

15TH AUGUST 1963

ADIBASI

Vol-5

1963-64 NUMBER ONE

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PUBLISHED BY

TRIBAL RESEARCH BUREAU
ORISSA



“The people of the tribal areas and the hills attract me greatly and deserve our very special care. I am anxious that they should advance, but I am even more anxious that they should not lose their artistry and joy in life and the culture that distinguish them in many ways.”

“I am not at all sure which is the better way of living, the tribal or our own. In some respects I am quite certain their's is better. Therefore, it is grossly presumptuous on our part to approach them with an air of superiority, to tell them how to behave or what to do and what not to do. There is no point in trying to make of them a second-rate copy of ourselves.”

Jawaharlal Nehru

B. PATNAIK
Chief Minister

BHUBANESWAR
The 20th April, 1963.

M E S S A G E.

The new social pattern which is being set for the people of India will not be of much avail unless there is total integration of her people. Apart from the pitiable economic consequences which the country is facing as a result of hundred and fifty years of colonial rule, our maladies flow from the fact that we are still a nation in fragments having "narrow domestic walls". The worst victim of our shattered social fabric are the Harijans and Adivasis.

Fortunately, no sooner we became free, top priority was given to uplift the multi-million Adivasis—the so-called aboriginals. More words are not needed to explain that it will require tremendous efforts, backed by patience and sincerity, to bring them at par with the rest of our countrymen.

With nearly a quarter of the population being Adivasis in our State, the problem is all the more acute. It is, therefore, in fitness of things that the Tribal Research Bureau of Orissa should bring out the magazine 'Adibasi' once again. It is hoped that the 'Adivasi' will focus the various problems concerning the tribal people, and offer concrete suggestion for the reorientation of the entire tribal people.

I wish the 'Adibasi' all success.

B. PATNAIK

20-4-63.

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With this revival issue, "Adibasi" enters its eighth year of publication. During all these years Adibasi endeavoured to combine the twin efforts of Research and Welfare into an integrated pattern. The task has been by no means an easy one. Our problems are much more difficult than those encountered in the specialised fields of academic research or action programme. At one end we are to be in tune with the latest activities of the Universities and other centres of research in Social Sciences and humanities and at the other we have to take cognizance of the reaction to the efforts made for the welfare of the tribal people.

The immensity of the undertaking had been partly responsible for the chequered career of "Adibasi." When Adibasi started its publication both the study of social problems and efforts at their solution in our country, were in a nascent state. This further

augmented the difficulties, making it impossible to bring out the journal regularly.

Adibasi revives its publication in a completely changed atmosphere. The colossal developmental projects of the Five Year Plans have generated forces of change and progress unprecedented in Indian history. These forces have penetrated deep into the remotest corners of the country and have radically moulded the social and individual existence of all sections of the society. The study of social problems has asserted itself and occupied an honourable place in the hierarchy of sciences. In such an atmosphere "Adibasi" ventures to be sanguine about its future prospects.

With its revival "Adibasi" takes cognizance of the situation created by the Chinese aggression. This has stirred the entire country as a whole and has plunged the nation into a

whirl pool of determined action, reminiscent of the hectic days of nationalist movement. The welfare of the tribals and other underdeveloped sections of the society has assumed an added importance in this situation of emergency. The development of the underdeveloped people is no longer a problem confined to them alone. It has become one of the vital factors

for National Intergration. It is no longer a sphere where the time factor does not operate, rather, it deserves to be dealt on a war footing.

Adibasi ventures upon its arduous course banking upon the co-operation of workers in the fields of action and research. Its success as the forum of Research and Welfare will depend on their joint endeavour and enterprise.

T. SANGANNA

**SIGNIFICATION
OF
ADIBASIS**

Before India attained Independence, Adivasis were dubbed as aborigines or tribals. Both the words convey the import of primitiveness and seclusiveness. The foreign governments kept these honest and simple people under this category with malafide intention. As these people are by nature freedom-loving and liked to have their own way of living, the foreign government wished to degrade them by using the epithet aborigines. During the foreign rule no attempt whatsoever was made to elevate the status of these sons of the soil in the society. They were always kept as drawers of water and hewers of wood. The then governments were callous and indifferent to their feelings and sentiments. When there was an agitation to ventilate their grievances and assert their demands, there was always a tendency to categorise it as revolt and put it down with

iron heels. The history of Orissa as well as the Indian history bear witness to such events. It is very difficult to understand the mind of these noble and heroic people by casual and shallow observation and study. They are people of dignity and grace. They take it as a matter of disgrace and shame the very idea of compromise and surrender.

Honour and self-respect are prized very much in their society. Wherever there was a question of movement for emancipation of the Motherland from the foreign yoke, the so-called tribal people were in the vanguard of the movement. All these factors contributed to the degradation of this valourous and gallant race during the successive regimes of the anti-national Governments.

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It is a matter of profound glory and inspiration that the—then tribals have

been christened as Adivasis with the advent of freedom of the Indian Nation. With the blessings of the Father of the Nation, Mahatma Gandhi, late Shri Thakar Bappa coined the thought-provoking word 'Adivasi'. During the days of freedom struggle the original people of the country were accosted as 'Adibasis'. The word 'Adivasi' connotes the idea of originality in all respects. It can denote inception and development of life in human society. The present day society must have emerged out of the society existing from the days of human existence by way of evolution and revolution. As the word 'Adivasi' purports, the first human race on the face of the universe must be the Adivasi. As the Adivasis are fond of keeping their way of life, customs and habits in tact, the impact of the modern civilisation could not adjust with this kind of temperament. So in the modern trend of thought and action, the Adivasis with their pre-historic days of life have been compelled to go into the background of the advance society.

As the Adivasis value honesty and simplicity as the real virtues of human society, the complicated and ambitious sections of the society have taken advantage of these good and fine qualities and have begun to exploit them in every walk of life. As it is to-day, the Adivasis have been deprived of everything the sophisticated society is proud of. The Adivasis have lost almost everything except the fine qualities of truth, honesty and simplicity. In the modern way of life all these qualities are abstract in nature.

Unless the whole society is composed of these qualities a few sections with these virtues will be misfit. The Adivasis being subject to sufferings and tribulations through ages have got a claim to special protection from the intellectual and advantageous classes of society under the law of the land. Since 26-1-50, the day on which India has been declared a Republic by the Constitution, Adivasis have been termed as the Scheduled Tribes under the Constitutional terminology. Though the phraseology has still the suffix of tribes, the spirit behind it is quite different from what it was intended to be in the preindependence days. It is national and social. The present day national Government have, therefore, deem it meet and proper to provide special provisions in the Constitution of India to save the Adivasis from exploitation in their day-to-day life. In the absence of these special protections it is a myth to say that the Adivasis can be prevented from being exploited. As History of the Nation bears eloquent testimony to the glorious past of the Adivasis, attempts have to be made in right earnest to restore that lost glory and pride of the Adivasis. The special provisions in the Constitution are complementary and contributory to the attempts to secure honourable place to the Adivasis in the socio-economic society, rapidly expanding. Now there is a conception in the minds of the present day national leaders that there should be an emotional integration of different sections of the society from the national safety and security points of view. In order to bring about this objective in as short time as possible,

far-reaching economic measures would be essential for the uplift of these unfortunate Adivasis. The people who are deprived of economic positions in their life can be restored to their former condition if the provisions of the constitutions are implemented with sincerity and missionary zeal. Superficial and supercilious tendency on the part of the people who are entrusted with powers to improve the lot of the unprivileged and underdeveloped Adivasis cannot deliver goods within the time limit stipulated in the Constitution. The people dealing with the problems of the Adivasis must be of the right type with a missionary bent of mind. A mercenary approach is more dangerous than the problems devouring the Adivasis. In order to achieve results in different aspects of Adivasi life required of the progressive and dynamic society Tribal & Rural Welfare Department has been created under the Constitution.

The T & R. W. Department or a Department of any other name charged with the task of solving the Adivasi problems of the country have got mandatory obligation to the Adivasi society. If the Adivasi develops according to modern thought and objective, integration with the national society will secure him an honourable place. In the absence of this achievement, any sudden step to integrate them with the general society, the danger of chaos and turmoil can be apprehended. It is, therefore, desirable to have integration of the Adivasis in the society by degrees basing on the progress achieved from stage to stage. Gradual process will certainly bring about scientific and everlasting uplift of the Adivasis. The philosophy and objectives of the national programmes of the day will certainly and steadily ensure their destination, provided that the entire Nation has got a soft and sympathetic consideration for these unprivileged and underprivileged Adivasis until such time as they deserve to have.

U. N. PATNAIK

THE SAORA
OF
GANJAM HILLS

The Saora is carefree. There may be marks of patient resignation apparent on his face on a close study but his action and deportment is carefree. The presence of a stranger throws a shadow across his face specially if such stranger is inquisitive or soliticious. If the stranger is uninterested in the Saora, the Saora is more so in him and they may pass each other at close quarters without leaving any impression on the Saora. The Saora knows some times a foe by instinct and then it is very hard for him to get over the mistrust of such other person. Left to himself the Saora is carefree and quite cheerful. He plays on his *Saringi*, beats the *Changu*, and when there is company the group starts dancing to the tune of the *Saringi* or the *Changu*. Labourers at work on the road, breaks out for lunch. After lunch there is a moment's respite for

smoking and then someone starts playing on the *Saringi*. The others listen, and then spontaneously start dancing. A group goes to meet an official. If the official is interested in the Adibasi he knows that they would express their good-will towards him by a dance. He casually enquires if there is a *Saringi* in the company. Out comes the musician with his *Saringi*. The youngsters dance, the rest follow suit till the entire party forgets itself in the peculiar melody of the *Saringi* and the dance which it inspires.

The usual present of a rupee is just what is considered to be the good-will present of the official. At dead of night when all are asleep the hill side resounds with the beatings of a *Changu* and if one is curious he would see a fire burning on a hill top with a Saora standing by it, beating his

Changu. It is a puzzle as to whether this *Changu* beating is to scare away wild animals or scare out the feeling of loneliness of the *Bogodo*. When groups go to attend fairs and festivals the *Saringi* and the *Changu* are not silent. The wailing notes and the rhythmic beating of the *Changu* keep the pace of the company as battle drums and bag pipes do. While returning from the hill or from work the home coming is not silent but is to the tune of the *Saringi* or the flute.

In all religious functions music and dancing have their place. In addition a bell metal dish or plate of large size is tied to the neck of the boys who go on beating it to the tune of the drum and *Changu*. The dance has nothing of art in it. It is just stepping heavy and hard as if with the hope to catch the rhythm of the tune. Then women and children take part in such dances. All of them if not dead drunk, are at least well drunk. It is not the art, it is the rhythm which the Saora likes. He catches the rhythm and forgets himself in it.

The Saora is wiry. He can stand any amount of sun shine and the heat of the summer. He is also accustomed to the biting winter which he goes through with the scantiest clothing. Out door during the day in the winter he has no clothing except his loin cloth.

During nights he needs no improvement to it since the burning hearth keeps him warm. If he has to go out on work, or to watch the crop in the field he has just a cotton chadder of 10 or 11 counts and this keeps him warm enough. He is so ill clad that

it is difficult to take courage and ask him if he feels the winter.

During the rains, the Saora is a sight to see. He does not venture out and if he does and is caught in a rain, he runs to the nearest tree, shrvels up and shivers. He cannot stand drenching. Is it due to the fact that he rarely takes a bath, or may be it is due to his scanty clothing or it might be due to the diet of mango, tamarind seeds, solpo dust and jungle greens which he takes during the months of June to August. This needs closer study if not research.

The Saora is fond of snakes—and pursues one relentlessly till he catches and kills it. Even Cobras are eaten. As a dish, the cooked snake is the most delicious one to a Saora. The other inhabitants of the areas who do not eat snakes say with a sneer “the snakes fly at the smell of a Saora”.

Rats and mice of the fields which are fat and in plenty go to the Saora's kitchen whenever one is caught and is eaten with relish. All wild animals and wild birds are always welcome. The vegetable and the vegetarian food is however the normal menu. The kernel of the mangoes is dried and powdered. The powder is washed several times till the “*Kasha*” (acid) taste is washed out.

The powder is then made into a paste and cooked. The heart of the Sago (*solpo*) plum is split, the pieces left to dry and then the pulp is beaten to a fine powder. The powder is cooked with edible roots, and leaves

of a number of trees. Asparagus beans, climber beans, maize and juar are boiled and eaten. All the different vegetables that grow on a *bagod* are boiled and eaten. It is very uncommon to see a Saora eating boiled grams or millets and rice singly. Invariably some edible green is mixed and the food is boiled to the consistency of porridge. Salt, chillies and onions are added when the food is partaken. Even the setting of the table is peculiar.

All the cooked food is placed in the centre and the group sits round. Each holds a deep leaf platter. One person starts serving with a dry bitter gourd ladle or as it is known in Oriya 'Donka'. Some salt and chilly is kept on a leaf platter or dona and eats with something like a spoon made out of a thick leaf. He does not eat with his hand and fingers. Occasionally salt and chilly is added for taste and the food is repeated in a 2nd or 3rd round. The Saora is a poor eater and usually is satisfied with the first *Donagul*. Everyone is cheerful and the eating goes on with plenty of chatting and talking. Not infrequently important decisions are taken at such table talk.

This table setting is gradually giving place to the Oriya way of things.

Food is being cooked on the field in Dekchis. Aluminium plates are being used and some times cups. The deep leaf platter is giving place to aluminium plates. The tribal way is giving place to sophisticated way of cooking.

The ashes of a Saora should rest on his native soil. If he dies elsewhere and his ashes are not brought to the village of his nativity the spirit will not only lose its interest in the village but is likely to cast a malefic eye on any living villager who passes that way. This of course does not apply to deaths in the Assam tea garden where many a Saora dies every year. When a Saora dies for some reason in a village where he had gone earlier, it is the duty of his native villagers to go and get his ashes and dispose them of in the customary manner. On the death of a visitor or a relative the villagers send word of the mishap to the native village of the deceased after cremating the dead body. The villagers of the deceased on getting the news start arrangements to get the ashes of the cremation. The ashes are called the bones.

The close relatives and family members of the deceased go to the *Gomang* or to the *Bhoya* (tribal-cum-official head) and tell him of the fact and request him to go with them. Thus 8 or 10 people accompanied by an old woman start for the village where the death has taken place. Drums are beaten and pipes are blown on this journey and liquor or "solopo" is partaken moderately at the commencement and during this journey. The usual bows and arrows are carried as well as some matchlocks. They go to the house where their relative had stayed before his death. On reaching the house, the match lock is fired once or twice into the air. Thereafter the villagers of that village

accompany them to the cremation ground. A piece of bone is picked out from the ashes and placed in a new earthen pot. The pot is then covered. The old woman accompanying the party carries the pot on her head. Then amidst weeping and wailing the party related to the deceased starts on the homeward journey. The weeping is usually calling the deceased, "O'Son, where have you gone. O' Father, have you left us. O' Brother, why have you left us, what happened to you who has devoured you, which spirit has taken you from this earth and so on." The old woman is required to do most of the weeping and wailing.

On reaching the native village, the party with others go to the village cremation ground weeping, bury the piece of bone at any corner, partake drink and return to the village.

The tomb stones of which everyone of us have heard is to be found in the close proximity of almost every Saora village. The stones are planted in the ground and stand straight which recall the description of the stone henge of *Briton*. There is how-ever no cross stone on top of two upright stones. This presents a curious sight and one moving in the Saora area is struck by the imposing sight.

These stones represent the "*Goo-Aar*"—In the Saora language *Goo* stands for burying or planting and *Aar* stands for stone. The stones are planted more as tomb stones with of course a tribal importance attached to the

ceremony which attends the planting and the peculiar significance it has. A big stone is planted for a deceased in a family. The ceremony is not performed every year nor is it done according to convenience. Availability of funds seems to be the important factor in deciding if the *Goo-Aar* is to be performed in a particular year. Absence of disease, illness or deaths in the village, a bountiful crops are all factors which lead to the performance of the ceremony.

A day well in advance is fixed and it is usually done 15 days ahead of the day fixed. As soon as this is fixed distillation of rice arrack starts and preparations are set on foot to distil a large quantity of rice arrack. This liquor is so strong that the Oriyas say if you drink *Souda*, you will catch the *Khanda* (sword). These 15 days ahead of the day are spent in drinking, dancing, beating of drums etc. The dancing is continuous and the villagers go about, even women and children beating drum, cymbals, bellmetal big bowls etc. The *Mohuri* is blown, the *Saringi* accompanies and two peculiar time marking instruments are also used. One of these is a bamboo on which notches are cut, across which another smaller bamboo piece is vigorously rubbed to mark time. The other peculiar instrument is a collection of reeds or thin bamboos tied together at one end and holding this bunch at one end with the left hand, the dancer beats on it with the right hand marking the time. Even small children of 4 to 5 years age join the dancing. The village dog also catches

the infection and moves up and down. The dancers start at one end of the street, go to its other end and again return. There is not much of singing probably because every one is so drunk that no singing is possible. This is the Saora dance. In such dancing the Saora forgets himself during the 15 days ahead of the fixed date for the Gooar.

The close relatives of the villagers are invited from far and near, and they send one or two buffaloes in advance for use on the occasion. These buffaloes are taken care of by the villagers till the day of the ceremony. During the intervening period, the villagers go to the adjoining hills and forests in search of stones. Straight stones are carefully selected and brought and kept. On the day fixed everyone drinks and even small children are dead drunk. All join in the dancing without an exception. The *Gomang* and *Bhoya* or if they are young, two to three elderly persons refrain from drinking. This is because there should be some persons in full possession of their senses in order to receive the guests and to treat them with respect. The rest are all drunk that day.

The Saora is dressed in his best. Feathers are tucked in his red turban. Every one is fully armed in the tribal style, swords, tangi, bow and arrows, guns, hunting knives are held aloft and brandished by the dancers. The minors sling a bell metal (*konsa*) from the neck and beat on it. Other children play on the two instruments described above. Some beat durms

slung from the neck, the women dance in age groups and the total picture is just interesting to behold.

The guests are similarly attired and equipped and plenty of drink is made available to them. There are occasionally serious disturbances caused in case there is any inequitable supply of liquor. Such disturbances sometimes end in free hand to hand fight even resulting in casualties. The priest and medicine man is the *Kudan*. He is believed to be infrequent communion with the tribal Gods and with the spirits of ancestors. He knows medicine and adds spiritualism with medicine. He officiates as the priest at the place of *Goo-Aar*. Cooked rice, *Dal* and several other dishes are prepared and kept at the place of offering. The names of the deceased are uttered and the offering in leaf platters are shown to the spirit of a deceased while uttering the name. Then the rice and curries are given to sacrificial buffaloes to eat, while two persons hold the animal by two-horns. The name of a deceased is uttered while the buffalo is made to eat. When the buffalo starts eating a third man who is ready with an axe delivers a blow on the head of the animal with all the force he can muster. The animal rolls down and immediately its hooves are cut. This process is repeated till all the buffaloes collected for the occasion are killed. After the slaughter is finished, the tongues, the hooves and the ears of the dead animals are cut and the blood collected is poured at the place where the stones are planted. Thereafter the meat of the animals is

collected, mixed with blood and cooked with *Kangua* or *suan* rice. This is eaten by all the people assembled.

The sight of a *Goo-Aar* is awe-striking. The non-adibasis and strangers carefully avoid going near the celebration. Although the non-adibasi feudal head levies some *abawabs* for other festivals or functions he dares not demand anything on this occasion because of the dangers that attend any attempt to collect the mamool as it is called.

The Saora woman is generally shorter in build and inured to hard work from the age of 7. She works with the '*Gobla*' on the hill slope; she goes to cut Ragi, Red gram Rasi etc. on the *Bogodo*. She joins the community paddy cutting (*Ansara*) operation. She attends to the cattle shed and keeps it clean. She assists the mother and sisters in carrying utensils to the spring, for cleaning, in fetching water, in collecting fuel and in collecting edible roots and herbs. Her usefulness to the family starts strictly speaking even earlier. When the girl is even 5 years old, she is kept in charge of the baby so that the mother and elder sisters are free to attend to work that requires more strength. She is seasoned by hard outdoor work more than a boy of her age and is able to carry loads heavier than what a non-Saora adult is able to carry.

With nothing on the upper part of the body except a few bead or reed necklaces with small nose rings of

gold or brass on the nostrils and long silver screw daughing from the lobes of the ears, a hair pin or more often a red ribbon or rag along the forehead keeping the hair down and with a coarse towel like cloth from below the navel upto about 4 inches above the knee joint, makes up the picture of a Saora bellee. Sometimes she has silver or aluminium bangles on her wrists sometimes a silver chain is sitting loosely on the waist cloth round the waist. Anklets of silver are used by prosperous persons while usually a German silver or aluminium set is used by the common girl. The girls have muscular bodies and are capable not only of all the work of a housewife, but are capable of as much field work as an adult male field hand. The woman is not fond of gossip, and is as busy as a bee all the year round. She is actually the person who works the *Bagodo* besides doing all the feminine duties in the house.

It is for the above reasons that a woman among the Saoras is respected most. Another reason is that the females are larger in number than the males in the tribe. The woman is therefore not unjustified when she takes pleasure in feeling a sense of superiority complex over the male. Sex urge is not very great with either sex. Sex appetite is considerably less and the married life among them means a sort of partnership in agriculture and house hold management. It is for the reasons mentioned above that it is a good business proposition to have a number of wives and to allot each a *Bagodo*. The woman who is

fully under the influence of superiority complex naturally does not take for a mate a male older than herself. She selects a male who is younger in age if the choice is left to her. If on the other hand the choice is with the male on account of his affluence, he does not hesitate to take a younger woman as his consort. There may be another reason. The man by his reckless life of dissipation probably loses his virility.

His continuous work in the heat of the summer, his dissipation through drink, probably contribute to the loss of virility at a comparatively early age. The fact however remains that a Saora woman prefers a husband younger than her and a male similarly does not run after girls but carefully selects fully grown maidens who would be good housewives and field hands.

There are the following three kinds of marriages among the Saoras. The most common form is the same as among the Oriya inhabitants. The parents start the negotiations after hearing of a suitable match in a neighbouring village. There is consideration in such marriage which is fixed up at the negotiation stage. The most important bride price is the number of pots of liquor which should pass from the groom's side to the bride's side.

The next form of marriage is what is known as *pangs* (slightly silent) which means giving liquor. When a man selects a bride, he talks it over with his relatives and friends, the

entire village becomes aware of his intention or his affections. The villagers start in a body with a number of pots of liquor for the house of the girl. The pots are placed at the door of the girl and the carriers stand by or sit nearby. This offer is to be accepted by either the parents of the girl or their neighbours.

If any such persons come to partake of the drink, the party sits together and drink and during this bout, the negotiations start. If on the other hand none of that villagers comes to drink, it is inferred that the proposal is not favoured and the party returns home with the liquor. If the liquor is accepted, it is taken on one or more such occasions. The talks are resumed till the girl expresses her personal inclination to the proposal. Then on such an indication the girl's parents and villagers go to the house of the groom, drink liquor there and finalise the negotiation.

The third form of marriage is known as '*Danda Boi*'. A youngman takes a fancy for a girl of another village. He tells his friends and all of them are on the look out for an opportunity of kidnapping the girl. They individually and collectively watch her movements always searching for a convenient opportunity. When the girl goes to do Government work or when she is going to or returning from a market or a visit, the youngman goes stealthily and catches her by the arm. Immediately his companions catch hold of her and drag her towards their village. If they are not noticed by

the villagers of the girl, she is taken to the house of the groom. If on the other hand her people come to know, they start with lathies and other weapons and if they are of superior might they rescue her effectively. If they fail or if the kidnapping is not interfered with, the girl is left at the house of the youngman. She is persuaded by the villagers to agree to marry the youngman.

The girl quite often resents the kidnapping and refuses food and drink for a few days. She is treated during this period practically as a prisoner though no serious restrictions are placed on her liberty and movements.

Word is then sent to the villagers and parents of the girl. They come

and persuade the girl to remain with the kidnapper. If she agrees, which she very often does, she remains as wife with her kidnapper. If on the other hand, she had already her affection placed on some other person, she refuses to stay with the man and then she is allowed to go with her people. If she agrees, there is eating and drinking and they live as man and woman.

If the girl does not agree there is a complaint to the mutha head and he after hearing the sides awards a compensation in favour of the parents of the girl. He never foregets to levy for himself some amount on such occasions for the trouble he takes.

NITYANAND DAS

**REORIENTATION
OF
ASHRAM SCHOOL EDUCATION**

The Tribal and Rural Welfare Department of Government of Orissa took a pioneer step in the field of tribal education by establishing Ashram or residential schools in the tribal areas. Dating back from 1947-48, when the first Ashram School was established by the Earstwhile Backward Class Department at Nuagaon in Phulbani district, it received the blessings of no less a person than Thakkar Bappa. Since then new schools of this type are being established every year and at present there are 81 schools spread over the districts. Out of these, 16 are meant for girls which are known by the name Kanyashram. These institutions receive grants-in-aid from the Central Government and are administered directly by the district welfare authorities.

The name Ashram School originated from the conception of ancient type

of education where the teachers and pupils lived and ate together, shared common difficulties, and education was imparted by direct means. The curriculum consists of general education, craft education, gardening and spinning. Students and teachers live in the premises of the institution. The school has a Headmaster or Headmistress assisted by Assistant teachers, craft teachers, and agriculture teacher. Food is cooked by students themselves, sometimes assisted by attendant's. There are provision for cattle, sheep, goat, poultry to which the students are expected to attend.

For the first five or six years of establishment of Ashram Schools the prevailing emphasis was on the crafts and gardening while the general education was also imparted. The basic aim was to equip the tribal boys with crafts education and gardening along

with general education, as the tribal boys were expected to settle down as craftsmen, farmers and husbandrymen, if they could not pursue their studies further. Generally about 10 acres of land are attached to each institution in which various vegetables and crops were grown. From 1957 the emphasis was changed to general education with the crafts playing a secondary role. In the schools the boys and girls are provided with free fooding and lodging in addition to reading and writing materials and clothing out of the stipend of Rs. 20/- awarded to Scheduled tribe and Scheduled caste boys. In 1957 also day scholars from among the non-tribal residents of the locality were permitted to read in the school.

The Ashram Schools in Orissa were highly praised by the visitors and dignitaries from and outside the state. The standard of education in Ashram Schools at the present time has been no way inferior to other general schools in the state, which reveals that provided with adequate opportunities the tribal boys and girls can compete with the non-tribals.

The schools teach up to seventh class or middle standard. After passing from the Ashram Schools quite a large number of students have joined higher schools in various places and are competing with non-tribal students.

This scheme which is certainly a master piece of welfare activities for some years faced severe criticism from many quarters. Many tribals them-

selves considered these schools as institutions for keeping the tribal boys and girls away from higher education, and making them always subordinate to non-tribals. The critics opined that while the non-tribal boys through general education could attend higher proficiencies the tribals were made to learn only a few crafts and very little of general education. Such an opinion was expressed on the floor of the legislature and in public speeches. The criticism was also always directed towards the mismanagement of the institutions. These are nevertheless the darker aspects of the scheme and based on certain stray instances which are loopsided pictures of human conduct. However the brighter aspects are the tribal boys come out of their homes, are educated with free boarding and lodging, learning a few crafts and developing social relationship, cross-cutting the group and tribal barriers.

In 1958 a study was conducted by the officers of T.R.B. to analyse the craft education in Ashram Schools. The report on those studies conducted in the various districts of the state revealed that the institutions in the beginning days were mostly oriented to agriculture and crafts. It was agreed by the teachers that unless the garden was good and sale proceeds from the craft section were up to estimation, the staff had to face serious reprimands from the authorities. Naturally, they could not devote adequate time to general education. There was no common examination and each school had its own method of exami-

nation. Except who were thoroughly useless all could pass. The educational qualification of the teachers was of no importance. Teachers used to be grafted mostly from coastal districts and were not suited to the environment in the tribal areas and had very little knowledge of the life and psychology of tribal students. The boys did hard labour in the day time and could hardly keep themselves awake after night fall to make their private studies. A meal is served in the evening after which the boys mostly slept.

From 1956 the schools were opened to inspection by Education Department officers and the emphasis was changed to general education. Attempts were made to recruit qualified teachers. This changed policy though was a broad based one suffered various handicaps. Quite a large number of institutions are located in interior places. Some are cut off for 5 to 6 months in a year. The teachers of an Ashram School have more strenuous duties than the teachers in other schools.

In Ashram school the routine begins from 5.30 A.M. and continues after late in the night. The main source of private income for the teachers is private tuition which is completely lacking in the Ashram schools. Benefits the teachers get in these institutions may be limited to getting some vegetables at a cheaper rate. But that is not a substantial one. Hence qualified teachers are not willing to go to the interior places leaving their

homes. New schools are now being opened extensively in villages and there is no dearth of employment for teachers. In fact the demand for school teachers is much higher in the state at the present moment.

In the past some critics attributed corruptions to the Ashram Schools but with the increase of prices and persistent supervision such stories are now obsolete. Therefore unless the pay scales of the teachers are considerably increased those will continue to be non-lucrative for young men. Therefore the pay scales of the Ashram School teachers should be increased along with other facilities like free family accommodation to attract suitable teachers to Ashram Schools. The Headmasters of the institutions are saddled with administrative and accounts work without assistance of a clerk. They have to handle considerable amount of cash and have to purchase rations etc., which involve maintenance of account, visit to the district headquarters and Block headquarters which unduly press them and distract them from teaching work. There is the immediate necessity for a clerk in each Ashram School to assist the Headmaster in the jobs.

Craft education in Ashram Schools needs considerable reorganisation. In the earlier days of establishment of Ashram Schools the first craft to be introduced was carpentry. That used to help in construction of buildings. Then gradually one by one other crafts were introduced to include weaving, tailoring and smithy. From the

studies made in 1958 it was found that the main emphasis given to the craft education was not the training imparted to the boys but on sale-proceeds. Tailoring was the most preferential craft but the students mainly learnt to make garments for the Ashram School boys and for Sevashram boys. Carpentry section only makes some beds and benches and tables etc. But the boys could not attend higher skill as all delicate work is handled by the teachers themselves. In weaving the knowledge of the students was confined to making dusters and other tit bits. Better articles are mostly produced by the teachers themselves. Smithy is confined to still fewer schools and wherever it is there some rough items are only made. It was found from the study in 1958 that the craft teachers in the Ashram Schools are merely professional craftsmen belonging to the particular artisan castes. Their educational qualification being low, and they being ignorant of techniques it is difficult for them to train up boys. The boys are hardly trained in the techniques which can enable them to settle in future life as professional craftsmen.

A sample study made in different districts revealed that except a few boys particularly in Mayurbhanj who had got sewing machines on loan and were working as tailor, no other student had after passing the Ashram School been settled as craftsman. The first preference of the boys is for higher general education and second Government services, who could not do either settle down as cultivators. There is

hardly any Ashram trained boy taking to crafts like carpentry, smithy or weaving in future life. It was then suggested that craft training should be made purely optional and only those boys who have aptitude could opt for craft training. Now there are several crafts in each school and the boys have to take up one craft. Generally it depends on the wishes of the teachers to select boys to different sections irrespective of natural interest of the boys for any particular craft. Only when the tailoring section is full then boys are admitted in to other sections. Now with the curtailment of time for crafts and with continued emphasis on sale proceeds the craft sections are geared to the productions of those items which could be pushed in the market. Those items have hardly any use in the future life of the tribal boys. It was suggested that Junior Technical Schools should be started in each district. Those boys from Ashram Schools who show natural preference to crafts could be taken into those technical schools while others sent up for higher education. The craft teachers should be qualified technicians and not professional artisans. The emphasis on sale proceeds should be reduced and funds should be provided for training purpose. Whatever could be manufactured through training should however be sold out.

There is great demand for skilled workers in various development projects in the state. Particularly in backward areas all grades of technicians and skilled workers are to be imported from outside and the projects

are affected for want of skilled workers at proper time. The planners are already realising the futility of mass scale general education which produces large number of uneducated unemployed persons while skilled workers and technicians are no where available. The Ashram Schools can give fillips to such training for skilled workers if proper reorganisation is effected.

The residential pattern of Ashram Schools has many virtues. The common lodging of the teachers and the students following a scientific routine could encourage discipline which is lacking in other schools. Community feeling which is the hall mark of public schools is there in the Ashram Schools. Provided with qualified teachers, amenities for games, library, techniques for crafts and study tours will equip the students with mental and physical advancement useful in future life. Gardening being compulsory in the schools go a long way to inculcate dignity of labour in producing natural rural setting. The garden produces supplement to the boarding charges. The stipend amount is quite insufficient at the present price of articles. In many Ashram schools there is no irrigation facility and raising gardens become impossible in summer. Provided with persistent irrigation, the production is bound to be exemplary. Adequate funds should be immediately provided to provide lift irrigation or general irrigation to the Ashram Schools.

The routine in the Ashram Schools is strenuous particularly for boys in

junior classes. It is necessary that it should be simplified and reduced so that the boys are not fatigued to concentrate on studies. In winter 5.30 A.M. or 5 A.M. is too early to get up and in many hill areas it is very cold at that hour of the day. Insisting the boys to get up and to begin their work at that hour has no impressive bearing on the minds of the boys.

On the above light the following points may be considered for reorganisation and reorientation by the highest policy makers in the Ashram schools during the current plan.

1. There are already 81 Ashram Schools spread all over the state. Except in certain very backward areas like Parlakimidi Agencies, Pottasing, Nimgiri, Belghar, Bonda hills, no new Ashram Schools should be opened. Instead more funds should be provided to the existing Ashram Schools which could then be as good as public schools.

2. Qualified and experienced teachers should be appointed for Ashram Schools at a higher pay scale with free family quarters to make the position lucrative. In fact the Ashram School teacher should get 50 per cent. more than the teachers in other schools of the same qualification and grade.

3. The Headmasters should be provided with clerical assistance for accounts work and should not be called to the District headquarters now and then and remain absent from the schools.

4. The rations and other purchases are to be made by the Headmasters from the local markets at cheap rates instead of some body else supplying those and taking middle-men profit and supplying bad items. The Headmaster and teachers know the liking and disliking of the boys and girls which will help them purchase ration according to local conditions. Instead of present Multipurpose co-operative society the students and teachers co-operatives can be sponsored for this purpose. The accounts should be checked more frequently by the supervisory staff and the boys should be associated with the purchase of rations.

5. The collection of students for admission in the beginning of the year is another problem in backward areas. In advanced areas like Mayurbhanj or Sundergarh there are more applicants for admission than the seats of the schools but the position is not the same in Koraput or Phulbani. There the teachers of Ashram Schools and the field staff are to make continuous effort to recruit students. Even now there are hardly boys from the hill Bondas, Kutia Kondhs, Dongoria Kondhs or Hill Saoras in the Ashram Schools. An experiment could be made by sending out boys of adjoining Ashram Schools into those backward areas to show the villagers how well the boys are looked after and taught in the school. What can be achieved like this the teachers and field staff can not. Therefore, the Headmasters and teachers of Ashram Schools adjoining backward areas are to share the res-

ponsibility of getting primitive tribal boys for the schools.

6. Craft education should be made purely optional. Only where timber is available there should be carpentry and not everywhere. My studies and observation of tribal life in Bihar and this state have revealed that there are certain inherent skills among the tribal people. If proper training is imparted to the tribals they can make marks. Instead of spending large sums in craft education in Ashrams, where existing scale of pay is not attractive for qualified craft teachers, Industrial schools are established in each district which may be beneficial to them. After completion of the course in the Ashram Schools, those who will not go for general education and service may join the Industrial schools. They may be trained in turning, drilling, machanism, manufacture of implements etc. Even if we can turn out only 10 qualified craftsmen every year in each district we may be in a better position. Orissa is gradually advancing towards semi-industrial economy from a purely agricultural one. That is so also in tribal communities. Hence the Industrial schools will be attractive as well as beneficial. We may attempt in a few scheduled districts and abolish the crafts there. If the scheme becomes successful within two years we may proceed in the matter. Only those boys who have preference for craft can take up a craft as a optional subject and not all. The craft which will be in a school should be more of training nature than of commercial nature. Those boys who

will show aptitude for craftsmanship will go to technical school on completion of their courses in the Ashram School.

7. The craft teachers should be qualified persons.

8. Gardening should be encouraged with adequate irrigation facilities and the produce should supplement the boarding charges of the boys. About 50 per cent. produce should be distributed to the students and only the remaining 50 per cent could be sold out. New crops should be grown

which the parents of the boys and villagers can learn.

9. The time table of the Ashram Schools should be simplified and not too much demanding on the boys.

10. Library and games facilities should be augmented and different magazines, newspaper and books should be purchased by the Headmaster. The time saved from craft, could be devoted to library work and games so that those boys who do not go for craft training can develop better general knowledge and sports.

P. K. MOHPATRA

**A SHORT NOTE ON THE
SHIFTING CULTIVATION
OF THE KOYAS**

The Koyas inhabit the Malkangiri Taluk of Koraput district in Orissa and number 37,000 approximately according to the 1951 Census. They are scattered all over the Taluk which has an area of 2,288 square miles. The Taluk is covered with dense forest, and a strip along the eastern boundary takes in the Ghats with the 3,000 ft. plateau and the valley of Machhkund which flows through this remote country. The climate is extreme and malarial, and rainfall is about 58 in. Excepting the Sal trees on the ghats and teak in the North, the taluk is not rich as regards timber trees. Several unidentified varieties of grass which grow wildly provide good fodder for the rich cattle wealth of the Koya. With regard to fauna it may be mentioned that tigers, leopards, Indian fox, bears and wolf are very common. Indian buffalo in larger herds and bisons are also found scattered in the

eastern region of the forest. Chittal, Sambhur and barking deer are well represented. Monkeys and birds of various kinds including peacocks also abound.

The Koyas constitute the principal tribe of the Taluk. Bondas are found on the Eastern Ghat regions. Few Oriyas, Telugus and Muslims are also found.

The taluk is adjacent to the Bastar estate of Madhya Pradesh and East Godavari district of Andhra Pradesh. The Koya inhabits all these regions. A broad division of the tribe may be made on the basis of language and dress. The Koyas inhabiting the southern-most regions of the taluk are distinguished for their dress which they wear like the Telugu people of Andhra. They have also incorporated more Telugu words into their language.

The construction of houses also differs as they make high sitting platforms or verandahs attached to their houses, which are not found among the Koyas of rest of the Taluk. As regards dress the Koyas both male and female of this area are more primitive than the southern-most regions because the males use only loin clothes and female wear cloth covering the portions from waist to knee, all other portions remaining exposed. The females use heavy ornaments of brass etc., which is not found among the females of the southern-most region who use few glass bangles.

The village where the author worked in May 1961 is known as Sikapalli. It lies at a distance of 10 miles south of Malkangiri Sub-Divisional headquarters.

The village consist of 40 patrilineal families with a total population of 400 persons approximately including children. Though monogamy is the general rule polygyny is also practised by the Koyas of this village. The houses are scattered all through the village as a result of which no regular street is found in the village. Attached to the houses are kitchen gardens called 'gudas' where the Koyas grow mustard, tobacco and chillies.

The village of Sikapalli was non-existent a generation back when the father of the present priest of the village came to settle in this place. The place was covered with dense forest infested by wild animals. Later on the Koyas migrated to this place

from different regions and then the settlement was named Sikapalli by the then Government. The present 'Peda' or the headman of the village named Maddkam Masa (50) came next and after the death of his father, the present priest named Madkam Bimma, became the headman of the village. At present the old site of the village is being abandoned and a Colony is being built near the village by the Government to house the villagers. Each elementary family is being given a tiled house consisting of 2 rooms. The housing programme is now in progress. There is one Sevashram or School of L. P. standard established by the Tribal and Rural Welfare Department of Government of Orissa where the Koya children are being taught through the medium of Oriya.

Shifting Cultivation.

The villagers say they were practising shifting cultivation extensively. At that time little or no attention was being paid to wet cultivation. The Government stopped the practice a few years back. They were compelled to resort to wet cultivation and were allowed to practise shifting cultivation only in those areas demarcated by the forest department, as village forests. Before going into details a brief account may be given of the system of land tenure of the Koya.

The headman of the village was granted Mustafadari or the right to collect cess by the Rajah of Jeypore as this taluk was a part of his estate. The Peda was asked to deposit a fixed amount either in cash or in kind in the

Rajali's treasury and the practice continued till right now when the cess was being deposited into the Government treasury. The 'Peda' was authorised to dispose of any part of the individual holdings to new-comers to the settlement and assessment of rent was exclusively the right of the 'Peda'. Assessment never exceeded the amount of Rupees five in cash and one Puti or 120 lbs. of paddy for each plough used. There was no limit to any individual holdings of land which depended on an individual family's capacity to bring under cultivation. As no survey was made, individual holding of land could not be measured till recently. Original settlement with regular survey has been made only a month back and from the records informations regarding the total amount of land used for wet cultivation as well as shifting cultivation has been collected. Out of 40 families in the village, 29 families possess 'elkas' or sites for shifting cultivation whereas the remaining eleven families depend on wet cultivation. One of these eleven families is a milkman who has migrated from Bastar and has established himself in this village. These eleven families are the late comers to this settlement. The total amount of land for wet cultivation as estimated from the records is 542.40 acres and the total amount of land used for shifting cultivation is 120.06 acres. From this it becomes evident that gradually the Koya people are becoming more dependent on wet lands as the use of elkas or sites for shifting cultivation is being sharply restricted by Government agencies. It is a common grievance of the Koyas

of this village that Government are not providing them with sufficient *Puna elka* or virgin forests for shifting cultivation and on the other hand they are rehabilitating Dandakaranya refugees in these areas to occupy the adjacent areas by which they will not only be deprived of the advantage of shifting cultivation but also the source of fodder for their cattle.

The Koyas of this village mainly distinguish between types of lands used for different types of cultivation. Firstly the low land which can hold water for a considerable period in the year is called "*Barhia Kuta*". The second type called "*Usk Beda*" is situated comparatively in higher level where water can be stored by making small earthen dams on all sides. The third one is called "Elka" or the slopes where water can not be stored and which is full of trees and bushes and these are the sites where shifting cultivation is practised.

Method of Shifting Cultivation.

The sites for shifting cultivation are found situated above the low-lying lands that are used for wet cultivation. "*Lankapodsena*" or burning of jungle starts in the month of *Pedaman lens* corresponding to the later half and first half of April and May respectively. Cutting of trees and clearing of bushes are made fifteen days earlier. While clearing a patch certain trees are spared as they provide fruits to be consumed by the Koyas at the time of scarcity. These are *Tumir*, *Bengur*, *Idu* (*Bassialatifolia*), *Korka* and *Kosu*,

etc. As the operation of shifting cultivation demands much more labour than what an individual family can afford for its own site, the work is done on a co-operative basis. An individual invites the number of persons he requires and every day he provides them with *landa* or rice beer for drinking till the cutting and clearing are over. The labour required for cutting an acre of land could not be measured accurately. Modkam Dewa, one of the informants, said, he required the services of nine persons for two days to clear one of his sites and eight person for 3 days for another patch of jungle. As the land which he cleared for the purpose could not be surveyed, accurate informations could not be had, But his indication to the sizes led the author to assume that he has cleared approximately one and half to two acres of land for purposes of shifting cultivation.

When the site is cleared the wood and debris are left to dry up. After a week fire is set. Before making fire the small undergrowths are again cut down by the males and the female members pile up the debris. After burnining, the site is left till it starts raining. The site is ploughed once, and when rain falls seeds are broadcast. They are seeds of *Gora*, *Kohla* (Millet) *Permi*, *Junuk* (Vigna Typisa), *Tawi* (a kind of fruit) and *Sikud* (bean), *Pesli* (*Phascolus Radiatus*), *Nunk* (*Seasum*) and *Benda*.

The seeds of *Gora* (*Elesima coracana*) *Permi* (*Cajanus indicus*) *Kohla* (millet) are broadcast thickly

whereas others are broadcast thinly. The sites are left till harvest of *Gora*, *Permi* and *Suan* are ready to be reaped in the month of *Dashara* corresponding to the month of October and November. At the time of harvest the sites which are situated a mile or so away from the village are watched during night and day to save damage of crops by the predatory animals.

After one harvest is reaped, the *puna elka* or the new patch of jungle becomes '*panita elka*' or old one. Next year also the same site is used for shifting cultivation but the yield is reduced to certain extent in the 2nd year. Then that particular site is abandoned for 3 to 4 years, when again it is cleared for shifting cultivation. As the site becomes freshly over grown with trees and bushes the Koyas call it "*Puna elka*" or the new one.

The yield from shifting cultivation was difficult to measure accurately as the Koyas start consuming the crops immediately after harvest. Besides they do not have their own standard of measure. Though they are getting used to the local standard measure very few can measure accurately. The local measure for corn is given below.

1 *Gadisa* = 30 *putis*.

1 *Puti* = 20 *mans*.

1 *man* is equivalent to 160 tolas which is approximately 4 lbs. An approximate measure of crops was made by the author while collecting information on the total yield from a piece of land used for shifting cultivation by an individual named Madakam Dewa (35). Several other

villagers were also interviewed. But for precision the information of one individual is being dealt with here.

As mentioned above the elkas are distinguished as '*Puna elka*' and '*Panta elkas*'. Madkam Dewa's *Puna elka* yielded last year (1960) two putis of Gora, 3 mans of *Junuk*, 4 mans of *Benda*, 10 mans of *Permi* and five putis of *Kohla*. The total yield in Pounds is 628 lbs. He cultivated $1\frac{1}{2}$ acres of land approximately. Another individual named Madkam Pandu who cultivated an acre got a total yield of 2 puti *Gora*, 10 mans of *Permi*, 2 mans of *Junuk*, 3 mans of *Benda* and 3 Putis of *Kohla*. The total yield in terms of pounds is 400 lbs = 5 mds.

Per acre yield for each crop is difficult to measure as intercropping is practised by the Koyas, and no specific portion of the land is used for any particular type of the crops.

An attempt has been made to show per acre yield of the mixed crops on the basis of above information which shows that per acre yield is about more than 300 lbs., and on enquiry it was found that the per acre yield varied from $3\frac{1}{2}$ mds. to 6 mds.

The crops raised are mainly used as food. *Gora* is used for making rice beer and gruel is made to be taken at the time of scarcity during rainy season. The headman of the village informed the author that previously they sold all other crops except *gora* and beans in exchange for other necessities such as salt, tobacco and

cloths. These days the children invariably eat *permi* and other pulses that are grown. But the previous practice is also in vogue and excepting *Gora* (*Elesina coracana*) all other pulses are sold.

Before concluding the description of the methods of shifting cultivation, a brief account may be given of the different other types of economy on which the Koyas depend for their livelihood. Cultivation of paddy has been taken to be the major productive technique as is shown from the amount of wet land possessed by the Koyas. Wet cultivation as practised by the Koyas may be said to be of very crude type. The land is ploughed after rainfall and seeds are broadcast. After that, storing of water is made wherever necessary. Weeding and transplantation are never made by the Koyas and they visit the field only when the crop is ready to be reaped. The per acre yield from the wet cultivation has been calculated to be much less than that of shifting cultivation *i.e.*, about 300 lbs. or about 3 mds., approximately.

Among other minor crops that are raised mention may be made of mustard, maize and tobacco which the Koyas grow in the gardens attached to their houses. Mustard is sold in exchange for salt and gruel is made of maize which is consumed and tobacco is both sold and consumed.

The collection of roots and fruits from the Jungle may be taken to be one of the important source of Koya

livelihood. Flowers of *Bassia latifolia* tree are collected in huge quantities by all families. They are dried up and stored to be used at times of scarcity which starts from the rainy season till harvest. On enquiry it was found that each family collected more than 200 lbs each year.

Among fruits *Tumir* or *Kendu* takes the first place which is also dried up and stored for future use. Roots of various kinds are also collected. Ten such kinds were recorded. Unidentified jungle grass of ten to eleven kinds are also boiled and consumed by the Koyas. The Koyas of the village say that they can live for days together only on various types of tubers collected from the jungle.

The cattle wealth of the Koyas is important—because of the fact that no marriage ceremony can be performed without cattle. Cattle is used for bride—price and the bullocks are sold in exchange for money to buy clothings. Cattle are also bartered for bisonhorns which the Koyas prize most for using as head dresses in the ceremonial dances.

Hunting and fishing have become a past time for the Koyas as, they say, the forest have become depleted of the wild animals that one time infested these regions. For most part of the year the Koyas are seen wandering in the jungles in search of wild games but return without them. For fishing they go to the rivers during the summer season.

BHAGIRATHI CHOWDHURY

**MARRIAGE CUSTOM AMONG
THE BARENG JODIA POROJA
OF KORAPUT**

Introduction:

The Porojas inhabit the district of Koraput in Orissa and the adjoining areas of the Andhra Pradesh. Their name is said to be a corruption of the Sanskrit word 'Paroja' which means people¹ (also subject or simply rayats). Linguistically they are included in the Dravidian group, their original language being 'Parji'². Now most of them including woman speak Oriya, although the traces of their original tongue can be picked up from their talk and song. The tribe is originally an offshoot of the Gond tribe³. One of their main tradition states their original home to be in Bastar (now in Madhya Pradesh) and their migration to present Koraput and the adjoining areas of the

Andhra Pradesh (which were previously included in the Madras Presidency)⁴. In Koraput, they live together with Rana, Gadba, Paika and Dom. Previously their main occupation was agriculture, which was supplemented by hunting and food gathering. But at present majority of them are landless labourer.

Sub-Division:

The Poroja tribe is sub-divided into several sections. It seems improbable, at the first instance, to find out a complete list of these sections due to variations in names in different areas. In the adjoining areas of the Koraput

1. Man-in-India—Vol. XI, No. 3 & 4, 1931—P. 243.

2. Linguistic Survey of India—Part IV. 1906—by G. A. Grierson.

3 & 4. Handbook on Castes & Tribes—Tea Districts Labour Association.

town the Porojas of the following sections are found.

- (a) Sodia Poroja or Bada Poroja
- (b) Bareng Jodia Poroja
- (c) Bada Jodia Poroja or Penga Poroja
- (d) Konda Poroja or Selia (chhelia) Poroja.

The Sodia Poroja which is given the highest position in the hierarchy of these sections is again subdivided into two viz; Bada Sodia Poroja and Sana Sodia Poroja. Among them the former abstains from eating the flesh of the cow and buffalo while the latter only from beef but takes the flesh of the buffalo. When a cow or a bullock dies, the houses are cleansed and the used earthen pots are removed by the family concerned. The Porojas of the other three sections eat beef and the flesh of the buffalo. The Konda Porojas were previously known as Selia or Chhelia Poroja due to their main occupation of breeding goats in the distant past. Now they call themselves as Konda Poroja as a section of the Poroja tribe, and when identified as chhelia or selia Poroja, they get irritated. R. C. S. Bell in his Koraput District Gazetteer, 1945, has equated them with Konda Dora and thus excluded from the bulk of pure Poroja.

Marriage:

These sections of the tribe are endogamous, although instances of marriage outside the own section are not totally absent. Among them there are several

clans such as Khil (Tiger), Hantal (Snake), etc., and marriage within the same clan is strictly prohibited. All the members of a clan believe in the descent from a common ancestor and hence are brothers and sisters.

The most important event in the life of an individual and a significant function in the community of a village is the marriage. As said by R.C.S. Bell⁵ the Poroja marriage customs differ considerably among the different sections in different areas.

The Bareng Jodia Porojas inhabiting in the villages around the Koraput town, observe the following marriage customs. Among them there is only adult marriage, and the common age at marriage is 18 to 21 years for boys and 15 to 18 years for girls. Pre-marital familiarity and the system of free love are socially recognized by the Porojas, Cross-cousin marriage (a boy marrying a maternal uncle's daughter) is a favoured form of marital alliance. A man if so likes can marry his deceased wife's younger sister or the wife of the deceased elder brother. Divorce can be effected with the approval of the tribal council of the village on the grounds of marital faithlessness and marital incompatibility. If divorce is demanded by the woman, the bride price or the same amount of it, if paid, is returned back to the husband. A man wanting to divorce his wife has to pay compensation to the woman according to the decision of the tribal assembly. Widow remarriage is

allowed; and involves no payment of bride price.

Among the Bareng Jodia Porojas marriage takes place in one of the following ways.

(A). Ceremonial marriage, arranged by the parents according to tribal conventions is called *haribol* marriage. It is the most elaborate and expensive type of all marriages; hence occurs in rare cases.

(1). In case of *haribol* marriage, initiative is always taken by the boy's side. The parents or guardians of the marriageable boy make searches and informal approaches for brides. The proposal is generally put forward from the boy's side in their informal meetings in the market, festival or in the villages. Before any formal visit is paid to the girl's family, the consent of the marriageable boy is taken by the guardian. But in most cases the boy generally conveys his intension of marrying the girl whom she loves, because pre-marital familiarity between the marriageable boys and girls are socially recognized and they get opportunities at the time of dances on the occasion of festivals and marriages. When everything has been considered properly by the boy's side, the first visit is paid for negotiation.

(2). In the first calling, the boy and his parents carrying liquor, uncooked rice, fowl and vegetables with them go to see the girl formally. The expenditure involved in this visit is generally four to six rupees. They

return to their village without putting the proposal for consideration.

(3). Five persons including the father or guardian of the boy and a woman, pay a visit to the girl's house to put the proposal for the first time. The visiting party is called *raibadia*. These visitors take with them a pot of wine, nine *mans* of uncooked rice (about twenty seers), two *mans* of cooked rice, *landha* and five rupees in cash. Palm (*salpa*) wine is also taken, if available, as a favourite item of presentation. On their arrival, the girl's parents ask them whether they are got (informal visit of a person to a relative's house) or *khunt* (visit of a person or persons to the house of another to establish new relationship by marriage). When the purpose of the visit is made clear to them, the girl's parents invite the kinsmen and other influential persons of the village for negotiation. Persons present for the occasion enjoy the food and drink. Now the topic is initiated from the boy's side with the saying "A flower has blossomed in your garden. We have intended to pluck it". Before any reply is given, the consent of the marriageable girl is obtained by asking the same question for three times. When she express her willingness, the girl's party will reply "If you are strong enough to bear the burden, you can take the flower". Sometimes a proposal cannot be finalized due to the unwillingness of the girl or of the parents, who wait for the advice of their important relatives. So one or more subsequent visits are made till the parents and the girl express their willingness.

(4) When a proposal has been accepted, the girl's parents invite the boy's side to their house. This time also the same party carrying perched rice, rice-beer and other eatables with them go to the girl's house. On this occasion a grand feast of rice, rice-beer and preferably buffalo meat is arranged for the guest; and influential persons of the tribe and kinsmen of the village are also invited. This is the occasion when the negotiation is confirmed.

(5) The bride-price known as *Jhola* or *Pani* is generally fixed in another calling. Previously the bride-price was commonly paid in kind and was consisting of (a) three bullocks and cows, (b) three puttis (three maunds approximately) of unhusked rice or *mandia*, (c) Rs. 3-00 in cash, (d) clothes worth Rs. 5|-, (e) four *kandis* of rice-beer (*pendum*) and *mandia*-beer (*landha*). But at present the cash-payment varying from Rs. 50|- to Rs. 150|- is very commonly prevalent.

(6) In consultation with the *dissari* the boy's party pay another visit to fix the marriage date which would be convenient to most of the people of both the villages. Moreover marriages can only take place during the spring and summer seasons when there is no pressure of agricultural operations and when they have some grains in the house to meet expenses.

(7) A day previous to the marriage day, the village boys and young women escort the bride with song and music to the village of the bridegroom.

Before entering into the boundary of the groom's village, the *Jani* performs a puja with a sacrifice of a fowl to the village deity in order to admit the girl into the new village. Then they are welcomed by the groom's people with music and dance. They are given a separate house to retire during the stay in the village. Now the bride's party demand the bride-price fixed earlier which the boy's father is bound to comply with.

(8) On the marriage day, the bride is taken to the house of the groom, and *dissari* and *Jani* consummate the marriage. This is followed by feasting and drinking. Singing and dancing to the accompaniment of the sound of the musical instruments continue for the whole day and night.

(9) After a month or so from the date of marriage, the newly wedded couple with food and other eatables pay a visit to the parents of the girl. There they stay for a week or so. This is known as *handibahudani*.

From the above description it can be calculated that the total expenditure involved in the *haribol* type of Poroja marriage is always above Rs. 250|-, which every Porojo father cannot afford due to economic hardship. So this type of marriage occurs rarely. At present most of them are landless labourer, and prefer other types of marriage in which expenditure is comparatively less.

B. *Udli* Marriage:

This is a type of marriage based upon mutual love which leads to elope-

ment. Boys and girls meet in the weekly markets and in communal dances on the occasion of marriage and festivals. When a boy and a girl love each other and decide to marry, they run away from their houses to another village, where some relatives of the girl or of the boy live. Sometimes they also go to a distant place, where no relative lives. There they spend a week or so and then return to the boy's village. Now they are socially recognized as husband and wife and cannot be separated by their parents. The bride's parents accompanied by their kith and kin come to the house of the boy and induce the girl, if they do not approve of the marriage, to return back to her village. Her parents and relatives are pacified by the boy's party with request, food and drink. Now they demand the bride price and a feast. When the amount of bride price has been settled, the guests and influential people of the tribe in the village are entertained in a feast. In this case, the amount of bride price is less and can be paid in several instalments.

C. *Jhinka-Utra Marriage*:

The marriage by capture is known as *Jhinka-Utra* marriage. As mentioned earlier, the boys and girls meet each other on several occasions, namely in *Chait* festival, when young men go on dancing expedition to the neighbouring village and in marriage festivals, when village maidens and boys escort the bride to the bridegroom's village. These occasions provide scope for the boys to capture the girls whom they

select for marriage. In most cases capture is also mutually pre-arranged by the boy and the girl, or by the parents who direct their sons and daughters to go to a definite place for capture. Physical capture rarely takes place. When a girl has been captured the parents of the girl accompanied by the influential persons of the village and relatives come to abuse and threaten the boys family and placate the girl to come out of the house. If the girl is not willing for the marriage, she may come out and surrender herself. She is then taken back to her home, and a compensation is demanded from the boy's family for the mistake of the boy. If the girl expresses her willingness, she may be induced by the unwilling parents to return back to her village. When the girl remains adamant, the girl's party demand the bride price. When the girl is captured with the consent of the parents and the girl, the bride price is only demanded. When the girl's people would be busy in shouting and catcalls, the boys parents must be busy in preparing festive meals with meat and liquor to pacify the guests. Influential people of the boy's village also come to the rescue of the boy's family. When the temper falls and tension relaxed, persons from both the parties sit down to settle the quantum of the bride price including the compensation, if any. In this case the bride price is less and is not required to be paid immediately. When every thing has been finalized, the guests are given a grand feast with liquor and other intoxicants as the most important item. In an auspicious

moment as told by the *dissari*, the bride and bridegroom are given new clothes to wear. A fowl is killed by striking it against the heads of the bride and bride groom. The wedded couple cook it and eat in a feast.

D. Paisamundi Marriage :

Marriage by intrusion is called *Paisamundi* marriage. This type of marriage though socially recognized, rarely occurs. In most cases the widow and the divorced women are involved in this type of marriage. When a woman fails to allure the man whom she desires to marry, she goes and makes an intrusion into his house. She takes some presentations with her with the intention to become a wife. She is generally abused, beaten and refused food and also put under several ordeals. If she remains silent she is finally accepted as the daughter-in-law of the family. No ceremony is performed and only a feast demanded by the tribesmen of the village is

organized by the boy's family. Among the Porojas the widow and divorced women are common in this type of marriage.

E. Gharjwain :

The poor Poroja boy may serve in the comparatively well-to-do family with the aim of getting the latter's daughter or sister in marriage after a stipulated period of service, which varies from three to five years. During this period, the boy lives as a family member and renders wholetime service. After the stipulated period, the girl is given in marriage with the boy and all the expenses of it are borne by the girl's parents or guardians. After marriage the couple, if they so desire can return to the boy's original village, or can continue to stay there and set up a new home. If the girl's guardian can afford, a few acres of land is allotted to him. Thus the marriage by service is aimed at to evade the bride price and other expenses involved in other type of marriage.

KULAMONI MOHAPATRA

**FUNCTIONAL ANALYSIS OF
SOCIAL ACTION IN THE TRIBAL
SOCIETIES, WITH SPECIFIC
REFERENCE TO ORISSA**

Functional analysis in anthropology, as developed by Malinowsky, Radcliffe-Brown and others, adopts three basic postulates which are interconnected. The first of these postulates holds that standardized social activities or items of culture are functional for the entire social system. The second postulate maintains that all standardized social activities and items of culture fulfill some sociological function. The third postulate maintains that all these social activities and cultural items are indispensable for the maintenance of the Society as a structure. This trinity of functional postulates have been subjected to rigorous methodological analysis, since they were first enunciated by the classic functionalists, out of which several basic considerations have emerged.

In scrutinizing the first postulate, *i.e.*, the postulate of functional unity, it has been found that the full integration of all societies cannot be maintained. Empirical verification here leads to finding societies in varied degrees of integration, and items of culture having multiple functions. The second postulate holds that inevitably all persisting forms of culture are functional. A critical scrutiny of this postulate leads us to the position of accepting the dysfunctional nature of some of the items of culture. An acceptance of this postulate leads us to the impossible position of finding out an organon for assessing the net balance of all the consequences in a society, without which the function of not a single item of culture can be understood. The third postulate holds,

firstly, that certain functions are indispensable and consequently the social institutions of a society are its inevitable components. This postulate utterly disregards functional alternatives, equivalents and substitutes.

The aim of the above analysis is to show that the functional method, though it laid the foundations of scientific and holistic analysis of social action, nevertheless, developed a framework too rigid to catch all its subtleties. A discussion of aspects of tribal life will demonstrate the veracity of this statement.

It is one of the cliches of pseudo social science to arrange all the social institutions and cultural items prevalent within a tribe into a tight structure. Rituals, beliefs, economic activities, material culture, family and clan as a matter of fact every thing that can be observed or inferred are arranged into a so-called "way of life". Many even go to the absurd length of including a stitch in a dress, a knob in an ornaments, the size of a hoe etc. within its scope.

If one of them is removed the total structure is disturbed, leading to a state of anomie. Some specific social activities and institutions of the tribal people may here be taken into consideration. The Keduparab is one of the most important institutions among the Kandhs. This parab or festival is characterised by intense social participation. The purpose of this festival is to sacrifice buffaloes to increase the fertility of the land and to appease

the earth goddess whose malignity is very much feared by the Kandhs. This festival was previously designated as Meriah sacrifice, where human beings were offered as sacrifice.

Side by side with this sacrifice there is a comprehensive secular knowledge about agriculture. The Kandh does not believe his sacrifices to bring automatic results and as such the sacrifices are not a substitute for toiling on the land and applying the available skill to agriculture. It is not also a substitute for hard work nor it bears a promise to bring bountiful reward for mediocre work. It is certainly a preventive measure against crop failure and vagaries of nature but not a sure guarantee.

Even in the sphere of innovation in agriculture, the ritual and secular factors operate on autonomous spheres of social action. The Kandh adopts an improved seed or manure as any other man does. His adoption is limited, as in the case of any other group, by his technical skill and material resources. Side by side his belief in Kedu, as a fertility rite, also does not wane.

The role of the priest, who performs the rites of Kedu, also bears significance to this problem. He is looked upon as a person skilled in his trade and secular tests are applied to judge his skill. The energy with which the priest performs his tasks, his skill in handling the objects of worship etc. are taken into consideration quite independent of the ritual sanctity of

the occasion. In addition to this he is believed to possess charismata which puts him in a category very distinct from the ordinary man, as far as rituals are concerned. In other walks of life he is treated as an ordinary man.

The role of functional alternatives and functional substitutes becomes clear if one traces the history of this festival, so graphically depicted by MacPherson and others. Against the efforts of the British Government to suppress the human sacrifice, the Kandhs put up almost no resistance. On the other hand they easily shifted to buffalo sacrifice, not because they found any ritual sanction for the animal and certainly not for any belief in the charismatic powers of the British Government. It was solely on the basis of the secular recognition of the superior military strength that the most important religious festival of the Kandhs underwent a radical change.

The multipurpose role of the shaman among the Saoras of the Ganjam Agency makes another interesting study. The shaman (both male and female) is just like any other person in the ordinary sphere of activities. No fear or favour is accorded to him in the secular field, because of his status as a shaman. Yet he is supposed to possess Charismatic powers which make him the only suitable person to invoke the spirit at the time of any public or private calamity.

The role of the shaman is specially conspicuous in curing diseases. He is

very often called to invoke the spirit when somebody falls ill. At the time of epidemics he is kept constantly busy. However, side by side with the invoking of the spirit there has developed a secular knowledge of medicine among the saoras, though, compared to modern medicine it is in a very rudimentary stage. The efficacy of this medicine is judged quite apart from the ritual role of the shaman. What, however, is of great significance is the adoption of modern medicine by the Saora. Due to difficulties of communication the progress of this adoption has been very slow, but we are not concerned here with the extent of this adoption. What concerns us here is the co-function of this adoption with the shamanistic practices.

This adoption of modern medicine by the Saoras is in the same plane as the adoption of improved methods of agriculture by the Kandhs. Here functional alternatives pave the way of coexistence and complementary functioning of the shamanistic curing with modern medicine.

It is certainly true that all social action must have structural integration at some level and if there is no such integration the group under consideration cannot be termed as a society. What is intended to be pointed out here is the autonomous character of spheres of social action. This characteristic of social action has, unfortunately, been neglected by many anthropologists which has given rise to very wrong notions. One aspect, that is the ritual, has been allowed to

obliterate the others, especially the secular, which includes technological knowledge, skill and activities. This has almost made it impossible for social scientists to understand the dynamics of tribal societies. This has also vitiated action research and rendered it ineffective.

The structural integration of tribal societies should not be worked out on the rigid and static frame of the classic functionalists but on the dynamics of the co-relationship of autonomous-spheres of action and the multiplicity of functions.

SRI SIBAPRASAD ROUT

**DORMITORY ORGANIZATION
OF
THE JUANG OF KEONJHAR**

Dormitory is one of the oldest institutions in Tribal Societies which exercises considerable influence in the formation of the character of tribal people. The dormitories have prolific functions of social, economic, religious, political and educative importance for their members. But unfortunately under present circumstances this valuable institution is gradually vanishing out from various tribal societies. The impact of modern culture, the growing effect of industrialization and the influence of the missionaries have created conditions leading to the decay of the dormitory system. Such influences have brought about considerable changes in the traditional patterns of tribal life. Dormitories in many tribal societies are either vanishing out or are getting thoroughly changed. In this crucial situation it is necessary for the anthropologists to study vari-

ous dormitory organizations in tribal society.

The present article on the dormitory organization of the Junag, is based on the data collected during a year's stay in two Jung villages—Barura and Phulbadi—of Keonjhar District.

Majang, the Dormitory House of the Juang.

Juangs, one of the most primitive tribes of Orissa have the dormitory organization of their own. Their dormitory house is called *Majang*. The *Majang* is usually bigger in size than the ordinary houses and is situated at the centre of the village. It is constructed by the unmarried boys known as *Kangerki* who sleep here at night. The unmarried girls (called *Selanki*) plaster it in every two or

three days. Inside the *Majang* are kept the drums, the *changus* and food grains of the village common fund. A fire is kept burning day and night at the centre of the *Majang* and the boys sleep encircling it.

They sleep on mats of date-leaves woveen by girls and have a wooden structure as their pillow. While sleeping they keep their feet towards the fire and their heads to the direction of the *Majang* walls.

Factors determining the admission in dormitory:

The factor of age determines that the members of certain specific age categories are permitted to be or are formally admitted into the dormitory as its members. Generally the dormitory is the organization of the unmarried youths and one ceases to be its member after his/her marriage. The term unmarried, as used in this context includes the persons of both young and old age, and hence the bachelors and the spinsters are also considered to be the formal members of the Juang dormitory.

Marriage, as described earlier, militates against both sex and age categories in dormitory house, but the cases of the widows or the widowers furnish an exception to the standard norm. The widowers always sleep in the *Majang* with the unmarried boys, and one or two widows always sleep with the *Selanki*. In fact the widowers (generally old persons who have no inclination to marry again) and the

widows (old enough so that there is least chance of them getting remarried to some body) are considered as *Kangerki* and *Selanki* respectively in an informal way. Besides sleeping with the unmarried youths they also co-operate and take active part in the group activities of the youths.

Sex and age are the two important factors for *Majang organization*, but these are not the only factors determining whether or not one is to be considered a formal member of the *Majang*. In this connection it may be mentioned that the membership into the *Majang* is not compulsory. A person of proper age and sex may not necessarily have to be the member of dormitory. The factor of wealth fosters the usual trend and acts as an important determinant. A person desirous of becoming a member of *Majang* should have, enough money and crops to contribute to the common fund of the *Kangerki* and should be able to afford the cost for undergoing the initiation ceremony marking off his membership in the dormitory.

An unmarried boy of twenty years in Phulbadi was found to be not recognized as a formal member of the *Majang* due to three reasons, *i.e.*, for his provety in contributing money and grains to the common fund of the *Kangerki* and for undergoing the initiation ceremony to be a *Kanger*; for his incapability to beat *Changu* with the *Kangerki*; and for not sleeping in the *Majang* with other unmarried boys. Since he is not considered to be a member of the

Majang he is debarred from enjoying the powers and privileges of the formal members of the dormitory.

Admission into the Majang.

Membership to the dormitory is not casual in Juang, society. It is always accompanied by 'rites-de-passage'. The term '*Kanger*' is a general term to mean the unmarried boys of marriageable age. But to be considered as a formal member of the dormitory, *i.e.*, to be a full-fledged *Konger*, a boy should undergo an initiation ceremony on *Amba Nua* (the ritual for first mango-eating).

Amba Nua is observed in the month of February-March when mango fruits are ceremonially offered to the village deities and ancestors before the villagers start eating those. The *Kangerki* have special roles to play in this ritual. They worship their *changu* and drums and offer shares of chicken and rice piles to *Changu* gods. Also on this day fresh candidates are admitted into the *Majang*. A candidate desirous of becoming a member of *Majang* contributes some rice and a chicken for the ritual. The old members of the *Majang* cook food near the stream. The new candidate offers shares of cooked rice to the ancestors in a kneeling posture keeping one of his legs on a pole spread horizontally over two forked pillars of 4 to 5 feet high. The elderly members throw hot water at his pelvis and privates and the boy has to face the ordeal boldly without complain. A torn piece of mat is tied around his head and a

bell hung at his waist. He runs around the *Majang* seven times with other members of the *Majang* accompanied by a small boy beating *Changu* with a stick in front. While the boys keep running around the *Majang* the older people shout loudly and throw ashes at them from inside the *Majang*. It is only after this that the boy is formally admitted into the dormitory and is known as a full fledged *Kanger*.

The significance of tying a mat around the head of the new *Kanger* is not known, but tying bell signifies some use. It rings when the boy runs and by hearing the sound the villagers come to know about his admission into the dormitory. Running seven times around the common house signifies that his life is formally attached to the association and the activities concerning the dormitory.

Rites-de-passage for Girls to be Selanki.

Every girl, after attaining her puberty is called a "*Selan*" but before becoming a full-fledged *Selan* she cannot take part in some of the activities of the formal *Selanki*. For example, she can not make gift to *Bandhu* boys and cannot get a share of the gift which the *Bandhu Kangerki* make to the village *Selanki*. She also cannot accompany the *Selanki* when they pay formal dancing visits to their *Bandhu* villages. No big ritual is performed for a girl to step in to the status of a formal *Selan*. When a girl wants to be a *Selan* she asks the older *Selanki* and they give a share of the gift of their *Bandu Kangerki* to her,

It is after eating this, that a girl assumes the status of a formal *Seian*.

Age-grades in Juang Society:

The life of a Juang is based on a ninefold age-grade classification. Ac-

ording to this the male and female population are divided into nine classes. The distinctive paraphernalia and privileges of each group will be discussed afterwards.

Table-1.

Age Grades In Juang Society.
(A) Age Grades For Juang Males.

No.	AgeGrades.	Approximate age in years.	Residence.	Remarks.
1.	<i>Wadi</i> (Child)	Up to 8 years.	At home with parents.	...
2.	<i>Sana Kanger</i>	8-15 years.	At <i>Majang</i> , or at home.	...
3.	" <i>Kanger</i> " (unmarried boy)	15 years till marriage.	At <i>Majang</i> .	Not a formal <i>Kanger</i> .
4.	<i>Kanger</i>	—do—	—do—	Same as above but having undergone initiation ceremony.
5.	<i>Kamathara Kanger</i> (Married man)	After marriage till old-age.	At home with wife.	Continues to be a formal member of the <i>Majanga</i> till he gives a chicken and some rice to <i>Kangerki</i> , on <i>Amb-Nua</i> ,
6.	<i>Burha</i> or <i>Bauntae</i> (Old man)	After 50 years.	—do—	...
7.	<i>Kamanda</i>	After marriage and generally in old age.	—do—	After being installed to an office through a special ritual.
8.	<i>Widower</i>	After the death of wife.	At <i>Majang</i>	...
9.	<i>Bachelor</i>	—do—	...

(B) Age Grades for Juang Females.

1. <i>Wadi</i> (Child)	Up to 8 years.	At home with parents.	...
2. <i>Tokiabi Selan</i> or <i>Kaniari Selan</i> .	8 to 13 years.	With girls or widows.	...
3. " <i>Selan</i> "	After puberty till marriag.	—do—	Not a formal <i>Selan</i> .
4. <i>Selan</i>	—do—	—do—	Admitted as a formal member of the dormitory after certain observances.
5. <i>Guruta Selan</i> (married lady)	After marriage	At home with husband.	Before start sleeping with the husband must offer cakes, tobacco, and mat to the members of her village dormitory.
6. <i>Burhi</i> (old lady)	After marriage in old age.	—do—	...
7. <i>Kamanda Rae</i> (wife of a <i>Kamanda</i>)	—do—	—do—	After the husband becomes a <i>Kamanda</i> and assumes an office.
8. <i>Ala bok dae</i> (widow)	After the death of the husband.	In her house alone or with girls.	...
9. Spinster	...	—do—	...

The discrepancy between the biological and social age groups is bridged up within the framework of youth organization. The social norm does not favour an ordinary person to joke with any body who stands in adjacent generation to him or her, but the *Kangerki* and *Selanki* of own, alternate, and adjacent generations are allowed to joke with each other within

their own group. This is because, in broad sense, all the *Kangerki* are considered as brothers and all *Selanki* as sisters to each other.

Formal observations for marking off the line between the unmarried and the married:

After marriages, a *Kanger* automatically steps into the status of a

Kamathara Kanger but he continues to work and co-operate with the *Kangerki* till he can afford to get himself detached from the *Kangerki* through a special observance. Right after the marriage the groom does not sleep with his wife. A new house is built for him and on the consummation day of the marriage he has to take farewell from the *Kangerki* by giving them cakes, tobacco, and a mat.

After this formal observance the boy is permitted to sleep with his wife, but he still continues to be a regular member of the boys' dormitory and fulfils most of the obligations of his association group. When he wants to resign from the group of the *Kangerki* he gives one *Pai* or more rice and a chicken to the other *Kangerki* on the *Amba Nua* ritual day. It is after this only that he ceases to be a working member of the youths' group.

Similar is the situation for a girl to get herself detached from the membership of the youth organisation. After her marriage and before starting to sleep with her husband she comes to visit the *Kangerki* and *Selanki* of her village. She brings cakes, tobacco and a new mat for them.

The Role System :

Every age group is entrusted with special roles and responsibilities under the pervuew of the dormitory and youth organization. The roles of certain specific are groups as directly concerned with the dormitory life would be discussed here. The boys and girls of *Majang* choose a sponser of their own known as *Tandakar* who acts as their guardian and moral advisor. The role of the *Tandakar* is also described in this connection. The following table summerizes the duties of such age groups.

Duties of Various Age Groups in Juang Youth Organization :—

AGE GROUPS

VARIOUS ROLES AND RESPONSIBILITIES

1. *Kangerki*.

1. Bringing firewood for the *Majang* fire.
2. Thatching and repairing of *Majang* and construction of new *Majang* in case of changing village sites.
3. Installing stone emblem for *Gram Siri* in a new village.
4. Making *changu* and drums.
5. Contribution of goats, pigs, or sheep on major village rituals.
6. Cooking for *Kamandaki* on ritual days.

7. Collecting rice and other food stuffs from every house for guests and visitors and for feeding *Bandhu* girls on their dancing visits.

8. Help cooking and fetching water in feasts and marriages.

9. Beating *Changu* overnight on ritual days.

10. Obeying *Tandakar* and the village elders.

11. Getting hired as a communal working party by *Tandakar* or by other villagers.

12. Bringing firewood to the house of the groom or bride on the occasion of marriage, and for *Tandakar* and village officers on major festive occasions.

13. Helping outsiders to carry their bags and baggages to the next nearest village.

14. Storing bundles of grains in the *Majang* as a common fund of the village.

2. *Selanki*.

1. Plastering *Majang* and sweeping the plaze in every three or four days and positively on ritual occasions.

2. Supplying leaf cups and plates on feasts, and festivals, and for guests and visitors. Grinding spices on above occasions.

3. Husking paddy given from the common fund of the village.

4. Grinding cakes on certain village rituals.

5. Getting hired as a working party.

6. Dancing overnight on ritual and festive days.

7. Obeying the *Tandakar*, the widows, and the village elders.

3. *Widows and spinsters sleeping with the girls.*

1. Taking care of the girls and keeping an eye as to what they do.

2. Decide and select the village to which the girls should go on dancing visit.

3. Accompany the girls in their dancing trips.

4. Help in courtship between the girls and their *Bandhu* boys.

5. Carry the gifts the girls send to their *Bandhu Kangerki* and bring the information back from the latter.

4. *Widowers and bachelors.*

1. Keeping an eye on the activities of the *Kangerki* and helping them in co-operative works.

5. *Sanakangerki and Tokiali Selanki.*

1. Fagging for the senior members and helping them in doing menial works and running errands.

6. *Tandakar.*

1. Taking care of the *Kangerki* and *Selanki* and helping them in their need in lending money, rice and other things.

2. Can hire the boys and girls to work on his field.

3. Should watch and see that the boys and girls do not violate any norm of the society or neglect in discharging their duties.

4. Can punish them for neglecting in their duty.

5. Must be consulted before any body hires the boys and girls as a working party.

6. Should give cooked rice to the boys and girls on major festive occasions, and should slaughter a goat or sheep for them when he retires from his office of *Tandakar*.

Failing to do the duty, as prescribed by the norms of the society, is considered as a deviation for which the

offenders must be punished by the village elders. The punishment may be of four kinds.

(1) Expulsion from the *Majang*.

(2) Physical punishment like standing on one leg, holding the ears, putting the second finger in excreta etc., in minor offences, and beating in case of adultery and incest.

(3) Fines—of money, liquor, goat and rice.

(4) Verbal scolding and caution not to repeat the work again.

Both the girls and the boys are punished for failing to discharge their duties properly. The boys are generally punished for not bringing firewood to the *Majang* and for not obeying the village elders. Similarly the girls are found fault with if they do not plaster the *Majang* and sweep the plaza regularly. It first attracts the attention of the village elders when the boys or girls are found irregular in performing their duties. They first accuse the *Tandakar* for not supervising the work of the *Kangerki* and *Selanki*. Some times he is fined one or two rupees for the fault of the boys or girls. Then the blame falls on the actual offenders. One of the main features of the Juang youth organisation is the collective responsibility of its members. Negligence of one's duties or failure to carry out any assigned task in case of one member of the dormitory results in punishment for the whole group. Its members are fined and they have to give rice (generally one to two *Khandi*), a goat or a pig and about two

to five rupees for liquor to the village elders. They collect these things from their own houses or borrow from some body to be repaid by working on the creditor's field. The stuffs collected by fines are used for holding a feast in the village.

Remuneration For The Different Age Groups:

I have mentioned earlier that every age group has its powers and privileges affiliated with its rights and responsibilities. In other words, each responsibility is rewarded in the formal structure of the society. Each status enforces certain duties and the rewards motivate the duties to be translated into action. The privileges and the remuneration of the various age groups associated with the dormitory organization are described briefly.

A. Kangerki and Seleanki:

(i) During marriage the *Kangerki* and *Selanki* always associate with the groom's party (no special rites are observed in bride's village since the bride is taken to the groom's village for marriage). They bring fire-wood and the *Selanki* bring leaves to the groom's house. During the marriage period they are given food to eat by the groom's parents.

(ii) A major portion of the bride-wealth which the groom's party gives to the bride's villagers goes formally to the *Kangerki* and the *Selanki* of the bride's village, though the amount, in fact, is shared by all the villagers. Two *Khandi* of paddy and two *Khandi* of rice (out of the total amount of seven *Khandi* of paddy and six *Khandi* of rice) is given for the cost of the turmeric and oil for the *Kongerki* and *Selanki* (*Kanger Selan ojan sasang.*)

(iii) For giving constant company to the bride and the groom in groom's village, the *Kangerki* and *Selanki* get a special share of rice (about ten pai or a *Khandi*) and a goat or a chicken. The *Kangerki* and *Selanki* cook it and distribute among themselves.

(iv) After marriage the bride and the groom make a ceremonial visit to the bride's village with the bride wealth. The *Kangerki* and *Selanki* of the groom's village also go with the bride and the groom. During their stay they are fed by the bride's parents.

(v) On major ritual days the *Kangerki* and *Selanki* bring fire-wood and leaves to the *Tandakar* and they are fed by him.

(vi) The day the *Tandakar* is selected by the *Kangerki* and *Selanki* he gives one share of cooked rice and meat curry to the *Kangerki* and *Selanki* of the village. Similarly when a *Tandakar* resigns from his office he provides cooked rice and meat curry to the *Kangerki* and *Selanki*.

(vii) The same is the situation, when a man becomes a *Kamanda* (an office by virtue of which he can take active role in rituals of the village) he gives a special share of cooked rice and meat curry to the *Kangerki* and *Selanki*.

(viii) On every ritual occasion the *Kamandaki* get the head meat of the slaughtered animals which no other married people except them can eat. This meat and the rice grains used in the rituals are cooked in the *Majang* by the *Kangerki*. Both the *Kamandaki* and the *Kangerki* eat this food.

(ix) Lastly, the *Kangerki* and *Selanki*, when hired as a working party by any body are given rice and goat which they cook and eat in the field on any convenient day.

B. *Tandakar* :

(i) It has already been pointed out that on major ritual or festive occasions the *Kangerki* and *Selanki* are given a meal by the *Tandakar*. On the above occasions the *Tandakar* is supplied with fire-wood and leaves by the *Kangerki* and *Selanki*.

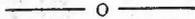
(ii) When the *Selanki* and the *Kangerki* of a village get gifts from their *Bandhu Kangerki* or *Selanki* they give a share of their gift to the *Tandakar*.

(iii) The *Tandakar* has the right to ask the *Selanki* and *Kangerki* of his village to work on his field even though he cannot pay them anything for their labour.

C. *The Widows And The Widowers:*

They do not get any remuneration from the village. Only those widows and widowers who associate more with the *Kangerki* and *Selanki* are given shares of the gift the latter receive from their *Bhandhu* friends. The social, economic, and other group

activities of the unmarried boys and girls concerning the *Majang*, and the various functions of *Majang* are to be discussed in a subsequent paper. All these would be able to give a complete picture of the life centred around the dormitory in Juang Society.



AJIT KISHORE RAY

ROLE OF WEEKLY MARKET IN TRIBAL AREA KEONJHAR, ORISSA

This paper is the outcome of field-work among the Juangs and Bhuiyas of Bhuiya Pirh in the district of Keonjhar, Orissa. The Bhuiya Pirh, which has been at present declared as one of the special multi-purpose Block, covers an area of 740.06 sq. miles with a population of 61,831 spread out in 313 villages and grouped together into Eleven Gram-panchayats.

In the present paper an attempt has been made to describe the role of Telkoi weekly market on the various ethnic groups inhabiting Bhuiya Pirh. The study has been designed with a view to presenting the role of market in relation to the following main functions:—

(i) How the products manufactured by the local caste people are distributed

in the area, (ii) How the people export some products and import others, (iii) How the products are circulated in the area, (iv) How money is used as a medium of exchange.

Let us first present a general view of the Physical environment of the area. One of the most striking features of the area is the mountainous tracts which are all situated in the upper catchment basin of the river Vaitarini. The highlanders, Juangs and Bhuiyas of the area, are well known for their crude method of shifting cultivation, which affects the status of vegetation before it ultimately disappears and gives way to boulders and finally to bare rocks. The *Sal* forest constitutes the original covering of the mountainous tract in association with other native vegetations, Kendu, Kusuma, Amba, Mahula, Panasa, Bija

etc. The ancient rocks of this area belong to the iron Ore Series, epidorites with some quartzite. The annual rainfall of the tract is of the order of 70-80 inches. The minor forest products, like, gums and resins, *Sabai* grass, *Kendu* leaves and barks are exported from this area. In addition to the above forest products, reference may be made to sugar cane cultivation carried on by the Chasa caste in the lower reaches of Bhuiya Pirh.

A look into the market:

The weekly market at Telkoi is situated in Charigarh region of Keonjhar and lies 32 miles south-west of Keonjhar. The market is situated about half a mile from the fair-weather road and a bus service connects it, with Keonjhar and Pallahara, 32 miles and 18 miles distant respectively. The other very small market at Kariahata, about 32 miles from Telkoi and near the borderline of Dhankanal and Keonjhar districts, is of very little importance to the people of Bhuiya Pirh.

The market is held in the open, at a fixed place. It was only in 1956 that some thatched houses, a few tin-roofed houses of permanent nature and a well were constructed by the C. D. Department. In this area the market (hata) is named according to the day (Sun-day) of the week on which the market is held.

In the morning of the appointed day, streams of people, tribal and non-tribal, converge on the market place. The location of the market permits

everybody to visit the market and return home in a single day. The people of this region are great walkers. On market day no one wants to stay at home even if their homes are as much as 20 miles from the place.

The market is much more than a market in the economic sense. It is also social and political gathering of importance in the life of the people. About a thousand people attend it from highlands as well as from the neighbouring towns of Keonjhar, Talcher etc. Men, women and children of different communities assemble at the market. The traders reach the market by means of motor, buses, cart, trucks, bi-cycle or on foot. They set up temporary sheds like tents. Most of the people arrive at market by 9 hour and disperse by noon.

The women, specially of tribal folk, gossip on various topics, like marriage negotiation, festive occasions, food-problems, poultry etc. The men gather apart and talk on various community problems. The unmarried boys and girls of tribal communities move into the market and are on the look-out for suitable partners. Exchange of presents in the form of sweets, beads, combs and rings are of very usual nature to them. Untouchables like Juangs, Panos, and Hadis, stay a short distance away from the rest of the crowd. Of course this is not rigidly maintained now-a-days. The bigger articles, like pots, baskets and mats are generally sold near the peripheral region of the market place. The cloth, utensils and stationery shops are displayed in the sheds. The hawkers

move around the market with sweets and varied articles of daily necessities. Rice is sold at one corner of the market place.

Settlement fabric:

The structure and character of the market, depend largely on the settlement fabric around the market. Let us first deal with the distribution of the social groups in the ecological set up of the Bhuiya Pirh.

Movement of population in this region is a gradual process. The highlanders Juangs and Pauri Bhuiyas are original settlers of this land. The Gauras and the Panos, who came in many generations ago, also live in the mountainous tracts of Bhuiya Pirh. Later on, members of the Chasa caste migrated to the plain area of Charigarh region of Bhuiya Pirha. Gradually, artisan castes, Teli (oilmen), Tanti (weaver), Kumbhar (potter), Kamar (Blacksmith), and Thattari (Brass-worker) came to this land and settled in nearby the Chasa caste villages.

Although the actual census data are lacking, the estimate of population in Bhuiya Pirh is based on the recent survey by Village Level workers of C. D. Department. It is estimated that 75 per cent of the population are Scheduled tribes and Scheduled Castes in this region.

The Pauri Bhuiyas and the Juangs, who inhabit the highlands of Bhuiya Pirh Block respectively, known as Bhuiya Pirh and Juang Pirh, depend mainly on shifting cultivation and their

economy is below the level of subsistence. In the hilly region, they live in dispersed clusters in which houses are closely packed without any order. Nearly 60 per cent of the population are inhabitants of mountainous tracts of the region. These tribal people whose ancestors were original settlers of the land, are gradually shifting their settlements from valleys towards the interior of the mountainous tracts due to progressive want of cultivable lands. It may be noted here that the Government has, of late, been trying to settle the people in colonies. This has partly checked the migration towards hills described above.

The Tanti (weavers) caste of Bhuiya Mundas and Kolhs are immigrants to this land from the northern districts. The Mundas and Kolhas who are settled cultivators, have migrated from Singhbhum. They have retained their traditional country made tiled-roof houses.

The Tanti (weavers) caste of Bhuiya Pirh are not original settlers. They migrated from Talcher in Dhenkanal district about a generation or two ago and settled in the villages, Deuldiha, Golabandha, Srigira and Brijhabahal etc. Most of these villages are within a radius of 8 miles from Telkoi market. The weavers who are in the habit of using only throw shuttle looms have recently been supplied with the efficient fly-shuttle looms by the C. D. Department. It is said that the business of these people have not improved owing to the heavy import of mill-made cloths in the market. One sec-

tion of Pano caste people, who are weavers migrated into this area long ago. The *Teli* (oilmen) caste come during certain seasons (Paus-Phagun) to this area from the adjoining district of Dhenkanal in the south. They invariably settle down in the villages mainly dominated by *Chasa* caste people. They are distributed in the villages near Telkoi markt within a radius of 5 miles. The villages, Kotrapali, Udayagiri, Dublapal, Chamunda and Jata are the main camping places of these people. The villagers, generally of the *Chasa* caste supply oilseeds like *Sorisa*, *Rasi* and *khasa* to the oilmen for extracting oil. The latter receive a percentage of the oil and the cakes for their labour, the share varying in accordance with the kinds of oilseed. The local aboriginals, Santal, Kolha, and Munda extract oil by means of a primitive plank-press.

In Bhuiya Pirh, the *Kamara* (Blacksmith) caste are settled in Nuagaon, Kuladera and Gohalpar villages which are within 5 miles of Telkoi village. A very crude method of smelting iron ore is adopted by this caste. The selection of settlement depends mainly on availability of ores which are found in plenty on the surface or in shallow excavated pits. A mud furnace, *Kuthi*, is constructed which is about 3½ in. high. There are three openings in the furnace, one is at the top with a diameter about one foot and the other two semi-circular openings are at the bottom. The charcoal made of *Sal* wood is generally used in furnace. A

raised platform is attached to the level of the furnace where the ores are kept and the broken pieces of the ores are slowly poured into the furnace. The slag is removed through the right hand side opening, whereas the bellows covered with deerskin is fitted in front with two up-right poles. The smelting continues for about 6 hours. The iron which is deposited at the bottom of the furnace is removed with an iron stick.

Let us now consider how the various kinds of commodities are circulated in the area through the market. It will also be observed from the following note, the relation between the castes and commodities sold in the market as estimated in the month of May, 1959. The commodities which are sold in the market may be grouped into 4 categories.

- (a) Locally produced and manufactured,
- (b) Locally manufactured with raw materials from outside,
- (c) Import products,
- (d) Export products.

Locally produced or grown:

(1) Procured from jungle—*Amba*, *Kendu*, *Mahul*, *Panasa*, *Tentuli*, *Sal-leaves*; Roots and tubers like *Pani Alu*, *Pitalu Khamb-Alu*, dry tobacco leaves.

(2) Agriculture, horticulture and kitchen garden products—*Rice*, *Biri*, *Rasi*, *Mug*, *Chana*, *Kolath*, *Maka*, and *Suan*.

(3) Vegetables—*Lau*, *Kakharu*, *Baigan*, *Bilati-Baigan*, *Sim* etc.

Locally manufactured:

Earthen pots, Baskets of different varieties, local sweets such as; *Gulgula*, *Enduri*, and *Bara*; oil like *Khasa*, *Rasi*, *Tolo*, *Sorisa*; plough share.

Import Materials:

Stationery shop—Stationery articles like paper, Ink, slate, pen, lock and key, vermilion, snow, powder, pin, plastic pots, comb, Oriya book, etc., Kerosine oil, common salt, Mill made cloths, readymade garments, dried fish, spices, sugar, *gudakhu*, (tobacco paste), *Bidi*, cigarrates, plastic toys, matches etc.

Export Materials:

Kendu leaves, *Sabai* grass, Gums, Resins and Barks, *Rasi*, rice, *Rabi* crops, Broomsticks etc.

Caste and Commodities:

1. *Parched rice and chapped rice*—The Gudia and Keuto caste people supply parched rice (*mudhi* or *chuda*) to the market. The Keutas also prepare flattened rice (*Chuda*) and sell to the market. They come from Telkoi, Deuldiha and Bhimkando villages.

2. *Local sweets*—The sweets which are made rice, *biri*, and molasses are sold by Gudia caste people. They also sell varieties of cakes like *Gulgula*, *Enduri*, and *Bara*. They come from Telkoi, and Deuldiha villages.

3. *Oil*—The Teli caste people sell Mustard, *rasi*, *khasa* oil to the market and they come from Chhamunda, Dúblalpal, and Katrapali villages. The

Santals, Mundas, and Kolhas also come to the market for selling *tolo* oil extracted from Mahul fruits by crude type of oil press.

4. *Dry tobacco leaves*—The tobacco leaves are sold by the Chasa, Kurumi, Pano and Santal, which they grow in their homestead gardens. The chasa caste people generally come to the market with tobacco leave from Dúblalpal village. Twentyone tobacco shops have been estimated in the market.

5. *Small varieties of fish*—The Keuts, fisherman by caste they catch and earn their living in the market.

6. *Cloths*—Local weaver caste Panos who are migrant to these land of long standing come to the market from the villages, Deuldipa Golabandh and Sirigira. It is said that the business transaction of the local weavers are not encouraging.

7. *Fowls and Eggs*—The tribal people like Santal, Bhuiyans, Juangs and Kurumi generally sell fowls and eggs to the market.

8. *Vegetables*—Vegetables of various kinds are sold by tribals and non-tribals in the market.

9. *Ghee*—Gours milkman by caste, supply ghee and milk to the market.

10. *Baskets and Mats*—The Bamboo baskets have variety uses like storing grains, carrying loads etc. The baskets of various sizes and shapes are manufactured by the Juangs,

Hadis and Doms. Besides this Juangs also make mats and sale in the market. The Hadis and Doms give a colouring on the baskets.

11. *Stationary products* are sold by the Muslims and Chasas mainly. They come from Keonjhargarh, Pal-Lahara and Talcher towns

12. *Umbrella repairing*—Harijan people repair the Umbrellas in the market.

13. *Alluminium Utensils*—Alluminium utensils are sold by *Bania* caste people, who come to the market from Keonjhar, Telkoi and Pal-Lahara.

14. *Bel-metal utensils*—Belmetal utensils are sold by Kansari caste people, who come from Keonjhargarh.

15. Readymade garments and mill-made cloths are generally sold by Chasas and Muslim people who come to the market from Talcher, Keonjhargarh, Telkoi proper and Pal-Lahara.

Relation Between caste and commodities sold in the market.

<i>Caste of seller.</i>	<i>Kinds of stall.</i>	<i>Total no. of stall</i>
1. Chasa	Mill-made cloth	22
	Spices	9
	Pan & Bidi	5
	Stationery	3
	Medicine	1
	Sweet meat	1
	Tobacco	14
	Ground nut	1
	Chana Bhaja	1
	Common salt	1
	Vegetables	9
	Molasses	5
	Potato	1
	Rice	10
Rabi crops	4	
		<hr/> 87
2. Muslim	Mill-made cloth	6
	Stationary	1
	Readymade garment	6
		<hr/> 13

<i>Caste of seller.</i>	<i>Kinds of stall.</i>	<i>Total no. of stall</i>
3. Gudia	Sweet meat	15
	Chana Bhaja	1
		<hr/> 16
4. Harijan	Umbrella repairing	2
	Dry fish	1
	Tobacco	5
		<hr/> 8
5. Teli	Oil	3
	Bell metal utensil	1
6. Kansari	Astrologer	1
7. Jyotish	Rabi crops	1
8. Adivasi	Vegetables	5
	Common salt	6
	Tobacco	2
	Pan & Bidi	1
	Chilli	1
	Fish	2
	Molasses	18
	Oil (talo)	4
Eggs and fowls	5	
		<hr/> 50
9. Thatari	Silver ornaments	2
	Silver toys	2
	(lost wax procees)	0
		<hr/> 4
10. Kamar	Iron products	2
11. Bania	Alluminium utensils	4
12. Juangs	Basket, mats etc.	6
13. Domb	—do—	4
14. Patera	Local cloth	2

Changing phase of Telkoi market area—The structure and character of the market and the life of the people of Bhuiya Pirh region have been greatly affected by various forces, like the establishment of Block Headquarters at Telkoi, rapid commercialisation of agriculture and development of transport services in this area. With the improvement of communications in recent years, the market has been subjected to various changes. Even five or six years ago the market was mainly patronized by local people but to-day the market has become a regional market. The overcrowded market bus during the spring and summer months is a new trend of change in recent years. To-day the market is more accessible to merchants from outside. The primitive communication prevented the growth of the market but with the improvement of communication the market has grown in size and some permanent establishments have been evolved.

With the rapid commercialisation of agriculture, the traditional occupations of the artisan caste people have been affected severely. The resource base of the artisan caste people is so poor that there is widespread dependence on expensive raw-materials from outside. The caste occupations of Tanti (weavers), Teli (oilmen) and Thattari (Brazier) are not at all encouraging due to heavy influx of mill-made cloths, aluminium utensils, glass bangles, kerosine oil etc. The Chasa caste, on the other hand, are taking up sugar

cane cultivation, not in the interest of new production, but only because it fetches a higher profit.

Introduction and expansion of monetary in the economic system have affected the social life of the people. There are some tendency of emerging different social status with the influence of rapid growth of monetary economy. The marketing and commodity production have been gradually accumulating considerable wealth and also offering difficulties of high rate of expenditure due to external consumer's market values.

With the rapid growth of the market, the highlanders, Juangs and Pauri Bhuiyas, who depend on both shifting cultivation and food collection, on the other hand, face various problems from the sophisticated neighbours. Invariably they try to avoid contact with outsiders, as they are aware of the fact that the officials are trying to wean them away from shifting cultivation. The economic life of the plains tribals like Santal, Munda, and Kolh, who are scattered in Chari-garh region has also been affected by the rapid growth of modernisation. They are in many cases leaving their original homes for new employments as primary teachers, peons and forest guards and are not interested in going back to their home.

This transitional phase of life of the tribal people should be examined with topical knowledge to the problem of advancement of the people.

UMA CHARAN MOHANTY

**TRADITIONAL OFFICIALS
IN THE KISAN
SOCIETY**

In a welfare state, creating right type of leadership is of prime importance for successful implementation of development work. No community exists without its leaders but in many instances the very leaders may stand as formidable blocks in the progress of underdeveloped or conservative society. Most often traditional officials are conservative and they do not entertain or encourage any change as it may affect their very statusquo. Yet a good administrator or social worker should know who are the traditional officials as these are the persons who wield great influence amongst their fellowmen. If these people can be utilised properly not only they would be useful media in communicating new ideas but the very implementation of development schemes would be facilitated to a great extent. In a tribal society the traditional officials have still more importance and proper understanding of the functions of these people throws light on the social organisation of the tribe. Here the role of the traditional officials in the Kisan society is described, as found in Sundargarh area.

The tribe Kisan with its Hindi appalation is chiefly confined within the state of Orissa in the districts of Sundargarh, Sambalpur and Dhenkanal. The Kisans call themselves 'KUNHAR' in their own tongue which may mean 'hill men'. They speak a

dravidian tongue which is allied to the Oraon language. From cultural and linguistic evidences the Kisans seem to be a branch of the Oraons. Probably they came to Orissa earlier than Oraons and settled in the States of Gangapur, Bonai and Bamanda. According to

their local traditions they first lived under the patronage of Bhuinya chiefs and later migrated to different parts either in search of land or labour. Now the Kisan is a good cultivating caste and many of them possess land of their own. The tribe is very adaptive and in most areas they live with other castes & tribes. Thus they have adopted many institutions from their surrounding people.

Before describing about the officials of the Kisan tribe it is necessary to know about the village officials of the area in which they live. In the villages of Sundargarh area, there are two types of officials. The chief of the village is called Gountia who used to collect rent on behalf of the former Rajas. The Gountia is de-facto head of the village. The post is no doubt hereditary but most often the Rajas used to select the Gountia of the village in consultation of the villagers. In old days in tribal villages the Gountia was elected by the villagers but later the Raja became the sole authority to appoint, discharge or dismiss a Gountia. The Gountia was very powerful man and owned all the communal land (Bhogra) of the village. All disputes regarding land were referred to him at the first instance and he was the chief in the village Panchayat. After the merger of States his powers have decreased greatly yet at present he is the most important person in the village. In all communal affairs, in collection of donations for village festivals and Pujas, he is the most prominent man. His orders are carried out by all the villagers. Even

at present he is the political head in the village polity.

The village priest is called *Kalo* in the Sundargarh Dist. The office of *Kalo* is equivalent to *Jhankar* in the Sambalpur District. The presiding deity of the village is called *Gaonsiri*. The *Gaonsiri* is worshipped at the foot of a particular tree situated at the end of the village. The *Kalo* worships *Gaonsiri* on two occasions once before sowing of paddy when after the communal worship he distributes handfuls of paddy seeds to each family and secondly at the time of inter-culture of paddy plants. Besides, the *Kalo* also worships *Gaonsiri* on specific occasions.

Now coming to the Kisan social structure, the tribe is divided into nearly sixteen exogamous *Bansa* or clan such as *Majhi*, *Lakda*, *Topo*, *Hes*, *Ekka*, *Bada* etc. So far the *Bansa* is concerned it never acts as a unit. At present its only function is to regulate marriage i.e., no body can marry within the same clan. The clan is further divided into *Khudi* groups or sub-clans. In any particular region there is great cohesion within the *Khudi* group. In important social function such as *Karna Bedha* marriage or death all the *Khudi* members are informed and invited. All the *Khudi* members are also invited at the time of *Guhali Puja* which is performed for specific purposes. Besides these most of the *Khudis* have got a *Bansa Puja* which is held either at the time of *Dola Purnami* in the month of *Faguna* (March) or in the

month of Kartika. It seems Bansa Puja as the very name indicates was a function of the clan but later when the clan became dispersed it became a function of the Khudi organisation. Most of the Khudi names are after a particular village which indicates that *Khudi* organisation has developed from the lineage of particular villages. Now some of the Khudis are further divided into Gountia *Vida* and Kalo *Vida*. In each Khudi, for the Bansa Puja there is a *Kalo* who worships at the time of Bansa Puja. Representatives of the Khudi members of different villages assemble in the house of the *Kalo* at the time of Bansa Puja. When a Khudi is divided into Gountia *Vida* & Kalo *Vida* the *Kalo* is always selected from *Kalo vida*. The persons of Gountia *Vida* have no function, they only supervise at the time of worship. The post of *Kalo* is hereditary but at times the old *Kalo* can relinquish his office at the time of Bansa Puja. The selection of new *Kalo* is made through magico-religious rite. The prospective candidates stand in the water while the old *Kalo* floats a bombo basket, putting some flowers a candle etc., in it. When the basket reaches a particular person he becomes the *Kalo* of the Bansa or the *Khudi*. Through this Bansa Puja of the *Khudi* the Kisans have retained their unity to a great extent. Of course in some Khudis, Bansa Puja is not held annually but the Khudi members hold Bansa Khoja ceremony in ten or twelve years and these members of the Khudi who have migrated to distant places get scope to reinforce their social ties.

Besides the *kalo* of the *Khudi* organisation in every ritual, the services of a priest is necessary. The *Kisan* priest is by no way a hereditary post. Any man can serve as *Kalo* in rituals like marriage, Karna Bedha, death rites etc., provided he knows the old fore-fathers of the lineage, the names of the founders of the village, the names of old Gountia & *Kalo* of the village and the names of few gods such as Gaonsiri Mahabir etc. The *Kalo* offers *Tarpen* i.e., liquor or milk (if the dead gountias & Kalos of the village belong to Caste Hindu) at the time of every ritual. The person serving as *Kalo* in rituals is recruited immediately on *ad hoc* basis. Generally oldmen of the lineage or some *Mati* of the village serves as *Kalo* in such social functions. Similarly in all such occasions the management is given to a particular person. As for example in Karna Bedha or death ritual a person belonging to the Bandhu clan becomes the Gountia. So long the ceremony continues he acts as the chief of the family. He receives all the presents brought from relatives and friends and takes care of the invited guests. Distribution of tobacco, liquor; cooking of meals and feeding the guests are his responsibilities. If he absents for a few hours he entrusts some person to look into the affairs on his behalf. Thus these offices of *Kalo* and Gountia are created in the *Kisan* society on the occasion of specific ceremony or ritual.

In every *Kisan* village or hamlet there is a *Sian* or headman. In *Kisan* society, village elders decide every thing but out of these elders a particular person is selected as *Sian* whose

opinion is considered as final in all matters. At times a Kisan village or hamlet is further divided into factions or *Bad*. In such cases each *Bad* has a *Sian* of its own.

In a Kisan village there are a few persons who serve a *Mati*. The *Mati* is neither selected or elected nor given any power. But by virtue of his function he becomes the most important person in the village. The *Mati* is the witch doctor of the village. To some extent he is the spiritual priest and teacher in the Kisan society. The *Mati* undergoes regular training. The old *Matis* hold regular classes at the time of festivals such as Dasara, Kartik Purnami or Nuakhia. The *Mati* learns to invoke different spirits and gods. The chief function of the *Mati* is to cure diseases. Their services are most often voluntary and selfless. Before curing a patient the *Mati* tries to diagonalise the disease *i.e.*, he tries to find out which spirit has created the disease. After knowing this he invokes the benevolent spirits by rubbing *Aruwa* rice on a winnowing fan. Thus performing necessary worships he drives away the malevolent spirits that cause the disease. In death rites the *Mati* serves as *Kalo* most often as he is more intimately familiar with the spirits of the under world. He also performs the 'Pancha Bhak Kata' rite to counteract the effects of the evil eye and evil mouth.

Panigiri:

Over and above the village, the Kisans have another territorial unit. A number of Kisan villages have a

particular '*ghat*' in the nearby river or brook where every year on a fixed day the Kisans observe Ganga ceremony by throwing their *Kundis* or pots containing the effigies or bones of the dead persons of the year. In each *ghat* the Kisans have a particular official who is called *Panigiri*. The chief function of the *Panigiri* is to readmit the excommunicated persons into the community. Any person who commits a sin according to the Kisan standards, is immediately outcasted. When the offender admits his fault and pays the necessary fines, generally in the form of a feast to the village elders, he is allowed to be readmitted into the community. At this stage only the *Panigiri* is invited to perform necessary rites. But if the matter is of disputable nature and no final decision is arrived, the *Kundhis* of the excommunicated person is not allowed by the *Panigiri* to be thrown in the *ghat*. A tribal meeting is held near the *ghat* before immersion of the *Kundhis*, under the presidentship of the *Panigiri*. Here all the outstanding disputes of the year are settled after which the excommunicated persons are readmitted into the society after payment of due fines. Thus the *Panigiri* has great importance in enforcing the caste rules, in the Kisan Society.

Bariha:

Up to recent past the *Bariha* was very important in the Kisan society. With the independence and merger of ex-States in Orissa the institution has decayed gradually and at present a few *Barihas* are function-

ing in the ex-state of Bamanda though their powers have declined substantially. The Bariha was considered as the Raja within the tribe and he had jurisdiction over an extensive area within a particular state.

In old days the Barihas were generally selected by the people and the post was also hereditary to some extent. The former chiefs used to recognise the influential and popular Bariha. But at times they were selected by the Raja, who used to offer copper plates authorising them to try cases within the community relating to marriage and other social customs. They could collect fines also from the offenders. They were allowed to appropriate the brideprice received from the marriage of widows and divorced women. His important func-

tion was to arrange marriages of these widows and divorced women. He also tried the cases of irregular forms of marriage such as Dhuku, Udhulia and those of pregnant women. He inflicted the fines and regularised irregularities committed within the community. Later the institution of Bariha became unpopular. The new emerging leaders of the kisan society of the present generation revolted against the arbitrary and superstitious leadership of the Bariha as consequence of which the post is abolished in most of the kisan areas. In a subsequent article it would be discussed how with the change of Government from the rule of the Raja to the present democratic form of Govt. there is concomitant change in the leadership pattern in the tribal kisan society.

By the 1961 Census the tribal population of Orissa is 42,23,757 in the State's total population of 1,75,48,46. This works out to 24.07 per cent. There are as many as 62 tribal communities enlisted as such by the Backward Classes Commission. Some of the communities are living in extreme backwardness in the wild and mount-

ainous regions of the State. Of late concentrated attention of Government has been focussed on these tribal communities for undertaking special measures of welfare. The following table will show the names of these tribal communities, their population and distribution in the districts.

T A B L E

<i>Sl. No.</i>	<i>Name of District.</i>	<i>Name of Sub-division</i>	<i>Name of the backward tribe.</i>	<i>Approximate population</i>	
1.	Koraput	Rayagada	Dangriakondh	20,000	
			Jariakondh	25,000	
			Kutia kondh	5,000	
		Kasipur Area	Kondhs	15,000	
		Gunupur	Lanjia Saura Kutia kondh. Saoras.	15,300	
		Malkangiri	Bondaparajas Koiya	10,000 30,000	
		Nawrangpur	Banjari or Banjara		
			Sadar	Chenchu Perenga Kondhs Gadabas Jatapu	
2.	Ganjam	Parlakemidi	Lanjia Saura and Arsi Saura	50,300	
3.	Phulbani	Balliguda	Kutia Kondh	15,000	
4.	Keonjhar	Keonjhar Sadar	Juang	17,000	
			Pauri Bhuyan	20,000	
5.	Sundargarh	Bonai	Pauri Bhuyan	15,000	
			Birhor		
			Mankidi		
			M. kirdia		
6.	Dhenkanal	Pallahara	Pauribhuyan	2,000	
			Juang	2,000	
TOTAL :—				2,41,000	

It is interesting to note from the above table that the population of the most backward tribal communities is about 2½ lakhs in the total tribal population of 42,23,757 which works out to a little over 5 per cent. Another interesting feature to note is that these tribal communities are found in the more backward and under-developed areas of the State. The Hill Bondas of Koraput district, for instance, live on a 3,000 ft. high plateau to which there is hardly any communication except the bridle and foot paths over precarious hills and torrential streams which swell up during the monsoon and remain dried out gorges during the rest of the year. The Kutia and Dongria Kondha, and Koyas of Koraput district, the Lanjua Sauras of Ganjam district, the hill Bhuyans and Juangs of Sundargarh, Keonjhar and Dhenkanal districts stand out prominent among the backward tribal communities. A little reflection about them goes to show that there has not been any culture contact with outsiders in the past and they have lived almost in seclusion in inaccessible hill areas. It has, therefore, been easy for the unscrupulous money lenders, petty traders and other parasites to thrive on their labours.

The principal profession of these tribal communities is Podu, a cut and burn type of cultivation on the hills and hill slopes. Occasionally they grow some fruits in the forest areas adjoining their villages. They depend largely on the collection of minor forest produce like honey and wax, timber and fuel, grass and leaf of various

kinds and fruits and tubers chiefly for their own sustenance. It has been estimated by experts like Dr Mooney that about 12,000 square miles of hilly area is subjected to Podu cultivation through out the State by the tribal population which is not only precarious in its practice but also it causes serious soil erosion on vast scale. A very negligible percentage of these tribal people are literate while literacy among the females is almost nil. Some of these tribals are given to hard drinking of local varieties of liquor preparations including the fermented juice extracted from "Salph" trees.

There are, however, a number of redeeming features in that the people are hardy and painstaking, straightforward and honest, and are generally amenable to reason if approached in the proper way. It will be wrong to think that the tribal people cannot adjust themselves to a changing pattern or industrial economy. The other redeeming features are that the soil, climatic and rainfall conditions in most of these tribal areas are suitable except where hill sides and slopes have been laid bare by sustained and intensive podu for the growth of rabi, oil seeds, fruits and vegetables of various kinds. Where irrigation facilities are available fruit trees are seen to thrive on an extensive scale.

With the ushering in of the new era of Panchayati Raj and the starting of Panchayat Industries, the prospects of introducing forest and agriculture based industries in these tribal areas are indeed bright. The Lanjia Sauras

of Ganjam and Koraput districts and the Dongria Kondhs of Koraput are already growing orange and lime on a fairly extensive scale. The possibility of expanding the development of citrus plantations in many of these areas is considered to be very good. In the Dongria Kondh area of Niyamgiri in Koraput dist., whole hill sides are sometimes seen to have been grown with Banana, Pine apple, Ginger etc This can be developed in a scientific manner by introducing terracing so that the hills may not be denuded and soil erosion may not set in. Cultivation of Mango, Jack-fruits, Guava and Banana can be taken up in an almost universal scale in these areas with great success. Depending on the produce of these, Horticultural Farms, manufacture of fruit juice, squash, jam and jelly can be taken up to bring in better returns to the people. Already a unit has been started at Jorang area of Ganjam district where fruit juice is being manufactured from oranges grown locally by the Sauras.

The tribals of Bhuyanpirh and Juangapirh of Keonjhar, Bonai and Pal-lahara and the tribals in Phulbani and Koraput grow maize and various kinds of oil seeds on an extensive scale. Depending on this, small units of oatmeal and cornflake products and oil mills can be started. The prospects of starting such an oil mill in Phulbani area are currently under examination.

Saw mills can be started by the Panchayats in these tribal areas which produce very good timber. A number

of Industries based on various forest produce both major and minor can be organised and set up for the benefit of the tribals.

It is not only in the field of small scale industries that the tribal areas have a good prospect. The industrial era that is being introduced envisages the starting of some large scale industries as well. Based on the power potentiality projects like Balimela, Tikerpada etc. many a large scale industry can be developed. These tribal areas are not only rich in forest produce but are equally or more so in minerals of various kinds. Bhuyanpirh area of Keonjhar, for instance, is rich in iron ore and the prospects of its extraction by extending the railway from Joda are bright. This can support a few units of low shaft furnaces to produce pig iron at comparatively low cost. Depending on the extensive bamboo that is available in the forests of Malkangiri area of Koraput district the prospects of starting a paper mill by utilising the Balimela hydel power is considered to be bright. The Koyas are traditionally versatile cowherdmen. The development of dairy industry on a scientific scale in the wake of industrialisation of the area bids fair.

The D.B.K. Railway is opening up a large tribal tract in Koraput district. Communication facilities are being provided at a rapid pace and in the foreseeable future these backward tribal areas are going to be linked up. Even the Banda hill area of Koraput district has been projected to be provided with

an all weather motorable road. This will not only open up these areas to facilitate culture contacts but it will give the tribals an opportunity to develop scientifically their resources for their own benefit.

In order to enable the tribal to take full advantage of the employment and industrial opportunities that are fast developing in these areas, it is necessary that spread of general and technical education should be made as rapidly as possible. Steps are being taken in this direction. Some high and middle schools and a number of Chatsalis are being planned. It is also contemplated to start some comprehensive schools where the tribal children will have the opportunity to get general education and also training in crafts. The Dandakaranya authority are going to start a technical train-

ing institute in Jeypore area where the tribal youths will get ample scope for technical training. Already such an institute sponsored by the Government of India is running in Mayurbhanj district. Opportunities for helping the tribal youths to receive both general and technical education are thus being expanded. It is for them to take full advantage thereof.

A new horizon is opening up for the tribal people and more particularly for the most backward tribal communities who were remaining long neglected and un-cared for in the past. It is not only they who should come forward and try to allow themselves to the new environment to take full advantage of these opportunities, but every one who is interested in their welfare has to make a sincere effort to help them to help themselves.

**IMPORTANT ACTIVITIES OF THE TRIBAL AND RURAL
WELFARE DEPARTMENT DURING THE
QUARTER ENDING 30-6-1963.**

1. As a result of Balimela Project and the MIG Factory in Koraput District a number of tribal families would be displaced. The question of their resettlement and rehabilitation was discussed in the Planning Board Meeting held on 9-5-63 under the Chairmanship of the Governor. It was decided that the Tribal and Rural Welfare Department would work out a detailed scheme for resettling the displaced Adibasis in suitable townships. This resettlement programme would cover all aspects of life of the Adibasis from the beginning including education in the comprehensive type of school, technical training and other programmes of economic rehabilitation. The scheme is under preparation.

As a result of setting up of a M, I G. Factory near Sunabeda in Koraput District, a number of Adibasi families would be displaced, A familywise and individuawise survey had been conducted by the Tribal Reseach Bureau and a detailed scheme has been worked out for giving training to the displaced persons, according to their aptitude and age-groups, in various professions such as masons, carpenters, bricklayers, etc. who would be required in the MIG Factory:

2. From the number of Adibasi, Harijan and general students passing out from each District at each level, namely, U.p., M. E. and High school, it is seen that the percentage of Matriculates in the 7 Districts of Koraput, Kalahandi, Bolangir, Sambalpur, Keonjhar, Mayurbhanj and Phulbani is very low and hence the problem needs special attention. The Development Commissioner had formulated a scheme by which the number of Matriculates in the above 7 districts can be pushed up. Details of the scheme are under preparation.
3. It has been noticed that there is a high degree of wastage of the students from the level of U.P. to M.E. and from M.E. to High School. Of the number of boys who pass U.P. and M.E. very few come up to study further specially in the 7 Districts mentioned in para 2 above. This is mainly due to the fact that the students passing out from M.E. are not properly looked after and guided to take up further careers. Another factor which perhaps discourages them to take higher education

is that most of the boys after passing M. E. do not get suitable employment. With a view to remedy this defect and to provide ready employment to those of the M.E. passed youths who do not wish to study further, a detailed scheme at the instance of the Chief Secretary has been worked out under which Chatsalis would be opened in different villages of the 7 Districts. The M.E. passed tribal youths would be employed as teachers of these Chatsalis. This would also encourage the boys to come forward for education. Provision is also made in the budget for pushing the number of boys by inducing them by giving some help in the shape of scholarships and providing hostel accommodation.

4. In many Ashram Schools considerable amount of land, in some cases even 20 to 30 acres, is available. It has often been noticed that this land is not properly utilised. The boys who get only a stipend of Rs. 20/- per month, are also not able to get wholesome food in these days of rising prices. With a view to utilise the land properly, by taking up agriculture on a scientific basis not only the large amount of land would be utilised properly but this would also result in more production of food. The boys would also learn modern technique of agriculture. Orchards are proposed to be grown in Ashram Schools so that the boys may get fruits from them and thus add to their food. For all these purposes, the orchard scheme and scientific cropping pattern in the Ashram Schools are being introduced. This has already been done in Rangiri Ashram School in Ganjam District and the scheme is being extended to other suitable Ashram Schools in the rest of the State where adequate lands are available. This scheme would also be extended to 10 per cent of the Sevashram Schools in the first instance and latter on when additional funds are available, other Sevashrams would also be covered under this scheme.
5. The Commissioner, Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes visited the State in the months of April and May this year and visited the Ashram Schools in Tribal areas in Ganjam Agency, Phulbani and Koraput Districts. The Commissioner was much impressed with the working of the Ashram Schools.
6. The State Minister in charge of Tribal welfare, West Bengal visited the State and saw some Ashram Schools and tribal villages in the Districts of Puri and Dhenkanal. He has extended an invitation for the visit of his State by our Deputy Minister in charge of T. & R. W. Department

7. About 33 per cent of the population in the State is tribal. To take up a developmental programme for their benefit is an uphill task. Amongst the tribals also there are different categories of people. Some tribals are very backward and live almost a primitive life. Some others have become to a great extent assimilated and have adopted the modern methods of cultivation etc. Only to take up a programme for the development of most backward tribes, the tribal communities in different areas of the State are being classified into categories A, B and C according to their backwardness and economic conditions. The most backward tribes would be put in category 'A'. A special programme is being worked out for resettling the 'A' class tribes in comprehensive colonies under the guidance of a Special officer who would be appointed under the Department. Under this scheme, the cost of resettlement per family may come to about Rs. 5,000/—.
8. In order to resettle about 2,000 podu cultivating Adibasis of 'A' category tribe, a survey has been done in Chandrapur area of Koraput District by the staff of Tribal Research Bureau. A scheme is under preparation for resettling these Adibasis in this area.
9. In order to teach the Adibasis to rear poultry, 5 poultry units in deep litter system have been introduced recently in 5 Ashram Schools which are located in backward areas. This scheme is proposed to be extended to other areas as and when funds are available and in case it is seen that the tribals get some extra income out of this scheme.
10. During the National Emergency, with a view to streamline the administration of the T. & R. W. Department, certain re-organisation has recently been given effect to. Under the re-organisation programme, the field staff from the level of Commissioner down to the Block level has been amalgamated with the field staff of the Gram Panchayat Department. The field officers at the different levels would now be responsible for the T. & R. W. Department as well as Gram Panchayat Department within their respective areas. The Collector within his District and the Commissioner within his Division would be responsible for proper supervision and implementation of this programme.
11. In the matter of payment of Post-matric and Pre-matric Scholarships to the other backward classes, Government of India have commu-

icated that these scholarships should be paid to the other backward classes to be classified on economic criteria instead of caste criteria as was done in previous years. Government of India for this purpose have fixed certain income groups in order to classify persons into other backward classes. This scheme is being implemented in the State.

12. The old nomenclature of the T. & R. W. Department schools which were known as Sevashrams has been changed in the present context. The Sevashrams would now be called L. P. schools and the Sevaks would be called teachers or Sikhyakas.
13. In the past, Pre-matric scholarships to Scheduled Tribe, scheduled castes and O. B. C. students were being paid indiscriminately and the rates of scholarships were also very low. In order to benefit the really deserving and meritorious students the scheme of distribution of scholarships have been rationalised and under the new scheme the rates of scholarships have been sufficiently enhanced.
14. Due to rise in price level, the rate of boarding charges of Rs. 20/- per boy per month which was fixed sometimes in 1950 was found to be inadequate and therefore, there is a proposal to enhance the rate of boarding charges from Rs. 20/- to Rs. 23/- per month. Besides, the students will get books and writing materials at the rate of Re. 1/- per boy per month.

The statement about ownership and other particulars about the newspaper entitled Adibasi as required to be published under Rule 8 of the Registration of Newspapers (Central) Rules 1956.

FROM IV

1. Place of Publication	...	Tribal Research Bureau
2. Periodicity of its publication	...	Quarterly
3. Printer's Name	...	Sri D. Misra
Nationality	...	Indian
Address	...	Goswami Press, Cuttack-2
4. Publisher's Name	...	Director of Tribal Welfare.
Nationality	...	Indian
Address.	...	Bhubaneswar
5. Editor's Name	...	Sri G. N. Das,, I. A. S.
		Director of Tribal Welfare
Nationality	...	Indian
Address	...	Bhubaneswar.
