



GOVERNMENT OF ORISSA

# **BAURI OF BHUBANESWAR**

(A study on the urbanization processes in a Scheduled Caste)

**TRIBAL & HARIJAN RESEARCH-CUM-TRAINING INSTITUTE  
BHUBANESWAR**



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By  
MANAMOHAN MAHAPATRA  
*Department of Anthropology*  
*B. J. B. College, Utkal University, Bhubaneswar*

To  
PROFESSOR, CORA DUBOIS  
from whom I have learnt anthropology

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## PREFACE

The Bauris are a numerous scheduled caste concentrated in several districts in the State of Orissa. The present work entitled "The Bauris of Bhubaneswar", is the result of two years field work (1965—67) in the temple town Bhubaneswar in the district of Puri. Funds for this work were provided from a U. S. National Science Foundation Grant No. GS-1014, placed at the disposal of Dr. Cora Dubois Zemmurray professor of Anthropology, Harvard University, U. S. A. Therefore, my great debt of gratitude goes to the authorities of the National Science Foundation as well as to Professor DUBOIS for her Scholarly guidance and valuable assistance for the completion of this work. The field work as well as the writing of the manuscript were done when the author was associated in the Harvard—Bhubaneswar Research Project.

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M. Mahapatra

## INTRODUCTION

The present study examines the urbanization processes in a scheduled caste, namely the Bauris residing in the conservative temple town Bhubaneswar. The Bauris are one of the most numerous scheduled castes in the State of Orissa. According to 1961 census, the total number of Bauris in Orissa is 250,914, which is 9.08% of the total Scheduled Caste<sup>1</sup> population. It is difficult to state the total Bauri population in the old town Bhubaneswar, because the census gives figures for the entire NAC area only. According to the census taken by this author 654 Bauris inhabit in the Old town Bhubaneswar.

This study is largely descriptive and focuss on the changes that are occurring in this caste group due to the forces of both growing urbanization and modernization, since the establishment in 1947, of the new State Capital of Orissa, two miles to the north of the old town.

For collecting data the empirical field methods like interview, observation, etc. were followed. In addition to these, two questionnaires were used to interview the Bauris to assess changes occurred in them. Printed and manuscript sources were also referred to get a thorough knowledge on the background of this caste group.

This is not a systematic and complete ethnography of the Bauris but a treatment of those areas of their lives that have undergone salient changes or resisted changes.

### Change in Bauris

According to the Scheduled Castes and Tribes (Modification) Order, 1956, there are 93 Scheduled Castes in the State of Orissa of which the Bauris are one. They are found in the districts of Puri, Cuttack, Balasore, Sambalpur, Koraput, etc., with different occupations and surnames. In spite of their low social position, they command a high rank above the Hadis, Panas, Kandaras, etc., in the social scale.

In 1940, this caste group lived in separate wards away from the clean caste dwellings as they were considered a polluting caste. They maintained the segregated life, of out castes. They worked as laterite stone cutters, plough servants, domestic agricultural servants, construction, labour and wood cutters. They had their own caste panchayat headed by their caste officials who decided cases arising in the community and controlled the members according to the caste rules. The caste leaders (Beheras and Guruvaisnabas) acted as caste barbars and priests respectively to their clients. The Bauri residents in the old town in 1940 were all illiterate. They were not allowed in public schools in the town.

In sum, in 1940 the Bauri community in old Bhubaneswar was segregated and the opportunities of its members were restricted.

With the growth of the new township for the State Capital in 1948, came new occupations. From the first, the Bauris were employed in large numbers as construction labours. Greater earning gradually diverted the attention of the old town Bauris to work in the new town and thus diminished their ursuit of traditional occupations. People from the different parts of the country came to Bhubaneswar as civil servants, shop-keepers, contractors and in a whole series of service occupations. It became the political hub of the State. The shortage of housing to accomodate the growing population was acute until approximately 1964. Land values soared. Vacant sites around the Bauri wards at the outskirts of the town were occupied for residential purposes. As a result the Bauri wards which had isolated from the clean caste wards were gradually incorporated into the town. Immigrants even rented Bauri houses as residences.

New policies and regulations framed by the National Government after independence for the development of the scheduled castes, tribes, and other backward classes also helped the Bauries to improve their socio-economic position. Expanding occupational opportunities have

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<sup>1</sup>Census of India, 1961, Vol. XII, Orissa, Part IIA.



also been attended by a series of other influential economic changes. With the construction of the state capital, the Bauris took up many new trades peculiar to their caste. Some of them became mason, shop keeper, Civil servants, rickshaw puller and orchestral musicians, etc. Better wages and increased income brought radical changes in their day to day life, changes in food habits and dress were also marked. Assistance in the different stages of Schooling helped the Bauris to be educated.

The modern education and altered economy resulted in marked changes among the youths. As youths took the lead in the community, the hereditary officials were no longer respected. General elections and party meetings aroused their political awareness. The activities of the political leaders stationed in the new capital stimulated such awareness among the Bauris.

The changes described in this study are viewed in the light of these enlarged horizons.

#### Condition of old town prior to 1947

Bhubaneswar, the present State capital of Orissa, in India, was famous for its temples and particularly for Lingaraj. It had a long and distinguished history and was a minor pilgrimage centre overshadowed by the Jagannath temple at Puri. It was a small town mostly inhabited by the temple servants (sevakas) of Lingaraj. Bengalis who come here for a change of climate, remained here either for a brief holiday or acquired land and built houses in the neighbourhood of Lingaraj temple and the Kedargouri spring. The different groups of temple servants that is brahmans, non-brahmans, scheduled castes and non-oriyas lived in separate wards called 'Sahi'. "The total population of the town was about three thousand and the residents were exclusively Hindu, a large proportion of which were brahmans and priests" (O'Malley 1929:265). R. L. Mitra, describing the temple town says:—

"Bhubaneswar is an inland out-of-the-way town on the right side of the Puri road at a distance of about 20 miles from Cuttack. According to the district register it is included within the boundary of Killa Khurda, pargunnah, Dandimal and is known under the name of mouza Gosagar" Mitra 1963:98).

The name of Bhubaneswar was generally applied not only to the mouza Gosagar but also to the adjacent villages of Kapileswar and Balagad. In this connection, O'Malley says ".....popularly the name is used not only for Bhubaneswar but also for the village of Kapilprasad and for part of Bargad, the boundary running from Rameswar temple on the north to the Kapileswar temple on the south and from the District Board Bungalow, on the west to the Brahmneswar temple on the east. (1) Bhubaneswar as thus defined, has an area of 3½ square miles. (O' Malley 1929:265).

The temple town prior to 1947, was surrounded by the dense forests of Rampur and Bharatpur, on which the present new capital is situated. The town however, was not cut off from the outer world. It lay on one of the branches of the pilgrim road to Puri, the railway reached the area in 1835(?) and an emergency air field was built on the western edge of the town during the World War II. However, the town itself was still unpretentious. O'Malley writing in 1929, in this connection, says:

".....In Bhubaneswar itself there was only one road worthy of the name, the Baradanda, over which once a year the God's car is pulled from the Lingaraj temple to the temple of Jameswar a distant of over a mile. The roads were all kutchha and undrained". (O'Malley 1929:266.)

Describing the number and nature of houses, population and the condition of the town R. L. Mitra(1963) writing in 1830's, state, that only 716 houses existed in the town of which 249 belong to Kapileswar. The dwellings were thatched and made of wattle and daub. The masonry structures comprised primarily the five monasteries, Lingaraj temple office and few Government buildings. Following the census of 1872, Mitra states that, "the population of the town numbered 3,926 souls, of whom 1,547 were residents of Kapileswar".

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(1) There is a great variation in the spelling as well as the names applied to these villages (Mouzas). The town of Bhubaneswar was the old land settlement village of Gosagar, the modern Kapileswar as previously referred to frequently as Kapilprasad and the village of Baragad is variously spelled as Badaga, Bargad Badagad.

The Brahmin residents depended mainly on the temple for their livelihood whereas the non-brahmins and the Scheduled Castes engaged in agriculture and artisan services.

The town was administered by an elected group called the "Union Board" under the control of the District Board. Though the functions of this Board were many, including health and sanitation, its achievements were minimal due to the shortage of funds. This Board represented five elected heads from Bhubaneswar, Kapileswar and Sunderpada.

#### **New Capital, 1947 onward**

The foundation stone of the State Capital was laid in Bhubaneswar in 1947 by the then premier of India, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru. The first step in building the new town was to clear the adjacent Rampur and Bharatpur forests. As construction progressed, Bhubaneswar became the State headquarters for all the Government offices, the State Secretariat, and the Legislative Assembly. From the early 1900 onward, the population of the town increased due to the immigrants. According to 1961 census the population of Bhubaneswar Notified Area Council area is 38,211 of which 1,572 are male and 1,338 females. Bhubaneswar was declared as a Class IV town in 1951 census but in 1961 census it became a Class III town. According to this census the total number of houses and households in Bhubaneswar Urban areas were 7,939 and 8,211 (Census of India, Vol XII, Orissa, Part II-A, Pg. 182-3).

With the growth of the modern State Capital, conditions in the old town were gradually ameliorated, roads were surfaced and drained, influx of immigrants increased the land values, private and Government houses were constructed in and around the old town for commercial and residential purposes.

The Municipal administration of the town was vested in a group of nominated members called the Notified Area Committee which later on was redesignated as the Notified Area Council. This Council looked after the Municipal activities of Old and New Bhubaneswar, Kapileswar, Bargad and Laxmisagar.

The Bauri wards which were isolated from the clean caste wards prior to 1947 are now connected by pucca roads. The number of visitors to the town had increased. Schools, Colleges and Universities were established in both sections of Bhubaneswar. The commercial importance of the two towns also increased and a number of markets, shopping centres were established in the old and new town.

#### **Changes New Capital produced**

The new town constructed adjacent (2 miles north-east) to the temple town for the State Capital brought changes in the socio-economic-political and ritual aspects of the old town residents of which the Bauries are one.

The economic changes which altered the traditional structure of the resident will be discussed first.

The construction sites in the new town gave employment opportunities to the artisan castes and the Bauris. Residents undertook Government and private construction contracts, wages and cash income attracted the residents in the old town and gradual dislike for some of the traditional occupations increased. Even higher caste groups took up new jobs in the town, for example cultivation castes (Casa) become mason, brahmins civil servants, etc. Secular services in the new towns alienated many old town residents from their traditional society. Thus, the inter-personal, inter-caste and intra-caste relations were cut off.

Due to the influx of population, demand for house plots, rented houses increased and the old town residents who owned lands or houses were economically benefited.

#### **Bauri responses to the changes**

The responses which the Bauris were able to make, to the changes produced by the New Capital were determined by their lower social position and their poverty.

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1. Census of India 1961, Vol. XII, Part II-A, Orissa.
  2. A Class IV town has a population of 10,000 to 19,999.
  3. A Class III town has a population of 20,000 to 49,999.

About 95 per cent of the parents, still in 1965 do not send their children to the school. Those who do so, do not do it regularly. In periods of economic need they withdraw their children from the schools and put them to work although they get full support from the Government for the education of the children.

The youths have adopted the new ways more eagerly than their elders. They have a major aim, i. e. to earn money, which automatically increased their status. The desire to earn money may override the desire to achieve higher social status. So, for example, the youths have formed band parties (Orchestral music parties) which is the duties of the Hadis, who occupy a still lower social position. For this the youths in the beginning were censured by the elders. Even Bauri parents of the nearby villages hesitated to give their daughters in marriage with youths who participated in the Band parties.

The youths acted as an intermediary between the new changes and their traditional society. If the new changes suit their individual choice and fell within their financial capacity, they adopted the changes which later on was borrowed by the others. Shop keeping, stone quarrying, civil service, etc., are tried first by the youths. It is the youths who gave new leadership among the caste and formed new caste panchayat called "Mahabhoi Samity" which indirectly paralysed the traditional hereditary leaders.

During the general elections, for the State legislature, these youths influenced the caste members to choose their representatives. The Kuji Congress organisation formed by these youths brought a socio-religious movement among a particular section of the members. They performed new rites peculiar to their caste such as:—daily worship to the Guru, worship of the husbands by the wives, etc.

The new occupation like barber saloons, laundries, etc., attracted the youths who used those and rejected their caste barbers on the plea that they are traditionalists. The local movies visited by the members has certain influences on their dress, food habits and manners.

## CHAPTER II

## WHO ARE THE BAURIS ?

The Bauris are one of the 93 Scheduled castes in the State of Orissa, as per the Scheduled castes and Scheduled Tribe (modification) Order 1956. Since, they are not included in the four Varnas they are considered by the clean castes as polluting and were untouchables (achhuan). They also call themselves as 'Sons of Hari' (Harijan), a word coined by Mahatma Gandhi. Thus they, claim the facilities given by the Government for their general welfare.

They are found not only in Orissa but also in West-Bengal. Their major concentration in the State, are in the district of Puri, Cuttack, Balasore, Sambalpur, Koraput, Ganjam and Keonjhar. They are also called 'Khadalo' in Ganjam district. They speak Oriya throughout in the State. But in Ganjam and Koraput they are bi-lingual and speak Telegu and Oriya. Their occupations differ from district to district.

According to the traditional theories of Caste, the Aryans were divided into four varnas from the begining of time. Brahmans or priests, Kshyatrivas or warriors, Vaisyas or businessmen and cultivator, Sudras or the menials. All the four categories had their divine origins, i. e. all born from the different limbs of Brahma, the god of creation. Brahmans from his mouth, Kshyatriyes from his arms, Vaisyas from his thighs and Sudras from his feet. These varnas are again sub-divided into numerous castes (Jati) and sub-castes (Upa Jatis). The word 'Varna' is a cultural phenomenon where-as the caste is a social grouping.

The Bauris do not belong to the first three orders of the Varna system nor to the Sudras. Because, the Sudras who are divided into thirty-six different sections, otherwise called as "Chhatisa Pataka", excluded the Bauris from the list. In this connection Praharaj (quoted in Mahapatra 1966) says, that the Bauris do not belong to the "Pataka system", as they are Anaryas (non-Aryans). Further, the Gokhas, Kandaras, Saaras, Hadis, Damas, Camaras, also do not come in the "Chhatisa Pataka" as they were considered untouchables. According to O' Malley (1929) :—

"Orissa has a complete caste system of its own, differing in many respects from that of Bengal. The Brahman, as usual, heads the list, and the next group consists of castes of twice-born rank, of whom the Karans and Khadaits are most numerous in Puri. Then come the clean Sudra castes, from whose hands Brahmans will take water and food cooked with ghi, as opposed to kachhi or ordinary cooked food. These castes are grouped in two sub divisions with reference to the degree of purity of the traditional caste occupatxon. The first sub division includes the Chasas, the most numerous caste of Puri, and the Malis, Rajus and Sudhas, in the second sub division the castes most strongly represented in this district are the Gauras and Gurias. The fourth group consists of unclean Sudras whose touch does not defile, but who may draw water only from masonry wells in metal vessels, and are not jalacharaniya, i. e. the highest castes will not take water from their hands. The most numerous castes in this group are Tantis, Golas, Thorias, Kansaris and Kachras. The fifth group consists of castes whose touch defiles, among whom the most prominent are Telis, Kewats and Kumhars. Next come castes who eat fowls and drink spirits, but who abstain from beef. There are three well-defined sub-groups; the first are served by the Dhoba and have the jyotish as their priest, the second are not served by the Dhoba and have no priest of any kind and the third, though comparable to the second in other respects, rank lower, mainly on account of the freedom of their women. This first sub-group includes Siyals and Chamars, and second Dhobas, Bauris, Khatias and Noliyas and the third Ahir Gauras, Kelas and Kandaras. The last group consists of the very lowest castes and includes in this district Doms, Pans and Haris".

The description cited above presents a bird's-eye-view of the caste position in Puri district. In the traditional caste hierarchy the Bauris occupy alow position but not lower than the Hadis, Kandaras and Mochis as the later perform unclean duties such as scavenging, tanning, etc. which are considered diminishing tasks.

The Bauris under discussion maintain an unique custom i. e. they do not touch water and kutchra food in the houses of many clean castes like goldsmith (Bania), bangle seller (Kachara), washerman which will be discussed in great detail in this chapter. Although the Bauris lived in separate quarters and were considered a polluting caste, they still enjoyed many privileges in the inter caste relationships. For example—they were allowed to enter

\* According to tradition the Patakas are those who deal with their goods in the village markets (Hata). The 36 patakas are : Bhandari, Badhai, Gauda, Kamar, Dhoba, Tanti, Po alibania, Nayak, Tulabhina, Teli, Tambuli, Oda, Casa, Gola, Keuta, Mali, Sundhi, Sankhari, Patara, Kharuda, Kansari, Thatari, Pathuriyai, Vaisya bania, Kachara, Gudia, Kumbhara, Chitrakar, Daraji, Malha, Rangani, Tambari, Lunia, Thodia, Rasara, Buna. (Praharaj, 1933 : 2769).

the outer courtyard of high class brahmins. This author has observed Bauris boiling paddy and preparing rice from paddy in the nearby villages in the brahmin houses. They are also employed as domestic and plough servants in brahman houses and make transactions in paddy in their masters house.

They possess patronymics (Caste surnames) (See chapter-7 Family and Household) equivalent to many clean caste Hindus, above them in the social scale.

### INTER-CASTE RELATION

In this section we shall discuss how the Bauris interact with the other castes in the old town of Bhubaneswar.

Castes ranking above the Bauris] in the social hierarchy will be discussed first.

#### Bauris and Brahmins

A Bauri woman serves as mid-wife (Dhai) in a brahman house at the latter's request for which she gets a new sarree, free meals and petty cash remuneration. Bauri men are appointed as servants in different capacities by the brahman landlords. In such cases they are not treated as inferior in the family and addresses his employer as Father (Nana) and/or Brother (Bhaina). This kinship nomenclatures strengthen the master-servant relationship. In such cases, the employer is considered as an asset and the employee Bauri, in addition to his salary also receive gratuities and help both in cash and kind at the time of need. The male Bauris blow conch shells in the brahman's marriage, sacred thread, re-marriage and other auspicious ceremonies. Sometimes, the brahmins lend money to the Bauris (not serving under them) against annual interest. During lean season, Bauris may also borrow paddy from brahman landlords to be paid at the rate of 50% interest, i. e.  $\frac{1}{2}$  additional measure (Gouni) above that borrowed. The Bauris supply fuel, herbs and other forest produce to the brahmins on demand against a cash equivalent. The social and economic disparity between Bauri and the Brahman prevents social relationship between them.

#### Bauri and Casa

The cultivator or the casa caste employ Bauris in their paddy fields as labourers. In spite of their differences in social position both these communities are in friendly terms. That, the Bauris are not considered polluting by the casas is demonstrated by the joint feast after the harvest. Bauris blow conch shell in the casa houses, at the latter's marriage and in other auspicious ceremonies. Other relations are more or less as those with the brahmins.

This relation seems to be shaken after the establishment of the new capital as most of the Bauris do not like to work in paddy fields and to be employed as plough servants.

#### Bauri and Dhoba

Washerman (dhoba) occupy a higher position in the social scale than the Bauris. But the Bauris never touch water or kutcha food in washer man's house. They do not carry manure from a washerman house to the paddy field in carts. They do not blow conch shells at their marriages. They also do not thatch the houses of the dhobas and do not carry vegetable loads (bhara) to the latter's relatives. A washerman on the other hand do not wash the menstrual clothes of Bauri women and will not iron their clothes.

After 1940, this situation changed when a mutual agreement was reached between the leaders of both the communities. According to the agreement, the dhobas would clean only the clothes worn by the patua dancers (See Chapter-8) and the Bauris would blow conchs in the former's marriage and marriage ceremonies.

#### Bauri and Bania

According to Bauri beliefs, the Banias (goldsmith) once washed night soil to get a piece of gold. Since, this was the work of the sweepers (Hadi), the Bauris consider Banias lower than themselves in the social scale. This opinion of the relative status of the castes is not shamed by the other castes.

A Bauri never touches water and kutchra food in a Bania house and never serves as a porter from a Bania house to that of their relatives. J. B., a Bauri resident in Bhubaneswar in this connection, said, that in 1944, one S. S., a local goldsmith offered him one hundred rupees to carry a load of vegetables to his relatives house, but he refused the offer for fear of losing prestige in his caste. Bauris do not blow conchs in the Bania houses.

After independence this relationship has changed. Madhaba an elderly Bauri of Bhubaneswar in this connection said, during the congress raj there is no distinction between the Bauris and the other clean caste as all are equal. He referred to instances where his caste brothers were performing services like conch blowing, portoring to the Bania houses which had been formerly forbidden.

#### Bauri and other castes

Bauris do not touch water in the house of a Rajput. My informants could offer no rationalization for this restriction.

Similarly a Bauri won't lift a load on to the head of an oil presser, oil seller (Teli) or milkan (Gauda), Bauris consider the Hadis, Kandaras, Mochis and Doms, inferior to them in the social hierarchy. But the relations of a Bauri with a Muslim is interesting. Even though the Muslims are considered lower than the Bauris by the castes, Bauris will serve as their palanquin bearers. In West Bengal, the Bauris claim palanquin bearing to be one of their main occupations, but this is not true in Orissa.

### INTER-CASTE RELATION

Bauris form a largely self sufficient social and ceremonial unit in themselves. They have their own musicians priests, weavers. As said earlier they are also divided into several exogamous units.

A section of the Bauris with surname Das (not all Das) acts as family priest and perform the necessary rituals for marriages and funerals. Their caste leaders (Beheras and Ganjaharis) serve as their barbers both for funeral and on ordinary occasions. The Behera's wife also acts as the female barber in their client's house. It is she, who carries the girl to the marriage altar. The Ghumura Bauris play musical instruments during a Bauri marriage and on other ceremonies. The Bauri weavers supplied clothes to the other members in the Community.

The traditional intra-caste self sufficiency do no longer holds good in 1965. Many have taken to new trades and are educated. The youths prefer mill made clothes and reject the hand spun cloth. The barber saloons in the new town are preferred most and on ordinary occasions, they cut hair near the Telugu barbers who visit their wards in frequent intervals. But on funeral and other ritual occasions, the caste Beheras cut a token portion of the hair and the rest is done by the immigrant Telugu barbers. The landerers in the new town, wash Bauri clothes which the oldtown dhobis refuse.

#### Bauri Legendary Origins

In India, Bauris are found in Orissa and West Bengal. Several origin stories and legends are told about the origin of the Bauri caste. The origin stories mentioned by Risley (1892) differs from Thurston (1909). As well as those obtained by me.

Several stories and legends are told about the origin of the Bauri caste. The Bauris are found in Orissa and West Bengal. The origin stories mentioned by Risley (1892) differs from Thurston (1909) as well as those, I obtained in the field. Whatever may be the variation in legendary origin, whether the Bauris represent a physical variation remains to be ascertained.

Since, we are not concerned here with the Bauri community in general, a bird-eye-view of the scanty references is all that will be summarized here. The origin stories collected from the Bhubaneswar Bauris will be discussed here in great detail as it comes under the purview of the present study.

Risley (1892) in "Tribes and castes of Bengal" says : ".....Their meagre folklore throws on light their origin. According to one story they were degraded for attempting to steal food from the banquet of gods, another profess to trace them back to a mythical ancestor named Babaka Rishi (the bearer of burdens) and tells how, while returning in a marriage procession, they sold the palanquin they hired to carry, got drunk on the proceeds and assulted their Guru who cursed them for the sacrilege and condemned them to rank thence forward among the lowest castes of the community" (Risley 1892).

This legend throws no light on the Orissan Bauris in general and the Bhubaneswar Bauris in particular. Thurston (1909) in "Castes and Tribes of Southern India" (Vol. I) while discussing the Bauris only quotes the above story.

The following origin story collected by me during the field work in the old town Bhubaneswar runs as follows:—

"Once the Mahaprabhu (Lingaraj) appeared before the Raja in a dream and told him to construct a temple for him in the town (Bhubaneswar). Next morning the king called his courtiers and ordered them to construct a temple. When the temple was half done, a demon came and dismantled the structure. The king was very angry and appointed people to watch the miscreant. But no one was caught by the people appointed by the king. Then the Raja prayed to Mahaprabhu and Mahaprabhu remained at the entrance of the structure in person and created a dog and a man called Kalandi (?) to help him. At the dead of night while the demon was destroying the structure he was killed by Mahaprabhu. After the death of the demon Kalandi made a potters wheel from the legs of the demon and immediately fashioned an earthen jug. The skin of the demon was tied to the entrance of the jug and a drum (Ghumura) was created".

This legend serves only to rationalize the use of the Ghumura drum by certain local Bauris. Also, it lays claim to Kalandi as their ancestor. Undoubtedly an extensive collection of Baur origin legends would be a rewarding study in itself.

### HINDU LEGENDARY ORIGIN

The only printed source available on the origin of the Bauris is the "Sidhanta Dambaru" by late Balaram Das. Quotations from this Book has appeared in another english book called, "Morden Buddhism and its followers in Orissa" by N. N. Basu. Basing on the Oriya book, Basu has thrown some light on the origin of the Bauris.

Basu (1931) in this connection says "..... Whatever may be the value of these lines, they possess at least some historical interest. From them we obtain at least glimpses into the origin of the Bathuris or Bauris. Similar stories on origin are also to be met with in the puranas, but the story of Sidhanta Dambaru is not corroborated by any puranic work, whether Hindu or Buddhistic. In all probability it is either a traditional history of the tribes, passing from generations from mouth to mouth, and given a tangible literary shape by the poet, or based upon materials drawn from some other work existing at that time, now either buried in oblivion or quite extinct." (Basu; 1931: 17—18),

The origin story of the Bauris stated by Basu, differs from that of the origin of the Hindu castes.

"From the right side of Nirakar sprang the Bipras into existence and from his mouth Viswamitra, and from this Viswamitra the Bauris came into being. The vipras in their turn, divided into seven classes, e. g., Cri, Rath, Das, Misra, Acarya, Pani, Pati. All these are mentioned as sons of Vasistha. From the right side of Nirakar also sprang, in full bloom, the goddess Padmalaya, who was married to Viswamitra. The fruit of this union was a son named Ananta Kandi Bauri and afterwards Duli Bauri. It is also said that Duli Bauri and his descendants studied Vedas with brahmins. Who were regarded as their elder brothers. Bavokandi Paramananda Bhoi and Radha Samal—the three descendants of Padmalaya and the Duli Bauri. Citrovaci was the second wife of Viswamitra, by whom he had three sons, Kucasrava, Vidhukuca and Urbacusa from whom the Bauris are descended. Viswamitra married another wife, viz., Gandhakeci, who, too, blessed him with three sons, Pravaca, Udyam and Sadhudharma, and these came to be known as Baghutis. Viswamitra had yet another concert Vayurekha, who also was the mother of the same number of sons. They were named Javarsaya, Vijav srava, Vijay ketu and founded the Savar Tribe. These four castes, viz., Duli Bauri, Bauri, Baghuti and Cavara came afterwards to be divided into twelve sub-castes". (Basu, 1931: 17=18).

The Bauris of Bhubaneswar blow conchs locally called 'Sankha' in marriage, remarriage, sacred investiture, ceremonies of the Brahman and other clean castes. In Sidhanta dambaru, the author has touched an important point, in which he has described how they got the conchshell. As for illustration :

"Of the three sons of Padmalaya the eldest had once a meeting with Vishnu, who killed Sankhasura and gave him the Sankha" (Basu, 1931 : 19).

Basu, in this connection explained the word 'Sankha' as Buddhistic 'Sangha' (organisation). Because, Basu, in this work has tried to prove the Bauris to be Buddhists and who later on were Hinduised.

"Duli Bauri was Padmalaya's descendant, he would read the vedas with brahmins. The brahmins were older than he. The fact of the Bauris studying the Vedas was kept concealed from king Prataprudradev.

Hence, it is evident that the Bauris were regarded as equal in rank with the brahmins and that they observed the rights and followed the observances of Buddhism until the time of Prataprudradev of Orissa. . . . . They were afterwards persecuted by his court. Now reading the history of Utkal together with Sidhant dambaru, one must accept as the natural conclusion, our belief that it was the dread persecution by the king that compelled the Buddhist priests of the Bauri Caste to seek shelter in concealment" (Basu, 1931 : 21).

In sum, Basu tried to prove that the Bauris were formerly Buddhists who were later on Hinduised during the reign of Prataprudradev. Another important point raised from his argument is that the Bauris were the brothers of brahmins and are born to the sage Biswamitra.

#### Sub-Caste

The Bauris of Orissa are divided into four sections whereas the Bauris in West Bengal are divided into nine sub-castes, e. g. Malabhumis, Sikharia, or Gobaria, Mola or Mula, Dhulo or Dhulai, Jharia or Jhetia, Kathuria, Pathuria, Thurston (1909) mentions two sub-castes of Bauris residing in Ganjam district in Orissa, Dhulias call them Khadalo and claim superiority over others.

The Bauri residents of Orissa reflect in different from the stereo-typed or the idea of 4 sub-castes and are arranged in the following order in the intercaste hierarchy. These sections are endogamous. They are given below.

#### Mahabhoi or Great Bhoi

This sub-caste is found in Bhubaneswar old town and in nearby villages. Those who are resident of a sacred town also designate them as 'Lion Place Bauris' (singhasthan Bauri). They are mostly earth workers, agricultural labours and stone cutters. But they have taken to many new trades after the establishment of the new township.

#### 2. Tanara Bauri

The Tanharas are seen in the ex-states of Orissa such as Nayagarh, Khandapara in Puri district. Informants say that they are traditionally mat (Mandura) makers and agricultural labourers. "They are also found in Athamallik and Narasinghpur in Orissa and today have turned to rickshaw pulling and day labourer" (Misra et al 1963 : 62).

#### 3. Ghumura Bauri

The Bauri musicians are also called Ghumura Bauris. They occupy a lower position in their social hierarchy. They play on their traditional drum (Ghumura) in Bauri marriages.

#### 4. Buna Bauri

The Bauri weavers are called as such and occupy the lowest position. They supplied clothes woven in their primitive looms to the caste people in the past.

Each sub-caste mentioned above were traditionally endogamous and identified themselves by specialised occupations. Inter-marriage and commensality were forbidden among them. I was also told that, each group has their respective caste associations. These were observed very strongly in 1940 and is no longer observed in 1960. Though no inter-marriage in or with the Bhubaneswar Bauris has yet occurred, commensality in 1960's is infrequent.

The elderly Bauris blame the Congress Raj in the country for these social changes. One informant stated that the younger generation in the community have started orchestral parties and play on modern musical instruments in the clean caste marriages. Playing on musical instruments being the duties of the Hadis, a lowest caste in the society, the younger generation are condemned by the elderly people.



## CHAPTER 3

## BAURI CENSUS AND WARDS IN THE OLD TOWN

A ward to ward and house to house, census was taken by the author of the old town Bauris in 1964-65. The findings of the census are cited in the following table. These figures do not include the whole of the Bhubaneswar N. A. C. area. The total Bauri population in the old town is 654 of which 349 are males and 305 females.

TABLE 1

## Bauri population in Bhubaneswar

Ward	Total	Male	Female	Adults	Youths	Children
Pichu Sahi ..	32	19	13	20	5	7
Mati Sahi ..	59	31	28	33	17	9
Gate Sahi ...	47	25	22	31	14	2
Matha Sahi ..	75	45	30	53	15	7
Huda Sahi ..	193	97	96	149	29	15
Nalamunha Sahi ..	29	17	12	20	1	8
Nageswartangi Sahi ..	107	56	51	76	18	3
Chilipokhari Sahi ..	32	19	13	21	9	2
Kalikadevi Sahi ..	18	8	10	15	2	1
Kancha Sahi ..	62	32	30	46	8	8
Total ..	654	349	305	364	118	72

Note—Youths—5 to 15 years  
Children—up to 5 years

## AGE AND SEX DISTRIBUTION

## Age

The ages given by the respondents are only approximate as they neither possess horoscopes nor do they pay much attention to their ages. The census of the ten wards show a sharp dropping off in the figures though they were rechecked and were corroborated. Since, it is highly unlikely that the birth rate has fallen to this extent in the last five years, it suggests that children below five tends to be forgotten in the enumerations. In turn, this may be explained by the high infant mortality that has existed in Orissa, in the past and still in the present. According to the vital statistics of Orissa in 1952 the infant mortality rates per 1,000 were still 134.12.

## Sex Distribution

In a population of 654, as my census indicates that there are 44 more males than females among the Bauris of old town. The surplus of recorded males may be due to the fact that both the respondents and the ethnographer are males and that women, specially female infants, tend to be under enumerated because they are underprized compared to males. The surplus of Bauri males in the 10 wards surveyed is proportionately less than the surplus males in the population of Bhubaneswar as a whole. In the 1961 census, the total population of Bhubaneswar N. A. C. was 38,211 of whom 22,580 were males and 15,631 females. In other words, surplus males represent only about 7 per cent of the old town Bauri population whereas surplus males constitute about 20 per cent of the total population of the Notified Area.

The surplus male population of Bhubaneswar as a whole is explained by the immigration of single males seeking work in the new capital. At the time of census there were only three Bauri immigrant households consisting of nine persons (6 male and 3 females) giving a surplus of three males among recent immigrants in the Bauri wards either in rented houses or with their friends and relatives. There are three single male immigrants. Following is a statement of sex disproportionate in different Bauri wards in the oldtown.

Pichusahi	..	6	surplus males from total	32	population
Gatesahi	..	3	Ditto	47	Do.
Matisahi	..	3	Ditto	59	Do.
Mathasahi	—	15	Ditto	75	Do.
Hudasahi	..	1	Ditto	139	Do.
Nalamunhasahi	..	5	Ditto	29	Do.
Nageswartangisahi	..	5	Ditto	107	Do.
Kanchasahi	..	2	Ditto	62	Do.
Chilipokharisahi	—	6	Ditto	62	Do.
Kalikadevisahi	..	2	surplus females out of	18	population

The figures indicate that the disproportion of males to females occur in four sahis but the marked difference is in Mathasahi. Of the 44 surplus males in the census, it is possible to account for eleven surplus adult males as follows. (1) Firstly there is an immigrant male in the ward in the house of his married daughter (1) Secondly one household did not remarry after the death of his wife but adopted a son (3) Thirdly there are three male divorcees in the Math ward.

As a polluting caste, the Bauris occupied separate wards on the outskirts of the temple town as is customary in Orissan villages. In the Bhubaneswar temple town, there was originally one Bauri ward called 'Huda Sahi', located above the western bank of the temple tank Bin usagar. None of the informants know the exact date of establishment of this ward. According to one informant, it was established when cowrie shells were used in Orissa. This suggests a minimal date of the last decade of the 18th century because cowrie shells were banned in favour of coins only in 18091. At this time Huda Sahi was considered to be on the outskirts of the temple town and was at some distance from the wards of clean temple servants.

Gradually with the population growth and immigration among the Bauris this ward was split into two additional wards, viz. Mati or Chemendi Sahi and Nalamunha sahi. Another ward was also established by the immigrant Bauris at this time on the premises of the Bharati Monastery (Math) and was known as the 'Matha Sahi'. From these wards, in turn several off shoots sprang up.

All these later off shoots were established on the outskirts of the town away from the clean caste dwellings. The Matha Sahi was an exception as it was located within the compound of that monastery which in turn was among the clean temple servant wards. However, the practice of isolation was maintained in the monastery. The residents of this ward lived within a compound wall and a separate well and two roads were prescribed by the Monastery head for their use. On these paths, north of the monastery compound the Bauris carried their corpses and led their marriage processions.

After the establishment of the new capital many people have settled on land around the Bauri wards that previously was empty. In this process the Bauri wards have been surrounded by new constructions. Even clean caste persons have constructed houses within the Bauri wards

1. History of Freedom movement in Orissa, edited by H. K. Mahatab, 1957 Pg. 75 (However that cowries continued to be used long after they were banned).

themselves and many Bauris have rented their houses to clean caste people. In Mati Sahi two immigrants one a barber and the other a warrior (Khandayat) have built houses and live in this ward. In Pichu and Nageswar tangi sahis, three persons have rented out part of their residences to outsiders.

In this monograph, ten Bauri wards in the old town of Bhubaneswar under the jurisdiction of the Notified Area Council have been studied. They are, Pichu Sahi, Gate Sahi, Mati Sahi, Huda Sahi, Nalamunha Sahi, Nageswar Sahi, Kalika Devi Sahi, Kancha Sahi, and the Chilipokhari Sahi. The additional tenth ward consists of two sub-divisions, Budhi Huda and Kusa Padia situated near the Rajarani temple on both the sides of the Tankapani road.

Chilipokhari sahi is included because it is a recent off-shoot (1945-46) from one of the main Bauri sahis of the old town. These ten Bauri wards are described in detail in the following pages and diagram 1 shows the fission of Bauri wards in the old town, Bhubaneswar.

### GROWTH OF POPULATION

Bhubaneswar, the present state capital of Orissa was a small village famous for the Lingaraj Temple. This area was mainly inhabited by the Lingaraj temple servants (Sevakas) and of few Bengalis. According to census of 1872, Bhubaneswar meant not only the village proper but also the village of Kapileswar. The total population of the town was 4,209 of which 1,717 belonged to Bhubaneswar and 2,885 were in Kapileswar. The total Bauri population was 492 of which 118 lived in Bhubaneswar and 374 in Kapileswar (Mitra 1963).

It is difficult to assess the population of the Bauris in Bhubaneswar town in the decennial censuses of 1932, 1941 and 1951, as no figures on the Bauris of Bhubaneswar are given. However the following estimate on the Bauri population of Bhubaneswar are offered as an informed guess. As stated above in 1872, the Bauri population of Bhubaneswar, perhaps included only the residents Huda sahi which numbered 118. As this number increased in the latter years due to both natural reproduction and immigration, new wards were established to accomodate the growing population. According to the census taken by the author in 1964-65, the Bauris living in these ten wards numbered 622 of which 330 are males and 292 females. This represents approximately a fivefold increase of 0.16 per cent per annum. The fission of Bauri wards in the old town occurred primarily between 1930 and 1950 with three new wards established in the mid 1930's. Availability of unoccupied Government land in the immediate neighbourhood of the original wards was an important reason for the diffusion.

The population cited in the following table will discuss the variation of population both in Puri district and Bhubaneswar town as an attempt to see the growth of Bauri population in respect to the total population.

TABLE 2

*Variation of population during 60 years in Puri district*

Year	Total population	Per cent of decade variation
1901	1,325,575	
1911	1,351,525	+1.96
1921	1,214,573	-10.13
1931	1,346,602	+10.87
1941	1,455,888	+8.12
1951	1,572,262	+7.99
1961	1,865,439	+18.65

Sources :

- 1 District Census Hand Book, 1951  
Puri, Pg. 30
- 2 Census of India  
Vol. IA.  
Pg. 50-1

Puri district in sixty years (1901-61) shows a population increase of only some 500,000 or approximately 30 per cent whereas the Bauris in the old town showed in 90 years an increase of some 500 per cent. If we estimate the population of the Bauris in the old town in 1901 to be about 200, then within 60 years they have increased about 300 per cent in Bhubaneswar whereas the population of Puri district has increased only some 70 per cent. This suggests that there has been both a disproportionately high birth rate and a very heavy immigration of Bauris from villages to the town.

Following is a list of case Histories of the Bauri immigrants.

#### 1. U. B. of Pichu Sahi

"After my marriage in 1939 when my brother-in-law died, my father-in-law invited me to stay with him in Bhubaneswar. Accordingly, I came here from my natal village (Baramunda) and remained here permanently."

#### 2. A. K. of Matha Sahi

"I fell in love with a clean caste girl, in whose family I worked as a plough servant. When my master (the girl's father) learned this, he threatened to kill me. Then I came here with the girl and stayed in the Dharmasala. After staying here for several days I contacted some local Bauris and approached the Mahanta of the Bharati Math, who allotted me a small piece of land in the compound. I have now become a permanent resident of the ward."

#### 3. L. B. of Huda Sahi

"While working in the town under a landlord as a plough servant my mother-in-law arranged her daughter's marriage with me and I moved into her house at Bhubaneswar permanently after the marriage."

During the field survey about 20 persons were located who had migrated to Bhubaneswar during the early part of the 20th century when they were starving and the Ramakrishna Mission established in 1935-36 distributed rice in the town to needy persons.

### FISSION OF BAURI WARDS

The fission of Bauri wards took place between 1930-50 mainly due to congestion, litigation and family quarrels, insanitary conditions, especially the bad smell of latrines; and availability of vacant lands in the immediate neighbourhood of the parent wards. This fission of wards has a curious characteristic, i. e., the fissions took place directionally. The offshoots of Huda Sahi went the north and east, the offshoots of Matha Sahi went east, and south east and the offshoot of Mati Sahi went the West. Enquiry shows that families generally chose directions for establishing new wards which brought them closest to the land they worked. Whether paddy fields or stone quarries. Then tendency was to move in the directions of their place of employment. It should be emphasized that the major expansion of the Bauris occurred prior to the establishment of the New Capital in 1947. In the last two decades the encroachment of land for the expanding population resulting from the New Capital has reversed the process. There are now intruders in Bauri settlement rather than Bauri encroachment of formerly unoccupied areas. The one exception was the Chilipokhari Sahi which is the most distant and isolated of the present wards. Diagram 1, represents the fission of Bauri wards.

### DESCRIPTION OF BAURI WARDS

In description of wards the following topics will be systematically reviewed. (1) location and history (2) number of house-holds, how related (3) amenities (well, road, drainage electricity etc). (4) shops (5) neighbourhood (6) deity and its priest (7) special features e.g. band party, king-queen-ox dance etc.

#### 1. Pichu Sahi (Map-1)

This ward is situated to the north-east of the civil aerodrome and west of the south-eastern railway track. It is an offshoot of the Mati sahi and was established in the year 1935-36. It is so named, because during the construction of the civil aerodrome empty coal tar (Pichu) drums were stored here at this spot. Three families in Mati sahi could not accommodate their increasing family in their small houses. Also they could not tolerate the smell of the latrines owned by adjacent clean caste brahmins. They searched for vacant lands which proved to be on land owned by Lingaraj Temple. They approached the temple manager for registration and all the families jointly paid one hundred rupees to him for permission to construct their huts at this place. These families are related by birth and belong to one constituency (chapter 9—Authority structure). Later, the other 3 families joined the Original migrants.

In 1965, there are six households in this ward and all the houses are kutchra and thatched roof. Three households are related to each other and the other three households are totally correlated to each other or to the original settlers.

This ward is undrained and has no pucca road. In 1962 a well was dug in this ward by the state Tribal & Rural Welfare Department of the state Government. Before which, the residents used the Kukuteswar tank for drinking, bathing and cooking purposes. The history of this well was donated to the residents by T. & R. W. Department through a local clean caste brahman working in this department.

The residents dug well under the supervision of this clean caste brahman. When the well was half dug he said to the residents that all the allotted money has been exhausted. What happened to the money is unknown but it was rumoured that the amount was misappropriated by the clean caste brahman under whom the well was dug.

The ward has no shop and the residents visit the tea and pan shops near the Gate Sahi. They go to the clean caste wards for daily shopping.

Recently (1960-4) many new houses have been constructed in the immediate neighbourhood of this ward on temple land recently leased out by the Lingaraj Temple Endowment.

As there is no deity in this ward, the residents worship Chemendai in Mati Sahi.

There is no drama house, Band party and Trinath shrine in this ward. The residents cross the railway track to spend this leisure in Gate Sahi. The Bauris in this ward like the other Bauris regret the clearance of the forest because it has deprived them of free fuel and hunting. The doubling of railway track in 1964 further endangered the position of the residents. In this connection J. B. said ;

"When there was one railway line we did not pay much attention to our domestic animals but after the doubling we have become very careful about them. The double line is a second tiger.

He said, that three sheep and six goats had been crushed recently by trains. The residents depute one person of the ward to watch their domestic animals on the grazing land. This means that one family loses a daily wage of potential outside workers.

#### **Gate Sahi (Map-2)**

Punama Gate is a railway level crossing to the west of the ward. Punama an old Muslim woman lived here, when her son was the Gate-Keeper.

This ward is named after her. It is located to the east of the railway gate and the Civil aerodrome and to the west of a clean caste brahmin wards.

In 1935-6, the first migration to this ward took place. In 1964 (?) seven households occupied this ward all of whom belong to one pada organisation.

The ward road is metalled but undrained. The residents use the well (20) owned by the South-Eastern Railway. In 1940 the railway gate keeper forbade the residents to use this well forcing them to use the Kukuteswar tank. Six months later, the Gate-Keeper went blind, which the Bauris attributed to his denying them the railway well. After this event the Bauris were requested by the gate keeper to use well water. At present the Bauris use this well alongwith the other clean caste residents for cooking, drinking and bathing purposes. This ward road was electrified by the N. A. C. in 1964-65.

There are two tea and pan shops in this ward owned respectively by an oil man (Teli) and a brahmin. The Bauris mostly patronise the brahmin shop keeper (18) as he helps them both in cash and kind at the time of need. Secondly he lives in this ward in his own house. A grocery shop started in this ward by the oilman caste shop keeper in November 1964 but was closed in January 1965, as the proprietor was unable to extend much credit to the Bauris. The Bauris generally are accustomed to depending on credit transactions in the old town shops. They claimed that oil man shop keeper tried to cheat the Bauris both in weight and price.

In 1963-64, three new houses (9,10,11) were constructed by two clean caste brahmins and rented to two peddlers. The adjacent vacant land to the north, south and west are now owned by private persons expect to build residences. One Bauri woman in the ward told me that, the new town has done great harm to them. After the forests were cleared the Bauris could no longer easily gather fuel. Further the males but particularly the females, are ashamed to defecate back of their houses and have to go a long distance to relieved themselves. Prior to this they used the space behind of their houses as latrines. To the north of the ward is situated one of the cremation grounds (19) of the town. The residents of Gate Sahi dislike having a cremation ground near their ward and having funerals pass through it. Those who believe in ghosts and spirits say that "the spirit of the dead man remain in their ward to raise havoc when a corpse passes by their road." The author was also told that the Bauri youths once protested to a group of persons carrying a corpse through their ward and that the mourners ultimately by-passed it.

There is no deity in this ward and the residents worship the Goddess Chemendai in Mati sahi. In 1964-65, a small temple (13) and a platform were constructed to the Trinath Gods by a clean caste railway employee stationed at the level crossing. The Bauris have contributed their labour to it. They attend the Trinath worship regularly and spend their leisure time on its platform playing cards and sitting in the adjacent tea stall. The following story was told to me by a young Bauri of this ward which runs as follows:

"During the doubling of the railway line we the residents of the ward, requested the railway contractor to help us by giving building materials like cement, iron rods and boulders to build a Trinath Temple. We wanted such a temple when we saw such temples under banyan trees in town. At first the contractor refused to supply materials which disheartened us. One day a railway officer demolished the temporary shed for the Trinath Gods. That very day cholera broke out in the contractor's labour camp. When two of the labourers died and the contractor himself suffered from dysentery, he helped us to build the temple and the platform. A sadhu who stays here on the platform worships the deities daily."

There is no drama group or band party in this ward at present. But in 1940, there was a drama group in Mati sahi in which the residents participated.

### Mati Sahi (Map-3)

This ward is also called 'Chemendai sahi' after the name of the ward deity (12) situated at the entrance of the ward under the banyan tree. It is also called 'Mati sahi' (Lit. Earth ward), because the local clean caste residents used to dig red earth at this place to plaster their mud walls. To date, the establishment of this ward is 1900. This is the parent ward of the Gate and Pichu sahis described earlier. But it is in turn an offshoot of Huda (Map 5) sahi, to be discussed later. According to informants they left this ward because there was insufficient homestead land for the growing population and because of the foul smell of the latrines back of which this ward was situated. In 1952 a barber (b'andari) from South Orissa built residential houses in this ward.

Ten Bauri households occupy this ward and the residents belong to one Pada organisation.

There is no regular road constructed either by the inhabitants or by the local municipal authorities in this ward. The ward road is uneven, zigzag, undrained and the houses are scattered. There are, two wells in the ward owned by household numbers one and four. In addition some of the families also use the well of house No. 13, owned by a Bengali. These private wells supply drinking water to the Bauris. They also use the tank Godipokhari, situated to the east of the ward for bathing purposes. Prior to 1963, the Bauris as a polluting caste were restricted to the use of only one bank of the tank. Since then the restriction is no longer observed. In 1955, an electric light post has been installed by the N.A.C. near the ward deity, at the entrance of the ward.

This ward has no shop and the residents use the pan and tea shops located near Gate sahi. For sundry goods they visit the local market.

This ward is surrounded by clean caste wards to the east and north. The vacant lands to the west of the ward now been purchased by private persons.

The ward Deity Chemendai was worshipped by a Bauri of this ward. But after his death a clean caste person has undertaken the worship of the deity which led to a quarrel between the residents and the brahmin. As a result the annual caste feast organised by the residents has been stopped. On enquiry, it was found that the clean caste person was not liked by the residents because of his quarrelsome nature.

In 1940, there was a drama house (akhada) in Mati sahi which the residents of Pichu and Gate sabis used for the purpose. After the death of one B. R. of Gate sahi who was their leader this house has fallen into disrepair and is unused for lack of leadership, and enthusiasm. The residents in this ward fear the criticisms of their elders on the score that drum beating was the task of the lower caste Hadi. They have however started one King-queen-ox dance and are invited by private persons as entertainers at marriages and sacred investitures.

#### Matha Sahi (Map 4)

This ward is named after the Bharati math, on whose premises it is situated. This is one of the parent wards of the old town Bauris established in 1897. According to informants, two Bauri families were brought from a village near Khurda to work as wage labour in the monastery. Later Bauri families migrated to this ward from different villages and took up residences here in this ward with the permission of the monastery head. According to the land settlement records of the State Government 0.25 acre of rent free (niskar) homestead and has been allotted to the residents in this ward in return for the uncompensated labour (Bethi) they perform in the monastery and all the 15 families live on this land. This is the most congested ward in the town.

Some of the residents are related by birth and others belong to the same Pada Organisation. The local municipal authorities have not constructed any road drains in the ward as the land belongs to the monastery. Nevertheless the monastery head collects the municipality house tax from the residents. Congestion has led some of the residents to migrate to Kancha sahi and Kalikadevi Sahi. The remaining residents still hope to find other living areas. The residents in this ward, used the well (18) on the premises of the monastery but since, 1964 tap water has been provided by the municipality on the road side for cooking and bathing purposes. Previously they also used the temple tank Bindusagar for bathing.

As there is no shop in the ward, the residents visit nearby tea stalls (20-21) and grocery shops.

This ward from the beginning is situated amidst the clean caste wards within the monastery compound. The ward deity 'Duladei' is located a furlong west of the ward near the town U. P. School. A Bauri priest (Kalasi) worships the deity on behalf of the ward. The residents visit the Trinath platform near Kancha sahi to worship the Trinath gods on Tuesday and Thursday.

There is no drama party and Band party in the ward in 1966. But in 1961 a drama party functioned in this ward in which all the residents participated. The drama party used the community house (Bhagabat ghar) which was constructed in 1959 with a financial grant from the Mahanta of this ward. As this drama house has been disbanded in 1963, the Bhagabat ghar has fallen into disrepair. In 1966, the residents gather in group at the Ganesh platform at the entrance of the ward in their leisure hour. Sometimes they join the clean caste people in the Trinath worship arranged at this platform. During the ceremony Bauris smoke ganja in the same pipe with the clean caste participants. From 1961, a Durga Puja committee was established in the ward to which the residents contribute five paise per day and worship the clay images of Ram, Krishna, Hanuman (monkey chief), etc., on the Ganesh platform during the Dussera festival.

#### Huda Sahi (Map 5)

This ward was established in 1809 and is so named as it is situated on the bank (Huda) of Bindusagar tank. It is established beside the main road from Badadanda to the Bhubaneswar railway station. There is a Nilakantheswar temple at the entrance to this ward. The land on which the ward is situated belongs to a Badu family which in turn permitted the Bauris to establish themselves on this land in return for uncompensated labour (Bethi) to the family such as cowshed cleaning, agricultural labour, etc.

There are 41 households in this ward most of which are related by birth and all belong to one Pada (constituency).

Being one of the parent wards of the Bauris, this sahi possess a community house (45) a ward deity (46) and a well (44). There is a regular road in the ward which was metalled in 1965 by the N.A.C. The ward is underdrained but electrified in 1966. The ward well is not used by the residents as the water is foul smelling. Instead, they use the water of the Bindusagar where a separate bank has been allotted to them. During the renovation of Bindusagar in 1964-65, they did not use

the tank for drinking and cooking purposes. A water tap was installed by the N. A. C., in 1966 to provide drinking water to the residents. They also use the wells owned by the clean caste people. Each house had a plot of land behind it, where vegetables were grown and straw, etc. were kept for future use. Since 1958-59, these backyard plots have been acquired by the N. A. C. for a children park. Unfortunately, the swing and other game apparatus provided by the N. A. C. for this park have been stolen and destroyed by some miscreants and the park is unused. Thus the Bauris have been deprived of their land to no purpose.

In 1965, a tea and pan shop (9) has been opened in the ward by one of its residents and the ward youths spend their leisure time there. This shop keeper buys an Oriya daily which is read aloud to the residents in the evening.

The vacant lands to the east of the ward are now occupied by private persons and residential houses have been constructed on it.

The ward deity 'Mangala' is situated in the middle of the ward under a small tree. The Bauri male worships the Goddess every day but on the Dussera and Pana Sankranti days feasts are held here in which all the ward members participate. There is no Trinath temple in the ward but the residents occasionally arrange the puja in name of this deity. Further, they also join the Trinath worship arranged by the clean castes near Nalamunha sahi.

In 1940, there was a drama group in this ward which used the community house for rehearsals. This group has been disbanded since 1954 due to differences of opinion among the members. Since then the Community house (Bhagabat<sup>1</sup> ghar) has fallen disrepair. In 1965, some elderly people in this ward have formed a Bhagabat group and in the evening the sacred Krishna story book (Bhagabat) is read by a member to all who gather. Mainly the elders listen to the Krishna story whereas the young people listen to the newspaper in the ward shop in 1966. There are two Band parties in this ward which are hired to play for wedding, sacred thread and other processions.

#### Nalamunha Sahi (Map 6)

Literally this ward means Drain (Nala) mouth (Munha) Sahi as a small drain starts from this sahi. There is no pucca or kucha road into the ward and it is separated by the drain from main road. No bridge has yet been constructed on this drain connecting the ward with the main road. During the rainy season the residents use the land joining the main road opposite to this drain to enter and leave the ward. But on other days they cross the drain to the south to enter and exit of the ward. This ward was established in 1942-43 and is an offshoot of the Huda sahi.

This ward consists of 5 households all of whom are related by birth. They claim (?) to belong to one family.

For drinking and cooking purposes the residents use a well (9) owned by a Bengali and take their bath in the Bindusagar tank. After the establishment of a water tap (10) close to the ward, they use this for bathing and cooking purposes. They however use the water of the drain for cleaning utensils, watering cattle, etc. There is no electricity in the ward and is undrained.

There was no shop in the ward until 1965 when a tea stall (7) was opened in the house of a resident where both the residents and the clean castes drink tea and gossip. The residents visit the nearby shops for their commodities.

The neighbourhood of the ward which was once a scrub jungle has now been turned into a well-to-do residential area.

As an offshoot of the Hudu sahi, Nalamunha has no ward deity or community house. Instead, they worship the Dundia and Hatiasuni (11) goddess situated to the east of the ward and use the community house of Nageswar sahi.

This tea stall (7) is used as a recreation centre where they play cards, arrange Trinath worship, smoke ganja and gossip. Two youths are the members in one band party in Huda sahi. There is no such group in this ward.

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1. A Bhagabat ghar is a house (ghar) where the sacred Krishna story book (Bhagabat) is kept and worshipped daily by a person. Each evening it is read aloud to the people who gather there. The Community houses of the Bauris are called as Bhagabat ghar whether not they contain the sacred book. This designation as for the Bauri community house is mainly due to the clean caste influence.



### Nageswar Tangi Sahi (Map 7)

This ward like the Nalamunha sahi is an offshoot of the Huda sahi which came into existence in 1935. It is named after the Nageswar temple near which it is located. In the past this ward was surrounded by scrub jungle until 1949, when the Lewis Road was built along its eastern boundary.

Arjuna, the Kalasi and shop-keeper of the ward told me:

"When we came to this place, there was no house here except the Rama Krishna Mission building. A sadhu (inmate of the monastery) from this math gave us free meals and building materials for construction of our houses. The math also provided our children with free schooling."

The land on which the ward is located belongs to the State Government for which the residents annually pay a land tax to the Khasmahal (State land) Office, Adjacent homestead land has been leased out to private persons.

The total number of households in this ward is 16 and most of the residents belong to one constituency (Pada Organisation).

The ward has a pucca road and a kutchra drain. In 1962 the ward road was electrified by the NAC. There are two wells, one (25) owned by an individual and the other (21) dug by the Bhubaneswar Block Office. People in the ward use these wells for all purposes. A ward member has established a grocery shop. Until 1955 the shop-keeper was patronised for articles such as rice, dal, spices, pan and bidi.

Subsequently residents began making purchases from the near by grocers whose prices were lower and whose stock was wider. However, this shopkeeper still sells pan, bidi arecanut etc. The young people do not like to buy pan, from this shop but prefer the nearby betelshop which supply a wider range of spices and scented pans. The residents visit the tea stalls opened by clean caste people beside the Lewis Road close to the ward.

After the establishment of the new capital, this ward has been surrounded by large buildings. The author was told that land value have increased from one half of a rupee per decimil in 1940 to Rs. 80 in 1965.

The deity Mangala (22) is worshipped by the ward Kalasi under a banyan tree. The residents, in addition, worship the Goddess Hatiasuni and Dundia during weddings. A Trinath temple (23 No.) has been constructed by the residents near the ward deity and the residents worship the Trinath gods once in a week.

The first community house of the ward was built in 1950. A contractor from a nearby village donated a house (10) in the ward to the residents for the community house because he employed all the male members of the ward in his stone quarry and construction sites. The residents still spend their idle evenings here singing devotional songs and plan Trinath Worship. Since 1964, the ward youths built another house on a Government land for the community house (24). In 1965, this house is used as a school for the ward boys and in 1965-66, the Kuji Congress (See chapter 9) office also functioned in this community house (10). In 1967, the residents constructed a small house at the entrance to the ward beside the Lewis Road. A big signboard indicating the office of the Kuji Congress has been affixed to this building. The house is used as a club by the Bauris and the Office of the Stone Quarrying Co-operative Society.

### Kancha Sahi (Map-8)

This ward which is an offshoot of 'Matha sahi' is located to the east of the Lingaraj temple by the side of Puri road. It is also called as 'Ghoda sahi' because this place was used as the stable of a king. It is also called as "Bangala sahi" because it is situated near the Lingaraj temple Endowment Officers bungalow. None of the land on which the ward is established belongs to the residents, Most of it is owned by a clean caste resident of the town. The residents pay an annual land rent to the Landlord and a house tax to the N. A. C. Household (8) lives on the land of Badu servant of Lingaraj temple and performs uncompensated labour in the formers house. This ward was established in 1930.

The eight house holds in this ward are related to each other by birth and belong to one Pada Organisation.

The ward road is kutchra and undrained. In 1966, this ward was electrified by the N. A. C. There is no well but the residents have free access to a well (13) owned by a Bengali. There is also no community house but a platform (11) in the middle of the street which serves as a common meeting place for the discussion of caste affairs and disputes. Since, 1963, the residents have constructed a Trinath temple and a platform at the entrance to the ward from the main road where they spend their idle hours.

There is no shop but the residents use the pan and tea stall (14) established by a Telegu immigrant. They also visit the shops in the old town bazar for their daily requirements.

In the immediate neighbourhood of the ward, residential houses have been constructed by clean caste persons.

There is no ward deity in Kancha Sahi. But, the residents visit the goddess "Duladei" (Ward deity of Matha Sahi) in wedding ceremonies. They worship Trinath Gods on the platform (23) at the entrance of the ward.

This ward has neither Band Party nor Drama Group (Akhada). In 1966, they have formed a Puja Committee like the residents of Matha Sahi and worship Siva Image on a platform (23) under the banyan tree during the Durga Puja.

#### **Kalikadevi Sahi (Map 9)**

This ward is also an offshoot of Matha Sahi established in 1931. It is named for its location near the Kalikadevi Temple and road which has electric lights. The land on which the houses are situated belongs to a Badu priest of Lingaraj Temple.

This is the smallest Bauri ward in the town considered from its size and population. Two households uterine brothers constitute this ward.

There is no shop in the ward and the residents visit the tea stall near the Kancha Sahi and purchase the sundry goods in the old town bazar area.

In 1940, these two households were isolated but in 1967, many private houses have been constructed which outnumbered this Bauri hamlet.

The residents worship "Duladei" like the Kancha Sahi residents and join the Trinath worship of the Kancha Sahi. No Band Party group exists in the ward.

#### **Chilipokhari Sahi (Map 10)**

Two clusters of Bauri hamlets in both the sides of the Tankapani Road constitute this ward. It is named after the Chilipokhari tank near which it is situated. In 1948, three families moved from Kusupadia to Budhi Huda, the second cluster due to quarrels and litigations (Kusupadia was the first settlement and Budhi Huda split off).

Six households occupy this hamlet and all of them are related by birth.

The residents use both the well (8) and the Chilipokhari tank (7) for drinking, cooking and bathing purposes.

At the time of the establishment of this ward there was no shop in or close to the ward. But since 1964, three tea stalls have been established near the ward after the construction of residences in the neighbourhood. The residents come to old town for their shopping. As there is no community house, the youths come to the Nageswar Sahi for Trinath worship.

Until 1950-51, this ward was surrounded by vacant lands which have been leased out to the private persons for residential purposes. By 1966, the ward was surrounded by large private houses.

The residents worship the goddess 'Dundia' as there is ward deity here. No Band Party exists in this ward.

CHAPTER 4  
URBANIZATION OF ECONOMY

The Bauris earned their living primarily as agricultural labourers, stonecutters and unskill construction workers. In the modern contexts they have taken to new occupations mainly after the establishment of the new township for the State Capital close to the traditional sacred town Bhubaneswar. For example, in 1965 they have taken to stone quarrying, crushing, masonry, shop keeping, rickshaw pulling and orchestral music.

The caste occupations of the Bauris may be divided into two broad categories such as (1) sacred services and their continuity (2) Secular occupations. The latter may be again subdivided as declining traditional occupations and modern occupations.

In order to assess changes in the economy of the Bauris after the establishment of the new Capital in 1948, in the immediate neighbourhood of the traditional sacred town, a comparison will be made in this chapter between the occupations in 1940 and 1965.

SACRED SERVICES AND THEIR CONTINUITY

The Bauris of Matha, Huda, Mati, Pichu and Gatesahis were are one of the temple servants (Sevakas) in the Lingaraj temple complex. As a scheduled caste, they were allotted only menial duties in the sacred complex for which they were reimbursed both in cash and kind. In addition, all the families serving the deity enjoyed tax-free (Niskar) temple land (both house plot and paddy field). They were also privileged for free fishing in the temple tank Bindusagar.

A statement of summary on different categories of the sacred services performed by the Bauris is detailed in Table 2.

TABLE 2  
*Sacred Services Performed by Bauris*

Sl. No.	Duties	Nature of work	Type of work	Remuneration
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
1	Cutting the first logs for the deity's car.	To cut the trunk of the selected tree.	Annual	Annas cash. A new cloth for all and some food offerings.
2	Wage labour in the Car constructions.	Carry the logs to the car construction site.	Annual	4 annas per head per day
3	Repair of the Rath danda (Road) for the Car Festival.	Road Repair for the Car Festival. Make temporary embankments on paddy land for the car to go smoothly.	Annual	4 annas per head per day
4	Breaksman of the deity's Car.	Act as the breaksman under the running car.	Annual	4 annas in cash per head and a new cloth each.
5	Release the wheel of the Car from the mud.	If the car falls in mud they release the wheels of the Car on request.	Annual	A general feast
6	Cleang the temple compound.	Clean the grass and unnecessary plants on the temple precinct and the compound wall.	Monthly	One seer rice & 1 anna cash.
7	Cleaning the island temple etc.	A family was/is entrusted to clean the island temple prior to the Sandal Festival.	Annual	Free paddy land and rent free house plot.

Note—

The cash payment and the remunerations in kind received by the Bauris has remained unchanged since 1940. However, they still enjoy the other privileges (except fishing in the temple tank) sanctioned by the temple authorities.

Since the Temple services are occasional, the Bauris have taken to other occupations for their livelihood.

They however consider these services as a prestige, even though there is no noteworthy change in their traditional remunerations.

### SECULAR OCCUPATIONS

#### Declining Traditional Occupations

The traditional secular occupations are divided into three main categories e. g. Annual, Daily and occasional or seasonal. By annual is meant throughout the year, by daily is meant day to day affairs and by seasonal or occasional I mean in certain occasions.

TABLE 3

*Secular Occupations of the Bauris 1940*

Serial No.	Type of work	Occupations	Age/Sex	Remunerations cash/kind
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
1	Annual	.. Agricultural labour	Male-female (above 18 years).	6 annas per head or 3 measures of paddy.
2	Annual	.. Granary man (Kothia).	Male (20 years and above).	Rs. 15 per month, free food new clothes.
3	Annual	.. Plough servant (Halia).	Male (22 years) ..	Ditto
4	Daily	.. Day labour ..	Male (15 years and above). (Female 15 years and above).	6 annas per day and 3 annas per day.
5	Daily	.. Stone cutting ..	Male (15 years and above).	Rs. 1-2 per day
6	Daily	.. Fuel selling—wood cutting.	Male (20—30 years)	4 annas per day
7	Occasional	.. Gravel collection ..	Female (15—16 years) collective enterprise.	Amount per day according to supply.
8	Do.	.. Well digging ..	Male (15—16 and above years).	Paid on contract basis
9	Do.	.. Midwifery ..	Females (old women)	Rs. 2 cash, free meal and a saree.
10	Do.	.. Red earth collection	Females (15-16) collective enterprise.	2 annas per basket.
11	Do.	.. Cleaning the metal cooking vessels.	Females (20 and above)..	Free meals and payment on contract.
12	Do.	.. Conch blowing ..	Male (10 and above)	Free meal, new napkin or 4 annas.
13	Do.	.. Fishing ..	Male (20 and above)	The catch supplements the family food.
14	Seasonal	.. Begging ..	Old and Young Male and Female.	..
15	..	Grass cutting, selling	Old and Young ..	4—8 annas per day
16	..	Hunting (Traps) ..	Adult males ..	Meat

Occupations listed in Table 3 are arranged in an approximate rank order of importance in terms of livelihood. The occupations will be described in detail in the following manner: first in 1940 and then in 1965.

#### 1. Agricultural labour

Bauris considered agricultural wage labour to be one of their main sources of income. They were and are landless labourers. In 1940, none of them were tenant cultivators as they did not possess their own oxen, plough and carts. Instead, they were hired as agricultural labourer and owners to perform duties like ploughing, leveling, planting, transplanting, reaping and harvesting. Bauri women engaged in all the foregoing tasks except ploughing and harvesting. About 90% of the Bauri men and women worked on the paddylands from July to September and October to January. During which other occupations were neglected. The Bauris say that they can accumulate six months food by working on paddylands. During the reaping season (October—December) all of them cut paddystalk neglecting all their other works. During the period they earned paddy worth Rs. 5 a day, in 1940.

There has been no change in 1960's in the agricultural labour with the following exceptions. In 1965 young Bauris do not prefer such works (except reaping) as they get more wages in other occupations. All like reaping, because they are paid in grain. According to the traditional system, each reaper gets one bundle of paddy with stalk for 12 bundles of paddy cut. In 1965, they even went to the nearby villages for reaping paddy. In reaping there has occurred no change in payment and the traditional custom still prevails.

#### 2 and 3. Granary man (Kothia) Plough Servant (Holia):—

Clean caste land owners appoint persons from agricultural castes and Bauris to act as such in their houses. This is a contractual relation between the employer and the employee. Appointment to such posts were made for one year after which either of the party can dissolve the agreement. Such appointments were made in the month of Phalgun (February-March) on the Dolapurjami day. Under such an agreement neither the employee nor the employer can break the agreement till the completion of one year. Persons appointed as such perform both agricultural and some domestic duties. The employee under such agreement received Rs. 40 in 1940 per annum which has increased to Rs. 100 to Rs. 120 per annum in 1965. Under such agreements the employees are treated as full time servants. Such persons receive also new napkins, dhotis on festival day and daily free meals by the employer.

In 1965, Bauris mostly have turned away from such, as they get more in other jobs. Only, persons unfit for other works still serve in these positions. The author came across only five such persons during the field research.

#### 4. Day Labourer

Bauri men and women were employed as construction labourer earth workers on daily wage basis. Such jobs were not always available in 1940 in the town, as the number of works were limited.

In 1965, Bauri men and women especially younger persons work as coolies or day labourer on construction sites both in the old and the new town. They generally prefer to work in the new town though they get less (Rs. 2.50 per day). Despite lower wages in the new town they prefer to work here. Because, it is less strenuous as they work in larger groups and therefore have to work less strenuously and continuously.

#### 5. Stone cutting

Bauris were employed as stone cutters by clean caste laterite stone quarry owners. As the laterite blocks were in less demand for construction in 1940, they could not find full time employment in this enterprise and were paid only one pice per block, thus, they earned about 4 to 8 annas a day.

In 1965 the demand for laterite stone blocks have gone up for more construction works. The quarry owners to attract cutters and to keep them under their control, lend them interest free loans in times of their need. Such debts are repaid from their daily earnings. For example, one cutter may earn 5 rupees a day and the quarry owner will deduct 2 rupees towards the loan until it is completely repaid. Both in 1940 and 1965 payments are made twice a week on the bi-weekly market days.

1. Telugu speaking coolies are abundantly available in the new town who are paid 2.50 (Rs.) per day and the Bauris are paid Rs. 3 per day in the old town.

#### 6. Fuel cutting and selling

In 1940 when day labourer was not available daily, individuals went to the forests to fetch firewood to sell in the town. In 1940, they supplied fuel to the cooks in the temple and to the private residents. In 1965, the Bauris of the old town rarely resort to fuel procurement because the surroundings have been deforested for the new township. They may even buy fuel for their own use. Only during lean seasons and free days they still go in groups to the nearest forest in Chandaka and Mondhasal to procure fuel for their own requirement. Young boys and girls collect cowdung and prepare cowdung cakes and dry them in the sun and use the cakes for their own cooking.

#### 7. Gravel collection

Bauri women collected gravel from natural deposits. A group of women collect these and heap them in piles for future use. They supplied these to the construction sites and were paid one anna per basket.

This was an occasional occupation depending on construction demand. In 1940 persons in old town very rarely required gravel for construction of houses.

In 1965, even with the increase in construction this occupation has not increased appreciably because the natural gravel has been replaced by imported granite chips. However, persons requiring gravel for small construction request the Bauri women to supply it.

#### 8. Well digging

Bauri men were engaged by clean caste persons to dig and line with stone wells for drinking water in compound and gardens. This was a collective enterprise requiring about a half dozen people. Bauris are entrusted with such work as they are expert stone cutters. This enterprise entails considerable danger from the collapse of the excavation.

In 1965 Bauris perform such works on contract basis. According to a Bauri informant, they charge 5 rupees per square ft. of earth removed and 10 rupees of stone installed. This is only a 20% increase over the rate in the 1940.

#### 9. Midwifery

When there were no hospitals and maternity centres in the town, household heads generally required the services of the experienced Bauri women as midwives. Such women not only attend to the expectant mothers but also looked after the babies for a couple of days, weeks or months depending on the financial resources of the household. They were supplied free meals for the days engaged plus a new saree and a cash remuneration amounting one rupee.

In 1965, only five women still attend the expectant mothers and their services are rarely requested because the hospital and maternity centre have provided such care since 1959-61. In 1965, such women are supplied free meals, and a cash remuneration amounting 10 to 20 rupees. In case if they are given a new saree, the cash remuneration decreases to 5 rupees.

#### 10. Red-earth collection

Clean caste women required red-earth (Lal Mati) to paint the mud walls of their houses and Bauri women supplied this red-earth in head basket loads to customers on cash payment. They charged a basket measure of red-earth to one pice.

In 1965, the demand for this earth has diminished because many houses are pucca and white washed. However, women still require the earth to paint the hearths and a basket measure of earth costs 4 annas in 1965.

#### 11. Cleaning the cooking utensils

Generally during marriages, funerals or any feast in the town the metal cooking utensils are cleaned by groups of Bauri women. The women of the nearby Bauri wards were requested by the family heads to clean the metal utensils on cash payment. This was done only on contract basis and the Bauri women engaged were paid about 2 to 3 rupees plus free food. For this they were given not only cash but also food from the feast.

This practice still continues in 1965 and the female Bauris undertake the work against a fixed cash and some food cooked in the utensils. In case no food stuff left they charge a little higher.

### 12. Conch blowing

Conch blowing is an auspicious act and Bauris are invited to blow conch in auspicious occasions. According to local tradition, the Bauris got the conch (Sankha) from Visnu. For this service they were paid free meals and a new napkin by the family head.

In 1965, this practice still prevails and the conch blowers receive a cash remuneration of 2 to 5 rupees, plus free meals and a napkin.

### 13. Fishing

Bauris netted fish in group not as an occupation but as a sport and as a supplement to their diet. This was done in paddy lands, ponds and pools. The surplus catch is sold to private individuals. Individuals also fish singly with rods. Women and children join the men and gather the catch in fish baskets (Khalei).

In 1965, Bauri men still fish in groups and women sell it in the clean caste wards.

### 14. Alms giving

In 1940 Bauri males and females carrying baskets during festive days like Gamhapurnami, Dola, Dasara visited the clean caste wards for cakes, sweets and rice prepared in home for the ceremony.

Only old women still do so in 1960's. The younger men and women felt that this is below their dignity.

### 15. Grass cutting and selling

In 1940 both males and females during rainy season cut grass in paddy lands for sale to cattle owners in the clean caste wards.

This occupation still persists in 1965 among usually elderly women to supplement to the family budgets.

### 16. Hunting

Traditionally, like fishing, hunting was a pastime activity for groups of Bauri men. They hunted for deer, hare, rats with traps and nets since they did not own guns for which they were paid by a share of the game.

In the 1960's this incidental sport and occupation has disappeared with the clearing of the forest lands.

## MODERN OCCUPATIONS

Bauris in the old town have taken to many new occupations peculiar to their caste, mainly after the establishment of the new capital. Table 4, given below, cites these modern occupations, their remunerations, etc. Description of these new occupations immediately follow the table.

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1. M. Mahapatra, Organisation of Caste among the Bauris of Bhubneswar, Adivasi-Vol. VIII, No. 3, 1966-67.

TABLE-4  
Modern Occupations of Bauris, 1965

Sl. No.	Type of work	Occupation	Person engaged Age—Sex.	Remuneration
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
1	Annual	.. Tenanted Cultivation	.. Male	.. Half of the produce
2	Do.	.. Horticulture	.. Male/Female	.. Sale-proceeds of the garden
3	Monthly	.. Domestic Service/ Private	.. Male/Female	.. Rs. 30.00 per male Rs. 15.00 per female, free food, clothing.
4	Do.	.. Milk selling	.. Do.	.. Rupees One per seer (As per quantity sold).
5	Do.	.. Civil service	.. Male	.. Salary according to position held.
6	Do.	.. Cowherding	.. Male/Female	.. Rs. 2.00 per cow
7	Daily	.. Stone dressing	.. Male	.. Rs. 20.00 per hundred laterite blocks.
8	Do.	.. Mason	.. Male	.. Rs. 5.00 per day
9	Do.	.. Coal collection	.. Boys/girls	.. Sale-proceeds of the collection.
10	Do.	.. Carting	.. Male	.. Rs. 5.00 to Rs. 10.00 per day
11	Unclassified	.. Egg and Chicken seiling (poultry) Animal culture.	Both	.. According to numbers sold
12	Do.	.. Shop keeping	.. Male	.. Sale-proceeds (Profit)
13	Do.	.. Stone quarrying	.. Do.	.. Ditto
14	Do.	.. Rickshaw pulling	.. Do.	.. Rs. 5.00 per day
15	Do.	.. Contractor	.. Do.	.. Profits
16	Do.	.. Band Party	.. Do.	.. Profits
17	Do.	.. King, Queen, Bull Dance	Do.	.. Profits
18	Do.	.. Fish, Brinjal selling	.. Do.	.. Profits

### 1. Tenanted Paddy Cultivation

Only in recent years the Bauris in the town cultivated the paddy lands of the clean caste people on tenanted basis and get half of the produce. The money spent and labour involved in the enterprise are borne by the tenant cultivator. This has been possible only after 1940 when the Bauris were able to own ploughs, oxen and other agricultural implements.

### 2. Horticulture

One Bauri only, to my knowledge has hired vacant land from a clean caste in which he grows vegetables and fruits that he peddles in the town or sell in the market.



### 3. Domestic Private Service

Bauri boys in 1965 are appointed as helpers and servant by clean caste persons. They are paid a monthly salary according to their position. To my knowledge, one boy works in a photo studio, 2 works in two clean caste houses, 2 work as cow herders under a local Gauda and 3 work as labours under a cultivator. One female Bauri works as a maid servant in the house of a Bengali.

### 4. Milk selling

The demand for milk has increased beyond the capacity of local milkmen (Gauda) to meet it. This led the milkmen to dilute the milk beyond the normal expectations. Since traditionally the higher castes do not accept water from the Scheduled Caste Bauris, they have entered in a small degree, in the occupation of milk selling and provide their customers milk undiluted with water. To my knowledge 5 people are so engaged. Some families of these, deprive themselves milk, preferring the cash return.

### 5. Civil Service

According to new legislation the State Government has reserved 18 per cent of the vacancies for the Scheduled Castes provided they fulfil the minimum requirements. In the case of the Scheduled Castes, the usual age and educational qualifications are relaxed for these groups.<sup>1</sup>

In my 10 per cent sample only one Bauri has taken to civil service employment as a Library attendant. But to my knowledge there are two other individuals who are serving as office Peons (Class IV Civil Servant).

None of these 3 persons take supplementary work nor do they help their parents or wives in agriculture which they consider to be demeaning.

### 6. Cow Herding

Some old Bauri man and women have taken to cow herding as a means of livelihood since many of the traditional local Gaudas turned from cow herding to milk selling. The Bauris take cows to the pasture for which they are paid 2 rupees per cow in 1960's.

### 7. Stone Dressing

In 1940 the laterite stone blocks used in the construction were dressed by the carpenter. By 1960's this task has been undertaken by others including Bauris. In my sample there is one such case but six others are known to the author.

A young stone dresser stated that, "in the new town we dress the stones on contract basis as we do in the old town. In the new town we charge less (Rs. 15 per 100 blocks) whereas in the oldtown (Rs. 20 per blocks). We charge more because we work sincerely and well in the oldtown whereas in the New Capital we do not work sincerely and well. This is only because we know the old town residents well than the New Capital people, This shows that in the New Capital there is less of social contract where they are not known.

### 8. Mason

In 1965, the Bauris have taken to masonry. In the new town, the Bauri masons work under the Government building contractors. But in the old town, the residents do not appoint them in private works as they are not skilled masons. Where they are appointed as such in the old town they are paid less compared to the clean caste skilled masons.

### 9. Coal Collection

Impoverished Bauris represented by young boys and girl collect coal from the railway track which they sell to the private persons. This is a modern version of the traditional occupation of fuel collection. Such people also collect cowdung and makes cowdung cakes, collect twigs from the mango grove, etc. and thus supplement to the family fuel. Only the Bauri residents of Pichu Sahi, Gate, Miti Sahis do this collection. In an interview with a coal collector, this author was told that, "after opening of the coal depots by private individuals in the town, there has no demand for their coal, as the people get coal from the private depots at a cheaper rate than the Bauri collectors.

1. Educational, Economic and other special concessions granted to Scheduled Tribes and Castes in the State of Orissa P.G. No. 8 Published by T. & R. W. Department, Government of Orissa 1965-66.

#### 10. Carter

Families owning cart and a pair of bullocks can earn a living carrying food stuffs, cement, iron rods and fuel, etc. Some specialize in carting laterite stone blocks from the quarry to the users.

Persons carrying sundry goods, hardware, etc., get about 5 to 6 rupees a day whereas the persons carrying stone blocks earn more or less same as the former. Carters carrying laterite stones are paid 12 paise to 25 paise per block. They earn a living exclusively by carting.

#### 11. Animal Culture and Poultry, etc.

Bauris in the old town look after the calves, cows and goat of the clean caste persons. In such cases the Bauris feed and keep the live-stock. When the male calves are sold, the sale-proceeds are divided equally between the owner and the caretaker. In case, of a female calf the milk is divided equally between the owner and the Bauri when later on the cow gives birth to a calf or alternatively the Bauri caretaker takes the milk and the owner takes the cow and calf.

Bauris keeping poultry sell eggs and chicken to the public to supplement the family income

#### 12. Shop-keeping

Bauris, generally the youths, have opened betel and tea shops in the town. One has opened a cycle repairing shop beside the Lewis Road. In all these cases, the shops are small and one of the shop-keepers have prospered in trade. One RN narrated to me, how he lost all his cash deposits after opening two shops (One tea and one grocery shop) in the town. RN, as a Scheduled Caste appointed two clean caste persons as salesman on monthly salary basis. But in the long run he incurred a great loss, as the salesman left the shop and the consumers did not repay the loan.

#### 13. Stone Quarrying

In the old town and its vicinity the clean caste persons usually own stone quarries and employ the Bauris as cutters. Stone cutting is the monopoly of the Bauris as no other caste undertakes this job.

After the establishment of the New Capital there was a great demand for the laterite blocks in the construction sites the Bauris thought it to be a profitable business. Three Bauris started stone quarries and cut stones on Government lands without obtaining permission from the Government. As a result, they were fined several times by the Government. They also started a stone quarry Co-operative Society and obtained money from Government Co-operative Department.

#### 14. Rickshaw Pulling

To my knowledge, 10 Bauris youths have taken this as their occupation. Since they are unable to buy a cycle rickshaw they hire the rickshaws from clean caste persons at Rs.2 per day. They earn about 4 to 5 rupees per day excluding the festive days when they get more. The owners are responsible for the maintenance of the vehicles.

#### 15. Contractor

Three Bauri youths in a group undertook to make two municipal roads in Huda and Nageswar Sahis on contract. They made a good profit in it and planned to register their names in the Notified Area Council Office as contractors. They failed in their attempts, however as they had no collateral required before licence can be issued.

#### 16. Band Party (Orchestral Music)

The Hadi Sweepers in the town traditionally play on the musical instruments in the marriage, sacred thread, ceremonies in the clean caste families. The Bauris who occupy a little higher place in the social hierarchy than the Hadi, have started this Orchestral Music Party. Three such groups exist in the old town and have found it a profitable subsidiary occupation. In the present context the Band Parties are preferred more by the clean castes than the Hadi drummers. This charges are double than the ordinary Hadi drummers.

#### 17. King Queen Ox dance

A group of 10 Bauris of Mati sahi have started this dance group. They have bought a life size figure of ox, king, queen made of cane and cloth and give performances during marriage and Dussera processions. A Hadi drummer accompanies this dance and gets a share of the income. This they have taken as a subsidiary occupation. They are paid Rs. 10 per show.

## 18. Fish, Vegetable retailer

One Bauri male sells brinjal and fish in the biweekly market when they are available plenty. An interview with this Bauri retailer, revealed that he made a good profit within a month and earned more than double of his daily wage. He visits the nearby villages in his bi-cycle to fetch the brinjal and fish.

To ascertain changes in the various walks of life and specially in the economy, this author conducted a survey among the Bauris in the old town. Two different interview schedules were prepared for the purpose, one on personal interview and other on household economy.

After a complete house to house census of the ten Bauri wards, a sample of approximate 30% was taken from all the wards as shown in Table 5. Before interviewing the Bauris, pretests were made to check the questionnaire. Addition and alterations in the quests were made after the pretest. The sample was not randomised. The household heads were mostly selected by the ethnographer on the basis of informant's willingness and ability to give competent replies. The interviews were conducted by the ethnographer and alone wherever possible, to avoid interference by others.

The 42 subjects were all adult males as females proved difficult for a male ethnographer to interview. Their responses were constricted since Bauri women, like their clean caste sisters hesitate to talk freely with an outsider.

As mentioned below in Table 5, the informants for the above mentioned quests, ranged between 22 to 80 years. Elders were only taken into consideration to get information on different topics of the community before and after the establishment of the new capital.

TABLE 5  
*Distribution of samples for the Ethnographic interviews*

Sl. No.	Wards	Total Population	Persons interviewed	Percentage	Age
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
1	Huda Sahi	193	10	5.2%	22-50 Yrs.
2	Pichu Sahi	32	3	9.4%	30-70
3	Gate Sahi	47	3	6.4%	25-35
4	Mati Sahi	59	5	8.4%	30-50
5	Nalamunha Sahi	29	3	10.3%	40-70
6	Matha Sahi	75	5	6.6%	28-45
7	Kancha Sahi	62	3	4.8%	23-30
8	Kalikadevi Sahi	18	2	5.5%	30 Yrs.
9	Nageswartangi Sahi	107	5	4.7%	25-28
10	Chilipokhari Sahi	32	3	10.9%	45-50
	Total	654	42	6.4%	22-80 Yrs.

Before discussing changes in the traditional occupations of the Bauris, the occupations in three generations are cited in Table 6. Occupations not persons are counted including the occupation of both men and women. However, the changes in the occupations in three generations of the males will be discussed in greater detail. In course of description and analysis, the changes in the occupations of the females will be discussed wherever the ethnographers observation permitted. Materials on occupational changes in three generations were collected mostly from quest Nos. 7.8.9, (Earner's and Occupations) HH, HH's father, HH's grand father of the Household Economy (Appendix I). The Ethnographer's observation as well as the verbal communications from the informants will also be used in discussing the changes.

TABLE 6  
Occupational Changes of 42 Respondents

Sl. No.	Occupations	Nature of occupation New/Traditional Both	G. F. F. RES BRO SON					G. M. M. R. W. B. W. S. W.				
			1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)
1	Plough Holya. Ser v a n t	Traditional ..	2	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
2	Granary Man ..	Do. ..	3	7	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
3	Private Service ..	New ..	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	0	0	0
4	Wage Labour ..	Traditional ..	14	6	14	7	3	0	0	10	0	0
5	Tenanted Cultivation	Both ..	13	10	16	3	2	0	0	0	0	0
6	Agricultural Labour	Tradittional	19	19	16	6	10	1	0	20	1	2
7	Cow/Goat Herding	New ..	0	1	2	0	0	1	1	0	0	0
8	Civil Service ..	New ..	0	0	1	0	4	0	0	0	0	0
9	Carting	New ..	0	0	7	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
10	Horticulture ..	New ..	0	0	10	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
11	Stone Quaring ..	New ..	0	0	2	0	2	0	0	0	0	0
12	Stone Cutting ..	Traditional ..	23	22	16	5	9	0	0	0	0	0
13	Stone dressing ..	New ..	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
14	Shop Keeping ..	New ..	0	0	2	0	5	0	0	1	0	0
15	Fuel Collection ..	Both ..	0	0	0	0	1	2	3	12	0	0
16	Animal Culture ..	Both (?) ..	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
17	Gravel Collection ..	Traditional ..	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	6	0	0
18	Gr ass C u t t i n g Selling.	Traditional ..	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
19	Red earth Selling ..	Traditional ..	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	4	0	0
20	Fuel Collection cow dung.	Both ..	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
21	Band Party ..	New ..	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
22	Rickshaw pulling ..	New ..	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
23	King, Queen, Ox dance.	New ..	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
24	Fishing ..	Traditional ..	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
25	Cart Repairing ..	Both ..	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
26	Mason ..	New ..	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
27	Well digging ..	Both ..	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
28	Coal collection ..	New ..	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Grand Total..			76	70	94	22	38	5	7	54	1	2

Before analysing Table 6, it is important to note that, of the 42 Bauri male respondents, 4 did not know the occupations of their grand fathers and five of their fathers.

The 28 occupations noted in the table, will be discussed by generations. The occupations noted in the above table are not practiced by the individual Bauris. Because, as per data in hand there are cases where one person has one occupation and another has six different occupations. Most of the occupations are seasonal. To illustrate, during the rainy season they work as agricultural labours, cultivation, during summer and winter, stone cutting, quarrying, wage labour, etc. There are professions which are performed throughout the years, such as :— rickshaw pulling, shop keeping, civil service, private services etc.

Of the 28 different professions noted, the following are the main occupations in 1940 and 1965. Plough servant, Granary man, Domestic and private service, wage labour, cow herding, stone cutting, rickshaw pulling, mason. etc. The other professions listed in the above table are taken as subsidiary occupations.

Following are the most common occupations in three generations domestic servant, agricultural labour, stone cutting. In the respondents generation the highest number (14) of persons are engaged in wage labour, Next comes stone cutting (21) and agricultural labour (22).

Grand Fathers generation more occupationally diversified than Father's generation but present sample more diversified than grand parents.

Greatest difference in occupational diversity by generation is seen among the women.

Table 7, below is a list of persons engaged in the 28 different professions.

TABLE 7  
*Occupations of Bauri Sample in 1964-65*

Serial No.	Occupation	Total No. of persons
(1)	(2)	(3)
1	Plough servants	0
2	Domestic servant	1
3	Private service	2 (sons)
4	Wage labour	14
5	Tenant cultivation	16
6	Agricultural labour	86
7	Cow/goat herding	2
8	Civil service	1
9	Carting	7
10	Horticulture	1
11	Quarry owners	2
12	Stone cutting	16

Serial No.	Occupation	Total No. of persons
(1)	(2)	(3)
13	Fuel collection	0
14	Animal culture	1
15	Gravel collection	6
16	Shop keeping	2
17	Grass selling	1
18	Red earth selling	4
19	Stone dressing	1
20	Fuel selling	0
21	Band party (orchestral musician)	3
22	Rickshaw pulling	1
23	King, Queen, ox dance	1
24	Fishing	1
25	Cart repairing	1
26	Mason	3
27	Well digging	3
28	Coal collection	1

Abundance of new occupations in the capital city permit the Bauris a choice of livelihood not previously open to them.

Changes have occurred not only in secular professions but also in sacred occupations. Construction of temporary embankment in the paddy land for the temple car, clearing the grass from the Lingaraj temple compound are no longer done by the Bauris as the road has been made pucca by the NAC and as the maintainance of the Temple has been taken over by the Archaeological survey of India. Cutting first log for the construction of the temple car has lapsed because the groves owned by the temple have been leased out to outsiders for constructing residences. As a result, the Lingaraj Temple Endowment buy logs from the local timber traders. Remunerations for their temple services has changed.

#### SEXUAL DIVISION OF LABOUR

In the Bauri community, the women have a double role, i. e., good housewife and an earner. They were traditionally and in 1965 are debarred from all the activities of the caste.

Table 8, below summarizes the sexual division of labour. In this table the number of females engaged in the occupations will not be mentioned, as we are concerned only with the different categories of occupations. This table, is composed of purely on ethnographic observations.

TABLE 8  
Sexual Division of Labour

Sl. No.	Professions	Male	Female	Both
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
1	Plough servant	+	0	0
2	Domestic servant	+	0	0
3	Private servant	0	0	Both+
4	Wage labour	0	0	+
5	Tenanted cultivation	+	0	0
6	Agricultural labour	..	..	+
7	Cow/Goat herding	0	0	+
8	Civil service	+	..	..
9	Carting	+	..	..
10	Horticulture	..	..	+
11	Stone quarrying	+	..	0
12	Stone cutting	+	..	..
13	Stone keeping	..	..	×
14	Fuel collection	..	..	+
15	Coal collection	..	..	+
16	Animal culture	..	..	+
17	Grass selling and cutting	..	..	+
18	Red earth selling	..	+	0
19	Gravel collection	..	+	..
20	Stone dressing	+	..	..
21	Band party	+	..	..
22	Rickshaw pulling	+	..	..
23	King, Queen, Ox dance	+	..	..
24	Fishing	..	..	+
25	Cart repairing	+	..	..
26	Mason	+	..	..
27	Well digging	..	..	+
28	Fuel selling	..	..	+
29	Cleaning cooking utensils	..	+	..
30	Begging	..	..	+
31	Dhai ( mid-wifery )	..	+	..

The important point in the above table is that, of the 31 occupations 15 are exclusively male, 4 exclusively female and 13 both male and female, i. e. women may participate in—50 per cent of the total occupation of the sample groups of 42 respondents.

#### ROUTINE OF DAY'S ACTIVITY

The Bauris divide a day as follows, morning ( 6 to 8 ), noon ( 9 to 2 ), an afternoon ( 3—5 ), evening ( 6 to 7 ) and night.

Following are the schedules of a man's and a woman's day. Data for the above facts were collected mostly on observation and it has not been studied in actual empiric time studies. They work about 4 to 5 hours a day depending on the work-load.

**Man's day**

An adult Bauri male gets up early in the morning (6 to 8) brushes his teeth and goes to field for defecation. Then takes tea in the tea stall or takes cold rice at home kept from the previous night, after which goes to work at 9 A. M.

In the noon (1 P. M.) returns home, bathes and dines. After rest for a while again goes to work at 3 to 4 P. M. and returns home in the afternoon (5 P. M.). Then goes for household shopping and to take tea in the stalls. The evenings are generally spent in gossip near the Trinath shrine or in the local tea stalls.

Above is a general schedule of the average Bauri males which varies on festive, market days and when they are otherwise engaged.

**Female's day**

A Bauri woman gets up in the morning (5 to 6 P. M.) before her husband and cleans the rooms, courtyard and cowshed. Then brushes her teeth and goes to defecate. The metal utensils used in dining in the previous night are then cleaned. She then cooks for the family. If she has to go out for work, she cooks and feeds the children before going to work. In such cases the young children are left to on elderly women or elderly children.

In the noon (12) those who stay at home, go out to the nearby groves and field to collect fuel. The young boys and girls are also engaged in this work. After returning from field they take bath at 3 to 4 P. M. At 5 to 6 P. M. females go to shop to the clean caste wards and cook for the family. In the evening the whole family dines before 8 P. M. and sleeps.

**ECONOMIC POSITION, 1965 ONWARDS**

*Estimated income per occupation*—Table 9, summarizes the estimated income per occupation of the Bauris as per the samples (42 in this case) collected during the field research.

Here, in this table only the main and subsidiary occupations are cited. Attention has been given to the number of persons engaged in each profession, time involved, etc., to judge the main and subsidiary occupations.

TABLE 9

*Estimated income per occupation by house-holds in 1965*

Sl. No.	Occupation	No. of persons involved	Average income per occupation per annum
			Rs. P.
1	King, Queen, Ox dance	2	70-00
2	Stone Quarrying	2	540-00
3	Grass selling	2	45-00
4	Rickshaw pulling	2	720-00
5	Shop keeping	2	175-00
6	Well digging	3	240-00
7	Red earth collection	4	18-63
8	Cow herding	4	186-06
9	Band Party	4	277-02
10	Mason	4	915-00
11	Government service	4	861-00
12	Private service	6	339-04
13	Gravel collection	8	100-12
14	Carting	9	772-22
15	Fuel	16	103-44
16	Tenanted cultivation	18	633-33
17	Stone cutting	39	346-15
18	Wage labour	43	276-00
19	Agricultural labour	56	166-51



The average per capita income per annum of the Bauris in Bhubaneswar is Rs. 497.00 and the average income per house hold per annum is Rs. 1,632.16.

According to a survey of the Planning and Co-ordination (Evaluation) Department in the State Government, the average income of the scheduled caste families is Rs. 60 per mensem or Rs. 820 per year. My figures do not tally with this figure mainly for the following reasons.

1. The latter study is a state wide survey which includes both the rural and urban areas. Secondly, Income varies in rural and urban areas as the earners are paid either in cash or kind or both. Thirdly, I have taken only a specific scheduled caste group where as the state-wide survey includes all the scheduled castes listed by the Government who belong to different economic grades.

#### CAPITAL ASSETS OF SAMPLE HOUSEHOLDS

The statistics of assets are given in Table 10 below. The assets are divided in to four tegories as Land, Domestic, animals, luxury goods, and agricultural implements.

TABLE 10

*Capital assets of 42 Bauris in sample 1965*

Type of goods (1)	Capital Goods (2)	Number (3)
Land	.. House plot ..	39
	Wet land (Agricultural land ..	3
Domestic Animals	... Cows and calves ...	18
	Bullocks ..	19
	Goat ..	5
	Sheep ..	0
	Bhicken ..	14
Agricultural Implements	.. Cart ..	8
	.. Plough ..	17
Luxury goods	.. Bi-cycle ..	1
	.. Wristwatch ..	2
	.. Gold ornaments ...	8
	.. Silver ornaments ..	6
	.. Radio ...	1
	.. Charpoy ..	17
	.. Chair, Table ..	5
.. Steel Trunks ..	42	

Following is an explanation of the Table 10.

Household plots are termed as dry land for this purpose. Of the 42 respondents three squatters do not have any such land.

Wet land includes agricultural land. Only 3 of the samples own such land and the rest 39 respondents are landless.

### Domestic Animals

Cows, calves, sheep, goat, etc., are included under this category. As they get money from these animals by different means such as : selling milk, eggs, and goat. The cowdung supplements the fuel for the family. Bullocks are required for cultivation of the land for agriculture and for carting. In 1965, goat and sheep cost more than the cows because of the dearth of goats in the town and the demand for meat. An interview with a Bauri revealed that a goat is sold of Rs. 50 to 80 whereas a cow costs according to the milk yield (within Rs. 200). Goat rearing also requires less time than the cows. Chicken are similarly sold to the Muslims who sell those to the public in the weekly markets. Bauris sell eggs to the people and supplement the family purse.

### Luxury Goods

Bi-cycles are used as a means of transportation. Bauris working in the Government offices masons and labourers in the construction sites use bi-cycles to go to their work sites. There are 2 cases where they have bought the bi-cycle to carry this garden produce to the market. In three cases the bi-cycles are presented by the father-in-law as marriage dowries, whereas the others have been purchased by the respondents.

There were 2 radios (portable transistor sets) owned by 2 Bauris. One of them, sold his radio at the time of the field survey to meet his family expenses. The other radio still with owner was part of his dowry and he enjoys the Hindi songs and Oriya film songs from Bibidhabharati and Cuttack centres. This radio serves as a means of amusement to its user.

Bauris make their own charpoys or buy from the market or fairs. The use of charpoys vary from house to house. In 90% of families they are used as wooden rack to store rice, paddy, etc., rather than as beds. In such cases the inmates of the family sleep on the floor below. Tables and chairs in the families are also used as charpoys above. The steel trunks, locked chests, are used to lock up clothes, ornaments and other valuables.

The above mentioned goods are considered as assets which can be mortgaged in case of need and are thus considered financial securities.

### Debt

From the economic survey several reasons emerge as the cause of debt. Impoverished Bauris may borrow during the lean season when they have no occupations. They also go in to debt for marriage, funeral, purchase of bullocks and in sickness. In sum, family mishaps are the main reason for debt which can be ascertained from the following cases, such as : court case, brothers and sons marriage, to buy seeds and to pay the labours engaged in agriculture, etc.

Of the 42 respondents, 30 reported to be in debt of these 25 were in debt to their employers whereas 5 to the outsider. Loans are received not only in cash but also in kind. In the survey 28 persons received cash loans whereas 2 received loans in kind. Interest on the loans vary from nothing to 60% outsiders charge heavy interest because loans are often given without collateral mortgages. Employers give loans to the Bauri employees at a very nominal interest or no interest.

The stone cutters repay their employers by deductions from their wages whereas the others usually repay debts during the harvest.

Loans in kind are paid only in kind. For paddy loans interest is paid in the traditional system of 'Dedhi' (Lit. one and half). For example :—a debt of one measure of paddy becomes 2½ measures after one year. The share croppers generally go into debt more than the nonshare croppers as they spend money during agricultural season. Size of debts vary from person to person and for different purposes. The lowest amount borrowed is Rs. 10.75 for purchase of seed and the highest amount of loan is Rs. 12.5 to purchase bullock and to perform the funeral of the deceased mother. Lack of security makes negotiating the loans difficult. The ethnographer knows no person who has filed cases against any Bauri in the court of law for the non-payment or delayed payment of loans. Gold ornaments, bi-cycles, and land are also mortgaged for money.

Due to poverty and lack of surplus Bauris rarely save any for the future.

Before concluding this chapter, it is worth to mention here the general economic conditions of the Bauris before and after the establishment of the new-township. Materials for pre capital stage are gathered mostly on interviews and post-new capital stage is on general observation.

Prior to the establishment of the new capital, Bauris supported their living on agricultural and construction labour, fuel selling etc. They sold the fuel to the temple cooks and got temple food materials as gratis. As they did not get stomachful of rice daily, they drank the water of the cold-rice mixing with salt as a substitute for food. They even did not get oil to light their houses at night. Lack of warm colthes to cover their body in winter, they used a mat (Mandura) made by them. Thus they led a miserable life.

In 1960's they have improved economically as they get daily employment either in the new and old town. In spite of devaluation and rise in the cost of living they are happy as they get bellyful of rice daily. In the evening they have lights in their houses. A Bauri has even electrified his residence. They have cemented the floors and whitewashed walls.

In sum, the urbanization of economy of the Bauris reveal that they have marched ahead economically. Establishment of the new township, Government legislation, and the push and pull of modern economic pressures are responsible for this change. They are adopted to new occupations after the construction of the new town. This economic change has brought social changes in its wake.

## CHAPTER 5

### EDUCATIONAL CHANGES

The Bauris of Bhubaneswar are often considered by their clean caste neighbours as illiterate fools and thieves, because of their backwardness and low social position. They were and are also called bird of ill omen (Gendalas). Clean caste boys and girls who become irregular in their school work are often called as 'Bauris' by their elders. Before the construction of the new town, the Bauris were mostly illiterates and devoted themselves entirely to their traditional occupations. During this time, literacy among the males was meagre and the womenfolk were completely illiterate. According to one informant, the Bauri parents did not send their children to the school mainly due to want of money. Children were given different tasks like fuel collection and cow herding which contributed to their family income or helped their parents.

In 1960's the Bauris still think of education as schooling. They do not consider education in term of good manners, high caste customs and health. As a result parents still pay little attention to higher caste standards of conventions and courtesy in and outside the home.

Before discussing changes in the education of the Bauris, a comparative sketch of their education is given below.

#### Traditional Schooling & Bauris

According to my oldest informant, the Bauris in the old town in 1940, were refused admission to the traditional schools (Chahali). In the traditional schools teachers were paid monthly by the pupils family at the rate of 2 annas up to Upper Primary standard and about 6 annas in the middle school stage.

Traditional teachers (Abadhan) were appointed in some wards where they were given free food and even clothing by the pupils families in turn. These traditional schools were limited to the higher castes from which the Bauris were debarred. Even when public school were established, they were not allowed into the class rooms even when they paid the same school fees as the clean caste students. In their early schools the teachers did not touch the Bauri pupils when beating them in canes but, according to a Bauri informant, the teachers would throw canes to them from a distance. Nevertheless by 1940 some enterprising Bauris set up traditional schools taught by members of their own caste who instructed their children in reading, writing and arithmetic plus an introduction to sacred texts such as the Bhagabat. The teaching was elementary and such literacy as was acquired was minimal and did not prepare them to deal with modern requirements. As most, they might be taught to sign their names. Arjun aged 80 in an interview told me that in the past, "Our education ended when we were able to read the 'Malika' and 'Gopibhasa'. We did not go beyond this, due to shortage of funds and lack of high hopes. Most of the boys left their school only due to the heavy punishment of the teachers. The total number of such Bauris in the town are cited elsewhere in this chapter. According to informants, teachers came to the town only when they did not have agricultural work.

In addition to the traditional schools there was an institution known as Akhada (Rehearsal house) whose purpose was to train Bauris in dramatic presentations. As Bauris often mispronounced words in dramatic actions, teachers (Gurus) were hired to train them in perfecting their command over the language.

The teachers were frequently of clean castes. In Mati Sahi and Gate Sahi, the members of the Akhada, went to a clean caste school teacher at night for language training. In Matha and Huda Sahis two clean caste persons were employed by the Ward Members for such training. Youngmen who had been through such institutions often learned basis literacy.

In 1940, modern schooling was not prized by the Bauris because they saw no advantages in acquiring contemporary standards of literacy. The Bauris like the other Scheduled Castes were not allowed into the class rooms but sat in the outer varardah of the school house.

In my sample of 42 respondents, the education of the 14 grand fathers was unknown. Of the remaining 28 all were illiterate. Of the 42 fathers, 36 were completely illiterate and remaining 6 persons knew only how to write their names. Prior to establishment of the new city the education of the male children were not prized, no one even thought of schooling for girls. In 1960's female education is still considered unnecessary compared to males. The following replies were obtained when the respondents were asked about the education of their daughters. Out of 42 respondents 15 said female education to be unnecessary, 21 replied that they have no daughters, only 4 hoped to educate their daughters up to Middle School standard, and 2 failed to reply.

One evening while discussing the traditional education with a group of elderly Bauris the ethnographer was told the following story.

"Due to lack of money, many of our boys remained illiterate and none cared for the girls.

According to tradition, daughters are meant only for the kitchen and they are for other families. So, the parents did not attach much importance to their education. They all helped their mothers in their domestic duties. Girls who were educated were assumed to be unchaste."

#### Post Independence Schooling for Bauris

With the attainment of independence, the Government of New India granted special privileges and concessions for the development of the backward communities who suffered in social, economic and political disabilities. Special concessions and safeguards for the backward communities were embodied in the constitution of New India in order to bring them rapidly up to the level of the comparatively more advanced section of the population. The directive principles of the constitution made education a responsibility of the State. To illustrate from the Annual Administrative Report of the Tribal & Rural Welfare Department, 1965-66 (Pg. 9).

"The Government of Orissa have been giving high priority for the improvement of the educational standard and facilities among the Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes. A large amount of money is being ear-marked and spent for the welfare of these communities in general and for the educational development in particular. Under article 46 of the Constitution of India the Government are committed to promote with special care the educational as well as economic interests of the weaker section. In fact a major portion of the outlay on the welfare of the backward communities is invested on Educational Schemes. Emphasis on the spread of education is necessary because without spread of education and consequent enlightenment, the communities concerned cannot satisfactorily improve their economic status and take advantage of the various developments that are taking place in the country. As a matter of fact education has made a considerable progress, due to priorities given, during the last decade among the Scheduled Tribes & Scheduled Castes."

The trend in the percentage of literacy among scheduled tribes and scheduled castes is worth mentioning. The percentage of literacy among scheduled tribes and scheduled castes in 1941 census was 1.5 and 3.3 respectively. According to 1961 census it is 7.4 and 11.6 respectively. The percentage of literacy has increased to five times in case of scheduled tribes and three times in case of scheduled castes within a period of 20 years.

During the First Plan period a sum of Rs. 112.85 lakhs was spent for the educational progress of scheduled castes and scheduled tribes. In the Second Plan it was of the order of Rs. 172.461 lakhs. But during the Third Plan period the expenditure under this programme rose to the extent of Rs. 235.591 lakhs. The increase in the expenditure is proof to show the emphasis given and interest taken by the State for the spread of education among the scheduled tribes and scheduled castes."

The Bauris of Bhubaneswar as a scheduled caste enjoyed these privileges granted by the State Government. According to my informants, the local Bauris understood the utility of education after the establishment of the new township, when new sources of income opened in the various occupational fields. Special schools called, Ashram, Sevashram for boys and Kanyashram for girls were opened in different parts of the State. But no such school was opened in temple town Bhubaneswar for the scheduled castes, as general schools functioned here. However a Sevashram schools exists in Sirpur village, situated to the West of the town and one High School (Tapovan High School) has been established near the Khandagiri hills by the Tribal and Rural Welfare Department. Such a Sevashram School has also been opened in Nuapalli Saora ward by the State Government. The Bauris of Bhubaneswar have made no use of these facilities given by the Government. None of them have sent their children to these schools. They have not even sent their children to other schools opened by the Government as their clean caste neighbours.

In addition to the above facilities, following is a list of concessions granted to the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes. First, free supply of reading and writing materials to the above mentioned students by the Government through the Headmasters of the primary schools. From classes 4 to 5 they are paid Rs. 15 per month. Secondly, students passing the Upper Primary common examination conducted by the State Education Department also receive scholarships for further study. Thirdly, all students reading in high schools get Rs. 23 per mensem. Fourthly, students reading engineering, medicine, agriculture also get post-matric scholarships if they continue further study. In addition they also get examination fees from the Government before appearing at the examinations. Free board and lodging are also supplied in special hostels built for these students.

The Bauris complain that these funds are misallocated. Grants for reading and writing materials are distributed by the concerned teachers, who, in Bhubaneswar, cheat the Bauri students. It is rumoured that they get the signatures of the students on receipts but the

students do not receive the full grant. This author knows two Bauris boys reading in Classes VI and VII in a local Middle English School who got money from the Government through their headmasters. The Headmasters actually distributed half of the grant and misappropriated the rest. Another boy reading in a local school did not get his scholarship. As a result his widowed mother had to mortgage her bell metal utensils to pay the examination fees for her son.

#### Education and Rituals

In the old town Bhubaneswar the clean caste boys, specially among the clean castes, observed rituals when the boy goes to school. According to the custom, when a boy attends to 4 years 4 months and 4 days, his ear lobes are pierced by the family barber and a ceremony is held for the purpose. First, the boy is sent to a traditional teacher (abadhan). Generally auspicious days like Saraswati and Ganesh Puja were preferred for such occasions.

Bauris do not observe any such ceremony while sending their children to the school for the first time. Prior to Indian's Independence the Bauri boys and girls in public schools were even refused worship of Swarwati and Ganesh, the goddess and god of learning for the fear of pollution. They were not even allowed to present food, flowers and offerings to the deity. I was told that the Bauri students were never the less asked to contribute cash for such offerings. In 1960's the Bauri students in the school break cocoanuts near the deity like the other clean caste students. No special day or initiation was held for by Bauris who first enter a child in school. Further, the neither had nor have ceremonies connected to education resembling those of clean caste people. In this connection, a Bauri narrated to me:

"We cannot send our children for higher education because of our poverty. We cannot be high grade civil servants because of low social position. What then is the use of education for us. A working knowledge of written oriya is sufficient to be a peon or chaprasi in the Government."

#### Improvement in Bauri Literacy

Table 11, is a comparative statement of the Bauri education in Orissa State, Puri district and Bhubaneswar town.

Before discussing Table 11, it is necessary to present a detail statement on the educational condition of Bhubaneswar town and Puri district. The 1961 census, reports that the Bauris of Orissa from 9.08 per cent to the total scheduled caste population, In Puri district the Bauris are slightly more numerous than the state average, i. e. 9.57 per cent. In general the total percentage of Bauri literacy in Orissa is 11.18 and the ratio of males literacy is 19.76 and females 2.98.

TABLE 11  
*Bauri Educational Achievement in Orissa, Puri District and Bhubaneswar*

Sl. No.	Total	Orissa Puri District Bhubaneswar											
		Male	er cent	emale	r cent	Male	Per cent	Female	Per cent	Male	Per cent	Female	Per cent
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)
1	Illiterate ..	4,549	..	5,045	..	1,135	..	1,142	..	36	..	0	..
2	Literate without knowing educational level.	840	..	347	..	234	-	49	..	6	..	0	..
3	Primary or Junior Basic.	92	..	12	..	7	..	5	..	7	..	0	..
4	Technical diplomas not equal to degree.	0	..	0	..	0	..	0	..	0	..	0	..
5	Matriculation	10	..	0	..	0	..	0	..	0	..	0	..
6	University degree, Post-graduate degree other than technical degrees.	2	..	0	..	0	..	0	..	0	..	0	..

SOURCE—Census of India, 1961.

Table 12, below is a detail statement of the number of Bauri boys and girls in different educational institutions in the oldtown Bhubaneswar.

This table reveals that the number of Bauri boys and girls in the different institutions is small because the parents can not afford, or feel they can not afford, to send their children to the school. Secondly boys and girls are still needed to help the parents in domestic and other work, such as tending cattle, guarding grain fields, carrying meals to parents working in the fields, fetching water, and looking after the children in the family when the mother is out for work. Even where Bauri children are registered in a school they are frequently absent when parents require their assistance in such tasks.

Bauris generally prefer the nearby schools for their children. To illustrate: residents of Gate, Mati and Pichu sahis prefer the Town U. P. School, whereas Nageswar, Nalamunha and Huda sahis prefer R. K. Mission U. P. School.

Three Bauri boys from the town receive training in handicrafts (Comb and image making) in a technical school started by the Industries Department in the town. I was told that each trainee received Rs. 30 per month during the one year training period. An interview with the Principal of this school revealed that the Bauri students if they desire can apply for a loan to the Government to start such an industry. Two boys from Huda Sahi have started a comb industry near their ward getting financial support from the Government. Others trained in this institution are working in the construction sites and paddy lands like their caste brothers.

TABLE 12  
*Bauri Students in Schools (Wardwise) 1964*

Sl. No.	Ward	Total	Sex		School	Class	Total
			Male	Female			
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
1	Pichu Sahi ..	3	3	0	Town U. P. School	Class III, IV	2
					R. K. Mission U. P. School.	Class V	1
2	Gate Sahi ..	4	3	1	Town U. P. School	Class II	3
						Class V	1
3	Mati Sahi ..	3	3	0	Town U. P. School	Class II	1
					B. M. High School	Class VI & VII	2
4	Matha Sahi ..	4	4	0	Town U. P. School	Class VI	1
					Cahali ..	Class II	2
					B. M. High School	Class IX	1
5	Huda Sahi ..	8	5	3	R. K. Mission School.	Class II	3
					Cahali ..	Class I	4
					Town U. P. School	Class III	1
6	Nageswar Tangi ...	6	5	1	R. K. Mission School.	Class II	2
					Vivekananda M. E. School.	Class I	3
						Class VIII	1
7	Chilipokhari Sahi..	0	0	0	..	..	0
8	Kalikadevi Sahi ..	0	0	0	..	..	0
9	Nalamunha Sahi ..	4	4	0	R. K. Mission Cahali.	Class III	3
						Class I	1
10	Kancha Sahi ..	4	3	1	Cahali ..	Class I, II	2
					Town U. P. School	Class III, IV	2
Total ..		36	30	6	..	..	36

A field survey was made by the author among the Bauris in the oldtown to assess education and aspirations towards education. The results of this survey are cited in this chapter.

The findings of this survey reveal many interesting facts. All respondents stated that they hoped educate their sons but 58 respondents refused the education of their younger brothers on the plea of shortage of funds. This on the other hand reveal another fact. In Bauri society the brothers are considered foes and soon after marriage the brothers live separately and set up separate hearths (Chullah). Education among females is not considered necessary because the Bauris say that girls are meant for other families. Bauri women whether educated or uneducated are expected to do manual agricultural labour to earn money. A comparison of the three generations show a great improvement in the education of males of the present generations for which several reasons can be offered : Government help, free education, opening of new schools and colleges, clean caste influence and employment opportunities in the new Capital.

#### **Initiative in Establishing Schools in old Bhubaneswar**

Some enthusiastic youths of Nageswar, Huda and Nalamunha sahis planned to start a lower primary school in Nageswar tang sahi. A vacant Government land was encroached upon for the purpose. Enthusiasm increased among the youths when the children of Huda sahi were refused admission in a local school because the parents failed to bribe the Headmaster.

A small hut was built near the ward deity of Nageswar sahi by the youths in 1963. The first teacher appointed in the school was a peon in the State Secretariate and was a Bauri by caste.

He was requested to manage the school during his off hours. He was given free meals by the parents of the students and the school remained open from 7 to 9. 30 am. this teacher was replaced by the ward youths when a better person was available for the purpose to hold the school both in the morning and afternoon.

The school hut also provided living quarter for the teacher. The students paid tuition fees to the teacher and an interview with him revealed that he collects 50 to 60 rupees a month. He stated however that the students are very irregular in paying tuition fees. When the fees could not be paid by the parents, the boy or girl does not come to school. However, the school functions smoothly. According to the school teacher, in February 1963, there were 30 students of whom 26 were boys and 4 girls. This school has been named as the "Gopabandhu L. P. School." The state Tribal welfare Department has appropriated a sum of Rs. 200 to this school per annum. Nearby clean caste students (4 boys) also read here in this school alongwith the Bauri boys and girls. They belong to Sudra caste and are the children of the immigrants residing near the school.

In Huda sahi a similar school was started in the ward Akhada in 1962. When the number of students increased it shifted to an open place in the nearby municipal park. The school functioned under a banyan tree. The teacher is paid by the parents of the students. 25 students were registered of which 20 boys and 5 girls.

An interview with the teacher revealed that the students are usually absent during the reaping and harvesting season to help their parents. He further complained of irregular payment of the tuition fees.

Some Bauri parents interviewed by me told that irregularity in attendance by the teacher their children suffer a lot. The parents also do not say anything to the teacher, as it is difficult to find another teacher for the school.

In sum, the Bauris who were considered as illiterate incompetents are gradually improving, not only socially but also educationally. Opening of Schools in the immediate neighbourhood of their wards, support from the government etc. are reasons for their development. Increase in cash income, facilities provided by the constitution and educational development has made them equal with the clean castes.



## CHAPTER 6

## LIFE CYCLE

In this chapter, the descriptive aspect has been stressed more than the analytical, in order to bring out the salient features of the Bauri life cycle. In the course of discussion comparisons will be made to find out changes that have occurred between 1940 (before New Capital) and 1965 (after New Capital).

**Pregnancy and Abortion**

"Children are the gift of God. Blessed women get children and the cursed remain sterile" says Madhab, an elderly Bauri in the town. No story or myth exist, among the Bauris dealing with conception. A woman is considered pregnant when her first menstruation stops. Bauris recognize that birth will occur in ten complete months. Days of pregnancy are counted from the day of the stoppage of the first menstruation.

Pregnancy is viewed with pride by all members of the family. In 1940, when the cost of living was cheap, no one was worried about having more children. But in 1962, persons with more than three offsprings are little worried by the high cost of living. In general even, today this concern is not always marked except in periods of economic distress within the family. The Family Planning Programme introduced by the National Government has brought a little change among the Bauris in the old town. To my knowledge only 2 Bauris had undergone vasectomy operation as of 1966 and I knew none using the other contraceptive devices.

Daughters are less desired than sons because the former are considered liabilities and the later as assets, when the first child is a boy or girl does not matter greatly, but if the subsequent issues are girls, the whole family feels sorry.

For example, Buli's mother was pregnant. Her grand-mother (Mother-in-law of the pregnant woman) told me that if her daughter-in-law will be blessed with a son this time she would distribute sweets (Mithai) and will celebrate the birth day of the son. Unfortunately, another girl was born. The whole family felt sorry and no ceremony was performed by Buli's grand-mother.

Pregnant women have always been given special care. Prayers are made to the local deities for safe delivery. Since, great importance is given to the first pregnancy, women stop heavy work from 4 to 5 months before birth and confined themselves to domestic duties. In subsequent pregnancies a woman may continue heavy work until the 7th or 8th month.

Twenty years ago a pregnant women did not go out alone either in the noon and evening when evil spirits and ghosts were thought to be wandering about. Abortion is attributed to such evil spirits. In case of urgency, if she went out, she took with her an iron nail to drive off the evil spirits. Such practices are still vogue among the Bauri in 1965 but only during the first pregnancy in subsequent pregnancies no such care is taken.

Twin births are attributed to the eating of twin (Janla) fruits. This is considered as a curse of God because the mother is put into great trouble when carry the twins. In order to avoid the possibilities of twin birth, twin fruits are always avoided by pregnant women. Dried fish, meat are also considered a taboo. Dried fish is thought to produce diseased offspring and meat of animal whose throats were cut are believed to cause death of the foetus. In 1965, special care is taken on women in their just pregnancies. Such women are often taken to the nearest charitable dispensary or family welfare planning clinics for pre-natal advice. Like the clean caste people, friends and relatives send special foods to the pregnant women in the first pregnancy. Special food preferences in during pregnancy are recognised and to disregard such preferences, will manifest itself in an excessive flow of saliva from mouth of the child.

**Contraception**

Cotraception and abortion were considered antisocial in the Bauri community. Only illicit pregnancies were aborted. As no medical facilities were available in the town for abortion in 1940, herbal roots and magic, etc., were used by women versed in such matter. In 1965, one such old Bauri woman lives in the town who reports to have done hundreds of abortion in her life time. She is paid a lumpsum (about Rs. 50.00) per abortion.

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1. In contradistinction to the West, it is customary in India to count months current rather than elapsed

Pregnancies in unmarried girls were seriously punished by the Caste Council. In such cases, the girl remained usually unwed for life and her parents were fined but were kept under a social boycott. In the old town there are two such unwed Bauri women of 30 and 32 years.

Pregnancy in the early stage (2 to 3 months) was not considered a burden as abortion was done easily. In case of 4 to 5 months of pregnancy the parents of the girl sent their daughter to a distant place for abortion pretending to their neighbours that she has gone to visit her relatives. Abortion is done only in case of unwed girls. Married women very rarely (in case of bad health, etc.) practice this, as they considered abortion a sin. They refuse to undergo the family planning operation and sterilisation because they think it a sin. Bauris think the family planning operation same as cutting a fruit laden tree. According to their belief, cutting the fruit laden tree is a sin.

In 1965, Bauri youths working in the construction sites in the town use the modern contraceptives distributed in the local family planning clinics. In 1964 rumours spread regarding the chastity of unwed Bauri girls. The Bauri Caste Association therefore decided not to allow unwed girls to work at the construction sites. But after 1965, the Bauri women once again went to the new town to work in the construction sites. One Bauri youth told me that the availability of free contraceptives had made illicit connection a common affair in 1965.

### Birth

Births generally take place in the husband's house but rich or well-to-do parents bring their pregnant daughters to their own houses for delivery. Living rooms are used for the purpose.

When the pregnant women feel labour pain, the eldest and competent women of the house or ward attend to her. Mustard oil is rubbed on her abdomen to smooth the delivery of the baby. If a woman dies in labour she is cremated and the baby is buried. In such cases the mourners cut open the abdomen of the deceased to bring out the foetus. If the mother of the child dies after birth of the baby, utmost care is taken to save the child. The baby, in this case, is breast fed by other women in the ward mostly by relatives. If breast feeding is not possible cows milk or sugar water is used as a substitute.

Infanticide among the Bauris is a crime. According to informants only the illegitimate child are disposed of. To my knowledge no such incident has yet occurred in the town among the Bauris.

In theory children are nursed for two years or until the mother conceives again. If the mother is not pregnant again within two years nursing may continue for a longer period.

After birth, a fire (Entudi) is lit in a corner of the room in which delivery occurs and both the mother and child are kept warm. The umbilical cord of the new born is then cut with a shell (Samuka) by the women attendant. The umbilical cord is kept in an earthen pot which is later buried by the mother in the middle of the floor of the delivery room. Before the umbilical cord is buried, care is taken to keep it tightly in the earthen pot so that it does not touch the earth. If the umbilical cord touches earth, the mother will not have milk. The baby is bathed after delivery but the mother bathes only after seven days. Before feeding the new born baby a few drops of breast milk are dripped on the floor for the goddess of birth Sasthidosi. After delivery the mother is given barley water on the first day. On the second day she is given hot rice, brinjal and banana curry. Dal, fish, meat were considered taboo till the baby complete the first year. Dried jute plant leave (Nalita pita) cooked with rice is given to the mother to keep her body free from the post natal pain.

On the seventh day a ceremony called 'Uthiary' was held in which the goddess 'Sasthi' was worshipped by the eldest women of the house. Five married women of the nearby ward join this worship and all of them eat the food dedicated to the goddess until they are bathed on the seventh days both the mother and the child are considered impure. The birth place is cleaned and painted in red earth by the mother and the Sasthi worship was performed here. A grinding stone (Sila) and mortar (Pua) is decorated with vermilion and turmeric paste and invoked as the goddess Sasthi.

If the mother of the child does not have sufficient milk in her breast the magician (Gunia) of the Bauris is consulted. The magician gives a herbal medicine to the mother. In 1965, the author saw a Bauri approaching the Gnnia (Magician) in Mati sahi when his wife did not have sufficient milk for her baby. The mother of the child was given a medicine after which she had enough milk for the baby.

On the 11th day the family concerned as well as the clan members observed purificatory ceremony for the birth of the baby. The houses are painted with red earth, old earthen cooking vessels are exchanged for new ones and the used clothes are washed. The male members are shaved by the caste barber (Behera). In 1965, a Telugu barber was appointed for the purpose as the young men refused to have their hair cut by the Behera who does not know the modern style of hair cut. The 'Ekoisia' (Lit. 21 day) ceremony is held on the 12th day for girls and on the 21 day for sons. This is the first ceremony of the new born's life cycle. This celebration was not given much importance in 1940 but in 1965 parents (particularly) if the first child is a son) celebrate this occasion as elaborately as their financial resources permit.

For example, in 1965 one Bauri family celebrating Ekoisia for a son, invited seven women of the ward to a feast. The household head also feasted the ward members and relatives. The maternal uncle of the new born was invited and brought new dress, gold ornaments etc. for the baby. In 1940, the maternal uncle mostly brought rice, vegetables, brass rings and bangles for the baby (whether boy or girl.) This is just one more example of the manner in which the greater prosperity of the Bauris in 1965 is reflected in more elaborate ceremonial observances.

### Prostitution

Prostitution is practised for the following reasons, e. g. poverty, prestige and inability of the husband to cohabit with the wife.

Bauri women think it a prestige to sleep with high caste persons. Ultimate punishment of the prostitutes is out casting.

In 1965, the Bauris believe that their women are engaging more freely in illicit sexual relationships. Actual proof of this is of course not possible. Easy availability of contraceptives is the main reason for this. Whether by their legitimate earnings or by imputed prostitution, if a Bauri woman buys more sarees and cosmetics, illegitimate sources of money are generally attributed to her by the male community.

Known prostitutes are considered out-castes by the Bauris and they are not permitted to stay in the ward. If caught red handed they are driven away from the ward. There was such a case in 1939. As a result, this woman is still unwed and all her relationships with neighbours and her family members have been cut off. In 1964, another spinster in the town, had illicit connection with a clean caste person while she was living with her husband. She left her husband's house and went away with the clean caste person. When this was spread in the town, the caste Beheras outcasted her husband for his carelessness. Two months later she (wife of the out caste) returned to the town with her lover and lived separately in a rented house. The caste Beheras demanded one hundred rupees and a general feast to the caste members, as her husband appealed to them for accepting his wife in the caste. The clean caste person was threatened to death by the Bauri youths. Now the woman lives separately and earns her living.

### Marriage

In 1940 and also in 1965 child marriage was prohibited by custom and not practised by the Bauris. They have no fixed age for marriage like the clean caste people. Arrangements are made for a marriage when a girl reaches puberty and when a boy is able to earn his living. Marriages by arrangement is the ideal type. Widow remarriage is practised and approved by custom.

In such cases the unmarried brother of the deceased husband is the ideal spouse.

Following is a description of marriage by custom. Gotra exogamy is strictly followed by the members.

Marriage negotiations are sought by a middleman from the boy's side. The relatives of the boy generally act in this capacity. If the marriage is arranged the middleman gets a new dhoti from the groom's family.

After the marriage is fixed, the groom's relatives visit the bride's house. Generally the maternal uncle, ward Behera and some relations accompany the group. The bride's family then pays a similar visit to the groom's house. If the boy and girl are satisfactory, negotiations proceed. The Bauris do not have any horoscopes therefore the negotiations are arranged in consultation with a local Kshetrabasi brahmin or an astrologer, after paying him a nominal cash remuneration. As the Bauris do not have any such persons in the caste, outsiders are consulted.

After this a meeting of both the families ( Jati Parichaya ) is arranged in which the ward Beheras, maternal uncles of both the bride and groom, the Guruvanab and some ward members attend. After the negotiation a feast is served in the meeting the expenses for which are borne by both the parties. In 1965, well to do Bauris bring consecrated food from the Lingraj Temple to be saved in the feast. In most cases cooked rice, dal, curry are served. New clothes, ornaments are presented to the Bride by the groom's party. Similar presents are also given to the groom by the bride's party. In 1965, new clothes, gold or silver ornaments, cosmetics, etc., form a part of this present. The traditional brass ornaments are no longer preferred. After the negotiation none of the party can dissolve the proposal.

On the day before the marriage the bride is brought to the groom's house. In 1940, the bride was left in the groom's house by a relative preferably by her brother. But in 1965, the well-to-do families bring the bride either on cycle rickshaw or cart.

On the marriage day both the bride and groom fast until the ceremony is over. From the bride's side her father, maternal uncle, the ward Behera and her brothers go to the groom's house to solemnise the marriage. When the bride's party reaches the ward of the groom they are cordially received. The Bauri barber of the groom's family washes the feet of the relatives (Kunia) and a mat to sit on is spread. Tobacco leaves, bidi are then offered. In 1940, only tobacco leaves and lime were supplied by the groom's side. On most elaborate occasions the marriage is performed by the Bauri priest (Guru Vaisnab). Behera's wife takes the bride and the Behera presents the groom at the wedding altar. After a fire sacrifice and after uttering hymns (slokas) the Guru Vaisnab solemnises the marriage. On this marriage-altar the bride and groom were presented with presentations (cash, ornaments, bell-metal utensils, etc.) by the relatives and friends invited to the marriage. After the marriage a feast is served to the relatives and ward members by the groom's family.

The clan and ward members were/are then given a second feast on the second day by the groom's family. On the fourth day the third feast was/is served as the marriage was/is consummated this day. On the 7th day also a feast was/is given to the ward members. Both in 1940 and 1965 Bauri marriage meant only feasts and merrymaking. Feast was/is given much importance in a Bauri marriage. The ward Beheras cook in such feasts being specially invited by the Guest household head (either the father of the bride or groom as the case may be). In such feasts the Guest household supply materials (rice, dal, vegetables, spices, etc.) according to the demand of the lineage and ward members,

In 1965, this author attended a Bauri marriage feast in Gate Sahi, as the cooking was not good and as the guest household head did not supply fish and sufficient spices, the invitees demanded another feast. As a result a list of items to be prepared and materials required (with quantity) were immediately prepared for another feast.

The Bauri incur a great loan in a marriage as they entertain guests in a number of feasts. This involves a huge expense. As a result the Bauris have not planned to entertain the guests in one marriage feast and to prepare chapatis, porridge, etc., instead of rice and curry. But this has not yet been approved by the other Bauris in general.

In 1940, the Ghumura musicians attended the marriages but in 1965 band parties (organised by the Bauris) are hired for the purpose. The marriage gifts have changed in 1965 compared to the 1940. Gold and silver ornaments, bi-cycle, wrist watch, radios are demanded by the grooms. The traditional brass and bell-metal ornaments for the bride is no longer preferred.

No bride price was/is paid in the Bauri community but materials are sent by the bride's parents. The maternal uncle has an important role in the marriage ceremony. It was/is he who selects the candidate and remains present at the time of the ritual union.

#### **Old age, Death and disposal of Dead**

Both men and women Bauris feel that they are old when they reach the age of 40. Persons having sons or grand sons are also called 'Budha' (Old) when they are not 40 years. In other words age is not a matter of chronology but of procreational status.

Theoretically and still to a great deal, old persons are respected and obeyed. Their advice is sought in all important caste matters because of their experience.

But in terms of modern preception old men and women in the family circle are humiliated by their economic dependance on sons. This was not always a case in all families. Families with a good income and with fewer members can afford to respect the old persons as they look after the younger children. This author has encountered old Bauris suffering from hunger and no one to care for them. In general the fate of the old men and women is decided by the income of their sons and number of members in family.

## Death

The Bauris consider the past evil deeds to be the main cause of suicide, pre-mature and untimely death. Similarly, persons who suffer a painful death are also thought to be paying for past misdeeds. According to a Bauri belief, men and women should confess their guilt before death, otherwise they will suffer. The author came across a case where an old Bauri confessed that she had killed a calf and eaten in the house of a bangle seller (Kachaara) who is low in the social scale compared to Bauris. She underwent a ritual purification and died after the ceremony was over. Personal enmity and the use of black magic (Guni garudi) is believed to be an important cause of death. But no actual cases were encountered during the field research. Persons dying in Cholera were thought to be victims of evil spirits and neglected deities.

Two cases of suicide came to my notice during the field research, For example—(1) Economic distress (2) Family quarrel. There are other motives for suicide.

Before a person is declared dead his/her body is well examined by the elderly persons to make certain of death.

The cowing of crows on the roof beam and the cracking of the house are considered signs of death in the sufferer. But these do not necessarily proceed death. It is ascertained by the physical symptom which are well diagonalised. For example: the eyes close, there is a death rattle in the throat, veins stop throbbing and the heart becomes still. Also, from the coldness of the body a person is considered dead when a person is announced dead by the elder people, the kin members wail. Young children are taken out of the house till the corpse is removed. Until the persons is taken to the cremation ground all the families in the ward refrain from cooking on their hearths. Family members and kin members put drops of water mixed with consecrated food of Lingaraj Temple in the mouth of the dead.

## Disposal of dead

Soon after a person is dead arrangements are made for disposing of the corpse. The death news is immediately conveyed to the friends, relatives and ward members. Immediately the clan members and the ward members make a litter (Kokai) and four persons carry the corpse to the cremation ground.

The bodies of children below 3 years are buried. All others are now cremated. In case of persons with children the eldest son puts a burning ghee wick at the mouth of the dead. No such fire is required for unmarried boys and girls. A separate procedure however is followed for the married and pregnant women. In such a case the abdomen of the women is cut and the baby is brought out and buried in the ground. The mother is cremated separately. If any woman dies after birth of the baby both the mother and child are taken to the cremation ground in the same litter.

According to informants bachelors and spinsters after death, become ghosts or spirits because most of their earthly desires remain unfulfilled. A woman is considered pious if she dies before her husband. There is no proof that the Bauris ever committed Sutti. The family and clan members remain impure for eleven days after the funeral of an adult. For younger and children, three days mourning is observed. During the funeral onion, garlic, fish, meat are a taboo. Kin do not shave their heads and beard and even do not apply oil on the body.

Feasts are served to the kin by the bereaved family on the 5th, 7th and 9th day for which food from the Lingaraj Temple is provided. On the 11th day is served as a special menu in the general feast. On the 10th day the male mourners only completely shave their heads and beards and wear new clothes as a mark of purification. A fire sacrifice is held in individual families by the Guru Vaisnab. In 1965 Bauris go to the Temple tank for a ritual bath where they shave their head and wear new clothes supplied by the mourner's family. These practices are certainly the most elaborate ideal from copies from brahmans of the neighbourhood. These practices are some times cut short due to the shortage of funds in many Bauri families.

## Other Purifications

Maggots in sore (Machhia pataka), Cow killing, dining with low castes are considered polluting and the person concerned must undergo a ritual purification. Details of these are cited below.

### 1. Maggot in sore (Machhia Patak)

Such cases are immediately referred to the caste Behera and the person concerned remains under a ritual pollution. After the wound is cured a brahmin is consulted and the person concerned is shaved (if male) by the caste Behera and the finger nails are cut. A feast of the temple food is served to the caste brothers. The victim constructs a temporary shelter (Chhamundia) in his court yard and the feast is served under this. In 1940 fried rice and raw sugar (Gur) were supplied instead of the temple food because of their poverty. Person thus suffering remain impure for a fortnight after which the ritual purification is arranged. Fish and meat are a taboo during the period.

### 2. Cow Killing (Go Badha)

If a cow, calf, ox, bull is killed by a Bauri in action the person concerned immediately refers the matter to a local brahmin who prescribes the punishment. The person concerned does not take his bath and sleeps on a straw bed and eats once a day.

After the expiry of the prescribed time, he shaves his head by the caste Behera near the Gosareswar tank and sends offering to Lingaraj Temple by a temple priest. A feast of temple food is served to caste brothers according to the financial resources of the person concerned.

### 3. Dinning with Low Caste

As dinning with low castes was treated as a sin therefore the person concerned was treated as an out caste. He constructs a temporary shelter (Chhamundia) in his courtyard and serves a feast to all the caste brothers. In 1940, persons unable to arrange a feast was accepted in the caste only on submission of a nominal cash fine. But in 1965 a feast is demanded by the caste brothers and the feast is cooked in the accused's house.

From the foregoing descriptions the different phases in the life cycle of the Bauris are stressed. An analysis of the above facts show changes in certain aspects of their life cycle. Changes in life cycle is steady and slow compared to the other aspects like socio-economic changes. Even with changes in certain aspects and the life cycle, traditional practices are still maintained. For example: with the establishment of maternity centres and a hospital in the town, Bauris prefer them to assure the safe delivery of baby all though they do not use of these services as extensively as the clean castes, they have been attracted by these facilities. The birth day gifts have changed. Gold rings, shirts and shorts are presented to the babies by the maternal uncle. In Marriages too, such a change is noteworthy. In negotiation feasts, breads, are now served as these are cheaper than rice. Moreover Bauris consider chapatis as a modern prestige food.

## FAMILY &amp; HOUSEHOLD

In discussing the family life of the Bauris it is necessary to make a series of distinctions. First, there is what Bauris consider desirable (or normative) in family relationships. These topics deal essentially with the kinship ties. On the other hand, there are the actualities of household compositions which are residential. This chapter attempts to explore the relationship between the actual and the normative as it expressed in residence and in affiliation ties.

Before discussing the types of families found among the Bauris of Bhubaneswar, it is important to say something on the general nature of the family structure among the Bauris under study.

A Bauri family consists generally of both the parents and their offsprings. In some cases one or both of the parents leave with their married sons. Tables below show that the Bauris rarely follow the traditional Hindu joint family system. The family is as might be expected patrilineal and normatively the authority rests with father. The inheritance of rituals, ceremonies, property and patronages, when they are used at all, descended from father to sons. Daughters do not as a matter of right claim shares from the fathers property like her brothers. Although recent legislation gives the daughter equal rights with sons to the inheritance of property the Bauri women of Bhubaneswar make no claims on their family property before or after marriage. The role of wife (Mother) is to look after the practical management of the family including child rearing, and cooking. A Bauri mother is an economic asset in the family and her own voice in family matters is recognized. This does not mean that she is normatively recognized as dominant.

The Bauri family differs from the clean castes of the town in the greater independence of the wives. This rests on their economic contribution to the family purse. Like their husbands Bauri women work on construction sites and in paddy fields as day labourers. They do not however plough lands, cut stones or thatch houses.

Children in the family are treated with kindness and indulgence. Parents generally see that their children are well fed. They do not however stress their education and future careers. This is due to want of money and lack of education. According to a Bauri informant, "what is the use of educating children because none is hungry among us, if he works in the paddy fields and in the stone quarry". They do not reject education but their poverty and their own lack of schooling lead them to under estimate its importance for their children. In this respect, the Bauris differ from more modernized and higher status families who feel obligated to provide their children with the best possible education available to them.

The maternal uncle (Mamu) has a special role in the Bauri family. It is he, who looks after and settles the marriages of his nephew (Bhanaja) and niece (Bhanaji). The maternal uncle sends presents to his sister's house at the time of his nephew's or niece's marriage. In 1965, though the gifts (quantity and quality) have changed the practice is still followed. The maternal uncle still performs many rituals at the marriage alter of his nephew and niece. He also attends the marriage procession of his niece when the later goes to her husbands house for the first time after marriage.

Normatively, the position of the grand parents is same as that in clean caste families. The older parents are cared for by their married and unmarried sons. In practice it is interesting to note that the parents in a house are treated well by their sons when they are unmarried but soon after the marriage about 90% of the sons separate from the parents. So long as the sons are unmarried they live jointly with the parents and brothers but soon after the marriage they tend to set up separate residences. If both the parents are alive and able to earn their own bread they do not depend upon their separated sons. In case they are unable to earn their living their sons supply them food and clothing even if they reside separately. Impoverished parents will live in turn in the households of various sons for specified periods of time. This practice is new to the Bauris and this author was told that they believe that they have borrowed this practice from the clean caste neighbours. This practice is known as 'To feed in turn' (Pali kari khaibaku daba).

#### Family types

In the past, Indian families were often classified into six categories, e. g., conjugal, pool-vandrous, polygynous, joint polygamous, nuclear. On the other hand households seem to be a more empiric way of arriving at residence realities.

A recent classification of households by Dr. Pauline Kolenda and elaborated by Mrs O Thora Chinnery, there are 12 different types. This classification is based on Indiawide survey of Indian field materials. In what follows one should clearly distinguish between family (kinship)

and households (residence). This data has been collected in terms of households not kinsip. The findings of Dr. Kolenda are :—

1. Single member household—This type of family needs no explanation as the inmate is only one person either male or female.
  2. Sub nuclear household—A widow or widower with unmarried children or a family of orphaned children or unmarried siblings living together.
  3. Nuclear household—A couple with or without unmarried children
  4. Supplemented nuclear household—A nuclear family plus one or more unmarried or widowed relatives.
  5. Lineal joint household—Two married couples and the unmarried children of the youngest couple, related through parent child ties.
  6. Collateral joint household—Two or more joint couples and their unmarried children related through siblings ties.
  7. Lineal collateral joint household—A combination of family Nos. 5 and 6
  8. Supplemented lineal joint household.
  9. Supplemented collateral joint household.
  10. Supplemented lineal collateral joint household.
- If there are unmarried silling of the married couples, or widowed relatives other than the unmarried children of the most junior couple than these three types are called supplemented.
11. Supplemented sub-nuclear household—Takes care of cases where orphaned siblings live with a grand parent or other relatives.
  12. Polygynous nuclear household—A nuclear family where the man has two or more wives (no other type of polygynous family has yet occurred in the Bauri data).
- In analysing the Bauri materials it was necessary to add two more household type.
13. Son-in-law household family—One or more sons-in-law reside in their wives parental households from this family.
  14. Others—Family consisting of household head, mother, daughter and son

TABLE 13  
Bauri family types

Wards	Single Member	Sub-Nuclear	Nuclear	Supplemented Nuclear	Lineal Joint	Collateral Joint	Lineal Collateral Joint	Supplemented Lineal Joint	Supplemented Collateral Joint	Supplemented lineal collateral Joint	Supplemented Sub-Nuclear	Polygynous Nuclear	Resident son-in-law	Others	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	
Pichu Sahi	0	1	6	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	
Mati Sahi	0	0	7	4	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	
Gate Sahi	1	0	5	1	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	
Mati a Sahi	0	2	7	5	3	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	
Huda Sahi	2	1	11	11	3	4	6	1	0	0	0	1	2	0	
Nala Munha Sahi	0	1	2	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Nageswar Tangi Sahi	0	2	11	5	2	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	
Chilipohari Sahi	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	
Kancha Sahi	0	1	2	1	0	0	3	1	2	0	0	0	1	0	
Kalika Devi Sahi	0	1	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Total	3	9	52	29	10	6	14	3	2	4	1	2	7	2	
			90				59								



My Bauri materials have been analysed in terms of the above categories in Table 13.

An analysis of Table 13, shows that the different types household, can be condensed into seven categories as single member, nuclear, joint, supplemented subnuclear, polygynous, son-in-law Household and others.

**Nuclear and Joint**—Nuclear families constitute somewhat less than 70 per cent and joint families somewhat less than 30 per cent of the 143 households. Several explanations may be advanced for the discrepancy between the all Hindu norm in favour of joint families and the actual Bauri preference for nuclear households. For example, the reasons offered in favour of Nuclear household that have been suggested by informants are the follows. Wives persuade their husbands to be separated from the parents and brothers in order to avoid the demanding mother-in-law. Sons, particularly, in recent times may wish to lead an independent life free of parental control in joint families young couples suffer a lot and share the sorrows and happiness with the other inmates in the family. In separate family they hope to live comfortably even with the scanty income. Fourthly, inadequate living space may also force separations.

**2. Polygynous**—We have in our list, four polygynous families. Polygynous although recently declared illegal for Hindus is forbidden by custom among the Bauris. The reasons for these cases of polygyny are that in two families a second marriage was contracted when the first wives were found sterile, but the second wives continued as they gave birth to children. In a third case, which suggest the sororate, a man married his first wife's younger sister because he fell in love with her. Successive sororate is more common than the simultaneous sororate even among the higher caste. No dowry is required in sororate. In a fourth case, the man married a second wife as a matter of status or fashion. This suggests that polygyny is a prized form of marriage as it gives higher status in the society.

The seventh case, of house son-in-law household (Ghar Juain marriages) is an accepted custom in Orissa which the Bauris have also adopted. It is the traditional belief that persons without male issue go to hell after death. Couples therefore like to adopt sons or to keep the daughter (if one) or the youngest daughter (if more) in their house after marriage. At the time of death it is the son (either own or adopted) or the son-in-law who lights the funeral pyre. Also, the son-in-law in these ghar juain marriages like the sons, are expected to look after the old fathers and mothers-in-laws.

Lineal joint families (10 families) occur when the parents can control their sons both married and unmarried. There are three cases of collateral joint families where the brothers live together. Such enterprises provide more money and man power but require emotional congeniality and assume economic resources can be more effectively exploited by co-operating males.

TABLE 14  
Size of Bauri Household

Wards	Total population	Sex		Age			No. of household	Average size of household	Average family size
		Male	Female	Adults 11 years & above	Youths 5-10 years	Children 0-5 years			
Pichu Sahi ..	32	19	13	20	5	7	6	5.2	3.5
Gate Sahi ..	47	25	22	31	14	2	7	6.5	4.7
Mati Sahi ..	59	31	28	33	17	9	10	5.9	4.3
Matha Sahi ..	75	45	30	53	15	7	15	3	±4
Huda Sahi ..	193	97	96	149	29	15	41	+4	+4
Nalamunha Sahi..	29	17	12	20	1	8	5	5.4	5.4
Nageswartangi Sahi	107	56	51	76	18	13	13	8.3	±5
Kancha Sahi ..	62	32	30	46	8	8	8	±8	±6
Kalikadevi Sahi ..	18	8	10	15	2	1	3	6	6
Ch lipokhari Sahi	32	19	13	21	9	2	6	5.2	5.2
<b>Total ..</b>	<b>654</b>	<b>349</b>	<b>305</b>	<b>464</b>	<b>118</b>	<b>72</b>	<b>117</b>	<b>3 ± 68.3</b>	<b>3.5 to ± 6</b>

### Household size and Demography

Table 14, shows the size of Bauri households. The total Bauri population distribution by age and sex and the average size of households will be discussed here alongwith Bauri demography.

#### Sex Distribution

In population of 654, my census indicates that there are 44 more males than females among the Bauris of old town. The surplus of recorded males may be due to the fact that both the respondents and the ethnographer are males and that women, especially female infants, tend to be under prized compared to males. However, the surplus Bauri males in the ten wards surveyed is proportionately less than the surplus males in the population of Bhubaneswar as a whole.

In 1961 census, the total population of Bhubaneswar N. A. C. are 38,211 of which 22,580 were males and 15,631 females. The surplus male population of Bhubaneswar as a whole is explained by the immigration of single males seeking work in the new capital. A closer analysis of the surplus Bauri males shows that, at the time of census there were three immigrant Bauri households consisting of 9 persons in all (6 male and 3 females), giving surplus of three males in the Bauri wards either in rented houses or with their friends and relatives. Families lacking sons have adopted male children from nearby villages and relatives. There are 7 of these in a total of 190 boys and girls of 10 or below. In addition to this, there are 7 resident son-in-laws who live in their wives houses.

Allowing for those adoptions, either male children, son-in-law and three more single male immigrants. The following is a statement of sex disproportionate in different Bauri wards in the old town. Figures dealing with the male surplus to females are cited in the beginning of this chapter. These figures indicate that the disproportion of males to females occur in four Bauri wards but the marked difference is in Matha sahi. The sex proportion of males to females is more because of the following reasons:—

- (a) There are 3 male divorces and one female divorcee in this ward
- (b) One household did not remarry after the death of his first wife but adopted a son,
- (c) There is one immigrant (Male) in the house of his son-in-law,
- (d) This man (Household No. 13) after the marriage of his only daughter here in this ward, sold all his belongings in his natal village and settled in the house of his son-in-law in Matha Sahi.

The ratio of 1 surplus male to every 2 women is same in Bhubaneswar town. But the statistics in this connection reveal that in one or two wards this exceed the 2:1 Bauri average.

#### Age Grades

The ages given by the respondents are only approximate as they neither possess horoscope nor do they pay much attention to their ages. While enquiring the age of the son, the ethnographer was told by a Bauri father that. "We have given birth to our children but how can we say their age." The census of the 10 wards showed a sharp dropping off in the 0-5 age grades (72) compared to the 5-10 age groups (118). Where the figures were rechecked they were corroborated. Since, it is highly unlikely that the birth rate has fallen to this extent in the last 5 years it suggests that the children below 5 years in enumerations. In turn this may be explained by the high infant mortality that has existed in Orissa in the past and still in the present.

According to the vital statistics of Orissa in 1952 the infant mortality rate per 1000 was 159.23. But in 1961 the infant mortality rate per thousand were still 124.12<sup>1</sup>. This means that one would expect more children in the 0—5 age-group. But my census did not reveal this.

#### Household size (Refer table 2)

By wards the average size of households range from 4.6 in Huda sahi to 8.3+ in Nageswarsahi. One of its early offshoots. In both these wards occupations seems to be the same as does the general economic standard. Huda sahi is somewhat more congested than Nageswarsahi as there is no vacant space in the former sahi where as the latter sahi has open plots along one side of its main street. The larger household size is only 30% greater than the smallest. (Kancha sahi 6.8 and Matha sahi 4).

<sup>1</sup>. Government of Orissa, Bureau of Statistics and Economics Statistical outlines of Orissa, Vital statistics page 33.

### Divorces

Divorce in contradistinction to upper castes is an accepted institution in the Bauri community. It is recognised by caste rules and divorces are generally decided and approved by the hereditary caste leaders in the caste panchayat. A man or wife cannot remarry unless his or her divorce is recognised by the caste Panchayat. In the divorces generally the man repays his divorced wife the marriage gifts given by her father. If the woman does not wish to remarry she is given a sum of Rs. 50 to 100, a new saree, and some measures of rice or paddy by her husband in amounts fixed by the panchayat. At the time of the divorce if the woman does not have children, she may leave her husband with or without compensation. Young children are generally taken by the divorced wife.

Both the husband and wife can initiate a divorce. Main reasons for seeking divorce were and are chronic disease, sterility, and bad character, etc. Beauty and romance in both cases (husband and wife) also play an important part in the divorces.

Table 16, gives the number of divorces per ward. Among the 6 divorce 5 were initiated by male and 1 by a female. In Math sahi the highest number of male divorces are seen which suggest for the excess of males to females.

### Titles, self-designation and patronymics

The Bauris of Bhubaneswar designate their caste as 'Bauri' and 'Bhoi'. They are also often addressed as Bhoi by their clean caste neighbours. According to one of my Bauri informants, the common surname allotted to the community is Bhoi and Kandi. The traditional caste leaders were honoured with the title 'Behera' only to distinguish them from the commoners. But other surname which will be discussed below are the later additions. My informants could not tell me the exact date of such additions.

If one looks at the orthodox texts, one finds mention of only Bhoi and Kandi as designations of the Bauris<sup>1</sup>. Further, in lists of scheduled castes in Orissa both Bhois and Bauris are given as if they were separate entities<sup>2</sup>. This is clearly a misunderstanding of the situation. However, among the Bauris of Bhubaneswar the word Bauri is used as the caste name and the Bauris designate them as Bhois, Mahabhois, and Harijans (Sons of Hari).

TABLE 15  
List and Number of Surnames by ward

Ward	Behera (Title)	Bhoi (Self design- nation)	Das	Naik	Kandi	Hati	Samal	Bisoi	Pani	Raut	Total No. of families
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
Pichu Sahi	.. 5	2	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	9
Gate Sahi	.. 9	0	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	10
Mati Sahi	.. 2	11	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	14
Matha Sahi	.. 9	3	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	6	20
Kancha Sahi	.. 3	8	..	0	..	..	..	..	..	..	11
Huda Sahi	.. 17	8	..	11	..	..	1	..	1	2	42
									Widow		
Nalamunha Sahi	.. 4	0	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	5
Chilipokhari Sahi	.. 1	3	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	6
Kalikadevi Sahi	.. 0	3	..	0	..	..	..	..	..	..	3
Nageswar Tangi Sahi	4	5	1	4	..	2	6	..	..	2	24
Total	.. 54	44	1	19	1	3	8	1	1	11	144

1. Modern Buddhism and its followers in Orissa, Chapter I, Page 17-22 by N. N. Basu, 20, Kantapur Lane Bag Bazar, Calcutta.

2. Annual Administrative Reports for 1963-64 page 65-66 T. & R. W. Department, Government of Orissa

The Bauris of Ehubaneswar bear the following patronymics locally called as 'Sangia' (Surnames). Bhoi, Behera, Das, Kandi, Reut, Hati, Bisoi, Naik, Samal etc., It is interesting to note that the patronymics just mentioned are also found among clean caste people even among Brahmins (Pani, Das).

When asked their caste (jati), the Bauris designate themselves as Bhoi. They do not introduce them as Bauris to neighbours and outsiders, as they consider the term derogatory. For example in clean caste families roughly boys and dirty children are sometimes called 'Bauri', when their elders are angry with them.

As Table 15 indicate, Behera and Bhoi are by far the most common patronymics used by the Bauris with Naik or Nahak as third popular name. For example out of 141 families in the 10 wards 54 or about 1/3 used Behera as surname. Actually they are in these ten wards only 22 persons who officiate as Behera (Leader).

The Bauris are quite unfamiliar with the use of surnames. While the ethnographer was taking the primary census of the Bauris and while interviewing them he was told several patronymics by the same persons. There are cases where the sons do not use the patronymics as their father. From all this have been said it is clear that patronymics are not traditional among the Bauris and they are still confused and uncertain in adopting the use of patronymics now common among clean castes. For example, in Mati Sahi, there is an interesting case where two uterine brothers bear 2 different surnames. Laxman being the eldest brother uses the title Behera where as the youngest brother used Bhoi.

TABLE 16

*Divorce, Adoption, Resident son-in-law & Childless couples\**

Wards	Divorces		Immigrant		Adopted all Males	Resident son-in-law	Childless couples
	Male	Female	Male	Female			
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Pichu Sahi	0	0	3	3	1	1	0
Gate Sahi	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
Mati Sahi	0	0	0	0	1	2	2
Matha Sahi	3	1	1	0	1	0	5
Kancha Sahi	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
Huda Sahi	0	0	1	0	2	2	7
Nalanunha Sahi	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Nageswar Tangi Sahi	0	0	0	0	2	1	2
Chilipokhari Sahi	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
Kalika devi Sahi	1	0	0	0	0	0	0

The patronymic, even if recently introduced, do not apply to women in contradistinction to the women of clean castes. In cases of adoption and of a resident son-in-law (Ghar Juain) the patronymics of the adopted son-in-law changed in the clean caste communities. But among the Bauris, this author could not find any such change in the patronymics. To illustrate, Gurubari the present Sardar Behera was adopted by Mahani Pani his maternal uncle who was issueless Gurubari who succeeded his uncles office as Chief Behera also inherited his patronymics. But to day Gurubari has dropped the patronymic of his uncle (Pani) and uses a new surname, i. e. his title Sardar Behera. This ward Sardar Behera designates to an office not a surname.

\*By childless couple is meant persons who have no living children, after 4 to 5 years of marriage.

NOTE—This must not be interpreted as sterility figure.

## CHAPTER 8

## CHANGING FORMS OF LEISURE AND RECREATION

In this chapter, I shall call leisure, the time pleasurable spent in an unorganised fashion. Time spent in pleasurable but organised activity is recreation.

The Bauris prior to the establishment of the New Capital were employed as agricultural labour which allowed them little leisure for six months of the year. Such leisure, as they had was spent in primarily productive activities. Their recreation centred primarily on religious and social activities.

**Leisure and Recreation Internal to Bauri Community**

Formerly, when the men had no work, they set out to the nearby forests in groups to hunt and to collect fruits. Fishing in nearby ponds, pools and paddy fields was another profitable aspect of leisure time occupation. Basket and mat making were another pastime craft of the men which had incidental economic value. Women also, either singly or in groups collected green leaves, fuel, etc. in their leisure time.

There were places like the community house (Bhagabat Ghar\*) and the ward shrine where men gathered to gossip. All the Bauri wards then had a community house which served as a club, a Guest House and sleeping place for the ward youths.

In 1940, there were three such houses in the old town Bauri Wards (Huda, Mati and Matha Sahis). In 1965, two more such houses have been built, one in Nage-war Tang and the other in Kaneja Sahi. The community houses also served as rehearsal places for the Ward Drama parties in which case they were called 'Akhada' (Lit. Rehearsal House). Among the Bauris in 1940, there were three such Drama Groups, one in each community house. The nearby clean caste residents sponsored such groups both for recreation and to earn money by being hired to perform for fellow townsmen or nearby villages on festive occasions. A Bauri Drama Group consisted of the male youths and adult. Each group hired a dance teacher and director (Guru), who was paid a monthly salary of rupees forty and free meals. The expenditures of the Akhada were borne by the participants.

According to my informants, the community houses also served as the village or ward school where the residents were taught the three R's, by an outside literate Bauri who was paid a monthly salary and free meals by the pupils. In Huda Sahi, the residents took part in the reading of the sacred Ramayana and Bhagabat in the evenings.

The decline of the community houses as centres for both gossip and recreation began mainly after the establishment of the State Capital which provided many alternative recreational opportunities. In 1940, small incomes and limited opportunities provided the Bauris little scope for recreation. The reverse was the case in 1965 when they had greater opportunities and larger incomes.

**Bauri Versions of Communitywide Religio-Social Observances**

In addition to the recreations internal to the Bauri community there was and still is a series of communitywide and largely religious festivals which had both sacred and secular aspects in which the Bauris participated. The major areas in which they shared and the nature of their participation are given below. It should be stressed here that the sacred and secular aspects of such a annual cycle of festivals are difficult to disentangle.

**Festivals**

The Bauris participated in the following festivals held in and around the town, i. e. Asoka-stami, Sivaratri, Khaingiri and the Kapiles-war fairs. On these days, the Guruvaisaab, the family priest of the Bauris was given a small cash gift called festival expenditure (Jatra Kharachha). Such remunerations were also paid to the Bauris working as plough servants under clean caste misters. Bauri men, women, boys and girls visited these fairs in large numbers. Such visits had two objectives. First, they bought things required for household and personal use. For example; women bought brass bangles, earthen pots, vermilion and

\* Bhagabat Ghar in a clean caste village or ward meant the house where the sacred Krishna story book was kept. This book was read daily and on the day of the completion, a feast was held in which all the listeners take part. The Bauri community houses were also called 'Bhagabat Ghar', even though, no such book is kept there. This term has been borrowed from the clean caste neighbours.

men purchased cloth, toys for the children and tools for agriculture. They purchased such materials at the fairs because there was no regular market in the town as there is to-day in 1966. The purchases have also changed in the intervening generations. Cosmetics, plastic combs, rolled gold ornaments, ribbons, sarees, lithographs and shoes are now bought. The second reason to attend religious fairs was to offer bhog to the deities and to watch the crowd. A list of the major occasions when Bauris participated in these sacred-social recreational occasions are and were :—

### 1. Gamha Purnami (July-August)

The festival is also called the "worship of oxen" (Balabhadra Paja). On this day, the Bauris, like the clean caste cultivators bathe their oxen in the nearby pond and garlanded them. Their legs are smeared with yellow turmeric water. The oxen are not yoked this day nor are they fed the remnants of the family as on other days. They are given cakes prepared specially for them by the house wife. In 1940, elderly male and female Bauris collected such cakes from the clean caste families but this has been completely stopped in 1966 as it is now considered degrading.

In 1965, the observances have changed a little. The household head wears new clothes if he can afford them and new clothes are also spread on the bullocks. This festival is now widely observed in the Bauri families. Out of 40 persons interviewed, 35 perform the ceremony, 2 did not answer and 3 said that they have no oxen or male calves.

### 2. Pimpeyi Amabasya (October-November)

This term is applied by the Bauris to the widely observed Diwali festival or festival of lights. On this day (all the Bauri families) Bauri women clean their houses and paint their mud walls with red earth. The used earthen cooking vessels are removed in the kitchen as they are considered impure. The housewife cooks a porridge of parabolal rice to offer the ancestors in the evening. Jute stalks are burnt after the offering to the menes. The Bauri priest (Guruvaishnab) presides in these ceremonies memorising the deed (Sradha).

In 1965, the foods presented to the ancestors have changed. Sweetened rice, dal curry have replaced the rice porridge and the Sradha ceremony is usually performed by the household head without the family priest.

### 3. Bada Osha (lit. great fast—October-November)

The fourteenth day in the dark half of Kartika (October-November) is observed as a day of fast by the Bauris. Like the clean caste residents, the Bauris prepare rice porridge and presented it to their ancestors. The Brahmins cook the rice porridge in the village temples whereas the Bauris cook in their houses. The whole family shares the preparation. Relatives and friends exchange porridge cooked in each others house. They visit the Kapileswar fair and offer food materials to the deity through the Brahman priests. This festival is unchanged in 1965.

### 4. Pana Sankranti (April-May)

This is the Oriya new years day which like the clean caste families most of the Bauris observed as an important festival. Sweetened water (Pana) was/is prepared in most Bauri houses and offered to their manes by the household head.

The famous "Danda Jatra" (staff dance) of the Bauris begins from this auspicious day. In Huda sahi, seven days prior to this day, a group of Bauri males (about 10 persons) stayed near the ward deity 'Mangala' and eat the food cooked there. During these days, they worshipped a bamboo pole called 'Danda' (Lit rod), at one end of which was tied new coloured clothes and a piece of cane bent in a circle. This rod was carried by the leader of the party in the dance and in the group procession. On this day, for the first time in the year, they danced near the deity.

This dance was/is called 'Danda' or "Patua dance" as the participants were/are called Patua, on the subsequent days for about a fortnight, this dance was performed in the nearby clean cast wards.

The head of the party settled the date, hour and time of the performance every evening and accordingly sent 50 betel leaves and some areca nuts to the household head at whose door they wished to show the dance. The host household where they intend to dance, supplied the light for the performance.

The Patuas (all male) dressed as men and women dance according to the tunes of the drum beater singing devotional songs. In 1940, the dancers borrowed dresses and ornaments from the Badu ward. (The borrowed dresses worn by the Bauri dancers were not considered polluting, as they put on these only during the dance which they perform in honouring the ward goddess.

After the show, the leader of the party was paid a small cash remuneration varying from 8 annas (50 paise) to 2 rupees, by the host household. In some cases the dance party was presented with either a new dhoti or sarce according to the financial resources of the host household head.

On the last day of the performance the rupee collected were divided equally among the participants. One of the share also goes to the Hadi drum beater.

Recently in 1956, the fire walking (Jhamu Jatra) festival was added to this observance by a group of Bauris near the goddess 'Dundia'.

### 5. Raja (Festival of mother earth)

In 1940, only women observed this festival by not working either outside or at home. They visited the fair held at the foot of the Dhauli hill, four miles away from the town.

In 1965, not only women but males also abstain from work during the festival. Women wear new sarces and paint their toes in red lac. They outline their eyes with black pigment and apply cosmetics. Fish and meat are served as special dishes on the occasion. They visit the movies in addition to the Dhauli fair in 1965. Just after their festival the agricultural work starts.

### 6. Three Agricultural Festivals

Bauris like the clean cultivating castes celebrate three agricultural festivals in a year.

The first festival was observed on the Akshyatrutiya day (April-May) when they first plough the land. The second festival is observed when the paddy plants bloom. A rice porridge is prepared in the paddy land and is poured on the paddy field to feed the mother earth, that she may give a beautiful harvest. After the harvest a common feast is held in the barn to which friends, relatives and persons helping in the harvest were invited. In 1940, these feasts were financed mostly by the clean caste landowners.

In 1965, the Bauri tenanted cultivators arrange such feasts in their barn to which they invite their friends and relatives. At present meat or fish are served as special additional dishes in the feast.

## RECENT BAURI RELIGIO-RECREATIONAL ADOPTIONS

### 1. Fire walking (Jhamu)

The first fire walking ceremony in the town was started near the goddess 'Dundiah' by the Bauri residents of Huda, Nalamunha and Nageswar Sahis in the year 1956. In the beginning, the participants were all Bauri persons desirous to walk on the fire, stayed near the goddess 'Durdia' for seven days in advance and ate the food cooked there at the shrine. During this period, they collect subscription from the old town residents for the purpose.

On the appointed day, two long trenches about 10ft. long are dug in front of the goddess shrine. At 12 noon, the devotees set out to bath in the Bindusagar tank accompanied by a group of Hadi musicians under the direction of the Bauri shaman priest (Kalasi). Before the procession returns, a fire is lighted in the trenches. Soon after the members reached the spot, they walked on the fire one after another in turn. This festival being the first of its kind in the town was largely attended by the clean caste persons.

Parents of an ailing child, may make vows on this day to the goddess for the recovery of their children. If the child recovers, the parents will either present gifts of palm leaf fans, winnowing trays to the goddess or the ailing child will walk on fire. Therefore, many clean caste boys walked on the fire with the Bauris.

The fire walking was discontinued near the goddess Dundia and Chemendai Sahi, due to difference of opinion among the Bauris in 1967. However, they worship the goddess Dundia, formally without any pomp and show. It was rumoured that the Bauris of Bhubaneswar have been split into two factions as the leaders misappropriated the money collected for the ceremony. However, in the oldtown Bhubaneswar one such fire walking festival is still observed by clean caste residents near their goddess Jageswari. Where the Bauri Shaman priests walk on the fire with the clean caste participants.

## 2. Trinath Mela (Worship of three-gods)

This ancient observance is dedicated to the three Hindu gods Brahma, Visnu and Maheswar. This worship was formerly held in individual houses by household heads in fulfilment of vowe. But since 1959, the Trinath movement taken on the character of a group religious observances with recreational aspects. It is no longer performed indoors. Like the clean caste resident the Bauris have accepted this as a part of their religion. At present this worship has three attractions; smoking, singing and passing the idle hours with companions. Of 40 (male) respondents questioned about their reasons for participation in the Trinath worship the following were given:

To sing—18

Worship—17

Smok Ganja— 3

To spend idle hours— 2

Among the Bauris it has become such a fashion that Trinath shrines have been erected in Kancha, Nageswar and Gate sahis. The interested clean caste residents of the town also join in the puja of these wards or perform the puja in open ground alongwith the Bauri. Bauris perform this puja thrice a week i.e. Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday. This auther has also observed that many clean caste persons participate with the Bauris in this worship. Even, the participants share the same pipe, since ganja is considered as food of grace (prasad) of the Trinath god. Three Bauris performed puja near the temple tank Bindusagar alongwith wo washermen, every Saturday. No caste discrimination is observed in this worship.

### Recent Adoptions of Secular Observances

Band parties or orchestral music and the king, queen and ox dance parties organised by the Bauris are the recent developments. They consider these both as a device for earning money as well as a recreation. In other words, these are productive leisure time activities, details on these are mentioned in Chapter IV (Urbanization of economy).

Although Band parties have been acknowledged as a profitable business, the elders dislike this activity as a degrading one because it had formerly been a sweeper (Hadi) speciality.

### Post 1940 Extensions of Bauri Participation in Communitywide Religio-Social Observances

3. Dasahara or the last day of the Durga worship in the month of Aswin (September to October) was adopted by the Bauris from the clean caste neighbours only after the establishment of the new capital. On this day, the clean artisan castes in the town worship their respective caste implements such as, the warriors (Khandayat) worship their sword, brahmin books and palmleaf manuscripts, etc. Special dishes of rice, dal, curry and porridge are prepared for the purpose. On this day the Bauris worship their cultivating implements i.e. sickle, plough, spade, the Bauri masons their tools, the band party musicians their drums. They prepare special dishes at home since 1963. The residents of Matha sahi observe the citywide celebration of Durga Puja. They hire artists to make the image and build a pandal and employ Brahmin to worship the image. The residents of Matha Sahi contribute equally to the fund. Since 1967 the Bauris of Bangal and Kanch Sahis have also started a simiilar puja in their ward.

### 4. Devotional singing (Sankirtana)

Prior to 1940, devotional singing was confined to the clean caste people in the town. There were 3 such groups in the town prior to 1940 of the clean caste residents. But since 1965 such devotional song groups became associated to the Trinath worship. Thus the Bauris performing Trinath worship started 2 such groups in the town, one in Nageswar and the other in Kanch sahi.



The chief musical instruments used in this performance are flute, bellmetal cymbals and a single membrane drum. The community house in Nageswar sahi possess a full set of these instruments. The youths in this ward play on musical instruments and song devotional songs every evening. This Sankirtana differs from Trinath mela and at present is associated with the Trinath worship.

In the sample of 40 men respondents, 4 reported that they spend their leisure hours with the Sankirtana group. The residents of Kancha sahi alongwith the residents of Math, Kalikadevi sahis sing devotional chorouses under the banyan tree near the Trinath temple, Clean caste persons interested in the music also participate in the function with the Bauris.

#### 5. Bhagabat Bedha ( completion of the reading of the sacred Krishna story book ).

The completion of the reading, the sacred Krishna story book is observed, as a sacred day and feasts are made and served to the listeners and the neighbour for the purpose. In chilipokhari sahi, one person read the sacred Krishna story book (Bhagabat) in his home and observe the last day as the Bhagabat badha. Rice, dal, curry, porridge are served in the feast. This is a new adoption in the Bauri community based on the reading of the Bhagabat in clean caste groups.

### NEW SECULAR OCCUPATIONS

The new secular recreations include cinema, open air theatre, radio, national festivals like Independence day and Republic day celebrations. In 1940 open air theatre (Jatra), Pala and Dasakathia were the only secular recreations in the town to which the Bauris had access. After the establishment of the state capital the new secular recreations as mentioned have become available to them.

#### Open air theatre

Jatra, Nacha, Pala, Dasakathia etc., come under this broad category. These still remain first in order of preference among the Bauris irrespective of age and sex. They even go miles to see such performances. They all attend such performances in numbers as no entrance fee is required. In such occasions, the leaders of the performance arrange separate places for the Bauris as they were/are not allowed to sit with the clean caste spectators. Although sometimes it happens that during such an occasion when all the Bauris visit to attend the show fire and theft occur in the wards.

Allotment of separate place only holds good in such occasions. Because it in shows where an entrance fee is paid no such restriction holds good, probably for the untouchable offences Act.

#### Cinema

The picture houses in the town are an important attraction to the young Bauris working in the new town as unskilled day labour.

Of the 40 respondents 26 do not visit cinemas, 4 visit 5 to 6 times a week, 8 visit twice a week, 2 visit once a week. Regarding the understanding of the plot, song and dance 8 visit only to hear the songs, 9 like fighting films, 13 Oriya films, 10 Hindi films. The cinema goers prefer songs and fighting in the film. None preferred Bengali films.

As a cheap means of amusement cinema has a great influence among them. A sum of only 50 paise is required of which 40 paise is the lowest class ticket and 10 paise for pan and bidi. Bauri boys and girls never go together unless they belong to the same family, or same ward. Young girls who ordinarily wears sarees goes to cinema wearing saree, blouses, etc. Cinema has a great influence among the Bauri youngsters. It has changed the hair style, dress, etc. of the youth.

#### Radio

Bauris in the town consider, radios a luxury. Only one person in Gate sahi owned one, which he brought from Calcutta while working there as a domestic servant but soon after his return from Calcutta he sold it to raise money. Educated Bauri grooms now demand Radio as marriage dowry, But actually no one has yet got any as dowry.

The local N.A.C. authorities have not set up public address systems in the old town and the Bauris do not go to these places in the new capital.

### News Paper

None in the sample of 40 subscribes to a news paper. Only one tea stall owner subscribes an Oriya daily which is read aloud to the ward members in the evening. The author was told by two Bauri youths working as civil servants, that they read news papers in their office

The national festivals like the Republic Day and Independence Day celebrations are attended by the Bauri boys and girls in the school. No one else visits the new town to witness the parade.

In sum, the traditional recreation among the Bauris centered round their socio-economic activities. The reactions are associated with feasts and merrymakings. The leisure hours were unorganised in 1940 because of their backwardness, social isolation. They were always busy in earning a meagre subsistence. The leisure time activities of the Bauris were thus spent in gossiping and discussion on various matters pertaining to the caste and locality. The community houses were the centers of social gatherings which gradually became the drama rehearsal houses. Worship of the ward deity, caste deity, performances of Patua dance were their religious recreation.

The real divorce between the religious and organised recreation began mainly after the establishment of the new capital. The modern aspects of the Bauris are newly adopted organised religious ones and non-economic. For example : Trinath worship, gossip in the tea stall, open air drama and sankirtana parties.

The increasing Bauri participation in Hindu festivals like Bhagabat worship and Dasahara is evidence of increasing brahminization. Participation of modern activities like cinema, theatre, open air drama, radio and news paper is still increasing and more nearly evidence of secularization. Literacy and improved economy are the reasons for such changes.

Even though the Bauris have adopted many modern means of recreation they have still not fully abandoned the traditional means of utilisation of leisure except few instances.

In sum, the following changes are noteworthy. Income in cash permits participation in a large number of socio-religious activities as well as more elaborate participation, changes in menu and in ritual procedures.

Secondly, relaxation of caste barriers as well as participation has facilitated greater interaction with the clean castes e.g., cultivators in paddy lands, smoking ganja in the same pipe with the clean caste people in Trinath worship and the fire walking ceremony. Thirdly both recreation and leisure as a whole is more costly and consumes much of their economic surplus. There are some exceptions to this for instance, the king-queen and ox dance.

## BAURI AUTHORITY STRUCTURE

(Changing relations to authority)

The Bauris of Bhubaneswar, as a separate caste, possess their own caste council called 'Jatiana Sabha', consisting of hereditary officers called 'Santhamahanta', 'Guruvaisnab', 'Saradar Behera', 'Pada Behera' and Ganjahari. This caste council of the Bauris is governed by rules which in the past were unwritten due to the illiteracy of the members. From 1950 onwards the important rules have been written in the official proceedings of the sabha.

Before discussing in detail the leadership at different levels of the caste, the local caste structure will be briefly summarised.

In old Bhubaneswar and Kapileswar there are thirteen Bauri wards. These wards are constituted in one or more constituencies (Pada) for each of which there is a leader called 'Behera'. Each Behera in turn has an assistant called 'Ganjahari'. Thus, in the 13 wards there are 22 Beheras and 22 Ganjaharis. All the 22 Beheras and their constituents are under the guidance of a Chief, called 'Sardar Behera'. Table 17, shows the number of Beheras and Ganjaharis in Kapileswar and Bhubaneswar.

TABLE 17

*Beheras and Ganjaharis in Bauri caste council in Bhubaneswar and Kapileswar*

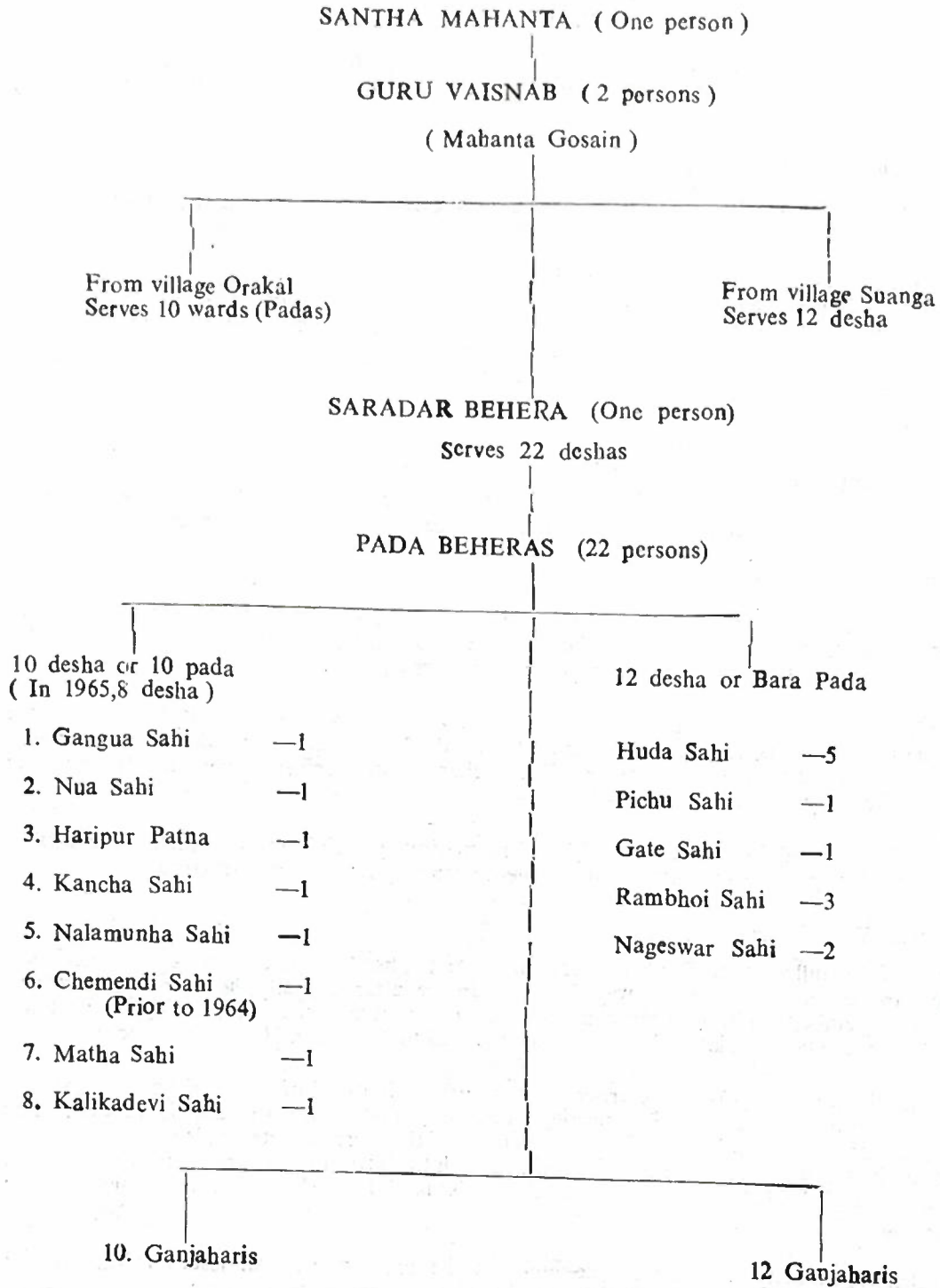
Serial No.	Wards	Village	Beheras	Ganjaharis
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
1	Huda Sahi	.. Bhubaneswar ..	5	5
2	Matha Sahi	.. Do. ..	1	1
3	Gate Sahi	.. Do. ..	1	1
4	Pichu Sahi	.. Do. ..	1	1
5	Chemendai Sahi	.. Do. ..	2	2
6	Nageswartangi Sahi	.. Do. ..	2	2
7	Nalamunha Sahi	.. Do. ..	2	2
8	Kancha Sahi	.. Do. ..	1	1
9	Kalikadevi Sahi	.. Do. ..	1	1
10	Rambhoi Sahi	.. Kapileswar ..	3	3
11	Gangua Sahi	.. Do. ..	1	1
12	Haripur Patna Sahi	.. Do. ..	1	1
13	Nua Sahi	.. Do. ..	1	1
		Total ..	22	22

**Bauri Authority Structure**

Diagram 2, provides an overview of the authority structure of the Bauris in Bhubaneswar and Kapileswar. The function of the various office holders is discussed subsequently.

DIAGRAM 2

Structure of authority among Bauris of Kapileswar and Bhubaneswar



## BAURIS OF BHUBANESWAR AND KAPILESWAR

## 1. Santhia Mahanta (Lit. Saint Abbot.)

The abbot of Bhutanath Math (?) at Puri is considered the ultimate source of authority in Bauri caste matters and his authority passes from abbot to successive abbots.

By caste the Santhamahanta is not a Bauri. He advises the Bauri caste council in important matters undecided by the secular leaders. For these services he collects a nominal fee ranging one anna to one rupee.

## 2. Guru Vaisnab (Lit. teacher vaisnavite)

There are two such persons among the Bauris called 'Guru Vaisnab'. In the social hierarchy they outrank other Bauris and therefore do not accept Kutcha food and water in the houses of the clients but only food separately cooked in new earthen or metal vessels and uncooked food (Sidha)<sup>1</sup>. They have ritual and judicial duties. Ritually, they officiate in marriages, funerals and other ceremonies like "Machhia Patak" (maggot in sore), cow killing, etc. Judicially, they attended the caste meetings on request where their opinions are sought in deciding cases and allotting punishments. In such cases, a formal invitation is sent to them by the Chief (Saradar) Behera. They do not take active part in discussions but they render a decision in serious matters only at the end of the meeting.

Their position is hereditary and of long standing. They come from two different villages close to Bhubaneswar (Suanga and Orakal). For officiating as priests, the Guruvaisnabas get a cash remuneration ranging from 4 annas to four rupees plus a new cloth and a Sidha. For attending meetings they are given free food plus petty cash remuneration for personal expenses.

## 3. Saradar Behera (Chief Behera)

The position of the Saradar Behera is also hereditary. If he does not have a male issue an adopted son takes office. The present Saradar is a case in point. The previous Saradar who did not have a son adopted the present Saradar, who is his sister's son.

At the induction of a new Saradar, a ceremony is observed to which all the Pada Beheras are invited. The Pada Beheras tie a new saree round the head of the initiate, as a token of honour and a feast is served to them by the new Saradar. Each Behera also receives a new Dhoti from the Saradar as a token of esteem.

The new Saradar may inaugurate new rules and regulations pertaining to the caste in consultation with his colleagues. He acts also as an appellate authority in the caste structure.

## 4. Pada Behera (Ward Behera)

The role of this office is peculiar and interesting. As the head of his constituency, he acts not only as the ward leader but also as the ward barber. In the latter capacity, he cuts the hair and shaves the male members on both ceremonial and ordinary occasions. In marriage ceremonies where he assumes the ceremonial duties commonly assigned to barbers in Hindu caste society.

He carries the wedding gifts to the groom's or the bride's house during marriage negotiations. He washes the feet of the guests of the marriage ceremony and cooks the marriage feast. For this he is paid both in cash and kind. The arrangement of the marriage altar is also his duty. His wife performs the series of duties generally associated with the wives of the barbers in clean castes, including bringing the bride to the altar. For this she is paid in cash and a new saree by the household head.

In the Behera, capacity as a leader, he enforces the caste rules. All issues arising in his constituency are first referred to him. In the presence of the complainant and defendant as well as all household heads in his constituency, he decides all cases or disputes. Cases such as adultery, divorces, marriage, family litigation, illicit pregnancy, property, etc., are all within his jurisdiction. This practice continues even in 1965. Punishments imposed by him consists of ex-communication, fines, and physical punishments such as carrying jug full of water on the head in the ward and/or shaving the head leaving seven tufts of hair. Cases undecided by the Beheras are referred to the Saradar Behera for decision.

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1. Sidha, consisting of uncooked rice, dal, vegetables, salt etc.

### 5. Ganjahari (Lit Cock eater)

When the Behera is under a ritual pollution due to the birth or death in his family or clan the Ganjahari or the assistant Behera performs all ritual and secular duties of the Behera except deciding cases. In case of any ritual ceremony in the house of the Behera the Ganjahari performs the barber's duties for him.

### 6. The Desha (Constituency)

The Desha are of relatively recent origin. According to an elderly Bauri, the incident which gave rise to them occurred in approximately in 1948.

At this time Jai, daughter of the widow Geli, of Huda sahi, reached poverty and Geli searched for a groom. Due to her poverty she could find no better groom than an outsider who was a plough servant in the house of a local landlord. This marriage was attended by all the caste brothers. As Geli had no son, Lokanath remained in her house as the resident son-in-law. Two years later it was rumoured that Lokanath was Saora by birth. The Bauris of Bhubaneswar and Kapilesvars split into two factions over this breach of caste endogamy. The two view points could not be reconciled at a meeting of the ward Beheras. The case was then referred to the Saradar Behera. At first Geli was kept under a social ban by the caste panchayat. When the matter could not be finalised, the Beheras supporting Geli seceded her in their group and the dissidents cut off all the relationships with them. Thus, the Bauri Pada organisation split into two units 'Desha called desha' and 'Bara desha'. The above instance show how factions can cross-cut wards.

In 1964, another schism occurred when two Beheras of Chemendai sahi of the 10 desha left their traditional constituency (Pada) to join the caste panchayat of Dumuduma, a village near Bhubaneswar. In this case, Maga Behera, who was the honorary treasurer of the 10 desha was rumoured to have misappropriated the desha funds as he failed to render an accounting to the Beher Beheras. Before the annual caste feast all the Beheras came to Maga's house and demanded the money.

Maga without giving them details about the money quarreled with them. The Beheras who were present, thereupon decided to place Maga under a social ban. When this was declared, he and his other ward Beheras joined the Bauris of Dumuduma and cut off all their traditional relationships with the Bhubaneswar Bauris.

Factions among the leaders of the ward sometimes grow bitter and cut the ties among them. Factions at the ward level usually grow out of personal quarrels, family disputes, disputes over property. Factions at the caste level include major social issues like inter-marriage, inter-dining, adultery, etc.

### Procedures for Calling the Councils

When any dispute or irregularity occurred within the ward, it was first referred to the Pada Behera. In 1940, such complaints were filed verbally and the decisions were also given verbally. No official records were kept. After receiving a complaint the Behera informed the ward elders of the day and time of the meeting. These were generally held in the evening either near the ward deity or at a convenient place in the community. After a decision had been reached, the penalty was announced to all Beheras and the Saradar for necessary action. If the issue remained un-decided or if the culprit disobeyed the punishment, the matter was referred to the Saradar Behera.

On receipt of the complaint the Saradar informed the Pada Beheras and the Guru vaisnab and requested them to attend the meeting at a stipulated time and place. In 1940, such announcements were sent by messengers and the Beheras were given arecanuts and some tobacco-leaves as a token of honour.

If the case remains undecided by the Saradar, it is sent to the Santhamahanta at Puri, whose decisions are final.

Although, this is the theoretical chain of authority in practice most Bauris are confused about the matter. They confuse the Santhamahanta with the Guruvaisnab and although the Santhamahanta never attends meetings, they claim that he does. There is no record of cases actually tried by the Santhamahants.

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1. Saoras are a scheduled tribe in Bhubaneswar and are considered inferior to the Bauris in the social scale.

### Types of Complaints

The author collected from the Saradar Behera of the caste Panchayat under discussion, 15 case documents mentioning complaints, community news, invitations etc relating to the caste. Of the documents 10 were actual petitions, one was a notice to the members, one community news, 2 were the decisions of the caste Panchayats and one was a letter to the Saradar by a ward Behera. These complaints dealt with the following issues—

(1) giving shelter in the house of a caste member to an unknown outsider (2) unnecessary verbal abuse of an old widow by caste brothers based on a personal grudge, (3) notification to the Chief Behera by a ward Behera that a member was disregarding the decisions of the Pada organisation (4) an appeal of a caste member to the Chief Behera against the decision of the Pada Beheras (5) prostitution of two caste women in new Capital (6) 2 petitions against father-in-laws for not sending their daughters to their husband's houses (7) a land dispute with a cousin (8) petition of a brahmin against a Bauri share cropper for non-payment of paddy share (9) using abusive language to a caste women.

The dates of the above petitions and the decisions reached are not recorded.

### Punishments

The punishments fall into three categories, ex-communication, humiliations, and fines. The different types of punishments are noted in order of severity. In 1940, fines were rare, because members could not afford to pay them.

#### 1. Ex-Communications (Ekagharikia)

In major offences the culprit is treated as an outcast and no member interacts with him. Persons under a social ban among the Bauris are not allowed to work or talk with the others. Even water from the common ward well or tank is forbidden to him. Inter-caste marriage, commensality and adultery warrant such a severe penalty.

#### 2. Carrying jug full of water on head (panimathia mundaiba).

The culprit walks on the road or round the ward meeting place carrying a jug full of water as a sign of disgrace.

#### 3. Painting the face in lime and black Pigments (Chunakali boliba)

The face of the culprit is painted with black and white pigments.

#### 4. Standing in one leg (Eka godikia chhida heba)

The culprit stands in one leg holding his ears in the presence of the ward people

#### 5. Fines (Jorimana)

Fines collected from the culprits for default or breach of caste rules. In 1940, fines thus collected were spent in the annual caste feast. Due to poverty of most Bauris fines generally range from one to ten rupees. Sometimes, where the fault is a serious one, fines may be added to the above physical punishments.

In 1940, the litigations mentioned above were obeyed for fear of ex-communication. In 1965, when fines are more common, the Bauris tend to take these penalties lightly because they can better afford to pay them. In 1940, when the livelihood of the Bauris was precarious the members feared the local leaders and carried out their decisions immediately. But in 1965, after the establishment of the New Capital the Bauris having occupational and social alternatives, tend to flout penalties levied by the Beheras. Thus the traditional caste authority and social control is crumbling.

### MODERN LEADERSHIP

#### Mahabhoi Samity (Great Bauri Society)

Before discussing the modern leadership it is essential to discuss the background favouring its development.

The traditional hereditary caste leaders were accused of taking advantage of their position, of showing favouritism in their decisions and of irregularity in administering the caste council. Members became dissatisfied and the hereditary leaders, who were once respected and honoured, fell in to disrepute.

In order to change this situation the young Bauris of Bhubaneswar and Kapileswar in 1950 formed a new council called 'Mahabhoi Samiti'. Youth Associations (Yubak Sangha) were formed in all the 22 constituencies (Padas) and the ward youths assumed leadership. Cases arising in the caste were first referred to the Youth Associations for decision. Cases undecided by these associations were then referred by the Youth Association Secretary to the President of the Mahabhoi Samity.

With the establishment of the Mahabhoi Samity, new officers were selected none of whom were hereditary officials. Also no hereditary leaders were placed on the Executive Council. The Saradar and the Pada Beheras served the new council only as Advisory Members. This Samity holds all its meetings near the shrine of the caste deity 'Dundia' in Bhubaneswar.

The Youth Association made important decisions and issued notices to members prohibiting certain behaviours. The following is an extract of such decision.

"On the night of February 18, 1959, the Beheras, Gosains (Guruvaisnab) of 12 and 10 deshas sat at a meeting at the shrine of the Goddess Chungudai. It was resolved in the presence of the 10 desha and 12 desha Beheras and the Mahanta Gosains (i. e. Guruvaisnab) that only widows, poor and helpless women, and the aged ones may go out work by the day and they must not be seen talking to anybody in the market area particularly in the evening."

2. The young women must not be seen doing personal work in the houses of anybody in Bhubaneswar and they must not be seen talking to any man of other community. If any other Pada or Saradar Behera violate this and acts against the above resolution he will be fined to pay Rs. 500 towards damages (That is the women of the Behera families violate this rule the Beheras will be fined Rs. 500).

This rigorous restriction imposed by the Bauri youth, with its economic sanctions and the infringement of personal liberties first warned the other Bauris to be careful. But, actually in practice this did not hold good.

The following is another instance where the Samity members took drastic action against the Guruvaisnab serving the 10 desha faction. He performed the second marriage of a daughter of a resident in Pichu sahi without consulting the ward Behera and the caste brothers. Because the first marriage had not been formally dissolved by the caste council, when the Guruvaisnab performed the ritual, the matter was referred to the Samity by the first husband of the woman. The youths called a general meeting of the caste which the hereditary officers including the Guruvaisnab attended. When the Guruvaisnab was found guilty of performing the second marriage, he was punished on the spot by being tied to a tree by the members and the Beheras present and the beads he wore as an insignia of his sacred office were torn off by the youths. Despite this humiliation, there was no protest and the Guruvaisnab still serves the community.

## POLITICAL ACTIVITIES OF THE MOHABHOI SAMITY

### (The Kuji Congress (Lit. Kuji Congress))

Since 1950 the Bhubaneswar Mahabhoi Samity not only regulates the affairs of the caste but in 1967 also organised people for the general elections.

In 1966, a new organisation sprang up in Nageswartangi sahi called 'Kuji Congress'. Although it was established to reorganise the Bauri caste as a whole it took an important part in the General Elections in 1967.

The Bhubaneswar branch of Kuji Congress was first under the direction of the founder (Radhamohan Das) who was a Bauri, stationed at small village called. 'Raut Nuagaon' in the district of Cuttack. The Bhubaneswar office was the 12th branch to be organised in the Cuttack and Puri district. Some Bauri youths of Bhubaneswar joined the Congress and actively proselytised on its behalf.

### Background of the Kuji Congress

The aims of the Kuji congress were to improve the status of the Bauri caste as a whole, to arouse its members against the corruptions and malpractices prevalent among the traditional and hereditary caste officials to fight for the relaxation of water and land taxes on Bauris in the Cuttack district and to provide better employment for its members.



Prior to the establishment of the Bhubaneswar branch of the Kuji Congress, the representatives from the head office came to the new capital several times to present their grievances to the Government. It also held several demonstrations in front of the State secretariate building.

Membership in this organisation is opened to the Bauri residents of the State. No fees are required but a nominal subscription is collected from the members for the establishment of a branch office.

Members wear white Gandhi caps with a bellmetal plaque on which is engraved, 'Sri Shri Radhamohan Das, Jai-Hindu Kuji Congress'. The flag of the organisation is triangular and bears the symbol of the sacred wheel (Nilachakra) of Jagannath. This symbol according to my informants means the worship of Jagannath who is their traditional caste deity.

On November, 13, 1966 a group of Kuji Congress members both men and women come to the New Capital to demonstrate at the Governor's residence protesting against the heavy water taxes in Cuttack district. In the evening they all came to the Nageswar sahi for shelter. At a meeting there, they talked about the Kuji Congress to the residents and it was decided that three local youths would visit Shri R. M. Das to seek permission to establish a branch in Bhubaneswar. The next morning the three youths bicycled to Rout Nuagaon. After presenting ten rupees to the founder teacher Shri Das, they talked with him and received permission to open a branch in Bhubaneswar. Before they left they were given a white cap, a bellmetal badge, and six booklets mentioning the objectives of the Organisation.

Accordingly a branch of the Kuji Congress was established in Bhubaneswar (Nageswar sahi) on November 20th 1966. About 30 males of Nalamunha, Chilipokhari, Huda and Nageswar sahi joined the organisation. Two elderly Bauris one from Nageswar and the other from Chilipokhari were nominated as the local heads (Guru) of the organisation. The newly enrolled members first took oath in the name of Jagannath touching the feet of the local Gurus and put on a neckless of wooden beads as a mark of sacredness.

The community house of the Nageswartangi sahi became the office of the Bhubaneswar Branch of the Kuji Congress. All members gather in this house in the evenings to worship the local Gurus and to play musical instruments. In-scense sticks are burnt and the badge, flag and books presented by the Guru are worshipped here by the members. They also recite the name of God Jagannath daily.

The members alongwith their local Gurus, visited the nearby villages to enroll the other Bauris and to establish new branches. According to informants, two such branches have been established one in Sisupal and the other in Garh Sri Rampur. An interview with the local Gurus revealed that this organisation will.—

- (a) decide the quarrels among the members and the wards
- (b) withdraw the cases pending in the court-of-law
- (c) guide the hereditary officials in the rightway
- (d) Wipe out corruptions among members
- (e) make representation to the Government on all the injustices done to the community.

The members do not eat fish or meat and do not worship the Trinath gods but instead devote themselves to Jagannath, their caste deity.

The name of Jagannath is written on all the official records and correspondences. This author was told by the Bauri youth of Mati sahi, that the wives of the Kuj iCongress member worship their husbands and drank the water after washing their feet daily.

Before the 4th General Elctions in 1967, both the Congress and the Jana-Congress candidates for the M. L. A. election solicited the votes of the Kuji Cohgress members.

The meetings organised in Bhubaneswar just before the 1967 elections by this organisation were attended by the Bauris of Bhubaneswar and Kapileswar and the neighbouring village. However, residents of Pichu, Gati, Mati and Matha Sahis of Bhubaneswar boycotted the metings as they supported the Congress candidates. The others attended the meetings as they supported the Jana-Congress candidate. The Bauris of the above wards were dissuaded from joining Kuji Congress because their employers favoured the Congress candidate.

### Outside Leaders

Persons hiring Bauris as day labourers are regarded by the Bauris as their economic patrons and they possess considerable influence over them. In a survey of 42 respondents, 27 said they obey their employers because they get help from them, one obeys the ward elders and leaders and 14 regarded the clean caste outsiders (not employers) to be their patrons. The clean caste outsiders help them in time of need but do not provide them with consistent support as employers. In 1967, these clean caste outsiders decide frequently impartially disputes arising among the Bauris. The employers always advance money to their employees for marriages, purchase of bullocks and in other personal emergencies. Hence, a good relations exist among them.

### Current opinion on Traditional Offices

When the 42 respondents were asked, in 1966, whom do you consider to be your most important leader? 18 respondents consider the hereditary Beheras of their own wards, as their leaders whereas 20 consider their leaders to be elders who did not hold office as Beheras. The ward elders according to these informants are the old people whom they consider to be experienced. Four respondents who were themselves Beheras did not consider anybody to be their leaders.

Regarding the second most important leaders 12 consider their Beheras and 16 consider other (Caste brothers) and 14 consider none to be their secondary leaders.

In 1967, the Beheras, Guruvainab, Ganjahari are still consulted on social issues like marriage, divorces, funerals etc. But property disputes, personal quarrels are sometimes referred to the clean caste outsiders and their employers.

Disputes in 1965, may also be taken to the court for decision. The divorce of K. B.'s daughter is a case in Point.

Both the adjudicative and ceremonial relationships between the Beheras and the caste members is gradually declining. For example:—The Beheras no longer cut the hair of their clients on ordinary days because the latter patronizes the barber saloons.

Despite the fact that new and outside leadership has arisen (Vide, Macabohi Samity, Kuji Congress, Economic patrons) the preference expressed in the interviews is still strongly in favour of the hereditary leaders—namely the Beheras.

### KNOWLEDGE OF THE STATE POLITICAL LEADERS

Forty-two respondents were questioned on their knowledge of members in the Legislative Assembly, Ministers, Members of the Notified Area Council and other Political Leaders and party agents.

*M. L. A.*—In general elections held between 1951 and 1966, the Bauris voted as follows—15 voted only in one election, 18 voted in two elections 8 have voted in no election. Due to political pressures three Bauris have said that they were prevented from voting. They reported that when they expressed a desire to vote for the CPI candidate, they were warned by the Congress election agents not to go to the polling booths on pain of arrest. Two other respondents did not go to vote for the fear of police and one did not vote because he would have lost a days' work.

In 1967 general elections the residents of Pichu, Gate sahis voted for the Congress MLA candidate at the behest of their economic patrons despite the threats of the Jana Congress party agents that they would burn their houses or to get them into trouble in some way or the other. On the whole the Bauris have become quite alert to the importance of their franchise.

In general in 1966, when first interviewed the Bauris did not know who were the Political leaders and the elections. Only 15 respondents in the sample of 42 could name their MLA (Local) and caste MLA. Since then however, the vigorously contested MLA elections has altered the situation to some extent.

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1. In India certain areas have been declared as scheduled area by Election Commission to represent the scheduled caste or tribe members in the State Legislature and the National Parliament.

### Ministers

On the other hand, in 1966 the Bauris knew the State Ministers somewhat better than members of the Legislative Assembly. Thirty-seven in the sample of 42, could name some of the Ministers and only five did not know any. The Deputy Chief Minister (B. Mitra) and the Education Minister (S. P. Mohanty) were most widely known. The Chief Minister (Biju Patanaik) was well known as an Air Pilot and an industrialist. The Deputy Chief Minister was known as the protector of the poor and the Education Minister who happened to be the local M. L. A. was also well known. The Bauris have approached all of these Ministers in their Government residences to present their grievances. It is important to note that none of them could name the Minister for Tribal & Rural Welfare.

### Police

Even though the Bauris in 1965 compared to 1940 have learned much about their legal rights they still fear the police whom they believe take advantage of their illiteracy and simplicity. In case of any theft in the town, they claim that they are threatened and beaten by the police. According to my informants, the oppression was greater in the pre-independence period. However, it still exists occasionally.

### Knowledge of Political Parties

Prior to the 1967 elections, the Bauris had heard of only of Congress and the Communist (CPI) parties. But in 1967 elections due to vigorous electioneering, they heard of Jana Congress, Swatantra, etc. Nevertheless, their knowledge of political parties remains meagre. Until 1967 elections, the political parties did little to solicit their votes. During the field research the author was told by some Bauri youths that one Praja Socialist Party (PSP) leader tried in vain to enroll them. They know the Congress Party and its election emblem better than the other political parties. They blame the Congress organisation when a mishap occurs in the town or in the State. They also praise Congress in times of prosperity.

The caste council of the Bauris in the past was the highest social political body with immense power over the members in matters pertaining to caste. The hereditary leaders were respected and obeyed by the common members in matters pertaining to caste. The hereditary leaders were respected. But after the establishment of the new township close to the traditional temple town and with the socio-economic alternatives have changed the traditional pattern. This has not only confined to the ordinary members but also to the caste leaders, who were once the protector of the Society. The traditional leaders have lost confidence of the members. The common members are not willing to obey this traditional organisation and support the youths and their modern organisations. The caste leaders even for faults and ill judgements have been publicly criticised by the youths.

## CHAPTER 10

## SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The present study is not an ethnography of the Bauris. It is essentially a study on the changes that have been occurring in the last quarter century (1940—1965) among the Bauris residing in the old town Bhubaneswar.

Materials for this study were gathered mostly through open ended interview, questionnaires and observation. Printed and manuscript sources were also consulted when available.

Changes in the different aspects of the Bauris have mainly taken place after the work to clear the site of the new Capital began in 1948, two miles north to the temple town. Nineteen forty therefore serves as a base line against which subsequent changes can be estimated.

Bhubaneswar in 1940 was a small multicasite town with a population of 5,000 or 6,000 persons primarily centered on services to Lingraj Temple plus a few Bengalis. The Bauris whether temple servant (Sevaka) or agricultural labourers to higher castes lived in separate wards (sahi) on the outskirts of the town. As out castes they lived in separate areas away from the clean caste dwellings. As a segregated and polluting community, its economic, social and religious opportunities were restricted. In 1940, there was no good road in the wards and the wards were surrounded by scrub jungles excepting the Matha Sahi.

The primary traditional occupations of the Bauris were earth working, agricultural and day labour, domestic agricultural servants, fuel cutters and sellers. Some of them also performed the services in the Lingraj Temple in addition to the above mentioned secular occupations.

Bauris are one of the 93 scheduled castes in the State of Orissa according to the Scheduled Caste (modification) Order, 1950. They do not belong to the four orders of the traditional varna system. As a caste group however they did have traditional inter-caste relationships with clean castes. The origin of this group is interesting and an analysis of different sources show that they are conceived to be non-Hindus and non-Aryans. They form a largely self sufficient social and ceremonial unit. They have their own caste barbers, priests, weavers, musicians because they were denied the ordinary and ritual services of clean caste Hindus. They considered the Hadis, Panas, Chamaras, Dhobis and Baniyas lower than themselves because of their demeaning occupations or past mis deeds. For example—The goldsmiths (Baniyas) are considered low by the Bauris because in the past they are reputed to have lifted a piece of gold from nightsoil. As a result, Bauris will not blow the conch in Bania houses during ceremonies, will not carry loads to relatives houses and will not eat kutchra food in such houses, i. e., services which they will render to clean castes.

Bauris in Orissa are grouped into four endogamous sub-castes called Mahabhoi, Tanhara Ghumura, and Buna and the individual groups are separate units. The Bhubaneswar Bauris claimed a superior position among the Bauris belonging to the Great Bhoi (Mahabhoi) sub-caste.

The Bauris in the town had their own caste Association called 'Jatiana Sabha' which united the Bauris of Bhubaneswar and Kapileswar.

In addition, these two villages were sub-divided into 22 units called 'Desha' or 'Pada' (Constituency). Each 'Desha', was headed by a leader called, 'Behera' and hence 22 Beheras. The Beheras are the religious and secular leaders in their respective pada or constituency. He has a dual role to play in his pada. He acted not only as a caste leader who decided quarrel but also acted as the barber of his constituents both ritually and secularly. Issues arising in the pada are decided by the Pada Beheras. Each pada Behera has assistants called Ganjahari. The Ganjahari performs the duties of the Behera in the latter's absence or when they are under a ritual pollution due to death or birth in the family. Both the positions are hereditary and are succeeded from father to son. These 22 constituencies are divided into two factions called Dasa Desha (10 Deshas) and Bara Desha (12 Desha). There are 2 Guruvaisnabs who acts as caste priests in these two factions. They are also referred to by the pada Beheras in disputed issues for finalisation. There is one Chief Behera or the Saradar Behera who occupies the highest position in the Bauri caste Association. The positions of the Guruvaisnab and the Saradar are hereditary. The Chief or the Saradar is the highest appellant authority in the caste matters. Every year the traditional Bauri leaders as mentioned above meet at a particular place at the direction of the Sardar to decide all the disputed issues of the year. The abbot of Bhutamath Math of Puri is called as 'Santha Mahanta' by the Bauris. He is consulted by the Saradar Behera, if cases pertaining to the caste are undecided by them in the caste Association.

With the adoption of the Indian Constitution in 1950, the removal of the untouchability and Temple entry Act began slowly to alter the disabilities of all scheduled castes.

The construction of the new Capital close to the traditional temple town hastened changes in the social, economic, political and religious status of the Bauris.

The construction of the new town altered the traditional residential isolation of the Bauris. Secondly, their occupational opportunities were broadened. They were engaged as construction labours paid in cash, they opened tea stalls and betel shops. A cash income permitted them to reject some of their traditional occupations. Special privileges made available to scheduled castes helped them to secure Government employment in the new town, even though at the lowest level of the civil service hierarchy. With the opening of trade training centres, Bauri boys, like the clean caste residents acquired new skills, such as comb making, horn work, stone work. Some youth started the band party orchestral music party, formerly beneath their caste dignity, despite the advice of their elders, because it was remunerative. Economic changes have brought social changes in its wake.

Bauris in 1940 were mostly uneducated. Although they were refused admission to public schools quite a few could sign their names or were able to read the Oriya sacred verses. The latter were trained either by Bauri teachers and or in their rehearsal houses (Akhada). But on the whole, poverty and low social position were barriers to their education. The opening of educational institutions to scheduled castes and Government support, reinforced by increased earning power have enabled Bauri children to be educated. Parents in 1965, aspire even to educate their daughters and sisters which in 1940, was not even conceived of. Nevertheless, educational advancement among the Bauris is still not encouraging, because they are ignorant of the Governmental support and fail to appreciate fully the future that may open up to their children.

Family life of the Bauris is gradually changing with changes in other aspects. Nuclear families are preferred compared to the traditional joint family. Relationships in the family have also changed. Parents are treated as considerably after the marriage of their sons as they used to be and the relationship becomes sad after the marriage of all the brothers. Change in patronymics is another noteworthy change. Bauri youths prefer titles such as Behera, Das instead of Bhoi because the latter seems to them derogatory, with changes in their economy and even the slow changes in education may aspects of the Bauri life cycle have altered. The birth day and marriage presents have changed and alongwith them the foods offered in the feasts. Gold and silver ornaments are presented in such ceremonies instead of the traditional brass ornaments. Expectant mothers are frequently taken to the nearest hospital for deliveries because the cost little compared to home arrangements. Thus, the traditional mid-wife services among them is dying out. Many pre-natal and post-natal restrictions are disappearing. On the other hand, Bauri spinsters who work for building contractors in the new capital have turned to prostitution as a profitable side line. Availability of birth control pills and other means of contraception are main reasons for this. "Modernization" has both its assets and liabilities among these disadvantaged people whose views of 'value' are almost entirely economic.

With the growth of the town, laundries and barber saloons established by new comers have been spring up both in the old and new town. This has appreciably undermined the services formerly rendered by Bauri artisans to their own groups. Deference of opinion among the Bauri caste leaders have accentuated this trend.

Factionalism which has been so characteristic of the on-going changes in contemporary India has also undermined the Bauri Community. Two Beheras of the Dasa Desha or Pada organisation have resigned from the Bauri caste association and have joined a nearby caste Association. Caste leaders some times became pivot of disaffection. As a result they have undermined the confidence of the members. Their decisions in the quarrels are no longer binding and penalties given by the caste leaders are not carried out. A survey on traditional officials show that Bauris now often prefer the Judgements of outsiders to that of their traditional leaders. The General Election of 1967, was a case in point. They were guided by their economic patrons and outsiders to select their representative to the State Legislative Assembly.

In sum, the change in the Bauri Society and culture of the temple town rests primarily on the growth of economic opportunities and the primary value Bauris place on economic advantages. Their economic welfare derives primarily for the establishment of the new Capital and secondarily from the liberalizing enactments of an Independent India. The Bauris have used such opportunities both to raise their traditional position (Brahminization) and to branch out new avenues (modernization).

Although they were, and still are, an under privileged group in Indian Society, they may epitomized the process of change in the broader perspective of Indian life.

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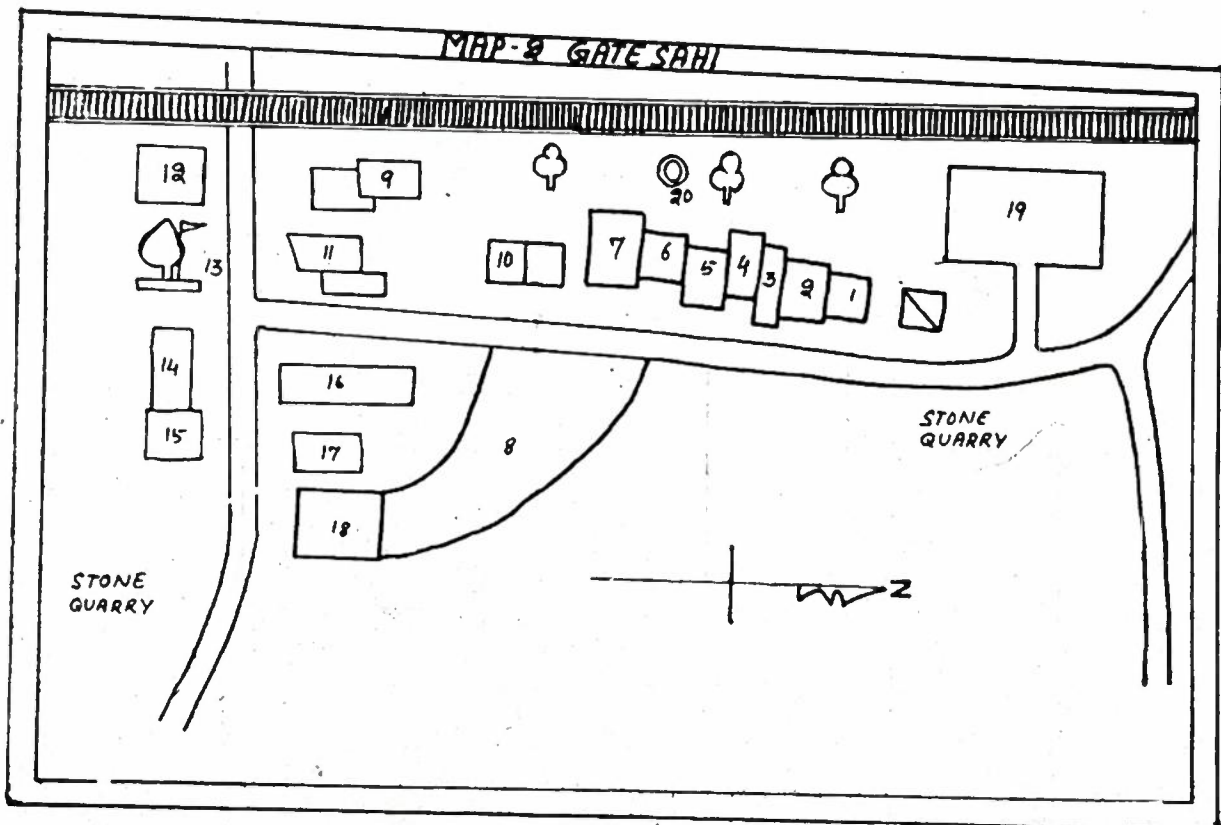
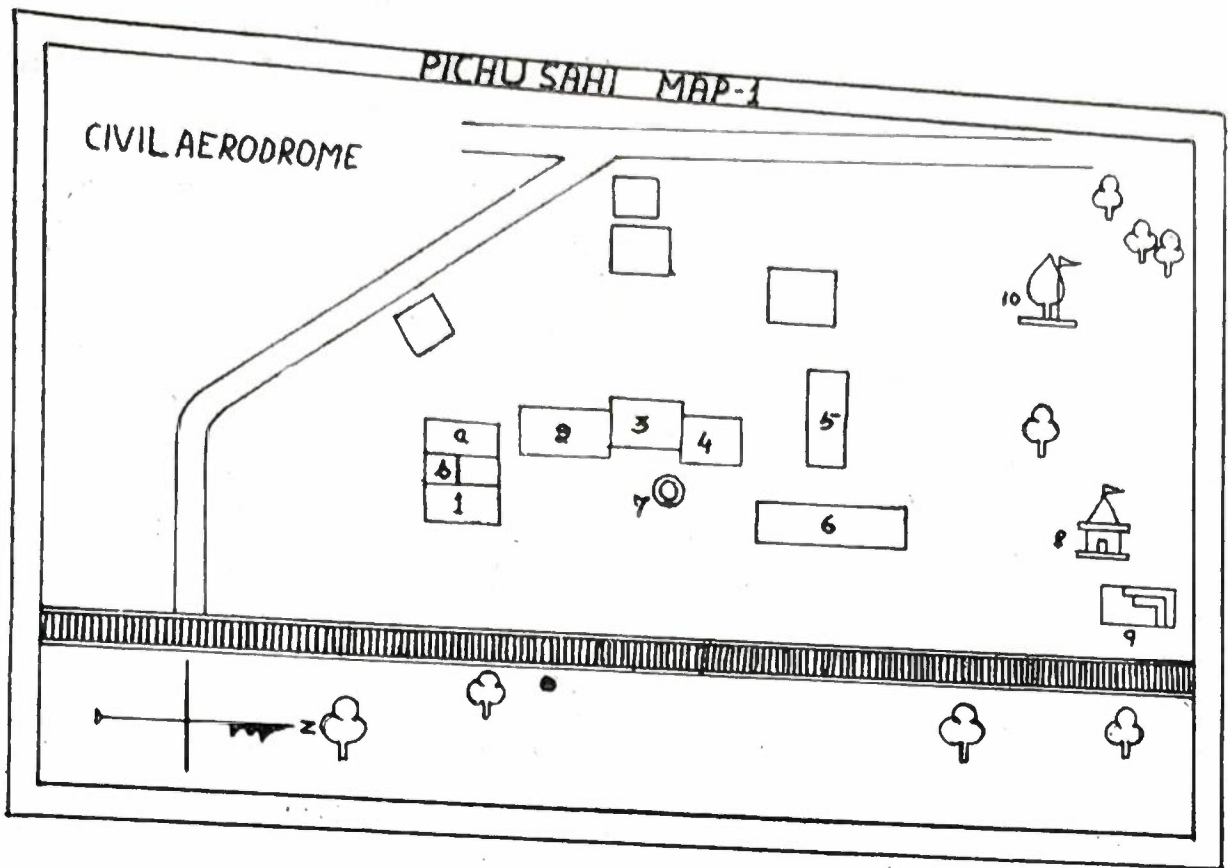
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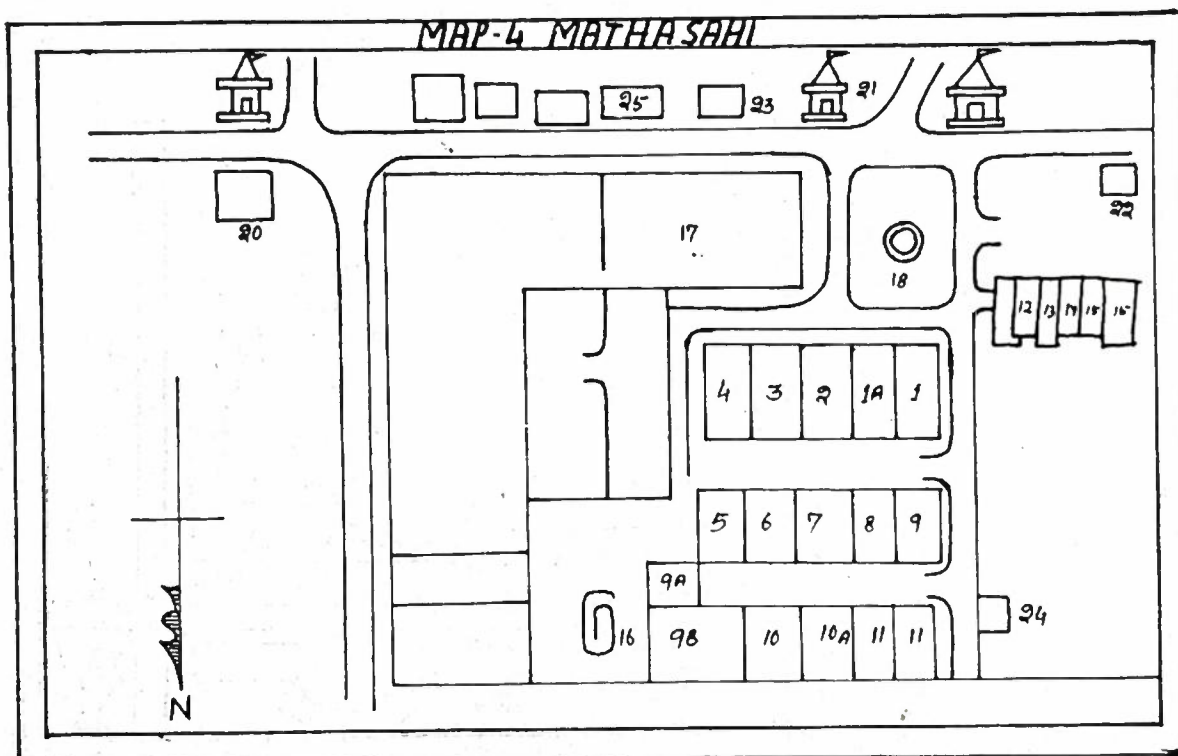
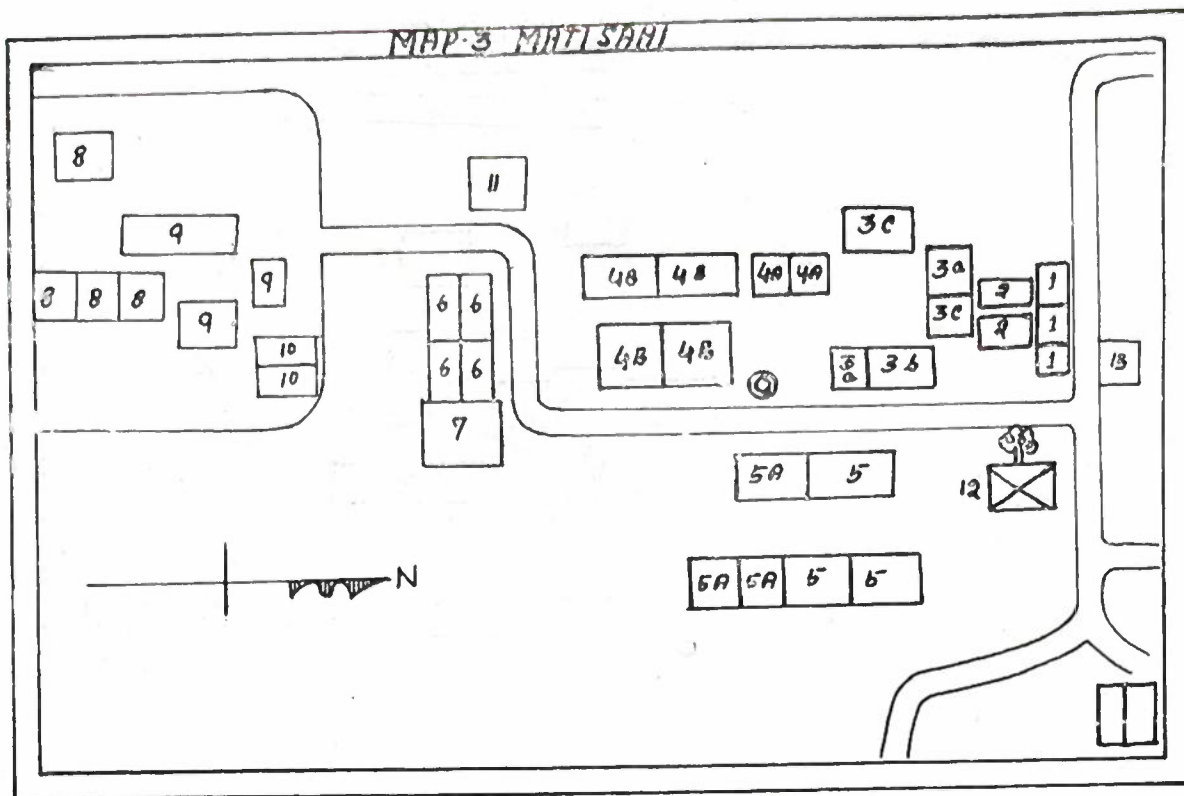
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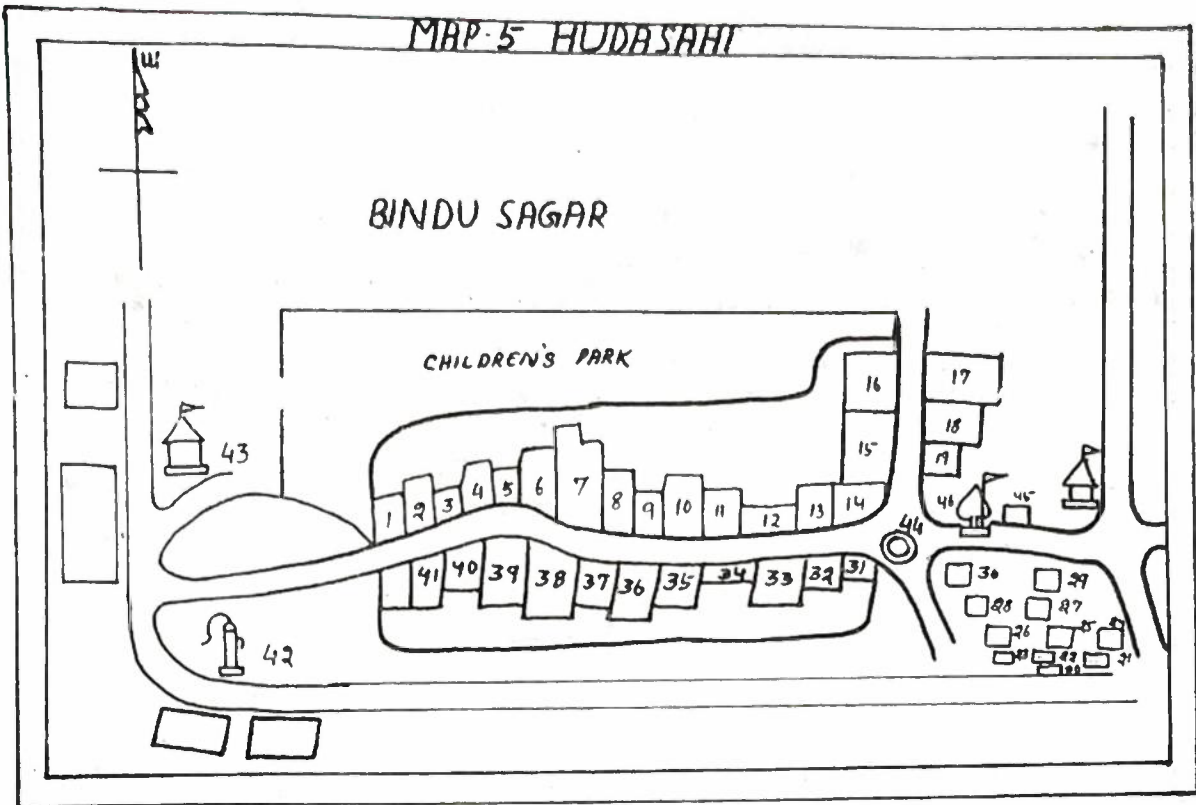
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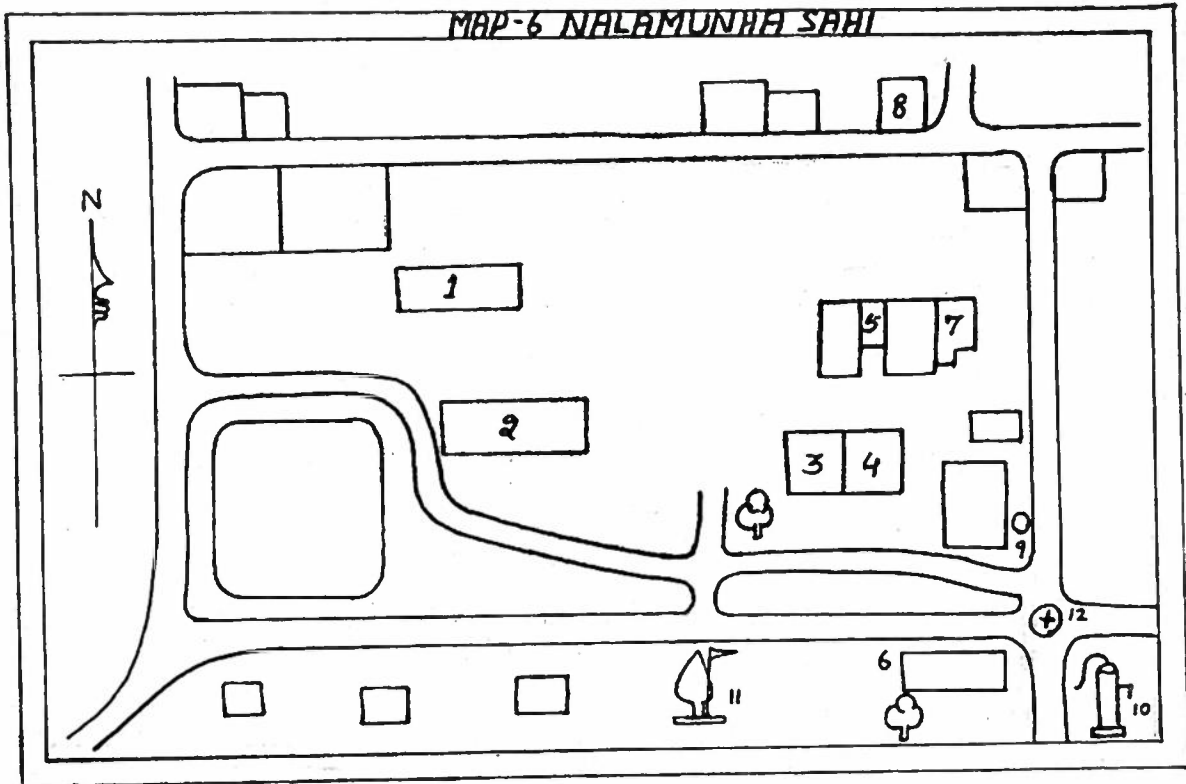




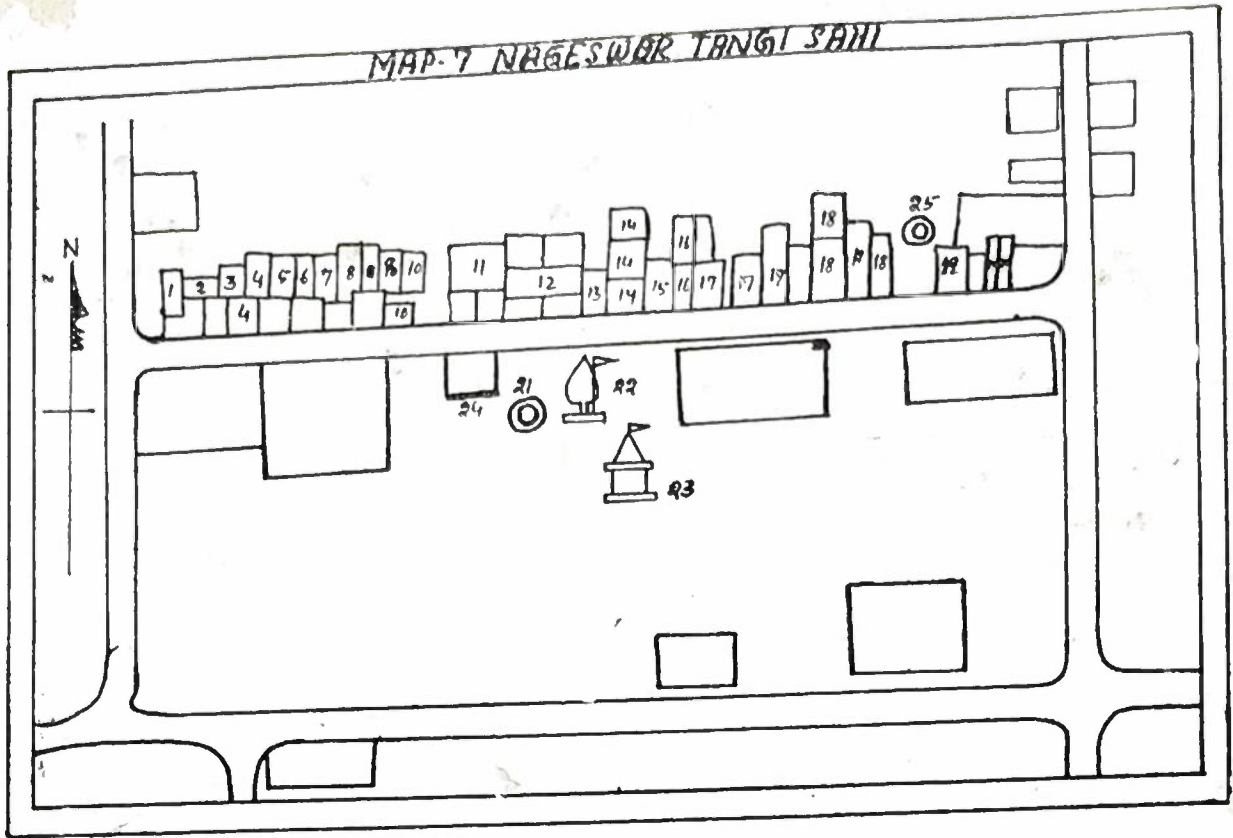
MAP-5 HUDASAH



MAP-6 NALAMUNHA SAHI



MAP-7 NAGESWAR TANGI SAHI



MAP-8 KANCHHA SAHI

