occupy a prominent position in *Bonalu*. The *Bonam* vessel may be decorated with neem leaves, while neem garlands are also used in local ritual practice.

Turmeric similarly occupies an important place. At Waddepally, turmeric water is associated with ritual movement and the treatment of animals brought for vows.

Anthropologically, these materials can be studied as part of the material culture of religion. Their meanings emerge through repeated ritual use and community interpretation.

Rather than assigning a single universal meaning to neem or turmeric, it is preferable to recognize that their significance is produced within particular ritual contexts. Their repeated association with goddess worship, purification, protection and auspiciousness gives them a recognizable place within the ritual vocabulary of the community.

11. Saaka and the Sacred Offering:

One distinctive practice documented in Waddepally is *Saaka*.



A bamboo pole is fitted with two vessels, one at either end, and the vessels contain jaggery-based liquid or *Panakam*. This structure resembles a *Kavadi* and is locally called *Saaka Kavadi* or *Teertha Kavadi*.

The offering of this liquid is described as *Saaka Poyadam*.



Saka Offerings

The practice demonstrates how ritual movement, material objects and food are combined. The two vessels, bamboo structure and bodily carrying of the offering transform a simple food substance into a public ritual object.

The subsequent preservation of the vessels on the upper portion of the shrine is also significant. According to local belief, these vessels serve as evidence of vows fulfilled by devotees.

Here ritual objects become material records of religious memory.

The objects do not merely disappear after the ceremony. Their continued presence provides a visible archive of past devotional acts.

12. Animal Offering and Vow Fulfilment:

Animal sacrifice constitutes one of the most complex dimensions of village-goddess worship.

The Waddepally field observations record the offering of goats, sheep and poultry in fulfilment of vows. Animals brought for sacrifice may be decorated with neem garlands and sprinkled with turmeric water. Jaggery-based *Saaka* is also given to them before they are taken to the shrine.

The field material further records that the animals are sacrificed at a designated location and that, unlike some traditions, a large communal feast does not necessarily follow the sacrifice.



Animal offerings to Goddesses



This is an important observation because it demonstrates the need to avoid assuming that all village-goddess traditions follow the same ritual sequence.

Animal sacrifice has often been interpreted through the framework of propitiation: the devotee gives something of value to the deity in fulfilment of a vow. However, the meaning of sacrifice cannot be reduced to a single explanation. It can involve: 1) fulfilment of vows, 2) gratitude, 3) exchange, 4) protection, 5) the management of perceived danger, 6) community tradition, 7) and relationships between devotees and the deity.

Contemporary scholarship also shows that ritual practices such as sacrifice are frequently subject to changing legal, ethical and social interpretations. Therefore, the Waddepally practice should be documented ethnographically without reducing it either to “primitive survival” or to a purely theological explanation.

13. *Poturaju*: Sacred Brother and Ritual Performer:

The relationship between *Pochamma* and *Poturaju* is one of the most striking elements of the Waddepally ritual complex.

The *Poturaju* representation opposite the shrine is made of stone, while the living *Poturajus* participating in the procession appear as highly embodied performers.

The field observations record *Poturajus* wearing: 1) turmeric over the body, 2) large vermilion marks, 3) black kohl around the eyes, 4) flower garlands, 5) ankle bells, 6) a short red dhoti, 7) decorative beads, 8) and a turmeric-coloured rope or whip.

Their performances combine movement, sound, colour and bodily intensity.

Poturaju's performance produces several simultaneous emotions: devotion, excitement, awe and sometimes fear.

His role can therefore be interpreted as a form of ritual mediation. He stands between the sacred and the social worlds, accompanying the goddess while simultaneously interacting with devotees.

The use of the body is particularly important. The *Poturaju's* body becomes a ritual medium through which the sacred is made visible and emotionally experienced.

The performance therefore deserves to be understood as a form of embodied folk theatre as well as religious ritual.



Procession of Potharajus



14. The Palaharam Bandi Procession:

On 6th September 2026, the final *Bonalu* programme recorded in the field notes at Waddepally included the *Palaharam Bandi* procession.

The procession began near the Subedari Mandal office area. *Poturajus* were ceremonially welcomed and accompanied the procession with drums and performances.

The *Palaharam Bandi* was drawn or accompanied by sheep, and the procession proceeded towards the *Pochamma* shrine.

At the temple, devotees welcomed the goddess with food offerings, coconuts and lamps. *Poturajus* performed circumambulation and ritual actions involving pumpkins and coconuts before the procession concluded.

The procession transforms the goddess from a localized shrine presence into a mobile public presence.

This movement is anthropologically significant.

The shrine represents sacred locality, whereas the procession represents sacred mobility.

Through procession, the community temporarily transforms public space into ritual space.

Ordinary roads and neighbourhoods become part of the sacred geography of the festival.

15. Ritual Performance and Collective Emotion:

The *Palaharam Bandi* procession demonstrates that *Bonalu* is not solely a visual spectacle. It is an intensely sensory ritual.

The experience includes: 1) drum rhythms, 2) movement, 3) colour, 4) turmeric, 5) flowers, 6) food, 7) animal presence, 8) bodily performance, 9) chanting, 10) procession, 11) and collective participation.



Offerings to Goddesses

Victor Turner's concept of ritual performance and *communitas* provides one possible theoretical framework for understanding such events, although the Waddepally evidence also demonstrates the persistence of social differentiation within ritual participation.

During the festival, ordinary distinctions may be temporarily reconfigured through collective participation. At the same time, ritual roles remain differentiated according to gender, family, caste/community background and ritual responsibility.



The festival therefore simultaneously produces collective unity and social differentiation.

16. Caste, Ritual Service and Religious Authority:

The field material identifies women from the Vadrangi and Kammari communities among those interviewed and identifies two Kammari women associated with ritual service.

This is important because it demonstrates that the religious institution cannot be analysed solely through the lens of Brahmanical priesthood.

Village-goddess traditions often have ritual specialists drawn from locally significant non-Brahmin communities. Richard Brubaker's study of South Indian village goddesses similarly draws attention to the role of occupational communities such as barbers and washermen in ritual service.

The Waddepally evidence therefore contributes to a broader anthropological observation: ritual authority is historically distributed across local communities rather than being monopolized by a single priestly category.

This also challenges a simplistic opposition between “Hindu temple religion” and “folk religion.” Local religious institutions possess their own ritual specialists, histories and systems of authority.

17. Religious Transformation and the *Pochamma* Shrine:

The reported reconstruction of the *Pochamma* shrine on 5th April 1971 is particularly significant.

According to local information recorded in the field material, Sri Dasyam Rangaiah reconstructed the temple at that time, and the present image-based form of worship may have been associated with this transformation.

The transformation may be conceptualized as: local sacred presence → shrine reconstruction → image installation → institutional worship → family patronage → expanded public festival.

Such a process would illustrate how local religious traditions adapt rather than disappear.

The goddess does not cease to be a village deity because she acquires an image. Instead, the new form becomes incorporated into the existing religious landscape.

18. From Local Goddess to Broader Cultural Identity:

Bonalu today occupies a much wider cultural field than its localized ritual contexts.

Government cultural institutions present *Bonalu* as an important festival of Telangana and identify it with the state's broader cultural heritage. In 2014, following the formation of Telangana state, *Bonalu* was officially recognized as the state festival.

This development is historically significant because it demonstrates the movement of a regional religious practice into the domain of state-sponsored cultural identity.

There are therefore several overlapping levels of *Bonalu*: 1) Household *Bonalu* – the preparation and offering of food. 2) Village *Bonalu* – worship of the local deity.

19. Continuity and Change:

The Waddepally evidence demonstrates that continuity does not mean unchanged ritual practice.



Several older elements remain visible: 1) village-goddess identity, 2) territorial protection, 3) *Poturaju*, 4) stone symbolism, 5) neem, 6) food offerings, 7) animal vows, 8) women's participation, 9) oral transmission, 10) local ritual specialists.

At the same time, several elements indicate change: 1) image-based goddess worship, 2) temple reconstruction, 3) brass and copper vessels alongside earthen pots, 4) use of paper plates, 5) integration of family patronage, 6) expanded public procession, 7) modern administrative/public spaces as starting points for ritual movement.

The festival should therefore be understood through the concept of dynamic continuity.

Traditions survive precisely because communities modify them.

20. Bonalu as Intangible Cultural Heritage

The UNESCO concept of intangible cultural heritage emphasizes living practices, knowledge, skills, rituals and expressions transmitted between generations and continuously recreated by communities.

Bonalu fits this conceptual framework particularly well. Its heritage dimensions include:

Ritual knowledge: Knowledge of preparing and offering *Bonam*.

Oral tradition: Stories concerning the goddess, *Poturaju* and the origin of ritual practices.

Food heritage: Traditional rice, jaggery, curd, leafy preparations and other offerings.

Material culture: Earthen pots, brass vessels, neem decorations, bamboo *Saaka Kavadi* and ritual objects.

Performing arts: Drumming, *Poturaju* dance and procession.

Social organization: Participation of families, ritual specialists and neighbourhood groups.

Gendered cultural transmission: Women's central role in the preparation and transmission of ritual knowledge.

Community memory: Local narratives concerning the shrine and its reconstruction.

Bonalu is therefore better understood as **living heritage** rather than simply as an inherited religious custom.

21. Conclusion:

Bonalu is much more than a festival of goddess worship. It is a complex cultural institution through which communities reproduce religious beliefs, social relationships, gendered knowledge, food traditions, material culture, ritual performance and collective memory.

The Waddepally worship of *Pochamma* provides a particularly valuable case for understanding this complexity. The goddess is simultaneously a village protector, recipient of vows, household deity and participant in a wider regional tradition of Mother-Goddess worship.

The shrine itself reflects historical transformation. The present image-based representation exists alongside the stone representation of *Poturaju* and other ritual practices associated with localized goddess traditions. This coexistence demonstrates that religious change is rarely a complete replacement of one system by another. Rather, communities incorporate new forms into older ritual landscapes.



The *Bonam*, *Saaka Kavadi*, neem decorations, food offerings, animal vows, *Poturaju* performances and *Palaharam Bandi* procession collectively constitute a rich ritual system. The festival creates a temporary sacred geography in which streets, public spaces, households and shrines become interconnected.

Women's participation is particularly important. Through preparing offerings, carrying *Bonam*, making vows and transmitting ritual knowledge, women act as important custodians of cultural memory.

Bonalu therefore deserves to be studied simultaneously as a religious festival, a system of community organization, a form of gendered cultural transmission, an embodied performance tradition and a living expression of Telangana's cultural heritage.

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- Ministry of Tourism, Government of India. *Utsav* portal. "*Bonalu*."

Primary Field Material:

- Field observations and oral interviews conducted at Waddepally, Hanumakonda, during the *Bonalu* festival season, 2026.
- Smt. Danchanala Ananthalakshmi W/o Gajender, Caste: Vadrangi (Carpenter), Age: 62 years, Village: Waddepally, Mandal: Hanumakonda, District: Hanumakonda, interview on 9th August 2026 & 6th September 2026.
- Smt. Danchanala Saraswathi W/o Sadakar, Caste: Vadrangi (Carpenter), Age: 50 years, Village: Waddepally, Mandal: Hanumakonda, District: Hanumakonda, interview on 9th August 2026 & 6th September 2026.



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Smt. Danchanala Maniamma W/o Samendar, Caste: Vadrangi (Carpenter), Age: 48 years, Village: Waddepally, Mandal: Hanumakonda, District: Hanumakonda, interview on 9th August 2026 & 6th September 2026.

Smt. Danchanala Rani W/o Srinivas, Caste: Vadrangi (Carpenter), Age: 37 years, Village: Waddepally, Mandal: Hanumakonda, District: Hanumakonda, interview on 6th September 2026.

Smt. Danchanala Sarala W/o Sambaiah, Caste: Vadrangi (Carpenter), Age: 45 years, Village: Waddepally, Mandal: Hanumakonda, District: Hanumakonda, interview on 1st August 2026 & 6th September 2026.

Smt. Poloju Aruna W/o Srinivas, Caste: Kammari (Blacksmith), Age: 43 years, Village: Waddepally, Mandal: Hanumakonda, District: Hanumakonda, interview on 1st August 2026.

Smt. Kassubojjula Yakalakshmi W/o Ramesh, Caste: Kammari (Blacksmith), Age: 40 years, Village: Waddepally, Mandal: Hanumakonda, District: Hanumakonda, interview on 30th August 2026.

Smt. Marubaka Radha W/o Ravi, Caste: Kummari (Potter), Age: 55 years, Village: Waddepally, Mandal: Hanumakonda, District: Hanumakonda, interview on 16th August 2026.

Smt. Maturi Aruna W/o Prashanth, Caste: Gouds, Age: 40 years, Village: Waddepally, Mandal: Hanumakonda, District: Hanumakonda, interview on 30th August 2026.

Smt. Marubaka Priyanka W/o Sandeep, Caste: Kummari (Potter), Age: 29 years, Village: Waddepally, Mandal: Hanumakonda, District: Hanumakonda, interview on 16th August 2026.

Sri. Dasyam Vinaya Bhaskar, Ex. MLA S/o Rangaiah, Age 55 years, Village: Waddepally, Mandal: Hanumakonda, District: Hanumakonda, interview on 19th July 2026 & 6th September 2026.

Sri. Makkala Sandeep, Caste: Vadde, Age: 31 years, Village: Secunderabad New Boyaguda, Hyderabad, interview on 6th September 2026.

Sri. Shivanna Gari Balesh, Caste: Madiga, Age: 36 years, Village: Secunderabad New Boyaguda, Hyderabad, interview on 6th September 2026.

Local oral information concerning the history and reconstruction of the *Pochamma* shrine, including the reported reconstruction dated 5 April 1971 by Dasyam Rangiah.