

Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Research and Training Institute
Bhubaneswar, Odisha
2014

FOREWORD

The term "Bhumij" denotes one who is born from the soil. They are believed to be a branch of the Munda tribe. The tribe is found mainly in Mayurbhanj district and is sparsely distributed in the districts of Sundergarh, Keonjhar and Balesore of Odisha. Besides they are also found in Medinapur, Purulia, Bankura, Chabish Parganas of West Bengal and Tamad, Bundu and Manbhum areas of undivided Bihar. They are multi-lingual and are conversant in local languages like Odia, Hindi and Bengali.

The Bhumij tribe is endogamous and has four endogamous divisions like Tamudia or Tamaria Bhumij, Haladipokhoria Bhumij, Teli Bhumij and Desi or Dehuri Bhumij who are known by their different traditional occupations. Cultivation is the mainstay of their subsistence economy supplemented by other pursuits like wage earning, collection of minor forest produce, animal husbandry, leaf plate stitching, hunting, fishing, small business etc. They are non-vegetarians.

The Bhumijs profess their autonomous animistic tribal religion which has certain elements of Hinduism. They worship marangburu and sing bonga or dharam debta (the sun God) as their supreme deities. They have the religious institution of village sacred grove (jahirthan) where their village deities are worshipped. They also have the cult of ancestor worship. In these days, their society and culture is undergoing transformation under the impact of planned change and modernization.

This photographic documentation on the life style of the Bhumij is a part of the series on the "Tribes of Odisha' published by SCSTRTI, Bhubaneswar. Prof. (Dr) A. B. Ota, Director and Sri H.B. Barad, Research Assistant of SCSTRTI have taken pains in preparing this colourful booklet. My genuine thanks must go to Sri S.C. Mohanty, O.S.D. (Research) for his extra inputs in making the attempt complete and flawless in all respects. I hope this book would be of immense help for the tribal lovers, tribal tourists, tribal researchers and general readers.

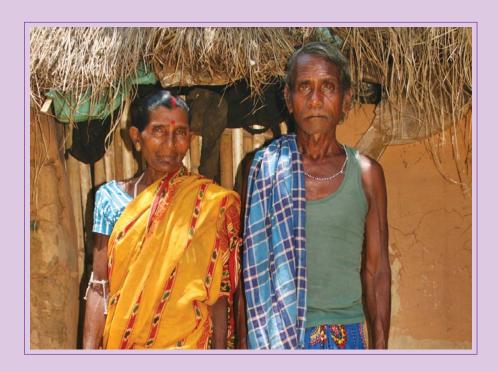
Shri Sanjeeb Kumar Mishra, IAS
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IDENTITY

The Bhumij, a major Scheduled Tribe of Odisha is found largely in the district of Mayurbhanj. Etymologically the term "Bhumij" denotes one who is born out of the soil. It is assumed that the Hindus who settled there later might have given them this name because the Bhumij being the early settlers were in possession of major chunk of land in their habitat. According to their oral tradition, their original abode was in Tamulia of Bihar. There lived a man named Munda, who had four sons. As their descendants increased in number, they migrated to different directions and one came to Mayurbhanj.

They are believed to be a branch of the Munda tribe. Racially, they are of proto-Australoid origin. They are dolicocephalic and platyrrhine people with wavy hair and dark complexion. In the past, they had their mother tongue called 'Bhumij' that belongs to the Munda family of dialects. Now, they have become multi-lingual and are conversant in local languages like Odia, Hindi and Bengali.







As per 1981 census, the total population of Bhumij were 1, 57,614 (79191 males and 78423 females), which later increased to 1,78,214 (89852 males and 88362 females) during 1991, and it further increased to 2,48,144 (125102 males and 123042 females) during 2001, registering a growth rate of 13.07% (in1981-1991) and 39.24 % (in 1991-2001) over the decades. The sex ratio among them was 983 females per 1000 males according to 1991 census and 984 females per 1000 males according to 2001 census. The percentage of literacy increased from 12.10% in 1981 to 21.11% in 1991 and to 36.48% in 2001 census. Their population is concentrated in Mayurbhanj district of Odisha and is sparsely distributed in the districts of Sundergarh, Keonjhar and Balesore. Besides, they are also found in the neighbouring states i.e., in the districts of Medinapur, Purulia, Bankura, Chabish Parganas of West Bengal and in the districts of Tamad, Bundu and Manbhum area of undivided Bihar.



DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

Traditionally, the Bhumij males wear a short piece of hand woven loin cloth (lengti) and the females wear short and coarse sarees of white colour purchased from the local weaver community which covers their body above their knees. But in modern days, as they have come in close contact with the caste Hindus, their dress pattern has changed imitating their caste neighbours. Children below five years of age wear short loin cloth (gamucha) but after that age they start wearing gamucha or pant and reaching the adult stage, they wear clothes like shirts, dhotis and gamuchas. The gamucha also adorns the men's shoulders. The females are fond of wearing ornaments generally made of brass metal consisting of nose rings, ear rings, bead necklace, armlets and coloured glass bangles which they purchase from the local markets. Women belonging to well-to-do families also wear gold ornaments during festive occasions to decorate themselves and look attractive.









SETTLEMENT & HOUSING PATTERN

The Bhumij settlements are situated near the foot hills or inside forests where perennial hill streams are flowing to provide them drinking water throughout the year. Their settlements are generally homogenous consisting of ten to sixty houses. In multi ethnic villages they live with tribal communities like the Santal, the Kharia, the Bathudi, the Ho and other Hindu Castes, where they live in separate hamlets with their distinct cultural identity, maintaining safe distance from the adjoining ethnic groups.



The Bhumij houses are arranged in a linear pattern in plain areas and are randomly scattered on undulating terrains at the foot hills. Their houses are very simple in structure made of mud walls having



low roofs thatched with wild sabai grass, paddy straw or with country made tiles (khappar). For house construction they use locally available materials like bamboo and sal saplings, grass ropes and bamboo. The poor families build their houses using sal saplings, twigs and plaster on both sides with mud. The well-to-do families construct houses with brick walls. The walls and floors are cleanly polished with red, black or white clay by their women. The Bhumij women





decorate and paint the walls with designs of elephants, men riding on horses, different flowers and creepers, motifs etc. Their houses have a portico used for entertaining guests. Houses generally consist of two rooms. The bigger room is used as their living room and also space to store their grains. The smaller room is used as the kitchen, where also lies the seat (bongathan) of their ancestors (hala bonga) in a corner and the members of other clans are prohibited to enter into that room. They construct wooden racks over which grain containers are kept. They also construct a separate shed to accommodate their livestock. Their rooms have only doors and no windows for ventilation.

Before constructing houses on a new site they resort to the grain divination method to determine the auspiciousness of the site. In the evening they place rice grains mixed with vermilion in one corner of the selected site. If these grains are found intact the next morning, the site is considered auspicious. Similarly, before occupying a new house, they offer *puja* to Thakurani to protect them from the evil influence of the spirits.









They have limited household articles consisting of small bamboo baskets, grain containers made of bamboo splits, aluminum or bell metal dishes and tumbler, earthen wares, water vessels, wooden ladles, leaf umbrella, wooden bells for cattle, agricultural implements like axes and sickles, ploughs, leveler, yokes, spades, pick-axe and hunting implements like bows (dhanu) and arrows (tir).

SOCIAL LIFE

The Bhumij is an endogamous community with four endogamous social divisions like Tamudia or Tamaria Bhumij, Haladipokhoria Bhumij, Teli Bhumij and Desi or Dehuri Bhumij. Tamudias are regarded as socially higher than the other three sections in hierarchical order because of their traditional occupation of wood sawing, followed by the Holidipokharia Bhumij whose women used to serve as midwives, the Teli Bhumij who were oil pressers and the Desia or Dehuri Bhumij who prepared and sold burnt lime in the descending social



order. All these four sections though now have abandoned their traditional occupations, have retained their endogamous divisions, with much emphasis on caste-ranking and prohibition of inter-group marriage.

All the divisions are again sub-divided in to a number of strictly exogamous totemistic clans or septs called *killi which* regulate their matrimonial alliances. These clans named after the elements of nature include Hotalva (a kind of flower), Tutia (a species of rice plant), Sura (pig), Naga (cobra), Tarai (lotus), Merum (goat), Mati (the earth) etc. which are again sub-divided into several sub-clans (bhaiyadi) like arkali, patala, sarjong, sarmali, bukuru, hensel, jaja, tirur, bundu, pancha, edel, situ, siliary, sili, kaanchi, leong, bakar kulid, baru, rugudi, landra and sereng, etc. Ethnographers like Singh (1998) have stated



other sub-clans of the community as chalki, kachchyap,/kasyab (tortoise) chapra, saral, kharu, ghagushyamu, hemla, tesu, khatu, samat / samad, hamla, gulgu, dama, boogool, kaith, shad, sona, kata, kada,badda kurkutia (a kind of worm), barda, bhuya, (fish) chandili, gulgu,(a fish) obarsari, pila, sagma, saola, tesa, tuti, (a kind of vegetables), salarisi (sal fish,) hansda (wild goose), leng (mushroom), sandilya (a bird), hemron (betel palm) and tumarung (pumpkin) etc. Members belonging to the same

clan and same sub-clan believe to be descendants of a common ancestor for which marriage within the same clan and sub-clan is strictly tabooed. Risley also opined that among them Patakumia and Tamaria sub sections occasionally intermarry and probably descended from Barahumia Zamindari family for which the Tamaria section occupies highest rank in social hierarchy in their community. The members of each clan revere their totemic clan objects and observe taboos in honour of their totem and refrain from causing harm to them but do not observe specific ritual in honour of the totems. They use raja, manki, taraf sardar, saidal, ghatowal, tanbedar, laya, sardar, singh, singh sardar, singmuru, singh munda, dehury and sadiyal as their surname.

Their kinship terminology is mostly of classificatory type, as they use the same term to designate a number of relatives. They use certain terms like Sala, Istri, Didi, Ma, Beti etc. which have been borrowed from Hindu usage. They are not permitted to joke with or touch certain relatives like younger brother's wife, husband's elder brother, etc. Joking relationships are permitted with the wife's younger brother and sister, elder brother's wife etc. to whom they can marry.

Their family is mostly nuclear, patrilocal and patrilineal composed of husband, wife and unmarried children. Succession and inheritance of ancestral property follows the rule of equi-geniture in male line only. In families having no male successor, the daughters inherit the paternal property but the family having no issue may adopt a male child from the nearest lineage who later inherits the property. The grown up children set up their new residence soon after marriage.

LIFE CYCLE

Pregnancy & Child Birth

Pregnancy and child birth are welcome events in the Bhumij society. During pregnancy, the woman observes certain taboos and prohibitions like not coming outside during solar or lunar eclipse, not eating the meat of ritually sacrificial animals, sleeping alone in an isolated room and the like for the protection of the mother and her forth coming child.

During the ninth month of pregnancy they observe pre-delivery ritual called nage or sadakhia in which the parents and relatives of the expectant mother present varieties of sweetmeats to her.





The birth of a child is usually arranged in a separate lying-in-room enclosed near the rear verandah. They engage an experienced woman belonging to Hadi or Kol community to assist the expectant mother for easy delivery of the baby. The umbilical cord is cut using a knife and the placenta is buried in a pit in a corner inside the lying-in-room keeping it within an earthen pot.

Birth pollution is observed for nine days. During this period the family is considered unclean. No one accepts food from them. The father does not shave his beard or have his hair cut. The post delivery purificatory rite (narta) is observed on the ninth day on which they pare the nails, shave the beard and cut the hair of the infant's father and take bath after which the name giving ceremony (mutum) is celebrated and the new born baby is given a name chosen by



their village elders/village chief by grain (mustard) divination method. Generally the names of grand-parents of mother's side are preferred. From this day everyone becomes clean except the mother and the baby, who are considered to be clean only on the twenty-first day. On that day a ceremonial bath is given to the mother and her baby. Then she cooks food which is accepted by all.



They also observe the tonsure rite ceremoniously. When the child attains about one year of age they observe the ear piercing (*luturtukul*) ceremony of the baby. As they consider the new born as an incarnation of their ancestor, the concerned family, whose ancestor's name has been selected, gladly officiates and bears the expenses of the ceremony and presents the gold ear rings (*kansi*), silver waist chain (*naame*), new dresses for the child to celebrate the occasion and a hen is sacrificed during observance of the ritual.

Puberty Rite

They observe puberty rite (marangjana) for adolescent girls on attaining her first menarche. The menstruating girl is confined in a secluded room for the pollution period of seven days. During this period the girl is tabooed to look at or be looked at by any male person. The girl takes the purificatory bath on the dawn of the eighth day in the nearby hill stream by anointing her body with turmeric paste and mustard oil and disposes her used clothes there and put on new clothes presented by her family and returns home accompanied by her mother. On reaching home she is presented with new clothes and cosmetics by her maternal uncle, relatives and kinsmen. In the evening the family hosts a nonvegetarian feast to guests, relatives and kinsmen.

They have no dormitory system. In the absence of this, training in tribal traditions, customs, folklores etc. is imparted to the growing child by the family members, kith and kin.





Marriage

In the Bhumij society, monogamy and adult marriage is the rule but sororal and non-sororal polygyny are also found in rare cases where the first wife is found to be barren, mentally retarded or suffering from serious or contagious diseases. Junior levirate (sanga baha), junior sororate (sanga baha) and cross cousin marriage and remarriage of widows, widowers and divorcees are also permitted in their society.

The most common and prestigious mode of acquiring a bride is through negotiation (baha) and payment of bride price (ganang). The other modes of marriage are by capture (sinduri baha), by service (ghar



jamai), by intrusion (chaudal) and by elopement (ganam). A matchmaker (dandia) arranges the marriage. The bride's father is approached by the groom's father along with the elderly members of his village after the matchmaker has finally received a hint. They are cordially greeted with a sumptuous feast. A symbolic plough is exchanged between both the parties as a token of their consent. The bride price (ganang) is then decided.

Payment of the bride price (ganang) is obligatory which is paid both in shape of cash and kinds, consisting of cows, bullocks, goats, grains, money and also includes clothes for grandmother, mother and brother of the bride. They consult with their traditional astrologer (ganak) to fix an auspicious time for the marriage. The marriage rites are held in the residence of the bride and the bride groom

proceeds there with his parents, relatives and kinsmen in a marriage procession amidst the tune of music provided by the Dom musicians. On their arrival, they are received by the boys and girls of the bride's village. A low grade Brahman priest or the maternal uncle of the bride conducts the marriage rites by chanting the marriage spells and joins the hands of the bride and the groom as a ceremonial tie to live as husband and wife. Then the *sindurdan* rite is observed in which the groom puts vermilion mark on the forehead of the bride and vice-versa reflecting the acceptance of each other as their life partner after which the marriage rite is concluded.

At night, the bride's parents host a non-vegetarian marriage feast to entertain the groom's party, guests and relatives along with country liquor (mohuli) and rice beer (handia). On the following morning, the groom returns home with the bride and the members of his marriage party. The bride stays there for a week after which she comes back to her parental home with her parents. After a fortnight, the groom visits his in-law's house with some gifts where he is greeted warmly and entertained with delicious dishes. There he is presented with new dhoti and shirt and sweetmeats to be distributed among the children in his village. On the same day, the groom returns to his own village with the bride. On that night the marriage is consummated in his residence.

In marriage by capture, the boy puts a vermilion mark on the girl's forehead when the latter happens to visit the field or the market place alone. If the girl agrees to marry the boy then the marriage takes place. This is called *sinduri baha*. Widow Remarriage is practised following the same procedure. If the girl or widow is unwilling, she does not suffer from any social stigma and she is free to marry another man of her choice.

Divorce

In the Bhumij society, divorce is permitted and either party can divorce his/her spouse on the ground of misunderstanding and maladjustment in conjugal life, cruelty, contagious diseases and poor maintenance, etc. Divorce cases are adjudicated in their traditional community council, presided by their secular head (sardar) in presence of the headmen (mund maniks) of both the villages including the family members of the appellants. In case the wife wants to desert the husband, her paternal family has to return the bride price (ganang) paid for her to her husband, but if the wife deserts her husband and marries to another male the new husband has to repay the bride price with a penalty which may

be settled upon the will of the former husband. If the divorce takes place for the husband's fault, he cannot claim the repayment of the bride price.

After divorce, the father keeps the children but a lactating mother is allowed to keep the baby for its nourishment and then to keep the male child but not the girl child after they grow up.

Death

They practise both cremation and burial to dispose of their dead (gaejana). Dead bodies of children below twelve years of age, pregnant women and persons suffering from smallpox or cholera or the victims of unnatural death are buried. In the case of death of a pregnant woman, the embryo from her womb is taken out through an incision in the abdomen. The incision is then stitched up again. The embryo is buried beneath a mahua tree, the idea being that it will live on the juice of that tree.

Soon after the occurrence of death, all relatives are informed by messengers. They congregate to take part in the funeral. The corpse is placed in





the courtyard keeping its head towards south keeping a handful of grains in its hand which is later released by his son. This is repeated three times, the idea being that the dead man should not take any children with him and thus no misfortune would befall on the family and the departed soul will live in peace bearing no burden.

The bereaved family members anoint the corpse with mustard oil mixed with turmeric paste and keep some coins on its mouth. It is the passage money to the other world. Then the pallbearers (maldaring) belonging to their own clan, carry the dead keeping it on reverse side of his cot to the cremation ground with all his personal articles like clothes, utensils, umbrella, tobacco container and some tobacco etc. The body is placed on the pyre, with its head towards the south. The eldest son or in his absence the nearest kin walk around the pyre three times in an anticlockwise direction carrying a burning wood which is finally put on the mouth of the corpse. The eldest son ignites the pyre. After the corpse is reduced to ashes the women sprinkle the ashes with water. Then a conventional human figure is drawn and khichuri (rice and dal boiled together) is offered to it in lumps on three sal leaves by the eldest son or any male member of the bereaved family who then collects a piece of bone (bajaeng) to immerse it in the hill stream later treating it as the holy river —Ganges for salvation of the departed soul. Then the party takes both and is sanctified with water containing tulsi leaves. After this they pick some nim leaves and return home.



The death pollution continues for ten days. The purificatory rite (hayanalaah) is held on the tenth day presided over by their traditional priest. On this day, the family and kinsfolk of the deceased go to the nearest stream accompanied by their priest, a barber and a washer man. The head of the eldest son or the person who had kindled the pyre is shaved. He puts on a new piece of cloth and offers

khichuri on three sal leaves to the departed soul. After the purificatory rite is over, in the evening the bereaved family hosts a non vegetarian feast to relatives and villagers with rice beer (handia) and country liquor (mohuli). They do not observe any annual sradha ceremony.

LIVELIHOOD

Cultivation is the mainstay of their economy and is supplemented by other pursuits like wage earning, collection of minor forest produce, animal husbandry, leaf plate (khali) stitching, hunting, fishing and small business etc. During lean seasons some of them migrate to work as labourers in mining and quarry sectors and some others go out to work in the tea gardens of Assam.











Paddy is their major crop which they grow in their wet land. In their upland they cultivate ragi, suan, janna, bajra, kangu, kosala, biri, kulthi, alasi, tila and maize etc. In their kitchen garden they raise varieties of vegetables such as brinjal, ladyfinger, papaya, banana, gourd, pumpkin, drumstick etc. to meet their consumption needs. All families possess some dry lands where they grow sabai grass. From dry grass they make sabai ropes to sell in the market for cash. The Bhumij women besides performing their household chores contribute substantially to their family income by participating in economic pursuits of cultivation, forest collection, wage earning, khali stitching etc. Hunting which was a gainful economic pursuit in the past has been given up due to the depletion of the forest and restrictions imposed by the Government.













FOOD HABITS

The Bhumijs are non-vegetarians. Rice and ragi are their staple foods which they take with dal and vegetable curry. They relish meat, chicken, fish, dry fish, eggs, white ants, termites and insects but abstain from taking beef and pork. Both males and females are addicted to rice beer (handia) and country liquor (mohuli) which they consume more during their feasts and festivals.



SOCIAL CONTROL

The Bhumijs have their traditional community council both at the village as well as at the regional level. The village level council is headed by their secular chief called mundmanik who is assisted by their traditional sacerdotal head of the village or a Benagli Brahman, the magicoreligious head -the dehuri / laya, the village elders and a messenger (dakua). The regional council is headed by the sardar who is assisted by the mundmaniks of component settlements. The post of mundmanik and sardar are hereditary where as the post of dakua is by nomination.



The traditional community council is regarded as the custodian of their traditional norms and customs. It adjudicates cases pertaining to family disputes, theft, rape, molestation, misbehaviour, adultery, extra-



marital relationship, illicit pregnancy, divorce and violation of customary laws and can impose penalty to the offenders in shape of cash and kind and to outcast the guilty person or his/her family from the society depending upon the gravity of the offence he / she has committed. All the office bearers of their traditional community council are highly respected in their society.

RELIGIOUS BELIEFS & PRACTICES

The Bhumijs profess their autonomous animistic tribal religion which is amalgamated with few elements of Hinduism. They worship marangburu and sing bonga or dharam (the Sun God) as their supreme deities. Their pantheon also includes a number of deities i.e. jahir buru seated in the village sacred groves (jahirthan), karakata (female deity for bumper harvest), baghut (the male deity for warding off wild animals and protecting the livestock), baram, deoshali (the deity of water and health), buru (the Mountain God) and many others representing objects of nature as well as the village deity called Gram Deota.









They believe in black magic and existence of some benevolent and malevolent spirits namely Kudra, Bisaychandi, Varam etc. and think that diseases and ill fates are caused due to effect of malevolent sprits. To appease them, they take the help of their traditional witch doctor and on his advice they sacrifice fowls, goats and offer country liquor (mohuli) and rice beer (handia) etc.







FAIRS & FESTIVALS:

Karma is their major festival observed for the prosperity of the village during the month of September. During this event their unmarried boys collect and transplant a twig of karma plant with great pomp and ceremony amidst feast, drink and dance by singing their folk songs with the tune of music provided by the Dom musicians. They also observe chait parab during March-April, baisakha parab and dhulla puja during April-May, asarhi during



transplantation of paddy seedlings, vandana parab during the month of kartik (October-November), nuakihia, maghe parab, makar, saharae parab, sarhul festival etc. Besides under the influence of neighbouring Hindu castes they believe in Hindu Gods like, Shiva, Durga, Kali, Jagannath and observe many Hindu festivals like raja parab, ratha yatra, dusserah and laxmi puja etc.



PLANNED CHANGE & DEVELOPMENT

Changes have occurred in the Bhumij society and culture with the passage of time. They have accepted many new cultural elements from the neighboring castes and tribes in course of their prolonged contact with them. After Independence, various welfare and development measures taken up by the government for their upliftment, has brought noticeable changes in their way of life.

Government have launched several development programmes exclusively for the tribal areas and the tribal people with two fold objectives i.e. economic upliftment of tribals through Income Generating Schemes and area development through Infrastructure Schemes. Development Establishment of ITDAs in Bhumij concentrated areas has a positive impact on development of education. agriculture, communication, drinking water, housing, health and sanitation. There are some special programmes, like legal aid, rehabilitation of victims of atrocities, housing facilities, establishment. special exchanges, employment education, reservation in employment and public representations, establishment of residential schools and hostels etc.







The establishment of schools for tribal students by the ST & SC Development Department and School & Mass Education of the Government of Odisha in their area and implementation of Right to Education Act (2010) are noble interventions for desired transformation of the Bhumij tribe in the social and educational sector. Development of infrastructure facilities and socio-economic support through different development agencies ranging

from construction of Aganwadi Centers, PDS Centers and provision of houses under IAY and Mo Kudia Yojana, electricity under Kutir Jyoti and Biju Gramya Jyoti Yojana, safe drinking water, Mobile Health Unit along with subsidy linked loan, vocational and orientation training to the tribal youths in the area has brought visible change in the life style of the tribe.







Implementation of PESA Act in tribal area has also brought a lot of change in the quality and pattern of leadership among the tribe. The occupational pattern of the Bhumij and their means of subsistence have been greatly changed. Money economy has replaced the traditional barter system. Change is observed in their living pattern, social customs, food habits and dress pattern. There is increasing use of modern electronic gadgets; mill made cloths, cosmetics etc. Their area has become accessible

and now many of their villages have all weather roads and electricity. On the other side, the age old traditional social institutions are declining under the impact of planned change and modernization.

The ST and SC Development Department, Government of Odisha under the aegis of Ministry of Tribal Affairs has established a Tribal Museum in the Premises of SC and ST Research and Training Institute (SCSTRTI) at CRPF Square, Bhubaneswar for preservation and exhibition of material culture of different tribes. In this exclusive anthropological museum, the ornaments, personal belongings, hunting weapons,

fishing implements and musical instruments of the Bhumij tribe have been displayed in the different show cases which reflect their inherent talent in arts and crafts. Besides, the live performance of the Bhumij dancers in different District, State and National level cultural events including the Annual State Level Adivasi Exhibition organized by the ST and SC Development Department, Government of Odisha and National Tribal Dance Festival organized by the SCSTRTI every year exposé the richness of the Bhumij culture to the world outside.



Photo Handbook on Tribes of Odisha, Series 25 "BHUMIJ"



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Designing and Printing:

Capital Business Service and Consultancy capital.a1press@gmail.com

ISBN: 978-93-80705-25-5