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KINSHIP ORGANISATION IN INDIA AND THE PLACE OF MUNDARI SPEAKING PEOPLE IN IT

An examination of Kinship Organization in India reveals that there are four different types of organizations corresponding to the four language families found in India, namely, the Sanskritic of north and central India, the Dravidian of south and eastern India, the Austric of East and north-east and the Tibetoburman of the north-east of India.

In the following paper Kinship Organization of the Sanskritic speaking people and the Dravidian speaking people is described in detail. Some characteristics of the Kinship Organization of the Austric people are indicated while the Kinship Organization of the Tibetoburman people is left out

because the present author has no first-hand knowledge about these people.

Kinship is a social group larger than the immediate family and smaller than a tribe or caste. A person is a kin of another if he has common ancestry with that person or if he is related by marriage with that person.

The first type of relationship is called kinship by blood and the second is called kinship by marriage or affinal kinship. Among the northern people words used for different relations are of Sanskritic origin as will be seen below from the Uriya terminology given below:—

Uriya Terminology

- | | |
|-------------|--|
| 1. Fa | .. Bappa, Nanna |
| 2. Fa Fa | .. Jeje-bapa Gunsai-bapa, Ajā, Thākura bāpa. |
| 3. Fa Fa Fa | .. Anaajā |
| 4. Mo Fa | .. Ajja, Nannā |
| 5. Mo Fa Fa | .. Anaajā |
| 6. Fa Br | .. Dadda, Sanna baba |
| (a) elder | .. Jethapā, Jethā |
| (b) younger | .. Kakka, Khudata, Kakā Chachcha, Dādi. |

7. Mo Br	..	Mamo
8. Mo	..	Mā, Akkā, Attā, AI, Ja.
9. Mo Mo	..	Āī, Āji
10. Mo Fa Mo		
11. Fa Mo	..	Gunsai-mā, Jeji, AI ma
12. Fa Fa Mo	..	..
13. Fa Si	..	..
(a) elder	}	.. Piusi, Attā
(b) younger		
14. Mo Si	..	..
(a) elder	}	.. Mausī
(b) younger		
15. Br	..	Bhai
(a) elder	..	Uparabhāi
(b) younger	..	Uṭhiābhāi
16. Fa Br So	..	Puva-bhai
(a) older than ego	..	Daddai Puvabhai, Jeṭhāpua, Dādi Puvabhāi.
(b) younger than ego	..	Kakkoi puva bhai
17. Fa Si So	..	Pivasi-Puva-bhai
18. Mo Br So	..	Mamo-puva-bhai
19. Fa Si So	..	Mausi-puva-bhai
20. Si	..	Bhauni-Bahin
(a) elder	}	.. Attā, Apā, Didī Balā
(b) younger		
21. Fa Br Da		
(a) elder than ego	..	Daddai-zia-bhauni
(b) younger than ego	..	Kakkoi-zia-bhauni
22. Fa Si Da	..	Piusi-zia-bhauni
(b) younger than ego		
23. Mo Br Da	..	Mausi-zia-bhauni
24. Mo Si Da	..	Mausi-zia-bhauni
25. So	..	Puvo, Jādaā, Piṭā Pua, Po
26. Br So (man speaking)	..	Puttura
27. Br So (woman speaking)		

- | | |
|------------------------------|--|
| 28. Si So (man speaking) | .. Bhanaja |
| 29. Si So (woman speaking) | .. Bhanaja |
| 30. So So (woman speaking) | .. Natu, Napta, Nāti |
| 31. So So So | .. Ananāti |
| 32. Da So | .. Natu, Napta, Nāvsā, Nāti |
| 33. Da So So | .. Ananāti |
| 34. Da | .. Zia |
| 35. Br Da (man speaking) | .. Ziari |
| 36. Br Da (woman speaking) | .. |
| 37. Si Da (man speaking) | .. Bhanaji |
| 38. Si Da (woman speaking) | .. Bhanaji |
| 39. Dā Da | .. Natuni |
| 40. Da Da Da | .. Ananātuni |
| 41. So Da | .. Natuni |
| 41. So So Da | .. Ananātuni |
| 43. Fa Si Hu | .. Piusa |
| 44. Hu Fa | .. Sasura |
| 45. Wi Fa | .. Sasura |
| 46. Mo Si Hu | .. Mausa |
| 47. Mo Br Wi | .. Mai |
| 48. Fa Br Wi | .. Dethei, Khudi, Kāki, Khurḍī, Jethai |
| 49. Hu Mo | .. Sasu, Attā |
| 50. Wi Mo | .. Sasu |
| 51. Hu | .. Ghoyta, Gerasta, Aṇḍrā, Arjya Ghaita. |
| 52. Hu Br | |
| (a) elder than husband | .. Dethsur, Jerḍasura |
| (b) younger than husband | .. Devar, Diara, Debara |
| 53. Wi Br | .. Sala, Ghara-ārḍu bhāi, Bākkira |
| (a) elder than wife | |
| (b) younger than wife | |
| 54. Si Hu | .. Grāmahasaka |
| (a) elder sister's husband | |
| (b) younger sister's husband | |
| 55. Hu Si Hu | .. Nanadei |

56. Wi Si Hu
 57. So Wi Fa
 58. Da Hu Fa
 59. Wi .. Maipo, Bhariya
 60. Hu Si .. Nanad
 61. Wi Si
 (a) elder than wife .. Ded-sasu, Jethi
 (b) younger than wife .. Sali, Kelikuñchikā
 62. Br Wi
 (a) elder brother's wife .. Bhaujo, Nū ābohu
 (b) younger brother's wife .. Bhai-vahu
 63. Hu Br Wi
 (a) husband's elder brother's wife Jā, Joṭhānī
 (b) husband's younger brother's wife Jā
 64. Wi Br Wi .. Salbhavjo
 65. So Wi Mo
 66. Da Hu Mo
 67. Da Hu .. Jwa (n) i, Jaiñ
 68. Hu Br So .. Putura
 69. Hu Si So .. Nānāndra
 70. Wi Br So
 71. Wi Si So
 72. So Wi .. Bohu, Parajhia
 73. Hu Br Da .. Ziari
 74. Hu Si Da
 75. Wi Br Da
 76. Wi Si Da
 77. Father's wife other than ego's mother. Kaniāñmā Kanyābou, Dhāi
 78. Mother's husband other than ego's father. Pālatīmā
 79. Co-wife
 80. Co-husband
 Father's house
 Mother's house
 Mother's father's house
 Husband's father's house
 Woman of a house
 By marriage
 By birth

An analysis of this terminology shows the following characteristics:—

(1) There are certain terms for blood-relations which are primary. These are Bappa or Bapa for father, Ma for Mother, Bhai for brother, Bahin or Bhauni for sister, Puvo for son and Zia for daughter and Mama for mother's brother. There are two words Nati and Natuni, i.e. grand son and grand daughter derived from Sanskrit Naptr¹ which are also primary. In other northern languages, besides words derived from Naptr there are words like Poto, Dhyto, etc., derived from Putr and Duhitr for these relatives. Other words for blood-relations, like grand father, grand mother, siblings (brother and sister) of parents, children of one's own siblings are derived by combining primary terms or through grammatical changes of the primary terms for example. Some of these secondary terms are not originally (in Sanskrit) Kinship terms at all. The word for grand-father, Jeje Bapa or Gunsai Bapa, are obviously derived from the word Bapa. The word Aja is from the Sanskrit word Arya which has no definite kinship connotation. Aji is the feminine of Aja. In the same way the word Khudata for father's brother is from Sanskrit Kshudra Tata: younger father.

The word Mama as already said is a primary word apparently not belonging to the Sanskrit language though used in all modern Indian languages. The Sanskrit word for this relation is Matula derived from the primary term Matru. It is found in modern languages only among the Marathi people². Mother's sister is Mausi (Sanskrit Matruswasa, Prakrit—Mauchha). The word for father's sister is Pusi (Pitruswasa, Prakrit—"Piuchha"—father's sister). The words brother's son, sister's son, etc., are also derived:—

(2) The children of Mausi, Pusi, Khudata, and Mama are all called Bhai and Bahen, i.e., to say they are like one's brother and sister whom one cannot marry.

(3) The primary and other terms can be arranged in three generations: ego and his siblings (brothers and sisters) are one generation. The children of the Mausi, Pusi, etc., also belong as brothers and sisters of the same generation.

The parental generation is made up of own parents and their brothers and sisters. The children's generation (the filial) is made up of one's own children and the children of one's own siblings. (These together with grand parents

1. The Sanskrit word Naptr itself has undergone certain transformations in meaning, apparently in early vedic times it had the meaning of a descendant or a son and later it came to mean a grandson.

2. "Kinship organization" in India by Dr. (Mrs) I. Karve, published by Asia Publishing House II edition 1965.

and grand children make up the blood-kin of a person). Thus the kinship is arranged in three generations and if we count the grand parents and the grand children five generations. The primary terms are only for three generations.

(4) All these form the blood-kin of a person and not a single one of these people can become his relation by marriage.

Affinal Kinship

Parallel to Kinship by blood a person is related to many people by marriage. The primary Kinship by marriage is for three generations. In the ego's generation we have husband and wife, with husband's siblings and wife's siblings. In the generation above we have the parents of husband and wife and in the generation below ego, we have the daughter's husband (Jawai) and the son's wife (Putra-Vahu). Here again the whole Kinship is divided neatly in three generations and none of the relations by marriage can be part of one's blood-relation. These two features of the northern Kinship can be illustrated as follows:—

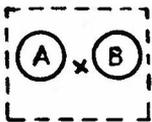


Fig. 1

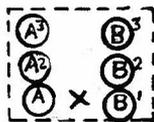


Fig. 2

In figures one and two the rectangle X represents the tribe or caste to which one belongs and

within which one marries. In figure 1 the circle A represents the blood-kin and the circle B represents the affinal kin as will be seen that two circles do not meet. In figure number 2 there are three circles each one above the other for blood-kin and the affinal kin.

There is yet another feature of the Kinship. Among the blood-relations father's elder and younger brother and mother's younger and elder sisters are distinguished. The terms for father's elder brother and mother's elder sister are the same or modifications of the terms for father and mother. The term for the mother's (younger) sister, "Masi" is used in many languages for step-mother. This terminology reflects the usage by which a man can marry his wife's younger sister. The term for father's younger brother is Chacha or Kaka which are borrowed from some non-Sanskritic languages. Other terms are Khudata or Chulta both derived from Sanskrit word, Kshudra Tata, meaning younger father. A boy uses these terms for his mother's second husband, i.e., to say for his own step-father. This again reflects the usage by which a man can marry his elder brother's widow. Among relations by marriage a distinction is made between younger and elder relatives of ego's generation. For example when a woman speaks there are separate terms for husband's elder brother (Jetha and Ded Sasur) which equate him to the father-in-law. These words represent the avoidance

behaviour between a woman and her elder brother-in-law and a man and his younger sister-in-law. Parallel to these usages a man speaks of his elder brother's wife as *Jethani* and has joking relationships with her. On the other hand the younger brother's wife is called '*Bhayahu*' (*Bhai-Vahu*) and is equated to a daughter-in-law. There is an avoidance relationship between a man and his younger brother's wife. In the same way a man makes a distinction between his wife's elder and younger brothers and elder and younger sisters; the relationship with the wife's elder brother and sister is one of respect and avoidance while that with wife's younger brother and sister is a joking relationship. This emphasis on seniority and juniority of certain relations given above is found among all northern people using a Sanskrit terminology. This feature cannot be represented in a simple diagram.

The division of Kinship into generations is of special importance in the rules of marriage and succession. A man is supposed generally to marry in his own generation. This rule which is not clearly enunciated in older literature is well illustrated in a later Sanskrit text.

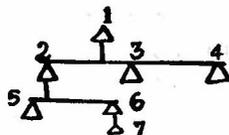
The group in which a person married was the group of one's contemporaries. This rule is not mentioned explicitly in the *Smritis* but in a very late compilation when

it is said that the groom and bride must not be connected to each other by a 'contrary' status-connection. The contrary status is explained as a situation in which the bride could be equated to the groom's mother, or the groom to the bride's father. This is still further elucidated by concrete instances such as (i) the marriage of a man to his mother's co-wife's sister or cousin, (in this case the bride would be in the position of a mother to the groom); or (ii) the marriage of a girl with the brother of her aunt's husband (the aunt is like a mother, her husband is like a father and a father's brother is also like a father). That this rule of behaviour was followed in the epic is made clear by one incident. Arjuna in the disguise of a dancing master taught music and dancing to the princess Uttara of Virata. Later, king Virata offered her to him as wife. He however declined, saying that being her teacher he was to her as a father and she should, therefore, be given to him as his daughter-in-law, i.e., as a bride for his son. This convention meant that ordinarily a person married somebody who was of his own generation and ensured that men of different generations were not rivals for the hand of one woman.

As regards succession the rule of succession was that a man was succeeded by his eldest son in whatever hereditary post he held

whether it was that of a king or priest or some other office. The eldest son would be succeeded by his eldest son and so on, i.e., to say succession was unidirectional going from older generation to a lower generation. In this process the collateral branches were virtually barred from succession and only in exceptional cases when there were no sons to succeed could succession go to a younger brother or to father's brother. Succession lists from Mahabharat time onwards are called description of Vamsa. A Vamsa is bamboo which goes in a single straight line from node to node—end is unidirectional. A Vamsa, i.e., say succession in Northern Kinship is also unidirectional descending in single nodes. This peculiarity of the Northern Kinship can be illustrated in simple diagram. Figure B shows succession from father to son in line

where collateral branches are barred.



B. In figure B succession is from 1 to 2, No. 5 died before succeeding therefore No. 6, succeeded and after him the son of No. 6, i.e., to say No. 7 succeeds. This is the fact (that when succession goes into a junior branch, it stays in this branch) which is given voice to again and again in Mahabharat.

The nature of the Southern Kinship.

The Southern Kinship is very different from the north. As an example of Dravidian terminology, Tamil terms are given below :—

Tamil Terminology

	Tamil
1. Fa	.. Tantai Appā, Ayyā (Annā), Takappan, Ammān, Appacci, Appu, Attan.
2. Fa Fa	.. Tattā, Pāttā
3. Fa Fa Fa	.. Kollu-pāṭṭan
4. Mo Fa	.. Tattā, Pattā
5. Mo Fa Fa	.. Kolla-pāṭṭan
6. Fa Br	
(a) elder	.. Periappā
(b) younger	.. Cittappā
7. Mo Br	.. Ammān Māmā
8. Mo	.. Ammā, Tāi, Tammannai, Annai Ayal Āyi, Ammāl.
9. Mo Mo	.. Pāṭṭi

- | | | |
|----------------------|----|---|
| 10. Mo Fa Mo | .. | Kollu-paṭṭi |
| 11. Fa Mo | .. | Pāṭṭi |
| 12. Fa Fa Mo | .. | Kollu-pāṭṭi |
| 13. Fa Si | .. | Attai |
| (a) elder | | |
| (b) younger | | |
| 14. Mo Si | | |
| (a) elder | .. | Periammā |
| (b) younger | .. | Citti |
| 15. Br | | |
| (a) elder | .. | Annā, Tammanna, Annācci, Ayyan |
| (b) younger | .. | Tampi, Empi |
| 16. Fa Br So | | |
| (a) older than ego | .. | Annā |
| (b) younger than ego | .. | Tampi |
| 17. Fa Si So | .. | Attai-pillai |
| (a) older than ego | .. | Attān |
| (b) younger than ego | .. | Mittunaṅ, Maccinaṅ |
| 18. Mo Br So | .. | Ammānci, Māmapillai |
| (a) older than ego | .. | Attān |
| (b) younger than ego | .. | Maittunaṅ, Maccian |
| 19. Mo Si So | | |
| (a) older than ego | .. | Annā |
| (b) younger than ego | .. | Thampi |
| 20. Si | | |
| (a) elder | .. | Akkā, Tamakkā. Akkāḷ, Atti,
Appāttāi, Tattai Appi. |
| (b) younger | .. | Tankai, Tankacci, Tankāḷ |
| 21. Fa Br Da | | |
| (a) older than ego | .. | Akkā |
| (b) younger than ego | .. | Tankai |
| 22. Fa Si Da | .. | Attankāḷ, Attankār, Maccini |
| (a) older than ego | .. | Matani, Anni |
| (b) younger than ego | .. | Koluntia, Maitini, Kolunti |

23. Mo Br Da	..	Ammankāl, Ammankār
(a) older than ego	..	Matani, Anni
(b) younger than ego	..	Koluntia, Kolunti, Matini, Maccini
24. Mo Si Da	..	
(a) older than ego	..	Akkā
(b) younger than ego	.	Tankai
25. So	..	Makan, Pillai
26. Br So (Man-Speaking)	..	Makan, Pillai
27. Br Bo (Woman-speaking)	..	Marumakan, Marumān
28. Si So (Man-speaking)	..	Marumakan, Marumān, Māpillai (?)
29. Si So (Woman-speaking)	..	Makan
30. So So	..	Peran
31. So So So	..	Kollu-peran
32. Da So	..	Peran
33. Da So So	..	Kollu-peran
34. Da	..	Peṇ, Pennu, Makal, Ponn, Piṇṇaval, Piṇṇi.
35. Br Da (Man-speaking)	..	Makal, Peṇ, etc.
36. Br Da (Woman-speaking)	..	Maru-makal
37. Si Da (Man-speaking)	..	Maru-makal
38. Si Da (Woman-speaking)	..	Makal, Pennu
39. Da Da	..	Peyarti, Petti
40. Da Da Da	..	Kollu-Peyarti
41. So Da	..	Peyarti, Petti
42. So So Da	..	Kollu-Peyarti
43. Fa Si Hu	..	Attimper, Māmā, Māmanār
44. Hu Fa	..	Māmā, Māman
45. Wi Fa	..	Māmā, Māmanār
46. Mo Si Hu	..	Cittappā
47. Mo Br Wi	..	Māmi, Ammāmi, Attai
48. Fa Br Wi	..	Periammā, Citti
49. Hu Mo	..	Māmiyār, Māmi, Attai
50. Wi Mo	..	Māmiyār, Māmi
51. Hu	..	Akamuttaiān, Attukārar, Maṇalan, Kaṇḍan, Attān, Purucan, Kolunan, Koluntan..

52. Hu Br		
(a) elder than husband	..	Attan
(b) younger than husband	..	Koluntan, Maccinapillai, Manchan
53. Wi Br	..	Maccāṇ, Maittunaṇ
(a) elder than wife	..	Attan
(b) younger than wife	..	Maccinaṇ
54. Si Hu		
(a) elder sister's husband	..	Attimper, Attan
(b) younger sister's husband	..	Koluntan
55. Hu Si Hu	..	Annā, Tampi, Nainnā
56. Wi Si Hu	..	Caṭṭakan, Aṇṇa, Tampi
57. So Wi ^v Fa	..	Attan, Annacci, Cammanti
58. Da Hu Fa	..	Attan, Annacci, Cammanti
59. Wi	..	Akamuttaiāl, Maṇaivi, Pentāṭṭi
60. Hu Si	..	Nāttanār
(a) elder than husband	..	Aṇṇi
(b) younger than husband	..	Maittini
61. Wi Si		
(a) elder than wife	..	Matini
(b) younger than wife	..	Macci, Maccini
62. Br Wi		
(a) elder brother's wife	..	Āyanti, Aṇṇi, Manni, Nāṭṭuppen
(b) younger brother's wife	..	Maittini, Koluntia
63. Hu Br Wi	..	Orpati
(a) husband's elder brother's wife	..	Akkā
(b) husband's younger brother's wife	..	Tankai
64. Wi Br Wi	..	Maccinicci, Akkā, Tankai
65. So Wi Mo	..	Akkā, Tankai, Sampanti, Aṇṇi, Nāttanār.
66. Da Hu Mo	..	Akkā, Tankai, Sampanti, Aṇṇi, Nāttanār.
67. Da Hu	..	Marumakan
68. Hu Br So	..	Makan
69. Hu Si So	..	Marumakan
70. Wi Br So	..	Marumakan

71. Wi Si So	..	Makan
72. So Wi	..	Marumakal, Māṭṭu-peṅ, Nāṭṭu-peṅ Nāṭṭu-poṅ, Namkai.
73. Hu Br Da	..	Makul
74. Hu Si Da	..	Marumakal
75. Wi Br Da	..	Marumakal
76. Wi Si Da	..	Makal
77. Father's wife other than ego's mother		
78. Mother's husband other than ego's father.		
79. Co-wife		
80. Co-husband		

The sharp northern difference between kinship by marriage and kinship by blood is absent. The generation principal also seems to be absent as will be made clear from the following illustrations.

The ordinary terms for father are Tantai or Appa and for mother Tayi or Amma. Sometimes the word Anna is used for father also. The other word for mother is rarely Akka. The word Ako or Akko masculine for word Akka is used for mother's father amongst the Gonds. There are no terms which connote the meaning brother or sister. The elder brother is called Anna and the elder sister is called Akka while the younger brother and younger sister are called Tampi and Tankai. The son is Mahan and the daughter is Makal. The word Pinni or Pinnai is used in Gondi for any small girl. The peculiarity about these terms is that the prefixces Tan, Tam, N, Mun, are used in association

with them. For example, for father the words in Tamil literature are Tantai, Entai, Muntai, Tan or Tam meaning self or mine. N means ours and Mun means first. Entai, Muntai are used for God. In the same way the word Akka is used as Tamkka. The words Tampi and Tankai are made up of suffix Tam†the words Pin (My little one) and Kai (My little one). In Andhra the word Naina is used for father and means No (our) Anna (father). The full significance of these suffixces cannot be given but their meaning can be understood for ego's own generation. Akka is the elder sister, Anna is the elder brother, these individuals are, "elder" to a particular speaker to somebody in the same sibling group they may be "younger" in which case they would no longer be Akka and Anna but become Tampi and Tankai. Thus Akka, etc., being relative terms need suffixces like Tam to show that the

particular person is older or younger than the speaker. Another peculiarity about these terms is that the terms for elder brother and sister seem to be sometimes used also for father and mother while the terms for younger brother and sister might be used in certain languages (Gondi) for an own child or any child. The word Pin means a little one "one who comes after me". We thus see that the terms for three generations are not kept distinct. This can be explained that the southern terminology instead of being arranged in generations is arranged on the principle of absolute chronology. The ego stands in the middle, and his elder brothers and sisters as well as his parents are born before him and are "older" than him. This relationship I have called, "Mun relationship". In the same way ego's younger brothers and sisters tend to get jumped with his own children. All these are "younger" than ego—I have called them the "Pin relationship". The consequences of this arrangement of kinship will be shortly made clear.

The parents' siblings do not have four distinct terms (Chach, Phui and Mama, Masi) as in the northern terminology; neither have their marital partners four distinct terms (Chachi, Phupha, Mami Mause). Instead of that father's brothers are called Pariappa or Chinnappa (younger and elder father) mother's sister are called Pariamma or Chinnamma. Father's sister, is called Atti and mothers'

brother is called Maman. Father's brother's wives are Periamma of Chinnamma. The husband of Attai is Mamma. The children of Mama and Attai are called Machchinan and Machchini which means the dear one.

Among the Dravidians a man can marry his Mama's or Attai's daughter. He can also marry his Akka's (Elder sister's) daughter. There is a taboo against marriage with Tankai's (Younger sister's) daughter by the same rule man's children can marry his sister's children. When a man speaks of his sister's children or when women speaks of her brother's children she designates them as Marumahan (Male) and Marumakal (Female). Because of these marriage rules the words for father and mother-in-law are Mana and Attai and for son and daughter-in-law are Marumahan and Marumakal.

There is only one regulation of marriage among the Dravidians. A man (or a women) must not marry within his clan. Therefore he is barred from marrying his parents, his siblings, and his children. He can marry others who happen to be children of his "Mun relations;" and who are not his clan mate (in the case of a woman she can marry anybody who is either her mun relation or a child of mun relation). A man marries his sister's daughter, i.e., to say according to the northern terminology a niece. A woman marries her mother's brother, i.e., to say a Mama. We

find that this marriage practice brings out vividly the fact that the southern terminology is not based on generations.

The marriage of a man to his sister's child at once puts his own parents and siblings into the category of affinal relations.* His own parents become his grand parents-in-law. In the same way his Mama and his Attai become his parents-in-law. We thus find that there is no sharp distinction between blood relations and marital relations amongst Dravidians. These things can be represented by figures.

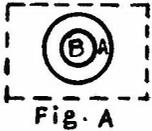


Fig. A

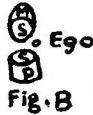


Fig. B

Figure A denotes the caste or tribe within which a person can marry. A "Clan" is not represented in this figure. The larger circle "A" comprises all kinship. The circle within is a kinship by blood. It will be seen that the kinship by blood becomes at the same time the kinship by marriage. A man can marry outside his blood relation and actual count shows that the size of smaller circle may become smaller or larger. The figure B shows that the ego is in the middle while those who are older than him are part of his siblings

and parents, while those who are younger than him are his siblings and all his children.

Arranging kinship chronologically rather than on the principle of generation has also other consequences. Sometimes in medieval ages (about 10th Century) the commentary called Mitakshara was written on "Yajnyavalkya Smriti". This commentary was written by Vijnaneshwar Yati who was the contemporary of the Rashtrakutas. Sometime after that this commentary was accepted for regulating inheritance and succession in Andhra, Karnatak and Tamilnad. (This was also the case for Maharashtra.)

Since then the practices of inheritance and succession of these three regions were moulded on the model of the northern Sanskrit law.†

The importance given to chronological seniority and the disregard of the principle of generation cannot be illustrated from the present day practices of these three regions. Fortunately, however, Kerala which remained matrilineal and which speaks Dravidian language does illustrate the above principle. In Kerala the principle of succession to an office is, that the oldest living male and the oldest living female shall succeed to an office. This principle

*His Akka (elder sister) becomes his mother in law

†It would be interesting to look into dynastic records and records about inheritance and succession of village headmen, etc., to find out whether one can find in them traces of an older mode of succession and inheritance. 12

is made clear from the following genealogy. In this genealogy the title of Maharaja goes from a man to his brother or to his nephew and back again to an uncle. The title of Maharani goes from a woman who may be the Maharaja's mother, sister or aunt. The first Maharani was founder of the line and her children (Male and female) and the descendants of her female children were in a common pool of succession to Maharajaship or Maharanship. A record of the date of birth of males and females was kept by the court astrologers, and succession went strictly in chronological order. The result of this will be seen from the genealogy inasmuch as the Rajaship and Raniship go in a zigzag order from a lower generation to a higher generation even when there are male and female members in a lower generation.

The author is not as familiar with the Eastern Mundari Speaking people as she is with the Sanskrit speaking and the Dravidian speaking people. A short and rather unsatisfactory analysis of the Kinship organisation of these people is given below in the hope that the workers in the tribal institute may be able to collect relevant data and give a better description of this organisation.

The Kinship terminologies of eight tribal people follow.

From north to south they are as follows :—

- (1) The Khasis who live in the Khasi hill in the district of Assam.
- (2) The Santhal who live in Santhal Pargana of West Bengal, and in the eastern regions of Bihar and in Mayurbhanj and Balasore districts of Orissa.
- (3) The Munda who live in South Bihar and North-Orissa. In certain small areas the Munda and the Santhal live as neighbours.
- (4) The Bhuinya are found amongst southern Munda people in Northern Orissa.
- (5) The Juang also belong mostly to the Keonjhar area.
- (6) The Korku are the western most branch of the Austro speaking people. They are found in the forest of North-Central Maharashtra and in South-Central Madhya Pradesh.
- (7) The Bondo are found in South Orissa in Malkangiri area.
- (8) The Saora are the Southern most Austro speaking people who are spread in the hilly ranges of South-Western Orissa and in North-Eastern Andhra.

• Of these people Khasis have a matrilineal organization. All others are patrilineal in the sense that a woman on marriage goes and lives with a husband and the children are brought up in the father's house among the clans people and village of the father.

A look at the terminology (See Chart) shows the amount of cultural assimilation of these people with the surrounding Sanskritic speaking people and the Dravidian speaking people. The Khasis have the least contaminated terminology while the Bhuinya seem to have taken over completely the Sanskritic terminology of the surrounding people. Among the others the Bondo seem to have preserved their terminology to a greater degree. The author cannot say how far it is possible to approach an older generation and get Austric terms from them. But it would be worthwhile to make such an attempt. In the following description the Khasi terminology is used as the type terminology. Again the author cannot say with certainty, how far this procedure is justifiable, but it is adopted because it yields a certain pattern and this pattern may be used as a starting point by investigators.

The first thing that one notices about the Khasi terminology is that in the case of number of primary relations there are terms which stand for both male and female relations. A prefix needs to be put to indicate sex. The

terms for father and mother are separate. Kpa or Kthaw is the term for father and Kymi is ~~the~~ word for mother. Father's elder and younger brother are Kpa San (big) and Kpa nah (younger). Mother's elder sister is Kymi San. Mother's younger sister is Kymi Nah. The words Kpa Nah and Kymi Nah are also used for step father and step mother. This usage we find both in northern Sanskritic terminology as also in the southern Dravidian terminology. For own elder sibling, i.e., (brother and sister) the terms are Hynmen Kong. For younger siblings (brother and sister) they are Hep and Ubo. In order to denote a male one prefixes these terms with the syllable U and to denote a female one prefixes the syllable Ka. Besides the words for younger and elder siblings there is a general word called Para for siblings irrespective of age. U Para, means male siblings and Ka Para means female siblings. In the same way the word for son and daughter is Khun. U Khun is son and Ka Khun is daughter. The word for a child is Ksiew and son's son and daughter and daughter's son and daughter are called either simply Ksiew or Khun Ksiew (child's child). The words for husband and wife are Lok, Tynga and Shkaw. One has to prefix U or Ka to denote husband or wife. Husband's younger brother, husband's younger sister and wife's younger brother are all called Kynsi. Husband's father and wife's father are both called

Kathaw Kurim. The word for father's sister, and mother's ~~brother's~~ wife is Knia or Nia, and mother's brother is called Kyngi or Mama. There are words for mother's mother, mother's mother's mother and for the grand ancestress of the clan. They are Kymi Rad (lord). Iawbei Khynraw (the old women of the branch) and Iawbei Tymmen (the old women of the main clan). There are not many kinship terms. There seem to be terms which have a wider meaning than particular kinship and words are affixed or suffixed to give them narrow meaning. The word Kpa for father seems to be an original kinship word because among the Mundas we find the word Apu in on the other hand the word Kymi for mother is also used for grandmother and we find the same word coming again among the Santhals, Munda and Korku as Kimin or Kiming used for son's wife. Apparently the word Kha is used as a suffix for a blood relation who is not a member of one's own clan. Father's sister is Knia-Kha, and father's sister's son is Ba-kha. Mother's sister's son is also Ba-Kha. A man talking of his sister's child and a woman talking of a brother's child calls him Parakha or Pirsakha. The main things to notice in this terminology are that the terms can be best translated as indicating a Kinship situation. People are each others spouses or siblings or children and parents (the terms for male and female parents are

however different). In the same way there are words for spouses' siblings. One has to prefix Ka or U to show maleness or femaleness. Even that does not suffice to pin point a particular relationship. Kynsi may be husband's brother or sister or wife's brother and sister. Merely prefixing Ka or U does not tell us whether the relationship is on husband's side or wife's side.

Whether this peculiarity is merely a feature of the Austric languages or whether it has some significance for the organisation of Kinship the author cannot say.

We find that there are terms for blood relations like parents, siblings, and children. Parallel to these there are terms for parents-in-law, and spouses' siblings. These terms seemed to be made up of terms for primary blood relations and some words with suffix or prefix which means apparently a relation by marriage. Such words often are equivalent to English terms in-law. Thus Khaw-Kurim means father (Kathaw) and Kurim (? in-law). Husband's younger brother and husband's younger sister are para (brother) and Kynsi (? a younger relation by marriage ?). It has also been noted that the syllable Kha seems to be used for the children of ones siblings or father's brothers child or father's sister's child. We have thus three words Kurim, Kynsi and Kha denoting marital relations of different type. What these words exactly

mean I have not been able to find out. Among the relations by marriage I have not been able to find out words, namely, son's wife and daughter's husband.

The terminology makes distinction between three generations. No clear answer was given about cross cousin marriage. The different terms which are used for father's sister, mother's brother and their children show that the cross-cousins are not addressed by the same terms as siblings.

But there is no record of cross-cousin marriage. As regards succession the eldest son and after him the son of the eldest sister succeed to chiefship. On the other hand the youngest daughter of the house succeeds to the lion's share of the matrilineal property and she is also the family Priestess for performing the familial ritual in her house. If a house has only sons, a daughter is taken in adoption so as to keep the clan name alive because a son's children inherit their mother's clan. A man after marriage went and lived with his wife's people. After a time he built a separate house but still in the compound of his mother-in-law. He supported his wife and children. On death his bones were invariably buried in the graveyard of his mother's clan. In some cases the husband instead of living with his wife permanently came as an occasional visitor. Thus both for a man as well as for a woman the important house is the house of their birth. The marital tie

created only a few responsibilities. It may be due to this fact that the terminology for the marital relations is not too definite. Neither the men nor the women have daily obligations and contact with each others siblings as a result that we have the same kind of terms for the husband's relations as well as for the wife's relation (e.g., Para. Kynsi).

In having blood Kin separate from marriage kin and in having three generations of kin differentiated this terminology has certain similarities with northern terminology. In having the same kind of terms for male and female, i.e., having terms which emphasize the kinship situation rather than a particular person it differs from both northern and southern terminologies.

Like those two terminologies it makes distinction between elder and younger siblings of the parents of the ego and of the spouses. The terminology available to me and the knowledge of the social structure and especially of marriages— is so scanty that I do not venture to make further analysis of this terminology.

A few words on the terminologies of other Austric speaking tribes would suffice because my knowledge is equally scanty as regards these tribes. Among these tribes the Bhuinya have a completely borrowed terminology mostly based on Uria and need not be considered in the examples given

below. The other tribes also have borrowed to a lesser or greater degree as will be seen from the table. Among the other tribes the words for father are Baba, Apuin, Buwa, Ba, Abba and Wang. Of these Apuin and Wang seem to be original Austric. Baba, Ba and Abba are used in other parts of India, but do not seem to be of Sanskritic origin. The word for mother is Engat-Ayo, Engain, Eyong or Yang. All seem to be Austric words while the word Ma, Boin and Mai seem to be borrowed words. The word Kymi used for mother appears among three tribes as Kiming, or Kimin and is used for younger brother's wife (Munda and Juang) and for son's wife (Santhal and Munda). There is a word Gongo or Gunguin for father's elder brother among Santhal and Munda. Among the other people the same relative is indicated by words like Atir (old? Juang), Khatba (Khat-old?—Korku, Busan (Bu-father, san—older?. Bondo) Whether Gongo or Gunguin also mean 'older' we do not know. For the father's younger brother the word Kaka seems to be borrowed. The word for father's sister also seems to be borrowed by all people (Hattom, Hattomain, Atta, Sasu Fufu) except Bondo and Saora who give the words Munawang and awang. Apparently an expression derived from Wang (father) Mother's brother is Mama or Mamung among all people except Munda who give the word Kumang.

For mother's younger and older sister the words are those used for mother prefix by words for younger and older—like Marang or Huding, Umbuk, etc. The words for elder brother seem to be borrowed. Among the words for younger brother the words Bokko, Bokon or Ubba occur and remind one of the word Ubo among the Khasis. The words for sister are also borrowed; or made up from two words for example Bokko (Young-and-Ray=Woman or girl). The word Misiera of the Mundas is to be similarly interpreted. The words for grandfather—grandmother, etc., are either borrowed or compound words meaning older father, older mother, or an old one or an old one deserving respect. Such words are Sanaba, Dokri-Mai Sani-Mai Budha, Atir, Bara, Garham harhm or Garhambudhi. In one respect these people seem to have a term which is like that of the Khasis, namely, the word for son and daughter. The Primary word is non among Santhal and Munda. Kan (Juang) Kon (Korku). On (Bondo and Saora). To this word they suffix or prefix words meaning a female to mean a daughter. Era, Kui, Chelan, Yi or Insul. For sister's and brother's children they use the same words when not borrowed for son's son and daughter's son they use the same words among Korku and Saora. For husband and wife the word seem to mean Man, women, for husband and wife's father the words are hoin-har, Apu-hon-jar, Kuin-kar, Unkoi and Kunar. For

husband's or wife's mother the words are hanhar, or hanar, Kiyar, or Kinar. We find that honjar and hanar are used for in-law relationship males and females. (Some times words like Bau honjar, Ajihanar are used. Here Bau and Aji are borrowed words.) Husband's elder brother and elder sister also have the same term as husband's father or mother. For younger brother's and sister's husband and wife there are different words showing joking relationships. The word Teyang or Tenyang or Taiyan occur again and again in this context as separate words or as prefixes. For son's wife Santhal, Munda and Korhu use the word Kimin and the Saora used the word Koyen. For daughter's husband the word Jawai is borrowed (Santhal, Korku, Bhumiya). The other give the word Arain (Munda) A r a m (Juang) Arju (Bondo) R a y a n (Saora).

It will be seen that the Kinship terminology bears good resemblance to that of the Khasis. The greater elaborateness is brought in through borrowing of terms, from the surrounding people. These do not seem to be a traditional cross cousin marriage. This is made clear especially by Elwin's genealogies. (The Bondo Highlanders) The author was told that the Mundas do practice such a marriage nowadays occasionally and did get to see personally a man who had contracted such a marriage and confirmed the genealogy. It has

been recorded by all anthropologists working in this area that some Austric speaking tribes as also some Dravidian speaking tribes practice a form of marriage by which a man or a woman can marry their daughter's child (Grand father, grand daughter and grand mother, grand son marriage). In the terminology neither the words and their meanings nor the structure of the whole terminology give a hint of this type of allowed marriage. Though such a marriage is extremely rare it has been vouched for by all Anthropologists. One would like to know the circumstances under which such a marriage occurs. One would like to know of legends and songs in which such a marriage is recorded and the terms of address when such a marriage takes place. Especially because the Austric terminology shows a distinction of three generations, this type of marriage is difficult to understand.

It will be seen that from this description that the need for deeper and more extensive study of the Austric people themselves is very urgent and that such studies should be taken in hand immediately.

The kinship terminology of different groups are illustrated in the annexure.

ANNEXURE II

KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY OF THE KHASI MUNDA SPEAKING PEOPLE

	KHASI	SANTHAL	MUNDA	I HUNYA	JUANG	KORKU	BONDO	SAORA
<i>Kinship by blood</i>								
Grand Ancestress	Iawbei Tym-men.							
F F F		daja Haraw	Para	Bodu	Atir			Abaner Jojo
his wife					Atray			Abaner yoyo
M M M	Iawbei khyn-rad.							
her brother or husband								
F F	Kpa hep	Garham harham.	Tatin, Eudha.	Dada	Ajja	Aja, Sanaba		Jojo, Ju, Jung
his wife	Kpa-kha	Garham budhi.	Jinain, Aji		Na	Dokri Mai		Yoyo, Eyong
M M	Kiaw, Kmie hep, Kmie rad.		Jinain			Sani Mai		
her brother	niah bah		Tatain					
F	Kthaw, Kpa	Eaba	Apuin, ba	Buwa	Ba	ABEA	—	Wang
M	Kmie, Kymi	Engat Ayo	Engain	Ma	Eoin	Mai	Eyong, Enga	Yang
F's brother, elder	Kpa san	Gongo, Huding baba.	Gunguin	Bodu	Atir	Khatba	Eusan	Tata
Younger, also step-father	Kpa nah		Kakain	Kakka	Dadi	Kaka	Kakka	Dading, kinbo
M's brother	Kyngi, mama	Mamo	Kumang	Mamu	Mamu	Mama	Mamung	Mamang
F's sister: Elder and Younger	Knia-Kha	Hattom	Hattomain	Atta	Sasu	Phuphu	Muna wang	Awang
M's sister: Elder	Kmie San	Marang ayo	Gunguin		Atiray	Khanmai	Eusanoi	Yayang
Younger, also step-mother	Kmie nah	Huding Ayo	Gain, Garing		San boi	Aye	Umbuk boi	
Ego's generation								
Elder brother	Hymen, Kongbah	Dada, Pokon	Marang dada	Bhai	Ka	Dai	Mang	Bonang kaku

	KHASI	SANTHAL	MUNDA	BHUNYA	JUANG	KORKU	BONDO	SAORA
Younger brother	Hep, UBO	Babu	Udingkoa		Bokko	Boko	Me	Ubba
Elder sister	Kong, Hyn-men	Dai	Ajing	Neena	Aji	Jiji	Ming	Tonan
Younge sister	Hep, ULO	Mai	Misiera	by nam.	I okkoray	Foko	Kum umkoi	Ka'e, Ayi
Brother or sister	Hynbew							
F's brother's son		Dada	M u r a n g dada, Ud- ing Koa.	Ehai	Ka, Fokko	Dai, ioko	Mang, Me	Kinbotata
F's sister's son	Bakha	Dada	M a r a n g Dada U- ing Koa.	Ehai	Eoko only	Dai, Foko	Marenger	Marenger
M's brother's son	Bakha	Dada	Marang Dada Uding koa.	Bhai	Ka, Bokko	Dai, Boko	Maranger	Maranger
M's sister's son		Dada	Marang Dada Uding koa.	Bhai	Ka, Boko	Dai Boko	Mang, Me	Kinbo Tata bonang
F's brother's daughter, elder and younger.		Dai Mai	Ajing Misiera	N e e n a name.	Aji, Bokkoray	Jiji, Foko	Ming kiu	Kakin Aying
F's sister's daughter		Dai, Mai		By name	Bokkoray	Jiji, Boko	Ming, Kui	Mar Silboi
M's brother's daughter		Dai, Mai	Ajing Misi- era.	By name	Aji Bokkoray	Jiji, Boko	Ming, Kui	Mar Silboi
M's sister's daughter		Dai, Mai	Ajing Misi- era.	I y name	Aji Bokkoray	Jiji, Boko	Ming, Kui	Kakim, Aying
Son	Khun	Hophon	Hon	Iuo	Kan-an	Konte	On	Onger on onen.
Daughter	Khun	Hophon era	Kui Hon	Zio	Kan chelæn	Konje	On	Intul on onan.
Brother's son man speaking	Para kha Fyrsa	Hophon	Honing ser Hon sered	Puo	Kan-an	Konte	Busa on	Amonsej
Brother's son woman speaking.			Honing ser Hon sered	Puo	Kan-an	Kurar (?)	Amonsej	Amonsej
Brother's dau g hter man speaking.			Honing selera	Zio	Kan-chelan	Bhanji		Amonsil onsej Antlai.
Brother's d. ughter woman speaking.			Honing selera	Z o	Kan-chelan	Bhanji		Amonsyl Antlai

	KHASI	SANTHAL	MUNDA	I HUINYA	JUANG	KORKU	BONDO	SAORA
Sister's son man speaking	Pyrsa k ha	Bhagna	Gerchon Tanei	Ge Puc	Kan an	Kurar (?)		Amonsej
Sister's woman speaking	I yrsa para kha.		Gerchon Tanei	Ge Puc	Kan an			An. onsej
Sister's daughter man speaking	P a r a k h a		Gere kuri Go kui	Zio	Kan-chelan	I hanji		Amonsil
Sister's daughter woman speaking	Pyrsa		Go kui kuri	Zio	Kan chelan	Bhanji		Amonsil
Son's son	Kejew khum ksiew			Nati		Kurar	On (?)	Uleg Udleng
Daughter's son	Ksiew l hun ksiew			Nati		Kurar		Uleg Udleng
Son's Daughter				Natuni		Kurar		Uleg
Daughter's Daughter				Natuni		Kurar		Uleg
Son's son's son			Jain kora			Kurar		Uleg
Daughter's son's son								Uleg
Grand nephew	Para ksiew							
Grand niece	Para ksiew							
<i>Relations by Marriage</i>								
Mother's sisters' husband		Marangba Hudingba	Koa Gunguin Kakain		Dadi, Atir	Kaka	I usan, kakka	Tata, Dading
Father's Sister's husband		Kumang Marang Ayo	Kumang	Mamo Bodai kaki	Mamu Sanboi, Atiray Kaki	Mama Kaki	Mamung Umbuk boi	Antalai
Father's brother's wife		Huding Ayo	Gunguin Gain				Fusanboi	
Mother's brother's wife	Knia, Nia Synken	Hattom	Hattomain	Main	Sasu	Mami	Wang	Awang
Husband's father	Kithaw kurim	Hoinhar	Apu Honjar		Kuinkar		Unkoi	Kunar
Wife's father	Kithaw kuraim	Hoinhar	Apu Honjar		Kuinkar		Unkoi	Kunar
Husband's mother		Hanhar	Hanar		Mami		Kiyar	Kinar
Wife's mother		Hanhar	Hanar		Mami		Kiyar	Kinar
Husband	Lok Tynga, shkaw	Herej kora	Herej kora	Ghoita	Sau	Sana	Umpor	Tenongba ongeren

	KHASI	SANTHAL	MUNDA	BHUINYA	JUANG	KORKU	FONDO	SAORA
Wife	Lok Tynga, Shkaw Shkaw	Fra Bahu haphon	Ora Gomke	I harja	Kutuma	afai	Kunoi, konoi	Ensolo, sung- boi.
Husband's elder brother	Kynsi para	Hoinhar	Bau Honjar	Dedsuro	Baukar	Nivir kunikar	Ba : on	Ba : on
Husband's younger brother	Kew Myngkew	Iril kora	Iril kora	Bhendia	Bokcger	Illur	Erer-sej	Kinar Boen
Husband's elder sister	Kynsi	Iril kuri	Iril kui	Ded sasu Ma ang Daj		Jii i Kankar	Ali Boen, er.1 Boen	
Husband's younger sister				Dhengdi		Fai		
Wife's elder brother		Ba hanar	Bau Honjar	Dada	Iniba	Bawo	Ba : on	
Wife's younger brother		Iril kora	Tenyain kora	Satapilla	Sango	Taiyan	Erer sej	
Elder brother's wife	} Man } speak- } ing } husband	Hilli	Hilli	Bohu	Kulli	U	Imbing	Bonin
Younger brother's wife		Varhu kuri	Undi kiming	Buari	Kiming dai	—	Kimihon	Kuin
Elder sister's husband		Teyang	Tenyang Bhatu	Bau	Bau	Bayo	Bayo	Ba : on
Younger sister's husband		Jawai	Ara	Sango	Sango	Taiyan	Taiyan	Pa rui, Fa om R yom
Elder brother's wife	} kew } Woman	Hilli	Hilli			U	Eonin	
Younger brother's wife		Varhu kuri	Kimin	Kimin			Kuin	Kuin
Elder sister's husband	} speak- } ing } husband	Teyand	Tenyang E hat			Eao	Ea on	
Younger sister's husband		Jawai	Kimin	Kimin			Taiyan	Pa rui, Rayam
Wife's elder sister		Aji : nar	Aji Hanar				Kinar Fo	
Wife's younger sister							Frel Eoen	
Husband's elder brother's wife		Iril kuri	Tenyain kui				Ali Boen	
Husband's younger brother's wife		Aji nar	Marang dai	Nona, Ja	Aji	Kimin	Jaure	
Husband's sister's husband		—	Huding kui	Sanja	Fokoray		Jadin	
		—		Ehai		Dai		

	KHASI	SANTHAL	MUNDA	BHUINYA	JUANG	KORKU	BONDO	SAORA
Wife's sister's husband	Pare Myng shong.	Sadget	Sala gein			Jiji Bankar		Sadu
Wife's elder brother's wife	—	—	Marang dai	Nani	Aji	Bai		Kukin, Ajin
Wife's younger brother's wife	—	—	Mising era	Sani nani	Bokoray			Kinar Boen
Son's wife's Father	Bala kora	Bala	Bala	Samadhi	Samadhi	Iwai		
Son's wife's Mother	Bala kori	Bala era	Bala era	Sandni	Samadhi	Iwai		
Daughter's Husband's Father	Bala kora	Bala	Bala	Samadhi	Tiwaray	Iwai		
Daughter's Husband's Mother	Bala kori	Bala era	Bala era	Sandni	Tiwaray	Iwai		
Filial								
Son's wife	Kimin kori	Kiming		Bohu	Buiray	Kimin	—	Koyen
Daughters husband	Jawain	Arain		Jwain	Aram	Jawai	Arju	Rayam
Husband's brother's son						Ko sared		
Husband's brother's daughter						Gere		
Husband's sister's son						Gere		
Husband's sister's daughter								
Wife's brother's son & daughter.							Bhanja, Bhanji	
Wife's sister's son & daughter							Ghata	

RAM RATAN

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT IN ACTIONAL. WELL WAS CON- STRUCTED

Shampun¹ is a tribal village in Jhabua district of Madhya Pradesh. It lies two miles away on the north of Tajpur Town, a Tahsil Headquarter. In Tajpur there is a cluster of institutions like the hospital, school and the post office. Shampur is connected with Tajpur by a pucca road which goes to the interior areas of the district. This area is adjacent to Rajasthan boundary and is the stretching tract of the Bhills and Bhillalas—the tribals who have a record of their bravery in the history of Rajasthan.

The village is situated amidst natural surroundings. Formerly, there was a dense forest round it but now it has been cleared away: The land is rocky and therefore is not very fertile. The villagers produce maize and millets in it. One mile away from the village is a small stream which often dries in summer.

The population of the village is 135, the people are Bhills and Bhillalas. The leadership of the village is in the hands of village panchayat, the leader of which, commands a respect among the villagers. Their main occupation is agriculture but in the off season they also work as labourers on daily wages.

The source of drinking water had been the small stream which runs one mile away from the village. This had come to them as a tradition and they never bothered about the troubles, they had been having due to the drinking of stream water. They had suffered from diseases like dysentery and diarrhoea. Besides, this they had to walk two miles to bring water which was specially strenuous in the rainy season.

In the late forties the Christian Mission Organisation at Tajpur tried to bring about a change in the life pattern of the villagers but it was not successful because the tribals resented to it very much. The other forces of change like education also did not touch them, though the village is not very far away from the Tehsil Headquarter. Therefore predominantly their way of life remained tradition-oriented.

For the first time the village was exposed to directed-change when a Community Development Block was started in 1956 with its headquarters at Tajpur. In 1957 the Block was converted into a multipurpose tribal block, had sufficient funds and staff at its disposal and Shampur was often visited by the V. L. W. and other

1. Name of the persons and places are unreal

Extension Officers of the Block. They had individual and group contacts and proposed to bring about changes in some of the spheres of the tribals' way of living. They very often talked on the theme of the benefits of a good source of drinking water and made promise on many occasions to help the villagers but they never pursued the matters and did not fulfil their promises.

Gradually, the villagers began believing that the block functionaries were visiting their village only because they were getting salary and they never meant any benefit to the villagers. Consequently later on, whenever, the V. L. W. or any other Extension Officer visited the village, the villagers cared a little, and did not listen to them. The Block Extension Workers declared that the villagers were apathetic and the village was termed as a hopeless one. They left visiting the village.

This state of affairs continued till 1966. By this time the Block after passing through the normal stage had been converted into a Tribal Development Block. The old

V. L. W. had been transferred. Most of the staff members were new. The in charge of the Block was a trained Social Education Organiser. The V. L. W. was sincere and hard working and had a knack of mixing with people.

In the month of May, 1966, the V. L. W. went to Shampur to establish contact with the villagers. He went to the Village Leader, Shyam Singh who was over forty five and was illiterate. He was the biggest land-owner in his village and due to the traits of honesty, sincerity and hospitality which he possessed, he had acquired respect in his community very much. Besides this, he was the Headman of the Village Panchayat also.

Shyam Singh welcomed the V. L. W. and when they were in conference, the V. L. W. felt thirsty and demanded a glass of water, and when it was brought, the V. L. W. found it dirty. When he enquired the reason of it, Shyam Singh said, "we get water from a nearby stream in which now due to summer, there is little water and therefore it is dirty".

- V. L. W. .. Why don't you have the drinking water well in your village ?
- Shyam Singh .. But we don't have funds for it
- V. L. W. .. There is no dearth of funds provided the villagers are ready to do voluntary labour and dig the well with their spades. The block would give you sufficient money for making the well pucca.

1. In Madhya Pradesh the post of the P. D. O. has been abolished. The head of the Block is termed as 'Incharge'.

Shyam Singh at once recollected such talks of help given by the V. L. W. and other Extension Officers in 1957 and also their futility. So he did not give much importance to the present V. L. W's. talks too. He just listened them for courtesy sake.

A month passed away and Shyam Singh almost forgot about the talks he had with the V. L. W. But the V. L. W. had decided in his mind to persuade the villagers to have a drinking-water well. So he again went to the village and met Shyam Singh and enquired about his decision on the question of having a drinking water well in the village. Shyam Singh did not show any interest. The V. L. W. expressed his desire to meet and have small group discussions with the other villagers. Shyam Singh agreed and and so the V. L. W. met other villagers in small groups, explained them the importance of having a good drinking water well in the village.

In the evening when the villagers met in their own natural small groups they had informal chit chat about the visit and mission of the V. L. W. But they did not give much importance to it because the old image of the Block Staff came up to their memory. They said among themselves, "These Block Officers come here only because they get salary from the Government. They are in reality not interested for the welfare of the village. They make false promises which remain promises only".

Meanwhile the V. L. W. arranged for a film-show on the importance of good drinking-water well in the village. The film-show was quite new to the villagers, and attracted their attention very much. They attended it in large number, liked it, and appreciated it.

Exchanging their impressions with Shyam Singh some of the key-persons commented, "Well, it would have been better if the film would have been in our dialect. But any how it was good and we now have a better understanding of what the V.L.W. has been talking to us so long about the well". Shyam Singh said, "Yes, another thing which has struck to me very much is that this V. L. W. seems to be somewhat sincere about his work. He has paid many visits to our village and has arranged the film-show too. But whether he would be able to fulfil his promise by giving funds for the construction of the well is still a point of doubt".

Next day the V. L. W. paid a visit to the village to find out the impressions of the villagers about the film-show. He found that the film-show was appreciated, had created a favourable atmosphere, and the villagers listened to him now more attentively and responded a little more favourably than in the past. Shyam Singh told him very clearly that the villagers were still doubtful about his ability to fulfil his promise about the funds.

The V. L. W. came back to the Block headquarters and placed his findings of his visit to the village, before the Block-in-charge, who advised him to arrange a Leaders' trip from Shampur to Hamirpur, a nearby village, for showing them there the well constructed with the help of the Block funds and also for enabling them to find out whether the Block's help reached there in time.

Accordingly, after two days, the V. L. W. went to Shampur and in a meeting of the key-persons, under the Presidentship of Shyam Singh, he placed before them the proposal of the visit to Hamirpur, for showing them a drinking water well there. They accepted the proposal, because in Hamirpur many persons were known to them and they thought that they would be able, in this way, to see their friends and relatives. They fixed a date also for the visit.

On the appointed day, a group of nine leaders went to Hamirpur where they were nicely welcomed. They saw the well and exchanged ideas about the help given by the Block for its construction and thus got their doubts removed. They said among themselves, "When the people of Hamirpur can do a thing, why can't we? When the Block has helped them, it must help us also". They decided to have a well in their village and to do voluntary labour for it.

After a week Shyam Singh went to the Block Office, met the In-charge and submitted an application for funds for the construction of drinking water well in his village.

At this stage Pyarelal, an influential money-lender of this area, came to know about it. He had settled about a mile away from the village and had a big farm of 500 acres of land, all taken from the tribals by exploiting them through money-lending. He thought that if the development workers would have their influence in the village, his influence would be challenged and his business would suffer. He called Shyam Singh and others to his place and said, "I have heard that you have applied for funds from the Block for the construction of a well in your village. I know the Block functionaries do extend help by giving money to the villagers but do you know it, that they realise it back. If you will not be able to repay, your lands and houses would be confiscated and you would be placed behind bars. Never take Government money, you will be in trouble".

Pyarelal's attempt to disrupt the process of the development activity in Shampur, proved a success. It created a suspicion in the minds of the villagers. They thought that whatever Pyarelal had told them was correct, though they could not decide what to do.

After a week the V. L. W. went to the village to know the date on which the villagers would start the work of digging the well, so that he would be able to take the Overseer to the village to help the villagers in giving them a know how about it. When he talked with the people he found them in confusion. After knowing the cause of it, he assured them that the amount which would be given by the Block, will not be recovered. But he was not able to convince them fully.

He came back to the Block headquarters and discussed about the situation in the village with the Block incharge. The V. L. W. said, "Sir, now the situation is such that your visit to the village might prove effective in assuring the villagers that they would not be asked to repay the amount that would be given to them for the construction of the well". The incharge agreed and accompanied the V. L. W. to the village. He met Shyam Singh and other leaders and said, "Well I am the incharge of the Block and I assure you that I will never ask you to pay back the amount which we would give to help you in constructing the well. And whatever Pyarelal has told you, is altogether incorrect". When the leaders saw that the incharge himself assuring them, they felt convinced and thus the confusion created by Pyarelal was removed.

On the 15th June the villagers assembled at one place with their spades and with the beating of the drums the work was started on the site chosen by the village leaders. They worked very hard and within 15 days the well was dug.

The Block gave Rs. 1,850 for making the well pucca. This work was assigned to a contractor, because the villagers were unable to do it. The contractor finished his job within a month and the well was ready.

For the formal inauguration of the well, the Block incharge was invited. The villagers now have a good source of drinking-water and no more suffer from the diseases and hardships from which they suffered in the past.

Analysis—The process of adoption of the innovation of well by the rural community of Shampur, illustrates several points of significance in the dynamics of change. One of them which becomes quite obvious, when the process of change is looked into, is that false promises made by the Extension Workers to the rural community spoils their image and retards the progress of development.

The V. L. W. and other Extension Officers during the first few years of the inception of the Block, made sporadic visits and false promises and never made

continuous efforts to bring about a change in the village. Consequently the villagers lost faith not only in them but also in all the Block activities because they were identified as the representatives of the Block. In the village not only it strengthened the forces of resistance to the extent of apathy towards change during that period but also for the future too.

The result was that later on whenever any Extension Agent from the Block went to the village, he met apathy towards him and his programmes. The V. L. W. who went there in 1966 also faced the same conditions which were overcome by his persistent effort in having individual group contacts and discussions with the villagers. He took a wise step in using the extension method of film-show which attracted the attention of the villagers because it was a novelty for them. It gave them a better understanding on the problem of the importance of drinking water well.

The village-leaders visit to Hamirpur was also a right step taken by the Block Incharge, due to which

the leaders could remove their doubts about the sincerity of the Block and Extension Workers, from their own friends and relatives. It also created in them a sense of healthy competition with the villagers of Hamirpur which proved to be a good incentive in making the decision in favour of having a well in their village.

The hurdle created by the vested interest-the money-lender was tackled quite effectively, by paying a visit to the village by the incharge of the Block who, due to the superior position occupied by him in the Block organisation, was not only able to remove the confusion about the Block help, from the minds of the villagers but also could reinforce the correct idea and position. Only giving new ideas about the innovation is not enough but removal of confusion at every stage, in the process of change, and reinforcement of the correct ideas is also essential.

Lastly the village-wide effective leadership and its constant utilization by the Extension Workers, was one of the significant factors which led to success.

SATISH CHANDRA SHARMA

ROLE OF SOCIAL STRUCTURE IN EMERGENCE OF VILLAGE LEADERSHIP PATTERN

In India, efforts are being made for economic and social progress of the rural society. For this purpose various developmental and reformative programmes have been initiated. Peoples' ready co-operation and willing participation is essential for successful implementation of these programmes. How to approach the people for their co-operation and participation? One proper way would be to approach them through their leaders. Not all villages have simple leadership structures and it becomes difficult to locate the local leaders through whom the rural population could be approached. So a need arises for the leadership patterns to be analysed fruitfully in their various ramifications and the present study is an effort in this direction.

Objective of Study

Various factors play a role in emergence of a particular type of leadership pattern in a village. In the present study effort has been made to keep constant all other factors except the social structures in two different situations. The objective is to see the role played by social structure, if any, in emergence of village leadership pattern.

Selection of Villages

Two villages R and D from Nabha block in Patiala district of Punjab have been purposively selected for the study. While making the selection effort has been made to keep constant all those factors which influence the emergence of leadership pattern in a village, except the social structures of the two villages. For this purpose villages have been selected almost of the same size and same operational area. Those had same service agencies located in the village; were at the same distance from block headquarters, nearest town and nearest grain market. The villages are from the same cultural area and approachability to both the villages is also similar.

The Villages

Both the villages R and D are situated at a distance of 14 miles from Nabha, the block headquarters, connected with Nabha-Gobindgarh all weather metalled road by $\frac{3}{4}$ and 1 mile kachha approach roads respectively. Nabha town has a well established grain market. These villages are also at the same distance (9 and 14 miles respectively) from Gobindgarh and Khanna grain markets.

Both the villages have their own Grama Panchayats, village Co-operative and Credit Societies and Primary Schools. These are almost of the same size comprising of 104 and 106 households respectively and have almost the same operational area for cultivation, 703 and 700 acres, respectively.

Village Social Structures

Village social structure has been studied under six headings, viz., (i) Caste structure, (ii) Land holdings, (iii) Occupational structure, (iv) Economic structure, (v) Social participation, (vi) Power structure.

(i) Caste Structure—Both the villages R and D are multi-caste villages. Village R is composed of ten caste groups, namely, Jats, Harijans, Bantias, Brahmans, Ramgarias, Jheers, Nais, Kumhars (Muslim), Bharias (Muslim) and Telis (Muslim). Village D contains all the caste groups of Village R, but in addition to that contains eight more caste groups, namely, Khatries, Baragi, Sweepers, Saini, Cheembas, Lohars, Darji and Bazigars (Tribal). Table — gives castewise distribution of the village households.

TABLE I
Castewise distribution of the village households

Serial No.	Caste group	Village R	
		Number of house holds	Percentage
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
1	Jats	38	36.5
2	Harijans	48	46.2
3	Bantias	3	2.9
4	Brahmans	1	1.0
5	Ramgarias	5	4.7
6	Jheers	3	2.9
7	Nai	1	1.0
8	Kumhars (Muslim)	1	1.0
9	Bharias (Muslim)	2	1.9
10	Teli (Muslim)	2	1.9
	Total	104	100

Village D

Serial No.	Caste Group	Number of house holds	Percentage
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
1	Jats	16	15.1
2	Harijans	17	16.0
3	Banias	4	3.8
4	Brahmans	7	6.6
5	Ramgarias	6	5.7
6	Jheers	5	4.7
7	Nai	2	1.9
8	Kumhars	3	2.8
9	Bharias (Muslim)	2	1.9
10	Teli (Muslim)	3	2.8
11	Khatries	6	5.7
12	Baragi	1	0.9
13	Sweepers	9	8.5
14	Saini	5	4.7
15	Cheembas	4	3.8
16	Lohars	3	2.8
17	Darji	2	1.9
18	Bazigars (Tribal)	11	10.4
Total		106	100

The following observations are clear from the table. Firstly, that caste structure of village D is more complex than that of village R due to more caste groups in it. Secondly, in village R two caste groups, namely, Harijans and Jats are numerically dominant and taken together comprise 82.7 per cent of the total village households. In village D Harijans and Jats

enjoy only marginal numerical dominance over other caste groups such as Bazigars and Sweepers in turn enjoy marginal numerical dominance over Brahmins, Ramgarias and Khatries and so on. Third point to note in the structure of two villages is migration of certain caste groups. In village R all the caste groups are from the generations of its founders with the

exception of one Kumhar household which had migrated to the village before 1947. In village D Bazigars (11 households), Saini (5 households), Ramgarias (3 households), Khatries (2 households) and Brahmans (2 households) are migrants to the village, respectively in the years 1948, 1953, 1955, 1956 and 1959.

(ii) Land Holdings—In village R operational area of the village is held by three caste groups, namely, Jats, Ramgarias and Nai. While in groups, namely, Jats, Harijans, village D it is held by eleven caste Baniyas, Brahmans, Ramgarias, Teli, Khatries, Baragi, Sweepers, Saini and Lohars. Table-2 give the size of land holdings caste groupwise.

TABLE 2

Size of Land holdings casts group wise

VILLAGE R

Sl. No.	Caste Group	House-holds with lands	Acres held	Percentage of total Acreage
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
1	Jats	.. 38	647	92
2	Harijans	.. ..	..	..
3	Baniyas	.. ..	..	..
4	Bramhans	.. ..	..	..
5	Ramgarias	.. 5	42	6
6	Jheers	.. ..	..	..
7	Nai	.. 1	14	2
8	Kumhars (Muslim )	.. ..	..	..
9	Bharias (Muslim )	.. ..	..	..
10	Teli (Muslim )	.. ..	..	..
Total		.. 44	703	103

VILLAGE--D

Sl. No.	Caste Group	House-holds with lands	Acres held	Percentage of total Acreage	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	
1	Jats	..	16	254	36.3
2	Harijans	..	6	52	7.4
3	Banias	..	2	24	3.4
4	Bramhans	..	4	75	10.7
5	Ramgarias	..	3	35	5.0
6	Jheers	..	..	..	..
7	Nai	..	..	..	..
8	Kumhars	..	..	..	..
9	Barias (Muslim )	..	..	..	..
10	Teli (Muslim)	..	1	7	1.0
11	Khatries	..	5	102	14.6
12	Baragi	..	1	42	6.0
13	Sweepers	..	2	16	2.3
14	Saini	..	4	82	11.7
15	Cheembas	..	..	..	..
16	Lohars	..	1	11	1.6
17	Darji	..	..	..	..
18	Bazigars (Tribals )	..	..	..	..
Total		..	700		100

The table shows that in village R Jats holding 92 per cent of the total operational area have almost a monoplous hold over the village land. Only 8 per cent of the total operational area is held by other caste groups, viz., Ramgarias and Nai. In village D Jats hold only 36.3 per cent of the total operational area and the rest 63.7 per

cent is shared by above cited ten caste groups. So it may be said that in village D no caste group has a monoplous hold over the village land. The table also shows that in village D some households of lower castes such as Harijans and Sweepers, etc., are land owners which is not the case in village R with the exception of one Nai household.

Table—3 gives distribution of the households with land according to the number of ploughs with them. Plough has been thought to be a more reliable indicator for comparing the size of land holdings in the

two villages. Households with one plough have been termed small, with two ploughs medium and with three or more or with a tractor large.

Table—3

Distribution of the households with land according to the size of land holdings

	Small	Medium	Large	Total
Village R ..	21	7	16	44
Village D ..	12	29	4	45

The table shows that in village R concentration of the households with land is either towards large category or towards small category. Number of households with medium sized landholdings is comparatively small. In village D, this concentration is towards medium size. From the above data it may be inferred that in village R disparities in the size of land holdings from one cultivation to the other are large, while in village D such disparities are small. Data in the table also gives an indication about the possible labour opportunities in large farms in village R. But in village D there are less such possibilities due to concentration of the farms towards medium size.

(iii) *Occupational Structure*—In village R Jats and Nai have farming as their major occupation throughout the year. Ramgarias besides cultivators are carpenters and blacksmiths of the village. Bantias are shopkeepers and moneylenders. Bharias and Teli have cattle rearing and selling them in the cattle fairs as their major

occupation, but they augment their income by working in the fields in busy seasons. The Brahman household has only one adult male who serves in the army. Rest all the castes namely Harijans, Jheers and Kumhars work as agricultural labourers and in slack seasons of agriculture shift to their subsidiary occupations such as weaving, rope making and tailoring, etc. Petty farmers augment their income by supplying milk to milk collection centre of 'Horlicks Factory' at Bhadson 3 miles away. It is clear that in village R there is a clear distinction between the high and low caste occupations. Superior occupations are held by high castes and inferior or low occupations by low castes. In village D no such distinction is noticeable. Cultivation is done by high castes as well as low castes like sweepers and Harijans. Both high and low caste members work as farm labourers. Such a situation undermines the supremacy of high castes over the low castes. Another point to note about the occupational structure of the two

villages is that in village R bread-winning is mostly from within the village. This makes village R people inner directed and lower castes economically dependent on high castes. In village D much of the bread-winning is from outside

the village, possibly due to absence of large farms and lack of labour opportunities in the village. This makes the people in village D outer directed and economically independent from one another.

Table—4

Caste-wise distribution of the households according to their monthly income

VILLAGE—R

Sl. No.	Caste Group	A	B	C	D	Total	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	
1	Jats	..	5	20	13	38	
2	Harijans	..	41	7	..	48	
3	Banias	..	..	1	2	3
4	Bramhans	..	..	1	..	1
5	Ramgarias	..	..	3	2	5
6	Jheers	..	3	..	..	3
7	Nai	..	..	..	1	1
8	Kumhars	..	1	..	..	1
9	Bharias	..	..	2	..	2
10	Teli	..	..	2	..	2
Total		..	45	21	25	13	164

VILLAGE—D

Sl. No.	Caste Group	A	B	C	D	Total
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
1	Jats	2	6	7	1	16
2	Harijans	8	7	2	..	17
3	Banias	..	2	2	..	4
4	Bramhans	3	3	1	..	7
5	Ramgarias	2	3	1	..	6
6	Jheers	5	..	..	..	5
7	Nai	1	1	..	..	2
8	Kumhars	3	..	..	..	3
9	Bharias	..	2	..	..	2
10	Teli	..	3	..	..	3
11	Khatries	..	3	2	1	6
12	Baragi	..	..	..	1	1
13	Sweepers	7	2	..	..	9
14	Saini	..	2	1	2	5
15	Cheembas	3	1	..	..	4
16	Lohars	2	1	..	..	3
17	Darji	2	..	..	..	2
18	Bazigars	7	4	..	..	11
Total		45	40	16	5	106

(iv) *Economic Structure*—In the two villages households have been distributed into four groups, A, B, C and D according to their income. Group A includes households with income upto Rs. 125 per month, group B includes households with income Rs. 125 to Rs. 250 per month group C includes households with income Rs. 250 to 400 per month and Group D includes households with income above Rs. 400 per month. Table 4 gives caste-wise

distribution of the households according to their monthly income

Table 4

The table shows that in village R 13 Jat households claim their income to be falling in group D while in village D incomes of 1 Jat household, 1 Khatri household, 1 Baragi household and 2 Saini households fall in group D. Taking an overall view, Jats as a caste

group have higher economic status than the rest of castes in the village. But in village D it is not true about any individual caste-group. Further it may be inferred from the table that economic disparities are large in village R both caste-groupwise and householdwise, but in village D are comparatively much less. Concluding, in village R, Jats as a caste-group enjoy economic supremacy over other caste groups in the village. But in village D such an economic supremacy is enjoyed by no caste-group.

(v) Social Participation—Village R is tradition oriented due to lack of foreign elements in it with the exception of one Kumhar household. Earlier it has been noticed that village R is innerdirected and that there exists economic dependency of low castes on the high castes. Economic disparities in the village are large and there exists castewise distinctions regarding the occupations held by the various caste-groups. An earlier study* in the village shows that hold of caste is strong on village life. Caste hierarchy exists both on factual and psychic level and channelises inter-caste behaviour. All the above factors play a role in streamlining social groups in the village and their behaviour on caste lines. In small social groups, members are generally from one caste and larger social groups are formed on high and low caste lines. Caste commonalities still prevail in the village and members of a

low caste always show reverence in behaviour towards the high castes. Often the social groups function independently except when village-wide gatherings are held and in such gatherings lower castes maintain a social distance and respectful behaviour towards the high caste members. Inter-group rivalries are not found in the village. Jats due to their economic supremacy and numerical majority enjoy prestige from all other caste-groups.

Village D is outer directed and contains 23 migrant households. There exists economic independence among the caste-groups and economic disparities are also small. No caste-group enjoys decided numerical and economic supremacy over others. There is not clear cut distinction between high and low caste occupations. All the above factors have played a role to stratify the village on economic status lines and not on caste lines as in village R. Social group formation and inter-group behaviour is also channelised by economic status and not much by caste mores.

(vi) Power Structure—Regarding village power structure four factors are important viz. (1) Number of social groups in the village, their structure and numerical strength, (2) Economic standing of the groups. (3) Social standing of the groups. (4) Inter-group group relations. As already men-

*Satis Chandra Sharma, 'the role of caste in village life A case study,' ADIBASI Vol. IX No. 3, 1967.

tioned in village R social groups are on caste lines and in village D on economic status lines. Number of social groups in village D is much larger than in village R since economic hierarchy may be divided into any number of steps unlike caste hierarchy. Secondly, social groups in village R may be said to be more homogeneous in structure than those in village D, as in village R social groups are on caste lines, while in village D members of various castes may be members of a social group, if their economic status is almost the same. Thus there is likelihood of frequent changes in membership of the social groups in village D, which is not true in village R. In village R Harijans and Jats are numerically dominant. But Jats are much superior to Harijans in economic and social standing and due to this reason have a monopolous hold over the village power structure. Absence of faction in village R indicates lack of struggle for power in the village. In village D due to numerical dominance of no caste-group, less economic disparities, economic independence of the caste-groups and heterogeneous and flexible structure of the social groups, there is a constant struggle for power among the social groups. Presence of factions in the village confirms it.

Leadership Pattern

Leadership was studied by opinion method. For this purpose a purposive sample out of the household-heads in the two villages

was taken. For every four or a part of it, one household-head was taken on the sample. Selections were made by random method taking the caste-groups separately to give representation to all the caste-groups on the sample. Thus sample in village R comprised of 30 household-heads viz. : 10 Jats 12 Harijans and one each from rest of the castes in the village. In village D the sample comprised of 34 household-heads viz., 4 Jats 5 Harijans, 2 Brahmans, 2 Ramgarias, Jheers, 2 Khatries, 3 Sweepers, 2 Saini, 3 Bazigars and one each from rest of the castes in the village. Persons receiving choice from more than 10 per cent of the total sample have been considered leaders and those who received choice from more than 90 per cent of the total sample have been considered village-wide leaders.

In village R six persons emerged out to be leaders with 100 per cent, 80 per cent, 46.7 per cent, 40 per cent, 30 per cent and 13.3 per cent choices, respectively. Amongst these leaders only Z Jat with 100 per cent choices and to some extent K Jat with 80 per cent choices may be said to be village-wide leaders. Rest all are leaders of their own social groups which are on caste lines. In no case member of a high caste gave a choice for leadership to a member of lower caste. But members of lower castes did accept leadership of high castes. Mostly leadership in the village is confined to one or two focal persons from within the caste group.

In village D nineteen persons emerged out to be leaders and none of them was receiving choices more than 40 per cent. In this case some members of high castes did mention some persons from a little lower castes but with good economic status as their leaders.

From the above discussion it is clear that the number of claimed leaders is small in village R. mainly leadership is confined to some source persons from within the social groups formed on caste basis. However, village-wide leadership does exist in the village. In village D, village-wide leadership does not exist. Leadership is confined to small social groups in the village formed mainly on economic status basis and number of claimed leaders is also quite large as compared to the same in village R. So it is clear that in village R caste along with economic status is major determinant of leadership, while in village D major determinant of leadership is economic status only. Due to these reasons leadership in village R may be

expected to be more stable in nature, while in village D frequent changes may be expected in the leadership pattern.

Conclusions

The study shows that social structure of a village plays a great role in determining its leadership pattern. Village R has a stable leadership pattern with a few leaders with large following, while village D has a flexible leadership pattern with a large number of leaders with small following of each. Secondly, village-wide leadership exists in village R which plays a great role in the progress and development of the village. In village D no such leadership exists. Both flexible and divergent nature of the leadership pattern and non-existence of village-wide leadership serve as handicaps for the progress and development of the village. The following features of social structures may be said to be responsible for the two types of leadership patterns in the two villages.

In village R

1. Comparative simplicity of the social structure i.e., presence of lesser number of caste groups in it than in village D.
2. Decided numerical dominance of two caste-groups in the village.
3. Less migrated elements in the social structure.

In village D

1. Comparative complexity of the social structure.
2. Marginal numerical dominance of the caste-groups over one another.
3. Large number of migrated elements in the social structure.

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>4. Almost monopolous hold of Jats over village land.</p> <p>5. Comparative large disparities in the size of land holdings.</p> <p>6. Clear distinction between high and low caste occupations.</p> <p>7. Inner directedness of the village.</p> <p>8. Economic dependence of the villagers due to bread winning mostly from within the village.</p> <p>9. Large economic disparities among the villagers and economic supremacy of Jats over other caste groups.</p> <p>10. Stratification of the village and formation of social groups on caste basis.</p> <p>11. Absence of struggle for power and absence of factions.</p> | <p>4. Monoplous hold of no caste over village land.</p> <p>5. Less disparities in the size of land holdings.</p> <p>6. Less distinction between high and low caste occupations.</p> <p>7. Outer directedness of the village.</p> <p>8. Economic independence of the villagers due to bread-winning mostly from outside the village.</p> <p>9. Less economic disparities among the villagers and economic supermacy of no caste group.</p> <p>11. Stratification of the village and formation of social groups on economic status basis.</p> <p>11. Constant struggle for power among the social groups and presence of factions in the village.</p> |
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T. R. B.

IMPACT OF SATYA MAHIMA DHARMA ON SCHEDULED CASTES & SCHEDULED TRIBES IN ORISSA

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Objectives

Satya Mahima Dharma otherwise known as Alekha Mahima Dharma or Kumbhipatia Dharma has its origin in Orissa. It is a sect of Hinduism. The sect is open for all Hindus irrespective of Class, Caste and Sex. Many people belonging Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes have embraced this sect. Therefore, the study on Satya Mahima Dharma was undertaken to find out:—

- (a) Its origin
- (b) Spread of the sect, particularly among the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.
- (c) Effect of conversion to this sect with particular reference to their social and economic status.

Area of Study

On receipt of informations from various sources it was proposed to conduct the study in a few selected areas where the number of tribal converts were greater. Hence Nayagarh area in Puri district,

Atthagarh area in Cuttack district, Rairakhol area in Sambalpur district and Bhawanipatna area in Kalahandi district were selected for the study although the followers could be found scattered all over the State.

Methods of Study

Field investigations were conducted during the months of November and December, 1967 by visiting different areas. Both questionnaire and interview methods were used in collecting data from the converts. Quantitative data on households of the converts were recorded to assess their economic condition. At first the quantitative data from all converted households available in the area were collected. Then a sample of 40 converts were selected and interviewed on significant points with the help of questionnaire containing 31 questions regarding expected changes after conversion.

Satya Mahima Dharma

In vedic age, the vedic priests were polytheists worshipping a number of deities such as Indra, Baruna, Kubera, etc. The Hindu

ascety later on tried to find out one supreme God over all of them. The term Brahmo was used for Him in Srimad Bhagabat Gita one of the Hindu religious books. In Gita He is described as invisible, understructible and eternal. He is supreme guardian of Universe. Thirty-three crores of Hindu deities are guided by Him. Hindus obey Brahmo and all other minor deities where as Mahima Dharma is based on the philosophy of Brahmo worship only. The latter recognizes minor deities but does not advocatè to worship them on the ground that there is no necessity to satisfy all if one supreme guardian is satisfied. According to Mahima Dharma, Brahmo is one and only one. He is Alekha (who cannot be written), Anadi (without any beginning), Ananta (without any end) and Anakar (without any shape). One can get supreme bliss by dedicating himself to Him. He is omnipotent, omniscient and omnipresent. He can not be realized by ordinary sense organs. He is Sat (supreme Good), Chit (Supreme consciousness) and Ananda (Supreme happiness). Thus Mahima Dharma preaches the theory of monotheism. Ordinary men can not understand what is God unless it is given any shape. Hindu believe in idolatry. Mahima Dharma preaches the theory of shapeless God, because no one has ever seen Him and so no shape can be imagined.

In vedic age Homas were being performed by the priests to appease

deities. Animal sacrifice at first did not form a part of Vedic ritual. Later on animal sacrifice was added. As a reaction to animal sacrifice many sects like Jainasim, Budhism took their origin in India. Satya Mahima Dharma is likewise a reactionary movement against animal sacrifices. The ways followed by Mahimaism to appeal God are prayer, performance of Hōma, and distribution of offerings among children. Children are pure, right and free from vices. Therefore, God stays with children.

Mahima Dharma recognizes five cardinal virtues of Veda, Upanishada and Gita. These are harmlessness, truthfulness non-stealing, chastity and non-acceptance. Brahma Charya, a life of celibacy for Sanyasis and self-control for common people in sexual life are essential for Hindus. These cardinal virtues as stepping stone for realization of God have been accepted by Mahima religion.

Mahima Dharma recognizes gospels of Srimad Bhagabat Gita. It believes in "Give up all other religions and abandon theyself solely to my cares. Do not grieve for I shall deliver you from all sins". Therefore people should commit themselves to his care. This religion advocates the search of eternal devine protection after getting which man does not return back to the world. Thus Satya Mahima Dharma is based on some principles of Veda, Upanished and Gita. But they introduce them-

seleves as "Nirbedia" the non-believers of Veda on the ground that animal sacrifice, polytheism sanctioned by Veda have been discarded by them. But they recognize Gita and its gospels as the guide line of the sect. It is a sect of Hindism which is originated as its disciples believe to destory all accreations gathered round the Hindu religion without destroying the core. It is known as Satya Mahima Dharma, the true glorious religion.

Origin

One of the important socio-religious problem in India is the caste system a complex institution of Hindu society. The society is stratified into various caste groups among whom social distances are maintained. At first the society was divided into four caste groups on the basis of division of labour and specialization of work. Brahmins were entrusted with the duty of worship of deity, Kshyatriyas for defending country, Baisyas for trade and commerce and Sudras for all types of manual work. In course of time, these professions become heriditary and various castes emerged. Among these castes high social disparity was maintained. The Brahmins being the controlling authority of religion occupied the top-most position in caste hierarchy. They were called high borns, and become the only agents through whom anything could be relayed to God. Other high borns like Kshyatriyas could enter into Hindu shrine but could

not relay their difficulties or offer anything to God directly. A section of low borns called untouchables could not enter into Hindu Shrines. The Tribals known as 'Anarya' were not included in the Hindu society. It was not a problem of primitive tribes living in the isolated pockets surrounded by forest and hills, detached from the Hindu world. Due to process of assimilation and Hinduization some sections of tribals acquired faith on Hindu Gods. But they could not get the opportunity to worship them. Many social workers and religious reformers tried to bring out harmony in the society by abolishing the caste system. The nineteenth century was an age of renaissance for India, when Indians were enlightened with modern values and thoughts. In that era various movements on social, political and religious thoughts took place. Spread of education made people concious. Caste system, a curse on the society was felt to be removed. With this back ground Mahimaism was originated taking a bold step against caste prejudices by proclaiming equality of mankind before God. Hence Mahimaism is sometimes described as reactionary.

There is a common notion that Mahima Dharma has an aboriginal origin. Many common people do not know the real founder of this religion. Bhima Bhoi one of the disciples became famous for his devotional songs and religious books depicting gospels of Mahi-

maism. He is said to be a Kandha. Many believed him to be the founder of the sect and hence described it as a religion of the Kandha. Being misguided by the Surname 'Bhoi' which is used as such by a Scheduled Caste, and as maximum percentage of converts belong to various Scheduled Castes, it is also considered by common people as the religion of untouchables.

The disciples of Satya Mahima Dharma believe that Mahima Gosain, the founder of this sect, is a devine being. He was the incarnation of Great Brahma who came to this world to revive Hindu religion from the state of degeneration. Except some legends regarding his omnipotency, omni-presence and ascetic life, their literature is silent about his private life. He is believed to have descended from eternal space.

About Mahima Gosain and his religion references are found in Central Province Census Report 1881. "It states the name of the founder of this religion appears unknown and its followers state that he is a spiritual being without form, who lives in heaven". Further details are given by Chief Commissioner of Sambalpur (Ref—Bengal District Gazetteer, Sambalpur 1909). It states "the religion is also known as Alekh and its followers claim revelation as its foundation". Regarding the date of the origin of the sect Satya Mahima Dharma Itihash (History of Alekh Mahima Dharma) reveals that

Mahima Swami appeared at Puri in 1826. At that time he was known as Dhudia Gassin as he was sleeping on bare ground wearing redochre dyed cloth and matted hair on his head. He lived on water only 12 years and thus known as *Nirahari Baba*. In 1838 he came to kapilash hills. Then he wore Kumbhipati or bark of Khumbi tree, and spent 24 years on medication. (During first 12 years of this period he lived on fruits and last 12 years on milk for which he was known as *Falahari Baba* and *Khirahari Baba* respectively). The last 14 years of his life he spent on propagation work. According to his followers. He disappeared and mingled with eternal space at Joranda in 1876. Regarding date of origin, the Bengal District Gazetteer, 1909, opine that "Alekh swami the God incarnate used, it is said to reside in the Himalayas but about the year 1864, he came to Malabharput in Banki in the Cuttack district. Thus towards the last half of 19th century the religion had its origin around Kapilash and was propagated at first in Banki area. Most of his followers opine that he died in the month of Falguna (Feb.-March) in 1876 at Joranda, Dhenkanal.

We are still in dark about the personal life of the Mahima Gosain and his early associates. The present disciples also do not disclose about private life of these ascetics. With great difficulty birth place and caste of 20 mendicants

were gathered out of whom two were tribals and two Scheduled Castes. Majority of converts at that time were Scheduled Caste people though other Caste people were also embracing this sect. For all these reasons it cannot be concluded that Mahima Dharma is of tribal origin.

History and Spread of Religion

In 19th Century Orissa was divided into two parts, viz., Meghulbandi reled by the Britishers and Godjats ruled by native rulers. Mahima Gasain first started his propagation work at Banki and then expanded to Khurda, Cuttack and Godjat areas like Dhenkanal Athagarh, Angul, Hindol, etc. The rulers were permitting the religious preachers to spread their faith in their states. It was one of the duty of a good ruler to receive sadhus and Sanyasis and to accord special facilities to them. As Mahima Dharma was taken as a sect of Hinduism, its Sanyasis could get opportunity to receive the patronization of the rulers. Mother of Shri Bhagirathy Bhramarabar Ray the then ruler of Dhenkanal state was a great patron of Mahima Gasain for which some special facilities were accorded to him. As a result the main centre of Mahima sect was established at Joranda in Dhenkanal. Other centres were established at Mahulapara in Dhenkanal, Malabaharpur in Banki Khuntuni in Athagarh Dalijoda and Dhamana in Khurda. People in these areas were attracted towards the sect in large number.

Towards the last part of his life, Mahima Gasain propagated his religion in different areas. He converted 92 persons as Para Sanyasis and 80 persons as Aparasanyasis. He constructed many *Dhuni Mandiras* out of which many were destroyed by himself afterwards. As the legends go he had an extraordinary power by which he was able to cure the diseases and to restore life to the dead.

The Chief disciple of Mahima sect was Gobinda Das, who like his Guru was supposed to be possessed with divine power. Due to his effort the religion expanded. It is noted in the Bengal District Gazetteer, 1909, that "Alekh Swamiand have revealed a new religion to 64 persons, the principal of whom was Gobinda Das, and it was chiefly owing to the exertion of the disciples that the religion was propagated".

Another important agent of conversion was Bhima Bhoi, an illiterated blind person brought up by a Kandha family of Rairakhol. As regards his birth no authentic data is available. He himself confessed that he was a Kandha. But as the legends go a Kandha, Dhaneswar by name of Madhupur village in Rairakhol got him from a palm grove in Jatasingha village of Sonapur. After the death of his adopted father he earned his livelihood by husking paddy and rearing cattle. It is said that due to blessings of Mahima Gasain he acquired a considerable mental

power and poetic genius. He shifted his camp afterwards to Sonepur where he spent most of his life by propagating religion and writing scriptures on Mahima Dharma. "Stuti Chintamani", "Stuti Nished Gita", "Mahima Binod", "Nirbeda Sadhana Gita", etc., are outcome of his poetic genius. He was responsible for popularising Mahimaism in Sambalpur, Sonepur and Baudh area. It is said that after the death of Mahima Gasain there was a set back of the sect. Many followers were reconverted but his associates were not accepted by the Hindu society as they were not observing castes rules. These disciples took responsibility of preaching religion.

Sections of Mahima Dharma follower:

During the life time of Mahima Gasain the sect was divided into two sections, viz., Kumbhipatias (Who wear bark of Kumbhi tree) and Kanapatias (Who wear red ochre dyed cloth). At that time there was conflict among these sections. The annual festivals held at Mahulpada and Joranda were generally attended by Kanapatias and Kumbhipatias, respectively. After the death of Mahima Gasain his followers were divided into three groups. They were known as *Chappan Murtia*, *Tetis Murtia* and *Kodie Murtia* according to number of sanyasis in the group. A conflict took place between *Chapan Murtia* and *Kodie Murtia* when the former did not allow other groups to reside

with them. This *Tetis Murtia* and *Kodie Murtia* were deprived of Gadi property and the right to worship within the main temple. *Tetis Murtia* group remained insignificant but *Kodie Murtia* filed a case against *Chapan Murtia*. Atleast *Kodie Murtia* got compensation and right over the shrine. As they were living under a *Mahala* tree being driven out by *Chapan Murtia* before *Matha* was constructed by them, they are known as *Mahala Mathia*. They are known as "*Kaupuni Dhari Mahima Samaja*" and "*Chapan Murtia*" are known as "*Bakala Dhari Mahima Samaja*". The conflict still continues.

Division of Mahima Dharma follower:

The followers of Mahima Dharma may broadly be divided into two groups Sanyasis and Gruhis or Asritas. The Sanyasis have to renounce the worldly life. They follow methods of self mortification. They do not cut hair, bread or use oil and cosmetics. Brahmachrya a life of celibacy is maintained strictly. It is essential for all sanyasis to devote life for realization of truth. Sanyasis lead a life of wanderings to preach ideas and thoughts of the sect. They do not spend more than one night in a village, and accept food only once from a particular house. The motto "*Gharake Muthie Vikhya, Gramake ratie*" is followed by them for avoiding attachment to worldly life. They are forbidden

to return to their own village, to disclose anything about their private life, or to own money and other property. Following the process of Mortification they are to move from place to place on foot, and take food on leaf plate. Gruhis regard them as their spiritual guide.

Gruhis on other hand live in their homes and enjoy worldly life, with certain restrictions. A Gruhi should enjoy sexual life once in a month on 8th day of his wife's menstrual period.

The Gruhis wear red ochre dyed cloth as uniform of Mahima Dharma. If it is not possible on their part to wear this type of cloth always they must wear it at least at the time of worship. There is a common belief among Hindus that redochre dyed clothing is not polluted. The Mahima Dharma followers also follow the same method.

The Gruhis are not allowed to rear goat, sheep, fowls, as these are sacrificial animals for Hindu deities.

The Mahima Dharma prescribes different procedure or observance of birth, death and marriage ceremonies. Instead of asking Brahmins to officiate in these functions (higher castes take help of Brahmins for these occasions). Mahima Sanyasis should be invited. The Gruhis must be hospitable to Mahima Sanyasis who are friends, philosophers and guides to them.

Common Rules for Sanyasis and Gruhis

(a) The followers of Satya Mahima Dharma should not sleep unconsciously so that they can wake up at dawn while taking a purificatory bath they salute seven times to *Brahmo* under the canopy of sky. Likewise before sunset they salute five times. (b) The followers do not take food after sun set. Food is taken when respiration passes through right nostril. This increases mental power and keep body free from all types of diseases. They follow motto of *Abadhuta*.... "*Ahara bhedabhava nahin, Je Sthane Jemanta milai* (Bhagabat) that means there should be no restriction on taking food (c) They follow the motto "*Anhinsa Parama Dharma*". i.e., non-violence is true religion. (d) Except *Brahmo*, no other Hindu deity should be worshipped. *Brahmo* is one and only one. Image worship is discouraged. Animal sacrifice to propitiate deity is forbidden. The followers should not attend rituals of traditional deities. (e) Non-violence, simplicity, forgiveness, patience, truthfulness are the cardinal virtues which should be acquired by them; (f). Intoxicants specially drinking are strictly prohibited. But they can chew tobacco or smoke Ganja; (g) The followers should neither participate nor attend dance, drama music or any type of recreational activities. These divert their mind from God. They should spend leisure by *Bhajana, Kirtna* and

Smarana. (h) Any type of medicine is prohibited. In the villages, village *Baidyas* prescribe indigenous medicines prepared and offered to some deity for its efficacy. So Mahima Dharma framed rule not to use medicine. At present the western medicines are also discouraged. They believe that belief in Brahmo can cure disease. Therefore He should be propitiated to ward off diseases, death and other misfortunes in life.

Gradations of Mahima Dharma Sanyasis

There are no gradations of Sanyasishood among the *Kaupuni Dhari Mahima Samaja*. But *Bakala Dhari Mahima Samaja* have three successive Stages known as *Bairagi*, *Apara Sanyasis* and *Para Sanyasis*....When a person decides to renounce the worldly life and lead an astatic life by following Mahima Dharma he attends initiation ceremony at Joranda. He is given to wear a redochre dyed cloth of $2\frac{1}{2}$ cubits length after being offered to Brahmo. Ghee is burnt for his purification at *Dhuni Mandira*. He is called *Bairagi*. For some years he remains under supervision of *Gurus* who watch his activities. He is to serve cows, the holy animals and *Gurus* the spritual guides. Religious books on Mahima Dharma are given to him to read and acquire knowledge. After six or seven years when he proves himself to be real seeker of truth he is allowed to enter into second stage of

Sanyasishood known as *Apara Sanyasi* and is called as *Dasa*. Henceforward he is to wear redochre dyed clothing of $1\frac{1}{4}$ cubits length on the waist by help of a waist band known as *Adabandha* made out of bark of a tree. In this state he is to lead a rigorous life observing the rules rigidly. Thenafter some years he is allowed to enter into *Para Sanyasishood* and is called as *Baba*. At this stage only one can wear bark of *Kumbhi* tree. He spends his whole times in pursuit of holy knowledge. He should not touch gold or women. At this stage one can be a spritual guide or *Guru*.

Area of conversions

During the life of Mahima Gosain propagation of Mahima Dharma was confined to certain places of Orissa. After his death it spreads to other parts of Orissa as well as outside the State. Some centres have been established in Assam, Bengal, Bihar, Andhara Pradesh, Nepal, Burma. No documents are available regarding number of Sanyasis and their followers and Sub-centres. A large number of Sanyasis are moving in different places. Occasionally they return back to Joranda at the time of their annual festival. A few of them regularly come to Joranda for the management of the institution.

Though the main centre is situated at Joranda the people of nearby villages have not embraced the sect. We have not carried out our

research work in those area because of absence of converts belonging to Scheduled Tribe and Scheduled Caste. We were also informed by the Sanyasis that "Nearest to Church farthest to God" may be applicable to them.

Satya Mahima Dharma reveals that Mahima Gasain preferred to popularise his faith in rural areas. They succeeded in attracting the illiterate people of the rural areas. The educated mass in rural and urban areas have not accepted, this sect because the restrictions on day-to-day life are not considered congenial to their life.

Receiving patronization of the then native rulers the Mahima faith was expanded in Gadjat areas. Till now the converts are found in great number in those areas.

Thus we find this sect has gained popularity among illiterate unsophisticated villagers. In urban and semi-urban areas there are hardly any convert. The uniform and other restrictions have stood on the way of sophisticated men to adopt this sect.

People

The followers of Satya Mahima Dharma belong to various castes and tribal sections. When the religion was propagated a large number of Scheduled Caste people were attracted by this sect. The higher caste people like Brahmins were not enthusiastic at first for

various reasons. They occupy the topmost position in the caste hierarchy. Mahimaism does not believe in caste system. Idol worship by the Brahmins is denounced by the Mahima Dharma. About this it is noted in the Bengal District Gazetteer that except Brahmins all other caste people in large number had embraced this sect. But Babu Bijaya Chandra Muzumdar in the same reference states that even Brahmins leaving their holy thread were eagerly accepting this sect. This contradiction may be due to collection of informations from different places. But in certain places it was vehemently opposed by Brahmins. Regarding tribal conversion, we are informed by the Sanyasis that primitive tribes have not accepted this sect, due to difficulties of observing the rules. The Sanyasis have also not taken keen interest to propagate among the primitive tribes with the apprehension that it may not be accepted by them. A few hinduized tribals like Gond, Desia Kondhas, Bathudis have accepted the cult.

The caste-wise and tribe-wise break-up of the converts who were contacted during our present study can be seen from the Table I. Out of 102 converts 28 belong to Scheduled Castes among whom the number of Panos and Gandas is the highest. The number of clean caste converts including Brahmins is 24 and that of Scheduled Tribes consisting of Sa-aras and Desia

Kandhas is 27. We have concentrated our study in tribal area where the tribal conversion is expected to be maximum. But we find that number of converted Scheduled Castes form the majority.

Socio-religious life of Sa-aras, Desia Kandhas and Panos is given here showing their traditional culture which can throw light on the reasons of their conversion.

Kandhas one of the important tribes of Orissa is divided into three sections, Kutia, Desia and Dongaria Kandhas. They have the highest numerical strength in Orissa. Kutia and Dongaria Kandhas form sections of primitive tribes who live in the forest and hills far away from human civilization. But Desia Kandhas live in plain area amidst non-tribals. They are generally found in large number in Bolangir, Sambalpur, Kalahandi and Puri districts. They speak Oriya and have borrowed many cultural traits from hindu neighbours.

The Sa-aras, an assimilated tribe in Orissa have concentrated in the districts of Cuttack, Puri and Dhenkhal. They also speak Oriya and live among non-tribals.

These tribal sections have become more or less hinduized accepting Hindu religious faiths. Desia Kandhas have their own titulary deities along with whom many hindu deities have been

accepted by them. They observe Durgapuja, Makar Jatra, Puajuntia etc. Likewise Sa-aras worship their village deity and visit hindu shrines.

Panos are found throughout Orissa. They were considered as untouchables, occupying a lower position in the caste hierarchy. Though they belong to hindu community yet they have no access to hindu shrines and temples. They have their own titulary deities who reside at the outskirts of the village under a lonely tree or in a mud built hut. The priests are generally had from their own caste. Before independence their social and economic status did not enable them to mix with higher castes and worship at hindu shrines. When Mahima Dharma was propagated Pano accepted it readily in order to raise their status and to worship Brahma, the supreme deity of Hindus. Likewise the Kandhas and Sa-aras are affected by hindu idea castesystem. They do not accept water or cooked food from lower caste hindus, but they are considered inferior by upper caste hindu and are not allowed to worship hindu deities. Mahima Dharma was therefore fairly attractive to them.

Desia Kandhas possess strong belief on Dharma and Dharitrior Dharani (Sun and mother earth). Worship of Brahma before sun rise and sunset facing towards sun and

taking dust from earth are interpreted by some converted Kandhas as obeying their own deities Dharam and Dharani. Besides, Bhima Bhoi is responsible for conversion of Kandhas to Mahima sect.

Sa-aras lived around main centre of Mahima Dharm. They are also influenced by Hindu religious thoughts and belief. Thus it is accepted by a few Sa-aras.

The followers of Mahima Dharm were not enumerated separately during the Census, 1961. However during our study a census of 23 villages was conducted to find out the number of converts to Mahima Dharm. It can be seen from Table No. II. The percentage of converts to their total population belonging to their respective categories of Scheduled Tribe, Scheduled Caste and others is 1.8, 2.3, 0.7 respectively, the percentage of total converts studied is 1.1 of the total population.

Reason of Conversion

The Table No. III present the opinion of 40 converts regarding the reason of conversion. It is observed that about 35 per cent have accepted this religion in order to be cured from diseases. About 32.5 per cent have been persuaded by the Sanyasis and 10 per cent by other converts to embrace this sect, 15 per cent with the hope to be blessed with a child, and 7.5 per

cent for some other reasons. Thus maximum member of conversion has taken place for curing diseases. Except a few Sanyasis who prescribe herbal medicine the converts depend on Brahma and performance of Homa and Balyalila.

Age at the time of conversion

The statement showing the age at the time of conversion is presented in the Table No. IV. Mahima Dharm does not maintain any age restrictions for conversion. The table shows that about 57.5 per cent were converted when they were 20 to 29 years old, 22.5 per cent between 30 to 39 years, 15 per cent after 40 years and 2.5 per cent between 10 to 19 years. Two persons were converted before attending 10 years. Thus majority of converts accepted Mahimaism between 20 to 29 years of their age. This period is not the proper time to lead a pious life by following difficult procedure. With a hope to avoid some mishaps in life they have accepted the sect.

Literacy

Education is not a consideration for acceptance of any religious sect. Yet standard of education of converts of a sect can show the type of person attracted by the sect. There is a common belief that conversion taken place more among the less educated or illiterate persons. This also happens in case of Mahima religion. The

Table No. V shows that about 42.5 per cent are illiterate, 51.25 per cent can read and write, 5 per cent have read up to L. P. and 1.25 per cent up to M. E. Thus majority belong to lower standard of education.

In Orissa the average percentage of literacy is 21.66, while that among Scheduled Caste is 11.6 and Scheduled Tribe 7.36. Thus the average literacy among the converts is higher than those in Orissa and particularly Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe.

Occupation

Table No. VI shows primary occupation of converts. As a means of subsistence 57.59 per cent depend on agriculture, 22.5 per cent on wage earning, 8.75 per cent on wood cutting, 3.75 per cent on rope making and 6.25 per cent are pretty businessmen and shop-keeper. Agriculture, wood cutting rope making and business are independent work. Thus 77.5 per cent are independent in their profession. The wage earners face difficulty to take night meal before sunset. Either they have to go on fasting for the whole night or they have to break the rule. This rule discourages day labourers who depend on wage earning as a primary means of subsistence to accept the sect.

Land holding

Land holding is one of the criterias to asses economic status of the people. Table No. VII shows

that about 60 per cent of the converts posses 1 to 5 acres of land, Next to this group is landless people which covers 25 per cent of the converts. About 7.5 per cent posses 5 to 10 acres of landed property, 5 per cent from 10 to 5 acres, 1.25 per cent from 15 to 20 acres and 1.25 per cent have more than 20 acres. We find from this table that maximum number of landless people belong to Scheduled Castes. Percapita land of Scheduled Tribes is .7 acres that of Scheduled Caste is .4 acres and that of clean caste is 1.7 acres. These clean caste people who have accepted this sect are economically better off than others. The per-capita land of Scheduled Tribes is .7 only but this group includes Sa-aras whose primary occupation is wood cutting. They earn Rs 2 to Rs. 3 per day. Percapita land of Panos is minimum (.4). Among them about 46 per cent do not possess any land and about 42 per cent have accepted wage earning as a means of subsistence. Panos belong to lower economic status. If possession of land is taken as the criteria of economic status most of Panos have lower economic status yet they have accepted the new sect in large number, the only reason being to raise their social status in their own society.

Social Status

Most of the leaders of the converted group are influential persons in the village. They are either Sarpanch, Ward member or

members of the school committee. For this reason they are not out-casted in the society. But as they form a minor group in the society many social customs are observed by them in the traditional manner.

Present Position of conversion

The rate of conversion during different periods has been shown in Table No. VIII. We find from this table that out of 102 converts 42.5 per cent have been converted within the last 9 years, 23.75 per cent between the last 9 to 19 years, 20 per cent between the last 20 to 29 years, 6.25 per cent between the last 30 to 39 years and 7.5 per cent between the last 40 to 49 years. Thus conversion has taken place mostly during last 10 years. It is difficult to state scientifically whether the Mahima religion is in stage of progress or decay from the period of conversion of the present interviewee. It requires more areas to be surveyed, to arrive at a definite conclusion.

The statement showing the generationwise conversion (Table No. X) reveals that 85 per cent of the converted families, have accepted Mahima Dharma during the present generation, 12.5 per cent families since two generations and 2.5 per cent families since three generations. These figures indicate limited durations of acceptance of the faith.

Acceptance of Mahima sect depends on individual choice. Wife and children of followers

may not adopt it automatically as is found among other religious sects. This is also one of the reasons of low scale conversion.

Effects on Religious Beliefs

The religious structure of Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes is based on polytheism. The Desia Kandhas, Sa-aras and Panos recognize a number of deities and spirits. They believe in idolatry. The chief village deity of Kandhas known as *Dharani Deota* is represented by a piece of stone installed, within the village. She is known as *Kandhuni Budhi*. By the side of the *Kandhuni Budhi* another stone represents *Kandh Budha*. They are considered as the ancestors of Kandha tribe. *Dharani Deotas* or *Kandhuni Budhi* also represent the mother earth. Besides there are several village, hill, and lineage deities whose names differ from place to place. Likewise Sa-aras and Panos worship their village titular deities known as *Gram deoti*. *Mangala*, *Thanapati*, etc. along with several other deities.

The duty of the village deity is to safeguard the villagers from outward danger and to accord general welfare to the community. The villagers depend upon them for the good harvest to drive out epidemics from the village. Annual festivals are held jointly by all villagers on a communal basis. Individual offerings are also made for fulfilment of vows at the time

annual worship. The sick approaches them for recovery, the barren woman for an issue. But all the villagers worship and offer at the time of annual ceremony. Animal sacrifices are resorted to appease them. Offering of wine is a must among tribals. After each ritual a communal feast is held. The Desia Kandhas of Kalahandi district have retained most of their traditional cultural traits which are not found among Sa-aras and Kandhas of Puri district. Village deities of Sa-ara, Pano and Kandha of Puri district are worshipped with *Arua* rice, milk on each *Amavasya* and *Samkranty*. Besides these, annual workshop is performed once or twice in a year when communal feast is held. But Desia Kandhas of Kalahandi district resort to animal sacrifices several times in a year. As kandhas depend on agriculture as a means of subsistence, their festivals are associated with different stages of agricultural operations. *Akhaya Trutia*, *Kadajatra* are held before broadcasting of seeds and transplanting of seedlings respectively. They also observe *Nuakhia* (Partaking of first fruits) three times in a year.

The converted people belonging to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes do not believe in traditional deities. The feasts and festivals associated with ritual are never attended by them. They worship Brahmo each day individually.

• There festival is held on each 'Sukla Chaturdosi' when converts

burn ghee for the whole night. Next day a *Balyalila* is held. There is no uniformity in observance. In Kalahandi district three Chaturdosis in a year are observed, while in Nayagarh, it is observed once in a year with pump and ceremony. In Kalahandi area sometimes converts of several villages assemble at one place to burn ghee. They can neither mix with the non-converts in performance of rituals nor with believers of same faith. Because converts belonging to several castes and tribal sections still maintain the caste principles. The communal spirit and solidarity found among tribals are absent among the converts. This group of converts is heterogeneous. Low scale conversion from each sections does not help to maintain group solidarity.

The converts do not offer animal sacrifice. They perform *Balyalila* in which sweets, Chura Mudhi, etc. are offered to Mahima Swami and distributed among children.

Every man has freedom to accept, to preach, and to propagate any faith he likes. But there should be no antagonistic attitude towards each other. It effects the society by creating a gulf between two sections. This type of attitude of the Mahima Dharma followers can be imagined from an incident happened in 1880 when a party of followers consisting of 15 members came from Sambalpur to Puri to burn the image of Lord Jagarnath, Balavadra and Suvadra

of the temple being commanded by their *Guru* an unseen power (Ref. Bengal District Gazetteer, 1906). As the temple door was closed, they would move around like lunatics. Due to conflicts between these followers and public who opposed them to enter into the inner temple one of the followers died there. This instance shows their jealousy, towards Hindu deity.

During field study we have not found any such incident. The converts now form a minor group in a village who do not venture to go against traditional deity.

Effects on social life

Satya Mahima Dharma aims at breaking down caste system by proclaiming equality of man kind before god. The object of this gospel is to bring about a harmony in society by preaching one religion and one god for all. This is one of the important objectives of Mahima Dharma. But still now it fails to mobilize the caste system. Even the followers still observe the caste rules. It is difficult on the part of follower to defy the caste rules as they live in a society where the percentage of converts is insignificant. Even the influential persons of the society can not go against the majority. Moreover they themselves possess Caste prejudices. Almost all informants opinioned in favour of maintaining caste principles. Converts belonging to higher castes do not take

water from the converts of lower castes. Even Sanyasis are not free from these prejudices. In Doroda village 14 clean caste people and one Pano have accepted this religion. The Pano is not allowed to observe *Chaturdosi* with clean castes. If a common feast is held among converts the higher caste people cook food and Scheduled Caste people sit separately in the feast. Therefore efforts of Mahima Dharma to demolish caste system had not borne fruit

Brahmo Bibahā (marriage according to Alekhism) has not yet been accepted by people. In *Brahmo Bibaha* an Alekh Sanyasi officiates. Bride and bride-groom exchange garlands each other and their palms are united by a Sanyasi. But in areas where we have surveyed not a single *Brahmo Bibaha* has taken place. The traditional marriage procedure is still followed. Among Kandhas a goat is demanded as bride price which is to be sacrificed for the marriage party. Besides several goats and fowls are sacrificed. Still animal sacrifices are in vogue among converts. They agree that a few converts cannot and relatives.

Performance of death rites by the converts is observed with a slight deviation from the traditional pattern. In case of death of a convert the dead body is buried instead of being cremated. On the 12th day after death, Sanyasis are invited to purify the house and a new pot containing food is offered

to Mahima Gosain for eternal peace of the soul. A Balyalila is held. But in case of death ceremony of a nonconvert in a family traditional procedure is followed and converts perform according to Mahima Dharma separately. He does not take honey and ghee for purification as it is customary among all. But they get consolation by taking "Panchagabya" which also contains ghee. If the convert is the head of the family and he has got no male members to perform rites sometimes he takes the help of any relative. For instance in village Kutukuni, sama Santra a Khndayet adopted his sister's son to perform the death ceremony of his father as he and his son have accepted the sect.

Among tribals and Panos, animal sacrifice is resorted to satisfy the dead, through any non-convert member of the family.

In birth ceremony traditional method is followed in addition to Balyalila and Home.

Social conflicts

Sometimes conflicts take place between converts and non-converts. In village Ramchandrapur of Nayarh Subdivision a conflict took place a few years ago. During Dandajatra festival a party of Danda Patua dancer took rest on the verandah of Mahima Shrine. A converted Brahmin of the village scolded them. The villagers got angry with him. When he performed Balyalila the villagers did

not allow their children to attend the same. This conflict continued for some years but was compromised afterwards.

Another incident has been recorded from Kalahandi district. About 40 years ago Balakrushna Naik of village Deogan in Regeda Panchayat accepted Mahima religion. When he was found to be involved in animal sacrifice, his village members informed the police officer. Villagers along with the police constable threatened him as a result of which he fled away to village Regeda.

Use of Medicine

Magico religious rites are a traditional method of treatment of diseases in the tribal society. They consult the "Gunia" (Shaman) who examines the patient and finds out the reason for illness and prescribes method of treatment. Illness is sometimes attributed to evil eye of spirits and malevolent deities. Gunia advises the patient to sacrifice animals. The tribals and Scheduled Caste people also take medicine from village Baidya. Nowadays western medicines have been introduced. But Mahima Dharma prohibits use of medicine for the following reasons :—

- (a) Gunia sometimes advises to sacrifice animal.
- (b) Village Baidya sometimes mixed juice of Tulasi plant in medicine. Tulasi plant is considered as hindu deity.

- (c) Village Baidya prepares medicine by invoking Gods.

They believe that only belief in Mahima Gasain can cure any diseases. By prohibiting the converts to consult Gunia, they have done good work but there is no reason to discourage indigenous and western medicine. As a result may followers break the rule.

Food habits

Mahima Dharma does not restrict partaking any food except flesh of domestic animals. Even the Sanyasis take dry fish, and meat of wild animals. In this respect, they follow "Abadhuta Pantha", i.e., one should eat whatever he gets. Abadhuta did not distinguish between wild animals and domestic animals. Moreover the Asritya do not follow the "Abadhuta Pantha". Thus there is no reason to dissuade the followers in this respect. It is purely based on superstitions. Domestic animals like goat, fowl etc. are generally offered to Hindu deity. Hence, these should neither be reared nor their flesh should be taken. But some of our informants rear them through non-converted members of the family.

Taking beef and buffalo meat were in vogue among the Tribals and Scheduled Castes in these areas. Due to effort of Mahima Sanyasis and influence of Hindu neighbours these habits have been given up.

Effect on Economic Life

Desia Kandhas and Sa-aras have adopted agriculture and woodcutting as their means of livelihood. Occasionally hunting provides them small games. The reservation of forest and scarcity of wild life makes hunts mostly infructuous. Hence decrease in practice of hunting may not be ascribed to influence of Mahima religion.

In countryside the converts though do not catch fish from rivers and ponds, they procure these from others. Prohibition or rearing goats, fowls affect the economic life of the converts by reducing their income but some circumvate this prohibition in various ways.

In marriage ceremony tribals spend money on animal sacrifice and drinks. Amount of expenditure depends upon the economic status of a person. It varies from one hundred to one thousand of rupees. Scheduled Caste people do not perform marriage ceremony with such pomp and ceremony. But still their expenditure varies from fifty to five hundred rupees. If Brahma Bibaha would have been successful in the area their marriage expenditure could have been reduced. But till now it has not been accepted. This also happens in case of death rites.

Tribals and Scheduled Caste people are addicted to drink. Out of 40 informants 26 belong to Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes.

Among them about 9 persons were not addicted before conversion. As many as 17 persons were addicted to liquor before conversion and their average monthly expenditure on liquor was Rs. 15. After conversion they have totally given up this habit.

Annual expenditure on Feasts and Festivals

It is difficult to collect annual expenditure on festivities of both converts and non-converts as converts sometimes belong to extended or minimal extended families and through the non-converted members observe the Hindu festivities. So we are compelled to take 10 families from each group who belong to nuclear family and do not observe Hindu rituals. For comparative purposes the same number of non-converts from the same village have been interviewed. The expenditure on 'Religion' by converts consists of expenses on feasts, rituals, entertainment of Sadhu Sanyasi, performances of Balyalila, Homa and contribution to Joranda, etc. Expenditure of non-converts includes expenses on rituals, feasts, contribution, etc. Expenses on animal sacrifice per family by non-converted Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes could not be gathered, as they collectively observe the ritual. Animals are also purchased collectively for sacrifice. Therefore their contributions for village deities have been included. Table No. XI shows average annual expenditure of Scheduled Caste non-converts is Rs. 61 and

that of converts Rs. 51. Expenditure of non-converts Scheduled Tribe is Rs. 92 and converts is Rs. 72 that of other castes is Rs. 127 and converts is Rs. 91. Thus expenditure on rituals of converts is less in comparison to non-converts. The Scheduled Tribe persons are economically benefitted than others as the expenditure on animal sacrifice which is a costly affair has been given up.

Advantages

The Satyamahima Dharma has attempted to bring out social reformations. These are more desirable than the religious aspect. Prohibition of animal sacrifice to appease deities for material benefit and that of practising magicoreligious methods for curing diseases are helpful to society. Specially one century back this type of attempt was note worthy. Death and marriage ceremonies, the important institutions of life incur high expenditure and requires elaborate paraphenelia. Mahima Dharma has devised a simple and less costly method. But unfortunately these have not been accepted by the society. It is unable to bring out any inovation in the social life due to low scale convesrion. Age old traditional social rules are still followed with some addition of the principles of the sect. The sect affects a little to the converts who form a minor group.

Another important aspect of Satya Mahima Dharma is to demolish caste system. As a section

of Hindu; the untouchables get equal opportunity to worship Hindu High God. Though untouchability is now abolished by law still they have not moral courage to enter into Hindu temples, or worship Hindu Gods. By adopting Mahima Dharma, they are capable of worshipping Brahma. By giving up habits of drinking and taking polluting food they elevate their social position. Worship of one god by all irrespective of class, caste and creed certainly fosters unity in the society which is divided into a number of groups based on castes and occupations.

Tribal cult is associated with drinking. Their deity can not be worshipped without liquor. Tribals do not enjoy feasts, festivals, dance drama and music without drinking liquor. Therefore, it is a must in tribal society. Drinking habit does not create problems among all tribal sections. In Langia Saora area, Sago palm trees supply liquor. But there are other tribal groups like Kandhas who purchase liquor from bhattis. We were informed that Kandhas in Kalahandi area have lost most of their landed property due to this habit. Therefore drinking should be prohibited in this area. Alekh Mahima Dharma can help in this respect.

Disadvantages

Tribals are fond of dance and music, which retain the rhythm of their life. Due to impact of urbanization and process of hinduization the assimilated tribes have

left their traditional dancing and music. *Ghummara* dance in Kalahandi area is in a decaying stage. Certain primitive tribes have preserved their dances and folk songs. In this respect any new faiths whether christianity or Mahima sect may not be encouraged to force them to give up their traditional cultural life.

Tribals rear goat, pig, fowls etc., which supply not only meat but also some income in cash. If primitive tribes accept the sect of Mahimaism in a large scale their income from this source will be reduced.

Primitive tribes still maintain their communal spirit. Each feast and festival is observed communally. Imposition of alien religion on them will break down their communal life.

Belief system of tribals is totally different from that of other sects. There is no reason to tempt them to accept Hindu, Mahima or christian religion. There are some problems in tribal areas due to their religious belief. For instance Lanjia Saoras believe that all types of diseases are caused by Gods and ancestors. Hence, they offer sacrifice for curing diseases, which drain their resources, and make them indebted. This problem can be solved by popularising medicine in the area and not by converting them to christianity or Mahima Dharma or Hindu religion.

Some obstacles on progress of the religion.

Acceptance of Satya Mahima Dharma is primarily based on personal choice of an individual who himself is converted to the sect without affecting other family members. There is no compulsion that children and grand children of the followers must accept this sect. Thus after the death of the convert belief in Mahimaism does not continue in the family.

Idol worship and belief in polytheism are too difficult to be wiped out from the Hindu society. Many religious sects like Jainism, Buddhism originated in Indian soil. But they could not stand before Hindu religion. The foundation of Hindu religion is based on idol worship and polytheism. Hence, it cannot be removed easily.

The Mahima sect cannot be expanded among intellectual and educated mass. Wearing of red ochredyed cloth restrictions in sexual life, prohibition on using medicine etc. cannot be practised by advanced people in the 20th century.

The Indian Constitution provides freedom of religion to all irrespective of class, caste and society. Untouchability is abolished. Spread of education, attempt for upliftment of economic condition, etc., can solve their problems. They are now allowed to enter into Hindu temples. But they themselves do

not possess moral courage to enter. When they acquire it they shall prefer to remain in Hindu religion. Mahima Dharma may not be able to attract them.

The tribals are ignorant, illiterate and unsophisticated. At this stage they can be moulded to accept any religion if they are provided with certain facilities. Christian missions working in tribal area give relief, employment and other economic help at the time of need. Tribals have not reached that stage of realising the value of their own culture. Thus large scale conversion to Christianity is taking place in tribal area. But Mahima religion does not provide such type of help. It gives stress on bringing out a drastic change in religious belief only. But idealism can not be accepted by illiterate people unless some material benefits are added to it. Christian missionaries are conscious of this fact. They take initiative for the well being of the community by doing social welfare work. They live with the people, learn their language and try to solve their problems with true sympathy and understanding.

For instance the Canadian Baptists have established a hospital at Serange in Lanjia Saora belt where medical facilities are badly required to make them conscious that animal sacrifice to satisfy Gods cannot cure diseases. Mahimaism prohibits animal sacrifices but it does not devise any scientific plan. Some Christian

missions are well organized bodies with ample resources. They have provided schools, hospitals in the tribal area. Therefore it is difficult on the part of Mahima religion a small organization without any financial resources to stand in competition before Christian missions in tribal area.

Behaviours of tribals can not be changed all on a sudden. In this respect approach of Christian missionaries is appreciable. They introduce change gradually. For instance Saoras do not take bath for days together and the Missionaries advice them to take bath at first once a week or before going to attend the Sunday Church.

The approach of Mahima religion is not systematic and attractive. They do not take keen interest to spread this sect in large scale. The Sanyasis occasionally visit the areas but do not stay for longer period at any place. In this connection approach of missionaries is praise worthy. The missionaries take one compact block and try to develop the area. The people of the area must be loyal to those who provide them various facilities. Missionaries always give emphasis on converting the younger generation. Discipline, good behaviour and belief in Jesus Christ are taught in schools established by them. When they grow up they practise all these habits easily. The followers of Mahimatism do not get this opportunity due to lack of funds and initiatives.

For all these reasons as cited above it is difficult in the part of Mahima religion to be accepted by the tribals in large.

Conclusions

The tribals may not live as they are. They should be brought to our level in respect of education, economic standard, etc. The culture change is inevitable for them. But we should not impose our ideas on them. In this connection Late Jawaharlal Nehru, ex Prime Minister of India, said "That these tribal populations have not to be kept as museum pieces as is admitted by all responsible persons today. But the questions is of making the culture change arising out of the contact benefide to the tribals. For this it is essential to preserve their art, religion and tribal virtues". Thus before introduction of any new faith ideas and beliefs, the social workers and religious propagators should consider the cultural life of the tribals. That would be the guide line for their success.

Though aim of every religious faith is to bring about a moral and spiritual upliftment, they should take initiative for the well being of the followers. The organization should be conscious that poverty stricken ignorent mass have no time for higher ideals. Lofty idealism cannot be accepted by those who are harbouring under poverty and economic distress. Instead of burning ghee for the

well being of the humanity the Mahimaism should start social welfare work along with the moral upliftment. Then only the sect could be accepted by the people. By taking care of the diseased, educating children in the village and helping them in economic distress the sect can win confidence of the people.

At the present moment the Mahima Dharma is more at a personal level of acceptance. After the death of the disciples their children and family members do not conti-

nue to practise the Dharma. In order to revitalize and strengthen its hold as well as to make it acceptable in a mass scale, the present organization should be brought to a practical level.

Then only it may continue to have some following. The Sanyasis of this sect should, therefore, reorient their way of life and follow the principles only in consonance with the sweeping changes which development programme have brought to the life of the people.

ANNEXURE I

A glossary of some local terms

Adabandha	..	Waist-band made of bark of a tree used by Alekh Sanyasis.
Amabasya	..	New moon day
Anarya	..	Aboriginal
Apara sanyasi	..	Imperfect stage of Sanyasihood
Arua rice	..	Sunned rice, unboiled husked paddy
Baidya	..	Village physician
Baisnaba	..	The followers of Baisnabism, a sect of hinduism.
Balyalila	..	Distribution of offerings among children
Bhajana	..	Reciting the name of God
Brahmo	..	Shapeless supreme deity of Hindus
Chura	..	Flatted rice
Danda Jatra	..	Festival observed on the day of Panasankranty in the month of April.
Donda pat	..	These who dance during Danda Jatra Festival.
Dharma	..	Religion
Dhuni	..	Sacred fire
Dhuni Mandira	..	Mahima shrine where sacred fire is kept.
Gadi Mandira	..	The burial temple of the founder of the Mahima Dharma
Gharake Muthie vikhya Gramake Ratie.		The accept one handful of rice from one house hold and to stay one night in a village— Motto of Mahima Sanyasis.
Gruhis	..	Followers who live in house and do not renounce the worldly life
Gunia	..	An expert in magico religious practises, He cures diseases by applying magicoreligious method.
Guru	..	Spiritual guide
Homa	..	Sacred fire fed with ghee
Kanapatia	..	Who wear red ochre dyed clothing—A section of Mahima Dharma followers.
Kasaya Kaupuni	..	Red ochre dyed napkin—An uniform of Baisnabas

Kirtana	.. Singing the name of God
Kumbhi	.. A kind of tree (Carae Arborea)
Kumbi patia	.. A section of Alekh sanyasi who wear bark of Kumbhi tree.
Mohala	.. One kind of tree
Mudhi	.. Fried rice
Panchagabya	.. A mixture of ghee, milk, cord, cowdung, and cow urine.
Para sanyasi	.. Perfect stage of Mahima Sanyasihood
Sankranty	.. The first day of a solar month
Sanyasi	.. Mendicant
Sidha	.. Perfect stage of Sanyasihood
Smaran	.. Remembering the name of God
Srimad Bhagabat Gita	.. One of the Hindu religious scripture
Sukla Chaturdosi	.. The fourteenth day of the bright half of a month.
Tulasi	.. The holy basil plant (ocymun-sanctum)
Upanishada	.. One of the ancient Hindu religious epic
Veda	.. One of the ancient Hindu religious epic

TABLE No. 1
(Caste and Tribe wise conversion)

Area	Name of the village	Total No. of converts	Converts belngings to—								
			Saora	Kondh	Pana & Ganda	Teil	Dhobi	Gauda	Khandayat	Brahman	Khumbhar
Nayagarh Sub division	Luharkhani	.. 6	..	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	Ragabad	.. 1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	Goudapatna	.. 6	..	..	..	6	..	..	..	..	..
	Nuapada	.. 4	..	..	..	3	1	..	..	..	..
	Sapua	.. 1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	Raimba	.. 1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	Ramchandrapur	.. 6	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	5	..
	Solopokhari	.. 5	..	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	R. Dholmara	.. 6	..	..	..	6	..	..	..	..	..
	Barapalli	.. 2	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..
	Kutukuni	.. 1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..
	Total	.. 39	..	14	6	9	1	..	4	5	..
Athagarh Sub division	Dorda	.. 15	..	..	1	14	..	..	..	..	..
	Tarsing	.. 11	8	..	..	..	..	..	3	..	..
	Sudhansumohanpur	.. 2	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	Kulailo	.. 6	..	..	..	..	2	..	4	..	..
	Total	.. 34	10	..	1	14	2	..	7	..	..
Rairakhol Sub division	Kelobarani	.. 1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
	Batagan	.. 13	..	..	12	..	..	..	1	..	..
	Hitasara	.. 1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
	Total	.. 15	..	..	14	..	..	..	1	..	..
Bhawani patana Sub division	Joradobra	.. 1	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..
	Regeda	.. 4	..	..	4	..	..	..	..	..	..
	Siletpada	.. 2	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
	Kusrula	.. 5	..	1	1	..	..	2	..	..	1
	Saplahara	.. 2	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
	Total	.. 14	..	3	7	1	..	2	..	..	1
Grand Total		.. 102	10	17	28	24	3	2	12	5	1

TABLE No. II
Village-wise conversion

Area	Name of the Village	Population				No. of Converts			
		S. C.	S. T.	Others	Total	S. C.	S. T.	Others	Total
Nayagarh Subdivision	Lohar khani ..	..	63	..	63	..	6	..	6
	Rogabad ..	..	42	..	42	..	1	..	1
	Gaudapatna ..	8	..	221	229	..	..	6	6
	Nuapada ..	22	..	342	364	1	..	3	4
	Sapua ..	..	39	..	39	..	1	..	1
	Raimaba ..	..	18	..	18	..	1	..	1
	Ramchandrapur ..	27	..	182	209	..	..	6	6
	Solopokhari ..	..	40	11	51	..	5	..	5
	Raita Dholmara ..	186	..	751	937	6	..	..	6
	Barapali ..	22	..	244	266	..	..	2	2
	Kutukuni ..	9	15	111	135	..	..	1	1
Total ..	274	217	1,862	2,353	7	14	18	39	
Athagarh Subdivision	Dorada ..	38	168	326	532	1	..	14	15
	Tarsing ..	..	94	135	229	..	8	3	11
	Sudhansumohanpur ..	..	131	..	131	..	2	..	2
	Kulailo ..	136	106	490	732	2	..	4	6
Total ..	174	499	951	1,624	3	10	21	34	
Rairakhol Subdivision	Kelobarani ..	68	17	78	163	1	..	..	1
	Batagan ..	127	4	413	544	12	..	1	13
	Hitasara ..	126	48	368	542	1	..	..	1
Total ..	321	69	859	1,249	14	..	1	15	
Bhawanipatna Subdivision	Joradobra ..	128	78	425	631	..	..	1	1
	Regeda ..	23	159	684	866	4	..	..	4
	Siletpada ..	108	82	30	220	1	1	..	2
	Kusrula ..	146	281	743	1,170	1	1	3	5
	Saplahara ..	177	117	855	1,149	1	1	..	2
Total ..	582	717	2,737	4,036	7	3	4	14	
Grant Total ..	1,351	1,502	6,409	9,262	31	27	44	102	
Percentage ..	..	..	..	..	2.3%	18%	7%	1.1%	

TABLE III
Reason of conversion

Serial No.	Area	Name of the village	No. of Interview	Reason of Conversion				
				Suffering from dis-cases	Barrenness and Child death	Influence of anyasi and other followers	Influence of family members	O t h e r reasons
		Loharkhani	.. 2	..	..	1	1	..
		Rogabad	.. 1	..	..	1	..	..
		Gaudapatana	.. 1	..	..	..	1	..
		Nuapada	.. 1	1	..	..	..	..
		Sapua	.. 1	..	..	1	..	..
		Ramchandapur	.. 1	..	..	1	..	..
		Raimba	.. 1	..	..	1	..	..
		Solopokhari	.. 1	1	..	..	..	..
		R-Dholomara	.. 2	..	2	..	..	..
		Barapali	.. 1	..	..	..	1	..
		Kutkuni	.. 1	..	..	1	..	..
		Dorada	.. 1	1	..	..	..	..
		Tarsing	.. 2	..	1	1	..	..
		Sudhansumohanpur	2	1	1	..	..	..
		Kulailo	.. 1	1	..	..	..	..
		Kelabarani	.. 1	..	..	..	..	1
		Batagan	.. 6	1	1	1	1	2
		Hitasara	.. 1	1	..	..	..	..
		Joradobra	.. 1	1	..	..	..	..
		Regeda	.. 4	1	1	2	..	..
		Siletpada	.. 2	..	..	2	..	..
		Kusrula	.. 4	4	..	..	..	..
		Saplahara	.. 2	1	..	1	..	..
		Total	.. 40	14	6	13	4	3
		Percentage	..	35%	15%	32.5%	10%	7.5%

TABLE IV
Age of the time of conversion

Serial Area No.	Name of the village	Total No. of interviewee	Age at the time of conversion				
			0—9	10—19	20—29	30—39	40 and above
	Loharkhani	.. 2	..	..	2	..	..
	Rogabad	.. 1	..	..	1	..	..
	Gaudapatna	.. 1	..	..	1	..	..
	Nuapada	.. 1	..	..	1	..	..
	Sapua	.. 1	..	..	..	1	..
	Ramchandrapur	1	..	..	1	..	..
	Raimba	.. 1	..	..	..	1	..
	Solopokhari	.. 1	..	..	..	1	..
	Raita Dholomara	2	..	1	1	..	..
	Barapali	.. 1	..	..	..	..	1
	Kutukuni	.. 1	..	..	..	..	1
	Dorada	.. 1	..	..	..	..	1
	Tasing	.. 2	..	..	2	..	..
	Sudhansumohanpur	2	..	..	1	..	1
	Kulailo	.. 1	..	..	..	1	..
	Kelobarani	.. 1	..	..	1	..	..
	Batagan	.. 6	..	..	5	..	1
	Hitasara	.. 1	..	..	1	..	..
	Joradobra	.. 1	..	..	..	1	..
	Regeda	.. 4	..	..	3	1	..
	Siletpada	.. 2	1	..	..	..	1
	Kusrula	.. 4	..	..	3	1	..
	Saplahara	.. 2	..	..	..	2	..
	Total	.. 40	1	1	23	9	6
	Percentage	..	2.5	2.5	57.5	22.5	15

TABLE No. V

Literacy

Serial No.	Area	Name of the village	Total No. of converts	Illiterate	Literate		
					Can read and write	L. P.	M. E.
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
		Loharkhani	.. 4	2	2	..	..
		Rogabad	.. 1	1	..	..	..
		Gaudapatna	.. 1	..	..	1	..
		Nuapada	.. 1	..	..	1	..
		Sapua	.. 1	1	..	..	..
		Raimba	.. 1	1	..	..	..
		Ramchandrapur	.. 6	6	..	..	..
		Solopokhari	.. 5	4	1	..	..
		Raita Dholomara	.. 6	4	2	..	..
		Barapali	.. 2	..	2	..	..
		Kutkuni	.. 1	..	1	..	..
		Total	.. 29	19	8	2	..
		Dorada	.. 15	2	13	..	..
		Tarsing	.. 9	5	4	..	..
		Sudhansumohanpur	.. 2	1	1	..	..
		Kulailo	.. 1	1	..	..	..
		Total	.. 27	9	18	..	..
		Betagan	.. 8	1	6	1	..
		Hitasara	.. 1	1	..	..	..
		Kelabarani	.. 1	..	1	..	..
		Total	.. 10	2	7	1	..
		Juradobra	.. 1	..	1	..	..
		Regeda	.. 4	1	3	..	..
		Siletpada	.. 2	..	..	1	1
		Kusurula	.. 5	1	4	..	..
		Saplahara	.. 2	2	..	..	..
		Total	.. 14	4	8	1	1
		Grand total	.. 80	34	41	4	1
		Percentage	.. ..	42.5	51.25	5	1.25

TABLE No. VI

Main occupation of the converts

(1)	Total No. of converts interviewed.	Agriculture	Wage earning	Wood cutting	Rope making	Business	Begging
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Scheduled Tribe..	24	12	5	6	..	..	1
Scheduled Caste..	26	11	11	1	3	..	..
Other Caste ..	30	23	2	..	..	5	..
Total ..	80	46	18	7	3	5	1
Percentage ..	..	57.5	22.5	8.75	3.75	6.25	1.25

TABLE No. VII

Land holding per family of converts

(1)	Total No. of family inter-viewed.	Landless	0 to 5 acres	5 to 10 acres	10 to 15 acres	15 to 20 acres	Above 20 acres
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Scheduled Tribe..	24	6	16	1	..	..	1
Scheduled Caste ..	26	12	12	1	1	..	..
Other Caste ..	30	2	20	4	3	1	..
Total ..	80	20	48	6	4	1	1
Percentage ..	..	25%	60%	7.5%	5%	1.25%	1.25%

TABLE No. VII (B)
Per capita land of converts

	Total No. of families	Total population	Total amount of land in acreage	Percapita land
Scheduled Tribe	24	128	87	0.7
Scheduled Caste	26	138	51	0.4
Others Castes	30	87	144	1.7
Total	80	353	282	0.8

TABLE No. VIII
Period of Conversion

Name of the area	No. of interviewee	Conversion within 9 years	Conversion within 10 to 19 years	Conversion within 20 to 29 years	Conversion within 30 to 39 years	Conversion before 40 years
Nayagarh	29	15	4	6	2	2
Athagarh	27	14	4	2	3	4
Rairakhoh	10	..	8	2	..	..
Bhawani-patna.	14	5	3	6	..	..
Total	80	34	19	16	5	6
Percentage		42.5	23.75	20.0	6.25	7.5

TABLE No. IX
Age-group

	Converts belonging to age-group of						
	10—19	20—29	30—39	40—49	50—59	60—69	70 and above
Scheduled Tribe	..	9	9	3	2	1	..
Scheduled Caste	1	1	12	7	3	2	..
Other Caste	.	2	8	6	5	6	3
Total	1	12	29	16	10	9	3
Percentage	1.25	15	36.25	20	12.5	11.25	3.75

TABLE No. X

Generation of conversion

Serial No.	Area	Name of the village.	No. of inter-viewee.	Accepted by present generation.	Continued to two generations.	Continued to three generations.
		Lohar Khani	2	2	..	..
		Regabad	1	1	..	..
		Gaudapatana	1	1	..	..
		Nuapada	1	1	..	..
		Sapua	1	1	..	..
		Raimba	1	1	..	..
		Ramchandrapur	1	1	..	..
		Sqlopokhari	1	1	..	..
		R. Dholomara	2	2	..	..
		Barapali	1	1	..	..
		Kutukuni	1	..	..	1
		Dorada	1	1	..	..
		Tarsing	2	2	..	..
		Sudhansumohanpur.	2	2	..	..
		Kulailo	1	1	..	..
		Kelobarani	1	1	..	..
		Batagan	6	5	1	..
		Hitasara	1	1	..	..
		Joradobra	1	1	..	..
		Regeda	4	3	1	..
		Siletpada	2	..	2	..
		Kusrula	4	3	1	..
		Saplahara	2	2	..	..
		Total	40	34	5	1
		Percentage	..	85	12.5	2.5

TABLE No. XI

Annual Expenditure on Festivities

(A Comparative statement of converts & Non-converts)

	Non converts			converts			
	Total No. of inter-viewee.	Total annual expenditure.	Average annual expenditure per family.	Total No. of inter-viewee.	Total annual expenditure.	Average annual expenditure per family.	Reduction of expenditure per family of converts
		Rs.	Rs.		Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Scheduled Tribes	10	919	92	10	223	22	80
Scheduled Castes	10	613	61	10	552	51	10
Other Castes	10	1271	127	10	907	96	31

KRISHNA CHANDRA TRIPATHY

**A GENETIC SURVEY
AMONG THE BHOIS
(BAURIS) OF
BHUBANESWAR,
ORISSA.**

Introduction

The author had the opportunity to carry out field investigation for the purpose of conducting a genetic survey among the Bauris, a Scheduled Caste population of Bhubaneswar in the district of Puri, Orissa. These investigations were carried out during the months of March-April, 1967.

The Bauris are an endogamous Scheduled Caste population sporadically distributed in the different parts of the State. But the population around Bhubaneswar present a genetic problem. As regards their physical features nothing has been studied, but from their somatic variabilities, it is observed that they exhibit some affinities with their neighbouring detribalized population Sa-ara. The Sa-ara are a tribal community residing in the costal districts of Orissa. They are supposed to form a part of the great Sabar tribe to which the Sa-ora (Savara) belong. The Sa-ora are a primitive tribe and possess many primitive tribal traits, but on the other hand the Sa-ara speak oriya and are not distinguished from their Hindu neighbours. They have functional relationship with the Hindu society which characterise a caste. The Bauri and Sa-ara present, therefore, a great problem

as regard their racial affinities. However, the present paper aims to study some genetic traits of the Bauris of Bhubaneswar (Old town).

Material and Method

The samples for the present survey have been collected from the small villages nearer to Bhubaneswar and also from a major population of Bauris from Huda Sahi, Matha Sahi, etc., in the old town. The samples have been collected mainly based on random sampling. Related persons were excluded as far as possible. All the subjects were tested for blood groups, phenylthio-carbamide sensitivity and mid-phalangeal hair studies. Subjects selected for investigation of the taste sensitivity to phenylthio-carbamide and mid-phalangeal hair studies were above sixteen years.

I. ABO System

Blood samples were taken from finger pricks and were collected in numbered slides. The finger tips of the subjects were washed with rectified spirit and cotton and the blood drops were directly collected on cleaned slides. High titre anti-A and anti-B sera of sufficient avidity were used, obtained from

Bharat Laboratories, Bombay 7, blood groups were included as controls in every series of tests. blood groups of male subjects were typed. Known O, A, B and AB

TABLE 1

Distribution of ABO system and their gene frequencies of Bhois of Bhubaneswar.

Group	No.	Phenotypes				Gene Frequencies		
		O	A	B	AB	p	q	r
Bhois	58	10	18	24	6			
Percent		17.24	31.03	41.37	10.35	.279	.350	.415

TABLE 2

Distribution of ABO Blood groups (among the various populationa in Orissa)

Group	Author	No	O	A	B	AB
Aboriginal Tribes	Sarkar (1956)	103	38	22	32	11
		Per cent	36.89	21.36	31.07	10.68
Bhois (Bauris)	Present Study	58	10	18	24	6
		Per cent	17.24	31.03	41.37	10.35
Oriya Khandayat	Macfarlance (1938)	60	27	11	15	7
		Per cent	40.00	18.33	25.00	11.67
Brahmin	Tripathy & Mishra (1967)	28	9	7	11	1
		Per cent	32.17	25.00	39.28	3.57
Karan		45	15	10	17	3
		Per cent	33.33	22.22	37.77	6.66
Khandayat		38	7	10	17	4
		Per cent	18.42	26.32	44.73	10.53
Other Castes		54	11	15	23	5
		Per cent	20.36	27.77	51.86	9.26

In the Table 1, the result of investigation on distribution of ABO system among the Bhois (Bauris) has been presented. The gene frequency presented have been calculated by Bernstein's improved formulae and Mourant, 1954. Further it is noticed from the Table 2, that the distribution of blood groups of the Bhois of Bhubaneswar do not significantly differ from the aboriginal populations and also from the caste populations of Orissa in general. But the distribution particularly indicates a specific pattern. Comparative studies with the similar type of Scheduled Caste populations could not be made at present as blood group studies of such populations have not yet been conducted elaborately and the available data are inadequate.

II. Mid digital Hair

The distribution of hair on the dorsal surface of the mid-digits

have attained genetic significance. Danforth (1921) determined this specific distribution of the hair in the study of inheritance of hereditary traits in man. Danforth's hypothesis has been strongly established by subsequent investigations in different populations.

III Material and Method

Bhoi (Bauri) data include the mid-digital analysis of 58 adults. Observation was made with the help of an illuminated magnifier (torch type). A piece of cotton soaked in carbon disulphide was used to clean the mid segments of the digits (hands) before examination. A few strands of hair present on the dorsal surface of the phalanx were counted and carefully recorded.

TABLE 3

Mid-phalangeal hair (M.P.H.) among the Bhois, Bhubaneswar

Group	No.	No. with M. P. H. on both hands	Per cent	No. without M. P. H.	Per cent
Bhois	.. 58	21	36.21	37	63.78

Analysing the frequency of distribution of mid-digital hair among the Bhois, no significant frequency distribution was noticed. Out of 58 adult Bhois only 21 (36.21 per cent) possess the mid-digital hair in one or more than one finger. But the total absence of mid-digital

hair in case of Bhois is 37 (63.78 per cent). The increases in absence of mid-digital hair may be due to destruction by the hard manual labour as the Scheduled Caste group is a wood-cutter and agricultural labourer.

TABLE 4

Distribution of Mid-digital hair on Right and Left hand separately among the Bhois of Bhubaneswar.

Digits	Group	No	Absent		Present		Plenty*		Total Percent	
			Freq	Percent	Scanty Freq.	Per cent	Freq.	Per cent		
II	Bhoi (Bauries)	58	Rt.	57	98.27	1	1.72	..	..	1.72
			Lt.	56	96.55	2	3.45	..	..	3.45
III	Do.	58	Rt.	36	62.07	12	20.69	10	17.24	37.93
			Lt.	39	67.24	11	18.96	8	13.79	32.75
IV	Do.	58	Rt.	31	63.58	15	25.72	12	20.69	36.41
			Lt.	29	50.00	17	29.31	12	20.69	50.00
V	Do.	58	Rt.	47	81.03	6	10.34	5	8.62	18.96
			Lt.	51	87.93	3	5.17	4	6.89	12.06

* Scanty—Upto 5 hairs ; Plenty - 6 or more hairs

Analysing the data digit-wise as shown in Table 4, it is observed that increase of right hand hair in case of Bhois (Bauris) was present in the middle segment of the finger II in 1 case (1.72 per cent) only ; on that of finger III in 22 cases (37.93 per cent); on finger IV in 27 cases (36.41 per cent) and on finger V in 11 cases (18.96 per cent). Similarly, in the case of left hand on II, III, IV and V fingers they are 2(3.45 per cent), 19(32.75 per cent), 29 (50.00 per cent) and 7(12.06 per cent), respectively. It is interesting to note that the finger

IV of the left hand exhibits the equi-distribution of digital hair strands.

Further it is observed that the digit IV has the maximum frequency of mid-digital hair and the digit II the least in case of Bhois of Bhubaneswar. The digit III comes second in order and the digit IV shows a sharp reduction in the frequency distribution of mid-digital hair. However, except the digit IV as mentioned above no significant bimanual difference is observed.

TABLE 5

Distribution of mid-phalangeal hair and combination of digits in various populations

Group	No. Tested	Author	Per cent on digit combination						Total Per cent	
			O	IV	III-IV	IV-V	III-IV-V	II-III-IV-V		Other combinations
Whites	180	Danforth (1921)	38.9	15.6	18.3	2.8	20.6	3.3	0.5	100.00
Whites	146	Garn (1951)	37.7	12.3	21.3	0.0	25.3	2.7	1.4	100.00
Japanese	25	Danforth (1921)	68.0	8.0	16.0	0.0	8.0	0.0	0.0	100.00
Indian (Male & Female coumbined)	250	Chopra (1953)	75.2	6.4	7.2	0.0	5.6	1.6	0.8	96.8
Sa-are (Orissa)	110	Tripathy (1966)	Rt 63.63 Lt 66.36	13.63	14.54	0.9	4.54	0.0	1.90	99.14
Khond (Orissa)	55	Tripathy (1966)	Rt 29.4 Lt 31.4	27.3	19.8	7.9	9.7	1.9	3.9	99.9
Bhoi (Bhubaneswar)	58	(Present study)	Rt 36.9 Lt 33.4	25.7	16.9	5.8	10.2	1.9	0.0	..
				28.2	18.4	8.2	10.1	1.6	0.0	..

Damforth (1921) determined the racial differences in the occurrence of hair in the mid-digital region. From a study of various populations he concluded that American Indians, Negroes and Japanese have gone further towards freeing the mid-digital hair than the whites.

The present study among the Bhois as represented in the Table 5 shows that mid-digital hair is equally distributed on the right and left hands of the subjects. Some individuals show right-left differences in the digit combination. On the basis of mid-digital

hair Bhois show closer affinities with the Sa-ara and Khonds.

IV. Phenyl-thio-carbamide Taste sensitivity

The subjects selected for the phenyl-thio-carbamide teste were all over sixteen years. For the determination of the PTC taste sensitivity the method of Harris and Kalmus (1949) as described by Das (1956) was used. The distribution of Phenyl-thio-carbamide taste threshold among 58 subjects of the Bhoi population have been tasted and presented in the following table.

TABLE 6

Distribution of Taste blindness among the Bhois, Bhubaneswar

Group	No. observed	Absolute No.		Percentage	
		Taster	Non Taster	Taster	Non-Taster
Bhois	58	35	23	60.34	39.64

Analysing the table 6, it is found that Bhois exhibit more taster percentage and less non-taster percentage such as 60.34 % and 39.64% respectively.

TABLE 7

Phenyl-thio-carbamide taste Phenotype and gene distribution among the Bhois, Bhubaneswar.

Group	Taster	Non-taster	Genotypes	
			T	t
Bhois	35	23	6296	3704
(n=58)	percentage 60.34	39.34		

Analysing the Table 7, it is observed that Taster gene T (.6296) is more than the non-taster gene t (.3704). As the sample is very

low the estimation to study the effect of the various habits on the ability to taste phenylthio-carbamide has been dropped.

TABLE 8
Phenyl-thio-carbamide Taste Distribution in some populations

Population	Author	Number	Non-taster percent	t gene percent
English ..	Harries & Kaimus (1936).	441	31.50	56.12
Negroes (Africa)	Lee (1934) ..	915	6.10	24.59
Chinese (Malay)	Lugg & White (1955)	50	2.00	14.14
Punjabi (Punjab)	Sharma (1959) ..	322	31.98	56.55
Brahmin (Orissa)	Tripathy (1967) ..	56	33.9	50.82
Karan (Orissa)	Tripathy (1967) ..	41	36.6	60.05
Khandayat (Orissa)	Tripathy (1967)	49	18.4	40.30
Other Castes (Orissa).	Tripathy (1967) ..	49	28.6	50.35
Oriyas (Orissa)	Tripathy (1967) ..	195	29.2	50.41
Bhois (Bauries)	Present study ..	58	39.54	37.04

Analysing the above table it is observed that the Bhois (Bauris) of Bhubaneswar show the frequency of taste blindness which lie within the range of variations of the white populations of Asia and Europe. The percentage of T gene distribution is comparable with the samples of Orissa concerning their PTC taste sensitivity.

Summary

Genetic data for the Bhois (Bauris), a Scheduled Caste group of Bhubaneswar (Old town) in the district of Puri, Orissa have been presented along with their statistical analysis. The traits studies included ABO blood group system, phenylthio-carbanamide taste sensitivity and the genetic importance of mid-digital hair.

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- | | | |
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AMAL KUMAR DAS

A trend has recently developed in India for the establishment of a thorough co-ordination and co-operation between different Research Institutes. Organisations and different scientific personnel working in the field of human welfare. In other words it may be said that the Planners, Administrators, Research Workers and others directly or indirectly associated with human welfare work are gradually becoming conscious about the comprehensive aspect of this problem. If an atmosphere of proper co-ordination and co-operation can not be established at this stage among different Scientific Personnel, Institutions and Organisations connected with the research concerning human welfare work, then the research work is likely to suffer to an appreciable extent in its own worth.

Co-ordination and Co-operation are no doubt essential but how to achieve the same is the cry of the day. Various suggestions have come from different quarters in this context but no fruitful result has yet been achieved.

In the above perspective, it is felt desirable to put forward a suggestion for "integrated and

A NOTE ON INTEGRATED AND JOINT RESEARCH OF ETHNOGRAPHIC STUDIES

joint research of ethnographic studies", for encompassing the ethnographic materials of a community from a much wider area for getting a more comprehensive picture of the community in different set-ups.

The different Scheduled Tribe Communities of the present day in the State of West Bengal have migrated at different periods and are still migrating from their traditional homelands from adjacent States (e.g., Bihar, Assam, Orissa, etc.,) and from some of our ethnographic studies on some of these tribal groups it has been revealed that the local environments have exerted considerable influence on their culture so as to give it a shape quite distinct in many respects from that of their traditional one and this change has varied in depth and extent in cases of different groups coming at different periods and adopting different types of regional environments of the place they migrated to. The culture of the people of the same tribal group, still continuing to reside in their original homelands has also undergone change to an appreciable extent on account of the time factor and the result is that there exists a difference between the

culture pattern of the same tribal group of the present day of their original homeland vis a vis the area of migration and adoption.

In order therefore to get an integrated picture of a particular tribe as a whole, the piecemeal efforts by individual States would not succeed in presenting a complete and comprehensive picture of the tribe, which therefore calls for co-ordinated efforts of the States concerned. The success of such co-ordinated efforts would depend on an agreed policy adopted jointly by the concerned States.

Instead of establishing a Central Research Organisation or any other agency like that for organising and implementing this type of integrated and joint research by the concerned States, we may at the first instance form a Committee consisting of representatives of the Research Organisations concerned and draw up a general over all scheme for the ethnographic investigation of the particular tribe concerned, with particular emphasis on different types of problems peculiar to each of the concerned States. The meetings of the Committee may be held in Research Institutes of the concerned States by rotation at agreed intervals of time for discussing the progress etc., of the Research Project and for adjusting the scheme proper with the different phases of the progress of the Project.

The procedure, functioning, etc., to be followed for these types of Research Investigations would depend on agreed policies between the concerned States.

If a systematic plan is drawn up and if the proposed investigation schedule is followed strictly in the States concerned and if there be full fledged co-ordination and co-operation and if all can work without any prejudice then there is no reason why the scheme would not achieve the desired success.

This type of integrated and joint effort would not only be able to present a totalistic, thorough and continuous picture of the tribe concerned but would also throw light on the problems connected with co-ordination and co-operation.

The above type of integrated and co-ordinated Joint Research of the ethnographic studies of different tribal groups may also be taken up by other States for having an overall picture of the particular tribe concerned scattered over different areas

If this proposal of integrated and joint research is accepted and implemented it would succeed in presenting a complete and comprehensive picture of the tribe concerned and would be more valuable than the piece meal efforts which is the present day pattern of research.

ANIRUDHA DAS

According to the Census Report of 1961 in the total population of 17,548,846 in the State of Orissa, the Scheduled Tribes have a population of 4,223,757, i.e., 24.07 per cent of the total population of Orissa. The tribal population of Orissa accounts for 14.02 per cent of the total tribal population in India and Orissa stands second to Madhya Pradesh in tribal population. The total area of Orissa is 60,171.79 Sq. miles out of which the extent of scheduled area is 22,091 Sq. miles which represents 36.6 per cent of the total area of the State. According to the Census figure of 1941, the population of scheduled tribes who professed Christian religion was 35,849 which increased to 66,409, i.e., by 30,560 or 85.25 per cent in 1951 and to 104,125, i.e., by 37,716 or 56.79 per cent in the Census of 1961. The increase in the population of the tribals was by 19.75 between 1951—61 which compares favourably with the general increase of the population of Orissa which was 19.28 per cent. The growth of Christian population during 1951—61 was remarkable as it grew by 41.68 per cent during the few years against the general increase of population by 19.82 per cent. This appears to be due to large scale conversion of

IMPACT OF CHRISTIANITY ON THE TRIBALS IN ORISSA (THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND)

scheduled caste people to Christianity, as it appears from the Annual Administration Report for the year 1965-66 of the Tribal & Rural Welfare Department. Nothing has been stated about the Scheduled Tribe people whether they also contributed in swelling up this number in the increase of Christian population. As this is a Secular State our officers are not however collecting figures of conversion of tribals and Scheduled Caste people from year to year. No doubt they are increasing in number every year since 1961 Census.

The tribal population of 104, 125 professing Christianity is spread over mostly in Sundargarh, Sambalpur, Boudh-Khondmals, Ganjam and Koraput districts. Sundargarh has the largest number of tribal Christian population, i.e., 87, 159 persons out of the total tribal Christian population of 104, 125. The percentage of total tribal Christian population in Sundargarh works out to 83.7 of the total Christian tribal population in the State and this is the highest percentage in the State. Sundargarh District has a total tribal population of 440, 910 according to 1961 Census out of which 19.77 per cent are Christian tribals. This is due

to the activities of the Christian Missions working in this area for the last 50 or 60 years. Some of the Rulers of the erstwhile native States like Gangpur accorded special facilities to the Missions. Gangpur (Sundargarh) also was for a long time under Court of Wards.

Wide-scale conversion of Tribals and Scheduled Caste people has been possible due to the strenuous and continued efforts of the Christian Missions of various categories working for more than a century in Orissa. Their activities in the hills and forests predominately inhabited by the tribals started out of humanitarian consideration for their social, moral and economical upliftment.

It may not, therefore, be out of place to trace out the history of the movement. Orissa was conquered by the Britishers in 1803 and some years were spent by them in consolidating their administration and in quelling rebellions here and there. One of such events was the revolt of the Raja of Ghumsur assisted by the tribal and their chiefs. General Sri Henry Taylor, Mr. Russell, Political Agent and his Assistant Major-General John Campbell C.B., were engaged in the operation to suppress the revolt in 1837. They took 2 years to bring the rebels under control. In that context the British officers came in close contact with the tribals of Orissa, such as of Chinna Kimidy, Soroda, Boudh, Koraput, Patna (Bolangir), Kalahandi, etc.

In course of their expedition in the hill areas, they came to know that at various places Meriah or human sacrifice and female infanticide were in vogue on an extensive scale. Major John Campbell was appointed as Political Agent to suppress this wild custom. He worked for long 13 years in this sacred mission and finally abolished human sacrifice. In connection with the rehabilitation of the rescued Meriahs both males, females and children and their training, the Missionaries penetrated into these hilly regions for the first time and started conversion.

We get the earliest reference of the activities of the Missionaries in the valuable book of Campbell entitled "Wild Tribes of Kondhistan". It is a detailed account given by Campbell and published in the year, 1864. To give an idea of their feeble activity at the initial stage in the middle of the 19th century, Campbell may be quoted as follows :—

"An appeal has recently been put forth (perhaps near-about 1840) by the Missionaries in Orissa, for assistance in carrying out the conversion of the Khonds and two of their members have devoted themselves to this work. I heartily wish in connection with every Christian both in England and India for the success of an object so desirable. I regret that these gentlemen have resolved to dwell in low country and expect the Khonds to come to them; but I trust that this is only preparatory

to a lengthy annual residence in the hill tracts and constant visit to the hill villages. Kondhistan may be traversed in winter with comparative impunity ; and I hope that the Missionaries will endeavour to acclimatise themselves during the season for, without their personal presence and constant supervision, the hill tribes are not likely to become Christians, and certainly not remain so, should they be induced to profess Christianity?"

Major Campbell rescued hundreds of Meriahs from year to year in course of his expedition and those were males, females and children of various ages. Their resettlement was partially solved by the Christian Missionaries and therefore their institutions had a natural growth and popularity. There was no other organization to take charge of these destitutes. Speaking on the abolition of Meriah sacrifice throughout the district of Boudh, he has stated "the entire abolition of human sacrifice ought to be a source of sincere congratulation to all Christians". In one expedition in Chinna Kimidy and Boudh he rescued three hundred and seven Meriahs. Some one hundred and twenty children were placed under the care of the Missionaries at Berhampur and Cuttack at the expense of the Government. For unmarried females and very young children, "an asylum was opened in Soroda under the superintendence of good matrons where young women were practised in household affairs suited to their

station, and from whence at proper age they could be removed to the care of the missionaries for instructions".

From the following paragraph of his book, it will appear that the then Government of India (The East India Company) did not intend to introduce Missionary activities in these areas. Campbell has stated as follows :—

"I have not alluded to the great precursor of civilisation the gospel not because I am insensible of its fitness for these wild tribes (who have no predilection for Brahmins) but simply because it is not within the province of the Government of India to introduce any agency of the kind. I may however express the hope that in due season these poor savages will be visited by teachers of a higher and purer wisdom than that of a man in order to facilitate conversation with the Konds, the education of the rescued Meriahs by the Missionaries". "Lieutenant Frye, an officer, laboured very zealously in the acquisition of the Khond language. He adopted Oriya language as the best suited to express the sound of the Khond vocabulary and this vocabulary was printed. The Meriah children at the Mission School at Berhampur readily understood the vocabulary and conversed with Lt. Frye".

The hill regions of Soroda and Jeypur (Koraput) were the strongholds of the Konds who used to stifle the female off springs

According to Campbell "poverty of the hill tribes was the sustaining and originating cause of such a vile custom which had no ancestral tradition". He suggested to Government of India that in addition to constant and vigilant supervision the introduction of a language and opening of village schools were necessary for their moral elevation to eradicate this most inhumane practice. These suggestions were implemented into action more by the missionaries than by the Government.

We get some account of the activities of the French Roman Catholics Mission during this period from the narration of Major Campbell. He has stated that two French Roman Catholic Missionaries visited the hills of Soroda and established themselves at the base of the hills. They were supplied with the books prepared by Captain Frye and with their help, they soon commenced to teach the children of these parents who allowed their children to be taught. In the words of Campbell, "they had abundance of scholars from the low country, and I understand that they were very successful in making converts; nor is this surprising, as they did not require renunciation of caste, nor did they prohibit many of the old Hindu ceremonies. I must confess that the zeal and devotion of these missionaries were beyond praise. They lived in a kind of hovel, thatched with grass, a poor protection from the Sun's burning rays; their food was chiefly rice,

and to those comforts of a civilised life to which in their native land, they must have been accustomed, they were totally, I may say voluntarily deprived; for though such were obtainable, they would not have them, professing to give the natives the most complete example of self-denial. They were men of very superior education and manners and their unwearied toils, their utter abnegation of self and their gentle bearing towards all must have extended admiration from the warmest opponents of their creed. I anticipate the best results from the diffusion of knowledge and the spread of education in the Orissan hilly areas of the rescued Meriah victims undergoing a course of instructions in the plains."

"I placed about two hundred of the Meriah children in the Mission Schools of the low country. The great object I had in view was that the most intelligent might be brought up as teachers, eventually settle in their native hills, where by per cent and example, under God's blessings, they might be instrumental in winning some of their own wild people to the pure principle of our holy religion. It was a well understood part of their education that they should not be allowed to forget the Khond language, but that it should be cultivated by means of educational works prepared in that dialect preferred by Captain Frye".

"The Government of India on my recommendations made a

liberal provision for all the Meriahs, whether young or old. Some of the children were confided to the care of Mr. & Mrs. Stubbins and Mr. & Mrs. Wilhinson who resided in the Military Station of Berhampur in Ganjam. Others were sent to Mr. & Mrs. Buckley at Cuttack in the province of that name and Mr. Bachelor, an American Missionary at Balasore. I had every reason to be well satisfied with the training bestowed by these worthy people upon the Meriah children and the attachment that sprang up between the teachers and the taught was sincere and lasting. I often visited them and observed with heart-felt pleasure their neat and clean appearance, their orderly behaviour and their progress in learning.

Berhampur, November 3rd

(No year is given)

My dear Colonel Campbell,

"When the boys and girls were sufficiently old to enter the married state and when their education was completed partners were selected from the different schools and the unions were solemnised. I gave each couple a marriage dowery to start them in life and they were well assured that the same care and solicitude for their welfare which had attended them since they had been in our hands, would not fail them in the future".

"It may interest these who read this book to persue the following out of very similar notes I received on the occasion of the marriage of a Meriah couple. It is from Mrs. Stubbins :—

Rachel and Daniel (two rescued victims) were married yesterday. Rachel has been such a good obedient girl that I really feel sorry to part with her. I rejoice however in the thought that she is true believer in Christ, and hope, she may be able to act consistently in her new position. I should not be surprised, if she should at first feel the loneliness of her situation. To obviate this difficulty as such is possible, I have given her a supply of knitting and crochet materials and she is very much pleased with the thought of working for you. Amongst other things, she profess of making some socks for your little grandson and in due time, I dare say there will be an opportunity of forwarding them to you. Our best wishes and prayers will follow this young couple and most sincerely do we hope they may be made a blessings to the natives by whom they are surrounded. I trust your valuable life and health may be preserved, and you may continue to have good news from your dear children.

Your very sincerely.

E. Stubbins

"I need not dwell longer on the fate and fortunes of our wards; they were trained to various occupations—teachers, artificers, or husbandmen, according to the bent of their inclinations. The majority decided to follow the plough and till the soil. I obtained therefore several grants of lands, usually uncleared forests, from Government and established villages, where to this hour, the Meriahs live in happiness and comfort."

"Captain Mc. Neill, who long and ably laboured among the Kondhs, took particular interest in these villages and only left them about 10 months ago. An Engineer himself of no mean skill, he was enabled to show them new and improved methods of irrigating their lands and a greater boon could not have been conferred on them. This may be taken as the starting of terraced cultivation in tribal areas of Orissa." I am sure these Meriah villages will deeply feel the loss of their tried friend and protector, Captain Mc. Neill, but the Supreme Government considered last year that the time had arrived when the work of

Meriah suppression had been so completely accomplished that no further special agency was required, and the whole Khond country reverted to their old master".

"I dare say the Government arrived at a sound conclusion and certainly none of the officers of the late agency will demur to a resolution which contains so flattering a compliment to their own success; but I earnestly trust the new authorities will carefully study the people entrusted to their charge and not to seek to force them within the pale of a moral or judicial code for which at present they are quite unfitted. They have nobly kept their pledge to us in abstaining from sacrifice; we must keep ours to them, and not seeking to impose on them vexatious regulations and unjust taxes".

"The total number of Meriahs rescued during the operations I have endeavoured to sketch, from 1837 to 1854, was one thousand five hundred and six and the following are the countries from which they were taken :—

	Males	Females	Total
From Goomsur ..	101	122	223
From Boud ..	181	164	345
From Chinna Kimedya ..	313	353	666
From Jeypur ..	77	116	193
From Kalahandi ..	43	34	77
From Patna ..	2	..	2
Total ..	717	789	1506

The next records will show how these fifteen hundred and six

Meriahhs were rehabilitated :—

	Males	Females	Total
Restored to relatives and friends or given in adoption to persons of Character in the Plains.	194	148	342
Given in marriage to Khonds and others of suitable consideration.	..	267	267
Supporting themselves in public or private service.	53	22	75
Died ..	69	88	157
Deserted ..	63	14	77
In Missionary schools at Cuttack, Berhampur and Balasore.	116	84	200
Settled as cultivator in different Villages	195	111	306
At the Asylum, Soroda. ..	27	55	82
Total ..	717	789	1506

The lengthy report of Campbell is full of the troubles and tribulations which he and his party underwent in his sacred mission of suppressing human sacrifice. It will suffice to quote one passing reference of his report to indicate what services the British officers rendered in the matter.

“My health had suffered much from personal exposure in these unhealthy regions, where a tree or a straw heap was very frequently my only shelter at night. Though such makeshifts are not to be complained of when on service in the field, they are far from agreeable in the ordinary routine of a peaceful duty; but I was well repaid by the peace and repose which

prevailed within countries under my charge, and by the fact that in January 1842, the Meriah sacrifice was at an end among the Khonds of Goomsur, though I do not pretend to have eradicated all inclination from the mind of these wild people”.

We get almost contemporary account of the working of the orphanages at Cuttack in the Narration of David B. Smith, M.D., Sanitary Commissioner of Bengal published in 1868 who toured in Orissa and stayed for 35 days visiting the places of pilgrimage in June and July, 1868. He visited the two orphanages, one for males and another for females in Peyton Sahi, Cuttack on 6th July, 1868.

He has highly praised the missionaries for their kindness towards the orphans. As regards the history of the orphanages, he has stated as follows :—

“The Asylums in Cuttack were opened on the 3rd May, 1836 with only 6 boys and 3 girls. This number was soon increased by the pressure of famine. In the following year the atrocities perpetrated by the Khonds in Goomsur and Boud were disclosed to the civilised world and seventeen children (14 boys and 3 girls), then first rescued by the Bengal Government from the horrors of Meriah sacrifice were received into them”.

Ten years after these asylums were established, it was reported that 230 young persons of both the sexes had been boarded and educated and from 1837 to 1861 no less than 86 rescued Meriahs were received into the two asylums.

“But for this happy deliverance, all those children would have been slain for the object of propitiating Ceres, and their flesh would have been deposited, piecemeal, on the ground, to fertilize the turmeric fields of Goomsur”.

“No more in human rites were ever perpetrated than those of so-called Meriah Poojah, or Khond sacrifice”.

“The following invocation to Bhobanee, the Khond goddess, shows with what exultation the people anticipated a human sacrifice :—

“Hail, mother, hail, hail,
goddess Bhobanee ! Lo !

we present a sacrifice to
thee ! With music's various
sounds, on festive day,
Lo ! thee we worship and
they rites obey.

O ! all ye gods and goddesses
give ear, And be propitious
to our earnest prayer.
Blooming with tender
flesh, and flushed with
blood, No sire, no matron
says this youth is mine;
His flesh, his blood, his
life, his all are thine.

Without the pale of sacred
wedlock thrown, We took
and fed him for thy rites
alone.

Now lo ! with rites from all
pollution free, We offer
him, O ! Bhobanee, to
thee ! Taste now this
offering, satisfy thy heart,
And bid us joyful to our
homes depart.”

“This extract was translated by the Revd. Mr. Lacey at Cuttack from the recitation of “a great fat Khond boy,” who himself would certainly have been sacrificed but for his good fortune in falling into the hands of English officers, who rescued him from so unhappy a fate”.

“The Missionaries have been nobly supported and, it may be said, guided by the Government in this good work of befriending rescued Meriahs”.

"At a period when famine desolated Orissa, the Missionaries passed much of their time in the relief of suffering humanity. They fed the poverty-stricken and befriended them. All that generous sentiment or disinterested virtue could prompt, these good men and earnest women delighted to do. Acting in concert with Famine Relief Committees they were enabled to save from death many who must otherwise have perished. Friendless beings came to them and at once enjoyed sympathy and relief. Motherless or fatherless children and orphans, driven by fate to their doors were received with parental kindness. The orphans under their care are allowed a subsistence allowance by the Government (three rupees each per mensem, and twenty or thirty rupees each to start in life with). I have seen the children in the houses of these Missionaries treated with the utmost kindness, and in a manner evincing the heartfelt interest taken in their happiness and welfare. As stated above, I have seen them systematically taught useful trades and the rational occupation of everyday life. In sickness I have seen them cherished as though they were of the same blood as their benefactors. It affords me deep and sincere pleasure to bear testimony to these facts. The sedulous philanthropy of the Baptist Missionaries in Orissa reflects great credit on the English name and rule. One of their members once asserted that the Government of this country

had no more attached friends than they. This is a truth. The Missionaries, however, of Orissa are not only apostles of evangelization and education—though such is certainly the chief end of their ambition—but they are the friends of sanitation, the dispensers of medicine to the sick, the clothers of the naked, the feeders of the hungry, the shelterer of the exposed, the guardians of friendless widows and orphans. They have an intimate knowledge of the people, their language, their modes of thought, and their everyday wants. They have rescued many children from poverty, prostitution, and immolation. Stimulated by the noblest motives, their zeal tempered by good judgment, these are men to whom, in my opinion, the Government might well entrust more money and resources for the counteraction of much physical degradation and misery ever present in Orissa. I have written at some length on this subject, because I believe the Missionaries to whom I allude would be willing in the future, as they certainly have been in the past, to act as the stewards of Government charity. As is stated in their reports, it is scarcely necessary to observe that they derive no personal benefit from and contributions they may receive; every fraction is faithfully spent and as faithfully accounted for".

"The late Mr. Cockburn, formerly Commissioner of Pooree, at a public meeting in 1861, said; "I have always taken a deep interest

in the prosperity of the Orissa Mission, and I have been repaid tenfold." The same I believe will be the experience of the Government, to whatever degree it may invite these steadfast Missionaries to act as the almanacs of State charity".

"When I visited the Orphanages of Cuttack, I found that there were 320 boys at Peyton Sahi, under the charge of the Revd. Mr. Miller; and in the adjoining establishment, 320 girls with the Revd. Mr. Buckley and Mrs. Buckley, and 180 with Miss Guignard. This was exclusive of the 400 children with the Revd. Mr. Goadby, Mrs. Goadby and Miss Packer, at Piplee; making, at the two stations, a total of 1,220 orphans, well cared for and under good management. Besides these also, there are the Orphanages of Balasore and Berhampore, of which I do not happen to have the statistics.

"Since I left Orissa, one of the Missionaries whom I met there has passed from this world. The Revd. Mr. Goadby of Piplee, died shortly after I left the province. His mission lay, for years, among the Pulindas or barbarous mountaineers of the hilly regions of Orissa, chiefly among the Khonds. With Russel-Condah as his base of operations, he delighted to penetrate into the solitary places of Khondistan, and there, amidst the dirt, drunkenness, and destitution of the people, to do what lay in his power for their welfare, and for the softening

and enlightening of their savage natures. He was a perfect enthusiast in his fondness for this aboriginal people, and all his energy was for years consecrated to the cause of their amelioration. A good man, he was but one of many connected with the Orissa Baptist Mission who (to me as a mere journeyer through the province) seem to have done incalculated good for the people of the country. As I said before, their works are, at every turn, associated with the physical welfare of the Oriyas. It is on this account that I have devoted considerable space to a notice of their good deeds."

Undoubtedly missionaries have played an important role in famine relief work in Orissa from the last century which witnessed a number of famine years. Conversion of people in general including certain Hindus was natural and those survived after famine were automatically outcasted by the society. Famine condition had been a common feature in Orissa. We may not go to the days of history and this is not relevant. There were great famines in the 15th and 16th centuries. There was also a great famine in 1770 when millions and millions of people died. The worst in the 19th century was the great famine of Orissa in 1866 in which $\frac{1}{4}$ th of the population was swept from the face of the Earth. These were the special occasions of Missionary activities in establishing relief centres opening of orphanages and expanding their action.

REPLY TO READERS

"I have read with interest your article on 'Saoras and Panos of Ganjam Agency published in Adibasi, October, 1967. I find the information given by you in respect of the Saoras who have returned from tea gardens to be of particular significance. I am long holding a view that such persons are providing a nucleus for entrepreneurship in the more out lying areas of Orissa and South Bihar. The brief reference made by you seems to confirm the same. I, however, wonder whether you have more detailed study about the roles of such persons in Orissa in different walks of life. In that case if you publish the same in one of the issues of your journal it would be extremely useful for persons interested in studying the tribal dynamics in India."

B. K. Roy Burman

Verrier Elwin writing on the Lanjia Saoras hereafter called Saora only in 1955 has stated "The most powerful instrument of change is Assam, whither the Saoras go in fairly large numbers to the Tea Gardens". Of course the migration to Assam provided the leeway for escape from the drudgery, as well as the oppression of money lenders, mutta heads and petty officials. Saoras earned quite a lot, and lead a more carefree life

in Assam. They learnt other languages, dress and ornaments. Elwin finds in these changes "The moral loss is seldom compensated by economic gain". Further "Assam has had no effect on religious or Social custom". This was in brief the estimate of Saoras who returned from tea gardens in forties. This account deserves scrutiny in the present context, when sweeping and vast changes have been induced in the Saora land since independence. Official and non-official agencies are operating among the tribe. Christian Missionaries both C a n a d i a n Baptists and Roman Catholics are quite active. Conversion is rampant after 1956. Thus it is quite relevant to analyse the role of migrants from tea gardens as enterpreneurs and change agents in social, cultural and economic frontiers. A few case histories may throw light on the subject.

Upi Saora (Age : 45), Village Jungjungal.

Upi was born in a tea garden in 1920s. His father was one of the early recruits of T.D.L.A. In early 30s there was a slump in the tea gardens and quite a number of labourers were retrenched. His parents returned to their native village Jungjungal. This is at the border of Ganjam and Koraput

district. Upi's parents acquired some new hill clearings for shifting cultivation. They had no wet land when they came back. They had some cash in hand. They spent some money in offering sacrifices to their ancestors. After a few years Upi's father died. Upi had no schooling in tea garden. But he used to play with children of some Babus and took intelligent interest in their activities. He picked up smattering of Hindi and Bengali. After the death of his father the burden of the family rested on him. However he was not sanguine to lead the traditional life of Lanjia Saoras. As an intelligent person he learnt a little Oriya and could freely talk to plainsmen. Upi was feeling disgusted in his village life. He was married at an early age. However his up-bringing in tea garden, contact with outsiders, imbibed new ideas in him. He was craving for a better life. Just after the World War II there was again the necessity for new recruits in tea gardens. Many of the older inmates had then returned to their homes. Upi managed to go back to tea garden. After one or 2 years the Japanese invasion made most of the people to flee away from the border gardens. Immediately after the war there was heavy demand for labourers and Upi displayed his entrepreneurship by taking a group of 10 Saoras to tea garden as labourers. His work was appreciated by employers. Thus Upi became a regular middle man for movement of labourers from Saora area

to tea gardens. The stoppage of activities of T. D. L. A. enabled Upi to continue his trade. He is now quite a sophisticated man talking several languages. He is a cunning person. He leads a new mode of life different from others and seeks to introduce certain changes in his native village. He is no doubt denounced by some and appreciated by others.

Ajlai Saora (Age : 40), village Patimbul

Ajlai Saora went with his parents to tea gardens in Assam after the Second World War. He stayed in a tea garden for 5 years. He returned sometimes in 1950s. He had no schooling. However he picked up Hindi and Bengali in tea garden and subsequently acquired Oriya on his return. In Patimbul group of 4 villages he is the only man who could talk in Oriya in 1958. That enabled him to meet officials and outside visitors and discuss the development programme which were being introduced in Saora land. The background in tea garden enabled him to display his entrepreneurship in various matters involving Saoras. He is now an important person in the locality and he was elected as a ward member and a member of the Panchayat Samiti. He visited Bhubaneswar in 1959 and met the V. I. Ps.

Kokaru Gomang (Age : 50), village Rijjintal.

He belongs to Gamang or chief family of village Rijjintal in Pottasinghi P.-S. of Koraput district. He went for employment in tea gardens in the early part of 1930. He worked in the tea garden for nearly 3 to 4 years. After that he returned to his home. After the World War II he again went to tea garden with a few of his villagers and worked there nearly 4 to 5 years. After that he returned to his native village with some cash to pay his old debt. From that amount he invested some portion in building his house. He became the nominated Sarpanch of Pottasinghi G. P. in 1961. He does not feel shy to meet officials and outsiders and place the difficulties of Saoras before them. He is a helpful man to the visitors of his village.

Siteya Saura (Age 45)

Siteya belongs to village Anukundaguda. He had been to Assam and worked in tea plantation for 12 years. He

was retrenched from the tea garden after 12 years. Some authorities of tea garden promised him land and other benefits at his native home which tempted him to return to his village. However, he could not get any of those promised boom. He had to resort to daily wage earning, collection and sale of forest produce such as firewood etc., to maintain his family. However, Siteya is a notable person of the village and discuss local problems with officials and outsiders. He takes keen interest in the development of his native village and the area.

These case histories may reflect how the persons who had been to tea gardens or worked in that region for some years from among the Saoras adopted new ideas and social values. On their return to their native homes, they definitely bear an imprint of change which incite them to entrepreneurship and innovations. There are many such persons in the Saora tracts of Ganjam and Koraput.

Editors

OUR NEW CONTRIBUTORS

In this issue our new contributors are :—

1. Dr. Irawati Karve, M. A. (Bombay), Ph. D. (Berlin), Head of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology, University of Poona.

Dr. Karve is an eminent Anthropologist of this country whose contributions particularly on kinship studies have drawn wide admiration from all parts of the world. Her famous book "Kinship organisation in India" shows for the first time the various terminology and their correlation to the social life of different peoples of

India. Dr. Karve undertook study among some Mundari Tribes of Orissa and now she contributes the present paper with reference to that study.

2. Amal Kumar Das, Deputy Director, Cultural Research Institute, under Scheduled Castes and Tribal Welfare Department, Calcutta-1, W. B.

He has conducted and published quite a large number of studies on the Tribes and Castes of West Bengal. He guides the research work of the institute.

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