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## CONTENTS

|                                                                                                 | PAGE  |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------|
| 1. Priorities for Tribal Education .. N. Das ..                                                 | 1-10  |
| 2. Factionalism and Development in a Naga Village. R. Ratan ..                                  | 11-14 |
| 3. Anthropometric and Finger and Palmar Dermateglyphic study of the Soaras. P. D. Prasad Rao .. | 15-24 |
| 4. Sex Initiation in a Dule Bauri Village. K. L. Bhowmik ..                                     | 25-32 |
| 5. The Kondh Pantheon and their Social Significance. J. Swain ..                                | 33-39 |
| 6. Methods of Social Anthropology and Study of Tribes in India. N. Das ..                       | 40-50 |
| 7. An address in Census Conference of 1969. ..                                                  | 51-56 |
| 8. Brief Notes : Social status of Khajuria. ..                                                  | 57-58 |

*With Compliments of Editors, Adibasi Tribal Research Bureau*



On May, 3, 1969, the nation was shocked to learn that the Head of the State, President Zakir Husain was no more. Dr. Husain was elevated to the High office only two years ago in May 1967. It was then least known that the cruel hands of destiny would snatch him away depriving the country of an able leader, statesman and literature. He was the first President to pass away in harness, at a time when the country needed him most. Dr. Husain combined scholarship with geniality and did not touch anything which he did not adore. In befitting reverence to his eminent personality, millions in this country and abroad have paid their homage and condolence which is manifest from the fact that foreign dignitaries from sixty countries attended the funeral along with thousands of mourners of our land.

Dr. Husain's affection for the tribes of India knew no bounds. It was an irony of fate that his last tour was spent among the tribal brethren of N. E. F. A. and Nagaland. The other day Dr. Husain received two tribal chiefs from Orissa and was presented with a set of the Adibasi. We will for long cherish the occasion when his searching enquiries about the tribes of the State showed his anxiety for the welfare of the tribes.

The "Adibasi" joins with millions in this country and abroad to condole the sad demise of Dr. Husain and respectfully extends its sorrowful condolence to the bereaved family. The void is difficult to fill, but his spirit would continue to guide us in our pursuit to develop our tribes.

N. DAS

## PRIORITIES FOR TRIBAL EDUCATION

Spread of education among the tribes deserves serious thought for the next ten years. That has become doubly important, in view of the fact that for the last twenty years concentrated efforts by official and non-official agencies have been made to spread education among the tribes. Educational improvement of tribes has been better than economic, health and hygiene development. We have 29,883,470 tribal population according to 1961 Census. There has been some increase during these seven years. There are altogether 62 tribal groups classified as Scheduled Tribes under Presidential Order of 1956. Some modifications are expected on the recommendation of Lokkur Committee and the introduction of the Bill to amend the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Lists (Modifications) Order, 1956. A few more may be added after the finalisation of the recommendations of Lokku Committee. Although these groups could be denoted by the generic term 'Scheduled Tribes' they are at different stages of culture and economic development.

There are backward tribals who have not made any progress in education. They have their distinct

languages. There are semi-assimilated groups who while retaining their language and customs, etc., have made some progress in the field of education. There are advanced section of tribals who have adopted formal education and some of them have considerably improved their education standard.

In some States residential institutions meant for tribals have been opened to others who can attend those as day-scholars. In the residential institutions boarding charges are provided for tribal students while in general institutions they are provided with stipends. Central Government provide grants-in-aid for management of these residential institutions for tribes. Both officials and non-officials have made serious efforts to extend education in remote tribal areas. During the Three Plan period primary and Secondary Schools have been established in far-flung tribal areas.

However, the position is deplorable in case of real backward tribes. That is why they deserve special and concentrated attention for the next decade. Four-point criteria are imperative to an education system, viz., (a) method,

(b) personnel, (c) content, (d) motives and attitudes underlying the educational progress.

Among the contemporary backward tribal people the gulf between the informal education which is imparted at home and the formal education which is imparted in the schools is practically lacking. Except highly specialised craft or the magical spells there are no specialised organs. Moreover, traditional education is always direct. By direct, we mean learning by experiencing. We usually read and are made to understand things which have no relationship in our daily life and which we sometimes cannot see during our life time. The people of Uttar Pradesh or the Punjab are often told about the sea or the port, though hardly a handful of them get the opportunity in their lives to see the sea. Among the tribal people the method of education is always direct and the observations are real. This acts as a handicap for adopting the present system of education and learning. There are no professional teachers and of course no learned professors. As everybody is jack of all trades except the sorcerer or magician, the rest are teachers and students simultaneously. Among the pre-literate societies, interest created among children themselves, makes them active participants instead of passive recipients. Content of education similarly aims at two main points, the individual adjustment to the community and the acquisition of social values including sex life. Now the last though not the least is motive and attitude underlying the educational process. There is a large grade of sharing of interests

of the adult and there is always reciprocal obligation on the part of the adults to understand the handicaps and difficulties of the children. Discipline among the tribes is self-evolved, unlike other societies where it is imposed by the authorities. Prizes are real source of satisfaction and the rewards are won for the benefit of the individual in the context of social benefit obtained from his actions. Thus the entire educational system is one of homogeneity and reciprocity.

The widespread student unrest in this country as well as in almost all parts of the world has called for attention to evolve a proper system of education. The adolescent and the youth have now become restive. Parents are equally responsible for not maintaining a comfortable atmosphere in respective homes. Repurcussion of those fall on young boys and girls. The general indiscipline in the social structure and apathy of the leaders to decide about the proper system of education leads to this sorry state of affairs.

In this respect when we judge the tribals we find a completely different picture. In the tribal society there is respect for traditional leadership. Rigorous discipline and informal education enable tribals to respect their social system. Some of the tribes had well organised dormitory institution. In the dormitories boys and girls used to live together and participate in all the activities like dancing and merriment. Social Scientists who have studied these institutions have reported

that there is absolutely no vulgarity or unnecessary activities. Some outsiders were apt to dub dormitory life to licentious affairs. That cannot be substantiated from any study. Rather it could be definitely asserted that these propensities do not occur in traditional tribal societies. The dormitory institution has been discarded, when the tribes come in contact with outsiders. They hardly get any substitute to enforce discipline which dormitory could do.

That does not mean that the tribal people should be left in isolation, nor that is possible in a developing country. The policy of segregation followed by the British Government contemplated this state. However, in the light of various dimensions the policy on tribal education should be contemplated to coalesce and not disintegrate the tribal life.

The last but not the least important is the problem of language and script. Almost all the tribal languages have no script. Boardly speaking, the interior tribes speak languages belonging to two families, the Austric and the Dravidian. The former include Mundari, Santali, Ho, Bhumij, Birhor, Kharia and Saoras. The Dravidian language is spoken by Oraons of Chotanagpur, Kandhas of Orissa and several southern tribes. The frontier tribes of course speak dialects of Tibeto-Burman and Indo-Burman family of languages. None of these languages has got a script. Surprisingly among the Nagas even a tribelet separated from another by a few miles speak completely

different dialects. Even the social anthropologists, who emphasise the knowledge of the language of a tribe before they study the tribe are bewildered. Therefore, the the question of a uniform language for the tribes is not possible. At present tribes are being educated through different regional languages, but there are complaints of lack of reception among the backward tribes. The point is whether the tribes are to be educated in different regional languages from the beginning or the tribal students are to be educated at primary and secondary stages through the medium of their own languages. The greatest need for a scheme like this to be successful, is the adequate number of teachers in tribal languages. To train sufficient number of teachers to teach them in their respective languages is a difficult process. The non-tribal students in the schools situated in the heart of the tribal areas can not be successfully educated through the medium of the prevalent tribal languages.

Hindi in Devanagiri script has been accepted as the national language. Therefore, one of the objectives of the administration is also to propagate Hindi among non-Hindi speaking population. There will be no harm if the tribal people are also made to learn Hindi, side by side with the regional languages. In lower primary stages the lesson could be explained in tribal languages to interest the tribal students. No script should be evolved afresh as it will never be feasible if individual efforts were made to devise

scripts on tribal languages. But those are neither standardised nor convenient.

Residential schools established in tribal areas have been found useful. In comparison to the institutions run by Education Department the residential schools run by Tribal Welfare Departments nourish a better atmosphere. Teachers living with the students enable them to understand and appreciate the difficulties of the latter. The vocational training provided to the students in those schools enable them to learn a few crafts. As the time when employment facilities are limited vocational training could be usefully utilised by the students to settle down in villages as craftsmen.

As regards primary education it has been found that there are already large number of schools in remote tribal areas. Those are mostly managed by a single teacher. If the teacher remains absent due to any reason the school is closed. If these schools in remote tribal areas are frequently closed the parents would rather engage their children in different domestic chores than remain away unnecessarily from their homes. The inhibitory factors are that firstly the tribal students are not interested in attending schools. Secondly if the atmosphere in the school and the medium of instruction are not congenial there is good reason to develop aversion towards education.

The problem of stagnation of tribal students is serious. Most of the students do not complete the

course they join. If they fail in the annual examination they abandon their studies. In some cases after joining the school they leave for some years to rejoin again. Stagnation affects the general progress of tribal students in educational institutions. This also wastes the investment in tribal education. There is necessity for effective co-ordination among the education authorities and the teachers to induce tribal parents to send their children to schools. The uncongenial atmosphere in schools has to be improved to attract the tribal students. Studies conducted by some tribal research bodies show that there is little doubt that the tribal students provided with proper atmosphere in educational institutions can compete with others, but they take lesser interest in higher studies. They seek petty employment and are satisfied if they get the same.

Another important aspect of education which is to be counteracted is the general aversion of all categories of tribal students for science and technical education. There are hardly 5 per cent students among the tribals who take up science and technical studies including medical, engineering, etc. The residential and other schools which we had the occasion to visit have not got properly equipped science laboratory. No doubt science education is still making progress in the country as a whole. But by taking all-India average the position relating to tribal students is much inferior. A good deal of emphasis should be laid on promoting science and technical education. Necessary

impetus should be provided for this purpose. If necessary, enhanced rate of stipend should be provided to the tribal students pursuing science education.

There exists indigenous skill among some tribes in different parts. During these years we have not tried to encourage those. If those could be encouraged we may be able to produce suitable craftsmen among the tribe. In tribal areas for construction and other works skilled workers have to be imported from outside. Similarly, when big industries and river valley projects are established in tribal areas, tribals cannot be employed as skilled or semi-skilled workers. This aspect has to be taken into consideration by concerned authorities. Science and technical education could, therefore, be widely introduced in tribal areas for this purpose, and Training-cum-Production Centres should be encouraged.

Some of the tribes have been benefitted from the provisions for general education. There are educational institutions exclusively meant for tribals. In others tribal boys are reading with others. Institutions meant exclusively for tribals are run by states as well as non-officials including Christian Missions.

However, it may be seen among the backward tribal groups, the percentage of literacy is only 2-3. These groups have remained far away from education and deserve special attention for the next 10 years for advancement of education.

All efforts directed during the last 20 years have not succeeded in inculcating values of education among real backward tribes. The drive has got a set back mainly due to non-participation of tribes. In accessibility both physical and mental played their role. An overall estimate indicates that tribal education is in transition.

A study conducted by the Tribal Research Bureau in Orissa among the backward tribes has shown that Bonda high landers, Lanjia Saoras, Kutia Kondhs, Hill Juangs, Paudi Bhuiyas, Gadabas and Dongria Kondhs have shown the least receptivity to education. The number of schoolgoing children among these communities in a rough estimate does not exceed two per cent. The figure may be lower, not higher in view of the fact that exact enumeration of schoolgoing children is not always possible. The study has further shown that in the primary classes though there is some enrolment, the students do not continue to complete their school course. They however, continue in the rolls and that gives a higher figure than the actual number of students in those schools. It has been found that boys of the age of 14 to 15 are still in the roles of primary schools. This study, therefore, indicates that the schoolgoing habit is yet to be developed among the backward tribes as they are apathetic to formal education.

Priorities are, therefore, to be fixed for next ten years to plug the drawback, to bring real backward tribes into the fold of modern education. Particularly science and technical education are to be popularised.

In real backward tribal areas there should be always two teacher primary schools. This is necessary because the absence of one teacher would not automatically close the institution. It has been found that primary teachers in inaccessible parts remain absent frequently. The inspecting staff cannot check such truancy for the simple reason, that the schools are located in inaccessible regions and could be reached only on foot. Absence of the teacher with corresponding closure of schools disenable the tribal children to form school-going habit.

Secondly the tribal children help their parents in domestic care. When parents are out on hill clearings or in other pre-occupations grownup children are left in charge of their younger brothers and sisters. Children are also to graze and herd cattle. They assist them in agricultural operations after the age of 10. Hence sending children to the school, would mean dislocation of the social and economic life of tribes and considerable hardship to the parents.

Teachers posted to the primary schools in the backward tribal areas are seldom selected on the basis of any special aptitude and qualification to deal with tribal children. They do not get any additional incentive or lucrative special pay. A small amount of Rs. 10 to 15 per month is paid to teachers from the British time which is known as 'Agency Special Pay'. This special pay is the same for incumbents posted to the district headquarters or subdivisional headquarters of such agency areas. As those who are posted to

the interior places. In the interior places there is hardly any communication. There is no medical facility. If some one falls ill he may have to be carried miles together across the hills. These factors, therefore, stand on the way of posting suitable persons interior tribal areas. Anybody who could manage to do so always avoids such a posting. Hence, underqualified local men are usually posted as teachers in the primary schools in backward tribal areas. They seldom take interest in their work.

Still now backward tribal areas are considered as punishment centres and only those who are considered to be undesirable elsewhere are transferred there. Hence they usually feel dejected and do not take any initiative. It is, therefore, essential that in the inaccessible backward tribal regions there should be atleast 20 per cent special pay for the teachers in various schools particularly primary schools. There should be always two teachers so that if one falls ill the other can attend to him.

The teachers should be provided with accommodation free of cost within the school premises. They can live with their family and should not leave the school frequently. Their stay in the school premises would also enable them to raise gardens and demonstrate new varieties of crops to the tribals.

The teachers can have frequent dialogue with the villagers to induce them to send their children to the school. The villagers when

grains grown by them are often sold out and the sale-proceeds are deposited in Government account. This is not a desirable practice. Students may be allowed to use a good portion of the produce to supplement their boarding charges. The sale-proceeds may be allowed to be utilised for seed manure and irrigation. This will generate incentive for gardening.

As regards distribution of stipends and scholarships it has been reported by the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes as well as by Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribes Commission, that the vocal and advanced sections among the tribes derive the maximum benefit from this programme. Studies undertaken in some selected tribal areas have shown that christian converts and other advanced tribals get 87 percent of the stipend and scholarship meant for the tribals. Among the backward tribes there is hardly any student who has gone up to high school to receive pre-matric or post-matric scholarship. The youth organization where prevalent have to be revitalised for promoting social education.

The States and Union Territories may, therefore, be asked by the Planning Commission to fix these priorities for spread of education among the most backward tribes. While submitting

their annual plans and proposals for the 4th and 5th Plan States and Union Territories should incorporate these priorities. It may be scrutinized by the Planning Commission that proportionate expenditure is earmarked for spread of education in the most backward tribal areas. A tentative list of the most backward tribes in different States is enclosed.

States and Union Territories may take the help of tribal research bodies now established in states having sizable tribal population to prepare a list of the backward tribal areas and most backward tribes. States may also indicate how they propose to incorporate the priorities in their respective set up. Central assistance may have to be provided after proper scrutiny. Periodical evaluation of the working of the system is to be conducted by the tribal research bodies. Such evaluation reports are to be submitted by States while advancing proposals for plan outlay and for seeking central assistance for this purpose. There being no second opinion that the most backward sections among the Scheduled Tribes are to be given greater importance it is the question now as to how the programme could be effectively implemented within the available resources. The states have a duty, but adequate central assistance for this purpose is essential.

Statement shows the number of Scheduled Tribes in the States and Union Territories and their percentage to the total population of each State as per 1961 census

| State/Union territory                     | Total population | Scheduled Tribes | Percentage of Scheduled Tribe of State/Union territory | Remarks |
|-------------------------------------------|------------------|------------------|--------------------------------------------------------|---------|
| (1)                                       | (2)              | (3)              | (4)                                                    | (5)     |
| Andhra Pradesh ..                         | 35,983,447       | 1,324,368        | 3.68                                                   |         |
| Assam ..                                  | 11,872,772       | 2,068,364        | 17.42                                                  |         |
| Bihar ..                                  | 46,455,610       | 4,204,770        | 9.05                                                   |         |
| Gujrat ..                                 | 20,633,350       | 2,754,446        | 13.35                                                  |         |
| Jamu and Kashmir ..                       | 3,560,976        | ..               | ..                                                     |         |
| Kerala ..                                 | 16,903,715       | 207,996          | 1.23                                                   |         |
| Madhya Pradesh ..                         | 32,372,408       | 6,678,410        | 20.63                                                  |         |
| Madras ..                                 | 33,686,953       | 252,646          | 0.75                                                   |         |
| Maharashtra ..                            | 39,553,718       | 2,397,159        | 6.06                                                   |         |
| Mysore ..                                 | 23,586,772       | 192,096          | 0.81                                                   |         |
| Nagaland ..                               | 369,200          | 343,697          | 93.09                                                  |         |
| Orissa ..                                 | 17,548,846       | 4,223,757        | 24.07                                                  |         |
| Punjab ..                                 | 20,306,812       | 14,132           | 0.07                                                   |         |
| Rajasthan ..                              | 20,155,602       | 2,309,447        | 11.46                                                  |         |
| Uttar Pradesh ..                          | 73,746,401       | ..               | ..                                                     |         |
| West Beagal ..                            | 34,926,279       | 2,073,883        | 5.91                                                   |         |
| <i>Union Territories and other areas,</i> |                  |                  |                                                        |         |
| Andaman & N. Islands                      | 63,548           | 14,122           | 22.22                                                  |         |
| Delhi ..                                  | 2,658,612        | ..               | ..                                                     |         |
| Himachal Pradesh ..                       | 1,351,144        | 108,194          | 8.01                                                   |         |
| L. M. and A. Island ..                    | 24,108           | 23,391           | 97.03                                                  |         |
| Manipur ..                                | 780,037          | 249,049          | 31.93                                                  |         |
| Tripura ..                                | 1,142,005        | 360,070          | 31.53                                                  |         |
| Dadara and Nagar Haveli                   | 57,963           | 51,261           | 88.14                                                  |         |
| NEFA ..                                   | 336,558          | 5,042            | 1.50                                                   |         |
| Pandicherry ..                            | 369,079          | ..               | ..                                                     |         |
| Sikkim ..                                 | 162,189          | 37,170           | 22.92                                                  |         |
| INDIA ..                                  | 4,38,608,104     | 29,883,470       | 6.81                                                   |         |

## R. RATAN

### Village—its background

Langdang is situated at a distance of four miles away from Ukhrul, a small town and a seat of subdivisional administration, Manipur State; the Block also has its headquarters located at Ukhrul. The village is spread over the slopes of a hill near Burma Boarder which is only 60 miles away from the settlement. The height of the hill is almost 6,000 feet above sea-level; the forest round the village is not very thick; most of it has been devastated by the people as their main source of economy is shifting cultivation.

Langdang is essentially a nuclear village; four years back all the houses were at one place but now the village is divided into two-hamlets known as Langdang Khullen and Langdang Khunou. The main habitation is Langdang Khullen; in Langdang khunou only 15 households are residing.

The total population of the village is 335; the number of families is 62, all belong to Tangkhul Naga tribe; 54 families have adopted Christianity as their religion; only 8 families are of non-converts.

## FACTIONALISM AND DEVELOPMENT IN A NAGA VILLAGE

The Nagas in Langdang village are divided into three clans—(1) Tasharvanao, (2) Luithuinao, (3) Phungchamreanao. Henceforth in this study for convenience sake they would be termed by their first letters, i.e., T for Tasharvanao, L for Luithuinao and P for Phungchareanao.

The households distribution over the three clans is as follows :—

| No. | Clan | No. of households |
|-----|------|-------------------|
| 1   | T    | 24                |
| 2   | L    | 24                |
| 3   | P    | 14                |

Like other Naga villages in Tangkhul area, Langdang has also got the traditional village council known as village authority; on this organisation clans L and P have been represented by their two clan chiefs and six other elderly persons, each clan thus having 4 representatives. Clan T has four representatives besides its chief who is also the chief of the village authority. Thus the village authority is constituted by 13 village leaders. T clan had moved to this site from outside first and inhabited this village and hence its chief has the right to be the

chief of the village authority. The village chief and clan chiefs are hereditary in nature.

The village authority is recognised by the Government for all administrative purposes in the village; the village chief collects house-tax and deposits it in the treasury; land revenue has not yet been levied here. The village authority has been given a stamp of recognition by the Government as legal authority to decide all village disputes. Though its decisions are appealable in the S. D. O's court, yet till 1920 because it had a reputation of settling disputes amicably with full justice, very seldom any appeal was made to a higher court. In social and cultural matters it was the main guiding and controlling force in the village. In religious matters too the chief and village authority was looked up for guidance.

Langdang under the leadership of the village chief and village authority was a cohesive group with a sense of solidarity and 'we-feeling'. The village-wide leadership and loyalty to it was prevalent. This state of affairs changed in 1920 and since then disruption and splits-up in the social organisation of the village have been on increase.

#### Factionalism

The process of faction formation—The beginning of the process of faction formation in this village goes back to 1920 when the chief of group L claimed the chiefship (Khulapa) of the village. It is

said that this father was the village chief and when he died, he was minor; the father of the present village chief taking advantage of this opportunity, manipulated to get his name entered into Government records as the chief of the village (Khulapa). In 1920 when the present chief of the clan L became major, he claimed village chiefship and filed a suit but in vain.

On that issue the village social organisation has split up into three groups which can be clearly delineated. They are organised along the three clans—T, L and P. The numerical strength of each clan is also the numerical strength of each group; T has the following of 24 families, L of 24 and P of 14 families.

*Spatial Distribution of three groups*—Two groups L and P are living in Langdang Khullen with 9 families of group T; the rest of the 15 families of group T are living in Langdang Khunou. They have moved to the new site of Langdang Khunou due to tension among the groups of T on the one hand and group L and P on the other.

*Inter-group Relations*—Group T and L have hostile relations; group P always supports group L. So in terms of factionalism in which an element of hostility is involved, the village is divided into two factions, i. e., T on the one side and L and P on the other. Henceforth L and P would be termed as LP group.

*Disruptive Effects of Factionalism on Village Social Organisation and Leadership*—Now the village is a dividing house in itself.

Let us see how far factionalism has created a disruption in the traditional institution of village council or village authority and also in the new organisations set up by the development department.

*Village Authority*—The traditional institution, the village council or the village authority has broken down; the village chief (Khulapa) is no more accepted as (Khulapa) by faction LP; as the chief of the village. By tradition the village chief has the right to hold the meetings of the village authority in his house to decide all types of cases and disputes in consultation with other members of the village authority but since 1960 the chief and other leaders of faction LP have refused to go to the village chief's house to participate in any type of deliberations. In fact they challenge his right to hold meetings in his house. Instead they hold deliberations regarding disputes and also to take decisions concerning other social and religious matters, of their group, in the house of the chief of L group.

The village chief on the advice of the S.D.O. of Ukhrul subdivision in order to tide over this difficulty, constructed a small room in between his hemlet and the hemlet where faction LP was residing and tried to persuade the leaders of faction LP to participate there in the meetings to decide cases but they did not agree. Thus the authority and leadership of the village chief and also the village authority has shattered.

## Factionalism and Development

*Primary School*—The factionalism has also affected the village lower primary school; this was situated in Langdang Khullen six years back. In 1963 the village chief got it shifted with the help of the Education Department towards his hemlet. The school building at the old site at Langdang Khullen was set on fire. In protest faction LP stopped to send its children to the school and raised contributions from amongst themselves and got a new building constructed at the old school building site and appointed two teachers; now the strength of the students in this institution is 40 while in the lower primary school there are only 12 students. The leaders of LP have been trying to get it recognised by the Education Department.

*Village Development Committee*—Formerly, there was one village development committee for Langdang but now there are two. Faction T, i. e., the village chief's group, three years back, has quitted the development committee and has organised a new one for its members, though this has not yet been given a recognition by the block authorities.

*Village Volunteer Force*—It was organised by the Gram Sevak; now there is a split in it also on faction lines; faction LP has its own and faction T its own V. V. F.

*Road construction*—Ukhrul Block B. D. O. wanted co-operation of Langdang village in constructing a jeepable road from Ukhrul to Langdang which is 4

miles away from the Block headquarters. Faction LP took up the work but faction T led by the village chief (Khulapa) boycotted it but later on, on the request of the B. D. O. faction T also agreed on the condition that 4 miles road was divided into two and half was allotted to faction T and the other half to faction LP for construction.

*Compost Pit and Village Cleanliness Competition*—The Block organised village compost pit competition and also village cleanliness competition in Langdang. Faction LP co-operated while faction T non-co-operated with V. L. W. in his attempt to make these competitions a success.

*Visit of the B. D. O.*—The B.D.O. visited Langdang and discussed about some development issues with the leaders of faction LP; he sent a ward to the village chief, leader of faction T to come over there to meet him but the later refused and said "Why has the B. D. O. gone to the leaders of LP faction ? He should have come to me first".

#### Conclusion

*Deductions from the above facts are—*

- (a) The village is no more a cohesive unit.
- (b) The traditional village social organisation, the village council or the

village authority has broken down into two factions hostile to each other; the attitude of hostility is quite obvious in the working of the village-authority.

- (c) The villagewide leadership and the villages' loyalty to it has disappeared.
- (d) Clan still plays an important role in determining groups and factions and their leadership.
- (e) In place of village community, each faction is characterized by solidarity and cohesiveness with a sense of we-feeling.
- (f) Faction leadership is the effective leadership and serves as ready-made effective channels of communication to their members.
- (g) Factionalism has proved to be a serious social barrier in development activities. No development activity has been undertaken by the village as a whole. The attitude on the part of the two factions is that if one co-operates with the extension agents, the other boycotts them. The two factions do not agree on any issue of village welfare.

P. D. PRASADA RAO

ANTHROPEMETRIC AND  
FINGER AND PALMAR  
DERMATOGLYPHIC  
STUDY OF THE SOARAS.

Introduction

The Saoras are well known people in the Anthropological field. They constitute a major bulk of the tribal population in the State of Orissa. They are commonly found in the Ganjam and Koraput districts, but sporadically distributed through out the State. Concerning their social, religious institutions and economic pursuits numerous papers have been published but no systematic Anthropometric studies have been made of this interesting tribe.

The synthesis of the present paper deals with the statistical analysis of the data on their bodily measurements and the study of the finger and palmar prints. The study is based on a random sample of 110 adult males on whom the Anthropometric measurements and Somatoscopic observations were made; but only 100 adult male Saoras were considered for the Dermatoglyphic study. The data were collected from the villages Siripur, Nuapalli, Russelgarh, Baramunda, Badagada and Ghatikia—all within a radius of 8 to 10 miles from the New Capital, Bhubaneswar in Puri district.

(1) *Anthropometry*—The following measurements were taken :—

- (1) Maximum Head length,
- (2) Maximum Head breadth,
- (3) Minimum frontal diameter,
- (4) Maximum bizygomatic breadth,
- (5) Bigonial breadth,
- (6) Nasal height,
- (7) Nasal breadth,
- (8) Morphological or total facial length,
- (9) Stature and
- (10) Auricular head height.

The following indices have been worked out of the above measurement :—

- (1) Cephalic index,
- (2) Nasal index,
- (3) Length-height index, and
- (4) Breath-height index and
- (5) Facial index.

The measurements were strictly taken according to techniques described by Wilder and Martin. The finger and palmar print data were analysed according to the procedures prescribed by Cummins and Midlo.

## I. Analysis of Anthropometric Measurements

**Table 1**  
*Classification of stature (in cm.)*

| Class        | Range     | Frequency | Percent |
|--------------|-----------|-----------|---------|
| Pigmy        | X—129.9   | 0         | 0.00    |
| Very short   | 130—149.9 | 8         | 7.27    |
| Short        | 150—159.9 | 53        | 48.18   |
| Below medium | 160—163.9 | 26        | 23.63   |
| Medium       | 164—166.9 | 13        | 11.81   |
| Above medium | 167—169.9 | 6         | 5.45    |
| Tall         | 170—179.9 | 4         | 3.63    |
| Very tall    | 180—199.9 | 0         | 0.00    |
| Giant        | 200—X     | 0         | 0.00    |

Analysing the stature of the persons studied it was noticed that majority of cases (71.81 per cent) are between 150—163.9 cms. in stature, i.e., between short and below medium. The average stature was found to be  $161.81 \pm 0.45$

cm., the maximum being 177.8 cm. and the minimum 146.3 cm. The percentage of very short, medium, above medium and tall are 7.27, 11.81, 5.45 and 3.63, respectively.

**Table 2**  
*Statistical constants of 110 male measurements (in cm.)*

| Measurement              | Max   | Min   | Mean $\pm$ S. E.  | Standard Deviation $\pm$ S. E. |
|--------------------------|-------|-------|-------------------|--------------------------------|
| (1)                      | (2)   | (3)   | (4)               | (5)                            |
| Head length              | 20.1  | 17.4  | $18.89 \pm 0.04$  | $0.46 \pm 0.03$                |
| Head breadth             | 15.6  | 12.8  | $14.18 \pm 0.04$  | $0.42 \pm 0.02$                |
| Auricular Head Height.   | 14.8  | 9.3   | $11.98 \pm 0.08$  | $0.94 \pm 0.06$                |
| Min. Frontal Diameter.   | 11.3  | 9.3   | $10.52 \pm 0.03$  | $0.38 \pm 0.02$                |
| Max, Bizygomatic breadth | 13.8  | 11.2  | $12.94 \pm 0.05$  | $0.53 \pm 0.03$                |
| Bigonial breadth         | 11.5  | 9.0   | $10.38 \pm 0.05$  | $0.56 \pm 0.03$                |
| Total facial length      | 12.4  | 9.9   | $11.19 \pm 0.04$  | $0.41 \pm 0.03$                |
| Nasal Height             | 5.6   | 3.7   | $4.71 \pm 0.03$   | $0.32 \pm 0.02$                |
| Nasal Breadth            | 4.5   | 3.0   | $3.89 \pm 0.04$   | $0.43 \pm 0.03$                |
| Stature                  | 177.8 | 146.3 | $161.68 \pm 0.45$ | $4.72 \pm 0.32$                |

Table—3

*Statistical constants of Indices*

| Indices              | Max   | Min  | Mean±S. E | Standard Deviation ±S. E. |
|----------------------|-------|------|-----------|---------------------------|
| (1)                  | (2)   | (3)  | (4)       | (5)                       |
| Cephalic Index       | 81.6  | 69.8 | 76.18±.42 | 4.41±.23                  |
| Altitudinal Index    | 80.7  | 51.1 | 66.05±.27 | 3.0 ±.20                  |
| Breadth-Height Index | 107.0 | 70.9 | 88.86±.50 | 5.25±.36                  |
| Nasal Index          | 98.2  | 60.8 | 76.55±.59 | 6.21±.42                  |
| Total Facial Index   | 105.6 | 73.8 | 87.82±.60 | 6.34±.46                  |

*Classification of Indices*

(A) *Cephalic Index—*

| Class                 | Range     | Frequency | Per cent |
|-----------------------|-----------|-----------|----------|
| Hyper-dolichocephalic | X—69.9    | 3         | 2.72     |
| Dolichocephalic       | 70.0—75.9 | 60        | 54.54    |
| Mesöcephalic          | 76.0—80.9 | 44        | 40.00    |
| Brachycephalic        | 81.0—85.4 | 3         | 2.72     |
| Hyper-brachycephalic  | 85.5—X    | 0         | 0.00     |

The mean cephalic Index is 76.18 ± .42 with the maximum of 81.6 and minimum of 60.8. Dolichocephaly (54.54 per cent) appears to be predominant. Mescephaly occurs in the next highest per cent of 40.00 per cent. Brachycephaly

and Hyper-dolichocephaly are in the equal percentage of 2.72. The mean head length and breadth are 18.89 ± .04 and 14.18 ± .04 cm. respectively. Head length and breadth varies between 20.1 and 17.4 cm; 15.6 and 12.8 respectively.

(B) *Length Height Index*

| Class          | Range     | Frequency | Per cent |
|----------------|-----------|-----------|----------|
| Chamaecephalic | X—57.6    | 4         | 3.63     |
| Orthocephalic  | 57.7—62.5 | 20        | 18.18    |
| Hypsicephalic  | 62.6—X    | 86        | 78.18    |

The mean length-Height Index of head is 66.05±.27; the range of variation being between 80.7 and 51.1 Hypsicephaly (78.18 per cent) appears to be predominant. The percentage of Chamaecephalic and orthocephalic elements are 3.63 and 18.18 respectively. The mean Head-Height is 11.98±.08 the maximum being 14.8 cm. and the minimum 9.3 cm.

*(C) Breadth—Height Index—*

| Class           | Range        | Frequency | Per cent |
|-----------------|--------------|-----------|----------|
| Tapeinocephalic | .. X—78·9    | 22        | 20·00    |
| Metriocephalic  | .. 79·0—84·9 | 23        | 20·90    |
| Acrocephalic    | .. 85·0—X    | 65        | 59·09    |

The mean breadth-height Index is  $88·86 \pm 50$  with the maximum of 107·0 and minimum of 70·9. Acrocephaly (59·09 per cent) occurs as highest concentration. Tapeinocephaly and Metriocephaly are 20·00 per cent and 20·90 per cent respectively.

*(D) Nasal Index*

| Class             | Range        | Frequency | Per cent |
|-------------------|--------------|-----------|----------|
| Hyper-Leptorrhine | .. X—54·9    | 0         | 0·00     |
| Leptorrhine       | .. 55·0—69·9 | 2         | 1·81     |
| Mesorrhine        | .. 70·0—84·9 | 56        | 50·90    |
| Platyrrhine       | .. 85·0—99·9 | 52        | 47·27    |
| Hyper-platyrrhine | .. 100·0—X   | 0         | 0·00     |

The mean nasal index is  $76·55 \pm 59$  with the maximum of 98·2 and the minimum 60·8 Mesorrhine occurs as the highest concentration of 50·90 per cent while that of Platyrrhine is 47·27 per cent. Leptorrhine occurs in 1·81 per cent only. No cases of Hyper-leptorrhine and Hyper-platyrrhine are noticed. The mean nasal height and nasal breadth are  $4·71 \pm 0·03$  and  $3·89 \pm 0·04$  cm respectively. The range of variation of the nasal height is between 5·6 and 3·7 cm while that of the nasal breadth between 4·5 and 3·0 cm.

*(E) Total facial length*

| Class              | Range        | Frequency | Percent |
|--------------------|--------------|-----------|---------|
| Hypereuryprosopic  | .. X—78·9    | 12        | 10·90   |
| Euryprosopic       | .. 79·0—83·9 | 29        | 26·36   |
| Mesoprosopic       | .. 84·0—87·9 | 31        | 28·18   |
| Leptoprosopic      | .. 88·0—92·9 | 30        | 27·27   |
| Hyperleptoprosopic | .. 93·0—X    | 8         | 7·27    |

The mean total facial index is  $87·82 \pm 0·60$ , the maximum being 105·6 and the minimum 73·8. It is noticed that Mesoprosopic (28·18 per cent) element is predominant, while both the Euryprosopic and Leptoprosopic elements are strongly present in the order 26·36 per cent and 27·27 per cent respectively. The Hypereuryprosopic and Hyperleptoprosopic elements are low. The mean total facial length is  $11·19 \pm 0·04$  cm. the maximum being 12·4 cm. and the minimum being 9·9 cm. The meanzygomatic breadth is  $12·94 \pm 0·05$  cm. the maximum being 13·8 cm. and the minimum 11·2 cm.

II. *Finger prints*—The following analysis is based on 1,000 finger prints of 100 adult male Soaras.

Table I  
*Frequency of finger prints patterns*

| Digit       | Hand | Whorl | Loops |        | Total | Arches |
|-------------|------|-------|-------|--------|-------|--------|
|             |      |       | Ulnar | Radial |       |        |
| (1)         | (2)  | (3)   | (4)   | (5)    | (6)   | (7)    |
| I           | R    | 55.00 | 41.00 | ..     | 41.00 | 4.00   |
|             | L    | 43.00 | 54.00 | 1.00   | 55.00 | 2.00   |
|             | R+L  | 49.00 | 47.50 | 0.50   | 48.00 | 3.00   |
| II          | R    | 45.00 | 41.00 | 5.00   | 46.00 | 9.00   |
|             | L    | 47.00 | 34.69 | 7.15   | 41.84 | 10.20  |
|             | R+L  | 46.00 | 37.84 | 6.07   | 43.92 | 9.60   |
| III         | R    | 23.00 | 73.00 | 1.00   | 74.00 | 3.00   |
|             | L    | 32.00 | 62.00 | 1.00   | 63.00 | 5.00   |
|             | R+L  | 27.50 | 67.50 | 1.00   | 68.54 | 4.00   |
| IV          | R    | 67.00 | 32.00 | 1.00   | 33.00 | ..     |
|             | L    | 56.12 | 39.62 | 1.02   | 4.64  | 3.06   |
|             | R+L  | 61.56 | 35.81 | 1.01   | 36.82 | 1.53   |
| V           | R    | 27.00 | 72.00 | ..     | 72.00 | 1.00   |
|             | L    | 30.00 | 70.00 | ..     | 70.00 | ..     |
|             | R+L  | 28.50 | 71.00 | ..     | 71.00 | 0.50   |
| All digits. | R+L  | 42.51 | 51.93 | 2.11   | 54.04 | 3.72   |

From the above table it is clear that the finger prints show unlike frequencies on the different digits when combined. On digits I, II and IV whorls are more frequent, the frequency ranging from 67 per cent

in digit IV to 45 per cent in digit II. The frequency of ulnar loops is more in digits III & V ranging from 62 per cent to 70 per cent, respectively. The frequencies on the digits I, II and IV are 54.00 per cent.

34 per cent, 32 per cent, respectively. The radial loops show the maximum frequency on digit II (7 per cent) and show sharp reduction on the digits I, III and IV. It is to be seen that there were no radial loops on the digit V. The arches show greatest frequency on digit II (10%) and less frequencies on the other digits. On the whole the whorls are seen on both right and left hands whereas ulnar loops are more common in the right hand in digits III and V. It is interesting to note that radial loops are more on left hand digit II than any

other digit and arches are also common on the same digit.

Sarkar (1954) proposed that an approximate whorl : loop ratio of 60:40 is probably a characteristic of the Veddids or Australoid. This is confirmed by the finger print data of the Australian aborigine (Cummins and Setzler, 1951). The Saoras show mean ratio (42.51 per cent., 51.93 per cent) approximately in the present study.

The following table show the pattern intensity index, Arch/Whorl index of Dankmeijer and whorl/loop index of Furuhata.

Table II

| Frequencies of Pattern types in per cent |       |       |      | Pattern intensity Index | D. I. | F. I. |
|------------------------------------------|-------|-------|------|-------------------------|-------|-------|
| Whorl                                    | U. L. | R. L. | Arch |                         |       |       |
| ┌──────────────────────────┐             |       |       |      | 14.91                   | 8.72  | 78.66 |
| 42.51                                    | 51.93 | 2.11  | 3.72 |                         |       |       |

The pattern intensity index is 14.91 which bears resemblance with Sabara (14.07) and Juang (14.06) worked by Sarkar.

Finger prints of Orissan aborigines (all fingers combined)

Table III

| Tribe        | Whorls   | Loops    | Arches   | Indices |       |       |
|--------------|----------|----------|----------|---------|-------|-------|
|              |          |          |          | P. I.   | D. I. | F. I. |
|              | Per cent | Per cent | Per cent |         |       |       |
| Juang (Male) | 42.00    | 56.64    | 1.36     | 14.06   | 3.25  | 74.15 |
| (Female)     | 38.82    | 57.65    | 3.54     | 13.53   | 9.09  | 67.34 |
| —Sarkar—     |          |          |          |         |       |       |

(contd.)

| Tribe                  |          | Whorls | Loops | Arches | Indius |       |        |
|------------------------|----------|--------|-------|--------|--------|-------|--------|
|                        |          |        |       |        | P. I.  | D. I. | F. I.  |
| Sabara (Male)          | ..       | 42.43  | 55.89 | 1.68   | 14.07  | 3.96  | 99.12  |
|                        | (Female) | ..     | 24.72 | 67.42  | 7.86   | 11.63 | 31.82  |
| Khond (Male)           | ..       | 41.97  | 52.89 | 5.14   | 13.68  | 18.12 | 79.52  |
| —Sarkar                |          |        |       |        |        |       |        |
| Khond (Males)          | ..       | 29.08  | 65.26 | 5.63   | 12.95  | 14.24 | 62.37  |
| (Rao)                  |          |        |       |        |        |       |        |
| Juang (Male)           | ..       | 50.54  | 48.11 | 1.00   | 15.02  | 2.01  | 105.93 |
| —Rao                   |          |        |       |        |        |       |        |
| Saora (Present study). | ..       | 42.51  | 54.04 | 3.72   | 14.91  | 8.72  | 78.66  |

(III) *Palmar prints*—The following analysis is based on the 200 palmar configurations of adult male Saoras.

The following table show the frequency of the three main line formulae as in the right and left hands of the Saoras.

Table I  
*Frequency of the three typical formulae in per cent*

| Formulae | Right    |       | Left     |  | Mean  |
|----------|----------|-------|----------|--|-------|
|          | Per cent |       | Per cent |  |       |
| 11, 9, 7 | ..       | 58.00 | 30.00    |  | 44.00 |
| 9, 7, 5  | ..       | 23.00 | 37.00    |  | 30.00 |
| 7, 5, 5  | ..       | 19.00 | 33.00    |  | 26.00 |

From the above table it is clear that 11, 9, 7—more common (occurring in 44.00 per cent) in the right hand than the left. The formulae 9, 7, 5—and 7, 5, 5—are occurring in 30 per cent and 26 per cent respectively and are common in the left hand.

Table II

*Frequencies of the types of palmar configurations*

| Configurational area   | Frequency of the pattern in per cent |       |       |
|------------------------|--------------------------------------|-------|-------|
|                        | Right                                | Left  | Mean  |
| Hypothenar             | 21·00                                | 19·00 | 20·00 |
| Thenar/Inter digital I | 9·00                                 | 11·00 | 10·00 |
| Inter digital II       | 4·00                                 | ..    | 2·00  |
| Inter digital III      | 68·00                                | 58·00 | 63·00 |
| Inter digital IV       | 44·00                                | 62·00 | 53·00 |

The Saoras show a large percentage of patterns in inter digital III (63 per cent) due to the high incidence of the main line formulae 11, 9, 7—in many cases.

The following table shows the frequencies of the pattern formulae o.o.L., O.L.O., Q.O.O., o.1.o., o.1.d.,

O.O.D., O.L.D. of the combination of the three inter digitals II, III, and IV.

Table III

| Formulae | Frequency of the pattern in per cent |          |          |
|----------|--------------------------------------|----------|----------|
|          | Right                                | Left     | Mean     |
|          | Per cent                             | Per cent | Per cent |
| O. O. L. | .. 14·00                             | 20·00    | 17·00    |
| O. L. O. | .. 27·00                             | 4·00     | 15·50    |
| O. O. O. | .. ..                                | ..       | ..       |
| o. I. o. | .. 23·00                             | 31·00    | 27·00    |
| o. 1. d. | .. 2·00                              | 8·00     | 5·00     |
| O. O. D. | .. 11·00                             | 11·00    | 11·00    |
| O. L. D. | .. 4·00                              | ..       | 2·00     |

From the above table it is clear that the combination formulae o.l.o. occurs in many cases (especially in the left hand) in 27.00 and O.O.L. and O.L.O. formulae occur in 17 per cent and 15 per cent respec-

tively. The remaining combinations show insignificant percentages.

Axial Triradius :

The following table shows the positions of the axial triradius as observed in the Saoras.

Table IV

| Axial triradius | Position of the axial triradius |      |       |
|-----------------|---------------------------------|------|-------|
|                 | Right                           | Left | Total |
| t               | 77                              | 86   | 163   |
| t'              | 5                               | 3    | 8     |
| t''             | 2                               | ..   | 2     |
| tt''            | 13                              | 10   | 23    |
| tt' t''         | 3                               | ..   | 3     |

Among the Saoras the axial triradius is seen more or less equally on both right and left hands in the position of t (carpal axial triradius). It occurs in 5 cases in right hand and in 3 cases in left hand in the position of t' (middle axial triradius). In 13 cases of the right hand and in 10 cases of the left hand is occurs in the position of tt'' (carpal triradius with central triradius). In only 3 cases in the right hand it occurs in the position tt' t'' (carpal axial triradius with central triadius).

Summary

From the analysis of the Anthropometric data and somatoscopic observations, it was observed that majority of the people are short statured (53%) with light brown to medium brown skins. The hair on the head is, cymotrichous (wavy) in most of the cases; and they show slight growth of hair on the beard and moustache. There is no epicanthic fold of the eye present among these people and the eye silits look straight. The head fore

shows dolicocephaly in most of the cases (54.54%) with a sporadic occurrence of mesocephals. The head vault is high and majority of them are hypsicephalic (78.18%). The physiognomy of the face is, that most of them are having medium to narrow type of faces (mesoprosopictoleptorosipic) with jutting malars. The noses are mesorrnine to platyrrhine in type with straight to concave profiles. The bulk of the people exhibit medium lips with no eversion.

From the analysis of the finger and palmar prints data of these people, it shows that whorls are seen both in the right and left hands where as ulnar loops are more common in the right hand digits III and V. The Pattern Intensity index is 14.91. The main-line formulae 11.9.7.—is more common among these people. Thus in many respects the Soaras resemble more with other Orissan

tribes like Khond, Juang, Munda, etc., who are of proto-Australoid ethnic stock.

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## SEX INITIATION IN A DULE BAURI VILLAGE

To secure the most important drives like food, sex shelter and social security is attempted by each and every Dule Bauri individual, which is motivated by a strong desire for sustaining material and ethical existence of individual being and for strengthening their community life. A study of all the socio-cultural elements of the Dule Bauri community life concludes that the sex factor plays a dominant role in the affairs related to the supply of food, the constitution of shelter, and the provision of social security. Therefore, an attempt is here made at studying the aspects related to sex initiation as found in a Dule Bauri village.

The Dule Bauris constitute an endogamous *thak* (*grade*) of the Bauris in West Bengal. They claim that their ancestors migrated to Dhalbhum of Bankura district from their supposed home in Manbhumi of Purulia district and became ultimately subjugated under the socio-ritual authority of the Dhabal Raja. Thenceforth, they developed certain cultural dissimilarities which, in course of time, helped in differentiating themselves from the other Bauris living elsewhere and in constituting

a separate *thak* (*grade*) for themselves. According to the survey made by the present writer in 1964-65 it is found that in Dhalbhum there are 28,769 Dule Bauris living in 296 villages. In most of these villages they live in association with other castes and communities, and only in 12 villages they live by themselves. The village Jagatdeuli is represented here as one of such villages where the Dule Bauris live alone.

The village Jagatdeuli is located in the area of Indupur police-station, Bankura district, West Bengal. A jeepable unmetalled road, being branched out from the Bankura-Khatra main road and then passing through the village Bheduasol has finally connected it. This village Jagatdeuli is inhabited by 29 Dule Bauri families having a total population of 154 souls of which 82 are males and 72 are females. They were traditionally owner cultivators, but their position in the present tenure system has made them mostly share-croppers and contract-labourers. Moreover, they are regarded as untouchables who are devoid of certain social as well as community privileges and are provided with a number of social disabilities.

The Dule Bauri young people, boys as well as girls, grow up free and unrestrained. There is no formal initiation into sexual life. In neither sex they practise any sort of deformation of genital organs. The sexual consciousness among the Dule Bauri children is developed very early. They get this knowledge from the talks and conducts of their parents and other near relatives who speak freely and refer openly of such things even in ordinary conversation. The lack of adequate accommodation in providing separate but for married couple leads the Dule Bauris to a situation where at night the parents, the married sons with their wives, and unmarried children sleep together under the same roof. As a result, the Dule Bauri child enjoys every opportunity of watching the primal scene. In the summer season the Dule Bauris sleep in *khatia* (cot) just under the sky and in the moonlit night the Dule Bauri child makes the best use of reckoning the details of sex-act. Sometimes to their astonishment the children find the amorous act between a man and a woman who do not socially share a husband-wife relationship. The Dule Bauris, in question of sexual morality, show a general lack. Men of other castes take the opportunity of their lack in sexual morality and the intensity of unbeaten poverty; and whenever they proceed they do not face any difficulty in securing a sexual mate from the Dule Bauri community. Most of their visits are made in day-time. And, on the occasion of their visits to their Dule Bauri mistresses, the children note the details of their

act only from peeping through the *kutchra* wall of the Dule Bauri hut.

On festive occasions a general laxity in their sex-behaviour becomes more marked. As for example, during the return journey from a *tusu* fair in the evening it is very common for a Dule Bauri child to observe the pairs in intimacy, and to find them in doing something here and there freely and openly. Moreover, in their ordinary life in village they also come across such scenes. Mostly at dusk in the evening and sometimes even in day-time it is not unusual for a Dule Bauri child to find pairs in action by the side of *aar* (the raised earthen partition in between the two cultivable plots) or a pond. Their sex-consciousness is also developed from the observations of animals copulating. In the village as well as in grazing fields they playfully observe the copulating animals and freely discuss the issue among themselves. A person-to-person enquiry reveals that the grown-up boys are quite masters in demonstrating different modes of copulation as prevalent among the animals like cow, buffalo, pig, sheep, goat, fowl, etc.

The Dule Bauri children also pick up sex-knowledge from persons with whom they share some sort of joking relationships. Such kins like grandfather, grandmother, brother's wife, sister's husband often make jokes related to sex and in cases directly impart sex-knowledge to them through conversation and story telling. Besides, the children collect sex-information from their

folk-songs and folk-tales. Some of the folk-songs like *jhumur*, *tusu*, and *bhadu* directly refer sex-affairs. Moreover, the action organised in *jatra* (opera) and in *khemta* (a kind of dance) provide them with a good deal of sex-knowledge. Scandals in society are openly discussed, which help in irritating their sex-knowledge. Also, certain observances made in connection with a marriage ceremony and certain actions performed in giving a birth of a child do not attempt to conceal anything from the children, which in cases help to develop their sex-queries.

The Dule Bauri children acquire the sex-experience in their early life. From personal interviews taken with the informants of different age grades it is evident that in most cases the first experience of sexual act of the young people of either sex is received from the married people. Usually the old and unattractive people, and the widows/widowers take the lead in such affairs. After their first sex-experience with the elderly people, they come to their own generation. In most cases they start the affair playfully. It is seen that their parents overlook such games of *bar-bau khela* (husband-wife play), the acting of *ma-baba* (mother-father) and *sasur-sasuri...* (father-in-law and mother-in-law) in *putul-bia khela* (doll-marriage play), the role performance of husband and wife in *ghar-bari khela* (family play), and even *thakur-puja khela* (priest-worship play) where the children do, apart from other acts, the sexual act also. In the latter game a boy plays the role of a Brahmin and a girl the role of a Dule Bauri

woman while others stand aside as visiting Dule Bauri children. In as well as outside such games it is not unusual to go against the rule of incest without the fear of any social consequence.

When they are a little grown-up, they lose some of their freedom and leisure. The boys take up the profession of *bagali* (cattle-tending) and become apprentices in their father's profession. The girls, on the other hand, afford their assistances to their mothers. Thus, they get their entry in the economic life of the society. In this stage they also earn their affiliations in socio-political life of the community. They are no more children but are recognised as boys and girls. Previously, they have no bar in participating in any rites organised by any sex. But now they can only participate in rites organised by their own sex. At this stage the girls, due to their close association with the women-folk, gradually acquire the knowledge of menstruation, and the beliefs and traditions associated with it. They believe that the first menstruation in a girl is caused by the introduction of the male genital organ into the female one. It does not happen in any other way, save and except the same is done by a male-spirit in sleep. Now it is very improper for a Dule Bauri girl to have the experience of first menstruation before she is duly married to a Dule Bauri individual. Therefore, the grown-up unmarried girls, being furnished with this knowledge and tradition, always avoid the members of the opposite sex.

For various reasons the Dule Bauri boys do not find it easier to

establish sexual connections with those girls of their own generation. From a consideration of their social prestige they cannot easily approach the girls of younger generations too, who are less restricted and enjoy more freedom. And, there is another consideration that they fail to approach those little girls playfully as the little boys often do. In practice, the little girls do strongly resist them and sometimes make scenes which attract the attention of the elderly people who certainly rebuke and threaten the boys. As a result of all these, the boys become isolated. But they have begun to acquire sex-knowledge from their very early life and have already received a few primary experiences. Moreover, their biology at this stage demands actual sex gratification which is denied by the social strictures imposed upon them. This situation, in which their growing sexual desires do not find a way of channelisation, leads them to homosexual practices which they adopt more freely and do more frequently in such isolated grazing fields. In cases it is also not unknown to gratify their sexual desires with domesticated animals like cow, buffalo, goat, etc. During this part of life they develop a strong attachment for the women. They watch the women in actions and also in sleep, which help them in doing their homosexual activities and in causing night pollution. In addition to all these indirect affairs, it has been reported that some of them establish a direct sex relation with the women aged, deserted or perverted.

Menstruation, i. e., the flow of blood from the uterine mucose of a woman in a cyclic order is locally known as *pali*. In their mode of living and material existence the Dule Bauris expressly show all the characteristics of an agricultural community. Whatever area of land they may hold they are the tillers of soil and depend wholly or mainly on the harvest of paddy crop. They employ the most of their time, energy and intelligentia in the affairs of raising crops. In consequence of this they have not only acquired more and more practical knowledges of these affairs or have attained adequate skill and experience in the trade but have also developed a greater tie with this particular mode of living. Whenever they need an explanation of any affairs of their socio-cultural life they stretch their hands to the store-room where agriculturally oriented knowledges in their volumes are well preserved. In explaining menstruation they smoothly elevate their agricultural knowledges and conceptions to such an extent that they nicely imagine and symbolise the woman as a plot under cultivation. A plot being wet through the action of rainfall becomes cultivable. And, one at this stage of development can plough and sow seeds if he wants to raise a crop. In their way of symbolisation they equate menstruation with rainfall, the male organ with the plough, and semen with the seeds. Further, they explain that the rain-water comes from the heaven (*swarga*) and helps to wet the genital organ of the mother earth (*Parvati*) and then passes to the bottom (*patal*). Accordingly, they equate the plough-share with the

genital organ of the god Siva (*Siva-linga*), and the corn with the goddess *Lasmi*.

In the Dule Bauri community a girl and a woman have two different entities. They say that a girl attains the womanhood with her first experience of menstruation. Before her attainment of womanhood she is in no case allowed to prepare or even to touch the food-stuffs which can be offered to any of their deities, is not permitted to participate directly in any ritual organised by the women-folk though she may join them and observe their doings, is not entitled to participate in agricultural operations like uprooting paddy seedlings from nursery beds and planting the same in the plots under transplantation, and is not allowed to practise the tossing method of winnowing and to paddle the husking lever though she may assist the operation by sitting on the left side of the head of the lever.

In the Bauri society it is believed that the first flow of the menstrual blood in a girl comes as and when she establishes the sexual contact with a male. In former times, due to their practice of early marriage (the average age of the bride was eight years) they did not find anything against their belief. But now the age at marriage has become considerably increased. As a rule, in the period of 11 to 13 years the Dule Bauri girl experiences her first menstruation. On the other hand, it is not very uncommon today to find a Dule Bauri bride of 15 or 16 years of age. Therefore, it is logical that in her maidenhood a Dule Bauri girl may have the experience of

her first menstruation. However, it is very improper on her part because a Dule Bauri girl is always expected to remain a virgin till she is married. In such an incidence neither the girl nor her parents admit the possibility of a human being behind it but the whole responsibility is laid down on the shoulders of an unseen spirit. If that unmarried girl does not become pregnant in due course of time, the neighbours do also agree with the spirit theory. If the pregnancy is developed, the girl's family is to deliver the name of the person concerned. If the girl or the girl's family fails to give a name to the village Panchayat, the family will have to pay a heavy fine and will have to find out a groom before she gives birth to a child. If the person responsible is found, the village Panchayat applies some pressure on both the families to arrange the marriage and to pay the fine. In neither case the proper marriage (*bia*) ceremony can be conducted. In such case a *sanga* (remarriage) ceremony is observed, but the parents of the girl do not receive the benefit of *sanga*, i.e., the higher amount of bride-price. This union is socially less favoured. Therefore, if it happens that a girl in her maidenhood experiences her first menstruation and does not become pregnant, she and her family keep the fact under covering. Afterwards a marriage is negotiated and the actual marriage ceremony is observed. The girl in that case makes a show and reports accordingly to her mother-in-law the first menstruation after marriage as the first menstruation of her womanhood.

The marriage of a boy before attaining his manhood with a girl before attaining her womanhood is still a preferred social practice. At this stage of their development both of them fail to adjust in their newly married life and to gratify their sexual desires. The girl is too young to endure the bearings of such an awful experience and she always tries to avoid her husband. However, she does not find a complete escape because of strictures formulated in their marriage ceremony. It is customary that after the ceremony of the eighth day (*astamangala*) the pair returns to the house of the groom and there they reside for a month.

On the first night after coming back from *astamangala*, it is ritually prescribed that the husband should attend his wife, which has been so far tabued for both of them. Women from neighbouring houses assemble there and stay till they hear the weeping voice of the bride. Then it is considered that ritually the marriage ceremony is concluded. Now let us have two sample narrations. One of my old informants describes, "I was of twelve and she was of eight years old. I did already gather some knowledge and experience, and above all on that day I got all the detailed instructions from my sister's husband. At night I went in and closed the door. She was standing in one corner of the room with a posture common to a frightened animal. First I tried to talk with her. She did not respond. I was then tempted not by sexual desires but by emotional curiosity. I brought her to my bed and attend her as a

husband. To each and every act she made her full resistance, and I applied more and more physical force to win over her. At last being tired of it I turned to sleep while she continued her weeping." One of my female informants describes, "Just after the evening elder brother's wife of my husband and other women brought me in a room and left me there alone. During my childhood I gathered some experiences playfully and on the day of marriage I received all possible information and necessary instructions from my brother's wife. Still I felt myself quite helpless in that room and became very much frightened. After a little while, my husband was sent in. He closed the door and told me to take sit. Without making any reply I shifted my position to one corner of the room. Within the room he moved this way and that way, and finally putting the light off he took me on the bed. I was so badly treated that at last I could not find anything better but to cry in a shrill voice. Ultimately the sleep took my pains away. In the early morning I was received by his elder brother's wife who took me to a *bundh* (water-reservoir). After the bathing is completed she brought some creepers and instructed me to paint the extract of these creepers along the walls of my private, as the rapture of it had already caused some injury. According to our tradition from that day onward I had to live with him a complete month. In that month I was everyday advised and even sometimes forced by her female relatives like brother's wife, sister and even mother to go and to sleep with him. In fact, I had no other way to avoid the direc

tions of my in-laws. At last the month ended and I returned to my parents' house. I lived there for a complete year when my husband paid several visits but I never slept with him. When the year ended I came to my husband's house. This time the things with me were alright."

It is always expected that the girl should have her experience of first menstruation in the house of her husband. If it happens in the house of her parents, her father has to make all possible efforts to earn the favour of all the village deities and to arrange a social feast where at least lineage members, officials of the Grama Panchayat (village-council) and relations of her husband are to be invited. To arrange this kind of social feast and to make offerings to all the village deities are also observed in the house of her husband when she finally returns there. The period of ritual pollution on the part of a menstruous woman is considered for three days. On the fourth day before the sun rises she takes her bath and anoints her body with an oil-turmeric paste. Thenceforth, she becomes ritually clean. She wears a new *sari* (female garment) which is not to be purchased from the dealers in the market but from a local weaver against a payment of paddy. She then prepares the *dali* (offering) consisting of sunned rice, and a rupee-coin, incense, fruits and a new *dhuti* (male garment). She, being accompanied by other women of her caste, goes to the house of a Bangali Brahmin and offers the *dali* to the housewife who sprinkles some Gangetic water over her head.

When the cycle starts on thursday or Saturday, her father-in-law (or her father when she lives in her family of orientation) makes the provision of *ghee* (clarified butter) and a *dali* consisting of the former articles excepting the cloth. After receiving all these a Bengali Brahmin sacrifices the clarified butter in fire and pray the blessings of god for that Dule Bauri family. All these are observed in case of first menstruation only. There is another point. If the first menstruation is experienced before marriage and if it is not kept under covering they are to follow certain additional observances too. In that case they are to invite all the members of a caste-sholoana, and in respect to offering *dali* to a Bengali Brahmin family the number becomes increased from one to three.

In any menstruation afterwards she is also to observe a period of ritual pollution for consecutive three days. On the fourth day before the sun rises she takes her bath and anoints her person with an oil-turmeric paste. She then ritually becomes clean. In the period of these three days she is to observe the following taboos and prescriptions : The entry into kitchen as well as store-room is tabued. She is not to sleep in a bed with her husband and is not to use any cot for her sleeping. She is to make a bed of dry paddy-stalks on the floor where she sleeps in isolation. She should not touch the person of any male and is not allowed to touch any object used by a member of the male-folk. She is not allowed to serve anything to any man, and it is highly improper to take even a glass of

water from her hand. During these three days she can take her bath and can anoint her body with mustard oil, but in no case she is allowed to nourish her hair on head with oil. She is not to go anywhere outside the boundary of the village and should not go to a tank alone in the evening. In her period she is tabued from participating in any ritual or ceremony in the village.

Thus, it is seen that the Dule Bauri children begin to acquire sex-knowledge during the period of their childhood. They collect these information from the talks

and actions of their own people and neighbours, and also from ceremonial observances and birth rites. Very little secrecy is maintained to conceal anything from the children. It is seen that they earn their sex-experience also earlier. This comes to them through childish games and as a grace from the perverted population. Their concept of menstruation and practice of early marriage lead them to a situation where they fail to develop a healthy sex relation in the beginning. This ultimately marks a stronger negative impression on their growing thought-process.

J. SWAIN

The Kondhs are numerically the largest Scheduled Tribe in the State of Orissa who were once notorious for Meriah (human) sacrifice. They number 818,847 according to the Census of 1961. The Kondhs are divided into several sub-tribes. Though they are distributed in all the districts their main concentration is in Phulbani, Ganjam, Koraput, Kalahandi, Sambalpur and Bolangir. They worship the whole year a number of Gods and Goddesses to gain some material or social advantages. Here is described their pantheon, co-relation of major and minor deities, role of religious functionaries and common man and the social significance of these religious rites on the basis of the observation in the village Kanjamendi in Phulbani district.

It is indeed difficult to enlist the numerous names of the Kondh Gods and Goddesses presiding over the field, forest, village and home. The Kondhs believe that the various deities can be appeased through rituals like prayer, offerings, sacrifices and feasts accompanied by singing and drinking. Although the way of approach for

## THE KONDH PANTHEON AND THEIR SOCIAL SIGNIFICANCE

behaviour of super empirical approach varies from community to community the goal is same, i.e., to control the supernatural powers. They worship eighty-four deities at the time of sowing, harvesting and other ceremonial occasions. But their Chief or High deity is 'Darani' the Tadapenu. Long ago Human sacrifice was practised by Kondhs and the blood was offered to 'Tadapenu' or 'Burapenu'. The most potent motivation was to provide a magical fertiliser for the soil to secure a plentiful harvest. "The main three purposes of Human sacrifice were (1) to enhance the fertility of the soil, (2) to secure firm foundation of a building and (3) to secure good water supply from a well or pond"\*. The Meriah sacrifice of the Kondh became so notorious that General Campbell and Captain Mac Pherson had to take special pains to stamp it out during British rule.

Now-a-days Kondh practise buffalo sacrifice instead of human sacrifice which is called as 'Kedu'. But Kudutuli and Nuagaon Mutha of Phulbani district where I studied their custom is exception in this respect. 'Kedu' festival is observ-

ed in the months of March and April in order to worship their ancestral deity 'Dumadahani'. It is nothing but secondary mortuary ritual. This festival is celebrated for seven days having different rites on different days. On this occasion buffalo and pig meat, eggs and wine, etc., are offered to 'Darani' in communal basis. They believe that the soul will horn in an other form in the upper world. For some years, the dead persons remain as "Duma" or ghost. But after that they are treated as ancestral deity. Kondhs have an idea that by offering buffalo meat to their "Dumadahani" and its blood to 'Darani' the earth goddess, they would not face any calamity and their land will yield more. The Kondh word for god is "Penu" irrespective of sex. They locate their gods in the village, sky earth and under world. But under the Hindu influence these beliefs are changing.

Kondhs believe that a supreme goddess rules over all the gods, i.e., 'Darani' the symbol of which consists of a stone. Pig and fowl are sacrificed before 'Darani' along with the first fruits (Raw rice, nua-khai materials like 'Kandul' and Amba (Mango) Salap (Wine) and flour of rice are offered to the deity).

The Kondhs believe that 'Darani' is the creator of the whole Universe. In each and every Kondh raha (street) and Oriya raha there is 'Darani'. The worshipper of 'Darani' is known as tlamba, the priest. Generally 'Darani' is placed just below the varandha or on the varandah. There are four 'Darani' tlambas, and two 'Kedu tlambas' in

the village Kanjamendi. The worshipper of Darani must be a Kondh or an Oriya. There are fifteen rahas (streets) and twenty-two 'Daranis' in that village.

Generally, 'Darani' is established according to Raha. Even people of same 'Gasi' (Lineage) can establish a 'Darani' if they are living in a separate 'raha'. Apart from that different 'Gasi' people establish different 'Daranis' though they remain in the same Raha. 'Darani' can be established in the month of Chaitra, i.e., March and April, just before the 'Kedu' festival. The 'Gasi' people will sit together and select a faithful man to keep 'Darani' in his varandah.

On the appointed day the tlamba comes and brings a stone. He usually wears a purified cloth and observes fasting to preform the Puja. He establishes 'Darani' and worships with some rice to four goddesses, namely, Tadapenu, 'Daranipenu', Burapenu, and Srambuli, 'Dimbuli. On that day the Gasi people have to sacrifice a pig or fowl before 'Darani'. The Tlamba keeps the lever and blood on 'Darani'. All the male gasi members contribute some rice and participate in the feast. The women are not allowed to take the meat which was offered to 'Darani'. The people also offer rice, pig, wine and egg to 'Darani' while they establish 'Darani' newly.

They worship Darani in order to be saved from the wild animals like tiger and bear as well as for the betterment of their domestic animals. They also worship in other occasions such as in death

rituals, in K e d u festivals, in 'Sadrangi' and in 'Maranglaka'. Except these they also worship 'Darani' if a lady saw 'Darani' during her menstruation period. While worshipping 'Darani' the tlamba wears a good cloth and observes fasting till he finishes the Puja. At the time of sacrifice he keeps there 'Siali' leaves near 'Darani'. Then he keeps the rice on it. After that he kills the pig or fowl and adds blood on that rice uttering some mantras in Kui language for different purposes. From the above facts we can conclude that 'Darani' is the centre of Konth social organization because 'Darani' is worshipped in each festival and in their social life like marriage, birth and death in which all the Gari members unite together and arrange a feast. 'Darani' or 'Tdapenu' is the chief deity among the Kondh, deities. She has six sisters like 'Burapenu', 'B a d i p e n u', 'Dimbuli', 'Srambuli', 'Kokali, and 'Bekali' and they are for different purposes. In any sort of festivals or rituals they are worshipped with blood and meat of leaver portion. Apart from this 'Darani' is worshipped in several occasions like 'Budeli', 'Kedu', 'Marangi', etc. The Kondhs believe that "Darani" the earth Goddess presides over all the minor deities and stands as surety and security in their lives. They are very particular to worship 'Darani' on all occasions while worshipping the other deities.

#### **Forest God (Luhapenu) :**

This deity is worshipped by a special "Tlamba" at an interval of 7 years. In this festival villagers of Kanjamendi, Rajagara, Jurukupada, Dedimaha, Dimisingia, Sriti-

guda, Dudi-Pakia, Dagam, Lanjura, Mundargaon, Jamba, Kudu-tuli, join. As the 'tlamba' carries an iron rod symbolising the god with him while going to perform the puja, the name of god is 'Luhapenu'. This puja is celebrated in the month of Baisakha (April and May) with a goat sacrifice and done in anticipation of safety from natural calamities.

Previously, the 'Tlamba' and his wife were remaining there for 7 days but now they are giving 7 clay vessels for each day to that hill and finally they worship. All the villagers gather there and dance merrily singing songs and beating drums. At first, the villagers of Kanjamendi settle a day and then other villagers are informed. This puja is observed at intervals when 'Luhapenu' attacks any body.

#### **Raingod (Sashipenu)**

Kondhs worship 'Sashipenu' in order to get showers they required. This deity is established by tribals but worshipped by an Oriya from which the name is derived (Sashi Oriya, Penu-God). They worship a 'Sal' tree as the symbol of 'Sashipenu' in every 7 years through a special tlamba.

#### **Fountain God (Sirupenu)**

The following fountains they worship at the time of Kedu festival, namely, 'Nabajirichua', 'Siseli-chua' and 'Bagal banda chua'. They worship this fountain god with an egg in order to get pure water and to console the fountain god throughout the whole year. Besides this, they also worship in

certain death rituals like 'Aras Puja' (A man when killed by tiger) and in other ceremonies like marriage.

### Field God (Gamberupenu or Patkhanda Devata)

This festival is celebrated in the month of Chaitra. The Darani-tlamba performs this puja as a puritan. Every year the Tlamba worships with some Arua rice and an egg. Except this if a person suffers due to 'Gamberu penu' then one goat or fowl is sacrificed. Previously, this God was in a thatched cottage but now no such house is there. I was told by my informants that many people are cured by propitiating this deity.

### Household Gods (Dumadahani)

The Kondhs have a strong belief that like other gods and goddesses the household gods are very powerful and require offerings. The deity is the ancestral god of Kondhs who is always associated with numerous spirits who acts like agents and keeps eye over the progress and prosperity of the family members of each house. During illness the house owner immediately performs the puja by offering rice and wine, etc.

*Salapenu*—The deity is worshipped in the month of Jaistha by the family elder. Fowl is sacrificed. 'Salapenu' is represented by 'Lingalipenu' which is the idols of yoke, buffalo, man, snake, elephant, etc. The deity brings different diseases to cattle.

*Siripenu*—The Siripenu is the deity of kitchen room. Fowl is

sacrificed along with rice and wine in the month of May and June in order to be saved from dangers. Old clay vessels of the kitchen are changed and the Kondhs add new vessels to their kitchen.

*Budelipenu*—This deity is worshipped in the month of Margsir (November-December) by the 'Darani Tlamba'. The Gasi members unite and worship before cutting the paddy and other crops from the wet land. They perform 'Budeli Puja' to get good and sufficient crops. Pig is sacrificed with rice, wine, etc. The deity is represented by a stone and is placed in an open field under a jack tree.

*Nadiapenu*—In the month of 'Kartik', they worship 'Nadiapenu' the idol of Radha and Krishna, Rama, Siba, etc., to get more crops under the influence of Hindu tradition. Rice plantain and coconuts are offered near the Tulsi temple.

### Malevolent Deities :

*Burapenu*—This god is always angry with the people. He destroys the crops. The Darani tlamba worships this deity, sacrificing fowl and pig.

*Kubapenu*—'Kubapenu' means the drought God. He is worshipped once in a year by the 'Darani tlamba' in order to bring rain. Fowl is sacrificed.

*Ajapenu*—This deity causes small-pox and is worshipped far away from the village. The Kedu tlamba's mother worships it by sacrificing fowl or goat before this deity.

*Danda Penu*—This god causes pain in the belly, headache and muscular pains. Fowl, rice and wine are offered to this god by a 'Kutagatanju' the shaman.

*Hadbai Penu*—This god destroys the whole dynasty if not properly propitiated. It is symbolised by a copper paise and a silver rupee. Goat and fowl are sacrificed before this god in order to please Him.

*Maulipenu*—Maulipenu is worshipped by an Oriya to save the family members. This type of puja is generally done at night in secret by sacrificing fowl and pig. The puja is performed for a sick person by offering pig, fowl, egg, wine, Arua rice, vermillion, ghee, turmeric-powder and a new clay vessel. The male members may either arrange a feast with the sacrificed animal or throw it away.

### Religious Functionaries :

Unlike the Hindus the Kondh functionaries worship from their own community in several occasions. Their posts are hereditary. The Kondhs believe that by worshipping benevolent deities there will be peace, progress, and prosperity not only to the individual but also to the entire community as a whole. They follow certain rites and rituals to appease the supernatural force to avert evil spell. Persons given these special nature of duties are called functionaries who enjoy high ranks in the society. They are of four kinds of such functionaries, viz, (1) *tlamba* (the worshipper) the master of ritual and go-between of man and god. (2) *Kutagatanju* (the magician and

Shaman). (3) *Kutagatali* (lady shaman) who cures the epidemic diseases by enjoying the intimate relationship with Gods. 4. *Budda* (the oldest man of the family) who worships home deities. There are 3 categories of 'tlambas' like 'Darani tlamba' who worships 'Darani', 'Kedu tlamba' who worships in 'Kedu' only and other 'tlambas' who worship deities like *Luhapenu*, *Sasipenu*, etc. All of them observe certain taboos throughout the year and also at the time of worshipping.

Previously, they were supplied with land instead of remuneration. But now-a-days they are all supplied with rice, wine, cloth and rupee according to their nature of performance in various ceremonial occasions and rituals.

In all sorts of religious rites and rituals the concerned men contribute their amount and enjoy that day by singing and dancing, finally the functionaries take part in eating and drinking.

### Economy of a Kondh Festival :

I had an opportunity of witnessing the 'Salangilaka' of the Kondhs of Kanjamendi. The Kondhs are divided into many groups. They are distinguished from each other in their customs, tradition, languages and practices. Here the exact economic connotation of one of the ceremonies of the Kondhs is given below. It is needless to point out that even in the twentieth century their customs and traditions remained as usual. Sometime their religion governs their economic life and is the

cause of their misery and indebtedness. Some of them are converted in to Christianity leaving their traditions and some of them are on the way of Hinduisation. In fact the Kondh religions is in flux now.

I observed the "Salangilaka" of Manjiri Malik and Getua Pradhan of village Kanjamendi, the economy of which is mentioned below. Its purpose is to be free from all sorts of dangers. Fowl, wine and eggs are offered and Buddha the old man of the family worships it.

| Sl. No. | Name of the festivals                             | Cost of animals    | Cost of the foodgrains                  | Cost of wine           | Miscellaneous                                    | Total     | Remarks |
|---------|---------------------------------------------------|--------------------|-----------------------------------------|------------------------|--------------------------------------------------|-----------|---------|
| 1       | "Salangi laka" Guhal Puja of Shri Manjura Mallik. | Fowl 2<br>Rs. 4.50 | Paddy, rice and cooked rice<br>Rs. 7.00 | Salap wine<br>Rs. 1.00 | Eggs 2<br>Rs. 0.20<br>clay vessel<br>Rs. 2.25    | Rs. 14.95 |         |
| 2       | "Salangi Laka" of Shri Getu Pradhan.              | Fowl 2<br>Rs. 4.00 | Paddy, rice and cooked rice<br>Rs. 5.75 | Salap wine<br>Rs. 1.50 | Eggs 2<br>Rs. 0.20<br>clay vessels<br>3 Rs. 2.50 | Rs. 13.75 |         |

### Salangilaka :

It is observed twice in a year. The oldest man of the family worships it instead of a tlamba (Priest). They change their cooking, vessels. One fowl is offered along with egg and wine near Salapenu the God of the cowshed. The worshipper observes fasting. The sacrificed meat is only taken by the males but the females are tabooed. Some people call their lineage gasi members to participate in the feast. While worshipping they keep "Darab" the idols of buffalo, horse, elephant, snake, yoke and a plough man. Fowl egg, wine, Siali leaves, Bdaha (fruit) and raw rice are also required.

*Purpose*—Their main purpose is that no danger will come to them, the wild animals would not attack

their cattle and the ancestors would not cause any disease when they are properly propitiated. Another fowl is sacrificed in the kitchen to the ancestors and the meat is taken by the females only. This puja is called "Takingalaka". On that day they are tabooed to do any sort of work.

### Social Significance :

Each of these Kondh deities has got certain important social significance for which these religious festivals and rituals are observed. The Kondhs have a strong belief that the ancestral estate on which rice is grown, the ploughing, sowing, transplanting and harvesting of the crop, the basket in which paddy is stored and the measures used for measuring paddy all require ritual attention. It may be

recalled that the Kondh continues to take an interest in his family affairs even after his death on which the prosperity and happiness of the family and indirectly of the total society depends. At the time of harvesting, they celebrate "Budelipuja" which is followed by a collective sacrifice and dinner of the entire 'Gasi' members.

On the last day of their harvesting the 'Gasi' members celebrate "Keta laka Puja" expressing a desire for plenty. According to R. Firth "Life in a community means organization of the interest of individuals regulations of their behaviour towards one another and grouping of them together for common action. The relationship thus created between them can be seen to have some kind of plan or system which may be called the social structure".

It goes without saying that Religion binds them together in several occasions like 'Salangilaka', Nuakhai festival, marriage and death, and finally in 'Sashipenu' and Adajala puja, in family, Gasi, village and Mutha level. So religion is binding force amongst individuals and it contributes to the existence of society as an ordered and continuing system of relationships amongst human beings.

Hence it is seen practically that religion binds them together in various festivals and rituals as a force of social control in family, Gasi, village and Mutha level. "In brief we can conclude that in all ages men have hoped that by the proper performance of religious action or observances they would obtain some specific benefit, health and long life, children to carry on their line, material well-being, success in hunting, rain, the growth of crops and the multiplication of cattle, victory in war, admission of their souls after death to a paradise, or inversely release by the extinction of personality from the round of reincarnation".\*

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\*The Henry Myers lecture 1945.

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## METHODS OF SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY AND STUDY OF TRIBES IN INDIA \*

Anthropology as the all embracing Science of a man has made great strides during the last century. After the formulatory period during which it suffered from a good deal of infantile meanderings it has established itself a role in the domain of sciences. Constant and painstaking efforts of field workers all over the world who adopted various methods from different branches of sciences, technology and humanities broadened the scope of the discipline. All these were incorporated to devise suitable tools. Physical Anthropology as a part and parcel of biological Sciences virtually becomes a concrete discipline. Similarly Pre-his t o r i c archaeology with the help of geology, and palaeontology established itself as a specific branch of knowledge. Linguistics with multiple collaboration has developed its own precepts. Thus was left Social Anthropology to proceed in rather a lesser speed as a discipline to study the social life of man. In the present paper the dimensions

of Social Anthropology and the process through which it is emerging as a comprehensive study of the man will be analysed. Although ideas and concepts on the theoretical frame work have been taken into account, the present paper is mostly based on direct experience of studying different human groups particularly those pre-literate communities which are known as tribes.

Any book on the history of anthropological theories and thoughts clearly shows that social anthropology was born out of curiosity. When Europeans came in contact with different groups of people in the farthest continents many of the adventurers considered it worthwhile to record the quaint customs and practices different from the European ways of life. Colonization brought in its train missionaries, administrators and merchants. Some of them took pains and interest to record the customs and practices of different human types, their beliefs and

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faith, their religion and social life. Eminent scholars at home compiled these which ultimately become classics in Anthropology.

Interested scholars from other disciplines like Franz Boas, Malinowski, Rivers, Radcliff Brown took to study the man. However, those scholars definitely established the tradition of field work. They considered the travelogues as background material to be substantiated and established by painstaking field work among the particular group of people. This was the foundation of the scientific approach. Thereafter it was reckoned that studies by actually living with the community is the *sine quanon* for social Anthropology. Year after year a good number of scholars and research workers all over the world are engaged in the study of different communities be primitive or advanced.

With the emergence of new world as the most affluent nation, scholars in U.S.A. vigorously pursued the study of man. Geographical, social and political environment in the United States of America gave philip to studies in social Anthropology. In a multi-racial and multi-lingual country such studies could be easily taken up. Thus we found immediately after the Second World War that importance was given to anthropological studies by the American Universities and foundations. A large number of publications on the subject extended to different parts of the world. It is, therefore, natural that in India we are getting more and more influenced

by methodology and concepts from that country.

The earlier generation of Anthropologists in our country were mostly trained in England. Thus naturally they were oriented to the thoughts and ideas developed in the British Empire. Our literature on the subject were based on concepts of functionalism, an integrated approach to cultural problem. All those were basically products of intensive field work among the pre-literate tribal communities which abound in this sub-continent. Moreover, the administrators and civil servants required a good deal of insight into the life of contemporary tribal people for peace and good Government in those areas. They, therefore, encouraged and stimulated studies among the different tribes. The scholars who were trained on the subject in Calcutta or at Patna under S. C. Ray were keen on studying the tribal communities.

After independence our Constitution placed an onerous responsibility on the entire nation to develop and safe-guard the interest of the tribes. On no other subject the Constitution has been so emphatic as on the development of tribes. Even the sacrosant fundamental rights, make deviations in case of Scheduled Tribes and tribal areas. The laws of the land were to be administered in such a manner so as to improve the tribes within a certain stipulated period. Liberal financial provisions were envisaged for this purpose. A machinery to watch over the progress was also established both at the centre and States. All these therefore, made, it absolutely essential in our

country to concentrate on the contemporary tribal people. This position has been indicated hereto clearly point out the environment in which Social Anthropology is now being studied in this country as divergent from other advanced countries.

In India a good number of development programmes have been launched. The Five-Year Plans have been responsible for establishment of industries, river valley projects, hydro-electric schemes and communication, transport, railways have been extended to many remote tribal areas. The vast mineral potentialities are being exploited. Agriculture, animal husbandry poultry have been improved. The tribal people have adopted some of these innovations. But by and large the majority of tribals could not fully accept innovations to any great extent and change has only been peripheral. Bound by the age old traditions and social inhibitions many of the tribes continue to retain their close cultural base. The soft core of their cultural has shown some material changes but the basic faith and beliefs persist. All those have contributed directly or indirectly to intercept their adoption of new ideas and values of life.

Planners, administrators and anthropologists who have studied theoretical concepts of planning and development are sometimes bewildered to fully account for such inertia and apathy among the different communities to adopt and accept changes. Of course our non-tribal rural communities are equally bound by such traditions. But here we are mainly dealing the

tribes who have distinct pattern of culture distinguishable from other communities. It will not be out of place to indicate here some of the basic realities which confront anthropologists in this sub-continent. Some students who have lived and studied the tribes for some years have found that the tribal people on many occasions stick firmly to their social values, although change agents have been vigorous. Bailey has shown that among Khandhs of Phulbani land is the basic ingredient of social status and political asendency. The goal drive among Kandhs therefore has been to acquire land as much as possible. Study of Saoras by the author for last 10 years has shown that wet land cultivation as well as shifting cultivation on hill clearings are the main occupation of the tribe. Saoras whether living in the present world or in the under world after death equally value land. It is only mortgaged, never permanently transferred. Among Juangs of Keonjhar who are primarily shifting cultivators hill clearings are held by communal ownership and are allocated by village headman to individual family members. After allotment to a family the possession is retained with great care. The backward Bond Highlanders pay no less respect to land. The value attached to land makes tribals immensely agitated when they loose possession of land. No doubt incursion of non-tribals into tribal areas produced the first casualty that is the dis-possession of tribals from the valley lands. This is the basic motivation in tribal uprisings in the past and in the present.

Tribes live in close association with forest. In their legends there are descriptions that they settled down by clearing forests. Many settlement of Munda speaking tribals had the suffix *Da* means water and *Bir'* means forest. The deprivation of rights over forest gave the tribals the greatest shock. The forest policy of 1842 enunciated by the British rulers recognized the traditional rights of the tribals over the forest. The scientific conservation of forest was considered expedient subject to the benefits enjoyed by the tribals. But afterwards forest policy from time to time has overlooked basic rights of the tribals and have, therefore, made the autochthones feel alien in their own home land.

The pre-literate people all over the world are bound by a chain of reciprocity. Barter and exchange economy practised by tribals enable them to maintain this chain. When the money economy made inroads into the tribal life it could not fully replace the traditional form of barter. On the other hand it provided opportunity for outsiders to exploit them. Being unaware of the implications of modern ways of life tribals usually do not make a distinction about their immediate and future needs. The usual ebullient life gives way to depression and frustration. Modern values of life pre-suppose savings and unlimited craze for money and material possession. When these values are introduced among tribals they do not readily acquiesce those. As a result their world view continue to be different from others. They are thus exploited by cunning groups. Their economic life cannot take a turn for better.

Education among the tribals continued to be informal and pragmatic. It was based on joinder of discipline and actual training to grow up. On the other hand the formal education with all its committant aspects produce a significant impact on the tribes. Once the basic values were made to change in tribal life through our formal education the core of discipline and training get a setback. Dormitory institution, which is still prevalent among different tribes may show how well organized and effective this institution has been to provide education and training to the youth. When this is given a go by, the tribals seek recreation in movies and alcoholism. Sex offences and delinquencies were unknown among the tribal areas are on increase. During the recent riots in Rourkela it was shown by a study that the tribals took to large scale slaughter without understanding anything of communal disharmony due to partition of the sub-continent. The wide spread students unrest, and the pervading indiscipline in different walks of life made inroads into tribal life. The usual barrier which isolated tribals into certain extent naturally crumbled before those.

The earlier definition of a tribe which may hold good describes a tribe as a group of people having common language customs and practices inhabiting a particular geographical area. Thus a tribe is bound by a large number of traits which determine its pattern of life. The leadership in each community be on secular or on unreligious aspect was from within the community. The child grows up in the

milieu of parental care, neighbourhood affiliation. Village elders, and tribals chiefs had their joint and several contribution. The role taking and growing up in tribal society were therefore deeply associated with the training which are provided to them by all those agencies. When modernity introduced Panchayats and the different type leadership with legislators, sarpanches, ward members, etc., the traditional leadership lost its grip over the community. A study conducted by Tribal Research Bureau among the Santals an expansive tribe who spread over different States has shown, that even they would not accept democratic elections with that amount of vigour which was expected from them. Most of the remained indifferent and allowed even non-tribals to be elected as their representatives to the statutory elected bodies. Those being associated with power of the rulers were more awe inspiring. In case of backward tribes like Saora there was even difficulty to induce someone to contest in panchayat elections. One nominated sarpanch after a short time found the job uninteresting and resigned it. On the other hand Saoras have their traditional headmen to arbiter over their disputes and to settle their problems with the administration. All those headmen were brushed aside by statutory elected leaders. Thus the result has been a vacuum in leadership in most of the tribal areas.

Recent tribal upheavals in parts of Andhra Pradesh bordering Orissa State has shown that tribals who have openly broken the law, understood very little of the higher ethics of Marxism, left communism or

some such ism. They understood very little of individual ownership versus public ownership, private enterprise versus socialism. They understood one point that most of their land have been under the possession of non-tribals before a few years. Prospects of shifting cultivation were curbed by forest regulations. Economic life has not improved. Contact with the urban centres changed their world view and level of aspiration. They found that redress through normal official channels has not been possible during all these years. In spite of the lurching of development programme and visit of officials their main needs have not been satisfied. Hence their minds were charged with suspicion and antipathy. At the time of such mounting frustration any trouble shooter or agent provocateur could hold his sway over the tribals to encourage them to take law in their own hands. Had the traditional leadership been able to hold them the result would have been perhaps different. But in an area of leadership vacuum that could not be possible.

Tribals in the borders have been agitating for quite some time. Nagas have got a State, Mizos demand a separate Mizo land. Assam is now going to have a separate hill state. The older leadership for the same cause who had several representatives in Bihar and Orissa State Legislature are losing their control and there has emerged a new leadership mostly of young men. Some of them are educated in the universities and colleges. They have debated on the separate State formed in the Eastern Frontier. They have taken into account the scope of development and

employment and have based their demand for separate State. Though in Orissa and Bihar we consider this movement as indications of disintegration, we overlook the basic factor that during these years we have not done much to catch the imagination of the tribals in general and the youth in particular. Tribal leaders who represent them in the legislature get divorced from the rank and file and from the main stream of tribal environment. Hence they lose their grip over the tribals. In the absence of a systematic leadership the tribals could not be blamed for directing their energy for a separate political structure. Rapid industrialisation in these areas have generated a number of changes. Conversion to christianity has equally induced progress. Army centres and other major projects have created a great reshuffle. All those have contributed for a different mode of life in the area.

It has also been found that by chance accident industries, river valley and hydro-electric, mineral development projects are mostly located in tribal areas. These projects result in displacement of a good number of tribals from their homes. According to the existing law they are paid some cash compensation. That is spent quickly by various means and the tribals who lost their land and houses seldom get a substitute at the initial stage. Some of them are engaged as unskilled worker. But thereafter they cannot get any other employment and become refugees. The state which has the sacred duty to safeguard their interest seldom make serious efforts to rehabilitate displaced tribals. This creates a good

deal of frustration in the minds of tribals.

From the above brief account of some of the vital issues relating to the tribal life in the sub-continent it is clear that studies among tribals are neither complete nor exhaustive. We have to alleviate them from stagnation and the moribund state of life. Hadden described the tribals in India as a group of people who after many wanderings have settled down in Chutia Nagpur. Shri Chitanya avoided trekking through Jharkhand. Our Puranas considered tribals as Asura, Danaba, an abominable group.

Asoka was particularly conscious of the jungle tribes and their distinct customs and manners. The inscription at Dhauli near Bhubaneswar categorically ordered the Governors to treat the jungle folk with compassion. Mugul emperors avoided direct encounters with the tribal people. When the Britishers ruled over the country they thought of providing safeguards for the tribes. Excluded and partially excluded areas were formed to provide a separate form of administration for the tribes. They were also represented in the legislatures by persons nominated from different walks of life. The social workers of the country were particularly antagonistic to this policy of segregation. The political atmosphere of the country was such that it was considered expedient to the national interest, not to isolate any particular group of people. However, when we attained independence most of the safeguards were incorporated in the Constitution with greater emphasis than before. We have already

discussed the salient future of these safeguards earlier. However, here it is to be reiterated that within this century we definitely distinguished a group of people known as Scheduled Tribes (a) who are not at the same level of advancement as the other general population, (b) who have distinct customs manners and social life, (c) who are to be patronised and promoted to reach general level of the country.

In the light of these considerations social anthropologists cannot easily brush aside the backward and pre-literate tribal communities from their scope of studies. Therefore social anthropology in our country is to still give emphasis on the tribes their customs and practices etc. Even after all these years of the extension of development programme some of the backward tribes particularly in Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and Orissa continue to remain in a very backward condition. On many of the tribes we do not have full account. Monographs compiled on some of the tribes by the earlier workers covered only some of them. There still remain quite a good number of groups on whom we need authentic and exhaustive monographs.

The U. S. A. and European nations have already reached a certain stage of advancement. Industrial and urban complex have levelled up their social and cultural life. Cultural proliferations have all been brought to fit into a single standard of life. Group variations are insignificant in this process of transformation. The inner-directed groups have changed

to other-directed ones. That is not the case with backward tribes in India. They are still tradition directed. Their level of aspiration and world view are limited. The process of civilization on many cases reached only the periphery and seldom the hard core of their culture.

Let us consider the case of Lanjia Saoras in Ganjam and Koraput districts of Orissa State. This tribe inhabits high hill ranges and build their settlement on the hill slopes. They have ingenuity for terrace building. Religion is the focal point of their culture. Perhaps they have the largest number of gods, spirits and ancestors to be propitiated than any other group in the world. Saoras are in contact with the outside world for pretty long time. They migrated into tea gradens at the beginning of this century. Development programmes have been introduced since last twenty years. In spite of all these factors, Saoras continue to have a close cultural base. Change agents except conversion to christianity were not successful to change this tribe. Although Lanjia Saoras continue to have their customs and practices, a section of this tribe known as 'Sudha' means—clean, totally transformed them as a Hindu caste donning sacred thread.

Kandha the numerically largest tribe of Orissa have widely varying sections. Some of these sections like Kotia, Dongria, and Pengo are shifting cultivators and food gatherers. Another section Jatapus have adopted Telegu and are considerably advanced. Similarly

Desia Kandh—means locals are indistinguishable from the general rural population of the area where they live.

Juang are similarly divided into three sections. Hill Juang of Keonjhar are shifting cultivators, food gatherers while those just immediately below the hills in Pallahara are basket makers and those in the palins of Dhenkanal are settled agriculturists indistinguishable from the other castes. This clearly shows that change of occupation or even departure from the moorings produces transformations. However, these are not so wide like those which have affected different population in the western countries. The tribes around the Steel City of Rourkela or Jamshedpur still continue to retain many of their traditional customs and practices. The different sections of Pahadiyas of Santal Paraganas dwell in the same geographical habitat and practise shifting cultivation. Birhors and Khadias are nomadic groups. Birhors live by rope-making and hill Khadias by collection of honey and other minor forest produce. When they are settled in land it takes time for them to adopt to the change of occupation.

These instances have been shown to indicate that the transformation taking place in the tribal groups are not according to any set pattern or hypothesis. The usual methodology to assess these may have to be modified and changed.

Field workers among the tribes have invariably found it extremely difficult to elicit information from them. Participant observations and actual living with the tribes

have been fruitful. But one is apt to commit fallibility as language stands as a barrier in many cases. At present scholars who are taking up problematic studies with much lesser time at their disposal than those of the earlier days often return with inadequate data. An American scholar of eminence who came to study a specific problem was bewildered to understand the actual connotation of certain common local words. Modern Social Anthropology has adopted sharper methods from Psychology, Statistic and even calculus. Those are used to interpret social phenomena. Nevertheless there still remains a wide gap between the standardized methods and the actual thinking process of the man. It varies from situation to situation. It also varies according to the particular condition which might have been brought by flood, tiger menace, epidemic or recent prosecution for breaking forest or excise laws. In such circumstances the researcher may be confronted with situation which he may not have been under ordinary circumstances. The modern methodology therefore, fall short of apprehending such eventuality. In case of backward tribes.

Due to this peculiar situation in our country it is therefore, highly essential for Social Anthropologists to continue to study the tribes in relation to their sociocultural life for taking stock of the change agents, the process of acculturation and impact of industrialization. Those are to be studied in relation to the particular situation, period, etc. We cannot

also forget about the task imposed on us by the Constitution to improve the condition of these tribes. During these year the development programme have not made appreciable contribution to this effect. We have therefore, a good deal to study about the failure of a particular programme in relation to a specific tribal life and culture. That again will require probing into the frontiers of tribal culture. Thus there is necessity and it is imperative on the part of social anthropologists to study the tribal communities and the standardized hypotheses and techniques borrowed from other disciplines have to be modified to suit to the purpose and requirements.

Intern-disciplinary approach in studying human problems is necessary. Nevertheless greater emphasis on psychological techniques may very often lead to errors. A book recently published on the Saora children which claims to be good psychological treatise has made certain gross conjectures about the culture and life of the tribe. The techniques devised for specific occasions is bound to produce a different interpretation if the particular situation varies. Hence the assistance to be taken from psychology should be limited to help social anthropology, not to over ride its own techniques. Similarly statistical representation of cultural phenomena is an assumption to over simplify the issues. Formation of groups, analysis of group behaviour and such associated variable may not be so wide in case of tribal communities. There are also slight deviation and departure from a set pattern. Those

again may only be in the warfs and woofs but not in the pattern of culture itself. The basic needs and satisfaction of those generate derived and integrated needs are to be carefully assessed. Methods of social anthropology provide a greater lever for all those than other disciplines.

At present we are widely talking of national integration. We have not forgotten the divisions and factions which our country had before the Britishers united the country. Now also the separatist tendency is raising its head in many parts. Forces of disintegration gain momentum when we overlook the basic needs of all the sections of our population. As regards the tribes are concerned we have to follow a scientific policy which means progressive advancement of social and economic life of the tribals with a view to their ultimate integration with the rest of the community on a footing of equality within a reasonable time. The period has necessarily to vary from tribe to tribe. This object could only be achieved if we have authentic studies among the different tribes which unfortunately we lack. In the past social anthropologists were considered as curio hunters who wanted to keep the tribals as museum pieces. In contrast to that it was considered that rapid assimilation of the tribal communities with that of the general population would be essential. The confusion and conflict on those two issues are often over stressed. By following any of those policies we have not made the tribals any way better than what they were before independence. The apathy

against social anthropologists has been mostly due to the fact that their studies and findings were not always palatable to enthusiastic social workers or administrators who considered issues on the basis of their own projection. Social anthropologists in this country therefore have to remove this misapprehension from the minds of others. That will only be possible by intensive studies among different tribal groups.

Another vital issue which the social anthropologists should give premium is the time factor for completion of a study and the submission of report. It is heard from many quarters that research projects which are entrusted to anthropologists take a considerable time to be completed. This automatically gives an impression that perhaps we have been languishing over the task and debating over the methodology. The burning problem affecting the tribals and rural

population are referred to anthropologists to solved expeditiously. If our studies and findings are not readily available within a particular span of time we may not be able to benefit anybody. Hence in our approach and methodology we have to circumvent profusion and pin point the issues of course on scientific and authentic lines.

Applied and action anthropology is very much required in India. A feeling has grown during these years that human problems could be solved by social engineering and social medicine. For application of those, we are to provide the required orientation to social workers and administrators. This would be possible if we vigorously pursue our object of studying the tribal communities with due precession and care. Philanthropology may be the other name which however odd it may sound, should be a part of social anthropology.

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## AN ADDRESS IN CENSUS CONFERENCE OF 1969.

*A speech delivered in the Conference of Tribal Research bodies and Anthropological Survey of India convened by the Registrar-General of India, New Delhi on 27th and 28th January 1969, by Assistant Director on behalf of Tribal Research Bureau.*

Mr. Registrar-General, Dr. Burman  
and wellow delegates ;

At the outset I must convey my thanks to the Registrar-General for taking initiative to convene this Conference of Anthropological Survey of India and tribal research bodies in the country. It is for the first time that, we are able to meet and discuss some vital and significant matters of national importance. The conference would be able to evolve an outlook for the census operation of 1971. Our Registrar-General for the first time has launched a bold venture, which will not only bring laurels to his organisation, but will also provide the hallmark for scientific analysis of the multiple array of data which his organisation would handle during the next few years. In that respect only 1971 census would definitely be unique and different from the preceding operations. I shall fail in my duty if I donot thank my friend Dr. B. K. Roy Burman, O. S. D., Handicrafts, etc., for catalysing this process of active co-operation of research bodies in the country in the census operation of 1971. Those of us who work among tribes refer to census data for various purposes. Tribal Research bodies established in 9 States with sizable tribal and

Scheduled Castes population are being called upon to conduct surveys to assess the living conditions and felt needs of those groups. We are also entrusted with the task of determining the social status of certain groups who put forward their claims for inclusion in the schedules. Besides these we are to delve on various problems of tribes and castes confronting the Stages administration.

During the first plan period there was the first move to establish tribal research bodies in the States having sizable tribal and other backward population. In Orissa a Tribal Research Bureau was established in 1953 as a semi-official organisation with 2 Research Scholars and one part-time Secretary. In 1954 Bihar took a lead to establish a full-fledged tribal research institute at Ranchi, Madhya Pradesh started it the next year which was followed by West Bengal. Thereafter by and by Assam, Rajastan, Andhar Pradesh, Maharastra and Gujrat have now established tribal research and training centres. NEFA had a research organisation earlier under Dr. Wlwin. Most of

these institutes which started during the First Plan period have now become regular part and parcel of the respective States administration. Central assistance is provided for these bodies for expansion, etc., by the Department of Social Welfare. As being closely associated with the first move for establishment of these institutes, and actually having the privilege to organise one at Ranchi in 1954 it could be said, that the basic policy involved in establishing these institutions was to make comprehensive studies of different groups of tribal communities, their customs and manners, social values and cultural dynamics. No doubt civil servants scholars from different walks of life and professionals had studied the various tribes in different parts of the country, and did come out with well illustrated publication. However, the prevailing atmosphere in those days thwarted and objective approach. The frame-work of the excluded and partially excluded areas with a separate type of administration, different from the general administration of the country was aimed at segregation of the tribes. Naturally those quaint customs and practices which could high-light inter tribal differences as well as distinguish the tribes from the general population of the country were documented. The Scheduled Castes who were untouchables, and were actually suffering from virulent form of social stigma had a different footing. When the national movement gained momentum our leaders were antagonistic to such studies, because it was presumed that those were meant for perpetuating the division of the nation. After inde-

pendence scholars both in the Universities and otherwise studied tribes and castes on scientific lines. Their problems were analysed in relation to the sweeping changes. It was thought that isolation and segregation of a group of people would automatically insulate them from the outside contact and they would not loose their nerves. In reality it was found that changes take place in the community due to various factors. A standard of mobility is attended by different communities by visits to markets, relations, law courts, etc., migration to tea gardens provided a stimulus for change. Establishment of army camps in remote tribal areas during world wars drastically changed the outlook of the tribes. Thus it had to be admitted that scientific studies of the tribes and their problems were to receive serious attention of the administration after independence.

In our country a lead was provided by census organisation for the above purpose. In 1881 census subdivisions of castes and tribes were enumerated. All those who inhabited hills and forests were taken as tribes. Risley in 1901 actually provided the basic foundation for recording the distinct groups. However in 1931 census under the able guidance of Hutton a full-ledged enquiry was instituted by census organisation. In fact for all our basic data we have mostly to refer to the 1931 census.

After independence and adoption of the Constitution in which we are pledged in the Directives of State Policy to develop the Scheduled

Castes and Scheduled Tribes, planning their welfare programme became important. Most of the States established separate Departments for this purpose. With the launching of Five-Year Plans welfare schemes for backward classes with contribution from the Central Government under Article 275 were introduced in the States. The tribal research bodies were established in pursuance of the decision to aid and advise planners and administrators to formulate and implement these programme. Through various studies, the dimension of the problems and issues which involve the tribes have to be revealed. When we adopted scientific planning for building our nation, the advancement of tribes could not be left to stereotyped bureaucratic apparatus. In this regard the role of tribal research bodies is important.

2. We have certain presumptions and pre-conceived notions which permeate our thoughts and action in relation to a tribe, a caste, a community or a social situation. To briefly indicate a few the general idea is that industrialization introduces urban values and rapid changes. In process of that backward tribes shake off their established traditions to adopt new values. A few studies have, however, shown that the growth of a large industrial complex, river valley project, rehabilitation programme generate factors and forces of change, but those do not drastically change the entire pattern of life of a tribe or a community. No doubt at the beginning there is an urge for change of occupation but very often the stimulus only

reaches the soft core of culture and seldom establishes itself in the hard core. Mobility is attained by castes and tribes on the face of changed circumstances. But the occupational fixations do not give any additional advantage to a group which were traditionally practising particular occupation to adopt improved techniques to develop their traditional practices.

Shifting cultivation is an age old practice in the sub-continent. Firstly, the backward tribes who live in mountain fastness have very little wet land. Secondly, they grow pulses, millets, oil seeds, maize in hill clearings which are not possible to grow in wet land. The pressure of population and restrictions in forests seldom provide opportunity for expansion of wet cultivation. It has been found from a study that a backward shifting cultivating group like Kutia Kondhs sometimes wean from wet cultivation to shifting cultivation. Saoras who have immense skill in terrace building side by side practice shifting cultivation. This shows that change does not always mean change from other method of cultivation to wet cultivation.

Herdmen like Koyas who rear large number of cattle but never milk them do not adopt this practice inspite of the demand for milk created due to the establishment of Dandakaranya Project. Hence it is not correct to always pre-suppose change and concentualise sets of socio-culture change.

3. Introduction of Panchayat Raj and democratic decentralisation from 1961 was expected to provide

the stimulus in rural and tribal area for adoption of new values. Studies in different parts have shown that the statutory Panchayats seldom caught the imagination of tribes and provided a stable base to introduce changes and mobility.

These references, therefore, further emphasises the basis for study of tribes and castes on scientific lines by competent persons. Studies are being however conducted by individual scholars in the Universities as well as in research bodies. But these are mostly confined to a limited sphere or in relation to specific groups. It is now time that there should be integrated and broad based studies of these aspects in a systematic manner in the whole of the country. Only with that it will be possible to assess and gauge the fathom of occupational mobility in relation to social and cultural dynamism. From these studies conducted in different parts of the country it would then be possible to ascertain cause and direction of social change. It must be admitted that during the past two decades we have been more charged by the concepts and ideas evolved in the United States of America. No doubt in that country there is immense scope and prospect for studies in social Sciences. Our workers and scholars are more often charged with those concepts and theories in the same manner as we consider it a status symbol if we visit foreign countries.

What is to be emphasized here is that the situation in our country is totally different. The milieu in which our tribes and castes live and develop is divergent from the

one in other advanced countries. Hence, we have to make effective studies of the different groups in relation to our own requirements. Within a tribe there are different sections and divisions, which although could be generically stated as one have wide divergent customs and practices. Kondhs are divided into Dongria, Kutia, Yengo, Jatapu, Kapu who are so widely different from each other in dress, ornaments, customs and manners that it becomes extremely difficult to take them as a single tribe. Change of occupation in Juangs in Pallahara who became basket makers has changed their customs and practices. Juangs of Dhenkanal plains have many differences with the hill Juangs of Keonjhar who are hunters and shifting cultivators. Bhuiyas as agriculturists and those who live on hills have widely different customs. It is therefore, essential that the tribal research bodies being given the required stimulus from the census organization should take up these studies in different parts of the country.

There are still quite a large number of tribes in this country about whom there is no authentic account. It would have been the first task after independence to gather monographic account in these groups in almost all parts of the country. Infact in 1959 resolution was approved in the central advisory board of Anthropology (now defunct) to study all these groups expeditiously and prepare authentic account. It has to be admitted that neither the Anthropological Survey of India nor the

tribal research bodies or universities took steps in this directions. Problem oriented studies with multi disciplinary approach are no doubt useful, but how can we properly analyse the problems when we have no authentic basic data? Are we to continue to refer to Risle, Dalton, Thrustom and Hutton for our basic data? On one hand we admit that sweeping changes have blown over the country and both social and societal change have taken place. On the other hand we rely on the old accounts. How can we reckon this? Here the census organisation can give a lead and the Registrar-General can give to the nation something which will be followed by the posterity.

Another administrative problem which confronts the States as well as the Central Government is to determine the social status of different tribe and caste groups who claim to be included in the Schedules. The list of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes were considerably inflated in 1956. The concessions and advantages incumbent on inclusion in the Schedules are many. These allure various groups to put forward their claim to be included in the Schedules. On the other hand the resources both at the central and states level being depleted, it becomes difficult to continue these concessions to all the members of Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes. Studies have shown that more advanced and vocal sections from among the tribes and castes have derived the maximum benefits from this concessions. The backward groups like Bondas, Kondhs,

Chenchus, Kadars, Katu Naikans and Birhors, etc., have continued to live in hills and forests. There are not even first generation literates among them. To improve the situation it is essential that scientific assessment of the living conditions of the tribes and castes should be made and an objective classification would thereafter be possible to retain only those groups which are in need of special advantages. Then only their social and economic conditions could be improved within the limited resources available for the purpose. The census organisation and the Registrar-General may be able to give a lead in this direction.

Scientific planning for welfare would require data on the formation and combination of different groups arising out of cultural and economic integration. The sources of change and the adjustment to the change result in unfolding of inherent potentialities. That is how entrepreneurship emerges and those are actually to be tapped if we want to succeed to push forward innovations among the backward classes. The census organization can evolve the standardized pattern of study to cover the entire country to measure these factors which would be useful both in planning and implementation of programme within the available resources. More appraisal of innovations will not provide the required result.

At the end I again want to reiterate my sincere gratitude to the Registrar-General who has provided this opportunity for a forum to discuss the various matters which will be tackled by the 1971

census. The task is onerous. The population of the country has increased considerably and the dimension of such studies has increased several folds. Nevertheless these deliberations may help to provide a base for the first time to add a pragmatic hue to our task. I would therefore, suggest that certain follow up measures may be required. To achieve the objective, the Registrar-General may consider to set up a standing panel under his chairmanship, with a representative from the Anthropological Survey, 3 or 4 heads of tribal research bodies and the O. S. D. handicrafts. The panel may meet as frequently as possible to aid and advice the Registrar-General on the above issues. It could also devise standardized schedules to conduct different social studies. It could also devise curriculum for training the

enumerators and other census personnel to carefully collect the required information from the backward communities. The Registrar-General in course of his tour may come across various issues and problems in different states which could be discussed with the standing panel. In my humble opinion this step may be useful.

At last I shall again express my gratitude to you Sir, for providing this opportunity for mutual understanding between Anthropological Survey of India and tribal research bodies which even the Department of Social Welfare has not done during all these years. I am sure that the Tribal Research Bureau will be glad to fully co-operate with you in your venture and assist you in this uphill task during the next few years.

## BRIEF NOTES: SOCIAL STATUS OF KHAJURIA.

A group popularly known as 'Khajurias' inhabiting parts of Angul around Chendipada and Talcher in Dhenkanal district submitted a representation to the Government that, although they are actually 'Siyal' and they have been deprived of the benefits as Scheduled Caste. In the representation, it is contended that Siyal and Khajuria are one and same caste without any distinction and there is no justification to deprive them from the benefits.

The Tribal Research Bureau was called upon to make an enquiry into the status of Khajurias *vis-a-vis* whether they are synonymous to Siyal item No. 86 of Orissa Scheduled Castes List of 1956. This enquiry was conducted by a group of Investigators around Chendipada, Talcher and near Dhenkanal town.

In village Chendipada proper which is an important P.-S. of Chendipada village there are 500 families with a population of 123 who are known as Khajurias. In Chendipada village there are 500 families of different castes with a total population of 3,058, Khajurias live in a totally separate ward of the village. They are treated as

untouchables and higher castes maintain social distance with them. The origin of the word Khajuria is interesting. It is an adoption from the original caste name of 'Chamara' or 'Siyal' who are to be taken as synonymous. Chamaras tie a piece of leather or 'Chama' around their waiste while tapping toddy from palm trees. From the use of Chama they were known as Chamara. The caste has a puranic origin as described in Nrusingha Purana. It is described that Parvati the consort of Siba once produced a human from her skin being agrived from the reprimand she got from Lord Siba. She ordained this human from to live underneath the Siyali creeper and was asked to collect the juice from the palm trees and live by selling and trading in that. That is how the descendants of this man known as Siyal. Siyal, however, as has been stated earlier are also known as 'Chamar'. Some of this castemen migrated to Sambalpur and other parts. The caste which trade in skin and also eat beef are known as Chamar in those parts. This naturally created abhorance in their minds and in order to distinguish their status from those of Chamars in the locality they called themselves Khajuria.

course of time they were identified by the name rather than Siyal or Banjar.

During the survey settlement operations the amins who recorded land rights took them as Khajuria without bothering about their original caste status. This has created confusion in the records-of-right. As a result of which Khajurias are not recognised by the revenue officers as Scheduled Castes.

From this inquiry it is clear that Khajuria is merely an adopted name of the group of people who are actually Siyal and Khajuria are not a distinct a separate caste. There are the following Gotras among the Khajuria as well as Siyals. (1) Salasa, (2) Naga, (3) Kalakuta, (4) Mayura, (5) Kachhapa, (6) Varaha, (7) Kumbhira, etc.

Brahmins and barbers do not serve them. Some one from Jaitisha caste officiate in their marriage and accept dry food and rice. Higher castes do not take water from them. They are not admitted into temples and other public places as any other untouchable caste.

From this enquiry it is clear that unnecessary confusion has been created and the Khajuria who are actually Siyal are deprived of the benefits. It may be necessary to declare this group as cynonymous to Khajuria. In the meantime notification may be issued from the department to explain to all concerned that Khajuria and Siyal are synonymous and Khajurias should get all benefits as Schedule Castes.

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