

# THE JAYANTIRA PANO

(A Scheduled Caste Community of Orissa)

TRIBAL AND HARIJAN RESEARCH + CUM TRAINING INSTITUTE  
BHUBANESWAR

# **THE JAYANTIRA PANO**

(A Scheduled Caste Community of Orissa)

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TRIBAL AND HARIJAN RESEARCH-CUM-TRAINING INSTITUTE  
BHUBANESWAR

## PREFACE

The pattern of relatively non-osmotic social interaction accentuated by the stigma of untouchability, social disability and discrimination, low economic status and segregation continued to widen the gulf of social inequality and created impediments for the Scheduled Castes in the way of integration with the national mainstream of culture. However, during the post-independence period they have been experiencing radical social transformations through planned development efforts and constitutional safeguards and protective legislations. In the contextual framework of a plural society, the Scheduled Castes today at least find a path to move from a relatively static, rigid, disadvantaged, non-egalitarian state to a relatively dynamic, open, secured and self-reliant one. Thus, their emerging social identity has enabled them to be conscious of the socio-economic injustice and exploitation and to rationalise their thought for social mobility.

The present publication relates to the Jayantira Pano, a numerically small group of the most populous Pano community of Orissa who were once regarded as one of the denotified/ex-criminal/vulnerable groups among the scheduled castes. The main objective of such a publication in the context of identity

transformation is to document the socio-economic and cultural life of the people in question; to help researchers, planners and administrators in conducting further research and to evolve suitable development strategies for them as well as to create awareness and interest among the general public.

For such an endeavour the Tribal and Harijan Research-*cum*-Training Institute deserve congratulations and it is hoped that this monograph would certainly serve its desired purpose.

D. P. BHATTACHARYA

Bhubaneswar  
Dated the 10th October 1991

Principal Secretary to Government and  
Commissioner, Harijan & Tribal Welfare Department,  
Government of Orissa

## EDITORIAL

Broadly speaking, in our State every 7th person belongs to one or the other type of Scheduled Caste community. There are 93 different groups comprising various occupational categories exhibiting divergent socio-economic and cultural patterns. They are distributed in almost all the districts of the State with high concentration in coastal regions. Economically they are lower than the general population and suffer from abject poverty. It is deplorable that these people who give so much to society get so less in return although they form the bedrock on which our society and economy rest. It is paradoxical to observe that they suffer due to the prevalence of economic exploitation and social injustice. Being placed at the lowest rung in the caste hierarchy they are subjected to various types of discrimination of which the stigma of untouchability is at the apex. The age-old evil custom of untouchability and its persistent manifestations is not only merely a problem for these people, it is also a national problem. The caste system in general and the occupational specialization based on scriptural prescriptions in particular foster the stigma of untouchability and help its perpetuity.

It is appropriate to mention that among the Scheduled Castes five categories are identified as

denotified communities and seven come under nomadic and semi-nomadic communities. The Scheduled Castes which are include in the denotified/ex-criminal category are the Adhuriya Domb, Oriya Domb, Ghasi, Dandasi and Jayantira Pano. They were the communities of persons who were regarded as criminals were said to train their family members to earn their livelihood through criminal activities. Because of this practice they were even looked down upon by other Scheduled Caste brethern. Although they no longer pursue such practice and have taken up other means of occupation and descent living, yet even today they are regarded as ex-criminals.

The present monograph deals with the original Pano of village Jayantira (called as Jayantira Pano) in Jajpur Subdivision of Cuttack district. They have been declared as a denotified community as they were professional criminals. As per the recommendations of Advisory Board of T.H.R.T.I. the study on this community was taken up initially in the year 1986. The work was entrusted to Shri Mohan Behera, Research Assistant under the guidance and supervision of Dr. Ch. P. K. Mohapatra, Deputy Director of the Institute.

The monograph has six chapters which deals with various aspects, such as the origin and development, demographic composition, past criminal habits, socio-economic profile including introduction, summary and

conclusion and all these chapters together make the monograph a comprehensive one.

In the introductory note the author has discussed the history of caste system in general and the Pano in particular distinguishing them from the Jayantira Pano. The Chapter that deals with the origin and development gives a detailed account of the history of formation of the sub-group, Jayantira Pano from the Pano and their stage to stage development. The chapter on Demography gives mainly their distribution and literacy based on Census figures. The chapter Jayantira Pano as 'ex-criminals' is very lucid one which gives an account of the criminal habits of the community in the past and how it developed in course of time, modus operandi of such act and the factors responsible for inducing the people to become criminals. The chapter on 'Socio-economic profile' gives a thorough discussion on their material culture, occupational pattern, sources of income and indebtedness position. Besides various aspects of their social organisation inducing inter-caste relationship has been discussed in details in the chapter. The last chapter highlights the summary and concluding suggestions for their development.

Shri Mohan Behera, Research Assistant and the author of this book deserves special thanks for undertaking strenuous field work and writing the monograph.

I owe a deep debt of gratitude to Shri D. P. Bhattacharya, I.A.S., Principal Secretary to Government and Commissioner, Harijan and Tribal Welfare Department, Government of Orissa for his kind encouragement and advice in bringing out this volume.

Dr. Ch. P. K. Mahapatra, Deputy Director of the Institute under whose guidance and supervision this monograph has been prepared deserves special mention.

While editing the report I have received enormous helps and co-operation from my colleagues specially from Shri B. B. Mohanty, Reserach Officer-in-charge of publications. I thank them all.

Bhubaneswar

Dated the 10th October 1991

**K. K. MOHANTI**

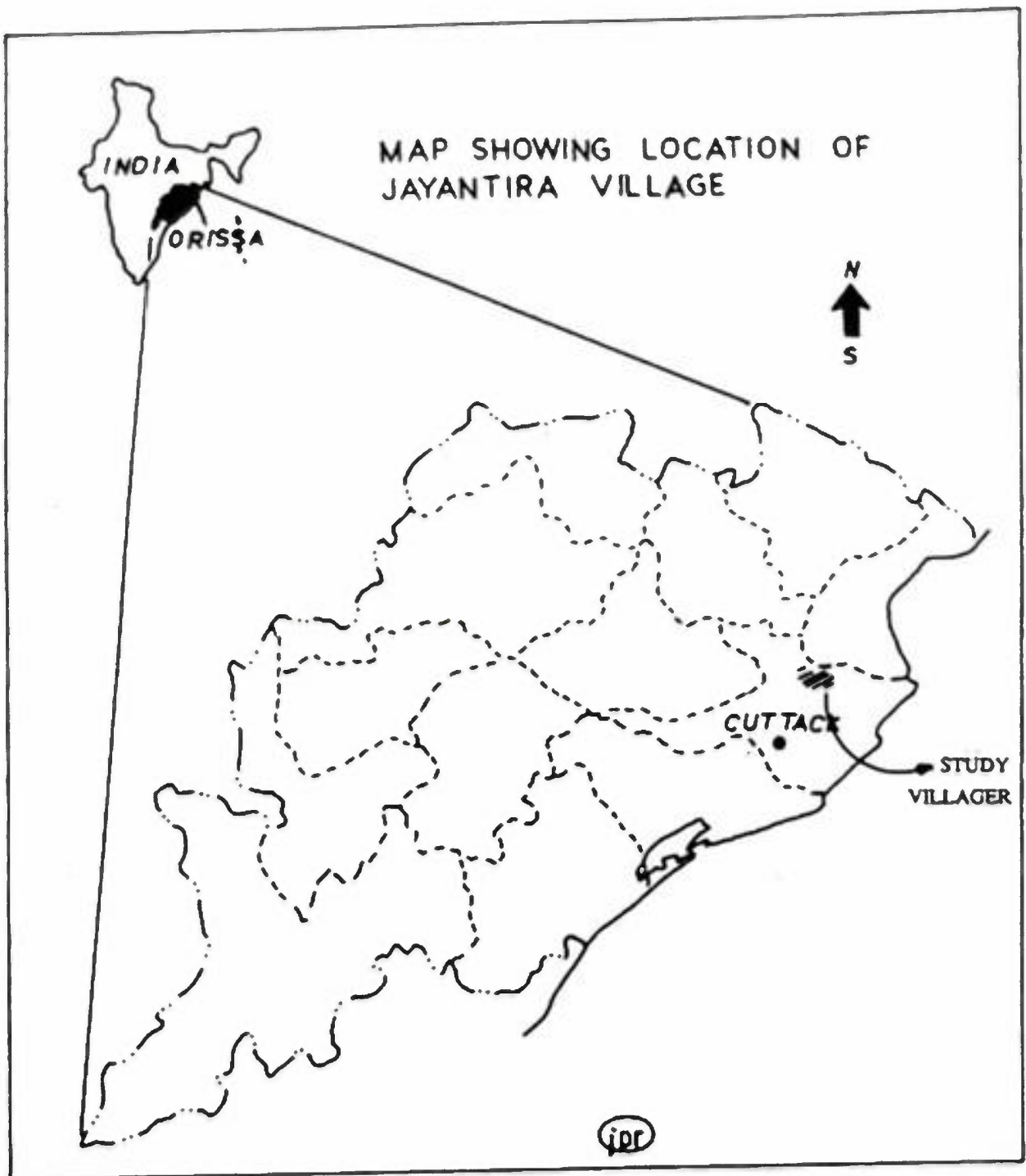
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# INTRODUCTION

Prof J. H. Hutton in his book, 'Caste in India, states that "Caste", a term used by Sociologists and Anthropologists working in and concerned with India borrowed it from the term, 'Caste', of Portuguese origin signifying breed, race or kind.' From the sixteenth century A.D. to be more precise in 1563 A.D., Garcia de Orta wrote, "no one changes from his father's trade and all those of the same caste (Caste) of shoe makers are the same" (Hutton, 1963 : 47).

According to Dr. Y. C. Simhadri the caste system owes its origin to the four varnas 'Chatur Varna' and subsequently another varna (untouchables) was added (Simhadri 1979: 94). Prof. Hutton refers it 'Dasya-Varna' who were virtually excluded from religions and rituals cult of the Aryan's like the 'Chandala' (Srivastava 1980 : 12) . According to Wilson, a famous researcher on a number of castes as referred by Prof. Hutton the bottom of the scale are the Chandalas, begotten of a Sudra male on a Brahmana female "(Hutton, 1963 : 150).

The term 'exterior' was used for the Hindu castes regarded as 'depressed' and was originally suggested by the Census Superintendent of Assam, adopted in the report of Census of India, 1931. It was the most satisfactory alternative to treat them under the 'Depressed classes' which has been criticised as being the same term as the 'out caste'. "Out caste" for the breach of caste rules was a derogatory term the 'exterior' might connote exclusion or outside the four varnas. The term 'Avarna' or negation of varna or outside the four varnas was sometimes used and aptly expressed the same ideas. Chanda also traces caste origin to race and function. Colour or race difference, real or fancied, together with hereditary functions gave birth to caste

system. But as newer groups formed or attached themselves to the Arya nations, the absurdity regarding themselves all as distinct colour or varna was recognised and the theory of Varnasankara or mixed caste evolved to explain their origins (Charḍa : 36).

No untouchables or the "Chandalas" are mentioned in the original Ramayana but only references are made to the chandalas in the lowest social scale and more regarded beings of that time. In the past Ramayan days Chandalas were treated differently. They were regarded as the witches of their race. No body should touch a Chandala even if in the Mahabharata, "the Varna from occupational point of view did not become narrow" (Srivastava 1980 : 50). In the Anusasana parva, we also find Brahmana was a doer of all duties like Chora-Karma, the Natakarma and the Nartaka Karma. There was no untouchability which was a controversy for the Chandala. It is also further examined that if any one of higher caste had knowingly any sex relation with a Chandala woman became equal caste and if any person did so unknowingly he must perform 'Chandrayana' twice. If he who had connection with a woman of one of the lowest castes, should be put to death. The Smritis prohibit touching of a chandala by higher caste and say that purification by bathing is necessary. The criminals were forced to live in colonies of Chandalas as their punishment so that they might not commit any crime for fear of remaining with close to the families of Chandalas as they (Chandalas) were treated less than any other (U. Tuka : 190).

The Chandalas were assigned with certain despised jobs befitting their rank which they had to pursue hereditarily. They always appear to be associated with the removal and cremation of corpses like Raja Harishchandra who sold himself to work as Chandala and to watch the cremation ground. This work was also done by Panos who were also known as Chandalas that 'Parna' Mr. R. Clarke remarked is a Sanskrit term which means cave-dweller. The scholar also says that the word 'Parna' may be a

contraction of the Sanskrit term 'Pana'. Mr. C. F. Mac Cartie is of opinion that Panos are supposed to be the Paraiya (Telgu male), the emigrants who were also known as Dambo or Sitra. The Panos, otherwise known as Chandalas have their places since the Arya nation was formulated and the Panos of today are the successors of those Panos who are scattered throughout the State and outside in course of time and due to increase in their population. Now they are found in inaccessible areas of high lands, on the plains in cities and towns and in the interior villages. According to the Census of 1971 the scheduled caste population was 3,310,854 in Orissa whereas the Pan or Pano population was 6,72,627 (Census of India (II) but in 1981 they increased upto 38,65,548 (Census of India 1981 : XX) whereas the Pano population was 8,06,514 (Census of India IX (17 : 52).

According to Mr. R. Clarke some of these Pano communities had most ferocious criminals who committed theft and murder in Angul, Hindol and Talcher in the first decade of the twentieth century. They not only murdered the civilians but dared to do so upon a head constable and beat him to death on a main road. Gradually it extended upto Dhenkanal and Cuttack which drew the attention of the Deputy Commissioner and District Superintendent of Police to check their movement. A number of rules were setup and as many as four principal criminals were detected. They were :

1. N. Naik
2. S. Naik
3. H. Naik
4. N. Naik (Jr.)

The then Sarbarakars were dishonest. They were in charge of 'Kotghurs' to check the movements of Pan criminal by the Police authorities but failed to do so. They were also punished for their

negligence in duties but the Panos on the other hand could not be checked rather the criminality extended to other areas. According to Mr. Y. C. Simhadri the report of the All India Enquiry Committee listed 136 groups declared as criminals where 74,762 such people were listed from Orissa (Y. C. Simhadri 1979 : 87). Gradually it was checked and the Government of Madras were pleased to ammend the Act in 1943. The term 'criminal tribe' was legally changed to 'De-Notified Tribe'. As many as forty-eight tribes were listed for the ferocious acts and they were obliged with special privileges. Consequently it came to be known as 'De-Notified Tribe' or 'Vimukta Jati'. In Orissa, according to Mr. Simhadri there were five such castes. They were Dandasi, Doms, Telugu Ghasis, Jayantira Panos and Paidis. Afterwards criminals were also known as 'De-Notified Tribes' or 'Vimukta Jati' (Simhadri : 1979 : 36).

In Jajpur area, Jayantira Panos were involved in criminal activities. They were so expert in the art that it was very easy for them to do any difficult task for successful theft and in no case they could be caught red handed nor did they murder any landlord to save themselves from the spot.

It might be the fact that the Jayantira Panos might be trained by the groups of said Panos who were committing theft and murder in Angul, Hindol and Talcher area during first decade of the twentieth century, since the criminality was simultaneously being committed by Jayantira Panos. Though the dacoits of Angul area were having their titles as Naiks and Jayantira Panos or Jenas, yet both the groups were Panos. The difference in their actions was that the Naik dacoits of Angul area were never afraid of murdering whereas the Jenas or Jayantira were not involved in murder or rape during their action of theft. Doubts may arise why it so happened that these Panos took such criminality as their profession in different parts of the country and what is the mystery behind their such actions ? Was it traditional or they went

aggressive upon the activities of higher castes or on the threatening of powerful Jamindars of the then times ? It is most surprising that the Jayantira Pano dacoits, though committed theft in big cities, like Calcutta, etc. and in towns, like Balasore and Baripada they did never commit any such theft in the families of rich persons of local area nor in the families of local Mohapatra Zamindars. Of course they had a narrow feeling for Zamindars due to their influence of power at the time of Zamindary system but they did have no craze for riches of their neighbouring villages nor did they try to involve with murder or rape any where. The act of theft was so efficient that powerful British Police officers failed to catch them red handed and ultimately the British Police administrators were forced to set up a 'Beat House' in the heart of Jayantira village to watch the movements of so-called dacoits who on the other hand were forced to go to beat house and appear four times at day and night. Mohapatra Zamindars were the only one who came most closer to the Jayantira Panos and the Pano dacoits might have been saved by them for which they did not try to do any harm to their most benevolent masters. Gradually time proved its change and the operational activities by some of the efficient police officers, like Shri Gangadhar Padhi created a terror to the immediate successors of Pano dacoits and other relatives of the same community also ostracized them and as a result the activities came to an end. Except only one family there is no successor of other criminals nor there is any trace of crime by them in those areas to reveal the facts about a half century back. Only a few remains like Beat House and the village Jayantira are the witness of the then times. There have been a number of development schemes in the past but no tangible result has been found.

Government have been pleased to study the activities of these Jayantira Panos for which the Tribal and Harijan Research-cum-Training Institute in the Harijan and Tribal Welfare Department, Government of Orissa undertook a field survey in the month of October, 1989. The details will be dealt in the following chapters.

## CHAPTER II

### ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT

Russel and Hiralal suggest in their book (Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces of India. London publication : 1916) that, Lord Vishnu is the prime God initiated by vedas who created four varnas. Brahmanas being the members in first varna were created from His mouth who were given with the task of protecting religion. Kshatriyas remained in the second varna who were created from His arms so that they could save people from outer attack. Vaishyas were created from His belly and they were assigned with the job to feed and clothe and remained in the third varna and Sudras remained in the last and fourth varna who were created from the feet of Lord Vishnu so that they would serve other higher three Varnas. The persons who could not be included in varnas remained as 'A-Varna' without Varna or untouchables who subsequently are called as Scheduled Castes. Pano, one of such so-called untouchables are regarded as Scheduled Caste in Orissa. They are the highest populated Scheduled Caste Community in Orissa (8,06,514 accordingly to census 1981) Jayantira Panos are sub-group of these Pano Community who are found in a particular area of village Jayantira in Jajpur Subdivision of Cuttack district. These Jayantira Panos are the migrants from a weaving section of Pano Community in Keonjhar who were initially brought by the new Zamindars to the area about 500 years back. They were brought to serve the-then zamindars but unfortunately the time made them ferocious criminals and for their such unpopular acts they were better known as so-called 'Jayantira Panos'.

Hindustan is a land of mystery. It is a symbol of long prosperity which has been leaving great heritage of different

faiths different religions combind in oneness. Bhakta Kabir was not a Hindu but he cried for Lord Rama, Bhakta Salabega was also not a Hindu, he was mad after Lord Jagannath and his devotions moved the Lord to wait on the Rath 'Holy Chariot' till he returned from Vrindavan, Bhakta Dasia Bauri was an untouchable whose offer of coconut was directly received by the Lord which was not an easy task on the part of the Brahmin priest. This holy land of Lord Jagannath at Puri forbids the act of untouchability where the Brahmin curiously eat the left Mohaprasad from a Pano. The famous Saint Sri Chaitanya Dev, the preacher of Hari Bhakti Movement could not remain silent without having 'Darshan' and came to Puri in the first decade of sixteenth century AD covering a long distance on walk from Nadia now in West Bengal.

Chaitanya Charitamruta speaks volumes on the life of Shri Chaitanya. There is a mention that Shri Chaitanya, while going to Puri halted at Jajpur where suddenly he disappeared for an hour. The devotees were puzzled and searched for him. Later they could trace him at Gaurangpur (Jayantira) preaching 'Bhakti' to Jamindar Bansidhar Mahapatra under a Neem tree. Now there is a monastery (Math) where the diety of Sri Chaitanya made of wood of the very Neem tree under which Chaitanya sat, is being worshipped by thousands of devotees. Informants say that the Matha was constructed by Jamindar Bansidhar Mahapatra who accepted Vaisnavism being influenced by Shri Chaitanya and ruled over his Jamindari in the name of Shri Chaitanya and made him known as Bansidhar Baishnab Goswami inspite of Bansidhar Mahapatra and later on one of the Jayantira Pano was influenced by it and made the temple of Radha Govinda Thakur in his area.

Bansidhar Baishnab Goswami remained as caretaker of Gaurangapur and Danguapatna kacheries of Jayantire now in Balasore district.

Successors of these Jamindars are still living. Sri Gayadhar Mahapatra and others with their families who live in Jayantira Mahapatra Sahi on the southern bank of the Baitarani river and at Gaurangpur speak many facts on the history of Jamindars and Jayantira Panos. They say, Jagannath Roy Mahapatra was the first person who settled at Jayantira to rule over the area. The area was confined to Jayantira, Dularpur, Gaurangpur and Danguapatna. By that time so many villages were not there and the population was not so large. Thus the area was vast consisting of many portions of Bhadrak and Balasore, now in Balasore district. Since there was no regular Jamindari system, first few generations were known as kings and their wives were known as queens.

## THE MYTH

The informants were of the opinion that their ancestors were Kshatriyas from the dynasty of Pruthiraj Chauhan and were known as 'Chauhan Chhatri'. More than 500 years ago, seven princes of the said dynasty came from Rajasthan to see the holy land of Lord Jagannath.. They presented themselves before the Gajapati Maharaja of Orissa at Cuttack and confessed that they were Kshatriyas. The Gajapati took a test by asking them to cross a gate and meet him. The gate was made of sharp edged swords. When the first prince entered he was beheaded at the entrance. The watchman halted the other six brothers and informed the Gajapati. The Gajapati was very much pleased that they were real Kshatriyas since they did not know how to bowdown their heads. Being pleased he also ordered them to acquire as much land as they could cover on horse back within a day. Four brothers returned back to Rajasthan. Chandrasekhar and Bansidhar remained on the spot and both of them acquired Jayantira, Dularpur, Gaurangpur and Danguapatna Mahals from the bigger Bhadrak Mahals of the Gajapati king and became kings at that time. There is also a saying that Bansidhar was a

simple man and he always devoted his times in discussing 'Dharma'. He also did not try to enhance his kingdom rather distributed properties from the treasury to beggars and Brahmins for which Chandrasekhar rebuked him. Bansidhar, therefore fled away from Jayantira for which elder brother Chandrasekhar repented later. He consoled him, separated the mahals by giving Gourangpur and Danguapatna Mahals which are now in Balasore district. Afterwards bansidhar became a great desciple of Sri Chaitanya and became Vaishnava with a title of 'Das'. He made a big 'Math' at Gaurangpur and became the caretaker of the whole Jamindari mahals in the name of Sri Chaitanya as mentioned prviously.

Strange stories are told about the distribution of Jayantira Jamindars. There is also a saying that Gajapati after being pleased with the princes offered a copper plate 'Sananda' which was preserved at the 'Raghunath Jew Matha' of Kobera Talapada now in Balasore district. In the plate he mentioned the area of Jamindari of Jamindar Mahapatra. According to a legend, Bansidhar and Chandra Sekhar were returning to the newly allotted area. On the way elder brother Chandrasekhar took bath keeping the plate with the cover on the bank of the river when a crow picked the cover with plate and threw it near a village. One of the persons of the village could get the 'Sananda' and also claimed the properties. They were given a major share though they did not belong to Mahapatra generation. The area was known as 'Kaupur' since the crow lifted the Sananda and allottees were known as Talapada Kanungo in which famous poet Kanta Kabi Laxmikanta Mahapatra was one of the successors of this Jamindari in later times. They got Bhadrak, Kaupur and Talapada areas as Jamindari though they had taken no pain for the same. Raja Chandra Sekhar Kanungo Roy Mahapatra had three queens. The eldest queen had three sons, Nimai Kanungo, Krupasindhu Kanungo and Gobardhan Kanungo. The second

queen had one son, Damodar Kanungo and the youngest queen had one son, named Bairagi Kanungo. It is also said that the last queen of Chandrasekhar became 'Sati' willfully after the death of Chandrasekhar. After dividing Bhadrak and Kaupur areas the rest areas were divided among the five brothers after the death of Chandrasekhar. The first brother, Nimai got Jayantira, Shyamsundarpur, Kantada, Radhaballavpur (now in Balasore). The second brother Krupasindhu got Nadigan and Shampur Kacheri. The third brother Gobardhan titled himself as Bhuyan Roy Mohapatra and got Bhuyan Kacheri comprising of a portion of Shyamsundarpur and Ahiyas and the fourth brother Damodar got Sodha Tula Mahala, Chudakuti and Kanapur Kacheri. Since major shares were distributed by different 'Ilaka', there were no areas left for the last brother Bairagi, who titled himself as Mangaraj. Hence, all the four brothers contributed some of their shares to Mangaraj. Since they cut off some share of their own, the Kacheri was known as 'Katia Kacheri and the family of Bairagi was later known as Katia Mangaraj family. The Kacheri remained at Dasarathpur.

After Chandrasekhar, the later successors were not entitled as Rajas. They were the tributary chiefs known as, Jamindars. Jamindar Gobardhan Mohapatra who got the Ahiyas Pragana consisting of more than 20 villages had to go with the 'Khajana' in person along with his servants in palanquin and barbers to Cuttack for submission in the Cuttack 'Khajana-khana' of the Gajapati King of Orissa.

There is also another interesting legend. Once, while going to submit the Khajana at Cuttack, Jamindar Gobardhan took rest at Kendrapada on the way to Cuttack. The then Jamindar of Kendrapada was Narendra Mohapatra who had a beautiful daughter. She was taking her bath in the 'Usa Pokhari', the pond of the palace where Gobardhan had rested for a while. Seeing the daughter of Narendra Mohapatra, Gobardhan made an ironic

comment and misbehaved with her and she disclosed to her father. Jamindar Narendra got very furious and sent his militia specially Panos who killed Gobardhan on the spot and threw the body to a river flown near by. They also took away the cash which was carried by Gobardhan. The river in which the dead body of Gobardhan was thrown was later known as Gobari Nai now flowing near Kendrapada. From the legend it is understood that the Jayantira Mahapatra Jamindars were not free from misconduct and carelessness arising out of power for which Jamindar Gobardhan Mahapatra met his last consequence. Jamindars enjoyed their lives like the then kings and Emperors through some groups of strong people of particular communities to whom they engaged in their military section and had good relationship with them. The Pano is one of such communities which did such work. By such works they could commend prestige though being in the lowest rung of caste hierarchy and very well known as Piadas of the then Jamindars.

It is also surprising that Chandra Sekhar Roy Mahapatra brought these Pano families to Jayantira for his services even though there were Pano families within the areas. It might be a fact that due to the nature of their work and habits the local persons, might not suit them and the strangers might do better work than the local Panos. Probably for these reasons he might have brought those families from Keonjhar. However, the Jayantira Panos known as ex-criminals are not those Panos who were living here prior to the arrival of Jamindars. They claim themselves from the generation of Keonjhar Panos who were originally weavers. The local Panos were beating drums and making bamboo baskets and earning their livelihood by such occupations where as the so called ex-criminals and their families did not pursue that. They were experts in agriculture. The main occupation of these Panos was to threaten the subjects

and collect revenue either in cash or in kind for Jamindar Mohapatra.

The 'Bansabali-Krusinama' of the Jayantira Mohapatra says, Dasarathi Ray Mahapatra was the father and Jagannath who was the grandfather of both brothers Bansidhar Baisnab Goswami of Gaurangpur and Chandrasekhar Kanungo of Jayantira. There is no mention of the names of the seven brothers but the names of Bansidhar and Chandrasekhar have been coded with numbers for which it is imagined that they might be the two brothers who first entered Jajpur and settled down.

According to history Shri Chaitanya Dev came to Puri in 1510 A.D. and since Shri Bansidhar Das was the contemporary of Shri Chaitanya, the Mahapatra brothers might have come in the last part of 15th Century A.D. or in the first part of 16th Century A.D. when Pratap Rudra was the Gajapati King of Orissa. There is also a mention in history that Pratap Rudra Dev, the Gajapati King of Surya Dynasty from 1497 A.D. to 1534 A.D. was the grandson of Kapilendra Dev. The same Gajapati Pratap Rudra Dev was a pious king and he constructed a big hall at the Jagannath temple at Puri to discuss the religious matters and receive guests. There might be the fact that Chandrasekhar along with other six might be the same seven brothers who presented before the king. However, it cannot be avoided that Bansidhar Goswami and Kanungo Chandrasekhar Ray Mahapatra were contemporary of Shri Chaitanya. They were ruling over Jayantira area in 1910 A.D.

The Panos were also known as 'Achhabas' and had their existence before the arrival of the so-called kings at Jayantira. They were maintaining distance from other higher castes for which the Mahapatra could not utilise their services frequently and closely. As it is said four Patra Pano families were brought from Keonjhar area to work as Chaukidar to collect revenue from

the 'Prajās'. It was because they were strong enough and very presence of those Pano Chaukidars (Piada in later times) in door step was enough to collect the revenue.

During the period of the Moghals, the Indians in their middle-age, which is known as 'Madhyayuga' in history, were prosperous in industry and the economic condition of the country was sound. Weaving was major profession and the clothes made at Varanasi, Bihar, Orissa and Bengal had worldwide fame.

Agriculture was the main occupation and most of the people were depending on agriculture to get their own foodgrains. Besides foodgrains, cotton and sugarcane were also cultivated extensively. But most of the time agriculture was affected due to the absence of irrigation. The Revenue Officers also tortured the agriculturists. Further famine was a common feature in the muslim era. The lack of proper administration was fully responsible for the tragic life of poors under muslim rules and afterwards. Many people lost their lives during famine. Little help which were coming from the level of Moghal Sultans were not enough to meet the needs of people. No adequate steps from the level of the Sultans were also taken to save the lives of innocent people. Frequent wars among the neighbouring Sultans and kings worsened the situation. Amusements and entertainments were common features among Sultans and Rajas for which huge sums of money was squandered. The economic condition of the people broke down and people tried to move from place to place to eke out a living. During this period, few Pano families might have come for the services of Mahapatra. In this period some people could establish themselves out of the situation. Specially the Revenue Officers of Mughal with the help of their strong defenders took the advantage. Mahapatra Jamindars might have thus so used their Pano Piadas for safeguarding life and properties. Those four families of Patra Panos brought by Mahapatra were originally weavers and had their titles as Jenas.

Out of those four families two of them were engaged as Chaukidars by Kanungo Chandrasekhar Roy Mahapatra. They were :

1. K. Jena

2. N. Jena

Families of K. Jena and N. Jena along with other two families served minor jobs for the Raja and later worked as 'Piada'. Ultimately they remained as subjects to Kanungo Chandrasekhar Mahapatra who allotted separate land on the bank of the 'Patapur Nai'. The village was known as Jayantira village. At a later date, when the Baitarani embankment was constructed, Patapur Nai was blocked and dried up whereas Mahapatra Sahi remained segregated from Jayantira by new embankment. Even now those Mahapatra families are living segregated from the Jayantira village because of the troubles of flood water and not intending to come to the safer places to live with the Jayantira Panos.

There is another confusion that even in 1510 A.D. the so-called Mahapatra King of Jayantira were known as Kanungo Rai Mahapatra. Kanungo is a title generally given to Revenue Officers who were in charge of settlement operations. It might be another fact that the so-called Mahapatra King was originally doing the job of land settlement for which they had earned such title. There is an old monastery 'Math' called Faudari Math on the bank of the Baitarani river very close to Jayantira. Some people say that during the Mughal Administration the Revenue Officers were controlled by Mughal fauzdars who were coming from Jajpur on elephant and horse back. They were resting at Dasarathpur (the spot now transferred to Irrigation Office) and looking after the affairs in different places. One of the pious fauzdars might have made the Math for which it has been so named as 'Faudari Math'. These so-called Mahapatra Raja might be doing the job of land

settlement and the services of the Pano chaukidars might be utilised as 'Piada' who remained closely associated with Mahapatra Raja. The nature of job of those Pano Piadas was so powerful and it made them so bold and ferocious that it encouraged them to become fearless dacoits in course of time. It so happened that they could achieve whatever they desired from any corner at any cost. The collection was shared by both Mahapatra Raja and the Pano Piadas which could not be challenged by any other powerful person during those days. Mahapatra Raja gave all required help to the families of those Panos to whom they brought and settled down at Jayantira on the other hand the wealth from revenue collections from Piadas enabled them to enhance their jurisdiction and during British period they were able to purchase vast Jamindari area to divide among their large families and settled down as big Jamindars with various Jamindari titles in various areas. The association of the Pano Piadas with Jamindars became very close. The Jamindars were educated, enlightened and clever whereas the Panos were uneducated, strong and whimsical. They did not try to care for the law and order situation since the Jamindars were ready to protect them. Not only that, they also tried to enjoy their lives lavishly and were addicted to various drugs, like opium and guli. Guli is a compound which was prepared out of opium and other ingredients and is used as smoke. It was more intoxicating than hashis (ganjei) which was locally prepared by the same community. Once some one is addicted to this, it can never be given up rather the dose of consumption would gradually increase. This addiction in Jayantira Panos enabled the Jamindars to exploit them more and more. After the arrival of British traders in India most of the areas were ruled by muslim rulers and Nabab of Bengal was exercising more powers. The administration of interior areas were left in the hand of local chiefs. They were doing whatever they pleased. More extraction and torture were done from the side of the administrators and

close associates of the local chiefs who indirectly persuaded the Panos to do that. Since there was no other powerful person over the chief, the orders of the chief was final and real power in the field was exercised by the Piadas or the Revenue Collectors on the poor subjects. The 'Prajias' were forced to comply with whatever was demanded by the field officers. Thus the existence of the Pano Piadas become stronger gradually in their new place. Consequently, they tried to overrule the old Panos who originally inhabited in the places before the arrival of this stranger group.

The quarrel among the new and older groups increased day by day. The older groups had no courage to challenge the new Piadas who were having close relations with Jamindars. Ultimately the older groups were driven out to distant places and the village was occupied by the newer groups. It is said, since the newer group won over the older group to settle down in the village and the village was so named as Jayantira. Today the Pano successors of older groups who residing in distant areas of Balasore District are also known as Jayantira Panos. But they are not the same Jayantira Panos whose services were utilised by the Jamindars and later on became the ex-criminals.

In course of time the so-called Jayantira Pano Piadas came to certain standard that their successors could commit any kind of theft and collect valuables not only from Orissa but also from neighbouring State, like West Bengal. In Calcutta, the valuables and rich wealth of big businessmen and British merchants could also not be escaped from the eyes of these Jayantira Panos who snatched them away in front of the eyes of powerful British Police Officers in broad day light. The Police Officers also failed to catch them on the spots even if they tried their best. The act of theft was managed very efficiently and technically. During the period of British rule four to five Jayantira Panos out of the families of so-called Piadas rose high in the list of criminals. Their very names aroused terror and people were in panic at the slightest presence

of those people. The people were not afraid of murder or rape by the Jayantira Panos ex-criminal but fear was that any kind of thing desired by the said ex-criminals could not be saved from their hands. Subsequently few names were detected as noted criminals and the Police Officers kept eyes on their movement. Those ex-criminals were as follows :—

1. R. Jena
2. C. Jena
3. B. Jena
4. K. Jena
5. B. K. Jena
6. N. Jena
7. D. Jena
8. P. Jena

All these persons were the inhabitants of Jayantira and the successors of the so-called Panos brought from Keonjhar areas by the Mahapatra Jamindars during their entry into these areas.

It is during this period that the above people were involved in very big criminal cases for which Jamindars wanted to maintain distance from them during British period when intensive measures from the side of Police was taken to trace out the history of criminality. The details of the criminality will be dealt in other chapter.

There was another reason why the so-called ex-criminals became more adventurous and cruel during their services under the Jamindars. After Warren Hestings, Lord Cornwallis became Governor General in 1786 A.D. He worked as a military chief in the American War and was sent to India with more powers. The

tenure of Jamindars at the time of Warren Hastings was maximum for five years for collection of revenue. After five years fresh auctions were held by which there were regular changes in Jamindari System. By this the Jamindars were collecting revenue according to their sweet will by imposing extra taxes on the people. There was also no regulation for depositing the revenue to the company. By this, Jamindars employed stronger groups of people to threaten the subjects and collect revenue as to whatever they pleased. Since there was no regular supervision over the collection, the Revenue Collectors of Jamindars were gainer at the cost of innocent subjects. Fortunately or unfortunately Lord Cornwallis introduced permanent settlement by which Jamindars got permanent possession over their jamindaris with fixation of amount of the revenue for the Company. This system was in operation in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa by which most of the rich Jamindars got more powers. The Jayantira Pano ex-criminals who were engaged as Piadas could have more contact with the Jamindars since they were the real persons to provide more comforts and defence to the Jamindars. The Jamindars hitherto became despots by the help of these section of people. Jamindars tried to enjoy life and wealth exclusively. It is said that no body had any courage to go on marriage procession nor any one had right to use any type of costly dresses or ornaments before any member of the Jamindar family. The very presence of the Piada or any servant of the Jamindar was a panic among the villagers. Thus the nature of job of the Pan Piadas encouraged them to become more aggressive over the people and to snatch away their properties which might have thrown them to criminality in later stages.

The detailed information relating to the Pan society and criminality spread over different areas by Jayantira Panos will be narrated in the succeeding chapter.

The caste system in India has its root and it is difficult to trace out its origin, not only in the Varna order but also among the A-Varnas or the so-called untouchables. It continued on the basis of birth ascriptive status and role of persons belonging to various castes and sub-castes. It has given rise to a kind of stratification based on inequality and hierarchization.

The Pano society forms the lowest rung in the caste hierarchy often referred to as or "Panchamas" in the traditional sense. The Panos were sub-divided into different sections of unequal social status. A section of them pursuing weaving occupation claim themselves to be higher than others and identify themselves Patra or Chief. It is claimed by the Jayantira Panos that they are the members of the group brought by the Jamindars from Keonjhar area.

During the post vedic period and puranic age the caste hierarchy was more emphasized in terms of ritual status. The conflicts between higher and lower groups led to the birth and arrival of more and more preachers preaching diverse religious strands. The Christianity then was most wide spread. That was also the reason why we find more Pano Christians, especially in the tribal belts.

Even according to the Buddhism and Jainism a Pano must not be treated as an untouchable and he has the right to go to the temple. Dr. B. R. Ambedkar who came from a family of the untouchables, was highly educated and enlightened person. He tried his best to bring about reform and fought against social evils of untouchability. As the founding father of the constitution of independent India his attempts to bring full reform could not be achieved. The root cause of the social discrimination and untouchability was attributed to the Brahminical teaching of Hinduism. He converted himself to Buddhism and in 1956 also converted some 2000 members of untouchable Jataps to Buddhism

in Agra. Even after the sad demise of Dr. Ambedkar the movement flourished and at the end of 1961 there were about 2.8 million Harijan who were Buddhist ~~convertes~~. The Christianity is a great religion to render help to the untouchables. In the Christianity there was no bar for a clean caste Hindu or an "untouchable" to accept this religion. The Panos were one of early sections among the untouchable community who converted themselves to Christianity and consequently acted as intermediaries in the local areas to establish links between the priests and the local people, mostly in the tribal belts.

The Mahammedans also do not restrict a Pano as a low caste Hindu to accept Islam. The Islam does not recognise untouchability and the Pano servants of muslims are not treated as untouchables. It so happend that the Service castes of the Hindu Community did not render ritual service to the untouchables.

However, it is Hinduism, which is the most plagued by social discrimination. The upper caste people have been exploiting the lower castes without rendering any substantial return to them. A Brahman can serve as priest in house of four varnas. But the priestly functions are not extended to the low caste people. Since the relative ritual status of other castes were detemined, the Brahmans occupying the highest position in the caste hierarchy the lower caste people beyond the Varna order were considered as 'exterior' and demeaning and defiling occupations were assigned to them. But always reared a feeling of inferiority for the lower castes. They have not only made laws for maintaining distance from the lower castes but also assigned professons on the basis of caste status.

The Panos were traditionally considered the lowest in the caste hierarchy and they served not only the Savarna Castes but also other castes beyond that. The socalled untouchable classes

like Washermen, Bauris, etc. who get service from Panos also maintain social distance from them. Thus the Panos remained segregated socially from all sides. They were not only barred from entering the Hindu temples but also were not allowed to participate in community gatherings in festive occasions.

There is a myth in the Hindu religion when Mahalaxmi, the Goddess of wealth took rest in the house of a scheduled caste woman. How it could happen when a Pano was untouchable ? The myth narrates that Goddess Mahalaxmi, the consort of lord Jagannath or Vishnu was attracted by the offer of Puja of Sriya Chandaluni, a scheduled caste woman. Sriya, the greatest 'Bhakta' (devote) of Goddess Mahalaxi could appease, her to such an extent that she accepted the offer of Sriya Chandaluni personally ignoring the Puja of others. She gave darshan to Sriya and confessed that she was satisfied with the Puja. This festival 'Manabasa Gurubara' in the month of Agrahayan (November-December) is celebrated by women in Hindu Households in Orissa. Yet no change in the stigma of untouchability attributed to the Panos could be established in Hindu Society.

### **Intercaste Relationship**

The discrimination in social action and social stigma attached to them in every sphere of life have always kept them at a distance from other castes. It is observed that, they had no free access to temples and shrines, to the village deity and communal functions. In the past, entering to common bathing ghat or disposing deads in common cremation ground was strictly forbidden for them. Such type of discrimination was also extended to public utility places, like hotels, tea shops, grocery shops, etc. Jayantira Panos alongwith and other Panos did not venture to sit on the same bench or chair alongwith others in the hotels. They were not allowed to use the same utensils or glass used by upper class people. Even after drinking tea or taking food the glasses and

utensils were washed by themselves. Separate arrangements were made for sitting and taking food. Of course such caste restrictions have been relaxed now-a-days not only in urban areas but also to some extent in remote villages. The practice of untouchability though not directly observed at present, in many spheres their low social status is clearly visible.

The Panos who clean the filth and dirt of people were also not allowed for any other kind of services by upper class people. In Hindu Society the rituals are performed by Brahman Priest since he has expertised to propitiate Gods and ancestral spirits and considered as go-between the human beings and Gods or Spirits. The services of Brahman Priests and Barbers are denied to them during auspicious occasions. The Panos or Jayantira Panos offer services by sweeping dirt, beating Dhola (drums) or playing Mahuri (pipe) musical instrument during the occasions of marriage and other ceremonies of Barbers but the services of Barbers in shaving hairs or paring nails for the members of Panos are strictly denied. This community has to engage their own persons from the same caste to cut hair. On the other hand, they have their own priests. Apart from the higher castes, the people of lower untouchable castes also do not perform services for Panos and Jayantira Panos. The Washermen also do not offer their services to the Jayantira Pano. Persons of their own community perform the work of Washermen by themselves. Currently, specially in the post-independence period the situation has undergone rapid change. In urban areas, such services are opened to one and all in all public places like Saloons, Lundries, Hotels, etc. where a Pano is not excluded. In some places however although the services of Barbers and Washermen are available to the Panos but facilities like services at door step are not allowed. In rural areas the educated young children and persons occupying good ranks in services are treated with more respect than the uneducated and labourclass Panos. Earlier the Panos

themselves were conscious of their lower social status. They were reluctant to enter the Hotels and to sit freely with others lest any one should recognise them. They had to sit in a corner where separate arrangements were made. The utensils used by them were washed by them after taking food or drinking tea. Now-a-days such caste restrictions have totally been relaxed in urban areas where any one is free to enter in to Hotels and restaurants. It was convenient that Hadis and Panos enjoyed almost similar rank in the caste hierarchy but it is not so.

The so-called untouchability which was in such a stage that the people of the same group had the feeling of superiority and inferiority in their own caste hierarchy. The Hadi, being also an untouchable community live side by side with the Panos. The occupational pattern of these Hadis differ from those of the Panos, for which the Panos treat Hadis as inferior to them. They do not keep social relationship with the Hadis nor do the Hadis keep any such relationship with the Panos. In other words each of them feel superior to the other so far as the caste hierarchy is concerned. In few cases though the occupation of both the communities are almost the same yet a good deal of distance is maintained by both the communities though both of them come under the same so-called 'untouchables' by the upper class Hindus. Baba Saheb Ambedkar gave an interesting instance (N. Das : 78) that "there was hanging board in front in Britisher's club in India mentioning "Prohibited for dogs and local Hindus only". The same thing was also in practice of those Hindus for generation in the past that "the Hindus were allowed to enter into the temples with their pets but it was prohibited for untouchables". This sense of prohibition in form of untouchability not only reacted in the minds of higher caste Hindus but also the ulcer went inside the minds of so-called 'Achhaba' or untouchables among the people of their own community which gave way to the stronger groups to over ride others by virtue of their strength.

The magnitude of the problem of social distance and discrimination can be clearly marked from the locational situation of Pano hamlet.

The dwelling houses of this community were located in the periphery of the main village maintaining a considerable distance from the houses of the higher caste people. Conventionally they were not allowed to build their houses in the middle of the village. In those days when untouchability was at its peak, the shadow of the Pano people was also considered to pollute the upper caste people and they were forced to remain away from clean caste people. At present due to several legislations and protective discrimination, the rigidity of caste prejudice has much lessened. Yet Jayantira Pano as a section of the Panos are looked down upon by the neighbouring higher caste people.

The food habits of the Jayantira Panos is another factor for restricting interaction with other people of the villages. Foods like certain fish, flesh of certain birds and animals, pork and fowl were considered impure and were totally forbidden for the higher castes. Again drinking of liquor was forbidden for certain communities. The meat of dead animals and fowl was consumed by them. Liquor fermented out of palm-juice was forbidden by others but was used by them. Hadis who were not enjoying equal status with the Panos or Jayantira Panos and the former was engaged in skinning of dead animals and also taking the flesh of the said animals which was considered as the act of pollution. These acts from the point of food and drinking habits were considered very demeaning for which the higher caste people were not keeping any relationship with the Hadis, Panos and the Jayantira Panos. Participation in social functions was restricted for the Panos and their family. It is also observed that the villagers when gathered after a days hard work and met at a common place to spend their leisure in discussing, gossiping, merry-making the Jayantira Panos were not allowed to take part.

Like-wise social distance was maintained during the play of boys and girls of different communities. The Jayantira Pano children were also not allowed to mix with others. Of course, now-a-days such social distance is not maintained strictly.

The common well used by the higher caste people and even the well of other Harijans were not allowed for use by Pano women to draw water. Separate wells were provided for them which were exclusively used.

The restrictions were not only observed for living but also the deads of Jayantira Panos. During the disposal of dead certain restrictions were observed in the cremation gound meant for the upper caste people. Jayantira Panos were not allowed to cremate or bury the dead bodies of their community in the same ground reserved for other castes. They had separate ground to dispose of their deads.

Gradually the stigma of untouchability played dominant role in every sphere. Each group of peole thought to have it even within their own community. Panos had different sections. Since the higher caste people did not serve the Panos, they employed peole from their own community. A section of the community performed the priestly work among them and was known as 'Baishnabas'. They wre regarded as Brahmins among them who occupied a respectable rank. These Baisnaba groups tried to treat other Panos as lower Panos. This was an endogamous section and it was believed that if any girl is taken from the Baisnaba group for the marriage with others it was regarded as if misbehaving with the daughter of Guru as 'Guru Kanya Harana Yoga'. Thus this priestly sections had to arrange brides and grooms from their own priestly class. Besides, the Baishnabs do not receive cooked food from the kitchen of other Panos. though untouchability is not so rigid yet there is a feeling of degradation among the Baishnab Panos and other Panos including the Jayantira Panos.

The Patra Panos, the weaver section to which the Jayantira panos are said to belong are the next section. The Dholia Panos whose job is to beat drums are looked down upon by these groups, as they make drums (Dhola) from cattle hide. The nature of their service accounts for their lower rank from the clean weaving group of the Jayantira Panos. Thus the inner feeling of contempt also grew among different groups of the same community and for this the Jayantira Panos wanted to remain segregated and lead a prestigious life in a separate village known as Jayantira. The segregation helped them to have direct contact with the powerful gentry and Jamindaras.

## CHAPTER-III

# DEMOGRAPHIC COMPOSITION

### **Distribution of Pan or Panos**

The Census of Orissa, 1981 mentions that there are 8,06,514 Panos living all over the State of Orissa. Out of the said population 7,62,624 are living in rural areas comprising 3,84,813 males and 3,77,811 females. The Pano population of the urban areas have been estimated at 43,890 from which 22,812 are males and 21,078 are females. So far as the Jayantira Panos are concerned, Cuttack district is the most important District consisting of population of the said community. There are 2,08,465 Panos living in rural areas out of which 1,06,174 are males and 1,02,292 are females. In the urban areas of Cuttack District there are 9,704 Panos among whom 5,010 are males 4,694 are females. Thus the total Pano population of Cuttack District is 2,18,170 which is shown in Table I.

It is, therefore, clear that the people of Pano community prefer to live in rural areas than to eke out a good living in urban areas.

### **Distribution in Jayantira Area**

As per Census of 1981, Patapur, Banapur and Shyamasundarpur enjoyed the status of Revenue villages. There are 388 households in Jayantira village itself. It is a confusion that two other hamlets, namely Baramania and Brahmanikul have not been included as Revenue villages which might have been enumerated with Shyamasundarpur.

TABLE

## MARITAL STATUS OF PANO OF CUTTACK

S. No.	Marital status	PAN OR PANO OF ORISSA						
		Population						
		Total	Male	Femal	0-4		5-9	
					M	F	M	F
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
<b>1. TOTAL :</b>								
	ORISSA	8,06,514 (100-00)	4,07,625 (50-54)	3,98,889 (49-46)	46,029 (11-29)	46,152 (11-57)	56,428 (13-85)	57,333 (14-57)
	CUTTACK DIST.	2,18,170 (100-00)	1,11,184 (50-96)	1,06,986 (49-04)	12,546 (11-28)	12,275 (11-47)	14,421 (12-97)	14,733 (13-78)
<b>2. NEVER MARRIED :</b>								
	ORISSA	4,03,709 (100-00)	2,20,798 (54-69)	1,82,911 (54-31)	46,029 (20-85)	46,152 (25-23)	56,423 (25-26)	57,333 (31-34)
	CUTTACK DIST.	1,08,445 (100-00)	59,909 (55-24)	48,536 (54-76)	12,546 (20-94)	12,275 (25-29)	14,421 (24-08)	14,733 (30-35)
<b>3. MARRIED :</b>								
	ORISSA	3,53,848 (100-00)	1,74,910 (49-43)	1,78,938 (50-57)	-	-	-	-
	CUTTACK DIST.	95,656 (100-00)	47,472 (49-63)	48,184 (50-37)	-	-	-	-
<b>4. WIDOW :</b>								
	ORISSA	46,295 (100-00)	10,911 (23-56)	35,384 (76-44)	-	-	-	-
	CUTTACK DIST.	13,637 (100-00)	3,632 (26-63)	10,005 (73-37)	-	-	-	-
<b>5. DIVORCED OR SEPARATED :</b>								
	ORISSA	2,999 (100-00)	945 (39-99)	1,454 (60-61)	-	-	-	-
	CUTTACK DIST.	366 (100-00)	157 (44-10)	199 (56-90)	-	-	-	-

# DISTRICT AND ORISSA STATE (1981 CENSUS)

## AND CUTTACK DISTRICT OF ORISSA

Age-Group									
10-14		15-19		20-49		50-59		60 years above	
M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)	(17)	(18)	(19)
54,092 (13.28)	53,412 (13.39)	39,924 (9.79)	38,346 (9.63)	1,60,293 (39.32)	1,57,339 (39.44)	28,196 (6.95)	23,360 (5.86)	22,542 (5.54)	22,845 (5.74)
14,320 (12.88)	14,544 (13.59)	10,982 (9.87)	10,999 (9.73)	43,527 (39.16)	41,826 (39.09)	8,146 (7.33)	6,381 (5.96)	7,242 (6.51)	6,828 (6.38)
53,854 (24.40)	52,913 (28.94)	38,712 (17.53)	23,951 (13.09)	25,563 (11.59)	2,503 (1.57)	134 (0.06)	33 (0.02)	83 (0.04)	26 (0.01)
14,270 (23.82)	14,436 (29.75)	10,762 (17.96)	6,704 (13.81)	7,861 (13.12)	577 (0.78)	29 (0.05)	7 (0.01)	20 (0.03)	4 (0.008)
225 (0.13)	458 (0.26)	1,070 (0.61)	14,099 (7.88)	1,27,716 (73.02)	1,39,822 (78.14)	28,387 (16.23)	18,291 (10.22)	17,512 (10.01)	6,268 (3.50)
9 (0.10)	91 (0.19)	216 (0.45)	3,664 (7.53)	34,537 (72.75)	38,686 (80.28)	7,253 (15.29)	3,930 (8.16)	5,417 (11.41)	1,820 (3.79)
3 (0.05)	4 (0.01)	11 (0.10)	49 (0.14)	3,382 (30.99)	9,880 (27.92)	2,611 (23.94)	8,970 (25.35)	4,904 (44.94)	16,481 (46.58)
-	-	-	9 (0.09)	997 (27.46)	2,508 (25.07)	849 (23.37)	2,437 (24.36)	1,786 (49.17)	5,051 (50.48)
-	3 (0.21)	20 (2.12)	191 (13.14)	830 (87.83)	1,166 (80.19)	63 (6.67)	50 (3.44)	32 (3.38)	44 (3.02)
-	1 (0.50)	2 (1.27)	16 (8.04)	132 (84.08)	171 (85.93)	15 (9.56)	3 (1.51)	8 (5.09)	8 (4.02)

The households of those hamlets have been added to their respective Revenue villages according to Census. The total population of Jayantira comes to 2,289 of which 1,101 are males and 1,188 are females. Out of the total population of 2,289 the population of Scheduled Castes comes to 878 of which 422 are males and 456 are females.

It is seen there are 8,06,514 Panos all over the State of Orissa according to the enumeration of Census, 1981 of which 4,07,625 (50.54%) are males and 3,98,889 (49.46%) are females. If we look back on the age-groups, it is also seen that majority of the population 1,60,293 (39.32%) Pano males and 1,57,339 (39.44%) Pano females are coming within the age group of 20 to 49 years which is the active and working age-group. So also according to the Census, 1981, it is found that there are 2,18,170 Panos living only in Cuttack District of which 1,11,184 (50.96%) are males and 1,06,986 (49.04%) are females. It is also seen that 43,492 (39.11%) males and 41,797 (39.07%) females are within the age-group of 20 to 49 years of age. It is, therefore, favourable that any developmental measures be taken to improve the status of the Pano community can be well responded by the younger groups of Panos who form the majority of their population. The detail population, age-group etc. of the Pano community according to the census, 1981 can be seen from Table-I.

It is also found from this enumeration of Census, 1981 that village Jayantira with its hamlet has 388 households with a total population of 2,289 of which 1,101 (48.09%) are males and 1,188 (51.99%) are females. The total population of Scheduled Castes is 878 of which 422 (48.06%) are males and 456 (51.94%) are females. This population of 878, according to the Census which comprises all Scheduled Castes might also include Jayantira Panos who have not been specifically enumerated. However, since these Jayantira Panos were already setting in the village, it is sure that they might have been included among other Scheduled Caste

people which constituted the population to 878 in the vilage Jayantira with its hamlet which has divided into two separate villages in latter period. The details of area, households, population in Jayantira and other neighbouring villages according to the Census, 1981, can be seen from the Table-2.

TABLE 2

## VILLAGE-WISE DISTRIBUTION OF AREA, HOUSEHOLDS AND POPULATION (1981 CENSUS)

Sl. No.	Name of the Village	Census Location Code No.	Area of the village in Hectares	No. of occupied Residential Houses	No. of House-holds	Total population			Scheduled Castes						Scheduled Tribes		
						T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)	(17)	(18)
1.	Patapur	017	28.33	38	44	270 (100-00)	142 (52.59)	128 (47.41)	105 (100-00)	54 (51.45)	51 (48.57)	-	-	-	-	-	-
						Total (100-00)			(38.89)								
2	Banapur	166	275.59	133	145	876 (100-00)	458 (52.28)	418 (47.72)	203 (100-00)	99 (48.77)	104 (51.23)	5	4	5	1	4	1
						Total (100-00)			(23.17)			(0.57)					(20-00)
3	Jayanūra	106	336.29	344	388	2,289 (100-00)	1,101 (48.09)	1,188 (51.91)	878 (100-00)	422 (48.06)	456 (51.94)	-	-	-	-	-	-
						Total (100-00)			(38.36)								
4	Shyamasundarpur	107	98.89	78	90	602 (100-00)	274 (45.51)	328 (54.49)	38 (100-00)	25 (66.79)	13 (34.21)	-	-	-	-	-	-
						Total (100-00)			(6.31)								

According to the survey in 1989 the total population of Panos in the 5 neighbouring villages is 737 out of which 385 (52.24%) are males and 352 (47.76%) are females. The Jayantira Panos only concentrate in the village Jayantira itself spreading over 46 households. Their total population is 277 of which there are 140 (50.54%) males and 137 (49.46%) females. This population includes the total Pano population in the villages Jayantira, Baramania, Brahmanikul, Banapur (Shyamsundarpur) and Patpur. Patpur is away from the village with quite a good distance and other 4 villages are situated in a compact area having direct contact with each other.

The detailed information on population in age-group is shown in Table-3.

TABLE 3

## DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION OF JAYANTIRA PANOS OF JAYANTIRA AND PANOS OF OTHER FOUR VILLAGES

S. No.	Name of the village	Total House-holds Surveyed	Population		Within 0-5 years		Within 6-10 years		Within 10-14 years		Within 14-16 years		Within 17-59 years		60 years and above	
			T	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	F
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)	(17) (18)
1	Jayantira	46	277	140	137	13	14	19	22	22	21	11	8	68	63	7 9
			(100.00)	(50.54)	(49.46)	(9.38)	(10.22)	(13.57)	(16.06)	(15.72)	(15.33)	(7.86)	(5.94)	(48.57)	(45.98)	(5.00) (6.57)
2	Baramania	16	63	39	24	4	6	8	2	3	-	4	1	19	14	1 1
			(100.00)	(69.90)	(30.10)	(10.26)	(25.00)	(20.51)	(8.33)	(7.69)	-	(10.26)	(4.17)	(48.72)	(58.33)	(2.55) (4.17)
3	Bramhanikul	29	119	59	60	9	5	4	6	8	9	4	1	30	52	4 7
			(100.00)	(49.50)	(50.50)	(15.25)	(8.33)	(6.78)	(10.00)	(13.56)	(15.00)	(6.78)	(1.67)	(50.86)	(53.33)	(6.78) (11.66)
4	Shyamundarpur I	67	40	27	13	10	3	4	4	4	3	3	..	14	14	1 3
			(100.00)	(59.70)	(40.30)	(25.00)	(11.11)	(10.00)	(10.00)	(10.00)	(11.11)	(7.50)		(45.00)	(51.86)	(2.50) (11.11)
5	Patapur	54	211	107	104	10	21	9	8	7	13	7	6	69	53	5 3
			(100.00)	(50.71)	(49.29)	(9.54)	(20.19)	(8.41)	(7.68)	(6.54)	(12.51)	(6.54)	(5.77)	(64.50)	(50.96)	(4.67) (2.88)
Total		162	737	366	372	46	49	44	42	44	46	29	16	204	176	18 23
			(100.00)	(52.34)	(47.76)	(11.96)	(13.92)	(11.43)	(11.94)	(11.43)	(13.06)	(7.33)	(4.56)	(52.96)	(50.00)	(4.67) (6.53)

So far as the other scheduled castes and non-scheduled castes are concerned, there are the Brahmans, Karanas, Kharayats, Telis, Gudias, Bhandaris, Kamaras, Gaudas and Badheis living with them and there are Dhobas and Radhis who are treated as scheduled castes in the area. The total population of Brahmans in the Jayantira Mahapatra sahi is 77 out of which 44 (57.14%) are males and 33 (42.86%) are females. The Karans are 66 in number of which 28 (42.42%) are males and 38 (57.58%) are females. There are 38 Khandayat households of Jamindar Mahapatra families and their total population is 233 out of which 138 (59.23%) are males and 95 (40.77%) are females. In Shyamsundarpur, otherwise known as Banpur, there are only 21 Badhei families and their population is 109 of which 58 (53.21%) are males and 51 (46.79%) are females. Besides there is only one Brahman family with 5 males and 6 females. In Brahmanikul there are only 18 Khandayat families whose population is 179. The total males are found to be 101 (56.42%) and females 78 (43.58%). In the village Baramania also there are few households of non-scheduled castes. There are 11 Khandayat households, Teli-11, Gudia-4, Bhandari-1, Kamar-5, Gauda-7 whose total population is 118, 132, 53, 9, 39 and 63 respectively. The detailed distribution is shown in Table—4.

TABLE

DISTRIBUTION OF NON-SCHEDULED

Name of the Village	Brahmana				Karan			
	House-holds	Population			House-holds	Population		
		T	M	F		T	M	F
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
1. Jayantira (Mahapatra Sahi)	14	77 100%	44 57.14%	33 42.86%	9	66 100%	28 42.42%	38 57.58%
2. Shyam Sundar Pur (Banapur)	1	11 100%	5 45.45%	6 54.55%	..	..	..	..
3. Brahmanikul	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
4. Baramania	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

Name of the Village	Bhandari				Kamara			
	House-holds	Population			House-holds	Population		
		T	M	F		T	M	F
	(22)	(23)	(24)	(25)	(26)	(27)	(28)	(29)
1. Jayantira (Mahapatra Sahi)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
2. Shyam Sundar Pur (Banapur)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
3. Brahmanikul	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
4. Baramania	1	9 100.00%	3 33.33%	6 66.67%	5	39 100.00%	17 43.59%	22 54.41%

# POPULATION IN FOUR ADJACENT VILLAGES

Khandayat				Teli				Gudia			
House-holds	Population			House-holds	Population			House-holds	Population		
	T	M	F		T	M	F		T	M	F
(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)	(17)	(18)	(19)	(20)	(21)
38	253	188	95	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	100%	59.25%	40.73%								
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
18	179	101	78	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	100.00%	56.42%	43.58%								
11	118	57	61	11	132	62	70	4	53	28	25
	100.00%	48.30%	51.70%		100.00%	46.97%	53.03%		100.00%	52.83%	47.17%

Gauda				Badhei				All Castes (Others)			
House-holds	Population			House-holds	Population			House-holds	Population		
	T	M	F		T	M	F		T	M	F
(30)	(31)	(32)	(33)	(34)	(35)	(36)	(37)	(38)	(39)	(40)	(41)
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	6	376	210	166
									100.00%	55.85%	49.15%
..	..	..	..	2	109	58	51	22	120	63	57
					100.00%	53.21%	46.79%		100.00%	52.50%	47.50%
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	18	179	101	78
									100.00%	56.42%	43.58%
7	63	29	34	..	..	..	..	39	414	196	218
	100.00%	46.03%	53.97%						100.00%	47.34%	52.66%

Apart from the said non-scheduled population there are other scheduled caste families who also remain at a distance from the Panos of other villages as well as the Jayantira Panos at Jayantira village. These families are Dhobas or Washermen who live in 11 families in Brahmanikul village. The total population is 67 out of which 29 (43.28%) are males and 38 (56.72%) are females. Another scheduled caste group, called Radhis are also found in the region. Their traditional occupation is catching fish and they enjoy equal rank with the Gokha community in the coastal area. Their population is found in 6 households in Shyamsundarpur (Banapur) and the population is 43 of which 21 (48.83%) are males and 22 (51.17%) are females. In Brahmanikul there are 14 families whose total population is 143, out of which 74 (51.71%) are males and 69 (48.25%) are females. The detailed distribution of these population is shown in Table—5.

TABLE 5

## HOUSEHOLD AND POPULATION OF SCHEDULED CASTES (NON-PANO) IN THE STUDY VILLAGES

Name of the village	Dhoba		Radhi	
	Households	Population	Households	Population
		Total Male Female		Total Male Female
1	2	3 4 5	6	7 8 9
Shyamsu ndarpur	-	- - -	6	43 21 22 (100.00) (48.83) (51.17)
Brahmanikul	11	67 29 38 (100.00) (43.28) (56.72)	14	143 74 69 (100.00) (51.75) (48.25)

## Literacy

Like food, clothing and shelter, education is also a significant necessity. Life without education does not have any meaning. A blind man cannot see anything and he depends on nature to feel anything since he has lost his sight. But a person who is illiterate can neither perceive anything nor express his feelings in writing. The importance of education is not understood by them. There are illiterate persons who have given good education to their children and also there are highly educated and cultured persons whose children are uneducated.

The importance of education was not understood properly by the untouchable castes in the past. Their traditional callings did not encourage them to pursue education. The stigma of untouchability also discouraged them to go to schools to receive proper education. Thereby they never received formal education. On the other hand, the higher caste people were encouraged by their parents and relatives to get proper education and the environment also helped them to achieve the goal. As such most of the higher caste groups occupy high position in service and were more enlightened where as the lower untouchable groups remained as illiterate labourers and served in the families of higher castes as domestic servants with petty income, scanty food and clothing annually.

They were to obey the orders of their masters and mistresses for which they were paid. It so happened in the village Jayantira and four adjacent villages. The Mahapatra Jamindars were cultured and enlightened persons so they could educate their children properly. The survey indicates that now there is a person who belongs to the Indian administrative Service working at Delhi, one Engineer, one M.phil degree holder, four Degree holders in Master of Arts, two in Master of Science, one in Master of Commerce and one in Master of Arts with Bachelor of Education and quite a good number of graduates and matriculates. There are also number of students going to schools and colleges. On the other hand, there is not even a graduate among the Jayantira Panos. Out of total population of 277, 4 are in the higher secondary level. Total illiterates are 131 which accounts for 47.29 per cent of the total Jayantira Pano population. As such the Jayantira Panos were engaged as personal servants in the educated Mahapatra Jamindar families for generations and eked out their living. If we

compare other Panos of the four near by villages there are more illiterates compared to the Jayantira Panos. Except one Pano in Patapur village and who is above secondary level there is not a single educated Pano above secondary level in other 3 villages i.e. Baramania, Brahmanikul and Shyamsundarpur. The traditional occupation, like beating drums and playing mahuri, making bamboo baskets for sale etc. by which they earn their livelihood throughout the year. They need assistance of their children in these work for which they were not allowed to go to schools. The parents of both boys and girls were interested to give the marriage of their children in early age so that they might help in their daily work. As a result of which there were early child birth and entire burden of the management of family rested on their heads from childhood and for this they could not get education.

Due to lack of education and proper employment, the Jayantira Panos alongwith other Panos were remaining idle. The service in the houses of rich Jamindar was not enough to earn their livelihood for which they were compelled to run without food and unable to get a square meal per day. They did not get any opportunity to engage in other works. Jajpur which was the main market centre and holy place of 'Biraja Shrikshetra' was not easily approached by them due to lack of proper communication and financial constraints. Thus the idle mind due to lack of employment opportunities gradually grew up in them and turned devil's workshop. They started resorting to stealing and snatching away other's property. The aspect of literacy of the Jayantira Panos and other Panos in nearby villages shows much difference. In Jayantira village where the so-called criminals once had their dwelling places with course of their action, many young men and women have been able to receive education even some of them (2.86%) have received education in different colleges and university where as other Panos except Patpur (0.93%) who have no such education. No other Pano of Baramania, Brahmanikul or Shyamsundarpur has received such education. An interesting factor is that out of total literacy of Jayantira Pano i.e. 52.71% majority of such percentage 48.32 is found in primary level. It shows that the children of Jayantira Pano families are encouraged to have good education and good service. The literacy position of Panos and Jayantira Panos can be seen from Table 6 and 7.

TABLE

**DISTRIBUTION OF LITERATES AMONG THE  
PANOS OF**

Sl. No.	Name of the village	Total Households surveyed	Total population			Illiterate	
			T	M	F	M	F
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
1.	Jayanira	46	277 (100-00)	140 (50-54)	137 (49-46)	46 (32-87)	85 (62-04)
2.	Baramania	16	63 (100-00)	39 (69-90)	24 (30-10)	18 (46-15)	19 (79-16)
3.	Brahmanikul	29	119 (100-00)	59 (49-58)	60 (50-42)	27 (45-76)	49 (81-67)
4.	Shyamsundarpur	17	67 (100-00)	40 (59-70)	27 (40-30)	27 (67-50)	24 (88-89)
5.	Patapur	54	211 (100-00)	107 (50-71)	104 (49-29)	61 (57-00)	92 (88-46)
TOTAL		162	737 (100-00)	386 (52-24)	352 (47-76)	179 (46-49)	269 (76-42)

# PANOS OF FOUR ADJACENT VILLAGES AND JAYANTIRA JAYANTIRA VILLAGE

Literate without any level		Primary		M.E.		Secondary		Above Secondary	
M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)	(17)	(18)
14 (10-00)	10 (7-29)	37 (26-49)	30 (21-39)	20 (14-28)	5 (3-66)	19 (13-57)	7 (5-11)	4 (2-86)	..
6 (15-58)	1 (4-16)	12 (30-77)	4 (16-67)	2 (5-15)	..	1 (2-96)	..	..	..
11 (18-64)	2 (3-33)	10 (16-96)	7 (11-67)	7 (11-67)	1 (1-67)	4 (6-78)	1 (1-67)	..	..
6 (15-00)	1 (3-70)	6 (15-00)	2 (7-40)	..	..	1 (3-70)	..	..	..
12 (11-21)	..	10 (9-34)	9 (8-66)	12 (11-21)	1 (0-96)	11 (10-28)	2 (1-92)	1 (0-92)	..
49 (12-75)	14 (9-98)	75 (19-48)	52 (14-77)	41 (10-65)	7 (1-98)	36 (9-35)	10 (2-84)	5 (1-29)	..

**TABLE**  
**DISTRIBUTION OF LITERACY POPULATION**

S. No.	Levels of Literacy	0-5		5-10		10-15	
		M	F	M	F	M	F
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
1. Illiterate		12	14	7	8	2	10
2. Literate without any level		..	..	..	..	..	..
3. Primary		1	..	12	13	12	8
4. M. E.		..	..	1	..	3	2
5. Secondary		..	..	..	1	5	1
6. Higher Secondary		..	..	..	..	..	..
7. Others		-	..	..	..	..	..
8. Total		13	14	19	22	22	21

Percentage of Literacy = 52.71%  
 Percentage of Male Literacy = 67.14%  
 Percentage of Female Literacy = 37.96%

7  
AMONG THE JAYANTIRA PANOS

15-17		17-59		59 and above		Total		Total population
M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	
(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)	(17)
3	3	16	42	6	8	46	85	131 (47.90)
..	..	13	9	1	1	14	10	24 (8.66)
3	3	9	6	..	..	37	30	67 (24.19)
2	..	15	3	..	..	20	5	25 (9.33)
3	2	11	3	..	..	19	7	26 (9.09)
..	..	4	..	..	..	4	..	4 (1.81)
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
11	8	68	63	7	9	140 (50.54)	137 (49.46)	277 (100.00)

## CHAPTER-IV

### THE JAYANTIRA PANOS AS 'EX-CRIMINALS'

We have already discussed in the previous pages that there is no specific caste as Jayantira Pano. Then why are they called so. And what is the mystery behind the so-called 'Jayantira Panos'? Was it because they lived in the village Jayantira that they were known as such or there were some more reasons for that? If it is a fact, then why the Panos of Dasarathpur are not called as Dasarathpuria Pano or why the Panos of Jajpur are not called as Jajpuria Pano? The only reason can be that they were 'Jayantira Pano' ex-criminals. It is also interesting that the very mention of Jayantira Pano was creating terror not only in the local areas but also in far more distant villages. From the field survey it is revealed that they were not murderers (ghatakas) of innocent lives nor did they make any attempt to rape any young woman 'Dharsaka'. The very name of Jayantira Pano caused tremendous fear to all alike that any property of other people desired by them can no way be saved from their eyes. It is heard from the field that a powerful British Police Officer 'Darogasaheb' also failed to save his properties even though the Jayantira Pano dacoits committed burglary by giving prior notice. The highly technical methods which they were employing saved them from being caught red handed. Informants said that some of them who were indulging in such activities were feeling proud of their own deeds and taking them as challenges. Question may arise as to who made this highly ambitious community criminals and who came close to

the then powerful Jamindars more than the higher clean caste people and leading good living of so-called 'Piadas' ?

The study reveals that just after the new Panos were settled in the village they were looked down upon by their own community who had been living in these area since long time. They felt restless when the new Panos were brought by Jamindars. Since the Jamindar family brought the new Panos, they might have employed them in their works ignoring the interests of the earlier Panos. Thus virtually there was non-co-operation not only from the side of higher clean caste people but also from their own community since Jayantira Panos exercised more power than their counterparts and came in the good books of powerful Jamindars. The same situation did not prevail in all times. Consequently their population increased and the Jamindars might not have been able to give adequate attention to all members of the Jayantira Pano families and for this reason they might have sought for other sources of income to eke out their living. Failing to satisfy their wants they might have taken to burglary. Initially they might have committed small thefts, like stealing small items, such as vegetables or old clothes etc. and this might have encouraged them to indulge in bigger crimes. The field study reveals that only few families who could not get direct employment by the Jamindars resorted to feed their children. Consequently they were involved in bigger crimes by coming in contact with efficient gangs from Bengal and it will be narrated in the preceding pages. Informants said that those types of people who were not satisfied with their petty income derived from agricultural labour desired to steal valuables and wealth of rich people. Thus they only took attempts for the valuables of rich persons and sometimes distributed a negligible portion among poors so that God might not punish them for their wrong doings. There is an interesting legend behind the so-called crimes of Jayantira Panos. The legend according to the informants is

described as "Sati Chaura" situated on the banks of Baitarani River behind the Faudari Matha. They said that there was a tradition in those days that a married woman had to kill herself wilfully or forcefully by the community in the pyre of her deceased husband. Such thing also happened during the time when the Mahapatra Jamindars arrived at Jayantira and Sati Chaura is marked as the memory of Sati, the late queen of the then Raja C.S. Roy Mohapatra who wilfully become Sati after the death of her husband. According to the legend there was a tradition that people had to offer various things including their labour to get the blessings of 'Sati' before she entered to the pyre. Since Jayantira Panos were regarded as untouchables their only offering was given in the form of labour. The community contributed to dig hole 'Juigada' for the pyre with the help of an iron crow-bar with folded hands. When 'Sati' was proceeding towards the pyre in tearful eyes, she blessed the Jayantira Panos by touching the iron crow-bar, so that they will be able to grow more crops through the agricultural implement prepared out of that iron. It is believed that an implement, 'Sindhi Kathi' to drill the walls of the house which was used by criminals to enter into the houses of a rich person was made out of that crow-bar and was used by the so-called Jayantira Panos. The legend may or may not be true since by nature it has no historical evidence. But it is observed that the Jayantira Panos, the so-called "ex-criminals" were very much expert in using this type of 'Sindhi Kathi' during their criminal activities. There was a specific procedure to prepare such 'Sindhi Kathi'. It was made by heating an iron red-hot at an auspicious moment by specific persons of Blacksmith community. The procedure of manufacturing was kept top secret since the instrument was used for illegal work such as, burglary. In order to escape from the eyes of police personnels neither the makers nor the procedure of making 'Sindhi Kathi' was publicly known for which during the field study it was very difficult to know the art of making the implement. However, few facts are mentioned

here which are collected from the field. It was a belief that unless the instrument is made on the procedure of black magic it would fail to achieve the goal. The maker who was only of its kind with expertise was demanding heavy charges and getting remuneration according to his demand.

### **The procedure of making the instrument**

According to the information gathered from the field, 'Sindhi Kathi' was the main implement of Jayantira Pano dacoits used during theft. It was a type of drilling rod by which they were making a sizable hole on the wall from outside through which they were entering into the house when all members were fast asleep. Those 'Sindhi Kathi' were of two types both made of iron. One type of implement was used to make hole on the door from outside at the root of the chain for locking the door so that the door could be opened even if it was locked. It was a sharp-edged, one sided arrow type tool which could drill the wood quickly without producing any sound. The second type of the instrument was made like drilling rod so that it drilled both brick and stone walls very quickly without producing any sound so that the house owner could not know about the activities of the thieves.

It was believed that both implements were prepared in midnight on any lunar eclipse with the recitation of some specific 'mantra'. All Blacksmiths could not make the implements. Only two persons were required, a female and a male either related by blood or related distantly who should work fully naked in darkness. The male should essentially be the elder brother of the husband of the female who had to hold the red-hot iron and give shape whereas the female had to handle the leather blower and to hammer the iron. Nobody had the interest for such work due to the fact that both workers should keep distance and avoid each other

according to the Hindu custom and it was also next to impossible to work naked in the dark. Above all, there was every chance to be caught by the policemen and it was also very shameful matter.

After completion of the work, both of them were to take a purificatory bath and wear new clothes in the night for which every article of the puja and purifiactory baths should be supplied by the customer. Since it was expected to earn more money by using the instrument and since it was kept top secret by the Blacksmith who was making the instrument, he was offered high amount of money, gold and other things by the criminals. Thus one Blacksmith family, it is believed, did such work namely J.Ojha whose house was at Baramania. He had one son, named Basu and a daughter who died leaving her widower husband. B.Ojha the successor is still living with his four daughters and two sons of his first wife and two sons of his second wife after death of B. Ojha. According to the Police Officers, those instruments were used earlier by criminals in the absence of modern instruments. Although no concrete information has been obtained on the procedure of making the 'Sindhi Kathi' yet such weapons were used by the ex-criminals. J. Ojha become very rich at that time whereas others belonging to his community could not make so much wealth. It was, therefore, believed that he was making such instruments, and supplying to those criminals. The most surprising fact according to the informants were that, though many of the neighbouring people were well aware of the fact of making these instruments by J. Ojha none was courageous to inform the matter to the police. J. Ojha and his family members could do their jobs and accumulate wealth from the criminals very comfortably. It was believed that those instruments were preserved in sacred manner with secret annual devotional worship to Goddess Kali on every Kartik Amabasya

day which usually falls in the month of October-November every year and immediately after the Puja those were utilised for committing the theft on that very night. If they could freely escape from the spot without being caught, they had the belief that they could comfortably do their work with the instrument throughout the year. But if there were any mishap or some how they could be traced in the first instance, they had the belief that they would be facing lot of troubles throughout the year. Because of this fact the theft committed on the first night on the Kartik Amabasya was very important for them. They carefully managed and no where have they been caught red-handed during that period. According to their belief they were caught red-handed when they failed to satisfy the Goddess in the worship of 'Sandhikathi'. There is a saying in Sankrit 'Sansarga Ja Dosa Guna Bhabanti'—good and evil are borrowed from companionship. The Jayantira Panos also could not escape from this. There is another untouchable caste called 'Radhi' whose profession is fishing. Though they are regarded as untouchables, they remained higher than the level of water untouchable castes. The economic condition of the Radhis were also not sound for which they might have established friendship with Jayantira Panos. Most of the Radhis were settled in Lalbag and Kaiyan Gola coastal villages on sea. They also encouraged them to meet the efficient gangs of criminals of Bengal through sea-route. It is known that one of them was C. Gokha of Kaiyangola who had good relation with J. Jena, a well-known ex-criminal who was trained by his father, the ex-criminal P. Jena. The said P. Jena was the master of ex-criminals who brought a beautiful Brahman girl from Balasore area to whom he married at Jayantira. He not only did marry the Brahmin girl but also arranged to bring another sister of the girl and gave her in marriage to his younger brother B. Jena. Both the marriages were of course approved by the caste council. Another type of community, called 'Jogi' who are not untouchables but regarded as clean caste also kept good relation with these ex-

criminals. Mostly the Jogis of Talabandha near Jajpur were involved in petty theft and made good profit out of it. The traditional profession of the Jogis was to beg alms with pumpkin gourd pots from door to door while playing with a stringed musical instrument, called 'Kendera'. The total earning from alms was not sufficient for their requirement. Since they were moving from door to door it was an advantage for them to approximately evaluate the economic status of households which could be targets for looking. They might have been good informants for the Jayantira Pano. However, it is known that the economic condition of the Jayantira Panos encouraged them to steal smaller articles of others which also gradually tempted them to indulge in larger burglary alongwith others. It is also observed from field study that two of them R. Jena and P. Jena went to Bengal and expertised in the act of criminality and later became effective criminals. At that time the importance of British Administration was not fully experienced in the area and the so-called Jamindars were all powerful. Approprixmately between 1930 and 1940, there was a bungalow and horse-shed for British officers, Magistrates and Officers were resting during their inspection in that period. Till 1793 A.D. the so-called Jamindars were finalising and ordering punishments in civil and criminal cases. They could not be able to purchase Jamindari as per Sunset Law of British Administrators at Calcutta in 1793, for which the powers exercised by Bengali Jamindari limited the scopes for them. They might have been encouraged to accumulate more wealth for purchase of more Jamindari which could only be possible with the help of Jayantira Panos. In other words, the so-called ex-criminals might have been encouraged by the Jamindars for which they tried to be experts in the act of theft so that by giving a major share they might be comfortable under the protection of Jamindars. We have already stated that due to heavy flood of Baitarani river the then Jamindar Mangaraj of Katia shifted his residence in 1927 to Dasarathpur from the bank of the

river after the construction of embankment in 1895 where as the families of Jamindar Mahapatra of Jayantira remained on the same bank with much troubles and exists even now. Then what are the reasons for taking so much of troubles ? It might be that some dissatisfied groups of Jamindar family would have tried to expose the powerful ones. It was much convenient for the so-called ex-criminals and the said members to discuss the confidential matters at their residence without any hinderance and also there might not be any difficulties for distribution of shares among persons. Thus the Jamindars might have played a greater role in making the Jayantira Panos greater criminals.

Another reason for the involvement may be the great famine of 1866 which was a threat to Orissa. It is so called 'Na-Anka-Durvikshya' since it occurred in the ninth year or 'Anka' of the Gajapati Maharaja of Puri. During this period several people died of hunger for non-availability of food. Many people also left home and sought for shelter outside. It is believed that among others many criminals of Orissa went to Calcutta where they got better training and enhanced their criminality. It might also be a fact that the so-called Jayantira Pano ex-criminals would have found way to do that by which R. Jena and P. Jena became experts in criminal art. It is also heard that there was similar type of criminals at Cuttack, known as 'Bihari'. He was equally expert, like R. Jena and P. Jena.

### **The Criminal Acts**

We have already mentioned that Panos of Jayantira were safe under the shelter of the then Jamindars and were well protected by them. It was not that the so-called Jamindars, out of the fears for saving life and property from criminals were doing so but because of benefits that they were deriving out of the strength of those people. Situation changed when the British Police Officers were compelled to interfere directly ignoring the suggestions of the then Jamindars. So the clever Jamindars started maintaining

certain distance from the suspected criminals for they feared that when suspected criminals were severely tortured by Policemen they would disclose their names too. Since the Jamindars were commanding a lot of respect and had close relationship with the then Police Officers suspicion might have also increased in the minds of tortured that the facts might be revealed by the Jamindars to the police. It is heard that from those days the suspected criminals started taking opium. It might also be a fact that in order to get relief from the pain they took opium and gradually it formed in habit and doses of intake increased day by day. Gradually they were more accustomed to a kind of intoxicant locally known as 'Guli'. Their intimacy began to grow more with the suppliers of opium and guli than with the Jamindars. It is said that a famous businessman N. Panda and also S. Sahu of Dasarathpur became more acquainted with them. N. Panda became so close that he began supplying information about the proper place to be targeted for accumulating more wealth by theft. By doing this he was getting in return equal amount of gold with opium from the criminals which was exchanged in dead of nights. It is revealed that Natha Panda, though exonerated in the court yet he was arrested by the police and punished under Sections 109 and 110 of the Criminal Procedure Code. Another person of the same group, as observed was S. Sahu. Shri Sahu was very clever and he exchanged the materials at mid-night without any help. Opium was stored at a particular place where the co-called Jayantira Pano customers reached with their stolen goods and exchanged the goods without the knowledge of any one. If it was at all the fact then how did Jayantira Panos give as much wealth as could be demanded leaving nothing for their future generations ? Some more persons were of the opinion that it was better to give it to others for obtaining luxury goods than to give to the Police Personnels and Jamindars who were not their well-wishers. Since those valuables were not hard-earned goods no importance was given on proper

valuation. Of course, none of the informants claimed as eye witnesses of these facts, yet all believed to be true. Then what were the acts of crimes ? According to information, the so-called ex-criminals were primarily collecting clues from different sources and after, being confirmed by the experts of the gang, they were making a systematic plan to enter into the houses on a particular dark night specially on new moon fortnights. The work of different persons in the gang were systematically allotted by the head of the gang and the puja was offered to Goddess Kali where all had to promise not to enter into the kitchen or the worshipping house, temple nor to take any life or to destroy the prestige of any woman of the family of the owner. It was also believed that the head of the gang was expert in every art of crime and also he expertised knowledge in black magic. So by throwing little sacred dust he could make all the house members fast asleep in order to finish all works before they woke up.

### **Implements used and act of criminality**

It was believed that the implements which were used did not contain any firearms like guns, rifles, bullets nor any bombs or hand granades which were generally used by modern criminals. Those were of two types. The first type of implements were 'Sindhikathi' which was used to make hole on the wall and break the locking arrangement of doors and some special types of hooks and hammers to open the boxes and iron-chests; and the second type of implements contained sharp edged knives, axes and bamboo rods to threaten people whoever came to confront with them. The most important factor was strict discipline among them and they were so well organised that no body could be able to trace them at the time of their work nor could enter to the houses or lift the articles. Some informants are also of opinion that though the so-called ex-criminals were sympathetic to the chastity of women and lives of the persons yet they were most furious to the wrong doers of the gang and also had least pity for the persons

who failed to save themselves from the eyes of the owners. It was also a practice that some persons of the village out of getting share were inviting the said criminals and were giving secret shelters to the criminals at their own houses from where they were proceeding to the spot at the fixed time and committing crime. One of such informants was living in the village Bitra and he had a beautiful young daughter. One of the gang members of the said criminals was S. Jena (unmarried) who was acting under the guidance of the team leader B. Jena. Before proceeding from the house of informant to the spot he was attracted with beauty of the daughter of the informant and misbehaved with her and this was disclosed to the team leader at the time of distribution of share. The team leader was furious and while returning home on the way he suddenly attacked his said colleague, and after killing him hanged the body on the branch of a tree because he breached the discipline.

There was also another similar incident when one of the gang members lost his life at the command of his team leader. During course of action, after making a big hole through the 'Sindhikathi' one of the gang used to push a leg through the hole and touched the body of sleeping member so that he could observe whether any one was not asleep. If the persons who were sleeping did not awake, gang members alongwith others did enter to the room through the hole. Fortunately or unfortunately, during the crime at Bhadrak one of gang members while pushing the leg was caught by the house wife and he could not pull his leg from outside. It was felt that if the member was left alive he might disclose about the other members of the gang. Hence, the leader cut the head of his colleague to whom he suspected to be caught and all the team members escaped with the head. It is, therefore, observed that the team leader could apply any technique, even murder his own colleague to save the entire gang for which till the end no one could either be caught by the house owner or by the

Police Personnels red-handed. Above stories narrated by the informants may or may not be true but at least some people had the knowledge about the art of efficient crime during the period. Another such incident may be cited as example. Most important nature of the said ex-criminals was to challenge the powerful persons, like Police Officers and big Jamindars before lifting their properties at the scheduled time. It is heard that the notable leader of the said gang B. Jena once challenged and intimated the date and time to a white Police Officer who perfectly locked the room of the treasury and employed armed forces every where in the compound so that the criminals could not get any scope to enter in to the compound. Cleaver man, it is said, made a tunnel from a distant place and opened the hole at the point of the treasury. It was the time when the evening puja was being performed at the nearest temple and the guards could not hear the sound of opening the treasury within the short time of 'arati' and he finished the work and escaped through the same tunnel. Since the room was still locked from the outside the guards could not believe the entry of the criminal into the room. After achieving the goal B. Jena went to the Police Officer and showed him the wealth of his treasury that were lifted at the scheduled time. The British Police Officer was surprised with this act and rewarded him for his wit and courage. If some one heard that he might feel as if he is hearing bed-time stories. It is difficult to believe about the challenge of a criminal to a British Police Officer and it is also not believable that the same criminal other than being taken to custody would be rewarded by the Police Officer for this act. However, the techniques of the crime are worth mentioning.

The so-called criminals, though very cruel to their colleagues for negligence in duties yet they were very affectionate towards their family members. It is also said that once the wife of said B. Jena could see a beautiful woman going with the family. She wore a costly Banarasi saree which attracted her. She requested her

husband to get that very saree for her. In order to please his wife B. Jena went to snatch away that saree at night which was very easy task for him. He followed them to the house and at dead night he hid himself on the 'Sangha' left at the roof of the house and marked that the lady was still wearing the same saree and slept on the bed. He made out a plan to obtain the thing from her. So silently he urinated from the top by which the urine dropped down in the body of the woman. The woman thought that a cat might have urinated. So she put off the saree which she kept it at a distance by her and slept again by putting on a new saree. After a few hours when the couple was fast asleep B. Jena came down silently, lifted it and presented to his wife. It shows that the Jayantira Panos were very clever and talented but unfortunately utilised it for illegal and anti-social activities. Gradually with the passage of time some of the petty thieves and snatchers became noted criminals and rushed to the big city of Calcutta with their gang members to plunder the wealth of the rich. They not only committed these acts there but also at times there were incidents of such crimes in distant villages within 10 to 12 kilometres from Jayantira and as a result, the people of nearby villages were afraid of them during night. By this time the British Police Officers were staying at Jajpur. It was felt necessary to open a Beat House to watch the movement of so-called criminals at Jayantira. Thus in 1920 the Police authorities opened the B.T. house at Jayantira and posted a constable to inform about the position of Jayantira village. Consequently with the increase in the number of crimes, the staff of the Beat House was also increased in the year 1945 and an Assistant Sub-inspector of Police was placed there as the head of the Beat House to have a thorough look upon the movements of the criminals. The Sub-Inspector of Police frequently visited the Beat House and ordered daily attendance of the suspected criminals twice or thrice at night so that they could not be able to leave their houses at night. Even then more crimes took place. The Indian Police Officials posted by British Government at Beat House tried

to mishandle those persons. They not only threatened the suspected criminals and forcibly collected money from them but also at times they allowed them to steal from outside for which their attendance was kept perfect in the Beat House. The aim of those Police officials were to get major share from the stolen properties. For the convenience of the work they also employed a Jayantira Pano as watch man whose name was M.Jena. His duty was to inform about the movement of suspected criminals. Since he was also a Jayantira Pano, some times he was also tortured by the constable and asked to pay either cash or kind. It so happened that he was asked by the then Havildar M.Khan to supply a big cock for the festive of 'Id'. Though he had promised to contribute the bird yet he failed to do so for which constable Khan beat him with the shoes and as a result M.Jena died instantly at the Beat House. We have already mentioned that the so-called Jayantira Panos were addicted to opium. Because of the torture by police the victims would have tried to ease the pain by taking little bit of opium which gradually formed a habit of taking Guli. Gradually the chasing of Police was so severe that they did not even spare the family members of the suspects. We have already mentioned that some of the families of so-called Jamindars were also dissatisfied with their lineage group i.e. Jayantira Jamindar Mahapatra since they could not get adequate share from them. It might be a fact that those persons could have persuaded the Jayantira Pano criminals not to give any valuables since Jayantira Jamindars were not willing to extend any help at the cost of their own interests which might endanger their position and prestige in future. Those contributions to the Mahapatras were rather a loss which could rather be utilised for the benefits of their own fellowmen who earned it with a great risk to their lives. It could also be a reason that after separation from the closest so-called benevolents they would have taken different type of intoxicating things in order to forget the sorrows of separation. Thus they not only accepted guli but also tried to lead a life challenging the rich

Jamindars. It is said that B. Jena was leading the life of a king and his wife was served by a number of maid servants. She was even carried in a palanquin by bearers and maid servants were serving for her daily ablution. His house was decorated with very expensive articles, and was almost a match with the house of the then Jamindars. It could only be possible since he was collecting huge sums of money, gold and jewellery from the thefts conducted from the house of the very big merchants at Calcutta, for which he employed a number of secret informants. This inspired him and his associates to acquire more improved techniques for stealing. During the most turbulent period one Sub-Inspector of Police, Mr. Padhi, was posted at Jajpur Police Station who paid frequent visits to the Beat House at Jayantira. He was a very efficient Police Officer and tried to collect information from various sources. His brutal tortures on any suspect created panic in the entire Jajpur area. As observed in the field the so-called cleaver Jamindars hurriedly discontinued their personal relations with the criminals to save themselves from police. Some of the dissatisfied groups who did not get proper share from Jamindari also helped the police and persuaded the innocent Panos to boycott with the ex-criminals so that the real culprits could be brought to law. The ultimate result was that the entire village of Jayantira were compelled to remain segregated from the Pano community in social boycott. The non-co-operative activities from the side of the Pano community manifested itself in different forms. They did not invite the Jayantira Panos to the communal functions nor did they arrange marriages with their sons and daughters. The communal priest (Baishnab) was not allowed to preside over the functions of Jayantira Panos. The higher caste people were by nature avoiding them for their low status and the only community of their own who were the source of their hope also maintained distance from them. Many people from 'Savarna' also spoke against the Jayantira Panos and persuaded the other people of the Pano community not to cooperate with them so that Jayantira

Panos would suffer and dissuade themselves from the act of criminality. Many of the Panos thought that the valuables that were collected during thefts were not shared by all of the community, so it was not desirable that the entire community should suffer for Jayantira Panos. It was decided by the caste council to boycott Jayantira Panos from the main community. Many troubles came up when all the members of Jayantira Panos were ostracised. They had to violate the caste rules to arrange marriages among the boys and girls in the same village of Jayantira. They had to manage without the services of priest and also they had to dispose off the deads by themselves. A few of them who were rich and had enough money to capture the leaders of the Panos of other villages did not take any interest to finalise the conflicts among Panos and Jayantira Panos rather they spent lavishly for themselves. The displeased group of Jayantira Pano could neither get any financial help from so-called criminals nor could they escape from the police and social tortures. This situation further forced them to take action against the so-called criminals for whom the innocent people of the village were suffering. A village committee was formed and the dissatisfied group united to socially boycott the so-called criminals. The death of M. Jena was a challenge for them and they not only tried to take united efforts against the atrocity of police but also tried to expose the persons for whom the innocent people were being tortured.

The united efforts could gain strength not only from Jayantira but also from neighbouring villages. Not only the leaders of criminals but also all suspects could not get way to go out to earn such wealth. They could not even remain in peace in their own houses. All the doors from the side of clean caste people, untouchables, Jamindars, Police and also from their kiths and kins started closing down on them. Finding no way they tried to spend their secret savings to purchase opium and guli. These being very expensive the economic condition of the so-called

criminals started deteriorating. It so happened that some of the women of the so-called ex-criminals who were fed with silver spoons started working on daily wages for handful of grains to feed their children. A few families of ferocious leaders left the village and few of them suffered from diseases for lack of proper treatment and this was mostly due to non-availability of opium.

Two or three so-called ex-criminals also died of leprosy. Though the terrorism of the so-called criminals were checked to a greater extent, torture by police continued. The local employees, like Havildar and Sipahis in the establishment of British Police tried to extract more wealth by scolding and punishing them on the plea that it would help Government to discover more facts pertaining to crimes committed by the Jayantira Panos. Gradually more and more calamities were faced by the Jayantira Pano ex-criminals and the real intension of the local police officers and the employees posted at the Beat House was exposed before the general people. This drew the attention of public to gather strength against the brutal police force in that period.

### **The war of independence in India**

A faourable wind started blowing when the people of India rose against the Britishers to achieve their independence. Freedom fighters, like Gadadhar Dutta and Santanu Kumar Das paid regular visit to the area and motivated the people to join the war of independence under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi and follow the path of the Mahatma. Almost all the people of the area irrespective of caste and creed joined the war of independence where Jayantira Panos were also welcomed. One of the efficient workers of the locality, Bhagaban Sahoo, took the leadership and conducted a number of public meeting where huge gathering cheared the decision of the 'Lokameli'. All the people of 'Lokameli' sympathised the torture of the innocent Jayantira Panos and other people of the area by the then cruel

British police. A sudden and violent attack was launched on the Beat House and despite the profits of a few sepoys and Jamindars, it was completely burnt to ashes, along with all its furnitures, papers and documents. That was first step of Lokameli for the noble cause of the freedom of the country. On the eve of the freedom movement in India, the powers of local Jamindars were consolidated to greater extent by the fresh revisions of revenue rules by British administrators. Accordingly they were also welcomed to join hands in the unification to which they gladly accepted. All decided to shift the 'Beat House' and start the police-station at Mangalpur since there was no reason to function a unit at Jayantira where there was no trace of criminal activity. Consequently, the new police-station was opened at Mangalpur, 3 kilometers away from Jayantira,

The war of independence opened a new path for Jayantira Panos to rehabilitate themselves both socially and economically. Since the reasons for which they were ostracised by other Panos were no more valid and they were also sympathised by all other Panos and they once again welcomed the Jayantira Panos to their society and all restrictions were withdrawn in order to have new relationship in all aspects of social life.

In the beginning of the fourth decade of the twentieth Century the backbones of the so-called ex-criminals were broken. Many of them were homeless and the famous leaders of the various gangs were prosecuted in Calcutta. People were safe from criminals but the families of the criminals suffered. There is not a single survivor from M. Jena and P. Jena's families. D. Jena died of T.B. and his only grandson had absconded. P. Jena left behind seven grandsons and grand daughters and great grandson G. Jena has lost all his properties and has settled down at Baramania. The only survival of the generation of this so-called criminals is Smt. S. Bewa who is the grand daughter of C. Jena, the noted criminal of Jayantira. She was married but she

not only lost her husband but also lost her only daughter. She adopted the son of the sister of her deceased husband, who was also unfortunate not to have any child of his own and adopted a son of his brother-in-law (wife's brother). According to Smt. S. Bewa many people say many things. Some say that Jamindars were responsible to make innocent Jayantira Panos as criminals. Some say that the Police people also encouraged them to 'give and take' through criminality. But no body said anything about their kith and kins. Our people are very selfish. When they were getting benefits they pledged to be their own but at the time of their downfall they not only befriended them but also took away their property and rendered them homeless. G. Jena is such an example who lives in a very miserable condition at Baramania leaving all his properties to be enjoyed by other's. "We were not born when our forefathers came here. But we have heard that they were brought by Jamindar Raja. They were treated as sons and daughters. They were fed by them and even now they are feeding us. Our people have betrayed them. They have spoiled the agriculture of Jamindar by carelessly grazing cows. Even our child has lowered their prestige by kidnapping a married woman with child. Still then they have the same affection. We are fed from their land, we have made houses on their land and even when we are without food they were generously contributing a handful of grain to us". Smt. Bewa could not stop her rolling tears when she confessed the above words.

However, it is also observed that majority of the families are poor. Government have also taken every effort to raise their economic condition but it is not adequate. Their economic condition is still very low and it is discussed in the next Chapter.

## CHAPTER-V

### SOCIO-ECONOMIC PROFILE

The Pano houses are generally found situated at the outskirts of villages. The houses are very small with thatched roofs and mud walls. The maximum number of rooms per family is generally two where all members of the family try to adjust themselves. There is no separate room for kitchen nor any extra room for storage. The poultry shed remains close to the living rooms. Their houses lack proper ventilation and hygienic condition. Due to economic disabilities they can not repair the roofs every year for which rain water drips down during rainy season causing inconvenience to the family. No approach roads are provided to the houses and several difficulties are faced to go to a Pano habitat. Jayantira Pano being a section of Pano face similar difficulties.

Generally in rural areas, a group of people preferably from the community of carpenters/astrologers prescribe the ground plan for construction of new houses. They are popularly known as 'Silpi'. They propose to fix auspicious dates for the work and perform a puja before starting the work where they themselves preside over the function. He gets suitable remuneration for this ceremonial work. Since the Panos or Jayantira Panos are untouchables, these higher caste people, in past, were maintaining distance and since their habitation was unclean and surrounding dirty, many of the Silpis refused to do any work for them. Due to the low economic condition of the Jayantira Pano, houses were made without any proper plan. Moreover Pano community had no such person to do this difficult task since it involved knowledge in mathematics and astronomy.

The above circumstances have forced the Jayantira Panos to live in small houses on the bank of the Patapur Nai on the plots provided by the Jamindars. All the surroundings of plots were covered with bushes and leaves and often with animal excreta. The area at that time was at the outskirts and no higher community people liked to settle down in those areas.

Gradually the population increased and more houses were built but no Record of Right documents were provided to the Jayantira Panos by the Jamindars. Though there are few roads and Jayantira Panos have become the occupants of village yet the houses of Jayantira Panos are marked with its unclean and unhygienic conditions. Children pass stool and urine here and there, uncleaned utensils after taking food are scattered all around along with stools of poultry birds. No care is taken to clean all dirt. During rainy season the approach streets are flooded with rain water and mud. Cow-dungs are collected from different places and preserved in a pit very close to the house for making dung cakes for fuel and it causes the breeding area for mosquitos. This causes serious diseases like malaria, etc. Dresses are not properly cleaned and no attention is given to take proper care of the health of children. By and large, there is lack of personal cleanliness.

### **Food Habit**

The Jayantira Panos, like other Panos take various foods like rice, pulses, vegetables and green leaves. Rice is their staple food. As good vegetable cultivators they grow sufficient vegetables specially in winter season. Vegetables like potatoes, brinjals, tomatoes etc. are grown and used for the consumption of the family and the surplus produce is sold in the market. Though majority of the households are landless, they are good agricultural labourers and do vegetable cultivation in the leased-out lands. During harvest seasons most of the population collect

foodgrains specially paddy and pulses like mung, biri and kulthi. Few households who have also lands able to grow such crops in their own land. Thus rice and pulses have become their staple food. Due to paucity of funds they are unable to purchase the nutritious foods regularly yet they try to purchase occasionally according to their purse from the market. Since fish and meat are costly to purchase, they usually domesticate animals like goats and poultry birds, consume some for their own purposes and some are sold in the market to supplement their income. The river Baitarani is favourable for fishing as it flows by the side of the village. There are also a number of deep ditches and ponds on Government land which have considerable amount of fish. Jayantira Panos alongwith other people also catch fish from those area and consume fish occasionally. In the past the flesh of dead animals like goats and cattles were collected and consumed. But the flesh of such dead animals are not consumed by Hadis or Panos now-a-days. Tea which was an item of beverage a few years back has become a practice like food. The watered rice 'Pakhala Bhat' was a favourite breakfast and has been replaced by tea now-a-days. Due to want of adequate rice and due to low economic condition most of the population have given up this habit. The workers who do a lot of physical work take food twice a day and the children are provided with food as much as the food supply permits. Cakes and sweets are prepared on festive occasions and shared among friends and relatives.

### **Pan, Tobacco and Drink**

Chewing pan is a common feature among the older groups of Jayantira Panos. In the past, a typical container of pan materials were carried by all people and pan was prepared from the container whenever desired. This container prepared by a piece of cloth is called 'Batua' with filling decoration of silver bells called 'Jhumuka'. Inside the Batua-pouch there is brass

container, 'Chunakhai' where pan pieces and lime (Chuna) are kept. There is a betel-nut cutter, called 'Guakati' in the Batua. This practice is no more prevalent in the younger generation since there are pan-shops in every village and readymade pans are available for sale. However, in most of the families they have a pan-set to prepare their own pans.

The leaf chernot (Bidi) and tobacco paste (Gurakhu) have become an usual practice among some of them. Jayantira Pano women do not smoke whereas males smoke bidi extensively, especially the young persons carry match boxes and bidis with them. But the practice of brushing teeth by gurakhu has become a habit among both the sexes. Apart from bidi some of the old persons also smoke a kind of smoke called, 'Guli'. It is said that the hard type of smoking is prepared out of opium and used in a 'Huka', tobacco-pipe. Guli is not available in the open market. There are some persons who are experts in preparing the Guli and sell secretly at a high price. Guli addicted persons suffer much if the practice is not discontinued. Thus Guli smokers are generally poor who sometimes steal articles from their own house and sometimes from others and sell it for smoking guli. Drinking of liquor is not a regular habit of Jayantira Panos. In the past, drinking was a prestigious habit among the well-to-do persons. Now-a-days very occasionally the young people drink palm-liquor wherever they find. They drink occasionally when go outside and in the company of friends.

### **Economic Life**

As a part of agrarian India, agriculture is the mainstay of economy in rural Orissa. People possessing more land are considered rich and enjoy social prestige. Land, specially irrigated land, which gives more output is considered as a valuable asset by all classes of people in the rural society. The Rajas and Jamindars had more for which they were respected in

the society. It is because of this they tried to acquire more land for their economic development. The Jayantira Panos were originally strongly built and able-bodied people. They had to depend on the alms of the Jamindars. Their settlements were made on the plots donated by the Jamindars and they did not have any further claims to request for a patch of agricultural land which was the valuable asset of the Jamindars. Though they were engaged as agricultural workers on the plots of Jamindars, it was only on hired labour. The possession of agricultural and homestead land remained with the owners. Thus, basically the Jayantira Panos were landless. Their economic life was mainly depending on daily wage earning. A timely socio-economic survey was conducted by the Tribal and Rural Welfare Department of Government of Orissa in 1954, for formualtion of action Plan for 22 Jayantira Pano families. As many as 12 familes were allotted agricultural land at the rate of one acre and 10 families were allotted with the agricultural land at the rate of 60 decimals and another 10 families at the rate of 80 decimals. Besides, the homestead land with houses in the housing scheme was given to all the households who were needing house sites. It is observed that different aspects of socio-economic condition were studied by Government to determine the sources of income through land, labour and others. As per the survey, different developmental schemes for the development of these Jayantira Panos were initiated in the year 1954-55. Though heavy amount was spent on different schemes, such as education, housing, industry, allotment of land and supply of agricultural inputs, were operated yet due to lack of proper supervision, the schemes could not be very successful in achieving the desired results. Till date there is nothing in existence other than the Sevashram, a temple, a tank and some delapidated houses. The Government made efforts to purchase land from private land owners from different villages. It is informed that five villagers for Jayantira, Patpur, Tarpada who had homestead and agricultural lands at Jayantira sold

their land to Government in order that they are allotted for the housing scheme. Eight persons of Jayantira Mahapatra Sahi did the same which include half an acre of agricultural land. Five persons of Tarpada village also sold their agricultural land to be allotted to the Jayantira Pano. So Government allotted the above lands in 1954-55. The allotted agricultural land were distributed in three phases. Twelve households were allotted one acre of irrigated land from 'Dianpari Chaka', 10 households were allotted with at the rate of 80 decimals of land from 'Dalapata' and 10 households got at the rate of 60 decimals of land from 'Dalimbaganda' which were registered and purchased by Government from respective owners. In order to drain out the water a drainage cut was made which is popularly known as 'Sagunapat Drainage Cut'. The drainage cut carries water from land in front and back of Brahmanikal and passes through 'Dalapat' and connects with the drains at 'Sagunapat' for which it is known as 'Sagunapat Drainage Cut'. This was so helpful that villagers of Banapur, Jayantira, Kuturia, Balapada, Tarapada and Dabhabil were also benefited alongwith Jayantira Panos in safely irrigating water from the so-called 'Sagunapat Drainage Cut'. The excess water passed through the villages Ahiyas and Mahantipatna was discharged to the river 'Kani Nai' for which the major paddy cultivation was not affected. Government was to construct the drain on the waste land which was later leased out by Government. Some people who renovated a big tank on the drain cut, the excess water were deposited near MahantiPatna. So the low lands began carrying water affecting cultivation. According to Mr. P. Kar, Sarpanch, Dasarathpur G. P., the people could not raise their voice before higher authorities nor any substitute arrangements could be made to prepare a fresh plan to drain out the surplus water. The registered documents 'Kabala' which were collected for both agricultural and homestead land were kept by the supervisors. They could neither hand over those Kabalas to the beneficiaries nor could arrange anything for mutation in the

court of the Tahasildar. Since there was not any chance for the survey and settlement the 'Baiyas' or the sellers did not want to transfer their ownership nor did they make payment of the rent to the Revenue Inspectors since they had already sold those plots. Those disputed cases are now brought to the notice of Revenue Department for verification and the 'Kabalas' for distribution by the Government to the then beneficiaries. According to the information, the then supervisor not only neglected the above work but also he did not take care to realise the interests of the beneficiaries during the construction of the houses, for which the said houses colapsed within a very short period. Other schemes were equally unsatisfactory for which the entire project was a failure. However, the allottees, according to the information are as follows :

Allotment of land to the following beneficiaries : At the rate of one acre of agricultural land to each :

- 1 K. Jena
- 2 S. Jena
- 3 A. Jena
- 4 P. Jena
- 5 I. Jena
- 6 B. Jena
- 7 D. Jena
- 8 C. Jena
- 9 S. Bewa
10. D. Jena
11. N. Jena
12. B. Jena

Allotment of land to the following beneficiaries at the rate of 80 decimals to each :

- 1 A. Jena
- 2 B. Jena
- 3 B. Jena
- 4 S. Jena
- 5 S. Jena
- 6 B. Jena
- 7 K. Jena
- 8 U. Jena
- 9 S. Jena
10. M. Jena

Allotment of land to the following beneficiaries at the rate of 60 decimals to each:

- 1 S. Jena
- 2 A. Jena
- 3 N. Jena
- 4 B. Jena
- 5 S. Jena
- 6 S. Jena
- 7 B. Jena
- 8 P. Jena
- 9 B. Jena
10. C. Jena

The above information was collected from the beneficiaries and by discussions with the villagers since it was not possible to

get any information regarding them from official sources and no record was available pertaining to the scheme of 1954-55. Whatever the causes be, the helpless Jayantira Panos claim that they were unable to do any thing although they got help from Government in 1954-55 and they remained as landless as before. As few extended families could find scope to earn money through petty services in Companies at Calcutta and were able to purchase few plots for agricultural purposes and for house building. Most of the families except three were compelled to earn their livelihood through daily wages and by doing share-cropping. The present economic condition of these people, though shows little development still remains much below the average. The classification of the Jayantira Pano household by size of land holding is shown in Table 8.

**TABLE 8**  
**CLASSIFICATION OF JAYANTIRA PANO HOUSEHOLDS BY**  
**SIZE OF LAND HOLDING**

Sl. No.	Size of land holding	No. of families
1	2	3
1	Landless households	29 (63.04%)
2	Marginal farmers (within 2.5 acres)	15 32.60%
3	Small farmers (between 2.6 to 5 acres)	2 (4.36%)
4	Big farmers (above 5 acres)	-
Total		46 (100%)

From the above statement it appears that 63.04 per cent of the households are landless, 32.60 per cent of the households possess land within 2.5 acres and 4.36 per cent of the total Jayantira Pano families possess land within 5 acres.

It is, therefore, suggested that immediate steps may be taken to review the old cases of missing documents so that the beneficiaries will have the interest to possess their allotted lands. Steps may also be taken from the level of Government to clear the 'Sagunapat drainage cut' so that the plots will be cultivable.

Being landless cultivators majority of the households are forced to cultivate other's lands on share-cropping basis where they cultivate different types of vegetables, like potatoes, tomatoes, brinjals, chilly etc. The lands on bank of the Baitarani river which are not suitable for paddy cultivation are the only means for Jayantira Panos to cultivate vegetables on share-cropping basis and that too only in the winter season. Since they are mostly interested to work as agricultural labourers it is the main source of the income for landless and marginal farmers. Because of high yield of vegetables some households do small business. Majority of the population 40(31.75%) have adopted their profession as agricultural labourers. The next highest 36 (28.57%) are earning their livelihood as cultivators. 17(37.49%) persons are doing small business and 16 (12.70%) are working for wage earning. Since goateries is a popular profession among them few 10 (7.94%) of them have also goats who rear them. 7(5.55%) of them have been engaged in Government and non Government services in different places of our country. Following is the occupational distribution of workers basing on the socio-economic survey and shown in Table-9.

TABLE 9

OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF WORKERS AMONG  
JAYANTIRA PANOS

Sl. No. (1)	Category of workers (2)	No. of persons (3)	Percentage (4)
1	Agricultural labourers	40	31.75
2	Cultivators	36	28.57
3	Small business men	17	13.49
4	Wage earners	16	12.70
5	Goat rearers	10	7.94
6	Service holders	7	5.55
	Total	126	100.00

From the above statement it is clear that the majority of population 60.32 per cent of workers depend on agriculture and agricultural labour of which 31.75 percent of workers depend on agricultural labour only where as 28.57 per cent of workers depend on the cultivation.

Though majority of them are engaged in agricultural work, the income derived from all these sources are not enough to meet their requirement since the vegetables cultivation is a seasonal work. It is also fact that vegetables are grown extensively on the river bed in the winter season when the flood water fall down and many of the growers dump their harvest in Dasarathpur market which is only marketing centre in the area. Since there is no scope to sell the vegetables to big merchants due to lack of good communication and transport, the vegetables are sold in very cheap rate in the harvesting season and this does not fetch good profit. The daily wage also varies from place to place depending

upon the nature of job, age, sex and requirement of labour. Thus the employment opportunity also is reduced to a considerable extent for which most of the agricultural labourers cannot find sufficient work throughout the year. As a matter of fact neither the vegetable cultivators and agricultural labourers nor the small businessmen derive profit upto their expectations. The percentage of small businessmen is 13.49%. Since there is no sufficient agricultural work many of the families are engaged as daily wage workers, cattle and goat rearers for which the percentage of wage earners is 12.70%. The goat rearing has become a good occupation for Jayantira Panos. Due to regular demand for meat in the areas of Jajpur and Dasarathpur, slaughters come to the area to purchase goats. So 10 families rear goats for selling. Their percentage is 7.94 to total workers of Jayantira Panos. It is good sign that most of the families are interested in educating their children especially since the last one and half decades. Though no graduates are yet found among Jayantira Panos some have come out as under matriculates and matriculates. Few of them have also sought services in Government organisation and private firms and their percentage is 5.55 %. The approximate annual income from all sources were recorded during field investigation.

It was calculated that the *per capita* annual income of these people stood at Rs. 584.00.

It is revealed from the study that majority 12 (26.08%) of the total surveyed families have their annual income within Rs. 300-to Rs. 3500. The next lower group of families 11 (23.92%) have their annual income between Rs. 250 to Rs. 3000. The lowest income group in annual income range is Rs. 1500 to Rs. 2000 and only 2(4.34% of the total households have such income and the highest income group of Rs. 640 and above is having only household which is 2.17 per cent of the total surveyed families which is above

the poverty line. It is, therefore all the 45 families excepting one lead very miserable lives remaining below the poverty line. The classification of families on the basis of annual income is as follows Table—10.

**TABLE 10**  
**RANGE OF ANNUAL INCOME DERIVED FROM DIFFERENT SOURCES**

Sl. No.	Range of annual income	No. of families	Percentage to total families
1	2	3	4
1	Between Rs. 1,500 and Rs. 2,000	2	4.34
2	Between Rs. 2,001 and Rs. 2,500	2	4.34
3	Between Rs. 2,501 and Rs. 3,000	11	23.92
4	Between Rs. 3,001 and Rs. 3,500	12	26.08
5	Between Rs. 3,501 and Rs. 4,000	6	13.05
6	Between Rs. 4,001 and Rs. 4,500	6	13.05
7	Between Rs. 4,501 and Rs. 5,000	2	4.34
8	Between Rs. 5,001 and Rs. 6,400	4	8.71
9	Rs. 6,400 and above	1	2.17
Total		46	100.00

As revealed from the study above 97.83 per cent of households have income within Rs.1,500 to Rs.6,000 while only one household i.e., 2.17 per cent has above Rs. 6,401. Since Rs.6,400 has been fixed as the level of income for rural areas to determine the poverty line, 97.83 per cent of Jayantira Pano families live below the poverty line. Government have also undertaken a number of economic development schemes which did not attain the desired goal. It is, therefore, suggested that some felt need based urgent

schemes for their economic development should be introduced with proper supervision so that their community can develop.

### Indebtedness

Despite struggling hard for their survival, their community could not stand with self sufficiency. It was because of their backwardness. There was regular misunderstanding and conflict among themselves. Each one tried to have a good share of his own ignoring the interest of others as a result the outsiders made profits out of their conflict. The assistance given by Government could not properly reach the needy Jayantira Panos. Rather stronger groups tried to encroach upon the properties of the weaker groups. By this most of the widows and helpless families were affected. There was non co-operation among these families for which the developmental works could not be supervised properly so the contractors who were doing the construction work of houses not only left the houses incomplete but also took away the materials like bamboo, wood, etc. of the old houses of beneficiaries while dismantling them for new construction. One of such persons, Shri N. Jena is now without any house. The house which was under construction is left half-completed by the contractor who misguided him that according to the order the old wooden beams were to be used in the new houses. He took away the old beams and left the house incompleated for which the entire family is taking shelter under a small hut. From the above study it is found that Jayantira Panos preferred to incur loans from different sources to start a new life of their own through their main occupation, viz., cultivation, ignoring the assistance of Government. It is found that they have preferred to take loans from different sources. One family has taken loan from a private money-lender whereas another from local Gram Panchayat. Six families have got loans from Gramya Bank whereas other eight families received loan from United Commercial Bank. The old loans of the year 1980 has not been rapid till date. The maximum

amount of loan (Rs. 7,000) has been taken in the year 1982 by Shri L. Jena to purchase a diesel pumpset and the same amount was borrowed by Shri U. Jena for the same purpose in 1987.

It is revealed that majority of the Jayantira Pano households have incurred loan from different sources even one of the households has incurred the highest amount of loan up to Rs.7,000 to which the person is unable to repay. Shri U. N. Jena one of them though economically more sound than other Jayantira Panos has incurred a loan of Rs.7,000 from the local United Commercial Bank to purchase a diesel pumpset in the year 1987. He has not repayed any amount to the Bank till the date which is understood during the field survey. Majority of the loanee households have been encouraged to do agriculture and purchase bullocks, diesel pumpsets, etc. the loans provided through local United Commercial Bank and Gramya Bank. The lowest amount of loan i.e., Rs.300 was provided to Shri K. Jena through the Panchayat agency in the year 1985 to which he has also not been able to repay. The distribution of loans by different agencies to the Jayantira Pano families can be seen from the—Table -11.

**TABLE-11**

**DISTRIBUTION OF LOAN FROM DIFFERENT SOURCES  
RECEIVED BY THE FAMILIES OF JAYANTIRA PANOS**

Sl. No.	Name of the Loanee	Name of the Agency	Amount	Year	Purpose	Utilize	Payment
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1	D. Jena	Private sources	500	1988	consumption	-	-
2	C. Jena	Gramya Bank	5,000	1984	Mike set	-	300
3	S. C. Jena	Ditto	2,000	1988	Bullock	-	-
4	S. N. Jena	Ditto	800	1980	Bullock	-	200
5	R. Jena	Ditto	1,600	1988	Milch cow	-	300
6	S. Jena	Ditto	4,000	1988	Small business	-	-

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
7.	K. Jena	Panchayat	6,500	1986	Small business	-	-
			300	1985	Khariff Cultivation	-	-
8	U. Jena	United Com. Bank	800	1980	Bullock	-	-
9	G. Jena	Ditto	2,000	1983	Milch cow	-	-
10	P. Jena	Ditto	800	1984	Ditto	-	1,600
			1,600	1987	Bullock	-	500
11.	B. Jena	Ditto	800	1981	Milch cow	-	-
12	U. N. Jena	Ditto	7,000	1987	Diesel Pumpset	-	-
13	L. Jena	Ditto	800	1981	Bullock	-	300
			7,000	1982	Pumpset	-	1,400
14	J. Jena	Ditto	500	1984	Goatery	-	200
15	S. D. Jena	Ditto	400	1984	Ditto	-	-

## Material Culture

Social status of Jayantira Pano did not allow them to live contiguously with clean caste people. So their houses are segregated from the main village. They were also not privileged with the assistance of technical experts, like silpi to make a proper plan for the construction of their houses for which the construction of their houses do not confirm to any particular pattern. Most of the houses have a rectangular ground plan. The roof and some poles of the houses are made of bamboo. The roofs are gable-shaped and thatched with straw collected from paddy field. The Walls are mostly made of bamboo and mud but a few big ones are made of only mud. The average size of the houses is 23 ft in length and 13 ft in breadth and they are low roofed. There is also no adequate ventilation in every room. Most of the houses have one living room and some houses also have a verandah in the front. There is an open space in front of the verandah where unused

articles are kept on a raft and the fowlpen is made. The verandah is also used for sitting and gossiping at leisure time. The living room is used to store the household articles and food grains. Outsiders are entertained in the verandah. Cowshed is constructed separately, very close to the house, where bullocks, cows and agricultural implements are kept. The cowshed is constructed close to the house for fear of cattle theft. Goats are not kept in the cowshed. They are kept inside the room close to the fowlpen for fear of being stolen.

Material contents of Jayantira Panos are not valuable. The articles mainly consist of aluminium utensils, earthen pots, bamboo baskets self-made articles for storage and household articles for daily use. The agricultural implements include plough, yoke beam etc, are kept. The leveller (Mai) and harrow (Bida) crowbars (Sabala), axes, spades and sickles are also kept for agricultural purposes.

The household utensils are made of bell-metal, brass and aluminium. There are quite a good number of earthenware pots. Rope slings are used to keep some items of food hanging from the roof for fear of being eaten by cats. Grain containers (olia) of different sizes are made of straw. Bamboo baskets, winnowing fans, rope and mats of different sizes are kept for daily use. Wooden cots, pidha, alana, stools and chairs are also used by well-to-do households. Glass bottles as oil-containers, lanterns, kerosine lamps are used at night. Due to the impact of moderization many young boys and girls are using tooth brushes, soaps, perfumed hair oils, talcum powder and different types of creams for hair and skin.

Few households who have been able to engage their children in service either in Government sector or in private firms and capable of getting their salary, afford to purchase bicycles, wrist watches and radios and persons engaged in small business also afford to possess these assets.

## Dress and Ornaments

The old style of dress and ornaments have given way to modern style. At a point of time when Jayantira Panos were well-to-do, were using fine dhotis and punjabi kurta and women were using costly Maniabandi and pata sarees. Now the males use dhoti, lungi, shirts and women use sarees and blouses. The old women use coarse sarees without blouses. The school-going boys wear pants, shirts and girls use pants and frocks.

The traditional ornaments have also been replaced by modern type of ornaments. At the time when most of the Jayantira Pano families were economically well off, they were using different types of gold ornaments. A gold necklace called 'Chika' was used by both males and females and gold rings were also used by both. Women wore in their necks gold 'Chapasari' which was tied with silken thread by a particular community, called 'Patara'. Among gold ornaments for ears, 'Bauli', 'Champa' and 'Noli' were famous. The silver ornaments quite big in sizes were used on arms, waist and ankles by women. The heavy decorative silver ornaments 'Bajubandha' was used in upper arms and a type of ornament tied with thread called 'Bataphala' was used in lower arm. Another heavy type of silver ornament, called 'Gotha' was used on the waist. The heavy silver ornaments used for ankles were called 'Mala' and 'Bala'. Women in households with low income were using aluminium anklets, called 'Bankia' and heavy brass ornaments on wrist, called 'Chandei'. Such ornaments are not now used. Only one or two old women are occasionally using few slides of that Chandei. Due to lack of money young women are using glass bangles. Gold rings are very rarely used. The gold ear-ornaments have been replaced by various types of plastic ear-rings and gold necklaces by glassbead necklaces. Though both males and females used to wear gold noli earlobes, men have given up this practice.

## Social Organisation

The smallest social unit in their society is the family. It consists of parents and unmarried children. The family is patrilineal and the Jayantira Pano trace their descent through their father. The authority of the family lies in the hands of the males. The inheritance of the property in the society is also made through the male line and each son demands equal share for the property of his father. A grown up person after marriage may seek partition from his parents but the existence of joint or extended family is not totally ruled out. A grown-up girl after marriage changes her place of residence and shifts to her husband's residence and also uses his surname. But she visits her father's family at least once in a year. In so far as the division of labour of the family is concerned, only adult male members are the earning members whereas adult females perform the domestic work of the family. The old females sometimes help the male members in agriculture and in other works to earn their living. Grown-up boys and girls also help their parents according to their ability. Girls and age-old women also do the jobs of rearing cattle and goats.

## Caste Division

The Jayantira Pano community is found to be an endogamous unit. The Pano is divided into several sections among whom Jayantira Panos come under Patra section. The following are different section of Pano community :

1. Malikia
2. Patra
3. Mahuria
4. Dakhinia
5. Nahakia

They have emulated the Hindu Gotra as a social mobility tactic and follow the procedure of Hindu Gotra system.

Among all these sections, Malikis are endogamous section who serve as priests to the Pano community and enjoy higher social status than the other sections. The institution of marriage does not allow marriage in the same Gotra and prohibits marriage among the same blood related groups or 'banshas'. Since majority of the Pano community are having the same Gotra 'Nageswar' no Jayantira Pano marriage can be held within the same Gotra nor a boy can marry within the lineage of his parents. The endogamous sections are—

- 1 Patra—Those who have accepted their profession as weaving.
- 2 Mahuria—Those who play the musical instrument 'Mahuri'.
- 3 Dakhinia—Those who specifically make musical instruments of hides 'dhola' 'mridanga' 'pakhuji' etc.
- 4 Nahakia—Those who castrate male calves by hand knives from door to door. They also make bamboo baskets.

As far Gotra is concerned all worship cobra as the totem.

## **Marriage**

Marriage, according to Jayantira Pano is felt as an essential part of life. According to them it not only satisfies the biological needs of both men and women but also helps the perpetuation of the family. For them marriage is sacred form of union between the man and wife whereas the illegal union between man and woman is treated with very much hatred and also strictly prohibited.

Jayantira Panos prohibit marriage between their relatives and the marriage with consanguineal kins is totally for-bidden. Jayantira Panos practise monogamy as a rule. Although polygamy is not accepted in their society it is not completely absent. The caste endogamy is strictly maintained yet in the past there was an occasion when a member married outside the caste but he was not ex-communicated because he married in a higher caste and it was accepted by the caste panchayat. If such case happens in the case of a girl of lower caste who marries the Jayantira Pano, he is out-casted. The sororate and the levirate type of marriages are not obligatory in the society. Though there is Gotra endogamy yet the village exogamy is strictly followed and there is no instance of such marriage except the occasion when the entire society of Jayantira Pano was out-casted for their bad names as ex-criminals when for some years they were compelled to arrange marriages beyond the kins in the same village. After that when they were again accepted by the entire Pano society, the village endogamy ruled out and the boys and girls could marry beyond their own village. However, a man cannot marry his mother's brother's daughter or father's sister's daughter nor his paternal aunt's daughter in parallel or cross cousin marriage.

At present the system of child marriage is not prevalent among Jayantira Panos. The normal age of marriage of a girl is between 16 to 18 while it is 21 to 23 years for a boy.

There is the widely accepted custom of marriage by negotiation in the society. The proposal is first initiated by a mediator to the girl's parents. If the proposal is accepted, a group of elderly persons then visits the girl's house to see the bride. If the bride is selected they invite the bride's parents to see the groom. When both sides agree, an astrologer is consulted for examining the herscope called 'jatakujha', after which a day is fixed for an agreement of marriage known as 'MahaPrasad Nirbandha'. Here

the date of marriage is finalised by both sides. Generally the marriage is celebrated at bride's house where the groom with his party reaches in the scheduled time at night with a procession. A grand feast is held and after the marriage the groom with the bride returns to groom's village. The 'baishnab' or priest of the same community officiates the marriage where the presence of caste leader Behera is sought for. The ceremony continues till the eighth day called 'Astamangala'.

The caste council of Jayantira Panos approve their marriage. The widow remarriage is prevalent among them but rituals are simpler than those in the regular marriage.

Divorce is socially accepted in Jayantira Pano society but such cases are very rare. It only happens when a woman keeps extra-marital relationship and the divorce is initiated by the husband.

### **Life-cycle Rituals**

The Jayantira Panos believe in rebirth. They also believe that life passes through four stages, such as birth, adulthood, old age and death. Immediately after the death the soul seeks to enter another life. Like other neighbouring households, they observe certain rituals.

#### **Birth**

A pregnant woman is respected in the Jayantira Pano society and the barrenness of a woman is condemned. Birth of a child brings happiness to the family and also brings pride and prestige. After the pregnancy is confirmed the elderly women of the family remain alert and guide in every matter. She is neither allowed to come out alone at night nor she is allowed to do hard work. Passing through the areas of cremation ground is totally prohibited for her so that she may not come across the evil

spirits who may cause abortion. Though some of the well-to-do persons prefer to admit the expectant mother in the hospital for delivery most of the families desire to do that at home by an elderly woman who acts as mid-wife. She severs the umbilical cord of the new born through a sharp shell.

The birth pollution continues for 12 days. There is no specific rite for this community. Like other communities on the fifth day of child-birth the first purificatory rite is observed, which called as "Panchuati" and on the sixth day the second purificatory rite is observed known as 'Sathipuja' where two images made of mud and cowri shells are marked as 'Sathi and Dushi' are worshipped. The services of 'Baishnab; or priest is not sought for on the said puja, but married women of the village perform this puja. Finally on the 12th day of the child-birth the mother and the child are considered pollution free. The mother observes restriction of diet and after the 12th day 'Bara Jatra' she cooks food in the kitchen and serves food to others. Usually the mother takes light food without spices. She takes vegetables like potatoes, brinjals and green bananas. Ghee is the favourite item to be added in rice in her meals.

The final ceremony is observed on the 21st day of the delivery. The brother of the newly mother or the maternal uncle of the new-born participates in the ceremony with the presentation of new dress, cakes etc. depending upon their economic status. The services of Baishnab or priest is sought for the day to perform the 'satyanarayan Puja' where all the members of the villages belonging to the Jayantira panos are invited to listen the narration of puja and take the 'Sirini Prasad'. The maternal uncle performs the name-giving ceremony for the child and bears the expenditure of the ceremony.

## Puberty

Generally at the age of 12 to 14 when a girl attains her puberty she is kept in a secluded room for 7 days by her mother. Till the end of sixth day she is not allowed to see other elderly male persons and in the early morning of the seventh day she takes turmeric bath and wears new saree and blouse. No grand feast is arranged but the girl prepares a type of gruel out of rice and gur and serves her kin members. Now-a-days such puberty practices are not observed for that. The delay in marriage may cause trouble to the parents of the girl.

## Death

The Jayantira Pano believes in the results of past life. In view of that they believe that un-natural deaths take place due to bad deeds done during the previous birth for which God punishes by death.

Soon after the death of a person, the kin members and specially the females start crying in loud voice and other people know the death news. Then people gather and advise the mourners to inform their relatives. A member of the deceased family conveys the death-news to other relatives in the village and blood relatives outside the village. All assemble at the door of the deceased for making necessary arrangements for the disposal of the dead. A bier is prepared out of bamboo sticks tied with straw rope. The body covered with a mat is placed on the bier and also tied with the straw rope.

Normally 7 to 8 members of the nearest relatives of the deceased join the procession to carry the bier. The dead body is disposed off either by cremation or by burial or by emersion in the river Baitarani. If the body is to be cremated the eldest son of the deceased puts fire to the dead body first. In the absence of a son the nephew or the younger brother does the same work. After that,

other members cremate the body and take a ritual bath and come back.

The deads were invariably cremated but the cremation or burial did not take place in the same burial ground meant for higher caste people. Now-a-days such practices have undergone changes and the dead bodies of Jayantira Panos are deposited off at a little distance from the cremation ground of higher caste people. The period of pollution continues for eleven days. Cleaning of houses and household articles, washing of clothes, shaving of hair and paring of nails are performed on the 10th day called 'Dasa'. After the shaving and paring the nails by all the family members, the lineage group members along with corpse bearers take a holy bath. The 11th day, which is called 'Handi' is observed. The 'Baishnab' or Priest officiates the functions of both the 10th and 11th days. A feast is arranged on this occasion in the house of the deceased which is shared by all the members of the village. The family of the deceased on this day are allowed to take non-vegetarian food for the first time after the death. The relatives are offered new clothes and the feast the death ceremony comes to an end.

## **POLITICAL ORGANISATION**

### **Caste Council**

Since Jayantira Panos were brought by the Jamindars from outside and they came from a distant place they could not keep political relations with their own kin members in Keonjhar nor were they be able to establish such units by themselves. They could only mix with other Panos and accepted their tradition of leadership exercised by Behera whom they selected from their own section. The post is hereditary and chief or Behera with his council members exercises his power in the matters relating to

caste disputes, breach of caste laws, deviant behaviour, like illicit relationship, etc. within the same village in Jayantira. If the situation of the conflict could not find any way of solution in the village and the villagers desire to refer to higher territorial unit those are referred to the leaders of other villages and the final judgement is declared after thorough discussion with other leaders. No judicial power is vested with the Behera but he is to preside over and give the verdict as per the discussion with the elderly villagers. If Behera is absent the presence of his son is sought for as per the above caste rule. But now-a-days the educated youth of the community do not like to obey the old traditional practice and as a result they are taking the help of court of law to finalise the disputes.

### **Social Control**

Each human society builds its own socio-political machinery to determine the behaviour of its groups and individuals who formulate their actions within the prescribed social norms. The social sanctions act as the tools of social control. The caste council at the village level an effective machinery to exercise control over its own society which safeguards the interest of the community. The aspects of the mechanism of traditional social control are discussed below.

### **Duty of the Behera**

The Pano society has approved the leadership of the Behera for specified village or villages. Since the Jayantira Panos could not keep relationship with their parent offices they also set up their caste council at their own level limited to their own village to exercise effective control in their own society. Behera who was nominated from their own community from Jayantira could hold a hereditary post to act as chief office bearer to give final decision after consulting with the village elders who also officiate at the

time of religious ceremony. He is the only office bearer and chief of the caste council who deserves special respect from the people of the community next to 'Baishnab' or the caste priest.

### **Procedure of Meeting**

Disputes generally pertaining to the interests of the community are brought to the notice of caste council which sits at the time of religious functions during marriages and mortuaryrites. Verbal notice is served by the petitioner to all members of the village. The meeting is held and full scope is given to both parties to plead in support of their causes. Arguments and counter arguments are heard by the members and cross-examinations are made to actuate the truth. Mostly the opinions of the elders are sought for after which the final judgement is declared. If the case could not be finalised, the village elders proposed to refer the case to other caste councils of other villages where the village elders and Behera officiate.

### **Causes of Ostracization**

The Jayantira Pano follow exogamy within the lineage group connected to paternal and maternal sides. Deviation from this practice is considered offensive which is not only shameful but also lowers down their prestige in the community. If somebody marries in his own blood group the offender is outcasted and the caste people do not take food and water from his family. Extra-martial and pre-martial relationship with irregular union are considered as sin by the community. Such offenders are boycotted from the society and they are not allowed to live in the village. In case a boy marries to a girl from the lower community the couple along with their family members socially boycotted. In case a boy accepts a girl from higher caste in inter caste marriage he has to get the sanction from caste-council. If the caste council approves it, the marriage can be held. Marriage, in such cases, without

obtaining the sanction of the society are not allowed to stay within the caste group and they are socially outcasted.

Socially hierarchy pre-supposes the feeling of superiority and inferiority in the Hindu caste system. It not only affects the upper castes but also affects the so called "untouchables" in every walk of life. One untouchable caste feels superior to other untouchable caste in social status and avoids the other. Similarly Jayantira Panos think themselves superior to many other "untouchable" castes like Hadi, Mehantar, Mochi and Kandara of their locality. If any Jayantira Pano is found accepting cooked food and water from these castes he is ex-communicated from their society.

### Re-admission to the caste

The caste council has every power to re-admit a person in to the caste if he admits his fault and begs excuse before the caste council praying for the restoration of the caste status. All the caste members after examining the veracity and weight of offence may agree upon the proposal. If the members feel that he has to take purificatory rites the offender does so and arranges a feast in order to entertain the community members. In case the offender is very poor and caste council desires to excuse the person they impose some nominal fine which he pays and gets re-admission to the caste. In case of extra-marital or pre-marital relationship the male offender is physically presented before the council where as in case of a female, her guardian is required to be present. For the unusual occurrence of magot in the sore 'Machhiapataka' or in the case of cattle dying with the rope, 'Gobadhia' some times the person is directed to purify himself at Puri and get advice from the 'Muktimandap' in the temple of Lord jagannath.

## Other Pollutions

The family members and the members of the same lineage group of the deceased are considered polluted till the final purificatory rites are over. This also happens in the case of 'Gobadhia'. During the pollution period the members are not allowed to visit temples and perform any kind of puja. Cutting of hair and even paring of nails by females are strictly prohibited till the final ritual. Only after the purificatory rites the members are considered purified and normally do their daily work and mix with other people, visit temples and normally worship by lighting sacred wicks of ghee before the occimum sanctum (Brundabati).

## Religion

The Jayantira Panos worship gods and goddesses in the Hindu pattern. They believe that God is the creator of the universe and everything that happens in the world is as per His direction. They also believe in rebirth. A person can get his rebirth according to his past deeds. They believe in the existence of supernatural elements among them some are benevolent and some are malevolent. The benevolent spirits ordinarily do not cause any harm to the society but the malevolent elements bring sufferings to the family. They believe in number of gods and goddesses and worship them. Among them there is 'Yajneswar Mahadev' goddess 'Basuli' Durga, Mahalaxmi, etc. They observe Duti Bahan, Pana sankranti Osa or Hanuman Puja and Bada Osha ceremonies.

Most striking feature is that after the initiation of their Jamindar Bansidhar Mahapatra to Vaishnavism they were also attracted to the faith and one of the Jayantira Pano, M. Jena accepted Vaishnavism with the title of Das and was known as M. Das instead of M. Jena. He not only changed his surname but also built a small temple in his own area known as 'Radha

Govinda Thakur' where a Brahman priest performs the puja and the cost is borne by the family. The entire community was attracted towards the Vaishnavism and influenced to perform 'Nama Yajna' of Hari Bhakti on the Baisakh Purnima day and collected donations to meet all sorts of expenditure. Currently the said festival is known as 'astaprahar' and is held on the particular day in grand scale and all Panos participate in the function to make it a success.

## CHAPTER-VI

### SUMMARY AND CONCLUDING SUGGESTIONS FOR DEVELOPMENT

As many as 93 Scheduled Caste communities live in Orissa. All of them were regarded as untouchables and were looked down upon for their unclean habits by other higher caste Hindus and a great deal of social distance was maintained. The social interactions inside and outside the villages were greatly influenced by their way of living. But out of these 93 scheduled castes, 5 communities were also classified as "de-notified" communities about which we have given reference in earlier chapter. Those communities were Dandasi of Ganjam district, Adhuria Domb or Oriya Domb and also Ghasis of Koraput district, Gandas of Sundergarh district and Panos of Jayantira village of Cuttack district about whom we have discussed in the earlier pages. It is because of the facts that these communities were looked down upon not only by the clean caste Hindus but also by their own Scheduled Castes brethren. Their criminal habits and anti-social activities in the past were responsible in earning such low reputation. Their anti-social activities rose so high that during the British period they were declared as "ex-criminal" tribes. They had to face tortures from the police and also in the locality so that such habits can be checked. After the so-called leaders fled from the village the acts could not be carried out by the rest of the persons who were not so efficient. The watchful eyes of the volunteers and police also prevented them from going to other villages for committing crimes as was possible in case of leaders, like P. Jena and R. Jena. Hence the so-called criminal activities by Jayantira Panos came to an end. Government after independence not only excused the ex-criminals for their evil acts

and burning of the Beat House at Jayantira but also felt it necessary to implement special programmes in Jayantira for the upliftment of so-called criminals. The then Government of Orissa in the Tribal and Rural Welfare Department decided to work out special programmes like Industry, Housing, Allotment of Land and Educational Programmes in the year 1954-55. By that time the Jayantira Panos were preparing beautiful cotton clothes and carpets. Spinning cotton thread through 'Charkha' was introduced by Khadi & Village Industries Board for which a trained Instructor was posted to impart training to the Jayantira Pano youths to prepare quality thread for manufacturing these clothes with their own cotton thread. Due to lack of proper supervision and vested interests by a specific group of people the entire scheme failed. As regards the housing scheme, it was also a failure. The supervisor wanted to collect money from the construction works and as a result, the size of houses were very small and in spite of taking money for cement and bricks, he made mud walls, using mud and bamboo. The houses collapsed within very short time and the material remains of those houses were stolen by others. Thus the scheme was also a failure. As the supervisor belonged to Non-Scheduled Caste the construction of a house was given to N. Mallick a scheduled caste person and the President of Jajpur Harijan Seva Samiti and a local man from Mallickapur. The beneficiaries are N. Jena and his elder brother B. Jena. They lost their father and mother and also left home. When the discussion regarding making of houses was held it was decided that the beneficiaries would choose their nominees who would be given charge of making the houses. N. Jena and B. Jena having confidence on the President, nominated as member of scheduled caste. He was given the charge of the construction of houses within very limited time. N. Mallick dismantled the old houses and took away the old wooden beams worth of Rs.10,000-00 on the plea to reshape the wood from Baulang Saw Mills so that it would be used for new houses. He not only bluffed to take it to saw

mills but also used those beams for the construction of his own houses leaving the construction incomplete. The unfortunate children did not only lost their own house but also were unable to get a house from the Government. Now they are staying in a hut and begging alms for their livelihood. Though their distant relatives and other Jayantira Pano families were well aware of the activities of N. Mallick, none of them could take a step to negotiate with the latter. It was brought to the notice of the Honourable Deputy Minister of Harijan & Tribal Welfare Department by the Sarpanch of Dasarathpur G. P. when she had her tour to the area during the field survey. The vested interest and non-co-operation of Jayantira Panos for the common cause has grown to such an extent that no one was interested in the welfare of the community for which the advancement of the community as a whole was inadequate.

If we look back to the times when some of the families of the community were involved in crimes, we can trace that though all of them were not involved directly in crimes yet all were indirectly helping the criminals for which they were successfully doing the work. In return they might have been suitably remunerated or they might have been frightened by the criminals so that they were not disclosing the secrets. On the other hand, the Jamindars were also doing the same thing for which their properties were not stolen rather they were getting a bumper share of the booty. It was because of that the entire community was able to live peacefully in a compact area at Jayantira, though they were heartily disliked by all other communities outside the village. The things changed to a greater extent when the self achievement of some persons were hampered after the criminals were chased by the police. Subsequently one and all, whoever was involved directly or indirectly, was traced and brought under the custody of law. The Mahapatra Jamindar maintained distance from the so-called criminals and pretended as if they were against the evil acts and

the persons who were also involved in the acts. In fact they were closely associated with the criminals, demanding a major share. Sometimes even they were forcibly collecting valuables from them. Due to lack of foresight and fear of being arrested by the policemen the so-called criminals were not opposing the demands. This sort of activity also encouraged them to be addicted to intoxicating drugs, like opium, guli etc. They also did not hesitate to spend huge amount of money for purchasing such goods by which a few families started to vend the goods secretly and collected heavy amount. We have already mentioned about the collection of gold by N. Panda and S. Sahu who were not only supplying opium and collecting equal amount of gold but also encouraging them to indulge in crimes by leading them to the respective spots by which they were also getting shares. So also was the case of J. Ojha who was supplying instruments and was getting a bumper share. It is a matter of great astonishment that such things were being done for years together without the knowledge of police and the culprits were not traced out. One of the informants is of opinion that it was common knowledge that the so-called Jamindars were helping them. They had negotiations with the police and were acting as protectors to such gangs involved in the cruel acts. By this the head of the criminals along with the gang could be able to perform their duties safely. Thus the entire community was unfamed whereas other helping agencies could not come to the picture.

However, Government after their study could be able to realise the points and initiated special programmes on education, housing and industry for the development of the entire community which was not appreciably successful as we have already mentioned on the previous pages. It is high time for Government and voluntary organisations to look into the matter and suggest different development programmes for the down-trodden community which was misguided by some of the

opportunity groups to be involved in the most unwanted acts of crimes and misutilised their valuable manpowers which could have been diverted in a better way. From the field survey it was also observed that though there is no trace of the criminality among Jayantira Panos and successors of some reported criminals of the past still survive to-day they are leading very miserable lives. The only source of their earning is to cultivate vegetables on the land of others and some times engage in wage labour which do not meet their requirements. The past acts of their predecessors have gained them so much of unpopularity that even to-day the entire community is disliked by their neighbouring communities. It is, therefore, suggested that Government should take necessary steps to formulate different developmental programmes so that the community can be helped to come at par with other people of the area. The problem of housing is most acute among the Jayantira Panos. This drew the attention of Government during 1954-55. The environment was so much against the community at that time that no one could raise voice against the will of the other people who wanted to make them suffer so that in future such criminality could not raise its head. The successors of the criminals also felt guilty for the past deeds of their predecessors. Hence they did not try to put any question to persons who were in charge of construction of the houses as per the scheme of Government. Thus the middle men got benefit out of that for which the scheme failed and again Jayantira Panos became homeless. Even the reliable persons from the scheduled caste community also betrayed them. We have also mentioned about N. Mallick who mercilessly betrayed two poor orphans i.e. N. Jena and B. Jena. No action has been taken against N. Mallick for at least to return back the properties of those poor boys. It is suggested that immediate steps from the level of Government may be taken to punish the miscreants for cheating the helpless Jayantira Pano boys and also immediate steps may be taken to complete the construction of the half-completed houses. A

complete programme for providing houses at least for 10 families may be taken up in the community housing scheme so that the houseless families may be provided with houses. In the year 1954-55, Government provided funds to purchase homestead land and cultivable land from other owners in the name of the selected beneficiaries. The registered documents of record of rights (Kabalas) have not been provided to the said beneficiaries after the plots have been mutated. Government may also be pleased to take necessary steps to review the cases with the Tahasildar of Jajpur and registered documents after mutation may be handed over to the respective beneficiaries.

## 2. Land Development

The then Government in 1954 could fairly see the real needs of the people. Therefore, they not only allotted agricultural land but also prepared plans to irrigate those lands by Sagunapat drainage cut, by which not only the families of Jayantira Panos but also few more villagers of Banapur, Kuturia, Balada, Tarapada, Dabhabil and Dasarathpur were to be benefited. The scheme was a total failure due to the encroachment of land by the members of some families for which the waters of the area were blocked at Mahanti Patna. The lands of 'Dalimba Ganda', 'Dalapata' and 'Dianpari Chaka' which were allotted to the beneficiaries of Jayantira Panos are mostly affected by the new tank of the said family members. It is, therefore, suggested that the drainage cut may be chanalised to Kani Nai through the same route so that the excess water may not be deposited on the plots. The waste land which was leased out may be brought back by cancelling the lease and the drainage cut may be renovated. As we know the Jayantira Panos are good cultivators but are landless, Government may take necessary steps to allot more land to the landless and marginal farmers so that they would be able to cultivate more crops and eke out their ilving. This may also help them to be self-sufficient in food grains for their own

consumption. Since they are good agricultural labourers, necessary funds may be provided to hire trucks and dozers for developing the land by refilling earth from outside. Respective allottees would contribute labour for the development of their respective plots. The entire work should be done according to the needs of the beneficiaries under proper supervision and guidance of the agriculture and soil conservation experts so that the mistakes may not be repeated once more.

Since most of the people depend upon agriculture for their living, they are not financially sound to purchase seeds and fertilizers. Necessary assistance may be given in shape of seeds, fertilizers and pesticides so that they will be able to suitably cultivate land.

Though there are facilities to irrigate the lands yet these are not sufficient. Moreover, there are no adequate source of irrigation near the land which have been allotted to the Jayantira Panos. Hence, three separate lift irrigation points may be installed on the allotted land at Dalimba Ganda, Dalapata and Dianpari Chaka so that the Jayantira Pano farmers may not have problems to irrigate their own land. We already know that they are poor and unable to purchase plough bullocks and agricultural implements. So they may be given financial assistance to purchase the required things for agriculture. They are also interested to take loans from Nationalised Banks. Since the officials of Gramya Bank did not care for the interest of the persons to provide funds at the time of requirements, necessary steps may be taken to provide loan for purchase of bullocks and implements from the nearby Nationalised Banks at Dasarathpur.

### **Health Programme**

The Jayantira Panos live in the out skirt of the village. Their habitation lies in unhygienic area in unclean condition, for which very often they suffer from different diseases. The PHC is

situated at a good distance from the village which functions at Dasarathpur. People find it difficult to carry the patients to the centre specially in rainy season. There is also no scope for getting immediate treatment nearby. It would be better if a unit of the said centre would be opened at Jayantira. Government of India in their letter No. Z-15016/1/89-TD., dated 16-10-1989 as expressed in the field, have also mentioned that if the population of Scheduled Caste be 20 per cent or more of the total population of the village there shall be an A.N.M. centre in the village. One of the greatest problems of health is that, Jayantira Panos are least conscious about the clean environments. Though some of the younger groups have been educated and though they have been privileged to have free access with other clean castes yet the unclean habits of their family members have not been totally wiped out. Due to lack of proper health education and health care specially by females and children, the community is suffering. It is found that a very talented man of the community suffered from polio and became invalid even though he could educate himself up to M. E. standard and served as a teacher in a Primary School. It is , therefore, necessary that men, women and the young ones be properly educated about immunisation programme and health care so that they would avail the opportunity of such programmes. In order to have privilege for the health care of women and children an A.N.M. centre is necessary at Jayantira so that they would be able to motivate themselves for prevention which is better than cure and side by side they would get scopes for treatment of the patients at their door steps.

In order to facilitate the poor Jayantira Pano patients who are unable to afford to purchase medicines for their treatment, a unit of Homoeopathic or Ayurvedic Dispensary may be opened in the village, so that they can buy medicines at a lower price. This would also help other poor people who face such difficulties to

carry patients on rough roads for more than 3 Kilometres to Dasarathpur.

### Communication

Communication is a major problem of the area. Attempts were made to provide good communication but due to lack of proper maintenance and supervision those are in a bad shape.

During the implementation of different schemes by T. & R. W. Department a morum road from Katia Chhak to Jayantira was constructed for which the people of Khosalpur, Shyamsundarpur, Brahmanikul and Kalipadia were benefited. But due to lack of proper maintenance and supervision people encroached into the road and added extra land to their paddy land for which fresh earth work for about 2 Kilometres will be required with 3 culverts in the road. The road can be communicable only after such construction. Another road for about 10 Kilometres from Dasarathpur to Jayantira was made via Patapur, Juninda and Balada. These villages are predominantly inhabited by Scheduled Caste population. The road is half completed and earth works for about 6 Kilometres have been completed. Metal road for about one Kilometre have already been made and one culvert has been sanctioned for which the Scheduled Caste Financing Corporation have agreed to provide funds. If the rest of the construction works and repair works for about 2 Kilometres at Juninda and Balada villages can be done and boulder and morum can be spread over the road and it will benefit about 5,000 Scheduled Caste families to come directly to Dasarathpur which is the central place of the area. Both the Katia Chhak-Jayantira Road and Dasarathpur-Jayantira Road are equally important for the communication of Jayantira as well as other adjacent villagers to the central place. For this, immediate steps may be taken.

## Khadi and Village Industries

The Jayantira Panos adopted weaving as their occupation and also preparing of good carpets. Keeping in view, Government in the then T. & R. W. Department in 1954-55 opened a unit of Khadi in Jayantira. Due to lack of proper maintenance and supervision the scheme could not be successful. However, there are sufficient coconut trees and coirs are sufficiently available. Canes and bamboos are also available in the area. If steps are taken to train the youths in coir, cane and bamboo industries, good quality carpets, cane chairs, etc. can be prepared by them. It would also help to solve the unemployment problem among the Jayantira Panos.

Some of the families are interested to rear cows, goats and poultry birds. A few families are also interested to start business on rice and vegetables. They went to dispose of goods in Dasarathpur market. In order to supply those commodities to the market and some times to move from village to village in hawking by bicycles, they require funds for purchasing bicycles and commodities like rice and vegetables. Previously they incurred loans from local Gramya Bank. The loans could not be received in due time. In many cases the loans were also received in phases by which they could neither utilise the money for the purpose nor could they repay the loans in time for which the purpose was a completely derailed. It is, therefore, suggested that, they may be sanctioned with the loans from the Nationalised Banks at Dasarathpur and the amount of loan may be disbursed in one instalment at a time so that they would be able to utilise the money properly.

In the past, some of the families also incurred loans from Gramya Bank to purchase bullocks and goats. No choice of the beneficiaries were accepted by the field officers during the purchase of animals. Diseased animals were purchased at lower

rates and the purchase was shown in higher rates. The field officer and others did not take care of the interests of the beneficiaries nor did they take proper steps to insure the animals. The Veterinary Officers also did not look after the health of the animals for which the poor Jayantira Pano beneficiaries suffered much to repay the loans. It is, therefore, suggested that the loans may be sanctioned from Nationalised Banks and the purchase of animals should be made as per the choice of beneficiaries and under proper guidance of Veterinary Assistant Surgeon. The local Live Stock Inspector should regularly check-up the health of the animals and lives of the animals should be insured so that the beneficiaries might not face difficulties for the loss of the animals. We have already discussed few points about the community and the people. If there is any reality that they were brought by Jamindars from Keonjhar to give physical support for revenue collection or at all if it is true that, Sati blessed them to be good agriculturists but it was misused for criminality, question may arise who made the community as "Jayantira Pano"? It is clear that not only Jamindars but also the neighbouring communities who indirectly persuaded them to be involved in such acts so that they may also get ample benefits as third parties. When the very families of so-called criminals pathetically perished none of the third parties sympathised rather mocked at them as Jayantira Pano. The innocent people were tortured by the higher caste people, from other untouchables and at least from their own kiths and kins. Before going to conclude the chapter it is suggested that it is high time to guide the community on proper path to accept their traditional occupation and interest of their own may be well protected so that no one can ever comment even to the intimate friends, "Are you a Jayantira Pano"?

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## GLOSSARY

- Anka                      Reigning year of the Gajapati Maharaja of Puri recorded in Temple chronicle.

Avarna	People who do not belong to any of the four Varna orders of the caste system in India.
Batua Bada Osa	A typical cotton ponch to keep pan materials. The great festival of Lord Shiva observed by coastal Hindus of Orissa on the day before the Kartika Purnima usually in October-November every year.
Baiya	The person who sells land to other person who is other-wise called, 'Mustari'.
Baishnab	The priest of Scheduled Caste
Bajubandha	The typical big silver ornament used by rural women for decorating the upper arms (Baju).
Bala	The silver or aluminium ornaments used by females on their legs which produces jingling sound.
Bankia	The aluminium ornaments used by poor women. Since it is typically bent to decorate the feet called, Bankia.
Bansa	The Lineage group.
Bataphala	The silver ornaments on the wrists of women and look like banion fruits.
Bauli	The typical gold or silver ornaments used by women on their earlobes and nose.
Beat House	The police post which was setup by the British Police Officer at Jayantira to watch the activities of the then criminals of Jayantira village.
Bida	Harnow, an agricultural implement.

Biraja Tirthas	Holy shrine of the Goddess Biraja at Jaipur.
Champa	The golden ornaments used on earlobes by females which looks like champa flower.
Chandala	The sweeper who occupied lowest rung in the caste hierarchy.
Chandrayana	Offer of worship for Moon which is believed to save from danger and has purificatory effect.
Chika	The golden necklace used by females.
Chunkhai	The typical aluminium or brass made container of betel leaf and chun.
Dalapata	The big patch of agricultural land covered with weeds near Jayantira.
Dalinbaganda	The area where waters of the paddy fields are deposited and fall to the river near Jayantira.
Daroga Sahab	Police Officer employed by the British Government in India.
.Dham	Sacred Place
Dhola	Membraned musical instrument on drum which produces sound by percussion.
Dianpari	The cross-road near the village Dianpari near Chhaka Jayantira.
Dushi	One of the two deities worshipped on the wall of the labour room on the sixth day after delivery.
Ghataka	The person who kills a life
Gobadhia	Cow-killing
Gotha	The typical silver ornaments used on the waist.

Guakati	A Betel-nut cutter
Guli	A type of highly intoxicated item locally prepared with opium to be used as smoke.
Gurakhu	Tobacco paste.
Handi	The eleventh day of mortuary rites observed Hindus.
Huka	A typical article made of coconut shell used for smoking Guli.
Jatakasujha	Matching the horoscopes of both bride and groom ceremonially before the marriage.
Jhumuka	The golden ornaments used on earlobes by females.
Jogi	A community in orissa living on alms moving with guard container and playing stringed musical instrument known as Kendara.
Kabala	The record of registration deed
Kanti	A portion of plough
Lokameli	United effort of the people of the area to raise voice against Britishers for the noble cause of freedom of the country.
Machhia pataka	A sin due to magots in the sore.
Mahantipat	A specific location of cultivable lands near Jayantira.
Mai	Levelling ladder
Maniabandhi	Cloth woven with tie and dye technique in village Maniabandha in Cuttack district of Orissa.

Mridanga	A double-membraned percussion type of musical instrument.
Na-Anka Durbhikhya	The famous famine of 1866 in Orissa during the Nineth Anka of the then Gajapati Maharaja of Puri
Noli	A type of golden ornament.
Olia	A type of grain-container to preserve foodgrains and is made of straw
Pakhalabhat	Watered rice
Pakhauj	A double-membraned percussion musical instrument.
Patara	A community whose traditional occupation is weaving of 'Pata' or silken fabrics.
Piada	Tax collector of the then Jamindars.
Radhi	A specific Scheduled caste Community whose traditional occupation is fishing.
Sagunapat	A portion of agricultural land near Jayantira village.
Sati	A woman sacrificing her life on the pyre of her deceased husband
Sati Chaura	A place of the pyre of Sati marked on the bank of Baitarani river near Jayantira.
Savarna	The clean caste Hindus
Shudra	The fourth varna order said to be created out of the feet of the Divine Creator in Hindu religion.
Sindhikathi	A typical drilling instrument made of iron and used by the criminals to enter into the houses for stealing.

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