

THE BONDOS AND THEIR RESPONSE TO DEVELOPMENT

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PREFACE

In the wild and remote south-western tip of Malkangiri uplands live some sparsely populated primitive tribes. The Remo-speaking Bondo tribe of South Munda language group is one among them. While the mountainous tract inhabited by the Bondos enjoy a pleasant climate for its high elevation of about 3,000 ft., above the sea-level, the rest of the Malkangiri subdivision, which is comparatively a flat plain land dotted with small hillocks, has an extreme climate with oppressive hot and humid summer and severe cold winter.

The Bondos are considered a primitive tribal community. In the identification of primitive groups both the Central and State Governments have adopted the following three criteria :—

- (1) Pre-agricultural level of technology,
- (2) Low level of literacy and
- (3) Stagnant or diminishing population

The Bondo tribe conforms to the second norm and not to the first and third norms. The tribe's means of livelihood is not exclusively the slash-and-burn cultivation in the hill-slopes which is the distinguishing feature of a primitive tribe. It is practised in combination with the raising of rice on irrigated terraced fields in the valleys.

As regards the demographic features: its population was returned in 1961 census as 4,677 persons which increased in 1971 census to 5,338 persons with 14 per cent growth rate in the decade. These figures clearly indicate that the Bondo population is neither stagnant nor declining, a feature characteristic of a primitive tribe.

In the matter of level of literacy the Bondo is certainly primitive. The percentage of literacy which was 2.1 in 1961 was reduced to 1.4 in 1971.

Although the technological and demographic norms do not apply to the Bondos, nevertheless it is justifiably identified as a primitive tribe by taking into consideration many other correlated factors which contribute to the backwardness of the tribe. Some of such factors are the inaccessibility of the terrain tangled with precipitous hill-ranges and interminable wilderness and criminal propensity of the Bondos.

Besides the low level of literacy, ecological constraints and aggressive bent of mind the Bondo tribe as a whole represents a little changed primitive society with ancient tribal cultural characteristics. Found nowhere else except in those 32 villages which are confined to 130 Sq. K. M. s. hill area in the Khairput Block of the Malkangiri subdivision, the Bondo occupies this territory all by itself and claims it as its own homeland. Moreover, subordinate to none the Bondo society with a huge measure of social and political cohesion and solidarity appears to be autonomous and fulfils in all respects the definition of a tribe.

From these points of view the Bondo as a primitive tribe has been very fascinating to the anthropologists for ethnographic studies. The first full treatise of the tribe was that of Verrier Elwin which was published under the name of Bondo Highlanders in 1950. Both before and after this date there were also a few publications in the form of short papers on specific topics.

Though the Bondo belongs to the South-Munda language group it exhibits great differences in appearance, customs and character from its sister groups belonging to the same language group. Some of the most striking features of the tribe are (1) Rude and ruthless manner of expression, (2) Spirit of independence and sense of freedom, (3) Dormitory organization, (4) Excessive drinking of palm-wine, (5) Criminal propensity and (6) Unconventional dress pattern.

The Bondo women with their clean-shaven head decorated with head bands of palmyra strips and plaited fillets of caryota fibre stand out in sharp contrast with women of other tribal groups having long hairs arranged in attractive buns. Mass of

coloured beads and shell strings, brass neck rings and necklaces hanging down even below the navel and the brass bangles covering the whole of the lower arms in both the hands are the typical ornamentation of the Bondo women. A piece of loin-cloth of half a yard long woven at home by a double-bar tensioned loom covering only genital parts and the buttocks comprises the lady's apron.

Palm-wine from the *caryota urens* available in abundance in the area is the most favourite drink of the Bondos. The sap of this tree is the chief solace of their life. The crimes which are committed by the Bondos are the result of the intoxicating effects of such drinks. As soon as a Bondo wakes up he makes his way to the palm trees. He climbs the tree, dislodges the pot fixed to the gashed trunk the night before, comes down with the pot filled with sweet sap of palm wine and drinks it on the spot to his heart's content. He does the same thing in the evening. Thereafter something happens to him. Intoxicated and infuriated he starts abusing his wife, quarrels with his neighbours, provokes brawls which degenerate into murder. Sometimes the fear of persecution works on him causing neurotic anxiety which drives him to commit criminal offences.

Among the Bondos, two separate dormitories: one for the girls (Selani dingo) and the other for the boys (Ingersin) are in existence. Generally the Bondo villages are homogeneous in clan composition and therefore, the boys of a village do not mix intimately with the girls of the same village. They go out at night to another village of different clan composition and spend time with the girls at their dormitory. This does not mean that the Bondos are promiscuous and there is pre-marital sexual laxity among them. This is not at all the case. Mixing of the boys and the girls together helps them to come to know each other, leading on the part of a boy and a girl to match making and finally culminating in marriage between them.

The gaiety and the insouciance of the youth does not last long. As soon as they are married they face the problem of making a living and maintaining their family. They develop an

Image of limited resources and threats of exploitation by outsiders and wrath of supernatural beings. Under these circumstances their cheerfulness vanishes and freedom from care disappears altogether and in a short span of time the vigour of the youth changes to something which makes them taciturn, aggressive and uncommunicative. Not long ago the Bondo women used to take to heels at the approach of visitors to their habitat and the elders shoot showers of arrows, blockading any intrusion of external elements.

The earlier writers have discussed and described vividly about these ethnographic features of the tribe. But none of them have touched upon anything regarding the problems of their development which requires urgent attention in the present day context of tribal development.

At the time of review of tribal development programmes on the eve of the Fifth Five-Year Plan it was recommended that special programmes for the extremely backward tribal groups known as primitive tribes should be taken up on the basis of proper identification on the lines suggested by the Commissions and Study Teams which were set up to evolve suitable strategies for tackling the problems of primitive tribal groups.

Following the guidelines issued by the Planning Commission and Union Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India, many primitive tribes confined to very backward pockets were identified and aptitude-based and location specific developmental programmes prepared under a special project known as Micro-Project were implemented in such pockets. The Micro-Project meant for the Bondos is called Bondo Development Agency and it covers all the 32 Bondo villages scattered in an area of 130 Sq. Kms. around Mudulipada village which is the ancient village of the tribe and famous for the *Patkhanda Mahaprabhu*, the Supreme Deity of the Bondo which is enshrined in the Sacred Banian tree within the village boundary. A Special Officer designated as the Project Leader has been posted in the Micro-Project to

try out various methods and introduce various developmental programmes for the improvement in the living condition of the Bondos.

This book presents not only the basic socio-cultural profile of the tribe but also their responses to various developmental schemes implemented through the Micro-Project. The last two chapters of the book provide a vivid description of the approach which the Project Leader has adopted for the developmental planning and the ways by which he introduces with considerable success a many developmental programmes among the Bondos. The Bondos are now in the process of a great transformation under the impact of the Micro-Project and have begun realising the existence of a new world full of prospects within their easy reach for their development and improvement in all spheres of their life.

It is our first and foremost duty to express our gratitude to the Bondos for their patience and endurance which they exhibited during hours long interviews with them. We donot remember any occasion of their displeasure and hesitation in giving us whatever data we were in need of from them and enriching our knowledge about their society and culture. The happy memory and our days of work in the Bondo country will last for ever and we thank our Bondo informants from the core of our heart for their kindness shown towards us and for the trouble they had taken for providing necessary information for our monograph.

We cannot forget the services extended to us by Shri Raghu Nath Sahoo, Project Leader, Bondo Development Agency during our field work in the project area. Shri Sahu was our gateway to the Bondo ethnographic world and he functioned as the tap-root for the inspiration which we had for undertaking this field work among the Bondos.

We are thankful to the officers and the scholars of the T. H. R. T. I. who helped us bountifully in the preparation of this monograph. Data on 'Material Existence' collected by Shri Ajit Kumar Maharana.

Research Officer and on 'Political Organization' by Shri Himansu Sekher Mishra, Research Assistant of the Institute have been incorporated in this monograph. Shri Jyoti Prakash Rout, Research Officer and Shri Chandrakanta Konhar, Investigator have taken pains in preparing maps which are included in the book. Shrimati Hemanta Das, Research Assistant has contributed her write-up on Bondo kinship terminology. Shri S. K. Roy, Photographer has improved the appearance of the book by providing required photographs of Bondo habitat, life and activities, Shri Iswar Chandra Naik, Typist and Shri T. G. Chacko, Stenographer have undertaken the most arduous task of typing the manuscript for which they deserve our sincerest thanks.

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Bandhuguda--A Bondo settlement

CHAPTER I HABITAT AND PEOPLE

Setting

The Bondos are found nowhere except in Koraput district of Orissa. They claim to be the autochthons of the hills which are named after the tribe as the Bondo hills. As pointed out earlier the hills lie between $18^{\circ}15'$ — $18^{\circ}30'$ North latitude and $82^{\circ}15'$ — $82^{\circ}30'$ East longitude. The entire area is situated in the Khairput Block of Malkangiri Subdivision of Koraput district. The Bondo hills are bounded in the north-west by the Malkangiri plains and in the south-east by the Machhkund valley.

The plateaus and the valleys of the middle portion of the Bondo hills were the home of the Bondos. At present they donot live in a compact area, because migration has taken place from the core area to the peripheral regions and also towards the plains. But the extent of migration is confined to a radius of about 25 Kms. and not beyond Khairput Panchayat Samiti. Geographically the Bondo settlements can be divided broadly into three groups which are.

- (1) The Hill Bondo or the *Bara-Jangar* group,
- (2) The Gadaba group of Hill Bondo,
- (3) The Bondo villages of the plains,

The Hill Bondo of *Bara-Jangar* group of villages are very primitive. The group comprises 12 villages originally of which Mudulipada village is central. The legends indicate that the Bondo tribe came into being at Mudulipada which is now commonly known as the capital of the Bondo country. The other villages of this cluster are Kirsanipada, Tulaguram, Bandapada, Bandiguda, Basupada, Salaupada, Gokurupada, Pindajangar, Kichopada, Dantipada and Pandraguda. All these villages come under Khairput Gram Panchayat.

These 12 villages are said to be the original Bondo settlements and are linked with one another socially and culturally. The worship of *Patkhanda Mahaprabhu* which is celebrated at Mudulipada is participated only by the people of these villages. The *Naik*, the headman of Mudulipada village is highly respected by the *Naiks* of other villages and during the feudal regime the *Maharaja* of

Jeypore *Zamindari* to which all the Bondo hills belonged was supporting him financially and recognizing his authority. These villages have each a number of hamlets and in all there are 32 settlements in this group of villages.

The Gadaba group of villages include Ondrahal, Dumiripada, Kadamguda, Antamguda, Badobel and Bodapada which come under Ondrahal Gram Panchayat. The Bondos of these villages have been greatly influenced by the Gadaba, another primitive tribe living in close proximity to the Bondo of this group and therefore, are commonly known as Gadaba-Bondo. The Bondos of this group do not acknowledge the authority of the *Naik* of Mudulipada and do not participate in the worship of *Patkhanda Mahaprabhu*.

The Bondos of the third group who are known as plains-Bondo live in Khairput, Govindapalli, Kadamguda, Rasbeda, Padagatta, Puchaguda and Padua villages which are situated at the foot-hills. These Bondos are in close contact with caste Hindus and have borrowed their dress pattern and food habits. Though these three groups of Bondos live in different geographical areas, they are associated with one another in marital relationships. Boys of one village visit the dormitories every where irrespective of geographical groupings. Likewise the Bondos cut across their respective geographical boundaries in marriage and inter-marriage among the Bondos across territorial groupings is common.

The highland Bondo of the first two groups can be negotiated through four different routes such as (i) Kadamguda, (ii) Khairput, (iii) Mundiguda and (iv) Badadural.

If one takes the route via Kadamguda- a large and prosperous plain Bondo village-which is at a distance of 11 kms. from Govindapalli, he has to climb in easy stages the hills of Tulagurum and Dusuripada and then finally reaches the Mudulipada Group of villages situated at an altitude of over 3,000 feet above the sea level.

To approach Mudulipada, the capital of the Bondo country, from Khairput is much easier than other routes because there is a 15 kms. long fair weather road connecting these two places.

Recently further improvements have been made to make it jeep-able. This road was constructed in the year 1963-64 by the Block with a cost of Rs. 1,53,860 and has been handed over to the Rural Engineering Organisation for maintenance.

However, this road climbs three hills namely Kakapahar at the 2nd mile, *Dehada Melan* at the 4th mile and Banapacheri at the 6th mile. The first hill is named as such because a deity called *Kaka-Mauli Debi* resides there. Regarding the second hill a myth goes like this.

In ancient time a cow belonging to a Bondo was tied to a tree called *Dehada* by some mischievous persons, but was released later by some well-wisher. The hill was thereafter named *Dehada Melan*.

As regards the Bana Pacheri, this towering mountain serves as the watershed between the residential core of the Hill Bondo and the outside world. When a visitor to the Bondo country reaches its summit the Bondo tradition demands that he has to take oath there that he would do no harm to the Bondos when he is in their country. Details about it are discussed in the following paragraphs.

The Mundiguda route requires a journey on foot over 12 miles through the deep forest up to Challanpada, the first Bondo village in the hills. The road to Mudulipada via Baddural involves less climbing but is very circuitous covering about 14 miles through Kadanguda, Andrahal and Badobel villages. An Ayurvedic dispensary, a residential Sevashram, the V. L. W. Centre, a Service Co-operative Society and a Police Station are present at Mudulipada.

All along the journey in the Ghat area on Khairiput-Mudulipada road the scenic beauty of the wooded landscape is extremely charming. There is a massive rock half way on the hills on which the pedestrians sit for a while to take rest before they descend to the Bondo country. One can have a view of the panorama of natural beauty of the villages and Malkangiri plains down below and sees all around nothing but greenery and canopy of foliage of trees which are soothing to the eyes and refreshing to the body and mind.

Habitat

The Bondo country is full of precipitous hill ranges and luxuriant growth of forests which keep the area cool and swampy almost all the year round. Mosquitoes are found plentifully in the terrain and malaria is endemic among the people. The locality enjoys three seasons—Summer (*Yansingbela*), Rain (*Bondapanabela*) and Winter (*Pondarbela*). The summer starts from the middle of March and continues till the end of May and the temperature during this period varies from 13° to 30°c. The rains start from the month of June and continues till October during which the rainfall ranges from 60" to 70". The remaining months fall to the winter during which the climate is extremely cold.

The Bondo territory is full of mountain ranges rising in most cases to more than 3,000 feet in height above the sea level. The rock is chiefly gnesis and granite clothed with forest growth chiefly of figs of different species and other trees valuable for timber. Everywhere both in the higher plateaus and in the valleys the rocks are obscured by soil of the type of lateritic murrum, the commonest soil in the region, and also by the rich layers of decomposed trap, popularly known as black cotton. The soil in the hill slopes is brownish in colour but it is black in the valleys. In some places the soil mixed with silica is found.

The wild animals common in the Bondo territory are wild pigs (*gubu*), wild goats (*sulup*), rabbit (*gut*), wild fowl (*sising*), wild buffalo (*brudang*), tiger (*kukusa*), leopard (*sana-kukusa*), bear (*gimesh*), sambar (*seram*), deer (*elam*), monkey (*ghesak*), jackal (*kulu*), etc. Wild dogs are common all over the tract and cause harm to the cattle.

A great variety of birds are found in the forests. From sunrise to sunset their myraid symphony resounds the valley. The commonest among them is partridge. The grey partridge is usually found near village sites. Quails of different varieties are common throughout the area. The green pigeon may be seen everywhere. Other birds commonly found in the region are peacock (*kukum*), dove (*kukurpi*), crow (*gaga*), kite (*nalang*), vulture (*raleon*), heron (*unkuguda*), sand piper (*gisangpi*), wood pecker (*kurmapi*), mayna (*rambi*), parrot (*orle*), water-hen (*kire*), green pigeon (*goleonda*).



Bongo lady with her traditional dress and ornaments

Snakes like Cobra (*nangbo*), painted snake (*Kala-bubu*), and python (*rangia bubu*) are very common in the area.

The streams are the main stock of fish which is a favourite article of food among the Bondos. The most common fish are climbing-fish, minnow and shrimp. The fish are caught by hand, trap and net from the spring and paddy fields.

Some parts of the Bondo country, particularly the western side of it have been depleted of game animals, as a result of reclamation of the area for the purpose of human habitation. The axes, traps and the arrows of the Bondos have cleared the forests of most of the wild life. Due to large scale deforestation, hunting and food gathering as an economic pursuit has been reduced to a minimum. Forest products like-herbal medicines, timber, resin, honey, etc. have become scarce as a result of the shrinkage of forests.

People

Originally the Mudulipada police station comprises 23 Hill-Bondo villages and 23 Lower-Bondo villages. The Lower-Bondo villages are heterogeneous in composition whereas the Hill-Bondo villages are homogeneous. The Hill-Bondo villages are distributed in three Gram Panchayats Badadural, comprising only one village, inhabited by the Hill-Bondos and caste Hindus; Andrahal, comprising eight villages inhabited by the Hill-Bondos exclusively excepting Patraput village which is inhabited by the Didayitribe and caste Hindus such as Gouda, Domb and Bisoi, and Mudulipada comprising 14 villages inhabited by the Hill-Bondos excepting Pindajangar and Mudulipada villages which are composed of the Bondos and the Dombs.

The Lower-Bondo villages are included in four Gram Panchayats such as-Khairiput, Kadamguda, Rasbeda and Govindapalli. Khairiput Gram Panchayat consists of eight villages, Kadamguda Gram-Panchayat, six villages, Rasbeda Gram Panchayat, eight villages and Govindapalli Gram Panchayat, one village. All these villages are inhabited by the Bondos and different caste Hindus.

A census was taken in 1974 in both Lower and Upper Bondo areas. The details of this census are given in following Table:—

TABLE No. 1 (A)

Composition of Hill Bondo Villages

Block Headquarters : Khairiput Police-Station : Mudulipada

Name of the villages	No. of Bondo house-holds	Bondo population		No. of other-caste house-holds.	Remarks
		Male	Female		
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
1. Tulaguram	27	48	46	..	
2. Dantipada	36	68	78	..	
3. Tuseipada	24	43	36	..	
4. Badapada	54	95	89	..	
5. Kichopada	22	56	59	..	
6. Bondapada	59	107	122	..	
7. Baunsapada	23	39	48	..	
8. Pindajangar	40	60	63	6	Only the Dombs
9. Kirsanipada	88	146	175	..	
10. Chalanpada	18	39	36	..	
11. Bandhaguda	50	89	86	..	
12. Mudulipada	109	291	264	4	Only the Dombs
13. Seleiguda	24	34	47	..	
14. Gokheipada	28	38	49	..	
Total	602	1,153	1,198	10	

N. B.—Only the Domb, a Scheduled Caste is found among the hill-Bondos

TABLE I (B)

Composition of Gadaba Bondo villages

Name of the villages	No. of Bondo households	Bondo population		No. of Other Caste households	Remarks
		Male	Female		
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
1 Karamaguda	5	13	15	2	Gadaba
2 Ondrahal	140	253	260	6	Domb
3 Badobel	65	123	119	..	
4 Patraput	3	17	19	4	Bisoi, O. C.
				1	Domb, S. C.
				15	Gouda, O.C.
				32	Didayi, S. T.
5 Utamguda	8	28	25	..	
6 Goyelkenda	20	42	44	..	
7 Katamguda	30	76	78	..	
8 Dumuripada	50	132	128	..	
9 Gissingguda	54	62	73	..	
Total	375	746	961	50	

Note—O. C.—Other, Caste, S. C.—Sch. Caste, S. T.—Sch. Tribe

TABLE I (C)

Composition of lower Bondo villages

Name of the villages	No. of Bondo households	Bondo population		No. of Other Caste households	Remarks
		Male	Female		
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
1. Govindapalli ..	2	6	5	180	Gadaba, S. T. 2 Mali, O. C. 7 Rana, O. C. 10 Paiko, O. C. 4 Domb, S. C.
2. Khyamaguri ..	30	69	60	8	Gadaba, S. T. 5 Rana, O. C. 3 Sukri, O. C.
3. Kadamguda ..	80	153	182	10	Domb, S. C.
4. Kasuguda ..	32	62	58
5. Pakhariguda ..	35	76	78	5	Domb, S. C.
6. Similiguda ..	60	122	128	5	Ditto
7. Pusuruguda ..	23	47	49	4	Ditto
8. Pndraguda ..	40	68	71	7	Ditto
9. Lacher ..	10	18	17	3	Ditto
10. Kumarput ..	8	22	21	13	Ditto
Total	320	643	669	286	

TABLE I (C)

Composition of lower Bondo villages

Name of the villages	No. of Bondo households	Bondo population		No. of Other Caste households	Remarks
		Male	Female		
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
11. Lamtaput ..	18	37	34	3	Domb (S. C.)
12. Kuriguda ..	82	176	173	9	Gouda (O. C.)
13. Gambharibhatal	12	22	27	10	Mali (O. C.)
14. Jhariguda ..	12	26	23
15. Khairiput ..	1	3	3	8	Gadaba (S. T.)
16. Rasbeda ..	64	148	146	26	Dharia (O. C.)
17. Sindhiguda ..	20	39	41	12 1	Domb (S. C.) Domb (S. C.)
18. Bandhaguda ..	38	57	64	4	Domb (S. C.)
19. Bakamuguda ..	14	28	28	4	Domb (S. C.)
20. Nuaguda ..	7	16	15	.. 3	.. Domb (S. C.)
21. Semiliguda ..	18	34	35	2	Domb (S. C.)
22. Dasanguda ..	15	24	28	2	Domb (S. C.)
23. Mundiguda ..	5	11	12	14	Domb (S. C.)
Total ..	626	1,264	1,298	114	

It is seen from the table that the total population as per this census of both sections was 6,380 of which 4,018 persons belonged to Hill-Bondo villages and 2,562 to Lower Bondo villages. About 140 persons belonging to the Didayi tribe live in Patraput, one of the Upper Bondo villages.

As pointed out earlier all the Lower Bondo villages are heterogeneous in composition. The Bondos live mixed with Gadaba, a scheduled tribe and with scheduled castes, such as, Rana, Paiko, Domb, Mali and Sukri and castes Hindus, such as, Brahmin, Karana, Teli and Lohara.

The Upper Bondos have considerably retained the distinctive features of their culture, the factor responsible for it chiefly being geographical isolation. Their spirit of independence and sense of superiority to all others also have no less contribution to the preservation of their culture with least change. The Bondos call themselves as Remo which is their mother tongue belonging to south Mundari language and have linguistic, cultural and perhaps racial affinities with local tribal groups such as the Gadaba, the Parenga and the Didayi, but none of these tribal groups have retained their original culture so unaffected; with the passage of time as the Bondos have.

As pointed out earlier the territory in which the Upper Bondos live is difficult of access and therefore, the Hill-Bondos have little contact with the outsiders. The *Barik* (messenger) of the village is the only link between the Bondos and the outside world and keeps them informed about what happens outside their territory. The leaders among the Bondos find occasions at times to contact officers of the Block and come to know about developmental programmes. Sometimes the village leaders are summoned by the Block and police officers on official work. The peons of judicial courts sometimes climb the hills to serve summons on alleged persons. The Bondo children who are studying in the Sevashram School are also a source of information to their parents.

The level of literacy is as low as 2 per cent among the Bondos. Whenever any Bondo receives a letter which is a rare occasion the postman on request reads it to the addressee. Sometimes letters

addressed to the Hill-Bondos lie undelivered days together at the post office and many times letters received from their relatives who are in jail undergoing imprisonment and seek a reply remain unattended for want of a reader in the village. Whenever the postman helps either for reading a letter or for writing a letter he charges Rs. 1.00 for the work.

There is only one radio set in the whole of the Bondo country. The owner of this set is the Sarpanch of Andrahal Gram Panchayat who purchased it a decade ago when he was working in the tea garden at Assam. He tunes it and listens in music and other programmes without understanding anything.

CHAPTER II

MATERIAL EXISTENCE

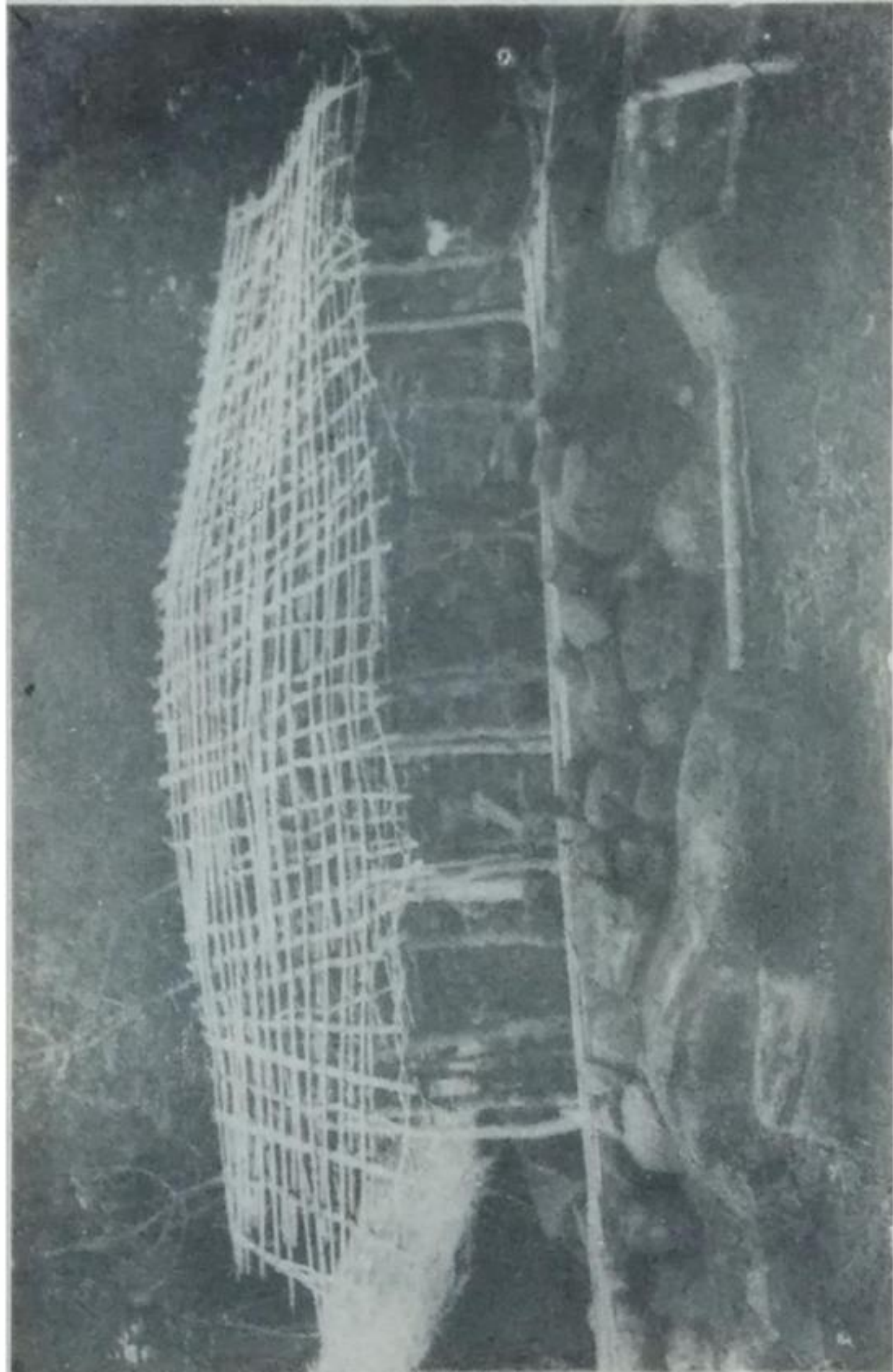
Settlement

The Bondo villages are situated in table lands where water is available nearby and the hill-slopes suitable for shifting cultivation are within easy reach. Availability of some plain lands along the hill-streams in the valleys where wet cultivation can be carried out is an additional advantage. As population increases and lands for cultivation get exhausted the extra population shifts to new sites and new settlements come up in the process. For example, in the past 50 years two hamlets called Padeiguda and Sebiguda have grown out of the Mudulipada village.

Houses in a Bondo village do not conform to any pattern. If a house faces north, another house comes up at its back facing in opposite direction. People build their respective houses in the main site wherever they find it convenient. Generally a Bondo village looks like a shapeless cluster or agglomerate with streets not forming an integral part of the design. The cluster of houses is largely of massive type in the sense that houses are not scattered to form assemblage of discrete clusters which are reckoned to make a village. The villages conforming to the above mentioned physical form will have only tortuous or irregular foot tracks which grow out of local requirements and not as a part of the original design. There is no scope for having a wide and straight street in each village. During the rains, these foot-paths get water-logged making it inconvenient for movement from one point to the other. In and around the Bondo village there are invariably mango and jack-fruit trees and some non-fruit-bearing trees which keep the site shady and make it swampy. Leaves fall and become decomposed and the droppings of domesticated animals such as cattle, pigs and poultry which are never swept clean add to the volume of humus rendering the whole surrounding filthy and muddy.

Domicile

Some differences are noticed in the houses of rich and poor people. A well-to-do family may have a double roofed house with more space and a cow shed attached to it whereas an ordinary



Bondo may have a single roofed house without a cow shed. The Bondo selects a good site for the construction of a new house. Before the construction takes place he undertakes a test to find whether the site is suitable for the construction. For this purpose he digs a small pit at the site and collects a handful of earth and gives it to the *Dishari* (Village priest). Next day the *Dishari* takes bath early morning and appears at the site. The first thing he does is to fix a twig from the mango tree at the pit and spreads some white rice mixed with earth which was given to him previous day into the pit. After a while, he takes out the clay and arranges the rice grains into pairs. If all the grains are formed into pairs and no grain is left unpaired, the place is considered auspicious. Otherwise the same process is repeated in another site and the favourableness or otherwise is determined. If the ritual indicates in favour of construction, the *Dishari* prays *Mahaprabhu*, the Supreme God with folded hands to bless the owner, his proposed house and his live-stock. He digs a pit and posts a pillar called *Muldei*, which represents ancestral spirits. For the services rendered, the *Dishari* is fed sumptuously and extra payment is made.

A Bondo house is built on a circular ground plan and the wall all around it is a bamboo lattice work either smoothly plastered with mud in some cases or kept bare in other cases. A narrow verandah is provided all around the house. A conical roof made of wooden rafters is kept in position by tying bamboo splits to them and thatched. A kind of locally grown grass is set on the roof for thatching. The house is so low that one cannot enter the house in an erect posture but will have to stoop to get in.

The house consists of two rooms—one bigger than the other and is about 8 feet in length and 6 feet in width. The smaller room is used as the kitchen in which the oven is present in the eastern corner and an earthen platform of about half a foot in width and 3 feet in length is provided opposite to the hearth to keep rice and curry-containers. The bigger room is utilized as sleeping room. Attached to the living room is a place of about 5 feet in length and

6 feet in width set apart for storing food grains and other articles of the house. At the back close to the living room is an enclosed space under the same roof of the house which is used exclusively by the ladies of the house as their retiring room. On to the left of this space is the pig sty, a gabled bamboo structure plastered with mud and attached to the store room is sleeping platform of 5 feet in length and 4 feet in width.

The diameter of a typical Bondo house (*Dio*) is about 10 to 12 feet. After the area is alined, the plot is partitioned into two sections for the rooms and four earthen pillars are made in four corners. The site is dug up to one foot in depth to raise the platform from floor. Earth is brought and dumped on the site to raise the platform. The walls are made either of clay or of bamboo-made partitions plastered with mud. When earth is used for making the wall, it is kneaded into a dough and lumps of it are set one upon the other. One layer of such lumps of clay rests on the foundation and after it is sufficiently dried in two to three days another layer is laid on it. The wall rises on all sides of the house uniformly as one layer of clay is laid on another until the prescribed height is reached. When the wall is intended to be made of lattice work of bamboo splits the first thing is to construct four earthen pillars in the same process as the mud-wall is done. Then the bamboo screens are fixed in between the pillars and thereafter mud is plastered both inside and outside the screens. Three such plasters are applied successively to give the wall required thickness. The final plastering of cowdung mixed with clay gives the wall a good appearance.

The construction of the roof requires different materials. Four wooden beams are placed horizontally end to end on each of the four pillars. A groove is made at the middle of each of the two side beams and an earthen pillar of about three feet in height is raised on each of these grooves. These two pillars set on the beam holds a beam. Then the bamboo rafters are set on the beams in such a way that the trellis takes a conical shape. This conical trellis is thatched with wild grass. The roof is big enough to keep not only the house but also the enclosed verandah encircling it under it and at the same time lowers down sufficiently so that cold wind does not get in easily.

After the roof is constructed protruding bamboo racks are made on the walls one in each room for storing grain-bins. Well-to-do families also prepare double roofed houses by fixing wooden planks under the thatched roof. Here the double roof (*Attu*) serves the same purpose of storing grains.

The door is made of wood and about 4 feet long and $1\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide. It is hung in a wooden frame fixed at the entrance of the house. There are good carpenters among the Bondos and they are employed for such skilled work. The door is kept locked when all the members go out. The front door serves both for entrance and exit as no door is provided at the back. The Bondo houses do not have windows and therefore, the inside of the house remains dark. The houses having walls around verandah are naturally much darker than those without such walls. This is the reason why the Bondos keep the firewood burning always inside their houses so that they get light.

It requires at least 15 to 20 days to construct a new house. Normally, after three years, the roof is repaired. But every year, the walls are given a fresh plastering.

A goat pen is made on the right side of the front verandah for keeping goats and a fowl pen adjacent to it. The remaining portion of the verandah is left free to be used either by the inmates or guests. A cow shed is constructed attached to the main house in front. But most of the families cannot have such a cow shed for lack of space and therefore, they tie their animals in some open space either in front or at the side of the house.

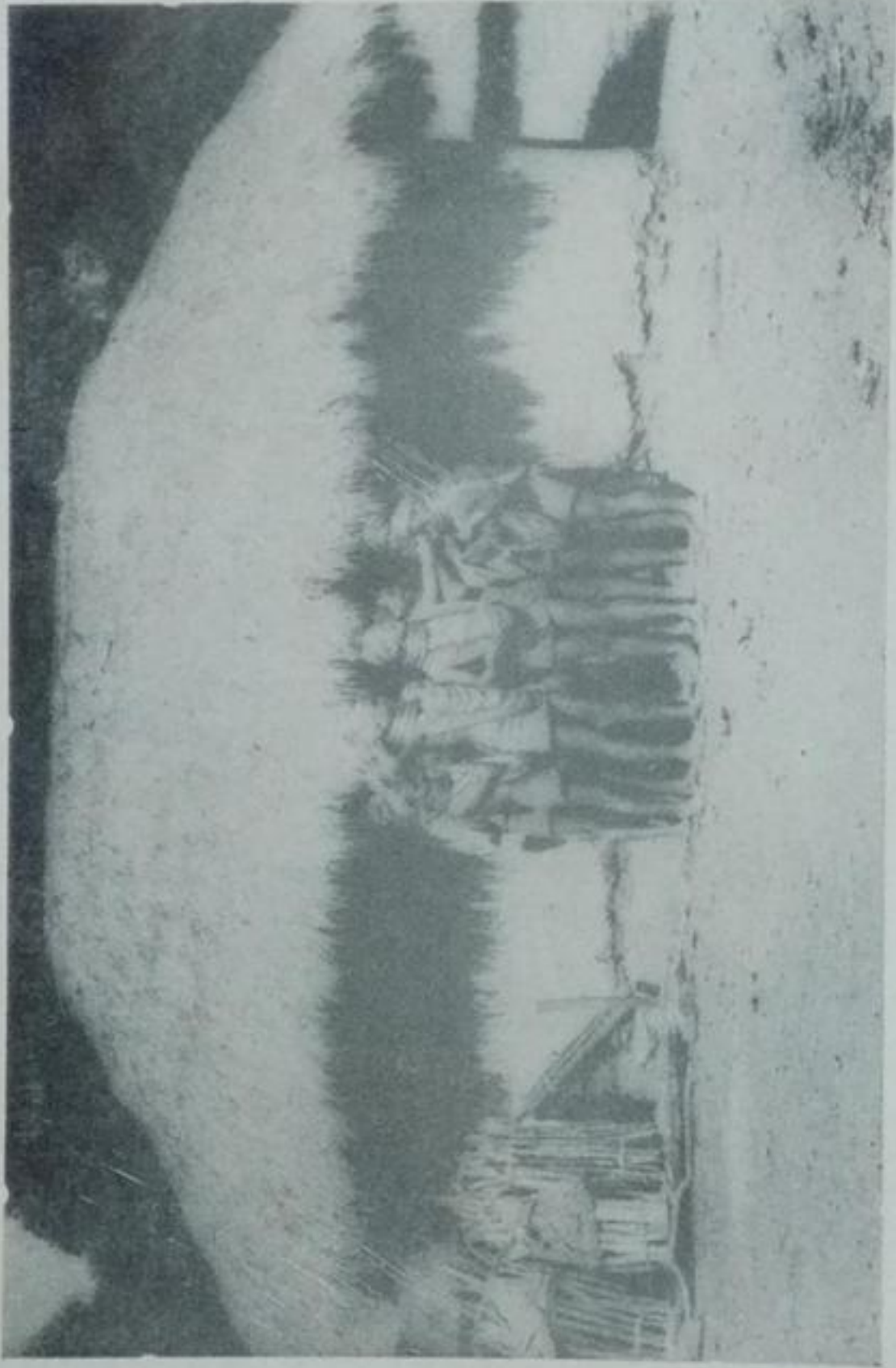
The house is constructed by the family members themselves. There is no clear cut division of labour between sexes for constructing a house. But plastering is mainly done by the females. In case more manpower is needed, co-operation is sought for from the neighbours on payment of wage. Generally the well-to-do families hire labourers on payment of wage for the construction of their houses. A house accomodates parents and small children. The

adult unmarried sons and daughters sleep in their respective dormitories. As soon as a son is married he builds his own house and lives with his wife separately. As the Bondo society is patrilocal the daughter after marriage leaves her parents and lives with her husband elsewhere. Naturally the size of the house everywhere among the Bondos is kept small. Moreover the economic condition of the Bondo is such that they cannot afford to maintain large houses. Added to this the ecological constraints rule out construction of big houses in the Bondo country.

A house constructed by a Bondo is properly maintained. The roof of the house is repaired in alternate years. Outside walls are plastered with red-clay (*Selong*) and cowdung (*Ilang*) once every month. Inside the house, plastering is done once in a week. The hearth (*Thrasung*) is plastered with cowdung every morning before cooking starts. In the morning the house wife sprinkles water all over the house, both outside and inside and sweeps the floor and the outside of the house. On every festive occasions, the whole house is plastered with a soft mixture of clay and cowdung. Cow shed and fowl pen are cleaned everyday. Pig sty (*Gimesela*) is cleaned once every fortnight. Among the Bondo the work of house-cleaning falls on the shoulder of the house wife and the male members have nothing to do with it.

Household Appliances

Very few Bondo families have anything that can be called bedding. Most common is the mat made of palmleaf or a piece of cloth which is spread on the ground to lie down. Some well off families use string-woven wooden cot for this purpose. During winter a Bondo covers his body with a piece of thick cloth particularly when he is out in the field. Otherwise the embers of the hearth keep him warm in winter nights. Bamboos and wooden planks are used as racks in the kitchen where tobacco leaves are stored and the heat of the oven keeps them dry. An earthen platform of 3 feet long (*Kuntura*) is made in the sleeping room to place the water pitchers. A rope is tied at one corner of the sleeping room on which clothes are kept hanging.



Bondo houses, square in ground plan, thatched in locally grown grass (Piri).

Weapons

Various weapons of indigenous type are used by the Bondo for self protection and for hunting animals. Spear (*umbar*) is used as thrusting weapon. A triangular projectile blade made of iron is set at the tip of iron rod which is used as a spear. It is generally set in a pit to kill the trapped animals.

Bow and arrow are the constant companion of the Bondo. The stave (*wa*) is a semicircular bamboo split and the string (*Sinade*) is made of slice of green bamboo. The arrow (*Aam*) shaft is made of bamboo and the arrow head (*Omb*) which is triangular in shape is made of iron. In some cases in place of the iron blade a wooden knob is used as the arrow head. Four to five numbers of peacock feathers are tied at the butt end for swift and straight flight of the arrow. Some arrows have single shouldered notch, some have double shouldered notch at the shaft butt. The arrow is kept hanging under the left arm pit as a mark of fashion and self-protection.

Cutting Tools

The knife (*Yunchuck*) is kept hanging from the waist belt or string all the time even while sleeping. It is a pointed iron blade set in an arch shaped aluminium handle (*Denta*) which is inserted at the waist inside the cloth. It is mainly used for cutting and piercing. Axe is of two types. *Tangia* is one type of axe which has a long wooden handle and a cutting edge of iron fitted at a right angle with one end of the handle. It is usually used for cutting wood, clearing Dongar lands, and chopping trees and branches in the forest. The handle is held tightly in both hands and repeated strokes are given with the edge to cut the object. Another type called, *Tangi* is used for hunting animals. The cutting edge is set at one end of the wooden handle. It is a proto type of *Tangia*. It kills the animal in one stroke. Scissors (*Kantarai*) is used for cropping hair. It is mainly used by the males. Blade (*Niboh*) is also used for shaving. Another knife (*Liasu*) made of iron is used to chop the bamboo slices. No handle is attached to it. The blunt part of the blade is gripped. Sickle (*Oret*) has two parts, a cylindrical wooden handle and a semicircular

serrated iron blade which is fitted to the handle. The sickle is used exclusively for reaping crops. There is a sickle without any wooden handle. It is mainly used for cutting shrubs, weeds and bushes.

Boring tool

Needle (*Suji*) and griller (*Nubu*) are mainly used as boring tools. Needles are used for sewing whereas the grillers are used for boring holes in wood. Chisel (*Barsi*), a steel tool with a levelled edge is used for shaping wood. Grinder comprises two circular wooden pieces kept one upon the other. A wooden axis is fixed in the hole at the centre of the bottom piece. This axis passes through the corresponding hole in the upper piece. The grains to be ground are kept in between these two pieces and the upper piece is rotated with the help of the handle fixed to it. The bottom piece is kept fixed and the axis keeps the upper piece in position and the grains are crushed and pounded with the rotation of the upper piece.

Striking tools

Hammer (*Gunuh*) and pestle (*kutni*) come under this category. Hammer is made of a solid piece of wood with a wooden handle fitted at the middle of it. Pestle (*kutni*) is a wooden handle about three feet in length and six inches in diameter. The end which is used for crushing is girdled with an iron ring. This is used mainly for husking grain.

Digging tools

Spade, hoe and shovel are used as digging tools. A shovel (*unkur*) is an iron shaft with pointed end whereas a spade (*Uns*) is an adze with a wooden haft fitted to the iron edge which is at right angle to the plane of the stroke.

Khurpi (unso) is a spade in miniature. Shovel is used for upturning clods of earth and *Khurpi* is used for scraping grass in kitchen garden and shovel is used for digging out roots and making pits on the Dongar plots.

Miscellaneous Appliances

Broom stick, winnowing-fan, baskets, come under this category. Broom stick is prepared from a type of wild grass (*pir*) collected by women from the forest. The Bondo women make broom sticks in a large scale for sale and also for their own use. Winnowing fan is used mainly to winnow out husks and chaffs from paddy, millets, etc. It is purchased from the market.

Miscellaneous hardware

Nails, knots and bolts are used mainly in doors and these are purchased from the market. Lock (*kuchi*) is commonly used by the villagers for locking the door. It is purchased from the market.

Musical Instruments

The Bondos have various musical instruments. There are several kinds of drums viz, *Tamak*, *khinding* and *kusang*. *Tamak* is a large drum made of earthen-ware having the head covered with cow hide. *Khinding* is double membered cylindrically shaped drum of the *Dhol* type one face of it is covered with goat skin called, *Jangia* and beaten with hand and the other face is covered with cow-hide and beaten with stick.

Tolia is a guitar with one string played with finger. *Kusang* is an instrument much the same as the *Tolia*, but is played with a bow like a violin. Flutes are of ordinary pattern made of bamboo. The Bondo girls use small Jew's harp made of bamboo. A low sweet sound called '*Gunungu*' is created when this harp is played upon. The same sound is also produced from the bangles when the girls rub these bangles of their hands. *Singhar* or trumpet made of bison horns are blown by the village officials while in hunting expedition and when communal dances take place during various festivals.

Utensils

Utensils in Bondo houses include earthen ware vessels, aluminium bell-metal and brass pots and different items made out of dried bottle gourd. Big earthen pot (*Gendakoing*) or brass pot (*Gagira*) for storing water, earthen pots (*Unkul*) of

different sizes for cooking, earthen pitcher or hollowed bottle-gourd (*Anka*) for fetching water and laddles made of wood, aluminium or iron and bottle-gourd are the important appliances used in the kitchen. Aluminium plates and cups and leaf cups are used for taking food. They have aluminium mug (*Mustia*) or bottle-gourd container for storing and carrying liquor. All items except those made of bottle-gourds are purchased from the local market.

Basketry

Bamboo baskets of different sizes and shapes are commonly seen in all houses. Baskets are used for carrying and storing grains and other produces and for drying food stuff. Large container (*Kraaka*) are made of bamboo splits for storing grains. Winnowing fan made of bamboo is found in every household.

Miscellaneous household articles

Measuring basket (*Tumba*), ladder and funnel for storing cash are made of bamboo. They do not possess box made of wood, metal or fibre for storing their valuables. Some households use kerosine lamp (*Dibie*) and a few well-to-do families possess lantern, torch light and umbrella.

Dress

Both men and women use scanty clothes which are of bare necessity to cover the lower part of the body keeping the upper part exposed. The ordinary clothing of an adult Bondo male is a loin-cloth (*Gosi*) with red border and about two feet long and ten inches in breadth. The cloth passes between the thighs tightly and one end is tucked at the back and the other end in front to the waist-string. Some Bondos have already started wearing shirts and covering the body with a wrapper. A male child remains nude till he becomes five years old and puts on a piece of torn cloth called *Langota* till he attends the age of nine to ten years. Thereafter he starts using the *Gosi*.

Women ordinarily wear a typical self-made skirt called *Ringa* or *Nadi*. It is a striped coloured piece of cloth about three feet long and one foot in breadth woven by Bondo women from fibres.



The Bondo women covering skillfully with shortest Ringa and a bunch of a beads.



The curse of Sita in bygone days is still dreaded

It is wound round the waist along the waist-string to which it is attached. It hardly reaches the thigh and even not of sufficient length to go round. A female child starts wearing a Ringa when she becomes five to six years old. Both young and old do not generally use any other dress to cover the upper part of their body. On ceremonial occasions or when they visit weekly markets they also put on this Ringa.

There is very little change in the dress of Bondo women because of a cursing taboo imposed by Goddess Sita, wife of Lord Ramachandra according to a mythical story still remembered by them. This story is narrated as follows:

Goddess Sita who accompanied Lord Ramachandra and Lakshman during banishment, for fourteen years took shelter in the present Bondo country. One day when Sita was taking bath in complete nudity in a spring, a group of Bondo women who were then using clothes came to fetch water. On seeing Sita, naked, they laughed at her. Sita felt insulted and cursed them to go naked with shaven head which would make them the subject for laughter by outsiders and any attempt to deviate from this practice would bring disaster to them. They realised their fault and begged apology and requested Sita to withdraw the curse. But she was undone because, a curse could not be withdrawn. In such a situation Sita tore off pieces of cloth from her apparel and gave them to conceal their nudity. From that day onward they have been putting on scanty dress. The place (a source of water) where this incidence occurred still exist near Mudulipada village and is known as Sita Kunda.

The Bondo women themselves weave the loin cloth (*Gasi*) for male, the skirt (*Ringa*) for themselves and clothes used by their children. For this purpose they collect the barks of a plant locally known as *Kode* or *Insive*. These barks are dried up, beaten and then soaked in water. Thereafter yarn is made and dyed with colour and the clothes are woven in their traditional loom. Now-a-days they are purchasing cotton threads of different colours from local markets.

Both men and women ordinarily put on their usual dress at home and also on special occasions or when they visit weekly markets. On ceremonial occasions, they clean their dress. Some men put on turban or a cap fitted with peacock feathers and women wear whatever ornaments they have. As a result of their contact with outsiders men have already started wearing mill-made clothes and ready made shirts. But such changes in dress are very rare among the women.

Clothes are not washed with soap but with fine ash of the burnt wood. During the period of investigation, only four persons were found to be using ordinary soap for washing. They are all ex-prisoners who had learnt the use of soap at the prison.

Ornaments

The Bondos are fond of ornaments and irrespective of sex and age, they like to adorn themselves with varieties of ornaments.

Round the shaven head, the Bondo women use two types of head-bands, viz, *Turuba* or *Kurtop* made of grass and *Lobeda* made of beads. These are set tight round the head. Aluminium band (*Khagla*) of various sizes, 8 to 10 in number are put on around the neck along with bead necklace (*Mali*) 100 to 200 in number. These *Khagla* and *Mali*, really serve the purpose of coverage to the breasts of the women even in the absence of cloth. Brass-bangles (*Sungri*) of 5 to 6 in number are used as wristlets in both the hands. Anklets and nose-ornaments are not used by the females. Ear-ring (*Limbi*) made of brass is used by male. Aluminium rings (*Orti*) are used in fingers. Specially the young girls have a fancy for golden coloured ornaments and necklace of multi-coloured beads.

Head-band (*Ornagboh*) made from the leaf of a tree called, *Arlei*, is used by the males around the head like the females. This band is mainly used by the bachelors (*Dhangdas*) and newly married persons. This is prepared by the males themselves. Aluminium bangles (*Sungrai*) are worn round the wrist by the males. The males too, use bead necklace, called *Thangimali*. The males use brass ear-rings



Plastic comb is a favourite of Bondo boys

(*unsurul*). Round the arm, they put on bracelets (*Sanbah*). A spring type of wire is used at the nose as nose-ring called *Sungrynih*. Males generally put on ornaments from early age, that is, from 8 to 9 years until they are married. After marriage they do not take care to adorn themselves with ornaments.

Children also use the same type of ornaments as mentioned above. But the female children use less number of *Khaglas* compared to adult ones. A woman uses *Lobeda* only after marriage. Similarly a male enhances his prestige if he can afford to put on gold ear-rings and necklaces.

Other varieties of ornaments excepting bead necklaces are purchased from blacksmiths. Bead necklaces are purchased from the Domb-pedlars who frequently visit the villages. On ceremonial occasions, no special ornaments are used. Well-to-do persons can afford to use large number of *Khaglas* and their ladies put on more bead necklaces. Married ladies do not wear bracelets to show respect to the male members. Ladies do not wear anything on their legs.

Bodily cleanliness

Women shave their heads cleanly. It is taboo for them to grow hair. The curse of Goddess Sita still hangs in their memory. Males keep long hair. Cutting of hair and saving of beards is done once in a month.

There are no barbers among the Bondos. Almost all the Bondo know how to crop hair and shave beards. For a hair cut they resort to mutual help. It is cut in a circular fashion with scissors purchased from the market.

They apply castor oil or til oil after hair-cut and take bath. On festive days only castor oil is applied. The males wash their hair by means of a bark of a wild plant locally known as *Sawa*. Some of them also use soap for hair wash.

Bath (*Kumarda*) is rarely taken by the Bondos. During rains and winter bath is taken only twice or thrice in a month, but comparatively more often in summer. After bath the same clothes are used and the wet clothes get dry on the body. While taking bath body is not rubbed either with any napkin or with any cloth. Only such persons who have returned from prisons use washing soap (*Sabu*) for cleaning body.

Teeth are not brushed regularly. After defecation too, water is not used but cleaned with leaves. In fact, the people are not keen in bodily cleanliness.

Food

The staple food of the Bondos is gruel (*Entra*) prepared from ragi and other minor millets. It is generally taken along with boiled green leaves or vegetables or roasted dry-fish. Ordinarily two principal meals are taken by them, one at mid-day and another in the evening. In addition to this they often take gruel at breakfast when they have to work in the field or to go out. On such occasions chilli or onion with a little salt or tamarind is taken along with the gruel. The mid-day meal is taken at noon in the field along with boiled green leaves, vegetable curry or roasted dry-fish. The other principal meal is taken in the evening which is practically similar to the mid-day meal. The well-to-do families who can afford, eat rice in the evening along with vegetable curry. For a side dish they generally depend on vegetables grown in their kitchen garden or on the green leaves collected from the forest. Different varieties of vegetables such as brinjal, pumpkin, bottle-gourd, chilli, etc. are grown in the kitchen garden. Besides these, different varieties of green leaves, flowers and mushrooms collected from the forest are also eaten. Neither fish nor meat constitutes a regular item in their daily diet. The Bondos eat various types of fruits, the most common being jack-fruit, guava, banana, black berry, papaya, etc. Milk and milk products are not taken by them.

Rice is taken as a special item of food on festive occasions and in communal feast given by an individual family during birth, wedding and death rites. Such occasions help to break the monotony of diet. Meats are taken during special occasions. These include, chicken, pork, beef and flesh of the goat or buffalo. The flesh of hare and deer has become scarce due to large scale depletion of forest. In the preparation of meat, they add salt, onion, turmeric, ginger, garlic, tamarind and sal seed or til oil.

Inadequate food stuff produced by them and non-availability of sufficient edibles from the forest do not give them scope to discriminate between preferred and non-preferred food items. Beef, pork, chicken and flesh of the buffalo are their favourite non-vegetarian items. Flesh of kites and hawks are very much relished. White ants, red ants, large grass hoppers, are also eaten. Crabs, snails and fish are relished. Blood of the sacrificial animals is boiled in water and eaten as a sort of soup. The flesh of monkey, crow, lizard, snake and of unknown birds and animals considered unclean is not taken.

All the members in a family eat at the same time. Wife serves food to all members and then she joins them. When going to the agricultural field the food for the mid-day meal is taken in an aluminium pot and served to all members in the field. All the male members present eat first and then the female members follow.

All members of a family eat in separate plates and only the young ones share with their mothers from the same plate. Gruel is usually taken in leaf-cups and plates. Before or after taking food they are not very particular to wash their hands and mouths. Water is not invariably taken after food.

However, the Bondos receive very inadequate food, qualitatively and quantitatively and even the basic calorie requirements are hardly met by the food intake.

Drinks and other intoxicants

They usually prepare and take four types of alcoholic drinks. These are, Safung (Sago-palm juice), Pandom (beer prepared from cereals), Boun-sagur (ardent-spirit of Mahua flower) and Ulinsagur (spirit prepared from mango). Of these drinks, Safung (sago-palm juice) which is the most common and favourite drink is taken both as a beverage and as food. Sago-palm trees (Salap) are planted and owned as private property by the respective families. It is seen that each family owns a number of such trees which can provide alcoholic drink round the year. At the time of partition, such trees are distributed among the sons and sometimes sold or mortgaged. When some body is caught red handed at the time of stealing the juice from the pot on the tree, the owner usually loses his temper and sometimes kills the offender by shooting arrows.

For luxuriant growth of a sago-palm tree and also for better flow of juice, they observe several magico religious rites at the time of planting, first tapping of juice and also at the time when there is insufficient flow of juice. On such occasions the priest is invited to perform the worship with a sacrifice of a fowl to Bursung (Earth Goddess) near the pit where a sago-palm seedling is to be planted. A similar ritual is also observed when juice is to be tapped for the first time or when there is irregular flow of juice. In order to increase the alcoholic contents of the juice they keep barks of various plants called *Achki*, *Artun*, *Gosangte*, *Tangri*, *Pitamari* and *Ukuski*, dipped in the sago-palm juice in the pot.

Pandom is the beer prepared from rice or minor millets. The method of preparation of such beer is very simple. First grains are cooked and spread on a mat to cool down. The fermenting agent prepared from the root of a plant called *Chitrama* or from the bark of a plant known as *Kudei* is mixed up with the cooked grain. Thereafter these are collected in an earthen pot. These are kept with little quantity of water being added to it for four to five days when it can be taken. It is a rare drink for them and those who have sufficient quantity of rice or millets may prepare it on festive occasions.

Boun Sagur (Mahua-liquor) and Lilinsagur (liquor from mango-juice) are prepared through the process of distillation near the hill streams with the help of indigenous equipments. Comparatively adult males are habituated to take all types of alcoholic drinks while adult females and children may take sago-palm juice and grain-beer but not the mahua liquor. Whenever liquor is taken a person has to drop a little quantity from the cup on the ground in honour of Earth Goddess and then drinks.

Liquor is enjoyed in a group irrespective of status. Behaviour under intoxication is very rough. It may lead to the act of criminality. The Bondos under the spell of liquor commit murder.

The Bondos both male and female, young and old are inveterate tobacco smokers. Tobacco powders rolled in dried sal leaf like a cheroot is smoked. Many of them also chew tobacco. Children above 8 to 10 years of age are found smoking and chewing tobacco.

CHAPTER III

ECONOMIC LIFE

The economic life of the Bondos is characterised by its dependence on food gathering, hunting and cultivation, both settled and shifting with its allied activities like livestock rearing and wage-earning. The Bondos carry on the crude method of shifting cultivation in the hill-slopes along with wet cultivation in the valley lands and also depend on food-gathering and hunting for their subsistence. Barter is carried on with the outsiders to a large extent. They grow rice in wet land and ragi and minor millets as major crops in the swiddens primarily for their own consumption. Some of them rear goat and pig both for sacrificial purpose and for sale. Bullocks are used in ploughing the wet lands and uplands. Rearing of local variety of poultry birds is common among them.

Like many other tribal communities in the State the Bondos are largely dependent on forest which provides them with food, fuel, fodder and construction materials. They collect a number of edible roots, shoots, leaves, fruits, flowers and mushrooms in different seasons. For construction of their houses they get almost all materials except the iron nails, from the forest. They collect *Keranga* fibre for weaving 'ringa', the traditional waist cloth used by women, fibres for making ropes and leaves for making mats, rainhats and leaf-plates and cups. They grow sago-palm trees in the forest to provide them their favourite alcoholic drink. The roots and barks of plants which are dipped into sago-palm juice to enhance its alcoholic contents are also collected from the forest.

Besides seasonal collection of forest produce, the Bondos go for hunting and bird-catching in the jungle to supplement their diet with non-vegetarian food items. In hunting they kill jungle-fowl, peafowl, deer, porcupine, hare, wild boar, wild goat and rabbit. Hunting of bigger animals is a team work under the leadership of an expert hunter. On special or ceremonial hunting expeditions whenever any game is bagged, they equally share it after necessary magico-religious rites are performed and a limb is reserved for the hunter whose arrow or any other weapon hits the animal first.

They employ several methods in group hunting. After performing the magico-religious rites, they go to the forest for hunting. The weapons used in hunting include bow and arrow, knife and heavy axe. Dogs also accompany the hunting party. They have different devices for hunting different games. Sometimes they encircle the area where animals are expected to have taken shelter. Some of them will beat the bushes and drive the prey while others will remain alert to shoot the animal. Whenever an animal is wounded, they follow it till it is bagged.

They also employ various methods of trapping. They use different snares, traps and other typical mechanisms to kill different animals. For catching a big animal a pit is dug. A number of pointed iron rods are fixed in the pit which is covered with leaves and twigs. Paste-balls prepared from clay mixed with salt are placed around the pit as baits to attract the animals. Once the animal crosses the pit, its body is pierced with the iron rods. The hunters who must be lying in ambush nearby rush towards the pit to kill the animal with their weapons. Traps made of bamboo splits or strong sticks and ropes are also set to catch bigger animals like wild boar, goat and deer. During their ceremonial hunting in March-April very elaborate arrangements are made at the village level. At the time of hunting, hunters are restricted to take alcoholic drink and also to put on white dress.

For killing birds which is an individual pursuit, they commonly use bow and arrow with a sharp iron or wooden head. Birds are shot at just when they have perched or are ready to fly. The milk of jack-fruit tree or other shrubs is used as sticky gum to fix the point to the shaft of the arrow. A number of bamboo splits smeared with this gum are fixed on the ground near the source of water or in agricultural fields with ripened crops or on branches of big trees where birds perch at certain time. Whenever birds come in contact with these sticky splits, they get stuck and are caught.

Both men and women are engaged in the collection of minor forest produce, but it is incidental in the case of former whereas it is the main occupation of the latter. Hunting, catching birds and collection of timber and fibre for house construction are the main

job of the male members. Depletion of forests due to shifting cultivation and continuous exploitation to meet their requirements is reducing their dependence on forest. Now they are becoming conscious of this and are allowing suitable patches for natural growth so that they can get their requirements at the time of need more often when natural calamity like failure of crop is faced.

The Bondos are fond of fish which they catch whenever they find opportunity to do so. During the rainy season, both men and women catch fish from the hill streams and paddy fields. In such cases they use different types of traps made of bamboo splits, creeper and thread and nets tied to bamboo frame. Occasionally they use hooks. Other ways of fishing are to construct weirs to trap fishes and to allow the water to dry up or escape so that fishes can easily be caught. Sometimes they poison the stagnant water with traditional herbs to make the fishes benumbed so that they are easily caught. Many people catch fish by hand. In summer, some of them go in a group for fishing in the rivers and rivulets situated in Machkund and Chitrakonda areas. Crabs which are relished much by them are also caught.

The Bondos who were primarily food gatherers and shifting cultivators are now becoming agriculturists. They practise both shifting and settled cultivation. They classify land into four types. These are (a) Wet land-*Jhola* or *Lieang*, (b) Up land or *Pada*, (c) Hill slope or *Dangar* (Land for slash and burn type of shifting cultivation) and (d) Kitchen garden (*Dinabui*) within the settlement. Wet land, *Dangar* and kitchen garden are individually owned while the land under shifting cultivation is owned collectively by the lineage group in a village. It is difficult to ascertain the size of land holding since survey and settlement of land has not been undertaken in all the villages due to resentment of the Bondos. However, it is estimated (by Bondo Development Agency) that on an average an individual cultivating household owns 0.37 hectares including 0.12 hectare of wet land, 0.23 hectare of up land and 0.02 hectare of homestead land and kitchen garden.

In the irrigated and terraced land they grow their traditional long duration superfine rice by transplantation method. This type of land situated in the valleys is very fertile. During rainy season when there is sufficient water, ploughing is done twice, even thrice if required. A heavy leveller is passed over the field before the transplanting of paddy seedlings is done by womenfolk. Weeding is also done by womenfolk. Now some of them are growing wheat in this type of land as a second crop for which the Bondo Development Agency has been taking initiative by providing seeds and fertilizer and technical knowhow.

Apart from wet land cultivation of *Pada* land (up land) situated at the base of the hills away from the settlement is undertaken. Such lands are brought under cultivation for three to four years by rotation of crops after which these are allowed to remain fallow for two to three years. In the first and second years they grow millets and blackgrams and in the third and fourth years they grow niger. If any plot can be manured, cultivation may be undertaken continuously. There are some *Pada* land where short duration paddy is also grown by applying manure.

The kitchen gardens which are located in close proximity to the villages are cultivated annually as fertility is maintained therein by applying cowdung and compost. In this type of land they grow maize, tobacco, vegetables and chilly during the rainy season. Some of them are now growing ginger and brinjal in such lands.

The Bondo Development Agency has succeeded in persuading the Bondo cultivators to take to improved methods of cultivation of maize, ragi, paddy and grams by using seeds of high yielding variety and chemical fertilizers. Some of them are now growing ginger, turmeric, potato, cabbage, cauliflower, tomato, brinjal and radish which are unknown to them. Grafts of lemon, orange and guava and suckers of banana and coconut plants are distributed for backyard plantation.

The dangar lands in which slash-and-burn type of cultivation is practised are held in common by different lineage groups. All families in a particular lineage are free to cultivate patches of land of any size according to their capacity within the area demarcated for the group. This cultivation starts with ceremonial cutting of the forest patch first by the village priest after performing the connected rituals. From the next day the process is followed by fellow villagers in their respective patches. A patch of swidden is cultivated for three consecutive years by rotation of crops and is left fallow till it recoups for use again. Except the fruit trees all other plants and trees are cut leaving stumps of about three to five feet in height. The next stage of operation is to collect branches from the nearby forests and heaped in the clearing. For several weeks the felled materials are left to be dried. These are collected and heaped together at different places in the plot and fired. The ashes are scattered all over the plot. Before the first shower of monsoon they once again cut the grasses and sprouted bushes. The third operation which consists of digging and sowing begins after performing a magico-religious rite at the family level for better production. Different types of millets like *ragi*, *suani*, *kangu* are mixed up and sown broadcast. Some vegetable seeds are also sown in selected parts. In the second successive year they generally grow pulses or oil seeds. The next stage is weeding which falls on the shoulder of the women. Thereafter field huts are constructed for constant guarding of the crops by the male members against the damage caused by birds and wild animals. Reaping and harvesting are done timely and these works are done by both men and women. Except sowing which is the main work of the men other works connected with shifting cultivation are done by both men and women.

Bullock and cow are used as draught animals and cows are not kept for milk but primarily for calves and also for use as draught animal and bride-price. The cattle kept by the Bondos are of local variety which are small in size. They do not take much care of these cattle which are let loose to graze in the waste lands and agricultural fields. They seldom feed them in

stalls and only paddy straw is stored for use as fodder during heavy agricultural operations. Other livestock reared by them include goats, pigs and poultry.

Like other primitive tribes the Bondo men and women have traditional knowledge of several crafts. A Bondo man knows rope making and carpentry. Similarly, a Bondo woman knows how to prepare her own dress from *Kerang* barks, mats from wild date-palm-leaves, leaf-cups and plates, bamboo baskets and broomsticks from wild grasses.

Wage earning is not a substantial source of income. The well-to-do Bondos who employ labourers to carry on agricultural operations pay them in kind. A type of permanent labour practice called "Goti" is seen in the area. The labourer is bonded to the creditor for the loan taken by his father or grand-father to meet the expenses of a marriage or of a criminal case. The Goti stays with the family of the creditor as a family member and takes food and gets cloth for the works he does. The Goti can get married and stays separately with his own family near the creditor's house.

Division of labour among sexes and among different age-groups of the same sex in the Bondo society is not prescribed by any strict social law, but it is followed according to their tradition. In a primitive society like the Bondos, there is lack of specialists in occupation and there is very little diversification in economic activities. There are certain works which can be done by both sexes and there are certain items of work which are performed either by men or by women. Among them discrimination is based on custom, convention, tradition and physical ability. An adult male usually performs heavier and arduous works while an adult female does light but painstaking works. The Bondo males do hunting, trapping, snaring, ploughing, levelling, terracing of low land, climbing on big trees, watching field at night which need courage and strength.

Women do cooking and all other domestic works like fetching water, collection of fire wood, taking care of domestic animals, weeding and transplanting in agricultural fields besides the rearing of children. Female children assist their mothers in their work while small boys are required to look after the domestic cattle.

Comparatively the Bondo men enjoy more leisure and one may be tempted to call them idlers. Women toil hard from morning till night doing their works both inside and outside their homes. Although men have certain busy seasons in the year, there is no continuous programme of work for them. They spend plenty of time in drinking under the sago-palm trees and gossiping in somebody's house or in the bachelor's dormitory.

Their staple food comprises rice and regi gruel. Gruel prepared from millets like—*suan* and *kangu* are also taken whenever they get. Different types of roots, tubers and leaves collected from the forest are boiled and eaten. The powder prepared from mango kernel and sago palm trees are also eaten. A huge quantity of jack fruits are also consumed by them. They collect different varieties of edible fruits from the forest for their own use. Their non-vegetarian food items include beef, pork, fowl, mutton, egg, fish, insect and bird. Male members who are constantly armed with bows and arrows, knife and axe when they go out try to kill a bird or an animal which will serve as a non-vegetarian diet. On several occasions group hunting excursions are undertaken to kill animal and bird to meet their animal protein.

The Bondos are very much addicted to intoxicated drinks and their social system is inextricably linked with drinks. They consume enormous quantities of liquor at the time of festive occasions, entertaining visitors, engaging labourers, satisfying the witch-doctors, etc. The most common drink in their locality is the fermented juice of the sago palm which is owned on family basis. The male owner treats it as his wife and one must not drink its juice without the permission of the owner, lest it may lead to murder. They also brew beer from rice called *Pandom* and another variety from millets called *L/* which

are the favourite drinks of the women. They also distill liquor from mohua flowers. At the time of drinking the Bondo men keep no limit. In their drunken stage they become quarrelsome and argumentative which lead to bloodshed and murder.

Both men and women smoke. Male members start smoking early in life, that is, at the age of 9 to 10 years. Chewing tobacco is not as popular as smoking. Tobacco rolled in *Sal* (*Shorea robusta*) leaf is smoked.

Some tobacco and sal leaves or rolled tobacco cigars are always carried along by men. The use of tobacco is significant in their social life. Whenever guests arrive they are offered with tobacco and whenever there is formal or informal gathering of village elders they smoke.

Their economy is still essentially a barter economy. Most of their marketable surplus of agricultural and forest produce are brought to the weekly markets at Mundiguda, Govindpalli, Mathili and Onakadally. Broom sticks, jackfruits, mango, date-palm, berries collected from the forest and banana, tobacco, chilly, brinjal and other vegetables, ragi, niger and other oil-seeds and grams are brought to the market for exchange to get articles like salt, kerosine oil, dry fish, ornaments and clothes.

They are no longer self-sufficient as they were in the past and are in dire want of food and other necessities of life. Excepting the well-to-do families, most of them need credit in the shape of food stuff for family consumption, seeds and also cash for agriculture and domestic animals for payment of bride-price.

They approach the local Bondo creditors who generally charge 100 percent interest per annum for loan in kind and 50 percent for cash. The loan whether it is in cash or in kind may be repaid in kind at the time of harvest towards the principal and the interest. Whenever anybody fails to repay the loan with interest a family member has to work as a bonded labourer until the loan is cleared which is unlikely during one's life time. In such a situation and in most cases a bonded labourer remains such in perpetuity. Creditors and the traders from any other community living in the plains do not dare to carry on their transactions with the Bondos.

CHAPTER IV

SOCIAL ORGANISATION

Family (*Mundan dita*)

The smallest social unit among the Bondos is the family. Generally it comprises a man, his wife and their children. As soon as the sons grow up they leave their parents and have their own houses. As the space in a Bondo house is very much limited it does not accommodate more than one couple. The married sons build their own houses in the same village and lead an independent life. But the daughters after they are married leave the house of their parents and go to settle down in the house of their husbands. As patrilocality is followed for the Bondos are also patrilineal in respect of inheritance of property. Among the Bondos it is the sons who inherit the property of their father and daughters do not get any share in the parental property. Among them the father is entitled to the bride-price when his daughters are married. In a family father is all in all for all purposes. He attends the village meetings, participates in common village rituals including annual hunt and maintains discipline in his family.

***Kuda* Organisation**

The next bigger unit is the *Kuda* or *Manda* which comprises a number of families related to one another by blood. The *Kudas* are nothing but exogamous patrilineal clans named after the village functionaries such as—*Badnaik, Challan, Sisa, Dhangda, Majhi, Kirsani, Muduji*, etc. Besides a few other *Kudas* have come up such as *Dora, Jigri* and *Mandra* in the recent times. In the past, a village was comprised of one *Kuda* but in course of time due to immigration and out migration the village lost *Kuda* homogeneity and now members of different *Kudas* live in separate wards in a village. Formerly each village was a territorial unit of a single *Kuda* and the authority and leadership rested on the *Kuda* head, *Naik*. But such authority is now questioned when members of different *Kudas* live together in a village. Whenever a Bondo is to give his name officially, he affixes his *Kuda* name to his proper name. At festivals a representative of each *Kuda* is selected to assist the

village priest. The representative is also responsible to collect subscription both in kind and cash from his *Kuda* families. Members of one particular *Kuda* have their memorials (*menhir*) placed together in one place away from those of other *Kudas*. Thus each *Kuda* is a corporate group having a stronger functional unit. Members of each *Kuda* group co-operate with each other in socio-cultural and economic activities specially at the time of birth, marriage and death ceremonies, magico-religious celebrations and agricultural operations. This group solidarity has also ensured common ownership of land in hill-slopes and groves which are cultivated and enjoyed by the members of the *Kuda*.

Village, a territorial unit

Beyond this *kuda* group is the village community. The village comprises families of different *kuda* groups which share a common *Sindibor*, obey a magico-religious head and perform certain functions in common. This unification tends to a feeling of brotherhood and therefore marriage between different *kuda* groups living in a village is not considered proper even if the rule of *Kuda* exogamy is in vogue.

Bara-jangar confederacy (*Soru-fellowship*)

The next wider group is the confederacy comprising 12 Hill-Bondo villages known as *Bara-Jangar* group of *Soru-bhai* group. The people of this group of 12 villages are tied to one another under the relation of brotherhood known as *Soru-Bhai*, that is, those who have eaten the same sacrificial food, a privilege that is rigidly restricted to members of the 12 villages. In fact at the festival of *Patkhanda Mahaprabhu* a special *Soru* meal is prepared by a member of the *Kirsani* clan in the name of the God and the *Naiks* of all these 12 villages share it. This sacramental fellowship of the village community is of great moral and religious importance as it makes the village an exogamous unit. On the basis of this *Soru-Bhai* relationship it is taboo for the boys and girls of these twelve villages to marry each other even if they belong to different lineages.

Moiety (*Bansha*)

The next bigger exogamous unit is the moiety or *Bansha* which divides the entire tribe into two blood groups—*ontal* (cobra) and *Killo* (tiger). Of the two, the people of cobra group are most numerous. The *Banshas* are as their names imply totemistic. The members of the tiger *Bansha* should never kill a tiger and the same is the case with the cobra *Bansha* which observes taboo for killing a cobra. Each *Bansha* has a myth which suggests close inter dependence of the moieties. The myths also suggest that this dual organization is not of recent origin but traces back to an ancient time. The dual organization has become ineffective due to unequal distribution of people in the two divisions which create marital problems. Since the cobra *Bansha* has a larger population than the tiger *Bansha* the former naturally finds it difficult to find mate for each person in the latter. Consequently the rules of exogamy which were observed at the *Kuda* level are extended to the *Bansha* level.

The kinship among the Bondos is largely classificatory in which the terms used for primary relationship are also applied to the affinals and colaterals identifying the kins by their proper behaviour pattern. The Bondos operate the kinship terms in four fields, namely, among their own family members, agnates, non-agnatic (*Moitra*) kins and affines. Some important kinship terms are listed below:—

List of kinship terms among the Bondos

Relationship	Terms of reference	Terms of Address
Father	.. <i>Ba</i>	<i>Ba</i>
Mother	.. <i>Young</i>	<i>Young</i>
Elder brother	.. <i>Mang</i>	<i>Mang</i>
Younger brother	.. <i>Main</i>	<i>Main</i>
Elder brother's wife	.. <i>Imbing</i>	<i>Imbing</i>

Relationship		Terms of reference	Terms of Address
Younger brother's wife	..	<i>Kimion</i>	<i>Kimion</i>
Husband's elder brother	..	<i>Ba</i>	<i>Ba</i>
Husband's younger brother	..	<i>Main</i>	<i>Main</i>
Wife's mother	..	<i>Young</i>	<i>Young</i>
Wife's father	..	<i>Ba</i>	<i>Ba</i>
Husband's father	..	<i>Ba</i>	<i>Ba</i>
Daughter's husband	..	<i>Arjoon</i>	<i>Arjoon</i>
Son's wife	..	<i>Kimion</i>	<i>Kimion</i>
Elder sister	..	<i>Ming</i>	<i>Ming</i>
Younger sister	..	<i>Khui</i>	<i>Khui</i>
Elder sister's husband	..	<i>Umbong</i>	<i>Umbong</i>
Younger sister's husband	..	<i>Arjoon</i>	<i>Arjoon</i>
Father's elder brother	..	<i>Busan</i>	<i>Busan</i>
Father's younger brother	..	<i>Kaka</i>	<i>Kaka</i>
Father's elder brother's wife	..	<i>Busan</i>	<i>Busan</i>
Father's younger brother's wife	..	<i>Umbok</i>	<i>Umbok</i>
Mother's brother	..	<i>Mamu</i>	<i>Mamu</i>
Mother's elder or younger brother's wife.	..	<i>Uang</i>	<i>Uang</i>
Mother's sister (younger or elder)	..	<i>Young</i>	<i>Young</i>
Mother's sister's husband	..	<i>Kaka</i>	<i>Kaka</i>
Father's father	..	<i>Tata</i>	<i>Tata</i>
Father's mother	..	<i>Yaa</i>	<i>Yaa</i>
Son's son or daughter	..	<i>Igli</i>	<i>Igli</i>
Daughter's son or daughter	..	<i>Igli</i>	<i>Igli</i>
Mother's father	..	<i>Dadi</i>	<i>Dadi</i>

Relationship	Terms of reference	Terms of Address
Mother's mother	.. <i>Ming</i>	<i>Ming</i>
Daughter's husband	.. <i>Arjoon</i>	<i>Arjoon</i>
Wife's brother—Elder	.. <i>Unkui</i>	<i>Unkui</i>
Wife's brother—Younger	.. <i>Giring</i>	<i>Giring</i>
Wife's elder brother's wife	.. <i>Ming</i>	<i>Ming</i>
Wife's elder sister	.. <i>Young</i>	<i>Young</i>
Wife's younger sister	.. <i>Giringboi</i>	<i>Giringboi</i>
Wife's elder sister's husband	.. <i>Bailak</i>	<i>Bailak</i>
Wife's younger sister's husband	.. <i>Bailak</i>	<i>Bailak</i>
Husband's elder brother's wife	.. <i>Ming</i>	<i>Ming</i>
Husband's younger brother's wife	<i>Kui</i>	<i>Kui</i>
Son	.. <i>Nian</i>	<i>Nian (Gubui)</i>
Daughter	.. <i>Selani</i>	<i>Selani</i>
Wife's father's father	.. <i>Tata</i>	<i>Tata</i>
Wife's mother's mother	.. <i>Young</i>	<i>Young</i>
Wife's father's mother	.. <i>Unkui</i>	<i>Unkui</i>
Wife's mother's father	.. <i>Ba</i>	<i>Ba</i>
Son's daughter's husband	.. <i>Arjoon</i>	<i>Arjoon</i>
Daughter's daughter's husband	.. <i>Arjoon</i>	<i>Arjoon</i>
Husband's father's father	.. <i>Ba</i>	<i>Ba</i>
Son's Son's wife	.. <i>Busan</i>	<i>Busan</i>
Daughter's son's wife	.. <i>Busan</i>	<i>Busan</i>
Daughter's daughter's son	.. <i>Oan</i>	<i>Oan</i>
Daughter's son's son	.. <i>Igli</i>	<i>Igli</i>
Son's son's daughter	.. <i>Igli</i>	<i>Igli</i>

A study of the kinship terms indicates presence of dual organisation in the Bondo society. Among the Bondos the words for the children of the father's brother and the children of the mother's sister are referred to as *Mang* and *Ming* respectively. The mother's brother's children and the father's sister's children belong to the same group. For example; the mother's brother's son is *marenger*, her elder daughter is *Ming*, his younger daughter is *Kui*. Similarly the father's brother and the mother's sister's husband are known by the same terms, the elder being *busan*, the younger *Kaka*. The mother's sister and father's brother's wife are called *busan boi* (elder) and *Umbak hoi* (younger) respectively.

Further, the father's sister is *Uang* and the mother's brother's wife is also *Uang*. The mother's brother and the father's sister's husband are both known as *mamu*. This might be the result of the cross-cousin marriage but in that case, it is expected that the father-in-law should be called as *mamu*, but he is called actually as *unkui*. In fact there is no cross-cousin marriage among the Bondos. Hence it is indicated that the possibility of the husband of the father's sister having the status of the mother's brother and the wife of the mother's brother having the status of father's sister are largely due to the phenomenon of dual organization of the Bondo social structure.

The kinship terms also reveal facts as to how various types of kins are grouped together and called by single classificatory terms. For example; the term *Ba* is used for five types of kins such as father, husband's elder brother, wife's father, husband's father and wife's mother's brother. Similarly the term *Arjoon* is used for daughter, husband and daughter's daughter's husband. The term *kimion* is used for younger brother's wife and son's wife. The analysis also reveals that parallel cousins form a single kin group and cannot have marriage relations among themselves. Emphasis is laid on the patrilineal descent as all the male members on the father's side have a single kinship term for each while it is not the case on the mother's side. The relationship of the ego with the father's brother and father's sister is much closer than that of the maternal side. As a result the attachment of the children with the paternal relatives is more intimate than the other categories of

relatives. The paternal aunt visits frequently to see her brother's children. In fact a man shows as much respect to his father as to his father's brother. In spite of the fact that the affinal relatives are not closer, the reciprocal obligations are met to keep the tie in tact.

Joking relationship exists between a woman and her husband's younger brother because the custom of levirate is present among the Bondos. She also cuts jokes with the husband's younger sisters by throwing water. A man also cuts jokes with his younger brother-in-laws and sister-in laws.

The relation between the grand parents and grand children is of the joking type. Both the parties indulge in joking to a great extent leading at times, to the exchange of vulgar words.

Avoidance relationship is absolutely lacking in the Bondo society. The younger brother's wife does not seem to observe any avoidance towards her husband's elder brother. However as a mark of respect, she does not utter his name. Similarly no avoidance is marked between a man and his wife's elder sister.

Besides kinship ties people are bound to one another by bond friendship, cycadic relationship and as co-villagers.

Ritual kinship

The system of bond-friendship is known as *Moitra* among the Bondos. This relationship can be established between two persons belonging to the same community or different communities. If any intimacy develops between two friends, they decide to be bond-friends and accordingly inform the *Dishari* (medicine-man). The *Dishari* performs certain rituals in one of the friend's house. On this occasion flowers, mango-leaves and coconuts are offered to the Earth-Goddess, *Hundi* to sanctify the bond-friendship. Both the friends promise before the Goddess to keep the tie till death. At the end of the ceremony each exchanges a cloth with the other to solemnize the relationship and perpetuate it life long. It become obligatory for both the friends to attend various functions at each other's family and exchange gifts on such occasions.

CHAPTER V

LIFE CYCLE

After marriage a Bondo is eager to have a child which helps him to attain parenthood and to be recognised as a respectable member in the society. If a woman is conceived within 3 to 4 months of her marriage, she is talked of highly both in the family and in the village. A child irrespective of sex is always welcome to a Bondo family. Both a male and a female child are economic assets to the family-the former helping parents in different economic activities and the latter ensuring payment of substantial bride-price to her parents on her marriage.

During pregnancy a Bondo woman has to observe many restrictions in respect of her movement, diet and contact with outsiders. She should not eat any sacrificial meat particularly the meat of the head portion of the animal sacrificed or killed in hunting. Her husband has also to observe such restrictions. A pregnant woman is not allowed to lie down in any open space or in the courtyard. It is believed that evil spirits find chance to do harm to her when she is outside her home. Cases of still birth and birth of deformed children are results of bad effects of notorious spirits. It is for this reason that the woman avoids going out particularly to the stream and river where the spirit of the forest called, Gurhans is supposed to live. In order to keep herself away from the dangerous influences of evil spirits, she is not allowed to come in contact with any dead body and visit any cremation ground. The restrictions imposed upon her in respect of eating stale food and crossing a stream are meant more for her physical well being than for averting evil influences of spirits. In the case of difficult labour for which the ancestral spirits are largely responsible, the *Dishari* of the village is immediately called in and necessary rituals are performed to propitiate the concerned spirit. If the delivery is delayed the woman is given some hot rice gruel to drink to effect delivery pain. She delivers the child inside the room in her sitting posture holding tightly the rope which is hung from the roof as support during child birth. No

male member of the house is allowed to remain inside the room but the elderly and experienced old women including mother-in-law may remain inside the room to help her.

The umbilical cord (*Lundi*) is cut by any one who will be attending the woman at the time of delivery with the help of a knife. A paste prepared out of turmeric and leaves of a wild creeper called, *Sivta* is applied to stop bleeding and heal up the wound. The placenta is kept in an earthen pot and then buried in a pit dug close to the door-step of the room in which the baby was delivered. The Bondos believe that the placenta is a source of black magic and therefore, all precautions are taken so that the sorcerer does not get it. There is also a belief among the Bondos that if a barren lady eats a pinch of any part of the placenta it helps her to conceive rendering the woman to whom the placenta belongs to lose her reproductive capacity.

The new born baby requires immediate cleaning. A mixture of castor oil, turmeric powder and rice husk is applied over its body and bathed in tepid water. The baby is given only boiled water for a day after which the mother is allowed to offer her breasts to the child for suckling.

Generally most of the deliveries are normal. In case any trouble arises either before or after delivery, the Bondos resort to divination. They consult the medicine-man and apply herbal medicines and perform necessary rituals. If all these efforts fail the woman is carried to the hospital at Khairput as the last resort. The study revealed that out of 17 delivery cases which took place in the year 1980-81 in Mudulipada village only 3 cases were referred to hospital and the remaining cases were of normal type. Among almost all the tribal communities the people go to the doctor when all their indigenous practices fail to give desired results. By this time it is very late and the doctor is not in a position to save the lives of those who were referred to him.

The mother and the child live secluded in the room where the delivery took place for the first 8 days. An elderly lady visits them once or twice daily and nurses them whenever required and watches them at night.



Mother's Milk is the only nursing food of the baby among the Bondos

The mother observes certain restrictions in her diet in the post-natal period. She takes hot rice gruel mixed with turmeric twice by day which helps her to come back to normal health quickly and stimulates good secretion of milk.

On the 9th day the rite of purification is performed. On this occasion a chicken is offered to the spirits of the ancestors. Further some drops of blood of the sacrificed chicken are mixed with a handful of sun-dried rice, kept in a leaf-cup and with the help of a piece of bark of a mango tree the *Dishari* of the village puts blood marks on the walls of the room in which the child was delivered. Another piece of the same bark is stuck in the roof over the front door to prevent entrance of evil spirits. After this is done the *Dishari* burns the bark into ashes and sprinkles them on the feet of those relatives present in the house. Thereafter the assembled agnates and cognates are entertained with food and drink.

Though the mother is allowed to enter the kitchen and cook the meals for her family members after the purificatory ritual is performed, but she does not go out to the village street or work in the swiddens, till a ceremony called, '*Dubokaige*' is performed. This ceremony takes place on the 15th day following the birth of the child. On this occasion the child's father with an unmarried boy visits the house of the child's maternal grandfather and informs him of the birth of the child. According to the tradition of the tribe the maternal grandfather of the child gives a cock in the case of a male child or a hen if it is a female child and a basketful of paddy to the father of the child who carries them home and shares them with his lineage members. On this day the house is cleaned thoroughly and the mother with the baby is free to go out of the house and attend to daily course of work.

Name giving does not accompany any formal ritual performances. Generally the name of the day of the week on which the child was born is given as the name of the child. In some cases a child goes without a name up to the age of 5 to 6 years. Until a name is given the child is called by the term *Domb*, which

signifies an interesting relationship between the Bondos and the Dombs. The Domb of the area has an important role to play while giving a name to the child. He supplies an ear ring, a piece of cloth and all other requirements to the parents of the child on the occasion of name-giving. He remains present at the spot and holds the baby on his lap and performs some magico-religious rites concerning the name giving ceremony. The idea of placing the child on the lap of a Domb is to make the child untouchable so that no evil spirit does any harm to the child. For these services rendered by the Domb, he is given a cow if the child is of female sex, an ox if it is of male sex.

The first hair cutting is celebrated when the child becomes 3 years old. Any male member of the paternal lineage can shave the child by means of a new razor leaving a small tuft of hair as pig-tail at the back. The elderly women who helped the mother at the time of delivery are invited and given sumptuous food and drink.

The Bondos observe the ear boring ceremony which takes place during the infancy of the child. On this occasion the grandmother of the child pierces the loies of both the ears and also the nose with the help of a fine niddle. A sharp knife is touched at the head of the child which signifies that the child in its adulthood can escape the casualties of murder. A pig is sacrificed and sufficient food is cooked to celebrate the occasion and worship the ancestral spirits.

As the child grows it gains knowledge and experience by observing what others do in different spheres of life and tries to imitate the works of older members of the society. Generally the female children are attached to mother and male children to the father.

Marriage

The Bondos consider marriage essential in life for every person. Unmarried cases are conspicuous by their absence in the Bondo society. Among the Bondos the institution of bachelor's and spinster's dormitories are present, and in these institutions the unmarried boys and girls spend most of their time.

The boys visit the girls, spend time with them singing, dancing and chit-chatting. Through these Joyful activities friendship and attachment develops among them and they select their respective life-partners. For a girl her beauty, and for a boy his physique and capacity to work hard are considered important. In course of contact a girl comes to know more intimately about the boy of her choice and finds out the extent of land he holds, nature of work he does and the manner in which he behaves with others. Similarly the boy also tries to find out likes and dislikes, merits and demerits of the girl whom he wants to marry and when their hearts meet and love intensifies they unite and lead their married life independent of their parents.

Among the Bondos the husband is younger in age than his wife. Marriage takes place generally at the age of about 10 years in the case of a boy and at the age of about 15 years in the case of a girl. In some cases the age of the wife is higher by 15 to 20 years than that of her husband. One common explanation which is given about this peculiar practice of a young boy marrying an older girl is that the husband will still have working capacity to earn his livelihood and maintain his family when his wife has grown old. Payment of bride-price is prevalent among the Bondos, and it is in the form of either cows or bullocks or buffaloes including cash payment of one or two rupees. Generally one cow and one rupee comprises the bride-price. The poor people find it difficult for payment of the bride-price. Since marriage is indispensable in the Bondo life, they arrange it even by serving as bonded labourer in the house of a *showkar*.

Like other tribes, the Bondo is endogamous. Some of the Bondos have migrated to the plains and have settled down there. These Bondos are in greater contact with the plains people than their brethren who live in the hills. Such contacts have resulted in many changes in the dress pattern, food habits, life style of the plains Bondos who consider themselves more advanced than the hill-Bondos. Unfortunately these processes of change have split up the Bondo tribe into two non-intermarrying sections. Although the hill-Bondos do not object to the marriage of their children with those of the plains-Bondos, but the latter look upon such marriages with greatest disfavour.

A Bondo village may be composed of households belonging to different lineage groups but marriage among themselves within the village is not permitted. In this sense the village is exogamous. Because of this the boys of a village do not mix with the girls of their village. They go out to other villages to meet their girl friends and spend time in merriment with them at the dormitories. The custom of bond-friendship is prevalent among the Bondos and in this case no marriage takes place between the two households which are tied to each other by dyadic relationship of bond-friendship.

Two types of marriages are prevalent among the Bondos—love or arranged marriage and marriage by capture. In case of love marriage both the boy and the girl are in love with each other in course of their mutual contact in the dormitory and decide to marry each other. When the decision is final the boy puts on a brass-ring in the fore-finger of the girl in the presence of other members of the dormitory. In case she throws away the ring which is expressive of unwillingness to marry him, no further contact takes place between them and the boy continues his visit to the dormitory and seeks his membership in some other dormitory where he starts his match-making afresh. Generally the parents do not object to love marriage. Rather they wholeheartedly support the views of their children and help the boy and the girl who are in love with each other to get married. But in the case of marriage by capture the element of love may not be there. As soon as the girl is captured and kidnapped by the boy, the girl's parents with others of their village rush to the boy's village to release the girl. If it is found that the girl has no liking for the boy and does not want to marry him, she is brought back by her parents and in this case the boy provides a feast to the girl's parents to satisfy them.

After everything is settled the boy's father alongwith 8 to 10 members of his lineage visits the girl's house to bring the girl with them. They do not dine in the girl's house until the marriage has taken place. The girl accompanies them alongwith one of her girl friends, who serves as the mediator between her and the boy, and reaches the boy's village at the night fall. The girl does not stay in the house of the boy nor eats in his house. She stays in the girl's



Ringa is woven in the indigenous loom-An important work of women

dormitory and eats in the house of her relatives present in the village. During her stay which lasts for 4 days it is incumbent on her part to work in the house of her would be husband to prove that she is capable of working. On the 5th day when she leaves for her home the boy who will marry her accompanies her and stays in her village for 4 days. During this time he stays in the boy's dormitory, and eats in the house of his relatives living in the village.

Generally marriage ceremonies are held in the month of *Push* (Jan-Feb.) after the harvest and it is the time when the people are relatively free from agricultural activities. On the appointed day 4 to 5 women belonging to the lineage of the boy proceed to the village of the bride to fetch her. These women are entertained by providing them with food and drink and on the next day the party returns with the girl accompanied by other members of her family and some important members of the village. The girl is given a basketful of cooked rice with some cooked meat which are distributed among the people of the boy's village. A Bondo who knows how to play on the drums also accompanies the team to play on the drum when needed. On arrival at the house of the boy the girl and her team mates are given a good reception by sprinkling turmeric water on her feet and marking her forehead with a paste made out of white rice. At this time the presence of *Dishari* and the shaman is necessary because they are the persons who can only bless her and receive her. The next item of work is that a group of boys forcibly carry the boy and put him inside a room in his house. Similarly a group of girls forcibly carry the girl and put her in the same room. Then, the door of the room is closed and both the boy and the girl remain inside the room for a short while after which the door is opened to allow the couple to come out. In fact the system of confinement of the boy and the girl in the room forms an important part of the marriage ceremony and qualifies them to be recognised as husband and wife in their society. Thereafter the bride is taken to the kitchen room where she cooks a handful of rice in a new earthen pot and gives it to the *Dishari* who is present there to offer the food to the ancestral spirits. This ceremony qualifies the bride to be recognized as the house-wife. After a while she starts cooking some rice

and a vegetable curry and serves the cooked food to the assembled guests and relatives. Now she is recognized as a member of the lineage of the bride groom.

On this occasion the assembled guests and relatives offer gifts to the bride which become her personal property and this property is utilized in the construction of a new hut to which the couple shifts after sometime to lead an independent life.

The bride-price is paid after 3 or 4 days of the marriage, but in the case of a poor family the payment is delayed for a longer time. As a part of the ceremony the couple has to visit the bride's village where both of them stay for 3 days. A feast is arranged on the 3rd day and all the villagers are entertained to solemnize the marriage. The bride groom returns to his village on the 4th day leaving behind the bride to stay with her parents for a few days more. The bride groom makes his second visit to his father-in-law's village to bring back the bride to his house.

Some cases of divorce are met within the Bondo society. Some of the important reasons for divorce are unfaithfulness of the wife and incapable of doing manual work. Barrenness and adultery do not necessarily lead to divorce unless accompanied by other disabilities. Levirate and sororate types of marriages are prevalent among the Bondos and widow remarriage is permitted.

Disposal of Dead

The Bondos practise both cremation and burial to dispose off the corpse. A case of death is lamented with loud cries for an hour or so. The hut in which death takes place is deemed to be infected with death-pollution. The corpse is wrapped with a white cloth over which a mat is covered and laid on the bier. While carrying the bier, the eldest son or any male agnate carries a handful of straw from the back verandah of the deceased hut to set fire to the pyre. It is believed that the departed soul takes a share of his or her own house in this form.

Only men follow the bier in a single file to the place of burial. Some mourners go earlier to prepare the pyre. The corpse is carried and placed on the funeral pyre. All usable articles of the deceased like-bow and arrow, knife and aluminium utensils in case of a male and ornaments in case of a female are placed on the funeral pyre. A nominal amount of Rs. 3/- which was paid by Mahaprabhu, the Supreme Being, during birth to earn his or her livelihood is also paid back during funeral. To make the corpse pollution-free, nails are pared and hairs are cropped and kept in a leaf-cup over the pyre. With all these things the pyre is set on fire with the bundle of straw brought from the deceased hut.

The mourners leave the pyre in that blazing condition and come straight to the spring for purificatory bath. It is believed that at any moment they may be bewitched as the spirit of the dead still hovers around until '*Dasha*' or final pollution is over.

Nothing is cooked in the deceased family in the morning hours and the members are fed by the neighbours. In the evening rice is cooked by the deceased wife, in a new pot and a few lineage members of the deceased go with cooked stuff to the cremation ground to offer to the spirit. After they return an egg is sacrificed at the *Muldei* (ancestral spirit) by the eldest son. This egg is mixed with water and sprinkled with a mango twig over the roof of the house and on all houses of consanguineal relatives living nearby to make them pollution free temporarily.

To ascertain whether the death is normal or due to sorcery, the wife of the deceased along with other ladies of her husband's lineage go to the cremation ground to collect bone on the 3rd day. It is called, *Bud* ceremony. With a piece of bamboo, the wife collects a piece of bone and hammers it with a pebble. If the bone is brittle, the dead is normal, if not, the death is due to sorcery. The deceased wife and other ladies come back with a little ash wrapped in a *siadi-leaf*. At the entrance of the house, the wife's brother along with a shaman receives them with a pitcher full of water and an egg. As the lady mourners cross the egg water from the pitcher is thrown over them. This water is also thrown over the roof of

deceased's house. This makes them spirit-free who are supposed to have been bewitched while coming back from the cremation ground. They subsequently take purificatory bath.

On the 10th day *Kingdak* ceremony or final purificatory ceremony takes place. Relatives are invited. Rice and beef are cooked. Two women proceed to the cremation ground with the cooked food in fourteen leaf-cups to satisfy fourteen ancestors including the recent one. After they return the ancestral spirits are satisfied at home. In the evening the eldest son along with lineage members again goes to the cremation ground and pours pitcher full of water over the ashes. This satisfies the spirit. At night *Orpa* rite is also celebrated to make any young girl of the deceased family spirit-free. An axe, mango barks and mango twigs are kept over a big stone near a stream. These represent the spirit. Young girls of the deceased family sit over it, thrash them with a winnowing fan, cut the mango twigs into pieces with the axe and sweep them with a broom-stick. They also offer cooked food to satisfy the spirit. This frees them from being bewitched in future. After these rites are over, a grand feast follows. This marks the end of death ceremony.

If after all these rituals frequent deaths or damage of crops occur in the deceased family, *gunom*-stone or a memorial stone is placed at the threshold of the deceased hut to satisfy the spirit. It is an expensive affair and therefore, not extensively practised.

A pig earmarked to be sacrificed on this occasion is sumptuously fed and left free to graze for three years within which the condition of the deceased family is watched. If the situation becomes worse this *Gunom* ceremony is observed. The owner spends about Rs.2, 000/- on this occasion. About a dozen of shamans are invited to satisfy all the ancestral spirits. Almost all the relatives, and villagers are invited. About 3 bullocks are killed to entertain the guests. The pig is also sacrificed at the *Gunom* stone. A new cloth is spread over it and the audience assembled outside throw coins at it to satisfy the spirits. It is believed, this rite appeases all the ancestral spirits and the condition of the family is not further deteriorated.

In case of a murder, the dead body is carried to the police-station. Therefore no funeral takes place. But *Dasah* is observed on the 10th day.

Some of these socioreligious practices provide media for the extension of social relations beyond the nuclear family and even beyond the members of the lineage groups. The bonds are further while strengthened affinals are apprised of their roles. These life-cycle activities have an indirect bearing on interpersonal relationship to the extent of maintaining cordial relation between different lineage groups. The role which the village officials play during these ceremonies reflects their concern to maintain this friendly and amicable relations, so essential in reducing the frictions and conflicts within the tribe.

CHAPTER VI

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

There cannot be any coherent social life unless the social relationships which bind people together are atleast to some degree institutionalized. In all human societies some rules and some kinds of constraints of people's behaviour are acknowledged and adhered to in daily life. These rules and the means by which they are enforced differ from society to society. Where the social control and political organization are strong a greater degree of social order is maintained than in any societies having a weak political organization. There are various categories of functionaries who enforce order and harmony in the society. Where such functionaries have become weakened under adverse conditions a kind of chaos results in the society. The case of Bondo in respect of their political organization is discussed in this chapter. The Bondo society lacks any system of rulership. The elders of a Bondo village constitute the judges who adjudicate cases concerning their village at *Sindibor*, the village court where the elders assemble and conduct the trial of social offences under the chairmanship of *Naik*, the secular headman of the village.

The Bondo, by nature, are very much individualistic and great lovers of freedom and independence in their life and work. This strong democratic spirit makes the task of the village elders very difficult. Among the Bondos, the village headman has less authority and goes by the consensus of the public. During adjudication of cases he only argues, submits the points of view of both the parties and persuades the people either this way or that way and never gives any order or verdict which has no support of the public. It is for these reasons that the headman of the village is not necessarily an old man and the post of headman is not hereditary. In many villages the post of headman is often held even by a young and insignificant person who remains in service as long as the people want him to continue and acts in accordance with people's opinion and decision.

The Bondos have a rudimentary form of political organization. In each village there is a secular headman called *Naik*. His post is not hereditary but a *Naik* generally holds the office on a tenure

basis for a period of 3 years after which a fresh *Naik* is selected by the elders of the village. The main functions of the *Naik* are to preside over village assembly and adjudicate the cases concerning the village. He is also responsible for collecting land revenue which is recently introduced in the Bondo hills at Rs. 1.25 per household and deposits the same in the Tahsil office located at Mudulipada. He also collects subscriptions from the villagers for celebrating different festivals and rituals. He keeps with him the fines imposed on the culprits by the village assembly. When the amount becomes substantial it is utilised in a feast in which all the people of the village take part. The *Naik* enjoys half an acre of low land which is given to him by the people of the village for his services which he renders for the village.

To assist him in his work there is a supporting secular assistant called, *Challan*. The post of *Challan* is hereditary and he assists the village *Naik* in all his functions.

There is a messenger called *Barika*, who calls the people to the place of *Sindibor*, and also carries information from his village to other villages as and when required upon the instruction of the village *Naik*. The *Barika* of the village has major responsibilities. He is to inform police whenever any case of murder takes place in the village and he is taken as first witness at the time of the trial of the case. The other responsibility is to fix the rates of different commodities which the Bondos offer for sale at the local weekly market places. There is a custom among the Bondos that they observe ceremonial hunting for a number of days in the month of April-May every year. The village *Barika* organizes the hunting team and leads them to the forest for hunting in accompaniment of music which he plays on this occasion. The *Barika* is the link between the village and the world outside it. He keeps himself in touch with police and officers of forest department including court and informs the people of his village about what are happening outside their area. Whenever any letter is received from the Bondos during the period of their imprisonment he delivers it to the persons concerned. Like the Bondos the *Barika* is also illiterate and is not able to read and write. Whenever any letter is received

at the post office the Postmaster opens it and reads the contents to the *Barika* who conveys the same to the addressee whenever letter is delivered to him. The village *Barika* belongs to the Domb community and the post is hereditary. The Dombs in the Bondo country are not exploiters as they are in other tribal areas. They are so careful that they do not give any opportunity to the Domb to exploit them. The *Barika* has no right to allow his kin members living elsewhere to come and settle down with him in the village which he serves. It is because of this restriction that the Dombs are limited in number in the Bondo hills and their relationship with the Bondos is very cordial. For the services rendered by him to the village every household pays about 4Kgs. of food grains in the form of minor millets to him. The landless families are exempted from paying it in time but they pay only Rs.5 per family.

A group of twelve villagers form a confederacy called, *Bara-Jangar* over which there is a headman called, *Badnaik* or *Raja*. The post of *Raja* is not hereditary. It is held on a tenure basis for a period of 3 years. On the day of Magha festival the *Badnaik* is selected. On this day all the *Naiks* of twelve villages assemble at Mudulipada near the banian tree where a sacred sword (*Patkhanda*) representing the supreme deity of the tribe called, *Patkhanda Mahaprabhu* resides. The *Naiks* select their *Badnaik* unanimously. After he is declared elected, each *Naik* ties a piece of red cloth on his forehead. But the *Naik* of Mudulipada village puts a vermilion mark on his forehead in addition to the tying of red cloth on his head. The newly elected *Badnaik* is seated on a thorny chair under the banian tree and the priest of Mudulipada village waves burning lamps and incense before him. On this occasion a goat is sacrificed at that place and they assemble there and partake the feast prepared for them. In case the *Badnaik* does something which amounts to violation of social norms and incurs dissatisfaction of the public he is thrown out of the post and a new *Badnaik* is selected on the next *Magha* festival. The *Badnaik* is given an acre of low-land which belongs in common to all the twelve villages. So long as the *Badnaik* continues

in his post he cultivates it and enjoys the produce from the land. The functions of *Badnaik* are that he presides over the inter-village meeting and decides cases relating to village boundary, adultery, divorce and such other social offences in which people belonging to different villages are involved. He is the custodian of the funds which are levied on the accused and when fines assume a big amount this is spent in organising a feast on a festive occasion and the *Naiks* of the villages belonging to the confederacy are only eligible to partake the food in the feast.

Besides the secular headman every Bondo village has a priest called *Pujari*. The post of *Pujari* is hereditary and the person who acts in this post is paid 15 Kgs. of food grains at the time of harvest from each household for his maintenance and for the services he renders for the village.

There is another functionary known as, *Dishari* whose job is to fix the date for the performance of various festivals at the village level and performs also some astrological functions connected with the observance of various rites and rituals. He is a specialist in herbal medicines and professionally a sorcerer who knows many magical performances and methods of curing diseases. He invokes 8 guardian spirits through magical performances and utilizes their powers for both malevolent and benevolent magic. He has no fixed remuneration as in case of other functionaries of the village. The payment made to him varies from Re. 1 to Rs. 10 depending upon the nature of the case to be handled by him. The person who knows about the techniques of sorcery practises it very cautiously so that no one could notice it or come to know about it. If in any case a person is detected and found to be practising sorcery he is beheaded in the interest of the public.

Even though the Bondos have their own political system but almost everyday cases of murder and assault are reported from the Bondo hills and most of the Bondos exhibit a kind of personality which is characterised by aggression and criminal

propensity. The village officials do not have any control over the cases of murder and the tribal political organization does not seem to have any responsibilities in the matter of bringing about any reform in the homicidal activities of the people. The general social control works only to the extent that the murderer is excommunicated and handed over to the police for trial. Even the ward members of statutory panchayat follow the traditional norms and values of the society. As pointed out above the individuals are so strong in the spirit of independence and freedom that the society as a whole fails to exercise on them any influence for a change in their temperament from aggression to peacefulness. The chapter dealing with the personality highlights how the Bondo character of aggression develops and how each individual imbibes the spirit of independence.

CHAPTER VII

RELIGION—BELIEFS AND PRACTICES

Religion and Magic

Different aspects of culture fulfil different needs of the society. The physiological wants of man are satisfied through technological and economic aspects. Social organization, enculturation and socialization help the society to perpetuate itself. The members of a society lead their life in conformity to social norms and sanctions with least deviation. The social control and political organization serve as the guardian of tradition and culture and discourage deviation from social norms. The religion has a different role to play. Its basic function is to foster adjustment of man to his universe by providing security against forces more powerful than himself. Religion which is defined as the belief in spiritual beings is one of the major cultural aspects. It covers religious beliefs and practices, fiests and festivals and magic and other occult controlling mechanisms. This chapter begins with a short account of different gods and goddesses which influence the life of the Bondos.

After life

The Bondos believe in the transmigration of the soul. It is their belief that after the death of a person the soul departs its body and is subjected to the scrutiny by the *Patkhanda Mahaprabhu* for its existence after life. The *Patkhanda Mahaprabhu* takes into consideration the nature of life it led and decides whether it would merge in the realm of ancestral spirits or it would lead the life of a ghost or demon or any other type of evil-spirit. The life which lived a peaceful life without breaking any social norms is considered a good life and the soul of the person becomes one of the ancestral spirits. In contrast the soul of the person who was in the habit of breaking the social norms and did not lead a peaceful and happy life due to his deviant behaviour turns into a ghost.

The Bondos believe in three tyre system of existence—spatial existence, that is, the earth in which the mortal beings live, the heaven in which the heavenly immortal beings live and the hell which is nothing but a large sheet of water unfathomable in depth and unmeasurable in other dimensions. The ancestral spirits and many other categories of supernatural beings live around human habitation on the earth. Similarly many deities more powerful than the deities living on earth are found in the heaven. For example, *Patkhanda Mahaprabhu* which is considered the Supreme Deity of the tribe has its abode in the heaven.

The Bondos believe in a Supreme Being, who is called in their language as *Singi-Arke* (Sun-Moon), which stands for the *Patkhanda Mahaprabhu*. It represents a sword of 3 feet in length and 6 inches in width, placed in the hollow of a banyan tree in Mudulipada village.

The genesis of *Patkhanda* is obscure, but the public opinion indicates that in the past all the Bondo villages in the hills were grouped under two taluks, namely, Ramgiri and Nandapur. The villages such as Dantipada, Bandhuguda, Baunsapada, Bandiguda, Chalanpada, Gapurpada, Kishapada, Pindijangar, and Mudulipada were included in Ramgiri Taluk and are known as *Bara-jangar* group of villages. The inhabitants of these *Bara-jangar* group of villages mainly considered the sword the most sacred and started worshipping it as their Supreme Deity. The worship was gradually routinized and as a result it was worshipped thrice in a year during *Chaitra* (April-May), *Dasahara* (September-October) and *Pusa* (December-January) festivals. In course of time the Bondos of the other group of villages of Ramgiri Taluk followed those of the *Bara-jangar* group of villages and worshipped *Patkhanda* in the same way as their Supreme Being.

There is another version of the origin of the *Patkhanda*. It is said that on His return journey after completing 12 years of His banishment Lord Rama halted sometime in the Bondo hills. The forest then in this place was very dense and was full of wild animals which were the greatest sources of danger to the people. The Bondos

who offered hospitality to Him, His wife Sita and His brother Lakhman begged of them some weapon by means of which they could protect their life from the attack of the wild animals. Lord Rama fulfilled their prayer by giving them a sword which represents the *Patkhanda* and eventually became the Supreme Deity of the tribe. Not only the sword is sacred but also the banian tree in which the sword is kept is considered equally sacred. The Bondo who passes through Mudulipada pays obeisance to it. Being of the Mundari group, the Bondos are expected to recognize the Sun-God as their Supreme Being. In fact they corroborate this fact by confessing that *Singi-Arke* was formerly their Supreme Being which is symbolized as *Patkhanda* in the present time.

The Table 3 gives a list of the deities and spirits which are worshipped by the Bondos on different occasions and the items of ingredients which are offered to these deities and spirits and the purposes for which they are worshipped. The salient features that emerge from the review of this table are briefly given below.

TABLE
The Bondo

Sl. No.	Name of the Deities	English equivalent	Objects representing Deity	Sex of the Deity	Place of abode
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
1	Singi-Arke or Pat- kha n d a Mahapra- bhu.	Supr e m e Being or creator of Sun and M o o n w h i c h stand for Nature as a whole.	A sword-3' in length and 6" in width.	Male ..	In the hollow of a baniyan tree in the village Mudulipada.
2	Muldei	Ancest o r- wor s h i p Ancest r a l spirits.	S m a l l piece of wood e n post.	Only male ancestors.	Beside the main pillar of the sleep- ing room.

3—Contd.

Pantheon

Place and occasion of worship	Ingredients used in worship	Who worships	Purpose of worship
(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
Worshipped thrice yearly during Chaitra-Parab (April-May), Dasahara (September-October), and Push-Parab (December-January) under the banyan tree.	Unboiled rice, joss sticks, incense powder, vermilion, turmeric powder as ingredients, and goats and fowls for sacrifice.	Pujari (Priest)	Bumper Crops.
Worshipped in sleeping room on all festive occasions and during prolonged sickness.	Cooked food served in leaf-cup and plates and unboiled rice, incense-powder as ingredients and sacrifice of a red coloured-fowl.	Worshipped by the owner of the house on festive occasions but by shaman on occasions of sickness.	For the well-being of the family members.

TABLE
The Bondo

Sl. No.	Name of the Deities	English equivalent	Objects representing Deity	Sex of the Deity	Place of abode
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
3	Hundi or Bursung.	Earth-Goddess.	Fourstone slabs—	Female ..	In a hut ..
4	Kapur-chuan.	Sitakunda or Sacred pool.	A pool in the east of Mudulipada divided into 3 sections—first section in which a female deity called King-buda is installed provides drinking water and second and third sections used by the Bondos and the Dombs respectively for bathing.	Female ..	Sita Kunda pool.

3—Contd.
Pantheon

Place and occasion of worship (7)	Ingredients used in worship (8)	Who worships (9)	Purpose of worship (10)
Worshipped in every month but specially in pond (December-January) in the hut itself.	Unboiled rice, incense powder, joss-stick, vermilion as ingredients. Satisfied with an egg in each month.	Hundi installed by Dishari when the village settlements start and worshipped by Pujari in each month.	Brings prosperity to the village.
Worshipped in the pool in the month of Chaitra (April-May).	Offering of fish and egg.	Worshipped by Pujari on behalf of unmarried girls of Bara-Jangar village.	For the healthy life of unmarried girls.

TABLE
The Bondo

Sl. No.	Name of the Deities	English equivalent	Objects representing Deity	Sex of the Deity	Place of abode
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
5	Singraj	Deity of the forest.	A Simli tree.	Male	On the swidden under a Simli tree.
6	Uga	Forest Deity or the wife of Singraj.	A Simli tree.	Female	On the swidden under a Simli tree before felling of trees on the swidden.
7	Renu-ngbar	Forest Deity.	Stone wall fencing at the entrance of the Bondo hills.	Female	Old lady sitting on a pony patrolling the hill boundary.

3—Contd.

Pantheon

Place and occasion of worship	Ingredients used in worship	Who worships	Purpose of worship
(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
Ceremoniously worshipped in the months of, Srabana (June-July), Diwali (September-October) and Chaitra (February-March).	Unboiled rice and joss sticks used as ingredients. Vow takers sacrifice a goat or a pig.	Pujari	To get rid of bruises created of burn injuries.
Ceremonially worshipped in the month of Chaitra (April-May) on individual swidden.	Unboiled rice and joss sticks used as ingredients. Offering of an egg or a fowl by each family.	Pujari	To get rid of bruises created of burn injuries.
Worshipped near the boundary wall in the month of Chaitra (April-May).	Unboiled rice, incense powder, vermilion used as ingredients, sacrifice of three pigs.	Pujari of Banspara village. This village is near by boundary wall.	Brings scourage and pestilence to the village if not properly appeased.

TABLE
The Bondo

Sl. No.	Name of the Deities	English equivalent	Objects representing Deity	Sex of the Deity	Place of abode
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
10	Sadar or Sindibor.	Stone made platform representing deity of the Sadar.	Stone made platform known as Gesung.	Female	At the centre or entrance of the village a stone made platform represents the deity where meeting is held by the panchayat members and dancing ground of the village boys and girls.
Spirits					
1	Lamtach - uan.	Spirit of the stream.	Does not represent any thing.	Female spirit.	Near the stream.

3— *Contd.***Pantheon**

Place and occasion of worship	Ingredients used in worship	Who worships	Purpose of worship
(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
Stone platform worshipped ceremoniously in the month of Chaitra (April-May) and Diwali (September-October) on all occasions of feasts and festivals both individually and communally.	Unboiled rice, vermilion, joss sticks and incense powders as ingredients. Satisfied with the sacrifice of a fowl.	Pujari	.. Betterment to the village.
On the occasion when the young girls suffer from menstrual troubles, etc.	Unboiled rice and turmeric water used as ingredients. An egg is sacrificed.	Dishari (Medicineman).	To save the young girls from diseases.

TABLE
The Bondo

Sl. No.	Name of the Deities	English equivalent	*Objects representing Deity	Sex of the Deity	Place of abode
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
2	Doliang . .	Spirit of the Mango or jack fruit tree.	Does not represent any thing.	Male spirit	Near the stream.
3	Garba da	Spirit of the low land.	Does not represent any thing.	Male spirit	Dwells on the low land.
4	Kaliarani	Spirit resides on the rock Babur near Sitakunda.	Rock . .	Female spirit.	On a rock-Babur near Sitakunda.
5	Kinding Sagar.	Spirit of the musical drum.	Musical Drum used by Pujari.	Female spirit.	In the Drum used by Pujari.

3—Contd.

Pantheon

Place and occasion of worship	Ingredients used in worship	Who worships	Purpose of worship
(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
On occasion when any one vomits blood.	Unboiled-rice, incense powder and peacock feather used as ingredients.	Dishari (Medicineman).	To save the man from blood vomit.
If any one suffers chronically from stomach trouble.	Red-clay-ball, castor-leaf rotten egg and ten naya paise used as ingredients.	Dishari (Medicineman).	To be saved from stomach trouble.
Worship of the rock during chronic illness.	Unboiled rice and incense powder used as ingredients and sacrifice of a pig.	Dishari	To save a person from abnormal ill-health.
Worshipped at the Sindibor during ceremonial hunting in the month of Chaitra (April-May).	Unboiled rice, Joss-stick used as ingredients, sacrifice of an egg and a pig.	Pujari	To save the people from the wild animals while going for hunting expedition.

TABLE

The Bondo

Sl. No.	Name of the Deities	English equivalent	• Objects representing Deity	Sex of the Deity	Place of abode
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)

6	Gunam . .	Spirit of a dissatisfied soul.	Does not represent any thing.	Both male and female spirit.	In the graveyard.
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Tramp Spirit (Ghosts and

Vuta—The spirit of a male who died an

Debta—The spirit of a male who

Kamini—The spirit of a female who died in

Raskuda—The spirit of a male who was

3—Concl'd.

Pantheon

Place and occasion of worship	Ingredients used in worship	Who worships	Purpose of worship
(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
Worship of the spirit in the house of the victim when a pregnant woman is upset.	Only unboiled rice used as ingredient. Sacrifice of a goat.	Dishari	To save the pregnant woman from any sort of abnormality.
Shaman or Gurumai tackles such spirits through rice-divination.	Unboiled rice, incense powder and peacock feather as ingredients. Sacrifice of an egg and a fowl.	Worshipped by the Shaman.	To make the victims spirit-free.

Demons)

unnatural death

committed suicide

pregnancy or during child birth

killed by wild animals

Man, Society and Religion

The Bondos believe that when a person dies it takes a rebirth in some descending generation. Therefore, whenever a child is born in a Bondo family it is believed that one of the ancestors has taken birth. There are certain rituals, performed to identify which of their ancestors has really been born and once the ancestor is identified, the name of that ancestor is given to the child at the time of the name-giving ceremony.

The ancestral spirits are normally well wishers of their descendants. They live with their descendants in the houses where they lived during their life time. The Bondos believe that the spirit of deceased father or grandfather often comes to visit their survivors when they are sick and guard the sick room against the intrusion of mischievous and evil-spirits. When one suffers and does not show any sign of improvement the ancestral spirits are blamed for their apparent indifference. In the case of serious illness in the family, a vow is taken to offer a fowl to the ancestral spirits for speedy recovery. At the time of drinking, first two to three drops are dropped on earth to satisfy the ancestral spirits. In a sense the Bondos feel the presence of their ancestors even though the ancestral spirits are invisible.

The ancestral spirits are believed to reside under the earth near the main post of the house, called *Muldei*. *Muldei* represents a small piece of wooden post installed near the main post in the sleeping room of the house. The family members worship their ancestral spirits on various ritual occasions. At the time of observing festivals cooked-food is offered to them in leaf-plates at the main post of the house and a brown coloured fowl is usually sacrificed as a token of gratitude. It is the belief among the Bondos that the ancestral spirits are instrumental in supplying food and clothing, happiness and comfort to their descendants for the continuity of their life. On special occasions the village *Dishari* is called into conduct the worship and offer sacrificial objects on behalf of the family members.

Like the living beings, the ancestral spirits need food, drink and other comforts for their existence. If a descendant fails to fulfil the needs of their ancestral spirits various calamities take place in the family and family members fall ill, crops fail, cattle are killed by the

tiger, etc. Such situation gives rise to propitiation of ancestral spirits for the sake of appeasing them so that these mishaps are prevented. Out of this evolves what is called, ancestor-worship. It is observed as a matter of regular routine of activities connected with different festivals and rituals which are observed in the Bondo society.

Besides the ancestral spirit which are normally benevolent there are many other types of benevolent spirits which reside in forests, water, paddy fields, hillocks and trees. The Shamans of the tribe take the help of these spirits for curing illness, for providing comfort or happiness and for fulfilling needs of the people. The spirit which is invoked by a particular Shaman for the fulfilment of the above mentioned needs becomes his guardian spirit and it is the particular guardian spirit which helps its Shaman by responding to his prayer and worship. All the guardian spirits do not have same supernatural powers. Some spirits have powers in a greater degree and some others in a lesser degree. Whenever a Shaman fails to achieve his objectives he takes the help of guardian spirits. But all Shamans are not equally effective in their worship. Some Shamans are highly skilled and their ritual performances yield desired results whereas some other Shamans having less experiences and ritual performances do not achieve desired results.

There are several spirits who are by nature bent upon doing harm to the individuals. Such malevolent spirits are in the habit of creating trouble for the people and are therefore, dreaded very much by the living beings. Here comes the sorcerers who have all the requisite expertise and techniques of worshipping these malevolent spirits and neutralising their evil effects. By performing required divination the sorcerers can detect the mischievous spirits and neutralize their evil effects. Similarly the sorcerers know the harmful types of divinations by which to invoke the malevolent deities and set them against persons and it is for this reason that the sorcerers are dreaded by the public. But once a sorcerer is made public the people do not spare him. The punishment given to the sorcerer is not less than murder. Therefore sorcery is practised secretly and it is difficult to identify by a sorcerer.

Priests, Shamans and Witch-doctors

The main ritual and magical functionaries found among the Bondos include priest or *Sisa (Pujari)*, Astrologer or Medicine-man (*Dishari*), Shaman (*Gurumai*) and Sorcerer or Witch-doctor. Of all these ritual functionaries the priest occupies the highest status in the society. He presides over all ritual functions held in the village in common. He is responsible for offering worship to the village goddess (*Hundi*) and Supreme Being (*Patkhanda Mahaprabhu*) and such other deities common to the village. The post of the priest is hereditary in the Bondo society. For his ritual services he is given annually 15 Kgs. of cereals or millets per family at the time of harvest. The priest of the village is always of the male sex.

Next comes the Astrologer or Medicine man who is called as *Dishari*. His duties are to fix auspicious time and date for the performance of village level festivals. He is also consulted for appointment of auspicious time for marriage and other ceremonial activities. Normally the post of the *Dishari* is hereditary, but where the descendants of a *Dishari* have not been able to learn the works of a *Dishari* any other person of the village having knowledge about what a *Dishari* does is selected for this purpose. He is paid in cash which varies from Re.1 to Rs. 10 depending upon the nature of the case. The *Dishari* is always of the male sex.

Next in order comes the Shaman. Normally the shaman invokes his or her guardian spirits who are benevolent in nature. Whenever any person falls ill and passes through difficult times he consults the Shaman for his help to get out of these difficulties. Soma Muduli, aged 42, of Padeiguda village suffered from fever. He called for a Shaman of his village when his fever lingered for a fortnight. The Shaman at first gave a mark of ash on his forehead and tested his pulse for some-time along with chanting of spells to ascertain the nature of suffering. From various symptoms, she knew the nature of suffering.

A powder was prepared out of the dust of the village street alongwith charcoal, red clay, ash of the burnt straw and sixteen pieces of turmeric. An icon of about 3 feet in length and 2 feet in breadth was drawn over the smeared portion of the floor of the victim's house

which was divided into three apartments—one for *Patkhanda das* the second one for *Hundi* and the third one for the shaman's guardian spirit. About half-a-kilogram of unboiled rice was piled up in each apartment over which joss-sticks were kept lit. Incense-powder and vermilion were thrown intermittently. Long chants of spells were uttered to satisfy her guardian spirit to counter the evil spirit. After an hour or so a rotten egg was sacrificed and thrown over each pile. It was believed that the guardian spirit would oblige the evil-spirit with this rotten egg and the patient will be cured. But Soma continued to suffer and consequently a more experienced Shaman was called for from the village Tulaguram.

To ward off the evil spirit, she took resort to a kind of divination in which the essential ingredients required were rice and winnowing-fan. She waved her palm over the fan and muttered spells and charms for hours together to trace out the specific spirit. While doing that she got into ecstasy. In the ecstatic state she shook her head violently with the accompaniment of the beating of drums and gradually lost her senses and got spirit-possessed. In that state, it is believed that she prayerfully communicated with her own guardian spirit to cure the patient. As the guardian spirit agreed to accept her prayer she regained her senses. It was indicative that the victim was sure to be cured. In case, the Shaman takes time to regain her senses, steps are taken by the audience to get back her senses by sprinkling water over her with a mango twig. This is indicative of the fact that the victim is not going to be cured by that Shaman.

However, immediately after regaining her senses, she prescribed a black thread which was tied round the neck of the patient for six times. This thread protected the patient from further suffering temporarily at least for six months within which the dreaded spirit called, *Birsa* was required to be appeased for permanent cure of the patient. Further, the Shaman asked for a small earthen pot (*Muta*), which was placed over the four icons drawn on turmeric powder. A papaya (*Amrut*) was placed over it. It represented the real spirit, *Birsa*. The Shaman uttered spells, sprinkled water over it. She stood up and invoked blessing of her guardian spirit by facing towards four directions. She brought corn, molasses and plantain over which water was sprinkled and then these articles were offered to the spirit.

After two and a half months Soma could arrange the cost for final observance of puja to satisfy the spirit for his full recovery. The experienced Shaman was again called for. This part of ritual was held near a stream on a clay altar. The Shaman placed fourteen small balls prepared out of unboiled rice in fourteen icons representing disciples of the Shaman's guardian spirit, *Sumsing*. These icons were worshipped with mango-twigs, incense-powder, joss-sticks, etc. Now-a-days flowers are also offered to the icons. While supplicating unboiled rice in a winnowing fan the Shaman got into trance. After regaining senses, the Shaman appeased the guardian spirit and her disciples with fourteen eggs. A pig was sacrificed specially for the guardian spirit. The blood of the animal was sprinkled over the icons and subsequently in the stream. After this ritual, Soma was completely cured.

This sort of magic which is benevolent for the public is known as *Baldeng* by the Bondos. The same process is usually adopted in almost all cases of suffering when a shaman is sought for treatment. Both men and women can become shamans and help people through their respective guardian spirits. The amount of payment made to a shaman is not fixed. It varies from person to person and from situation to situation.

Of all the ritual and magical functionaries the priest or the *Pujari* is revered and respected and he occupies the highest position in the social life. When the people meet at the *Sindibar* to decide the cases or discuss the matters relating to their village the presence of priest is as indispensable as that of the *Naik* who is the secular headman of the village. The priest is different from other categories of ritual and magical functionaries in that he has nothing to do with the malevolent deities and never resorts to any ritual and magical action which creates illness and trouble for his co-villagers. He invariably is so to say a well-wisher of his community and performs such ritual activities which ensure well-being of his fellow-men.

Pujari, *Dishari* and Shaman are believed to have visualized shape and form the of deities and spirits. For example, *Patkhanda Mahaprabhu* is visualized as an old man with matted locks of hair over his head. The Shamans, more sensitive than

others, not only have visions of the deities and spirits, but enter into communion with them speak through them. Collective ritual and collective emotion at feasts and festivals, religious processions and dances have served to intensify the emotional appeal of religion among the Bondos.

Propitiation

The Bondos have personified the deities and spirits according to their activities. These deities and spirits are believed to have shaped the destiny of the community. To ensure desired result these supernatural beings need to be properly appeased. These powers are therefore, propitiated as per the customs of the community. The functionaries propitiate such powers to solicit blessing for the well-being of the people.

As custom prevails, bowing and genuflection are important postures of obeisance to satisfy these supernatural powers. The functionaries on behalf of the people stand with folded hands, chant incantations, offer sacrificial food and ultimately kneel down and touch forehead on the ground in front of the deities and spirits. The public too, follow the functionaries and pay obeisances to the powers in the some manner.

Sundried-rice is offered to the deities. Liquor is taboo to be used in all rituals. Various animals like cow, buffalo, goat, lamb, pig and fowl are sacrificed. Eggs are also offered. Fowls of various colours are sacrificed for different deities and spirits.

Luck and chance

Good luck and bad luck and chances are always associated with the divine will of *Patkhanda Mahaprabhu*. If anybody suffers, it is believed to be a bad luck ordained by the *Mahaprabhu*. In the Bondo society the sago-palm trees are highly valued. A person who gets large quantity of juice from his sago-palm trees is considered the luckiest. A man is considered to be most unlucky if he commites murder. Chance and probability which are also dictated by the *Mahaprabhu* are believed to shape the activities of the Bondos. Different ceremonies and festivals are organized on Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday, as these days are considered

auspicious. Similarly *Chaitra* (February-March), *Push* (November-December), and *Magh* (January-February) are considered auspicious months. For example, communal hunting takes place in the month of *Chaitra* (February-March) because in this month games are available in plenty for hunting.

It is the belief among the Bondos that what is destined is bound to happen. However certain preventive measures are taken to minimise the evil effects which bad luck is likely to cause. A kind of black hoot, is used in eyes and an iron amulet is attached to the body to protect it from evil-eyes. Iron implements are inseparable objects of elderly persons and such objects are believed to protect them against evil-eyes. It is believed that bad luck can be avoided if one abides by the social norms. In the true sense of the term the Bondos are fatalists. Fate decides every thing and the destiny of human beings.

Sacred objects and places

Dwelling places of various gods and deities are treated as sacred places. The people believe that if they pollute these places, they are subjected to divine torture. While talking to a Bondo, it was learnt that *Sitakunda* is regarded as holy and any stone of this holy place is displaced, it displeases the deity. Any displacement is made known to the *Pujari* through dream by the divine beings and the person who has done it appeases the deity with the sacrifice of a pig or a goat. *Patkhanda* and *Hundi* are regarded as the most sacred places. *Sadar* or *Sindibor* in each Bondo village is treated as the sacred places and therefore all festivals are observed there.

The *Patkhanda* sword (*Liasu*), the drum of the *Pujari* are considered sacred as they are possessed with supernatural powers.

In Kusbar and Bhadodia forests there are three to four gigantic banyan trees which are believed to be the abode of the malevolent spirits and therefore, people do not dare to visit such places. In case any Bondo takes rest under these trees in the summer, a leaf is picked from ground and touched to the forehead and placed under the body while stretching on the ground for rest.

The idea of mysterious impersonal forces is also recognized by the Bondos. A piece of iron which has been exposed during solar eclipse is believed to have acquired a mysterious power to ward off evil-eyes. Bracelets made of such iron are worn to avert lightning stroke. Water, fire and sacrificial blood are regarded as beneficent power and used by the child to protect them from harm. The leaves and roots of *Piri* (Broom stick) have the reproductivity power. The leaves of mango trees have the power to ward off evil-eye. It is believed that in some objects this energy or soul stuff lies dormant.

Avoidance and Taboo

Taboos, locally known as *Anglo* are socially approved restrictions. Any violation of such taboos results in supernatural punishment.

Different taboos prevalent in the Bondo society are as follows:

Food taboos

Tubers of any kind and cow-pea (*Dongar-rani*) and seeds of *Siali*-creeper are not eaten until the observance of *Push Parab* in the month of December-January. These are offered to the deity presiding over individual *Dongar* land on the festive day and then eaten. Similarly only after the observance of *Chaita-Parab*, fruits like mango and jackfruit are eaten. Leaves of arum, pumpkin, a local variety of vegetable called, *Siroli* and *Tharake*, a tuber are not eaten until the end of *Srabar* (July-August). No flesh of any animal is eaten during the month of *Chaitra* (March-April) until the *Hundi* is satisfied by offering blood of the sacrificial animals. The religious functionaries are forbidden to eat, drink and smoke while performing rituals. Even the *Pujari* does not eat food cooked by his wife if he has to perform some ritual. Cakes prepared from *Kangu*-rice are eaten only during *Bandafun parab* but not earlier. These cakes are first offered to *Bursung* and then eaten.

Religious taboos

During the first two days of *Chaita-Parab*, no one in any family touches cowdung. Any violation of this taboo invites the evil spirit (*Raskuda*) to come in and attack the members of family. It is believed that spirits visit the cowshed on these days. As a preventive measure

the people uses castor oil in the body and take bath in the evening and not in the morning. During *Push-Parab*, it is taboo to take up any work in connection with agriculture for at least three days. It is believed that wild animals would attack in case any one violates this taboo. No one goes to the forests during *Chaita-parab*, because it is believed that wild animals would attack them.

It is taboo to usurp other's property, because it is believed that the usurper would be put to trouble by the clan spirits of the person whose property is usurped.

Status taboos

The elderly persons are considered the representatives of *Patkhanda Mahaprabhu* and hence they are respected. Religious functionaries are not addressed by their names but by their roles like *Pujari*, *Dishari* and *Gurumai*. Similarly the wife never addresses her husband by his name, but by the name of father of so and so. She even does not utter the name of her husband's elder brother, elder sister, father and mother.

Sex taboos

Any person who is expected to perform any ritual should have no sexual intercourse from the previous day. A woman observes a taboo is the mother of sexual intercourse for a period of one year after delivery. It is believed that sexual abstinence helps good lactation and promotes better growth of the child. During menses, sexual intercourse is forbidden. The menstrual blood is considered impure.

Dreams

The following dreams are interpreted by the Bondos in various ways.

1. If one dreams of being killed by a tiger he is sure to get a new cloth on the next day from any source.
2. To dream a cow giving birth to a calf, one is to be beaten by the snake.
3. If one dreams of riding a horse he becomes a good swimmer.
4. If one dreams of suffering from small pox he becomes warrior.

5. It is believed the longevity increases if one dreams of his death.
6. Death of any old man or woman in the kindred group is a must if one dreams of killing any old man or woman.
7. The tiger is sure to come to the village if one dreams of hunting a tiger in the forest.
8. A friend or a relative must visit the house if one dreams of a female friend visiting the house.
9. If one dreams of tying a goat he will be injured by the deer.
10. If one dreams of receiving alms from *Patkhanda Mahaprabhu* he becomes *Dishari*.
11. The dream of drinking sago-palm juice brings pot-full of such juice from his own tree.
12. If one dreams of receiving maize from *Sindibor* he gets bumper crops that year.
13. If one dreams of sacrificing a fowl near *Patkhanda Mahaprabhu* and the head and the trunk of the animal are severed, some one of the village is sure to be murdered on the next day. In that case, the person gets up immediately and throws a pinch of salt at the threshold of his house to avert the mishap.
14. The dream of carrying water or sand brings good fortune to the person.
15. If one dreams of wearing a waist-belt he suffers.
16. If one dreams of carrying forest produce to his home, his crops are eaten away by the wild animals.

But some dreams such as

1. Pigs are destroying crops in swiddens,
2. the tiger is attacking domestic animals
3. any member in the family is dying, and

4. getting sufficient games from the forests bring hazards to the family and therefore, the Shamans are summoned to counteract such dreams. It is believed that persons who follow the norms of the society never see bad dreams.

Omen

Other than the dreams, the Bondos also believe in auspiciousness and inauspiciousness of certain objects and things. It is also believed that persons who go by the norms of the society are never confronted with any inauspicious objects or things wherever they go. However, the list of a few omens as believed by the Bondos is given below:

1. The growling of a tiger before sowing paddy is considered inauspicious.
2. To meet peacock and rabbit on the part of a bride while coming to the groom's house for wedding is considered inauspicious. It is expected that the bride must pick up quarrel with her husband.
3. To see menstruate women before going on a hunting trip is considered inauspicious. No games are expected on that day.
4. Death of any member in a family though painful is considered auspicious because it brings bumper crop that year.
5. The day is considered auspicious is sago-palm juice is plentifully available.
6. To see a snake passing on the way is considered auspicious.
7. To sustain injury while going out from home is considered inauspicious. He cannot do any work successfully and therefore, drops the idea of going out to work.
8. To hear the sound of an owl while going to sleep at night is a bad omen. In that case, a pinch of salt is thrown outside the house.

9. To meet a dead body while going outside is considered inauspicious. A little dust from the feet is thrown to any nearby tree.
10. To meet fishing operation on the way brings good news for the family.

However omens are interpreted in various ways. To counteract the bad effects no steps are taken.

The annual ceremonies

The Bondos observe many rituals and festivals in different months of the year. Each ritual or festive occasion has got two aspects, the magico-religious aspect concerning the sacrifice of animals and offering of food and other objects to the deity and the recreational aspect which provides entertainment and enjoyment including drinking, dancing, singing, etc. The following table gives the annual calendar of magico-religious performances and the significant points which are observed in the calendar are also discussed in the section. Brief description of some of the important festivals is given in Annexure I

TABLE
Annual festival cycle

Sl. No.	Name of the Ritual	Months when performed			Name of the Deities/ Spirits worshipped
		English months	Oriya equivalent	Local synonyms	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
1	<i>Bandafun</i> or <i>Kuree</i> .	June July	<i>Srabana</i>	<i>Bandafun</i>	Worshipping of <i>Hundi</i> (Earth-Goddess) and <i>Kendubuda</i> , the spirit of the forest.
2	<i>Dasara</i> or <i>Kumbuguda</i> .	August September	<i>Aswin</i>	<i>Dasara</i>	Worshipping of <i>Patkhanda Mahaprabhu</i> .
3	<i>Diwali</i> or <i>Gewarsung</i> .	October November	<i>Kartik</i>	<i>Diwali</i>	Worshipping of <i>Hundi</i> (Earth-Goddess) and <i>Sindibor</i> (Deity of the <i>Sadar</i>).
4	<i>Push Parab</i>	December January	<i>Pusha</i>	<i>Push</i>	Worshipping of <i>Patkhanda</i> and <i>Sindibor</i> , worshipping of Ancestral-spirits by the head of each household.
5	<i>Magha Parab</i>	January February	<i>Magha</i>	<i>Magha</i>	Worshipping of <i>Patkhanda Mahaprabhu</i> .
6	<i>Chaita Parab</i>	February March	<i>Chaitra</i>	<i>Chaita</i>	Worshipping of <i>Sindibor</i> and Ancestor-worship.

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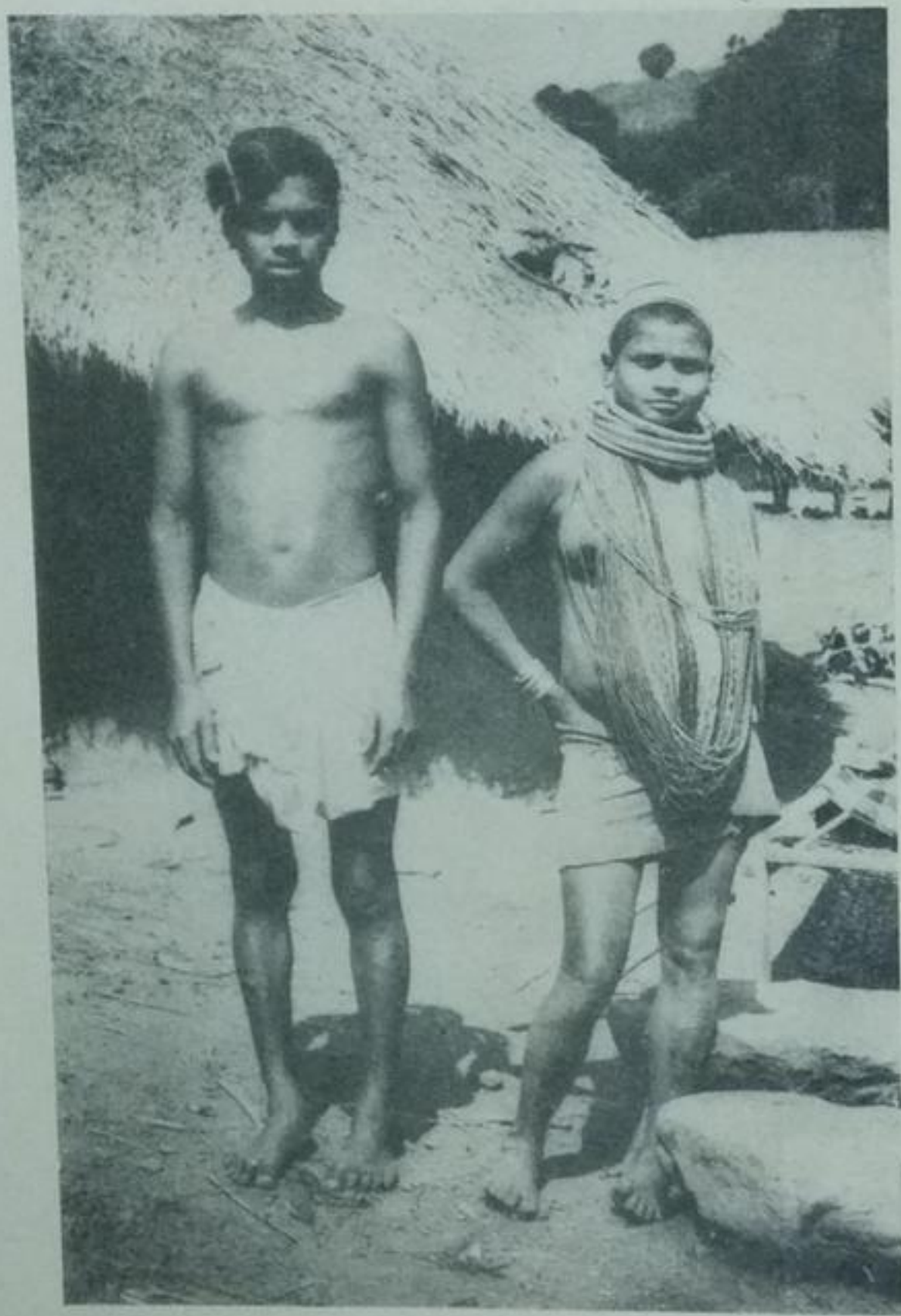
of the Bondos

Who worships	Communally or individually observed	Significance	Ingredients used	No. of days observed
(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)
<i>Pujari</i> and the Shamans	Communal	(a) Before sowing of <i>Kangu</i> . (b) New-eating of <i>Kangu</i> , Orange, pumpkin, arum and wild roots.	Seathes of <i>Kangu</i> , orange, pumpkin arum and wild-roots, unboiled rice. Joss-sticks used as ingredients. Sacrificing a white fowl.	3 days
<i>Pujari</i>	Do.	New adoption of Hindu festival.	<i>Patkhanda</i> sword, unboiled rice, Incense powder, vermilion used as ingredients, pop-corn, coconut and molasses offered as <i>Bhoga</i> .	1 day
<i>Pujari</i>	Do.	Adoption of Hindu festival. (a) To be diseased free. (b) Protect the crops from insects.	Mangot wigs, cowdung, sundried-rice used as ingredients. Molasses, pop-corn and plantain offered as consecrated food, sacrificing of a goat and a pig.	2 days
<i>Pujari</i> and Head of each household.	Communal and individual.	Leaf-cups, Vermilion Incense-powder used as ingredients.	New eating of rice, <i>Siadi</i> fruits, beans and various roots.	8 days
<i>Pujari</i>	Inter-village festival where the Bondos or 12 villages (<i>B ara-jangar</i>) participate.	Sundried-rice, vermilion, incense-powder, mango twigs used as ingredients. Sacrificing of a brown-coloured goat and 12 fowls, plantain and coconut offered as <i>Bhoga</i> .	Before sowing of paddy and different millets.	3 days
<i>Pujari</i> and the Head of each household.	Communal and individual.	11 pairs of mango, unboiled-rice, vermilion, mango-twig used as ingredients, sacrificing of a red-	(1) Ritually eating of mango. (2) Sowing of ragi, suan and paddy.	8 days

One general observation is that in all the rituals the equipments necessary and the procedures followed and the personnel involved are almost the same and there appears to be little variation in these matters from function to function. The main ingredients include sundried-rice, vermilion, joss-sticks, incense powder, mango-twigs, leaf-cups, leaf-plates^o, etc. Food stuffs such as ^o/_o molasses, plantain, coconut and puffed-corn are offered and animals such as pig and fowl are sacrificed to the deities. The variations are noticed not in the items but in the colour and quantity of the ingredients. For example, a brown chicken is sacrificed to a deity on one occasion but a black one is required on another occasion.

The nature of their worship is primarily congregational and the approach is collective, and as such, these festivals may be considered as the expression of their traditional custom and culture. The procedures followed for observing the rituals are more or less the same, but they may be simple in some cases and complex in other cases. However, the general trend is almost standardized. The ritual procedures include such steps as cleaning the place of worship with cowdung and water, drawing icons in charcoal or turmeric powder, putting vermilion dabs in different circles of the icon and on the deity of *Patkhanda* sword, keeping the joss-stick and incense burning, pouring water in each pile of unboiled rice, offering of cooked food etc. For sacrifices the steps include sanctifying the animals by sprinkling water on them, making the animals eat some of the rice grains piled on the icons, pulling some feathers or hairs from them and throwing them into the burning incense, slaughtering the animals and sprinkling blood on the piles of rice. From the beginning till the slaughtering of animals, the *Pujari* utters spells and charms by himself sometime and with a group of shamans other times. The shamans primarily wave the bundles of peacock feathers to ward off evil-eyes at the time of the ritual. At the end of every thing the assembled people and the ritual functionaries bow down to the deity and pray for good health, good crop and a good time for them.

In most cases the festivals and ceremonies centre round a concern for a better yield of crops, and therefore, are observed preceding every important stage of agricultural operations, such as forest clearing, firing, ploughing, sowing, weeding and harvesting.



A graceful Bondo couple

Similarly rituals are observed prior to the eating of new crops and fruits. The idea is to offer such food-stuff first to their deities and ancestral spirits and seek their blessings for having good crops every year.

Trend of Change

It is quite clear that the religion is intimately interwoven with the Bondo way of life, their day-to-day activities, their material and ethical life. It has also been shown in the foregoing paragraphs how deeply the Bondos are dependent on the deities and spirits in every aspect of their life and activities. They simply cannot move without being dictated by the deities and spirits. Religious and magical beliefs regulate their relationship with the visible and the invisible world around them. Underlying all religious and magical rituals and ceremonies is the conviction that the welfare of the society and of individual depends on establishing a balance between man, nature and the supernatural universe.

It is true that the Bondos are in close contact with their neighbouring Hindus since a pretty long time. Recently their contact with the development personnel of the Special Project has brought about many changes in their life and work. The Bondo leader, has taken some vigorous steps to bring more of Hinduized traits into the Bondo culture with the purpose of combating the animal sacrifices. He has also introduced creditably certain new ideas and thoughts to bring more of aestheticism in the Bondo religious life and to change their criminal habits. As a result of this contact, the Bondos have borrowed a large number of cultural traits and ideas from their Hindu neighbours.

The Bondos have adopted many Hindu deities like *Rameswara*, *Durga*, *Brahma*, *Bishnu*, *Maheswar* and given place in their pantheon of deities and spirits. Hindu festivals like *Dasara*, *Diwali* and *Osha* are also observed by these people along with their own festivals. Utterances of the names of various gods and goddesses in Oriya version, the nature of paying obeisance, use of fruits, molasses and

mango twigs, etc. to appease the deities and spirits and minimizing sacrifices of the animal are indicative of the influence of the Hindu ideas.

It will not be out of place to mention here that the Bondos have co-operated with the Project Officer to construct a *Rameswar* temple at the top of a hillock in the Mudulipada village. A Bondo of Bاندھuguda village was instructed by *Patkhanda* in a dream to worship the *Siva Linga* there. He did not take the matter seriously. But one day while offering puja at the temple he faced a cobra on the platform where *Siva Linga* is installed. The snake did not injure him and disappeared immediately. This incident perturbed him and thereafter he ran to the Bondo leader and confessed his fault of becoming irregular and careless in offering *Puja* to the deity at the temple. He took a vow and promised to be regular henceforward. From that day onwards, he was appointed as *Pujari* of *Rameswara* and continues to offer *Puja* regularly in the Hindu fashion. The *Rameswara* temple has now become the temple of the tribe and the Bondos from far and near visit the temple and offer worship to the *Siva Linga* installed there.

In the year 1980, during *Magha parab*, some Bondos invaded the shops in Mundiguda market and forcibly took away the coconut to offer to *Patkhanda*. The situation would have been worse, had the Bondo leader not intervened. He reconciled the matter with the shopkeepers by paying back the cost of all the coconuts, which he himself collected from the same Bondos who committed this offence.

The facts mentioned above clearly indicate a trend of imitation by the Bondos of Hindu idea and belief system after the construction of the *Rameswara* temple. Although the processes of acculturation have added many new items both in the beliefs and practices of the Bondos but their impact has not been too drastic as to replace the old religious core with the new. In other words, the Bondos today appear exactly as the Bondos of the yesterday and their indigenous religious practices which are largely benefit-oriented have not yet been philosophical-oriented as is true in the Hindu belief system.

CHAPTER VIII

THE BONDO PERSONALITY

The mountainous niche located in the remotest fastness of the ancient forests is the home of the Bondos. To the tribe, the habitat is a cherished land. For centuries they have resisted outsiders with their bows and arrows to enjoy by themselves exclusively what they have of their locality for all time to come. The Bondos seem to have changed very little during the centuries they have lived in their present habitat. What strikes as the most significant difference which stands out sharply in contrast to the neighbouring tribes is the Bondo character and personality.

The dress and appearance of a Bondo woman with her shaven head decorated with headbands of caryota fibre and her well built body clothed in half a yard single piece of hand-woven fibre-yarn loin cloth and adorned with multicoloured necklaces and neckbands of brass rings and brass chains has no parallel anywhere in India. Surprisingly enough the Bondo women present a great similarity in their adornment with the Turkana women who live miles and miles away in a desert to the west of lake Turkana in Ethiopia.

Like the girls the Bondo boys are equally attractive. Their tall stature, fine physique, charming face and delightful smile are captivating. Little boys have their heads shaved, but as they grow up and come of dormitory age they keep their hair long and dress it in an attractive fashion. After marriage a boy ties his locks in a bun at the back of his head and gets someone to shave the front as others of his society do in conventional style. Tattooing in the present time is extremely rare among both the sexes. Bow and arrow is the constant companion of men right from boyhood.

Culture and character

Different tribes present different cultural pattern depending upon the cultural cores on which they lay major emphasis. For example, the Saora culture is more laden with ritual performances

and magico-religious practices. In contrast the Gadaba culture is centered round social life with particular reference to growing up, sex and marriage. Unlike the Saora and the Gadaba, their Kandha neighbours lay more stress on food seeking activities and productive organization such as food gathering, axe-cultivation and horticulture.

In sharp contrast to all other tribal communities the Bondo lay major emphasis on individual and its character and personality. They live in a hard unyielding hilly region and exhibit a great skill in keeping themselves to themselves. They love independence to the core of their heart and hold courage, freedom and equality above all other virtues. Industry and friendliness are the Bondo nature par excellence in day to day life.

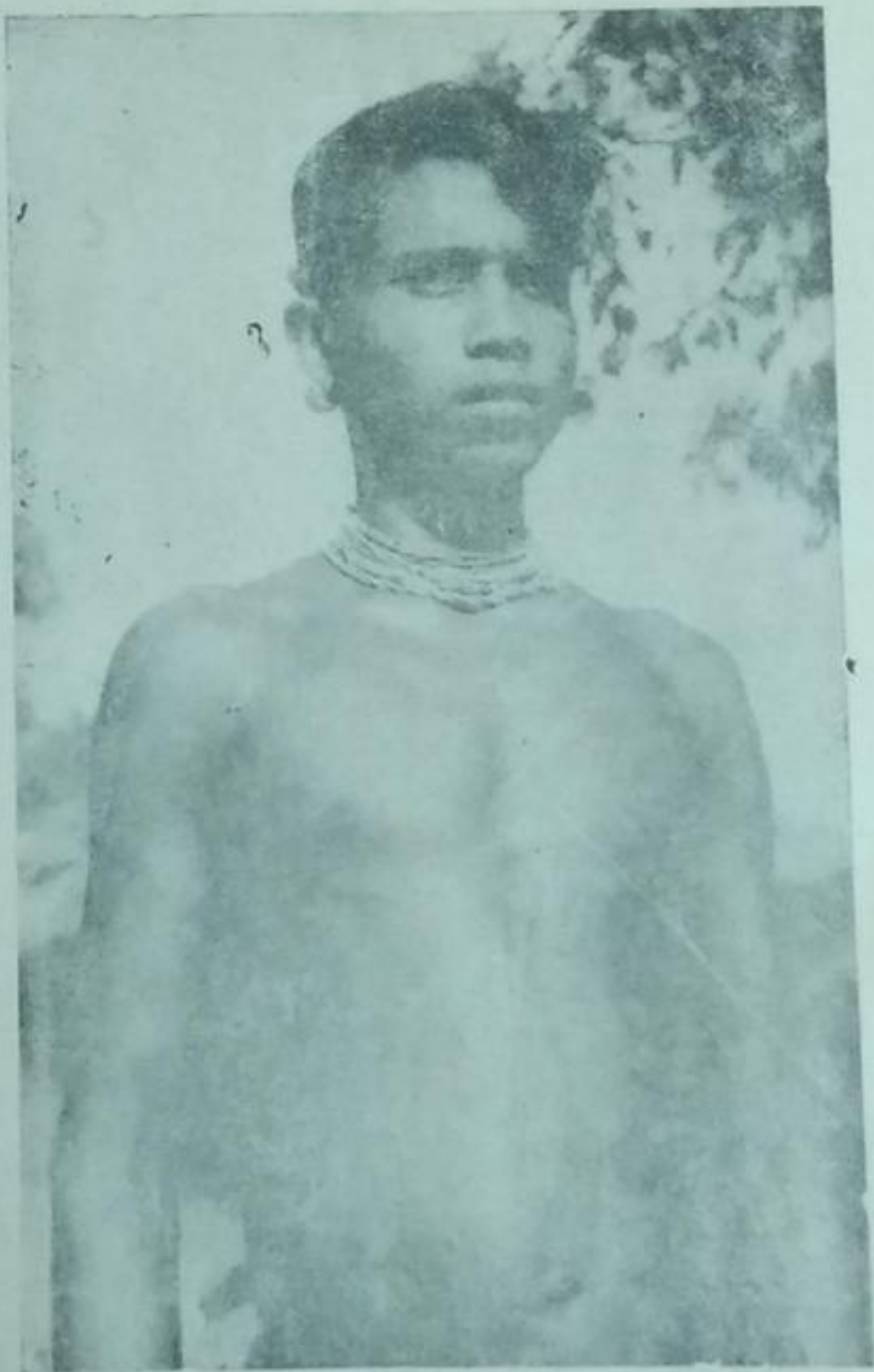
The character which first strikes a visitor to a Bondo settlement is the independent spirit of the Bondo men and women. A Bondo regards himself as the equal of any man on earth. He receives a visitor to his village with all friendliness and courtesy, but his heart is filled with suspicion and even hatred.

In contrast to such an independent-laden personality the Bondo have a few negative virtues. They are dreaded for their ill-mannered aggressiveness, bad temper and homicidal tendency. They are very fond of drinking and it is only when a Bondo is fully drunk that he bubbles in fury, becomes unmannerly to the extreme, hurls his knife and draws the bowstring to release his arrow at the target.

The problem of Bondo aggressiveness and criminal habit is a study of great significance. Some scholars are of the opinion that factors such as isolation, low material development, and difficulties of wresting a livelihood from an unyielding environment may have contributed to the formation of such a character and personality. This argument does not hold good in the context of the Lepcha community which lacks external aggressiveness although they live under the same conditions as the Bondo do.



Saw and arrows are constant companion of the Bondos



A herdsman Bondo boy

To give a scientific explanation to the contrast between the Lepcha of Sikkim and the Bondo of Orissa in their character and personality with particular reference to avert aggression requires a proper definition of the term aggression and an analysis of the types of external realities to which the individuals have to accommodate themselves in their respective societies. Descriptive accounts of primitive communities show that different environmental realities and institutional systems which influence the life of the people from their childhood produce differences in character and personality.

Keeping this external realities in view an attempt will be made to explain the lack of aggression in the Lepcha society and excess of it in the Bondo society. Before discussing the psychodynamics of these two primitive societies it is necessary to say what we mean by aggression. The term aggression in common parlance relates to destructive aspect of fighting and competition, and any disposition to attack and rivalry. But in a deeper sense it may refer to the urge to gain mastery over the environmental aspect of the external reality. This urge is ubiquitous and universal, but the strength with which it is manifested in different societies depend upon material circumstances, social organization, individual temperament, mores and social sanction which govern human relationships and activities. Aggression may be constructive as reflected in the urge for creating and innovating or it may be destructive as in the case of competitive and quarrelsome dispositions. Aggression may be directed towards objects, people and ideas and even towards supernatural beings.

We will take up the Lepcha first and compare their environmental conditions and institutional systems with those of the Bondo and analyse the influence of these factors in the prevailing types of character formation.

The Lepcha, their country and their character

The Lepcha are a Mongoloid people living in the Himalayas on the southern and eastern slopes of Mount Kanchenjunga. From the time of the establishment of a Sikkimese Kingdom the Lepcha became

an inferior subject race, under the domination of the Sikkimese Tibetans or Bhotias. The best lands of the Lepcha were taken away by the Bhotias and later by the Nepalis who had immigrated into Sikkim in great number. As a measure of protection against the onslaught and debasing effects of cultural contact the *Maharaja* of Sikkim set apart the part of his estate called Zongu as a Lepcha reserve where he made a law that only pure-blooded Lepchas could possess land and settle down there.

Zonger is a triangular mountainous country, approximately 40 miles on each side and the average height of the hills being about 12,000 ft. The reserve is located in an inaccessible hilly terrain and lacking any road communication all travelling is done on foot and all goods transported by human portorage.

Most of the Lepcha settlements and cultivated lands are situated in altitudes varying between 3,500 ft and 7,500 ft. above sea-level. Above the cultivated lands in higher altitudes are the forests in which wild produce is gathered, games are hunted and to which cattle are sent in winter to pasture. The land in the most part of the reserve is so precipitous that it is not easily amenable to cultivation and to eke out a living in this terrain is an arduous job. The weather throughout the year is cool and the winter is very cold. It follows therefore that clothes are very necessary for warmth. Not all people can afford to have sufficient clothes and therefore many people particularly children suffer from cold, cough and bronchial troubles. Until the beginning of this century Lepchas used to weave all their own cloth, but weaving is now almost a lost art. Although the art of weaving is now almost extinct, the spindle continues to be considered the typical feminine symbol as the arrow is the masculine one.

Both men and women wear knee-length drawers and shirts on the upper part of the body. Women wear a sort of bodice over the shirt and tie up their hair which they keep long with a scarf. As regards ornaments men use turquoise ear rings and women wear heavy and elaborate necklaces of unworked semi-precious stones. The material culture of the Lepcha is poorly developed. The knife made of iron with wooden handle and a blade about 18 inches long

and 3 inches wide is practically the Lepcha's only instrument. A Lepcha without a knife slung by his side in a bamboo scabbard is rare to be seen. The knife serves all purposes starting from lopping trees to cutting up meat or wood for domestic use. A hand hoe is used for terracing and working the soil in land to be cultivated. Different types of bamboos which are locally available are extensively used in the construction of houses. Hollow internodes of bamboo serve as water-carriers and drinking vessels. No pottery is in use among the Lepcha. Leaf plates and cups constitute their utensils, however metallic vessels which are bought from the Tibetans in exchange for cardamom are used for cooking food. The Lepcha are skilled in weaving baskets and mats out of various reeds and bamboo splits.

Each Lepcha household maintains a bamboo-fenced garden where vegetables and root crops are grown in smaller quantities and barley and spring wheat are raised in large quantities. Near the house are also a small number of fruit trees such as orange, peach, apple, pear, plum and tree-tomato.

Strips of land near the valley are used for raising wet rice, cardamom and minor millets. But the bigger fields which are located miles away from village site are meant for growing dry rice, buckwheat and millet. The Lepcha are excellent walkers and climbers and can cover long distances without any fatigue and breathlessness. The most general food of the Lepchas is rice. Wheat and maize are also eaten when there is no rice. Millet is grown for fermenting and getting liquor which both men and women drink almost daily. They believe that the liquor (*chi*) has medicinal value and protects the body against cold. They are also conscious of the bad effect of the drink which leads a man to quarrelling when drunk. According to their experience drink is mellowing, soothing and pleasant rather than stimulating and exciting.

The study of the economic life of the Lepcha shows that they are engaged in varying degrees in three types of food-seeking activities—food gathering, cultivating and herding although the last activity is of minor importance in their life. In the earlier times the Lepcha eked out the cultivated food with hunting and wild forest produce. When the tribes of Tibet and the Nepalis

infiltrated into their habitat the Lepcha found themselves confronted with aggressive external elements against whom they were practically defenceless. Being helpless the only alternative open to them was to flee into more inaccessible regions and lead a nomadic life in the forests. The invading Nepalis and Bhutanese took possession of the cultivated lands which the Lepcha had abandoned.

As the country became peaceful the Lepchas returned from the mountain fastness and wilderness and resumed their former practice of cultivation. In agriculture they could not compete with the Nepalis and the Sikkimese who were more industrious and agriculturally more developed than themselves. In such a situation the more progressive communities had an upper hand on the Lepcha who found out for themselves that the life in isolation was more suitable than that in integration with other communities to whom they are no parallel in technological development. Not only the warring and competitive habits of alien communities was responsible for their isolated life but also the introduction of cardamom cultivation and terracing had kept them bound securely to their lands located in isolated areas. The money-producing cardamom crop did away with the necessity, which existed in earlier times, of travelling to exchange forest produce for cloth, salt and metal. This growing isolation has increased their timidity in the face of strangers.

From the description of the natural environment and subsistence activities it is indicated that the external reality has made them rather timid and devoid of any aggressive or hostile character. We may now have an over view of their childhood and look for the factors which have been responsible for the formation of the prevailing Lepcha personality.

It is the common practice among the Lepcha that a baby up to the age of 18 months or more is continually carried when out of doors and put on the floor inside its own house. The mother is the only woman who feeds it and a great part of its time is usually spent in the company of elder siblings. Invariably there must be someone always with the baby to keep an eye on it.

Children are more often carried by women than men. Elder daughters spend much more time looking after their younger siblings than their brothers do. Children should not cry. If a child starts whimpering, the mother or anyone nearby tries at once to find out the reason and acts in a manner which gratifies the desire it expresses.

During the first few weeks the baby sleeps in its mother's arms. When it is given a separate mattress it is laid beside its mother with the mother's breast always within reach. It explains why the Lepcha babies are in fact extremely quiet and grow up under most comfortable conditions.

It is a common sight to see that the babies under the age of three are all the time, except for the night, strapped on some body's back preferably on the mother's back irrespective of the work the guardian may be doing. Often a Lepcha woman is found pounding rice or doing any other domestic work or field work with her baby carried at her back in the pouch. The baby is habituated to experience the movements of its mother at work and apparently feels soothing to her sleep.

The Lepcha take so much care of their children that there is very little chance for the development of self-reliance in the childhood. The child is reared under such conditions that it learns to rely completely on elder members of the family who in turn are enculturated in such a manner as to gratify without neglect all its expressed wishes. On no occasion the child is left alone and kept crying unattended. The relying on elder siblings and parents acts decidedly is a major force in character formation of the child in adult life.

As the child grows the parents hold two views about it; the child is a potential adult who will be of great assistance to the family and the group at large; at the same time if the child dies it turns to be a malevolent supernatural being and becomes a source of danger.

It is the custom among the Lepcha that the daughter eats with her father and the son with his mother. As the child attains the age of four it is given a separate plate and cup of its own. When

plates and cups are not available the child is given food in a leaf-plate to eat by itself. The child is never kept hungry any time ; every morning the mother gives some grain to the child to nibble when it feels hungry. Any sort of punishment like beating, hitting or scolding is a rare experience in the childhood; at best a naughty or tire some child will have its ears pulled in case it defecates inside the house when it can walk out by itself. Nevertheless the punishment is severe if the child commits any crime such as stealing fruits from the garden of a neighbour or any other household of the village. It does not however mean that the grown up children are let loose to wander about and do nothing. They are taught work techniques by their parents ; boys are especially taught agricultural work and mat weaving and girls are taught spinning, pounding and winnowing of grains and cooking. Sometimes the son does his mother's work and the daughter father's work. No occupational specialization along sex lines is rigidly enforced in childhood. From what has been mentioned in the preceding paragraphs it is clear that for the majority of the Lepchas the childhood is a satisfying, contented and happy time. It is these habits and happy memories of a prolonged and satisfactory infancy which mould the character into a pleasant, mild and non-aggressive personality all through the latter years of Lepcha adulthood.

The Bondo and their children

But what about the Bondo babies ? A visitor to the Bondo country who has observed the Bondo life at close quarters will discover a sharp contrast between the Lepcha childhood and Bondo childhood. The Bondo deal with their babies very differently. Parents bring up the child up to three years of age with adequate care and affection. During this period the child depends entirely on the mother's breast for its nourishment. Child mortality is very high, the reason being the insanitary conditions in which children are reared in the Bondo society. In the rains and also in hot sun and in cold weather the child is carried in a sling made of a dirty piece of cloth at the back of the mother out into the forest. As a result in many cases children catch cold leading to pneumonia which takes a heavy toll of child population among the Bondo.

The mother feeds the child only when it cries. During breast feeding the heavy neck bands and necklaces of the mother hit the head of the child hard causing pain and irritation to the child. On all occasions breast feeding is decidedly an inconvenience to the mother and invariably an unpleasant affair to the child. In almost all cases the child is carried on the waist of the mother not at her back in a sling. The neck bands and necklaces again cause great inconvenience to the mother in holding the child at her waist and moving about. Elwin's observations corroborate with our findings in this matter. He has stated, "I have never seen any where so many fathers looking after babies, who tug at the small male nipples with an obvious sense of disappointment."

From the very earlyhood the child comes in intimate contact with the environment. Though the Bondo custom forbids parents to take out the child to the forest when it is within five months old, but the circumstances are such that it is difficult to observe the ideal of confining the child to home. The real practice is that parents carry the baby with them when they go out to the forest. Thus the baby from its very infancy hears the sounds of animals and chirps of the birds and experience hot and cold, wind and rain outside its home.

It is the wish of the parents that the child should have physical freedom as quickly as possible. Parents help the child to toddle and encourage to set feet gently and firmly and try again and again. When the parents are busy working in the field the child is placed on the ground. It is at this time also the child tries to stand by itself and learns to walk by fits and starts. It crawls around on the hard surface and sometimes strikes its head or limb against stone or some other hard substance. An experience of this type is invariably a sequel of violent cry and if the mother is nearby she comes to its rescue at once and wipes off its head and limb with a sweep of her hand.

The efforts put by the elders to make the child self-reliant as quickly as possible are backed by social and religious sanctions. The father makes toy bow and arrow and gives them to the child to play with. He does not even hesitate to put in its hand a sharp

knife to play with. When the child is sufficiently grown up and capable of moving about freely it is encouraged to shoot its toy arrow at the cattle, pigs and other animals nearby. The objective of this practice is not to kill the animals shot at but to set hand in perfection to hit the target; a practice in shooting which in later life would help in making a living from the interminable wilderness and in either taking vengeance on the enemy or protecting itself against the enemy's retaliatory measures.

When left at home along with the children who are capable of walking about they go to the nearby hillstream from which they try to catch crabs and fish. They play in water and spend hours in bathing. Neither the cold wind of the winter nor the scorching rays of the sun in summer deter them from such loathsome outdoor activities. This habit is conditioned by the fact that the children are not expected to come back home at a particular time for food. Bondo children eat whenever and wherever they find food and play as long as they want. Only one condition which is enforced upon the children is that they should be back home before dark, have food and go to bed.

From the young age the children are well acquainted with their surrounding, including hills and forests, streams and fields, highlands and valleys. Small children while in the mountains initiate agricultural operations carried by their parents in the swiddens. At an early age the boys start learning the techniques of ploughing and other agricultural practices. Similarly the girl below 10 years of age acquire efficiency in husking food grains, fetching water, collecting firewood and sometimes assisting the mother in cooking. While the mother is busy in weaving, her grown up daughters sit by her side and watch how she weaves and thereby learn the techniques of weaving. The spirit of self-reliance and independence is internalized in both boys and girls, more in the case of the former than in the case of the latter, from their young age.

Among the Bondo it is common that a boy of younger age group who is barely acquainted with sex-play is married to a woman of older age-group having sufficient orgiastic experience. In such a situation the woman is used by the elder members of his

family for fulfilling sexual appetite . It is easy to imagine what kind of personality develops in the boy husband who is aware of the sexual relationship of his wife with others and not with him. He feels helpless and gets all the frustration which he has to bear with a pinch of salt. At the same time he becomes jealous of others and his pent-up feelings turn him into a man with aggressive disposition. With the result an ill-mannered behaviour manifests in him to afford drainage for the repressed affects created by the anxiety of shame and humiliation in his latter life. He begins to misbehave with his wife when he comes of age and drives her too hard with utmost cruelty. Worst of all with the slightest provocation he loses his temper and his blood boils and then he pulls his knife or sets an arrow on the bow string ready to take away the life of the person who offends or irritates him.

The institution of dormitory as an integral part of the Bondo social system plays equally an important role in shaping the character and personality which is characteristic of the Bondo. Two dormitories are maintained in each Bondo village—one for the bachelors (*lingerisung*) and other for the spinsters (*Silanidingo*). At the age of nine or ten a boy starts going to the bachelor's dormitory and at the same age a girl to the spinsters' dormitory. Both boys and girls of dormitory age-groups find many occasions to meet together and spend time in gossiping and joking at one another. Among the Bondo premarital sexual relationship among boys and girls not related to one another by blood is not taken into any serious consideration. In rainy season or in winter when the boys of one village visit the girls of another village they are engaged in singing, merrymaking and sexual intercourse. Next day they rarely go for any work either in field or in the forest. Parents do not mind for this because they knew what happened in the previous night.

The experiences which a boy gains and the discipline to which he is subjected in his dormitory are entirely different from those of a girl in her dormitory. In the earlier part of his tenure in the bachelor's dormitory a boy is bullied, kicked and given hardest works and suppressed by the older mates of the dormitory. Apart from the ostracism, and ill behaviour which he experiences in day to day life the dormitory provides the form where he hears obscene words and slang which are talked of by his mates. In contrast the scene in

spinsters' dormitory is different. The girls irrespective of their age are friendly to one another and spend time in sharing each other's heart touching tales of love or woe and in singing songs.

Psycho-dynamics of the Bondo personality

Mainly two issues emerge out of discussions about dormitory system and life of dormitory mates, (1) Does dormitory life contribute in any way to shape the personality what it is among the Bondo, and (2) what happens when considerable liberty which is conferred on the dormitory mates in the matter of sexual act is restricted in the normal life after the dormitory period is over?

As regards the first point it is obvious that a boy in the youth dormitory gets all the frustration he can stand in the early part of his dormitory life. His experiences of being knocked about and suppressed by the olderboys contribute substantially to the development of an aggressive character which has already sprouted in his childhood. In the case of the girls a non-aggressive and mild temperament develops, the reason being their subordination to the aggressive and explosive male members in their patriarchal society.

Regarding the second point several items of information are prerequisite for the analysis of the unrestricted sexual impulse in its development encountered by strong obstacles in later life. Keeping in view the broad perspective of external realities of both kinds-environmental and institutional the essential items to watch are (1) the nature of internal adjustments to external realities and the frustrations and anxieties which the external realities create, and (2) the defences mobilized and the social sanctions which support various defence mechanisms.

From whatever facts we have marshalled about the psychodynamic aspects of Bondo personality we will try to discuss the consequences of the free play of sexual impulse in the early stage and its restriction in their later life.

Nevertheless it is obvious that the play of Bondo life differs from stage to stage. A Bondo enjoys freedom in sexual play in one stage of his life and observes restrictions of it in another stage of his life. He takes these changes in his life style for granted. He has observed others in his society and is sure that his activities and attitudes are all in conformity to those of all others of his society. The institutional system of his society demands his adaptations to the system in a particular way, because such a system of adaptations insure him acceptance, approval, support, esteem and maintenance of status in his society.

The free exercise of sexual impulses (barring females of own lineage) permits the personality an uninhibited growth up to the end of dormitory period. Then comes a reversal of social attitude after marriage. Among the Bondo it is common that boys even after marriage continue to share dormitory life with unmarried boys and enjoy sexual liberty with dormitory girls. This is of course done surreptitiously, otherwise their wives will create trouble for them and pick up quarrel with them.

In the post-dormitory period an adult boy has to curb his unrestricted exercise of sexual impulse according to the social sanctions of his society. There is one point about impulse control for consideration. An individual has to accommodate himself to the external realities if he wants to live as a full-fledged member of his society. Through this process of adaptation he has learned that if he submits to certain discipline at the cost of his pleasures he will continue to enjoy protection and approval from his society. He has experimented it and experienced it. At the same time he has also found out that the withholding of appreciation of an activity has seriously discouraged its occurrence and continuance with the passage of time. As he has crossed one stage of his life to the other the syndrom of relationship between impulse control and resultant gains has become a reality and a part of his common sense. It follows that the earlier disciplinary influences are established, the more likely they are to dominate the individual sense of reality.

What does the Bondo culture tell us about these two points—one about the age at which the impulse control is instituted in the life of a Bondo and the other about the gains or rewards of impulse control. Among the Bondo a boy enjoys considerable liberty in sexual exercise during dormitory period and some more years after this period.

In their society, the social demand for the impulse control is more rigid in the case of the females than in the case of the males. It is for this reason that as soon as a girl is married she severs all her relationship with the dormitory of which she was a member prior to her marriage. Ideally speaking she is now loyal to her husband who has monopoly over her in sexual matters.

This is not so in the case of a boy who continues his relationship with the dormitory even after marriage and enjoys all the privileges that the dormitory system confers on him. In his case free exercise of sexual impulses which starts as soon as he is matured continues for a much longer period of time than what happens in the case of a girl. When he is sufficiently grown up it looks awkward for him to continue dormitory life and he goes out of the dormitory fold and settles down with his wife and children. It is only at this stage of his life that the discipline of impulse control is imposed on him and he tries to abide by the social demand for such control.

What gains does he foresee for his impulse control? Theoretically when an individual has reached a point in time which gives indications to him to curb an impulse (be it sexual or otherwise) he can do it with comparative ease if some other interests are satisfied. In the case of a Bondo boy conformity to the social demand deprives him of the pleasure of free mixing with dormitory spinsters. The only interest that makes the social demand for impulse control acceptable is the enhancement of his status to manhood. But he is not so forgivable as not to mind some one else having sexual relationship with the girl with whom he had such relationship. His early training and the external realities in which he is brought up has made him already explosive and aggressive. Moreover the social conditions are such that cases of homicidal crimes occur now and then in his society and

any repression of aggression is not rewarded. Rather retaliation against any aggressive act is highly desirable and daunted by lineage members.

It is common among the Bondo that if anyone insults someone or does some harm to him either the aggrieved or any of his agnate finds the earliest opportunity to take revenge on the offender or on anyone of his agnatic relations. In such a situation he does not gain anything by controlling his aggressive impulses. Rather he loses his face in his society for his timidity and composure. It is doubtless that there is greater mental satisfaction in the outburst of aggression than in curbing or repressing it, hence we come across cases of inter-personal quarreling, and homicidal crimes in large number in the Bondo society.

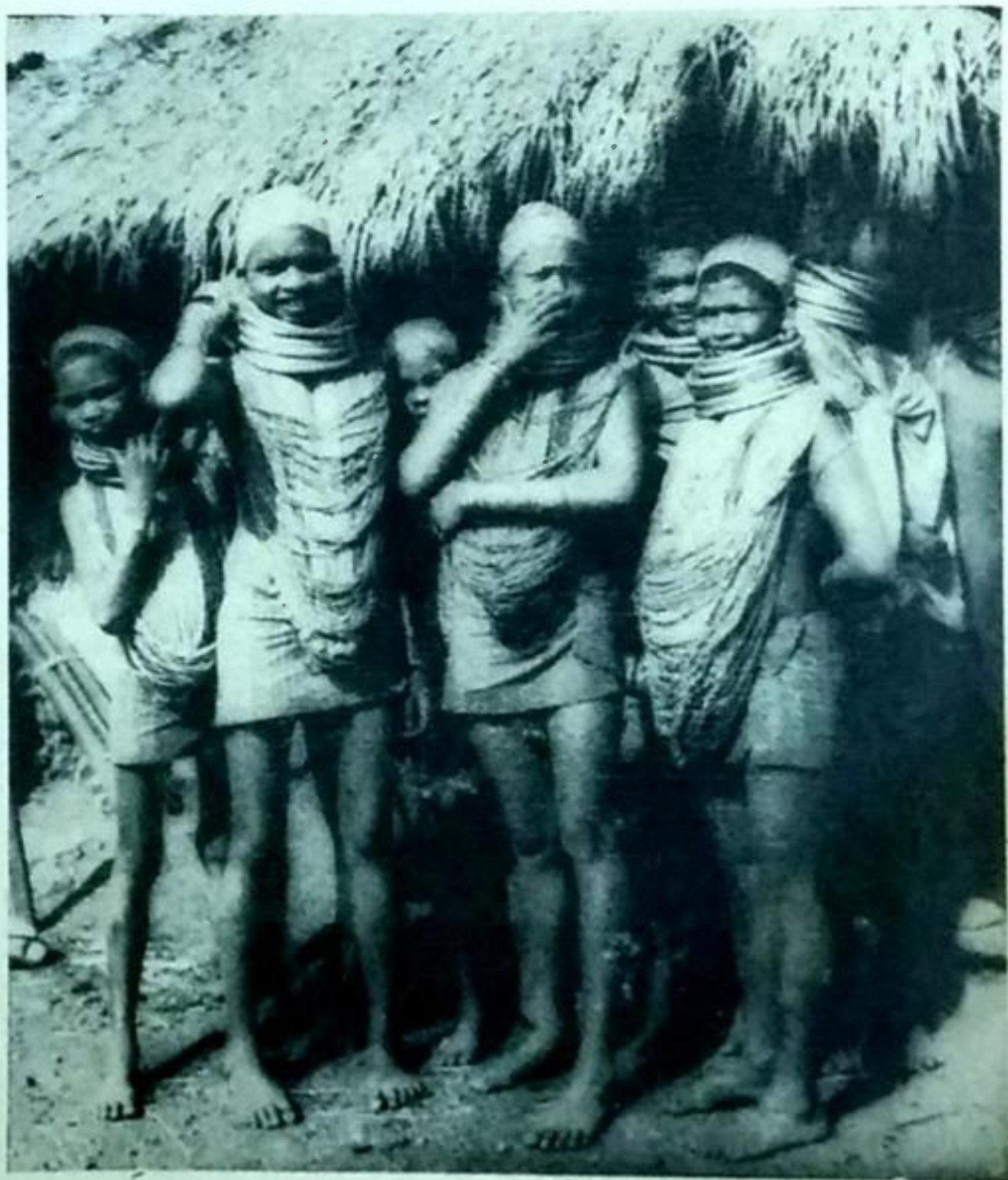
CHAPTER IX BONDO DEVELOPMENT AGENCY

PART I

Development and change

Anthropologists and Ethnologists like E. Thurston (1909), C. A. Henderson (1911), C. Von Furer-Haimendorf (1945) and Verrier Elwin (1950) have regarded the Bondos as members of a group of Austro-asiatic tribes which had at some remote date migrated and settled in the wild Jeypore Hills. The Bondos themselves look upon their neighbouring tribes such as the Gadaba and the Didayi as one family, the members of which eat together though for purposes of marriage, each tribe has become an endogamous unit.

Although they have similar racial, linguistic and cultural affiliations with the Gadabas and other Austro-asiatic peoples of the neighbourhood there exists a very great contrast between them and the Bondos. For example, while the Gadabas have all the virtues of a good fellow like submissiveness, gentleness, good manners and peace loving, in contrast the Bondos stand separate from them in their strange dress and appearance of their women with shaven head, their quickly inflammable behaviour and violent homicidal temperament, their strong sense of equality and independence. Many socio-cultural features which are characteristics of the Bondo tribe are matters of very great interest and importance for scientific investigations and ethnographic studies. But difficulties of communication, unhealthy climatic conditions, aggressive temperament of the tribesmen and their hostility towards the strangers have contributed to a general neglect in the proper study of the tribe and their habitat. These factors have also been responsible for keeping the Bondos isolated from outside world and relatively less affected by the march of civilization.



A bevy of Bondo Ladies in pose

In this regard the experience of expedition of Vitold De Golish to the Bondo country in 1951 is quoted below: —

"It was only after several day's march that we heard, through the trees, the shouts and calls of the Bondo look-outs as they fled at our approach. We caught sight of them before long, but a little too late, when, furious at our intrusion, they greeted us with a shower of arrows. Two of our porters, who, a moment before, had been begging us in fear and trembling not to go any further, were wounded".

In the eyes of the plainsmen the Bondos appear to be a classic savage tribe confined to an isolated niche in the hill ranges north-west of the Machhkund river. Officially they are regarded as a primitive tribe for whose development a specially designed micro-project called Bondo Development Agency is in operation for over eight years now.

Before going in detail into the working of the micro-project it is necessary to mention a few words about the pre-conceived notions held by the public regarding the approach of the Anthropologists towards such primitive tribal communities. This notion dates as far back as 1936 when the Indian Legislative Assembly bitterly criticized the policy of "partial exclusion". The political leaders condemned exclusion after a debate in which, as Verrier Elwin said, "otherwise intelligent persons declared that the excluded areas were a trick of the anthropologists to preserve the aboriginals as museum specimens for the exercise of their blessed science". One hears even the most enlightened citizens of the country condemning the anthropologists of the present time for their desire to keep the tribes unchanged for carrying out anthropological studies among them. The anthropologists had never before any attitude of preserving the tribal communities as museum specimen nor have they been holding this view at the present time. Their concern is to protect them against the loss of their nerve and cultural shock which result from cultural contact and processes of assimilation. Similarly, their interest lies in safeguarding the rights of the tribals and in saving the virtues of tribal life from the processes of decay and disintegration resulting from the influence of debasing vices of modern civilization.

Until the beginning of the Fifth Five-Year Plan very little developmental programmes which are worth mentioning were taken up in the Bondo hills for the development of the Bondo Highlanders. Whenever any case of murder took place the police visited the area to investigate the matter and persons who were involved in any such cases were brought to the plains under warrant of arrest for trial in the courts of law. Other departments had rarely any contact with the Bondos. Official records show that there are a number of schools in the area but in reality these institutions existed only in papers and the teachers who were appointed for these schools spent their time either in the sub-divisional or in the district headquarters. Though the officers of the Community Development Block used to visit the area on certain occasions they had no impact of their developmental works on the Bondos. It was only when the tribal Sub-Plan came into operation at the beginning of the Fifth Five-Year Plan a concerted attention was given to such primitive tribal communities for their development. As required under the new strategy for the development of the primitive communities, a special micro-project was launched in the Bondo hills covering all the 31 Bondo villages including a few Didayi villages. A highly motivated and committed Research Officer of the Tribal and Harijan Research-cum-Training Institute (T.H.R.T.I.) was posted as project leader to remain in charge of the micro-project. How he established rapport with the Bondos and started his work and what are his experiences in the implementation of various developmental schemes have all been discussed in the next section. But it is necessary to mention at this stage that the experiments which the Research Officer has been carrying out in the area for the development of the Bondos have been most successful and the experience gained in course of the execution of such challenging works have been very much rewarding.

The Bondos have become very much change-prone and have adopted many developmental schemes for their economic development. The change is also perceptible in the social aspects of their life and in the realm of inter-personal relationship. This transformation from the stage of stagnation to the present processes

of dynamic changes which are being brought about among the Bondos by a humble worker of the Tribal Research Institute is perhaps not known to many people. Even the most enlightened elites of Orissa who seem to be still under the spell of misconceptions of tribes as museum specimen for Anthropologists appear to be unaware of these revolutionary changes which are taking place in the life way of the Bondos. Sooner such misconceptions are dispelled the better it would be in the sense that it would not only provide enough encouragement to the willing and dedicated workers in their work in such difficult areas but it will also open up new vistas for inter disciplinary collaboration to meet the challenges of tribal development particularly of the development of most vulnerable and weakest one's among the tribal communities.

SECTION 2

At the beginning of the Fifth Five-Year Plan a decision was taken by the Government of India that the primitive tribal communities should be taken as a special category for which special programmes would have to be initiated as quickly as possible for their allround development. In the light of this it was also decided that on the basis of diagnostic research suitable strategies should be evolved for their development and also for helping them to adjust themselves to the new socio-economic forces of change which are influencing all aspects of our national life.

The first step towards development of primitive tribes was their precise identification. For this purpose, necessary guidelines were issued by the Central Government to the State Governments enabling the Officers to identify the primitive tribes. Stripped of the details of the main criteria for identifying the primitive tribal communities are as follows :—

- (1) Pre-agricultural stage of socio-economic life : The prior stage of economic development which the primitive communities represent refers to pre-agricultural economic stage. The lowest form of technology of this stage can be said to be practised by hunters and food gatherers and the highest form by shifting cultivators.

- (2) Low level of literacy : A tribal community which has below 5 per cent literacy level may be taken as primitive.
- (3) Inaccessibility of the habitat : The tribal communities living in a habitat which is located at a distance of atleast 10 Kms. from the main arteries of travel are considered primitive.
- (4) Stagnant or diminishing population : Those tribal communities which show a retarded growth rate or a declining trend in population will be taken as primitive, provided such communities are at the same time at the pre-agricultural level of technology and low level of literacy and confined to an isolated niche in an out of the way place.

In addition to these fundamental criteria certain other correlated characteristics need to be taken into account while identifying primitive tribal groups. Some of these characteristics are :

- (1) Language spoken by the community and proficiency in the regional language (It will indicate the extent of cultural contact between the primitive group and the neighbouring people. The degree of primitiveness can be measured with the help of this yardstick).
- (2) Self-sufficiency to the extent of satisfying needs out of local resources (Greater degree of external contact brings into play two counter acting forces, want and anxiety which affect the life of the people. The extent of want felt and the level of aspiration achieved will serve as another yardstick for measuring the extent of primitiveness).
- (3) Communal ownership of property to the extent that everything seems to belong to everybody.

On the basis of these guidelines nine tribal communities were identified as primitive tribes at the first stage. The Bondos are one of them. Others are Paudi Bhuinya, Kutia Kandh, Dangria Kandh, Lanjia Saora, Saora, Juang, Khadia and Mankidia. In the meantime three more communities have been included in the list of primitive tribes. They are Lodha, Birhor and Didayi.

In some cases the entire population of a tribe was taken as primitive while in other cases some sections were considered primitive. For example, the entire population of the Bondo is considered primitive whereas the hill section of the Bhuinya called Paudi Bhuanya is taken as primitive.

As per the decision of the Union Ministry of Home Affairs a location specific project report covering family-oriented benefit scheme is prepared for each of the micro-projects and a Special Officer with necessary supporting staff specializing in the fields of agriculture, soil conservation, horticulture, co-operation is appointed to remain incharge of the project and execute different developmental schemes in the project area. The next section deals in detail about the Micro-Project of the Bondo Development Agency.

SECTION 3

The Bondo Micro-Project was set up in the year 1976-77. For quick disposal of the matters concerning the development of the Bondos both at the planning and at the execution level the Micro-Project was made an autonomous agency named Bondo Development Agency which was registered under Societies Registration Act, 1860 in the month of May, 1977. After careful consideration of the Bondo personality and cultural configuration, their habitat and environmental conditions, a committed and experienced Research Officer of the Tribal and Harijan Research-cum-Training Institute (THRTI) was posted as the Project Leader corresponding in rank to the Special Officers of other Micro-Projects to remain incharge of the Agency. The staffing pattern of the Agency is as follows :

- (1) Project Leader,
- (2) Junior Agriculture Officer ;
- (3) Welfare Extension Officer / Junior Engineer,
- (4) Senior Clerk-cum-Accountant,
- (5) Junior Clerk-cum-Typist,
- (6) Driver,
- (7) Amin (Land Surveyor).

- (8) Peon,
- (9) Chainman,
- (10) Field Attendants and
- (11) Non-formal teachers.

At the Project level, a governing body under the chairmanship of Collector, Koraput was formed with district level officials such as Additional District Magistrate as Vice-Chairman and District Agriculture Officer, Jeypore, Subdivisional Officer and Assistant Registrar of Co-operative Societies, Malkangiri; Block Development Officer, Khairiput; representatives of the local bank at Jeypore, M. L. A., Chitrakonda, Chairman of Khairiput Panchayat Samiti and one local tribal leader as members and the Project Leader of the Bondo Development Agency as Member-Secretary. The main functions of the governing body are to guide, supervise and review the programmes and progress of work which are taken up in the Agency for development of the Bondos. It has got necessary administrative and financial powers and flexibility to make additions and alterations in the developmental programmes as and when required according to the needs of the local people. Since the inception of the project in 1977 upto the end of the financial year 1982-83 a sum of Rs. 35.31 lakhs has been provided as grant-in-aid from the Government to the Agency. By the end of March 1983 a sum of Rs. 33.49 lakhs has been utilized on various items of expenditure. The break-up of expenditure shows that 67.8 per cent of the total amount were spent on infrastructure and 32.2 per cent on income generating schemes relating to Agricultural development.

As pointed out in the preceding sections, the Bondo character is full of suspicion, hatred and aggression and at the same time their love for freedom and independence are very striking. Lack of road communication to the Bondo country makes it difficult of access and the isolation of the Bondo settlements has resulted in stagnation of the Bondos in all respects. In such a situation what would be more interesting is to get an idea about how the project leader got the works started, what strategies he adopted to wean over these unyielding Bondos, which schemes succeeded and which failed.

It was sometime in the forenoon of the 11th May 1977 that the Project Leader reached Mudulipada from the block headquarters at Khairiput covering a distance of about 13 Kms. on foot. He was allotted a house which was in a dilapidated condition for his stay and office. After keeping his belongings which consisted of one bag only he came out to meet if there was anyone available nearby. At a little distance, in front of the house he saw a Bondo busy in ploughing his field. He walked to him and offered his services to plough his field. The fellow did not like him to do this, thinking that he is an officer and has no experience in ploughing. He also apprehended that he might injure the hoofs of the bullocks with the ploughshare which generally happens when a novice uses the plough. He was insistent in his attempt to take grip of the handle against the unwillingness and refusal of the Bondo. When finally the fellow gave him a trial he held the handle of the plough firmly and started ploughing. In the meantime, through his conversation he came to know that he belonged to a nearby village called Bandhuguda and his name was Mangla Dhangada Majhi.

Mangla was watching all the while, how he was ploughing the field and the fellow found out that he was ploughing in a better way than what he was doing. In his ploughing all the grasses were not uprooted and in many places the soil remained unploughed. But in his case the fellow observed that the soil was ploughed thoroughly all over. Seeing this he could not but appreciate his work and said in *Desia* dialect "*Tu ta niman kasala achu*" (you are a best plougher). The Project Leader told him that the Government have sent him here to help the people in ploughing their fields and carrying on cultivation in a better way. He has come here to stay for a long time and help the people in the cultivation of their lands in a better way. But Mangla did not believe and replied that no officer has stayed here more than a few hours and how can he stay longer. In order to convince him he took him to his quarter and showed him his belongings and the attendant who accompanied him to stay with him and after a little while he offered a cup of tea to him and sat down with him to have a chit chat about him and his

village. During such discussions he came to know that he was a bonded labourer. After sometime when the fellow wanted to go home the Project Leader informed him that he would visit his village in the afternoon to meet others of his village.

On his return Magla informed his co-villagers about the Project Leader and the ploughing that he did in the morning. By the time the Project Leader reached the village, the people were already present in the middle of the village and Mangla was present among them. Seeing the Project Leader from a distance Mangla greeted him with folded hands. As he came closer he heard Mangla saying to the people who gathered there, "The *Babu* has ploughed a lot in my field in the morning and he will stay in our place for a long time." Hearing this the assembled Bondos received him warmly and became friendly. In such a situation he extracted many information about their life and work in course of conversations which lasted for an hour or so. His first experience was that the Bondos are not that bad and injurious as the outsiders think them to be.

In the meantime the Project Leader was observing the people and their activities at close quarters and carried on impression that the Bondos were lazy spending the time in vain under the intoxicating influence of the Sago-palm liquor. Further he also felt that the Bondos were quite unyielding and did not listen to what the staff of the Agriculture Department told them to do for the development of their agricultural activities. He found out that the Bondos instead of using the fertilizers which they got from the depot in the field washed them off from the bags in the nearby stream. The reason for this which he came to know from the people at a later stage that they were interested in getting the bag not the fertilizer which they considered was of no use to them. Their interest in the bag was for that they used it as an over-coat to protect them from rain and cold. When his turn came the project leader spoke to the people and tried to convince them the usefulness of fertilizer but of no avail. Their apprehension was that the soil would be spoiled with the use of fertilizer.

A Bondo, named Buda Kirsani of Padeiguda village had grown ragi in his land which is situated just in front of the place where the Project Leader was staying. Without informing him the Project Leader applied fertilizer in three rows of the ragi plants. After a few days Buda Kirsani found out that the plants in those three rows had luxuriant growth whereas those in the other rows had stunted growth. The Project Leader was hesitant to inform Buda Kirsani why there was such spectacular difference in growth of the plants in his field, lest he might take offence and get angry with him. Nevertheless, the Project Leader was all out to convince him about the usefulness of fertilizer. This is how he changed his mind. He asked him if he used two types of seedlings so that the better seedlings gave better results than the ordinary seedlings. His reply was in the negative. Then he asked him whether he had applied any manure or fertilizer in the rows of better plants and his reply was also in the negative. His next question to him was whether he had transplanted the plants at two different points of time so that the seedlings which were planted earlier attained better growth than those which were transplanted later. To this question his reply was also in the negative. His last question was to find out from him if he had done any magic or performed any growth stimulating rituals particularly for those rows with better plants. He gave a gentle smile and responded with a big no. His interrogation continued and he inquired from him to know which rows had developed plants and which undeveloped plants. The fellow readily pointed out those rows having better plants. At this stage the Project Leader could not but revealed that exactly those were the rows in which he had applied fertilizer without his knowledge. He was amazed to know that the fertilizer could improve the plants. When he was brought to a point at which he was ready to dispel his misconception that the soil would be spoiled with the application of fertilizer the Project Leader told him that he should use fertilizer in the remaining rows with plants of poor growth. The fellow accepted his advice readily and applied fertilizer in the rows and watered the plants regularly. In a few days the plants grew up vigorously and became as good as those of the first rows in which fertilizer was applied previously. Buda Kirsani was thoroughly

convinced about the utility of fertilizer and served as the first change agent to convince others for applying fertilizer in different crops.

Although the Bondos were interested in the application of fertilizer they could not understand the required doses to be applied for different crops. In some cases, they managed to take large quantity of fertilizer stealthily and applied over-dose which proved fatal to the crops. On one occasion, a Bondo, Mangla Kirsani by name, elder brother of Buda Kirsani assaulted the agent of the project and took away whatever quantity of fertilizer he could grapple from the store. It was very difficult to convince them that over-dose of fertilizer would kill the plants instead of helping them to grow. Whenever a Bondo is given some quantity of fertilizer to meet his requirement he says, "Babu you should give me one bag, why such a little quantity?"

As the Project Leader stayed longer in the project area he could gather more and more information about their personality and lifeways and thoughtways. At the initial stage of the project the Bondos in general resisted to adopt anything new for their economic development. For example, they refused to accept plough bullocks which they needed most for carrying on cultivation in the plains. Similarly, they did not accept improved seeds and other agricultural inputs. The Project Leader began to study these problems to find out the reasons for their rejection of agricultural innovations which were placed within their reach free of cost. He could find out a kind of attitude and belief which stood in the way of their adoption of such innovations. The general idea that was prevalent among the Bondos at that time is expressed in their own words, "The gulams will get into the Bondo hills and drive us out. Once they take a firm grip over the area we will be no where. We are skeptical about the pretentious benevolence of the Government officials."

It has been their experience that no one has so far been able to exploit the Bondos, as is happening in the other tribal areas. The exploitation of the Dombs and the Panos is not there in the Bondo country because their number in this area is negligible. Moreover, the Bondos are over cautious and take all care so that they are least exploited by the outsiders. This caution which they take in their dealing with external agents is borne out from the mode of their business transactions with outsiders at local weekly market centres. For example, the

jackfruit is bartered for their daily necessities such as chilly, salt, etc. What they do is that they take out the pulps and keep three such pulps in a leaf cup and exchange it for salt. After it is exchanged three more pulps are kept in a leaf-cup and exchanged for something else. Like this the pulps are exchanged in threes or fours at a time so that a Bondo gets maximum benefit out of a single fruit.

The situation has changed now considerably. They need this and need that and express their eagerness to have them. Some of the new items which have been introduced in the field of agriculture are as follows:

1. *Wheat*—The Bondos had no idea about wheat and had never grown it. Now many Bondo families belonging to different villages have taken to wheat cultivation successfully.
2. *Potato*—There is a great demand in the area for potato cultivation. It was introduced for the first time in the area in the year 1980. There was a bumper crop of potatoes and the Bondos kept them in well arranged heaps in their houses and also ate them and sold them in the nearby markets for cash. The varieties such as *Khapuri*, *Sundari* and up-to-date varieties have been very popular in the area. Although there was a great demand for potato cultivation it could not be taken up in the current year for want of good seeds.
3. *High-yielding paddy*—The Bondos have taken to high-yielding paddy cultivation in *Kharif* season. They do not bother for timely broadcasting, transplanting or raising nurseries for the cultivation of ragi and up-land short duration paddy. Moreover the paddy lands in the plains get washed away by the torrential hill streams during rainy season and for these contingencies the farmers do not keep paddy seedlings in stock for another transplantation and gap filling operations. In addition to these natural factors the practice of late transplanting of the local varieties of ragi and paddy crops is responsible for the low productivity. In order to combat these difficulties an agriculture-cum-horticulture nursery has been set up for the timely supply of the seedlings to the farmers.

4. *Transplantation of Ragi*—The Bondos used to follow the practice of broadcasting in the case of ragi cultivation. But they have changed it to transplantation. It was possible when they found that the method of transplantation has cut down expenses considerably which was incurred for weeding. The transplantation of the ragi seedlings is now done by hand which means that it requires more labour and the rugged earth makes painful scratches in the fingers of the transplanters. Now they have adopted a new method of transplantation in which while a person will be ploughing the field making furrows on the ground, another person following him will be throwing seedlings one by one at equal intervals into the furrows. In this case the labour is minimised and a man and his wife can carry on this method of transplantation with limited expense and labour.
5. *Vegetable growing*—Except cucumber other types of vegetables were conspicuous by their absence in the Bondo hills in the earlier days. But things have changed today in this respect. The Bondos have most successfully taken to the growing of cabbage, tomato, radish, arum, etc. Though the programme of vegetable growing is very popular among the Bondos, but it is beset with certain difficulties. It is the common practice among the Bondos that the cattle are let loose for grazing in rabi season, that is, after the paddy crop is harvested in the months of November and December and the people do not have the habit of watching vegetable plots.
6. *Growing of Pulses*—The Bondos were not in the habit of growing such leguminous plants as mung or biri but they have now started growing them in the rabi season.
7. *Fruit trees*—Fruit trees which are commonly found in the area are mango and Jack fruit. Most of these trees were grown by their forefathers and have become very old. When a tree dies it is not replaced by any new plantation. In this respect the Bondos do not appear to be good horticulturists. However, plantation of many citrus plants such as lemon and

orange has been introduced successfully in the area. The Bondos have taken banana plantation particularly of *Busabal* and *Champa* varieties in addition to their country varieties. Similarly, many Bondos have planted mango trees of good variety, litchu, supkota and guava in their backyards. Initially, they were not willing to take to such horticultural plantations. Once they were taken out on an excursion to show banana and citrus plantation in the farm at Boipariguda, at a distance of 60 K. Ms. from the Bondo hills. They were amazed to see a bunch having hundreds of bananas and were interested in growing this variety in their backyards. Laxmi Kirsani, a Bondo farmer of Padeiguda grew some sucklings of *Champa* variety and sold last year, that is, 1983-84, a bunch at a cost of Rs. 52/.

On another occasion a visit of a few progressive Bondo farmers was arranged to see the citrus demonstration farm at Pallahara in the district of Dhenkanal. So far 2000 lemon plants and equal number of orange plants have been planted under the programme of backyard plantation in many Bondo villages. In this work the Bondos have co-operated wholeheartedly by digging the pits and by fencing around the plantation in their respective backyards. To keep up their interest the project has supplied buckets for the purpose of watering the plants.

The Bondos are now enthusiastic about horticultural plantation, but their over enthusiasm has sometimes been detrimental to the fruit bearing function of the plants. For example, as a part of the backyard plantation the project supplied grafts of mango trees to the Bondos. Many Bondos took such grafts and planted them in their backyards carefully and tended them with utmost care. When the trees came to the flowering stage they were advised not to allow the trees to bear fruits in the first year and therefore asked them to pluck the flowers. They were also explained that the trees could not stand the burden of bearing fruits when they were very young. The Bondos hesitated to destroy the flowers and allowed them to remain as

such. As a result, many trees died. In spite of these casualties the Bondos have kept up their interest in growing more such grafts of mango trees.

Plantation of coffee has been taken up in some places in the project area. It has been planted under the mango groves which are held in common by the villagers. In this case the project does all the works required for coffee plantation and the people have very little to do with it. A noteworthy observation concerning plantation of trees is that a Bondo as an individual, takes utmost care of his plants which he has planted. In contrast he does not take any care of the plants which are grown by the project for him.

8. *Cultivation of spices*—For the first time ginger was introduced in the year 1980. It was not grown before anywhere in the Bondo hills. Guru Mandra, a Bondo of Mudulipada has grown ginger extensively and has profited considerably from this cultivation.
9. *Double cropping*—The Bondos do not have any idea that a single plot of land would be cultivated twice and two crops can be grown in succession in a year. The method of double cropping was shown to them by demonstration and many Bondos have adopted this method successfully. For example, Buda Kirsani whose case has been referred to earlier is growing potato in the rabi season in the same plot in which he grew ragi in the *kharif* season.
10. *Pesticides*—The usual practice is that the paddy is grown in the *kharif* season and potato in the *rabi* season. But the Bondos have also taken to the cultivation of high-yielding paddy in the *rabi* season. The plants of high-yielding variety are susceptible to BPH pest attack. In 1981-82 there was wide spread BPH pest attack of the high-yielding paddy plants in the plains. To keep the pest in check, the plants were sprayed with required pesticide by means of helicopter and it was necessary to do the spraying every alternate day to get appreciable result. In the same way, the high-yielding paddy plants in the Bondo hills suffered that year

from the particular pest attack and the agricultural specialists of the agency started spraying the plants with required pesticides. As per the requirements the plants are to be sprayed every alternate day and that the sprayer did it. But in many places the plants did not thrive and died in the long run. Some of the Bondos attributed the damage of the plants to the frequent spraying of the pesticides. Mangla, Challan of Bandhuguda village challenged one assistant of the project who did the spraying in his field where the plants died. He said, "The *Babu* said that the medicine will be applied once fortnightly but why are you spraying every alternate day?" He thought that the pesticide killed the plants instead of helping them to survive. He put forward his reasons like this. The standing water in the field is up to the half of the height of the plants and the pests are on the surface of water. In such a situation, the slow withering away of the plants at the top which is free from water and insects is due to the poisonous action of the pesticide which was sprayed frequently. The explanations of the project technicians regarding the pest attack were not convincing to the Bondos.

It was their strong conviction that the plants were burnt under the poisonous effect of the medicine which was applied to them frequently in over doses. In order to change their mind to have a correct understanding about this matter a study trip was arranged for the leading Bondo farmers to the plains which were equally affected by the pests. When they saw the damage caused to the plants in the plains they became thoroughly convinced that it was the pest which was responsible for the destruction of the plants.

Dug-Wells

The programme of dug-well has been very successful in the Bondo villages. There are 13 such dug-wells in use at present. These dug-wells have been provided in the up-lands where the paddy of high-yielding variety is being taken up in the ayacut areas of dug-wells. In most of the dug-wells the level of water

is reached at a depth below 12 feet. A dug-well has been provided in the village of Dantipada and a pump set has been installed in it. People of this village use this well in common and grow vegetables in their respective lands. Similarly, there is a community well provided in the Bandhuguda village. In this case a nearby hill stream has been diverted to fill the well with water and this intake well supplies sufficient water to the people for growing vegetables in their respective kitchen gardens. With the availability of water people of this village have taken to extensive growing of chillies and this village has become famous in the area for large scale chilly production.

Bonded Labour (*Goti*)

The custom of bonded labour is existing among the Bondos. Ninety cases of bonded labourers who are known as "*Goti*" in the Bondo society have so far been detected. At the initial stage of investigation it was very difficult to detect the bonded labourers. The difficulties in this regard arose both from the employers (*Goti showkars*) and from the bonded labourers. The *goti* does not easily divulge the identity of his employer because in doing so he may be subjected to torture in the hands of his employer. The special features of *goti* system among the Bondos are as follows ;

1. A Bondo keeps another Bondo as *goti*. There is no case of a Bondo serving as *goti* to any non-Bondo.
2. The *goti showkar* is a little better than the *goti* in economic condition.
3. Both men and women serve as *goti*.
4. Where a *goti* happens to be an unmarried girl and when she leaves her *showkar* after her marriage it is not her father but her *showkar* who is entitled to her bride price which is adjusted towards the payment of her debts.

Many compelling ritual practices and unforeseen events force the Bondos to borrow money or food crops from the Bondo *showkars*. Some of such eventualities are mentioned below—

1. When an adult member in a household dies, an old bullock is required for the feast. If no such animal is available in the household the Bondo who is expected to observe the rites offers his services as *goti* to a *showkar* either in his village or in any neighbouring village and takes loan from him to buy a buffalo for this purpose.
2. When a Bondo suffers from such diseases as bone disease, paralysis and arthritic diseases, which are incurable, he performs a kind of ritual known as '*Dagoi Biru*' in which a cow is sacrificed to the deity who is believed to have caused the disease and a grand feast is arranged to feed all the people of his village. This ritual requires large amount of money and rice which a Bondo cannot meet out of his own resources. In such a situation he has no alternative but to approach a *showkar* for loan to meet the expenses of the ritual.
3. *Bride-Price (Jala)*—Payment of bride price is prevalent among the Bondos. The bride price comprises a heifer and one rupee in cash. Many households find it difficult to arrange bride-price and in such a situation they have no other alternative but to go to a *showkar* for loan on terms of serving him as a bonded labourer.
4. *Expenses on post-mortem examination*—Incidence of murder is very high in the Bondo country. The murdered is carried by other members of his family to Malkangiri for the purpose of post-mortem. In such a situation labourers are employed to carry the dead body to Malkangiri. Before they set for the journey, the carriers are fed sumptuously and on their return they are also provided with sufficient food and drink. On such occasion pigs or goats or cows are killed for feeding the carriers. In addition to food some passage money is also given to the carriers for use on the

way. In such a situation which involves heavy expenses a Bondo finds it difficult to meet the requirements out of his own resources and has to go to a *showkar* for a loan for this purpose.

As pointed out above, both men and women, boys and girls having working capacity are found as *gotis* among the Bondos. In the case of an unmarried girl it is difficult to release her because the *showkar* is entitled to the bride-price when she is married. Naturally not until she is married she cannot be made free. In the case of a male *goti* who is married he does not live in the house of his *showkar*. He attends to the works of his *showkar* daily or whenever needed. But an unmarried male *goti* stays in the house of his *showkar* who provides him with food and clothes. It is the custom among the Bondos that the *showkar* gives some paddy, of course, in small quantity, to his *goti* at the time of harvest. The married male *goti*, who does not stay in the house of his *showkar* takes advantage of this offer and other categories of bonded labourers who stay in the house of their *showkars* do not insist on such token payments.

The system of bonded labour has both advantages and disadvantages. For a bonded labourer who is landless and has no other means of livelihood the system of bonded labour provides some employment and serves as an assured source of income. But the element of force and the fear complex which are ingrained in the system rule out any scope of his free movement in search of alternative employment. In view of this, the system of bonded labour requires immediate abolition.

But under certain special circumstances any action of this type does not do good either to the *showkar* or to the bonded labourer. An example may be given to illustrate the point. A *showkar* of Tulagurum village kept a *goti* in his house who has no economic base. The *showkar* and his wife both died leaving a minor son behind. In this case after the death of the *showkar* and his wife the bonded labourer and his wife took care of the minor son and his property. In

this case any step leading towards release of the bonded labourer would surely turn the minor son into an orphan with subsequent disorganization of his property.

Wherever the system of bonded labour has been detrimental to the condition of the bonded labourers sincere efforts have been made to release them from bondage. Out of 100 cases of debt bondage including unmarried girl bonded labourers as many as 71 bonded labourers have so far been released and in many cases their productive assets which were with the *showkars* on mortgage have been made free and restored to the debtors through systematic measures of debt redemption.

Education

Prior to the operation of the Bondo Development Agency there were eight single teacher lower primary schools located one in each of the eight Bondo villages. There was one Ashram School at Mudulipada. All these schools are in existence. The lower primary schools are run by the Education Department and the Ashram school by the Harijan & Tribal Welfare Department. Except the Ashram School which functions properly, all the lower primary schools exist only in paper and the teachers appointed for these schools have rarely visited these schools nor are they found anywhere in the Bondo country. Considering the difficulties and the merit and unsuitability of conventional educational structure some non-formal education centres have been set up in some important villages. So far six such centres are in operation in the project area. In each case there is an elderly lady teacher having requisite experience in social work and voluntary services. These lady teachers stay adjacent to their respective schools and spend most of their time with the children and their parents. The idea of setting up of non-formal education centres has sprung from an interesting situation which is given below.

A Bondo boy of Bandhuguda village was employed as gardener attendant to water the plants which were grown in the kitchen garden in the campus of the Project. He used to come daily from his village to attend to the work and go back to his village in the evening. After some days the Project Leader suggested to him to stay in his house and need not go to his village every day at night. His wife took interest in the boy and treated him as one

of her children and started teaching him alphabets. The boy used to sit with her children and study his lessons. The boy was very intelligent and picked up his lessons quickly and made satisfactory progress in a few days.

One day a senior officer of the Department of the Harijan & Tribal Welfare came on a visit to supervise the work in the project area. During his night halt he was brought to the place where the children were studying and the boy was introduced to him. He was amazed to see how a housewife could kindle the light of learning in a rustic tribal boy. He got an idea and suggested that so much could be done through just an informal trial it is hoped that lot can be achieved if non-formal education centres are opened in the Bondo villages and professional lady teachers with commitments to serve the tribals are put in charge of such centres to take up education of the children and offer social services wherever needed. The non-formal education centres have been very popular among the Bondos and the teachers have been accepted as assets and indispensable to their community.

Animal Husbandry

The Bondos like to domesticate cows, buffaloes, goats, sheep, pigs and poultry. All these animals are of local breed and are used for various purposes. Cows are used as draught animals and are given as bride-price at the time of marriage. They are sacrificed on ritual occasions to propitiate their deities. The Bondos are very fond of taking beef, meat and pork. Marriage ceremonies and death rites are unthinkable without beef and meat. The habitat of the Bondo country is most suitable for rearing goats and sheep because of abundant availability of pasturage and green vegetation. Thinking that goat rearing and poultry rearing would be successful in this area, these animals and birds were supplied to the Bondos.

But the experience has been that both the programmes have failed. The chicks which were supplied to the Bondo beneficiaries by the project suffered for want of care. Most of the time the Bondos are away in their fields and do not find time to take care of their birds. As a result, the birds are either lost or fall prey to wild cats.

As regards the goatery scheme the goats were bartered with the Dombs and Panos for winter clothes (*Matta*) and for dancing ornaments particularly anklets. Whenever any guest visits or when a married daughter with her husband visits her parents a goat is killed to celebrate the occasion. In the area close to the Chitrakonda reservoir where the Bondos carry on fishing in the Machkund river they get the fishing nets from the Didayis, another tribal community living in the same area in exchange for the goats. The rate of exchange is one net for one goat. According to the Project Leader if these schemes did not succeed it certainly was not for want of his trying but due to certain social and cultural impediments. This point is elaborated further for clarification.

The idea of goatery among the Bondos was to help the poorest of the poor in improving their economic condition. One section of the population which deserve our attention are the widows who lead a very precarious life having no economic base to fall back upon. When the goatery scheme was introduced the widows received topmost priority in the selection of the beneficiaries. Goats were supplied to many widows with the idea that they could take care of them and earn their livelihood. But the experience proved to the contrary. The widows in the Bondo hills are in the habit of working in the fields of others to earn their wage. They do not like to tend cattle or other domesticated animals. They have no habit of taking the flocks of goats or sheep to the nearby grazing fields, watching them there and bringing them back to the village. For want of this habit they do not join their partners on the days when their turn comes for herding the cattle and watching the goats of the village. Almost every time the widows stay back and the duties of tending and herding fall exclusively on the shoulder of their male partners. In such a situation the male herders find an opportunity to kill some of the goats belonging to the widows and eat up the meat. While accounting for the missing animals they say that the tigers and wild animals have killed them.

Our observation has been that the widows anywhere in the Bondo country do not go for herding and tending. Similarly, those who are very poor among them seem to have very little interest in goat-keeping. Our experience has been that the people of means

have kept goats and they take proper care of them. According to the guidelines of the Economic Rehabilitation of Rural poor (E. R. R. P) any assistance given to the wealthier section of the community by way of supplying goats on 100 per cent subsidy basis would have been a mistake. But the selection of the widows and the poorest section as beneficiaries who are eligible to be assisted through the goat-rearing programme under the same E. R. R. P has been a greater mistake.

Pisciculture

The people of the villages such as Patraput (composed of Bondo and Didayi families), Sindhiguda (composed of Didayi families), Khallaguda (composed of Didayi families) and Tuseipada (composed of Bondo families) which are situated by the side of the Machkund river and adjacent to the Chitrakonda reservoir in the north-east of the project area carry on fishing as a permanent source in a few cases and as fishing a subsidiary source of livelihood in most cases. They do not rear fish but catch fish from the reservoir, with the help of boats and nets. The Didayis are expert in weaving nets and also making bosta but the Bondos do not know these techniques. It has been mentioned already that the Bondos get the nets from the Didayis in exchange of goats. Both the Didayis and the Bondos co-operate with one another in catching fish. Sometimes people of different communities form a team and go in for fishing with Didayis who provide net and boat. The fish caught from the reservoir are taken to Ankedeli, a small township located at a distance of 15 Kms. from the reservoir for marketing.

Financial assistance is now being given to the fishermen of this area through LAMPS, located at Patraput, the centre of the fishing villages. The Bondos have become members in the LAMPS to be eligible to get such financial assistance from it. With the financial assistance they purchase nets of various types such as lift-net, long-net and throwing-net, etc. Similarly, required financial assistance has been given to the Didayis to equip themselves properly for catching fish from the reservoir. A progressive Didayi of Patraput has been given sufficient financial assistance from the LAMPS with which he has bought a boat and a net and earns a handsome income from his fishing occupation.

Co-operative Society

A LAMPS has been set up at Mudulipada and it is functioning since 1977. It has two Retail Sale-cum-Procurement sub-centres—one located at Andrahal and the other at Patraput. The main functions of the LAMPS is to supply daily necessities of the people at fair price such as kerosene, salt, match-box, beedi, tobacco-paste, pulses, potato, onion, oil, etc. Ready-made garments, lanterns, torch lights and such other articles which are in use in the area are also available at the retail shop of the LAMPS. The Bondos are very fond of dried fish and are in the habit of smoking and chewing tobacco. But these items are not available in the shop. The other function of the LAMPS is to procure forest and agricultural products from the people by paying them reasonable price.

An important function of the LAMPS includes supply of fertilizer to the farmers and consumption loan to the members of the society. The Bondos face acute scarcity of food in the months of July, August and September and it is during these months that the LAMPS advances consumption loan to the needy people. The consumption loan is given in kind because the Reserve Bank does not allow the LAMPS to advance consumption loans in cash. The custom prevalent in the area is that the loan received from the local *showkar* in foodgrains fetches 100 per cent interest and the repayment of the grain loan is done within two to three months after the crops are harvested. As the LAMPS is not in a position to provide consumption loan in kind it gives in costs. The Bondos get the foodgrains either from the fair price shop of the LAMPS or from the local *showkars* on payment of cash received as consumption loan from the LAMPS. Certain difficulties have arisen from consumption loan paid in cash. Being aggrieved the *goti-showkars* refuse to sell foodgrains to the bonded labourers who are released from their clutches. When any bonded labourer approaches a *showkar* with necessary cash to buy foodgrains from him, he hardens his face and directs him in a great temper, 'Go to your leader (meaning Project Leader) who feed you'. For successful rehabilitation of

the bonded labourers who are made free from the bondage it is necessary to provide them with suitable employment throughout the year and daily necessities including food-grains at fair price. Regarding employment there may not be any difficulty as new avenues of wage-earning opportunities are being opened up through the developmental programmes which are implemented by the Bondo Development Agency in the area. But as regards the availability of the food-grains at the fair price the problem can be solved if the existing bottlenecks which do not at present permit the LAMPS to supply consumption loans in kind to the needy people are removed.

Wage Labour

There are many villages like Mudulipada, Padeiguda and Bandhuguda where most of households are landless and have very little economic base for their livelihood. After the Project has come into operation the people of these villages have found ample opportunities to work as daily labourers and wage earners in various activities such as construction of roads, fencing, carrying things from place to place, watching, etc., which are taken up by the project and have consequently able to improve their economic condition in an appreciable measure. A common remark which one hears from the people of these villages is "Had there been no Bondo Development Project many Bondos would have been bonded labourers by now under the system of debt bondage." Whenever there is a quarrel between a couple in which case the husband is scolded by his wife for being lazy and unproductive, the husband sharply retorts "Will there be any dearth of wage labour for me as long as the Project Leader is there?"

Medical facilities

There is an ayurvedic dispensary at Mudulipada and it was set up after the Bondo Development Agency started functioning. A qualified ayurvedic doctor has been posted to remain incharge of this dispensary. Even though the Bondos are under developed and primitive particularly in respect of their economic life, but they appear to be as modern like town's people in respect of use

of modern medicines. There are ritual and magical functionaries and medicine-men in the Bondo society who come to help whenever needed by the patients. They prescribe rituals to be performed for appeasing the deities and for the cure of illness. At the present time the Bondos appear to be more inclined and eager to use modern medicine and take the help of the medical officer for treatment of their illness. Injection has been a great favourite among them. An interesting case may be mentioned here to show how much interest the Bondos have for injection and what difficulties arise when matters concerning application of modern therapy are not put to the Bondos in a proper manner.

Sania Sisa of Bandhuguda was suffering from rheumatism. He tried various methods available to him locally for the treatment of this disease. But he did not get any result. He resorted to divination and expensive rituals which also failed to cure the disease. Sania approached the Project Leader and told his difficulties and sought for his help for the treatment of his disease. The Project Leader was very sympathetic and told him that he would give whatever amount of medicines and injections are needed for the cure of his illness. In fact, what he meant was that necessary medicines and injections as per the requirements and as advised by the physician would be made available to him for the treatment of his disease.

Next day Sania Sisa met the Medical Officer at Mudulipada and reported to him about his illness and also informed him what the Project Leader told him on the previous day. The doctor examined him and arranged to give him an injection. At this Sania Sisa said in a complaining mood, "Why one injection, give me six injections." The doctor explained to him that one injection at a time was enough for him and the treatment would be continued for a week. The doctor's advice was not convincing to and he insisted that he should be given six injections because the Project Leader has already told him that as many injections as he required would be given to him. In such a situation the doctor was in a fix and ran to the Project Leader for help. He reported everything to the Project Leader who realised what difficulties would arise

if the ideas were not communicated properly to the people like Bondos who are very primitive and individualistic in their temperament. In this case, in order to please the patient one injection of the proper medicine and five injections of distilled water were administered to him. Thereafter Sania Sisa left the dispensary with a feeling of great satisfaction that he would be alright now. Next day when the Project Leader asked him how he was feeling, he replied "I am feeling much better today."

When a Bondo falls ill he consults the local medicine-man who prescribes required herbal medicine. When it fails to give him any relief he consults *Dishari* who detects the deity who has caused the disease. After it is known the required rituals are performed for the cure of the disease. When it fails and there is nothing to be done about it he waits patiently till death. But there has been a lot of improvements in this position in the recent times. The Bondos have increased their mobility and are no longer in isolation now. They have come to know about the modern medical practices and are very eager to take the help of these methods at the time of their illness.

Generally, in all tribal societies, free mixing between the boys and the girls is permitted. Singing and dancing of both boys and girls together and spending their time in merryments are most common in the tribal communities. The socio-cultural institutions such as bachelors' and spinsters' dormitories provide scope for free mixing between both sexes. Some tribal communities apply herbal medicines for abortion and as contraceptive. There are bachelors' and spinsters' dormitories in the Bondo villages. The boys dormitory is called '*Silane dingo*'. The boys of a village visit the girls of another village and spend the time with them in singing and exchanging love with one another. Through such contacts one chooses the other as the life's partner and gets married in usual course. So far as our knowledge goes there appears to be little sex laxity and the use of herbal abortifacient and contraceptives is most uncommon.

The foregoing pages clearly show that the type of Bondos which we come across today is in many ways different from that which we met a decade back. The previous writers have described the Bondos as a savage and primitive tribe representing old stone-age culture. But such a description is not applicable to the present day Bondos who have become very much change-prone with full of dynamic spirit and achievement motivation for their development. The strategies and programmes which are suggested by the Project Leader to be implemented in the 7th Five-Year Plan for the development of the Bondos clearly show to what extent the Bondos have developed and what further steps are to be taken for the continued and integrated advancement in different aspects of their life. The chapter which follows gives a detailed account of sector-wise programmes of development having prospects of appreciation and acceptance by the Bondos in the years to come.

PART II

Strategies and Programmes of Development

The project area is isolated and an undeveloped hilly region. The problems peculiar to this area are (i) traditional slash-and-burn method of agriculture, (ii) deficiency of foodgrains and resulting malnutrition and perpetual indebtedness, (iii) very low level of literacy and lack of communication and other infrastructural facilities and (iv) criminal and homicidal attitude of the local Bondos.

While aiming at the upliftment of this backward pocket, the strategy, broadly speaking, will lie in an integrated programme of all round development of the local people and their region as a whole. Thus, the integrated approach will have mainly three components, viz., (i) family oriented core programmes of economic development, (ii) Infrastructural development and social service support and (iii) Ameliorative measures to reduce the criminal and violent activities of the Bondos. The approaches to the problems under various sectors have been spelt out below :

I. Family Oriented core Programme for Economic Development

It is very difficult to expect a steady income from any farming or from any other scheme singly. He has to be assisted to raise his income from various sources like agriculture and allied activities. So it is proposed to assist the tribal families under various income-generating schemes taking into account their absorption capabilities and availability of funds with the Agency.

Agriculture and Horticulture

In the project area out of 1,370 households there are 1,166 households depending on traditional farming of shifting cultivation (*biru*) including a limited scale of settled cultivation. Out of them 271 households depend on it fully as their main stay of living since the scope for settled cultivation has been very much limited due to the hilly terrain. It has been calculated from the available records of 11 villages where survey and settlement operation has been completed that on an average, an individual farming family owns 0.37 hect. including 0.12 hect. paddy land, 0.23 hect. *dangar* land (up land) and 0.02 hect. homestead land (house site). The position for other villages will be more or less the same. Thus it shows that shifting cultivation is practised extensively in the area by an overwhelming majority of the Bondos and about 2 hect. of land per family is used for this type of cultivation and in every year about 1,500 hect. areas of hill slopes are covered under shifting cultivation.

Input assistance

Priority should be given to remove the technological gap and improve this traditional method of slash-and-burn cultivation by the introduction of improved agricultural methods and supply of required inputs in the shape of improved seeds, fertilizers, pesticides and by introducing better techniques to increase soil fertility. Traditional crops in the *podu* land are to be gradually replaced by high yielding varieties of ragi, jawar, maize, blackgram, greengram, arhar, castor and vegetables like runner beans, tomato, brinjal, etc.

In comparatively plain and settled lands the crop intensity has to be increased. During kharif season various high yielding crops may be introduced and in areas where irrigation is available during winter

and summer, growing of suitable crops and vegetables can be taken up. The 11 month duration local paddy can be gradually replaced by short duration high yielding paddy so that the summer paddy, wheat and vegetables can also be possibly taken up. Further the broadcasting method of ragi cultivation may be gradually replaced by transplantation of ragi seedlings.

Crop demonstration

The crop demonstration are important media to educate the farming families on improved agricultural practices. 'Seeing is believing' is an effective instrument of induced change in primitive societies. Comparison is the essential ingredient in demonstrations and the farmers see and judge the results themselves. Since these traditional cultivators are not aware of the better methods of cultivation with high yielding crops it is proposed to conduct a good number of demonstrations of various high yielding crops and vegetables in their fields. The agricultural practices to be demonstrated may be divided into such steps as preparation of seedbeds, methods and time of sowing and transplanting and time of watering and methods of application of fertilizer and other inputs.

Raising of community nursery

It is seen that the local inhabitants do not bother for timely broadcasting, raising nurseries for cultivation of ragi and upland short duration paddy. Further, the wet paddy lands get washed away during the beginning of the monsoon due to heavy rain and for these contingencies the farmers do not keep paddy seedlings ready for another transplantation and gap filling operations. Again an important reason for the low productivity of paddy and ragi is the late transplanting of the dwarf varieties. The new high yielding varieties are very much sensitive to proper timing of nursery sowing, transplanting and maturity. The programme of raising community nursery in the suitable sites which are representative of soil and the characteristic of the area and also in the agriculture-cum-horticulture demonstration farm at Dantipada for timely sowing and transplanting requires to be demonstrated.

Supply of plough bullocks

A large section of the farming families are without required number of plough bullocks and therefore many of them having land for wet cultivation are compelled to practise shifting cultivation. Lacking sufficient number of bullocks the farming families use cows for draught purposes which invalidate them for multiplication of cattle population. Further the tigers and leopards living in the nearby jungles more often kill the cattle as a result of which sometimes the well-to-do families also are ruined. It is therefore proposed to supply a pair of bullocks to needy farmers as early as possible. In exceptional cases the same beneficiary may be supplied once again if his bullocks die or are killed by the tiger which is beyond his control.

Plough bullocks and bullock carts for the Agency

There are individual farmers with small and uneconomic land holdings to justify assistance of one pair of bullocks. In such cases one pair may cultivate the lands of a group of such marginal farmers if kept and maintained for common use. The agency has been maintaining two pairs of plough bullocks and three pairs of plough buffaloes for common use. Experience shows that a good number of marginal farmers are able to derive benefit from this. On this basis it is proposed to purchase at least 5 pairs of draught animals for common use and which are to be maintained by the Agency.

The Agency has already one bullock cart for transporting planting materials and other inputs from village to village. The neighbouring villagers utilise it for transporting cowdung, etc. to distant agricultural lands. It is therefore proposed to purchase another pair of bullock carts for the Agency for the use of the local people.

Supply of Agricultural Implements

A set of small agricultural implements including a phawrah, pickaxe, crow-bar, fork, spade, handhoe, etc. may be supplied to the individual households at a cost of about Rs. 120 per family. In the past, since the funds were limited and there was heavy demand for such implements instead of giving a full set to limited families, more families were covered by supplying one or two items only.

Those of them who had been supplied with one or two items only may be supplied other items. It is also proposed to supply some improved agricultural implements like mould board plough, sprayer and duster, water-can and bucket to a few selected progressive farmers and also to marginal farmers and in groups of three to four households.

Incentive for compost production.

As has been mentioned earlier, the local inhabitants do not keep the cowdung and ashes in one place to be used as manure in their agricultural fields. They throw them here and there and make the village environment untidy. It is, therefore, proposed to assist the inhabitants to dig compost pits and motivate them to keep the dung and ashes in pits for use as manure.

Green fencing and Trench fencing

Generally the cattle are never herded from January onwards till the end of May and are allowed to graze freely. This practice needs to be stopped gradually in their interest to take up winter, rabi and summer cultivation. Until they are motivated, it is proposed to assist the farmers to provide fencing around the rabi and summer crops. Wherever possible, green fencing and trench fencing should be introduced to provide permanent check to the destruction of crops by animals.

Plant/Crop protection

(a) The Project Area has endemic pockets of different crop insects and pests. Due to the poverty of the farmers, effective control of the pest attacks in times of need become difficult. Besides, a coordinated and unified effort is required to control the pest other wise individual effort will go waste. Therefore, effective control measures need to be ensured so as to make investment made in agriculture sector pay assured returns.

(b) The herds of wild boars living in the nearby jungles damage the standing crops badly as such the individual farmers do not get any return from their labour. It is, therefore, proposed to purchase two guns and necessary bullets for the Agency to be handled by the project staff to watch the fields.

Horticulture

It is necessary to wean the shifting cultivation away from this pernicious method of cultivation and cover the denuded shifting lands with a canopy of various fruit bearing trees like jack fruit, mango, tamarind, cashew, etc. and other forest species of economic importance like bamboo, *Karanja* and firewood species. In these proposed plantations in the initial years, the farmers would be allowed and assisted to take up inter cropping and the usufruct right in these plantations has to be vested with the actual growers.

In the backyards and in suitable sites where irrigation can be provided mixed orchards may be established by supplying quality planting materials, required fertilizer and other inputs and incentives to the beneficiary families.

In suitable sites under the shed of jack fruit and mango trees, various spice crops like black pepper, cardamom, ginger, turmeric and coffee may be grown. This would give good income.

A Horticulture-*cum*-Agriculture Demonstration Centre has been established earlier in a central place close to the Project headquarters with a view to carry out various demonstrations, raising nurseries and training of the local farmers on various developed methods of cultivation of high yielding crops, vegetables and orchards. This has to be further intensified. The centre has to be fenced, developed and maintained properly. A farm house has to be constructed to provide space for the plough bullocks, attendants and storage of godown etc.

To assist the agriculture officer in the field, five field attendants have been appointed. These are to be continued and atleast two more such attendants may be appointed to execute various schemes in the field. Each of them should be kept in charge of three to four villages.

Gardeners Training

It is proposed to train 10 tribal youths on various agricultural and horticultural operations. This training will be imparted by Agriculture Officer of the Agency. They may also be deputed to other farms at Semiliguda and Pottangi for a few days for wider experience in

agricultural practices. During the period of their training they will be paid Rs. 6 per day regularly for 10 months. In addition they will be paid Rs. 50 to meet their bus fare and pocket expenses.

Land development and Soil Conservation

Land development and reclamation is an important item of development. As mentioned earlier there has been high incidence of shifting cultivation because of the hilly and undulating landscape and non-availability of adequate flat lands for settled cultivation. To wean the people away from the harmful practices of shifting cultivation necessary steps should be taken to encourage them to take the settled cultivation by reclaiming and developing and terracing the foot-hills. While doing this, there should be integrated approach in which co-operation is needed of the forest department for the development of forests at hill-tops, of the horticulture department for the plantation of fruit-bearing trees in the intermediate slopes and of the agriculture and soil conservation departments for the developments of terraces in the lower slopes and reclamation of lands in the valleys. Undulating up lands and other shrubby lands belong to individual households may be developed. Priority may be given to terrace the backyards of the individual households where they can have kitchen garden and grow spices, chilly and ginger for own consumption as well as for sale. While taking up land development, reclamation and terracing works, the landless and marginal farmers may have precedence over others in gathering benefits from such developmental activities.

In the Project area, the streams have been converted to terraced paddy fields in which the water is allowed to flow throughout the year. During heavy rains the flood water washes away the bunds of the paddy plots, deposits on them a thick layer of stones and pebbles transported from the hills and causes serious damage to the standing crops. It is, therefore, proposed to develop sound drainage systems, repair the bunds and reclaim such damaged paddy fields. At important points stone bunds and diversion weirs of permanent nature may be constructed. Other soil conservation measures like contour bunding, gully control, water harvesting structures, plantation of sisal etc. are also suggested for checking heavy soil erosion at selected places.

Since the inhabitants are accustomed to the works of reclamation which they do almost every year for their own lands they should be involved in this work and with people's participation which would be readily available for this work vast improvements can be achieved in this sector of development.

Animal husbandry and fishing

The Bondos and the local inhabitants have an inherent aptitude for rearing cattle, goats, sheep and these animals thrive well in this region since enough grazing lands are available. Possession of cows gives a social status to the owner in addition to its economic importance, being used as draught animals. More over cows are given as bride-price. These animals are used as sacrificial animals in various rituals. The Bondos take beef, meat and pork. Feasts arranged on occasions of marriage are unthinkable without beef and meat. They get extra income by selling their animals and by lending their bullocks or cows for draught purposes to other farmers on an annual rent of about Rs. 60 per head. Animals are given to co-villagers for utilising the community labour for various agricultural operations by individual farmers. Goats are bartered for winter cloths and dancing ornaments (anklets).

The strategy concerning the development of Animal Husbandry should cover the programme of multiplication of cows, goats, sheep and pigs and upgradation of these animals through natural service by the supply of graded jersey bulls, rams and bucks. The local poultry birds should be upgraded by supply of improved cockrels.

A sizeable section of the population comprises either landless families and marginal farmers and alternative avenues of livelihood is very much limited in the area, it is proposed to supply two heifers and four goats or sheep to every family and a pair of bullocks to needy farmers. In suitable cases two pairs of heifers or one pair of heifer and eight goats or sheep can be supplied. It is also proposed to supply six units of milch animals to six individual families of Dantipada village and two units to the Ashram School students located close to the project headquarters.

In the Project area there are many perennial streams which are the main source of water supply to irrigate the terraced field laid out in the valleys. Since water is available in pools the duckery programme may be useful. It is therefore proposed to introduce duckery among some selected farmers with possibilities of expansion depending upon its success in the area.

It is proposed to set up one Live Stock Breeding Demonstration Centre attached to the Horticulture-cum-Agriculture Demonstration Centre already set up close to the project headquarters. The idea is to demonstrate to the local inhabitants about the feasibility of goat and sheep breeding and piggery in the area. The claves, kids and piglets from the centre can be distributed among the local inhabitants. Further, in the same Centre fodder development can also be demonstrated. This centre will serve the venue for organizing training courses on animal husbandry for local people and also will create employment opportunities for the enthusiastic Bondo youths in the management and a marketing of animal products in the locality as well as in the neighbouring areas.

To make the Animal Husbandry programme a success certain difficulties and problems have to be overcome. The breeders may not have any cattle shed and may be in difficulty in setting up such sheds. In this case necessary assistance may be provided for the construction of cattle sheds. The villagers do not know how to collect paddy and wheat straws from crop fields during the harvest time. Their habit is to burn the straws. In such a situation they may be persuaded and even assisted initially to collect the straw and store them for feeding the cattle in the period of scarcity.

The Bondos do not bother much to provide extra feed to the cattle other than natural free grazing. The usual practice in this respect is that they take out the cattle to the nearby forests for grazing late in the day and bring them back home in the afternoon. In such a situation the cattle get very little time for grazing sufficiently. The breeders may be persuaded to let the cattle to graze for a longer period of time.

During the period from January to May the Bondos do not bother to herd the animals including the goat and sheep. In this season they are let loose to graze without any herder watching them. Many animals are stolen or killed or lost during this period. Moreover the stray cattle cause damage to the crops grown in the rabi-summer season. It is, therefore, necessary to persuade people to change this practice in the interest of those farmers who have taken to vegetable growing and rabi cultivation.

The barter system is in vogue in the Bondo Society, for example, goats are bartered for winter clothes. Another channel, through which a large number of the stock get diminished, is by killing the animals for meat to celebrate special social and ritual occasions. The animal breeders among the Bondos may be approached with convincing proposals to use the animals sparingly without any detriment to the advancement of the programme.

Fishing

The Machhkund river flows in the south-eastern border of the project area touching the village boundaries of Sindhiguda, Khalguda, Patraput and Tuseipada. After the construction of the Chitrakonda Reservoir, inhabitants of these villages have taken to fishing in the reservoir as a subsidiary source of income and sell the fish at Onkadally daily market situated at a distance about 15 Kms. For further improvement and higher return it is necessary to equip them with sufficient nets and boats and for these equipments financial assistance need be given to them as loan with subsidy from LAMPS. So far as the marketing aspect is concerned, there would be no problem. The fish caught daily can be collected at the sub-centre of the LAMPS situated at Patrapara and transported to Onkadally, Mudulipada and Khairput for sale.

Irrigation

Traditionally irrigation in the project area was carried out mainly by channelising the running water of different perennial streams by providing cross bunds and raising the water level across

the streams. Due to this advantage the local farmers are used to the cultivation of a long duration local paddy by the method of transplantation. Seedlings are raised and transplanted by the end of April and harvested during December. But due to the heavy downpour in this area these traditional cross bunds get washed away requiring the poor farmers to provide for annual maintenance and repair. Here the Agency should come forward to assist the individual farmers.

Of the numerous small perennial streams, mention may be made of two important streams namely—the Biswakund river and the Banapacheri Nala with their tributaries serving the main drainage system in the area. Lift points can be constructed at many places along with river and the water can be lifted to irrigate the cropped area. In many places cross dams may be constructed for the same purpose. One such lift point can be constructed at Patraput on the Biswakund river which would bring about 100 hect. of land under perennial irrigation. Similarly at another point over Banapacheri Nala a lift point can be set up at Nuaguda (Bodopada) to provide irrigation to about 50 hect. of land. As there is no electricity, diesel pump sets can be installed and water can be lifted and channelised to the fields of the individual farmers.

In the project area there is much scope for going in for irrigation dug-wells (both individual and community dug-wells) since the water is available at a higher level (even within 10 feet depth at certain places). By now, 10 dug-wells have been successfully sunk in the area and there is scope for about 100 more of such dug-wells. More over, it may be pointed out that on account of large scale deforestation in the area, the streams are gradually dried up and becoming seasonal only and in many places the river beds have been converted into terraced paddy fields. As a result of these changes the transplantation of paddy seedling which was done in the month of March are now taken up after the rains in the month of June and consequently the harvesting operations are delayed by one or two months causing hardship and inconvenience to the farmers. This necessitated for providing more dug-wells for irrigation purposes.

Since the soil is very porous with less water retaining capacity irrigation from tanks would not be successful in the area. In the past a tank had been constructed close to the Horticulture-cum-Agriculture Demonstration Centre at Dantipada. But it failed to hold water due to the high porosity of the soil.

It is quite possible to provide irrigation to about 100 acres more in the Project area including 150 to 200 acres under the ayacut of dug-wells, 350 acres under proposed Patraput and Nuaguda river lift projects and about 450 to 500 acres through diversion weirs, cross bunds over various seasonal perennial streams and water courses. However, it is necessary to carry out a complete survey in the area to assess the extent of land which can be brought under cultivation and identify the places where lift points can be set up and cross bunds to be built for irrigation purposes. Sufficient provision of funds should be made in the Project to conduct surveys and make an exact assessment of agricultural potentialities of the area.

It is quite encouraging to note that there has been qualitative improvement in the agronomical practices of the local farmers where irrigation potentials have been created. The farmers, under the ayacuts of various dug-wells, cross bunds and diversion weirs have taken up double and in some places multiple cropping raising various crops and vegetables including high yielding varieties of paddy during *Kharif* and wheat, potato, pease and other vegetables in rabi season. If more irrigation facilities can be provided and water supplied free as an inducement, the farmers would certainly raise many crops and would be able to raise their income level considerably very soon.

Redemption of debts

It is seen that about 30 per cent of the Bondo families are indebted to their local *showkars* belonging to their own community. They borrow at 100 per cent rate of interest for grain loans and at 50 per cent rate for cash loans and cattle. Since most of the loans are borrowed at compound rates of interest mostly for non-productive purposes such as payment of bride-price, performance of socio-religious rites, illegal gratification and transportation of the murders to Malkangiri for post-mortem and the debtors find it difficult to repay the loan,

therefore, remain in debt in perpetuity. This ultimately leads to debt bondage (*Goti*) and transfer of productive assets including cultivable land, jack fruit and *salap* trees belonging to the debtor to the possession of the *goti showkar* by way of mortgage.

It is difficult to assess the extent of indebtedness since the indebted families do not come forward voluntarily to inform the position out of fear of economic intimidation and of the physical torture (even possibly of being murdered) by the *showkars*. The *Gotis* who reveal the names of their *showkars* lose all support and help from them and incur their wrath throughout life.

A proper study of the problem is necessary and the bonded labourers need to be identified and released and the mortgaged assets restored to them enabling them to lead an independent life. This is possible only when the measures of debt redemption are taken by way of payment of loans to *showkars* from special fund provided to the project for this purpose and at the same time rehabilitating the *gotis* by providing income-generating employment opportunities and supply of consumption loans in time through institutional financing organizations.

In the mean time about 100 cases of debt bondage (*goti*) including unmarried girls and more than 150 cases of mortgage of productive assets have been identified. Out of which 71 bonded labourers have been released and their productive assets have been restored to the debtors by persuading the *showkars* and paying back the old and outstanding loans to them under the provisions of debt redemption.

Small Scale Rural Industries Weaving/Knitfing

Traditionally, every Bondo woman weaves her loin cloth locally known as Ringa with the help of a small tension loom. The coloured mill made yarns which are required for weaving are purchased from the markets and from the local Domb women traders. The size of a piece of Ringa is two feet in length and eight inches in breadth and the process of weaving is very simple.

It is proposed to improve the traditional skill of weaving and make this craft a commercial enterprise. The Bondo women can without doubt pick up improved techniques of weaving provided looms and yarns are supplied and proper training is given to them in weaving for large-scale production of clothes on commercial basis. The helpless widows, housewives of landless families, unmarried girls released from debt bondage and convicts who have returned home after their term of imprisonment would be selected on priority basis to be assisted under this scheme.

It is further, proposed to introduce knitting among the Bondo women by supplying them required materials like—wool, niddles, clothes thread, etc. The training would be provided initially by the enthusiastic ladies of the official colony at Mudulipada and the lady workers incharge of Non-Formal Education Centres.

The supply of raw materials and marketing of the produce will be undertaken by the LAMPS which is already set up at Mudulipada.

Bee-keeping

The Project area is congenial for apiary industry in the sense that there is considerable flora in this region. Apiary industry not only yields apiary honey but also helps pollination of agro-horticultural crops with consequent increase in yield to the extent ranging from 5 per cent to 20 per cent. Thus the benefits are both direct and indirect. The average yield from a bee colony is over 5 years. This may go up if the environmental condition in the area is favourable and the management of the bee colony is proper.

It is intended to get the services of one Instructor to train some Bondo youths in the management of bee-keeping and take up this industry in a few compact group of villages by providing necessary inputs including bee boxes and accessories, and bee colonies. During the training, the Bondo youths would be paid Rs. 6 per day for 30 days. The training should be imparted at Mudulipada Ashram School so that the tribal boys reading in the school also can be trained simultaneously. Some bee boxes should also be supplied to the Ashram School.

Training in other crafts

In the Project area and the neighbouring block area, there is a demand for skilled labourer and artisans like—pump drivers/mechanics, carpenters, masons, brick layers, tailors, etc. It is proposed to encourage Bondo youths to undergo training in such crafts by giving them scholarship during the training period and supplying them with sets of tools for carrying on the crafts independently.

Housing Programme

The Bondos generally construct their houses with locally available materials including thatching grass known as *Piri*. The walls are made of mud and there is no ventilation at all. The thatching grass which was once abundantly available in the forest has now become very scarce due to the gradual depletion of the forest and increasing demand for such materials from the plains. Many houses go without being thatched for want of thatching grass. Moreover, the fire hazards which are of frequent occurrence cause large scale destruction to houses in the area. It is, therefore, proposed to provide financial assistance to the Bondos particularly to the poorest families for construction of well ventilated fire proof houses.

There are quite a large number of old and helpless men and women and helpless orphans in different villages. About 20 helpless aged persons from the nearby villages of Mudulipada, Padeiguda and Bandhuguda are already in receipt of old age pensions. Efforts are being made for sanction of this benefit to 100 more person shortly. Most of them are houseless. It is therefore, proposed to provide necessary assistance for the construction of common dormitories for such helpless persons and orphans in some suitable villages. To start with one such dormitory may be constructed at Mudulipada, where there is a sizable number of such persons.

Dress and Ornament

The Bondos show exquisite skill in making various ornaments by using ordinary grass, which they use in their head and in other parts of the body. The musical instruments which they use at the time of singing and dancing are all of their own creation and made of locally available materials. These handicrafts are very simple but require great skill in making them and are very attractive to look at.

They use scanty clothes. The women, young and old, wear only their hand woven *Ringa* of 2' long and 8'' wide around the waist. The *Ringa* is so short that it does not even touch the knees and does not make a complete round around the waist. The upper part of the body is kept uncovered by any cloth. But profused quantity of necklaces, neckrings and beads are used which make them look very graceful and dignified.

The men also use very scanty clothes. A narrow piece of cloth passing between the thighs and tucked to the waist string covers the genitals only. But many Bondos like to wear tailor-made shirts as the upper garments.

According to the modern standards of dress the Bondo attire appears to be very primitive. In fact when the Bondos particularly the women section of the tribe visit weekly market centres they are usually laughed at. Even some of the so called civilized people and reformists insist to cloth the Bondos in the modern style. But the problem of dress is one over which we should be reasonable, flexible and tactful. It is no use merely to criticise and look down upon the dress and custom of the tribal communities and at the same time we should not try to check the change which is coming everywhere, even in the remotest places in the life way of the tribal people.

Mahatma Gandhi once remarked, when some of his followers in South Africa complained to him about African nudity "when a large society follows a particular custom, it is quite possible that the custom is harmless enough even if it seems highly improper to the members of another society". In another context late Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru remarked, "we would do well to approach tribal custom with humility and respect, and not judge it by our own standard".

The problem of dress is a matter on which we can not lay down any law. We need to understand the problem in its proper perspective and we must build up a general atmosphere of respect for tribal traditions and the artistic sensibility which express themselves in dress and ornamentation. In this case every one should feel happy to see that the Bondos take up dress of modern style so that decency is maintained and the process of their integration with the rest of the

nation becomes quicker. Against this background our aim should be not to rest content with things as they are, but to help them to evolve a form of dress which would be more artistic, more attractive and more appropriate.

It may be pointed out that out of about 3,000 Bondo women one woman has started wearing a saree and she has been elected as Sarpanch of a Panchayat. It does not matter whether it is a single case or many such cases showing change in dress pattern. But it has shown that change can be effected even in the hardest core of the culture and tradition if the people concerned are approached with humility and respect. This singular case will serve as the change agent to multiply such changes in the society to which she belongs.

II. Infrastructure development and social service support

For speeding up the socio-economic development, basic infrastructures like—schools (both formal and non-formal), growth centres and communication network, market and credit organisation, rural health centres and rural drinking water-supply, rural electrification, manpower resources and training will have to be planned in an integrated fashion keeping in view the special conditions of the project area. Since there is no required infrastructure to fall back upon, it is proposed to take necessary steps for the development of various infrastructures which are spelt out below.

Education (Including formal, non-formal)

In the project area there are 8 single teacher Lower Primary Schools located in such villages as Andrahal, Bodobel, Dumuripada, Dondapada, Patraput, Kirsanipada, Pindajangar and Dantipada which are run by the Education Department and as one Ashram School at Mudulipada which is run by the Harijan & Tribal Welfare Department. Residential accommodation for 160 boarders is available only in the Ashram School.

These conventional educational institutions in the Bondo hills sanctioned over last two decades have very marginal impact on the educational advancement of The Bondos. The literacy level has gone down from 2.1% in 1961 to 1.4% in 1971 as per Census 1961

and 1971 respectively. This means that the level of literacy has decreased considerably in course of a decade and the local inhabitants continue to remain unaffected by the general literacy programme.

In view of the above, education as an infrastructure should be given the highest priority so that the Bondos must be enabled to appreciate the various developmental programmes and adopt them for their advancement at the quickest time possible.

The weakest points and problems concerning educational development lie in the conventional educational structure like the existing single teacher schools without school buildings and teachers' quarters, use of Oriya an alien language as the medium of instruction at the elementary stage of education and in the usual stereotype school timings as are followed universally everywhere. These practices should be dispensed with as quickly as possible. Ignoring the general norm of fixed pupil-teacher-ratio every Primary School should be manned with atleast two teachers. School buildings and teachers' quarters should be constructed and the local dialect should be used as the medium of instruction atleast up to third standard. Atleast two pairs of dress, free text books and other reading and writing materials and free mid-day meals should be supplied to all the students. School timings and vacations should be suitably chalked out in consonance with the seasonal calendar of activities and in consultation with the people.

Further, since there is no linkage between the long term conventional literacy promoting educational programme and creation of necessary awareness among the people for promoting changes in the short term, there should be a comprehensive non-formal and citizenship education programme aiming at providing with a frame of reference for perceiving clearly the intent and content of various protective measures and developmental programmes. Here, those elements of education will have to be picked up which would create awareness in and increase absorption capacity of the community for the developmental innovations.

It is proposed to set-up Non-Formal Education Centres by appointing husband-wife team to remain incharge of children's education, as well as adult literacy programme. Moreover they

would serve as catalytic agents of change and work in harmony with the community for its well-being. The choice of women workers for educating the small tribal children is indispensable. Since they alone, as experience suggests, can impart citizenship training and inform the virtues of cleanliness, evil effects of alcoholism, demerits of envy, irrational expenditure on social obligation and magico-religious practices connected with the treatment of ailments, etc. These lady workers can mobilise the village female folk to propagate vegetable growing, the change in food habits and in dress pattern. In this malaria endemic zone in which adequate medical facilities are lacking these lady workers can function as health educators as well and extend first-aid in minor cases of injury, indigestion and stomach trouble, cough and cold, fever and headache, etc. So far six such Non-formal Education Centres have been set up one each at Bandhuguda, Podeiguda, Kirsanipada, Andrahāl, Bodopada, Khalguda and it is proposed to open 10 more such centres covering some important villages such as—Bandiguda, Mudulipada, Dantipada, Tulaguram, Bodbel, Dumuripada, Bodopada, Kichapada, Gopurpada and Goyiguda.

There should be special recruitment for teachers. Suitable and willing candidates with a missionary zeal should be picked up and posted on a long term basis atleast for five years and given necessary support and assistance to work effectively. If necessary in particular cases the prescribed minimum qualification should be relaxed. Frequent transfer should be avoided. For better co-ordination in the entire educational efforts taking into consideration the special problems in Bondo hills, it is necessary that Primary Schools which function now under the management of the Education Department are brought under the control of the Project Leader. Similarly for a very high and intimate degrees of supervision of the activities of the Ashram School the Project Leader of the Bondo Development Agency should be allowed to play an active part in the management of this school. Unless some such special devices are made to tackle the problems which are specific to the Bondo hills, the spread of education among the Bondos and improvement in allied aspects will remain a cry in wilderness.

Road communication

One of the important reasons for the existing backwardness of the area is the lack of adequate communication facilities. In the project area there is a fair-weather road of 13 Kms. connecting Khairiput with Mudulipada, the Block Headquarters and the Project Headquarters. This road passes through high hills and mountainous terrain and is maintained by the Executive Engineer, Project Division, Koraput out of earlier grants received from the Bondo Development Agency. It needs improvement to make it all-weather jeepable road to Mudulipada, by providing surface painting and partial grading over the carriage way in the steep ghat sector from 0/0 Km. to 7/0 Kms. towards Khairiput.

Another road of about 12 Kms. connecting Mudulipada with Andrahal, another Grama Panchayat headquarters through village Bodbel is under construction and made fit for all-weather vehicular traffic. It would open up an area having more than half of the Bondo villages which have remained cut off from the outside world.

Besides the above seven villages namely Mudulipada, Podeliguda, Seleiguda, Kirsanipada, Bandhuguda, Bandiguda, Dantipada and Bodopada have already been connected by jeepable road and these road projects were executed by the Bondo Development Agency. Further, the road connecting Mudulipada with Bondapada, Seleiguda with Pindajangar and Bodopada with Dumuripada, Patraput with Sindhiguda *via* Khalguda and Bondapada with Tuseipada are under construction by the Bondo Development Agency.

The Mudulipada-Bondapada road which is now under construction may be extended up to Patraput, an emerging growth centre located in the border between Orissa and Andhra Pradesh. Once this road is made jeepable the importance of the border villages would be enhanced and become an important business centre.

There are some villages situated on hill-tops and in the most inaccessible areas, which can be connected by just widening the foot paths by clearing the jungles and removing the stones and stumps and doing a little earth work.

The above mentioned arterial and link roads which would connect various interior villages with Project, Police station, Health Centres and Block headquarters to facilitate easier contact with people and quicker dissemination of information about developmental projects and results of demonstration among them, easy travel by Government officers for the supervision of development activities, taking up immediate measures during health hazards, easy transportation of various inputs, distribution of essential commodities, procurement of surplus agriculture and minor forest produce, efficient maintenance of law and order and enforcement of various protective legislations.

Co-operation (Credit and Marketing)

So far as Credit-cum-Marketing structure is concerned, a LAMPS has already been set up with headquarters at Mudulipada since 1977 with a view to provide all services like all credit needs including loans for production and consumption purposes and for social needs, marketing of agricultural and minor forest produce, supply of inputs and consumers commodities. The LAMPS has two retail sale-cum-procurement sub-centres located at Mudulipada and Patraput in Mudulipada and Andrahal Gram Panchayats respectively. The LAMPS is affiliated to the Koraput Central Co-operative Bank, (Jeypore) for short-term and medium-term financing.

In the Project area, traditionally the inhabitants borrow at 50 per cent and 100 per cent rate of interest for cash and kind loan (food grains) respectively mainly for consumption purposes and to meet the social needs like arranging feasts during celebration of marriages, funeral rites, payment of bride-price, performance of magico-religious rites for the treatment of ailments and transporting the dead body to Malkangiri for post-mortem and for treatment of severely injured persons. Very few among them borrow for productive purposes. After the organisation of the LAMPS, the members have been advanced short-term and medium-term credit for both consumption and production purposes. But financing for various social needs as mentioned above have not been undertaken so far, as a result of which the members are compelled to approach the local *showkars* for loan to meet such urgent needs. In view of the above it is suggested to expand the credit activities of the LAMPS, so as to

cater to the above mentioned needs of its members as and when required. The repayment would however be made in instalments without payment of any interest which may be subsidised by the Agency.

Further, since food grains are borrowed mainly for consumption purposes at 100 per cent rate of interest and there is a demand among the members to get kind loans from the LAMPS. It is suggested to make provision for procurement of sufficient food grains for advancing such loans at a nominal rate of interest at 25 per cent, which the loanees can pay without much hardship.

Besides providing credit, the LAMPS through its sale-cum-procurement sub-centres supplies various consumer articles and procures surplus agricultural and minor forest produce. It may be mentioned here that the Bondo hills are not only a primitive and backward tribal pocket but it is also a hill area. One of the important features of hill areas is higher cost of essential goods and services and lower market price of produce, the reason being poor infrastructural facilities and inadequate communication and transport facilities. In such a situation terms of trade are most unfair. Inadequate transport facilities, high cost of transportation of goods to the plains and lack of suitable marketing facilities have resulted in producer getting low prices for their produce. On the other hand, for almost similar reason, the people in the Bondo hill have to pay exorbitant price for what they require in their daily life. Under these circumstances the need for subsidising the cost of transportation needs no emphasis.

As mentioned earlier, there are two sub-centres of the LAMPS now working in the Project area. It is proposed to open two more sub-centres—one at Andrahal Gram Panchayat headquarters and the other at Khairiput in view of the special circumstances. In the absence of any storage facilities at Khairiput, commodities on transit either from Jeypore to Mudulipada or from Mudulipada to Jeypore are kept in charge of private persons in a very unsafe and risky situation till their transportation is arranged. Further, it is necessary to keep the proposed sub-centre open on every weekly market that is, Sunday at Mundiguda so that the consumer articles can be sold to the Bondos

who visit the weekly market and the surplus produces can be purchased from them. It is, therefore, proposed to construct three storage godowns—one each at Khairiput, Patraput and Andrahāl.

By the end of 1982-83, 512 persons including 473 Sch. Tribes, 19 Sch. Castes and 20 Other Castes were enrolled as members in the LAMPS. It is hoped that membership would increase more and more year after year and it is expected that all the households in the Bondo hills can be brought into the co-operation fold by the end of 7th Five-Year Plan. However in order to achieve this goal it would be necessary to bring about some reform in the co-operative structure. The points on which more attention is to be given are that the LAMPS now works largely on no profit and no loss basis. In view of this it is necessary to subsidise the establishment charge of the LAMPS and provide a reasonable mounting money as grant-in-aid towards the working capital for taking up various activities. In addition to these financial requirements, it is necessary to simplify the procedures so as to enable the tradition-bound and illiterate mass of Bondo population to take the help of the LAMPS with least difficulties. All our efforts should be made to see that the active and eligible members get their credit requirements at the earliest and are never harassed. Especially for the purposes of consumption and social needs the members should be given credit by changing procedures providing such assistance. There are a good number of criminals and life convicts who are not eligible for membership in co-operative societies. These principles should be relaxed for the Bondos as a special case. The minimum prescribed age for enrolment should also be relaxed in the case of the Bondos because the custom prevalent among them is that a boy gets married even before he attains 18 years of age and leads independent life by living separately from his parents in his own house with his wife who is much older in age than him. In view of this, the age of his wife may be taken into consideration rather than his age while admitting him to the co-operative fold.

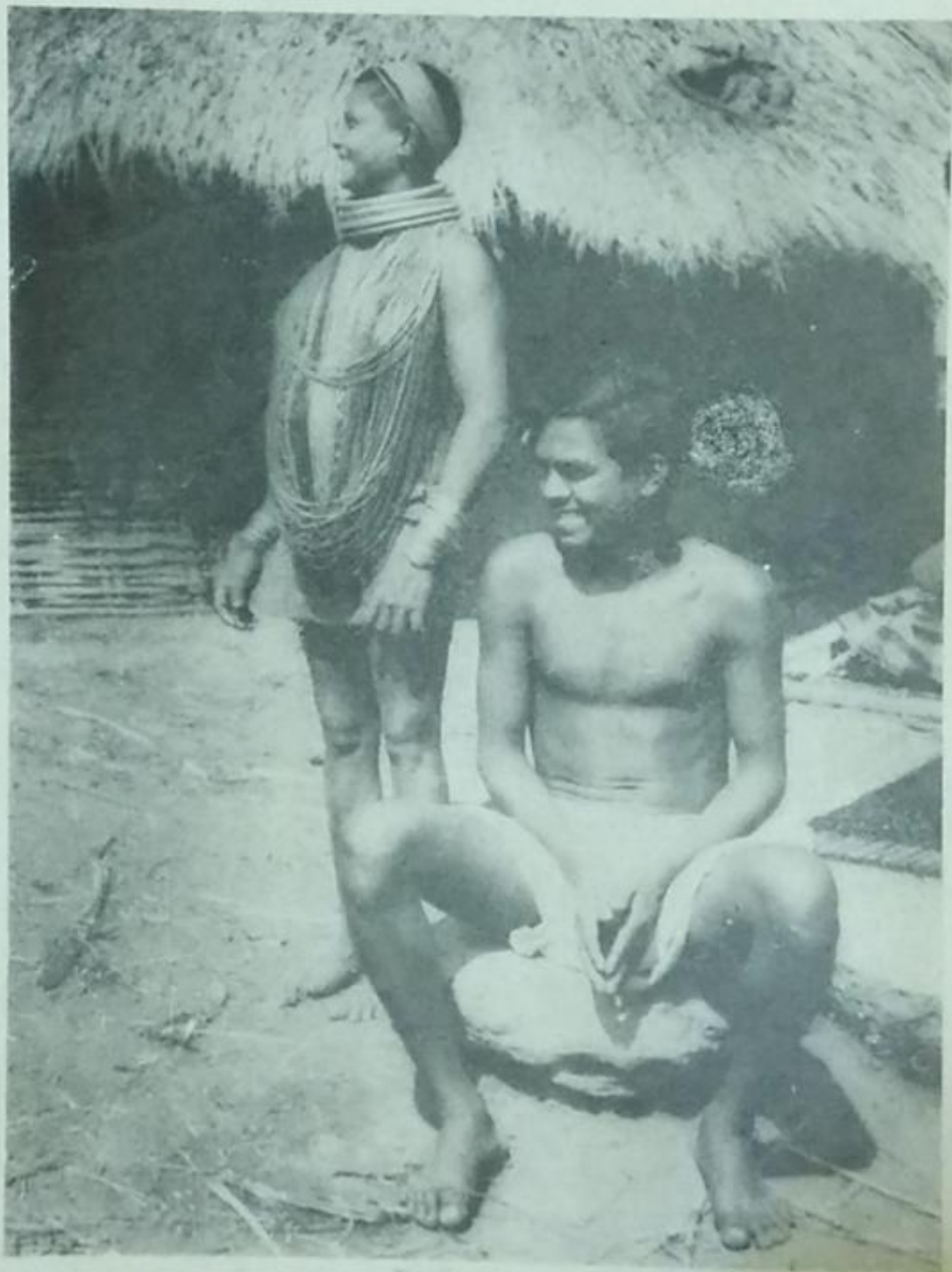
Supply of Drinking water

The local inhabitants were used to collect water from the nearby hill streams for drinking purposes. On experimental basis the Bondo Development Agency undertook construction of drinking

water wells in a few villages and the villagers were persuaded by giving incentives such as; buckets to draw water from these wells for drinking purposes. This was quite successful. Even it is seen that the villagers of Khalguda use water for drinking purpose from an irrigation dug-well constructed at a distance in the agricultural land since there is no drinking water well in the village. By now, 16 drinking water wells have been constructed including one in the Project colony and the rest 15 in 14 villages with two wells in Dantipada and one each in villages of Mudulipada, Bandhuguda, Seleiguda, Kirsani-pada, Bāndiguda, Bodopada, Tulaguram, Goyiguda, Bondapada, Tuseipada, Andrahal, Dumuripada and Patraput. In addition, it is proposed to dig 14 wells at the rate of two wells each in Kichapada, Pindajangar, Goyiguda and Katamguda and one well each in Khalguda, Sanuguda, Ramliguda, Tagbeda, Baunspada and Bodobel and four cisterns one each in Bandhuguda, Challanpada, Baraguda and Bodapada. This will cover all the problem villages and hamlets in the Project area under the minimum needs programme with particular reference to the safe drinking water supply.

Health and village sanitation

The Project area is prone to malarial fevers. According to the blood slide examination report of the Khairiput P.H.C. during the year 1975-76, one third of the fever cases were malaria parasite positive cases. Since the local inhabitants are habituated to smoking and taking tobacco, many of them suffer from prolonged respiratory diseases like pharyngitis and bronchitis. In the long run, pharyngitis leads to rheumatoid arthritis. Many people suffer from night blindness and other deficiency diseases due to deficiency of Vit-A and Protein. Moreover, many people suffer from skin diseases due to their dirty habits. Excessive addiction to alcoholic drinks is responsible for hepatitis and gastritis. Bodily injuries which are unavoidable in a hilly terrain in the Bondo hills. Criminal activities added considerably to the cases of injury and the wild animals also play their role in this respect. From the register of the Government Ayurvedic Dispensary at Mudulipada for the year 1982, it is found that more than one-third of the patients suffered



The Bondos are exceptionally joyful and carefree

from malarial fever. The disease-wise percentage of patients is given below :—

(1) Malaria fever ..	35%
(2) Br. Asthma/Bronchitis/Ch. Lung diseases, cough and cold	14%
(3) Gastritis/Flatulence/Intestinal colic and hepatic disorders	14%
(4) Scabies/Eczema/Ring worm and skin affections	11%
(5) Lumbago/Arthritis/Muscular pain and Traumatic disorders	9%
(6) Abscess/Cut and Burn/Wound/Injury ..	7%
(7) Diarrhoea/Dysentery/Sprain ..	4%
(8) E. N. T. diseases ..	4%
(9) Others ..	2%

Very recently, the inhabitants depended largely on their magico-religious methods of treatment and the severely wounded and injured persons were carried to Khairiput or to Mathili P. H. Cs for treatment.

In the Project area one Ayurvedic Dispensary has been established by the T. & R. W. Department since the year 1952-53. But for some reason or other the Dispensary was defunct quite for some time past. After the Bondo Development Agency started functioning the dispensary was revived by posting a qualified Ayurvedic Doctor and other staff. Medicines are being supplied to the Medical Officer from the Agency funds for distribution among the patients in addition to its normal receipts from the Health Department. The Medical Officer in addition to his normal pay is paid Rs. 100 extra per month from the Agency as honorarium for his services rendered by going to different villages and attending to the patients and mobilising the villagers to be health conscious and to give up unclean habits. It is now observed that the Bondos are gradually becoming more health conscious and medical minded leaving their age-old magico-religious practices of treatment.

Since the P. H. C. at Khairiput is located at a distance of more than 13 Kms. and the Ayurvedic Dispensary is the only medical institution existing in the Project area It is felt badly to strengthen it and make it well furnished and well-equipped for providing better services to the community. Many Government employees are not willing to work in the Bondo hills because of non-availability of medical facilities. But the proposed improvements in the existing dispensary will certainly increase their confidence and they will be willing to accept the offer to come with their family and children and work in the area efficiently.

It may be mentioned that the quarters of the doctor and attendant and the dispensary building which were deserted and dilapidated have been repaired and are now occupied by the staff of the Agency. It is, therefore, of urgent necessity to provide residential accommodation for the staff of the dispensary and construction a six roomed dispensary building.

There are some herbal and medicinal plants available in the forests. It is proposed to establish one herbal garden in the existing Horticulture-cum-Agriculture Demonstration Centre at Dantipada where various herbal and medicinal plants could be planted under the supervision of the Medical Officer, for the benefit of the Bondos.

Besides the Government Ayurvedic Dispensary there should be three A. N. M. sub-centres located at Mudulipada, Andrahal and Patraput to take care of the children and nursing mothers and to attend to the delivery cases in the inaccessible rural areas. Through these A. N. M. s various vaccines including tribal antigen etc. should be distributed regularly. Since the area is full of malaria patients, there should be atleast two Surveillance Workers permanently stationed at Mudulipada and Andrahal for regular distribution of chloroquine tablets and taking blood slides for examination and all the villages should be regularly sprayed with D. D. T. Health camps can be organised at different places in the project area and the services of the health specialists can be utilised in such camps for the treatment of special diseases.

At present, the post-mortem centre for this area is attached to Malkangiri Subdivisional headquarters hospital. The family and the relatives of the person who is murdered are required to transport the dead body to Malkangiri which is located at a distance of about 70 Kms. This distance is covered on foot and the carriage of the dead body involves huge expense on the part of the family concerned. Having no means at own source this situation invariably drives the family to indebtedness and debt-bondage in perpetuity. In view of this, it is necessary that a post-mortem centre should be attached to the P. H. C. at Khairiput enabling the Bondos to meet the legal requirements at less cost.

Rural Electrification

So far, not a single village in the Project area has been electrified. The nearest electrified village is Khairiput which is situated at a distance of 13 Kms. from the project headquarters. To exploit the development potential of the project area and energize the proposed lift-irrigation points including dug-wells effectively, the supply of electricity to the Bondo villages should be hastened on a priority basis at the earliest possible time.

It may be mentioned here that in the Project area there are possibilities of construction of two Mini-Hydro Electric-Project at Sindhiguda and the other at Bodopada over two perennial streams. It is necessary to work out the feasibility of these schemes.

Extension of Publicity

The illiterate Bondos seem to have a narrow out look and limited world view and are very suspicious. For this reason it is difficult to persuade and convince them to take to better farming and take active part in various developmental schemes executed for them. Therefore, to change their mind and expand their vision and outlook it is proposed to supply T. V. sets to two Grama Panchayat headquarter villages namely, Mudulipada and Andrahal under the audio-visual programmes, in order to acquaint the people with the modern ways of living. There is ample scope for documentary film shows depicting various developmental programmes and innovations which are being carried out

by people elsewhere and their improved economic condition resulting therefrom. It goes without saying that audio-visual shows have got immense educative value in as much as they stimulate change in the thought process of the rural folk which would later give expression in action.

Successful demonstrations and regular follow-up contacts with people would further convince the people about the utility of different developmental schemes. For this purpose it is necessary to equip the Project with a projector and documentary films and also arrange field visits and study-cum-excursion trip for the leading members of the Bondo community to some Agricultural - Horticultural farms and Soil Conservation Demonstration Centres and other developed areas in the outer world.

Youth clubs can be organized and community centres constructed in different villages and community listening radio sets, musical instruments and games and sports articles may also be supplied to them. Their songs and music should be recorded and played before them through tape recorders. Works of this nature would not only provide entertainment but they will also help the project staff to establish rapport quickly and extension would become more easier.

Old traditional councils should be revived and strengthened and the traditional dignitaries and leaders identified and honoured by soliciting their participation in the exercises of plan formulation and execution of various developmental programmes. Meetings of such village heads should be organized frequently in different villages by rotation. All these efforts would go a long way in decreasing the incidence of crime in the Bondo hills.

Provision should be made to depict various developmental programmes and activities of the Bondo Development Agency through photographs, maps, charts, pamphlets and brochures etc. for wider publicity.

It is proposed to take up the study of the Remo, the language spoken by the Bondos and prepare Bondo dictionary, grammar and primers for children of elementary standard. The published

works on Remo language will enable many workers to learn it and as proficiency develops the communication gap which exists at present is done away with.

III. Enforcement of Protective Legislations and Regulatory Measures

Within the Bondo society, there is certain unevenness in the possession of the means of production. Wet—paddy lands in the valley, up-lands in the hill-slopes and swiddens higher up and homestead lands are often concentrated in the hands of a few households, the dominant lineage group of the village. Further, the rights on land and other means of production are still determined by customary tribal opinion. There is wide-spread prevalence of oral transactions of means of production. Only in 10 villages Survey and Settlement Operations have been completed and the vast area of the high land is still unsurveyed because the concerned villages threw up resistance by shooting arrows towards the survey staff in the past. Most often lands of poor Bondos are alienated by their Bondo *showkars* who charge exorbitantly high rates of interest (50 % for cash and 100 % for kind loans). The Bondo wage earners are never paid by their *showkars* the minimum wage prescribed by the Government.

Many of the Bondos are very ferocious, aggressive, revengeful, vindictive, criminal and unyielding to authority and above all very much indifferent towards human life. They drink heavily and are easily provoked. When drunk and intoxicated, they even forget their social relations and become completely vindictive and revengeful. The incidence of homicide is considerably high.

Often the Bondo miscreants coming intoxicated with arms, plunder the weekly markets at Mundiguda, Govindapalli, Mathili, Bhejaguda and Onkadally. Some of them have created havoc both in various villages in Bondo hills and in the neighbouring area. They take away domesticated animals and crops from the field on false pleas (similar to the wolf and the lamb story) threatening them with bow and arrows if counter attack is made

upon them. Even in the same villages, cattle of the weaker households and those of the window's are sometimes stolen and killed for meat.

A good number of Bondos of Andrahal, Bodobal and Kotamguda are involved in illegal distillation of country liquor from *Mohua* flower, molasses and pulp of mango and jack fruit for sale at Onkadally daily market and the concession to brew liquor for personal consumption is misused. All persuasions by personal contact to desuade them from this trade have effected no result so far. Further, availability of liquor increases the drinking propensy among them.

The socio-economic life of almost all Bondo farming families revolves round the slash-and-burn type of cultivation by uncontrolled felling of the trees and cleaning of the jungles on the hill slopes. Even the so called *showkars* having considerable area of wet-paddy land and up-lands practise it. Thus shifting cultivation is a major problem in the project area. The Bondos oppose vehemently when the idea of horticultural plantation and terraced cultivation is placed before them to adopt in the place of shifting cultivation.

No developmental activity aimed at benefitting the Bondos will succeed unless the exploitation in its various forms as mentioned is eradicated and strict enforcement of the following protective legislations are made.

- (i) Regulation 2/1956 and OLR Act, provision (section 22 & 23) on land alienation and restoration matters.
- (ii) Money Lending Regulation and debt relief measures in the scheduled areas.
- (iii) Bonded Labour Act, Minimum Wages Act., Migrant Labour Act, and other Labour Welfare Measures benefitting the S. T./S. C. workers.
- (iv) Distribution of Agricultural land to the landless S. C./S. T. persons under the provision of OGLS Act, and Rules.
- (v) Enforcement of the Civil Right Act and Untouchability Offence Act.

Programmes of land Survey and Settlement and preparation of Record-of-Rights and distribution of *Patta* to the tenant cultivators, prevention of land alienation, restoration of land already alienated, termination of practices like Bonded labour and review of Excise and Forest policy need special and immediate attention. Any attempt to bring about reform in these above mentioned evil practices is strongly resisted to the extent of shooting arrows towards the reformers or threatening to murder. The enforcement of various protective legislations and regulatory measures would become more easier if some restrictions would be imposed on the Bondos for carrying bows and arrows and knives. They should be disarmed and should not be allowed to move with these weapons always except during the hunting and when they go to their *podu* lands to guard against the wild animals. Carrying weapons to markets and other plain villages outside their territory should be totally prohibited.

Here it may not be out of place to mention the consensus view of some selected peace loving elderly Bondos taken earlier which revealed that the Bondos carry bows and arrows because of their suspicion that their own fellow men and kith and kin might attack them. In fact the Bondos are suspicious of one another and their criminal habit has grown out of it.

It is not true that all Bondos have a criminal bent of mind. The population may be divided into two broad categories. The minority group of the Bondos having revengeful and criminal attitudes and the majority group of the Bondos comprising widows, orphans and economically and physically handicapped families who are innocent and peace loving. These latter group of submissive and helpless people fall an easy prey to the former militant and aggressive group. In such a situation many crimes are not reported for fear of death. When some one is asked to move without arms, he happily welcomes the idea requesting us to see that their fellow beings equally unarmed. In a situation where suspicion is at its height one feels naturally unsafe to move without arms when others are with arms.

The Police-station at Mudulipada needs strengthening with sufficient staff equipped suitably to discharge their duties efficiently and all police staff be asked to stay at Mudulipada and visit different villages very frequently. By this, the criminal attitude and incidence of crime would undoubtedly be decreased and the Bondos would become more law abiding. To save the innocent people, the Government's intervention in the lines suggested above is very much necessary without further delay and the Bondos should not be allowed any more to continue their savagery style of life. At this stage the protective and developmental functions cannot be kept separate under the narrow compartmentalization particularly in view of the fact that in the new strategy elimination of exploitation has been accorded the highest priority.

Administrative Structure and Personal Policy

As pointed out earlier an autonomous body known as Bondo Development Agency with headquarters at Mudulipada has been constituted and registered under Societies Registration Act, 1860 since 1977 for effective and timely implementation of various time bound programmes.

At the Project level, a Governing Body under the Chairmanship of Collector, Koraput; has been formed with the officials including the Additional District Magistrate as Vice-chairman, District Welfare Officer and District Veterinary Officer, Koraput; District Agriculture Officer, Jeypore, Subdivisional Officer and Assistant Registrar of Co-operative Societies, Malkangiri; Block Development Officer, Khairiput; Bankers including Chairman R. R. B., Jeypore; Secretary K. C. C. Bank, Jeypore; and non-officials including M. L. A. Chitrakonda; Chairman, Khairiput block; and one local tribal leader as members and the Project leader, Bondo Development Agency as Member-Secretary. The Governing body guide, supervise and review the programmes and progress of the Agency during its meetings at the project headquarters. It has got considerable administrative and financial power and flexibility to make alterations in developmental plans wherever and whenever necessary basing on the felt-needs of the area and

the local inhabitants. Various administrative and financial powers have been delegated by the Governing body to the Chairman and the Project Leader.

Various developmental programmes of the Agency are generally executed through the project leader directly with the help of his subordinate staff as sanctioned by Government as follows :

Post	No.	Scale	Remarks
1. Project Leader	1	525—1,300	In position
2. Junior Agriculture Officer	1	500—900	Ditto
3. Welfare Extension Officer/Junior Engineer	1	400—750	Not filled
4. Senior clerk-cum-Accountant	1	320—450	In position
5. Junior-clerk-cum-Typist	1	255—390	Ditto
6. Driver ..	1	255—390	Ditto
7. Amin ..	1	240—340	Ditto
8. Peon ..	2	200—280	Ditto
9. Chainman ..	1	200—280	Ditto

In addition to the above sanctioned staff six Non-Formal Teachers and five Field Attendants are working on consolidated remuneration. In addition, the Headmaster Mudulipada Ashram School, Veterinary Assistant Surgeon, Khairiput; Junior Engineer, in the office of the Rehabilitation Officer, Malkangiri; and the Medical Officer, Government Ayurvedic Dispensary; are rendering their services in supervising the educational institutions, animal health care, various construction and works programmes directly executed by the Agency and attending the patients in their villages respectively in addition to their normal duties on part-time basis on payment of monthly honorarium

apt for a primitive tribe such as the Bondo highlanders. As the work in the Bondo hills involves links with the neighbouring areas and with a larger area the Project Leader to be more effective and should be taken as a member in the Khairiput Panchayat Samiti and in the District Development Committee.

Dedicated and suitable officers fully committed to work in primitive isolated pockets are to be selected and posted and in no case there should be any punishment posting. The qualification of the employees so selected to work in the tribal areas should be specially designed to suit the requirements of the developmental efforts meant for such areas. Special incentives such as special compensatory allowances, educational allowances and free residential accommodation have to be provided to all categories of employees working in the project area. No doubt, these conditions are necessary to work among the primitive tribes in difficult terrain. But real success in work among them lies in the eight-point principles which the development personnel should follow. They are (1) Go to the people, (2) Live among them, (3) Learn from them, (4) Love them, (5) Serve them, (6) Plan with them, (7) Start with what they know, and (8) Build on what they have. The creed of service based on these principles flow from within and not from outside of the workers.

Implementation of the Programme of Economic Rehabilitation in Rural Poor (E. R. R. P.) and Integrated Development Programme (I. D. P.)

The Government have decided to launch a massive programme of economic rehabilitation of 10 poorest families in each village immediately. For this purpose, the poorest family is defined as one which has no income yielding asset of any kind and its principal means of livelihood is wage earning and its income is below Rs. 1,200 per year. The objective of the programme is to ensure an annual net income of not less than Rs. 1,500 to each of the identified poorest families by providing some steady income-generating assets like plantation areas, animal husbandry units, water spread areas for fishery and sericulture and non-agricultural employment schemes, etc. Further, it is decided to rehabilitate the released bonded labourers under this programme.

Similarly another special programme is working now namely Integrated Rural Development Project (I. R. D. P.) with a view to generating additional employment and raise the income level of the identified target groups which comprise small and marginal farmers, share croppers, agricultural labourers, rural artisans and persons belonging to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. The target fixed for this purpose is to develop 600 families per Block per year through intensive block level planning and development.

Since the Bondos and Didayis are very poor and primitive and are unable to repay any loan component the Government have already decided to extend all benefits to the beneficiaries identified under E. R. R. P. and I. R. D. P. programmes for their development at 100 per cent subsidy to be met from the Agency funds available from Special Central Assistance.

ANNEXURES

ANNEXURE I

BRIEF DESCRIPTION OF THE IMPORTANT FESTIVALS
OBSERVED BY THE BONDOS**Chaita-Parab (Giniva)**

The year begins with the commencement of the first festival *Chaita-parab*. On this occasion the people go for annual hunt. It is observed for eight days. It commences on the first week of February-March. On this occasion, mango is ritually eaten for the first time and various crops like *suau*, ragi and paddy are sown ceremoniously both on the wet-land and Dangar-land.

The festival starts usually on the second Tuesday in the month of February-March. But on Monday, eleven pairs of mangoes are tied on eleven places of the house, that is, above the oven, near the *Muldei* (Ancestral-spirit), on the front yard, back yard etc. Only two pairs of mangoes with twigs are tied on the entrance of the house. Crab, dry fish, unboiled rice are cooked in a new earthen-pot by the head of the family after a purificatory bath. When the cooking is over these two pairs of mangoes are peeled and mixed with the food stuff. This stuff is served on eleven *Siali*-leaf plates for different ancestral spirits. Two more shares are served from the same stock-one for the spirit residing at the front door and the other for the spirit residing on the public street of the village. After invoking a red-coloured fowl is sacrificed at the *Muldei* and blood is sprinkled finally over all shares to satisfy other spirits. The fowl is cooked along with unboiled-rice and shared as sacramental food by the inmates of the house. Mango is eaten only after this ritual.

On Tuesday afternoon, the religious functionaries like-*Naik*, *Pujari* and *Challan* assemble near *Sindibor* and play upon *Dhol* (Drum), bell-metal ring and *Turi* or *Singhar* (Bugule, made of bison horn). This warns the adult male members of each household of the village to assemble near the *Sadar* with various hunting implements to go for hunt to the forest. The expedition

may continue for days together until games are available. The party returns to the *Sadar* only when game is available. The day the party returns, game is not immediately distributed. It is kept for the next day. Prior to it the *Pujari* performs rituals to satisfy the forest deity. He offers unboiled-rice, sacrifices a fowl, sprinkles blood and throws blood-stained-rice on the head of each of the household. After appeasing the deity the game is cut and equally distributed. No common cooking takes place. The ladies are not tabooed to share the game. Other than dancing and feasting no rituals take place for the rest of the days.

On the last day, seeds of different crops like paddy, *rugi* and *suan* are carried in a basket by the head of each household to their respective field. The *Pujari* along with group of shamans reach on each individual plot. A portion of the swidden is smeared with cowdung over which a lump of unboiled rice is placed. The shamans ward-off the evil-spirit with their bundle of peacock-feathers. The *Pujari* sacrifices an egg and throws it over the seeds in the basket and on the heap of rice representing forest deity. After this ritual, seeds are ceremoniously sown after clearing a portion of the swidden and the rest is mixed with other seeds.

The *Pujari* accomplishes his job for all the households within 3 to 4 days. Each household contributes about one kilogram of unboiled-rice and a fowl. The Naik collects them. On the last day the entire collection is consumed in a communal feast.

Bandafun-Parab (Kuree)

It is the second festival of the year, otherwise known as, *kuree* celebrated in the month of *Sravana* (July-August). When *Kangu* (a type of wild rice), pumpkin (*Kunda*), orange (*Panglung*), arum (*Sariap*) and wild roots (*Lahi*) are eaten for the first time. *Bursung*, the Earth-Goddess, is worshipped on this occasion to ensure bumper crops of *Kangu* for the coming year.

It is celebrated communally for a day. In front of the village deity, *Hundi*, a small clay platform with thatched roof, is made by the villagers. Building materials are brought by three unmarried girls. Sheaves of *Kangu* are heaped over the roof. Other edible items are kept under the roof which represent Bursung. The *Pujari* and the shamans officiate on this occasion and invoke all the forest deities and spirits with long incantations. For each deity and spirit, one joss-stick is obliterated and inserted on the heap and the shamans, present on the spot go into trance one after the other until finally the *Pujari* himself gets into trance. Bursung is believed to appear before the *Pujari*. After regaining senses, a white fowl is sacrificed on the heap and drop of such sacrificial blood is put on the forehead of each individual of the village.

Head of each household takes a hand-full of *Kangu* from the heap and mixed it with *Kangu* seeds, kept ready for sowing. At night cakes are prepared in individual houses and the night is spent in merry-making.

Dasara Parab (Kumbuguda)

The third festival is *Dasara*, otherwise known as *Kumbuguda*, celebrated only for a day, that is on Monday and observed communally in the month of *Aswin* (September-October). It is a new adoption to the annual festival calendar. The Bondo communally worship *Patkhanda Mahaprabhu* in the morning in a congregation. The *Pujari* brings down the sword (representing *Patkhanda Mahaprabhu*) from the banyan tree. It is washed with turmeric water and anointed with vermilion. The *Pujari* stands facing north and invokes *Mahaprabhu* with folded hands. The *Pujari* recites Oriya version of incantations and invokes *Durga* and *Mahaprabhu*. His assistant (*San-Pujari*) throws turmeric water with a mango twig over the sword until the *Pujari* completes uttering Mantras. A lited lamp is obliterated over the sword and a coconut is offered as *Bhoga*. Its water is considered purified and therefore, sprinkled both on the sword and at the root of the banyan tree. The devotees offer sweetmeats, molasses, Banana and coconut as *Bhoga* to *Mahaprabhu*. The consecrated food is

On the first day, that is on Tuesday, all houses are ritually cleaned. The inmates of each house get themselves purified by taking bath and putting on new or washed clothes. Rice, *siadi* fruits, beans and various roots are cooked in a new earthen-pot by the ladies and offered ritually to appease the ancestral spirits. This cooked food is also served in eleven leaf-cups in eleven places of the house. A pinch of incense powder along with vermilion is thrown on each leaf. The head of the household with folded hands solicits blessing of the ancestral-spirits. A red fowl, considered proper for the occasion, is sacrificed to appease the ancestral spirits.

The consecrated food is not given to any outsiders other than the own members of the clan. By that the persons who receives such food is believed to be bewitched by the alien ancestral-spirit. It is otherwise known as *sorubhat* (rice of the blood relations).

In the afternoon, all assemble at the *Sadar* with a call from *Pujari*. He blows *Turi* (Bugule). At the second blow of the bugule all adult male members run to collect spathes of the sago-palm tree. They come back with spathes and start beating each other out of fun. It is believed the touch of such spathes makes them disease-free. It is alarming to see even if persons sustain injury out of fighting, remain quite gay and cheerful and excuse each other sportively. The victors, too reconcile by offering *pandom* (rice-beer) to the victims. This scene continues till evening.

The night is spent in rejoicing and dancing. Young boys (Engera) and girls (Chhelaru) of different clans get a free access to mix with each other. They exchange rice-beer and dance together.

On the Wednesday, the victors, who won the tug-of-war again feed *pandom* to the victims. The second day is also spent in rejoicing and merry making.

On the third day, that is on Thursday, the traditional leaders-Naik, Challan, Pujari and the Barik distribute *pandom* to all villagers. The entire cost is born by the four leaders. After that, a meeting is summoned where cases if any are decided at the Panchayat level and fines are imposed accordingly. On this occasion people are cautioned by the leaders to follow the rules and norms of the

community with all sincerity. In the evening the young boys out of their own fund feed the leaders. They go from house to house along with the drum-beaters and the *shamans*. The *shamans* sing song in chorus and touch broom stick made of peacock feathers at the roof of each house to ward off evil-spirits. The very touch of the peacock feather is considered purified and it protects the house from being ablazed. The night is spent in merry making for the last five days. The invitees and guests exchange gifts and spend the days in merry making.

Magha-Parab (Susk)

It is observed for two days, in the month of *Magha* (January-February) when all the crops are harvested and the grainaries are full. It is the biggest festival, observed on inter-village basis when *Bara-Jangar* villages participate and ceremoniously eat the new paddy for the first time.

Eight days prior to the observance of the festival, all the *Naiks* of twelve villages come to Mudulipada, the capital of upper Bondo country with about 4 Kgs. of sun-dried rice and a fowl. These are presented to the *Naik* of Mudulipada. The Pujari of this village is called *Patkhanda Pujari* who is believed to be the incarnation of *Patkhanda Mahaprabhu*. He, while receiving the puja articles gives a point of vermilion on the forehead of each *Naik* of the village and thereby blesses them. The entire cost of the *Puja* is born by the villagers of Mudulipada, because Mahaprabhu resides in the village itself. From the common fund collected by the villagers of Mudulipada a brown-coloured goat, a fowl and other such Puja accessories are purchased.

Monday, which is the day of observance, the villagers including both males and females flock to the village Mudulipada along with their respective *Naik* with incense-powder, mango-twigs, sweet-meats and coconuts. The vow-takers too bring with them sacrificial animals like fowl and goat.

After they arrive, the musicians and drum-beaters start dancing. The Pujari after a purificatory bath he smears the front yard of his house with cowdung and heaps up about 8 Kgs. of sun-dried rice

over it. Two lumps of sun-dried rice are placed over Siali-leaf on two sides of the heap which represent *Patkhanda* and *Hundi* the Earth-Goddess. The *Pujari* stands with folded hands and chants incantation for an hour or so to solicit blessing from *Patkhanda*. The shamans too, circumbulate the heap with chorus songs and peacock feathers toward off the evil-spirits. After this is done twelve fowls are sacrificed one after the other to satisfy *Hundi*. The sacrificial blood is sprinkled over the heap of rice. The *Naik* of each village given leaf-cup-full of such consecrated paddy by the *Bad Naik* who in turn distributes to all the households of his village. This is mixed with the seed and sown afterwards when sowing operation takes place. Immediately when the *Bad Naik* leaves the place after distributing paddy the ladies and the children rush to the spot joyously to collect left over paddy. It is believed such consecrated paddy if eaten, keeps their health in tact.

After that the *Pujari* alongwith the drum-beaters reaches the seat of *Patkhanda Mahaprabhu*. Before the assemblage, all the *Naiks* select an able man to be their leader called, *Raja*. People are also asked to comment upon the performance of the *Patkhanda Pujari*. If the *Pujari* is found to be misfit he ceases to perform his duty further from the coming year and any one of his lineage is selected unanimously to officiate as *Pujari*. In case the previous one continues as the *Pujari*, a new cloth is put as turban on his head.

After this selection the *Pujari* climbs the tree, brings down the sword and places it at the trunk of the banyan tree. The sword is washed with turmeric water and twelve drops of vermilion representing twelve disciples of *Patkhanda* are put over it by the *Pujari*. Paddy collected from each *Naik* is heaped up at the foot of the sword. The shamans in a group supplicate sun-dried rice over the winnowing fans and go into trance as and when they are spirit-possessed. Some of the shamans start dancing frantically when others are spirit-possessed. When this is over, the *Pujari* of Baunsapada village cuts the goat and throws the head on the heap. The vow-takers too cut their animals and sprinkles blood over the heap of paddy to satisfy *Patkhanda Mahaprabhu*. It is how the twelve disciples of *Patkhanda* are appeased. To appease them is to appease *Patkhanda Mahaprabhu*.

Recently, only after launching of Micro-Project in the area the people have adopted more Hinduised form of worship, that is they offer coconut, molasses, banana and sweetmeats and throw water to *Patkhanda* with the mango twigs after the goat is sacrificed. Blowing of conch-shell and ululating have also been adopted by the people. The *Pujari* on behalf of the people invokes *Patkhanda* in oriya version uttering the name of Lord *Rameshwata*, *Siva*, *Brahma*, etc. The *Pujari* and others too, pay obeisance by touching their knees and heads on the floor. However, after this ritual part is over, the *Pujari* sacrifices a fowl and drops its blood over all the shamans present there. It is believed the shamans become spirit-free only after getting this blood.

The *Bad Naik*, thereafter goes near the heap of paddy, weighs it in a small basket and distributes to each family. This paddy is ceremoniously husked and cooked in individual household. Both men and animals eat this cooked food to be free from maladies and diseases.

After this, communal feasts follow. The rice and the sacrificial animals are cooked together by the *Bad Naik* and *Patkhanda Pujari*. All bachelors participate in common cooking. Married persons are tabooed to cook, because they are considered ritually uncleaned. The ladies also participate in the feast. The whole night is spent in dancing and singing songs.

On the next day all works are suspended. The whole day is also spent in feasting. Those, who can afford, kill goats and pigs and entertain guests.

These festivals are celebrated because it is believed that some mishap or misfortune may occur if the gods and goddesses are not pleased in this manner. Otherwise, the deity would be angry and would take revenge by asking the tigers in the nearby jungles to create depredation by taking human lives or by inflicting diseases and pestilence.

ANNEXURE II

LIST OF BONDO KINSHIP AND OTHER TERMS

(a) Kinship Terminologies :

Ba	..	Father
Jong	..	Mother
Mang	..	Brother
Ming	..	Sister (Elder)
Inger	..	Son
Silambou	..	Daughter
Gulainai	..	Baby
Keka	..	Uncle
Umber	..	Aunt
Gusha	..	Father's Elder brother
Tata	..	Grand Father (Maternal)
Tata	..	Grand Father (Paternal)
Tata	..	Forefather
Kiaar	..	Mother-in-law
Inkuin	...	Father-in-law
Unkur	..	Husband
Kuni	..	Wife
Simia	..	Younger brother's wife
Inding	..	Elder brother's wife
Wang	..	Father's sister
Wang	..	Mother's sister
Mang	..	Elder brother

Men	..	Younger brother
Buya	--	Brother
Buyan	..	Step brother
Jah	..	Grand mother (Paternal)
Jah	..	Grand mother (Maternal)
Iklain	--	Grand son
Iklain	..	Grand Daughter
Arju	..	Son-in-law
Ukuin	..	Daughter-in-law
Sadhu	..	Wife's sister's husband
Aan	..	Brother's Daughter, Sister's Daughter
Ningrem	--	Relative
Sialambwai	..	Marriage

(b) Other Terminologies :

Bah	..	Head
Chharma	--	Face
Thuma	..	Mouth
Mah	..	Eye
Jimi	..	Nose
Chharma	..	Forehead
Luntur	..	Ear
Khanalu	..	Ear lobe
Gine	..	Tooth
Lea	..	Tongue
Gulugu	..	Neck

Guda	..	Back
Give	..	Chest
Datukui	..	Breast
Titi	..	Hand
Titi	..	Palm of hand
Chhola	..	Belly
Tinkurm	...	Eye lid
Undusung	..	Heel
Jimi	..	Nostril
Sidigum	..	Jaw
Kurtam	..	Beard
Osepnai	..	To cool
Melanai	..	To dance
Nagaisha	..	To curse
Ubrai	..	To crop up hair
Rajimana deminai	..	To decide
Banigum	..	To decorate
Ranglagainai	..	To colour
Gunai	..	To dig
Malariga	..	To defeat
Susumdim	..	To dream
Unai	..	To drink

Unsurga	..	To dry up
Kamainai	..	To earn
Butungnai	..	To fear
Osung	..	To feed
Adang	..	To finish
Da	..	To go
Saba	..	To come
Urnai	..	To run
Laisa	..	To sit
Simukdadai	..	To climb
Su	..	To eat
Bangni	..	To get
Kraing Susumita	..	To graze
Manakhusidenga	..	To welcome
Sishe Se nai	..	To cultivate
Ajagnai	..	To reap
Rinai	..	To grind
Gubuinai	..	To hate
Rupsa	..	To hide
Saajyam demnai	..	To help
Susob	..	To catch
Asha demnai	..	To hope
Optti	..	To jump
Klaji demnai	..	To joke
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