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CONTENTS

		PAGES
1. Kharligarh—A Tribal Fort	.. A. Das	.. 1—12
2. Folk Songs of the Juang	.. S. P. Rout	.. 13—19
3. Food Habit of a Tribal Community	.. P. C. Mohanty	.. 20—25
4. Training for Tribal Development	.. V. K. Mathur	.. 26—30
5. Tribal Culture and Democracy	.. G. N. Das	.. 31—35
6. Economic Activities of Pauri Bhuiya	.. B. Choudhury	.. 36—43
7. Saoras and Panos of Ganjam Agency— (A study into social interrelationship).	.. N. Das	.. 44—52
8. The Role of Caste in Village Life	.. S. C. Sharma	.. 53—63
9. A few words about us 64—64
10. Our new contributors 65—65

ADIBASI

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ANIRUDHA DAS

KHARLIGARH
A Tribal Fort

One who has the opportunity of touring in forest and hilly regions of Orissa is likely to come across the remains of once flourishing forts mostly in such areas as are inhabited by the tribals. Situated generally in inaccessible regions of Orissa, these places are well indicated by the remains of mostly bamboo forests and existence of rivers and high hills on some sides. The existence of a Fort in the past can be well indicated by huge heaps of stones and large-size bricks here and there in an extensive area. In most places these have been removed and the lands have been reclaimed. If some important areas are excavated and regular research is conducted, a few of these places may prove to be the repository of palaeolithic and neolithic materials and the cradle of civilisation which developed through the ages. It is proposed to give an idea of the remains of

a Fort called 'KHARLIGARH' which appears to be once the strong hold of an Adivasi Chief and associated with the name of King Kharavela of Kalinga (Orissa).

The ancient monument of Kharligarh is situated in Tentulikhunti Block of the present district of Bolangir. Tentulikhunti Block is divided into two parts by the river Tel. Four out of seven Grama Panchayats, viz., Tentulikhunti, Gudvella, Guna and Jamat are situated on the other side of the river 'Tel' which is a deep and swift-flowing one. Although the tribal population are acculturated due to inaccessibility of this region, they are economically and educationally backward. For more than six months in the year, they are kept aloof from the advanced area of the Block and the main obstacles are want of communication, and the unfavourable rivers,

Tel, Raul and other rivulets. The tribes comprise of Desia Khonds, Dharwa Gond and Saora. At the extreme south-end in Jamut Pan-chayat bordering Madanpur-Rampur in Kalahandi district there are some Kotia Khonds who formerly had their dwellings on high hills and they were brought down to the foot of the hills and rehabilitated by the Durbar administration. Formerly they used to grow only some cereals and lived on these and the roots and fruits of the forest. Now they are growing paddy crops on the lands settled with them by the ex-Durbar administration.

The location of the Fort is significant. Elaborate instructions have been laid down by Kautilya in his Artha Sastra regarding the location and construction of a Fort. According to him the King should select a place so natural for the construction of a Fort both for offensive and defensive purposes that it should be encircled on all sides by hills, forests and rivers which he terms as Daibakrita or natural Fort. The Oudaka Fort has been defined as one which is encircled on all sides by river system and the Bana Durga as one which is situated on an elevated place with hills and rocks on all sides. All these requirements were almost fulfilled with the location of Kharligarh (Garh means Fort) in as much as firstly, it was situated on an elevated land with forest areas, might be thick forests in those days and secondly it is encircled on more than 3 sides excepting a small portion by the deep and swift flowing river 'Raul'. The confluence of the

river 'Raul' and the bigger river 'Tel' is close and is visible from this Fort.

Regarding the walls of a Fort he has instructed that it should be 48 feet high and 72 ft. wide at the base tapering from the base to the top and the top should be so wide as to enable a chariot to move on freely. From the location of the Fort, one can easily conclude that its location and construction were as if according to the specification given in the Artha Sastra. The Fort area will be about 150 acres or so and it is protected on more than 3 sides by the river Raul in an 'U' shape and the small gap not encircled by the river is filled up by a high wall of bricks and stones almost according to the height and width indicated in the Artha Sastra. Further, it is covered by thorny bushes for which also there is instructions in the Artha Sastra. At a conspicuous place almost where the high wall touches the bank of the river 'Raul' there are huge mounds of stones and large size bricks now broken which indicate that some big construction had been made in the past. It is likely that at this place stood the residence of the Chief. There are such heaps here and there. There is a landing stair-case leading into the river from within the Fort which would have been a Ghat. Large pieces of stones were used as the steps. The river which is a perennial one is deepest at this place and retains water in the Summer Season.

Near-about the huge mound, there is a single gate-way and on one side of the wall, a slab of stone

is worshipped. The local people consider the Fort area as extremely sacred and entrance into the area with shoes and umbrella etc., is strictly prohibited. Beyond the Fort area, in continuation of the wall, and on the bank of the river Raul there are mounds of stones and bricks on an extensive area. This indicates that there was human habitation in an extensive scale in the past. Now most of the lands have been reclaimed. The Chiefs used to have such habitation in good old days and encouraged settlement of lands for cultivation, settled lands with owners of cattle, etc., so that the needs of the people inside the Fort area could be adequately met.

The name of the Fort 'Kharligarh' appears to be an abbreviation of 'Kharavela Garh' the name of a powerful King of Kalinga (Orissa) who flourished in the 2nd Century B.C. To correlate this Fort with historical antecedents, it will be necessary to trace out the history of the ancient famous country Kosala in which this Fort is located. The ex-State of Bolangir Patna with the ex-State of Sonepur, now constituting the district of Bolangir is situated in the heart of the once Kosala Kingdom. The most authentic information regarding Kosala is found in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta in the 4th Century A. D. where he mentions Kosala as one of the Kingdoms he conquered by defeating King Mahendra. Yuan Chawng, a Chinese pilgrim, who visited Kosala in 639 A.D. has described that the circuit of the Kingdom was 1,000 miles and that

of the capital was more than 6 miles and it was bigger than any of the towns in Kalinga. To fit in with such an area, Dr. Cunningham has fixed its boundaries as comprising the whole of the upper valley of the river Mahanadi and its tributaries from the source of the Narvada from Amarkantak on the north to the Mahanadi near Kanker on the south and from the valley of the Wen Ganga on the west to Hosdo and Joark rivers on the east. It also comprised the Sambalpur, Bolangir, Baud, Sonepur, Gangpur, Bamra, Rairakhole and Chhatisgarh areas. The King was a lover of arts, music and literature and by caste Kshetriya.

From the epic and Puranic sources, we learn that after the death of Rama the Kosala territory with its capital at Ayodhya was divided between his two sons, Laba and Kusha, the former had Uttar Kosala (North Kosala) with his capital at Srabasti and the latter had Dakshin Kosala and established his capital at Kushabati or Kushasthalipur near the Vindhya Hill Ranges. It is stated that his capital was at Kausil (as derived from Kushasthali) at a distance of 32 miles west of the present Titlagarh (Tritalagarh or a Fort having three storeys). The remains of the Fort are still in existence. We also find mention of Kosala in the 'Banaparva' of Mahabharat as a Kingdom to the south of which lay the Dakshinapatha. The Mahabharat gives an account of three important places of pilgrimage in Kosala, namely 'Rusaha Tirtha', 'Kala Tirtha' and 'Bodorika Tirtha'

These are indentified in Chhatisgarh division in Madhya Pradesh. Rusabha Tirtha has been glorified in the Gunja Rock Inscription in Sakti, an Estate under Sambalpur almost till 1847. The hill adjoins a village of the same name and the inscription is in Brahmi and Prakrit script. In the Brihat Sanghita of Barahmihira who flourished in the 6th Century A.D. mention has been made of Kosala at several places as producing the finest diamonds. The Bayu Purana mentions both Kosala and Tosala along with other Kingdoms situated in the Vindhya regions. In the Parisistha of Atharva Veda mention has been made of Tosali with Kosala.

For centuries in the historic days Shripur in Madhya Pradesh had been the capital of the Kosala country. This was situated on the bank of the river Mahanadi at a distance of 40 miles west of Raipur and in course of time it was washed away by flood water. Many important inscriptions, images, copper plate grants of the Somagupta dynasty and Chinese coins, etc. have been found out by excavation. Of course a new town called Shripur also was built many centuries ago. At one time this region was famous for Buddhist culture and institutions which attracted Yuan Chwang, the Chinese pilgrim.

During the reign of Samudragupta from 320 to 380 A. D., Shripur was the capital of the Somaguptas who were the rulers of Kosala. According to Dr. Cunningham the Somaguptas commenced their reign from the

year 319 A.D. The Rulers became powerful as is evident from the numerous copper plate grants and inscriptions issued by the various kings of the dynasty. The 6th King of this line Indrabala or Bhabadev Rana Kesari Chintadurga appears to be the mythical Indradyumna, the 1st builder of the Jagannath Temple who enshrined the Deity Lord Jagannath at Puri. The 9th King Harsadeva (590—615 A.D.) conquered Kalinga (Orissa and other territories) and assumed the title "Trikingadhipati" or the lord of the three Kalingas. His daughter Rajyamati was married to Jayadev-II, the King of Nepal. The 11th King Janmejy Mahabhabagupta assumed the title of Trikinga-Kosaladhipati and moved eastward to quell rebellion in the frontier. He shifted his capital from Shripur to Binitapur (modern Binika—in Bolangir District) and later to Subarnapur (modern Sonepur—capital of ex-State Sonepur—now in Bolangir District). Most of his copper plate grants which are 11 in number so far traced out, were issued from his military camps. From the last but one copper plate grant it appears that it was issued from his Cuttack Camp in his 31st regnal year wherein it is mentioned that he killed the King of Odra (Orissa).

Janmejy established the Kesari dynasty in Orissa. His son Jajati Kesari No. I was the second builder of the Jagannath Temple at Puri as the one erected by his ancestor had collapsed. He brought the Deity from Deonbar, a village on the border of Sonepur

and Athmallick where the Deity had been buried for years due to foreign invasion. He defeated the invaders of Bengal where a King of his line was ruling. He assumed the title of Second Indradyumna. Jajati Kesari II, the 17th King of this line commenced the construction of the famous Lingaraj Temple at Bhubaneswar which was completed by his son and grandson. Kolabati, the wife of the King built the famous Brahmeswar Temple at Bhubaneswar. So all the famous temples of Orissa were built by the Soma Vansi Rulers who established the Kesari dynasty in Orissa.

We know that the finds of Harappa and Mahenjodaro have opened a new chapter in the pre-historic civilisation in India. In connection with the recent landing of Soviet Instrument Capsule on planet Venus and the flying of Marina-V of U.S.A. over Venus the reputed Scientist Dr. Rayana of U.S.A. has given the opinion that there are 1,200 inhabitants in Venus and they are the descendants of the Indians and during the Indus Valley Civilisation some 3,000 years before Christ, Indians used to perform Space Journeys to Planets. That science in India has died out. Subsequent to this a pre-historic civilisation also developed in the Kosala region. A reference may be made to the finds in the Bikramkhole and the neighbouring areas; some 16 miles west of Jharsugra Railway junction. A big inscription of 32' x 7' has been discovered and the nature of the script is not yet known. At a distance of about 10 miles from Bikramkhole were

found the monuments of a Hill Fort called "Ullap Garh". In a cave there are some inscriptions and paintings. Village Sinhānpur in Raigarh in Madhya Pradesh which was within the Kosala territory till the 17th century presents another picture of pre-historic relics and rock paintings of men, animals and serpents. Some scholars are of the opinion that they are 50,000 years old. It is needless to cite other instances of historical importance of South Kosala which can be described as a repository of pre-historic and historical remains.

An attempt is being made to indentify the modern Tosra in Bolangir district with the historical Tosali to correlate it with Kharligarh, an abbreviation of Kharavela Garh. We come across the name of Tosali as a country as well as a capital in ancient literatures. As already stated, in the Parisistha of Atharva Veda mention has been made of Tosali with Kosala. It is definitely known that there was a North Tosali and a South Tosali, but there has been controversy regarding their location. It is however known from the Asokan Rock Edict at Dhauligiri that the political capital of the Mauryas was Tosali near Dhauligiri then known as Surabhagiri. In the 2nd century B. C. Ptolemy, the Greek Traveller has mentioned the names of some ports, places and rivers in Kalinga, such as river Manada, or the Mahanadi, the source of which was in the region of the Sabaras and Mundaś with their capital at Sambalak or Sambalpu. He also mentions the name of a

place Dosara, a centre of trade and commerce near the bank of the river Mahanadi and Yule identifies it with Tosra on the bank of the river Tel in Bolangirpatna which still continues as a centre of trade and commerce. Perhaps at one time it was the capital of Kosala. Yuan Chwng has mentioned the river Tel. The Mahanadi and the Tel used to be the chief water course and the means of communication from the coastal areas to the western region in the days of history. Further the copper plate grant of Jajati Mahastva Gupta No. I records the grant of village-Chandragrama in Morada in South Tosali near Chilka Lake which suggests the existence of a North Tosali. Very likely it was Tosra in Bolangirpatna as the Tosali of the Asokan Edict does not appear to be in existence as the capital of Kalinga during the reign of Kharvela, King of Kalinga in the 2nd century B. C.

It is necessary to correlate Tosra and Kharligarh with historical antecedents with reference to Kharvela's expedition. Kharvela, the King of Kalinga flourished between the years 230 and 190 B. C. He belonged to the Cheti or Chedi dynasty, who had been ruling Kalinga when Asoka conquered this Kingdom. He assumed the title, Maha Meghabahana. Asoka has mentioned in his Edict regarding the devastation caused by the Kalinga War where lakhs of people were killed, captured and died as an after-effect of the War, but was silent regarding the fate of the King of Kalinga. It is presumed that the King fled away to Kosala and took shelter

there as a branch of the Cheti dynasty was ruling Kosala. This fact is evident from the Bayu Purana which states that in future the Kings of Kosala would be very powerful and intelligent and they would assume the title Meghabahana. It was admitted by Asoka in his inscription that Kosala had not been conquered. According to Pliny (1st Century A. D.) the standing army of Kosala consisted of 50,000 infantry, 4,000 cavalry and 400 elephantry and that of Kalinga 60,000 infantry, 1,000 cavalry and 700 elephantry. Kharvela did not conquer Kosala, although he marched through the country from his capital Kalinganagar and invaded and conquered all the countries as far as Nasik.

There can be no controversy regarding the campaign of Kharvella as evidenced from the Hatigumpha Inscriptions. Perhaps no King in the past had conquered India from Sea to Sea and from the Himalayas as far as Cape Comorin. He led his vast army twice for his west-ward campaign and undoubtedly he took up the shortest route by the river bank of the Mahanadi or on the water course itself or by both the means and most likely through the heart of the Kosala country. It was therefore not unlikely that he led his victorious army over the water course of the Mahanadi and the Tel. Tosra is likely to have assumed importance and it was also likely that the Fort of Kharligarh was either constructed by him or named after him. It was also learnt that originally Tosra was situated just on the

bank of the river Tel and it had to be shifted to a safer place at some distance from the Tel as it was washed away by flood of the river Tel one or two generations back. Bricks are found on excavation on this old site on the bank of the river Tel.

It is significant to note the existence of two villages in this locality whose names are suggestive of their historical importance. There is a village called Bhuanpara at a distance of 5 miles east of Tosra. The village is bounded by river Tel on its western and northern sides at a distance of 4 miles and one mile respectively. It is bounded by the river Raul on its south-eastern and eastern fringes at a distance of two miles beyond the historical site of Kharligarh visible from its raised earth mounds. The name Bhuanpara suggests that originally it was inhabited by the Bhuyans, a tribe of the Mundari group. There is however no trace of this tribe in or round this locality. The local tradition however maintains that in the distant past this village as well as another village called Jampadar right on the bank at the confluence of the river Tel and Raul were inhabited by the Bhunyas. But now these villages are inhabited by the Kondhs. The tradition regarding the settlement of the Bhunyas in this village has to be corroborated by archaeological findings.

Jampadar is a village situated on a site which is a continuous mound intersected frequently by deep channels made by the flow of rain water. The channels finally flow

into the river Raul. During heavy rains considerable portion of the earth of the mound are eroded and the contents are carried into the river Raul through the flood water. The river Raul is about 50 feet deep down the mound. There is another site called Madabhati to the south of Jampadar. The area between Jampadar and Madabhati is important. If these two sites are joined by a straight line, it will form a diameter of a semi-circle formed by the river Raul and within this semi-circle is situated the old Garh on the high mounds of earth. The continuous high mounds with their surface finds exposed by the flood of the river and the deep channels clearly establish the fact that there had been human habitation in these areas.

It is no doubt difficult to correlate the chronology of habitation on these three sites in the absence of historical records. The brick structure provides a certain link. Bricks of conspicuous sizes approximately $1\frac{1}{2} \times 1'$ and stones have been used for erection of the structures. The thickness is however comparatively less being within 4" to 5". They were well burnt and prepared of clay and paddy husks mixed to give it durability, colour and lightness. Except in the Fort area where repeated clearance of the forests has been made by the local tribals the rest of the areas beyond the Fort have been continuously ploughed by the villagers where they grow oil-seeds, pulses and light paddy. As a result of this operation the sites are exposed to weather. No step has been taken

to preserve this valuable site which may provide some clue regarding the past history of the place as well as the pre-history of Orissa. As regards preparation of bricks with paddy husks, this was a common feature in all the Forts of the districts of Bolangir, Kalahandi and Sambalpur. It is suggestive of the fact that paddy was being produced in abundance in the past. The name of the village Dhanghara situated on the left side of the river Tel, near Tosra is suggestive of the fact that it was a granary of paddy. The basin of the river Tel is fertile and produces bumper paddy crops in favourable climatic condition. Near Dhanghara also one finds large size bricks with paddy husks inside. It is however peculiar that no lime was used in the construction of these Forts and perhaps the people did not know the preparation and use of lime in those days.

The sites stated above present a continuous human history dating back from the pre-historic days. The tools of palaeolithic period are available on the site almost without excavation. One of such has been found from the narrow water channel on the southern side now known as Madabhati. The tool has been subjected to considerable exposure to weather by frequent rolling through the water channel into the river bed below. The shape of the tool conforms to the shape of similar pre-historic tools found elsewhere. Another stone tool was discovered by our Research Officer from Jampadar site which resembles the microlithic tools of the mesolithic period.

It is like a miniature axe which has also been subjected to heavy exposure and has considerably decayed. Another interesting type of tool made of stone was found by our Research Officer from the Jampadar site. It has been made a regular hole in the middle about $\frac{3}{4}$ " in diameter. These are not only of an almond shapeable with found from the surface of the earthen mounds but also from the river bed near the mouth of the water channels. Many such tools have been subjected to exposure and rolling and striking with stones and are lying broken from the middle. Many however are found in tact. A wooden or bone-shaft used to be inserted into the hole and the tool might have been used for the purpose of thrashing or throwing.

Some superstition still attaches to these tools. The villages of Bhuyapara who have collected these tools believe that the wild doves make the holes. They use these tools to cure certain disease of the mouth of their cattle. These are hung in the cow sheds by the villagers to evade cattle diseases. Colourful stone chips of various colours lie in abundance scattered in these sites. They are of slate, shining deep black, brickred, chocolate brown, mud brown, yellow brown, red, pink with black stripes, bluish green, dull green, deep chocolate, marble white and diamond white. Some of the broken pieces appear like parts of finished goods used at that time. Some are suggestive of the fact that they were in the process of preparation of finished goods. A few of them indicate that they

were being neatly and finely scraped with some sharp instrument. There are also some pebbles either painted with red colour or pink colour which does not convey any sense. One of the broken stone pieces of deep black colour which is highly polished suggests that it might be the miniature form of a 'Siva Linga'.

The villagers said that after heavy shower of rains the inside contents are visible for collection. As the stones are jumbled up by intensive ploughing, it will be difficult to correlate them chronologically with the definite periods of human history. The varieties of stones and tools reveal that the industry did not begin with the historic period. The prehistoric men also who once inhabited the area must have left their ruins on which subsequent industry developed.

Finds of the early Iron-Age also were available. They were small knives of various sizes, iron arrow heads, straight nails and L-shaped nails and a peculiar S-type hook, one curve of which is larger than the other. Our Research Officer could collect them during his short stay in the locality. The last one might have been used as a hook for fishing. A hooka made of earth and burnt with a hole to fit it with a pipe also was found. Stone beads of a large variety, size and colour have also been found. These are flat round, ball round and a few are of Mrudanga (Drum) shape. The villagers said that a decade ago they were found in large number. We also understood from the villagers that

foreign visitors pay exorbitant prices for purchasing the finds collected by the villagers. In this process whatever are valuable to build up a history of the dark period, are being removed.

As regards the Fort area, unless a thorough and systematic excavation is taken up it will be difficult to chronologically correlate it with any historical antecedents. The ruined Fort no doubt provides a site rich in finds belonging to the historical period. The site is situated on massive stone embankment on three sides. Excepting a portion said to have been excavated during the ex-Durbar administration there does not appear to be any damage to have been caused to the main Fort area. On the surface we find large number of glass beads of variety of shapes and colours with fine holes which suggests that a string used to be inserted for wearing on the body of the tribals and they are still fond of them. Parts of broken potteries with various motifs are found which indicate that potters used to live in the locality. Attempts have been made to trace out early stone age sites in the districts of Mayurbhanj, Keonjhar, Dhenkanal, Sundargarh, Puri, Ganjam and one place in Sambalpur but no attempt appears to have been made to trace them out in most important districts like Kalahandi and Bolangir. While we visited this area, we came to know that a villager had kept two articles found in the Fort and these were seized by the Collector. One appears to be a beautiful frame of a mirror, with a handle and another foot-wear shaped stone with some carvings. On two sides

of the latter, there appears to be something like to stands one broken, to support it while placing it in a slanting position. Another find of religious importance are stone sitting platforms of one foot height with four legs. Wooden foot-wear shaped stones are also found. Such stone is considered as very sacred by the local Kondhs as it is used by the Kondh Priest to sit on it on the eve of the "Patkhanda Puja".

There is the seat of a shrine on a mound. At this place some animals are sacrificed during the month of Pausa (December-January). On other occasions some one may sacrifice a goat or a fowl for the fulfilment of one's wishes. Here also one slab of stone resembling the wooden foot-wear is seen. Something has been inscribed on it which cannot be deciphered. They might be some script or some ornamental carvings to represent certain Deity. The Deity is called Pattakhanda. The cult of sacrifice of animals before a Deity is of tribal origin which was adopted by the Aryans. Sacrifice of human beings or animals is connected with the fertility cult. The warm blood is presumed to imbibe potency and vigour and in turn could give longer life, better crop and victory in war. In such old Fort of a Hindu Chief we generally find the Deity represented by a carved image of the War Goddess. In such Forts of the tribals, the Deity is usually represented by a slab of stone. Special worships used to be performed by the Chief by sacrificing large number of buffaloes, goats and even human beings on the occasion of War.

A passing reference may be made to Maraguda Fort in Khariar in the district of Kalahandi to suggest that all these Fort sites are the repository of materials of the pre-historic days where materials of historic days as well as prehistoric days are found to prove that from the earliest time there used to be continuous human habitation. This is situated at a distance of some 18 miles from Nuapara within bamboo forests and high hills. Materials are found on an extensive area, but they are being regularly removed to Madhya Pradesh. There is a big silted up tank of an area of 120 to 150 acres. Materials like unpolished images of deities with polished images, beautiful carvings on stones, stone implements, one iron handle of sword, one seal beautifully carved on a piece of stone could be collected by us within a few minutes. Not only from its name, but also due to the location of a dozen of tribal villages in the vicinity, one can easily form an idea that it was the Fort of an Adibasi Chief. Two small stone images, one resembling the shape of a man with a tail and with the shape of a female and another either badly carved image of Lord Budha or of a primitive man were also obtained. We are of the opinion that these old sites are full of materials of pre-historic as well as historic age to establish the development of man from savagery and barbarity to the civilised status of existence.

From the Fort area, the hills of Sikirpat near Dhanpur in the Jamut Grama Panchayat are visible. There is another shrine on

these steep hills which is most revered by the tribals of the locality. It is believed that the shrine possesses great occult power. This is the reason for which the tribals of the adjoining subdivisions of Boudh and Ballguda also worship the Deity. Nobody is allowed to approach the shrine with garments, shoes, umbrella, etc. Anybody violating these customs is bound to suffer. At present the Deity of Sikirpat is worshipped on the bank of the river Raul near village Ghuna. It is stated that due to the arduous nature of hill climbing to reach the original seat of the shrine on the top of the hill, the Deity expressed a desire to be located at a convenient place.

Legend goes to show that once the Dehuri (Priest) who is a Kondh, went up the Sikirpat Hill to worship the Deity, but after performing the worship, forgot to bring back the metal pot in which he had carried water. Asking his companion to wait till he returned from the place of worship with the pot, he went up the hill, but to his horror and amazement he saw some supernatural beings distributing the offerings among themselves. The Dehuri out of fear concealed himself behind a bush but he could be detected by the supernatural beings. He was ordered to appear before them. Mustering all courage, the Dehuri came out of the hiding place and informed them the purpose of his returning. The Goddesses excused him and told him that no one should come any more to that place climbing the steep hills with sacrificial animals as it was fraught with difficulties and risk. They

threw the water pot and ordered that their new abode would be the place where the pot would fall. The pot fell on the present site near Ghuna and there Sikirpat is being worshipped. Whatever be the veracity of this legend, it appears to be a device to save the trouble of climbing the high hills.

During the month of Pausa (December-January) large number of buffalos are sacrificed at this shrine where actually no Deity is enshrined, but some poles have been placed. Sometime also in the month of Asara (July) some animals are sacrificed. This occasion corresponds to the time of Shri Gundicha festival of Lord Jagannath. Due to the special location of this inaccessible region with natural obstacles of rivers and rivulets, with dense forests of those days, it was not unlikely that large number of men and women were being sacrificed at this shrine as well as at the shrine within the Fort till human sacrifice was stopped by the Government of the East India Company. The Pattakhanda worship within the Fort area had no doubt a tribal origin adopted by the Chief in olden days. Pattakhandas are worshipped by the ex-Zamindar of Jarasingh which is not far off. The Priest is a Khond and it is stated that he holds three iron images of the Hindu Trinity, Brahma, Visnu and Siva in his palms while he performs the worship, cures the impotency of sterile couple by his magical treatment and cures other diseases of men and women by beating them with an iron rod. Nevertheless he is besmeared with blood of the goats and goats

are sacrificed in his presence in large number at the place of worship.

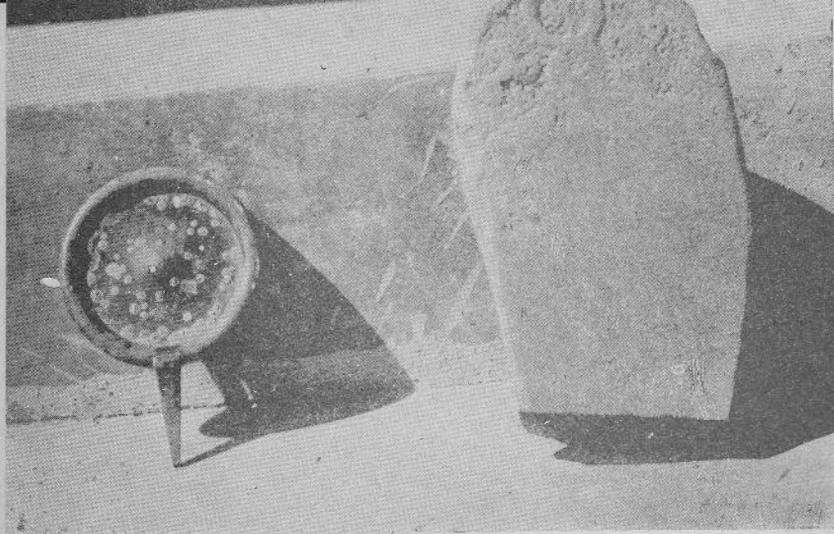
There is definite recorded evidence that at these shrines large number of Meriah (men and women) were being sacrificed a little more than a century ago. Major-General John Cambell, C.B. who was appointed as Principal Assistant to the Commissioner of Orissa and later as Political Agent laboured hard to suppress human sacrifice for 13 years from 1837 and toured extensively with his force in Goomsur, Boudh, Sanakimidi, Soroda, Angul, Jeypur, Patna and Kalahandi, etc., and has left an interesting account regarding the suppression of Meriah sacrifice in his book. "A Personal Narration of Thirteen Years of Service Among the Wild Tribes of Kondhistan" published in 1864. He visited Bolangir Patna twice. His first visit was in 1850 and he commenced his operations in the area "subordinate to the Tat or Vice-Rajah named Laulla Joogry Singh". This was definitely during the reign of Maharaja Hirabajradhar Deb of Patna (1848-66) and he visited villages under the ex-Zamindari Jarasingha and the Zamindar was Jograj Singh. This is another place famous for Pattakhanda worship where a large number of animals are sacrificed during the Dashara Pujas'. He has remarked "the Kondhs of this region are far superior to the Kondhs of Boudh, Goomsur, Chinna Kimedya, better clad, have more comforts, use better implements and pay taxes—a fact which speaks volumes for their advancement in civilisation. We have never, as yet encountered any hill tribes so

well under subjection as these Patna Khonds." Yet he rescued thirty-three Meriahs from the villages of this area and fifty-six from the neighbouring area which is definitely the Tosra area. It can be definitely stated that after rescuing fifty-six Meriahs from this region he crossed over to Mohangiri and Madanpur-Rampur in Kalahandi which adjoin the border of Bolangir. The people of Madanpur-Rampur frequently come to the Tosra market. Tosra is only a few miles from Mohangiri.

As regards the preservation of such Fort areas, in case no excavation is possible in the near future, our respectful suggestion will be to raise cashewnut orchards on them so that there will be at least one watcher to guard the area. Cashewnut fetches foreign exchange and the plants are not eaten by the cattle. They are grown on such soil condition and there is no chance of failure of such a scheme. A plantation has been successfully taken up on the Dhauligiri of Asokan Fame by the C. D. Department on an area of 55 acres. The roots do not enter deep into the earth to make excavation in future difficult. We may take up such a scheme in this area. There is ample lift irrigation facility in the river Raula. We hope to implement this scheme successfully. These historic sites appear to be the places where there had been successive and continuous human habitation from the prehistoric days and it is worth-while to take up systematic and proper excavation which might throw a flood of light on the dark ages of human existence.



“ Wall of Kharligarh Fort ”



A Frame of a Mirror with a handle and a footwear-shaped stone with carvings found from Kharligarh.

Figures of a male with a tail and a bow resembling Lanjia Saora of Agency Tract in Ganjam and Koraput districts and of a female, found from Maraguda Fort.

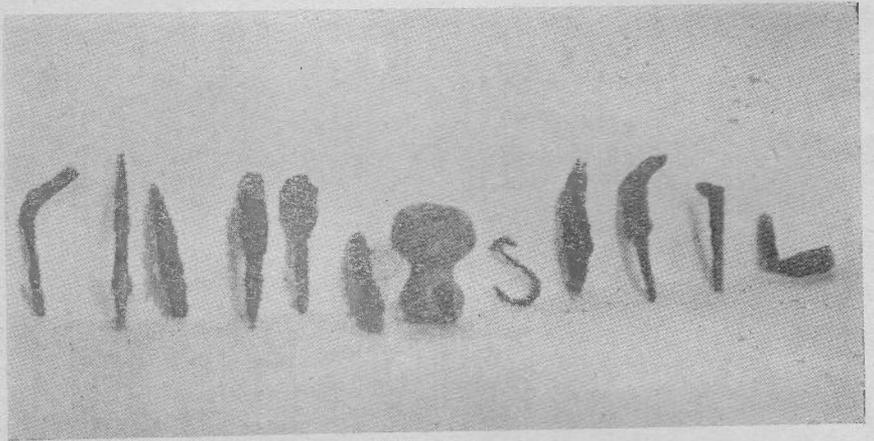




Some surface findings from Maraguda Fort.



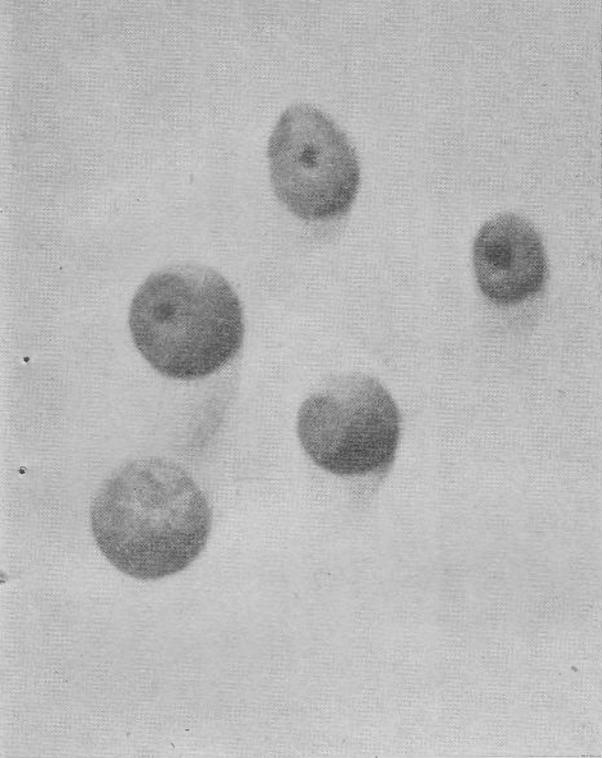
A male Figure with head-dress from Maraguda.



Iron implements along with earthenware 'hooka' found from Jampadar site.



Coloured stone beads, broken piece of a ring made of a very light material (Unidentified) and piece of glazed marble white (Unidentified) from Kharligarh, Madabhathi and Jampadar.

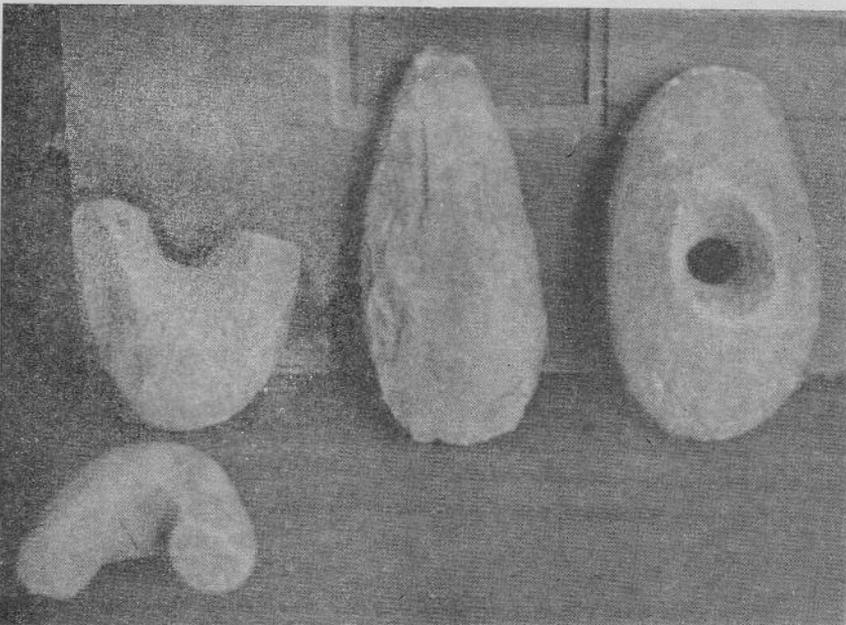


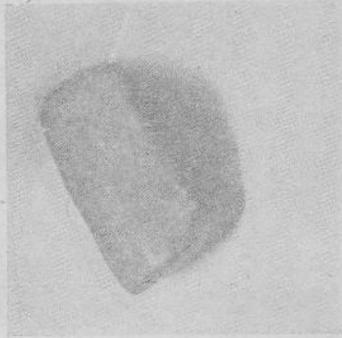
Broken pieces of earthenware articles unidentified and a stone ball found from Jampadar site.



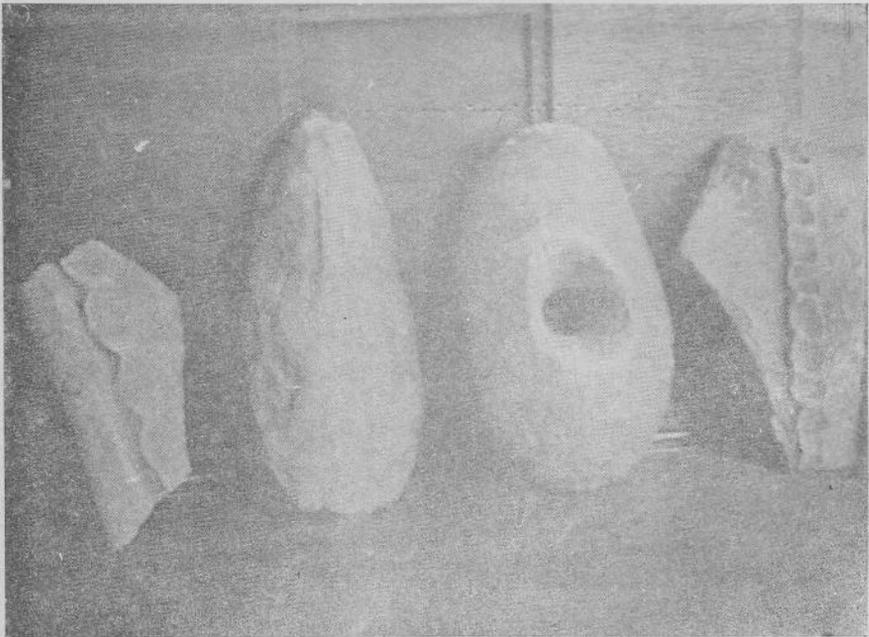
Smoking 'hooka' with a hole to insert a hollow stick to draw smoke.

A palaeolithic hand-axe along with neolithic mace heads (intact and broken) found from Madabhati and Jampadar sites, respectively.

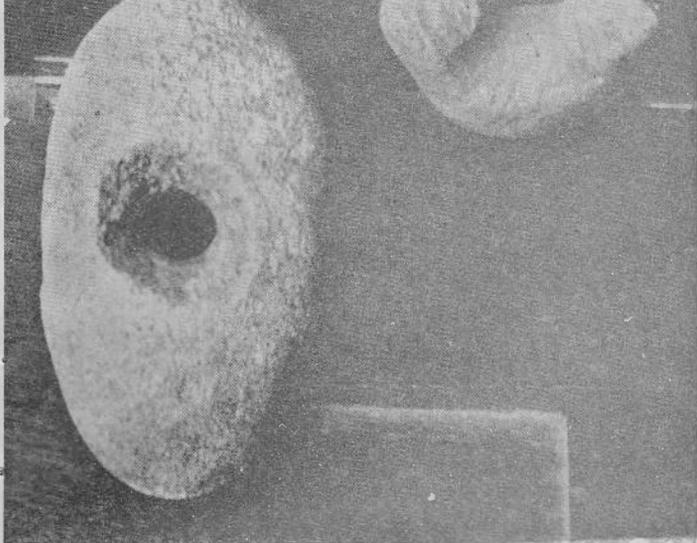




Neolithic celt piece
(Jampadar site).

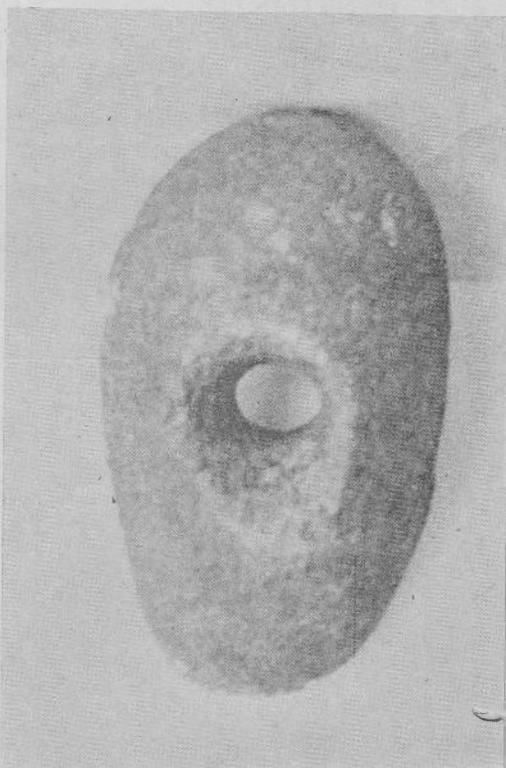


Palaeolithic and Neolithic stone tools along with pot-
sherds of neolithic period found from Madabhathi site.



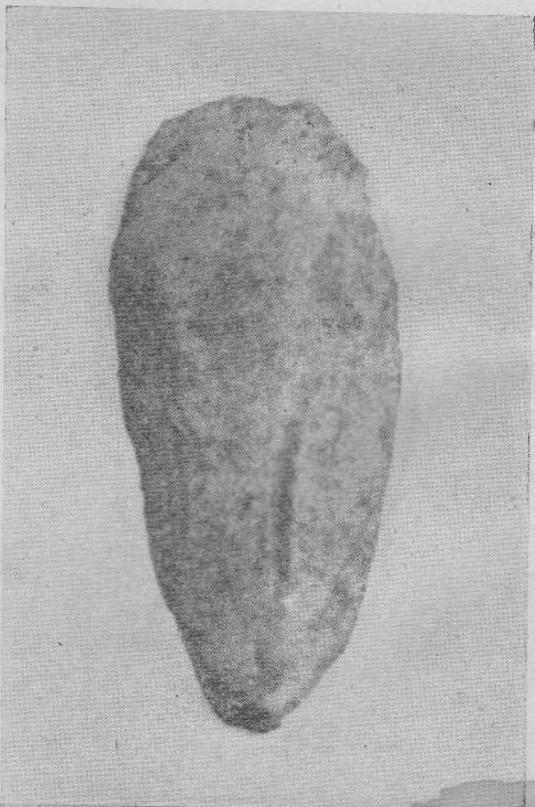
Neolithic mace heads—Jampadar site.

Neolithic mace head—Jampadar.





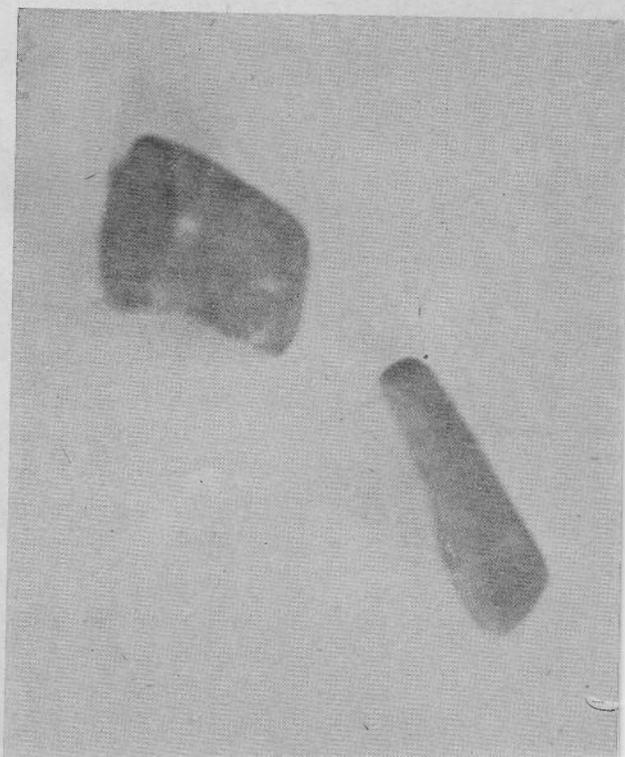
Neolithic dagger-shaped stone
tool found from Maraguda.



Palaeolithic hand-axe from
Madabhathi site.



Scraped stone cores resembling blade cores of Magdalenian industry of upper palaeolithic period in Europe found from Jampadar site.



Broken piece of neolithic celt and an axe-shaped stone tool (Unidentified) found from Jampadar site.

SIBA PRASAD ROUT

The article is based on the data collected during sixteen months field study in the hill-Juang villages of Keonjhar with Dr. Charles W. McDougal, Fellow of Social Science Research Council in the year 1960—62.

Late Dr. Verrier Elwin, who was sometimes the Honorary Anthropologist to the Government of Orissa, had widely traversed among the backward tribal groups of the State. Elwin's painstaking itineraries, his lucid descriptions, and his captive photographs have brought several backward tribes to the forefront so much so, that many administrators and high placed persons have associated the growth of anthropological studies in this country to the efforts of Elwin. However, there is a difference between the descriptions of Elwin and the scientific approach of the professional anthropologists. The latter prefer to avoid sweeping generalisations and study the tribes from various angles to reveal the *imponderabilia* of their culture. Thus there may be wide divergencies between the accounts of Elwin and the findings of the professional anthropologists.

Notwithstanding brief notes and reference of E. A. Samuels (1856), E. T. Dalton (1872), W. W. Hunter (1877), H. H. Risley (1891) and N. K. Bose (1929), the first exhaustive account on the Juang was published in "Man In India", in 1948, as an outcome of Dr. Elwin's study of the tribe in 1942. Dr. Elwin

FOLK SONGS OF THE JUANG

was no doubt impressed by the "splendour of the landscape, and the palm-girt flat lands round the lovely Malyagiri Mountain", "the red cliffs of Sunduria, the forest-covered Runjapani and Jharpani hills", and "the precipitous Chandagiri", in Juang area, but was utterly dissatisfied with the people. He was so discontented with the Juang that he went to an extent to attribute that "The Juang are not easy. It is almost impossible to get about. The people do not want visitors. They reveal themselves with the utmost reluctance. There is no tradition, as in Bastar, of village hospitality." and they "had the disconcerting habit of turning their backs on you just when you were feeling at your friendliest."

During the sixteen months continuous stay among the hill-Juang of Keonjhar and subsequent field trips to Juangs of Dhenkanal and Pallahara many contradicting data have been collected which may prove that most of the remarks of Elwin are superficial and are far from truth. In many cases his description of the rites and rituals, feasts and festivities, and customs and practices of the Juang are not true to Juang life and culture but are applicable to the caste-Hindus. A detail account of all such incongruities would be out of place here, but it can never be doubted that the Juang are the most friendly, docile, and innocent like many other tribes and unlike most tribes the Juang cherish hospitality

as a basic trait of their social-structure. Dormitory house of the boys gives shelter to guests and relatives visiting Juang villages. Cognates of individual families and outsiders on their visit to a village are treated as guests of the village and are fed by contribution raised from the individual families or from the common stock of grains stored in the dormitory to meet such necessities. In the fold of their youth organisation, the unmarried boys and girls being members of the dormitory are allotted specific duties to entertain the guests, the boys chopping fire-wood, collecting grains, cooking food and running errands, and the girls fetching water, husking grains, grinding spices and supplying leaf cups and plates. The village women have the custom to welcome a distinguished guest by washing his feet with turmeric water and offering a new mat of date-palm leaf and some eatables. Such custom still continues to operate in Juang villages of Keonjhar as the dormitory organization which definitely puts an edge over Dr. Elwin's statement on Juangs having "no tradition, of village hospitality."

However, the hazards and handicaps which stood on the way of Dr. Elwin to collect a true account of the Juang life and culture may not be ignored. The first appearance of Dr. Elwin terrified the Juang of Keonjhar who suspected him to be a missionary visiting them with a motive to spread christianity. So the Juang strongly resented to reveal themselves to him. He could however, make his way to Pallahara and

Dhenkanal where the Juang lived amidst "Chasa or Savara" and could hardly "see anything that could be called Juang life". Moreover, Elwin had to depend on the version of his interpreter who being an Oriya and not having been free from ethnocentrism might have projected his ideas and viewpoints on Juangs. The fact that Elwin's notes on the Juang were supplemented by enquiries made by his assistants after Elwin left the Juang area further strengthens the view that Elwin had to depend on second-hand information. As a result of all the difficulties narrated above the account of Elwin on Juang suffered from gross incongruity and misrepresentation of facts.

Regarding the songs and dances of the Juang Dr. Elwin has described a number of ballets like deer dance, boar dance, elephant dance, root dance, bear dance, koel dance, sparrow dance, peacock dance, and vulture dance, etc. and as his account states—"Every dance is accompanied by its special songs and some of these are very beautiful. Those accompanying the animal and bird ballet are superior to the Ghumra songs of Dhenkanal. Although these are old, they are sung in a bastard Oriya rather than in Juang".

It is necessary in this context, to note that the so called animal and bird ballets described and photographed by Elwin are original dances of the Bhuinya who are a brethren tribe living close to the Juang. As Elwin has based his account mainly on the Juang

of Dhenkanal he might have observed the Juang borrowing such ballets from the Bhuinya, and the traits of culture found among the Juang of Dhenkanal can never represent the traditional culture traits of the Juang.

Dr. Elwin has given a number of songs sung by the Juang in those days all of which are Oriya songs before two decades and a half. While studying the Juang, Dr. Elwin could see them wearing leaf, but he failed to record any of their traditional songs composed in Juang dialect. It is true that ordinarily the Juang sing songs in bastard Oriya composed by themselves during dance and on their way to fairs and markets to attract the girl friends and on their way to see the dancers off, but during marriage and while dancing with the *bandhu* (cognate) girls they sing songs of their own language. The men only sing during dance, but on other occasions both boys and girls exchange their heart through songs.

The present article aims at describing Juang songs and analysing their sociological importance. On the basis of the subject matter the songs of the Juang may be classified under four main categories. Some songs are sung by the mothers to console their wailing babies. Such songs are called *naale* by Juangs.

Some songs are meant for story-telling. Such songs describe the sorrows and sufferings of human beings and overcoming those by the mercy of supernatural powers and forces believed

to be guiding every walk of human life. Such songs are usually sung by experienced women on the occasion of *Tirtia* (first paddy sowing) ceremony in a gathering with the purpose to sing the glory of the unseen powers and thereby praying them to shower plenty and prosperity.

Some songs are extremely vulgar and are sung only in dance during marriage. In every marriage a fun-dance is held in the groom's village between the joking relations. Those who are related to each other as brothers, father's father and son's son (all own or classificatory) play on *Changu* (the large circular tambourine) and the women who are related to them as their brother's (both younger and elder) wife, father's father's wife and son's son's wife join in the dance. A lot of fun is displayed between the men's and the women's parties and the men sing the vulgar songs to tease the women.

Songs of the above categories are relatively few in number, but most of the Juang songs are *changu* songs sung mostly by the unmarried boys while dancing with their *bandhu* (marrying spouse) girls on the latter's dancing visit to their village. Some such songs may be ballads depicting love tragedies, the daily routine of work and the scenes of village life, etc. The song "*Ku ku lo semelan*" is the most popular song telling about the heart-felt love between the lover and the beloved going to the heart of a jungle in search of *asoka* flower, put to death by the evil spirit dwelling

on the tree and in the long run getting back their life by *Rusi* and *Rusiani* (defied tribal hero and his wife) for the sake of their true love. The song starts with a couplet of prayer to the *Bhima* and *Badama*, the *changu* deities regulating the life of the youths of the dormitory. A translation of the song may reveal the poetic faculty of the composer, in which the lover and the beloved are supposed to express their heart to each other. The girl is eager to adorn herself with the *asoka* flower which blossoms in a remote part of the jungle and begs her lover to go and pluck the flower. The boy replies that before starting on journey the girl should take permission from her twelve brothers and the sisters-in-law. The girl says that she has taken their permission and now they should move. The boy then asks the beloved to arrange twelve bundles of food for the twelve days' journey and the girl informs that the same has been prepared. Then the girl asks the boy to go ahead so that she may follow him by looking at his turban and the loin of his cloth, but the boy wants the girl to lead the path so that he would follow by admiring the exquisite bamboo comb fixed on her bunn and by admiring her dazzling anklets. They then reach their destination and the girl helps the boy to climb on the *asoka* tree. The boy plucks bunches of flower and asks the girl to decorate her bunn. When the boy gets down the girl requests him to lift the basketful of flower to her head so that they may return back soon, but the boy feels sick and likes to rest a

while. He lies down keeping her head on the lap of his sweet heart and the latter sings a song to entertain him. He then falls into deep slumber till the golden rays of the setting sun fall on the mountain peaks of the Malyagiri. The girl notices a flock of golden vultures on the Malyagiri and tries to awake her lover. But alas! He has been dead. The girl breaks down to tears wailing that the spirit dwelling on the *asoka* tree brought her lover to death and that she had no body on earth to look after her. She then contemplates that she could not return to the village alone lest the parents of the boy and the villagers may chide her and decides to sacrifice her life in the memory of her love for the boy. She brings out the waist chain of the boy, her earrings, and keeps those aside. She throws the body of her lover to a ravine and jumps herself down and dies. A crow carries the waist-chain and the earrings and drops those down in the village which are identified to be their belongings by their parents. They mourn for their children and perform usual death rites by slaughtering goats and giving funeral feast to the villagers.

The plot then takes a new turn. In the forest where the couple pass away, lived *Rusi* and *Rusiani*. They roast the roots and tubers collected by them and divide into two shares, but every time they distribute four equal shares emerge. This surprises the couple who, by divination come to know about the tragic end of the innocent lovers. They, take

pity on them and generate new life to them. The lover and beloved then proceed to their own village. Seeing them alive the heart of their parents is filled with joy. They plaster their house, arrange new mat and grind turmeric to greet and bless their children. On their arrival in the village they marry and lead a happy life.

The above song not only fulfils the purpose of story-telling, but its composition also exhibits superb poetic skill of the composer. Another song may also be narrated which depicts vividly the important elements of the Juang social life relating to the association of the unmarried boys and girls of the dormitory. The song and its English rendering are stated as follows :—

1. Sisiri dāk dā lālāe lo bānga
sisiri dāk dā lālāe.

There is fire in dew drops, fire in dew drops.

2. Lālāe jale jale ātāmā labdeme
ātāmā labdeme.

As the fire burns the heart
burns, the heart burns.

3. Sitate ākāte rāngate ākāte
lālāe aren dakasere.

Pinched by extreme cold, the
girl is sitting near the fire.

4. Gitointe mimunke chānguinte
mimunke.

lālāe aren dakasere.

She does not appreciate my
song and *changu*.

so she is sitting near the fire.

5. Bejerāng mutāmuin kālialak
mutāmuin

dālung gatāng megay megay
you may carry a bunch of
tobacco and dried sal leaves for
me to the path leading to the
stream.

6. Itingte midiyandra lakāte mune

Jātimde ra bumudina.

Don't give the tobacco and the
dried leaves on my palm as my
touch may defile your status.

7. Kākāmki chāri bhāi bakamki
di bhāi

āengte sugei bstangkein.

I am very much afraid of your
four elder brothers
and two younger brothers.

8. Jāti maānā ja megātāāra
bakarāe

jāti kimam jo āing.

Do not worry if you are defiled,
by my touch
I shall purify you.

9. Bhani rasānanda chhanda lo
bāngari,

āau kānātītā. langa

The song is concluded (I) Looked
at the back-side of the house.

10. Dadira dakasere kākāra
dakasere

bĕjerāng dindingte betang.

As her father's younger brother and her elder brother are sitting, the girl is afraid of giving me the gift of tobacco.

Analysis of the song reveals the following :—

1. It gives a true and vivid description of a wintry night highlighted by *changu* dance. The dew drops make the weather chilly. A fire is set near the plaza encircling which rest and relax some of the girls, while others would be dancing. The fire not only keeps the dancers warm, but is used for heating *changu* and for providing illumination to the audience. (lines 1, 2, 3 of the song).

2. The song brings out the salient features of Juang youth organization and the dealings between the *bandhu* boys and girls. If the girls make delay to come forward for dance, it is customary for the boys to tease them on the pretention that the girls might not be appreciating their songs for which they avoid to dance and thereby while away the time by sitting near the fire. By making this fact public and to attract the girls for dance the singer, therefore, makes the girls conscious of this fact in stanza 4.

Likewise, presentation of tobacco and dried leaves to the boys by the *bandhu* girls in secluded places, the fun of the boys and girls attributing themselves as persons of very low caste and addressing the others to be the members of

superior caste and status and the lover's dread for his beloved's family members, etc., are described vividly in subsequent stanzas.

3. The poetic genius of the composer in depicting the love of the singer through a simili can be well imagined from the second line of the song. The delicate dew drops of the winter represent the tender heart of the singer and the fire symbolizes his love for the sweet heart, and as the fire blazes near the plaza love and passion borne in the heart of the singer also sparks into flames.

Other songs aim at teasing the girls, expressing the love of the singers for the girls, their heartfelt gratitude for the girl's kind visit to their villages, the grief and sorrow of the parting day, and the like.

Conclusion—The canvas of tribal culture is changing fast under modern circumstances. Rapid growth of industrialization, spread of Christianity, increasing culture—contact with the outsiders, etc., have brought striking changes in the life and culture of the tribals. Being swept away by the under-currents of the modern culture, the tribals have not only acquired many new values and norms to cope with the changing pattern of the society, but have lost many fine traits of their traditional culture. Their dormitory life and the associated youth organisation have been affected most, as a result of which the dormitory organization has either been abolished or has lost its importance in the society. Today, we no more find youth

dormitory among such major tribes like the Kondh, Koya, Gadaba, Saora, Santal, Oraon, Munda, Paraja, etc. The *Ghotul* of the Gond, *Gitiara* of the Munda, *Dhumkuria* of the Oraon, and *Dhangri* and *Dhangar Basa* of the Kondh have long since been abolished. Among some such tribes like the Bonda and the Dideyi, the dormitory organisation exists in a rudimentary form. Among the Bhunyas, the *Mandaghar* organisation still continues to have its hold in Keonjhar, is on the decaying phase in Koira area of Sundergarh, and has long since been abolished in the district of Mayurbhanj.

With the breakdown of the dormitory organisation, the traditional songs and dances of many tribes have also suffered decay. The accultured tribals have developed hatred and scorn for their traditional song and dance and in many societies the folk dance has lost its glamour.

Out of the 62 Scheduled Tribes of Orissa, the hill Juang only have retained their dormitory organisation, least affected by the modern changes. The institution has been given a good-by among the plains dwelling Juang of Dhenkanal, but

it continues to flourish in Keonjhar. The Juang of Keonjhar have retained their songs and dances, but by adopting Oriya songs during dance they have already gone a step forward to be the victims of the changing circumstance of the day. The Juang songs of high poetic value are gradually slipping away from the memory of the natives, and unless these are revived a precious folk music of a primitive tribe may cease to exist after a few years. It is now necessary to create new zeal and interest in the mind of the Juang to keep up their traditional songs. The Community Development Programme may encourage the tribals through propaganda to value their traditional songs. Instead of spending money in providing modern musical instruments for promoting the recreational habits of the Juang, the social Education Organiser may take interest to record Juang songs and play those on in Juang villages. This may encourage and attract the Juang to value their traditional song. Occasional rewards awarded to the Juang composers may also encourage and generate new zeal in them to compose more songs in their own dialect.

PURNA CHANDRA MOHANTY

The tribal community mentioned in this paper is the Saoras of Gunpur Agency in the district of Koraput. This is one of the important tribes of the State. It constitutes the second largest tribal population, first being the Khonds. The Saoras here are known as Lanjia Saora on account of the manner of putting on the loin cloth with an end hanging at the back like a tail (*lanja*). The hill ranges of eastern ghat, on which Saoras live, are extended up to Ganjam district. In Gunpur area Pottasingi is an important place. The Headquarters of a Panchayat is located here.

The present paper is based on a study in the village Rijintal about 2 km. from Pottasingi. While discussing the food habits of the Saoras an attempt has also been made to analyse type of food preparation and nutritional value.

Food is the hub of primitive life. Like other jungle tribes Saoras are also traditional food gatherers and hunters. Food quest is the propelling force behind cultivation, collection of forest produce and hunting. Saoras have to arrange feasts for counter-acting any breach of tribal law. Offerings are made to Gods to seek their blessings. The daily time-table and routine revolve around the axis of food. Many of the rituals and ceremonies have food quest and harvesting as their basis. Food is the means to satisfy not only hunger but it has a social significance too. The Saoras attach great

FOOD HABIT OF A TRIBAL COMMUNITY

importance to the production and the gathering of food as one of the main links of social cohesion within the village community. They assist one another in the production or acquisition of food. In everyday life there is no social groupings. Food is consumed by the family. At feast and ceremonies, however, all house-holds of a village join in a common meal. Thus, the communal feast is the symbol of group solidarity.

A Saora takes 'Peja' (Gruel of Jana, Ghantia, Kangu, Kosala) in the morning and goes to the forest or to the field. If there is more work on 'Bagada' thus his wife supplies him with the lunch there at 'Bagada', otherwise the Saora comes back home by 1 P.M. or so and again takes Peja (Occasionally, Saoras take rice, especially during harvest). In the afternoon he does some minor work, takes his dinner 'Peja' or rice. A Saora does not get curry with every meal. Salt and chilly are his prime side dish. However, the Saora has a taste for the curry and whenever possible takes curry with his meal. Sometimes it so happens that all the members are required in the field for work. At that time food is cooked in the field and eaten by all the members of the family. When the meal is cooked in the field, all the members of the family dine together. Sometimes Saoras go to the distant land for cultivation. There they cook and eat together. The pot of gruel (Peja or rice) is kept in the centre and all the members squat themselves

around with *Sal* leaves in their hands. Then one after another takes 'Peja' from the common pot and pour it into their leaf plate. Self-service is practised at 'Bagada'. However, in the house when Saora takes his meal, the youngest lady serves the food. But there is no hard and fast rule for this type of serving. Sometimes first or second wife also serves. A man feeling hungry goes to the place of hearth where the cooked food is kept and serves himself. Water is taken after the meal with the help of the gourd spoon (*Danki*) and the hand and mouth washed with water.

When some member of the family is absent, other members of the family take their meal leaving his share. When the man returns, he finishes his meal and cleans the utensil and goes to the bed, if it is night, without disturbing other members of the family.

Food occupies very important place in the life of Saora. From dawn to dusk they are engaged in procuring food. They either go to the forest to collect roots and tubers or engage themselves for

the most part in the most un-economic kind of cultivation, i.e., 'Bagada'. They give food as gift to God to receive his blessing as men are cured by satisfying God with sacrifices. Thus, food overshadows the complex of the Saoras life.

Food in a simple society is not only a means to satisfy hunger but also one of the cohesive forces in the community. The more the conditions for getting the food are inhospitable, the more will be the communal interest in food. Of course, among the Saoras, we do not find such intensive communal activity for food production. Where gathering is the only kind of procuring food, we find intensive communal activity. Even now also among the Saoras whenever they go to collect roots and tubers in the forest they go in groups. Food production has indeed a social significance, for it is one of the life giving forces of the society. The quest for food is the motive force behind cultivation, collection of roots and tubers and hunting. Whatever Saora collects or produces, he tries to make it more tasteful and delicious. So he prepares different items for his dish.

Preparation of Food

Every individual Saora family prepares the following items for meal :—

Name of the food	Preparation
Rice	.. Either of rice, Jana or Ganga
Jau	. Either of Mandia or Salop
Peja	. Either of Jana Ghantia, Kangu of Kosala
	Boiled food of Kandula, Jhudanga of Bargudi

- Curry .. Vegetables—Pumpkin (Boitialu), gourd, saru, bean (simba).
- Meat curry .. Meat either of buffalo (Podu), Pig (Kambu), Fowl, Goat, Birds, Snakes, Hare, Peacock, Bear, Tiger, Deer, Kutura.
- Fish curry .. Dry fish curry and dry meat curry

Now we will see how the dishes of different types are prepared

Rice

Saoras use earthen pot for cooking. First water is kept in an earthen pot over burning hearth and when water gets boiled the rice is put inside the pot. The rice, however, is not washed by putting into the pot. When the rice gets boiled the water is taken out and the rice is ready for serving. Sometimes they add vegetables with the rice. Jana rice is also prepared in the similar fashion.

Salop Jau

First of all Jana, Ganga or Ghantia rice is boiled. When the rice is boiled enough, Salop solution, after being stained is added to the boiled rice and again heated moderately. Heating more, after adding the salop, spoils the taste of the Jau. Required quantity of salt is added before the pot is taken out of the hearth.

Mandia Jau

Mandia is first powdered. Then the water is heated in an earthen pot. When the water gets boiled, the mandia powder is mixed with water and a thin paste is made and added to the boiled water and stirred at regular intervals. Then

required quantity of salt is added. When the mixture gets cooked, the pot is taken out of the hearth and eaten when cooled down.

Jana Rice

As in the case of rice, water is boiled first and when water gets boiled, the Jana rice is put into it without washing. When the rice is boiled properly, the pot is taken out of the hearth. In this case it will be interesting to note that unlike rice the water is not taken out of Jana rice. But in some cases the rice water is also taken out. It depends on the taste of the individual.

Peja

Peja is the staple diet for Saoras. As are the people, so is their diet—very simple way of preparing. For preparing Peja, first some water is taken in a pot and heated on a burning hearth. When water reaches little below the boiling point, some Ghantia, Kangu, Kosla or Jana is put in the pot. The mixture is stirred and, when cooked well, is taken out of the hearth. No salt is added. The important factor in this case to note is that more than one variety of food crop is being mixed and cooked.

Pumpkin and Gourd Curry—

Pumpkin and gourd are cut to small pieces first and then boiled. When the pumpkin gets boiled, required quantity of salt and chilly are added. To make the dish more palatable, sometime onion is added, if available. Some Kandula or Jhudung is also mixed with the pumpkin curry.

Dry Fish curry—

Dry fish is put in turmeric water and then is boiled. After boiling, salt and chilly are added. In order to increase the taste of curry, little tamarind is added, with which makes the curry little acidic and thereby palatable.

Fish curry—

The fish, if big, is cut into pieces. Scales or gills are not taken out. First water is boiled. When water gets boiled the small pieces of fish are put in the boiling water. Required quantity of salt, chilly and turmeric are put into the curry. Saoras do not favour the idea of frying the fish before making curry. They believe that if the fish is fried, the fish will get mixed with the soup (Golijiba). Sometimes pumpkin, gourd or any other vegetables, are also added to the fish curry.

Preparation of meat curry—

Meat is first cut into small pieces and kept in a pot and after adding little water is boiled over the hearth. When the meat is boiled, required quantity of salt, chilly

and turmeric are added. Sometimes gourd pieces are also added. If available, onion or garlic is added. Enough of soup is left with the curry. Saoras like to take the soup with the rice, while eating. When there is meat or fish in Saora house, he generally prepares rice, as rice fits well to meat or fish curry. Meat is prepared by men and is cooked by women.

Among the various items, Saoras take only few items like 'Peja' and rice which remain constant throughout the year whereas the other items are seasonal. So far the curry is concerned, salt and chilly remain throughout the year with Saoras. Other dishes are seasonal and occasional, when rice fall short of their requirement they either borrow or substitute rice with some other crop that is available with them. Sometimes they resort to those items which are gathered from the forest, i.e., various kinds of roots and tubers, fruits, nuts and leaves. The powder of Sagu seed is most important item in this category.

The economic life so far concerned with the production and consumption of foods at most places work on religious sanctions. Before using the new crops like Kandula, Jana or mango, they first propitiate the deity concerned and then only they eat the particular crop. As for example, before gathering raw mangoes from the trees in the forest they propitiate a deity with a pig or fowl and then start gathering. This shows how the food producing and consuming aspects of Saora are strictly tinged with

religious fervour and strong religious bias over the producing and consuming aspects. This is an indication of the exertion of minimum human ingenuity. Saoras do the available food sparingly and keep sufficient for the day to come. They try to exhaust those food stuffs which will be spoiled if they are kept for the day to come. They try to do their best not to waste the cooked stuff. But unfortunately, they are ignorant of food preservation. The only way known to Saora is to keep a lead or any other covering over the cooked food. Saoras preserve uncooked food stuff for a long time. This category generally includes dry meat and valia nut. When the meat is available more than what Saora family consumes, then they dry some portion. The meat, when completely dried, is stored for future use. During rainy season the Saoras use the dry meat as their food.

It is found that the community of Saoras do not entail responsibility in supplying food to its members. It is the responsibility of the family as the primary social unit. When the family is charged with the responsibility of securing its own food, it opens competition between different families in the community. Under the above circumstances, the status of a Saora family is always determined in accordance with the food they consume.

Daily Food and its value among Saoras—

After discussing the food types, let us see the daily food habit and its value among Saoras.

To Saoras, Kandula and Mandia are supposed to have nutritious food values. Rice and Jana come next. Rice is no doubt a favourite food of Saora but they do not get it in plenty. They like most to take rice with curry. According to Saora, Ghantia and Ganga are energy giving food stuff. Saoras are aware of the food values of milk and ghee, but they rarely take these.

Food value is always judged by the time, a particular food takes to get digested. The food that gets digested earlier is believed to have less food values by the Saoras. For instance, Kangu and Kosala are believed to have less food value as it is digested earlier.

Sometimes food value is considered in accordance with its availability. When there is dearth of food supply, Saoras accept the unwanted foods. During the food scarcity the roots and tubers are valued much. Although the Saoras like to take meat still they do not consider that it has food values. The reasons for this are given in many ways. One of the reasons is that the meat comes from the old and weak buffaloes. Moreover, the meat is not tasteful as the buffaloes do not get sufficient fodder. Saoras value pork more than buffalo meat because while cooking pork some oil comes out of it whereas no oil comes out from the buffalo meat. Pleasure and change of diet induces Saoras to take meat. The other important reason of taking meat is that it is offered to God and they must eat the orts of God. The same belief is found with other animals

like goat, cow and chicken. Fish has no food value although they like to eat it. It is due to limited supply and availability.

Fish, while cooking in the tribal traditional pattern, gets mixed up with the soup. Although it has no food value, still they eat it whenever available.

Saoras use Salop (wine) as their food and drink. They consider that the salop has much food value. Salop is taken every day, if available. It is a habit with Saoras, good or bad to visit the Salop plant thrice in a day. Once early in the morning, afternoon and in the evening. Salop is always welcomed because it brings stimulation. Sometimes they take Mahua, if available. Fowl has little food values to Saoras. They believe that they take fowl only because it is sacrificed to God. On questioning its food values, it was replied that fowls are birds and

they eat only rubbish and insects. So they do not like it. In this village every house-hold keeps some chickens but they never take its meat unless it is sacrificed to God. Saoras do not take eggs. Only the eggs are used for hatching, even they do not sell the eggs.

In addition to the above mentioned food, also Saoras take a variety of root and leaves from the jungle. They like mango and jack-fruit most. Also they take orange and date. In this area Saoras produce plenty of oranges but they do not take it as it is sold.

Out of the above mentioned foods, Saoras generally take 'Peja' and rice regularly. But they like curry if it is available. During summer they take mandia Jau, Salop remains constant for the whole year, as food and drink and it plays an important role in the food habit of Saoras.

VIJAY KUMAR MATHUR

In the present paper I wish to continue discussion on another dimension of tribal development—training of workers for tribal development. Readers of *Adibasi* will recall my two previous papers titled (i) *Modernity: The Nexus of Tribal Development*, and (ii) *Indicators of Tribal Development*. The other day, as I lectured to a group of teachers, youth leaders and women workers in an interior tribal development block, disconnected memories of numerous such camps in tribal and non-tribal areas flashed across my mind. I wondered what have been the changes in the channels of communication and the quantum of total world knowledge reaching these isolated areas during the past decade—a decade which singles out as unique in the history of rural and tribal development in India. In the wake of this fanfare of what we may call the 'development era' there has been little breathing time either for retrospection and introspection or for knowledgeable projection for the future. There has been a marked tendency amongst us to enlarge successes and quickly find the culprit for failures. Rarely, do these processes of evaluation contain enough focus on the human material responsible for the brightness and shadows both of which can be usefully employed as teachers. The problem of analysing human roles leading to more purposeful training of tribal development workers can easily be brushed aside by repeating the obsolete tune—"structures of governmental working are too

TRAINING FOR TRIBAL DEVELOPMENT

gigantic and perfectly streamlined leaving little scope for understanding the humans", who, though insignificant in themselves, become crucial king-pins of the machine. Had our developmental organisation acquired the modern slant towards impersonal systems, as we find today in the affluent context of the west, it would have been extremely easy to pick up crisp and chiselled American methods, expose our workers to these and await computerised results. As I write this, I have the background of going through (rather intimately) all the glamorous, foreign books and brochures which bring out in fine print a whole generation of information on extension education, community development and the entire ambit of development of backward peoples of the world. I have consumed all this, discussed with and communicated to innumerable workers and tried it in action.

Nevertheless, I must confess that my years of experience in the world of community development have not been able to offer answers to many intricate situations, which, though easily discernable and understood in theory, baffle the field worker beyond imagination. For tribal community development as for similar programmes in non-tribal rural India, I consider the following aspects of training and personnel management worth discussion. When I write this, I neither claim a blue-print ready for action nor have I consumed all knowledge on the subject. The

succeeding discussion draws heavily upon my experience in the field of community development training.

Early Years

There was a time, immediately at the beginning of post-independence years, when community development programmes fascinated our leaders as the best self-help democratic approach towards rural reconstruction. Amidst the gaiety of inauguration speeches and the infant novelty of this programme, parts of India were spotted with community projects. The workers were carefully chosen and a good many of them have lived through the fog and mist years of what I am tempted to call "the rise and fall of community development in India". Today, if you talk to these stalwarts, they have their own story to tell—a story which is full of praise for the bygone days but lacks analytical discussion on the factors which have been responsible for a rather unhappy ending of this programme. The laurels won during the early years did carry the programme for many years till there appeared immeasurable lacunae which ultimately stretched afar enveloping the entire country and burying what once was proclaimed as a programme of human salvation.

The Human Material

My readers may not agree but I am wont to conclude that the Governmental sponsored community development programme has positively neglected the human component that was supposed to

be the prime mover. By neglect, I clarify that there have been major shortcomings in the recruitment, training, management, and evaluation of governmental community development personnel. Although, I wish to devote this paper primarily to training for tribal development, what I say may also be applicable to non-tribal areas, but the focus would be on tribal development workers. The proper shaping of the human material involved as directors of change in a programme like this may presently appear insignificant with a low national priority, but once the history of post-independence tribal development in India is to be written, many of us may not be spared for the lack of foresight. This lack of foresight, I am sure, will not be attributed to any lack of enthusiasm or sincerity on our part. The charge levelled, will be, I believe, that in an age of high technical competence even in the fields of social administration, how was it possible for us to ignore the use of these expertise. Why and how did we remain tuned-in to certain obsolete cotes of governmental functioning when the need of the hour was to carve out a development oriented code of administration, through which, human potential and energy could be utilised to the maximum limits.

Recruitment

The word appears simple and most of us erroneously believe that some of our top level recruitment systems are the best that world can offer. We little realise that majority of our governmental

recruitment methods are as obsolete as would a bullock cart appear in comparison to high speed jet travel. While I write this, I do not advocate blind folded adoption of modern American recruitment systems but I do wish to emphasise the need of selecting only those as tribal development workers who have the necessary competence. I do not agree that either these workers should necessarily be tribals themselves or do I think that any special attitudes congenial towards tribals) amongst tribal workers make them any better. Surely, if I were to advise, a good community development worker of a non-tribal area is necessarily a good tribal development worker also. I do not think that the ideal personality attributes of community development workers in tribal areas need to be basically different from those who work in non-tribal rural areas. This thinking emerges from my firm belief that the economic development of any society must always be preceded by education towards modernity. And for such an education to be imparted to the tribals we need a worker who possesses those traits (which I will discuss) as would make him a good development worker. Generally, while recruiting tribal development workers it is ensured that as far as possible, they should themselves be tribals, know tribal language, customs and traditions. I believe that these accomplishments are more of an ornamental nature and add little to the performance of the worker. Researches on recruitment procedures and personnel training have advanced

much in other parts of the world. Although, the quality of the total performance of a worker in any field depends upon factors which interplay around him after he is recruited for a particular job, it has, today, become possible to so rationalise recruitment procedures as to ensure maximum output in terms of job proficiency and the total performance of a worker. Unfortunately, our governmental recruitment procedures are too outmoded and remind us of the previous centuries. A recruitment method which was considered suitable, say in 1920, still holds good in majority of selections for governmental positions. The imbalance, therefore, is obvious. Job requirements in the pre-independent India were totally different from what they are today in the wake of increased pressures of development and planning roles. Whereas, prior to independence we required a machinery which could just maintain the smooth functioning of the government, today's planning and development activities call for dynamic 'push-forward' performance and every government worker has to look ahead instead of doing routine jobs. In the above context, the recruitment procedures of tribal development workers acquire a new dimension. I do not propose to discuss here any new plan for reorganising the recruitment procedures for that would be the area of those who are competent to take policy decisions. I merely wish to indicate a few ingredients of recruitment which could be adopted with advantage. I consider those tribal development workers as most

consequential who work at the grass-roots and come in daily contact with the tribal population. Those who are above them in supervisory roles may be important administratively, but the projection of their work on the tribal people is negligible. It is, therefore, the grass-root tribal development workers, call them village level workers or by some other name, whose recruitment procedure needs proper care. It would not be sufficient to raise their status and emoluments so as to attract better people. Unless a thorough post-recruitment institutional training and strict screening during and after training is resorted to, there are bare chances of ensuring availability of proper grass-root workers. It may sound naive to say that in the area of tribal development programmes, as also in those where human material has to be tackled by Governmental machinery, the middle level supervisory staff is of much lesser importance than the grass-root workers who actually impinge their personality on the tribal population. It is, therefore, rather unfortunate that our Governmental machinery should be such where the best people are selected for top positions and as you scale down to the lower most levels the quality goes on deteriorating, primarily, due to lower emoluments and lesser advantageous service conditions. This traditional bureaucratic hierarchy is most unsuitable for tribal development programmes. Governments which are keen on achieving success in the sphere of tribal development must introduce radical changes in the staffing

patterns, so that those workers (at lowest level) who are to be the prime movers of development must necessarily be of a higher quality—even superior to those who just sit in the offices for purposes of the so called “administration and supervision”. It would serve little purpose if the contemporary middle level executives are transferred as grass-root workers. Their orientation has been attuned to supervisory roles without having opportunities to tackle tribal people and the intricate problems encountered in taking new programmes to them. Fresh recruitments and thorough training appears to be the only possibility.

Training Tribal Development Workers.

Economic development of backward people, in my opinion, has only a single meaning and it is not possible to differentiate between the development processes that would be required for tribal and for non-tribal rural communities in India. For the development of both these sections of our population, the Governmental machinery will have to fix certain final targets and interim indices for purposes of measuring development. Development agencies will, therefore, have to be manned by competent people who categorically understand their roles and the direction in which the population has to be steered. Scientific institutional training for all development workers will instil in them the understanding of their roles and the requisite competence. I do not

think that it is necessary for tribal development workers to study in great detail what we call tribal life and culture. Such a study may be useful for researchers conducting studies for purposes of academics and increasing total world knowledge about tribes. Tribal development workers need not get involved into these scholastic enterprises. Their expertise has to be more in the nature of being technicians who would understand the steps of those economic processes which are needed for the economic development of backward people—it is immaterial whether the so called backward people belong to a tribal community or an ordinary rural area. Broadly speaking, the processes and stages of economic development required for a backward tribal community would be

identical to those required for a non-tribal community if both of these communities suffer from almost the same economic insufficiencies. And I believe, that a sizeable number of India's non-tribal rural areas suffer from almost the same economic debilities (often more) as our backward tribal populations. In this context, it would also be useful to consider whether it has today become necessary to redefine 'tribe and tribal'.

The intention of this paper was not to prepare a scheme for training tribal development workers, but to raise certain issues which ought to attract those who are to plan and administer these programmes.

GANANATH DAS

His name was Anaru. He was a famished Saura tribal youth when I chanced to meet him while visiting a very backward tribal area a few years ago. Desiring to learn the dialect I asked Anaru if he would come with me to the town and give me lessons in his dialect. Anaru agreed. His knowledge of Oriya was no doubt very imperfect and scanty but we managed to understand each other. And so Anaru embarked upon his new career leaving behind the rugged hills and forests and his wondering comrades behind.

Anaru was in his traditional lion cloth and a tattered dirty half shirt for the upper garment. I wanted to tidy him up before bringing him to the town and so a pair of shorts and shirts were got prepared for him. He accepted them and cast the tattered shirt off but, would not part with the lion cloth for quite some days.

Anaru kept up his cheerfulness and was alert and agile and he hardly ever made any reference to his village and friends and relations whom he had left behind. The urban environment and the hundred and one new things he came in contact with for the first time in his life kept him deeply absorbed. For full two months he hardly ever remembered his native village and comrades, on the other hand once or twice he casually mentioned his desire to possess a pair of trousers and a wrist watch like what my son was using.

TRIBAL CULTURE AND DEMOCRACY

Before however the third month was out he would interrupt the lessons that he gave me with flashes of the ragi fields turning gold on his native hill side, of bright fishes playing in the gurgling hill stream where he bathed, and of one or two of his dear friends as they played upon the flute and fiddle. As time went on he would urge me to visit his village again, see the nice dances and eat the luscious maize which would be maturing at that time of the year. Gradually I found him obsessed with memories of the village to the extent of almost aberration. It was clear to me that it would no longer be possible to hold him back. So I arranged a place for him as a trainee in a small iron workshop in a countryside Subdivisional town which is not far from his hilly village. The inhabitants of the tribal villages including his own come to the market in this town. I had thought that Anaru would be able to pay flying visits to his village and maintain contact with his near and dear ones and in course of time shape into a skilled mechanic. Some months after that, on my next visit to the workshop I found that Anaru was there no more. The Superintendent of the workshop who is a kindly gentleman was sorry to have lost Anaru who according to him was a promising and painstaking lad.

Why did Anaru behave as he did? He was apparently quite happy to have come away with me leaving behind the rugged

hills, the hard and privating life that is full of many a risk from the prowling wild animals, unknown diseases and wrath of the supernatural elements at every step. For a time, Anaru kept up his spirit in the new environment, and appeared to be shaping well on the road to assimilation. But that was only for a time. Even the change over to the small Sub-divisional town almost at the foot of the hills which contained his village did not much matter. For, before long he repaired to the hills, his dear and familiar surroundings.

What did the hills hold for Anaru which he missed in the scientillating capital town or the less gaudy town nearer home? Not that he did not like to have two square meals a day and the snaks which we provided for him. Not that he did not appreciate the shorts and shirts in which he went about in his new environment. Not that he did not relish the company of the youngsters in my house who liked him in return. There was yet something that he missed, the want of which was not recompensed by all that he got in the new situation.

It was that what he was missing, for which he yearned and yearned till he could no longer resist the desire to retrace his steps in the direction of his rugged hills.

Back in his own village Anaru was again a full member of the village community. Every adult member of the community has a voice in the affairs of the community. Anaru as one such exercised his right when he participated in

the deliberation. The village common house provided the venue for these assemblies. Topics which matter for the village community are raised and discussed from time to time. True, no proceedings are recorded but the villagers join the discourses with enthusiasm and vigour, and once a decision is taken it becomes law for everybody. The range of subjects is wide and sometimes highly controversial. A deer was chased in a hunt and wounded by the arrow of one of the co-villagers of Anaru, but it escaped into the jungles of the neighbouring village. It was captured there and slayed and feasted upon by those villagers in spite of the protests of Anaru's co-villagers who had wounded it. Spirits ran high between the two parties and tension was mounting. The villagers discussed the problem continuously for full two days as to how they should deal with their adversaries.

Another time the case of a lout who had run away with the wife of a co-villager came up before the village council. In yet another case two brothers had quarrelled over the ownership of a 'Salp' tree that yields liquor. The tree was an ancestral one planted by their father who had expired years ago. The younger brother felt the urge for a drink one day and went to draw liquor from the earthen pot that he had set overnight on his turn. He found the elder brother pilfering liquor after lowering his container under the tree. A quarrel ensued in which each battered the other mercilessly.

An endless chain of events from common place day to day occurrences to questions of prestige between two village communities shape and reshape in the hills as they do anywhere else in the world. The village councils try to resolve these problems as they arise from time to time. In this process the villagers battle with the problems as best as they can. Anaru had been at it since he attained adulthood and even before. He was free to express his opinion on all these matters as a member of the village community and though sometimes his voice may be drowned by the shouting of another's which often happens in these deliberations, he is heard with as much attention as the others and his views have gone to mould or modify the decisions on many a momentous matter brought up before the village council. He functions as a full and active member of the village community and although a destitute whose father fell a victim to a man-eater when he was just a child, and his mother ran away with another man of a distant village leaving him when he was only five years old to fend for himself, these depressing facts do not affect his right on the village council. He may be famished, and a degree or two lower than others in poverty, but that does not detract from the effectiveness of his membership.

While he lived for a couple of months in the Capital town, he was less than a nonentity there. There was much activity of many kinds going around the house where he lived, but he was no

part of any of them. Even I, whom he looked upon as a superior being had no say in any of them. All that probably came as a rude shock to him. At home in his village his voice was one of decision making. That was not anything special to him either. All adult members had that privilege. What kind of community is this in the Capital town? That is how he perhaps wondered. Here all appear to be mere cogs, not motive force. The seeds of frustration were thus sown in his mind, and that sparked the yearning for the village and the native community which gave the opportunity to all and sundry for shaping its destiny.

The Capital town is a crowded place. Rows and rows, and cluster and cluster of houses stand in a sprawling manner. There are plenty of neighbours for every family. But what perhaps surprised Anaru was that every family live for itself and it was nobody's concern what happens in the neighbour's house. Everyone is living just for himself and cares naught about the weal and woe of the family next door. Often outsiders come to ask the whereabouts of some one or other, and almost every time the visitor is told to ask someone else. In his own hill top village it is entirely different. Everyone not only knows the other, but is intimately connected with him, shares his weal and woe as his own brother. The whole community lives as though in one family. If a child is found remiss he can be chastised by any member of the community as if it belonged to his own family. When there is

adversity in one house the entire village rises to lighten the burden by sharing the sorrow. No one would rejoice without sharing his pleasure with the others.

What is this self centered existence in this Capital town? How can one live just for himself? Thus perhaps thought Anaru. Every face is gloomy and sombre lined deep by worries, all his own. As they are living in such close proximity it should be possible for them without difficulty to help one another. Why do they hold themselves back so? There is no free expression of either love or hate in this society where every thing seems to move in under currents and eddies.

In Anaru's society every one has equality of opportunity in all matters. The land from which the villagers derive their food crops, the jungles which provide them with roots and fruits of many kinds are open to all members of the community and each would work and collect according to his capacity and need. There is no scramble for anything and unfair competition among the members. Each would work according to his ability and in case of want would be helped by the neighbour without reserve or rancour. The weak, the disabled and the sick receive the careful attention of all able bodied members of the community who try to help them to the best of their ability.

Against this background of normal social behaviour, Anaru must have been wondering to notice what

happened in the Capital town. In the Bus Stand which he visited occasionally the stronger always took precedence over the weaker in the scramble for a seat in the bus. The people around felt no indignation at this, on the other hand praised the pushing nature and adventurous ability of the one who did not hesitate to trample over the weak in an unfair manner. He noticed children and even adult persons going a begging from door to door for a morsel of food or handful of grain being driven by hunger and could not understand how was it that there would be such plight amidst so much of plenty.

In his hill top village life no doubt was difficult and hunger stalked the land in the lean periods and looked the people stark in the face, but it was a more or less equal or similar fate for all members of the community. The village council it is that allots the land to each family at the beginning of the agricultural operation for cultivation and the whole process of raising the food crops, is the concern of the entire community. As opposed to that here in the capital town privileges and prerogatives are freely practised and every success has a history of boasting. The equality of opportunity which Anaru enjoyed in his hill top village not only in the means of production, but also in the distribution of the produce was not in evidence here.

As Anaru gradually took in the situation in his new surroundings he must have become disillusioned

of the scintillation which greeted his eyes on the day of his arrival in the Capital town and it grew dim and disappeared before long. Disillusion yielded place to frustration and it is not difficult to imagine why Anaru wanted so much to go back to his sylvan surrounding.

Looking back I sometimes feel sad that Anaru was thus lost to the urban civilization. It is sometimes said that urban or modern civilization has the germs of democracy in it. When I recollect the reaction of Anaru to the culture contacts he had, and try to get an insight into the working of his mind, it becomes clear to me that democracy was more on the side of Anaru's tribal

society rather than the modern civilized society. If democracy has to be understood as the state of a community where all the members have equal voice in its affairs, where there is equality of opportunity for its members and where the weal and woe of the individual is shared on a wide scale there can be no doubt about that. If these are the essentials of democracy, as it is asserted, certainly there is more of it in the hill bound village of Anaru than in the seat of modern progress. And we have perhaps reason to be happy that Anaru and his tribe are keeping the ideals of democracy alive in a world tortured and tormented by the demon of selfishness.

BHAGIRATHI CHOUDHURY

The Pauri Bhuiya or Hill Bhuiya are mainly concentrated in the adjoining hilly tracts of Keonjhar, Dhenkanal and Sundargarh districts. They are the most backward section of the tribe. The population of this tribe in Orissa is 156,878 according to 1961 Census out of which 52,686 and 45,168 are found in Keonjhar and Sundargarh districts respectively. Pauri Bhuiyas are not separately enumerated.

The present report on the economic activities of the Pauri Bhuiya is based on investigation carried in two Pauri Bhuiya villages, Karangadihi in Banspal Block of Keonjhar district and Jaldihi in Koira Block in Sundargarh district.

Economic Activities

Economic activities of the Pauri Bhuiya is considerably influenced by the ecological character of the area. As the area consists of ranges of rugged hills covered with forest, the quantity of land available for wet cultivation is meagre. Besides wet cultivation they also practise cultivation on up-land, *badi*-land and *biringa* (Land brought under shifting cultivation). Their other economic activities centre round the agricultural activities. Besides cultivation, they also undertake collection of forest products, engage themselves in indigenous craft wage-earning, fishing in the neighbouring streams and hunting in the forest.

ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES OF PAURI BHUIYA

Cultivation—

The Pauri Bhuiya are traditionally shifting cultivators. Wet cultivation used to be done in a limited scale but at present it is gaining ground among them as a profitable source of livelihood, and is resorted to whenever suitable land is available.

Land is classified by the Pauri Bhuiya into four categories, viz.

- (a) *Bila* or Wet-land
- (b) *Guda* or Up-land
- (c) *Biringa* or land for shifting cultivation.
- (d) *Badi* or homestead garden (also known as Basti-land).

The extent of wet land possessed by individual families could not be ascertained in the absence of survey and settlement in this area of Keonjhar district. In Koira area of Bonai subdivision, the amount of wet-land can be collected from the record-of-rights. As there is no individual ownership of land under shifting cultivation (*biringa*) and as they do not cultivate the same plot every time, quantification on the basis of seed used or yield will not give a correct picture. Eleven out of twenty-two families in Jaldihi do not possess wet-land, while most of the wet-land-owning families have got less than two acres each. In the village Karangadihi fourteen out of forty-two families do not have wet-land. When the amount

of wet-land is calculated on the basis of seed capacity, six out of twenty-eight land-owning families have got four acres or more. The maximum amount of wet-land owned by any family will be eight acres. Rest twenty-two families have owned less than four acres of land. The amount of land under shifting cultivation, up-land and *badi*-land which are generally possessed by each and every family of both villages are not included.

As bullock-driven ploughs are used in the cultivation of all types of land, most of the families have got bullocks and only some families have buffaloes. Keeping of cows for breeding purpose and goats and sheep for sale is a common practice among them.

Technique of Cultivation—Different techniques of cultivation is followed in different types of land, short description of which is given here.

(a) *Wet-land*—In the available wet-land only paddy is sown. They also rarely sow red-gram (*sula*) as a second crop of the year wherever there is water in winter and summer seasons. The paddy grown in this type of land is called *Bad dhan*. They follow both methods, *buna*, broadcasting and *rua*, transplanting.

In *buna* method of cultivation, broadcasting of seeds is done after ploughing twice. Soon after the first shower after the harvest, they plough the land for the first time.

Towards the latter part of *Baisakh* (April-May) or in *Jestha* (May-June) the land is ploughed for the second time (*diuda*). Cowdung manure is spread along the field. If clod breaking is necessary both men and women do it, and the land is made ready for sowing. After the ceremony of *Tirtia Muthi* (Ceremonial sowing of seeds) the seeds are broadcast on the land and a final ploughing is done to cover the seeds. When the rice plants grow to a height of a foot or so and sufficient water stands on the field another ploughing (called *bihuda*) is done. After ten to fifteen days, the leveller (*mae*) is driven through the field. This is followed by weeding (*jud bachha*) in the month of *Bhadrav* (August-September) as the last phase of agricultural operation before harvesting in the month of *Kartik* (October-November) or *Margasira* (November-December). If the wet-lands are situated in the midst of dense forest and if there is the danger of destruction by wild animals, they watch the fields in the night.

In transplanting, a plot is selected as the nursery which will provide seedlings to plant on three or four times of its own size. The nursery is ploughed twice earlier and manured. Before sowing the seeds in the month of *Jestha* (May-June) another ploughing is done and clods are broken. Then the seeds are scattered in the usual method. This is followed by levelling the ground with the help of *mae*. In the meantime the field selected for transplanting is ploughed. Soon after the monsoon showers intensify it is reploughed.

When the seedling grow nearly one foot in height, the field for transplanting is levelled. The seedlings are mostly transplanted by women. After a month or so, weeding is done. The standing crops are guarded by young boys as well as by men. Reaping is done both by men and women. Women carry sheaves on their head and men on their shoulder balancing on carrying-pole (*bihida*). Threshing with the help of bullock or by feet is done on platform specially prepared for the purpose either in one of the fields or in a barn. Winnowing is the work of women. Paddy is dried and stored in straw containers (*Pudug*).

There are also inferior wet-lands located at a comparatively higher ground. This type of land is cultivated only by broadcasting method. Here they follow the technique as followed in case of low-lands but another variety of paddy known as *Khetudi dhan* is grown in those. Sowing is done in *Asarha* (July) but harvested in *Aswina* or *Kartik* (October-November), nearly one month earlier than the *bad dhan* grown in low-land.

Only a few Bhuiya cultivators grow *sula* (Red gram) in the low-land. After the harvest the land is ploughed. The seeds are then sown in the month of *Margasir* (December-January) after which another ploughing is done. They harvest the crop in the month of *Phagun* or *Chait* (March-April).

(b) *Guda (up-land)*—Most part of cultivated area in Pauri Bhuiya country is *guda-land*. This type of land is not fertile and do not stand

repeated cultivation. So they generally cultivate this type of land for two continuous years with the usual rotation of *rasi* (niger) in the first year, paddy mixed with *arhar* or *birhi* (pulses) in the second year. If there is good yield in the second year, the land is used for growing paddy, *birhi* or *kolath* (pulses) in the third year also. After this the area is left fallow for four to five years.

Soon after the first shower, the land is given one or two ploughing and made ready for sowing. Paddy and *arhar* or *birhi* (pulses) are sown in the month of *Asarh* (June-July) when the land is still wet. The variety of paddy grown is called *guda-dhan*. *Rasi* (niger) in the month of *Bhadrav* (August-September) or *ramtila* or *jhatingi* (another variety of niger) in the month of *Sravan* (July-August) are also sown. Weeding, if necessary is generally done by women. Paddy grown in this land is harvested in the month of *Aswina* (September-October).

(c) *Badi-land*—Most of the *badi-land* at the backyard is utilized for growing mustard and maize. Almost all families grow vegetables in the rainy season and a few families grow tobacco, ginger, turmeric and arrowroot.

At the beginning of rains, the *badi-land* is ploughed twice and is kept ready for sowing and manured with cowdung for growing mustard. In the month of *Jestha* (May-June) some families plant ginger, turmeric, arrowroot and *saru* (a tuber) in a portion of the *badi-land*. In the month of *Asarha* (June-July) maize

and vegetables are sown by almost all families of the village. Mustard seeds are sown in the month of *Bhadraw* (August-September) and tobacco is planted in the same month. Weeding in the maize-field and mustard-field takes place in the months of *Sravan* (July-August) and *Aswina* (September-October). Maize and vegetables are consumed in the month of *Aswina* (September-October) when there is acute shortage of food. In the month of *Magh* (January-February) they harvest mustard. Harvesting of tobacco and *Saru* takes place in *Pausa* (December-January) or *Magh* (January-February). Ginger and turmeric are harvested in the month of *Jestha* or next *Jestha*. (May-June).

(d) *Biringa* or land under shifting cultivation—Shifting cultivation among the Pauri Bhuiya is known as *Biringa*, *Jhumi* or *Toila* (a term generally used by the Juang). There are two methods of shifting cultivation, *dahi* and *koman*. The *dahi* process consists of selection of a hill slop more or less levelled for cultivation. Trees and bushes are cut down and piled in rows. If there are insufficient number of trees in the clearing felled trees in other patches are brought and piled. When sufficiently dried up fire is set to those piles. The ashes are spread as manure. In the *koman* the bushes and scrubs on the clearing are cut and piled at the foot of big trees found on the spot. After a month or so when these dry up are burnt and the clearing is made ready for cultivation.

The *dahi* process is more painstaking but yield better

results than the *koman* type of cultivation and is preferred. A short description of the *koman* type of cultivation is given below. Selection of a patch for shifting cultivation is controlled through the traditional village leadership within the limit of village boundary not touching reserved forest boundary. The direction from which the echo of 'Haribol' has come at the time of *Magh Podi* ceremony, which marks the termination of agricultural year is taken into account. In a meeting of village elders in the village Darbar-ground, presided over by the village *Naika* (Secular headman), the area for shifting cultivation is selected in consultation with the village *Dehuri* (Priest). On another day the village elders accompanied by the *Naika* and *Dehuri* go to the selected patch to allot plots for each family according to the capacity of the family members. The size of the family and the number of working adults are considered while allotments are made. Plots are demarcated along the slope from top to bottom. As there is the danger of damage to crops by wild animals, a contiguous area is cleared so that all can guard the crops effectively. No patch of forest in between the various plots are left uncleared. The allotment procedure removes grievances and disputes and provides for collective acknowledgement of rights of various families.

During the months of *Phagun* (February-March) and *Chaita* (March-April) felling of trees (*Jhumikat* or *Kathkata*) takes place. First of all, grass, bushes,

smaller trees and plants are cut. This is done by both men and women with the help of *Budia* (axe) and *Da* (Sickle). Children also take part in the operation. The bigger trees are sometimes left out, cutting only the branches if there are too many. All the felled trees, plants, bushes, and grass are piled and allowed to dry. In the month of *Baisakh* (April-May) those are burnt.

In the month of *Jestha* (May-June) seeds of several varieties of beans such as *Dunk*, *Satur*, *Tipira*, *Ruma* and *Sima* and vegetables are sown in the clearings. Their creepers climb up the tree stumps. In *Asarha* once again the bushes and scrubs are cleared and allowed to decompose for the purpose of manuring. In the same month *birhi* (pulse) is sown and the surface is ploughed. While sowing in the hill clearings the seeds are broadcast from the bottom to the top of the slopes. Weeding (*Lata-bachha*) of wild grasses and other roots takes place in the month of *Bhadrav* (August-September). It is done by both men and women assisted by children. These weeds are left in the *Biringa* field itself to decompose in course of time to provide manure to the soil. If necessary, another weeding is also done. From the month of *Kartika* (October-November) the fields are carefully guarded to protect those from the wild animals and birds. Cultivators divide into groups and guard the fields in turn. For this purpose they construct temporary huts at a higher ground. A fire is kept burning throughout the

night to scare wild animals away from the *Biringa* fields. At the time of harvest a temporary threshing floor in the clearing is made jointly by several families. The *birhi* plants are uprooted and piled in the threshing floor to dry up. After a week or so, threshing is done by striking the dried plants with the help of sticks. Beans are given similar treatment.

When the same plot is cultivated for second year in the month of *Baisakh*, bushes and *birhi*-stumps, if any left out from the previous year are cleared. In the month of *Jestha* (May-June) after a few showers, *Mandia* with *harad* (a variety of pulses) are sown, and the land is ploughed with bullock-driven ploughs. This is followed by bunding (*hida*) and made into several plots.

These bunds are about two to three cubits in width. Bunds along both sides of the slopes are used for growing *Gangle* (a variety of millet) while on other bunds across the patch they grow *Katada*, *Kangu*, *Tisidia* and *Tipira* (all are food crops). In the month of *Bhadrava* (August-September) weeding takes place. By the month of *Kartika* (October-November) almost all the crops grown are harvested and threshed in the *Biringa*-land.

For the third year the same piece of *Biringa*-land is cleared for growing *Gudlu* or *Jali* (both are food crops). Just before sowing the seeds in the month of *Asarh*, (June-July) the weeds and bushes if any are cleared and are allowed to decompose. After the seeds

are sown then only the field is ploughed and weeding is not done. Harvesting of these crops takes place in the month of *Kartika* (October-November) or *Margasir* (November-December). Then the patch is left fallow for ten to twelve years. Due to pressure of population the clearings are now a days brought under cultivation after five to six years. In that case those could be cultivated only for a year or two not three years as would be possible in clearings left for ten years.

Agricultural Implements—The principal agricultural implement of Bhuiyas is *langal* or plough with an iron share (*Luhafal*) and a long shaft (*Isa*). At the time of ploughing, the shaft is tied with the yoke (*Juali*). The *garduni* (hoe) is made of iron with a wooden handle at an end. The digging stick (*Khanta*) consist of a long and flat iron blade fitted to one end of the wooden handle. They have also *Kudi* (hoe), *mae* (leveller) *Kudal* (mud leveller), *da* (sickle), *table* or *budia* (axe) for use in agricultural operations. For carrying the sheaves men use a *bihida* (carrying-pole) and for grains a *bhar* (carrying pole) and *sika* (net).

Wage System

The day labourer who works with contractors gets Rs. 1.25 for male and Re. 1.00 for female. A farm labourer is given nearly two kilograms of paddy and a meal for a day's work. The labourer who works with his own plough gets a meal and two kilograms of paddy. Contract-labourer gets an advance

free of interest. For his daily labour he gets at the usual rate of wage. He binds himself to his creditor till the full repayment. Scope of wage earning is limited to a few construction works, forest operations, mining queries and cultivation assistance to some land owners.

Local Sale and purchase

The Bhuiyas depend on outside markets to fulfil their basic requirements like cloth, ornaments, earthen or metal utensils, iron implements, weapons, salt and tobacco. On the other hand they sell or barter some of their products such as oil seeds, pulses and several other forest products. In course of time due to contact with outsiders, their wants have increased. With the increase of money income, their buying and selling activities have increased in recent times. A short account of their sale and purchase is given here.

Sale

They sell or exchange a number of commodities either in the local weekly markets or at their villages to the petty traders who visit them. These commodities can be grouped into the following categories.

(a) *Agricultural and horticultural products*—They shall for cash or exchange mustard, niger, *biri*, *kolath* and *harad* etc. It is a practice with them to exchange mustard, *biri*, *kolath* and *harad* with rice, and niger with paddy. Sometimes local traders belonging

to Oilman caste visit their villages to sell tobacco, onion, *gurakhu*, (*tobacco paste*), dry fish, etc., in exchange with oil seeds and pulses. During the lean months some Bhuiya families also bring advances in cash and kind from the *Sahukars* of the plains. Those are paid back in the shape of oil seeds or pulses. Government of Orissa have recently started a scheme in Keonjhar district to purchase oil seeds from the tribals at a reasonable rate. It is equally proposed to open Fair Price shops to supply their daily necessities. This is aimed at checking exploitation by traders and to improve the bargaining power of the tribals.

The other minor products under this category are *sula* (redgram) *maka* (maize), castor seeds, sweet potato, beans, *ganjei*, *gudlu*, chilly, turmeric, arrowroot, ginger and vegetables. Very rarely they sell food crops like paddy, *kangu*, *suan*, *mandia* which they grow.

(b) *Forest Products*—They collect a number of forest products such as, timber, firewood, mango, jack fruit, gums, lac, honey, *tasar*, mohua flower and fruit, tamarind, tooth sticks, a number of edible wild fruits, roots and leaves, fibers and grass for rope. They generally carry these things to the market for sale.

(c) *Handicrafts*—Mats and broomsticks made of date palm leaves, other broomsticks made from wild grasses, bamboo baskets of various size and shape (only in Koira area) are manufactured and sold by them for cash and kind.

(d) *Domestic animals*—They breed goat and sheep. These animals, and occasionally the bullock, cow, fowl and eggs are sold in the markets by them.

Purchase

They purchase a number of articles for various purposes either in cash or in kind from the local weekly markets or from the traders who visit their villages.

(a) *For food and drink*—As mentioned earlier, they usually exchange various produce for paddy and rice. Besides, they also purchase foodgrains paying cash which they earn from wage or by selling other commodities. They purchase salt, tobacco, chilly, onion, spices, dry fish, mohua liquor, vegetables, *gurakhu* (*tobacco paste*), molasses, etc. Whenever they visit the markets they purchase various kinds of local confectionaries some of which are eaten and the rest carried for children such as *gulgula*, *Kundapitha*, *bara*, *enduri*, *ladu*, etc., brought by the Gudia caste for sale. Parched rice, flat-rice, *Ukhuda*, etc., are also purchased by them from the Keuta sellers. They also buy fried groundnut, boiled sugar potato, boiled or fried redgram, cooked mahua flower.

(b) *Occupational requirements*—All the agricultural implements and weapons are purchased from the village blacksmiths or from the local markets. Seeds and cattle for cultivation are purchased from the neighbours or from the markets.

(c) *Dress, ornaments and other articles for bodily adornment*—All varieties of dress and ornaments which are used by them are purchased mostly from the market. Cosmetics are becoming popular. Cheap looking-glasses, combs, ribbons, hair oil, soap, ready-made garments are also purchased.

(d) *Household articles*—Varieties of domestic utensils are purchased from the market. The earthenware vessels used in cooking and storing water are also purchased from the potters. For carrying and storing grains they require baskets of various sizes and shapes. The Bhuiyas of Keonjhar who do not make those, purchase from the Dom. Other domestic articles such as trunk, bamboo-box, Kerosin lamp, Lantern and umbrella etc., are bought from the local markets or from annual fairs.

Conclusion—Foregoing description of their economic activities will give an insight into the economic condition of the Pauri Bhuiyas. They still cling to the age-old practice of shifting-cultivation while they have also developed likingness for settled cultivation which require less labour and care. But yields from cultivation are not adequate to sustain them throughout the whole year. Thus they have to supplement their dietary requirements by consuming locally-available fruits, roots, shoots and wild vegetables. Wage-earning whenever there is scope and selling of some items of forest products are also alternative sources of income.

It is thus now high time on the part of the personnel engaged in the upliftment of the tribals to make them agriculturalists in the true sense of the term, by providing land and capital at the first instance.

NITYANANDA DAS

In 1960 there was rioting between Saoras and Panos at village Bhramarpur in R. Udayagiri taluk. It was reported that the Saoras of village Rogoisingi attacked the Panos of Bhramarpur and looted their property, burnt a few houses and one old man also died. The law and order problem was dealt by the Police and Magistracy. Many Saoras of adjoining villages were arrested and prosecuted. It necessitated posting of a contingent of armed Police at Bhramarpur. By taking some repressive measures the conflagration was controlled. Some of the Saoras involved in rioting were ultimately sentenced to various terms of imprisonment. The dispute between Panos and Saoras was on account of some cultivable land enjoyed by the Panos since a considerable time. The Saoras of Rogoisingi claimed back the land in 1959.

This was opposed by Panos. They sought legal advice and the law on adverse possession was on their side. Saoras on the other hand were agrieved as they felt the land to be morally theirs. Their forefathers had pledged the land to Panos towards some outstanding debts. They felt that during all these years of possession the debt would have been fully satisfied. If there was any amount outstanding that could be settled. Panos on the otherhand being landless had to solely depend on

SAORAS AND PANOS OF GANGAM AGENCY

A study into social inter-relationship

the land. Their trading activities had declined due to various forces. Due to hinduization, conversion to christianity and wider contacts, Saoras had given up buffalo sacrifice in the area. Panos reluctance to concede to the request of Saoras, was widely resented.

Saoras of adjoining villages met in a conference and decided to forcibly take possession of the land. This was resisted by Panos and there ensued the rioting.

In this context the Tribal Research Bureau made a study of the situation relating to the conflict between Panos and Saoras regarding the ownership and possession of land in the Saora land of Ganjam district. The finding reflect on the socio-economic relationship of Panos and Saoras.

Panos have been described as a parasitic group solely living as petty traders. They originally came to the agencies as weavers. Being a low untouchable caste in the planis they preferred to lead an arduous life in the difficult terrains of the agency. Before a few decades these areas were considered extremely unhealthy and inaccessible. The administrative machinery did the minimum to govern the area through intermediaries known as Bissoyis and Patro. Saoras were not conversant with Oriya and required

agents to liaison with authorities and outsiders. Panos worked as such and won confidence of Saoras. In course of time they found the profession of weaving no more lucrative and became petty traders.

Saoras distracted by illness offer sacrifices to their innumerable gods and spirits. These gods and spirits torment them with heavy demands of sacrifice. The dead seeking admission to the underworld also demands sacrifices. If those are not conceded they generally inflict diseases and disaster on the living beings. Panos utilized the situation to provide sacrificial animals to Saoras. The mamuls or levies by Muttaheds brought misery and dejection. Crops they grew, fruits borne on the trees on their hills mostly found their way to the Muttaheds and their assistants. During the lean months, when most of the foodgrains had been exhausted, malaria and other diseases became widespread. The curing of diseases required larger number of sacrifices. The Panos were at their door steps to help Saoras. They advanced grains, animals and cash. When the debt swelled Saoras allowed Panos to cultivate their lands towards the satisfaction of those debts. The agreements were oral. But possession being 9 points of law Saoras virtually passed on the ownership to Panos. Very often finding no other alternative to survive in their home land Saoras migrated to tea gardens in Assam. This resulted in undisturbed possession of their land by Panos.

Gauds (herdsmen) also came to the agency in search of better pasture. They established contacts with Saoras and advanced cash to them to meet their unsatisfied wants. Under similar circumstances as in case with Panos described above Saoras allowed them to have possession of their land. Thus most of the valuable paddy fields have passed hands from Saoras to Panos and Gaudas. Saoras were more interested in shifting cultivation on the hill slopes. They were also obliged not to come in direct conflict with Panos and Gaudas who were closer to the non-tribal Muttaheds. The Muttaheds allowed them possession after receiving some fees and usual mamuls.

Some Saoras of Rogoisingi returned from tea gardens. They had acquired new values. Tea gardens also taught them ways of modern life. They returned with some savings, and were naturally interested to get back their land under the control of Panos. Panos, however, were not prepared to accommodate such demands. This was the reason for the conflict and antipathy of Saoras. Saoras of Rogoisingi in the meantime were converted to christianity and acquired new outlook. They were no more interested to be callous with their usual complacency.

During the sowing season of 1960 some Saoras forcibly started transplanting paddy in the disputed land. This was obstructed by Panos who on that occasion dispersed Saoras by use of force. This was the immediate cause for

the conflagration. A Saora of village Rogoisingi and their kinsmen from far and near one afternoon attacked Panos of Bhramarpur. By the same time another incident took place at Barnsingi in Parlakimedi taluk. A few Saoras who returned from tea gardens, demanded back their land in possession of Panos of village Asrayagada. When Panos were reluctant to oblige them, Saoras wanted to take possession of the land by use of force. Besides, these two major incidents there were many other cases of minor skirmishes between Saoras and Panos arising from possession of land.

From a study of these incidents it was found out that such disputes should not be judged strictly from the point of view of law and order. It is a fact that Saoras have parted with their land before several decades and at present those are held by Panos, Gaudas, and others by adverse possession. Saoras acquiesced the position for many years. When consciousness arose among the Saoras they are now unwilling to accept the situation with usual timidity. Spread of education, activities of social workers, missionaries, and various development programmes have provided them with wider contacts. They have acquired new values and they feel that the land which they have parted under duress, morally belong to them, though due to adverse possession legal ownership has passed to others.

Land problem in tribal areas has been a subject-matter of study for nearly a century. It is a fact

that by cunning and superior wit, the non-tribals have acquired interests over tribal lands. The backward tribals being more attracted to hill cultivation and being unable to repay their debts were obliged to accept the situation.

The Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribes (Dhebar) Commission in course of their itineraries in various States was told by tribal leaders, social workers and administrators that the various laws and regulations forbidding alienation of land from tribals to non-tribals have been the least effective to check the process. The tribals continue to part with their land mostly by oral agreements. The creditors remain in possession of the land. Whenever the dispute reaches authorities, the tribals themselves accept the position and under the rule of adverse possession the non-tribals acquire ownership. Sometimes the tribals pledging their land to non-tribals, continue to work for the creditors and cultivate the same plots of land. Whenever any enquiry is instituted these tribals give evidence that they own those lands not the creditor. Thus the operation of law becomes infructuous, in spite of the best wishes of the authorities.

It is worthwhile to discuss the debt bondage (Goti) system prevalent in its most virulent form in certain parts of Koraput. The practice of Goti originated from heavy indebtedness among the tribals. They were first deprived of their lands which were pledged

to the creditors. Thereafter finding no other alternative to survive they pledged their services to the latter. The Goti system was widely criticised even before independence. The Partially Excluded Areas Enquiry Committee, constituted by the erstwhile provincial Government of Orissa, recommended for its immediate abolition. Accordingly in 1948 a regulation was issued prohibiting

the practice of Debt Bondage. However the lacunae in the regulation and other social conditions stood on the way of effective implementation of the law. By 1962, in some selected areas of Koraput where the T. R. B. conducted a study, there were 799 Gotis bound to 354 Sahukars or creditors. The table below gives the picture in different areas, studied.

TOTAL POPULATION IN DIFFERENT AREAS AND NUMBER OF GOTIS AND SAHUKARS

Sl. No.	Area of investigation	Villages studied	No. of families	Total population	No. of Gotis	No. of Sahukars
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1	Kumbhikota ..	3	111	398	19	6
2	Laxmipur ..	2	418	1,374	26	15
3	Kakiriguma ..	4	829	3,282	176	83
Total ..		9	1,358	5,054	221	104
1	Potangi ..	2	..	685+225	39+8	20
2	Pokali ..	2	..	670	31	15
3	Chandaka ..	2	..	616	25	13
4	Sunki ..	2	..	496	10	7
5	Ampasali ..	2	..	382	16	9
6	Kunduli ..	1	..	590	37	11
7	Nandapur ..	1	..	2,000	40	23
8	Padua ..	3	..	1,395	18	12
Total ..		15	..	7,059	224	109
1	Sembliguda ..	3	..	1,233	31	15
2	Koraput ..	6	..	2,419	55	31
3	Dasmantapur ..	5	..	141	31	21
Total ..		14	..	5,062	117	67
1	Narayanpatna ..	5	604	2,268	79	23
2	Bandhagaon ..	5	564	2,422	88	29
3	Almanda ..	2	297	1,361	35	16
4	Kumbripur ..	2	158	625	36	6
Total ..		14	1,623	6,656	237	74

Distribution of Gotis and Sahukars

Sl. No.	Area	No. of villages	Gotis		Sahukars	
			Tribal	Non-Tribal	Tribal	Non-Tribal
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
	Kumbhikota ..	3	19	..	3	3
	Laxmipur ..	2	21	5	7	8
	Kakirguma ..	4	157	19	3	47
	Total ..	9	197	24	13	58
1	Pottangi ..	2	36	11	2	19
2	Pokali ..	2	18	13	..	14
3	Chandaka ..	2	16	9	2	11
4	Sunki ..	2	6	4	..	7
5	Ampasali ..	2	13	3	3	7
6	Kunduli ..	1	34	3	2	9
7	Nandapur ..	1	30	10	..	23
8	Padua ..	3	11	7	2	10
	Total ..	15	164	60	10	100
1	Sembligudaa ..	3	28	3	2	13
2	Koraput ..	6	55	..	4	27
3	Dasmantpur ..	5	25	6	7	14
	Total ..	14	108	9	13	54
1	Narayanpatna ..	5	76	3	2	21
2	Bandhagan ..	5	88	..	..	29
3	Kumbhariput ..	2	35	1	2	4
4	Almanda ..	2	35	..	..	16
	Total ..	14	254	4	4	70

It is clear that although the law prohibits debt bondage, the social condition did not permit a goti to free himself from bondage. Once an old man who has worked as a goti for last twenty years objected to the enquiry on his status. He said that officers and

social workers come to enquire about his condition, but they could not improve it. They go back from where they come, and there-after he had to again seek employment with his Sahukar. Then the Sahukar would refuse to entertain him, as he was suspected to have

told something to the authorities against the Sahukar. This brought misery for the old man from which the authorities and social workers could not save him. Thus he was reluctant to give any further information. This attitude of the old man, explains the condition of the gotis and their world view. He feels that legally, the Sahukar has no right to keep him bound for years or generations. But his nurture and environment make him quite helpless to find any other avenue for escape.

There is quite a bit of resemblance between the Gotis who have been deprived of their lands and are bound to Sahukars in Koraput and the Lanjia Saoras in Ganjam Agency.

In Rogoisingi there was congregation of missionaries belonging to different denominations, viz., Canadian Baptists, Roman Catholics and Lutherans on the 13th August 1967. The purpose was to bring in a compromise among Panos of Bhramarpur and Saoras of Rogoisingi. Some of the Saoras who were convicted and sentenced to prison terms on charges framed in 1960, have now returned to their villages. The echo of Bhramarpur incident in 1960 was required to be counteracted. The Saoras of the village being now converted to Christianity and the Panos who are Christians were to be made friends through the auspices of the missionaries. The missionaries re-emphasised the necessity not to disturb the *status quo* possession affecting the law and order. Panos of Bhramarpur who are in possession of the

land are to enjoy those under the terms of settlement and Saoras were chided not to interfere with that.

Such a truce may perhaps not be a lasting one and there is every chance of eruption of conflict at a future date. It is a fact that Panos and other non-tribals who are in possession of Saora land have no other alternative way of living. Trading in sacrificial animals has declined in Udayagiri area. Karja and Guar, the expensive funeral ceremonies necessitating sacrifice of buffalos have been given up. Similarly, Doripur and Yuyunpur which require compulsory buffalo sacrifice are no more in evidence. Hinduism and conversion to Christianity have changed the traditional beliefs of Saoras of this area. Panos, therefore, have been deprived of a bumper trade in buffalos. Social workers and the Bhoodan movement have inculcated new ideas and Saoras are now bringing their produce to markets instead of disposing those to Panos at their door steps. Panos and Gaudas in agencies therefore mainly depend on cultivation. Thus the conflicts between Panos and Saoras need not be viewed purely from the point of view of law and order but from the point of socio-cultural edifice and the corresponding change of social values. Unrest among tribes in many tribal areas are now in evidence. Some of those come to surface and draw immediate attention of others. But there are many situations which remain dormant. The latter are actually more important. In the past there have been a good number of

conflagrations in the Saora country necessitating police action. There have been periodical agitations which could be easily suppressed as consciousness among Saoras was not much. But as the situation stands now it may become difficult to view these land disputes as local issues. It is therefore necessary to make a thorough survey of such disputed lands in different villages by competent revenue officials in collaboration with social workers and social scientists. With adequate statistical data it may be possible for State Government to provide alternative land wherever necessary to Saoras in lieu of land they have been deprived of. It is also worthwhile to rehabilitate Panos and Gaudas in agency area in suitable land. Until and unless Panos are properly resettled they will foil development programme in the area. As intelligent they are, they will definitely exploit Saoras and no amount of administrative pressure will relieve Saoras from their attachment with Panos. But at present who has studied the socio-economic life of Saora could assert that the relationship is one of symbiotic rather than parasitic. Even after conversion Saoras are remaining obliged to Panos who are earlier converts and are functionaries under the church. Hence it is not correct to say that by casual propaganda, etc., foundation of Saora and Pano relationship would be shaken up.

The basic Concepts of Saoras have been fast changing. There are now youngmen who have been educated in cities. They feel detasted with the life in their

homes. The tribal feeling is rising. In the recent Panchayat election Saoras are being returned as Sarpanches and ward members. Two Saoras who were former social workers are elected as chairman of Panchayat Samitis. Interviews with some of them show how they are keen to wrest powers from the non-tribals. 'We adibasis' has been the dominant feeling among them. Their dissatisfaction over the state of affairs in Saora land are openly discussed. The partisan attitude of local officials to help non-tribals over the interests of Saoras is decried. In the past Saoras have risen in defiance of law and order. Special officers appointed by Government from time to time have reported on the cause and motive behind those unrests. It is now time to review those and solve the local problems in relation to the felt needs.

In my report on Saoras in 1958, it was indicated that any ameliorative measure for Saoras, would not succeed, without corresponding measures to improve Panos. Panos are not strangers in Saora land. Rather they are the only group who are the closest to Saoras. Panos have been described as parasites, exploiting Saoras in various ways. Since two decades all sorts of propoganda have been directed to dislodge Saoras from the influence of Panos. Yet the former hold steadfastly to the latter, though very often reduced in intensity. Hence a close study has revealed that Pano Saora relationship is not one of parasitism, but symboisis. Panos help Saoras during the lean months.

They bring various articles to the doorsteps of Saoras and also advance credit on oral promise to pay back. Old and infirm animals are exchanged. Bare necessities of life like salt, tobacco, dry fish, clothes are freely advanced. Sacrificial animals are provided, when Saoras distracted by illness are in immediate need for those. No doubt Panos get back their advances with high rates of interest. But the service which Saoras get from Panos have not been substituted by any official or non-official agencies. Paddy loans from graingolas etc. are difficult to obtain. The procedure is cumbersome and time taking. The repayment is not accepted in cash or by substitution. In Pottasingi Panchayat, the grain-gola has hardly loaned out 5% of paddy stock during the last five years. The paddy was transferred to the plains, as Saoras were not interested in borrowing. Mainly Panos borrowed some paddy, sometimes in the names of Saoras. Of course Saoras prefer millets and maize for their diet to paddy. But difficulty in repayment stands as the main hurdle.

It is therefore, clear that Saoras and Panos maintain a symbiotic relationship for mutual benefit. Saoras engage Panos as errand men and liaison agents with outsiders. Panos are interpreters to visiting officials. Panos were converted fairly early and they are appointed as preachers by the church. Christian Saoras have to look to them in discharging religious functions in marriage and funeral etc. Thus the hold of Panos does not diminish. Hinduization and other contracts generate

some antipathy for Panos, but Saoras very often find that Gaudas, and Kumutis are more oppressive than Panos. Even local officials have often little sympathy for Saoras and Saoras' efforts to get redress to their grievances from them lead to bewilderment. Thus they find in Panos, the intimacy and friendship which they are unable to find among others. This being the secret of Panos' bond with Saoras it is difficult to wear Saoras away from Panos.

It is not prudent to assume that with the introduction of development measures, the Saora-Pano relationship would break. Panos are fairly intelligent to adjust to the changes. They take new role befitting to the situation. With the increase in the rate of conversion Panos work as preachers and priests, and retain their hold on christian Saoras. Similarly Panos are school teachers in Saora area and dominate in village affairs. As secretaries and ward members or sometimes as Sarpanchs they dominate the Panchayats. Social workers as well as right thinking administrators fervently desire to break the unholy tie of Saoras with Panos and others. But they have not succeeded, as they assume the tie as one of parasitism. A parasite could be eliminated by various drugs. But when the relationship is symbiotic accruing mutual benefit to both the partners the tie is hard to be snapped through outside pressure and propaganda.

Thus the proper course now would be to gear up the administrative and welfare machinery to

substitute the fiduciary role of Panos, Gaudas and others with Saoras. Panos and Gaudas have formed an integral part of the population in Saora land. Hence they could not be eliminated from the area. We have to first accept this position, without any dogmatic bias. That being accepted, the task would be simpler. Panos are mostly landless. They have taken to conversion and education early. They have wider contacts with officials, traders and missionaries. Thus they have greater bargaining power as a splinter group. The point that no improvement would be possible in Saora land without participation of Panos, Gaudas and Paikos is a priori. Keeping this in view youngmen among Saoras are to be mobilised and guided to take up leadership in the area. They are to be associated in all enterprises

like Sale Purchase Scheme, grain-golas, educational institutions etc. With the active participation of Saoras the schemes may be reshaped. By that the world view and interpersonal relationship of Saoras with outsiders can be enhanced to accept innovations and changes. Here the attitude of officials, particularly petty ones has to be harnessed, so that Saoras, donot look at them with awe and antipathy. At present Saoras consider official agencies as impersonal and alien. Till this attitude persits the tribes in general and Saoras in particular remain indifferent to introduction of new measures due to lack of their confidence. Winning confidence is a labourious task and, needs tact and a good deal of social engineering. Those should be our guide line in improving the situation in Saora land.

SATISH CHANDER SHARMA

THE ROLE OF CASTE IN VILLAGE LIFE

A case study

Abstract

Caste was the crux around which the whole fibre of Hindu Society was woven. Studies reveal that the impact of caste is decreasing in the urban areas. But in the rural areas, its role in rural life is still significant. If so, caste factor cannot be ignored for the implementation of any policy of social change in the rural social system. More village studies are required to substantiate or contradict the second statement and this case study is an effort in this direction.

The Village

Rampur, a village in Patiala district of Punjab was selected for the present study. It is situated 14 miles away from Nabha, connected with the Nabha-Gobindgarh road by $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile kacha approach road. Due to recent general development of the village such as pavement of streets and drains; construction of Gurdwara, Panchayatgarh, village primary school buildings, model well for Harijans; Panchayat tubewell for village farmers and in the field of agriculture, mechanization and shifting to improved agricultural practices

by the majority, the village is considered to be one of the progressive villages in the block. But in spite of its progressiveness, the village retains its old traditions, norms and way of life. The residential structure of the village is tradition-oriented, stratifying the village on caste basis. All the inhabitants in the village are from the generations of its founders except one Muslim Kumhar family which immigrated before 1947.

Village Social Structure

Rampur is a multi-caste village with 104 families, of which 65.4% are nuclear and 34.6% joint. It is composed of ten caste groups, namely Jats, Harijans, Banias, Brahmans, Ramgarias, Jheers, Nais, Kumhars (Muslim) Bharais (Muslim) and Telis (Muslim). The total population of the village is 732 out of which 23.4% are adult males, 19.3% adult females and 57.3% non-adults, both male and female. Castewise distribution of the population and families is given in Table 1. The table reveals that Harijans and Jats are the majority castes in the village and taken together comprise 83.1% of the total population and 82.7% of the total number of families in the village.

TABLE 1
CASTEWISE DISTRIBUTION OF FAMILIES AND POPULATION

Sl. No.	Caste group	Families		Total (%)	Population		Non-adults male/female	Total (%)
		Number	Joint		Adult males	Adult females		
1	Jats	25	13	38 (36.5)	65	52	161	278 (38.0)
2	Harijans	33	15	48 (46.2)	76	61	193	330 (45.1)
3	Banias	1	2	3 (2.9)	7	5	13	25 (3.4)
4	Brahmans	1	..	1 (1.0)	1	1	5	7 (1.0)
5	Ramgarias	2	3	5 (4.7)	9	10	17	36 (4.9)
6	Jheers	2	1	3 (2.9)	4	6	6	16 (2.2)
7	Nais	1	..	1 (1.0)	1	1	7	9 (1.2)
8	Kumhars	1	..	1 (1.0)	1	..	3	4 (0.5)
9	Bharias	2	..	2 (1.9)	2	2	7	11 (1.5)
10	Telis	..	2	2 (1.9)	5	3	8	16 (2.2)
Total (%)		68 (65.4)	36 (34.6)	104 (100.0)	171 (23.4)	141 (19.3)	420 (57.3)	732 (100.0)

The village has 703 acres of cultivable land, of which 92% is owned by Jats, 6% by Ramgarias and 2% by Nais. Jata 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 money-lenders. Bharias and Telis 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 the slack seasons of agriculture shift to their subsidiary occupations such as weaving, tailoring and soap-making, etc. Petty farmers augment their income by supplying milk to the milk collection centre of 'Horlicks Factory' at Bhadson 3 miles away. Though village opinion is not in favour of the females to work in the fields, but tradition provides an exception for the females of the low castes. Even among them, families with good economic status do not allow their females to work in the fields and enjoy higher prestige within their caste groups. Females of only Harijans, Jheers and Kumhars were found to be working in the fields as agricultural labourers. Important point in the village occupational structure is that low castes are not following their traditional occupations, neither as major nor as subsidiary. For instance Harijans do not work in leather, Kumhar does not make earthen pots, Nai does not work as barber, Telis do not work as oil-seed pressers and Bharias do not work as drum beaters. One reason given by the respondents was the extinction of these occupations in the village due to changing trend of the villa-

gers from village-made coarse products to factory-made fine products. The second reason may be that the traditional occupations of these low castes were considered to be polluting and low in prestige. Now with developing sense of equality, low castes prefer to abstain from their traditional occupations to enhance their prestige.

In the village 26.9% of the total population is literate, of which 20.8% (15.0% male, 5.8% female) have had formal education. In the formally educated/education getting group, 57.8% are below the age of thirteen (40.8% male, 17.1% female), 27.7% between 13—24 years (20.4% male, 7.3% female), 27.8% between 25—36 years (8.6% male, 3.2% female) and 2.6% are above 36 years (Males only). It is clear that the ratio of formally educated/education getting males and females in all the four age groups trend for both the sexes of different castes in different age groups is given in Table 2 from which certain observations are imperative. In the past formal education was confined to the high castes or some privileged persons of low castes, but with the passage of time caste barrier is being lifted and formal education is becoming popular among all the castes. As every where in India, education getting is a developing trend in the village. Female education process is of more recent origin than that of males and the villagers are still conservative about the female education.

TABLE 2
FORMAL EDUCATION OF BOTH THE SEXES OF DIFFERENT CASTES IN DIFFERENT AGE GROUPS

Sl. No.	Caste group	Sex	13 years			25-36 years			36 years						
			Total	In School going age 6-13 years	Have had education	Per-centage	Total	Have had education	Per-centage	Total	Have had education	Per-centage			
1 Jats	M		68	37	28	75.7	41	15	36.6	23	7	30.4	24	2	8.3
	F		53	25	15	60.0	27	5	18.5	25	3	12.0	17	0	0
2 Harijans	M		81	41	25	61.0	53	12	22.6	24	3	12.5	21	1	4.8
	F		63	28	7	25.0	43	3	7.0	27	0	0	18	0	0
3 Bantias	M		7	3	3	100.0	4	2	50.0	4	3	75.0	1	0	0
	F		2	1	1	100.0	3	1	33.3	2	1	50.0	2	0	0
4 Brahmans	M		..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	100.0
	F		3	2	2	100.0	2	2	100.0	1	1	100.0	..	..	..
5 Ramgarias	M		6	3	2	66.6	6	2	33.3	5	0	0	2	0	0
	F		4	2	1	50.0	6	0	0	0	3	0	0	4	0	0
6 Jheers	M		2	2	1	50.0	..	..	..	2	0	0	2	0	0
	F		4	1	0	0	..	..	..	2	0	0	4	0	0

7 Nais	M	2	1	1	100.0	2	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
	F	2	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
8 Kumhars	M	..	..	..	..	1	0	0	..	..	..	1	0	0	0
	F	..	..	..	..	2	0	0	0	..	..	..	..	..	..
9 Bharias	M	4	3	1	33.3	..	..	..	1	0	0	1	0	0	0
	F	2	1	0	0	1	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
10 Telis	M	3	1	1	100.0	3	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0
	F	2	1	0	0	3	0	0	2	0	0	1	0	0	0

Cast Hierarchy and Village Social Participation :

For the purpose of caste grading one house-hold-head was chosen in a random fashion from each caste group. Since the representative of each caste group was to grade all the castes, it was presumed that by calculating average score of each caste, bias if any in grading would be eliminated. The results of gradation are given in Table 3.

TABLE 3

GRADATION OF CASTES

Score	10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
Caste position	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

Sl. No.	Grader	Gradation of Castes										Av. Score
1	Jat	Jat	Brahman	Bania	Ramgarhia	Nai	Jheer	Kumhar	Bharia	Teli	Harihan	8.8
2	Harijan	Brahman	Bania	Jat	Do.	Jheer	Nai	Harijan	Kumhar	Bharai	Teli	1.7
3	Bania	Do.	Do.	Do.	Do.	Nai	Jheer	Kumhar	Harijan	Teli	Bharai	8.3
4	Brahman	Do.	Do.	Do.	Do.	Jheer	Kumhar	Nai	Bharai	Do.	Harijan	9.8
5	Ramgarhia	Do.	Jat	Ramgarhia	Bania	Do.	Nai	Kumhar	Do.	Do.	Do.	7.1
6	Jheer	Jat	Brahman	Bania	Ramgarhia	Do.	Do.	Teli	Do.	Kumhar	Do.	5.1
7	Nai	Brahman	Jat	Do.	Do.	Nai	Jheer	Kumhar	Harijan	Bharai	Teli	4.8
8	Kumhar	Do.	Bania	Jat	Do.	Kumhar	Do.	Nai	Teli	Do.	Harijan	3.6
9	Bharai	Do.	Jat	Bania	Do.	Bharai	Teli	Jheer	Nai	Kumhar	Do.	3.0
10	Teli	Do.	Do.	Do.	Do.	Teli	Bharai	Nai	Jheer	Do.	Do.	2.8

From the above grading the village may be said to have the following caste hierarchy from top to bottom; Brahmans, Jats, Baniyas, Ramgarias, Jheers, Nais, Kumhars, Bharais, Telis and Harijans.

On the basis of social participation and inter-caste behaviour the above caste hierarchy boils down to five groups, viz., 1. Brahmans, Jats and Baniyas, 2. Ramgarias, 3. Jheers and Nais, 4. Kumhars, Bharais and Telis, 5. Harijans. Within these groups one does not find discriminate behaviour of one caste towards another except certain reservations, which support the existence of above mentioned caste hierarchy in the village. Though pollution by touch is not taken very seriously in the village, yet the lower castes abide by the tradition of maintaining a distance from the high castes or keeping standing or sitting on the floor when the high caste individual is sitting on the charpai or in the chair. Partial exceptions to this are observable in the formal meetings of the village and Panchayat, etc., or amongst the chummy friends from different castes when the physical or social distance is not much cared for. Again the tradition demarcates the differential access of different castes to the social spots and public places in the village and the tradition is upheld by the castes. For example Harijans assemble for their informal and social gatherings in the compound in front of their Basti, while all the other castes use the other compound on the other side of the village for

this purpose. In theory atleast all the castes have equal access to the village Gurdwara. But by tradition Group 4 and 5 offer their offerings from the verandah and do not enter the hall where the holy book is placed. Even Group No. 3 shirks to enter this hall in the presence of Group No. 1 and 2. Similarly all the castes have equal access to the multipurpose Panchayatgarh. But in practice Harijans experienced some limitations to use it and now through their own contributions they are erecting a Panchayatgarh-cum-Gurdwar of their own. Such examples can be multiplied many fold.

Differential intercaste behaviour is quite discernable when we come to commonsality. There is no restriction within the groups except in the case of Brahmans in the Group No. 1, from whom the other two castes avoid taking anything in cash or kind (raw or cooked) due to the prevailing sentiments that Brahmins being priests is a place to give and not to take. When we come to intergroup behaviour, Group Nos. 4 and 5 do not exchange anything from each other due to the proclaimed superiority of one over the other, but accept from Group No. 1 and 2 only in the case of former and Group Nos. 1, 2 and 3 in the case of the latter. Similarly Group Nos. 2 and 3 accept food from the group preceding them. Ramgarias, who think themselves to be equal in status to Jats do not accept anything from Baniyas and Brahmans. Again Chummy friends from different castes, especially under twenties present a diversion to this

rule at their informal gatherings when they drink and dine together, but in the presence of a stronger shirk doing so. Regarding commonsality women seem to be more rigid than the males.

In case of major events of life, unity in the diversity of castes is exhibited. But here too differential intercaste behaviour is quite observable. For instance in the case of marriage, a high caste member send gifts in cash or kind to the house of a lower caste member and extends a privilege to him by his exhibited presence at the time of formal ceremony, but does not share hands in the manual

work. A low caste member however lends manual labour, but from him gifts in cash or kind are not accepted.

Caste and village Leadership

Village leadership was studied by opinion method. For this purpose a purposive sample out of the household-heads was taken. For every four or a part of it households, one household-head was taken on the sample. The selection was made by random method taking the caste groups separately to give representation to all the castes on the sample. On the basis of the choices received the following persons emerged out to be the leaders.

TABLE 4
CHOICES RECEIVED

Sl. No.	Name and Caste of accepted leader	Age/ years	Edu- cation	Caste group of opiners and total number						Total No. of choice received	% of choices received			
				Jat	Harijan	Brahman	Bania	Ramgarhia	Cheer			Nai	Kumhar	Bharla	Teli
1	Z. Jat	40	Matric	10	12	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	30	500.0
2	R. Harijan	45	Primary	..	12	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	14	46.7
3	B. Harijan	50	..	..	12	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	12	40.0
4	K. Jat	55	..	8	10	..	..	1	1	1	1	1	24	80.0
5	P. Harijan	35	Middle	..	9	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	9	30.0
6	D. Ramgarhia	53	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	1	1	..	4	13.3

Village wide leadership is a rare phenomenon in the village. Mostly the leadership is limited to some source persons in the individual caste groups. But low caste people do accept the leadership of a person from higher caste. Within the caste group leadership is of convergent nature. Besides caste and economic status, the respondents mentioned these qualities of a popular leader in order of importance; good natured and nice to behave (93.3%), impartial (86.6%), patient in hearing of problems (80.0%), should be able to settle the village disputes (80.0%), should have knowledge of village problems and capable of finding solutions (76.6%), educated (70.0%), with external contacts (63.3%), should be able to make the villagers co-operate (63.3%), should be able to bring development and welfare in village (60.0%). From Table 4, it is clear that only Z Jat is a village-wide leader. His leadership is acceptable to the whole village as much due to his high caste and high economic status as due to his individual and social qualities. Besides being one of the progressive farmers in the region, he has wide external contacts, is Sarpanch of the village, a member of the Block Samiti and has almost all the qualities as mentioned above by the respondents. The role of caste in leadership phenomenon becomes clear when we take the example of R. Harijan, No. 2 in the table. Except his low caste and poor economic status, he is equally dynamic personality and has all the qualities as Z Jat. But his low caste comes in the way of his

village-wide leadership and his following is acceptable within his own caste group or some other low caste people. Though age factor is not so important for leadership but respondents were of the opinion that leaders must be 35 or above.

Regarding the settlement of disputes, village leadership may be considered at three levels, viz., family, caste and village. Every effort is made to decide the household issues within the family under the leadership of household head or in his absence some other senior male member. There have been cases where relative or caste member or some other influential person of the village had to intervene when invited by the family to do so. But during the last five years no inter-family dispute has gone either to village Panchayat or to the Court. The same is true in case of inter-caste disputes. In case of inter-caste disputes, persons often go to the village leaders, but avoid going to the Village Panchayat. However during the last five years, a few cases did go to Panchayat, of which the exact number could not be known as the cases were settled by the Panchayat amicably without bringing them on the record. In the village the jurisdiction of informal and formal (Panchayat) leadership overlap, as four out of the six Panches have also been named as informal leaders by the respondents. Another important point is that in spite of its multi-caste structure there are no factions in the village.

Caste and functioning of Panchayat:

The Village Panchayat (Rampur only) has six members on it, out of

which three Panches are Jats including the Sarpanch, two are Harijans and one nominated Lady Panch is a Widow from Jheer caste.

The Panchayat holds monthly meetings as provided for in the Grama Panchayat Act, but Lady Panch seldom attends the meetings except the biannual meetings. The attendance of Z Sarpanch and the two Harijan Panches is quite regular, but the attendance of the other two is not regular. The Panchayat has never lacked the quorum to pass the decisions as was observed from the record of the proceedings during the last two years.

The proceedings are held in quite a democratic way and all the present Panches are free to express their opinions in favour or against. Z Jat (Sarpanch) and R Harijan (Panch), the two equally dynamic personalities from the two majority caste groups in the village dominate the scene in the final decisions. Peculiar point to note in the meetings is that Harijan Panches reserve their opinions when the issue relates to some higher caste member. But about the issues concerning the village in toto or the Harijan group, their suggestions come spontaneously.

The responsibility of implementations of the decisions taken by the Panchayat lies mainly on R Panch for Harijans and on Z Sarpanch for the rest of the village. As there are only two majority castes in the village and both are represented on the Panchayat by two influential members, the functioning of the Panchayat is smooth and there are no factions in the Panchayat. That is why Panchayat was able to get done a lot of development work in the village.

Conclusions :

The study shows that the hold of caste is relaxing in terms of occupational and educational moves. Yet its hold on the social life of the village is quite strong. Caste hierarchy still exists in the village both on the factual and psychological level and channelised the inter-caste relations and behaviour. In the leadership phenomenon of the village, the role of caste factor is important and the same is true about the functioning of the formal organisations in the village such as Panchayat. From the above conclusions, it is essential that any policy of social change is compromising in nature with the caste system and its moves in the village.

A FEW WORDS ABOUT US

On the 26th August, 1967, Shri S. N. Mishra, Director, Tribal Research Bureau and the Editor, Adibasi, retired after a long period of service. Shri Mishra was one of our able administrators, who took keen interest in our work. He had wide contacts with all the officers and staff of the Bureau, and, took interests in our activities. We bade him a hearty send off with a heavy heart, and, wished him a quiet and pleasant retired life.

We welcome our new Director, Shri Anirudha Das. He has brought with him a flush of tradition of literary activities to enrich our work. From the beginning he is paying a good deal of attention to our work. He has laid before the Bureau several social problems to be studied. He led a group of research staff to Gudvella area in Bolangir district. This area

intercepted by turbulent rivers like the Tel and the Raul, is inhabited by different tribal groups, Kandhas predominating. This area has a hoary historical antecedent. The ancient monument at Kharligarh, at the confluence of the Tel and the Raul is awaiting excavation which will reveal the great chapter in the history of Kosala, a constituent of ancient kingdom of Kalinga, ruled by Kharavela. The most interesting finds on the surface are the palaeolithic and neo-lithic tools, indicating the great stone age culture.

Shri Nabakrushna Choudhury, the versatile Sarvodaya leader and a member of Tribal Research Bureau Advisory Board paid a visit to Bureau. He discussed with the officers and staff the varied social and tribal problems of the State.

OUR NEW CONTRIBUTORS

In this issue our new contributors are:—

1. Shri Satish C. Sharma, M.A., - Department of Economics and Sociology, Punjab Agricultural University, Ludhiana (Punjab).

Shri Sharma did his M.A. in Sociology from Punjab University, Chandigarh in 1964. Presently he is working in the Department of Economics and Sociology at Punjab Agricultural University, Ludhiana.

2. Shri Anirudha Das, B.A. (Hons.) I.A.S., Secretary to Government Tribal & Rural Welfare Department, and Director, Tribal Research Bureau.

Shri Das is one of the senior administrators of the State. He has worked in various capacities under the State Government. While working in tribal areas, he has acquired intimate knowledge

of the living conditions of the tribes. Shri Das takes active interest on history of Orissa. His famous publication 'Ties of Orissa with Nepal' was presented to His Majesty the King of Nepal during his visit to Orissa. As the Director of Community Development Shri Das came in intimate contact with intricate problems of tribes in Orissa.

3. Shri Purna Chandra Mohanty, M.A., Junior Research Officer, Tribal Research Bureau.

Shri Mohanty joined the Tribal Research Bureau in the year 1967. Prior to that he was studying the hill Saoras of Pottasing area of Koraput district and the Harijans of Jajpur and Kendrapara subdivisions in the district of Cuttack. He got his M.A. Degree in Anthropology from Utkal University in the year 1966.