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Editor

G. N. DAS, I.A.S.

Joint Editors

K. MOHAPATRA

J. K. ROUT

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EDITOR G. N. DAS, I. A. S.

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ADIBASI

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SOME ASPECTS OF THE FOURTH PLAN FOR WELFARE OF BACKWARD CLASSES OF ORISSA

The Third Five-Year Plan is drawing to a close and the stage is already set for the Fourth. Planning is comparatively a new phenomenon in Asian economy and it will not be an exaggeration to say that India has set the pattern not only for Asia but also for all the underdeveloped countries of the world. Being the largest democracy of the world, the Five-Year Plans of India have a special significance, because it had been usual to associate planned economy with totalitarian regimes.

2. Each successive plan had an individuality of its own and played its role in the history of development. The First Plan was pioneering in nature and it very ably sought to map out the unknown domains of Indian economy. The Second Plan carried on a series of bold experiments pervading all aspects of Indian society. Based on the experiences and achievements of the first two plans the Third Plan made a

colossal bid to achieve a proper direction. It is to the credit of the Third Plan that we have clearly defined goals and objectives before us and have been equipped with scientific methodology and an awareness about the fullest implications of planned progress. Thus equipped, we may approach the Fourth Plan with a determination to attain goals and achieve objectives.

3. Article 46 of the Constitution lays down as a directive principle of State policy that the State shall promote, with special care, the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people and, in particular of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and shall protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation. Apart from this constitutional obligation, the Government in particular and the society in general have a moral responsibility for the development of the backward classes, which perhaps is much

more binding. Over and above, the very magnitude of the problem of the backward classes and its relevance for the welfare of the country as a whole, demanded a solution on its own right. In formulating the plan, the planners and administrators were fully alive to the problems of the backward classes. The welfare of the backward classes has, therefore, been a significant factor in all the three plans.

4. The programmes for the welfare of the backward classes included measures of economic development, education and social and cultural activities. The major part of the programme in the backward classes sector has been in the field of economic development. These relate to agriculture, co-operation, irrigation, small industries, communications, etc. In the past, for a variety of reasons the weaker sections of population had not the opportunity to secure their due share from the programmes of general development. The special schemes for their development are, therefore, intended to supplement and intensify measures of economic development to bring them up to the general level.

5. A comparative assessment of the Third Plan as against the first two plans has already appeared in these columns (Adibasi, 1964-65, Number One) A detailed discussions of the Fourth Plan proposals has also

taken place in these columns (Adibasi, 1964-65 Number Two). It may not, therefore, be necessary to repeat all that has been said before. We, however, take this opportunity to lay emphasis on certain aspects of the Fourth Plan as it relates to Orissa.

6. Orissa has an area of 60,135 sq. miles and over half of this area is underdeveloped and inaccessible hilly areas. Compact blocks out of these inaccessible hilly areas covering more than 1/3rd of the total area of the State has been declared as scheduled area under the Constitution. The State has the highest percentage of tribal population among the Indian States next only to Naga Land. 24.07 per cent of its total population is tribal with as many as 62 tribes of different economic gradations among whom more than three lakhs like Dongria Konds, Kotia Konds, Lanja Sauras, Hill Juangs, Paudi Bhuyans are still in a primitive state leading almost a sub-human existence, depending mostly on food gathered from jungles, collection of forest produce and some fruits. They grow a variety of oil-seeds, millets and pulses and turmeric grown on forest fellings and hilly lands. The Scheduled Castes constitute 15.74 per cent of the total population of the State and the population of the Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes taken together constitutes almost 40 per cent of the

State's total population. Most of the Scheduled Castes like the Scheduled Tribes are still landless, and get casual employment as agricultural labourers. The percentage of literacy of the Scheduled Tribes is as low as 7·3 and that of the Scheduled Castes 11·6 as against 21·6 percentage for the general population.

7. In tribal areas some phenomenal changes have taken place in the recent past. Heavy Industries and multipurpose projects have been and are being located which disturb and displace the tribal life and economy. Rourkela Steel Plant, Hirakud Dam, Aero-engine Factory, Balimela Dam, Tikkerpara Dam Projects are some of the major projects undertaken or contemplated in tribal areas. In Koraput district vast areas in the heart of tribal region have been reclaimed for the resettlement of East Bengal refugees under the Dandakaranya Project. All these have had far-reaching effects on the life and psychology of the tribals who are living under age long exploitation on bare subsistence economy. Efforts are required to be made appreciably to step up the existing low percentage of literacy and the economy of the Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes. Adequate credit facilities are required to be provided to enable the Adibasis and Harijans to take to improved agriculture and horticulture.

Small and medium units of agricultural processing industries are required to be set up to help the Adibasis to get full benefit of the minor and major forest produce available within their easy reach. They are to be protected from exploitation by elimination of unemployment and establishment of purchase and sale centres and consumer stores. Large number of forest marketing and labour contract co-operative societies are required to be organized. Tribal areas are opening up and tribals who lived so long in seclusion are fast coming in touch with the other more advanced communities. It is necessary to help the tribals to take full advantage of the growing economy and also to keep them as contented as possible. Efforts were made in the past to improve the conditions of the vast mass of backward population, but owing to the various causes, chief among which is the financial limitations, progress has been rather tardy.

8. A study of the financial allocations available to different States for the welfare of backward classes during the Second and Third Plan periods discloses that Orissa has not had her due share in the funds at the disposal of the Centre under different Sectors of allotment on the basis of its percentage of Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes population and their relative backwardness compared with the percentage of Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes

population of the country as a whole. Out of an outlay of Rs. 114 crores available in the country during the Third Plan period under the backward classes sector, an amount of Rs. 60·43 crores, i.e., 53 per cent of the total outlay was earmarked for the Scheduled Tribes. An amount of Rs. 40·40 crores, i.e., 35 per cent of the total outlay was earmarked for the Scheduled Castes and the balance Rs. 13·04 crores representing 12 per cent of the total outlay was available for denotified tribes and others.

9. Orissa's claim can be put at Rs. 8·55 crores for the Scheduled Tribes on the basis of her Scheduled Tribes population which forms 14·15 per cent of the total Scheduled Tribes population of the entire country whereas the State has been allowed an outlay of only Rs. 6·60 crores. Assam with 6·93 per cent of Scheduled Tribes population has got an allocation of Rs. 11·72 crores against its share of Rs. 4·18 crores. Madhya-Pradesh with 22·37 per cent of Scheduled Tribes population in the total Scheduled Tribe population of the country, which is $1\frac{1}{2}$ times that of Orissa, got an outlay of Rs. 11·75 crores for the Scheduled Tribes as against Orissa's allocation of Rs. 6·60 crores, i.e., Rs. 1·80 crores more than what the State should have got on the basis of the allocations made for Orissa. States like Punjab, Mysore, Madras, Maharashtra, Kerala

got allocations for the Scheduled Tribes almost on the basis of their population. Andhra Pradesh having a Scheduled Tribes population of 4·43 per cent in the total Scheduled Tribes population of the country was to get Rs. 2·67 crores for her Scheduled Tribes whereas the allocation is Rs. 5·70 crores which is more than 2 times the admissible share.

10. Grants-in-aid under Article 275 of the Constitution are admissible also on the basis of the Scheduled areas lying in each State. Scheduled areas are found only in eight States and they extend over 99,693 sq. miles of which as large an area as 22,014 sq. miles lies in Orissa. On the basis of the Scheduled areas Orissa has a claim to 2/9th of the grants-in-aid earmarked for raising the level of administration of such areas in the country. It is, however, not clear whether this fact was taken into account when allocations of grants-in-aid were made for the States. A point which may be pertinently mentioned here is that Madhya Pradesh has a Scheduled area of only 25,652 sq. miles and if allocations of grants-in-aid are made on the basis of the Scheduled Tribe population and the Scheduled area, Madhya Pradesh could have no claim for a grants-in-aid of Rs. 11·75 crores for Scheduled Tribe against Rs. 6·60 crores allocated to Orissa for the Third Plan period.

11. Regarding the allocations made to the State for Scheduled Castes similar disparity has been noticed. The percentage of Orissa's Scheduled Caste population is 4·28 of the country's Scheduled Caste population. Of the amount of Rs. 40·40 crores that was earmarked for Scheduled Castes out of the total outlay of Rs. 114 crores during the Third Plan on population basis Orissa can have a claim to Rs. 1·73 crores. The State, however, got Rs. 1·72 crores in allotment. The share of Mysore is Rs. 1·95 crores on the basis of her 4·83 per cent Scheduled Caste population, whereas the State got Rs. 3·36 crores. Maharashtra on the basis of her per centage of 3·45 was to get Rs. 1·39 crores whereas the State has been given Rs. 5·05 crores. Kerala with its percentage of 2·20 crores has been given Rs. 1·63 crores against her share of Rs. 0·88 crores. Assam has got Rs. 0·64 crores against her share of Rs. 0·45 crores on the percentage of 1·13 Scheduled Caste population. Orissa has been allotted during Third Plan for Scheduled Castes only Rs. 1·72 crores whereas other States have got more than their legitimate share, although the economic condition of the Scheduled Castes in Orissa is worse than that of their counterparts in most of the States in India with higher *per capita* income. What the State has suffered in allocation under the backward classes sector from the Government of India

during the Second and Third Plan periods, is required to be made up during the Fourth Plan period.

12. The Central Working Group for backward classes has suggested a tentative outlay of Rs. 250 -275 crores for the welfare of backward classes in the country during the Fourth Plan period against the Third Plan outlay of Rs. 114 crores for the purpose. It is understood that it has by now been clear that the country's total Fourth Plan outlay for the welfare of backward classes would be of the order of Rs. 205 crores if not Rs. 250 crores. The *pro rata* share of the Scheduled Tribes, Scheduled Castes and the Denotified tribes and others out of this outlay work out to Rs. 108·65 crores (Scheduled Tribes), Rs. 71·75 crores (Scheduled Castes) and Rs. 24·60 crores (Denotified tribes and others) in the country. Orissa's share on the percentage of Scheduled Tribes (14·15) and Scheduled Castes (4·28) in the country's total Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes population would be Rs. 15·32 crores for Scheduled Tribes, Rs. 3·07 crores for Scheduled Castes and Rs. 0·21 crore for Denotified tribes and others, i.e., in all Rs. 19·30 crore for the welfare of the backward classes. The State's minimum requirement stands at Rs. 11·58 crores under the Central Sector supplemented by Rs. 7·72 crores under the State Sector.

13. The State has 4 S. M. P. Blocks opened during the Second Plan, 62 Blocks during Third Plan and 45 more T. D. Blocks are to be opened during the Fourth Plan period. The estimated requirement of the funds for this during the Fourth Plan period is Rs. 7·92 crores to be charged under the Central Sector. The other schemes proposed under the Central Sector for Scheduled Tribes are Service Co-operatives (purchase and sale centres), Forest Co-operatives, Soil Conservation measures, Technical Training Institutes, Post-Matric Scholarship, Housing facilities, Training-cum-Research, Survey and Evaluation, Anti-Leprosy Campaign, etc. For the Scheduled Castes the suggestions are Post-Matric Scholarship, Girls' Hostel, Improvement of the working conditions of the Sweepers and Scavengers, subsidy for house sites, Service Co-operatives for fishermen, etc. For Denotified tribes under Central Sector the proposals are Post-Matric Scholarship, Housing, subsidy for Agricultural and Industrial aid, Service Co-operatives, etc.

14. In the First and Second Plans the State Government laid

greater emphasis on educational programmes, whereas in the Third Plan economic programmes received increased emphasis considering the extremely low economic standard of the backward classes people greater emphasis is rightly proposed in the economic sector. But we believe that unless and until the backward classes acquire the mental strength to be able to stand on their own legs, it will be extremely difficult for them to withstand the exploitation to which they are now subjected and which is as the very root of their present condition. Economic programmes can help them only as palliatives. Bereft of the awareness and the mental stamina by virtue of which they can help themselves, the economic programmes can at best be comparable to the leaky vessel, and the benefits brought about by execution of such programmes will perceptibly, and imperceptibly pass on to the exploiters as at present. Economic and educational programmes should, therefore, move hand in hand so that the best can be expected and achieved for permanent solution of the problem of the backward classes.

G. N. DAS

TRIBAL WELFARE AND SOME SPECIAL ASPECTS OF TRIBAL DEVELOPMENT BLOCKS

The programmes of tribal welfare undertaken by the State are contemplated to be financed from three sources ; (i) funds in the departmental budgets, (ii) funds placed at the disposal of the blocks (Panchayat Samitis) and (iii) funds allocated to the States under Article 275 of the Constitution.

It has been postulated that the programmes to be financed from the last source, i. e., allocations under Article 275 of the Constitution will be complementary to the programmes to be taken up under the other two heads. Accordingly only special programmes are usually taken up with funds available from that source. The idea is that the main programme of work should find sustenance from the other two

sources. In the case of funds from departmental budgets, in some States like Andhra Pradesh a certain percentage of the provision has been earmarked for financing schemes to be executed in tribal areas. It has been argued that since the schemes undertaken according to the general programme of development benefit the tribals along with the other population, there is hardly any need for earmarking. It is not that in all cases the tribal population lives mixed up with the other population. There are numerous instances all over the country, wherein pockets of varying sizes of tribals of a variety of economic and social levels are living, sometimes in deep isolation and segregation. Some of these pockets may or may not qualify for inclusion in T. D. Blocks.

The idea of earmarking does, therefore, seem to have ample justification as done in the Andhra Pradesh and certain other States. The departments concerned should consult the departments in charge of Community Development and Tribal Welfare in drawing up schemes to be financed from the earmarked funds.

The bulk of the Tribal Welfare Programmes have to be covered by the outlays under T. D. Block scheme. According to the prevailing yardstick a block can be made into a T. D. Block if it has a concentration of tribal population as high as 66 2/3 per cent in the total population. It is gratifying that this standard is proposed to be lowered, and it is understood that the idea that a 50 per cent concentration should be the qualifying yardstick is finding favour with the Government of India. This is likely to be followed in the Fourth Plan period. The

concept of area development has also found favour with the Government of India in this connection. This will not only help rationalisation in the programmes for tribal welfare, but also enable attention being paid to smaller pockets of highly undeveloped tribal areas which would otherwise never aspire to get the benefit of intensive programmes of development.

It will be appropriate at this point to examine certain salient aspects of the programmes of Tribal Development Blocks and to cast a searching look into their working.

1. (A) *Content of Tribal Development Block Programme and co-relation to be tribal conditions and needs*—It would appear from the following break-up of the T. D. Block provision that there is hardly any basic difference in the scope of the programmes of T. D. and C. D. Blocks :—

T. D. Block, Stage I

	Rs.
1. Block Headquarters	1,95,000
2. Agriculture and A. H., Irrigation and Soil Conservation.	1,50,000
3. Rural Housing	1,00,000
4. Co-operation	1,95,000
5. Education	50,000
6. Social Education	25,000
7. Health and Sanitation	50,000
8. Communication	2,00,000
 Total	 9,65,000

T. D. Block, Stage II	Rs.
1. Block Headquarters	.. 85,000
2. Agriculture & A. H.	.. 50,000
3. Irrigation	85,000
4. Health and Sanitation	.. 50,000
5. Education	.. 50,000
6. Social Education	.. 50,000
7. Communication	.. 50,000
8. Housing	.. 30,000
9. Rural Arts and Crafts	.. 50,000
 Total	 .. 5,00,000

The difference is only in degree. It has been noticed that in the Tribal areas economic exploitation is the most difficult hurdle in the way of development. Non-Tribals who operate as petty traders and money-lenders practise various kinds of fraud and exploitation on the tribals. Under the grinding pressure of these exploitations, the Tribals suffer terribly and are not able to take advantage of the development programmes that are executed for them. The first and foremost necessity is, therefore, their economic emancipation. There must be proper emphasis on prevention of exploitation which may be divided into the following categories :—

(a) It may sound paradoxical, but it is a fact that the tribal earns by the sweat of his brow enough to sustain himself but

is steeped in indebtedness to crafty and unscrupulous money-lenders and traders. The loan may be outstanding for generations, in spite of a continuous drain on the tribal's earnings from year to year. The liquidation of this indebtedness is most urgently necessary. Otherwise, it will involve the tribal in the vicious circle of penury. Simultaneously with the liquidation of the debt to the 'sawcar' the tribal has to be provided with credit facilities to meet his genuine needs both 'productive' and 'unproductive'. In the latter category may be included his consumption needs, social obligations, etc. The credit may be given through the grain bank or some other society.

(b) Adequate provision must be made for starting of sale and purchase units and

fair price shops, so that it may be possible for the Adibasis who produce various kinds of grains, oil-seeds, fruits, etc., to get reasonable price for their products and also to get their requirements, however, simple at fair and reasonable prices. This may be organised either as departmental units or in a co-operative set up as has been done in Andhra State.

(c) Drunkenness is another serious source of exploitation. Suitable measures will have to be taken to minimise this as far as practicable. Prevention of Kuchni or illicit sale of liquor in the villages is an urgent necessity.

(d) Spread of education has to be emphasised properly and therefore, adequate provision should be made under Education and Social Education. It may be possible to project through Social Education suitable literature on prevention of exploitation and evils of drunkenness and to educate the tribals to withstand the impact of these evil forces.

(B) Resource survey, pattern of staffing and the training and orientation of personnel—Survey and research have been emphasised by the Government of India. Attention has to be paid to this. This is urgently necessary. It should be possible to entrust this to the State Tribal Research Bureau staff. Under

Research, it should be possible to take up Evaluation of programmes undertaken in the Blocks. The Government of India have indicated that from the funds of each T. D. Block a sum of Rs. 15,000 would be earmarked for this purpose.

It is noticed that the Village Level Workers and the Extension Officers including the B. D. O. do not have proper training for working efficiently in a Tribal area. Emphasis is not put on learning of tribal languages with the result that the Block staff do not have intimate contact with the people. They approach them generally through their exploiters—the local 'sawcars'. This is not desirable. Adequate incentives should be given to the staff working in T. D. Blocks to learn Tribal languages for which substantial cash rewards should be offered. They should be given the option of posting after the period of Block service and provision for some exhilarating promotion, if good works, is done in the Tribal Development Blocks, should be made.

Not only the staff should learn Tribal language, they should also acquire a good knowledge about the background, tradition and culture of the Tribal communities with which they have to work. They should know how to approach them and how to

get the best out of them. For this the States, where there are tribal concentrations, should provide adequate training facilities. The Tribal Welfare Directorate should organise this training for the different levels of the Block staff.

Block staff including the B. D. Os are not inclined to go to the Tribal Development Blocks and to shoulder heavier responsibility in severe and inhospitable surroundings, because they are not given any allowance or special incentives. As in the case of Andhra Pradesh, B. D. Os. and Extension Officers, etc., who serve in Tribal Development Blocks should be treated on a special ground. They should be given a higher scale of pay or a special allowance and for good work done, should be properly rewarded in future postings and promotion.

It is necessary that suitable persons should be selected to work in the T. D. Blocks. In the selection of personnel of the B. D. O., it is essentially necessary that the Tribal Welfare Department should be consulted by the C. D. Department. Transfers of B. D. Os. to and from T. D. Blocks should be made by similar joint consultation.

(C) Priorities in the Tribal Development Block programme and planning for a minimum level

of fairly income in these Blocks
—Following the discussions under item (A) above, it may be suggested that greater emphasis should be put on Co-operatives, Education and Social Education than on Communication and Rural Housing. It should be possible to reduce the expenditure under Block Headquarters Buildings, Contingencies, etc.

Although schemes for the economic development of tribals should have precedence, it is equally important that the tribal people should acquire the mental strength and make up in order to withstand forces of exploitation and also to take full advantage of the developments that are taking place in their area. Most of the big development projects and industrial units are being established in tribal areas. The tribal youths should be properly trained up in order to work as skilled artisans in these projects and units. Facilities for both general and technical education should be made available to the tribals on as wide a scale as possible. In order to educate the older generation of the tribals, it is necessary to introduce a suitable programme of social education which will bring awareness to them as to how they are being exploited and what opportunities are opening up before their

very eyes. A programme of Education and Social Education should; therefore, go hand in hand with economic development, otherwise the tribals will revert again to the original vulnerable position in no time.

(D) *Problems of public participation in the execution of Tribal Development Blocks programme*—It has been noticed that where local contribution is insisted upon the execution of schemes gets hampered. Due to poverty it is not possible on the part of the tribal people to make contribution towards the cost of schemes although the schemes might benefit them. In T. D. Blocks following the recommendations made in many a Conference and Seminar local contribution should be completely waived.

(E) *Flexibility in the programme*—(i) The general impression is that the schematic provisions are hide bound items and are sacrosanct in their identity and, therefore, any proposition for adjustment is a very difficult one to implement. The Government of India and the State Governments should re-emphasise that the schematic break-up of the Budget provision admits of sufficient flexibility.

(ii) After the introduction of the Panchayati Raj, T. D. Block programmes as well as C. D. Block programmes are being

approved by the Zilla Parishads. It is necessary that the local bodies should have the advice of technical organisations like the Tribal Research Bureau in the formulation of T. D. Block programmes. It is, therefore, suggested that the T. D. Block programmes may before finalisation be submitted to the Government for advice and comments, if not for approval.

(F) *Tribal culture and National integration*—From a rich heritage of culture in their music, dance, drama and songs over the centuries the tribals have developed some simple but elegant musical and dance systems. They have also developed musical instruments of which the Sarangi, the Tuila and the flute may be specially mentioned. It is of utmost importance that research and study should be made of the background and the excellence of the tribal art and music. It should be possible to locate these aspects and also to indicate how tribal culture, art and music can enrich the corresponding culture traits of the non-tribals. There may be a healthy current of give and take for mutual benefit and enrichment. This aspect is important not only from the the point of view of development of the cultures but from the point of view of national integration. This is of great consequence. It is in the field of art, music, dance-etc.,

that it will be easy to bring the two people together for common understanding and development in the national interest. The T. D. Block Programme should, therefore, pay due attention to this aspect. It is necessary to provide in T. D. Blocks a Special Extension Officer for cultural integration, may be, in the shape of a second Social Education Organiser.

(G) *Multiplicity of programme*—Following the C. D. Block pattern a multipronged programme of development work is launched in the T. D. Block. This ensures from the posting of the team of officers, the B. D. O., the Agricultural Extension Officer, the S. E. O., the Poultry Development Officer, the Panchayat Extension Officer, the Tribal Welfare Officer, the Veterinary Assistant Surgeon, the Assistant Engineer and so forth. It is to be expected that all these officers would take up some work of development and in course thereof to have contacts with the villagers. The average tribal mind ordinarily works unilaterally and none would ordinarily find him almost solely pre-occupied with one problem or thought at a time. This is true of the community or society too. That being the position, the average tribal finds himself bewildered when faced with so many problems at a time presented by so many officers in so many

ways. These officers are ordinarily not conversant with the likes and dislikes of the tribals, their traditions, and aspirations, their felt need and predilections and their troubles and tribulations. They hardly know the dialect of the tribals. It is no wonder, therefore, that coming face to face with such a situation the average tribal would find himself at sea.

The Renuka Roy Committee have rightly observed that "The Schematic pattern should be simple. Effort should not be made to introduce every conceivable scheme of welfare immediately in the beginning of the Block period".

The shaking of confidence in one field may mar the prospects of other developments schemes too.

The Dhebar Commission have, therefore, rightly struck a note of warning. They have cautioned against posting the full team of officers and starting full steam with the multiple programme right from the beginning.

The field needs careful preparation, following the survey and research that have been enjoined by the Government of India for each T. D. Block. Perhaps the B. D. O. and the S. E. O. and the Tribal Welfare Officer should be the

first arrivals. They should prepare the grounds for others to follow. May be, instead of Poultry Extension Officer a Goat and Pit Development Officer may be found necessary ; it may not be necessary to have an Extension Officer for industries ; and in

place of Agricultural Extension Officer a Horticulturist may be more in demand.

The Block period may have to be slightly extended to accommodate all this.

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ROLE OF APPLIED ANTHROPOLOGY IN COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

The role of the Anthropologist in solving human problems is gradually assuming importance in our country. In Europe and U. S. A., the range of problems which the Anthropologist is called upon to solve, especially after the Second World War, is indeed surprising. In this respect anthropology has topped the list of all social and human sciences.

The area where the role of the Anthropologist has been particularly conspicuous is the human group where the situation of face-to-face contact prevails. These groups, though well defined, are nevertheless small units of a greater society. In dealing with these groups the factors relied upon are, generally, a number of institutional and individual traits. Little cognizance is taken of ecological factors, cultural processes and the organisation of the society as a whole. This approach may be termed as sociological and to a limited extent social anthropological.

In India Anthropologists have been called upon to deal with problems from a completely different area which comprises of communities in numerous settings, rather than groups which form

small segments of communities. The problems they deal with are, to cite some instances, community development, tribal welfare, social education, national planning, etc. Not that these problems have not been studied elsewhere but rarely they have assumed such paramount significance for applied anthropology as has been the case in India. The area covered is wider and infinitely more complex. The specific problems which confront the Anthropologist in this area, therefore, need some discussion.

The first methodological problem which confronts the Anthropologist in this field, is to distinguish his approach from the individual oriented methods of psychology and psychiatry. The latter disciplines do make some generalizations about a group or even about a community by studying an effective sample but their capacity to visualise the structure and organisation of communities is extremely limited, and the area of culture process is not at all susceptible to this method.

The second problem concerns the limitations of the sociological approach itself.

Here the distinction between the sociological and the anthropological approach should be clearly borne in mind. These two approaches are very often confused, leading to grievous methodological errors and it has also thwarted the true understanding of community problems. The difference between the sociological and the anthropological approach is that the former adopts a statistical model whereas the latter adopts a mechanical model. To quote Levi-Strauss "A model, the elements of which are on the same scale as the phenomena will be called a mechanical model, when the elements of the model are on a different scale, we will be dealing with a statistical model." ("Anthropology To day," p. 528). Viewed in an action frame of reference this difference may appear to be, apparently, very subtle but the methodological implications of the two approaches are widely divergent.

The sociological method, as described above, has been very effectively adopted by the applied Anthropologists in studying small groups. This method being oriented towards the group as the basic component of analysis, overcomes a large number of methodological inaccuracies of the individual-oriented approach

of psychology and psychiatry, but it reveals glaring inadequacies when applied to the complex area of community study. There is no doubt that the employment of the sociological technique is fruitful in studying the pattern of interpersonal relations bearing significance to community welfare which is only a part of the total problem. It is, however, inadequate for the proper analysis of the problems of community development conceived as an integrated whole rather than as a loose conglomeration of unrelated problems. The value-systems and the organisation of socialised behaviour of the divergent groups of the community in relation to the physical and cultural environment are the factors which need to be studied for a correct appraisal of the total problem. The number of community studies made so far indicate that the fundamental factors of community living are representative of relevant variables which are the basis of the holistic concept of community welfare. To find effective solutions to these problems the relevant variables employed by the Anthropologist within the traditional conceptual scheme needs considerable modification. Though, operationally, this conceptual scheme has been found to be effective in dealing with the

inter-personal relations within small groups, for studying complete communities we require a dynamic scheme and a multi-dimensional frame, integrating diverse data from ecology and other biological and natural sciences as well.

It may, therefore, be concluded that the main difference between "small-group" oriented approach laying emphasis on the immediate improvement of human relations, on the one hand, and those centering on the stable development and social advancement conceived as a far reaching holistic problem in the complex community, on the other, is mainly due to the location of relevant variables.

In tackling the problems of the first category, the operational assumption of the applied Anthropologists that the factor of inter-personal relations are only relevant has met with success within its limited sphere. But when the dimension of time and a dynamic view of the space enters into the analysis and when the intricately patterned problems of the community require solution, the purely sociological method of analysis fails to deliver the goods. Here an effective method is devised by assimilating into the sociological analysis the techniques of other human as well as natural sciences, like applied ecology, linguistics, biology and culture-history.

Studies conducted on the above lines have achieved significance in directions other than the methodological and a new concept of community development has evolved out of it.

The essence of this new concept is that emphasis has been changed from the study of disparate problems to a Kaleidoscopic conceptualization of community development taking into consideration its multidimensional manifestations as a total dynamic problem against the background of the relevant community existence. Thus problems which were previously considered as disconnected are now becoming mutually relevant within a common framework. A cross fertilization has been achieved between the universal attributes of man's social existence, on the one hand, and the uniqueness of specific community setting, on the other. This has brought into focus a new outlook for the evaluation of community welfare and development. The old method of calculating development by the summation of disparate indices has given way to the concept of the vital community bearing scientific relevance in terms of an integrated balance of correlated but diverse elements. The balance aimed at is not a state of mutual neutralisation of forces and counter-forces but a homeostatic integration of social components. Such

a balanced community is capable of assimilating foreign elements which accelerate its growth: but the most important fact about this type of community is that it develops its own orthogenetic dynamics. Here, man is considered in his symbiotic relationship with other men and also with the community taken as an integrated whole in conjunction with its ecology. Man and his community are not segregated entities. They are viewed in an emerging pattern of life which contains all the organisms of the environment as well as the physical features in continuous symbiotic transaction with each other.

For illustration, if one were evaluating the impact of community development programmes using the new analytical approach, the efficacy of the projects should be studied not at a single point of interaction but at various levels, i. e., from the level of policy making to that of actual execution. The effect of the projects on health, nutrition, life-expectation, fertility, etc., on the one hand and on the physical and organic environment, on the other, should be co-ordinately assessed. None of these will be taken for granted or be made the subject of separate piece-meal investigation but considered as parts

of a whole related field. Every effort should be made to locate the given community in the social, economic and political topography within and outside the nation.

Applied anthropology has greatly benefited by the concept of "resources conservation" which it has borrowed from applied ecology and the term has been extended to apply to human resources. New evaluative techniques have evolved out of this conceptual scheme. In this scheme the culture patterns and social institutions are viewed in terms of their capacity to sustain the type of balance, stated above, replacing thereby the emphasis on "socialisation" of man and his adjustment to institutions, patterns and norms. Culture may be accepted as "given" for any individual, but viewed as a whole in its total spatiotemporal range it should be recognised as a product of human endeavour in a process of perpetual change in accordance with human needs.

The aim of community welfare is to direct this process, through communal efforts, towards the optimum, stable and self-perpetuating welfare of the community and the role of the anthropologist therein is to make this effort based on scientific foundations.

T. B. NAIK | GOND LEADERSHIP

Rajput dynasties were ruling in various parts of the Central Provinces (now Madhya Pradesh) from about the sixth to the twelfth centuries. They then disappear and there is a gap in the history of the State till the fourteenth century or later when Gond Kingdoms are found established at Kherla in Betul at Deogarh in Chhindwara, at Garha-Mandla in Jabalpur and at Chanda. It seems clear that the Hindu dynasties were subverted by the Gonds after the Mohammedan invasion of Northern India had weakened or destroyed the central power of the Hindus and prevented any assistance being afforded to the outlaying settlements. There is a reason to suppose that the immigration of the Gonds into Madhya Pradesh took place after the establishment of these Hindu Kingdoms and not before as is commonly held.

There is no reason to doubt that the Gonds came from the South through Bastar and Chanda. For two or three centuries the greater part of the province was governed by Gond kings. Of their method of Government Sleeman said, 'Under these Gond Rajas the

country seems for the most part to have been distributed among feudatory chiefs bound to attend upon the prince at his capital with a stipulated number of troops to be employed wherever their services might be required, but to furnish no or little revenue in money. These chiefs were Gonds and the countries they held for the support of their families and the payment of troops and the retinue were little more than wild jungles. The Gonds seem not to have been at home in open country and as far as the 16th century, a peaceable penetration of the Hindu cultivators into the beat lands of the State assumed large dimensions and the Gonds gradually retired into the hills ranges on the borders of the plains'. The head-quarter of each dynasty at Mandla, Garha, Kherla, Deogarh and Chanda seem to have been located in a position strengthened for defence either by a hill or a great river and adjacent to an especially fertile plain tract whose produce served for the maintenance of the ruler's household and his establishment. Often the site was on other sides bordered by dense forests which would afford a retreat to the occupants

falling to an enemy. Strong and spacious forts were built with masonry tanks and wells inside to provide water.

The Hindu immigrants found Gond Government tolerant and beneficent. Under the easy eventless sway of these princes the rich country over which they ruled prospered, its flocks and herds increased and the treasury filled. We read in a 15th century Muslim historian, Firistha that the king of Kherla sumptuously entertained the Bahmani king and made him rich offerings among which were many diamonds, rubies and pearls. Of Rani Durgavati of Garha Mandla, Sleeman said, "Of all the sovereigns of this dynasty she lives most in the pages of history and in the grateful recollections of the people. She built the great reservoir which lies close to Jubbulpore and which is called after her, the Queen's pond; and many other highly useful works were formed about Garha". When the castle of Chouragarh was sacked by one of Akbar's generals in 1504, the booty found according to Firistha, comprised independently of jewels, images of gold and silver and other valuables, no fewer than a hundred jars of gold coins and a thousand elephants. Of the Chanda rulers, the Settlement Officer who recorded their history wrote: "They left.....a well-governed and contented kingdom adorned with admirable works of

engineering skill and prosperous to a point which no after-time has reached. They have left their marks behind them in royal tombs, lakes and palaces but most of all in the seven miles of battle-worn stone-wall, too wide now for the shrunk city of Chanda within it....." According to local tradition the great wall of Chanda and other buildings such as the tombs of the Gonds kings and the palace at Junone were built with the help of immigrants. Another excellent rule of the Gond kings was to give anyone who made a tank a grant of land lying beneath it. A large number of irrigation tanks were constructed under this inducement.

The Gond State had no strength for defence. The loose tribal system, so easy in time of peace, entirely failed when united action was most required and the plain country fell before the Maratha army almost without a struggle. In the strongholds, however, of the hilly ranges which hem in every part of Gondwana, the chiefs for long continued to maintain an unequal resistance and to revenge by indiscriminate rapine and slaughter. In such cases the Maratha plan was to continue pillaging and harassing the Gonds until they obtained an acknowledgement of their supremacy and the promise of an annual tribute. Under this treatment the

Gonds are said to have begun looting and killing plainsmen at night and then returning to their jungle fortresses by the light of a bonfire on some commanding peak.

The Pardhan tribe sing the songs of these kings and chiefs. There are three kinds of songs of the Pardhans: Pandawani, Gondwani and Ramayana. The first and the third are Hindu legends from the great epics(generally much mutilated). The Gondwani tales, which are still the most popular, tell about the heroics of the Gond kings, some of it real, some highly fictional but romantic giving us an idealisation of kingship.

In these songs the kings are always referred to as Kshatriyas whose genealogies are recounted on all occasions:

Listen, brother

Usar's son was Busar.
Busar's son was Karikhan.

Karikhan's son was Singhisurva.

Singhisurva's eldest son was Marakhan Chhatri

Singhisurva's youngest son was Hirakhan Chhatri.

The game of hawk hunting is also referred to. The kings are said to have beautiful horses and ride on elephants. They do impossible things like growing oil seeds on stony ground. They also bear the

weight or fine arrows in their chest. Hirakhan at one point says of himself; "I am the soldier of soldiers, jungly of the jungle, great bull of the herd, lord of the wild buffaloes."

In the Pardhan songs there are references to: *darbar*, which is the king's court where the king sits on a high throne; *munshi*, who is the clerk of the court and a go-between; *chaprasi* the attendant; the various castes like the Lodhi, Kurmi, Paba, Bairagi and the Sanyasi who surrounded the king; *kotwar*, the messenger; nine lakh Gond soldiers; marriage with enemies or strangers for balance of power and peace and invincible Gond princes like Hredeshah, who married the daughter of Aurangzeb.

The kings or the rajas and the jagirdars were also religious heads and had many ritual functions. The king of Bastar is the only one who can worship the goddess Danteshwari, the protecting Deity of the states people, who believe in her very much and when he worships her once a year a large fair is held where all tribals gather very reverentially. The king of Bastar would ritually move out after the rainy season in a very big chariot round his city, the chariot being drawn by thousands of tribals, it being believed that this does them good and the moving out of the chariot is held out to be very sacred and beneficent. This Dassera festival is so

organised that almost all the castes and tribes of the state contribute cash and kind towards the celebration and also take part in various rituals of the day, each being given a particular work to do, which is almost hereditary.

The jagirdar of Harrai built a temple in the name of Shiva near his village and there a fair is held every year, he being the first man to worship the god that day. There are a number of such other examples which can prove, if proof at all is necessary, of a well-known anthropological fact of the sacredness of the king that the tribal chief was also a sacred chief. I may also mention that the services of the chief were necessary for the purification of a polluted person.

Zamindars — In considering land tenure in India, Baden Powell rightly says, "In the Central Provinces, the zamindari estates had nothing to do with revenue farming" (i.e. a manager was appointed by the British authorities to manage revenue. The official warrant ran for his life and subject to his good conduct and pleasure of the ruler). They are simply the estates of chiefs or barons of the old Gond kingdoms. When these kingdoms were conquered by the Marathas the main portions became *Khalsa* or directly managed lands of the conquerors. The old baronial territories being in the hills on the

outskirts of the Maratha domain were not productive of much revenue. They were, therefore, let alone, the chiefs being made to pay a moderate tribute. This position was maintained under the British Government. (Baden-Powell, B. H., *Land Revenue and Land Tenure in British India*, Oxford, 1913, Pp. 112-3).

Fifteen of the zamindaries were considered to be of sufficient importance to warrant their being constituted Feudatory States. The holders of other jagirs and zamindaris in Hoshangabad, Chanda and Chhattisgarh districts were assessed to a single payment at a favourable proportion of the assets and either then or subsequently received patents declaring their estates inalienable, heritable by the rule of primogeniture. (The Imperial Gazetteer of India, Vol. X, Oxford, 1908, Pp. 73).

In the village of the *khalsa* something different happened. The commencement of the British rule found most of the villages of the plain country in the hands of the lessees (patels or thekedars) who held farms of the village land revenue from Government generally for short periods. They were given proprietary rights so that for all practical purposes the leasehold was converted into a freehold tenure, the proprietors of villages so created being called *malguzars*.

The malguzari land tenure is subject to partition according to the Hindu law; the most recent Statistics in 1908 showed that the ownership of 27,575 villages was shared between 94,575 persons, giving an average of 3·4 shares of each village. One of the malguzars (if there are several in the village) is the executive headman of the village and is known as the *mukaddam*. This official exercises the usual duties of a village headman but has no magisterial powers.

Gonds, a Dominant Community—Let us see in brief the relations of the Gonds with other communities. The Pardhans, about 150,000, act as priests and minstrels of the Gonds. The name Pardhan is of Sanskrit origin and signifies a minister or agent. That it was applied to the tribe is also shown by the fact that they were also known as *Divan*, which has the same meaning. There is a tradition that the Gond kings employed Pardhans as their ministers and as the Pardhans acted as Genealogists they have been more intelligent than the Gonds. The Gonds themselves look down on them and say that they are inferior and they relate that Bara Deo had seven sons who were talking together dined and they said that every caste had an inferior branch to do them homage but they had none and they therefore agreed that the young-

est brother and his descendants should be inferior to others and make obeisance to them while the others promised to treat him almost as their equal and give him a share in all the offerings to their dead. The Pardhans are the descendants of the youngest brother and they accost the Gonds with the greeting, "Good Luck, Sir!"

They have the right to visit Gond houses of the same sept as theirs and to sing and beg there. There are several kinds of gifts that the Gonds are expected to give to their Pardhan clan members. The most pleasant of these is the *Sukdan* which is given when a Pardhan minstrel comes to the house. Then there is 'so-nnedan' which is given by the clansman's eldest daughter. 'Bhachadan' is given when the eldest daughter has her first son. When she grows old they give 'budhan dan', an expensive gift of a cow. When a Gond dies the Pardhan may be given ornaments left on the body as well as a present; this is known as 'muwardan'. He sings, accompanying himself on his fiddle known as *bana* which is the home of his chief god, *Bada Deo*, the songs of the Gond kings of old.

Then there are Ojhas. It is a community of soothsayers and minstrels of the Gonds, about 10,000 in number. The Gond Ojhas served and begged from the Gonds only. They have the same clans as the

Gonds and their customs resemble the dominant community. Their wives tatoo the arms of Gond (and now of Hindu) women.

The Agarias are an off-shoot of the Gond tribe. They have adopted the profession of iron smelting and form a separate caste. They are 10,000 in number. They probably take their name from 'aag' fire. Their exogamous clans have generally the same names as those of the Gonds, viz., Sonwani, Dhurva, Tekam, Markam, Uika, Purtai, Marai and others. They follow their traditional occupation of iron smelting ; and also make a few agricultural implements. They are paid in traditional terms by the Gonds, in each of whose villages we may expect to find one or two of their families.

The Ahirs, about 80,000 in population are cowherds, milkmen and cattle breeders. About 4 per cent of them are domestic servants and nearly all the remaining are cultivators and labourers. They also worked for the Gonds. The village cattle are usually entrusted jointly to one or more herdsmen for grazing purposes. The grazier is paid separately for each animal entrusted to his care. When a cow or a buffalo is in milk the grazier often gets the milk one day out of four or five. The village grazier is often also expected to prepare the

guest house for government officers and other visiting the village, fetch grass for their animals and clean their cooking.

Thus there seems to be an organic unity in this social organization, the Gonds being at the top and the other non-self-sufficient castes and tribes being dependent on them are to serve one or the other need of the dominant tribe.

The Panch—The Panch in the Baiga tribe in any village is not a definite body with members and a president. It is rather a group of important villagers with a quorum of five. There may be many more present to decide the culprit's fate. The headman of the village, the kotwar or the village watchman, the leading 'dewar' or gunia (magician) may not have any influence on them. A certain power of decision, a reputation for integrity, the command of some possessions or many sons, a record of tribal loyalty—these things give a man ascendancy in the council. But there is nothing fixed or definite, no rules of procedure. The real arbiter of tribal destiny is tribal opinion. (Elwin, V., *The Baiga*, London, 1939, Pp. 201).

Among the Kamars there is no authority for the whole tribe. In the various territorial units, a number of tribal settlements, close to one another, join together and form a group. Each

such group has a panchayat of its own. The decrees of this body are binding and final in all socio-religious matters. The proceedings of this are always held in the public and such other members of the tribe as are present are rarely debarred from expressing their opinion. All people freely express what they feel about the matter in dispute. Young people who have no children (or no grown up children) should not interfere in the proceedings; if they do so, that is regarded as impolite. Decisions are always arrived at by a majority. Although votes are never taken, the general concensus of opinion always decides the issues ultimately. (Dube, S. C., *The Kamar*, Lucknow, 1951, Pp. 79)

Some Kamars have a hierarchy of tribal officers. Kurha is the chief and next to him is the sirpanch, who is the presiding officer of the panchayat. The chaparsi runs errands. This administrative hierarchy is merely superficial. Except in his own group, the kurha is not invited to participate in the proceedings of panchayats of other groups ; nor is he informed of their decisions. The chaparasis are not paid for their work as such they don't bother about their work. The sirpanch hardly wields any influence to be in a position to get his will carried out by a majority. It is always the domocraetic verdict of this body of elders

which is supreme. No portion of fines imposed on persons who have committed breaches of tribal law and custom, goes either to the kurha or the sirpanch.

The Gonds also have panchayats or committees for the settlement of tribal disputes and offences. A member of the panchayat is selected by general consent and holds office during good behaviour. The office is not hereditary; and generally there does not appear to be a recognised head of the panchayat. In the Mandla district there is a separate panchayat for each village and every Gond male adult belongs to it, and has to be summoned to a meeting. When they assemble five leading elderly men decide the matter in disputes as representing the assembly.

In these tribals there is a high degree of integration. So shall I say that there is an extreme degree of internalization of norms of conduct? Talcott Parson says : "It is only by virtue of internalization of institutionalised values that genuine motivational integration of behaviour in the social structure takes place..... It is only when this has taken place to a high degree that it is possible to say that a social system is highly integrated and that the interests of the collectivity and the private interests of its constituents can be said to approach coincidence".

The newly set up village councils—The Panchayats are also becoming important in the Gond villages. The village councils are under a local judicial council which controls 40 villages and 8 panchayats in the neighbourhood. The village council is a civil body created to keep sanitation in the village, to build and repair roads, clean wells and for other civic amenities. The local judicial council, 'nyaya panchayat', has power to decide civil and criminal cases. In criminal cases it can fine up to Rs. 50 and in civil cases it can deal with suits of Rs. 100.

The exercise of leadership and authority is increasingly falling into the hands of the panchayats. The types of cases which come up before these courts in some Gond areas can be seen from the break up of the following 79 cases :—

- | | |
|--|----|
| 1. Marriage cases (relating to adultery abduction, breach of promise, non-payment of bride price.) | 48 |
| 2. Disputes over property. | 11 |
| 3. Quarrels resulting in violence and serious injuries. | 10 |
| 4. Accusations of witchcraft and malignant curses. | 5 |

5. Quarrels over the conduct of rites.	3
6. Disputes over ex-communication.	2
Total ..	79

What has happened now is this—The chiefs' territories have been merged with the adjoining territories directly ruled by the State Governments and they have been given some privy purse according to their former status and income. They have no political locus standing legally.

But their leadership is deep-rooted. These chiefs have a great sway over public opinion. The people specially the unsophisticated tribals love them, know them as their heads perhaps a source of security and the basis of their own social structure. In order to win over the people on their side and also to keep these still influential persons with them the national political parties took them up in their folds. The chief among them is the Indian National Congress, which gave its party tickets to a number of former chiefs who were willingly voted for by their own people. In the State legislature could be found tribal rulers, chiefs and other commoners also. (They all constitute the tribal

advisory council which has to be consulted by the Government in framing any welfare or administrative policy for the tribals). A few of the tribals are in the administrative services also. Others have invested in land or in industry and thus we see them coming up as leaders in the economic field in or around their areas.

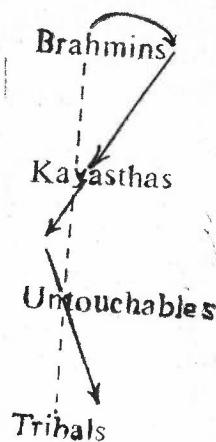
Thus the multifield leadership has fissioned and given place to unifield leadership : differentiation is taking place as it were in the primitive (or simple) leadership phenomena. On the other hand, the Gonds, Agarias, Ojhas and Ahirs are increasingly coming in contact with the neighbouring social system so much so that they cannot be differentiated as two systems. It has been for a long time a fusion and there is now the political fusion also. The ideal picture would be of ordination : Brahmins

Kayasthas, Banias

Untouchables

Tribals

But now the caste structure is restructured on party lines and the picture is as follows :



So that political parties cross cut these communities and the caste leadership gives place to party leadership; but even here the transition from custom to contract is not so simple. The upper caste leadership still persists. The Gond leadership has to be reckoned as Gond leadership. The educated Gonds are taking up the leadership of their communities as elsewhere. The role of intelligentia in the history of modern India has been decisive. They have to a great extent integrated the Indian people into a modern nation and organised various progressive socio-reform and religious reform movements in the country. They have been the pioneers, organizers and leaders of all political national movements. They have through educational and propaganda work which involved great self-sacrifice

and suffering brought ideas of nationalism and freedom to wider and wider sections of the Indian people. "In fact the progressive intelligentia which assimilated modern Western democratic culture and

comprehended the complex problems of the incipient Indian nation are the makers of modern India." (A. R. Desai, Social Background of Indian Nationalism, Bombay, 1948. Pp. 179-80).

P. K. BHOWMICK

MUNDAS AND THEIR WAYS OF LIVING IN WEST BENGAL

I

Attempts have been made in this paper to show in brief, how the Mundas make their living and how they have gradually adjusted themselves with the changing socio-economic situations in West-Bengal, after their migration from their homeland centuries ago.

They are an autochthonous community living mainly in Chotanāgpur plateau and in other adjoining places. Once they lived in the sylvan jungles, having agriculture as their main economy, supplemented, at times, by hunting and other pursuits. Earlier accounts of Dalton* (1872), Risley* (1891) and later works of Roy (1912) throw some light on their manners and customs and these accounts may be considered as the baseline of their cultural patterns. They also noticed, at that time, some sort of cross-groups, having commensal and connubial relations with other neighbouring communities. This had resulted in the birth

of hybrid stocks like, Munda-Kharia, Munda-Lohar, Munda-Mahili, Munda-Manjhi, Munda-Oraon, etc. This proves beyond argument that the community, under circumstantial set-up and compelling situations, had to assimilate and absorb the local cultural traits. These persisting forces are at play even at present, which can be noticed easily, and have contributed largely towards their gradual Hinduisation.

The western jungle covered tract of Midnapur is physically a continuation of the Chotanagpur plateau, and naturally it could be surmised that the Mundas have migrated gradually from their homeland there in search of better employment and economic security. The forest-clad region of West-Midnapur possibly attracted these people much, without least disturbing their psychological and sentimental get-up. Hence migration to this tract was popular, easy and continuous.

Total number of Munda population in this district is

* Dalton, E. T. (Calcutta 1872) — Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal

* Risley, H. H. (Calcutta 1891) — The Tribes and Castes of Bengal.

5,030 according to 1951 census, though their distribution in the State of West Bengal is 82,923.

The Mundas speak a distinctive dialect of their own, which indirectly helped keeping intact their tribal traits, so far. To note the gradual process of assimilation, the writer has studied two Munda villages in this district. Though this sample survey is considered insufficient for making a generalised assessment, yet the findings have thrown considerable light on the social changes, and the tendencies prompting them.

One of these villages is Telkand, situated in Sankrail Police-Station in Jhargram Subdivision, whereas the other is Daharpur under Narayangarh Police-Station, in the Sadar South Subdivision of Midnapur. It is to be noted here that the village Telkand is exclusively a Munda inhabited village, having 46 families and a total population of 242 (121 males and 121 females). Very recently one Raju family has constructed a hut in the periphery of this village and has been living there.

Geo-physically, this village is situated on the northern bank of the river Subarnarekha. On the southern bank of it the continuous growth of the jungle of Nayagram is still present.

This is geographically a continuation of the jungle of Mayurbhanj of Orissa. According to the oldest headman of this village, this village site was selected, and cleared up for habitation by the fore-fathers of the present-day Mundas, about 150 years ago. At that time, the forest was dense, and jungle resources were available in plenty, and the riverside lands were very fertile. As such, the Mundas considered this place as most congenial for their habitation. The ancestors of the present-day Mundas of this village had originally migrated from the remote western tracts of Chotanagpur plateau, but none of the present villagers could trace or ascertain any direct relationship with them.

At present, they have no connubial or commensal relationship with their kinsmen living in the Chotanagpur plateau.

Due to growth of population and other factors, or for prospects of better employment, the Mundas of this village are found to have already migrated further east. The Mundas generally migrate in batches, comprising of their kinsmen and agnate groups. The Mundas of this particular village have their relations in many neighbouring villages, situated westwards, as well as, eastwards. Some unclaimed regions of this district have gradually been populated by the rapid migration of these

people. As a result, the Mundas are found to live side by side with other neighbouring caste groups. They are sincere, peaceful and hard-working agriculturists. Their sincerity and simplicity had made them friendly with all local caste and community groups.

On the other hand, village Daharpur has been selected, as it is the easternmost village,

where the Munda migration flow has practically stopped now. This village is situated under Narayangarh Police-Station, very near to the Railway Station. It is to be noted here that this particular village is inhabited by multi-ethnic groups.

The Mundas of this village are found to live in six hamlets, and the total Munda population has been recorded as follows :—

TABLE I
Munda population and hamlets

Sl. No.	Hamlets	Number of family	Population		
			Total	Male	Female
1. Shamtarangi	..	19	123	66	57
2. Jalapaddi	..	7	50	26	24
3. Karageria	..	16	94	42	52
4. Pichhabani	..	30	167	77	90
5. Debpukria	..	4	23	12	11
6. Tulia	..	8	29	14	15
Total		84	486	237	249

A good number of villages including Daharpur in the Police-Station of Narayangarh, and other Police-Stations like Kesiari, Sabang, Pingla and Debra, etc., in the Sadar South Subdivision of Midnapur, were depopulated gradually for various cases, mainly natural and economic, and were in such a condition till the First Great

World War. Factors responsible for this gradual depopulation, according to the statements of the informants, were epidemic diseases like cholera, influenza, malaria etc. As a result, most of this tract lay almost barren and uncultivated for a long time, and became covered with thick bushes and jungles. Village Daharpur was affected similarly,

which has a number of large silted tanks, the banks of which are covered with thorny bushes and jungles. The Lodhas, a denotified community of this village, also settled near the banks of these old silted tanks, which they call Masak, Tiorgeria etc. The Mundas began to migrate to this village sometime about 35 years ago, that is about 1929, for the first time, with a small kin-group, in search of good cultivable land for their livelihood.

At first, they selected Shamtarangi, a silted tank, and later other silted tanks called Jalapaddi, Karageria, Pichhavani, Debpukuria and Tulia. They constructed their small huts, clearing the jungles and gradually brought the lands under cultivation. The local zemindars and other agricultural communities were, at that time, in urgent need of some good agricultural labourers, and the Mundas who came here, met their requirement conveniently. As a result, the Mundas got immediate employment, which attracted fresh immigrants for settling here. By this time, some of the Mundas purchased some uncultivated land from the zemindars, who gave these to them on convenient and liberal terms of settlement. Due to their sincere and industrious habit, within a very short time, they were able to establish themselves here, on a firm footing.

Migration to village Telkand has stopped for a pretty long time, but migration to Daharpur continued up till 1959. Even a few families have migrated here from village Telkand. A total of 84 Munda families living in 6 hamlets, have migrated from 24 villages of Midnapur since 1929. Most of these villages are situated in Jhargram Sub-division. The others are in Kesiari and Khargpur Police-Stations in Midnapur Sadar South Subdivision. On enquiry it has revealed that relatives of kinsmen of these migrants also came with them.

Village Telkand is inhabited exclusively by the Mundas, and it is an older settlement than village Daharpur, which is a multi-caste village. Telkand is surrounded by a big canal known as 'Bansi Khal', which becomes unfordable during the rainy season. The settlements of other villages are not far away from this village. The distances vary from $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles to $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles. But in the case of Daharpur, the Munda settlements are, more or less, isolated.

In respect of set-up and distribution of the huts in Telkand, it is found that the main road runs through the middle of the village and the huts are rectangular, mud-built, four-slopped, with fenced compounds, arranged at one side of the village. There is an *akhra* or dancing ground in this village. There are a few

public places like, shrines, where important village deities like, Kenduaburi (worshipped during agricultural operations), Manasa (goddess of Serpents), Sitala (goddess of Smallpox) and Baram (Village Tutelary Deity), etc. are regularly worshipped and a few virgin trees had been kept intact, at the time of clearing jungles, for setting up the shrines or places of worship of these deities.

The bank of the *Bansi* canal is used as *Sasan* or the cremation ground, but no memorial stones were found here. There is also no *Gitior* or dormitory for the bachelors. But at present, a free-primary school has been established here, with two teachers, run by the District School Board, and an *Ashram* for welfare-work, organised by the enthusiastic youths of this village. Recently, the Tribal Welfare Department of the Government of West Bengal has established a grain-gola for the villagers to supply grains on credit on easy terms to the villagers.

As the Munda hamlets of village Daharpur have been established recently, so there is no traditional pattern of common village places. The huts have mud-built walls, without any definite plan for them. The Mundas of this particular village are not better off than those of Telkand. In Shamtarangi (first settlement in this village), there is a school, the premises of

which are sometimes used for recreational or festive purposes like, worship of Karam, etc. Possibly these hamlets might be temporary shelters.

II

Agriculture is the main economy of the Mundas and the people of these two villages are found to be mostly engaged in agricultural operations, sometimes in their own fields, and sometimes in the fields of others. The Mundas of village Telkand have got better types of cultivable lands where they also cultivate sugarcane for manufacture of molasses or country-sugar, which fetch them good cash money. But at Daharpur, they are found to be engaged in laying and repairing of railway tracks or construction and repair of roads, etc. Most of the Mundas of these two villages are found to be employed as seasonal or whotetime domestic servants, mainly performing agricultural works and other domestic chores. Thus, these people frequently come in contact with the neighbouring Hindus. A good number of the Mundas of both the villages are landless.

^e Age-group distribution of the Mundas of the two villages also depicts that due to financial difficulties and economic disadvantages, tender-aged boys and girls and even very old and infirm people (age 0—14 and 60—up) are found to participate

in many economic pursuits. Thus the working force of the total population outnumbers the

labour force, due to participation for circumstantial exigencies.

TABLE 2

Age-group distribution (Labour and non-Labour force)

Sl. No.	Village	No. of family 0-4	Non-labour (Age-group)		Labour force (Age) (15-60)		Non-labour (Age) 61-up	
			M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.
1. Telkand		.. 46	28	19	24	35	64	60
2. Deharpur with six hamlets	84		38	58	55	55	134	128
Total ..		130					5	7

For agricultural purposes, in the fields of others, or in their own paddy fields, they have all the requisite implements like, hoes, ploughs, sickles, etc. These are generally purchased from the local markets, and the blacksmiths supply the plough shares, hoe-blades, etc. In village Daharpur, two persons know some carpentry work and they have a few tools for this purpose. These persons generally help other villagers, at the time of construction of their huts. As the weekly market is located very near these two villages (Kukrakhupi near village Telkand and Narayangarh, near village Daharpur), the Mundas in general, get their requisite commodities from there. They have both hunting and fishing implements, which consist of bows and arrows, javelins and spears and a few valved and

valveless basket traps. They are also found to possess various kinds of fishing nets. But hunting is more practised by the Mundas of Telkand than others, as the southern bank of the river Subarnarekha is covered with dense forests, in which various hunting games abound.

Almost all the Mundas are found to cultivate agricultural fields, the owners of which are generally people of caste Hindu groups. This mode of contract is locally known as 'Barga Chas', i.e., share-cropping, in which the cultivator bears all the agricultural expenses, whereas the owner of the land pays the revenue, and gets half of the total production. As a result, the Mundas have solely to depend on the co-operation of their Hindu neighbours. Sometimes, a few money-lending communities of the village or of the

locality, advance loans of cash money or paddy to them, for which the debtors have to pay interest, and the whole of the amount is to be repaid after the harvest.

The Mundas of Telkand also ceremonially organise a few hunting excursions like, "Akhan Sendra", held on the last day of the Bengali year, i.e., on the Chaitra Sankranti Day, in which Mundas of the neighbouring villages also participate. Prior to this expedition, the village Dehuri (priest) worships Baram or the tutelary village deity, when hunting implements are dumped together and placed on the floor of the shrine. Games killed on the occasion are brought to the village Akhra, and distributed amongst the participants. Two such hunting expeditions are generally organised by the villagers, and these are held during the month of Vaishak (April-May). It is to be noted here that the Mundas of Daharpur did not organise any hunting expedition, perhaps due to lack of interest. A few Mundas of this village, however,

joined the expedition organised by the villagers, where they had originally settled.

The Mundas also observe a few festivals connected with agriculture. "Ashari Festival" is held before the first transplantation commences. This is believed to ensure trouble-free cultivation and profuse crops. The Mundas of Telkand and Daharpur observe this festival, with some variations in details of performance. Besides, they also worship "Dhulia Baram", during the month of Vaishak (April-May), which is believed to ensure better agricultural operations. Worship of "Dhulia Baram" is also done on a communal basis, by the Mundas of Daharpur. A few earthen terracotta elephants or horses are placed before the deity, as votive offerings, on which vermillion is smeared profusely by the priest of the village. Then a lengthy and winded incantation composed in Mundari language, is uttered by the village priest before the assembled participants. The incantation is as follows :—

" Bhagwan—the Supreme Being overhead—

And the Mother Earth underneath !

Thou art seeing the happenings on the earth

During the four Great Epochs.

We are worshipping Thee

O ! Dhulia Baram !

As our ancestors did in olden days.

We, all the villagers, are doing that
In the same manner.

Thou be merciful and protect us
From all the diseases.

We may listen to your biddings—
But may not see Thou in person :
Beseech Thee ! remove this quandary ;
Let all the villagers, and the cattle—
Live in peace and harmony.”

Then a goat is sacrificed, and its blood sprinkled over the terracotta offerings. The flesh is cooked on the spot and the consecrated offering is distributed to the participants. They drink some rice beer then. After that, ceremonial sowing of paddy-grains is done.

“ Ashari Festival ” is held communally at the same place, where a fowl is sacrificed. After this festival, the ceremonial transplanatation commences. They think this particular festival will protect the villagers from unforeseen dangers, specially from snake-bite.

In this particular region “ Jathel Festival ” is held, before the transplantation, which is conducted by a Brahman priest.

Another festival known as “ Kusna ” is held at the place of Baram, which is also associated

with agriculture. This particular festival is, however, not held by the Mundas of Daharpur.

“ Karam Festival ” is also associated with agriculture, in which a few sprouting grains or seeds are required at the time of performance. The Mundas of both the villages, named above, participate in it. “ Soharai ” or Gotbanga is a festival for cattle caressing, which is held only in two villages. Most of the songs sung during Karam and Soharai Festivals reflect some ingrained Hindu conceptions in them.

III

In respect of social structure of this tribe, it has been observed that quite a number of clans or septs are included in it. Each clan or sept has a distinctive totem. Table 3 below gives the details of a few of these.

TABLE 3

Clan names and totems

Clan name	Totem
Nag	Serpent
Chandil	Meteor
Turkuri/Taray	Lotus
Sal	A kind of fish
Tao	A bird with blue colour
Saral	A black bird
Kuiya	A bird
Pencha	Owl
Kachhap	Tortoise
Joypakhi	A kind of bird
Sanka	Conch Shell

The clan members show respect to their totems and never kill or injure these. In respect of marriage, clan is not at all, an important factor, as has been observed by the writer. The Mundas affiliate themselves with a few patrilineal lineages or *Banshas* through a sub-

lineage of *Patabhai* or *Bansha* or lineage, and marriage is strictly forbidden amongst the members of the sub-lineages of that particular lineage though they may belong to different clans.

Table 4 below depicts a few lineages with a number of sub-lineages.

TABLE 4

Lineage and sub-lineage alignment

Harat	..	(i) Teru Harat (ii) Tenku Harat (iii) Kheri Harat (iv) Muchri Harat (v) Saba Harat
-------	----	--

Kudra	..	(i) Kudra proper (ii) Rela (iii) Sasa (iv) Churki (v) Kusaldi (vi) Khetridi (vii) Sarmali
Jagda	..	(i) Jagda (ii) Panre Jagdā
Hazam	..	(i) Hazam proper (ii) Banata Hazam
Dulumi	..	(i) Dulumi proper (ii) Benga Dulumi (iii) Jege Dulumi (iv) Benga Ader Dulumi
Patra	..	(i) Amlesha Patra (ii) Aral Patra (iii) Uhuta Pátra
Bukra	..	(i) Singu Bukru (ii) Loyda Bukru (iii) Sonahara Bukru (yi) Terang Bukru (v) Garha Bukru

All these sub-lineage groups are not found in these two villages. A few old persons of the villages can remember the sub-lineage alignments. Possibly the names of lineages have been coined from the name of mother and those of sub-lineages have been coined from the names of first father who established the family.

Though at present, no genealogical relationship can be established with the present members of the sub-lineage descent, these seem to have occurred in the manner stated above.

It will be seen that the Harat lineage of the Mundas comprises sub-lineages lime, (1) Teru

Harat, (2) Tenku Harat, (3) Kheri Harat, (4) Muchri Harat and (5) Saba Harat. Out of these 5 sub-lineages, only 2 sub-lineages, e.g., Teru and Tenku are distributed in 2 hamlets of Shamtarangi and Pichhabani, only amongst 2 and 3 families, respectively. The Kheri sub-lineage is only found in Tulia hamlet. The other 2 sub-lineages are not observed to exist here.

In respect of origin of the sub-lineages or lineages, a few informants said that this was due to repeated remarriage of widows or divorcees, having children of earlier husbands. For example, suppose 'X' was married for the first time to 'A', who had a few children. They belonged to 'A' s clan, as the Mundas are a patriarchate society. After untimely death of 'A' or desertion, 'X' again remarried 'D' and had a few children belonging to 'D' s clan or affiliation. In this way, if 'X' goes on marrying others, say 'E', 'F' etc., and gets children, then these children will affiliate themselves with the clan of 'E', 'F', respectively.

All the children of 'X' have got different clan affiliation according to their respective fathers, but they do not intermarry. The name of the sub-lineage has been possibly coined from the first father. These sub-lineages ultimately from one group or lineage. This

multiple lineages and sub-lineages of the present-day Mundas of Midnapur undoubtedly suggest a complex internal social structure of the community.

The members of the Chandil Clan now associate them with the Sandilya Gotra (clan) of the Caste Hindus. Such is the case of Kachhuya or Kachhap (Tortoise) Clan. Kachhap Clan members also claim to be affiliated with the Kashyapa Gotra of the Hindus, having same pronunciation. The gotra names of the Hindus are generally derived from the names of the Rishis or Saints, supposed to be the first religious preceptors of the particular social groups. Thus, the social groups generally identify themselves with the religious preceptors. The Mundas, being very close neighbours of the Hindus, have automatically adopted a few names, which are, more or less, similar in pronunciation. It is to be noted here that all the Mundas use 'Singh' as their surname. No totem or clan names are used by them as surname as is done by the Lodhas or the Santals.

In respect of the size of the family amongst the Mundas it has been observed that small-sized families predominate. Table 5 gives the details of the family sizes of two Munda villages.

TABLE 5

Size of family

Sl. No.	Size of the family	Villages		
		Telkand	Dahar- pur	Total
1	Small-sized (1—3 members)	..	8	21
2	Medium-sized (4—6 members)	24	38	62
3	Large-sized (7—10 members)	..	11	16
4	Very large-sized (10—above members)	1	9	10
Total		..	44	128

Medium-sized family comprises of parents and unmarried children generally. In rare cases, old father or mother is found to stay with the grown-up married sons. Very large-sized family is constituted by joint or extended types of families.

A girl is married now-a-days at the age of 13 to 15, when she attains puberty. The age of the bridegroom varies between 18 to 25. In rare cases infant marriage takes place. However, the orthodox type of getting wife in the Munda society, is marriage by pur-

chase, when a brideprice has to be paid in cash to the parents of the bride. This orthodox type of marriage is known as 'Arndi' marriage. Besides, marriage by mutual consent, or love marriage, is also in vogue in the Munda society. In these two villages, most of the marriages were 'Arndi' type. Widow remarriage or marriage with a divorced man is also not uncommon. Divorce is easy, the intention for which has to be reported to the 'village panchayat', which formally approves this.

Life cycle of the individual in a Munda society consists of a good number of rituals and observances. Other persons are also involved in these. They have to participate and sometimes take an important role in these affairs. The Mundas observe a number of taboos and restrictions, at the time of pregnancy. When the woman is carrying for five months, the father of the pregnant woman performs a ceremony known as 'Sutamdarm', in which, Dharam Devata or 'God of Righteousness' is worshipped. At the time of delivery a midwife is called for. In many cases an elderly woman of the same tribe, or a professional mid-wife from the Hadi/Sweeper Caste, is requested to attend. She cuts the umbilical cord of the new-born baby by means of an iron arrow-head, and the placenta is buried inside the confining room, near the main door. If the expectant mother suffers from any pain or delivery troubles, then the village *Deona* or Sorceror is called and requested to perform divination, to ascertain the causes. The washerman and the barber are also requested to attend on the 9th day, after delivery. This particular day is known as *Narta*, when the ceremonial birth pollution period terminates. The 'washerman has to wash

the unclean cloths and the barber has to pare off the nails of the mother and the child. The midwife or foster-mother also attends during this ceremony. They are generally given their due remuneration, in cash or kind. On that day, the parents of the new-born take a bath, and a *Sal-leaf* cup filled with water, is brought home by the mother. A few sacred basis leaves are placed on it. This water is treated as holy water, and scattered over the persons attending the ceremony. Thus the birth pollution is over. At that time, a piece of new cloth is presented to the mother by her husband. Sometimes flattened rice is distributed to the participants, with molasses. Sometimes a good feast is given by the father of the baby to the villagers, in which, rice beer is consumed profusely.

On the 10th day of the child's birth, a name giving ceremony (*Tuchauli*) takes place, in which the females play an important part. The maternal-grandmother or aunt or an elderly female, brings a brass pot filled with water, from which a cup-full of water is taken away. On this a durba grass stem and some husked paddy are placed, after applying vermillion marks on them in the name of Dham Devata or God or Righteousness. They suggest a few

names for the baby, one after another, and each keeps a cup of husked paddy for the name suggested by her. When three of them had suggested a common name, they stop suggesting any further names, and that common name is given to the baby.

Then ceremonial boring of the ears of the baby is done. This is an elaborate ceremony. Another relative is invited to do this. A ceremonial friendship is instituted at that time, and the man or woman who wants to be the ceremonial friend, brings with him or her, a pullet, if the child is a girl, and a cockerel, if the child is a boy. Two piercing nails are also brought at that time. Rice cakes are prepared and distributed to the villagers on this occasion, who also present a seer of paddy each, as gift. Henceforth, the child will bear another name, i.e., the name of the ceremonial friend. Thus each Munda bears two names.

The nuptial ceremony of the Mundas is full of rituals. Generally they prefer the Arndi form of marriage, which is a respected mode. A go-between or negotiator, who is known as 'Dutam' is requested to select a bride or a groom. The whole of the nuptial cycle has got a few phases. These are (a) preliminary enquiries, (b) ceremonial paying of bride-

price, or betrothal, (c) ceremony proper, and (d) post-nuptial ceremonies.

During preliminary enquiries the Mundas follow the advice of an astrologer. The names of the prospective spouses are disclosed to him. After astrological calculations, he gives his findings, either in favour, or against the marriage proposal. He is paid some cash, when the finding is favourable. Then the negotiation is continued, and visits and return visits by the respective family members are made to finalise the marriage. Some questions, akin to riddles, are also put to each other by the negotiating parties, which have to be answered satisfactorily. After that, the date is generally fixed up and a portion of bride-price is paid. Marriage takes place generally in the months of Falgun (February-March) and Vaishak (April-May).

Thus betrothal is done and preparations for the marriage are made by the families of the bridegroom and the bride. This has a few other rituals like, ceremonial application of oil or turmeric paste, etc. At this time, a few ceremonial songs are sung at the bride's place.

Prior to the wedding day, sometimes three cocks

are sacrificed by the village Deona or Sorceror, after performance of some rituals. One white cock, in the name of Dharam Devata or God of Righteousness, one red cock, in the name of Garam, the tutelary village deity, and one pied-cock for the tiger-spirit, are generally sacrificed, on such occasions. This is meant to counteract the evil eyes of the supposed spirits, on this auspicious day.

On the wedding day a booth is prepared at the house of the bride. The barber attends for ceremonial service, on that day. The brother-in-law of the bridegroom performs the associated detailed rituals. In the marriage booth, the bride and the bridegroom sit facing each other. The bride-groom sits facing east. A brass plate, with certain articles on it, is placed there. Then the Brahman priest solemnises the ceremony. The groom first puts vermilion marks on the forehead and hair-parting of the bride, and then the bride puts a vermilion mark on the forehead of the bridegroom. The Brahman then ceremonially ties the corners of their cloths with a knot. At that time, he utters some incantations and thereafter he opens the knot. A ceremonial fire-offering is made in the name of God. The nuptial ceremony is thus completed. The Brahman gets his due remuneration, in cash, and leaves the place.

After that a few minor rituals are performed by the women inmates, and a wedding feast is given to the groom's party and the villagers.

The Mundas attribute death to natural causes, as well as, to malice of other spirits. They practise both cremation and burial. The dead body is washed and turmeric paste is applied on it, in case of fully-grown adult. They have cremation grounds for this purpose. The male members take the dead body to the cremation ground. Ten days are considered as unclean days, after death, after which, a purificatory ceremony takes place when the barber attends for shaving and paring off nails, and the washerman washes the cloths of the members of the deceased's family.

The Brahman priest also attends the ceremony. He offers many articles to the spirit of the dead. At the time of rituals, the Brahman priest makes a fire-sacrifice or Homa, to terminate the death pollution. Generally it is done at the place where the death has occurred.

On the same night, they perform a ceremony, when the calling-back of the soul is done with sacrifice of a cock.

IV

The Mundas also believe in the existence of a good many deities and minor spirits, which

they believe hover over their habitations and control their destiny. They appease these spirits with prayers, offerrings and sacrifices. In the villages, they have a few important sacred places or shrines. The shrines or sacred places of Telkand are, however, somewhat different from those of Daharpur Munda hamlets. In Telkand they are found to worship Sitala, who is considered as the most powerful deity of the locality and supposed to control epidemic diseases like, cholera, smallpox, etc. She is not their traditional deity. In the month of Magh (February-March). Her worship is done and the villagers participate in it on a communal basis. Her worship is conducted by the village priest or Deheri. Worship of the tutelary village deity Baram or Garam, is also done by the village priest, on a communal basis. Earthen votive offerrings lime, terracotta horses or elephants, smeared with vermillion marks and fowl, are sacrificed to appease these gods, who are generally believed to fore-stall all the calamities of the village.

Another spirit known as 'Ulian', supposed to be the maid of goddess Sitala, is also worshipped at the outskirt of the village, by the village priest, with sacrifice of a black fowl. During Falgun (March-April), Sarhui or Spring Festival is held with considerable pomp

when the Sal trees begin to put forth new leaves. At that time, ancestral spirits are worshipped, and in each house, a fowl is sacrificed at the Ading, or the sacred tabernacle, inside the house.

In the month of Vaishak (April-May), Dhulia Baram is worshipped at the sacred grove of Baram in the village. Thereafter, a same type of worship is also arranged at the same place, on communal basis, which is known as Kusna. This worship is done to ensure a better and bumper crop. On the last day of Ashar(June-July), Ashari worship is done at the place of Baram. In the month of Sravan (July-August), Manasa, the deity of the serpents, is worshipped, on a communal basis, but by the Deona or the Medicineman and his apprentices. In the month of Bhadra (August-September) the Karam Festival is held, in which, most of the village maidens participate. In the month of Aswin (September-October), when the great Durga Puja or worship of Goddess Durga is held by the Bengalees of the locality, the Mundas worship Dasai in the same manner, as they worship Sitala. In the month of Kartik (October-November), the Mundas worship Gotbonga on the pasture land, when 7 cocks of different colours are sacrificed in the names of Sing Bonga or the Supreme Being, Narang Buru or Buru

Bonga, the Mountain God, Garam or Baram, and two in the name of ancestral spirits and two for the presiding deity of cowshed. Besides these, the Mundas also observe the Tusu Festival, which is held on the last day of Paush (December-January).

The religious and festival life of the Mundas reveal gradual assimilation of local cultural traits. In respect of propitiation of their Gods and other spirits, their own priest performs these worships. Worship of Sitala is a regional festival, which has been gradually incorporated into their own pantheon, specially amongst the Mundas of Daharpur and Telkand. Such is the case with worship of Goddess Manasa. This particular Serpent Goddess is worshipped in lower Bengal, where the people in general feel much afraid of snake-bites. Worship of Dasai, like Goddess Sitala, is done at the time of worship of Durga, and is a very important festival. Though they are unable to associate this Goddess with their own religious pantheon properly, as yet, they perform her worship, when worship of Durga is held in the locality. Besides, they also participate in Gajan festival, when Hindus of the locality worship Lord Mahadeva, on the last day of the Bengali year.

In Telkand, no Gajan festival is held. This is, however, held

at Daharpur, in which the Mundas participate with other caste groups.

V

As the Mundas have come in close contact with the Hindus for long years, it is observed that due to this, a good number of regional cultural traits have already been incorporated into their cultural pattern. As the Mundas have migrated in stages, from Chotanagpur to this eastern tract, some of their original cultural traits have been lost, which occurs in the case of all migrations. Consequently, in their new economy, and habitats surrounded by new groups of people, they have been compelled to accept new cultural attributes and characteristics. They have made great efforts to get the services of Brahman priests, for elevation of their status, but the Brahmans, who serve the Mundas now, are of lower ranks, belonging to Tiwari and Das Groups. The Tiwaris possibly came to this tract from west at the time of Maratha invasion. They are not equal in status with the Brahmans of the locality, who generally belong to Utkal or Rarh groups. A Das Brahman is available only at Pichhabani. But his actual status is not clear or determinable. According to the people of the locality, they belong to the Ramanuja group, and wear ceremonial sacred

threads. Due to gradual migration of the Mundas further into this easternmost tract, the Tiwari Brahmans available at Telkand area were not available here. Hence the Brahmans of the Das or Ramanuja groups have accepted priesthood of the Mundas, but they serve, as such, only at the time of marriages and death purificatory ceremonies.

The Mundas now-a-days, are found to sing most of the Bengali festival songs, at the time of marriage ceremonies. They

have also songs composed in Bengali, for Karam, Tusu and Bandana festivals, though songs composed in their own Mundari dialect are not uncommon or few. Thus, the Mundas, as a tribal community, have been able to absorb a great deal of local cultures, and have blended these with their cultural patterns and outlook. This has been possible, as they have come into close contact with various other groups of people for quite a long period, and have assimilated their cultural patterns.

A. AIYAPPAN

A CASE FOR INTENSI-
FICATION OF THE
DEVELOPMENT OF
TRIBAL AREAS

Abstract—In this paper an attempt is made to show that the slow piece-meal efforts now made in the direction of the development of tribal areas will not be effective in bridging the gap in progress between the tribal communities on the one hand and the non-tribal communities on the other. Instead of filtering away our scarce resources on fragmentary and ill-planned programmes

concentrated utilization of funds for large-scale agro-industrial projects, as suggested over fifteen years by the Malayappan Committee in Madras and recently for Orissa tribal areas by NCAER, may be more useful and productive of good for the tribes and the nation as a whole. Comparative data from other parts of the world are given to refute the arguments of those who

suggest that our tribals may not be able to participate in large-scale projects.

A case for intensification of the development of tribal areas— India has a tribal population of about three crores. In other words, out of every 100 Indians, 6·8 are Adibasis. Few other countries of the world have such a large population of tribesmen. The U. S. S. R., China and U. S. A. have tribal communities, economically and educationally backward in comparision with the rest of their peoples and speaking languages and practising customs different from those of the majority communities, but in none of these countries the tribal groups are so numerous as in India. There are over two hundred major tribes and more than twice this number of minor tribes distributed in the most inaccessible and wild hill and forest tracts of India. On account of their distinctive ways of life, their general isolation from the current of our national life and their economic and educational backwardness, these tribes are to be regarded as the weakest of our minorities. While other minorities are nationally organized, vocal and led by effective leaders, the tribal minorities are generally without pressure groups and leaders. (Exception should of course be made of tribes that have come under the influence of Christian missions.) For this reason, the Adibasis are

extremely dependent on the goodwill and sympathy of the majority communities, the Central and State Governments and the welfare agencies. Their future depends very largely on the understanding with which the people at large and the administration approach the tribal question.

Tribes in the Political Melting Pot— Some people regard the problem of the Adibasis as one of the many new post-Independence problems. While it is true that far more attention is now being paid to the Adibasis and the Government are now more concerned about their welfare, the British-Indian Government were also interested in giving some measure of special protection to the tribal people. In areas where there is a large concentration of tribal population, there were simplified types of administration and there were special laws to protect the tribesmen from exploitation. This policy of the British was one of insulation; it was also halfhearted policy which was first discussed in the open at the time of the Round Table Conference (1934). There are now no special areas and no question of simplified administration except in NEFA. Politically all the tribes have been brought under the general administration to sink or swim with the rest. Except reservation of a few seats in the legislature and reservation of

a certain percentage of Government jobs and scholarships for students, they are no special privileges given to them. Politically and administratively, the tribes are now little insulated; they have been more or less thrown into the melting pot of national politics.

The Government of India, however, have been keenly aware of the need to protect the tribes from exploitation and of the need for giving special grants for the development of tribal areas. Briefly we might say the present Government of India's policy is one of gradual integration without radically altering their traditional ways.

In furtherance of the Government of India's policy of bringing the tribal areas from their present backwardness to the general level of development reached by the progressive areas, there is the programme of intensive development in the Tribal Development Blocks for which the Government of India is committed to give special grants.

Widening Gap—The objective of bridging the gap between the tribes and the rest of the population is not possible to be achieved at the present slow rate of development. The gap, instead of closing, tends to grow wider and in the handicap race, the tribes will be left further behind. My suggestion, therefore, is that we have to

anticipate the Fourth or Fifth Five-Year Plan developments in agriculture and rural industrialization, and make an earlier beginning of these developments in the tribal areas and thus give them an earlier start.

The National Council of Applied Economic Research has made a suggestion in its Techno-Economic Survey of Orissa that agricultural estates should be started in the predominantly tribal areas of that State where land is available in sufficiently large blocks. The Andhra Government also have their plan for a 10 crore rupees coffee plantation in the Aruku Valley. Mechanised farms of the type started with Russian aid in Rajasthan are also worth considering.

I have had informal discussions with Shri M. Ramakrishnayya, Additional Development Commissioner, Orissa, on the practicability of Agricultural Estates in Koraput district. Since climate, etc., these are not different from those of the Aruku Valley where coffee growing experiments have been successful, coffee estates are agriculturally feasible. Shri Ramakrishnayya suggested that cash crops such as cashew and potato, rice, and tobacco at the lower levels of the hill slopes and valley can be tried in addition, so that instead of coffee alone we may plan multi-crop agricultural estates. Ways will have to be

devised to involve the tribal communities in these large-scale agricultural schemes not merely as labourers, but as partners who, in due course, will run the whole business themselves.

The tribesmen of the western and southern districts of Orissa now grow a number of commercial crops. But they suffer because of exploitation by middle men, lack of capital, and lack of knowledge of modern ways of increasing output. They have neither credit nor marketing organisations. The middlemen advance credit and buy or rather capture the produce at prices fixed by them.

Both the Elwin Committee on tribal blocks and the Dhebar Commission have made recommendations about the urgent need for credit and marketing corporations to help the tribals. With their primitive methods of production the proposed credit facilities and marketing organizations by themselves will be of little use. Will they get enough from their little holdings to meet the needs of a fuller life? Hence, it is essential that plans for modernised agricultural development that is agriculture as an industry should be considered for the tribal areas, and this should be done earlier than elsewhere for the reasons I have already stated.

Unfavourable Stereotypes— When I first made this suggestion in the course of a brief personal discussion with Shri U. N. Dhebar, he told me that in the new steel towns and in Tatanagar, the Adibasis are engaged only for the most unskilled types of works as they are not considered fit to handle more complicated jobs. I submit that this is a case of giving the unwanted underdog a bad name and hanging it. I am afraid that the recruiting agencies in all these places have not given the Adibasis a chance. I am told there is a Santhal, who is now working as a University Professor. That means he was given a chance to prepare himself for such a career. I know Adivasis working in the Accountant-General's Office in Orissa. There are Adivasis in the Indian Administrative Services who are as good as any other government employees. Is not the translation of a tribal youth from his rural home to offices in the state capitals a sudden change? Are they not adapting themselves to the new situation? If the Government were not generous to them and if they had not been given the chance, unsympathetic critics would have continued to say that the Adibasis are unfit for high Government jobs. I understand that several Konds are employed as skilled workers in the Rayagada Sugar Factory, Oraons and Mundas as machinemen in the Bona Iron-ore

Quarries and in the Cement Factory at Rajgangpur in Sundargarh district. I would say the Adivasis in Tatanagar, etc., have not been given a chance under fair and sympathetic conditions.

In other parts of the world, aboriginal peoples have in recent years undergone rapid transformation from very primitive conditions. Backward Papuans in New Guinea area, far more backward, primitive and isolated than any of our tribes have, during the last two decades made tremendous progress. Prof. Firth of the London School of Economics, mentions of a particular Papuan Co-operative Society, which owns a small ship to import and export goods. They are Polynesian tribal estate owners and ship owners. If these primitive populations can make good progress, our Adivasis, too, can do likewise, but they should be given the chance, initial help and encouragement.

*Changes can be speeded up—Mead's account of the revolution of the Manus (Admiralty Island)—*The old belief that simpler folk cannot make rapid adjustments to change is found to be only partially correct. Many are the cases we know of tribes whom contacts and change ruined but the circumstances of each case would show that it was not change as such that created disorganisation but the failure to reorganise. In

her restudy of the Manupeople (north of New Guinea) Margaret Mead* has shown how under the dynamic leadership of Paliau, a community of about 4,000 people who lived a generation back at the stone age level gave up their old ways of life and modernised themselves on the western patterns acquired by contact with American forces stationed in the area during World War II. Their housing pattern, family pattern, sex relationship and local government were all changed radically in the course of twenty-five years.

In India itself, the transformation by Christian missionaries of the ways of life of minority communities such as the Khasis, Garos and Nagas did not take long. The changes have been quick and since the cultural traits taken over included English language, Christianity and several western values, the transformation meant also modernization. Individuals as well as groups can and do change without deleterious effects. Both Psychological and Sociological theories have been veering to this point of view.

In the course of a dozen years, a serf population of Peruvian Indians, living under miserable condition were transformed to a modern community,

*New lives for Old Cultural Transformation—Manus. 1928—53. London. Victor Gollancz (C 3 1956).

so progressive as to serve as a model for the whole of Peru. These Vicosinos were able to change and make adjustments because the programmes were goaldirected and guided, deliberately chosen and planned. The scientific

resources of my friend Prof. Allan Holmberg and his team, and the co-operative spirit Peruvian and American technicians and careful organization did the job in spite of initial doubts and suspicions.

THE MYSTERY OF OURSELVES

This biological approach to the study of man might seem to reduce men to the status of 'mere animals'. But to our amazement we will see with great clarity the unique character of the human species. A doctor taking the pulse rate of a person is making only an objective measurement, in the same way as an engineer observing the revolution of an engine, and nobody criticizes him for doing so. Human beings are much more complex than any other machine, but that need not deter us from being matter-of-fact about ourselves.

Heredity and environment interact in complex ways to produce the end product of the adult individual. Neither heredity nor environment can properly be said to have a greater influence in causing variation among individuals, but when we come to practical action we can influence environment, for instance nutrition or working condition, while for man heredity has generally to be accepted.

Sexual reproduction entails a complex development from a minute fertilized egg. In man the first forty weeks of life are spent as a parasite within the mother, and the physiological processes which take place

in mother and child are now coming to be understood with significant implications for the individual and the society.

Sperm :

It has been properly said by Beaumarchais that the difference between man and ape is that, man can drink water without being thirsty and can make love at all seasons. Hence in man the production of sperm is continuous while in some mammals sperms are produced during one part of the year, the rutting season, and only at this time the male display interest in the female.

Outside the cavity of the abdomen the scrotum is present inside a sac of skin known as testes. During the breeding season they may descend into the scrotum from the abdomen. At such a position the testes are kept at a temperature, several degrees lower than that of the inside of the body since they have a thin skin with no fatty layer between them and the air. If the temperature of the scrotum is experimentally raised, the sperms produced are ineffective and temporary sterility may result. In man the application of hot water to the scrotum can have this effect. It has been also suggested that taking hot baths at night may reduce fertility.

Egg :

Egg-production however is carried on successfully within the abdomen, in the two ovaries. In all mammals eggs are produced intermittently some produce them only in spring, others at regular intervals throughout most or all of the year. A woman is usually fertile between the ages of fifteen and forty-five, though exceptionally the fertile period may be much longer. During this period one egg develops every 28 days, approximately, in alternate ovaries, except during pregnancy. Few women produce more than one egg at a time and so that is why multiple births are comparatively so rare.

Oestrous Cycle :

All mammals have a cycle of some sort. Eggs are produced only intermittently, sometimes seasonally, and the uterus must be enlarged to receive them. At the time when eggs and uterus are ready, the behaviour of the female changes : she is said to be on heat or in oestrous.

Egg first becomes conspicuously different from the other by enlarging. It is also surrounded by mass of smaller cells, in the midst of which appears a space full of liquid into which the egg projects. Eventually it bursts and discharges the eggs which enters the tube leading from the ovary to the uterus (or womb). Along with this ripening, a change takes place in the uterus. By the time the egg is liberated,

the growth is completed and the wall of the uterus is now in a state in which it can receive a fertilized egg and allow it to develop. At this stage it remains for about 14 days and then if the egg is not fertilized quite suddenly it breaks down and some blood is lost. This is the material lost in menstruation. Menstruation occurs roughly half-way between the liberation of one egg and the next. It is not usual for a woman to have consistently the same interval from one period to the next. Hence though the ovary, with its regular production of eggs, has been called a time-piece, it is not a reliable one.

This is of practical importance both to couples, who wish to make sure of having a child and to those who wish to avoid one.

Oestrogen :

The hormone which brings about growth of the uterus is called oestrogenic hormone or oestrogen. The features of our reproductive physiology are dependent on the endocrine or ductless glands. An example of an endocrine gland is the pituitary, a small organ lying in a pit in the bone below the brain and above the roof of the mouth.

The pituitary stimulates the testes and also the ovaries in order to go through their regular cycle of changes. The changes of the menstrual cycle are therefore dependent

on hormones from the pituitary and from the ovary. In both sexes the distinctive male and female physique, and sexual behaviour, are partly dependent on the action of the hormones. The reproductive hormones, by their many actions on different parts of the body ensure that the organs of reproduction both develop and function in unison.

Zygote :

Perhaps now no one will disagree that we are all forty weeks older than what we acknowledge. Fertilization usually takes place in the tube : sperm discharged into the vagina, make their way into the uterus and so into the tubes and if the egg has been recently ripened, one of the sperm fertilizes it. Although only one egg fertilizes each egg, a vast number are present in each ejaculation.

Pregnancy and growth of the child, is conveniently reckoned not from fertilization but from the beginning of the last menstrual period. The fertilized egg spends about a week travelling down the tube and floating in the uterus. During this time, when development begins, the egg-cell divides and successive cell-division give rise to a ball of cells. Soon after implantation it becomes completely embedded in the uterine tissues. The presence of embryo prevents menstruation when it is next due, and

usually this is the first indication to a woman that she is pregnant.

Ontogeny repeats Phylogeny :

About 300 million years ago our ancestors were certainly some kind of primitive fish, and that on land the stages in our ancestry included a cold-blooded reptilian phase and later warm-blooded primitive mammals with hair instead of scales and young, which were born in an active state instead of hatched from eggs.

The most obvious facts are found about four week after fertilization. Externally the embryo seems to have rudimentary gills, a tail of considerable length relative to the whole body and in general it resembles not a fish, but a fish embryo. Internally the resemblance is carried further for instance the arrangement of blood vessel is fish-like, and the principal muscles of the body are divided into segments like that of a fish. But all these structures undergo a rapid and complex transformation and within a few weeks there is little obvious trace of them. It is also possible to find traces of pre-human ancestry at every stage in development, including the adult : for instance the much commented muscle which a few gifted people can use to waggle their ears, but which in most of us

are ineffective. This vestige reminds us of a mobile-eared ancestry.

Yet there are certain examples which show that the development also fails to reflect evolution. Take, for example the shape of the face. In fact no snout ever appears in the embryonic stage in spite of straight forward recapitulation of ancestral characters. Thus the flat shape of the face in man is an embryonic characteristic retained in the adult. More obvious is the placenta or after-birth, the structure, which enables us to draw nourishment from the maternal blood-stream. This organ develops partly from embryonic tissues, but is never represented at any stage in our evolutionary history. These are all embryonic modifications characteristic of mammals. So the whole of our life history has been subject to change, at some stage however, the difference from the ancestral arrangement is rather less than at others.

In this connection it must be remembered that the blood and blood vessels in the umbilical cord are all parts of the embryonic system. The mother's blood does not mingle with that of the child, though in the placenta they are separated only by exceedingly fine membrane. Across these membrane pass the substances

exchanged, oxygen and food from mother to child, carbon-dioxide and other waste products in the opposite direction.

Evolution :

All living things undergo evolution. The advantages of sexual reproduction is that each individual so produced has a combination of genes, from two individuals. Each parent contributes one half-set of chromosomes and so of genes, to each offspring.

In practice, this means that each individual (apart from uniovular twin) is genetically unique, and that there is always a good deal of genetical variation in any population of any species. So advantageous genes can become associated in one individual and new and more effective combinations of genes can appear. This variability makes possible greater adaptability in a species, especially in relation to new conditions and enables it evolve comparatively rapidly.

Man is a product of evolution. The main features which distinguish him from his nearest living relatives, the apes, are his large brain, manual dexterity and the power of speech. His brain, in particular is so organized that his behaviour is free from the rigidity of the 'instinctive activities' of most animals, and is consequently highly flexible and adaptable to new conditions.

Introduction

The Sa-a-ras are a section of the great Saora tribe which forms a major bulk of tribal population in Orissa. According to the census of 1961 the total strength of this tribe is 190,572 which includes both male and female. The major concentration of this tribe is in the coastal districts of the State. They are known as "Sahara", "Sa-a-ra", "Kabari" etc., by their caste neighbours.

The major purpose of this paper is to discuss the organisation, structure and function of the socio-political organisations of this tribe and to find out the changes that have occurred in it due to the modern impact of change.

Materials for this paper were collected from seven sa-a-ra villages situated near Bhubaneswar, the State capital of Orissa, such as—Siripur, Nuapalli, Jokalandi, Ghatikia, Damana, Gadakana, Rasulgaih. During the field investigation several procedures were adopted. For example—Observation, interview both participant and non-participant. To validate the truth of the informants, checking and re-checkings were made during the investigation.

The socio-political organisation is arranged like a pyramid with "CHHATISA", at its head. Next to chhatisa, are the "PADA SABHA" (Inter-village Organisation) and

"GAON SABHA" (village Organisation) in a descending order. The "Chhatisa" is the highest and the "GAON-SABHA" is the lowest organisation in the pyramidal net-work

Constituency of the Socio-Political Organisation

The following villages with Sa-a-ra population have been included under the Jurisdiction of this organisation. Such as Siripur, Nuapalli, Jokalandi, Gadakana, Chakeisahani, Rasulgaih, Badagarh, Damana, Raghunathpur, Kujimal, Dalua, Chandaka, Kantabada, Bhagipur, Gahalbanka, Gramandi, Gangapada, Jamujhari, Deuliapatana, Talakheta, Kaspur, Ogalpada, Ghatikia. These villages have been grouped under three Padas (Inter-village) which will be discussed in this paper. It is important to note here that three villages such as—Gadakana, Raghunathpur and Damana are in Cuttack district whereas the rest in the Puri district. This socio-political organisation show an inter-district relationship among this tribe.

Structure of the Tribal Organisations

The different organisations of the tribal council will be discussed here under this heading. The description will be made from lowest to the highest, i. e., from village

organisation (Goan Sabha) to the "Chhatisa" the highest socio-political organisation.

Village Organisation Gaon sabha

This is the lowest socio-political organisation of the tribe with two hereditary leaders such as — Nahaka and Behera. They are both the secular and religious leaders respectively. The Behera is the chief of the organisation and next to him is the Nahaka. The Sa-a-ras consider the Behera as the King (Raja) for the important position he is given in the council and the Nahaka is regarded as the Minister (Mantri) and is next to the King. All the Sa-a-ra villages have their own village organisations. The village elders assist them when the council is in action.

Inter-village Organisation (Pada Sabha):

At a higher level above the village organisation is the Pada Sabha or Inter-village Organisation. Several villages combining together from the Inter-village Organisation. The chief of this Organisation is the "Bada Behera", whose post is hereditary and he is assisted by the Nahakas and Beheras of all the villages representing the Council. The Sa-a-ras have three such inter-village Organisations, such as Thirteen pada (Tera pada), Eight pada (Atha pada) and $2\frac{1}{2}$ pada (Adhei pada). As the name indicates there are thirteen, eight and $2\frac{1}{2}$ villages in these

three Inter-village Councils. It is important to note here that in Adhei Pada ($2\frac{1}{2}$ villages) two full villages and half of a village (Only a ward) is included. So, it has been known as "Adhei Pada". The following villages come under the three Inter-village Organisations just mentioned.

Atha Pada (Eight Pada):

Siripur lower ward, Nuapalli, Gadakana, Chakeisahani, Rasulgarh, Badagarh, Damana, Raghunathpur.

Tera Pada (Thirteen Pada):

Kujimal, Dalua, Chandaka, Kantabada, Bhagipur, Gahalbanka, Gramandi, Gangapada, Jamujhari, Deuliapatana, Talakheta, Kasipur, Ogalpada.

Adhei Pada ($2\frac{1}{2}$ Pada):

Siripur upper ward, Jokalandi, Ghatikia.

Chhatisa (lit. the thirty-six):

This is the highest socio-political organisation and the "BADA BEHERA" is the head of this council. He is assisted by the Nahakas and Beheras of the 22 villages under its constituency. All the villages send their representatives to this organisation when it is in session. This is held under a mango-grove in the village "Mendhasala" in Puri district. This is summoned once every year in summer and Mali Tota in Mendhasal.

It is interesting to note the peculiarity of the highest socio-political organisation of the

tribe. Thirty six villages or tribes do not represent this organisation. A question comes why it is so named? It is presumed that this word has probably been borrowed by the Sa-a-ras from their caste neighbours. Because the highest socio-political organisation of the highest class brahmin mostly the temple priests of Puri and Bhubaneswar have their caste-Associations known as Niyoga or Chhatisa Niyoga, in which 36 castes (?) of the temple complex are supposed to represent.

Function of the Tribal Organisation

The village organisation decides cases like adultery, marriage, divorce, etc. Other miscellaneous cases and minor quarrels arising in the village are decided here. Breach of tribal law is also punished by them. The village elders are also invited to participate with the Nahaka and Behera in course of discussion. No fee corresponding the court-fee is paid to summon the council. In serious matters the guilty is kept under a social-ban. Marriage and commensality are forbidden with the other members during the period of social ban. In minor cases the guilty is fined and the fine goes to the common fund of the village known as "KOTHA" (lit. joint). Refusal to pay the fine or to obey the decision of the council is referred to

the Bada Behera of the Inter-village organisation.

The Inter-village Organisation (Pada Sabha) decide cases like adultery, inter-marriage, inter-dining and breach of tribal law. The council impose and fines on the guilty the fine goes to the common fund of the accused's village. No fee is paid for summoning the council.

The "Chhatisa" is the highest socio-political body and court of appeal. It has a special power for framing rules and regulations for the tribe as a whole. The Chairman of the Council (Bada Behera) levies fines and punishes the guilty in consultation with the Nahakas and Beheras present there. He also ex-communicates them who do not obey the decisions of the Chhatisa. This fine goes to the common fund of the complainant's village. Disobedience of the decisions of this council leads to ex-communication and the person or party concerned is ex-communicated from the tribe. He can have no marital relationship, etc. within the jurisdiction of the council. The tribal barber and priest are forbidden to serve them during their marriage and funeral, etc. On the last day of the session a great feast is arranged and all the leaders and village elders join in it. If the fines collected is more, a part of it goes to the common feast. All the participating villages

jointly contribute to the common feast.

Procedures for Summoning The Councils

The procedure for summoning the village-organisation is very simple. Disputes arising in the village are referred to the council (Gaon Sabha). If the case is a personal one it is referred to the religious and secular leaders by the person concerned. The cases are decided by the religious and secular leaders in the presence of the village elders.

It is somewhat complicated for summoning the Inter-village Council. All the unsettled cases of the village council are decided here. For summoning this council the Bada Behera is first referred who in turn refers the matter to all the Nahakas and Beheras of the Inter-village Council. Letters are sent to the village councils informing them the reasons for summoning the council and the date of the sitting. Special messengers are sent to the concerned villages under the council to inform the date and reason for summoning the council, if the matter is very urgent. All such expenses are borne by the common fund of the Inter-village organisation and the complainant's village common fund.

The procedures for summoning the Chhatisa is same as the Inter-village council.

Before concluding the topic let me now discuss the changes that have occurred in the tribal

councils. The introduction of Panchayati Raj and the formation of village Panchayats have made these organization very formal. Here the traditional village leaders have no voice in the village affairs where this new system of administration has been introduced. The newly elected ward members of the Panchayat have entered into the scene and have thrown away the traditional members. This type of change have occurred in the villages like Nuapalli, Jokalandi, Chandaka, Mendhasal, etc. All the cases arising in the ward are now decided by the ward members. It is interesting to note here that the new Council for the women is in Jokalandi. This was established for the females in the year 1960-61, and is popularly known as "Samiti". On enquiry it was found that when the village elders felt it to be a shame to decide cases among the village females in front of men, they thought of establishing a separate association for the women. The office bearers of this council are elected every year in an open election. The female organisations (Mahila Samiti) of New Capital and of the near by villages are probably the agent of such a change. Now-a-days cases arising in the village are taken to the Civil Court for decision and some are decided by the caste members. The role of village touts who influence these tribals to take the cases to the court.

PURNA CHANDRA SWAIN

PERSONALITY OF A TRIBAL

During my field study in the winter of 1964, I had an opportunity to study the personality of a Saora in the village Kuttam in Parlakimedi Subdivision. The subject was an old man of 55 years of age named Jagu Gumang. The questionnaire was prepared by me and was checked by Dr. N. Patnaik, the Lecturer-in-charge of our study team. The questionnaire was administered on the subject in presence of Dr. N. Patnaik. The interview was completed in two

sittings. Jagu was at his best spirits while answering the questions. When I visited him with my Lecturer-in-charge he offered us two logs of wood to sit upon. He had finished his meals and was relaxing on his varandah. He had completed his work in the field and was satisfied about it. There was enough time to go to the Salap tree, so he was not in a hurry. There was no anxiety because he knew me and my purpose earlier. The interview was not new to him as he had

been interviewed before. I offered him a 'PEEKA' which he readily accepted and enjoyed it to the last puff. The sum total of the interview is reproduced hereunder.

Jagu Gumang was not born in Kuttam. His forefathers lived in Abarda, where Jagu saw the light of the day. When Jagu was only 5 years old Abarda area was declared as reserved forest. So, Jagu's father shifted to Gumma and made a temporary hut in the kitchen-garden of Gurunda Brahmin.

His father served under Madan Paika of Gumma as a khamari. Jagu had his mother's sister living in Kuttam who was well up and called Jagu and his mother to stay with her. But Jagu's mother made a hut in the lower ward of Kuttam and stayed there. However, Jagu stayed with his aunt. By this time Jagu's father was working as a khamari, his mother was working as a wage labourer and he himself, though a boy of only 6 years, was tending cattle for his bread. In this way 4 years elapsed.

When Jagu was 10 years old his father made a mud hut at upper ward (UPER SAHI) of Kuttam. Jagu's family now lived in this new house, for not less than 9 years. When Jagu was at the last phase of his teens his father breathed his last.

Jagu was young and he wanted to marry a girl from his own village. He took Salap wine to the girl's house according to the custom. The girl was beaten at this. But she was bent upon marrying Jagu. Jagu was asked to pay Rs. 50 before the marriage was solemnised. He borrowed the amount from the Bisoi of Gumma. For this loan he had to sign a hand-note to serve as a debt bondage labourer at the rate of Rs. 12 per annum.

After his marriage his mother stayed with him only for a short period. When his mother died he shifted to the lower ward (SAN SAHI) of his village, where he is staying at present. His wife and he himself worked hard to earn a happy living.

During his stay at Bisoi's house as a khamari he made the best use of his merits. There was a large tract of jungle on the foot-hill, laying unattended to. He made up his mind to make terraces on the foot-hill and grow crops. He brought his plan to action. When he used to come home for his meals and rest from Bisoi's house, he instead of taking rest, used to remove stone boulders for making terraces. He worked hard without rest. His wife helped him in looking after the household affairs, which left Jagu at ease to go on with his plan. Jagu worked in this way for 4 years.

By this time the terraces were ready and Jagu started growing crops on them. With the completion of terraces Jagu was blessed with a son. After 4 years more he was fortunate enough to see the face of another male child. When the sons started growing in age Jagu worked hard to supply them with enough food and comfort. He used to stay at his field till late in the evening.

His wife was afraid of staying alone with the two young children in the lower ward (San Sahi), which consisted of one house and that was of their own. Jagu's wife requested him to shift to upper ward (Uper Sahi). Jagu shifted to the upper ward. By this time he had a daughter and another son. Jagu stayed at upper ward for 6 years. The behaviour and dealings of upper ward Saoras were foreign to Jagu. Jagu did not like all those. He was working in Bisoi's house and staying for a major part of the day at Gumma with other Hindus. So his ideas were moulded in a different fashion. When the dealings of the villagers became bitter most a year before last, he returned to his old house at the lower ward and staying there to date.

Jagu brought his eldest daughter-in-law from Libi and paid Rs. 60 to the girls' father. The middle daughter-in-law fell in love with his son and came to stay with them.

Jagu was happy at the girls' work and behaviour and paid Rs. 108 to the girls' father. He got his daughter married in Pedigila. His youngest son who is at his teens is not yet married.

Jagu understands the value of education. He sent his youngest son to the school at Gumma. But when he was hard pressed by work, he could not allow his son to continue his studies further.

Jagu eats thrice daily. In the morning he takes his meal at about 8 A.M., lunch is taken at about 2 P.M. and dinner by 8 P.M. Every evening he visits his Salap tree for Salap liquor (Eli). The Salap tree happens to be 2 miles away from his house and after drinking Salap some days he reaches home by 8-30 P.M. Before his arrival, his family members used to finish their dinner and keep Jagu's dinner in a bell-metal pot and curry in the gourd container. When Jagu arrives at the house he finds, most of the days, his family members sleeping after dinner. He himself finishes his dinner and after cleaning the utensils goes to bed.

Jagu understands the value of food. According to him Mandia is good in summer and rainy seasons. He says that Mandia is energy-giving food-grain. Next to Mandia comes Jana, which is good to take

in winter season. Kandula is valued most by Jagu as energy-giving item of food but he complains that after taking Kandula a man feels like taking more fluid. Rice has its importance to Jagu but he feels that rice gets digested sooner than that of Mandia or Kandula. Moreover, rice requires curry to eat with. Other food items can be, Jagu remarks, eaten without curry. Kolatha, though good, sucks the blood of the man. Ganga and Kosila are very light diet and is eaten mostly by children and persons with low physical standard. Jagu has no habit of eating Jhudanga. It is a cash crop for him. He sells all his produce of Jhudanga after keeping sufficient quantity for seed. He likes beans and Mung dal. Jagu, however, does not grow Mung. He says that if he grows Mung, he has to keep watch as it is eaten away by cattle. So he purchases Mung dal when needed. He likes cabbage and potato among the vegetables. Tomato though liked by him is not taken as it tastes sour. Jagu does not take milk or milk products. The only oil he uses is Til oil. Jagu is addicted to Salap liquor. He takes three times Salap when available. When he does not get Salap he does not bother much. But without Salap his body aches and he does not get any taste in his food. When he gets more fatigued he likes to take Mahua, which refreshes him.

Jagu, after getting up from his bed, cleans his teeth. For cleaning teeth he uses tooth sticks. After cleaning teeth he cleans the tongue and cleanses the mouth with water. Whenever he feels call of nature he answers to it. After attending to call of nature, he purifies himself with leaves. He uses leaves, as water is not available everywhere. He urinates anywhere he feels urinating. Not attending to call of nature, he thinks, does not bring any disease. Jagu takes bath once a day, generally after the work is over at about 4 P.M.

If any member of his family suffers from cough or wound or boil, he takes him to the local dispensary. If anybody suffers from fever, he believes that some ancestor is angry with him and causing the disease. He offers sacrifices either pig or fowl to the ancestor for getting cured from fever.

Jagu loves all his family members equally. He distributes work among the sons. When his sons finish the work in time he feels proud of them. When the work is not done according to his wish he gets angry and calls names, but he never beats them. He pulls down his daughters-in-law when they do not cook food properly.

Jagu had no training in field. His father did not teach him the agricultural practices. He observed others making

terraces and made terraces for his own use. He, however has taught his sons the work that he does. He has taught his sons to make plough, yoke and leveller. His sons are now able to make bow and arrow, gourd containers without any trouble.

Jagu Gumang has seen many places outside his village. He visited Parlakimedi, Aska, Berhampur, Kapuguda, Rusulkunda, Bauni, G. Udayagiri, Khajuripada, Narayanpur, Jiranga, Rayagada, Manjusha on different occasions. Parlakimedi he visited twice, once when he was sent by the Bisoi of Gumma with some flower plants to Maharaja's palace and once again in connection with a case in R. D. O's office. Aska, Rusulkunda and Berhampur he visited on his way to G. Udayagiri to attend a conference where only Europeans were present. He was called to the conference to perform Saora Dance with his friends. He along with 30 other Saoras attended another dance performance at Rayagada. He saw innumerable people collected both at G. Udayagiri and Rayagada. He met with other tribals, who came for dance there. But Jagu was at a loss as he could not talk with the other tribals due to their foreign tongue. Kapuguda, he visited when he was sent by Dhani Sena of Gumma as a impressed labourer. He had to carry

some agricultural products to Dhani Sena's father-in-law in Kapuguda. Narayanpur, Jagu visited when he was employed by Madan Mohan Bisoi of Gumma as a debt bondage labourer (Khamari). Jagu visited Bisoi's father-in-law's house in Narayanpur. It took Jagu 12 hours to reach Narayanpur. During his term of debt bondage (Khamari) Jagu was sent to Jiranga to collect oranges for Bisoi.

Jagu dreams, but he does not remember the text of the dreams. He does not dream in the day time as he never sleeps in day time. Generally, he dreams Bisoi, Dhani Sena, Oxen, Buffalows and his ancestors. His ancestors ask him in the dream to give pig or buffalow (Podhua) to them as they are starving.

His Aspirations in Life

Jagu wants to hoard money and purchase more low-land for paddy cultivation. By purchasing land he can increase his agricultural returns and instead of a deficit family budget he can have a surplus family budget. These things he can do only by hard labour, he believes. To him, there is no other way of getting more money except by hard labour.

Jagu is at the age of 55 now. He wants to purchase paddy field enough for his 3 sons

before his death. He has planted jack fruit, banana, mango, turmeric, salap, orange, papaya and tamarind. He wants to plant few coconut

trees also. He feels that after his death his sons should not be in want. He always sees the welfare of his sons for the present and for the future.

WITCHCRAFT AND RELIGION AMONG THE ORAON OF MALGO

Malgo, an inaccessible village, predominantly inhabited by one of the primitive tribes, Oraon, is situated at the western corner of Chhotonagpur in the district of Ranchi. The village is surrounded by long stretches of contiguous hills with thick forests. The topography gives the impression of the village being situated at the bottom of a cup.

The social life of this tribe is dominated by magico-religious activities. They believe that there are various kinds of magical agencies, such as witch, witch doctors, Sokha, Banmari practitioners, etc. Each of these agencies plays some magical role affecting the socio-economic activities of the tribe.

It is the common notion of the villagers that a person practising witchcraft is called witch and the supposed psychic emanation which is believed to cause injury to health and property is called witchcraft. This psychic emanation is due to some codified incantation. A man has to undergo rigorous training to pronounce this incantation, emblaming certain deity or spirit, with magical effect. Conversely to devictimise a person from witchcraft

the witchdoctor performs propitiation and supplication ceremonies addressed to Gods and spirits, and attempts to appease them with sacrificial offerings.

When the woman is pregnant, she is supposed to be extremely susceptible to contagion. She must not touch a dead body or go to the cremation ground. She must not remain outside when lightening flashes in the sky or thunder peals. While going out from the house she must cover her body completely with her 'Sari'. All these are done to avoid evil spirits. The spirits of wicked women or one who was not as good terms with the pregnant woman, may recognize her and cause harm to the foetus in the womb. Hence, she has to go under cover. These spirits are called dain or churin. When a woman is pregnant for the first time, a pig or three chickens are sacrificed to the ancestor spirits by any member of the woman's paternal lineage. All the members of the family also worship Sarna Mai to save the girl from apprehended evil spirits. This ceremony is called Joda-kamma. They also perform another ceremony called Dand Puja. Both the ceremonies are performed to

save the mother and the foetus from the evil spirits and witches. The witchdoctor (Mati) performs the Puja at the outskirt of the village under the mango grove. The family members of the victim assemble near the grove to see the Puja. The Mati invokes the ancestry of the victim and worships them one after another. Ultimately, he sacrifices one goat or sheep near the pat (altar) and blood is sprinkled on the stone, representing Sarna Mai. Later on the meat of the sacrificed animal is cooked and given to the patient and distributed among other members of the family.

Difficult labour during child-birth is ascribed by some people to some witches and their evil eyes. If a woman gets lean and falls ill during pregnancy, it is supposed to be due to the malevolence of witches. In such cases the witch doctor is called upon to perform magical rites. He utters incantations taking Chulha Miti (the soil from the hearth), Mricha (chilly) and Nun (salt) in his right hand and drives out the evil spirit. Most often a new born baby is washed and taken to the Gandur garha (manure pit) where it is laid down by one woman and forthwith taken up by another woman of the same family. This inevitably happens if the preceding child had died. It is believed that this protects the child from the witches and

malignant spirits, as they would not care for a babe thus thrown into a manure pit like useless refuge. Such a boy is also named as Fekua (cast away) or as Gandura (belonging to cow-dung). They also burry the placenta and umbilical cord, etc., near the door step. Nobody should see them when they are burried—not even animals. It is to prevent witches and sorcerers from stealings and giving them to some barren women who would thus become fertile, transferring their barrenness to the other women.

The Oraon believe that a child born with one or two teeth is very inauspicious. The moment it takes birth with such teeth, it should be killed by pouring raw salt into his mouth. Such a boy or a girl is sure to turn Dain in future and causes harm to the society. (Such extreme practice is not resorted to now-a-days.)

Either on the day of birth or within two or three days, some arua rice on a sal leaf and two tumba (copper) coins are to be waved on the baby's head. This ceremony is conducted by Pahan (village priest). After some offerings and propitiations Pahan orders for a red or a grey fowl which he immolates and offers to the ancestor spirits. Thus, the protection from the ancestor spirits is solicited. This ceremony is called 'Paisari'. The

same procedure is also adopted for newly purchased cows and buffaloes.

It is during the period of impurity following child-birth that evil spirits and witches are most dreaded by a woman. For it is then that both mother and child are liable to their attacks than at any other time. It is believed that the witches approach the mother in the guise of a black cat. If a cat licks the vagina of the woman then it results in stopping the menstruation and causes death. To guard the mother and her baby against the attack as weapon made of iron is placed by the bed side close to the mother's head. A handful of mustard seeds is also tied at one end of mother's cloth, so that the witches may not approach her in the apprehension that the mustard seeds will be flung at them should they venture to do so. Sometimes a line of coal powder is drawn near the threshold of the room where mother is lying so that no witches can go inside it. When the child is taken outside one iron bracelet is put on his arm or a brat (Patiya) is tied on the wrist.

On the sixth day after birth the courtyard is besmeared with cow-dung. The witch-doctor is invited to perform a puja. He is supplied with an egg, a small Bhelwa twig (a kind of fruit), a little rice-flour and lump of coal dust. With

all these things mixed together he draws a diagram representing a magic symbol on the ground. The witch-doctor squats before the diagram and breaks the egg. Then he recites 'Mantras'. After subsequent utterings the evil spirits are believed to have gone away. This is called "Danda-Katta" ceremony.

When a baby cries constantly or does not take anything (even does not suck the mother's breast) or suffers from insomina, the witches are held responsible for that. The mother in that case touches a handful of mustard on the head of the child and the child is no more bewitched. Another device is to attach one or more cowrie shell to the baby's neck or waist. With the same object their children are sometimes marked with soot on the forehead between the eyelerows.

According to tradition, the Oraon never select a bride from such house which is connected with the case of witch on witchcraft. One of the rituals in the marriage custom is that the bridegroom presses the bride's heels behind a cloth screen. A few female relatives of both the groom and bride remain inside the enclosure. One or more male relatives stand outside the enclosure brandishing swords to ward off the evil. When a bride leaves her father's residence she is given an arrow (made of bamboo) which she

has to carry till her arrival at her father-in-law's residence. This is supposed to protect her during the journey. When ultimately she reaches the groom's residence, she enters into a room and must not leave the arrow until the Danta-Katta or the ceremony of cutting the evil teeth has been performed by a witch-doctor.

When a man dies, he is kept inside a room. Some women go out towards the cremation ground and return and reach the door-step of the deceased's room. Before entering the room they call out the dead man and inform that they are his own kith and kin. Then they open the door and all enter the room. They

all examine the flame which they had lit before quitting the room. If the flame is seen wavering and some steps of animals are seen near it, then the death of that man is caused by some spirits or witch, if not it is natural death.

Among the Oraon there is hardly any differentiation between religion and witchcraft. The two are organically connected. The sacrifices, worships and divinations have always a practical purpose. They are meant to cure diseases and avoid evil. The spirits, whom the Oraon believe are malevolent, bent upon doing harm to men and their possessions.

J. K. PANDA

CHANGING
SAORA CULTURE

This paper is based on field-investigation of the village Gumma in the Parlakhemindi subdivision of Ganjam district.

The Saoras of this village are migrants from Khillimunda, a Saora village, six miles to the north of Gumma. The date of their migration is not known; but their migration must have been in the distant past. The reason of migration has been gathered to be as follows: Bisoye of Gumma wanted a few Saoras to work on his farm as agricultural labourers. He contacted the Saoras of Khillimunda and brought four

families of Saoras from that village and allowed them to settle down in his own village. These four families in course of time multiplied, now we have on the whole eleven Saora families living in this village. My observation in respect of culture contact is confined these eleven Saora families. I have shown below, what change are noticed in the culture of these groups of Saoras after they had settled down in the Gumma village.

Gumma is a multi-caste village. The different caste groups living in this village are

in order of their numerical strength—Paika, Sundi, Washer-men. Paikas are wealthy and powerful people who occupy high position in the village administrative machinery. Bisoye, the head-man of Gumma administrative unit (Muttha) comes from this group. He was the Government representative in this Gumma agency area. All his assistants come from his own caste. The village has many wards. Except the ward occupied by Saoras other wards are heterogeneous in caste composition. The Saoras have their own ward, situated close to the other wards of the village.

Mainly three forces are operating in this contact situation which are responsible for culture change among Saora. They are:—

1. The Hindu society of the village.
2. Administrative machinery.
3. Christianity

These three forces are not mutually exclusive in bringing about change in various aspects. The changes that are brought about by these forces in the Saora culture are as follows:—

First of all I would take up the Hindu society and its impact on the Saora culture. The Saoras who came from Khillimunda and settled down at Gumma did not sever their relationship with their parent

village. Even after migration they continued their contact with Khillimunda. They took advice from the people of Khillimunda at the time of need. They referred matters relating to their customs to the Gamang and Buya of the village. They also developed new contact with the people of Gumma in which they lived. As time passed they were considered not as migrants, but as villagers of Gumma. They were allowed to co-operate with other people of the village in various festivals observed in common by the villagers. They also contributed money and material to such festivals like others. Two examples of village festival in which they participated with others may be mentioned here.

One is Dola festival, which is observed in the month of March. On this occasion, the village God is brought out from the temple in a procession. Saoras join in this procession. They hold umbrella and other articles required for this purpose. They consider it as the festival of their own village and other villagers of the village consider the Saoras as participants on equal terms with others. The second festival is in respect of village feast organized on the occasion of the full-moon day, in the month of Kartika. On this occasion Saoras co-operate with other villagers and take their rightful share in working and feasting.

The Saoras have also been integrated with the secular life of the society. They have representative in village factions. Large number of Saoras are included in the faction of Paikas, which is headed by Bisoye. Other Saoras have joined with some Harijans and some other Paikas to form a faction of their own. While studying the factions it was noticed that the Saoras participate in them as individuals rather than as members of a specific community. All their secular relationship is not confined to the village alone, but cuts across village boundaries and spreads to nearby villages. The Saoras in matters relating to their tribal custom and religion refer to Gamang and Buya of Kutam. They are no more loyal to their Gamang and Buya of their parent village. They have cut off all such connections from Khillimunda and have renewed such connection with Kutam, their neighbouring Saora village. The Saoras of Gumma have more intimate relationship with the Saoras of the three neighbouring villages than with any other Saora village. For the communal feasts in any of these villages the Saoras of Gumma supply fuel and turmeric very liberally. The service in the feasts follows the Hindu pattern. The upper castes are served first and the Saoras are served afterwards. The Saoras do not object to this rather they have accepted this as a matter of course.

In cases where food is served to all people at a time, each caste group is allotted separate place to sit and food is served to them separately. But generally low caste people are not allowed to eat while the high caste people are taking their meals in a feast. In this situation the Saoras are considered as a low caste group and accordingly they are given food after the high caste Hindus have partaken of their meals.

The villagers solicit the co-operation of the Saoras in community enterprises, such as building roads, digging wells, building community centres, etc. These are the projects in which Government contributes 50 per cent of the cost and the rest 50 per cent is raised from the people as voluntary contribution. While working for these secular developmental activities the Saoras show greater solidarity with their co-villagers than with their tribal kinsmen from other villages. They work as an integrated group with the high caste Hindus of Gumma in respect of political affairs, community enterprises and village festivals and are in the process of representing themselves as separate caste group of the village. On the other hand they have not been able to lose contact with their tribesmen in respect of marriage and death rites and other tribal social customs.

The Saoras of this village have a curious feeling of attraction and repulsion towards Christianity. When they see some of the work done by missionaries in the Saora villages for educational upliftment and for improving their

health and hygienic conditions, they feel attracted towards Christianity. Side by side, they share with their Hindu neighbours the hatred towards Christianity as an alien religion and any idea of conversion is regarded as very obtrusive.
