

ADIBASI

1ST JANUARY 1964

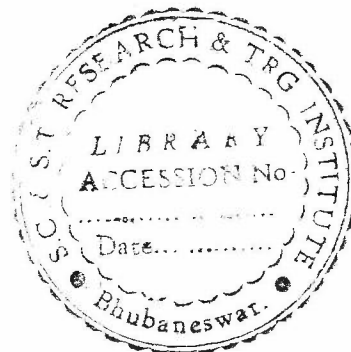
1963-64 NUMBER THREE

With the publication of the third issue of 'Adibasi' as a special volume and that too before the scheduled date, can be said to have achieved—what may be termed as "The end of the beginning". In this issue we present the basic data needed for the understanding of the tribal people of Orissa and for planning and improving their welfare. The co-operation of workers from the fields of Research and Action, which we solicit through these pages, has been generously extended to us. It is of utmost importance that the contributions from divergent fields, covering a wide range of topics, which we present here, is not just a disparate conglomeration but has taken a pattern of its own. It may be true that the contours of this pattern are not yet clearly defined but we are confident that we have gathered enough momentum to achieve this. If 'Adibasi' continues in this strain it may aspire to develop methods of high scientific precision to solve the problems of the tribal people in particular and also of the society as a whole.

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TRIBAL ETHNOGRAPHY OF ORISSA



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Tribal Culture and its Preservation and Scientific Development

Toyaka Sangauna

The tribal population in this State numbers 42, 23,757 according to the census of 1961 forming 24.76 per cent of the total population. Above 2 lakhs of tribes since categorised as 'A' appear yet to be un-affected by modern civilisation and while living in their own worlds in hills and jungles, out of contact with the outer world, in a state of existence which is almost sub-human, have cherished their primitive culture un-sullied. About 12 lakhs of them categorised as 'B' have so far evinced only slight traces of change by contact with the outer world and have preserved their dance and music almost intact. About 30 lakhs of the tribes categorised as 'C' show signs of acculturation in varying degrees. While some of them have completely forgotten their own culture and have begun to merge culturally with their non-tribal fellow-men others still retain their ancient dance and music in modified forms having assimilated external influences.

Among the tribals, invariably among those in 'A' and 'B' categories and often among those in category 'C' dance and music constitute a way of life and have an indispensable place in the social structure, even merging into ritual and social and economic functions. For instance among certain tribes a youngman cannot find a partner for marriage unless by his special skill in music and dancing, he is able to go through the process by which a girl is wooed. There are particular dances and music for propitiating the Gods who according to the tribals guard the different spheres of human destiny and well-being. There are songs and dances for different festivities which occur at different times of the year. At all times dance and music are freely resorted to by the village community as a mode of self-expression and for enjoying life. There is a particular place in the centre of the village among several trees often surrounded by the relics of the ancestors where under the shade of the big trees and around a burning fire of logs, the communal dance takes place as it has done for hundreds of years ago. Among several tribes there are bachelors' dormitories in the village, one where the unmarried young men sleep at night and the other where all the unmarried girls sleep. Throughout the night there is interchange of music between these two places. Often young men or young women from one

village come in a batch to the dormitory of the opposite sex in another village and they sing and dance and often choose their partners. There are songs and dances for almost all important social events and functions. It needs some contact with the Adibasis who live in remote villages among hills and forests to know what their dance and music are like and what part they play in their lives. For want of such acquaintance even some cultured non-Adibasis are often ignorant of the richness of Adibasi music and dances and are prone to think of it as some corrupt, unspecialised and rustic form of their own folk dance and music with an outlandish and high-lander tinge. This approach is often noticeable in the cinema shows and on the stages.

Each one of the numerous tribes and sub-tribes numbering about 100 has its own patterns of dance and music which are variegated, highly specialised and artistic and rich. They have often been highly extolled by foreign experts and by connoisseurs. There are a variety of costumes and musical instruments. The Jhodia Paraja dance exhibiting quick speed, graceful movement, artistic skill, a wide variety and high symbolism, the colourful Gadaba dance, the dance of the Koyas with head dresses of bison horns or horns of buffaloes, the war dance of different sub-tribes of Kondhs, the dances of the Orams and the Santals with their exciting rhythm, and hunting music, the meaningful songs of the Parajas, Sauras, Kondhs Santals and Orams are some of the instances. As regards musical accompaniment there is a wide variety ranging from the Pango Parajas of Koraput making a musical 'Sa-Pa-sa-pa' background with their mouths while a song is sung, the tuning form applied to the lips of a Dongria Kondh or a Kutia Kondh, the single stringed Dingu Dunga of the Jhodia Paraja up to the highly specialised Dhenka used by the Sauras which is like a 'Sitar' and the Saringi with a bow used by the Konds of Ganjam and Phulbani. There are varieties of flutes and drums. Of poses in dance and of Adibasi ragas there is a wide variety. A study of Adibasi dance, music and drama would reveal how culture born out of nature and attuned to nature can live and flourish even without the aid of letters and how it is natural and spontaneous as life itself.

There is need to study, preserve and foster Adibasi dance, music and drama not merely because they relate to people who number almost one in four in the total population of the State and have long merited the care and attention of the State but also because with the pace of acculturation made swifter by the speed of planned development of the country and the coming in of industrialisation, tribal arts tend to fall into disuse and to disappear. There is the impact of cheap styles which invades them and the problems of a competitive world tend to deaden the sense of art in a people who were so long habituated in their natural surroundings to enjoy their lives mostly through their dance and music. Then again, on account of long isolation, stagnation has set in to some extent in the arts of the tribals. It has become necessary to find out what should be the lines of innovation which could be in keeping with the best in the traditional culture of the Adibasis and with their natural genius and their needs and yet can be modern so that they can be trained to develop even better on their own lines. There is need and scope for much give-and-take between the culture of tribals and non-tribals. If this is left to be done by quacks or by cheap

professionals, the dance, music and drama of the Adibasis will only be mutilated, corrupted and destroyed. Since time immemorial, institutions exist in the villages among several tribes where dance, music and drama are practised. It is necessary to invest such institutions with the dignity of recognition so that as the tribals get acculturised or educated, they may not feel an inferiority complex towards their own culture and give up dancing and singing but will take a just pride in them. For all these reasons it has been felt necessary to devote attention to tribal music, dance and drama in order that study and research into them can be conducted, improvements can be suggested, existing organisations in different villages can be aided and encouraged, a systematic training can be given to tribals by experts so as to enable them to preserve what is best in their art, to learn new styles and to organise writing and enacting of plays which would come closer to the life and the needs of the tribals. For this purpose it is necessary to make a beginning by starting an organisation at the State level with some cultural centres in the appropriate tribal areas all over the State.

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Tribal Languages of Orissa*

Dr. A. Aiyappan

I am not a linguist but a student of anthropology which is one of the new social sciences concerned chiefly with culture and social structure with a bias towards the study of tribal communities. Anthropologists, like other social scientists, seek to build up systematic knowledge of social processes which include communication through language. While the linguist deals with grammar, phonemes, morphemes, semantics, etymology, etc., the social scientist deals with language as part of the totality of the people's culture. Language, in fact, is man's oldest culture, coeval with his humanity. Apart from the function of communication, transmission and conservation of culture, language has other functions such as setting the limits to intimate group interaction. Linguistic differences constitute effective barriers to social contact among people geographically near as well as remote from each other. If, within a small area, as in Assam or Chotanagpur, we find a large number of languages, the obvious inference is that for centuries the groups speaking these different languages had only minimal contacts and were isolated one from the other.

Language, particularly semantics, analysed from the cultural points of view, gives us insights into the guiding frames of reference within which a people did their thinking. If we do not know much of the history of a people, one of the several ways of gleaning history is to examine their language. In the case of pre-literate communities, all that can be known of their past is confined to their oral folk literature. For example, the Juangs, one of the most primitive tribes of Orissa have no word for "village", for the reason that in the past, they did not settle sufficiently long in any one place. The Juangs "drink" rice, not "eat" rice, for, in the past they were accustomed to liquid preparations of cereals.

Tribal languages also contain all the unwished for essentialities for linguistic troubles with which we are familiar. These are the concern of the politicians. I shall refer only to the background of the language situation as it concerns the tribal people.

In the past we used to talk of primitive tribes, but now-a-days no anthropologist would talk of tribal culture as primitive or low, as there are no value-free scales for ranking cultures. In a similar manner, and much more justifiably, there can be no talk of any language as primitive. One may argue as to whether a particular tribe engages itself in activities that are worthy of the name of religion or art, but we know of no people who are not possessed of a fully developed language. The lowliest South African Bushmen speak in the forms of a rich symbolic system that is in essence perfectly comparable to the speech of the cultivated Frenchmen. The language of the Juang or the Ho is as complex in grammar, syntax, etc., as any other language in the world. The only difference lies in the size of the vocabulary. In unwritten languages, as those of the tribal groups there is no point in loading the language with words for which there can be no possible use.

The tribal languages of Orissa are spoken languages with no script of their own. They fall into two broad divisions, Mundari and Dravidian. The Mundar group has a northern branch which Grierson called Kherwari after the traditional home land of the Santals, Mundas, Birhors, Ho's and other tribes. The southern Mundari branch includes Saora, Gadaba (Gutob), Remo, Pareng, Juang, etc. The chief Dravidian tribal languages are Kui, Kuvi, Gondi, Ollari, Kisan and Oraon. On account of the presence of some Mundari-like words in the vocabularies of Khmer tribes of South-East Asia, Pater Schmidt, a Viennese scholar tried to trace Mundari origins to South-East Asia but modern linguists are inclined to the view that these languages have little to connect them with South-East Asia. Extra-Indian affiliations of Dravidian are also discounted by modern linguists. As regards the question whether Mundari or Dravidian was the first to appear on the scene of Orissa, opinion seems to be somewhat divided. Grierson thought that Dravidian pushed into the north from the south displacing Mundari. But taking all the evidence, racial and cultural and historical, into consideration, one would be inclined to the opposite view that the Dravidian speakers were the earlier pre-Aryan, pre-Mundari-

* Courtesy—All-India Radio Cuttack

ethnic stock. The Gadabas found in the Koraput district and in the contiguous tracts of Andhra are the most southerly speakers of Mundari tongue. The Gadabas who call themselves Gutob are themselves split into two sections, one speaking the Mundari Gutob tongue and the other speaking Ollari, a Dravidian language closely allied to Parji, Poya, Kolami, and Naiki, all the four together forming an important but little-known branch of the Dravidian language family with its 18 languages including Brahui spoken in Baluchistan.

Of all the Mundari languages, Santali has the largest population speaking that tongue. In the year 1932, Rev. P. Bodding, the missionary lexicographer of Santali estimated that about three million people spoke that language. That number has probably gone up now. The name Santali is the Hindi version of the name Saotar given to the people by the Bengalis. The people themselves call their language *Hor Ror* which means the "speech of men". Bodding himself has listed for his great Santali Dictionary more than 25,000 words. The Santals have been inveterate borrowers from other neighbouring languages and as a mobile people, have a sharp sense for fine shades of meaning. Thanks partly to the efforts of Christian missionaries and partly to the new linguistic ethnocentrism, Santali is now one of the most cultivated tribal languages. The missionaries have adopted the Roman script for Santali. As the Santals are distributed in three linguistic areas, a script which will unify the tribes is exercising the minds of the tribal leadership. As a language, Santali seems to have a future.

The growth of bilingualism, and in some cases trilingualism seems to be one of the most interesting developments in the tribal linguistic situation. The Juangs, for example, inhabiting the remote areas of Juangpirh in Keonjhar district are bilingual. I am informed by one of my former students working among the Juangs that Juang children become bilingual by the age of five. This is an indication of the heavy influx of Oriya into Juang. Even to ask such a simple question "What is your name?" "they say" "Ama namo biri" introducing the Oriya word for name. The Kisans of Sundargarh are trilingual, speaking among themselves their Dravidian mother-tongue *Kisan*, speaking Oriya to the local neighbours and Munda to the Mundari-speaking neighbours. They seem to have the gift of tongues. In Phulbani, a predominantly Kond area, most of the Konds are bilingual.

In contrast to the viability of Santali, thousands of speakers of Saora and Kui and Gondi have completely given up their native tongues and adopted Oriya which is matched on the social side by disclaiming relationship with their brethren still clinging to the original tribal language. In the Garjhat areas less than 20 per cent of the tribal groups speak any of the tribal languages. The slow attrition of tribal tongues by disuse is a pointer to the fate that awaits these languages. But to understand the developmental history of Oriya itself, if not for purely linguistic research, all that scholars can preserve of these vanishing languages should be garnered before they are irretrievably lost. For the linguists, as for the anthropologists, tribal languages offer a rich field for research. Here in Orissa we may perhaps be able to reconstruct proto-Dravidian and proto-Mundari

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Approaching the Tribal People for Welfare

Kulamani Mohapatra

SOCIAL BEHAVIOUR IS ORGANIZED

Everywhere man lives in society. Almost all his activities are regulated by the society in which he lives. Man's behaviour in his society is not haphazard—it does not occur at random. Such behaviour has a regularity and everywhere it is organized. There are certain norms and patterns which shape the organization of social behaviour.

Behaviour changes in response to human needs

When we say that man's social behaviour is regular and organized it does not mean that all types of behaviour remain constant. Social behaviour is in a continuous process of change. The nature of such change is not uniform for all types of behaviour. There are some which are basic to human nature, the consumption of food for example. In whichever society man may live he must acquire and consume food. But the method of acquiring and consuming food will differ from society to society. In a society where land is not fertile and the climate is not good and the method of cultivation is very undeveloped, the acquiring of food would absorb the entire labours of a man and there would be very strict social rules regarding consumption of food. On the otherhand, in a society where land is fertile and the climate is favourable and the method of cultivation very developed, the acquiring of food would be easier and rules regarding consumption of food more liberal. Thus, though food acquiring is significant for both the societies, the social behaviour in connection with food is not the same.

It will be observed from the above example that all the societies have certain essential points of similarity. Everywhere man has to satisfy certain basic requirements through his society but the method of doing so is not the same everywhere.

All types of human behaviour is valid in the societies where they are found

We become acquainted with the behaviour found in the society in which we are reared from the childhood and we attach a great value to it. When we see a different type of behaviour in another society it strikes us as unusual. There are certain activities which would appear very loathsome or inhuman to us. Our general tendency is to disapprove those activities and try to eradicate them. But we should always remember that all the activities have relevance for the society where they are found and it fulfils some function in satisfying the basic human requirements. We should also bear in mind that our own activities might also shock members of a different society. We should therefore try to correlate human behaviour to specific social conditions and try to understand them in that light.

Certain Universal values

Though we may try to understand every social activity in relation to the specific social situations in which they are found, it is not necessary that we should approve all of them. The only thing we are to do is that we shall not apply our own notions of good and bad which have relevance only for our own society. However, there are also certain universal categories of value. There are certain activities, like friendly co-operation, which are to be valued in every society. Such activities like human sacrifice are to be condemned and stopped everywhere. But while valuing one and condemning the other, the welfare worker should take cognizance of the organization of society where they are found. Among the Saoras for example, the Shamans and priests play a significant role in the society and have a great capacity for leadership. A welfare worker is likely to be enamoured by them. But though the Shamans can work as leaders in some traditional activities,

it is doubtful whether they can be effective in a changed set up. If we try to introduce economic and social changes through them, they are likely to get suspicious and utilise their capacity to prevent all sorts of change.

Approach to tribal leadership

The established leaders of a society have a vested interest in the prevalent form and condition of the society. Whenever any outside agency comes to establish contact with them they generally grow suspicious and antagonistic. A welfare worker who goes, with a programme of development, to the tribal areas should always remember that it is necessary to take the help of the existing leaders of the tribal society as far as possible. Wherever it is impossible to do so he should try to help the growth of a new type of leadership. But it is quite possible to bring out a new set of leaders without antagonizing the existing leaders. The growth of a new leadership among the tribal people after the introduction of democracy and Panchayatiraj, is an example of such co-existence.

Tribal values should be respected

There are certain activities which have tremendous emotional significance for the tribal people. There are also highly value-oriented activities. If the welfare worker comes into conflict with the established values and tries to introduce reforms which are likely to cause severe emotional disbalance in the tribal society then he is sure to fail. What is still more important he might antagonise the people in such a way as to compromise the future prospects of development.

Initial approach

In this connection the welfare worker should remember that the first and perhaps the most important task before him is to get himself accepted by the people among whom he proposes to work. The people should have faith in him and feel that what he intends to do is really beneficial to them.

To create such faith the welfare worker should cultivate certain habits and also adopt certain approaches. While trying to deal cautiously with a problem he should always remember that any sort of deception would ultimately prove to be very detrimental, though at the initial stage it might bring some success. The welfare worker should try to be skilled without being deceptive, effective without taking recourse to falsehoods.

Information required before approaching the tribe

When the welfare worker approaches a tribal people he should have sufficient information about their

society. He should know what activities have more significance for these people, what are the superficial and what are the substantive contents of their behaviour, what are their felt needs, how they make their living, who are the leaders and what is their status, what is their relationship with other people, etc. He should not however be contented only with flat information because his function is not simply to know about a particular society but to utilise such knowledge for their welfare and to introduce reforms among them. For this purpose he should try to find out a reason for whatever behaviour he comes across and try to go to the roots of every activity. His aim should be to correlate the activities found in different spheres and to find out certain pivotal points about the society by which all the activities can be understood. If he can do so, he would have the key to understanding with him and would be able to make a proper analysis of every problem.

Method of introducing changes

The welfare worker should remember that the programme of development with which he goes is apt to be limited in one respect. The aim of the programme is not to introduce change for the sake of change. On the contrary its aim is to avoid unnecessary and violent changes, so as not to give rise to a sense of dislocation. The welfare worker should know that a particular society can absorb only a certain amount of change just as the human body can absorb only a limited amount of food. It is a tendency among the civilized people to consider every activity, which appears queer to them, as unnatural and detrimental for the growth of a society. But actually those activities turn out to be not only quite natural for the particular tribal society, where they are found, but also much more effective in tackling their problems than the corresponding activities of the civilized society. So the welfare worker should not try to change every habit and custom of the tribal people which would appear queer to him. He should always remember that his duty is to introduce certain developmental measures among the tribes, such as better standard of living, better food and housing; improved methods of cultivation, animal rearing and sanitary measures, etc. These are the tangible developmental measures which he is interested to introduce. There are also certain developmental measures which are not quite so tangible but which are very important. For example such items as the eradication of criminal habits, alleviation of fear complex and separatist tendency etc. cannot be quantitatively demonstrated, but their importance cannot be ignored for that matter. Most

of these developmental measures and reforms can be introduced through the existing institutions of the tribal societies. Again the adoption of these measures by a tribal society might result in the modification and even radical change of the institutions of tribal societies making them more effective to assimilate further change. Such change is always welcome because it springs up from among the people as a sort of natural growth and is not imposed from above.

False notion of tribal bounty

In contradistinction to the tendency of looking down upon the tribal society there is another tendency among the civilized people to think that the tribal societies are the ideal type of societies where people live in contentment and happiness. This is as false as it is harmful. The tribal societies have their weaknesses and conflicts like any other society. Besides, chronic poverty, malnutrition and lack of material comforts and medical facilities etc., are the universal features of almost every tribal society. The welfare worker should always remember that economic and social development of tribal societies is not only necessary but also very urgent, for the lack of it might result in the complete annihilation of many of them.

Specific approaches

After this discussion about society in general and tribal society in particular the code of conduct and methods of approach and work may be discussed in relation to specific situations. Though this discussion is meant to serve as a guiding line for the welfare workers it should not be taken too literally. This is expected to sharpen and co-ordinate the outlook of the welfare worker. He should always remember that his real guides in all cases are his intelligence, common sense and conscience.

Starting the work

The first and foremost problem before the welfare worker is the problem of starting his work. Whenever he approaches any tribal village he asks himself "What shall I say to the people? How shall I introduce myself? What would the people expect of me in the initial period?" etc.

Difference in the receptivity of the people

These are very important questions for the welfare worker. His success or failure would depend on how he tackles the problems raised by these questions.

At the first instance it should be said that it is not possible to give any definite answer to any of these

questions. One tribal society differs from another, though they have many points of similarity. Even within a particular society there might be found group differences. For example if a section of a tribe lives in villages situated on the hills and another section lives in the plains, the two groups would differ from each other. Even the hill villages would not be of identical nature. Accidental factors play a great role in tribal societies and if, for example, one village had been subjected to harassment by some unscrupulous outsiders and another is without any such experience the attitude of both the villages would not be the same towards outsiders. In one village the welfare worker might be received with hospitality, and face complete apathy and even hostile feeling in the other. He should therefore be prepared to approach people in different types of receptivity.

Types of receptivity

The receptivity of the people may be divided into three broad categories. Firstly, they might be favourable receptive. There might be various types of favourable reception. The main characteristics of favourable reception are as follows:—(a) Hospitality towards the welfare worker, (b) Listening to what he says, (c) Agreeing with what he says, (d) Supplying the information required by him, (e) Participating in the welfare programme as explained by him, (f) Participating in programmes involving change in their way of life (this may show a very high range), (g) Improving upon suggestions of the welfare worker, (h) Taking initiative and developing the capacity to undertake work independently.

The above mentioned factors of receptivity have been mentioned in order of their intensity. All the factors of receptivity need not be found in a particular society. The presence or absence of different factors are likely to have different implications for the welfare worker.

Favourable Reception

When a people are found to be favourably receptive it does not necessarily mean that the welfare worker would have no difficulties and that problems would be automatically solved. The enthusiasm and favourable response of a people may be limited by various factors. These may roughly be enumerated as follows:—

(a) The enthusiasm shown at the initial stage might be false. In some villages there are persons who are very vocal and extrovert in nature. Whenever any outsider comes to the village he first

encounters these people. The verbosity of these people is apt to be mistaken as real enthusiasm.

(b) The enthusiasm might be based on wrong information. Sometimes the people think that the welfare worker has certain powers and he can do certain things, which may not be true. For example, it has been found in many villages, that the people expected the welfare worker or for that matter any Government employee, to abolish prohibition, to grant them rights over the forest etc., which are not only beyond the power of the welfare worker, but also contrary to Government policy.

(c) The enthusiasm might be partial. In this case the people show enthusiasm about only the attractive aspects of the welfare projects but not for the more arduous aspects. For example the people may show great enthusiasm when pictures about sanitation are exhibited to them but they might not show any aptitude towards sanitation. Another and more familiar example is that people show great enthusiasm while receiving grant for a project but do not take any interest in the execution of the project after receiving the money.

(d) The enthusiasm might be based on some ulterior motives. The number of such motives is almost unlimited. Some of the familiar ones are

(i) Factionalism—One faction might show enthusiasm to become more prominent, to rise in the favour of Government Officials, to counterbalance the advantages acquired by the other faction, (ii) Misuse of funds—People might utilise the funds granted for one purpose for a completely different or even derogatory purpose (in some villages funds granted for wells, bullocks etc., are used for feasting and drinking).

The foregoing discussion about the falsity of apparent enthusiasm is not exhaustive. It simply draws the attention of the welfare worker towards an important factor. He should be cautious against them and try to locate real enthusiasm the nature of which has been described earlier.

Apathy of the people—After enthusiasm the welfare worker should be acquainted with the most important problem which he would be expected to face; the apathy of the people. The apathy of the people towards the colossal developmental projects of the Five-Year Plans, is not a problem only for the welfare worker. As matter of fact it is the greatest problem for the Government and the society. The welfare worker should be thoroughly acquainted with the nature and reason of such apathy in order to tackle it.

Types of apathy—The various types of apathy which the welfare worker is ordinarily called upon to tackle may be enumerated as follows:—

(1) Apathy based on suspicion about the outsider. The reasons of this sort of apathy is to be thrashed out from the history of relationship of a people with the outsiders. Such relationship might have a long history or might be of recent origin. In the former case it would be more difficult to tackle.

(2) Apathy based on inferiority complex. Some tribal people are regarded as untouchables and looked down upon by others. From their side also they are very conscious about their inferior status. This feeling inhibits the establishment of mutual good-will.

(3) Apathy based on superiority feeling. Some tribal people regard their own tribe as very superior. Their folklore contains stories about the origin of the tribe, and about their status in the world. These tribes loath the activities of other people and whenever any outsider comes to them they try to avoid his contact.

(4) Apathy based upon pauperization. Among most tribes chronic poverty is the rule. Struggle to acquire the basic necessities of life is a whole-time job for them. This chronic poverty coupled with malnutrition, lack of material comforts and means of joy kills all their aspirations, making them apathetic towards every thing.

(5) Apathy based on a hilarious attitude towards life.

A number of tribes devote a great deal of their time to derive pleasure and joy from dance, music and other communal forms of activity. These people are not necessarily better off than those described in the foregoing category but usually it is possible for them to find out means of subsistence any how and yet find enough time for enjoyment. They regard all strenuous and unfamiliar work as useless burdens.

(6) Partial Apathy—The people may be apathetic towards a portion of the work and enthusiastic about the rest. This point has already been discussed.

(7) Apathy based on inadequate understanding—People might become apathetic if they do not understand the welfare worker properly.

Methods of tackling with apathy—The welfare worker should apply different methods to tackle different

types of apathy. The methods for tackling the different types of apathy may be enumerated as follows :—

(1) *Apathy based on suspicion about the outsider*—Whenever the welfare worker comes across this sort of apathy he should try to move very cautiously. He should first of all ascertain the reasons of such suspicion. He should avoid doing the following things:—

(a) If he stays in the village he should do all his work and should not ask any villager to do anything for him.

(b) He should carry all his provisions with him and should not demand anything from the villagers free of cost. If he requires anything from the villagers he should insist on cash payment.

(c) He should not belax with women of the village. This point is very important. Most of the civilized people go to the tribal areas with the conviction that the tribal people are promiscuous. The welfare worker should remember that the tribal people have very strong rules regarding sex, the violation of which leads to dire consequences. But, even without intending it, a man from outside might make the villagers suspect that he has a leet for their women. The welfare worker should do well to avoid the younger section of women even if advances are made from their side. He should however try to be familiar with the older women and regard them with due respect.

(d) To allay their misgivings the welfare worker should not propose any work from his side. He should try to assess the felt needs of the people and make the people offer their own proposals. He should pick up some of these suggestions and should adopt a procedure of consulting the peopole at every step.

(2) *Apathy based on inferiority-complex*—To tackle the apathy based on inferiority complex the welfare worker should adopt the following programme:—

(a) At the first instance he should explain to the people that their way of life is in no way inferior to those towards whom they have a feeling of inferiority complex. For example, if a tribe like the Bondo have an inferiority complex about their lack of sufficient apparel, they should be told that heavy clothing is no criterion of human dignity and that scanty clothing is more suitable for the forest and that under certain circumstances the civilized people also go with still scantier clothing.

(b) While approaching a village the welfare worker should behave as if he has come more to learn from the people than to teach them. But his behaviour

need not be simple make-shift. He can actually learn many things from the tribal people. Firstly he can learn about their language. When an outsider asks questions like an ignorant person about the language of the tribal people they feel elated and develop a sense of dignity. The welfare worker can also ask the people about local geography, location and distance of villages, local crops and the method of agriculture, local customs and the like.

(c) There are certain acts which carry a symbolical meaning for the people. For example if the welfare worker pays obeisance to the local deities and the village elders, offers a chair to a tribal leader in some meeting or participates in some activity like hunting or dancing, the people would overcome their inferiority complex and behave towards the welfare worker as their equal.

(d) If there are some social disabilities from which the people suffer, the welfare worker should try to remove them. Here he should move very cautiously because in a relationship where a one group suffers from some disabilities there must be a corresponding group who enjoy certain privileges and have a vested interest in the continuation of the disabilities from which the other group suffers. There are also certain other relationship, mainly economic, between the two groups and the welfare worker should make a proper assessment of such relationships and try to find out substitutes for the advantages which the suffering group might be deriving from the other.

In his enthusiasm to show respect to the people the welfare worker should not lose his prestige and dignity. If he becomes too free with the people, they might regard him as a good for nothing fellow and look down upon every thing told or done by him.

Apathy based on superiority-complex—Apathy based on superiority complex can be dealt with by the welfare worker in the following manner:—

(a) He should approach the village in perfect humility and should always be cautious not to give offence. For this purpose he should try to know what are the delicate points in their culture and what things are valued. He should also know what things are tabooed and what are worthy.

(b) Generally these people bear a grudge against outsiders and have an antagonistic feeling towards them. The welfare worker should try to know who are the people through whom contact with outsiders are maintained. It is generally these people who

are acquainted with all outsiders who come into contact with the tribe. The welfare worker should study the relationship of the tribe or the particular tribal village where he is working with these outsiders and try to find out the reasons of the ill-feeling. If these outsiders are in the habit of exploiting the tribal people he should try to check them by finding out suitable alternatives for the useful functions carried out by them.

(c) These people often have some institutions, such as dormitories, tribal panchayats, annual or periodical congregations, etc., which have great significance for them and which also serve as the main-springs of action for the most important aspects of their social life. The welfare worker should know the character of these institutions and should try to find out the ways and means to participate in them. If possible he should try to secure some grants or other advantages from the Government or from some other agency. It should be remembered that symbolical acts, in their, case would be of much use and even of greater use than real material advantages. For example the tribal councils may be given certain powers and advantages which in themselves would have no significance but which would create a feeling of dignity and participation on equal terms, the value of which cannot be over-emphasized.

Apathy based on pauperization

(4) Apathy based on pauperization or chronic poverty can be dealt with by the welfare worker by the following means:—

(a) In the first instance the welfare worker should try to give some relief to the people. This relief might not form a part of developmental programme but would ultimately lead to the creation of suitable conditions for such development. The relief should be given in consultation with the people but the suggestions of the people should not be accepted at their face value. When a people are in chronic poverty they are likely to ask for things which would not give them any relief and which may further complicate the effort to remove poverty. For example the people might ask for work or they might ask for cash which they might use for some unproductive or wasteful purposes. Here it should be remembered that a people who suffer from chronic poverty should not be given such things, to reap the advantages of which, they would have to wait for a long time. If, for example, they are given improved type of seeds or manure, they would not be able to utilize them properly as they do not have the capacity to wait. They might eat the seed and sell the manure. It is always proper

to give these people basic necessities of life like food and clothing which might be given on long term loans.

(b) Such projects as yield immediate results should be attempted by the welfare worker among these people. The welfare worker should not expect much of voluntary work from them. They should either be paid attractive wages to serve as sufficient incentive for them to work. The relief which has been described above need not be given at a time but may be given at the end of every day after the people finish a minimum amount of work.

(c) Where the poverty is due to the vagaries of nature the welfare worker should try to introduce such tools and implements which would lessen the toil and labour of the people and would make work less burdensome.

(d) When a people are in chronic poverty it is comparatively easier to remove them to places where they can be more prosperously settled. However the welfare worker should not think that it can be done without any effort. He should remember how difficult it had been to resettle the refugees. While inducing the people to shift to another place the welfare worker should remember that conditions should be better but not radically different from those of their original habitation. He should also study the social relationships and such cultural factors as religious worship, festivals, etc. of the village and should try to maintain them in the place where they would be resettled.

(e) If the chronic poverty of the people are due to exploitation by any group the welfare worker should try to stop this exploitation. This can be done, from one point of view, easily, as most acts of exploitation are done in an illegal manner. But the people might have some peculiar relationships with their exploiters which might inhibit the process of their eradication. The welfare worker should study such relationships and try to find out equivalents for the useful functions carried out by them.

Apathy based on hilarious attitude

(5) Apathy based on a hilarious attitude towards life can be dealt with by the welfare worker by the following methods:—

(a) Work should be so adjusted as not to interfere with the cycles of dance, music and other festive activities. If these people are asked to undertake any work during their season of festivity, they would not only show no enthusiasm for such work, but on the contrary if insisted upon, they might show antagonism.

(b) All the programmes of work carried out among them should give them sufficient periods of leisure during which they might undertake their festive activities. Besides this, there should also be sufficient encouragement for those activities and the requirements if any should be supplied to them. It is sometimes found that these people have an aversion towards dancing and singing in the company of outsiders. Therefore arrangements should be made so that they can carry out their hilarious activities all by themselves. The welfare worker, however, should be so familiar with the people so as not to be regarded as an outsider.

(c) In order to attract the people, the welfare worker should not at the first instance propose to undertake any hard or strenuous work. He may start by participating with the hilarious activities and see whether they require any help to carry on these activities in a better way. He may also try to remove the difficulties affecting these activities. The welfare worker himself should also learn to participate in those activities not in a casual manner but seriously.

(d) Among many of these tribes work and play are combined. People sing or keep rhythm in some manner while working together. There are certain activities like gleaning the forest products which combine tramping, sports and adventure all combined in one. The welfare worker should plan the work in such a manner as to combine them with as much of hilarity as possible. While doing so, he should see that it does not interfere with the work and does not cause delay.

Partial apathy

(6) *Partial apathy*—Whenever the welfare worker finds the people apathetic towards certain activities and enthusiastic about certain other activities he should first of all ascertain the reasons of both enthusiasm and apathy. He should try to establish contact with the people through activities for which they show enthusiasm and then to tackle those activities for which apathy is shown. In this respect he may be guided by the methods of dealing with different types of apathy discussed above.

Apathy based on inadequate understanding

(7) Apathy based on inadequate understanding can be dealt with by the welfare worker in the following manner :—

(a) Lack of understanding may be due to language. If the welfare worker and the people speak two different languages, he should try to pick up their language.

He should however acquire adequate knowledge of the language before he ventures to carry on conversation in that language because with inadequate knowledge of the concerned language he might use certain terms which are regarded as offensive. Further he might not be able to express himself fully and hence may cause misunderstanding. Even if the welfare worker speaks the same tongue as the people the possibility of his creating misunderstanding can not be ruled out. The sophisticated people use mode of expression and certain words and phrases which are either not used by the people or done so with a different meaning. The welfare worker should take care so as not to cause misunderstanding on this score.

(b) The understanding of the plans, programmes and intentions of the Government requires a background of knowledge which the welfare worker should not take for granted in the tribal or rural people. Whenever he tries to explain any thing he should try to explain things by the following methods:—

(i) He should avoid abstract things and try to explain every thing in a concrete manner as far as possible.

(ii) He should explain every thing from the most preliminary level and for this purpose he might have to deal with things which have no direct bearing on the topic, he is explaining. For example if he explains to a people about the advantages of opening a grainkola he might have to deal with the rights of the people in a democracy and that everybody is protected by law so as to allay their fears about the transactions with the Government.

(iii) The welfare worker should see that what he explains to the people as beneficial and worthwhile is really so in the culture of the people. For, in a society where shifting cultivation is not only a means of subsistence but a way of life he might go on vainly explaining to the people about the benefits of improved methods of cultivation. Here he should first try to assess the role of shifting cultivation among them and try to find out how people would either give up shifting cultivation or take to settled cultivation. Even as a last resort he may ask the people to continue shifting cultivation, only shorn of its wasteful and destructive aspects.

Antagonism

Antagonistic Reception—It is commonly held that the tribal people are very fierce, blood thirsty and are indiscriminately violent. This has been proved to be entirely false in the light of experience and scientific

work among the tribal people. There are a very few tribes where the outsiders are subjected to antagonistic behaviour and even among them cases of violence are very few and never indiscriminate. The so-called violent tribes, the Bondo for example, have been found to extend warm hospitality to outsiders. Violent behaviour is only shown when there is grave provocation for it. Such provocation may not be considered sufficient from our standards of judgement but is quite justified against the background of Bondo culture and society. We may draw an example from our own society. A Hindu is moved to fanatic anger at the sight of cow slaughter. Such anger would seem very irrational and without any foundation to an American or even to some close neighbours of India, the Afgans for example. The Bondo is likewise offended if he is asked to do menial work for money. The Bondo would work as and when he likes and is not subjected to any restraining authority even of his own society and money is no inducement for him to barter away his personal freedom.

Types of antagonism

The types of antagonism which the welfare worker may encounter in the field may be broadly categorized as follows:—

(1) *Antagonism due to lack of contact*—When tribe lives in a remote area its contact with the outside world is naturally very slight and casual. They see very little of the outsiders and that on a few occasions. Fear of unknown is a fundamental to human tendency. This is more so with the tribes whose world of experience is very limited and to whom nature is very inhospitable. Therefore the very appearance of an outsider in their village causes consternation. In such cases antagonistic behaviour is expressed without any material reason.

(2) *Antagonism due to misconceptions*—This type of antagonism is different from the above category. When a tribal people come into contact with outsiders they evaluate their behaviour according to their own cultural standards which may result in the development of peculiar notions. For example once a worker tried to take photographs of certain Juangs. The Juangs developed an idea that the man was poisoning their souls and most of them not only refused to be photographed but also became very angry and demanded that their souls should be freed.

(3) *Antagonism due to ill-feeling*—This type of antagonism is more common and is to be found in various degrees in almost every tribal society. Various factors

are responsible for this type of antagonism the most important ones of which may be stated as follows:—

(i) *Economic factors*—The economic factors often create ill-feeling. Various sectors of economy are concerned here the most important of which is land. The tribal people clear the jungle and bear all the hardships to bring wild, virgin tracts under cultivation. In this work they are helped by the non-tribal people and money and materials are advanced to them. When the land is ready and has yielded several rounds of crops the erstwhile friends of the tribal begin to show themselves in their true colour. They work out fantastic figures and the tribal man is held responsible to pay for it. Being afraid of the complicity of such transaction the tribal man goes on paying as long as he can and a time comes when he ultimately surrenders his land to his patron and retires to the wild of the forest. This has extensively happened in the case of the Saoras.

Money-lending is another type of economic transaction which creates ill feeling. Once a tribal man borrows a small amount he goes on repaying throughout his life and the major portion of his earned income continues to be absorbed by the money-lender. In other economic transactions such as selling and purchasing of goods the tribal man is always squarely cheated. It has been found that the Kutia Kandha are often forced to part with a third of their annual income in exchange for a piece of loin cloth. When a tribal finds land insufficient to sustain himself through the economy of his society he goes out as a day labourer under some contractor. Here also he does not get a fair dealing. He is made to work harder than others and paid less and part of his payment is always held up under some pretext or other, in order to keep a grasp over him.

(ii) *Maltreatment*—Next to economic factors this is the most important contributor towards creation of ill feeling. Outsiders enter the tribal areas as officials, hunters, money-lenders or adventures. In each case a tendency to look down upon them as semi-human beings is always present. This feeling, makes people, who are quite decent outside, to behave in a queer manner. They show high-handedness and become licentious. Some of the most common situations which develop due to this may be described here.

Forced labour—Whenever any official visits a tribal area he makes the people carry his luggage and do other menial work for them without any payment. This, besides causing hardship, also affects his prestige.

Illegal extortions—Victuals, money, jungle products are extorted from them on meagre or no payment by outsiders most of whom pose as men of authority.

Licentious behaviour towards women—People most of whom are otherwise very decent, adopt a licentious behaviour towards tribal women. This behaviour is based on the peculiar notion that there are no sexual inhibitions in a tribal society. This feeling is further enhanced by the still fantastic belief that the tribals are semi-human or belong to a lower order of human species.

Disregard for tribal manners, customs and values—The outsiders visiting tribal areas make fun of the tribal manners, customs and values which appear queer to them. This not only wounds the sentiment of the people, it also dislocates their society and makes them feel inferior.

(4) *Antagonism due to a feeling of superiority complex*—There are certain tribes like the Gonds and the Bhuyans who think themselves superior to the rest of the mankind. They have a proud bearing and show arrogant behaviour towards others. The non-tribal often does not respect such feelings. This results in a terrible type of antagonism.

Methods of tackling antagonism—

The welfare worker may adopt the following methods to deal with the various types of antagonism described above:—

(1) *Antagonism due to lack of contact*—When antagonism is due to lack of contact or unfamiliarity the welfare worker should not be very hasty to approach them direct. Usually these people keep contact with the outside world through some intermediaries. The most familiar example in this respect is that of the Kandhas for whom the Panos work not only as intermediaries but also as the only advisors, commercial agents and interpreters. If the welfare worker approaches the tribe with the intermediaries, his appearance would seem to be less, unfamiliar and he can express himself adequately through them. But in doing so sufficient caution should be exercised because these intermediaries are often very sly people who do not want other outsiders to establish contact with their tribe. This difficulty can be overcome by acquiring a working knowledge of the language. The intermediary should always be closely watched and it should always be assessed through the attitude and behaviour of the people, how he is interpreting things. If necessary the welfare worker may try on the dress of the tribe, participate in their games and dances, respect their deities, and take their food. Here again caution is necessary because an outsider who adopts the dress, food and manners of a tribe too quickly is likely to be suspected.

There are always different sections of every tribe and always a section would be found who are more familiar with outsiders. The welfare worker should try to approach these sections first and afterwards extend his contact towards the more isolated.

(2) *Antagonism due to misconception*—When antagonism is due to misconceptions the welfare worker should try first of all to list out them. Then he should try to find out the reasons of such misconceptions. In most cases the misconceptions are due to individual events. Once this event is known the problem can be tackled easily. The welfare worker can show through instances and personal examples that the misconceptions have no basis. For example if the people think that a particular type of manure is harmful, then the welfare worker should try that manure on a small piece of land and show the results. In this respect it should always be borne in mind that mere precept without practice is never effective among the tribal people.

(3) *Antagonism due to economic factors*—It is in dealing with antagonism, generated by economic factors, that the welfare worker is to prove his worth. Laws have been passed by Government protecting the tribal people from various types of economic exploitation, such as eviction from land, transfer of land, employment of labour and money lending. The help of such facilities as marketing and producers co-operatives, grain godowns and numerous other facilities provided by the Government may also be taken. Here the problem is that though everything has been provided for through legislation, very seldom any of them reaches the people. It is the duty of the welfare worker to be conversant with them and to know them in detail.

The people who exploit the tribal people, such as money-lenders, rural cultivators etc. are themselves very backward and afraid of law. If the welfare worker explains them that their action would be punishable by law it would be sufficient intimidation for them. Where these people are particularly strong a few cases may be brought to the notice of the Government and some exemplary punishment to be given to them. These should be given wide publicity. Here only clear cases having sufficient evidence should be chosen. If the first cases are lost, it might enhance the prestige of the exploiters which no subsequent events can condone. The welfare worker should, however, try to do things outside the law courts and take recourse to law when other methods such as persuasion and propaganda fail.

Maltreatments such as forced labour and licentious behaviour towards women, should be brought to the notice of the proper authorities and Government employee who indulges in them should be given heavy punishments. The welfare worker should adopt the attitude of a person whose own kith and kin have been maltreated. Once an investigation is made into this matter many things would automatically stop.

(4) *Antagonism due to superiority complex—* Antagonism due to superiority complex can be tackled by giving due prestige to the people and according

recognition to the chiefs and other influential persons of the tribe. The people and their leaders should feel that the responsibility of working out a scheme is their's and the welfare worker is there merely to assist them. He should also try to secure high position for the leaders of the tribe in the Government committees and local bodies like the Grama Panchayats. Usually these people have a distinctive artistic tradition. Efforts should be made by the welfare worker to bring the artistic products of the tribe to limelight and to get them accepted by the general population.

Tribal Welfare in Orissa

Jnanendra Kumar Rout

The programme of Backward Classes Welfare in Orissa aims at initiating and intensifying the process of ameliorative measures on a gigantic scale. The Constitution of India has made special provisions to absorb the Backward Class aboriginals in national life and to improve their Socio-economic conditions. In Orissa there are 4,223,757 Scheduled Tribes and 2,763,858 Scheduled Castes constituting 24.06 and 15.74 per cent respectively of the total population. It contains some of the most primitive tribes of the country like Konds, Savars, Parajas, Koyas, Bhothadas, Bhumijas, Bonda Parajas, Gadabas, Jatapus, etc. They inhabit mostly the remote inaccessible hilly areas in Sylvan surroundings. These people represent diverse social organisations and cultures. In fact, almost each tribe has its own distinct social, cultural and economic organisations. All these people with their distinct physical features and diverse cultural forms have some common characteristics also. They have an intense love of freedom and great attachment to their traditions and customs which they have preserved against all odds. They have done this partly because they have been cut adrift from the main currents of Indian History by being forced to take shelter in the isolation of inaccessible regions. This isolation has led to stagnation and economic backwardness. Now with the improvement of communication facilities their isolation is being broken and the impact of cultures and forms of life is beginning to be felt. This in turn, creates new problems. On the one hand is the desire and the need to preserve their cultural traditions and on the other to participate fully with the improved ways of life with better food, clothing and educating.

A very delicate balance is necessary between these two forces so as not to cause any violent disturbance

in their way of life. They cannot be hustled. They have to be carefully and gradually brought to the position where they can work for their own economic prosperity and yet preserve their social and cultural characters.

Now with the introduction of the three tier system of Panchayati Raj at the village, Block and District level it is expected that this colossal undertaking would give a new pattern of administration aiming at all-round development of the Backward Classes. They would feel that they are part of the same body politic as others. In accordance with the policy of State Government it has therefore been decided that the development schemes of Tribal & Rural Welfare Department are to be executed through Panchayat Samitis. This has already been given effect to from financial year 1961-62. The weaker section of the population particularly those residing in remote areas have not yet learnt to establish their right and to exercise their responsibilities in the matter of execution of development schemes and the Panchayati Raj institutions are therefore taking positive steps to foster and promote these activities.

Special allocations are received from Government of India as grant-in-aid under Art. 275 of the Constitution for undertaking welfare schemes for Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes, D. T., Other Backward Classes in the State. This is intended to supplement the schemes executed by different Departments of Government in spite of the persistent efforts of the State Government it is found that the tribal communities are still found to be in various levels of development while some of the tribes are continuing to be most primitive and backward there are others who are

found to be more or less on par with the advanced section of the population. On a careful consideration of the whole issue it has been proposed to classify the tribal communities into three broad categories, i. e., A, B, C on the basis of their present level of development.

1. The most primitive tribes who are in a very low level of social economic and educational development are occupying some of the most under developed areas of the State. The following tribes are considered to be most backward and come under category 'A'.

District	Subdivision	Name of the Backward Tribes	Approximate Population
1. Koraput	Rayagada	Dangria Kondh	20,000
		Jharia Kondh	25,000
		Kutia Kondh	5,000
		Kondh	15,000
	Gunpur	Lanjia Soara	15,000
		Kutia Kondh	3,000
		Sauras	56,000
	Malkangiri	Bonda Parajas	10,000
		Koya	30,000
	Nowrangpur	Banjari or Banjara	
	Sadar	Chenchu	
		Parenga	
		Kondh	84,000
		Gadaba	25,000
		Jatapu	15,000
2. Ganjam	Parlakhemedi	Lanjia Saora and Arsi Saora	50,000
3. Phulbani	Baliguda	Kutia Kondh	15,000
4. Keonjhar	Keonjhar Sadar	Juang	17,000
		Pauri Bhuiyan	20,000
5. Sundargarh	Bonai	Pauri Bhuiyan	15,000
		Birhor	5,000
		Mankidi	..
		Makirdia	..
6. Dhenkanal	Pal-Lahara	Pauri Bhuyan	20,000
		Juang	2,000

Specific schemes are being formulated for concentrating the welfare activities in most backward areas for 'A' category tribes. Similarly all new development schemes other than those for the 'A' category have to be concentrated in the areas predominated by the 'B' category tribes which are yet to be finalised. As for 'C' category they will enjoy all facilities from general programme.

For the upliftment of the Backward Classes the Schemes have been classified under three broad heads, viz., (a) Education, (b) Economic up lift and (c) Health, Housing and other schemes.

Education—81 Ashram schools have been opened in different backward areas of the State by the end of 1962-63 out of which 16 are for girls. About 6,000 students belonging to S. T., S. C. and O. B. C. are reading in these institutions. These are residential institutions where students are brought up with parental care and taught various crafts along with general education up to M. E. standard. To create congregational atmosphere it has been decided to admit non-tribal students in Ashram School to a limited extent to read as 'Day Scholar'. There is a programme to establish two such institutions more in the most backward areas during the current year to cater to the needs of most backward tribes. Similarly 1,185 Sevashrams have so far been set up for educating the backward class children. Some simple crafts like spinning, gardening, basket and rope making are taught in the institutions. Six residential Sevashrams of U. P. standard have also been established which provide accommodation of 100 students in five classes of each school. Boarding charges at the rate of Rs. 20 per month is given to each student as in Ashram Schools.

Stipends are given to all the S. T. & S. C. candidates reading in different Pre-matric and Post-matric institutions of the State. During 1956-57, 11,359 students were awarded stipends and lump grants reading in Pre-matric institutions. This number has increased to 41,281 in 1961-62. Similarly 442 S. T. & S. C. students reading in Post-matric institutions during 1959-60 were awarded scholarships. This number has raised to 525 during 1961-62.

By the end of 1962-63, 625 hostels have been opened for accommodation of students belonging to S. T. & S. C. & O. B. C. There is a provision of Rs. 57.49 lakhs for construction of hostels during the Third Plan period out of which Rs. 27.45 lakhs have already been incurred for the purpose.

Teacher's quarters for Ashram Schools and Sevashrams are also being provided. Four Training Centres and

Talim Kendras have been established so far to import training to the teachers of Ashram School and Sevashrams.

Economic Uplift—The tribals practising podu cultivation are settled in plains and given facilities in improved methods of agriculture. Waste land is given free of Salami to the poor and landless Adibasis where available. Soil conservation measures are being undertaken in Koraput, Ganjam, Keonjhar, Phulbani and Kalahandi through the Director of agriculture. Scheduled Tribe and Scheduled Caste boys are also trained in cottage industries like carpentry, weaving tailoring, etc. in different industrial schools and are given stipend for the purpose. Deserving students and professional craftsmen are also given financial help to settle themselves in trades. Poultry Units have been opened in Ashram School to teach the students about the improved method of poultry rearing eggs are supplied through Mahila Samitis to poor Adibasi children and expectant mothers for better nutrition. 973 Graingolas have been established to provide credit facilities of foodgrains to the poor Adibasis in the lean months. Lac cultivation, Tassar rearing and pisciculture centres have also been opened for economic development of the tribals. Communication facilities are being provided connecting market places, schools, main roads and other important places to the tribal villages. Forest Co-operative Societies are also being organised in backward areas to deal with minor forest produce which helps their economic uplift.

Health Housing And Other Schemes—To provide adequate drinking water facilities to people in backward areas Government in the T. & R. W. Department have sunk a number of wells. Where digging of wells is not feasible tanks are provided. Rs. 1,500.00 on the average is given for each well. The S. T. & S. C. people are also given financial help to the extent of Rs. 750.00 to Rs. 1,250.00 per family for improvement of their houses. To extend medical facilities to the Adibasis 26-bedded hospitals, 11 Allopathic dispensaries and 10 Ayurvedic dispensaries have been opened. Six Mobile Health Units have been set up to go round the different tribal areas for giving medical aid. Intensive measures are also taken for treatment of Yaws and V. D. which are prevalent among them. 226 Maternity & Children Welfare Centres have been opened for tribal women.

The Depressed Class League is given financial help to work for removal of untouchability.

T. D. Blocks—It has been decided to open 60 T. D. Blocks for intensive development programme in tribal areas. For each such Blocks the Home Ministry

gives a sum of Rs. 10.00 lakhs in the first stage and Rs. 5.00 lakhs in the second stage in addition to Rs. 12.00 lakhs and Rs. 5.00 lakhs respectively by the C. D. Ministry. In view of the extreme backwardness of the State, the State Government have moved Government of India for opening 18 more T. D. Blocks on the basis of 1961 Census population.

Grant-in-aid—The Development Schemes are generally divided into two categories, namely, State Sector and Central Sector. In the State Sector they give 50 per cent grants-in-aid and in Central Sector 100 per cent. During the Third Plan period the Government of India have allocated Rs. 463 lakhs under State

Sector and Rs. 378 lakhs under Central Sector. They have further been requested recently to give a special grant of Rs. 474 lakhs under Central Sector for opening more T. D. Blocks and for taking up intensive measures in tribal concentrated areas.

General—There are some special schemes executed by the State Government for the Backward Classes. 25 per cent of land reclaimed by D. D. A. is handed over to State Government for resettlement of tribals in Dandakaranya Project. They are provided with houses and common amenities for their settlement.

Evolution of Tribal Policy

Gananath Das

Tribal policy in ancient India

For thousands of years the primitive tribes of India remained in oblivion, secluded in the dense forests and attracting less attention than even the trees and animals of the forests. For the ancient Hindu states the tribal people never existed as a problem and as such there was no need of a "tribal policy". It is true that during their military and hunting expeditions, some civilized people especially the kings and princes came into contact with groups of tribal people. Stories, about such contacts are to be found in the Puranas, especially the epics of Ramayana and Mahabharata. These contacts, however were casual and though these sometimes resulted in the brief subjugation of some tribal people, they never broke their isolation from civilization. There are also stray instances of tribal groups being assimilated into the Hindu Society but such cases did not attract any attention and presented no problems for administration. On the basis of historical data W. W. Hunter, has summed up the attitude of Hindu society towards the tribal people in the following words:—

"The Savars appear in very early Sanskrit writings, and are spoken of by them with even more than usual detestation. As the Sudras, or aboriginal tribes who had been subdued into the servile castes of Aryan commonwealth, sprung from the feet of Brahma, so the Savars and other forest races who successfully withstood the invaders, proceeded from the sweat of a cow. They were goblins, they were devils, they were raw-eaters, they were man-eaters; and the Vishnu Purana has concentrated the national antipathy towards them, in its picture of a dwarfish race, with flat noses and skin the colour of a charred stake. Another sacred text assures us that they were as black as crows, with tawny hair, red eyes, a chin jutting out, short arms and legs and the typical flat nose. They seem to have their individuality strongly felt in ancient India. The beginning of their territory long marked the last point of the Aryan advance. They are spoken of as "border tribes" who resisted the Sanskrit invaders, scattered armies, and earned for themselves the title of the "terrible

savars" (W. W. Hunter, Orissa under Indian rule. In History of Orissa Ed. N. K. Sahu, p. 52.)

Though the above quotation is characteristic of the abhorrence felt by the conquering Aryans towards the tribal people, instances are not found wanting which bear evidence of a more liberal attitude. Lord Rama's acceptance of the hospitality of a Sabara woman and also his friendship with Guhaka Sabara are such instances from Ramayana. The stories from Mahabharata, which are mostly allegorical in nature, describe innumerable contacts of the Pandavas with forest dwellers and even some matrimonial alliances with them. Apart from these mythical evidences, there is also recorded evidence of great historical importance. This is to be found in one of the rock-edicts of Asoka, wherein the Buddhist emperor declares :—

"Upon the forest tribes in his dominions His Majesty has compassion.....For His Majesty desires for all animate beings security, control over the passions, peace of mind and joyousness."

This is perhaps the first recorded evidence, not only in ancient India but also in the whole of ancient world, declaring the policy of the State in clear cut terms.

It may, therefore, be summed up that, though, due to sparse population contact with the tribals was meagre and though the attitude of the State was, generally speaking, hostile, a policy based on liberalism and piety was not found wanting in ancient India policy.

Tribal policy in the mediaeval period

The mediaeval period in India history roughly covers the period from Muhammadan conquest up to the beginnings of the British rule. This period is characterized by two contradictory trends of isolation and assimilation. These trends possible were due to the process of history and not conscious innovations. As a matter of fact no mediaeval state had a defined policy towards the tribals. The policy of each State was determined in the context of specific situations. This period saw the growth of certain tribal people as martial races who

ultimately came to rule over territories inhabited by them and also by their neighbours. The chief among these are the Rajput and the Gond kingdoms. The Rajput and the Gond rulers gradually became accepted as warrior castes and came to occupy a high position in the caste hierarchy of Hindu Society. About the Gond kingdoms Russel observes as follows:—

“It seems clear, then, that the Hindu dynasties were subverted by the Gonds after the Muhammadan invasion of Northern India had weakened and destroyed the central powers of the Hindus. Under these Gond Rajas, the country seems for most part to have been distributed among the feudatory chiefs, bound to attend upon the prince at his capital with a stipulated number of troops. (Russel and Hiralal, Tribes and Castes of Central Provinces, Part-III, Vol. III)

The history of the Rajputs can be traced back to the invading tribal hordes of Sakas and Huns. J. C. Powell-Price describes the tribal origin of the Rajputs in the following words:—

“The Rajput tribes are prominent in history, and there are many tales of the bravery and chivalrous nature of the great families. The Rajputs were the peoples who arose after the end of the great empires. They spread widely over Central and Northern India, even up to the hills of the Sub-Himalayan tract. (A History of India pp. 87—93).

The Policy of the Muhammadan and Moghal rulers and later on the Maharattas entertained a patronizing attitude towards these chieftans. They recognized their courage and valor and were willing to offer high officers and vast areas to them. They were however not willing to recognize them as independent rulers or as peers. The result was that many Rajput and Gond chiefs came to occupy high positions in the civil and military ranks in the administration of the Muhammadans, Moghals and Maharathas. Side by side the most terrible of the military campaigns were waged against them.

The other trend during the mediaeval period was the drift of some groups of tribal people into the forests and inaccessible areas. These people were driven away by their more advanced Hindu neighbours, the latter acquiring their land. This trend was due to the growth of population which made the marginal people to seek new territories. This process is responsible for keeping some tribes in extreme primitive condition upto the present day.

Condition of the Tribes under British Rule

After the mediaeval period the tribal people remained isolated in remote hills and forests for more than one

century. When the missionaries made their entry into these areas the British administration became aware of them. The contact thus established was only superficial. This was coupled with haphazard studies of the tribal people which gave rise to certain wrong notions and resulted in the policy of isolation.

The influence of British rule on the tribals has been aptly described by Dr. J. H. Hutton in the following words:—

Far from being of immediate benefit to the primitive tribes the establishment of British rule in India did most of them much more harm than good. It may be said that the early days of British administration did very great detriment to the economic position of tribes through ignorance and neglect of their rights and customs many changes have been caused incidentally by the penetration of the tribal country, the opening up of communication, the protection of forest and the establishment of schools to say nothing of the opening given in this way to Christian Missions. Many of the results of these changes have caused acute discomfort to the tribes.

Professor G. S. Ghurye, another distinguished anthropologist, has also observed as follows:—“acuteness of discomfort was very often so great that it led to apathy, indifference, moral deterioration, and even a decline in population”

This policy of isolation led to the exploitation of tribal people by their non-tribal neighbours and also government Officers. The rules passed for the conservation and preservation of forests encroached on the age old rights of the tribal over the forest in respect of the use of fuel timber, collection of minor forest produce and hunting. Side by side with the restriction of the rights of the tribal people unrestricted rights were enjoyed by Zamindars, money-lenders, contractors, and unscrupulous traders.

The unrestricted exploitation of the tribals which reduced them to abject poverty and misery resulted in a series of rebellions. A description of some of the most important ones about the nature of exploitation and the reaction of the tribal people.

1. The Santal Revolution of 1855—This revolution was excited by the oppression of the money-lenders, and landlords. The revolution was put down mercilessly by the British. The local officials who were ignorant about their problems and habits and customs had no idea that such a revolution could take place. It came as a surprise and swept the outlying regions of Bengal and reached within a hundred miles of Calcutta. The

Santals exhibited great bravery and were massacred in retaliation.

2. The Sardari agitation of 1887—This rebellion occurred in the tribal areas around Ranchi and was motivated against compulsory labour, periodical contributions, and illegal enhancement of rent by landlords. The rebellion was suppressed. Paradoxically enough this resulted in a mass conversion of tribals into the fold of Christianity.

3. The Birsa Movement—This movement of the Mundas, occurred in 1895 under the leadership of Birsa Munda and was directed against both Hindu landlords and money-lenders and the Christian missionaries. This revolt was effectively put down but certain concessions were given to the tribals.

4. The Koya revolt—This rebellion occurred around 1862 and was against the Muttadars who extorted forced labour and also against oppressive forest laws. It synchronised with the Non-co-operation Movement of the Indian National Congress. The Koyas engaged in Guerilla warfare and were mercilessly put down and their leader Alluri Sitaram Raju was shot dead.

There were also many other minor revolts spread all over tribal India.

To sum up the British policy was based on (1) isolation of the tribal people from the non-tribals, (2) maintenance of status-quo, (3) restriction on the introduction of any social, economic or political change and (4) non-interference in the relationship between the tribals with the non-tribals and the officials which in many cases meant passive or active support to the exploiting classes.

Administration of tribal areas under the British rule

The idea of a separate administration for the tribal areas was felt by British Government towards the latter half of the 18th century. When the Paharias of the Raj Mahal Hills revolted against the landlords, Augustus Cleveland was deputed to handle the situation and he laid the foundations of the policy embodied in Regulation I of 1796. At first tribal areas were administered according to special laws, which among other things usually prescribed simple and elastic forms of judicial and administrative procedure, such as, the Ganjam and Vizagapatnam Act of 1839. Later all these areas were declared "Scheduled districts" and their administration was conducted in accordance with the Scheduled Districts Act, 1874. This act provided for the appointment of Officers to administer Civil and Criminal Justice, to superintend the settlement and collection of public revenues and all matters relating to rent, and otherwise to conduct the administration within

the scheduled districts. It also provided for the extension, by notification to the scheduled districts, of laws in force in any part of British India, with such special restrictions and modifications as were deemed fit. Thus wide powers of legislation were vested in the executive.

The Government of India Act, 1919, continued the administration of these areas separately from the rest of the provinces.

They were removed from the purview of the legislatures with different degrees of exclusion. Thus arose the two categories of "Wholly Excluded Areas" and "Areas of Modified Exclusion".

As freedom movement gathered momentum, the British Government made increasing efforts to keep the tribal people aloof from the movement. The Indian Statutory Commission suggested that on financial and constitutional grounds the responsibility of these tracts should be entrusted to the centre. The British Government's decision on the recommendations of the Commission were embodied in sections 91 and 92 of the Government of India Act, 1935. These sections provided for the declaration by an order in council of "excluded areas" and "partially excluded areas". No act of the Federal legislature or the provincial legislature would apply to these areas, except on the direction of the Governor, who was empowered to make such exceptions and modifications as he considered necessary. It also empowered the Governor to make regulations for the peace and good Government of the areas, but such regulation required the assent of the Governor-General. Reservation of seats for tribals was made in the local legislature of Madras, Bombay, Bihar, Central Provinces, Assam and Orissa.

The fixation of the "excluded areas" were based on 'strictly necessity' whereas a more liberal method was applied for fixing up the "partially excluded areas". Accordingly the frontier and border regions in Assam, the Laccadive and Minicoy Islands, the Lahaul and Spiti areas in the Punjab were declared as "excluded areas" and extensive tribal tracts in the Provinces of Madras, Bombay, Bengal, United Provinces, Bihar, Central Provinces and Orissa were declared as "partially excluded".

Post-independence policy

While the National Movement was steadily gaining ground, there were eminent thinkers and workers who devoted their attention to social reforms and welfare. Mention may be made of the efforts of Raja Ram Mohan Roy and Ravidas Thakar Bapa. The latter worker among the

hill tribes whom he called Girijans and focussed the attention of the Nation on the tribal problems. The ground was thus prepared for the special attention that was subsequently paid in the constitution to the welfare of the Backward Classes in General and Scheduled Tribes in particular.

The policy of the representative Governments in the Centre and the States had their beginning in 1937 when popular ministries were formed in the provinces. Committees were appointed in the provinces of Bihar, Orissa, Bombay and Madras to enquire in to the conditions of the tribals. These committees suggested some administrative changes in the tribal areas and proposed certain plans for the amelioration of the tribal people. As the congress ministries abruptly resigned on the eve of the Second Great War the recommendations of these committees could not be implemented.

The structure of the State policy, in independent India is based on the constitution of India, which is, perhaps the most comprehensive declaration in the whole of history about the administration and development of the tribal people and the backward classes.

The following provisions of the constitution have a significance for the policy of the State towards Tribal people:—

Article 16 of the constitution provides for equality of opportunity in the matter of Public Employment. Article 17 abolished and forbids the practice of untouchability. Article 19 guarantees the freedom of speech, assembly, association, movement, residence in any part of the country, property and profession to all citizens of India. Article 23 prohibits traffic in human beings and forced labour. Article 25 guarantees freedom of conscience and free profession, practice and propagation of religion. Article 29 affords protection to the minorities for the conservation of their language, script and culture.

The part IV of the constitution, which embodies the directive principles of state policy enjoins upon the state in Article 46 promotion of educational and economic interests of Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and other weaver sections.

Part VI of the constitution lays down that in the States of Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and Orissa, there shall be a Minister in charge of tribal welfare.

Article 275 provides for meeting the cost of promoting the welfare of the Scheduled Tribes from the consolidated fund of India.

Article 330 and 332 provide for the reservation of seats for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in the House of People and the State Legislatures respectively.

Article 325 provides for giving preference to the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in the Services. Article 338 makes provision for the appointment of a special officer by the President of India, to investigate and report upon the safe-guards provided for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. Article 339 provides for the appointment of a commission at the expiration of ten years after the commencement of the constitution report on the administration of the Scheduled Areas and welfare of Scheduled Tribes in the States. Article 342 empowers the President to revise the list of the Scheduled Tribes in consultation with the Governors of the State.

The Central Government and the State Governments are making sincere endeavour to translate into action the spirit of the Constitution as reflected in the aforesaid provisions. From Plan to Plan increased provision is being made for the transformation of the Scheduled Tribes from their age-old condition of illiteracy and poverty to one all progress and development in the field of education economic standards, health and social uplift. It has been noticed that although facilities are created for the economic development of the tribals and opportunities are brought close to them by starting development projects, industrial units in their areas the tribals have not been able to take full advantage of these opportunities chiefly because they are not properly and well equipped to reach full benefit from these opportunities. When a Steel Factory is started in a tribal surrounding it is noticed that the tribals are not able to take full advantage of the opportunities of the appointment field of employment created thereby. They are not technologically trained and it is difficult for them to find openings as skilled or semi-skilled workers. The separate of education and particularly technical education and training have to be emphasised for the benefit of the younger generation of the tribals. They have to be given opportunities to equip themselves to take full advantage of the expanding opportunities opening up before their own eyes. The Central and State Government are striving in this direction and it is hoped that the tribal will come up in the not too far distant future.

Fading outlines in tribal culture

Gopinath Mohanty

In this world of living and moving human beings, culture, if it is really culture, representing the total pattern of how people having affinity with each other in the language which they speak, the beliefs which they cherish, the social behaviour which they exhibit live and think and act, can never remain static and unchangeable, it can never maintain, for all time, characteristics of its own as distinct from those which would be found in other groups of people. Thus, a section of people, living in a particular area can have some peculiarities for some time but not for all time. Far reaching changes have taken place even in the social outlook of Oriya Hindus in the last forty years. Old taboos have vanished, for instance non-Brahmin cultivator now fears to plant coconut seedlings or Kankada tubers. No Brahmin nor other high caste Hindu is outcast for dining with non-Hindus, for marrying outside caste or for taking eggs or fowl. In fact, the cock which was never found in a Hindu bustee in the villages can now be seen crowing from the high 'Choura' in a high caste Hindus' courtyard and clambering on the sacred Tulsi plant. The "touched contaminated" pollutions regarding food, clothing and contact which were numberless in the villages have mostly been forgotten and the barriers of caste have long begun to give way. Instances of inter-caste marriages, inter-religious marriages, marriages between Oriya Hindus and Americans and Europeans have begun to multiply. Several customs and rituals have undergone changes, particularly among the middle class. In their marriages, palanquin bearers, Harijan blowers of the conch, the barber and the barberess each had their distinct role to play and now they have

begun to become scarce so that rituals have to be suitably amended. Particularly in the moffusils it is getting difficult to secure healthy and sanskrit knowing Brahmin priests to perform the rituals because much more lucrative careers are now open to deserving men and among 'modernised' people while there is a tendency to have the rituals simplified, cut short and rushed through, there is also a similar tendency, in thought and act, on the part of the priest and both parties agree to have the ritual hurried through 'some-how'. Often, the typical procedures have also been forgotten. The tendency to adopt the procedure, pomp and eclat of ritual and ceremony is only noticeable among those who are entering into high caste or class newly. Science, technology, modern education, communications rapidly extending, chances of closer contact with people of other areas, the levelling steam-roller of industrialization and a host of other causes are pounding down much beyond recognition which scholars in future might conduct labourious researches to unearth, study, sample and analyse.

Between the Vedas and the period of which some authentic history is available, there is a gap of thousands of years, during which nobody knows which particular races came and settled in India, as different from any specified races who were the sole inhabitants here before the Aryans came. Even during the centuries of recorded history, people have flowed in and out. Here already is a colony of Tibetans in Orissa this year while the Saoras among whom it has been set up speak a language in which even now there are echoes of the Tibetan dialect and of Chinese dialects. It is difficult and perhaps needless to separate strains

which do not exist as strains but have become currents of water in which multiple currents flowing down have mingled together, in order to settle who is the 'Adivasi' and who is not. Even in the Charjya poems of the Oriya Bajrajani Siddhas, which are said to have been composed in the period between the 7th century A.D. and the 10th Century A. D., the Sundhi, the Domb and the hill-Saora all find mention.

Morphological distinctions may be drawn in order to separate out the races, but the races have long been hybridised. If it is believed that the Daityas were Adivasis, Lord Krishna himself, born of a Daitya mother, was an Adivasi. Intermingling of blood is the rule between living peoples. Long, long before the Oriya poet Radhanath Ray conceived the idea of his Kedara Gouri romance which is akin to the Greek Pyramus and Thysbe legend, there had taken place the Chitraka and Utpala episode in Orissa, and the love between Chitraka, the Chandala youth and Utpala the Brahmin girl was regarded in those days of the hoary past as such an ideal love that society hallowed them both by deifying them and after they were dead by erecting temples where they would be worshipped as Siva and Parvati and the river on whose bank they had lived and in whose water their bodies were consecrated was named after them as Chitrotapala. It is common knowledge that Lord Jagannath used first to be worshipped by Savaras. His priests belonging to a caste called Daitapati are said to be descendants of the Savaras who used to worship the deity in ancient times. But the Daitapati has already entered the Hindu caste and has married in Karana families. Several Gonds have long become Khyatriyas of the Surya Vamsa, the Chandra Vamsa and so on and now while they still worship their old deities, Jangha, Linga and Gramsiri, they wear the sacred thread, worship Hindu deities, observe several Hindu festivals and employ Brahmin priests. A section of the Bhuiyans even among the Paudi Bhuiyans on the hills claims itself to be Khyatriya, it is the Khandait Bhuyan and the ex-Zamindar of Kuanrunda in Keonjhar belongs to this section. An instance of how the Savara has merged with Hindus is provided by the ancestry of the famous Tera (thirteen) Souri Khandaits of Khurdha in Orissa, their ancestors are said to have been born of a King of Orissa by a Saora lady of the 'Padmini' class of women whom he had married. The sixty-first (Adivasi) 'tribe' in the list of Scheduled Tribes of Orissa is the 'Saonti' about whom Liaquddin in his Census Report of Mayurbhanj State, 1931 gave the following story:—

Jayagovinda Das, a Khandait (Hindu) of Puri came to Keonjhar in 1603. He had been outcaste. He formed a caste of other outcaste Hindus and called the caste 'Sounti' (the root verb of which means in Oriya to collect together from here and there). The Raja of Keonjhar allowed them to settle in Mananta near Musakhori. They called their leader 'Berdhahal'. In return of some services rendered, the Raja of Keonjhar gave the 'Berdhahal' the high-sounding title of "Guman Ganjan Singh Berdhahal Pata Zamindar" and in course of time, the title 'Rajkumar' was also added.

Towards 1831 or so, the senior branch of the Berdhahal family migrated to Thakurmunda in Mayurbhanj and obtained a Jagir. They do not bear any title now and are called Dasa. Their Gotra is Nagasa and their Prabara is Angira and their titular deity is Raghunathjiu.

Of course, where the source is legendary as it often is with families of very high rank, one has to stop short. The line of the Maharaja of Mayurbhanj, that is the very ancient Bhanja dynasty of Orissa is said to have sprung from out of a peacock's egg and to be the same as the Mourya's having the peacock as its emblem. At the same time, an allied legend is heard in a village in the Puri district which is far away from Mayurbhanj and Keonjhar. The Bhanjas of that village claim descent from a second egg of the same peacock and the legend is that while the Bhanjas of Mayurbhanj sprung from the egg which was hatched in due course and were 'Phuta Bhanja' the Bhanjas of that village in the Puri district sprung from the other egg of that peacock when it rolled down and broke and so they are 'Tuta Bhanja'.

After legendary origins of the people of Orissa from non-human ancestors and from far away places like Rajputana or Kanyakubja are ruled out, it might be possible to arrange the genealogies of the people more correctly, and it might then be discovered that many of the so-called Adivasis, having been completely merged in the Hindu social fold have continued to remain in Hindu castes and some too, in high places in the social scale. There have been several Adivasi Zamindars and other rulers belonging to such tribes as Gonds, Bhuiyans, Kondhs, Binjhals and etc. The history of the Sambalpur Garjats is associated with the legend of the Kondh Malikas who were rulers there and from whom the throne was usurped by an outsider whom they had sheltered.

One instance of how this change in culture sometimes becomes so great as to make a person completely different from his Kinsmen is evidenced by the Sabaras.

Even the Census of 1961 enumerated the Savaras in two different categories, 'Saora', 'Savar', 'Saura' and 'Sahara' were enumerated in one category and they numbered 3,11,614 while 'Shabara' and 'Lodha' were put in another category and they numbered 1,93,613. This division does not perhaps provide a distinction even between those who have been acculturised and those who have not because out of members in the first category there are several who have been acculturised and in the second category, there are several who preserve racial characteristics. This is clear from the fact that in the Koraput district, while 36,329 have been shown as 'Saura' about 17,583 have been mentioned as 'Shabar' although in that district all Saoras speak the same dialect and have preserved their tribal characteristics, so also in the Ganjam district 1,96,128 have been enumerated as 'Saura' and 34,916 as Shabar although the position is the same there as in the Koraput district. It would appear that this categorisation was done in the Census because a certain section of the Saora speaking people insisted on being classed as 'Shabara' the name seeming to bestow a higher dignity on than who use it as it is associated with the sojourns of Rama, with the Mahabharata and with the Jagannatha legend.

Although the classification made in the Census is thus no guide to mark any distinction within the saora tribe acculturation has made such distinctions. The Saoras of the Koraput and Ganjam districts eat the flesh of the cow and of the buffalo and they drink and the hill Saora is perhaps the most besotted species of people in Orissa, going thrice a day to his salapalm tree to obtain his drink. Like the Banda Paraja of Malkangiri a section of the Gutab speaking people of the Mundari race, the hill-Saora is very sentimental about his right to the earthen pot which he sets on the salap tree to collect the juice. There have been instances in which a father murdered his son for the simple reason that the son climbed a salap tree and drank salap wine from the earthen pot set there by the father. But it is not merely salap. Any drink is his favourite. It is the woman's job to warm the liquor and to offer it to her husband when he returns home from the mountains and if she fails in this duty, woe unto her! Once a Saora murdered his wife because she could not warm the liquor in time. The routine of climbing the salap tree once at cock-crow, again at midday and again the evening is meticulously kept up and the unnatural Death Register of the Puttasingi Police Station in the Gunupur subdivision records many cases every year when the hill-Saora in the height of intoxication fell off a salap tree and gave up the 'Ghost' (Kulba). Here are a people who somehow

believe that they are descended from monkeys and are human monkeys (Arsi) a belief which their more acculturised brethren on the plains would never accept. The end of the loin cloth is made to hang down loose behind the buttocks so as to represent a tail and in order to make the tail look imposing it is thickened and ornamented by embroidery done by the women. Even though beef, particularly of the buffalo is frequently taken, a huge quantity of leaves is boiled into a paste in an earthen pot along with a handful of rice and mandia and with slices of the red flesh of the buffalo and that is how food is prepared and then like all other such backward Adivasis, they eat it off leaf-cups. What is interesting is that the hill-Saora assumes the name of 'Arsi', the monkey and declares that it is because the monkey eats a lot of fruits and shoots and leaves that he does the same. The same consideration makes him to uproot his moustaches one by one by his own hand, clutching each moustache with a paddy seed so that it might not escape so that his face would look hairless like that of a monkey (but it is indeed a sweet and innocent humane face), this operation often occupies hours and hours. A monkey has a number of wives and an 'Arsi' (monkey) Saora counts his wives in pairs (like oxen) and often while the gentleman is plucking his moustaches at home and drinking again and again from his gourd-shell his women numbering six to eight might be seen holing the ground on his mountain terraces in the hot sun. It is not that he is incapable of work. He does some Herculean labours, converting the hills into beautiful terraces edged by stone parapets and grows huge lot of crops. But drink and his superstitious beliefs affect his reason and it can be said that he works only 'to feed the ghosts'. That is because, he believes that every disease is caused by the spirit of some dead person. Unlike the Kondh, there is no rebirth after death in his philosophy, the spirit (Kulba) stays on. And thus between spells of drinking, when the hill Saora in his semi-lucid intervals glances over his hills he fancies the world around peopled with ghosts, ghosts and ghosts whom he cannot see but who can be made to voice their desires through the 'mediums' of the tribe when, swallowing the smoke of incense, gulping down pots of liquor, tossing the head from side to side and moving the arms widely about and getting auto-intoxicated every moment with the rising tempo of the music of drums and pipes he or she falls into a trance. Then when the medium speaks, it is the spirit of some ancestor who speaks. The spirit announces its identity and says that the reason why so and so has been afflicted by it by a disease (even a heavy dose of cold and cough) is that

it is hungry and it wants a buffalo to be sacrificed. Saora spirits are very fond of buffalo meat and so although at times they want pigs, goats and fowl they insist on buffaloes most of the time.

All reasoning and persuasion failed to make them give up buffalo sacrifice as a measure of curing diseases. I once told some hill Saora village-elders to suggest to the spirits of their ancestors not to demand buffaloes because buffaloes were too costly but to be satisfied with offerings of a goat or a fowl. The Saoras did suggest this to their mediums when next some trances became necessary but the mediums, speaking for the spirits chaffed at the suggestion and said "Does anybody give up his mamul? When I (i.e., somebody already dead by that time whose spirit was supposed to have possessed the medium) was alive, I used to sacrifice buffaloes to propitiate the spirits of my ancestors. You must do the same, whatever it may cost you".

Several hill-Saora villages maintain a common adviser of the Domb caste whom they call their 'Pesini'. They accept his advice blindly and will do nothing without consulting him. In 1954 five such Pesinis used to live at Jaltar and eight of them at Puttasing and there were many more elsewhere.

Most of the Pesinis are converted Christians. Jogi Ganta of Puttasingi was 'Pesini' of as many as eleven Saura villages namely, Jang Jang, Gundruba, Laiba, Taikur, Reng Reng, Sing Jang Ul, Maning-yum, Basing Garjang, Rejing Tal, Aleng Al and Solda Sing. Janka and Relli, residing lower down at Jaltar were together Pesinis for eleven big villages namely, Pattili, Tam Rana, Talno, Regaising, Deng-Garjang, Sarai, Padara, Seng Na, Sagada, Gududu and Angara. The 'Pesini' acts as a liaison between the hill Saora and the merchants on the plains. Every Saora village pays him a sumptuous annual quota collected from each raiyat and besides he has his share of presents and offerings in every ceremony. He derives a direct benefit from every buffalo sacrifice, he gets the hide free of charge and sells it at a profit in the open market. He gets a portion of the flesh. He arranges a loan for the Saora from the Komoti merchant and therefore while he is indispensable to the Saora he is equally indispensable to the Komoti merchant. Very few officers know the Saora dialect, therefore he is also indispensable to the officers. The only approach to the Saoras for outsiders not knowing their dialect and their ways is through him, therefore he is also counted by political careerists. Being endowed with more than ordinary intelligence he quite appreciates where his interest lies and he knows that if the

hill Saora gives up drink and discards the age-old buffalo sacrifice method of curing diseases he would never maintain his privileged position as the Pesini for long and would never continue to have easy money from different sources. It is but natural that he would exert the tremendous hold that he has over the long tailed Arsi (Monkey) Saura against all attempts at making the Saora 'civilised' and modern.

These buffaloes sacrifices leave the Saoras perpetually poor and exploited because a buffalo is costly enough and if a family sacrifices two or three of them every year to the ghosts it takes all the yield from the land and much more to clear the debts of the money-lender who charges usurious interests. In 1952-54 the interest that was being charged on loans was often 1 to 2 mans (i.e. 4 seers to 8 seers) of paddy or Kandula (red gram of the hills) per year or 18 per cent compound interest.

An instance of how this lending business takes place will be clear from the following story. On the 27th January 1953 at Puttasingi, Bebarta Gamang, a youngman of twenty-five and son of Tikana Gamang of Rajimtal told me that in June of 1952 he had pledged three gold necklaces (Sorisia Mali) and one gold ring with Una Venkatanarayana Komoti of Jaltar without having the ornaments weighed and had taken a loan of Rs. 145 on a stipulated interest of Rs. 5 per month. He said that in September or October of 1952 he gave Rs. 25 to the money-lender in the presence of Dalmati Gamang and Kakharu Gamang of Rajimtal but the money-lender gave him no receipt but took his thumb-impression on the pronote. On the Wednesday preceding the 27th January 1953, the Saora approached the money-lender and offered to pay up the debt and to redeem the pledged ornaments but the money-lender said that he would not return the ornaments unless the entire debt was cleared by giving him paddy of 6 mans (i.e. 24 seers) per every rupee of debt.

With the advice of the 'Pesini' the Saora also takes advances from the Gunupur merchants undertaking to sell produce from his fields to them at very cheap rates.

Merchants take advantage of such contacts to establish 'Gadi' (Very short 'a'. Equivalent to Oriya 'Sangat') relations with 'Saoras. According to Saura custom a Gadi will never go empty handed to the house of his friend but will carry bharas of presents usually red-gram, arrow-root, paddy and etc. to his house. Custom forbids him to eat meat in his friends house and so his upkeep at Gunupur in the merchant's house

for a day or so would never cost much. The Komoti 'Gadi' gives him a plain fare, buys him a four-anna ticket to go into the local cinema house where he can sit on the sand in front of the screen, smoke and dose and then the visit is over. If a Komoti could contract 5 such Saora chums (Gadi) he could expect a substantial quantity of hill crops every year by way of presents and this was often a device that was deliberately adopted.

While such are the outlets through which all that the hill Saora grows down to the plains to the pockets of other people his personnel needs are very simple. He does not have to buy his drink except on market days when the caterer from the plains is near at hand, he draws his drink from the Salapa tree. The tail which he wears is woven by local weavers and cost Rs. 5 to Rs. 10 and one tail lasts for not less than two years. That is the only dress that the male wears at home and when he comes to town he wears a shirt or a coat which may be any cast-off clothing sold in auction. The bead necklaces with which the men are laden cost all told Rs. 3 to Rs. 5 per man. Men and women wear thick armlets and the women wear heavy leg rings and in their lower ear-lobes in which from a very small puncture made with a thorn the aperture is made bigger and bigger by gradually inserting wider slices of cork so that the hole is increased to over three inches diameter, a 3" long ornament of German silver looking like an instrument is worn and behind the head is worn a long piece of metal weighing about half a pound. All these and the rings which they wear do not cost more than Rs. 10 per woman and more than Rs. 5 per man. The women wear a short skirt under the waist which is worth about Rs. 5 to Rs. 10. Except for the meat portion of it, food is cheap because most part of it is of boiled leaves. Some money is spent on tobacco but it is not much.

As against this meagre expenditure the yield from the land is sumptuous. In spite of being addicted to drink the hill-Saora is very hard working and particularly on the Gunupur side of the Saora hills where the Lanja Saoras are more backward and primitive than their brethren on the Parlakimedi side, the men have fine strong and athletic figures and men and women have very strong hands and palms full of corns as a result of hard work. Except in February when there is no work and marriages and obsequies are performed, the rest of the year is kept fully occupied with work in the fields and except in the rainy months of June, July and August the Saora remains away on

his hill lands throughout the day. The annual crop cycle is as follows:—

<i>April</i>	.. Sowing Kala and Kandula. A pointed twing is thrust 4" in to the ground and the seeds are dropped into the hole which is then filled up.
<i>May</i>	.. Sowing Jona, Kangu, Kosla mixed together.
<i>June, July, August</i>	Paddy cultivation. No work on hills.
<i>September</i>	.. Work on hills starts. Wild weeds and grasses are uprooted from the Jona and Kondula fields.
<i>November</i>	.. As above, also weeding on paddy lands.
<i>December</i>	.. Guarding the hill crops and harvesting of paddy.
<i>January</i>	.. Harvesting of Jona and Kandula.
<i>February</i>	.. No work
<i>March</i>	.. Collection of mohwa fruits and Karanja seeds. Burning stumps of Jona and Kandula. Further digging and preparation of the ground.

But in spite of the bumper harvests thus raised the Lanja Saora has remained as before as the Sabara poet and saint Sabaripa wrote of his tribe in his Charjya in the 7th—9th Century A. D. "Umata Sabaro, Pagala Sabaro", existing on this earth only to propitiate the hungry spirits of the dead by costly buffalo sacrifices.

Saora Village Society obeys three important persons, first, the headman or Gomang, second, the Disari or Joga-mar who gives 'Joga' (Oriya word meaning 'auspicious moment'), third, the Jani or 'Boya-Mar' evidently because he worships the Yoyo-Boyi (Thakurani). Besides, there is the Beju (an Oriya word also adopted by the Kondhs and meaning 'important') and there is the woman Kudam-Boyi who falls into trances and on whom the spirits and deities manifest themselves and through whose mouths they declare their wishes or rather, their demands, to the village people. This institution is common to all Adivasis and is found among Hindus as the 'Kalisti'. The tribal council, as among the Kondhs and all other Adivasis,

has these three dignitaries and also all important raiyats of the village, or other villagers participate and the 'Pesini' renders advice. This tribal council decides all matters governing the relations of the individual with society and of the village, with outsiders.

The Saora does believe in a supreme deity, he is 'Janang-lo' or the Kitung. The Saora word for a Devata is So-num, and that for a spirit is Dumba (a Kondh or Oriya word) or 'Kulba'. Besides 'Janang-lo' or 'the Kitung', the other deities are Yoyo Boi equivalent to Thakurani, Bamundiyong and the Babu sim, a male deity.

According to legend, Lord Jagannath, the deity now worshipped at Puri was the deity of the Savaras taken from them by the Hindu king of Orissa. Even earlier than the record of the legend found in the Oriya 'Deula Tola' is the record of the legend given in the palm leaf manuscripts of the Oriya Mahabharata written by Sarola Dasa. There, the Lord is said to have revealed himself to the Savara Bidhupati, an ancestor of Jara, under a tree called 'Agra Brukhya' of which the Oriya meaning cannot be found. It may be that there was the wooden image of the Saora Supreme Deity JANANG LO which might have been kept under an Apamaranga bush which the Saora calls 'Arga-dudu' and which is used by Saoras in rituals (and also by Hindus particularly in Dwitiya Osa) and as medicine. Just as, before eating any new crop, the Hindu awaits it being offered to Lord Jagannath, so too the Saora offers every new crop of the year to his Janang Lo before eating it and just as in Asadha, the chief festival of Jagannath takes place so too in Asadha, the Saora performs the Amba Taku Parva before his Janang Lo after which he attends to weeding of paddy. Among other important festivals of Janang-Lo are the Kundem Pirr held in Margasira when new paddy and suan are eaten, and the Meria or Kandula Nua when Kandula (red-gram of the hills) is eaten for the first time. The hill Soaras have several deities or Kitungs, the plain Saoras of Gunupur have only the four important deities mentioned above. Yoyoboi the goddess, must first have a temple before a new village is set up. Yoyoboi and Babusim (not 'sum') protect the village. Babusim is represented by a wooden post on which carving is done to produce a human resemblance and over him is a short shade of thatch. Bamandi-yong has no fixed abode but he protects cattle and human beings when they go to the jungle and as with other deities, the 'mantras' invoke him to come, and to eat the offering and to protect everybody

so that everybody may live happy. The Saora sloka says:—

Bamandiyong Jai ... (Bamun Dei, do come)

Kani Me Atillaman ate (This is what I offer)

Joman, Ga ... Eat, drink

Mallanjikin Dalagam Pala- Us well protect
bolen.

Dinne men tillum Sarada- This much I offer with
gamle. love.

Joman, Ga ... Eat, drink

Mallen Pasigulla Sarada }
Sukkagamle Adakotenai } We children (having) joy
and happiness will remain.

Inside every house there is a room where several painted earthen pots are hung from the thatch, they represent the ancestors, the 'Idai'. A ceremony is performed for ancestors when every ancestor descends upon the shaman by turn and speaks out his or her wishes. This is called the Idai Pirr. Besides this, an ancestor may cause diseases or losses at any time and so have to be propitiated. There is the belief as among all other Adivasis and local Hindus that the disease of small pox (Yo-Yo) is caused by the wrath of the Thakurani (Yo-Yo) and the belief that there is a particular deity ('Ka-Ni') which causes convulsions in children. Besides buffaloes the other articles of offering given to the deities are fowls, lia (fried rice) and liquor.

They believe in magic. The Saora word for a sorcerer (Oriya-Pangnia) is 'Ta' nei which is perhaps derived from the old Oriya word 'Tandhei' (a witch) now heard only in the Sambalpuri dialect. The spirits of the dead not only remain in cremation grounds but may roam about any where and also remain in human habitation. There are ceremonies for births, marriages and deaths. The first ceremony regarding a human being starts when the mother completes the first month of pregnancy. It is called the 'Bara Pirr' the ceremony of the Sunari tree. The shaman goes to a Sunari tree performs a ceremony with a new earthen pot, a fowl, salt and chillies, then cooks the edibles in that new pot, eats the cooked food and comes away. Then as soon as a child is born, the Kaka Pirr or Crow-ceremony takes place. Some resin and some cooked rice are kept on the thatch of a house in a piece out of a broken earthen pot while down below, a fowl is killed in a 'Puja' and its meat is given to little children to eat. While the crow eats, little children are required to shout 'Eat, Eat'.

While unlike the Kondh who has words in his dialect only for 'one' and 'two' the Saora can count up to 10 in his own dialect, he has no word for 'north' and 'south', nor for the days of the week all which he has borrowed from Oriya. He has no word in his language for sugarcane, maize, mustard, garlic, jack-fruit, tamarind, date palm, and sal, and among common animals, for the Bani bird, and the bat. He has no word in his dialect to differentiate the left hand from the right. Among human relations he has no word for the 'maternal uncle' and the 'maternal aunt', for all these he uses Oriya words duly Savaranised. His attitude towards his younger brother's wife is evident from the fact that he uses the same word to denote her as also his son's wife, while he calls his maternal uncle's daughter, whom he can marry as the Kondhs do, by the same word by which he denotes his wife's younger sister, 'Irel-boi' and like the Kondhs, the maternal uncle and the wife's father go by the same word, 'Mamang' (from Oriya Mama). Unlike the Kondhs he is not totemistic nor exogamous.

These Saoras of South Orissa are divided into several classes. The chief are the following:—

- (1) Sudha Saora,
- (2) Kampa Saora,
- (3) Kudumba,
- (4) Lanjia, Malia or Arsi,
- (5) Khunta Saora and
- (6) Jara Shavara.

They too, particularly the Saddha and Kanya Saoras of the Gunupur plains know the Jagannath legend with which jara was associated and they believe that Jara Sabaras wear the dress of Khyatriyas. In their estimation, the Khunta Saoras are more backward, the Kudumba Saoras live in jungles while the Arsi are the 'long tailed ones' of the Puttasingi hills and of the hills on the other side, in Parlakhemedi.

While such are the Savaras of the south, the Sabaras of the coastal areas of Orissa and of the northern districts are completely changed. They have been fully acculturised and have forgotten the language and the rituals of the Savars of the south. The following description of Sabaras of Keonjhar particularly gathered from the Sabaras of Danga Posi village which is near the Sitabinjh frescoes in the Keonjhar district, would illustrate the difference.

These Sabaras believe in the Jagannath legend as is found in the post-Sarola Dasa period. Sarola

Dasa does not say that there was any Sabara girl called Lalita whom the Brahmin messenger of the King married but the later legend has it. These Savaras say that their ancestors were the following eleven brothers and one sister.

1. Basu Savara, 2. Jara, 3. Anu, 4. Ekalabya, 5. Kirata, 6. Birata, 7. Aja, 8. Gaja, 9. Bana, 10. Lalita who was married to the Brahmin Bidyapati, 11. Naga, and 12. Kai.

They think that Lalita was given a stone carved utensil as her dowry for which reason these Sabaras do not eat any more off a pot made of stone.

They employ Brahmin priests. Every year, after the sacred thread is put on the holy image of the deity Balabhadra in the Puri temple their Brahmin priest gives them a sacred thread which they wear. If the thread snaps, they are forbidden to touch food and drink until a fresh thread is given by the priest. It is only married men who wear the sacred thread.

They do not eat the flesh of cattle, buffalos or pigs. Drink is prohibited.

They do not worship any Kitung nor placate evil spirits. Their deities are the following:—

- | | |
|--|---|
| (1) Seeta Thakurani | } There are three stones on a hillock nearby who are said to represent these deities. |
| (2) Laba Kusha | |
| (3) Jagannath who is worshipped with offerings of fruits. | |
| (4) The Mahadeva, Neelakantheswara. A savara and his wife are said to have dug up the deity from the ground while they were digging for tubers in village Barati-pira. | |
| (5) Durga Thakurani, Mangala and Maha Mayi. | |
| (6) Badam, also called Sunya Badam or Binjhari Badam. They will not eat mangoes during a year unless they first worship their Badam. He is akin to the Kondh 'Dharmu'. | |

They observe Hindu festivals like Manabasa, Gurubara Lakhmivrata and so on and their most important festivals are Makara Sankranti and Raja Sankranti. Their tribal priest is called 'Dehuri' which is the name given to him by all acculturised Shavaras and Kondhs of the coastal districts. This dignitary, the ceremony of 'New Mango' observed in honour of Badam who is lord of all the forests and the association of the name

of 'Jara' with their ancestry are the only slender links that they possess with the Savara race and, of course, they retain their name, 'Sabara'. Their assimilation in the Hindu fold is almost complete.

Nearly two-thirds of the Savaras of Orissa have thus been acculturised. In fact, acculturation of several Savaras had already taken place by the time when Sarola Dasa wrote his Mahabharata. Several Hindu kings are mentioned as having married Savara girls and there were Savara saints and warriors. Before that, Sabaripa, the Vajrajani Siddha who wrote philosophical poems of which at least two are available could not have been in that state of civilisation in which the Lanjia Saoras now are.

With the progress of education, opening up of communications and as a result of industrialisation, the pace of acculturation is becoming faster and faster. An English-educated Saora 'Gamang' (headman) of village Titimiri in Gunupur was a M. L. A. for some time and few people knew that he was a Lanjia Soara.

Seeing some areas in the Koraput subdivision after an interval of 18 years, I noticed several important changes among the Adibasis in their dress, living and general condition. The Jhodia Paraja people would be discerned before from a distance, the men wearing loin clothes and carrying a number of gourd-shells in which they carried their food for the day. Their women were clad in the typical Paraja Panchia (a short and thick sari) and on their heads used to be piled one German Silver pot over the other in which they used to carry food. In the meanwhile, the D. B. K. Railway line had come, offering employment and higher wages, the Dandakaranya Project had come and industrialisation had begun. The Parajas had thus discarded their old garments and had begun to dress like anybody else. Gone were the gourd-shell containers, replaced by metal tiffin-carriers and so also the women were no more carrying a number of pots on their heads. While formerly they used to dance quite a lot, dances had become rare. Girls no more liked to sleep in their common dormitories. They had discarded their heavy and odd shaped bangles and adopted the light *Kacha*, therefore it would no more be possible for them to exhibit a particular type of dance in which a girl used to strike the bangles of both wrists together. They wore saris, blouses and used cosmetics and dressed as any other Hindu girl would do.

Gadaba women could be distinguished before by the very big brass rings which hung from their ear

holes reaching midway along the sides and by the striped 'Kerong', a striped cloth warpped round the waist, another piece being warpped round the upper part of the body. The Kerong was as heavy as canvas because every alternate yarn in it was the fibre of the Kerong plant. A strong rope used to be coiled round the waist with a ball of it sticking out on the back above the waist so that the heavy cloth would be kept in position and would not slip down. As the monster ear-rings were too heavy, they were supported by a coloured tape of Kerong passing through them and tied round the head. Now all such attainments were gone and had been replaced by common Saris. Gadaba women, like women everywhere else, wanted comfortable wear and not cumbersome apparel.

Therefore, with all these changes happening down the course of history every moment, with large masses of the so-called tribes getting acculturised and being absorbed with their neighbours, it is difficult to isolate particular tribal traits as having existed in *pura* since time immemorial. There are certain special traits among certain tribes as distinct from those of others, but those traits as they exist must be the results of changes which have already taken place and will also change in course of time. Once the red road comes, changes become automatic and what years of persuasion will fail to achieve, a road will achieve simply, quickly and naturally.

It might next be thought of to distinguish the tribes from non-tribals by grouping them together as jungle-folk. But history shows that except people like Birhors (known in Orissa as Mankdiyas of whom the number is very small) who keep on roaming from place to place in the jungle, weaving fibre ropes and eating monkeys wherever found, no other tribal is a dweller of the jungles by choice. An old Konth ballad illustrates their point of view in the matter:

"Ditire naha Kanata

Kakuli gata Jadata"

These tragic lines mean

"As an iron implement when it breaks is thrown in some obscure corner of the house, so too a person who becomes a destitute enters the woods"

There are more:

"Kokkeri Weda Kakuli Kumanda Kucha Hakuli" which mean

"Since early childhood we are woe-begone. We are ex-politised since infancy like the pump-kin plant"

The idea is that as soon as a pumpkin plant starts bearing leaves, its leaves are plucked and eaten, its tendrils are eaten, its flowers are eaten and finally its fruit is eaten and this very old Kondh ballad of unknown ancestry says that a Kondh is harried, exploited and made to suffer at every stage of his life.

And so, the tribes have been receding and receding into the wilderness in the process of time leaving only place names by which they are remembered. Not more than four miles west from Cuttack city there is the village "Bentkar", the very name connotes a tribe of Savaras. In the Puri district, there are several names of villages prefixed with the word 'Bhil' thus one may find Bhili Sasan, Bhil Deuli, Bhilligram and so on. The Madhava Mahatmya manuscript written sometime in the 18th century mentions Mudu Gala of the area near Niali- Madhava in the Puri district as the religious head of 'Bhils' whom he also describes as Sabaras. But there are now no Bhils in Orissa and no Sabaras are found between Bhubaneswar and the sea. Sarola Das, in his palm leaf Oriya Mahabharata which is the earliest extent Oriya Kavya mentions that near Puri was the tract which he calls Manohara-bana where Savara kings ruled. He gives their geneology. He mentions that in the Konark area there was 'Kanduka Kanana' ruled by another Adibasi of the Malhara tribe, in the sea coast opposite to Mahendragiri hill there was the "Trikgiri Desha" which was full of Savaras and where the presiding diety 'Trikala Hasti' used to pass his time hunting animals. To its south-west was the powerful Savara kingdom of 'Mahendramala' ruled by the Savara King Karunakara and between the Karnata Desha and Maharastra was the very powerful. 'Kirata Desha' with its king, Kirata-sena. Sarola Dasa is popularly believed to have been a contemporary of Kapilendradeva, king of Orissa in the 15th Century but the evidence of his style the allusions and other historical facts and circumstances gathered from his works point at his age being the 10th Century A. D. if not earlier. He wove into his work all the legends and the history that he was aware of and made it a great literary work. From the high State of Savaras which he has described to the conditions of the Lanjia Saoras living in the Puttasingi hills is a long trek into economic degradation by the same processes which continue even now wherever unchecked, lands originally reclaimed by Adivasis passing into the hands of non-Adivasis, crops being sold away for a song or made over in repayment of usurious debts, and so many other circumstances.

Scanning the Saora vocabulary reveals at a glance that they have names in their dialect for paddy (sera), rice (ronko) and cotton (adi) which are grown on plain

lands as well as names for other crops. They have a word for fish (a-ya) too and names for 'cultivator' (arra-mar) and 'Cultivation' (Bra-ra). This together the facts that they have no word in their dialect for the sal tree, and the peacock, and they prefer to eat rice would show that originally they were plain dwellers.

Similarly, scanning the vocabulary of the Kondhs reveals that they have names in their dialects for paddy (Kulian or in Kui, Kudinga), rice (Manjian or in Kui, Pranga), wet lands (Mera or Ketta), cultivation (Ar-na) plough (Karru), agriculture (Herru Kumma) and for different operations of cultivation. The Bicha Parba or Ba-ali puja of the Kuvi Kondhs of the Koraput Subdivision is of interest in this connection. On that occasion an entire village community practically stages a pantomime showing how, after God created human beings, society evolved and so did agriculture.

The most ancient legend about the origin of man that is current among the Kondhs come from Kotia Kondhs of the Tumuribandh lock in the Baliguda Subdivision of Phulbani. According to it, it is not one human being who was born but three men and three women came out of hole ('Kuti,' hence Kotia) in the ground at Sapangada near Guma and the women brought out seeds of crops and distributed them and one of the men dug into the ground and released the stream Gunjinala while one of the women first laid a dam to obstruct its water and finding that the reservoir thus caused, flooded the village, again released it by drawing a furrow with a plough. The legend recites how when two mountains obstructed the river, the Kondhs cut a gorge across the mountains through which stream now flows. I have described the legend in detail elsewhere but the legend illustrates that the conception of the Kondh even about his earliest society is not that of the gatherer in the jungle which most backward Kondhs even now are but of settled agriculturists who knew how to grow crops on lands, used the plough, laid dams and irrigated their fields. The early ancestors were, 1st. UDURANGA, he married NERANDALI, the first women who brought the crops and tackled the stream.

2nd—BURA SAONTA, he married the second lady PUSURANI

3rd—KANGO, who dug into the ground and released the stream, he married MUTTINALI.

Even now the hill-Kondh shows great skill in bunding hill streams and taking water in channels to irri-

gate his lands and the way in which by obstructing the flow of a stream, diverting the water and gradually widening the portion of the river bed that is left free, he prepares a paddy land is an art in itself and so too the way on which he prepares terraces on uplands. Terraces cut on hill-sides by the Lanjia Saroas are wonderful. Wherever lands are available for cultivation and facilities for cultivation are also available the Adivasis whether of the Kondhid race or of the, Mundari race have already turned into settled cultivators. The Kondhs with their sub-Tribes, Jatap, Kotia, Koya and Konda Dora number 905,007 and with other members of the same race such as Gonds, Gondias, Orams and Juangs, Kissans and Parajas number 1,922,384 or over 45 per cent of the total tribal population of the State and of them nearly 60 per cent have been acculturised. Except where they have lands and facilities for doing cultivation elsewhere they are settled cultivators. The Savaras number 505,227 and except for 184,866 who live in the districts of Koraput and Kalahandi the others have been acculturised. Most of the Savaras have taken to settled cultivation but they appear to be more landless than the Kondhs. Mundas including Munda, Lohra, Mundari, Ho, Kolha and Kol Lohra number 4,86,717, Santals number 4,11,181, Gadabas with their sub-Tribes Parenga, Didai and Bonda Paraja number 57,359. All these tribes of the Mundari race together number 14,61,520 and form about 34.5 per cent of the total tribal population among them except a few thousands of Banda Parajas and a few Erenga Kolhas all the others are generally comparatively advanced, living as settled cultivators with a strong preference for the open country. The rest 20 per cent of the different tribes have been generally acculturised and have merged with Oriya Hindus.

Of tribes who are as yet remote from acculturation there is a population of about 12 lakhs of whom the most backward and therefore, outlandish ones are certain sub-tribes of Kondhs known as Kotia, Dongria and Pengo, Kondhs of Subarnagiri in Phulbani, and among the tribes of the Mundari race, the Lanjia Saoras and the Banda Parajas who are a sub-tribe of the Gadabas all of whom belong to the southern districts and number nearly 160,000 out of total tribal population of the State numbering 4,223,757 and in the northern districts there are the Juangs numbering 21,735 and the hill-Bhuyans of almost the same numerical strength. All of them are now exposed to the forces that effect rapid changes because in the scheme of the planned development of the country no corner of India however remote and dim can remain beyond the pale of Panchayati Raj and the Blocks nor remain without

works of development being taken up in such areas and roads, hospitals, schools and other institutions are rapidly spreading and extension officers in different fields are gradually making their presence felt. Particularly for predominantly Adivasi areas there is the special care which the Indian Constitution enjoins. Of special significance is the fact that industrialization has begun to make rapid strides and a vast potential of minerals, hydro-electric projects, forest wealth and also reclaimable lands lies in those very areas which have therefore automatically become targets for the forces of science, technology, capital and industry. This means more and more influx of outsiders into the Adivasi areas, rapid development of communications, exploitation of minerals and power, mass displacement of Adivasis and their resettlement and rapid changes in their pattern of economy and social life.

Hitherto the changes that had occurred to them viewed from the earliest times had followed the course of pushing them from the life of agriculturists on the plains to a State of cultivators-cum-gatherers and hunters in hills and jungles and then after further acculturation, of getting them down to the plains as agriculturists. In spite of movement and change, the pattern down the centuries has been of culture arising out of agricultural economy and woven round it. This is amply illustrated by a glance at the culture change in any tribe or race.

The Kondhid race may be taken as an illustration. The most backward and primitive sections of the race, the two sub-tribes of Kotia Kondhs (of Koraput and Phulbani), the Pengo Kondhs and the Dongria Kondhs believe in the two chief deities, Dharmu or Jhakiri who is up above and who permeates the universe and whose special priest is the Jani and secondly, Dhartanu (or Dharani) who is down below and is not only Mother Earth who gives all crops and fruits and sustains life but is also the Goddess who bestows prosperity and guards people from all evil and whose special priest is the Disari. They also worship the House-deity who guards the house and the Horu Penu or the presiding deity of the mountains and also some local mountains which are deemed by them to be sacred. There are some other local deities. Kotias of Belghar have the Mouli Penu, who is the a Goddess who causes ailments. Kotias of Koraput have several of the 'Gangi' who guard the fields and Pengo Kondhs of Kasipur have the Gudi Debta another Goddess equivalent to Chitagudi of the Kuvi Kondhs of Koraput and her companion, Kandbar. The Goddess Dartanu or Mother when

annoyed, sends them smallpox and other diseases and calamities which are also caused by the annoyance of other deities. Dharmu and Dartani enjoin right conduct and right action on them and so a man should not tell a lie, should not cheat his neighbour and should not be dishonest and Dharmu and Dartani see everything and so no other witness is necessary for any transaction between one man and another. If someone does any wrong these deities may make him blind, his cattle and his children may perish, he may be eaten by a tiger or his life may be cut short by other means. A good man will live long and if a man dies early that is proof enough that the spirit (Duma) that dwelt in him was that of a bad man that had been reborn. Rebirth is inevitable, so one need not be afraid of death. The sole object of earthly existence is to enjoy life to the full.

They also believe that their little village is like one family where the motto is, "Pahanahan Tinjara" (Kotia, meaning 'by sharing, eat'), therefore even though private ownership of property is recognised, no one should fast if somebody else in the village has something to eat. Rituals, festivals, dancing, hunting, felling a jungle for podu, mourning a death are matters in which the entire village community participates. The individual is strongly backed by the community in his relations with the people outside the village. On his part, he should not go against the wishes of the village elders that is, the headman (Saonta or Majhi), the Disari, the Jani and the important raiyats who together constitute the accepted tribal council that decides all matters arising between one villager and the other and all matters concerning the common interests of all the villagers and concerning the external relations of the village. The individual does not take a decision all by himself without consulting the village elders.

All the festivals of the village concern the interests of the entire village-community and not like the Pujas performed in Hindu households, only the interests of the Jajamana and his family members. The occasion for holding the festivals are generally the following :—

(i) thanks giving to Mother Earth and praying to her for good crops, plenty and prosperity. This is done on a big scale by performing the Meria Puja;

(ii) thanks giving to Mother Earth when for the first time in a year a fruit becomes ripe for eating or a crop is harvested and offering

those to Her before the community can eat those. The chief festivals of this nature are the Nuakhias for the mango, the red-gram, the gourd, the mango kernel and mohwa flowers. On each such occasion they pray to her again to give them good crops;

(iii) a puja whenever an important work starts for the first time during the year, for instance podu and sowing crops. The sowing festival called Bicha Parba or Bali Parba is a very important festival among all Kondhs;

(iv) holding customary festivals in honour of the ancestors and of local deities to keep them satisfied so that they may not be angry;

(v) rituals for curing diseases or for warding off the tiger;

(vi) rituals concerning the birth of child, marriages and deaths;

(vii) bachhanalian festivals like the Chaitra Parba when they suspend all work, eat, drink, dance and sing and hunt in the forest.

They maintain one dormitory for all unmarried girls and another for unmarried boys. Marriage between people of the same totems is taboo, it is like incest. They have different totems. Boys and girls choose their partners as they dance and sing together. They can then mix freely. There are four kinds of marriages:—

(i) the conventional marriage,

(ii) by elopement,

(iii) dragging or lifting away a girl from a public place with her previous consent,

(iv) forced entry by a girl into her lover's house against the wishes of his parents.

It is customary for the bridegroom's parents to pay a bride-price to the bride's parents before marriage takes place. After a girl's marriage, strict faithfulness is enjoined upon her and social custom makes adultery punishable with death but a woman can have a new husband if she likes and a divorce is easy to

obtain. In that case the first husband recovers compensation from the second, the grown up children remain with their father and little children go with the mother to her new home but are restored back to their father as when they grow up. There are pollutions on the occasion of menstruation and death. No important work should be done except at the auspicious moment fixed by the Disari. There are several taboos and omens good and evil similar to different sets of taboos and omens believed by Oriya Hindus. For instance, when Kotia Kondhs of Koraput start doing podu on a particular patch of jungle they regard it as an ill omen of the worst category if on the first day of work they see a peacock or a Kutra (barking deer) or a hare on that patch of jungle and then they will no more do podu there. All of them do podu which enables them to get a variety of grams, millets, pulses and etc., with the least effort on cultivation and without application of manures and they get thatching grass which grows on podu land when it is left lying fallow. All of them eat the flesh of the cow and the buffalo and besides the crops which they grow the soft Kernel inside mango stones, is one of their staple diets and with that and with boiled mohwa flowers they carry on for two to three months every year. Another source of starch is the pith of the salap palm tree. Collection of various kinds of yams from the jungle and processing them before eating takes much of their time. Children hold the baby at home when the parents go out to work, tend goats and cattle as they grow older, gurad the fields to scare away wild animals when the crops ripen and at least for two months in the year, roam about collecting mohwa flowers, mohwa fruits, tamarind, karanja fruits (for preparing oil) and other articles. These pre-occupations interfere with their studies even when schools are provided. Another diversion that disturbs boys is the young-women's Dormitory and singing and dancing with girls before getting married is quite a phase of life.

This more or less is also the way of life of all Kondhs including their subtribes who are not acculturised to an appreciable degree. There has been marked acculturation in the districts of Sambalpur, Kalahandi, Bolangir and in the northern districts where the Kondhs have forgotten their dialect, have adopted Oriya and instead of the loin cloth of the males and the bare bodies of the women decked with masses of bead necklaces have adopted the dhoti, the sarhi and in fact the dress of the Oriya Hindus. But the tribal priest Disari (sometimes turned Dehuri) and Jani continue, although Brahmin priests are sometimes engaged and the Earth-Goddess continues to be the chief deity though she is

called Gramsiri and so does Dharmu in the form of Badam. The festivals still follow harvesting and eating of new crops and fruits and like the Meriah performed in Pousa or Magha the chief festival, held in honour of Gramsiri, takes place in those months. Names of totems have vanished but a few remnants of old totems like Sikoka, Palka, Mutaka are still seen. Bride's price is still paid but the Dormitories and marriage by capture and by forced entry have been abolished, though the two other forms of marriage have remained. Community spirit remains and also respect for village elders though solidarity has weakened and the life in general is that of settled agriculturists who still have occupations concerning the jungles. Local mountain deities continue to be worshiped.

Where even in the northern districts, people still live on the hills like Paudi Bhuyans and Juangs there exists a nearer resemblance to the way of life of the unacculturised Kondhs. Among the northern tribes, the Juangs are regarded as the most primitive and because they speak a dialect akin to Mundari, they are regarded as belonging to the Mundari stock. But they have been acculturised to a large degree. They use several Oriya words in their language, the men dress like Oriya Hindus and the women wear saris and among them the Earth-Goddess has already turned into the partly Hinduised Gramsiri, the same as among acculturised Kondhs, Bhuyans and Gonds.

And in spite of their dialect the Juangs evince a marked similarity with the manners, customs and ways of life of the Kondhs. Akin to the Kondh supreme Deity Dharmu is their Badam or Gainsiri the same as that worshipped by Bhuyans. Akin to the Kondh Earth-Goddess who is also THE GODDESS is their Gramsiri. Like the Kondh high priest Disari they have their Dehuri. They too worship local sacred mountains. Like the Kondh burying the flesh of a sacrificed animal in his field they bury the snout of the pig cut, a Kondh fashion when, it is alive, in the field and like the Kondhs the offering is made to the Goddess Gramsiri. It takes place in Asadh and is called Ashadhi. Festivals take place, as among the Kondhs, on the occasion of eating mangoes for the first time and also before eating the first paddy, the first cereals and so on and particularly the new Paddy festival requires a buffalo to be sacrificed before Gramsiri. They too are totemistic and exogamous and their totems are grouped into Blood Relations Totems (Kutum Bak) within which no intermarriage is permissible as for instance among the totems of Lim, Kundheji, Hat Sida, Gung, Kundhi Gharia, Talpadia, Kiri and

Renda and secondly into marriage relations Totems (Bandhu Bak). They have their youth Dormitories for girls and boys separately. Selection of partners in marriage is preceded by courtship done by means of dancing and singing and visits of parties of girls to the boys' dormitory of another village and *vice versa*, the visitors carrying presents when they are entertained, housed and the dances and songs take place at night.

The maximum acculturation in the Kondhid race has taken place among the Gonds of Orissa. They are hardly distinguishable from the Oriya Hindu cultivators and as a race have taken very avidly to education. They worship several Hindu deities like Bhima, Mangala and Basuki and observe several Hindu festivals and as distinct from Kondhs anywhere, worship two dieties Jangha and Linga who are probably names of legendary ancestors like those of the Kotia Uduranga, Buro Saonto and Kango. They sometimes employ Brahmin priest, have no youth Dormitory, no system of marriage by capture nor by forced entry. But they still have the tribal priest, the Dehuri and attach great importance to their Gramsiri, worship ancestors on a particular day, worship local sacred mountains and their chief festival which too is in honour of the Goddess, takes place as among Kondhs, in Pousha though it has been Hinduised and is called Gouri Osha. The ancient totems are remembered then, each family preparing a clay image of its animal totem and the old system of an entire village holding a communal ritual jointly at one place is clearly evinced when all the totems are placed together and worshipped. Thus in the northern-most border of Orissa in Mayurbhanj the Gonds still retain remnants of the tribal characteristics of Kondhs in the southern districts.

These changes however far reaching have not affected the agricultural character of the economy of the people and the essential nature of the rituals, beliefs and social philosophy which are woven round agricultural economy. Of all earthly possession, land comes first in their conception. It sustains life. It is symbolised into the Earth-Goddess and is personified, endowed with benign qualities and if due regard is not paid to her, with power to destroy. There are also the forces beyond the Earth which create days and nights and the seasons and have made the celestial bodies and they are personified in the all-seeing all powerful Badam or Dharmu. Between Dharmu and Dhartani man must live a straight and honest life doing his duty to his family and to his society. Life

is meant for enjoyment but there can be no life and no enjoyment without society and so there should be absolute solidarity within the fold of the village, and what is important to the individual is also the concern of the entire village. No one can break these social ethics unless he leaves the village and starts a separate colony elsewhere because their agricultural economy compels all of them to live together at one place and to pursue the same occupations side by side with all others throughout their lives. While the entire village is like a single united home this concept has its painful corollary, a man of a different village is an alien and his interests are separate and if he dares to cut the boundary trees standing on the crest of a mountain that divide the jurisdictions of two villages it is likely that there will be a free fight between the people of two villages. The ego of the individual is raised to the status of the ego of the entire village and so clashes occur sometimes at the time of marriage which in essence means snatching away the prized possession of one village by people of another village even though the boy and the girl are in love.

The changes ushered in by industrialisation tend to cut at the root of the old accustomed life because its very basis, life lived on agricultural economy goes. Suddenly, people rooted to a spot where they used to gather or grow whatever used to sustain their lives find that they have to part company with their old village and to scatter about in search of a living whether as skilled or unskilled labourers or in other modern employments. It will require time to make them adjust to such a situation which requires new discipline, new inhibitions and a new outlook. The family has to separate because each member has to find some occupation where he or she can fit in. The hold of the tribal council and the village community and the loyalties and inhibitions which they had imposed and the chastening fear of village gods vanish suddenly. In place of the economy of exchange of services and good will comes the money-economy and value is fixed both of a person and of goods in terms of money. Opportunities open for earning more and more money, new and costly wants develop together with a costlier standard of living but a people who were never accustomed to have to compete with each other in any sphere of their life now enter a life where competition is the rule and is the sole means by which one can survive. It is not people of a single totem nor a single tribe who can live together at one place for generations and share common traditions, the little world encircled by natural barriers is now thrown

open to the entire human race. Tribal ethics will be replaced by broad universal human ethics and the tribes in this changing context will naturally need special care and education and training to be enabled

to adjust themselves to this new situations so that they can maintain their place in the new pattern of existence with dignity and peace as healthy and enlightened human beings.

KULI

P. Das Pattanaik

The total population of the Kulis is 1,609. The distribution of the tribe all over the State is as follows:—

Name of the district	Total population	Male	Female
Bolangir ..	716	362	354
Phulbani ..	264	123	141
Sambalpur ..	629	234	395
Total ..	1,609	719	890

The low huddle of straw-thatch huts with mud walls of Kulis, primitive in workmanship and straggling in arrangements are to be found in Saintals, Loisingha and Agalpur areas of Bolangir district and in some areas of Sambalpur district. Each group of huts may be termed a village since it is regarded by the natives as a distinct entity separated from its neighbours, however close they may be, by recognised boundaries and bearing a name of its own. The Kulis are believed to be a sub-caste of Meharas which are classified as Scheduled Caste but probably a little more advanced in social heirarchy than them. They do not suffer from the stigma of untouchability and their social mobility is less than the Mehars (Bhulias or Weavers) a class of other Backward Classes people.

The weaver castes of Sambalpur and Bolangir are divided into seven groups, such as, Bhulia, Kru-shna, Dhera, Patra, Rangini, Kuli and Ganda. These seven groups, inspite of their common caste occupation, function as seven distinct castes. The first four castes weave superior type of clothes. Kuli and Gandas weave inferior and coarse type of clothes.

The Kulis are endogamous and the rules of endogamy is strictly observed by them. They are known by their title as Mehar.

The sole occupation of the Kulis is weaving. Agriculture is a subsidiary occupation for a very small fraction of people. Less than 1 per cent of the Kulis of these districts own some lands and in no case the holding is more than 2 acres. Weaving constitutes a number of phases. Both the sexes participate in this. A normal couple by working to their utmost ability can weave twenty pieces of standard sized cloth per month. This may be valued between 80 and 90 rupees. A couple can weave twenty pieces of clothes ably under ideal conditions but as they have to face a number of difficulties such as lack of capital and market, the limit does not exceed 12 pieces when there is heavy demand. The demand is ordinarily very low throughout the year. Therefore the output of the weavers is between 1 to 3 pieces of standard clothing per month.

So far as the caste interrelationship is concerned the Brahmans do not accept water from the Kulis. But such untouchability is not strictly observed. Because the Brahmans enter their houses and take water from their metal utensils if brought by other people. The Brahmans serve in the marriage, mortuary rites and other functions of the Kulis. The washerman washes the clothes of the Kulis. The barber cuts the hair of the Kulis and also shaves them. The Gours (cowherd) and Kultas do not accept water from them but mix freely with them. The Gandas accept water from them but not the *vice versa*. The Kulis regard the Gandas as a very inferior caste and treat them as untouchables.

The Kuli women are very hardy and careless about themselves. After the birth of a child, they do not indulge in the luxury of a cot, but, according to their usual custom, continue to lie upon the ground, bathe in cold water and eat their accustomed food. Directly the child is borne, it is placed upon a cot and the mother resumes her ordinary work of fetching water, wood, leaves, etc., cooking food for the family and so

on. On the seventh day the child is well washed and all the neighbours and near relatives assemble together to name the child.

Girls are married generally between the age of 5 and 12 years, and if a girl is unmarried when she attains puberty, she is married to a bow or an arrow tied to a post made of *Mohua* wood. The ordinary marriage ceremony presents some curious features. The bride walks seven times round the bridegroom, and at the end of each round, presses two cakes against groom's cheeks, after which each cake is thrown away. After rice has been put on both of their foreheads, they mount on the hips of two persons attending the marriage. Divorce is allowed in case of incompatibility of temper, or if the wife is unfaithful or is barren.

The dead are generally cremated. The body is placed on its back with the head to the north, and may not be exhumed, but the bones may be taken out of the grave to be thrown into the Ganges. The man who takes the bones is temporarily outcasted, but on his return, he gives a feast, and is then readmitted into the caste.

The religion of the Kulis present no special features. They worship all the Hindu gods and especially revere Mahalakshmi, because it is said, they care more for money than for moral virtues. For practical purposes they are most interested in averting the evil eye and exercising evil spirits.

Among the Kulis, the boys and girls go out to the jungle on the evening of the eleventh day of Bhadrapad and cut a branch of a Karma or Sal tree. This they set up in the village, where it is worshipped, the villagers drinking and dancing round it all night. They make offerings of rice and sweet meats. A fowl is also killed, and the food offered to the branch. In the morning the branch is taken away in procession and thrown into the village tank. A special feature of the festival is a long song praying for rain. Excepting that, they observe Akshya Tritiya, Rakhi Purnima, Nuakhia, Dasahara, etc.

Dances are a favourite amusements, and one may frequently witness at night a 'Nach', the Ram Lila or Krishna Lila Nach, being a great favourite. The orchestra does not include the Gaontia himself, who organizes the whole entertainment. They

are a few Kulis who are professional pipers and drummers, and are regularly employed as musicians at Hindu marriages.

Their houses are marked by the paucity of furniture and well planned arrangements for living within a very narrow space. Bright looking brass utensils are very conspicuous in their houses. Their houses are also decorated with various iron figures in different colours and paintings of Gods hanged in frames.

The women wear ornaments and sarees used by the higher Hindu castes. A tendency to wear handloom sarees have developed among women. The Kulis women generally put on ear and nose rings which are made of silver. The well-to-do Kulis put on gold ornaments. They do not have any musical instruments excepting the drums. Sometimes they borrow other musical instruments from their neighbours Gandas.

Apart from their poverty, the Kulis may be treated as economically distressed. During the past fifteen years, they have gradually lost their market. Hand woven cloth has gradually been replaced by mill-made cloth. In spite of its superior artistic quality the hand woven cloth has not been able to stand the competition from the latter. The Kulis have been more hard hit because they specialise in coarse and inferior type of clothing which is generally used by the poorer section of the people.

The Kulis are fully integrated into the caste hierarchy of the Hindu society. They accept the superiority of the Brahman, have functional relationship with other castes and have a rigid fixed caste occupation. They do not take such food and indulge in such practices which are prohibited by Hindus. On the other hand, behave like a high caste in this respect.

On the basis of the above findings, the conclusion can be drawn that, there is no reason to justify the Kulis being treated as a tribe. The Kulis have the status of a Scheduled Caste but in that capacity they occupy a position superior to other Scheduled Castes. A slight stigma of untouchability is attached to them but they are likely to be cleared up of this in near future.

BHUMIA

P. Das Pattanaik

The total population of the Bhumias is 50,294. The distribution of the tribe all over the State is as follows:—

Name of the tribe	Total population	Male	Female
Koraput ..	49,584	24,477	25,107
Sambalpur ..	560	273	287
Phulbani ..	6	6	..
Ganjam ..	121	61	60
Sundargarh ..	23	23	..
Total ..	50,294	24,840	25,454

The Bhumias are divided into totemistic unit or clans. The three such totems, which is called 'Bansa' mentioned at Balia village are Nag, Bagh and Surjya. Ordinarily, in a village, families of one Bansa reside. There are separate hamlets for members of different Bansas. In their community the clan organization is a simple one. In every village the Naika is the accepted leader. He is ordinarily the richest man possessing lands and cattle in opulence. Next to the Naika is the 'Bhat-Naika'. There is one such for a region, sometimes comprising of 10 to 20 or more villages. Both these offices are ordinarily hereditary. The 'Bhat Naika' settles the village feuds. While petty village quarrels are referred to the village Naika serious disputes involving clan questions are referred to the Bhat-Naika. The Bhat-Naika calls a conference of the elders of the villagers and the matter is discussed and decided in open.

The Bhumia villages do not have any plan. No doubt, the houses are arranged in two rows flanking the principal village road, but from village to village there is difference in the width of the road and location of the houses. In large villages like Balia, houses are scattered about in all directions.

The dormitory system is not noticeable in the Bhumia community. Young unmarried boys and girls sleep in their parents' houses. Although marriage between boys and girls of the same Bansa is taboo premarital sexual experiences did not appear to be altogether absent.

In Bhumia society the birth of a boy is ordinarily preferred to the birth of a girl. This is not difficult to understand considering the position of women in the society. Infertile women are ordinarily looked down upon. A man generally waits for 8 to 10 years before taking another wife for getting a child. The Bhumias believe that when women in pregnancy die they become ghosts and ordinarily they are evil spirits. They are supposed to haunt the village premises and to frighten solitary persons. Among the Bhumias in case of difficult labour, vows are made to 'Budhimai' to facilitate delivery. The delivery takes place in a portion of the hut set apart as the lying-in-compartment. As soon as a child is born, the naval string is cut by the father's mother. The naval string is buried by her outside the house. The baby is washed in tepid water shortly after birth. The ceremonial impurity of a parturient woman is removed by instalments for eight days. On a day between eight and the twentieth day from the birth of a child, a name is selected for the baby. From two to five months after the birth of a child the hair of the child is shaved for the first time.

The two recognised forms of marriage are 'the arranged' and the 'forced marriages'. Arranged marriages are settled by the parents of the boy and girl. The bride-price payable is one cock, one ram, one puti of rice. The marriage feast has to be given for three or four consecutive days and Bhumias from the area are all invited. Frequently such marriages are suggested by married sisters and other relations of the parents. The enforced marriage is known as 'Udulia' where the boy fees that it will not be possible to pay the bride-price, and where opposition is apprehended the boy has to forcibly take away the girl to his house with her consent. Bride-price in the

shape of a fowl and some rice is payable. But the marriage feast is given only on one day. In this society cross-cousin marriage is preferred. There is almost an established claim for the maternal uncle's daughter's hand in the Bhumia community. After marriage the Bhumia ordinarily resides with his bride in the ancestral house to which a room is added for the newly weds.

When the sick man dies, the corpse is laid with its head to the south and is besmeared with oil and turmeric paste. The corpse is carried out of the house, face upwards and feet pointing north, wrapped in a mat and tied to a wooden pole. Persons are generally cremated. Persons who die of snake bite, a fall, cholera or smallpox, must be buried. Children up to the age of seven or thereabouts are buried.

Being agriculturists, the Bhumias attach great importance to fertility rites. Of this the 'Balijatra Parab' is the most important. Once in every three years this festival is observed in a village. Close to the village sadar a special house of split bamboo frame is constructed. Every family collects some sand from nearly nullah or river in specially prepared Sal, bamboo baskets. Seeds of various kinds of cereals and paddy are put in this by each family and is watered for nine days. The seeds germinate. If the germination has not been good, the gods have to be propitiated. During the period of 9 days, the Gurumai has to sing prayers and invocations to the gods and goddesses to the accompaniment of the music from two bows against the arc of which are rubbed split bamboo sticks to produce the music. Young unmarried girls observe fast and perform 'Debta' in trances.

The Bhumias have a village Sadar, which is ordinarily built in the middle of the main village road. Over that a thatch roof is provided where goddess Budhimai is installed. She is the village deity with whom men, women and children appear to be familiar and friendly. The other deity of importance is Hundi Debta. He is considered more powerful than Bhudhimai. In each village there is a 'Desari' who is the specialist in medicines and magic.

The Bhumia women are fond of music and dance. The 'Dhemsā' dance is popular among them. Young men and women dance to the music and drum beating of the Dombos. In nearly every house musical instruments like Behela, which is akin to the one-string Sarangi, Tamak, Runji, Ghumra, etc., are kept. These are utilised for music and dance in small groups.

In the matter of houses also, the Bhumia, does not seem to follow any fixed pattern but the bulk of the houses have the principal room which is used as the granary. The other room by its side which opens out to the front varendah is used as the kitchen-cum-sleeping room. There is located this principal hearth, where food is cooked and stored. Under the gable thatch on both sides of this principal block, two small side rooms are ordinarily curved out. One shelters the goats and in the other provision for a small hearth is made for miscellaneous purposes. Sometimes a guest is accommodated there. In front of the house is courtyard. The walls of the Bhumia houses in most cases, particularly in the interior villages are very attractively colour washed in red, blue, black, white, yellow, etc. The careful housewife takes great pains to paint the walls in horizontal designs.

In addition to the field work, the Bhumias prepare the implements like 'Kula' and 'Duti'. One 'Kula' is the ordinary winnowing fan. The Duti is a round or square container for storing fish at the catch. From various kinds of fibre like the jute, sabai or siali, they weave Bisar shalla, which is a large net for catching fish by drawing and Kudarjal for entrapping rabbit. From siali leaves they prepare Talari, which is a rain-proof coat. They also prepare langal, Juali and other agricultural implements.

The Bhumia women put on innumerable brass bangles. If they can afford, they decorate themselves from head to feet with ornaments made of mostly silver and rarely gold. The arms and the ears are the most favoured in this respect. The ordinary clothing of an adult consists of a piece of cotton cloth about a foot in width and three to five or even six yards in length. One woman ordinarily wears round the waist only a piece of cloth about four cubits long.

The Bhumias are principally agriculturists. They do not practise Podu (upland) cultivation. But they are accustomed to growing grams, oil-seeds, etc., in the comparatively higher land. Nearer urban areas, they are interested in growing vegetables, tobacco and similar other cash crops which they sell in the market.

The Bhumias indeed are a very interesting tribe. Their number is small. Due to the impact of civilization they are on their way to complete assimilation, but still they are retaining their tribal characteristics and constitute a rich subject-matter for further study.

ORAON

Bhagirathi Chowdhury

The Oraons constitute one of the major tribes of Orissa. Their distribution and population according to 1961 Census is given below. They concentrate mainly in the Sundargarh and Sambalpur districts

of Orissa. Here they live in the midst of other tribe such as Kol, Munda, Kharia and Kisan and also caste Hindus.

Name of the District	Population			Literacy								Percentage of literacy	
				Literate		Primary		Secondary		Higher			
	Total	Male	Female	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
Kalahandi ..	3	2	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Sambalpur ..	1,21,229	6,257	5,872	868	119	183	32	12	..	..	17	2	5
Bolangir ..	4	3	1	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	100	..
Sundargarh ..	1,14,103	56,098	58,005	6,802	2,265	1,516	412	88	14	19	..	15	5
Dhenkanal ..	20	12	8	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Puri ..	11	3	8	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Keonjhar ..	1,003	475	528	50	26	3	3	..	..	..	..	11	4
Cuttack ..	5	5	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	40	..
Mayurbhanj ..	1,783	906	877	70	..	38	1	..	..	..	..	11	1
Total ..	1,29,061	63,761	65,300	7,795	2,410	1,740	448	100	14	19	..	15	14.3

They have their own language which has been classed as a Dravidian language. Those who inhabit the border areas of the state speak *Sadri* which is a mixture of Hindi and several tribal languages. But they also know Oriya and to some extent Hindi. The original name of the tribe in their own language is *Kurukh* (or *Khurinkh*) while outsiders call them Oraon or Dhangara.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Internal Divisions—The internal structure of the Oraon tribe is very elaborate. According to their

own traditions, they are clearly allied to the Males of the *Rajmahal hills*. As reported by Risley, there are five sub-tribes, viz., Barga-Oraon, Dhanka-Oraon, Kharia-Oraon, Khendro-Oraon and Munda-Oraon. In course of time they have become strictly exogamous and distinct groups. Among the Oraons there is an extremely large number of exogamous clans, all of which appear to be totemistic. Sri S. C. Roy has given a long list of Oraon clans (*Gotra* or *Varga*) "Which form the fundamental feature of their social organization in so far as kinship, marriage and relations of sexes are concerned". The Oraons found

in Orissa have the following totemistic groups :—(1) Tirki (mouse), (2) Lakda (Tiger), (3) Kerketa (Hedge sparrow), (4) Gidhi or Gidhiar (Vulture), (5) Toppo (a kind of fish), (6) Khalkho (a species of fish), (7) Minj (another species of fish), (8) Kachchu (Tortoise), (9) Bakla (a species of grass), (10) Barla (Ficus Indica), (11) Khes (paddy), (12) Panna (Iron), (13) Bekh (salt), (14) Kujur (a forest fruit on a creep), (15) Kispatta (Pig's entrails), (16) Bandra (Monkey), (17) Khakha, (18) Gidhra, etc. As regards the origin of these totems they have faint memories that the totemic plant or animal is believed to have helped or protected the ancestors of the clan. The members of a clan regard themselves as descendants of a common ancestor, and as such the marital union or sexual intercourse is strictly prohibited. The religious significance and observances are not seen. Although the the totemic objects are taboo for use by the particular totemic group, there is the relaxation of the rigidity of the taboo in case of indispensable article of diet or household use, e.g. the members of the Khes, abstain from eating the thin scum that forms on the surface of rice-soup, when it stands unagitated in a cool place, the members of the Bekh do not eat raw salt, but can take any food in which salt is being mixed previously.

Tribal Panchayat—The Oraons had a tradition of managing their village affairs through Panchayats under the leadership of village Mahato (the secular head) and Pahan or Naega (the sacredotal head) who were assisted by the Pujar or Panbhara. These leaders and the village elders constituted the village Panchayat to deal with offences and disputes such as theft, assault, divisions of property, divorce, clan rules, sexual offences within the village. In those cases where the disputes belonged to two villages the matter was dealt with by the Parha Panchayat.

The Oraons living in the midst of caste Hindus, have lost their tribal solidarity and leadership. The traditional leadership based on age, experience heritage and specialization, is overtaken by the new leadership based on education, wealth and political consciousness. First the informal village Panchayats under the leadership of village headman recognized by the Government overshadowed the tribal Panchayats. Recently the statutory Grama Panchayat has given a great blow to the foundation of the traditional village Panchayats and caste Panchayats. The new leaders

within the tribe command respect as reformist and accultured Oraons. The Naega or Kartha is there-to officiate in several religious ceremonies.

The Oraon society has a section of people called Bhagats. They abstain from drinking liquor and unclean food and also do not accept food in the hands of other Oraons. They devote their leisure in singing religious songs. They worship Laxmi, Siva regularly.

Youth Organization—The village dormitory was a very important institution in the Oraon society. There were separate dormitories for unmarried boys and girls, viz., *Jonkhedpa* for boys and *Pel-adpa* for girls. The dormitory was not only a common sleeping room for the young people, but also a training institute to learn tribal myths, mythology, dance, music and many other qualities which would make them useful members of the community. The dormitory with its elaborate system, strict discipline and duties, was meeting the needs of the villagers for labour in agricultural operations, in constructing a house at a nominal payment. But this vital institution is no more existing in Oraon villages of Orissa. In some villages one can find the youth associations organized by the Block Development authorities.

Family—Family among the Oraons is patrilineal and partipotestal and all properties belong to the father during his life time. Although the dominant family pattern at the time of S. C. Roy was nuclear family, existence of similar number of patrilineal extended family are found as a result of influences of caste Hindus, Christianity and other factors. Partition of property during the lifetime of parents or where there are unmarried brothers or sisters is undesirable, and discouraged.

Birth Rites—The birth pollution continues for eight to ten days in different localities, till the *chhati* (Purification rites) is observed. During this period, members belonging to other families do not accept food from that family where birth has occurred. At the time of celebration the house is made ceremonially clean by besmearing the courtyard and the floors with cowdung diluted in water. They wash the clothes used by the members during the period of impurity. The woman who has acted as midwife (*Kusren*) and other women who attended the birth are given a feast of hearty dinner with rice-beer. In the meantime, a chick is given to the Oraon priest to sacrifice to their chief deity on behalf of the newborn baby.

Name-giving—The child is shaved, bathed and named according to the test of sinking or floating of

S. C. Roy—The Oraons of Chota Nagpur—p-11

H. H. Risley—The Tribes and Castes of Bengal—Vol. II. P. 113.

S. C. Ray—The Oraons of Chota Nagpur—pp-325 327. *ibid*—p. 324.

a rice grain in water with the utterance of names of dead ancestors. This can be done on any day after the *chhati* ceremony. Sometimes name of the day in which the child is born is also given. Now the converted Oraons have started giving the Hindu names and the Sansari (unconverted) Oraons follow them.

It is the duty of the mother and old female members of the family to look after the baby. It is the primary responsibility of the mother to nourish and to feed. But an Oraon mother does all types of work when the baby starts sitting and crawling. Parents and other family members fondle the baby whenever possible. Old women who are unable to do heavy work, look after the baby in the mother's absence. Their economic condition does not give them scope to take much care for their health and hygiene. Only well-to-do Oraons send their children to school, while others require their children to attend the simple household duties such as fetching water, looking after the cows and buffaloes and to help the father in the field. Thus education in agriculture and other manual work is imparted through periodic instructions in connection with paractical situations in life by family members.

Marriage—The Oraon tribe is emphatically and rigidly endogamous. A person marrying from any lower or higher caste, would be out-casted and at no cost he or she would be readmitted into the tribe. A bride belonging to one's mother's totemic group is given the first preference in marriage. As a rule they can practise both child and adult marriage. Marriage among them is monogamous, though polygyny is practised in certain cases, such as when the first wife is barren. In widow remarriage, no ceremony is necessary. Levirate and sororate are permissible.

The Oraon marriages generally take place between February and April when they get leisure from other engagements and when the house is full of grains to meet the heavy expenses for the ceremony.

In most cases marriages are arranged by the parents with the consent of the boy and the girl concerned. Parents give full freedom to their children to participate in festivals, dances and social gatherings of various kinds where courtship can take place. Thus enlightened parents approve their choice of mates. For negotiation clever persons are employed as go-between (*agua*). But in most cases parents with own relatives take the responsibility of negotiation. The proposal first comes from the boys' parents. During the progress of negotiation when they pay visits, omens are observed. When a vessel filled with water or a burning lamp is seen while starting from the own village or

while arriving at other's village, it is considered inauspicious. If a jackle by passes them or an empty vessel is seen, they consider it inauspicious and further negotiation is dropped. For negotiation several visits are made by both the parties for fixing the bride-price, seeing the mates and appointing the date for marriage. The Bride-price consists of Rs. 4'00 to Rs. 12'00 in cash, four pieces of cloth and grains, and is paid just before the marriage.

As the marriage takes place in bride's village, the bridegroom accompanied by a large party of friends and relatives of both sexes proceeds to the bride's village where they are welcomed with dance and music. The bridegroom is conducted to the bride's house where his feet are washed.

Now both bride and bridegroom are anointed with turmeric paste and oil. Both of them are made to stand on a curry stone under which are placed bundles of thatching grass and a yoke. The bridegroom stands behind and presses the left heel of the girl with his toes. Then the couple is covered with a cloth and the shaman chants spells to ward off evil eye and evil spirit. Water is poured on them by the girls for the ceremonial bath. They are given new clothes to wear. The binding rite of the marriage consists of applying vermilion by the couple on each other's forehead. Then this is followed by a merry dance by boys and girls and later on guests are entertained in a feast and the occasion is celebrated with drinking, dancing and singing. Then the groom with his party and the bride returns back to his village.

There is theoretical provisions for both wife and husband to divorce on certain grounds, viz., enmity and hatred, bad nature and laziness with the approval of the tribal Panchayat. When the tribal Panchayat is informed its members try to reconcile the differences and when they fail divorce is granted. If the fault, is found with the husband, he loses his bride price.

Death Rites—All deads with the exception of children, pregnant women and other women dying at the child-birth, are generally burnt.

For those who die after the sprouting of the new paddy plants and before the harvest, they practise provisional burial. Later on they cremate after the harvesting season. After cremation, all male members of the deceased's family and those who attended the funeral have their hair cut. Both men and women who attended the funeral, take bath and return to the deceased's house to purify themselves by the smoke emitting from the fire in grain-husk and oil and sprinkling trumeric water on their heads. After this they

are entertained with rice-beer or mohua-liquor. On the following day women go to the cremation ground and collect bones of the deceased in a pot. In the evening the shade of the deceased is brought by men and conducted to the pot containing the bones. This pot is covered with a cloth and preserved till final disposition by the practise of bone-drowning in a river or a stream once a year. When harvest is over, the bones of all the dead of the village are taken in a procession and offered cooked rice, tobacco mixed with lime and liquor before drowning for the union with the pre-deceased kinsmen.

RELIGION

The Oraon religion represents a combination of indigenous beliefs and practices and Hinduism. Their pantheon consists of one High God, namely 'Dharm' who is manifested in Sun, Mahadev, the tutelary deity of the spirit doctors called Bhagats, Chandi—goddess of hunting, etc. They also worship Hindu deities along with Hindus and observe several Hindu festivals. They offer food to the manes of the ancestors at different religious festivals. Their own priest is called *Naega*. They believe in the existence of a number of spirits who bring disease and death. When any misfortune befalls on a man, he at once consults a Mati or Ojha (shaman) and acts according to his advice.

Besides the religious ceremonies connected with their agricultural operations, the Oraons celebrate several festivals in a year. They conduct ceremonial hunt in Sarhul or Phagu in March and Bisu Sikar (summer hunt) in April. They celebrate Jeth Jatra in May, Jitua in September, Karma in October and Diwali in November. Of all these festivals Sarhul, Jitua, Jeth Jatra and Karma are important. Every festival is followed by dance and music and lot of drink and festive meals are taken.

Dance and Music

Communal dance and music still continue to be the main items of recreation in the life of the Oraons. Dancing and singing are now performed on the occasion of festivals, on the occasion of marriage and generally in summer and winter nights on the akhra ground (dancing ground). They go on dancing expedition to other villages on the occasion of jatra or festivals. They have different dances for different festivals and occasions. They sing song in accompaniment to dance and different songs are named after the different kinds of dances they accompany. The joys and sorrows of love generally constitute a chief theme of the Oraon songs. The songs

and dances are accompanied by their musical instruments.

Christianity

Christianity as a new religion has received the favour from the Oraons. Other neighbouring tribes such as Kisan, Kharia, Munda and Ho have also been converted in large number. The centres of the Roman Catholic Jesuit Mission and of the German Evangelical Mission have been established since 1899 in the district. The causes for their acceptance of christianity are very few. They feel that by conversion they get relief from the innumerable festivals and belief in the magic and witchcraft. The efforts of the missionaries, their philanthropy, persuasion and timely guidance and advice have attracted them. On Sundays they go to attend village churches. The converted Oraons have made more progress in education, dress and customs than those of the non-converted Oraons. They have a broader outlook, and look more forward and advanced. Excepting religion, they have retained most of the tribal aspects of their culture. The non-converts consider them low.

MATERIAL CULTURE

House and settlements

The sitting of houses in an Oraon village does not follow any definite pattern, but a scattered fashion. Houses are not built facing the filthy, uneven and irregular streets, but opened to a courtyard. The cowshed and pig-stay are built close to the living rooms. Now the vast majority of houses are found with low mud walls and two sloped naria tiled roofs. Walls are sometimes made of twig-wattles plastered over with mud and cowdung. Now well-to-do families have pucca-houses with cemented floor. There is a common tendency to replace the mud walls by brick walls. Absence of windows and more than one door is generally found in Oraon houses. They build small and low verandahs in the front and high verandah at the back of the houses. Most of the families have more than one living room, the number of which depends upon the size of the family. Husking lever and grinding-stone, which are found in most of the houses are kept in an open-shed. The Bhagats have spacious houses built at a distance from rest of the houses. They do not decorate the walls or doors. Although the houses are kept neat and clean, the village paths are made filthy with the refuses and by the pigs.

Every Oraon village has one or more than one *akhra* ground for dance and meeting. There is a common tendency in the interior area to build the houses near their agricultural fields.

Household Articles

As regards house hold furnitures *Khatti* (charpoys) is found in majority of houses, while the number of mats from wild date palm leaves is found in every household is greater. Very well-to-do Oraons have stools, chairs, table almirha and wooden cots. They have small planks of wood or similar seats made of straw on which they squat while taking their food or doing some work by sitting.

Their household utensils consist of plates and pots of various sizes made of brass or aluminium for taking meals. They generally use earthen vessels and occasionally aluminium vessels for cooking. Though earthen pots, bell-metal, aluminium and brass vessels are found abundantly the gourd-bottles have not been completely relinquished. These are used to carry liquids such as water, rice-beer and water-rice. Their household utensils are just the same as found among the neighbouring Hindus. These are purchased from the local markets as they do in case of basketry. Now well-to-do Oraons have got many more modern materials for use. They now possess lantern, torchlight, suitcase, by-cycle, cotton-umbrella, etc.

As regards agricultural, fishing and hunting implements they follow the neighbouring Hindus.

Dress and Ornaments

The traditional dress of *Kareya* for men and *Khanria* for women have been given up. They were growing cotton and doing the spinning in the past. Weavers were paid for weaving their cloths. Now this practice is totally absent and they wear small mill-made cloth, i. e. napkin (by male) and mill-made saree (by female). The young boys have started wearing trousers, shorts, pygama, shirt, lungi, banian, bush-shirt etc., and the young girls have taken up, blouse, saree, petticoat and silken saree as their common dresses. Use of chapple and shoes is gaining popularity among the young boys. All the dress are purchased from the local markets.

The amount and varieties of ornaments used by the Oraons at present is less than what they were using in the past. Most of the ornaments worn by them are made of gold, silver, brass, aluminium or bell-metal. In the ear women wear earring made of gold or brass but not the *Kinasi* (rings made of aluminium) or the *bedio* (palm-leaf rolled up and dyed red with lac). Metal chains and necklace made of beads and coloured thread are worn in the neck. In their wrist they wear glass or metal bangles. Finger rings are also worn. As regards the nose ornament they use very scanty. They have rings for their toes but anklets

are not commonly used. They now wear hair-clips, metal flowers and hair nets available in the local markets. Most of the young men do not wear their traditional ornaments of *bali* or *mudra* in their ear. A thread or small-sized beads strung in a thread is worn in the neck.

Tattooing

It is very popular among the Oraon women to get the different parts of body tattooed profusely by the Gaurias, who occasionally visit the village. To a teen-aged girl, tattoo marks are given on her forehead, temples, cheeks, on the left wall of the nose and on the chin. The designs of flowers, plants and other patterns are tattooed on the arms, foot joints and on the back before marriage and after they get maturity.

As regards the pupose of tattooing, no definite answer is given. Some say that it is based on the belief that when a women dies she cannot take anything but these tattoo marks to the other world. Some say that it is the traditional mark to distinguish them in the midst of other women. Young boys have also tattoo marks, namely dots on the fore head, a flower design on the inner side of the fore arm. Now the educated accultured Oraons do not like that their daughters and sisters to have tattoo marks.

Musical Instruments

Musical instruments used by the Oraons consist of drums (*Nagera* and *Madal*), cymbals, clappers besides flutes, and metal ankle-bells. Most of these instruments are purchased.

ECONOMY

Sources of Livelihood

Agriculture continues to be the main source of livelihood and their other economic pursuits centre round the agricultural operations. Many of them have acquired proficiency in several rural crafts such as carpentry, tile, brick and rope-making. Women still weave mats of wild date palm and make broom sticks from wild grass. Whenever there is leisure and opportunity they work for wages. It is not uncommon to find, educated Oraons serving in offices, schools and factory.

Most of the cultivation is mainly for their own consumption, although they have started growing some cash crops such as grams, vegetables, etc. Whatever surplus they have, is also sold for cash. Their principal crop is paddy, which is grown once in a year. They also grow millets, maize and several varieties of pulses in their up-lands. In almost all

fields only one crop is grown and the land is kept fallow for the remaining period.

Cultivation is a family function. Sometimes a family seeks the help and co-operation of other relatives on reciprocal basis. Well-to-do Oraons employ casual labourers or contract labourers (goti). They use the bullock-driven ploughs, which they make themselves. All the iron implements used in agricultural operations and in the house hold are purchased from the local markets.

Hunting, fishing and collection of jungle products have ceased to be profitable sources of livelihood. Depletion of forests and pre-occupation with the expanded settled cultivation, have forced them to give up hunting.

Food and Intoxicants

The staple food of the Oraons is rice with a side dish of some edible leaves added with salt and boiled in the starchy liquid drained off from the rice at the time of cooking. Wealthy Oraons take pulses or some vegetable-curry, which are luxury for the poor. Previously the Oraons were almost omnivorous. They have given up beef and flesh of tiger, bear and snakes as a result of Hindu influence. They relish the meat of goat, pig and fowl. They are fond of fish but very rarely they get. While preparing curry they now add salt, spices including chilly, turmeric and oil extracted from mahua seeds. On festive occasions, their meals consist of rice, dal, vegetables or a non-vegetarian dish of meat. They also prepare a few varieties of cake on these occasions.

Rice-beer, mohua liquor and tobacco occupy a very important place in Oraon life. Rice-beer

which is brewed by them is the traditional drink and is distributed in abundance at the time of marriage, death rites and festivals. They distill liquor from mohua flower for their own use. Chewing of tobacco mixed with lime and smoking of tobacco rolled in Sal or Kendu leaf are popular among them to provide incentive to work.

Among women, chewing of *gurakhu* is gaining popularity. Tea has been accepted as a popular drink.

Weekly Market

The Oraons visit the weekly markets in the rural areas and the daily markets in the towns for more than one purpose. These provide opportunity to sell their agricultural products and to purchase the required articles such as cloth, cosmetics, implements, utensils, bullocks, salt, oil and other necessities of life. Besides, this provides an opportunity to meet their kinsmen living in distant villages. Young boys and girls with best of their dresses come to the markets to see each other with an aim to select a mate for the marriage.

Conclusion

Various changes have occurred in the lifeways of the Oraons during the last decade as a result of impact of Hinduism, Christian Missionaries, establishment of industrial towns, spread of communication and education and also due to the initiatives taken by some accultured leaders. But economically they are not yet better off. More time and means are required to integrate them into the Indian Society by bringing them on par with other people.

SAHARA

Manmohan Mohapatra

The Savaras of saoras are a widely distributed tribe of Orissa. The Saharas or Sa-a-ars are a section of this great tribe "SAVARA or SAORA". The Saoras or Savaras are a branch of the Kolarian family. The saharas are found in the districts of Kalahandi, Koraput, Sambalpur, Bolangir, Ganjam, Sundergarh, Dhenkanal Puri, Keonjhar, Cuttack, Mayurbhanj and Boudh-Kandhmal etc. The Sabaras and the Saharas are separate branches of the same tribe, though sometimes a line of distinction has been drawn between them, Sir Edward A. Gait observes that Saharas are said to be different from Sabaras while Mr. O' Malley is of opinion that in some parts it is impossible to distinguish the two "those who have come in contact with the Hindus and have adopted Hindu customs being called saharas and those who have not yet reached the stage, Sabaras". (Ref. census of Mayurbhanj state 1931, Vol. I, Page. 166). The following table represents the district wise population of this tribe with male and female figures,

District	Population		
	Total	Male	Female
Kalahandi	38,060	18,589	19,471
Koraput	17,583	8,838	8,745
Sambalpur	5,841	3,042	2,799

District	Population		
	Total	Male	Female
Bolangir	7,785	4,040	3,745
Boudh-Kandhamal	1,231	625	606
Ganjam	34,916	17,217	17,699
Sundergarh	1,076	649	427
Dhenkanal	29,851	14,820	15,031
Puri	4,468	2,165	2,303
Keonjhar	4,281	1,922	2,359
Cuttack	39,505	19,639	19,868
Mayurbhanj	5,128	2,585	2,543
Balasore	3,888	1,893	1,995
Total	1,90,572	94,546	86,426

The Saharas speak clean Oriya in the outside but at home they speak Oriya with an inflexion which is supposed to have been influenced by their aboriginal tongue.

Social Organisation

The entire tribe is divided into different exogamous units known as Vamsa. Each unit has its own totems of animals, fruit and plant origin. The main divisions of the tribe are:—

- (1) Jare—(Descendants of jara, who killed Sri-krishna).
- (2) Vasu—(Descendants of Viswa vasu Sabar the former worshipper of Lord Jagannath).
- (3) Patra—They are the leaf clad Saharas of the puranas.
- (4) Ghumura—They play on a musical instrument known as Ghumura.
- (5) Kirata—They are the descendants of demon Kirat.

Generally the village or ward (sahi) inhabited by this tribe is isolated and situated at the outskirts of the clean-caste village or near forests. The village or Sahi (ward) is the combination of a few hamlets. The Sahar houses are made of wattle and daub with thatch covering. The traditional Sahar houses are very dark and there is no arrangement for the ventilation. Every Sahar village or ward have its own common house known as the "Bhagata ghar". This common house is used as the rest-house for the guests and visitors. It is also used as the court house to decide the cases by the religious and secular leaders. At the end of the village under the shade of a tree a rough unhewn stone decorated with vermilion, is worshipped by the shaman priest known as "Kalasi". These stone figures are generally worshipped under the mango or banyan trees.

Family is the basic unit in the society and patriarchal by nature. Both nuclear and joint families are found in the sahara society. The reasons for the abundance of joint families are more economical than social. After the death of the father if the paternal properties

are distributed a lion share goes to the elder son. This is known as *Jeshta* (lit. Eldest). This is done as the eldest son lits the funeral pyre of his father. Family life in the Sahara society is very pleasant. Father is respected by his children and father acts as the guide and guardian of his children. Besides the filial relations economic relations are strong too. Relationship between mother and children are very strong. Mother looks after the practical difficulties of her children. After the marriage of the daughters, the daughters leave their family of orientation and lives in her husband's family. She also visits her father's house during the auspicious days, and festivals. Husband is respected and honoured by the wife. Grand children and husband's younger siblings play jokes with the grand father and husband's wife respectively. Maternal uncle (Mamu) plays an important role in the social structure of the Sahara society. Marriage is in essence ritual and several procedure are followed in a Sahara marriage. Marriage by arrangement is the regular type of marriage prevalent among the saharas of Orissa. Love marriages are also not infrequent among them. The following procedures are adopted in a regular Sahara marriage, such as:—"Kanya-Dekha" (Brideseeing) "Kunia" (Relative), "Nirbandha" (Negotiation), "Bahaghar" (marriage). Proposals for the marriage are raised by the middle man (Bhalaloka) from the bride's side. On the day of the marriage the bride groom visits the bride's house with the party. In the bride's house on an elevated platform known as "Vedi" the ceremonial knot is tied in the presence of the "Nahakas" and "Beheras" of both villages by the Sahara priest known as "GURU". The marriage is observed for four days and on the 4th day the marriage is consummated. Among them a widow is at liberty to marry again. Every Sahara village has its own socio-political organisation known as "Ga-a-an-Sabha". This council is presided over by the Nahaka and Behera of the village concerned who are regarded as the religious and secular leaders respectively. At a higher level than the village-council is the inter-village council known as "Pada Sabha". The "Chhatisa" is the highest socio-political organisation of the Saharas. Both on the *Pada Sabha* and *Chhatisa* the "Bada Behera" is the chairman and he is assisted by the Nahakas and Beheras of all the member villages. Cases like adultery, divorce, inter-marriage, etc., are decided in the council. But *chhatisa* as the highest authority frames new rules and regulations for the entire tribe.

The Saharas believe in a life after death. After the death the corpse is taken to the graveyard on a bedstead (Kokei) carried by four male Saharas. Before the corpse

is kept on the bedstead a ghee lamp is shown near the face of the corpse by the wife of the eldest son. The death ritual is observed for a period of ten dyas. Among the Saharas of Jokalandi, Baramunda and Siripur ceremonial food (Mohaprasad) is brought from the Lingaraj Temple, Bhubaneswar and a feast is served to the villages, on the 10th day'. On this day the relatives of the dead are shaved and wear new cloths.

Festivals and dance

The Hinduised Saharas observe all festivals with their clean caste neighbour. The important tribal festivals of these Saharas are *Raja Parab* and *Gama Purnami*. The Sahara dances are found only during festivals and other auspicious occasions. It is worth-while to quote Sri S. N. Roy, regarding the dances of the Saharas:—

“The most important portion of the Gama Purnima festival is the dance of the sauras. It is called “*Jhangur Nata*.”

In most places Saur women do not take part in the dance but males put on female dress and act their part. This is due to Hindu manners and customs. But the general rule about Gama Purnima dance is that men should dance with women irrespective of their social position or relationship. The Gama Purnami dance is observed by Patara Saharas in which women freely join. The dance is accompanied with the beatings of *Ghumura*, a kind of tomtom” (Man in India. Vol, VII, p. 318. 1927). According to Shri Roy there are 3 distinct varieties of dance, viz., the *peacock dance*, *cock dance* and the *bear dance*. To quote him:—“It appears that the Sours try to reproduce the armorous movements of these animals when they are courting their mates. The males in the *Gama Purnima dance* beat the Ghumura and pace the field slowly from one end to the other with uplifted heel and restless gait; women dancers form two groups some of them move quickly backward a piece of cane through a split bamboo which gives out a chattering sound. This is *Rachaka*. They do so while bending themselves double and dance on keeping time with the tune made by Rachka, and Ghumura which latter is invariably used by the males. Women who do not handle the Rachaka, dance while putting their hands on their knee caps. In the beginning the males stand on one side of the field and the women on another and the dance commences, with a slow pacing forward of each group from one end of the field to the other”. (Man in India p. 318, Vol. VII.

1927). The dances are always accompanied by songs. The song that swells the dance is full of obscence allusions. Young women do not feel shame in singing obscence songs in the presence of thier male realtives and husband. The Sahara songs can broadly be divided into two parts, Such as—*Bhendia* and *Jamudal*. The Bhendia song is highly obscene. The Jamudal songs are mainly mythological.

The Material culture of the Saharas is very simple and in many cases closely related to their clean caste neighbours. The Sahara houses are made of wattle and daub with thatch covering. One will find no window in a Sahara house. Each house has a small verendaha in front of the houses. Some of the houses have gardens where they grow vegetables, etc. The Bhagabat Ghar (common house) is generally situated in the middle of the village or ward. In most of the Sahara houses, the most important daily use utensils are *Thali* (plate), (*Tatia*) cup made of bell metal, Karei, (pan), and silver vessels, ¹/₂Handi, Karchuli (ladle) etc.

The Saharas of the present day wear dhotis, shirts and women long saree, blouses, etc. The traditional dress of the Patra Saharas a section of the Saharas as described by Shri Roy is as follows:—

“They do not cover the upper part of their body and put on strings of beads on their neck, which run down to their waist”.

The chief means of Sahar economy is cutting and supplying fuel in the neighbouring villages. They collect herbal plants and roots from the forest to sell to the local Kaviraj (Medicine man). The Saharas also cultivate the paddy fields of the neighbouring villages and work as labourers in the nearby cities and towns. Sahar women also work as menials in the near by towns.

These simple tribal folk for their continuous poverty remain as a prey to the *Sahukar* (Local merchant). In Ganjam and Koraput the Dombs (a scheduled caste) also take advantage of their simplicity.

The Saharas have changed a great deal with the impact of industrialization, and by coming in contact with different people of different places. Development in science and technology have also brought

changes in the Social, Political, Economic organizations of these people.

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KONDA-DORA

Manmohan Mobapatra

The Khonds are a well known tribe found in the different parts of Orissa specially in the district of Koraput, Ganjam, and Phulbani. The Konda-doras are a section of this major tribe and are found in different parts of Orissa. The major concentration of this tribe is in the district of Koraput. They have been described by Surgeon Major W. R. Cornish as—"Contrasting strongly with the energetic patriarchal and land-reverencing Paraja (Poraja) are the neighbouring indigenous tribe found along the slopes of the eastern ghats. They are known as Khnda-doras, Konda-Kapus, and Ojas". (Ref. Thurston, P. 351). They are a Telugu and Oriya influenced tribe of Orissa. The tribes of Orissa can be divided into three major categories according to their nature of present position, and occupation such as:—

- (1) Real Primitive Tribe
- (2) Tribes in transition
- (3) Assimilated tribe

The Konda-doras about whom this entire paper is devoted come under the category "Assimilated tribe", as they have been completely assimilated with the neighbouring Telugus and Oriyas. The sporadic distribution of this tribe is as follows:—Koraput, Kalahandi, Bolangir, Boudh-Khondhmas, Ganjam, Sundergarh, Keonjhar, etc.

According to the Census of 1961, the Konda-doras number 16,526 out of which 8,341 and 8,185 are males and females respectively. The district-wise population with males and females are represented in the table given below—

TABLE SHOWING THE KONDA-DORA POPULATION

Name of the district	Population		
	Total	Male	Female
Koraput	15,808	7,929	7,879
Kalahandi	271	133	138
Bolangir	3	1	2
Boudh-Kandhmals	24	12	12
Ganjam.	146	75	71
Sundergarh	110	1,100	..
Keonjhar	164	81	83
Total	16,526	8,341	8,185

The Konda-doras speak Telugu and majority of them have retained it as their parent tongue. From what has been ascertained from their languages, it seems certain that, diverstred of the differences which have been engrafted upon them by the fact of the one being influenced by Oriya and the other by Telugu they are substantially of the same origin as the Paroja and the Khond language. (Ref. Koraput District Gazetteer P. 42). The Telugu assimilated section also speaks at places a mixture of *Kuvi* and Telugu and sometimes pure Telugu. (*Kuvi* is the language of the Kondhs). But this tribe though is a section of the Khonds, feels shame to identify them as a section of the Khonds.

Social Organisation—This tribe is mainly divided into two exogamous groups, such as—"Pedda" (Big) Kondalu and "Chinna" (little) Kondalu. The Peddas are in a semi-independent position while the Chinna under the Telugu domination. The Pedda Kondalu have retained the totem divisions which occur among all caste Hindus. Their main totemic objects tally with their caste neighbours, such as—Naga (Cobra), Bagha (Tiger), etc. Among the Chinna Kondalu a custom known as "*Menarikam*" is prevalent.

According to this custom a man marries his maternal uncle's daughter and may further marry his own sister's daughter. Family is the basic unit among the Konda-doras. They are patriarchal and patrilineal. Their social organisation is fully designed according to the Telugus. The Konda-doras also accept bride from the Khonds and majority of them are Polygamous. They have no youth organisation and dormitory system like the other tribes.

Marriage among the Konda-doras are very interesting. A Bride-price is prevalent among them. The marriage procedures are different between both the sections. The girls of both the sections may marry either after or before puberty. Among the Chinna Kondalu after the marriage is decided the girl's parent receive a present known as "*Voli*" worth four rupees and a saree. The astrologer (*Chhukamurti*) generally fixes the date for the marriage. On the day of the marriage the bride goes to the groom's house where the couple bath in turmeric water and wear new clothes given by their fathers-in-laws. A wrist threads are then tied round their wrists. On the same day or the day after, the bride-groom ties the *Sathamam* (Marriage thread) on the bride's neck according to the instruction of the *Chhukamurti*. On the following day the wrist threads are removed and the newly married couple bathe together in ordinary water. The marriage of the Pedda Kondalus is described by Thurston as follows:—"When a man contemplates taking a wife, his parents carry three pots of liquor to the home of the girl, whose hand he seeks. The acceptance of these by father is a sign that match is agreeable to him and a "*Jholatanka*" (Bride-Price) of rupees five is paid to him. A Konda-dora marriage is followed by feasts in which pork and wine are served. During the marriage the girls is taken to the bride-groom's house and if she is matured she remains there, if not she returns home and joins her husband later on. This occasion is celebrated by grand feasts in which pork and liquor are served. Widow marriage is permissible among them. The Pedda Kondalus permit the younger brothers to marry the widow of his elder brother. Divorce is prevalent among the Konda-doras. Among the Chinna Kondalu a man who marries a divorcee has to pay her first husband 24 rupees of which half is divided among the villagers in certain recognised proportions.

The Konda-doras have no specific dance among them as found among the other tribes of Orissa. During festivals and merry-makings they sing songs which are mainly devotional and basing the origin of the tribe. All their songs and musical instruments

are borrowed from the nearby Telugus. While singing they play on biting and wind instruments.

Material culture of this little group tally with the Telugus of Andhra area. The houses of the Konda-doras are made of wattle and daub with thatch covering. In some cases they have built houses with stone pillars and walls. The houses are big and each quarter consists of 2-3 rooms of various purposes. They use bell-metal and brass utensils at home for the domestic uses. Their material culture specially domestic utensils are similar to that of the nearby Telugus. The Konda-dora women wear glass bangles and beads like plains women. Males besides their cloth also wear shirts, etc., and females long sarees.

Means of lively hood among both the groups are different. The Pedda Kondalu depend mainly on agriculture both shifting and wet land cultivations. The Chinna Kondalus serve under the government as Class IV servants such as peons, bearers etc. A few of them also work as labourers in the nearby villages. The Konda-doras are not only consumers but also producers. The Pedda Kondalus grow and harvest paddy, millets and other crops. Majority of this group own acres of paddy land and are very rich. They sell their surpluses to the nearby villagers and earn a lot by this. The shifting cultivation as practiced among them is mainly consists of cutting grand trees. Then after a week rest, fire is set on the logs and it is left to be ashes. After another week the ashes are spread over the mountain slopes and the area is ploughed. Seeds are then sowed. This type of cultivation is also known as "*Slash and burn cultivation*". This type of cultivation though require more labour yields less output and in spite of hard toil the cultivators do not get a year's food by this. So, they have not taken to wet land cultivation.

With the impact of Industrialisation and establishment of new townships around the areas inhabited by the Konda-doras they have changed a lot. Changes in the economic, political, religious and social aspects are noteworthy. Due to the establishment of Dandakaranya Project, D. B. K. Railways and Proposed Mig Aero-Engine Factory many Konda-doras have established shops and many have got employment in the new towns and factories around Koraput their original home. Generally, Konda-dora women are the store-house of gold. They purchase and store gold and give more importance on gold like their Telugu neighbours.

Sources—Thurston-E. Tribes and castes of Southern India, Vol. III, 1909.

R. C. S. Bell—Koraput District Gazetteer

BONDA

Umacharan Mohanty

In the district of Koraput, on the high hills to the north-west of the river Machkund, which flows in the border of Orissa and Andhra, live the 'wildest, rudest and possibly the most interesting tribe' which is known as Bonda or naked people. The scanty dress of Bonda women and homicidal tendency of Bonda males have made them most fascinating and thus they stand in sharp contrast from the neighbouring castes and tribes of Orissa. With a population below five thousand (the total population of the tribe is 4,677 out of which 2,435 are male and 2,242 are females) they have concentrated on or near the high hills, named after the tribe as Bonda Hills. Though few in number the tribe has successfully retained the distinctive features of its culture, chiefly on account of its geographical isolation and more perhaps due to its stubborn and independent spirit. The Bondas call themselves 'Remo' and speak a very difficult Austro-Asiatic language belonging to Mundari group. They have linguistic cultural and perhaps racial affinities with the Gadabas, the Parengas and the Didayis but none of these have retained their original culture so un-affected, with the passage of time as the Bondas. According to Haimendor of the Bondas belong, "not only in language but also in culture, to that large group of Austro-Asiatic peoples who in Neolithic times developed an advanced and complex culture characterised as it seems

by the shouldered-stone cult, rice cultivation on terraced and irrigated fields, the art of weaving, the keeping of cattle for purposes of slaughter and sacrifice, and the erection of megalithic monuments in the shape of menhirs, stone-circles and dolmens. It is the culture which to some extent still survives among such Austro-Asiatic people as the Gadabas, Saoras, Mundas and Khasis and has close affinities to the Austronesian civilizations of the Malayan Archipelago".

The Bondo Village

Elwin has divided the Bondo settlements into three groups, viz, the Bara-jangar group, situated on 3,000 feet high hills, which consist of twelve original Bondo settlements with Mundulipada as its capital; secondly the Gadaba group of villages, 'the most difficult' and the most attractive of the Bondo villages' which are influenced by the Gadabas; and finally the plain villages lying along the foot of the Bonda Hills on the western side.

Amidst picturesque scenes stand the charming Bondo villages which 'stretches along or climbs up a hill side' surrounded by the groves of mango, and jack fruits. There are no regular streets within the village while individual houses are scattered in confusion

though these are situated close to each other. The villages are not fortified but in some cases, these are surrounded by bamboo fences. Near to the villages are the beautiful gardens of plantain, castor, peeper and brinjal while little below stretches the paddy fields prepared on the beds of streams. The megalithic platform called *sindibor* is built either in the centre of the village or at a convenient place. Sindibor is the centre of religions and social life of the village. Here young and old sit and gossip and discuss communal affairs. The shrine of *Hundi* the presiding deity of village is erected very often near the Sindibor. The dormitory houses of the Bonda villages are not very conspicuous, these being the same as individual huts of the village.

The Bonda House

The Bonda houses are individual huts with some enclosure either in its front or around it. The walls are of mud mixed with straw or these are of plastered bamboo. The roof is supported by a number of wooden pillars and is thatched with grass. The fence in front verandah is used for grinding, husking grain, cleaning rice and millet, making mats and often as a bed-room. The first room is used for cooking and sleeping while the ante-room is used for storing grains. In the corner of the inner room is kept the branch of *Engenia Jambolana* with a gourd depending from it which represents the house god. The flat ceiling under the main slanting roof is used for storing all types of goods and grains. Each house has one wooden door which is provided with a lock. Inside the house there are a few pots placed on slightly raised platforms near the wall. The house hold articles are extremely limited in their houses save a few bows and arrows, axe billhook and a few agricultural tools and fishing traps.

Dress and Ornament

The dress of Bonda women is most remarkable. Even in the face of rapid change of the modern world, Bonda women still go unabashed with scantiest clothes which they weave in their own primitive looms out of the Kerang fibre, collected from the forest, and coloured yarn purchased from the bazar. These clothes are only eight to ten inches in width and two to three feet in length. Women wear no garment except this strip which they tie round their middles in such a way as to leave the left thigh bare the both in front and behind. The cloth can be shifted round the body to suit the exigencies of the movement. Bonda women are extremely

fond of ornaments and they cover their nudity to a great extent through ornamental devices. Thus a mass of brass and bead necklaces which hang down to the naval and a number of heavy brass circular collars cover their upper portion. They shave their heads completely and wear round it a number of bands-simple palmyra strips or woven and plaited fillets. They use no nose ornaments and a few rings with chains or brass buttons, are deemed sufficient for the ear. On both hands they wear a number of broad brass bangles.

Economic Life

Bondas are mainly agriculturists. Games were plentiful in old days in the Bonda hills but with the growth of population and on account of Podu cultivation forests have been completely stripped off. At present they rarely hunt except at festival time. Fish is also rarely available. They collect wild vegetables, bamboo shoots, mushrooms but roots and tubers are not main features in their food. Gruel of ragi and rice are the chief food of the tribe. They keep cattle, goats, pig and poultry. They do not drink milk but eat carrion with great avidity. They drink enormous quantity of wine called *Salap*, the juice of Sago palms.

The Bondas are expert cultivators. The irrigated and terraced paddy fields on the high hills prove their skill in rice cultivation. Here every little stream is turned into beautiful rice beds where water is channelised carefully to the transplanted paddy fields. They cultivate the fairly level grounds with the common plough and raise dry rice, *Eleusine Corocana* and oilseed niger. Besides these they have their own hill-clearings where they practise Podu. According to customary practices these clearing become individual property and each household owns a number of sites on the hill sides which are cultivated in rotation. The clearings are almost like fields as hardly there is scope for substantial regrowth. The bushes and grasses of the Podu land are burnt in the months of March and April. After the breaking of the rains different kinds of millets including *Eleusine Corocana*, *Panicum Milliare*, *Panicum Italicum* with *sorghum vulgare* and *Penisetum typhoideum* are sown all mixed together. After broadcasting, they proceed to plant pulses such as *cajances indicus* and *Dolichos biflorus*, cucumbers, gourds and castor trees. In the second year only small millets are sown but after third year these patches may be cleared and fired but are sown very casually.

The Bondas sell very little outside market except the peeper, tobacco or plantains grown in their gardens. In summer they sell a good quantity of jack-fruit in the Mundiguda market. They also sell a large quantity of broom-sticks in the nearby markets. They purchase of a few articles for the market such as ornaments, beads and cooking pots.

In spite of their primitiveness and so-called poverty the Bondas enjoy a high degree of economic self-sufficiency. The geographic isolation has been a blessing in disguise as the Bondas are less exposed to exploitation by outsiders. Very rarely they borrow money from outsiders. Occasionally they come down to plain villages for labour with the construction of Duduma and Balimela dams for Hydro-electricity the Bondas have got opportunity for labour. Batches of Bondas are seen working in earth work and forest clearance in such areas.

Social Life

The Bonda society is broadly divided into two moities the *Ontal* (cobra) and the *Killo* (tiger). These are called Bansa and are totemistic in nature. There are a few more Bansas but these appear to have come afterwards. Thus the traditional Bansa organisation represents clan exogamy and dual organisation. But at present the Bansa exogamy is not strictly adhered to, as the *Ontal* group is numerically, much superior to *killo* group. Thus the Bansa exogamy has broken down on account of practical exigencies. Along with this weakened Bansa organisation there is another type of exgamous patrilineal clan organisation which is called Kuda. These Kudas take their names from the village functionaries, such as the Bad naik, challan, Dangra-Majhi Kirsani and Sisa while a few Kuda such as the Dora, Jigri and Mandhara have been created perhaps due to inclusion of some other communities within the tribe. The Kuda organisation appear to be bit stronger than the Bansa organisation and every Bonda puts the title of his Kuda after his name. Finally the village is the most important social unit members of which are related as Soru-bhai to each other. The marriage within the village is strictly forbidden. The headman of the village is called Naik and the priest of the village is called Sisa.

In old days Bonda girls had pit dormitories outside the village. But at present the dormitory houses are within the village. The girls sleep in *Selani-dingo* while the unmarried boys sleep in *ingersin*. The boys

houses are mostly wretched low thatches or the varendah of some house. The Bonda dormitory is chiefly a sort of matrimonial agency. Pre-marital sexual licence is strictly forbidden in the Bonda society. But young boys are allowed to visit the girls' dormitories of different villages in the night and join in fun, music and dance with girls of such villages. Thus they get opportunity to establish intimacy with marriageable girls and finally select their sweet heart by forcing bangles into their hands. Thus the real aim of Bonda dormitory is marriage.

The marriage system

The selection of spouses are left completely to the choice of children. Once such selection is made the consent of the parents are subsequently obtained and marriage rite is performed. The regular marriage called *Sebung* is very expensive. A complicated series of ritual visits by both the parties, the payment of bride-price (Sagur Tanka), the exchange of ceremonial gifts, the sacrifice of a buffalo, escorting of the bride to the grooms' house, and the formal wedding of the happy pair are the essential features of *Sebung* marriage. Only a few rich people undergo the process of *Sebung* marriage. Besides, there are two less expensive forms of regular marriage called *damung-jang* and *tessagur* where ritual visits and exchange of gifts are minimised and buffalo sacrifice is dropped. In a few cases marriage is performed through elopement or through intrusion. But majority of the Bonda marriages are performed through capture known as *Gubai* *godo-rungone*. Widow marriage is permitted in Bonda society but one interesting feature of this type of marriage is that it is often celebrated with the husband's elder brother.

The Bonda domestic life is affected by two very unusual factors—the first is that the wife is often older than the husband. Older girls prefer to marry younger boys who would earn for them when they grow old. Secondly the husbands are found at times in trigamy with the younger brother's wife. Presence of these two factors sometimes lead to family quarrels and divorce. Disparity of age also leads to polygamy in some occasions.

Usually the Bondas, cremate their dead excepting exceptional cases of death during pregnancy or caused by smallpox or cholera. After cremation an oval ring of stones is made round the ashes and these are covered with light shades.

The Bondas are extremely aggressive. The internal Bonda feeds end in murder and serious casualties while they occasionally raid the villages of outsiders and take away the poultry, *solap* wine and other food articles.

Sometimes Bonda miscreants plunder the weekly markets. Age-old isolation poverty and intoxication and fear of sorcery are the chief reasons of Bonda criminality.

JUANG

R. K. Pradhan

Among the aboriginal tribes found in the State of Orissa, the Juangs form a major group in the districts of Keonjhar and Dhenkanal. The origin and history of the Juangs are lost in the lapse of time. They have no written records excepting some oral traditions which have been handed down from generation to generation. However, they represent some cultural features similar to those of the Mundari speaking group of Central India. According to Col. Dalton the Juangs speak a language known as Kolarian.

As regards the physical features, the Juangs are medium in stature with long heads, cheek bone is prominent and the nose is broad having depression at the root. The hair is black, coarse and wavy with rich growth on the head. The skin colour varies from brown to light black. The shape of the face is oval or pentagonal. The eye-slit is straight and epicanthic fold is absent. The body is well proportionately built.

Population

The Census of India 1931 exhibited the strength of the Juangs as 15,024 and after a decade (1941) it increased to 17,032. But according to the Census of 1951 the population figure came to 12,559 showing a sudden fall in number. Their distribution and population according to 1961 Census is given below:—

Name of the district		Total population	Male	Female
Koraput	..	154	78	76
Dhenkanal	..	11,551	5,587	5,964
Keonjhar	..	9,768	5,028	4,740
Cuttack	..	416	183	233
Mayurbhanj	..	1	1	..
Total	..	21,890	10,877	11,013

Social Organisation—The Juangs are patrilineal and patriarchal people. Among themselves the Juangs are divided into a number of clans and each clan holds as sacred a particular object which is regarded as the clan totem. The totem is never destroyed or injured. The Juang tribe is endogamous but the clans are exogamous. The tribe is divided into two clan groups namely Bandhu clan and Kutumba clan. The Juangs can marry in the Bandhu clan, but marriage in the Kutumba clan is not allowed. No Juang can marry outside the tribe and within his or her own clan. Monogamy is the common rule prevailing in the Juang society so far as marriage is concerned. Polygamy exists very rarely. Levirate and Sororate types of marriage

is prevalent in the Juang society. A woman is liable to be divorced by her husband if she is found sterile. The divorced wife can marry any where in her Bandhu clan, if she so likes.

As I have told before, the Juangs are patrilocal and patriarchal people. The family which is the basic unit of the social organisation is mostly of nuclear type. There are a very few joint families in the Juang society. In the Juang family father acts as the head and maintains the family. So long as the father is alive no son can claim a share from the property. After the death of the father the sons may divide the property among themselves if they so desire and the eldest son is given an extra share. Membership in a family is acquired by birth but the girls, after marriage, cease to be members of their parental family. In this type of family descent is counted through the father and the property is inherited by the sons.

Life cycle

The most important stages of life are birth marriage and death and it is found among the Juangs that they observe some kind of ritual as a mark of each of the stages. In the Juang family, after the birth of a child, male or female there is a wave of joy spreading in the family and in the families of kinsmen as well. After the birth of the child the family and its kingroup observe birth population. A portu-riant woman is not allowed to do any household duty for a period of seven days. In the twenty-first day Ekoisa ceremony is held when the maternal grand father and grandmother come to the child and give some presents. In course of time the child, male or female grows up and becomes more and more responsible. No special ceremony is held for boys' initiation. But the girls, on the first attainment of menstruation, is kept secluded in a separate room for a period of seven days and after that period is over, she takes a purificatory bath and salutes before the local God or Goddess. Now the girl becomes eligible for marriage.

Marriage is the most important stage in the life cycle of the Juangs. The Juangs perform rice divination in an auspicious day before they start negotiation for marriage. If the divination indicates a good sign the groom's party does not have objection for marriage. Then a few persons of the boy's side go to the girl's house to settle the marriage. Then bride's party comes to the groom's house and is entertained with liquor and delicious meals. If both the parties are satisfied with each other marriage is settled. The elders of the

village fix an auspicious day for the marriage. On the day of marriage the bride's party brings the bride to the groom's house. Then the marriage ceremony is held with recitation of mantras. At night the groom's father entertains the villagers as well as the bride's party with a feast.

Murtuary is not less important in the life cycle of the Juangs. When a man or woman dies the clan members observe death pollution. Some turmeric and oil are applied all over the dead body and the body is taken to the funeral ground. There the body is cremated with head to the south. The death pollution is observed by the deceased's close relatives and by the clan members for a period of eleven days. On the 10th, 11th and 12th days food is offered to the parting soul and feast is given to the clan members. The Juangs think that death is a loss to the family.

Festivals and Amusements

The Juangs principally observe festivals like *Amba Nuakhia*, *Dhana Nuakhia* and *Magha Paraba*. On the occasion of the first two they clean their houses and discard the used earthen-wares from the kitchen and use new one's instead. They prepare a special type of food and sacrifice it with country liquor in honour of their ancestors and local Gods and Goddesses. They observe the *Magha Paraba* with much pomp and ceremony. This day the people prepare varieties of cakes and other delicious food and offer them to *Banadevi* with hope of reaping a good harvest that year. In the evening they assemble in the *Majang* and take part in music and dancing. The Juangs give high place to music and dancing. At times they spend the whole night in merry making on the occasion of different festivals.

Economic Organisation

Primarily the Juangs are agricultural people. They practise two types of cultivation, namely (1) Jhum or shifting cultivation and (2) wetland cultivation.

Shifting cultivation:

This method involves the cutting and burying of the tress and bushes in the hill slopes to prepare patches of land for cultivation. Rasi or til along with some pulses are cultivated in these lands in the first year and in the second year the same plots of land are recultivated for paddy. *Mandia* and *Gangoi* are cultivated along with the paddy in the border of the fields.

Wet land cultivation

In most of the areas of the district of Dhenkanal the Juangs have switched over to toila land cultivation



PARAJA MALE WITH CHILD



GADABA DANCE



PARAJA DANCE



MUNDA WITH BOW AND ARROW



KOLHA DOMESTIC SCENE



HO YOUTH REPOSING ON TREE TOP

... wet land cultivation in low lands.
... they grow groundnuts, sweetpatatos,
... but in wet lands they grow paddy

... ation to agriculture food gathering occupies a prominent place in Juang economy. They collect roots and tubers, green leaves, mushrooms from the jungles to supplement their diet. Moreover they collect minor forest products like honey, wood, leaves and sell them in the villages and towns and thus earn money for their subsistence.

For food, the Juangs require rice, green leaves, vegetables like, brinjals, sweet potatoes, pumpkin, etc. Moreover, roots and tubers are the most important items of food in the scarce months and *Tunga Kadaba Kanta Alu*, *Pani Alu* are the important roots they eat. However, the first item (rice) stands as the main food throughout the year and the remaining items vary with the change of seasons and availability.

Very few people among the Juangs possess good cultivable land. The rest of the population are landless and earn their livelihood by earning daily wages and selling fuel and other minor forest products in the market.

In the Juang society money is the medium of exchange. The principal of barter economy is also in vogue in the interior and the people have business transactions under this system mainly at the time of harvest.

Political Organisation

In the Juang political organisation the Bada Behera occupies the highest position and under him there is an assistant known as Pai-Behera. The Juang Association comprises some village heads of a particular area. The village heads collect together and elect the above two personels from among themselves. The elderly persons having more experience are generally elected as Bada Behera and Pai-Behera. Cases violating social customs and traditional conventions are brought to the association and are decided. Punishment is given to the offender in accordance with the gravity of the case. There is a Panchayat in every Juang village. This organisation is consisting of the village elders. The Majang (dormitory) acts as the court-house. Here the village elders meet and mitigate minor cases of the village.

Religion

The Juangs have firm belief in Mahaprabhu whom they consider to be the creator of the Universe. Moreover Basudha (Mother Earth), Dharma-devata (Sungod) are conceived by them as their High

Gods for they are responsible for the existence of the animal Kingdom. Thanapati is their village God. Besides that, different clans are associated with different Gods and Goddesses and their process of worship also differs. The Juangs have belief in rebirth and they think that one who commits sin has to take his rebirth as a low animal. They believe in the existence of ghosts and spirits and consequently offer food to their ancestors on the festive occasions.

Now a days it is found that the Juangs, coming in close association with the Hindus, have begun worshipping Hindu Gods and Goddesses. They observe Hindu religious festivals like Laxmi Puja, Raja, Dasahara etc. Dehury is the priest and religious head in the village and performs all kinds of worship.

Material culture

A good deal of material equipments are used by the Juangs out of which some are made by them and some are procured from outside. A short account of it is given below:—

Weapons

The traditional weapons of the Juangs are the bows and arrows, the axe, the spear and the battle axe. The bow is a graceful weapon made of bamboo and the arrows are tipped with spear like iron heads and feathered from peacock or crane's wing.

Agricultural implements—

The main agricultural implements used by the Juangs are plough, hoe with or without iron point, *Ukhuni*, *K'urud*, spade, sickle. Out of these most of the wooden implements are made by the Juangs themselves. But as regards the iron materials they purchase them from outside.

Dress and Ornaments

The dress of the Juangs is very simple. Women wear Saris which they wrap several times round the hip and throw one end on the shoulder. Unmarried girls take much precaution in covering the breast. No under-garment is used along with the Sari. Juang men generally use a small piece of Dhoti and a napkin. Of course, a modern accultured Juang uses half shirts, banians on festive occasions.

The Juang women adorn their bodies with various ornaments such as *Gojikathi*, *Charumundi* on head, *Nakamachhi* and *Nuluk* on nose, *Kanapasa* in the ear and necklace of beads in the neck. Moreover they use

rings on the fingers and toes and bangles on the wrist. Some male members use ear pin (labang) in each of the ears. These ornaments are either made of gold, silver brass or alluminium.

Dwellings

The Juang dwelling house is gable-shaped and the rooms are rectangular in shape. The floor and the walls are made of earth and the roofs are low and sloping both ways thatched with straw. There are also *attu* type of houses with mud ceiling over which there is straw thatch. The hut is generally divided into three parts used for sleeping, cooking and for store and there is verandah in front. In the kitchen oven is situated in one corner and the Juangs believe that their ancestor spirit takes its abode in that place. In the storeroom there is a raised platform over which paddy, rice millet and other materials are kept. The cowsheds and goatsheds are built separately.

Conclusion

At present it is seen that the Juangs are becoming acculturated due to close contact with the clean-caste people of the neighbouring State Government are trying for their uplift and accordingly welfare schemes are framed to help in various aspects. Graincolas and Co-operative Societies are opened to give financial stability to the people and to save them from exploitation of the landlords and Sahukars. Hospitals are opened to make them free from diseases. A large number of Sevashrams and Ashram Schools are being established to give education to the tribal children. From all these points of view it is evident that time may come when this tribe will have the opportunity to come to the full light of civilisation and will be able to cope with the general population of the State in all aspects.

SANTAL

Harish Chandra Das

The total population of the Santal in Orissa, according to 1961 Census, is 411,181, out of which the number of female is 208,123 and male 203,058. The table furnished below shows the distribution of the tribe in different districts of Orissa:—

Name of the districts	Population		
	Male	Female	Total
Koraput ..	431	559	990
Kalahandi ..	18	22	40
Sambalpur ..	10	14	24
Bolangir ..	2	2	4
Ganjam ..	61	60	121
Sundargarh ..	861	1,401	2,262
Dhenkanal ..	927	856	1,783

Name of the districts	Population		
	Male	Female	Total
Puri ..	98	98	196
Cuttack ..	1,237	1,154	2,391
Keonjhar ..	13,601	13,558	27,159
Mayurbhanj ..	168,151	172,176	340,327
Balasore ..	17,661	18,223	35,884
Total ..	203,058	208,123	411,18

It will be seen from the above table that Mayurbhanj district contains by far the largest number of Santal. Next in order of numerical strength is Balasore, etc.

It may be noted that the four of the above mentioned districts are contiguous and distribution of the tribe in these areas is extensive.

Language

The language of the Santal, one of the oldest tongues of India, known as Santali, belongs to the Munda group, which according to P. W. Schnuidt, is a member of the Austro-Asiatic sub-family of the Austric family. The Munda language with the exception of Kharia, Sabara and Gadaba, are generally grouped together under the common term *kherwari*.

Social Organisation

The Santal people are divided into twelve patrilineal exogamous *Paris* or sibs, namely, (1) Hasdak, (2) Marmu, (3) Kisku, (4) Haembrem, (5) Merndi, (6) Seren, (7) Tudu, (8) Baske, (9) Besra, (10) Pauria, (11) Ceral, (12) Bedea. Of these the first eleven *Paris* exist today. According to their folklore, the first seven sibs are descended from the seven sons of pilchu Haram and pilchu Budhi, the progenitors of the Santal. The last five are later additions.

The main function of the Sib is to regulate marriage. An individual can marry into any other sib except his own, and sex relation between members of the same sib are regarded as incestuous. Sib membership is patrilineal and a woman adopts the sib of her husband after marriage.

Every Sib is divided into a number of sub-sibs called *Khut*. The *Khut* functions primarily in the worships of family *bongas* or deities. The members of a *Khut* have a greater sense of Kinship and solidarity than sibs belonging to different *Khuts*.

The immediate family, headed by the father, is the smallest social unit of the Santal. It usually consists of husband, wife and children, though in many cases parents and married children continue to live together as a joint family. A person with an only daughter may take a *gharjawin*. Levirate and sororate are allowed by tradition.

Village and House pattern

The Santal villages have a characteristic pattern. Every village consists of a long street with rows of dwellings on either side. A dwelling consists of one or more huts. The dimensions of the huts are generally 14' X 14' X 8'. Each dwelling has its cattle shed

and pigsty. Inside the principal hut of each dwelling, a small space in one corner, is set off by low wall. This space is reserved for family deities and ancestral spirits. The huts are without any window. The walls of the Santal huts are built of thin sticks plastered with mud. The roof has usually two sides, with a gable at each end and is thatched with paddy straw.

Material culture

The household furniture of the Santal is very meagre. It consists of *Charpai* or bedstead, a few brass and earthenware pots for storing water, and a few bell-metal dishes. Wooden pestle and mortars and stone hand-mills are found in the houses. The technological equipment is simple. A wooden bar fitted with a flat piece of iron at one end is used for digging out roots and making holes. The agricultural implements consist of the plough, clod crusher, pick axe and spade.

Hunting is done with bows and arrows. Nets and basketry traps are used for fishing. Besides bows and arrows the chief weapons of offence and defence are pallet bows, spears, battle axe and shields.

Dress and ornaments

The working dress of the male Santal consists of a small *Dhoti*, about 3 yards long and 30 inches broad. Women drapes herself with *Saree*, 5 yard's long and 36 inches broad. They use very few ornaments. '*Hansli*' a kind of necklace is a favourite ornament for the adult women though they invariably wear necklaces of beads. Heavy brass bracelets, earrings made of silver, silver anklets, bangles of various types are worn by the women. Both sexes are fond of adorning themselves with flowers and feathers.

Musical Instruments

The *Tamak*, a hollow cylinder of wood with one end covered with cowhide and the other end with goat skin. *Madal*, buffalo horn trumpet, bamboo flute are their main musical instruments. They also use a kind of string musical instrument.

Life Cycle

The critical periods in the life of the individual are marked by rituals. These are four namely, *Janam Chatar* or birth rite, *caco chaties* or rites admitting one as a full member of Santal society, marriage and death rites.

Janam Chatar is observed when the newly-born infant is named. Name giving ceremony generally occurs on the 5th day in the case of a boy or on the 3rd day if the child is girl. The birth-rites have three-fold functions. It purifies the house and the village from the defilement caused by the birth of a child; it admits the child into the sib of its father; and it individualizes a child by giving it a name.

Marriage—The Santal name for marriage is *bapla*. Seven forms of marriage are practised by them—

(1) *Kiran bahu bapla* is the most common and respected form of marriage. It can be contracted only in the case of young men and women who have not previously married.

(2) *Tunki dipil bapla* is resorted to by very poor people. There is no payment of any kind in this marriage.

(3) *Sanga marriage* is contracted when a widower marries a widow or a divorced woman.

(4) *Gharjwain bapla* is arranged by a person with an only daughter. In this form of marriage the bridegroom comes to live with the family of the bride.

(5) In *Kiran jwain bapla* a husband is acquired for an unmarried girl who has been made pregnant by a man, who cannot or does not marry her.

(6) *It ut Bapla* or marriage by force is rare.

(7) Marriage by intrusion is practised rarely.

Rituals of death—On the death of a person, the grief-stricken relatives do a lot of wailing. The corpse is placed on the funeral pyre and covered with a leafy branch. The eldest son of the nearest relative takes a small stick, wraps it with a bit of cloth worn by the dead person and after lighting the pyre with it turns his face away. Every one then throws a piece of firewood on the pyre. After the cremation a frontal portion of the skull are washed and placed in a new earthen pot. On the fifth day after death the remains of bone is immersed in the nearby river. Eleventh day is marked for death ceremony.

Religion—The Thakur, the Supreme being, is the giver of life, rain, crops and all other necessities. Thakur is sometimes referred to by the Santal as *Cando*, *Sin*, *Cando Bonga* or *Sin Bonga*. All these names stand for the Sun God. Besides Thakur, there are numerous Bongas or malevolent supernatural beings found everywhere. Other supernatural beings

include *Sima Bonga*, the deity of the village boundary, the *Babri Bonga*, the deity of the village outskirts, etc.

Thakur is usually not worshipped, though every Santal must offer at least one sacrifice to Thakur in his life time.

Economic Life—Santal economy is based mainly on agriculture. Collecting, hunting and fishing are subsidiary sources of living. Three kinds of land are cultivated. (1) Barge or the land near the dwelling, (2) uplands (3) rice fields. The most important crop cultivated near their dwellings is maize. Beans, vegetables are also cultivated. The highland fields produce several kinds of millets. The rice is cultivated once a year. Fields are terraced and transplanting of rice plants is done in the rainy season.

Ploughing is done by cows and buffaloes. Cultivation is dependent on rainfall. Both men and women take part in agricultural operations.

The Santals collect different kinds of forest roots fruits and tubers that are eaten raw or boiled. The forest not only supply the Santal with food, but also serve many other purposes, such as providing medicines, yielding wood and bamboo for building.

The Santals are very fond of hunting. They hunt any game available. Hunting is done only by men, who go in group to the forest. Hunting may be formal or informal. Informal hunt does not require the presence of the *Dehuris* but in the annual tribal hunt, which lasts for three to four days the *Dehuris* must accompany the hunting group.

The Santal catch fish in rivers and ponds. For fishing they use nets, traps, bows and arrows and vegetable poisoning.

They generally eat twice a day. The daily meals consist of *daka* or boiled rice and *utu* or curry. They eat fish and meat when available. Domestic animals are killed on festive occasions. Meat of fowls, pigs buffaloes, jackals, snakes, lizards, tortoises, crocodiles and some birds are eaten, but meat of dogs cats and horses are abhorred.

The liquor of the Santal is prepared mainly from boiled rice, which they call *handia*. Liquor from Mahua flower is also prepared. Tobacco constitutes a basic necessity of the Santal. It is used in two ways. First a dried tobacco leaf rolled into a sal leaf, is used for smoking. Secondly, bits of dried tobacco leaves are mixed with lime, chewed and kept in a corner of the mouth.

Concluding Remarks—The Santals are well-known for their simplicity, honesty, straight forwardness, frankness and sincerity in thought and action. But it is regrettable that these virtues are disappearing as a result of culture change. Hinduism has brought appreciable change in their culture. Hindu gods and

goddesses have been introduced into their religious complex. In social sphere a noticeable change has taken place. The role of old occupations has changed, new occupations have been introduced. Growing indebtedness, loss of land have created acute economic problems, which demand a speedy solution.

KONDH

Kiran Bala Debi

The Kondhs, Khonds or Konds are one of the well-known tribe of Orissa who were famous in history for their Meriah sacrifice (human sacrifice). According to Macpherson the name Kondh is derived from the Telugu word "Konda", a hill. The Telugu people call them Kotuvandlu. These people are not only found in Orissa but also in Andhra, Bengal and Madhya Pradesh. In Orissa they are distributed in all the districts but concentrated in large number in Phulbani, Ganjam, Sambalpur, Koraput and Balangir. According to 1961 Census the total Kondh population in Orissa is 818,847. The following table shows the distribution of population in different districts.

Name of the district	Total Kondh Population	Male	Female
Kalahandi ..	146,553	72,017	74,536
Koraput ..	271,698	135,672	136,026
Sambalpur ..	23,636	11,576	12,060
Balangir ..	59,596	28,357	31,239
Boudh-Kandhamal	199,006	96,947	102,059
Ganjam ..	53,317	26,056	27,261
Sundargarh ..	3,329	2,000	1,329
Dhenkanal ..	29,563	9,722	10,841
Puri ..	31,845	15,779	16,060
Keonjhar ..	4,048	2,065	1,984
Cuttack ..	4,740	2,298	2,442
Mayurbhanj ..	193	110	83
Balasore ..	323	149	147
Total ..	818,847	402,748	416,099

The Kondhs are very simple, frank and naive. They are very hospitable. Whenever a guest will arrive he must be supplied with food and drink whether the host is rich or poor. Their height is of average standard. They are healthy, strong and stout, inspite of their poverty and lack of nourishing food and adequate clothing. They are jolly and do not think for future. During harvest when food is plenty, they spend extravagantly and during scarcity of food, they have to live sometimes without food. They are drunkard; they may live without food but not without drinking. The Kondhs are courageous in the jungle but coward before non-tribals.

As regards the language of the Kondhs G. A. Grierson has written "The Kondhs or Khonds are a Dravidian tribe in the hills of Orissa and neighbouring districts." "The name which they use themselves is Ku and their language should accordingly be denominated Kui. The word Ku is probably related to Koi, one of the names by which the Gonds used to denote themselves. The Koi dialect of Gondi is, however, quite different from Kui. The language varies locally all over this area. The difference are not however, great though a man from one part of the country often experiences difficulty in understanding the Kui spoken in other parts. There are two principal dialects, one eastern, spoken in Gumsur and the adjoining parts of Bengal and one western spoken in Chinnakimedi. In the north Kui has come under the influence of the neighbouring Aryan forms of speech and a specimen forwarded from the Patana state was written in Oriya with a slight admixture of Chattisgarhi."

The Kondh language has the following local variations:—

- (1) Kondhs of Koraput subdivision speak Kuvi language.
- (2) Dongria Kondhs of Baliguda Agency of Boudh-Phulbani speak a language which resembles to Kuvi language.
- (3) Kutia Kondhs of Gudari police-station speak Kutia dialect. Kutia dialect is a mixture of Savara and Kui dialect.
- (4) Kondhs of Raigada speak Kuvi with an admixture of Telugu.

SOCIAL ORGANISATION

Internal division of the tribe

The tribe is divided into different subdivisions according to different localities. But all believe in their common ancestor. Each local division is called Mutha. It has separate name in separate regions. From the economical point of view the Kondhs may be divided into four groups. (1) Those who live in plain area (2) Those who live on firewood cutting and selling and basket-making (3) Those who live on plains for some parts of the year and live on hills for the rest of the year (4) Those who live on hills. From the functional point of view some Kondhs have adopted a new occupation, leaving their own hereditary occupation that is hunting and cultivation. They are balcksmiths, milkmen and potters. But mainly the Kondhs may be divided into three subdivisions. (1) Desia Kondhs who live in plain area mixing with other non-tribals. (2) Dangaria Kondh who live on highland hills. The name Danger means the highland. (3) Kutia Kondh found in Phulbani district. The name Kutia is derived from the word "Kuti", the meaning of which is hole. The Kutia Kond's house is constructed in such a way that the level of the floor is below the level of the ground around the house.

Villages—The Kondh villages are just like Oriya villages. Each village is comprised of a number of houses. Besides the dwelling-houses, there are other houses such as boys' dormitory and girls' dormitory. The houses are situated in rows. The Kutia Konds live on the foot of the hills or in between two hills in the midst of dense forest. One village is comprised of eight to ten houses. They migrate from one place to another after five or six years if there is scarcity of food or water. For domestic animals they have separate houses. The village communal ground and

veranda are dirty and full of cow dung, stool of the pigs, and pigeons.

Youth Organizations—Youth Organization play an important role in the life of Kondhs. They have well organized dormitories for both unmarried boys and girls. Grown up girls sleep together and spend most of their time in their dormitory known as "*dhangerddu*" or *Dhanger basa*. One old woman is in charge of the girls' dormitory. Likewise for unmarried boys separate dormitory is provided. When boys and girls attain the age of seven or eight they start their dormitory life. They only come to their house for taking meals. These are the centre of recreation and a sleeping house for bachelors.

Family—The Konds live in joint family. But sometimes nuclear families are found. The joint family consists of parents, married sons and daughters. The family is patriarchal. The father controls the family whether the married sons live with him or separately. After the death of the father the property is divided in equal portion among the sons. Sometimes the father also divides his property while alive.

Family is patrilineal. The Kondhs reckon their descent through male line. The offices of the headman is hereditary but it depends upon the fitness of the man

The parents without issue sometime adopt child. The child is considered as his own son and has to obey all the rules and regulations of the family just like own child regarding marriage and inheritance of the property.

INDIVIDUAL LIFE CYCLE

(1) *Birth rites*—The Kondhs love their children very much. When a woman is barren they may marry a second wife or adopt a child. The Kondh woman works as usual up to the time of delivery. When she feels pain she is attended by an experienced Kondh midwife. She rubs the pregnant women's abdomen with castor-oil. The umbilical cord is cut by the mother with the help of a sharp edged arrow. The mother warms her hand on fire and applies to the body of the child for five or six days. Each day the baby's body is smeared with castor-oil and turmeric paste. After 3 days of childbirth a chicken is sacrificed for their dead ancestors. Its blood is kept on a bark and it is smeared on the walls. One portion of the sacrifice is hanged in-front of the door, so that the evil spirit will not be able to enter. The Konds believe in the immortality of the soul and rebirth. After some days of childbirth the village priest

is asked to tell which of the ancestors has born. He holds a bow by two hands and mutters the names of the ancestors. When the bow trembles slightly the name he speaks at that time is supposed to be the newborn child. After one month the child is shaved and feast is given to all villagers.

The name of the child is chosen by the mother or grandfather. The name giving ceremony is performed in different ways in different places. The Kutia Kondh's child remains nameless until he suffers from any disease. Among the Kondhs of Gumsur Mr. J. A. R. Stevenson says "Six months after birth, on a fixed day they make *Gadathuva*, the ceremony of naming the child. On that day killing a dog, and procuring liquor, they make *baji*. They wash the feet of the child. The *Jani* comes to tie a cord from the half the point of sickle, and they divine by means of it. They put rice on the sickle. As the names (of the ancestors or family) are repeated in order, each time the rice is put on; that name is chosen on the mention of which the sickle moves and is given to the child. Then they drink liquor and eat *baji*. They give rice and flesh to the *Jani*".

The Kondhs do not feel their children as burden. Children are taken care of by their mothers. When they become one year or so and when the parents go to search after food child rearing is entrusted upon the younger children. At the age of ten to twelve years, they start to help their parents in cooking, house building, rearing of the children. Then they help their father during transplanting and harvesting time. From the childhood they become active and dutiful so that they do not feel any difficulty in future life.

(2) *Marriage and Family Life*—Marriage is the accepted form of union between a man and a woman in Kondh's society. An illegal union is strictly prohibited. Marriage is generally performed after some years of puberty. The boys usually marry between ages of eighteen and twenty-one if they are rich fellow. Otherwise due to heavy bride-price they marry at a later age. Girls are generally marry between the age of seventeen to twenty-two. In majority cases husband's are older than wives..

Marriage with a kinsman is prohibited. The tribe is divided into different septs. Marriage is not possible within the same sept or with a girl of the mother or paternal grandmother's sept. But one can marry a girl belonging to his maternal grandmother's sept.

The Kondhs want that their wives should be active, strong and able in domestic as well as outward activities. Hence this type of brides are selected.

Marriage by negotiation is found among Kondhs. Generally courtship is followed by negotiation. Both the parties visit each other houses. Then the parents of the boy have to pay a small portion of the bride-price. Some omens are observed during and before marriage. The rice is boiled in a pot by the boy's parents in the name of the girl. If the rice overflows they break the marriage negotiation as it is sign of ill omens. If any wild animal or snake is seen on the way to the bride's house while the parents are going for negotiation it brings ill luck to the couple. Sometimes the bride is selected by the groom himself. He informs and takes consent of his parents. Young boys and girls mix freely. The boy is allowed to dance and sing with the girl. Both boy and girl have freedom to declare their love.

In the Kondh society the marriage is determined by the amount of bride-price which is demanded by the bride's parents. Bride-price varies from time to time and place to place. Generally it is demanded in forms of cow, buffalo, rice, paddy, etc. Those who are not able to pay is asked to work under his father's-in-law's house until his bride-price is repayed.

After the settlement of bride-price the marriage date fixed. On that day, the broomstick is removed from the bride's ear and she wears brass ring. The bride is taken away by the bridegroom's party which is followed by bride's party. Both men and women participate and marriage ceremony is accompanied by singing and drinking. A mock fight is held between two parties. The bride's party follow them upto one mile or so to rescue the bride and afterwards they are allowed to go peacefully.

Divorce is very easy in Kondh society. A women may say before village Panchayat that she does not want to stay with her husband. Then a new sari and one rupee are given to her. She returns to her father's house. When she remarries, bride-price given by the first husband is demanded from the second one. Adultery, incompatibility of temper are the main causes of divorce.

Widow marriage is practised. But generally they marry the younger brother of her husband. She is permitted to marry outside her family. In this case her children are taken care of by the relatives of her first husband.

In the family life, both husband and wife are supporters of each other. Like Hindu woman, they are not

parasites on their husbands. The women as well as men-folk work jointly though there is division of labour. The women do all the domestic work, take care of children and help their husbands in field. After day's hard labour, in the evening the women prepare meal and then sit around the fire to gossip and drink.

Death rites—The dead body is burnt except pregnant women or at childbirth and one month baby which are buried. The dead body is wrapped by a new cloth. The ornaments are not removed. The relative lights the pyre. Personal used materials of dead person are thrown, where they are cremated. The family members of the dead person do not eat flesh or drink up to purification day. The village priest throws oil and brooms over the head of the relatives of the dead person. There is no particular date when the death rite is observed. One day the family members throw their earthen cooking pot and a feast is given to the relatives. All go to the cremation ground taking cooked rice and a chicken, offer them to the dead person.

In different places different types of death rites are observed. In the manual of Ganjam district it is written. "Immediately after death a cloth is wrapped round the corpse, but no cloths or valuable are removed. A portion of paddy (unhusked rice) and all the cooking utensils of the deceased are given to the village Sitra. (The Sitras manufacture the brass rings and bangles worn by the Kondhs). The body is then burnt. On the following day, a little rice is cooked, put on a dish and laid on the spot where the corpse was burnt. An incantation is then pronounced requesting the spirit of the deceased person to eat the rice and enjoy itself and not to change itself into a devil or tiger and come bothering the survivors in the village. Three days after death the Madda ceremony is performed. An effigy of the deceased is prepared of straw which is stuck up in front of or on the roof of the house and the relatives and friends, assemble, lament and eat at the expense of the people of the deceased's house. Each person brings a present of some kind or other and on his departure on the next day, receives something of slightly higher value. The death of a man in a village requires a purification which is made by the sacrifice of a buffalo on the seventh day after death."

IMPORTANT FESTIVALS

1. *Festivals*—Konds life is full of festivities. Feast is accompanied by singing and drinking. Two important festivals are at the time of sowing and harvesting. At that time they worship their deities. They worship eighty-four gods and goddess. The chief god is Dharani Deota or Earth God. She is known

as Tanapenu. In the past human sacrifice was practised by Kondhs who offer the blood of human to the Tanapenu. She is represented by a rectangular wood or stone. In place of human, buffaloes are sacrificed. In Kalahandi, a lamb is sacrificed every year. Its flesh is buried on the field so that mother earth will be satisfied and give more crops. On that day before sacrifice villagers dance and sing songs. About human sacrifice Mr. Frazer writes "the sacrifices were offered to the earth Goddess, Tana pennu or Bore pennu and were believed to ensure good crops and immunity from all diseases and accidents. In particular they were considered necessary in the cultivation of turmeric, the Kondhs are gulling that turmeric could not have a deep red colour without the shedding of blood". But this barbarous rite has been stopped by British rule.

In Kondh society the life is full of dance and music. They compose their own songs. The contents of the songs are love, marriage ceremony, harvesting, etc. The village women sing and dance joining hands and making a circular form binding one white cloth on the waists. The boys standing around the girls sing. They move slowly to the front and back and move slowly round the circle.

MATERIAL CULTURE

Housing and settlements—The Kondhs of Phulbani live in wooden houses. It is made of planks and wooden posts. These are fixed by wooden pins. The roofs are thatched with straw. The walls are made of earth with raised verandah. The house is divided into two small rooms partitioned by railing. One room is used for cooking and sleeping purposes and the other room is used for sleeping of the parents. Some times they have separate room for keeping cattle.

The Kondhs take rice, green vegetables and curry. The usual method is to boil rice in an earthen vessel called *Teki*. In some areas the Kondh women cook on leaf vessel. It is made of leaf, around which they taub mud to close the holes and save the leaf vessel from burning when placed on fire. The food is distributed in a plate called *Talendi* or in a pot called *Mandi*.

Dress and Ornament—The Kond women wear two clothes, one around the waist to the knees and another for the upper portion of the body. But those who are coming in contact with non-tribals and Desia Kond wear saris. The saris are coarse and of different colour such as red or yellow with beautiful borders. The Kutia Kond woman wear only one loin cloth. Any woman can be marked

whether she is married or not by seeing their dress. The married women can only wear earring. Earrings are made of brass. The Kond women wear different kinds of *Baalanga* (Bangle) on hand, *khagala* (necklace) on neck, silver chain on neck. *Gunag Taponi* (head ornament), *Mudurange* (earring) leg ornament, etc. All these ornaments are of brass or aluminium or silver.

Among the musical instruments, the *pleka* is most important. It is made of a round piece of wood of 12 inches long. Towards one end, two gourds are fixed and three iron strings are attached which are tied on the end near the gourds, and other end coming over the gourd is tied towards the other end of the rod. A bow shaped reed whose two ends are tied with horse hair is moved on the iron wire of the *pleka* to produce musical sound. Another musical instrument is the single membrane drum consisting of a wooden hoop and a piece of hide. The wooden hoop is more or less semi round.

The Kondhs who have learnt ploughing from non-tribals use iron plough share, iron pick for digging hoe and harrow, sickle, knife for cutting paddy during harvesting.

The weapons of hunting are bows and arrows and axe. By help of these the Kondhs prey animals and birds and also defend themselves from wild animals.

ECONOMY

Consumption—The Konds eat rice. But the paddy produced by them is not sufficient. For two or three months in a year they are able to get rice. In some areas maize is cultivated. In rainy season they prepare their food from mango kernel mixed with a small quantity rice and sugar. In the month of February they start to collect fruits and edible roots. In winter season one type of hill paddy is harvested. They take curry occasionally. Green vegetable is most important item of curry. They add salt and sometimes oil which is not purchased but extracted from the seeds of the Mahula fruit. In rainy season fish is available. Deer, hare, supply them meat. All kinds of birds such as parrot, fowl, doves, peacock are eaten.

Rice beer is the universal drink of the Kondhs. Where there is scarcity of food the Kondhs have to live on liquor. In cold climate it is a necessity. Hence Kondhs have to drink. They are so much habituated with it that they may live without food but not without beer. The beer is brewed in

ordinary days as well as on ceremonial occasions. Except this rice beer they also drink Mahula wine. Juice of the *Sadap* tree mixed with root and fibre of *Kenua* tree act as another type of wine.

Clothes used by the Kondh are purchased from the Doms who weave. The ornaments are also purchased from the non-tribals.

Production—The chief occupation of the Kondh is agriculture. The hill Kondhs practise shifting cultivation and Desia Kondhs have learnt ploughing from non-tribals. They depend upon nature. Over the hills cultivation is not very remunerative due to want of irrigation facilities and poor soil. A crude type of paddy is grown.

The most important crop they raise is turmeric. But due to primitive method of production, turmeric is less profitable. They monopolies the cultivation because non-tribals in the area do not produce it due to superstition that cultivation of turmeric will bring ill luck and death.

The Kondhs on the hills practise shifting cultivation. In the summer months, before the outbreak of monsoon the Kondhs who live on the hills cut woods and set fire on them. When the woods are burnt and turned in to ashes they leave it till starting of rain. The site is ploughed and maize or paddy seeds are broadcasted. Then they harvest the paddy or maize in the months of October and November. They cultivate the particular site for one or two years. As they do not put any manures, the yields become less if it is cultivated for successive years. Therefore, after one or two years they abandon the place and clear another site for cultivation. Shifting cultivation is the most primitive type of agricultural practice. The yield in comparison with wet cultivation is less but more labour is required. It is a destructive process of cultivation. The shifting cultivation is responsible for soil erosion, destruction of valuable trees and forest products. Hence Government is trying to stop it totally. Wet lands where possible are given to them.

Indebtness and Exploitation—Indebtness is one of the occurrences in the life of Kondhs. The Panos (non-tribal harijanas) who live nearby, exploit them, by giving loans and taking higher rate of interest. The Kondhs are illiterate. They sign on a plain paper and take money which become double within a few years. It is not repaid though each year they give turmeric and paddy during harvesting time. Paternal debts are paid and repaid by sons and grandsons. Bride-price compell them to borrow. Sometimes they work in the field of the debtor without wages.

Another type of exploitation is selling them ornaments, agricultural implements, cloths at high rate by non-tribals such as Pana, Dom, etc. They are compelled to buy from them as they have little opportunity to come to the markets of the nearest town. Hence, they have to exchange paddy and turmeric for ornaments, cloths, etc.

Conclusion—The Kondhs have come to the notice of civilized people since 19th century for their practice of human sacrifice. Due to the British rule, imposed upon them, they have abandoned that cruel and barbarous rite. But curiosity of the civilized mind to know about the tribe has enabled them to come to the

light. Many administrators, missionaries and ethnographers have studied them and have brought their problems to the forefront. Missionaries are running schools and medical centres in the area. In recent years ample opportunities are given to the scheduled tribe and scheduled castes by the Government through the Tribal and Rural Welfare Department. They are given more opportunities than non tribals so that they will come forward and stand on the same footing. The Ashram Schools run by the Government in Kondh areas are educating them. The Government is providing them with all sorts of facilities as a result of which, after a few years they may attend a better standard of living.

BINJHAL

Kiran Bala Debi

BINJHAL

The Binjhals or Binjhvars, a Dravidian tribe are distributed in the Provinces of Orissa and Madhya-Pradesh. These people are advanced and resemble to the local non-tribals. They live amidst the non-tribals. R. V. Russell and Rai Bahadur Hiralal have written about the tribe that they are "a comparatively civilized Dravidian tribe" who are "an offshoot of the primitive Baiga tribe". The Biga and Binjhals are found in the same regions and agriculture is the main occupation of both the tribes.

In Orissa, the Binjhals are distributed in the districts of Puri, Sambalpur, Balangir, Sundargarh, etc. But they are concentrated to a large extent in Sambalpur district. The table below shows the distribution of Binjhals in different districts of Orissa and their population according to 1961 census:—

Name of the District	Total population	Male	Female
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Puri ..	4,368	2,202	2,166
Koraput ..	5	2	3

Name of the District	Total population	Male	Female
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Sambalpur ..	46,134	23,269	22,865
Balangir ..	25,191	12,073	13,118
Ganjam ..	1	..	1
Sundargarh ..	612	313	299
Dhenkanal ..	154	70	84
Keonjhar ..	3	1	2
Cuttack ..	24	11	13
Mayurbhanj ..	197	110	87
Total ..	76,692	38,052	38,640

Origin of the Tribe—The name "Binjhal" is derived from the name Bindhabasini, the chief deity of the Binjhals. They believe that their original home was on the Bindhy hills. Once upon a time there were "Bara Bhai Bentakar" (twelve brother archers) who were in pursuit of Barha (bear). When they shoot arrows, those came out and struck on the door of the temple of Lord Jagannath which is situated in Puri District. The King of Orissa was unable to pull them out though he harnessed his elephants. Those twelve brothers came in search of their arrows and pulled them out from the door. The king became pleased and gave them some estates and entitled them with the title *Bariha* which means bear. The Zamindar of Bodasambar in Sambalpur district is the descendant of one of those brothers.

The etymological meaning of the name "Binjhal" is (Bin + jhal) not sweating. They do hard labour and do not care for sweating. It is said Jete Srama Kale nguna Bahai Jhal Tenukari Tanka Nama Hoila Binjhal.

Meaning—They are called Binjhals because they do not sweat even though they labour hard. These are the beliefs of the Binjhals about the origin and significance of their name.

The Binjhals are physically of medium stature. Height varies from five feet to five feet five inches in case of male and four feet five inches to five feet in case of female. Their colour varies from dark brown to fair. They resemble Oriyas.

The Binjhals speak colloquial Oriya language (Sambalpur)

Social Organisation—The tribes is divided into four subdivisions—

- (1) The proper Binjhwars, (2) Sonjharas whose occupation is washing of gold in the sands of Mahanadi, (3) The Binjhia who practise shifting cultivation, (4) Binjhia. They are regarded as a separate caste in Bilaspur.

The Binjhals have innumerable clans such as (1) Amari, (2) Kamatia, (3) Nag, (4) Khursal, (5) Duduka, (6) Baanga, (7) Monchy, (8) Bagh.

Brahmins and washermen of the village do not serve the Binjhals but barbers serve them. They do not accept water and boiled rice from other castes except Bramhins.

Village and Houses—The Binjhal houses are arranged in parallel rows facing each other. Exception of this type is also noticed. The house consists of an inner spacious room with an enclosed veranda before it. They have no window and have only one door opening to the veranda. The room is very dark, as light cannot pass through the room. The veranda is used for cooking, husking of paddy where as inner room is used for keeping materials and sleeping purposes. The hearth is constructed generally towards one corner of the veranda. In the middle, slightly to one side, a hole is found which is used for paddy pounding. Those who have cattle have separate cowshed.

Family—The Binjhals live in joint family. A family consists of husband, wife, sons, daughter-in-law, unmarried daughters, brothers and sisters, etc. Generally after the death of the father, the family breaks up. In some cases the brothers remain separately after marriage. The family is counted by "Dibi" or *chula*. When a brother separates from another brother, both of them cook in separate cooking pots (Dibi). The husband is the head of the family but the wife is consulted. If father dies the mother acts as the head of the family, and takes care of her children until the eldest son grows up.

Property is inherited by sons. It is divided among them in equal proportion. Daughters do not have share.

Polygyny is possible among the Binjhals but it is found rarely. If child is not born to the first wife the husband may marry again.

Joking relationship exists between grand parents and children, between a women and younger brother of her husband. But women avoid their husband's elder brothers. A man can call his wife by her name but a woman cannot call her husband, father-in-law, mother-in-law and her husband's elder brother by name. The husband is addressed as the father of the child.

Birth Rites—When a baby is born, the woman is kept separately. She is attended by an elderly Binjhal woman who knows delivery. In case of difficult delivery, they ask midwife of the nearest hospital to attend them.

When the child is born, the umbilical cord is severed by the midwife with a thread. Then the child is bathed in hot water. For seven days the child and mother remain segregated. On seventh day they cut nail, take bath and get themselves purified.

The Binjhals believe in immortality of the soul. They think ancestors are born as grand children or great grand children. Hence a few days after the birth of the new born baby, a "*Gunia*" is consulted. He holds some paddy in a winnowing fan and muttering some *mantras* speaks names of the ancestors and at the same time moves his hand over the winnowing fan and throws paddy. If two paddy grains fall jointly, the name uttered at that time is selected.

Children are taken care of by their mothers. Weaning among Binjhals takes place at three years or until another child is born. Even after this, occasional suckling is not denied to children. When the child attends two or three years, and parents are busy in the field, children are taken care of by grand mother or elder sister.

The Binjhal boys and girls adopt their own occupation when they are young, but they are not required to labour hard. The boys help their parents in the field and girls rear their younger sisters and brothers and cook.

Marriage—Among the Binjhals endogamy is the general rule. Marriage is not possible between spouses having blood relationship. The girls marry after they attain maturity. Generally they marry from sixteen to twentieth years and men from twenty to twenty-five years. Child marriage is not practised. During festival days the young boys and girls get opportunity to mix and choose their own partners. Then proposal is sent. At first the parents of bridegroom and some other related persons come to the bride's house. They bring two cloths (Saries) and ornaments for the bride and sugar and fried rice for the family. This is known as *Mangen Kania*. On that day, the father of the bride asks for money, paddy, rice to the father of the bridegroom.

On the wedding day the bridegroom party arrives at the bride's place in the evening. Before it, rice, paddy and other materials for the feast are sent in a bullock cart. Both men and women accompany the bridegroom. On the way they sing, and beat drums. Whole night is spent by singing, drinking and dancing. Generally girls of both parties sing song. The party asks questions and other party gives answers in form of songs. The real marriage ceremony takes place on the nextday morning. The bride groom enters to the bride's house sitting on the shoulder of the elder sister of the bride. The bridegroom has to undergo some performances. His cheek has to be

roasted by hot cakes. He has to pound paddy by a husking implement. The women of the bridegroom's party smear turmeric on the body of the bride and women of the bride's party smear turmeric on the groom's body. They both sit side by side. The bride throws some paddy and rice over the bridegroom and the bridegroom does in the same manner. Women of both parties do "*Bandapana*". When marriage ceremony is over both parties attend a feast arranged by the bride's parents. In the evening bride and bridegroom return to their village accompanied by the bridegroom party. Nothing is performed in the bridegroom's village.

Performance of marriage ceremony differs from place to place. Among some Binjhals a trunk of Mahua tree with two branches is placed on the marriage pendal. Under this, a dagger is placed on a winnowing fan filled with rice. The dagger represents the bridegroom and the winnowing fan the bride. Both bride and bridegroom move round the trunk one by one. A plough is placed on a yoke over the marriage pendal. Some relatives climb up the trunk and pour water over the couple. Next day bride and bridegroom proceed to the marriage post on shoulders of two relatives. Marriage thread is tied by the village priest around the feet of the couple. He utters some *mantras*. Then man shoots arrow, bringing it from marriage post. Bride and Bridegroom take bath in a tank and bridegroom shoots seven arrows to an effigy of a deer, made of straw. His brother-in-law takes the seventh one, hides it under his cloths, and pretend to be dead. The bridegroom goes and searches and at last finds his arrow from his brother-in-law's cloth. Thus marriage ceremony is over.

The Brahmin does not serve in the marriage ceremony. A Binjhal priest serves on such occasion. His office is hereditary.

When a Zamindar's marriage ceremony is performed he invites all his caste fellows. Here on the marriage platform, any number of marriage can take place. That is, if marriage has been negotiated between a boy and a girl they can be married there. Such marriages are eagerly done as no expense is incurred there. The Zamindar takes charge of the feast and other expenses

Among Binjhals, family life is maintained peacefully. Women are true partners of their husbands. They do all household work, take care of their children and help their husbands in field. Though men are the head of the family, women are consulted in family affairs.

Divorce is in vogue but found in rare cases. Adultery, and incompatibility of temper are the main causes of divorce. The bride-price have to be repaid to the bridegroom's parents. No ceremony is performed for this occasion.

Death rites—The Binjhals bury the dead body. It is their custom that the relatives and friends of the deceased come and accompany the funeral procession. Female relatives cry and wail. On the third day the relatives assemble, take some unboiled rice, offer to the deceased on the grave. A lamp is lighted over the rice. When an insect comes they catch it and bring home believing it the spirit of the dead person. They keep it in a flour cake till the next day. On the next day morning all come to the pool and thrust it in the mud after offering rice. This is known as *Kharpani*.

Important festivals—Through the process of culture change many of the Hindu ceremonies are observed by the Binjhal along with their own traditional festivals. *Karma* is their most important and indigenous festival. On the 11th day of *Bhadra* they observe this festival when they worship the deity *Karamsani* who is to be satisfied for their good fortune. This festival provides opportunities for young boys and girls for selection of their partners of life. On that day they go to the jungle and bring *karma* tree (Sal or Halan tree) which represents the Goddess *Karamsani*. Amorous songs are sung, drums are beaten and young boys and girls dance. The whole village remains in drunkard condition for two days. The *Karma* tree is planted in the centre of the communal ground and is worshiped by the *Jhankar*, the Binjhal priest. Unboiled rice, milk, liquor and sweet meats are offered to the Goddess. Then the *Jhankar* tells the story of *Karamsani*. When it is over the villagers dance, sing and drums are beaten. Next day they also spend in this manner. Then on third day morning the villagers go in procession to a particular pool, throw the *Karma* tree in water and take bath there and return to the village. Then they attend a grand feast.

Bada Karma—After every three years the *Bada-karma* (big *Karma*) is held. On that day the performance of *Karamasani* Puja, is done as usual. Then young boys and girls of different villages form a party and go to five villages staying one day in each village. Members of particular village make arrangements for their lodging and boarding. All these five days they spend by drinking, singing and dancing.

Harali Parab—The *Harali Parab* is held in the month of *Srabana*. This festival is meant for their own children. The Binjhals believe that their ancestors are born as sons and daughters therefore they should be worshipped. On that day different types of cakes and *Khiri* (boiled rice mixed with sugar and milk) are prepared. They worship their own children by keeping unboiled rice and unboiled milk on the feet of their children. Then they distribute cakes and sweet meats to their children.

Besides these festivals, the Binjhals also observe *Diwali*, *Nuakhia*, *Pus Punei* which are not of their own festival but coming in contact with non-tribals of the area they are observing these.

Religious Belief—The Binjhals obey the God and Goddess of Hindus besides their own deities. *Bindhy Basini* is their principal Goddess. Her original place was on *Bindhya Hills*. "*Barabhai Bentakar*" (twelve brother archers) who are the original ancestors of the Binjhals brought the deity from the *Bindhya Hills* and placed on the *Narsinghanath Hills* in *Sambalpur* district. If she is satisfied no calamity will fall on the Binjhals. She is represented by a stone in shape of a woman.

Another Binjhal Deity is *Lakshmeswari* who is staying in a temple in the village *Khaira* in *Padampur Police-Station*. Seven three-headed spears represent the Goddess. The Binjhals also worship "*Dangar Devata*" the God of mountain.

Dance and Music—Each tribe has peculiarity in its original dance and music. Among the Binjhals *karma* dance is very much charming. The dancers, drummers and singers all wear red turban on head. Peacock feathers are tied over the turban. They all wear red shirt, coloured cloth and ornaments, on arms, necks and hands. At first boys enter to the ground and dance. Then girls dance. Then both boys and girls dance and sing mixing together.

MATERIAL CULTURE

Housing and Settlements—The Binjhal houses are rectangular in shape. The walls are made of mud. The floor and walls of the houses are very cleanly washed with a solution of mud and cowdung. They are thatched with straw or roofed with tile. On the whole the houses appear to be quite clean in spite of the disorderly arrangement of furniture.

The house of the *Jhankars*, the village priest are generally bigger than the common men. In some villages they have two storied mud house.

Household Implements—A few furnitures are noticed in Binjhal houses. Generally they sleep on floor but have cots made of wooden bar and fibre string for the use of guests. For husking paddy they have a heavy wooden hollowed mortar which is thrust in the floor, and a long wooden pestle, whose lower end is mounted with an iron band. Generally cooking pots are made of clay and ladle are of brass and bell-metal. Utensils for taking food are of bell-metal or aluminium. They possess all sorts of baskets, winnowing fan, etc. which are available in the area. Each and every Binjhal must have an *Olia* made of straw for keeping paddy and other cereals.

Dress and Ornaments—Adult Binjhal males wear cotton cloth called *Dhoti* and another cloth which they hang over their shoulders is known as *Karia*. Women wear hand-woven Sambalpuri Sarees. The children remain naked up to five or six years, then they wear torn loin cloth of half to one foot in length.

The Binjhal women adorn their bodies with various ornaments. They use necklaces of beads, silver and nickel. Among silver necklace, coined and Hansuli necklaces are mostly preferred. On the hand, they wear big bangles of silver or nickel. The Binjhals of omari section do not wear glass bangles.

Main occupation of the Binjhals is agriculture. Hence agricultural implements such as plough, yoke, sickle, etc. which are found in the houses of Oriya agriculturists are also found in their houses. They also use several types of fish traps for catching fish. They are made of bamboo strips.

The Binjhal material culture resembles to that of Oriyas. In dress, ornament, hair dress it is very difficult to distinguish them from non-tribals of that area.

ECONOMY

Consumption:—Rice is the staple food of the Binjhals. Generally they take food twice a day, mid-day meal from 11 to 12 A.M. and supper from 6 to 7 P.M. Sometimes they also take morning meal before going to work. Their meal consists of rice, vegetables and occasionally meat or fish. Sometimes fried rice or rice cakes are prepared for the children. In past they were indiscriminate in their diet. They were eating snakes, rats, carnivorous animals, and pork. But now they are not taking this.

Rice-beer is the important drink of the Binjhals. Marriage ceremony and festivals cannot be enjoyed without drinking.

Cloths, the Binjhal use, are purchased from the market. They also purchase ornaments and utensils and a few required materials.

Productions—The economy of Binjhals is based on agriculture. Majority of them are agriculturists. Those who have lands cultivate it which is the only means of their occupation. Those who are landless are labourers. Day labour is called *Mulia* and those who work on annual contract basis are called *Halia* or *Goti*. They are paid annually. Besides this they are given two pieces of cloth every year. He can also borrow money from his employer. No interest is charged on the amount so borrowed. Loans are paid back in cash or paddy. It can also be adjusted with the dues of the *Halia*. A *Halia* on termination of his contract with the employer is free to contract with another. The contract is usually done from one *Pusa Purnima* to another *Pusa Purnima*. Those who are day labourers are paid either daily or weekly according to the local wage rate.

Paddy is the major crop of the Binjhals. They also grow pulses, summer and winter vegetables. Among the vegetables tomato, brinjal, cucumber, pumpkin, chilly are most important.

Paddy is raised both by transplanting and broadcasting methods.

Broadcasting Method—The Binjhals plough land and sow seeds before some days of raining in the first part of the month of June. In the month of August they again plough the land slightly for killing of the weeds. Generally from the month of November to December they harvest paddy.

Transplanting Method—By this method they sow seeds in a plot of land attached to their houses. The land in which paddy will be transplanted are ploughed two times, once before raining and again after raining. In the month of August when the paddy plants become one or two feet high they transplant in the prepared paddy field. Besides paddy they also produce *til*, sugar-cane, etc.

The Binjhals do not purchase much things from outside except a few, such as salt, kerosene, cloth, dryfish, tobacco etc. Fuel is collected from the jungle. They use one type of oil, prepared from the seed of "Mahul". This is known as *tol oil*.

The economic condition of the Binjhals is not so poor as that of jungle tribe whose economy is based on hunting or crude type of agriculture. The Binjhals have adopted advanced type of agriculture. They have irrigation facilities and they know the use of manuring. Their life is secured.

Concluding Remarks—The Binjhals are an advanced and civilized tribe who have resemblance in appearance, dress, customs and economic standard with the non-tribals of Sambalpur district. They are well advan-

ced in agriculture and more or less self-sufficient in comparison with other caste people. School education is gaining ground. After some years they may be confused with the non-tribals.

KOYA

P. K. Mohapatra

The Koyas constitute the principal tribe of Malkangiri, and are most widely distributed throughout this area. But it can be discerned that the Koyas gradually thin down as we go towards the east and north-eastern region. Their concentration is limited to the entire southern portion and some portions in the north up to Mattili lying at a distance of 29 miles north of Malkangiri, where they come in contact with the Ronas and Bhumiya.

The total population of Koyas according to 1961 Census is 55,284. The table below indicates the distribution of the tribe in various districts of Orissa although they are mainly concentrated in the Malkangiri subdivision of Koraput district—

Name of the district	Total population	Male	Female
Koraput ..	53,590	26,428	27,162
Sambalpur ..	383	340	43
Baud-Kandhmal	48	26	22
Ganjam ..	711	355	356
Dhenkanal ..	58	23	35
Puri ..	153	65	88
Keonjhar ..	165	95	70
Mayurbhanj ...	87	40	47
Balasore ..	89	45	44
Total ..	55,284	27,417	27,867

The Koyas of Malkangiri subdivision, though culturally a homogenous group, can be divided into two groups according to the proximity of the local population of the subdivision with whom they come in contact and by whom they have been found profoundly influenced in many respects. The Koyas living north of the subdivisional headquarters up to Mattili and in south up to Manyemkonda are of more primitive nature than the southerners living within villages Mallavaram and Mottu, the southern most point of the subdivision. The Southern Koyas are greatly influenced by the Telugu people who come from adjacent area of Andhra Pradesh and most of the people living at Mottu happen to be Telugu business men.

The Koyas and their country—The Koyas inhabit the Malkangiri subdivision of Koraput district and number about 37,000 according to the 1951 Census. They are scattered all through the southern part of the Malkangiri subdivision which is covered with dense forests and is less hilly than other subdivisions of the district.

Though there has been recent improvements, communication here is still poor. A kacha but motorable road connects the new Malkangiri subdivision with Jeypore town. This road extends up to the southernmost point of the subdivision at Mottu but is accessible only for six months in the year because the rivers and rivulets that cut through it have not yet been bridged. There are also similar kacha road which go round the western and eastern boundary of the Malkangiri subdivision.

The Koya villages—The Koya villages are situated on patches of clearings in the midst of forests. Approach to the villages are by narrow foot paths diverging from the kacha road. There are also villages which lie on the side of this kacha road.

There is no specific demarcation to indicate the approach to a village but in the northern part of the Koya region approach to a village is indicated by the presence of a cluster of stone pillars of "Urs Kik" raised in memory of the dead ancestors. Split bamboo-fencing of gardens also indicate the presence of a village nearby. The villages vary in size, largest village may consist of 25 to 30 houses and the smallest often of 4 to 5 houses. In every village, one will find two or more clusters of houses indicating the late or early settlers of the village. The Koyas very often shift from one village to another either in search of new land or for fear of supernatural elements which cause, as they believe, natural calamities to their health and prosperity.

Each house consists of one or two small huts which are used as sleeping rooms. The walls of a house are made of branches of trees and bamboos which are thickly plastered with mud.

The roofs are thatched with a type of jungle grass collected by the Koya from the nearby jungles which is locally known as "Sindi". The houses are rectangular in size and are partitioned into rooms by means of walls of bamboos plastered with mud. As the house has no windows it is always dark inside and the oven is situated in one corner of this house where the Koya women cook their meals. The boundary of each house site is demarcated by fencing made of bamboo splits neatly woven. Apart from the sleeping rooms there are raised small sheds for pigs, goats and fowls. Sometimes pigs also share the same house with the men. Attached to the house there is always a verandah almost on all sides. This serves the purpose of sitting and doing domestic work. The southern most part of Malkangiri Taluk where the Koya have been much influenced by Telugu people, one finds the verandah of more elaborate nature. They are sometimes 3 feet high. The Koya do not have separate store rooms. The grain and collections are stored under the roof over a shelf inside the sleeping rooms. The shelves are made of bamboos and wooden pillars.

In each village there happens to be one Bijagudi or 'House of God'. This is not always situated inside the village. Sometimes, the Bijagudi is situated near the village boundary or sometimes before the house of his 'Peda' or the chief. Besides, there are places which are taken to be sacred, such as a group of Mahul tree in or near a village where the villagers worship "Gudimata" the village goddess.

In each village there is a house which is used by the unmarried girls of a village for sleeping and gossiping at night. But this practice is probably going

out of vogue. In some villages like Dharmapalli and Sikapalli the investigator found no particular house being used for this purpose. The boys sleep in their respective houses.

Each house has attached to it a garden where the Koya grows tobacco, mustard and vegetables. These gardens are always either behind or near the house of the owner. Maize and millets are also grown in the garden. The roofs of almost all houses are seen covered with creepers of vegetables. "Sikud Koya" or the beans are planted by every Koya in his garden or near his house.

Among the trees that are found in Koya village are "Ik" or Mahul (*Bassia latifolia*). "Salpa" (*Caryota urens*) which are very common. When a patch of clearing is made all the trees are felled except Mahul trees. The investigator found these trees in abundance in the northern part of the Koya area. Towards the southern-most part of the Koya country these are rare but a large number of palm trees are found. All these trees provide liquor to the Koya without which, they say, they cannot survive. A Koya can pull on without food for few days but not without such liquor.

The wide open spaces before each house is used by the Koyas for their cattle. The cattle are tethered by long ropes to posts or trunks of a nearby trees. The Koyas do not have sheds owned either by individuals or groups. The cattle are always exposed to the weather.

Language

The language spoken by the Koyas belong to the Gondi dialect of the Dravidian group. This dialect also differs among the two groups of the north and the south. To certain extent the difference may be adduced to the fact that the vocabulary of the Koyas is very limited; thus they depend on the major lingua franca of the region in which they live. There have been incorporation of Telugu and Hindi and Oriya words in the language of the southern and northern Koyas respectively. This was gathered from the Koya students of Gompakonda Ashram School where the southern and northern Koya boys live together and find the difference in their respective dialects.

From above descriptions it is evident that the Koyas of the two regions of the subdivision are more or less similar linguistically, the slight differences being due to contact with Oriya or Telugu speakers. The southerners have been much influenced in dress, ornaments and hair style by the Telugus while the northerners have retained their primitiveness to a great extent.

Social Organisation

Family—The family may be taken as the smallest unit of social grouping in the Koya society. A family is called 'Lotam' in Koya language. It includes the parents and their children and in a way follows the Hindu joint family system by including the brothers with their wives and their respective children. In fact, a family consists of the parents, their adult sons, with their wives and children and unmarried daughters. Sometimes the family also includes the "Olaam" or the gharjuain who stays in his father's-in-law house with his wife. This is the form of marriage by service. As soon as the sons become adult and married they build up their own houses round the parent house to live separately with their wives but the cooking for the whole family is made in one place. If any of the adult son wants to be separated he asks his father to give him some land to put up separately from the rest of the family. This process is gradually becoming common among the Koyas. Example may be given of Madkam Masa, peda of the village Sikapalli, who is staying with his two sons and the other two being completely separated from them and are putting up in their separate establishments. There are many other instances which can be cited to show that the joint family system is gradually diminishing, the causes of which should be studied elaborately.

Though monogamy is the rule, many Koya families are found based on the system of polygynous marriage. As the expenses of getting a bride is high majority of the Koya cannot afford to marry more than one wife. A wealthy Koya can afford to marry three to four wives. The head man of village Sikapalli has married three wives out of which one is dead and the other two are living. Madkam Bojja (36), son of headman, has two wives. Madkam Dewa (38) who is also wealthy, has married two wives one of whom died years back and the other is living. On enquiry it was found that polygynous marriage in the Koya society was possible for those who were economically better off than others. Usually two considerations are made by those who marry more than one wife. One is that, they get sufficient economical help from the wives as womenfolk in the Koya society take immense part in the pattern of economic activities of the Koya people. Secondly, it is a rein fortument of the source of gratification for sexual urge because in many cases the wives are older in age than the husband, and become old when the husband is still possessing youth and vigour. Besides, a Koya feels himself a man of position and status by marrying more than one wife.

Units of Kingroup

The Koyas distinguish between two types of kin groups which they call as 'Kutumam' or the consanguineal kin and the "wiwalwand" or the affinal kin. A consanguineal kin of a person belongs to the same phratry of the person. There are five such phratries present in the Koya society. They are 1. Kowasi, 2. Odi or Sodi, 3. Madkam, 4. Madi, 5. Padiam. A Kawasi can take a wife from any of the four remaining phratries other than his own. Similarly, any person belonging to a particular phratry can choose a wife from the rest of the groups. A person can not marry a girl of the same phratry to which he belongs because all persons in that group are believed to have blood relationship with the person even though the person is not known to them and they live widely apart from each other. As such, when a man goes in search of a bride he is asked as to which phratry or 'Katta' he belongs to. This is because a phratry consists of a number of clans with different names some of which are detailed below:—

Edukatta Phratry	Kawasi, Duber, Emala, Wanzamir, Korsta, Witer.
Aidukata Phratry	Sodi, Wika, Galir, Gontpontalewar, Ganget, Lawar, Dagulwar, Pittalwar.
Mulkatta Phratry	Madkam, Durwa, Madiam, Tai, Mottum, Dharmu, Pondur, Jondor, Joder, Undmir, Kalmu, Turramir.
Parengotta Phratry	Jelir, Oyemir, Madir, Darer, Pujsemir, Punyem, Bogar.
Perumboi Phratry	Omrar, Alwa, Bandam, Kurram, Padiam, Wetir, Kanjaru, Kunja, Kokral, Kattam, Ondi, Rova, Kotam.

The above informations were collected from village Mallavaram and Mottu which is the region of southern Koyas.

The Koya system of Marriage

Koya marriage or 'Pendul' is one of the important social functions without which a man has no place in the society. For Koyas marriage is a necessity because they have to perpetuate their generations and satisfy the biological need of sexual urge. Moreover, wife is one indispensable partner in all spheres of their life and from a study of the division of labour on the basis of sex it becomes evident that a Koya can not do without a wife in the ordinary day to day life. The Koyas attach little or no importance to the physical beauty of a girl for marrying. The criteria for a coveted wife

are her sound health and capability of undertaking arduous labour in economical as well as social activities. The criteria for a good husband lie in the fact of his being able to support the family and having a large number of cows and bullocks physically tall and healthy.

Freedom in the selection of spouse is very much limited and it is only the parents who take initiative for marriage negotiation. Where freedom is exercised by any girl or boy the form of marriage bears a different name which is tolerated but after a much complicated method concerning the payment of compensation which will be discussed later. The commonly practised form of marriage is known simply as '*Pendul*'. The system of marriage in which a boy carries off a girl with the help of his friends while she is in forest or field is known as "*Karsu pendul*" or "the marriage where compensation has to be paid to the bride's father." The other form where a girl having previous connection with a boy, comes forcibly to the boy's house to stay is called "*Lon-udi-wata*" marriage. In this case the bride-price which is to be paid to the bride's father is much less than that of other forms of marriage, because she enters the groom's house according to her own will and without the consent of parents. In the case where a boy carries off a girl he has to gather directly or indirectly the consent of the girl. Then he tells his father of his motive and if his father gives consent he brings down the girl to his house with the help of his friends. The bride's father demands the boy compensation amounting to rupees three hundred, one she-calf for the girl's maternal uncle, 'chhada' or cloth for the mother of the girl. Out of rupees three hundred, rupees eighty are given to the bride's father for his own villagers because they help him in realising the compensation from the other party. The villagers make a feast in it.

The age for marriage is fixed at the maturity of both the sexes. The Koyas think a boy attains maturity when hairs develop in his armpit and mustaches come up. Usually these things happen when a boy is of age twelve to thirteen. Hence the marriageable age for boys start from the age thirteen. For girl marriageable age begins when she has attained puberty (*etarta*) irrespective of her age. Hence the age of wives are found to be more than their husbands. Many instances can be cited to show that the husbands are younger in age than wives. This is one of the important reasons as to why the Koyas practise polygyny. Wives lose the urge for sex when their husbands are still youthful. But this is not always the case. The problem arises when a nubile girl marries a bridegroom who has not actually attained maturity but is thought to have attained it. This is because of the early development of sexual

hairs. In this case the wife has to wait till her husband becomes fully grown up to perform sexual intercourse with her. She sleeps with her husband and is expected to remain chaste but actually it does not happen so. Rare instances are found of an adolescent boy marrying an infant bride in which case the boy has to wait till she is matured to come and stay with him.

Marriage ceremony.

Social Customs—Marriages—Koya marriages (*Pendul*) begin soon after the first harvest is over and continues till the month of April. In the selection of the bride preference is given to maternal uncle's 'daughter' (*Erupiki*) or father's sister's daughter ("Erupiki") This is the generally approved form of marriage. There is another form of marriage known as "*Karsupendul*" or marriage where compensation has to be paid to the bride's father because the bride is forcibly taken by the groom. On the day of marriage the bride is brought to the groom's house accompanied by her friends and relatives. Villagers from distant places come to dance in the marriage ceremony even without being invited. They are given rice beer ("*landa*") to drink and some ration for food. The Koyas perform the ceremonial dance wearing bison horns on their heads.

Child Training and Education.

The Koyas are not able to understand the physiological phenomena of birth and to co-relate between sexual intercourse and conception. When a woman is conceived, it is thought that god has put the child inside the mother's womb. A pregnant woman carries on her routine work till the expected month of delivery when she is taken to a hut erected behind the main house. After six to seven days of delivery of the child she returns to her home. Delivery is assisted by some experienced woman of the village.

Naming ceremony is done after a few days of the birth of the child. It is interesting to note that the names of the Koyas are very much limited in number and in a single village more than one people are found bearing same name. This may be due to the way in which names are given. A child is put in cradle and some rice is put into the closed palms of the child. The shaman goes on telling names that comes to his mind. When the baby opens the palms and rice is thrown down the name uttered by the shaman at that particular time is given to the baby. Sometime the practice differs. The shaman makes the baby crying while it is in the cradle. The shaman goes on telling the names. When the baby sleeps and stops crying the name uttered at that time is given to the

baby. The Koyas have a belief in the reincarnation of life. A grandfather is supposed to be born as grandson i.e., a person's son. As such the names of the grandfather are seen being given to the grandson.

The Koyas divide the period from the birth of a child to the end of weaning period into seven stages. They are—

1. Ukadta Unzito (The period of sleeping in cradle).
2. Kapmundita (Rolling from one side to the other).
3. Kudigaitite (To crawl in a sitting position)
4. Marmindan (To crawl on all fours)
5. Tagse Duder (To walk with the help of a bamboo made frame).
6. Gundu Gundu (Little running) minite.
7. Gati Mirito (Running fast)

When a child reaches the last mentioned stage he leaves suckling of mother's breast and learns to speak and is helped by the mother to know names of kings. Till seven years of age mother takes entire responsibility of a child by way of caretaking. Till the end of weaning period a child is treated with kindness and after that period he is lightly coerced if his impulse is found unruly. Fathers generally do not beat their daughters when they are above twelve. Mothers generally do not beat their sons when they are above twelve and become grown-up. The boys and girls are expected to show proper behaviour to others even before they reach the stage of maturity.

Till the age of six neither boys nor girls use any cloth to hide their genitals but soon after that mothers teach them the way of wearing '*Chil wudsa*', to both boys and girls. When the girls reach the age of nine or ten they know wearing of '*Golad udsa*', the way in which women folk wear their clothes. The boys wear loin cloths, the way in which the men folk wear their cloths. The Koya boys use to learn their traditional knowledge of making bows and arrows and other things early even before they are adolescents. They prepare miniature bows and arrows (*Juri*) and play with them. A group of boys play the '*Jurikarsitor*' game but aim to a particular place. Either they divide themselves into two groups or two boys play at a time. When a boy misses an aim the arrow is

taken away by the winner. It is interesting to note that small boys of even age ten to twelve possess the power of accurately aiming at a particular spot. As a matter of fact the boys in a group go for hunting small birds, if they happen to find any, bring them, and eat after roasting them in fire.

Religious beliefs—

The Koyas have incorporated a number of Hindu gods and goddesses into their pantheon and the local Hindu gods and goddesses at Manyem Konda, Bezangwada, Mariwada and Malkangiri are worshipped by the Koyas. They also fear and worship the goddess of smallpox as is done by the local Hindu population. Smallpox is not regarded as a disease and a person affected by smallpox goes to the '*Perma*' or the priest of the village who makes offering to that goddess for propitiation and cure.

The belief in the cult of Village Mother (*Gudi Mata*) and the cult of Earth (*Bhum*) is most common. In religious ceremonies, offering are made to their goddesses for good harvest of all crops and the eradication of disease and natural calamities.

The religious ceremonies which are observed by the Koyas are mainly four. They are '*Bijja pandu*', *Kodta pandu*, *Bumud Pandu* and *Idu or Ikk Pandu*'. *Bijja pandu* is observed in the month of *Semiti* corresponding to months of *Baisakh* and *Jeystha* when the earth goddess is worshipped with offering of cock, pig, eggs and mango. Goddess is requested by the Priest to render a good harvest. Seeds of paddy are also placed before the goddess believing that those seeds will become good one by the divine touch. Mango is eaten ceremonially during this festival. Ceremonial hunting (*Bijja weta*) is also done after this festival. Work during this festival is taboo. In the month of *Kani* (*Bhadrab-Aswain*) the *Kurram Pandu* is observed when suan is eaten ceremonially. New rice eating ceremony is observed in the month of *Dashara* (*Aswin-Kartik*). *Sikud Pandu* or the new bean eating ceremony is observed in the month of *Dewad* (*Kartik-Margasir*). *Bimud Pandu* or the worshipping ceremony of Rain god is observed in the month of *Magh* (*Magh-Phalgun*). This festival is observed just after the completion of harvest of all types of crops. Two small clay models of raingod and his wife will be made and kept under a Mahul tree over a stone on the festive day. The villagers with the priest and the headman will gather on the spot and the villager carry crops of all types to the spot. The priest after worshipping the god fills the empty baskets with crops and this is followed by the headman and the villagers. An unmatured girl is made to stand

in between the Nayak and the priest. The villagers throw water over them and laugh saying the marriage of rain god is over today (Gajje Binud Pendul nend Terta). Then begin ceremonial dancing and singing.

Economic activities

The Koyas were primarily shifting cultivators. But now-a-days due to various reasons they have taken to settled cultivation. Their method of cultivation indicates their poor knowledge about wet cultivation. In the beginning of the rainy season, they plough their fields once or at best twice and sow seeds. When the plants grow up to a certain height they store water in the fields and pay no further attention till harvest. As a result of this they get a very poor yield of crop. As the yield of paddy does not suffice for a family to pull on for the whole year the Koyas resort to other types of food quest, i.e., collection of roots and fruit from the jungle and growing of minor crops like suan, maize and pulse. It is found that collection of roots and fruits substantially helps the Koyas to solve their food problem. The Mahul trees abound in the Koya area and during the months of March and April large quantities of Mahul are collected, dried and stored for future use. During the months from July to September several types of roots are collected from the jungle and eaten.

Just before harvest, villagers go to watch their crops in the field against the depredations of wild animals and birds. The children are also engaged to drive the birds. During the harvest all the families go to their respective 'Ketuls' or the hutments raised near their fields where they spend the whole day and come back to village in the evening. During this season, only old men and women are found in the village during day time.

The Koyas are very fond of hunting. Throughout the year they are found in the forests in the pursuit of wild birds, hares, squirrels and wild rats. In the months of April and May they observe a festival called Bijja Pandu or the sacred seed festival when ceremonial hunting is done for days together. Fishing in the rivers is done communally. They use different types of fishing implements and sometimes use poison for catching fish.

Use of Cattle

The Koyas own large herds of cows and bullocks. Towards the interior regions, one will be surprised to see a family possessing three to four hundred heads of cattle. The Koyas do not properly maintain their cattle wealth. No shed is constructed for them and they are exposed to weather throughout the year.

The forest near by are used as grazing field of the cattle and no other steps are taken to feed them.

According to the traditional system, Chom or wealth means cattle because a Koya without cattle has no status in the society. No marriage can take place without cattle which are given to the bride's father as bride price. Secondly the cattle are used as a means for purchase of clothing and other necessary household articles. Now-a-days direct barter of cattle for any purchase has grown less common and cattle are sold against payment of money which is used in purchasing other things. Thirdly, the cattle are used for ploughing fields and cows are no exception. Fourthly, the oxen and cows are slaughtered as offerings in funeral and other festivals. Lastly the cattle provide quantities of beef which the Koyas eat.

The Koyas seldom milk their cows. They say that the calves will die if the cows are milked every now and then. During rainy season the cows are milked, and from the milk, the Koyas make a little curd and butter. They do not prepare ghee as other people do.

THE LEADERS OF KOYA SOCIETY

Concluding remarks

The peda or Headman—Leadership, both political and social revolves round the headman of each village. Until recently, as mentioned elsewhere, he had certain economic prerogatives which made him virtually all powerful in a village. Even in religious matters he is the first man to take initiative to ask the priest and villagers to perform religious ceremonies on various occasions.

Usually the office of headman is hereditary. After the death of a headman his eldest son becomes the headman of the village. But this is subject to certain conditions. Certain attributes must be fulfilled by the new headman. He must be a good and impartial man. He must be able to voice the difficulties of the villagers before any government official that visits their village. He must be wise in making decision in case of various type of disputes. In these days the headman is expected to know little Oriya so as to be able to converse with Oriya Officers and tradesmen. In every Koya village the headman are found to be wealthier than others. He may not be the wealthiest man but wealth and richness are always factors for enabling a man to become the headman. Although the office of headman is succeeded by the eldest son this principle is not always adhered to. If the eldest son does not satisfy the conditions mentioned above preference is given to the next son if he is found capable. It was also gathered that if the headman has

no son to succeed him preference is then given to his brother's son. In the absence of any of such relations the priest of the village is selected for succeeding the headman in addition to his office of religious leadership of the village.

The headman of each village takes decision with regard to disputes that arise within that village. He asks for the elders of the village to sit round him and both parties involved in a quarrel sit before the headman each occupying a side. Headman also sits in the 'Kula Panchayat', Panchayat of a particular clan, even though he does not belong to that clan. In a Kula Panchayat members of that Kula or clan can only sit and discuss about a disputed matter concerning an incest. By virtue of being the headman of that village he is asked to decide any dispute that arises within his own village.

The decision made by the headman of a village is never challenged. No instances could be gathered with regard to a headman who has ever been unjust and unpopular. If a headman becomes unpopular due to some reason the villagers sit together and select another man. It is reported somewhere that the people of a village sit together once a year to discuss about the headman's activities. The headman sits listening to what the people discuss. If he is abused or deprecated for some reason he tries to rectify himself accordingly. This occasion is known as 'Pdea Gudam'. In village Mallavaram the author was told that in their area when a new headman is selected a ceremonial function in this connection is performed by the villagers. A new cloth is wrapped in his head like a turban by the priest of the village and he is taken to the village goddess to swear to remain just and good.

Apart from the village as a political unit there is another wider unit which is known as 'Mutha Panchayat'. A mutha Panchayat consists of members who are headmen of different villages of a particular area. It consists of five headmen of five villages. The Mutha Panchayat controls a number of villages of that region with regards to disputes of serious nature which involve persons of several villages. The members of the Mutha Panchayat are selected by all the headmen of a particular region. Mutha Panchayat mainly deals with cases, like taking away of another's wife by some body which is considered as 'Barhiya tapu' or big crime. The aggrieved person asks the headman of his village to call for the Mutha panchayat to get the compensation from the accused person. Crimes like witchcraft and sorcery are also dealt with by the Mutha Panchayat if it happens to involve persons belonging to more than one villages.

PERMA OR PRIEST

Next to headman the priest of a village who is called 'Perma' or Pujari assumes immense importance as a leader of Koya society. Although his functions are mainly religious the Koyas have a great regard for this leader. He is believed to have power of communication with the supernatural beings and as such, he acts as an intermediary between the human beings and the unseen powers. The Koya like the other primitive people mostly depend upon their religious rituals to get relief from the natural calamities which are believed to be caused by angry gods who need to be propitiated. A bumper crop or a successful hunt is thought to be due to the blessings of their gods. Hence they constantly remain concerned with the supernatural beings with regard to all aspects of their way of life. The priest, as such, is the person who is to attend to all the needs of the supernatural beings by way of worshipping or propitiating them with the help of his villagers.

The office of the priest in a village is usually hereditary. In case the priest dies without leaving an heir, a son of his brother is looked for assuming the post. Before becoming a priest a person has to undergo a series of initiation rituals and is asked to observe sexual continence. He then is taught by another priest of some other village in case his father is dead. During religious festival, like Bijja pandu, Marka pandu and Idu pandu, etc he observes strictly the religious rituals. The night before the festival day, he observes sexual continence and never eats food cooked by a female. He has to fast till worship is over and he is the first man to eat after offerings to god is over. He is invited by the villagers to eat new fruits or drink the liquor first before they enjoy the new fruits or drink and by doing so they think the gods will remain pleased upon them.

Apart from his religious duties he also attends the meetings of village panchayats and always has a say with regard to any type of dispute. He is, of course, treated as one of the village elders in these cases. At the time of the spread of small pox which is believed by the Koyas to be caused by the goddess, the priest gives orders to the villagers to observe certain tabcos.

'Wadde' or Magician

The wadde is a magician who occupies equally important position in Koya society like the headman and the priest. A man becomes wadde not because he is the son of a magician or selected by the villagers but because he is supernaturally bestowed with the

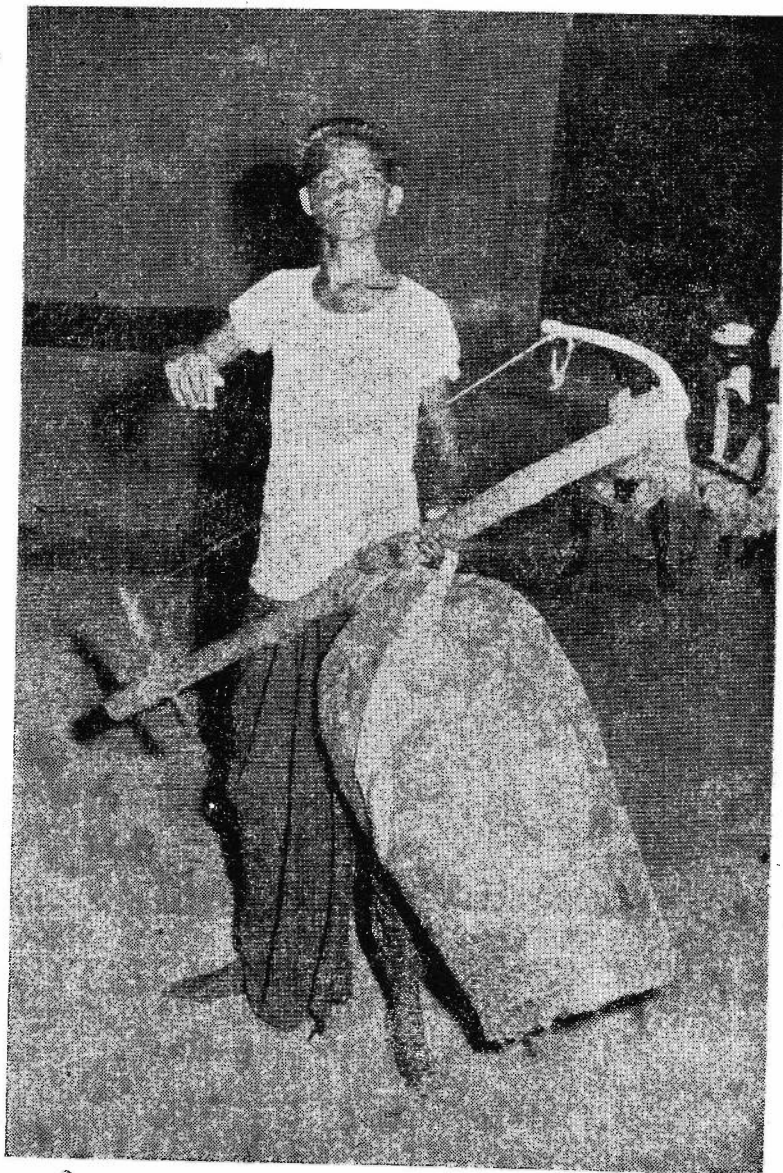
qualities necessary to become a magician. After the birth of a child if 'Jatel' or matted hair is observed on the head of the child he is destined to become a magician in Koya society. From his childhood he is kept under the special care of his parents and certain taboos are observed with regard to his food habits. From his boyhood he is kept under the training of an adult magician who teaches him the ways of doing his duties as a magician.

Like the priest he also possesses power to communicate with the supernatural beings. He differs from the priest by being capable of moulding and keeping under control the supernatural beings to achieve success in his designs. He can take the help of malevolent spirits to cause harm to anybody he hates and as such, he is dreaded by the Koyas. On the other hand he is able to drive away the malevolent spirits with the help of his magical performances. It is a very common affair in the Koya area to find the magicians chanting magical sermons before patients of various types. As a matter of fact most of the diseases are believed by the Koyas to be caused by spirits or angry gods. The Koyas

run to the magicians for immediate help for dealing with such troubles.

As a member of the society he enjoys equal rights with other Koyas in a village. He can marry and lead a life like others in the village in accordance with the social rules and regulations. The Koyas usually bear an ambivalent attitude towards him. He is liked as well as dreaded and as such hated. But his services are believed by the Koyas to be indispensable.

The Katwal—The Katwal is usually considered to be just useful because he helps the headman in assisting him in his work. The headman calls for his help when a meeting of the villagers is to be held. At the time of religious festivals in a village the Katwal goes round the village to call the villagers to gather before the headman to decide the work to be done communally. In matters of intervillage gatherings the Katwal is sent to other villages as a messenger. When an outsider remains in a Koya village the headman makes arrangement for the guest with the help of Katwal. In this way the services of Katwal are also thought to be useful by the Koyas. Apart from this he enjoys equal privilege with others as a member of the society.



SANTAL WITH MUSICAL INSTRUMENT



KANDHA MAN



KANDHA HAIR STYLE

BHUIYAN

Gopinath Satpathy

Introduction

The Bhuiyan tribe is one of the important tribes of Orissa. Here, one finds them in various stages of cultural development from the almost primitive Pauri Bhuiyans of Keonjhar, Bonai and Pallahara to the thoroughly Hinduized Khandayat Bhuiyan families of Bamara and Gangpur ex-State. The term Bhuiya is derived from the Sanskrit word 'Bhumi' meaning 'land'. They consider themselves to be the children and the woners of the land and hence are known as Bhuiyans. Mr. Stirling, Grierson, Russel, Dr. Hutton, Roy, have included this tribe in 'Kol' group, where as Dalton, Mc Pherson have grouped the tribe on the Dravidian side. Taking the racial and cultural affinities into consideration the tribe may be taken under the 'Kol' group and they have been included as such since the census of 1931. The term Bhuyan includes various tribes like Rajuar, Bathudi, etc., but here it means only Pauri, Rajakoli, Khandait and Rautia Bhuiyans excluding Bathudi, etc., which are considered as separate tribes.

Population

The tribe is spread over eleven districts of Orissa. Their total number is 156,878 of which 152,769 live in rural areas and 4,109 constitute the urban population. The districtwise distribution is as follows :—

Name of the district	Male number	Female number	Total population
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
1. Keonjhar ..	26,478	26,208	52,686
2. Sundergarh ..	22,664	22,504	45,168

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
3. Mayurbhanj ..	14,966	14,650	29,616
4. Sambalpur ..	10,339	10,256	20,595
5. Dhenkanal ..	1,965	1,680	3,465
6. Kalahandi ..	1,063	1,045	2,108
7. Balasore ..	551	615	1,166
8. Cuttack ..	536	450	986
9. Koraput ..	187	177	364
10. Puri ..	176	171	347
11. Bolangir ..	110	49	159
12. Phulbani ..	20	18	38
Total ..	79,055	77,823	156,878

Language

They are a much acculturated tribe as a whole and have adopted the languages of the regions they inhabit. The Bhuiyans of Orissa speak Oriya and it appears that they have no other tribal language of their own. The Pauris pronounce the Oriya terms peculiarly, whereas the plain Bhuiyans speak like local Oriyas around them.

Social Organisation

The tribe is divided into a number of endogamous divisions, of which the old Bhuiyans give an exhaustive list. Some of the so-called divisions are not noticed

in Orissa. Some divisions like 'Hake Bhuiyan', 'Dake Bhuiyan' are mere nick names. A few divisions like Rajuar, Bathudi, Saontia have acquired the status of independent tribes and have been included as such in the Scheduled Tribe list. Leaving aside these divisions, the Bhuiyans proper may be broadly classified into four divisions like (i) Desa Bhuiyan, (ii) Khandait Bhuiyan, (iii) Rajakoli or Rajadi Bhuiyan, (iv) Praja Bhuiyan. The term 'Des' is an all inclusive term for the primitive sections of the Bhuiyans, of which the genuine Pauri Bhuiyan of the hills is the typical representative. They adopt the 'banghy' or 'wooden carrying pole', as their *Santak* where as the other sections have either the sword or the axe for their *Santak*. There is further division in this Pauri on the basis of their acculturation and absorption of Hindu cultural elements into their culture. Koida Bhuiyan, Sadari Bhuiyan and Pauri Bhuiyan of Bonai may serve as an example in this respect. Those plain Bhuiyans whose ancestors had once formed part of the militia of the ex-States, are known as Khandayat or Paik Bhuiyans. The Paraja Bhuiyans known as 'Rautali' are mainly agriculturists. The Rajkoli Bhuiyans are alleged to be descendants of the Raj family from Bhuiyan concubines. The Praja Bhuiyans, Paik Bhuiyans, and Rajkoli Bhuiyans are together known as Plain Bhuiyans who have subdivision amongst them known severally as 'Eksai-gharia', 'Panchsai-gharia,' etc.

The Pauri Bhuiyans are said to have no clans. But they have village exogamy. Dr. Pattanaik in his article on Paudi Bhuiyan has shown that they have a number of clans playing an important role in their marital relation. Khandait Bhuiyans have adopted the Nag, Kachhap gotras after Hindus. They have a number of titles like Padhan, Naik, etc., which are exogamous to certain extent.

The elementary social unit of the tribe is the nuclear family consisting of parents and their children. Extended families are comparatively more amongst the plain Bhuiyans. The family is patrilineal, patrilocal, and patripotestal. The sonless family adopts a boy from one of his agnatic group. Such adopted son enjoys all the rights and privileges of a true son including the right of inheritance. Ownership to all property vests in men and the widow is entitled to maintenance till her death or remarriage.

The next larger unit of their social organisation is the village consisting of families who are regarded as *kutumb* among the Pauris of Hills. The Plain Bhuiyans consider the families of a village of the same

title as agnates. So for a Pauri, villages are known as Bandhu villages and Kutumb villages. The villages with which a Bhuiyan of a village may enter into marital connections are called his Bandhu villages. Every village in case of Pauris, and in a number of villages taken together in case of Khandait or Plain Bhuiyans, there is a secular headman known as Naek or Padhan, a sacredotal head called, Dehuri or Kalo, and a village messenger called Tandakar. Rest villagers are known as Paraja. These posts are hereditary. In case of the death of heirless Dehuri or Naek, the villagers elect one by adopting a tribal test known as *Punji* (throwing of rice). The Naek is the guide, the representative of the villagers in their relations with outsiders, the judge of the village Panchayat, and the commandant for any fight. The Dehuri performs worship and takes active part in judicial, political, and social matters with the Naek. He fixes the date for hunting expedition, and other public worships. Especially, when any one commits the guilt of killing a cow knowingly or accidentally, and of keeping a non-Bhuiyan female as a mistress, the Naek and the Dehuri jointly pass the sentence of ex-communication, fix the quantity of foodgrain and fine to be paid by the guilty for restoration.

According to S. C. Roy "The Pauri village community is not only bound together by bond of blood relationship and common worship of the village deities but it is also an economic, social and quasi-political organisation".

The village organisation and the importance of the secular head among the Plain Bhuiyans have decayed to a considerable extent due to the incorporation of Panchayati Raj of the Government.

Superimposed on the village organisation is the wider organisation of the *Bar* in the Pauri country of *Pragana* in Koida, and of *Deśa* in the Plain Bhuiyan country. The villages of the Pauri country are grouped for socio-political purposes into several Bars, each Bar consisting of a number of villages. The elders of the villages constituting the *Bar* meet in *Bar-Panchayats* with the object to restore an ex-communicated Pauri into the society or to incorporate a non-Pauri into the community. Each Bar has its public servants known as Bhandari, Behera, Dhoba of its own. The Bhandari notifies the date of gathering, summons the people, and shaves the social offender. The Behera does purificatory rites and the Dhoba washes the clothes of the offender's family. A feast is given at the expense of the offender to the assembled guests. Each Bar has a *pat* (some prominent hill or river) which is

regarded as the deity of the Bar. The Bhuiyans of Koida have no Bar organisation but the entire Pragana constitutes one unit having *Garhnaek* as leader and *simesvari* Pat as presiding deity. The Plain Bhuiyans of each Paragana has *Pirs*. Several *Pirs* constitute *Desa* or country. Each *pir* has its own Panchayat, with office bearers as Patnaik or Bhalbhai, Panigrahi, Chatia or Dakoa. These posts are honorary and hereditary. The *Chatia* is the messenger, the Bhalbhai is the president, and the Panigrahi eats the first morsel of food at a tribal feast. At these Panchayats, generally matters relating to adultery, and marriage with socially unapproved mates, woman slaughter, causing death to cow (*go-badh*) and contamination of leprosy *machiapatak* are adjudicated.

When such Panchayat fails to decide a question, the matter is referred to a higher tribunal known as *Danti Sabha* in Mayurbhanj and *Gaddy Sabha* in Keonjhar, Pallahara and Bonai. The President of *Danti Sabha* is the tribal head of entire Pragana known as *Mahapatra*. In case of *Gaddy Sabha*, there is no such president and the most intelligent guides the deliberations. Reformative measures for the entire community are discussed and are passed at this large gatherings.

Such all wide tribal gathering for socio-political purposes is not seen among the Pauris but now they have started to assemble in a religious festival of Kanto-Kauri at Bonaigarh, once in a year. Topics of social interest have begun to be informally considered there.

Boys and girls sleep with their parents till about their 7th or 8th years, after which they are admitted into their respective dormitories. The boy's dormitory is called Mandagarh or Darbargarh and that of the girls is known as Dhangriabasa. Mandagarh and Dhangriabasa are close to each other. The unmarried boys and girls of a village sleep in their respective dormitories. Where separate house for girls are not found, they sleep together in the hut of a lone widow. The boys are trained in habits of obedience, and are instructed in their duties, in dancing and singing. One or two elder boys acts as leaders. They chatise the other boys when they neglect in their duty. The older boys exercise authority over the younger ones and distribute the work of fetching water, cleaning the floor, and bringing woods, etc., amongst the younger ones. The leaders decide the villages to which they will go for dancing on a particular day. Similarly the elder girls exercise authority over younger girls and instruct them to perform their duties.

This organisation is breaking down. At certain places among the Pauris, these are no more seen. At certain places, one married man known as Dangoa is selected to act as the leader and supervisor of the bachelors. Similarly an elderly woman acts as the guide for the maidens.

Among the Plain Bhuiyans, this institution is completely lost. They have started Jubak Sangh and Kirtan Mandals in their villages. Membership to such organisations is open to all irrespective of their tribe, caste and age.

Life Cycle

The Bhuiyans at the commencement of each successive stage in the life cycle perform some ritual just to relieve the individual from the spiritual influences and to make the new state of life safe and prosperous.

An expected mother observes certain precautions like avoiding the visit to the jungles, hills, cremation grounds, etc. in order to protect herself and the child from spiritual influences. In case of difficult labour, vows are made to Dharam Deota, and Basumata by the head of the family and the vows are fulfilled just after the birth of the child. No male is permitted to enter the chamber during pains and before delivery. The naval cord is cut with an arrow in case of a male child, and with a knife or splinter of bamboo in case of girl issue, by the father's mother and is buried by her outside the house. The mother observes some restriction in her diet and is given rice and *nim* to eat for a length of time. The ceremonial impurity of the woman is removed by part. On the 8th day, after the clothes are washed, she is allowed to touch water but she cannot cook. On the day of name giving ceremony the old earthen pots are thrown out. Relatives are given a feast on the day of final purification which usually takes place after 4 to 5 months of the birth of the issue. Her husband is even disallowed from approaching the seat of dieties till that day. The name giving ceremony is performed in between 8th to 20th day by the selection of a name through a tribal test. A grain of sesamum together with a grain of rice is dropped into the water of a jug and the name of certain relatives of the child is pronounced one by one. The name of the relative at whose call the rice floats, is selected as the name of the new-born baby.

The Plain Bhuiyans, on the other hand observe *Sathi* on 6th day, Barjatra on 12th day, and *Ekoisia* on the 21st day of the birth like the Hindu neighbours. Final purification is done on 21st day. Names are given by choice in consultation with the astrologer.

They have adopted the Hindu custom of ceremonial feeding of the child. They perform the ceremony on the 4th month. Some elderly member of the family puts into the mouth of the child a little *khiri* (rice boiled with milk) after offering the same to gods. Feast is given to relatives.

The first hair cutting ceremony is performed within 2 to 5 months after the birth. The maternal uncle shaves the hair and casts them into water. He is given a feast and a drink. The child's ears are perforated at the age of 4 to 5 years by his paternal grandmother in case of Pauris and by the barber in case of Plain Bhuiyans.

A menstruating woman is considered impure and unclean for a week, when she is not allowed to cook or touch water. On 8th day, she washes her clothes in ash and hot water, anoints her body with oil and turmeric paste and takes bath.

Some Pauris and almost all Plain Bhuiyans are observing thread ceremony at the time of marriage but no ceremony is associated with accepting thread and the wearer is not to observe any special rule with regard to food and drink.

The Bhuyans adopt both infant and adult marriage. Marriage among them is endogamous so far as the four main divisions are concerned but exogamous so far as Kutumbs or agnat are concerned. The villages for matrimonial purposes are classified as Kutumb and Bandhu villages. In certain areas, the Pauris have developed clan system to regulate their marriage. The plain Bhuyans have clans but the clans are not exogamous. The only restriction on marriage, is that there can be no marital tie, between a couple, if any agnatic relationship is traced between them. They have different titles like Sahu, Thakur. Though intermarriage between members of the same title of a village is prohibited, there is no bar to have such tie within the members of the same title living in other villages. Cross cousin marriage is preferred. Polygamy is allowed, though monogamy is the rule. In case of barrenness, and inability to assist in agriculture pursuits, second wife is accepted. Four forms of marriage, such as *Mangi bibha*, *Dharipara*, *Jhika* *Phulkhosi*, are recognised in the society. *Dharipara* and *Jhinka* are love marriages between adults. *Phulkhosi* marriage is a compulsory marriage. *Mangibibha* in some cases is a love marriage and in other, the partners are selected by their gurdians. Widow marriage known as *Randi Bibha* is also in vogue. The *mangibibha* marriage is an imitation of the Hindu custom and occurs largely among the Plain Bhuiyans.

Bride price is ever demanded and is paid. Among the advanced folk, money is being paid as bride price instead of payment in kind like cow, goat, etc.

(i) *Dharipara marriage*—During the dances in Bandhu villages, girls and boys fall in love with each other. The girl presents the cob of the maize, and the boy gives one of his necklaces. The acceptance of the articles constitutes them *Phulmitros* and no other boy will make love to the girl. During these visits the affianced young persons meet at markets, when the girl presents her sweet heart with eatables such as cakes, etc., and the boy gives her wooden combs. At a later visit, he seizes his sweet heart and clopes with her. At the boundary of his village, they wait. Some elderly women of the family mark their heads with turmeric paste and take them home. They perform *Hanri-sara ceremony* by inviting relatives, and offering Jau, and other delicacies. In such marriage, no bride price is payable at the time. But on the birth of a child or at any time within 12 years from the marriage the customary bride price of three oxen, five *khandis* of paddy, two pieces of cloth are given to the bride's parents.

(ii) *Jhika or Ghincha Marriage*—The boy expresses his desire to marry such and such a girl before his parents, who in their turn send some relatives to ascertain the willingness of her parents. If the parents agree, they say, "*Ghichi Kari laijeba*". On a suitable day, the bridegroom goes to the jungle with his friends. Similarly, the bride accompanied with some other girls is sent to the jungle on the pretext of gathering fuel or leaves, etc. The bridegroom seizes his bride-elect and tries to escape. The companions of the bride make a faigned attempt for her rescue. There ensues a fight between the two groups when the bride and bridegroom escape to the bridegroom's place.

Being informed of the incident, the girl's father and relatives go to the jungle, and make mock search. Finally they go to the bridegroom's place and demand "blood for blood". With due submission, the boy's people admit the fact and promise to pay the bride price within a year. A feast is given at the spot.

The bride and bridegroom are taken home, anointed with turmeric paste and oil, clothed with yellow cloth. *Harrisara* ceremony is performed then and there.

After that the *Juharpani* ceremony is performed when both stand on a yoke, and female relatives pour water mixed with turmeric paste on their heads,

Wives of the bridegroom's brother and cousins besmear them with mud.

A year or so later, the parents of the bride are invited to take the bride price and a feast is arranged for the purpose.

(iii) *Phulkhusi*—If a maiden does not accept the love of a youngman, he manages to insert in her hair a bunch of white flower. This amounts to her betrothal and no other youth may claim her hand. When afterwards, the girl agrees, marriage is performed as is the case with Jhika form. If reconciliation is not made, the girl can only marry to another man after going through ceremonies appropriate for a widow marriage.

(iv) *Mangi Bibha*—In this form the parents take initiative to contact the father of the girl for his willingness through an intermediary. A party pays a visit to her place and when the girl's parents agree to their desire they put on the brass ring on her right ring finger. The customary bride price is too heavy and differs from locality to locality. In Bonai, one cow for the bride's mother, two bullocks, one for her father and the other for her maternal uncle, two goats, five pieces of cloth, one rupee for her mother and some amount of rice and paddy are usually paid.

Later on, on an appointed day, she is brought to her husband's place through a procession. The women wash the feet of the guests. The Dehuri gives offerings to Earth-goddess, Sun, and Ancestor spirits invoking them to bless the new couple. The Dehuri marks the forehead of the couple with turmeric paste and sprinkles *Arua* rice on them. The couple have their nails paired and are conducted to the platform. On this platform, the couple sit upon a yoke and are bathed in water brought by married females. They put on clothes dyed yellow with turmeric and their faces are anointed.

Then follows feast with dance and music for 3 days and nights.

The widow can remarry. The younger brother of the deceased has the first right to keep her. If the widow desires to marry another man, she loses all right and authority. No particular ceremony is held for the purpose or any bride price is paid.

The plain Bhuiyans have modified their marriage ritual after their Hindu brothers. The use of Brahmin, barber on such occasions is definitely a Hindu borrowing.

A Bhuiyan may divorce his wife for her habitual neglect in her duties or frequent quarreling with her husband or carrying on an intrigue. Wife is made over to her parents and the relatives are informed of the fact of divorce. The divorced wife may remarry just like a widow without any ceremony and bride price.

Death and Mortuary Rites

When an individual falls ill, they consult Rauria (a spirit doctor). Dehuri makes offerings to the Gods and Goddesses. When all these remedies fail and the sick dies, the corpse is laid with its head to the south and is besmeared with oil and turmeric paste. After the corpse is taken out, the court-yard and the floor are cleaned. Both forms such as cremation, and burial are practised for disposing of the dead. Persons dying of cholera, smallpox, or of snake bite or of pregnancy are buried. In case of burial, the corpse is laid in a pit of six feet long and 3 feet deep on its left side with its head to the south and face to the west. The eldest son throws a handful of earth into the grave. Others follow him. Three pieces of wood are placed on it and the pit is covered with earth. Pieces of stones are piled over the grave and over the stones, thorny twigs and bushes are spread. In case of cremation, the corpse is laid on the funeral pile with its head to the south, and the eldest son puts fire to it, and others follow him. On their return from the burial ground, they have their nails pared, and the hair round the scalp shaved. The clothes are washed and a feast is given on 11th day. From the day of burial till this day, a son of the deceased carries a leaf-cup of boiled rice to the boundary of the village and puts it down on the ground for the nourishment of the spirit of the deceased. On the day of purification at noon, a party goes to the crossing of two roads, cleans the ground with cowdung and offers a little unboiled rice and turmeric powder to the ancestor spirits. They bring back a red ant or white ant or a leaf or a grain of rice from the spot and come home. They let loose the worm or leaf or rice on the floor of the kitchen.

After the death ceremony, the shades of the dead is called back to the house. At sunset a party of relatives proceeds in the direction of the grave, one man carrying a new earthen vessel containing rice, another carrying an earthen vessel containing cooked goat's flesh, and another taking two sticks or one stick and one brass cup. At cross road of the boundary, the vessel containing the flesh is smashed into pieces and the deceased is called back. It is believed that the dead does come and enter the vessel containing rice

flour. The vessel is brought back home. Some one examines the flour to note the foot print of the animal which is believed to have carried the spirit on its back. Somethings resembling the foot-print of an elephant, or of a cow, is always imagined. A fowl is offered to the ancestor spirits. Some agnates put rice on a leaf plate and offer the same to the dead spirits of the past and finally to the recent one. It is believed that the deceased is thus reconciled with ancestral Gods.

Festivals

The Bhuiyans perform public feasts and festivals all the year round so as to ensure safety and prosperity in their seasonal occupations. The principal festivals are as follows :—

1. *Magh Jatra* :—This festival marks the termination of the agricultural year and is usually observed in the month of Magh (December-January). A hut is constructed and fire is set on it. The ash is taken by all. Next morning the Dehuri sows a handful of grain over the ash, and two Bhuyans plough the area by themselves. They offer rice and sacrifice few fowls to village deity and Sun God.

The villagers are allowed to cut wood, fell trees, to begin new clearings on their hills tops and to commence fresh agricultural operations only after this ceremonial burning of wood and ploughing and sowing of seed is over.

On this occasion, they make new friends, like Makar, Maitra.

2. *Makar Jatra* — This festival is observed in Koira. The Dehuri offers water, molasses, flower, unboiled rice to a sacred stone known as Nageswar Mahadeb in an open field outside the village. Men dance the Paiki dance to celebrate the occasion.

It is after this festival that old servants are released from their contract and new ones are taken in. People make cake and enjoy in feasting.

3. *Am Nua* :—This festival is observed in the month of Fagun, that is February-March. The day is fixed by Dehuri. He offers *Jau* (rice boiled with mango blossoms) to village deity and Sun God.

All are allowed to eat mango, and new fruits of the season, and to manure the land, after this festival is over.

4. *Akhin Pardhi*—This festival is observed in Chaitra (March-April). This is the annual hunting festival. The day is fixed by the Dehuri. All join in

the expedition. Dehuri offers turmeric to Earth Goddess. The blood of the first hunt is given to Sun God and village deity.

The villagers can hunt in the forest only after this ceremony.

5. *Akhy Muthi*—The ceremonial sowing is done in Baisak (April-May) to ensure good crop for the year. The Dehuri sows some paddy after offering un-boiled rice to Sun, Earth and village deity. Individually, this is also done for their individual benefits. The wet cultivators of plain also worship Laxmi on this occasion.

6. *Asarhi Puja*—This ceremony is observed in Asadh (June-July) to ensure seasonable and abundant rainfall and to have a good harvest. All contribute some paddy to Dehuri who worship the village deity on this occasion and offers a goat and fowl.

7. *Gamha Punai*—This is observed in the month of Sraban (July-August). They feed cattle with salt. At evening, they clean their hoofs, anoint their foreheads with turmeric paste, feed them rice. Lamps are lighted in cowshed.

8. *Nuakhia Festival*—This occasion in the month of Bhadrab (August-September) is intended to make the reaping and the eating of new rice safe. They offer rice, water, molasses to Sun God and cut a few sheaves from their land. These sheaves are suspended from their roofs. After three days, the Dehuri sacrifices a fowl to Sun God. The new rice is boiled and is offered to village deity, ancestral spirits.

9. *Karama Jatra*—This is observed in the month of Kartik, or Asin (October-November). The date is fixed by the Dehuri. The Karama branch is brought by him and is planted before Mandaghar. The girls offer rice, molasses to the plant. They sing story of Karama Raja and Rani. All enjoy the night in dance, feast and music. Next morning the Karama Plant is taken round the village and is immersed in water.

10. *Khala Puja*—When threshing is over, a handful of rice is placed on the threshing floor. New rice beer, and rice flour cakes are offered to ancestral spirits at the threshing floor. Night is spent in merry making.

11. *Pusa Punia*—The occasion is observed in Pusa (December) and a number of days and nights are spent in dance and music.

In addition to these tribal festivals, the plain Bhuiyans have further adopted a number of Hindu festivals, that are being in vogue among the neighbouring

population. Chitau Parab, in the month of Sraban (July-August), Laxmi Puja in Magusir (November), Rath Jatra in Asadh (June-July) are a few of them.

Dance and Music—The Bhuiyans are very fond of dance and music. Young men and women are found dancing for hours together in the open space in front of Mandghar of their village. Specially on occasions of periodical religious festivals, and social festivities and occasions of the visit of young men and women of the neighbouring villages, dances and songs continue for two, three or more consecutive days and nights without break.

Men generally sing songs and play upon their changu drums. The women are the principal dancers. They have various types of dances, in most of which the dancers adopt stooping gait, in some they have erect posture, in some the women folk veil their faces, and in others they dance unveiled, in some, movements are slow, in others brisk, in some dances, the dancers are arranged in one or more rows, in some forms they move in circles, in some form a large number of men take part and in others a smaller number. Their dances appear to be suggestive of courtship and wooing.

Sanginat, Udkanat, Deganat, Tukinat Burinat, Paikinat are the names of their dances. The most interesting dances are the dances in imitation of various animals, reptiles, birds of their native hills and forests. *Sapparinat*, *Boraparinat*, *Baghparinat*, *Bhalparinat*, *Mirgparieat*, *Hateparinat*, *Gidhaparinat*, and *Murgiparinat* are a few of them. Today, most of the imitative dances are lost.

Songs—They are fond of music and song. Their musical instruments are few and simple. These consist of bamboo flute and the changu drums. The changus are made by them with wood for the frame and the skin of the goat for sounding board.

The subject matter of songs are the subjects of the environment and the feeling of human heart. They have now learnt a lot of Radha-Krishna love songs.

The Plain Bhuiyans have developed a feeling of hatred towards this co-dance and they have almost given it up. They are arranging kirtans and the usual songs are Radha-Krishna love affairs.

Material Culture

The Khandayat Bhuiyans live in plain with other Hindu castes whereas the Pauris live on the valleys between successive hill ranges, close to the streams. Forest land surrounds their habitats within which they can shift their site. Each site consists of a very few

limited number of families from 20 to 40. In some villages, the houses are set in rows with a wide street in between. In some other villages, houses are clustered around the house of headman and Dehuri. The jack fruit trees are there outside the settlement. In the middle or at the entrance is the Mandghar. In its front lies the courtyard known as Darbar.

The houses consist of one to four huts. The huts are rectangular in shape with two sloping roofs. The walls are made of logs of wood planted vertically on the ground and plastered over with mud. The roofs are thatched with grass or straw. Walls are coloured but not painted. One of the room is used as the seat of ancestral spirits and is usually the store room. The other chamber is the sleeping and kitchen room. One room is utilised by outsiders and visitors. The other room is used as cowshed or goatshed.

The stock and store of the house is very limited. Earthenware vessels for cooking, storing and drawing water, earthenware lamp, a stone roller, grind stone, palm leaf mats, few pumpkin gourds for carrying water, leaf baskets and bamboo baskets, carrying poles, winnowing baskets, brooms made of wildgrass, rainhats and umbrellas, bamboo trap for fishing, knives, axes, spear, bows, arrows, combs, tobacco containers, flutes are the few articles generally found in their houses. The well-to-do persons have brass plates, cups, jars, string cots, cloth umbrellas, Kerosine oil lamps, lantern, wooden mortars and pestle, husking lever and aluminium utensils.

As agricultural implements they have axe, spade, digging stick, plough share, yoke, hoe and plough. For hunting purposes, they use bow and arrow, axe, sword and spear.

Their dress is very simple. The poor wear only a strip of loin cloth kept in its place by a string round the waist. Men usually wear a small cloth round the waist. At the time of dance and going outside to market place, long cloths are used. Napkin in case of poor people and a cloth in case of average men is used as upper garment. The plain Bhuiyans wear shirts, banian and mill-made clothes. Females wear cloths of 12 cubits long. Usually cloths are coloured ones.

The ornaments consists of brass bangles on both arms, brass *Kankan* on wrist, ring on fingers, *Jhantias* on toes, brass anklet on leg, bead necklaces, earrings and nose-rings. The Plain Bhuiyans have adopted silver ornaments as are used by the neighbouring communities. The Bhuiyans neither tatoo their faces, nor wear any head-dress like kondh.

Economy

The sources of living of the Pauris are food gathering, hunting and shifting cultivation. They collect edible roots, fruits and worms (Kai) from the forests, hunt wild animals, and fish occasionally from the near-by streams. As agriculture, they practise shifting cultivation. Bushes and trees are cut from an area of the slopping hills. They are burnt in piles and the ashes are scattered. In the first year they sow *Biri*, *Kolath*, *Jutangi*, castor seeds and cotton, and plant pumpkin, bottle gourd, brinjal, blackgram, sweet Potato, etc. Towards November and December all these produces are harvested and the field remains barren for 2 to 3 months. Towards April, the little bushes that are grown on the ground are burnt and the field is cultivated for sowing of upland paddy. *Kangu*, millet, ragi, maize and redgram are also cultivated along with it. The paddy is harvested towards November but the other produces remain till January. On the 3rd year, the plot is made ready for sowing *Guladi*, *Suan*, etc. These are harvested towards October.

Thus the Pauris cultivate upland paddy, *Suan*, ragi, *Kangu*, *Guladi*, *Kolath*, *Biri*, beans, cotton, castor seeds, sweet potato, vegetables from his field. Wet cultivation of rice and terracing the field are gradually entering into the society.

The Plain Bhuiyans are mostly settled agriculturist. A few of them serve in firms and under Government.

Most of them are labourers and earn their livelihood by daily wages. As settled agriculturists they produce paddy, *Sun*, pulses, *Kolath*, and vegetables. A few of them do cultivate sugarcane and tobacco.

The Bhuiyans consume what they produce. In addition to these items, they purchase salt from the local markets. They buy clothes from local traders. Liquors made of mahul, rice, salap, date palm are their favourite diet.

They are exploited to a great extent due to their illiteracy and poverty. The local merchants reach them at their time of need and eagerly lend them money. They realise the money in kind at the time of harvest. They take three times of their money at the time of recovery. Thus the Bhuiyans are found without anything to live upon within a fortnight of their harvest.

The cloth merchants, ornament makers reach them and dupe the Bhuiyans to a considerable extent. A cloth of rupees five is sold to them for paddy of worth rupees fifteen or so. The beer merchants similarly cheat them.

Conclusion

The Bhuiyans, chiefly Pauris are very backward. Education is yet to spread among them. They are simple and the notorious non-tribals are taking advantages of their simplicity.

BAGATA

Siba Prasad Rout

The Bagatas are otherwise called as Bhaktas or Baktas. They are a class of telugu fishermen and are very expert in catching fish in fresh water with a long spear. They have relations with Oriya fishermen. As Thurston writes "They account for their name by the tradition that they served with great devotion (*Bhakti*) the former rulers of Golconda and Madugula who made grants of land to them in *mokhasa* tenure".

According to the 1961 census the population of the Bagatas are estimated to be 1,511, whose main place of abode is Koraput district. More than 90 per cent of the Bagatas live in Koraput district, while the rest are found distributed in Kalahandi, Sambalpur, Bolangir, Boudh, Ganjam, Sundergarh, Cuttack, Mayurbhanj and Balasore districts. Their population, according to 1961 census can be stated as follows :—

Districts where the Bagatas are found	Total population	Male	Female
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Koraput ..	1,374	692	682
Kalahandi ..	32	12	20
Sambalpur ..	15	10	5
Bolangir ..	1	..	1
Boudh ..	3	1	2
Ganjam ..	3	..	3
Sundergarh ..	1	..	1
Cuttack ..	28	15	13
Mayurbhanj ..	52	24	28
Palasore ..	2	2	..
Total ..	1,511	756	755

Caste Composition :—

The Bagatas are primarily a fishing community. Madras Census Report, 1901 states, "on Dasara day they worship the fishing baskets and also (for some obscure reason) a kind of trident". According to E. Thurston, "the trident is probably the fishing spear". In the Gazetteer of the Vizagapatam district, it has been recorded that there is a fish-pool under the Yendrika Hill, 5,188 feet above the sea. This pool is "crowded with mahseer of all sizes. These are wonderfully tame". At Sivaratri, a festival occurs near this pool at a shrine. A part of the ritual is to feed the sacred fish and the priest is a Bagata.

Some of the Bagatas are hill cultivators in the Agency tracts of Vizagapatam. They are also considered as an offshoot of Kapu caste. The head of a single village is called a *Padal*, the *Padal* being the name of an exogamous sept of the Kapus. "The overlord of a number of *Padals* styles himself *Nayak* or *Raju* and the *Mokhasadar* has the title of *Dora*".

Census Report, 1871 states—"in the low country, the Bhaktas consider themselves to take the rank of soldiery, and rather disdain the occupation of ryots (cultivators)".

Marriage

In a note to the Bagatas, Mr. C. Hayavadana Rao writes that the Bagatas are divided into a number of exogamous septs or *intiperulu*. Girls are married either before or after attaining puberty. Marrying maternal uncles daughter is almost obligatory. The system is called "*menarikam*" which renders it a man's duty to marry his mother's brother's daughter. Bride-price is Known as "*voli*". The bride is presented with jewelry by the groom's parents as a substitute for the brideprice.

In Census Report of 1901, it has been noted that the bridegroom is struck by his wife's brother, during the marriage rites and is presented with a pair of new cloth.

Religion

The Bagatas are both Vaishnavites and Saivites. The Vaishnavites get themselves branded on the arm by a Vaishnava Guru who lives in the Godavari district. "The Vaishnavites burn their dead, and the Saivites

bury them in the customary sitting attitude. *Satanis* officiate for the former, and the *Jangams* for the latter. Both sections perform the *chinna* and *peddaroze* (big and little day) death ceremonies. The hill Bagatas observe the *Itiga Ponduga* festival, which is celebrated by the hill classes in Vizagapatam".

Out of 1,511 Bagatas 1,472 persons are found to lack any education, i. e., about 97.4 per cent of the Bagatas are illiterate.

BHUNJIA

Siba Prasad Rout

Bhunjias are a small tribe numbering 2,375 souls. According to R. V. Russel and R. B. Hiralal, "The term Bhunjia may perhaps signifies one who lives on the soil, from *bhum*, the earth, and *jia*, depended on. The word Birjia, a synonym for Binjhar, is similarly a corruption of *bewar* *jia*, and means one who is dependent on *dahia* or patch cultivation." Sir H. Risley considers Birjia, Binjhia and Binjhar as synonymous terms and maintains that Bhunjia may be another corruption form of such kind.

Bhunjias belong to Dravidian group and speak a dialect of Hindi which, as Sir G. Grierson considers, resembles the dialect of the Halbas. According to him this dialect is a "form of Chhattisgarhi which is practically the same as Baigani. Though surrounded by Gonds, the Bhunjias never speak Gondi.

Population and Distribution

Russell, in his book "The Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces of India" estimates the population figure of the Bhunjias to be 7,000, approximately distributed over Bindranawagarh and Khariar *Zamindaries*. The population of Bhunjias in Orissa, according to 1961 census is 2,375, distributed mainly in Kalahandi, Mayurbhanj and Balasore districts

Population Figure of Bhunjias

District in which they are found	Population	Male	Female
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Kalahandi ..	1,992	956	1,036
Sambalpur ..	14	6	8
Ganjam ..	70	34	36
Mayurbhanj ..	136	70	66
Balasore ..	163	77	86
Total ..	2,375	1,143	1,232

The Bhunjias are divided into two sections, known as *Chaukhtia* and *Chinda*. Russell writes about their origin as follows:—

"the chaukhtia subcaste appear to be of mixed origin from the Gonds and Halbas, and as the Chindas

are probably descended from the Baigas, the Bhunjias may be considered to be an offshoot from these three important tribes".

The origin of the chaukhtia is further given by Russell in the following lines :—

"On one occasion a Bhatra Gond named Bachar cast a net into the Pairi river and brought out a stone. He threw the stone back into the river and cast his net again, but a second and yet a third time the stone came out. So he laid the stone on the bank of the river and went back to his house, and that night he dreamt that the stone was Bura Deo, the great God of the Gonds. So he said. 'If this dream be true, let me draw in a deer in my net tomorrow for a sign'; and the next day the body of a deer appeared in his net. The stone then called upon the Gond to worship him as Bura Deo, but the Gond demurred to doing so himself and said he would provide a substitute as a devotee. To this Bura Deo agreed, but said that Bachar, the Gond must marry his daughter to the substituted worshipper. The Gond then set out to search for somebody, and in the village of Lafandi he found a Halba of the name of Konda, who was a cripple deaf and dumb, blind and leper. He brought Konda to the stone, and on reaching it he was miraculously cured of all his ailments and gladly began to worship Bura Deo. He afterwards married the Gond's daughter and they had a son called Chaukhtia Bhunjia, who was the ancestor of the Chaukhtia division of the tribe. Now the term Chaukhtia in Chhattisgarhi signifies a bastard, and the story related above is obviously intended to signify that the Chaukhtia Bhunjias are of mixed descent from the Gonds and Halbas".

Social Customs

The Chinda division of the Bhunjias are supposed to occupy higher position in the hierarchy of their social status and they have a saying "*Chinda Raja, Bhunjia Paik*" As the chaukhtia are recognised to be of illegitimate descent they struggle hard to increase their social status by observing strict rules of ceremonial purity. If a non-chaukhtia touches the kitchen hut

of a Chaukhtutia the hut is entirely abandoned and a new one is built. The Chaukhtutias never eat food cooked by a man who does not belong to his own community. Even food is not eaten from the married daughter. Here, everybody is suspicious of his neighbour's parentage, and thus refrains from taking food from others. Though they observe such strict ceremonial purity, they never clean their bodies regularly. Russell writes—"Only when it is remembered that these rules are observed by people who do not wash themselves from one week's end to the other, and wear the same wisp of cloth about their loins until it comes to pieces, can the full absurdity of such customs as the above be appreciated".

The Bhunjias eat pork, but abstain from beef and the flesh of the monkeys. In spite of their strict observance of many rites for ritual purity, they rank lower in status than the Gonds, and none except the Kamars accept food from their hands. Women are secluded during the menstrual period up to eight days, and during this period they are not allowed to enter into the main house and to touch any article. No strangers are allowed to enter into the house of the Bhunjia. A separate hut is built for them in the village and during their stay they are given uncooked grains and pulses to cook for themselves. They have their own method of curing and they hardly go to Government dispensary for medicine. The most popular method of curing diseases is by branding the skin with a hot iron.

Marriage

The exogamous divisions of the Bhunjias are derived from those of the Gonds. The Chaukhtutias marry their daughters before puberty. Russell writes—"Among the Chaukhtutias it is considered a great sin if the signs of puberty appear in a girl before she is married, and to avoid this, if no husband has been found for her, they perform a 'Kand Byah' or Arrow Marriage: the girl walks seven times around an arrow fixed in the ground, and is given away without ceremony to the man who by previous arrangement has brought the arrow." Cross-cousin marriage is considered to be the most suitable. The proposal for marriage among the Chaukhtutias is made on the boy's behalf by two men who are known as *Mahalia* and *Jangalia* representing a *Nai* (barber) and a *Dhimar* (water-carrier). The marriage takes place in the bridegroom's village, and ceremony is conducted by a priest known as *Dinwari*, the main rite being

walking around the sacred post seven times. The post of the *Dinwari* is hereditary. Among the Chinda Bhunjias the bride goes away with the groom and after a few days returns to her parents' village to make offerings to the deities. The Chaukhtutias, on the other hand, never allow the married daughters to return to her home. If a Chaukhtutia girl comes to visit her parents after marriage she is kept in a separate house and is made to cook food for her separately. In a Chaukhtutia marriage, the provision for feast are distributed raw to the guests who cook for themselves.

Sex relations before marriage is considered improper but the Chaukhtutias are more strict on this matter. If a girl of Chinda group goes wrong with an outsider before marriage and becomes pregnant, the matter is hushed up. But in Chaukhtutia group she is expelled from the community. Widow-marriage and divorce are permitted, but a husband would often try to avoid it. It is not the custom to bring such cases before the tribal committee or to claim compensation.

A special type of relation exists between a man and his sister's children. Marriage between brother's son or daughter to a sister's daughter or son is considered the most suitable. A man shows special respect to his sister's children, who are not allowed to eat the leavings of food on his plate and are never scolded, even though they deserve it. It is of great fame for a man to pay for the wedding ceremony of his sister's son or daughter.

Religion

Mata, the deity for cholera and smallpox is worshipped every year in the month of *Chait* (March), and is offered a goat and cocoanut. Liquidation of debt is considered to be a primary obligation by the Bhunjias and they worship the Sun for gratitude by offering cocoanut. They believe in the Hindu idea of the world being rested on the back of the tortoise, and thus pay great reverence to the tortoise. The tortoise is called to be the foot-stool of God, and the Bhunjia ladies are never allowed to sit on a foot-stool or a bed-cot. They consider it disgraceful to walk across the shadow of any elderly person or to step over somebody or any revered object. If a man falls from tree he offers a chicken to the tree-spirit.

The Bhunjias are cultivators and they earn their bread by tilling the soil. They are not an advanced community in the sense that about 94.5 per cent of them are illiterate.

SAORA

Bhagirathi Chowdhury

The Saoras also called Savaras or Sabaras constitute a major tribe in the State of Orissa. The tribe having references in the epigraphic records and ancient literature of India is very widely distributed throughout the State of Orissa. Their distribution in the State is as follows:—

Name of the district	Population		
	Total	Male	Female
Puri	26,188	12,567	13,621
Kalahandi	1,543	912	631
Koraput	36,329	18,235	18,094
Sambalpur	82,575	40,485	42,090
Bolangir	31,071	16,132	14,939
Boudh-Kondhamal	1,562	814	748
Ganjam	96,128	47,185	48,943
Sundargarh	647	298	349
Dhenkanal	12,365	5,750	6,615
Keonjhar	8,410	4,226	4,184
Cuttack	12,549	6,448	6,101
Mayurbhanj	2,087	1,109	978
Balasore	160	101	59
Total	311,614	1,54,262	1,57,352

The great majority of Saoras have lost their own language and now speak Oriya. But the Lanjia Saoras have preserved their ancient tongue and very few of them speak any other. Saora is an Austro-asiatic language of the Munda family. It is said that it is closely allied to Gutob and Parenga, and has some affinities with Kharia and Juang languages.

Division of the Tribe—The tribe has got several subdivisions—(1) Lamba Lanjia, (2) Jadu, (3) Mane, (4) Raika, (5) Sarda, (6) Kindal, (7) Arsi, (8) Juari, (9) Kancher, (10) Kurumba, (11) Sudha, (12) Jati, (13) Jara and (14) Kampo.

These sections having different occupations have become endogamous groups. The Lamba Lanjia Saoras are mainly shifting cultivators although wet cultivation is resorted to in terraced fields along the hill valleys. The Jadu Saoras who live in Badkemidi area of Ganjam district are not magicians, as the name denoted, and are treated lower as they do not revere the cow. The Mane Saoras found in Ajoygada Mutta of Ganjam district, work on brass. The Raikas who inhabit Rayagada Mutta of the same district abstain from eating animal flesh. The Kindal or Tankla Saoras work on bamboo for basket. The Arsis

who eat beef, are considered low by other sections. The Juari Saoras have earned efficiency in cutting date palms. The Kanchers are good archer and the Kurumbas are primarily shifting cultivators. All these sections speak Saora Language. The Sudha and Jati Saoras who pose themselves as high, are mainly wet cultivators and speak Oriya only. The Kampo Saoras speak Telugu language. Besides these there are Kumbits who are potters, the Gontaras who work on bell-metal and the Luaas who are blacksmiths in the Saora land of Ganjam and Koraput districts. The Lamba Lanjia Saoras about whom this paper deals with mainly, are still in the real primitive stage.

The Lamba Lanjia Saoras are mostly found in Parlakimedi subdivision of Ganjam district and Pottasingi area of Gunupur Taluk in Koraput. This is one of the most inaccessible parts of the State of Orissa. Here the ranges of high hills cross the area. The hilly forests with small streams and rivulets provide the Saoras with various things which they require for their livelihood. But the free movements are intercepted by the presence of man-eaters and Malaria with acute shortage of water during summer. The Saoras have got a stratified society. The chief of the village called Gamang is a secular head recognised by administration. He is assisted by Dol-Behera and Mondal. Others are called royats. The religious head is called Buyya. The Gamangs, Buyyas, Dol-Beheras and Mondals with their families constitute the Saora aristocracy. They have got marital relationship within their own group.

The clan organization which is common to tribal societies, is totally absent among the Saoras. Instead there are extended families called the '*Birinda*' which consists of descendants from a common ancestor for 4-5 generations. Marriage is prohibited within a *Birinda*, the members of which stand to each other as blood brothers. A woman after marriage does not change her *Birinda*. After her death, the members of her *Birinda* may claim to perform her funeral rites of *Guar* and *Karjya*.

Marriage and Family Life

Lanjia marriage is not an elaborate affair. Most common form of marriage is arranged marriage. They have also marriage by capture and by service. The arrangements are made by the parents, and relations of the groom take initiative in the matter. As mentioned earlier, negotiations begin according to status and purse of the parties. As marriage within the *birinda*

is forbidden, they have to seek bride from other *birindas*. A Gamang's daughter is given in marriage with another Gamang's son, while a Gamang's son can marry the daughter of a royat. They have preference to marry the daughter of the maternal uncle. In an arranged marriage the father accompanied by some kinsmen visits girl's house with a potful of wine. If the girl's parents approve the proposal the potful of wine is accepted and drunk in the presence of the important men of the village. It is customary to seek the opinion of the girl concerned. Callings at the girl's house continue for several times and every time one or more pots of wine are carried for them. On one of such occasions an arrow is taken and the engagement is finalised, in another the bride price is discussed and fixed. Bride-price is generally paid in kind, such as grains, liquor and cloth. In some localities cash is also demanded. On the appointed day groom's men visit the girl's house for betrothal and bring nine pots of wine. They are entertained with festive meals of rice, meat and liquor. This is followed by dancing and singing. After one year or so, the bride is brought to the groom's house. There is dance, drinking and eating. From that day they become husband and wife.

Sororate and levirate are prevalent among the Saoras. Polygamy is very widely prevalent among them. Many Saoras have got more than one wife. Among them taking of more than one wife is a sign of prosperity, and it implies expansion of hill cultivation and greater accumulation of foodgrains. Saora women have distinct position. Women being an important economic asset cannot be treated as chattles. Of course, they work very hard and men are mostly dependant on the women for their existence. They get equal prominence in their festivals and ceremonies.

Saora homes are full of children. The parents are very fond of children, and they fondle their children whenever they can. In ceremonial gatherings and festivals small children get the same share of rice and meat as the elders. The children are allowed to take part in ceremonies and also to smoke and drink from early childhood. On the other hand, they assist their parents in all the occupations and attain skill and proficiency in tribal vocations and crafts. They can skin a buffalo, climb high hills, fetch water, do agricultural operations, tend cattle etc.

Death rites—The Saoras cremate their dead, but persons dying of cholera and smallpox are buried. As cremation is a family function, some members collect

wood for the pyre, the family-Idaibois (Girls who are trained to act as assistants in funeral rites) fetch water and prepare turmeric. In the meanwhile the corpse is carried by the women with all the clothes of the deceased. The musical band accompanies the procession. Next day they visit the cremation ground to examine the ashes to find the sign of the cause of the death. If they fail to find it out, the shaman is invited to divine the cause of the death. In the evening a fowl is sacrificed at the cremation ground and this is cooked with rice and bitter leaves. Each mourner takes a cup of this food to his own home and offers to the ancestor. This feast is called *Limma*. Later on at any time from a few months to several years, the *Guar* ceremony is observed to admit the shade to the company of the ancestral dead with freedom of the under world. On this occasion menhirs are planted and buffaloes are sacrificed in an elaborate ritual. This is generally followed by three successive *Karjya* ceremony in every second or third year to commemorate and to honour the deads of that particular period. This ceremony observed in March or April, after the harvest has been gathered in, continues for three successive days, when a number of buffaloes for each dead are sacrificed. This is celebrated with communal dance in which neighbouring villages participate. Sometimes a minor ceremony called *Sikanda* is performed in order to postpone the expensive *Karjya* ceremony to a later date. The last ceremony performed for the deads is the *Lajap*, a minor ceremony. It is celebrated at the time of big rice harvest to show that the work of the dead is now over and to persuade them to give good crops in future.

Religion—The Saora pantheon consists of innumerable malevolent and benevolent deities and the deified ancestors who are constantly watchful of the doings of the living generation. Any omission or negligence on the part of the living Saoras is followed by disease, death or trouble to the family, and to the society. According to their belief system disease are caused by the deities, deified ancestors and the working of the sorcerers. These deities, presiding over field, forest, hill and house inhabit in the under world along with dead ancestors.

Among them there are innumerable shamans, shamanines and priests who work as ambassadors to the world of the gods and convey the pleasure and displeasure of the divines to the livings. This group of people devote much of thier time in dealing with the deities and the dead ancestors. Through them food, dress and other nourishments are offered at different occasions.

The Saoras observed a number of ceremonies at different stages of cultivation and other economic pursuits. They perform *Kurrualpur* before forest clearings are made for shifting cultivation, *Jammolpur* for ceremonial taking out of the seeds from the store-bins for sowing, *Purred*, *Jatrapur* and *Lambapur* for the protection of the plants from the wild animals and also for the success of crops. There are a number of harvest festivals observed for different crops. *Abbanadur* in April or May before eating or distilling Mohua flowers, *Buriyanadur* for the small millets in August, *Enladanadur* for the new cucumbers, *Ganugayanadur* for all kinds of roots in July, *Kondemanadur* for coarse rice in September *Kurojanadur* and *Osanadur* for millets, *Rogonadur* for the harvesting of the red gram, *Tankunadur* for the stone of the mango and *Udanadur* for the ripe mangoes are observed. When the sheaves have been stocked at the threshing floor, a pig or fowl may be offered to the dead for guarding and increasing the quantity.

Besides these, they have innumerable religious rites for curing diseases. Most of these ceremonies mentioned above are communal in nature. Various types of animal such as, pig, buffalo, and fowl, and liquor are offered. In some localities where Hindu influence is strong, buffalo sacrifice has been given up. Most of the festivals are marked by heavy drinking and dance. They make drawings on the walls of houses in honour of the dead, to avert disease, to promote fertility and on the occasion of certain festivals.

Christianity

Christianity as a new religion has received the favour from the Saoras in the recent years. The main cause of conversion as ascertained from the converts is their aboriginal religious practices with innumerable sacrifices and indebtedness. By conversion they get relief from this heavy expenditure and save something and live well. The converts have changed their dresses and developed a likingness to learn Oriya. They are changing their outlook and coming forward to mix with the outsiders. They have given up original dance and music, but spend Sundays in attending Church.

Dance and Music

The Lanjia Saoras dance during their ceremonies and marriage and not very frequently like those of Oran, Kisan or Santals. Both men and women, children,

adults and old jumble together, dance to the accompaniment of the beating of the musical instruments by men alone. It consists of continuous forward and backward movements. Sometimes the dancers move up and down along the streets led by the drummers. Coloured clothes of cotton and silk are tied as turbans by men and wrapped around the chests of women. White feathers of fowl are fixed with turbans while women hold peacock plumes in their hands. The male dancers generally carry swords, sticks, umbrellas, etc., and blow whistles and make peculiar sounds. Their dance which is more of religious significance than for merriment, is never accompanied by songs. But they have got songs which they sing while working in the field or at leisure time to the accompaniment of music of the string musical instruments.

Houses and Settlement

"The Saora has an eye for beauty" says Elwin while describing the location of the Saora villages. No doubt a traveller to the Saora land is struck by the setting in which the Saoras built their houses. They select the slope, top or foot of the hill or hills with prospects of axe cultivation, but they are not nomads. No definite plan is followed in the setting up of houses. In some villages houses are built in rows leaving a street in between, sometimes rows one above the other like terraces and all the rows facing the same direction, and in many cases the houses are jumbled up and there are narrow lanes to which the houses face. There are villages with four to five families and also large villages having more than hundred families. A village may consist of several wards: Gamang's ward, Dol-Behera's ward, Mandal's ward and the ward for the commoners.

Saora houses are rectangular in size, and built with high plinth and verandah. The walls are made of stone and mud. The houses with straw-thatched roof are proportionately low. About three-fourth of the room is covered with a wooden platform about three to four feet high where grain-bins and other possessions are stored. The hearth is located under this platform. The household utensils are kept near the hearth. From the roof hang a number of objects, baskets, gourds, bundle of cloth, umbrella, spears, bows, arrows and pots. The dedicated pots and gourds, basket containing the special clothes of the dead or tutelaries are hanged against the walls which are decorated with ikons in honour of the gods and ancestors. The houses of the village headmen are very large. At

the time of building a new house, rice and wine are put in the hole dug for the first pillar to be erected in the name of Labosum, the Earth God.

As regards household articles the Saoras possess very few. Earthen ware vessels are generally used in cooking and for storing water. Use of brass and aluminium pots are seen among the wealthier Saoras.

Dress and Ornament

The traditional cloth of a Saora woman is a waist cloth with gray borders which hardly reaches the knees. In chilly weather they cover the upper part of the body with another piece of cloth. The dress for a man consists of a loin-cloth about six feet long and about ten inches long. This may be plain or may be decorated with red tassels at the ends. This is tied around the hip, passing through the private parts. The ends hang in the front and at the back, the latter being longer for which they are called Lamba Lanjia. These cloths are woven by the Doms from yarn hand-spun by the Saoras themselves. At present in some places they have taken to mill-made clothes and ready-made dresses. The converted and acculturated Saora women of Uday-giri areas, cover the upper parts of their bodies with a blouse or a saree. The males put on shirts and shorts even trousers generally when they go out.

The Saoras do not use huge bundle of necklaces of beads and metals. 'The Saoras' says Elwin 'are not good at ornaments'. A few necklaces of beads, round wooden plugs and later on spiral ring of metal in the ear-lobes, hair pins of bell-metal, rings made of brass, bell-metal or aluminium in the fingers and toes, little rings in the alae of nose, metal bangles, metal anklets are worn by the Saora women. Saora women put ornaments in the ears, nose and round their wrist. Most of these ornaments are purchased from local bazars.

Musical Instruments

The Saora musical instruments consist of four varieties of drums, namely the hemispherical *dollun*, the *tuduman* (a simple tom-tom) kettle drum called *dagadan* and *Kadingan* (hide-gong), brass horns, brass gong, cymbals made of brass, stridulator and a bundle of reeds which are beaten by hand with a clattering din. They have also string instruments, namely *gogerajan*, and *memerajan* and *kuranrajan* played on at leisure time to the accompaniment of songs and sometimes at some religious ceremonies.

Hunting and Agricultural Implements

In hunting they make use of guns which are locally manufactured, bows and arrows, and a variety of axes and knives. They use the bullock-driven ploughs for wet cultivation, digging stick, hoe in shifting cultivation.

Production

The main source of livelihood for the Saora is shifting cultivation. Whenever any valley of the hills are available they practise wet cultivation in terraced fields, where two crops of paddy can be grown in a year. The Saora terraces reveal their magnificent workmanship. This is supplemented by the collection of jungle products such as edible roots, tubers and leaves. Hunting is popular among them.

They grow several varieties of millets, varieties of pulses, oil-seeds, turmeric and ginger in the clearing (*bagad*) on the slopes of hills by axe cultivation. Paddy is mainly grown in wet land. Vegetables except brinjals, plantain and pumpkin are seldom grown either for own consumption or for cash. Tamarind and *Karanja* plants are plenty in the area. During summer they collect these and sell for cash. Sometimes oil is extracted from *Karanja* seeds for their own use. They grow sago-palm and collect mahua flower for wine. It is said that the Saoras in general grow comparatively more than many of the neighbouring tribes, but they lead miserable life due to chronic indebtedness to meet the expenses of innumerable feast, festivals and treatment of diseases.

Consumption

The main item of Saora food consists of gruels of rice, millet or pulses added with edible leaves. They do not know any other method of cooking or boiling. Even meat, fish or vegetables being added with turmeric, salt, chilly and onion, are boiled with water. Sometimes they fry fish and flesh in burning amber. They do not know the use of oil or fat in preparing food. To them rice is a delicacy. Most of them exchange it for cash. They are fond of fish and flesh of buffalo, pig, goat and several varieties of wild animal. In food there is local variations in the Soara country. The Saoras of Badakemendi and Rayagada abstain from the flesh of buffalo and pig.

From November to June there is some food in the Saora homes. They can eat two square meals of gruel and chillies. From June to September they eat various types of roots and leaves. For them the autumn is the worst period when there is acute food shortage.

At that time clearings are to be guarded and stored food-grains would have been exhausted. They mainly depend on a powder prepared from the trunk of the Sago-palm tree. They do not need cash to purchase liquor. They grow plenty of Sago-palm trees and collect Mahua flower in huge amount for distilling liquor at home for their own use. Both men and women smoke tobacco.

Distribution and Exchange

Besides the exchange of articles and animals among themselves at the time of religious ceremonies, the Saoras sell some of their products for cash in the local weekly markets. Here the local Doms and Kumtis who are the agents of the big merchants from the plains, are the buyers. The transactions which take place between the Saora seller and the Dom and Kumti buyers are mere exploitation. On the route to a market, Doms and Kumtis wait to purchase the products. When they come with baskets of grain, vegetables and other articles they will be detained for bargain. Sometimes the stuff is weighted with bigger measures and immediately mixed up with the stuff already accumulated there. The Saora has then no option except to be satisfied with whatever money is paid by the Dom. Then he goes to the market to buy a few annas worth of tobacco, salt and chilly. The Doms and other local traders sell animals like buffalo, cows, pigs and fowls to the Saoras who are in constant need for their religious ceremonies. They are required to buy at a higher rate. He may pay the cost at once or may keep a portion on credit to be paid in kind where the rate of interest comes to 100 per cent. In spite of their transactions in the market, the major part of the Saora dealings are in the threshing floor and at doors. The traders visit the Saora villages to sell the required articles on exchange for grains and to realize the debt in kind. Thus they are cheated and exploited by the local traders in their transaction.

Shifting Cultivation

The Saoras clear the hill-tops or hill slopes for shifting cultivation. They use the swiddens for two to three years and return after a rest of five or six years. Here they grow rice, pulses, beans, millets and turmeric. Before any clearing is made, a shaman offers a pig or a fowl to Labosum (Earth-God) and the Gods of the hillside. Men assisted by women and children do the clearing. When the felled materials dry up in April or May, firing begins. The ashes are not distributed over the swidden. Shortly before the rains,

sowing of seeds is started. First pulses and beans, one from each in a hole are put. This is followed by the sowing of castor seeds. When all these have sprouted, they sow all the other seeds such as millets,

mountain rice mixed together. Then comes the heavy task of weeding and guarding the ripening crops from birds, monkeys and other wild animals. When the crops ripen they harvest one after another.

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HOLVA

Gopinath Satpathy

The Holvas of Orissa are an agricultural community. They trace their caste name from the term 'hal' a plough. They claim Bastar State to be their original home, from where they have migrated to Orissa. At present, their population is 4,483 of which 4,432 constitute the rural population and 51 live in urban areas. Their districtwise distribution is given below—

Name of the district	Male population	Female population	Total
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
1. Koraput ..	1,902	2,089	3,991
2. Kalahandi ..	187	252	439
3. Cuttack ..	10	11	21
4. Bolangir ..	8	9	17
5. Sundergarh ..	13	..	13
6. Puri ..	2	..	2
Total ..	2,122	2,361	4,483

They speak Oriya with outsiders but their own dialect is peculiar to them. Dr. Grierson has described their dialect as follows:—

“Their dialect is a curious mixture of Uriya, Chattisgarhi, and Marathi, the proportions varying according to the locality”. They say their language to be Halbi, after their own caste name, and use the language in their home.

The tribe have local divisions known as Bastarha, Chattisgarhia and Marethia, after their original home. In Orissa, the Holvas claim to belong to Bastarha division and persons of other divisions are not seen. This Bastarha Holvas form a separate sub-caste and do not have any relation with other divisions. This again is divided into two groups as pure and mixed which the Holvas of Orissa do not admit.

They have a number of exogamous divisions as Manjur, Nages, Bagh, etc. These are named after animals and plants which are respected by the sept members. The totemistic groups are named as *Barags*. They have a number of surnames like Siunia, Majhi, Naik and Bhal. Now a days marriage is avoided by persons having the same surname as well as between those of the same *Barga*.

Family is nuclear. Extended and joint families are seen to a certain extent. The family is patrilineal, patrilocal and patripotestal.

Village acts as a socio-political unit for all practical purposes. Like other tribes they have Naik, Pujari and Barik as village officials. The Naik decides petty social affairs in the village panchayat with the help of other members of the village. Over a number of villages there is a Jatinaik, who adjudicates all grave social offences. A person is excommunicated when he commits any fault like killing a cow or is affected by *machiapatak*, or is beaten with a shoe. This Jatinaik does the purification ceremony. He is the first man to eat the food and thereby takes the sins of the offender upon his own head. The Jatinaik is invited on all marriage functions as an honourable guest and he remains in charge of the smooth management of the affair.

They have no dormitory. Recently Jubak Sanghas, Kirtan Mandals have been organised, the membership of which is open to all irrespective of age and caste.

It is believed that the pregnant woman's desire is the desire of the child in the womb. So she is given by her mother various kinds of rich food during her pregnancy just to satisfy her longing for the same. The pregnant wife is forbidden from crossing a river, or to eat anything with a knife. At the time of delivery she takes up a sitting posture and is attended by a woman. The naval cord is cut by a woman of their caste or of Dhakad caste and is burnt. The after birth is buried in rubbish pit outside the house. They observe *sathi* on the sixth day and relatives are given a feast. The birth pollution extends over 12 days when the mother is not allowed to touch anybody. On the sixth day, they name the child in consultation with the Brahmin. On 21st day the woman is completely purified, and touches the cooking pot. The relatives are invited to a feast on this occasion. The well-to-do families also perform *Satynarayanpala*. At the age of three, the first hair cutting ceremony is performed. Some does the function near a temple and some at home. The ears of all the children of a village between 5 to 10 years of age are perforated by a Sunari at a time. This is known as *Majhisamart*. It is held jointly. All the families taking part in the occasion contribute. The Brahmin does *homa* and all are given a feast on this occasion.

The woman under menstruation is held impure for 4 days. She sleeps on the ground and is not allowed

to walk on the ploughed field. On the 5th day, she washes her head, cleanses her clothes, and then she is allowed to cook.

Marriage is preceded by a thread ceremony where the maternal uncle gives the sacred thread, which is worn throughout his life.

Girls are usually married at the age of 10 to 12 before they attend puberty. In case, they fail to arrange a bridegroom, they perform the pseudo marriage with a *mahua* tree. If a girl goes wrong with an outsider of low caste, she is outcasted but in case of seducer belonging to higher caste, she is re-admitted to the community. Women of other castes married by Holvas are admitted to the community. They prefer cross-cousin marriage. Matches are usually arranged on the initiative of the boy's father through a mutual friend, who acts as mediator and is known as *Mahalia*. The negotiation being complete, the boy's father sends a present of fixed quantities of grain to the girl and on an auspicious day, he and his relatives proceed to her village. He presents her with a rupee and returns after a feast. The day for marriage is fixed by the astrologer or the caste-priest. They adopt two forms of wedding known as 'small' and 'large' the former being held at the bridegroom's place with less expenditure and is much cheaper than the latter, which is held at bride's place. The small wedding is more popular among the Holvas. In this type, the bride accompanied by her friends arrives at the bridegroom's village in the evening, her parents following her only on 3rd day. They sing. They straight enter into the bridegroom's house and sit down where the family Gods are kept. They are then shown their apartment to rest where they are attended to. On the wedding day, the cloths of the couple are tied together and they go round the marriage post seven times, the bride following the bridegroom. They are then allowed to sit on a yoke and throw consecrated rice over each other. The husband then gives some vermilion mark on her head and covers her head with cloth. The parents of the bride come and join the function. On the following day, the friends of the couple make presents to them. After seven days, the couple go to the bride's place where they remain for 3 weeks.

After the wedding, the grown up bride lives with her husband, but in case of child, she goes back to her parents until her adolescence, when the ceremony of 'going away' is performed.

Now most of the Holvas are using Brahmin as their priest in marriage ceremonies and are performing

marriage at the bride's place in the manner of higher castes with sacred fire lit by the Brahmin.

The widow and the divorced woman can remarry by the simple procedure of marking vermilion on her head. Marriage by capture or elopement is rarely practised. Polygyny is allowed.

The death pollution is observed for 11 days. Usually the dead is buried, salt being sprinkled over and under it. They take to cremation in the case of the death of the head of the family. They are shaved by the barber at the river or tank on the tenth day, and join in a feast on the 11th day. At certain places, the shaving and purification ceremony are done on 3rd day. The well-to-do persons perform yearly ceremony for the dead in the month of Bhadrab (September).

They observe 'New mango eating' festival in Chaitra, 'Amus' festival in Sraban, 'New rice eating' ceremony in Bhadrab, 'Iswar and Siva' Puja in Magh. A few well-to-do families also observe Laxmi puja in Magasir, Dewali in Kartika, and Holi in Fagan after the Hindu neighbours.

The Holvas live in fairly large heterogeneous villages. They construct their houses at a distance from the rest of the population. The houses are in two rows and the village street passes in between. At the entrance of the village is the temple of village deity. The structure of their houses varies from place to place. At certain places the rectangular structured houses with two sloping roofs are seen. At other places particularly in the Salim Grama Panchayat, the structure of the house is typical. At its centre, is a room, raised on a circular plinth with a roof of wattles plastered with clay. This is called inner chamber, where they store their foodgrains. Round this, is the wide verandah, with certain doorways and walls all around. Beyond this wall there is another verandah on two sides with walls around. The verandah is converted into several small rooms with openings. These small rooms are utilised as cooking and sleeping apartments. The roof is thatched with forest grass or straw. The walls are made of wattles plastered with mud. The walls are coloured yellow and black and are painted with designs.

The household equipments consist of stick, utensils of leaf, gourds, earthen vessels, knife, carrying poles,

husking lever and *Kutuni*, leaf and cloth umbrellas. The well-to-do persons have aluminium utensils, brass jars, torch light, lantern for their use. They have all agricultural implements like *Ankudi*, yoke, plough share, plough, sickle, spade, *kodal*, digging stick, etc. The axe, bow and arrow are used as hunting implements.

The males simply wear *lenguti*, or short cloth. The napkin and the Chaddar are mostly used. When they go to market place, they wear long mill-made or hand made cloths and shirts. The women wear white sarees with red borders. Coloured sarees are also worn by unmarried girls. They adorn themselves with silver, brass and a little of gold ornaments. Bead necklaces, silver chains round the neck, glass bangles, brass, and silver *Khadus* on the arm, earrings, toe and finger rings, *Pahudas* and *Ghungurias* on leg, are some of their ornaments of daily use. The well-to-do also wear gold ornaments.

Their main occupation is agriculture. They cultivate the lands as owner, and on share basis. Many of them remain as labourers with the land owning authorities. Shifting cultivation is almost given up. The main produces are paddy, sua, ragi, maize, pulses and different types of gram. Sugarcane and tobacco are also cultivated to a certain extent. They collect jungles products. They take resort to hunting as a pastime. Fishing is also practised to a certain extent. A few have accepted jobs in Government and under different firms.

They consume what they produce. It is insufficient in major cases and hence they live upon mango kernnels, mahul flower and other forest products for a certain part of the year. They take different types of liquor like rice beer, Solapa, and arrack distilled from the mohua tree and its blooms. They do not eat beef but fowl, pork, mutton and meat are taken most eagerly.

They are Hindus. They treat the tribals like Gond, Koya, Kondhs and non-tribal groups like Sundhi, Teli and Mali as inferior to them. Except from the Brahmin they do not take cooked food from any one else. Water is taken from Rona, Karan and Dhakad. Most of

the tribals take water from them. They are served by barber and washerman.

They have developed and are sending their boys and girls to the schools for education. It is likely,

that after a short period they may be economically and educationally better off and may cease to be included in the tribal list.

MAHALI

Bhagirathi Choudhury

The Mahalis whom Risley conjectured to be a branch of the Santal tribe, are distributed in most of the districts of Orissa. From the population table given below it will be seen that they concentrate more in Mayurbhanj and Sundargarh districts.

Name of the District	Population		
	Total	Male	Female
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Kalahandi ..	182	7	103
Koraput] ..	947	44	483
Sambalpur ..	221	104	87
Boudh-Kondhmal ..	28	14	14
Sundargarh ..	1,674	690	784
Bolangir ..	24	16	8
Dhenkana ..	30	13	17
Keonjhar ..	177	73	104
Mayurbhanj ..	3,891	1,981	1,910
Balasore ..	42	27	15
Total ..	7,016	3,491	3,525

They speak their own language, which is very akin to Santali. Sir Edward A. Gait holds that Mahali language is a variant of the Santali. But they are rapidly adopting Oriya. The Mahalis of Mayurbhanj about whom this article is written live side by side with the Santals, Bhumij, Bhuiyan and caste Hindus. They occupy separate wards where tiny mud-houses with straw thatched roofs, are scattered without having any regular streets.

Clan Organisation and Marriage

The Mahalis are divided into a number of exogamous clans known as *Kili*. It is not possible to ascertain the total number of Mahali *Kili* at present and the informants of village Bisoi in Mayurbhanj district could only supply the following list which is, no doubt, an incomplete one:—

1. Hemrum
2. Mardi
3. Baske
4. Muram
5. Tudu
6. Hansda
7. Soven
8. Besra
9. Isku

The *Kili* names appear to be totemistic but it cannot be definitely stated at present. These names indicate the *Kili* and nothing more. They have forgotten the literal import of the terms. Similar names of clans are also found among the Santal and Bhumij tribes who live with them. The *Kili* is a strictly exogamous unit and its members cannot marry among themselves. Such a relation is regarded as incestuous and abhorrent. The *Kili* is a patrilineal group which descends from father to children. It has no religious or economic function of its own.

Marriage is usually adult, being arranged by the the parents in most cases. Marriage by service and also marriage by capture are not uncommon. The young man captures the woman of his fancy and smears her forehead with vermilion. If he succeeds in doing this, the marriage is believed to be valid. Widow-remarriage is allowed, and younger brothers can marry the deceased brother's wife. A man can marry his deceased wife's younger sisters. Divorce is allowed and if the wife is found guilty, the bride price is returned back to the husband.

In case of arranged marriage, the initiative is always taken by the boy's parents. When they see a girl they first consult with the *Ganek* (astrologer) to find out whether the match would be a favourable one. If he declares in its favour, they employ a *Raibar* or go-between. A clever man either from the own village or from the village of the girl is generally appointed as a go-between to negotiate for the marriage. When both parties agree, the bride-price is generally fixed. It consists of Rs. 10-00 to Rs. 20-00 in cash, a bullock and a cow, a saree about 20 cubits in length for the girl's mother, two sarees 10 cubits in length for the grandmother and the girl's father's elder brother's wife and dhotis and sarees for the members in the girl's family. Before the marriage proper the boy's parents pay the bride-price. A group of men accompanied by the young boys and girls take these articles to the girls house. The payment of the bride-price is marked by dancing and singing by the boys and girls of both the villages. Those who carry the bride price are only fed by the girl's family, while the rest take foodgrains with them for their meals.

On the appointed day the girls and boys with their musical band go to bring the bride for the marriage rite to be observed in the house of the bridegroom. When they reach the girl's village they are welcomed with dance and music. They are entertained with festive meals and whole night is spent in dancing and singing. Next day the bride proceeds to the boy's

village with presentations and accompanied by the boys and girls of the village. When they reach the village they are similarly welcomed with dance and music. They are allotted a place (*de:a*) for resting. In the afternoon the marriage rite is performed. The sister of the bridegroom's father carries the bride on her shoulder while the bridegroom sits on the shoulder of his father's sister's husband. The bride and the groom face each other. A cloth is held in between them by two persons. They are carried three times around the cloth while both of them would be throwing rice grains to each other. Then the bridegroom puts vermilion marks on the forehead of the bride for three times. Thus they become husband and wife. Then they are conducted to the house where they are anointed with turmeric and oil. The marriage is always concluded with feasting, dancing, singing and drinking which continue for three days.

Birth Rites

Birth pollution continues for nine days after which houses are cleaned and clothes are washed by the family concerned. During the period of pollution eating of flesh and fish is stopped. The family members do not take part in any religious activities. On the 9th day, the mother takes a ceremonial bath and washes her cloth. The baby and the male members of the family get themselves shaved. Kinsmen are invited to a feast. A name for the baby is selected by dropping rice grains in a pot filled up with water. While uttering the names of the ancestors or any suitable names one after another, rice grain is dropped in the pot where another grain is made to float earlier. When these two rice grains join, that name is selected for the baby.

Death Rites

They practise both burial and cremation. If the family concerned can afford and arrange wood, deads excluding those who die from cholera and smallpox are cremated. Death pollution continues for 10 days. On the ninth day known as *Na Pag*, the houses are cleaned and clothes are washed. All the male members of the deceased family are shaved. During the period of pollution they abstain from eating fish and flesh and cannot participate in any religious functions. On the tenth day the shade of the deceased is invited and offered food to eat. On this day the kinsmen are invited to a feast. Sometimes bones of the deceased are collected for throwing in the river after Makar Samkranti.

Important Festivals

Mahali religious festivals are mostly communal in nature. Individual worship only occurs on the occasion of *Sakrat* festival in the month of January, when the householder offers food and sacrifice to his gods. The village *Naya* or the priest officiates in the village festivals. A *Naya* generally belongs to Santal tribe. Where Santal and Mahali live in the same village, they jointly celebrate the festivals. The collection of subscription and management of the whole affair rest with the *Naya* while the villagers are required to participate in the performances as passive observers. The following annual festivals are observed by the Mahalis and the Santals of the village Bisoi in Mayurbhanja district:—

(a) *Baha Festival*—On any day in the month of Fagun (February-March) the *Naya* worships the village deities installed in the village-pirha for the general welfare of the village. Every household provides a fowl and rice for the worship. All the male members of the Santal and the Mahali tribes would be present there and arrange a feast with these sacrificial animals and rice. After this the young boys and girls spend the night with special dance of *Baha* and take liquor or rice-beer.

(b) *Saharae and Bandna*—This falls on the day before the *amavasya* in the month of Kartik (October-November). At the outskirts of the village, the *naya* performs a Puja and sacrifices a fowl. In the meantime the villagers have to collect all the bullocks and cows of the village and drive them towards the place where the *naya* has performed the puja. The cow or bullock which eats the offering materials from the temporary altar is caught. Next year the owner of that cow or bullock is required to supply a potful of rice-beer to the villagers at the time of *Saharae*.

In the afternoon most of the householders decorate their bullocks with flower and vermilion and tie with the poles planted in front of their houses. A batch of young boys with the musical instruments sing song and go from house to house, drink liquor and make bullocks dance.

If the *naya* likes, he arranges a contest of aim in releasing arrows. The inner shoot of a plantain tree about 4 feet high is planted at a distance of 200 yards. All who are present, even persons from the neighbouring villages are asked to strike it by an arrow. When anybody comes out successful, he is carried to the *naya's* house, where his feet are washed. He

and his followers are given flat-rice and rice-beer to take. He is also presented with one anna in cash for his success.

(c) *Ma Mane*—This is an agricultural ritual observed before reaping the rice-crops from the wetland in the month of October. The *naya* officiates in a worship to the deities of the village-pirha similar to one done at the time of *baha* festival. This is concluded with communal dancing and singing.

(d) *Magh festival*—On the last day of the month of Magh (January-February) a Puja is performed by the *naya* at the outskirts of the village before collecting jungle products such as fruits, leaves, wood and wild grass for their use in building house. This is also celebrated with dance and music.

On the occasion of *Sakrat* festival, if the *naya* so likes, plants a bamboo pole about 40 to 50 feet in height. At the top of the bamboo pole he keeps any amount he can afford. The bamboo-pole is polished with oil. Some extra oil is poured on the top of the bamboo and is allowed to flow down along the pole. All who are present are asked to bring the money from the top of the pole. The person who brings the money, takes it.

Dance and Music

Every festival is marked by communal dancing and music. They have separate dances and songs for separate occasions. Both male and female dance joining their hands, to the accompaniment of the musical instruments beaten by the males. In every Saturday evening and if possible, twice in a week, they sing and dance till late in night. In their dance they join with the Santals.

Occupation

The primary occupation of the Mahalis is basket-making from bamboo. A few who have sufficient land have got agriculture as their main economic pursuit, but for the rest it is a subsidiary source of income. All families know basket-making. They do not grow bamboo, but purchase it from the locality. They can prepare baskets worth six rupees from a piece of bamboo costing two rupees. In this craft women have earned more proficiency than the men, who devote much of their time in agriculture and wage earning. The scope for wage is limited to the demands of the local cultivators for their agricultural operations and also of the contractors doing construction work. They sell their baskets to the neighbouring

population for cash or foodgrains. Boys above eight to nine years of age are required to earn by tending cattle. Girls of this age-group are trained in the craft of basket-making. Collection of jungle products such as fruits, green leaves, roots and tubers supplement their diet. Hunting and fishing as economic pursuits are very rarely resorted to at leisure time or when opportunity comes.

Food And Intoxicants

Rice which is grown or purchased is their staple food, and is taken twice a day. Occasionally vegetables which they grow in their kitchen gardens and green leaves constitute the side-dish. They take beef, pork and fowl. Rice-beer and mohua-liquor are the common

intoxicants taken by them. They offer liquor to their deities and ancestors. Every festival is marked by consumption of a huge quantity of rice-beer or mohua liquor. For their food habits they are still considered untouchable.

Dress And Ornaments

As regards dress, they follow the neighbouring Santal and Bhumij tribes. Their economic condition does not allow them to wear modern dresses. Men wear short cloth while women wear mill-made saree as common dress. Well-to-do Mahalis put on shirt, banian and short. Women wear very few ornaments in their nose, ear, neck and wrist.

BHOTTARA

Gopinath Satpathy

The Bhottaras are one of the efficient agricultural communities of Orissa. They are known as Bhottaras and Bhottadas due to the pronunciation of 'r' as 'd' under the influence of Chattisgadi. Dhottada is wrong use of the term Bhottara. It is told that they are the immigrants from Bastar. Mr. Tylor has indentified them with the Murias. It seems that both Murias and Bhottaras are the subdivisions of the great Gond tribe, whether they are indentical or not. Mr. Bell has expressed his doubt regarding the tribal origin of the Bhottaras. In his opinion, they are Hindus who have been influenced by prolonged contact with aboriginals. At present, they constitute a major bulk of the population of Nowarangpur subdivision of Koraput and Koksara and Jaypatna police-station areas of Kalahandi district though their distribution in other districts is very little. The districtwise population of the tribe is given below:—

Name of the district		Number of Male	Number of female	Total
1. Koraput	..	79,617	78,151	157,768
2. Kalahandi	..	526	599	1,125
3. Sundargarh	..	117	55	172
4. Sambalpur	..	13	9	22
5. Boudh-Khondmal		3	1	4
Total	..	80,276	78,815	159,091

They speak a corrupt form of Oriya language. Some consider their language to be Muria, or Lucia otherwise known as Basturia, a dialect of Oriya. However, no vestige of a tribal dialect survives.

The tribe is divided into two endogamous divisions styled as Bodo and Sano. The Bodos claim to be of purer descent and hence are higher than the other division in social status. They have a number of exogamous totemistic clans like Tortoise, Tiger, cobra, Monkey, Dog, Lizard, goat, etc. The clan names are of the animal world and the animals are respected by the members of the respective clans.

Family is the social unit of Bhottaras. Nuclear families are more in number than the extended ones. Joint family structure breaks down with marriage and death of the parents. Members on the father line up to seventh generation are termed as kutumbs.

The Bhottaras have no organisation like dormitory but recently in some of the villages they have started *Jatra* groups the membership to which is open to all interested personnels.

Bhottara live in heterogeneous villages along with other neighbours like Omanatya, Dom, Rana, etc. The village is a unit from socio—political point of view. Every village has one secular head known as Naik, a religious head known as 'Pujari' and an attendant known as Gonda. The Naik and the Pujari are men of their own community, whereas the Gonda is a Domb. They constitute the traditional panchayat with other important members of the village and adjudicate all cases among themselves. The Pujari performs all religious ceremonies for welfare of the villagers as a whole.

A number of such villages together constitute a 'Desh'. For each 'Desh' there is one *Bhatnaek*, and a *Panigrahi*. Each *Desh* has one Gonda known as *Desiagonda*. The *Bhatnaek* controls the violation of taboos and outcasts the offender. He restores the offender into the society after due purification ceremony. When any offence is not decided in the village level, it is referred to *Desa Panchayat* and the decision is binding on all. *Gobadh* and *Machia-patak* are two offences leading the offender to excommunication, who is restored by the *Bhatnaek* and *Panigrahi* into the caste. The *Bhatnaek* performs some ritual, gives him *Mahaprassad* and brings him back to the caste.

The pregnant wife observes some restrictions on her food and activities for the safety of the child. She is not allowed to go to the burial ground. She is forbidden to touch corpse. She does not take curd. At the labour bed she is attended by her own kins. The kins cut the naval cord and bury it in a ditch outside the house. The birth pollution extends for a length of time. On the 3rd day, the mother and the baby are cleaned with turmeric. On the 9th day, name giving ceremony is observed. The *Disari* selects the name by divination. A feast is given to all the villagers. The entire night is spent in dance and song. First hair cutting ceremony is done after a year. The father shaves the hair. The ear and nose piercing ceremony is observed at the age of 4 to 5 years. A *Sunari* woman does the function. The thread ceremony is over before their marriage.

The most significant and elaborate event in the life of the *Bhattaras* is their marriage ceremony. They practise both adult and infant marriage but the adult marriage is largely followed. The usual age of marriage is 14 to 18 in case of girls and 18 to 20 in case of boys. The young man has a right over his uncle's daughter. If any one else takes her, he gets some compensation from him. The widow and a divorced woman can marry again. Marriage by arrangement, by capture, and by service are recognised in the society. Marriage by arrangement seems to be honoured and widely prevails.

(1) *Marriage by arrangement*—Exogamy of clan, non-committance of any offence leading to outcaste of the parents of the girl, social status, prevalence of permanent disease like leprosy, etc. are taken into consideration while selecting a mate. Such selection is usually done by the parents of the boy.

A few men including the guardian of the boy call at the house of the girl carrying with them some wine, rice, sweets and other eatables. After the feast at

her residence is over, the proposal of marriage is put forth for approval. Indirect indications like "we have come to pluck the scented flower" are given to her parents to give their opinion. Her parents in consultation with the relatives and the girl may accept or reject the proposal. This is called *Mangni*.

If it cannot be finalised in that calling, two more visits may be given for the final reply. On receipt of positive answer, the *Disari* is consulted and a trip is made to her house with, Palm wine, food articles. The kinsmen of the girl congregate and are made aware of the promise of her father. This is called *Sagajanki*.

At a next calling, the negotiation is confirmed in the presence of villagers and relatives. This is known as *chidni*.

The next visit is known as *balarni*. The *balarani* is followed by *guajokni*, when the boy himself with some relatives pays a visit and is offered a betelnut by the guardian of the girl. From this day, the boy gets a right over the girl and is entitled to compensation if any one kidnaps the girl.

The next visit is made with several measures of paddy, pulses, etc., to fix up and to pay bride price. This is called *Jola*.

After a month or so, a date is fixed in consultation with *Disari* and the groom carries a sword on his shoulder and goes with his father and relations to the bride's place with a ring, bangles and two pieces of *Saris*. A feast is given by bride's parents and the ornaments are given to the bride. The party returns with the bride.

Marriage takes place at the groom's place. An altar is made. Seven *sal* (*Shorea robusta*) poles are fixed on it. The marriage ceremony lingers for 8 days and a number of feasts are given by both the parties. To make this platform the villagers are given a feast at their respective villages. The *Disari* officiates as the priest. Little fingers of the couple are hooked together and their cloths knotted, they walk seven times round the pandal, *homan* is lit, their forehead are marked with turmeric paste and rice. The girls keep on dancing for the entire night. *Dombs* beat the drums. The occasion is followed by a grand feast. Next day, the couple will search valuables from a jar filled up with water, mud, and different fruits. They besmear themselves with mud. Then they go to the river, take bath and the bride is carried back on the shoulder of the boy. They will attend a feast. A feast is also given to villagers on the next day for their services during marriage.

On 9th day both bride and bridegroom with 5 young men and women, and 5 oldmen and women go to the girl's mother's house. They carry rice, pulses, vegetables, fowls, etc. There ensues a grand feast and party returns.

At the later date, the bride cooks in newpots and serves the relatives. The ancestors are given food and she becomes a members of her husband's family.

Marriage by capture—To evade this long and expensive arranged marriage the Bhottara some times capture a girl from the market or during Chaitra festival. Her kith and kins visit the boy's place and abuse and threat the boy to handover the girl to them. If the girl is happy, she usually does not come out of her secret place. If she is dissatisfied, she surrenders herself to her father and is taken back. Compensation is demanded from the offender.

If the girl does not come out, some elders come out to settle the affair. The quantum of compensation, bride price etc., are discussed. The decision is binding on kidnapper and he pays the amount and marries her.

Marriage by Service—Some times a poor Bhottara goes to serve in the family of a well-to-do person with the aim of getting the latter's daughter or sister in marriage after the stipulated period of service. The term of service extends from 5 to 10 years. During the period the servant gets only food and clothes. After the stipulated period, the girl is given in marriage to the boy. If he likes, he may stay with his father-in-law or he may erect his own house or may go back to his own home.

A man may keep his elder brother's widow, if he likes. If she goes out, the man is entitled to compensation from the new husband. Polygyny is also practised, if the wife is found to be barren.

Bhottaras bury their dead in sleeping posture. The very well-to-do persons in certain localities are now interested to practise cremation. Death rites consist of *Pitakhia* on 3rd day, *Dosa* on 10th day, and feast on 11th day. The pollution is observed for 10 days when the deceased agnates are forbidden to cook any food. On *Pita* day, they eat rice, nim, dried fish, and brinjal. The nails are pared. On *Dosa* day, son is shaved, all are given new cloth and napkin. On 11th day, all are given a feast. The barber does not serve them and the sister's son does the work and gets the presents. They believe in rebirth, but do not observe any *sradh*, etc.

Bhottaras have a great belief in a number of spirits gods and goddesses. Budhi Thakurani, Bhairabi, Budhi Pardesi, Basumata, Bana Durga, Sun are a few of their deities. These are propitiated during the festivals and are offered sacrifices of fowl, goat and sheep. Their Pujari acts as the priest.

The festivals are—(i) Chaitoparb in chaitra (ii) Akhi Trutia in Baishakh, (iii) Sraban Amus in Sraban, (iv) Nuakhia in Bhadrab (v) Dashara in Asin, (vi) Dewali in Kartika, (vii) Punia in Pusa, (viii) Surjya Jatra in Magh.

Chaitoparb is one of the important festivals connected with fertility rites and production of bumper crop. They eat new mangoes, after offering the same to village deity. The Pujari sows the first seeds. They arrange annual hunts and spend the night in dance and music.

Akhi Turtia is an individual festival and seeds are sown after proper worship and offering to Basumata.

Pusa Punia is day of enjoyment and merry making. They go to dance in other villages for weeks together. During Dewali, they worship cows, bullocks and offer rice, salt to them. They feast and enjoy.

Apart from these festivals they participate in Holi festival in Fagun and car festival in Asadh with the neighbouring population. They have now adopted Laxmi Puja in Magasir in imitation of the other Hindu neighbours.

Bali Jatra is observed in Koraput district in some areas when crops fail for lack of rain for several years continuously. The effigies of Bhima and Kandhuni Debi are ceremonially kept and worshipped. The Bhottaras do participate in it with other non-tribals and Hindu folk.

The Bhottaras dance on various occasions such as marriage, Pusa Punia and Chaita Parba. They have a few types of dance and are not so expert in dance and music like the other tribal folks. They perform *cherechera* dance during Pusa Punia and *Daunidarnat* during marriage ceremonies. In *cherechera* dance both male and female do participate but they dance separately. The movement is very brisk and lively. *Daunidarnat* is done by girls only. Both the types are indication of love.

The Bhottara settlements are too large. It is heterogeneous. The houses are set in one row with road in front of them. They have no common house. The village deity has its temple at one end of the village. The villages are situated on plain and agricultural lands surround the villages.

The houses have mostly with one room in Kalahandi area and two to three rooms in Koraput area. The houses have wide covered verandahs. The doors of the room are opened to the verandah. Cooking is done inside the room. The roofs are thatched with straw and the walls are made of wood wattles plastered with mud. Gradually brick made walls are replacing the mud walls. In Kalahandi area, tiled roofs are also seen.

Before constructing the house, they consult 'Disari' and according to his decision, they erect the home after performing *homa* by the *Disari* or *Brahmin*.

Their material culture is very simple. They use earthen pots made by potter for carrying, storing water and cooking purposes. Rope made cots are seen in certain houses. Aluminium utensils, brass jars, pots are also seen in well-to-do families. They make receptacles in straw to store grain. They have *Barsi*, screw driver, axe, *paniki* etc. They have husking lever and hand-pounding *kutuni*.

As agricultural implements, they have plough share, plough, *Pata*, sickle, bullock cart, *Akudi* and wooden sticks. They make their own ploughs. As musical instruments they have drums known as Nangara, Dhol, Tamak, Tudubudi. They have Mahuri. They also use Gini and Thala.

Bhottaras neither spin nor weave. They purchase clothes from the local dealers like Dombs. Bhottaras living near the town mostly wear mill-made clothes, which they purchase from the market. The males put on shirts, banians. In Kalahandi area, men usually wear loin cloths. They use Napkin and Chaddar. Females wear white and coloured sarees. The males wear khadu of alloy on their wrist and Nolis in their ear. The females wear glass or rubber bangles, Khadus of alloy or silver, armlet at the arm, Noli and earrings in ear, nose rings, glass bead necklaces, glass bead necklaces, metal necklaces, Gagals round their neck. Rings of silver alloy for the fingers and toes are in common use. They wear Pahud on their legs. These ornaments are locally purchased. The well-to-do persons are wearing gold ornaments in ear, nose and neck.

Economy

The Bhottaras are good agriculturists. They know wet cultivation and do not practise shifting cultivation

as a mode of their occupation. They work as labourers when there is no work in the fields. A few of them also serve in firm and Government institutions. In Nowarangpur area, most of them have a few acres of land, whereas in Kalahandi area, they plough land on share basis. The hunting is carried out at times like pastime. Food collection is resorted to at the time of acute scarcity.

They produce all sorts of vegetables in their lands. Paddy, sugarcane, pulses, tobacco, are the main crops which they harvest from their land. They are hardy and do not allow the land to remain barren when water is available.

But, for their daily necessity they depend upon other communities and the markets. They purchase salt, cloth, earthen vessels, ornaments, utensils for their daily use. The raw materials like iron for plough share are also purchased.

They are very simple and obey the authorities. In spite of their hard labour, they fail to prosper as they should be on account of being exploited by the neighbouring advanced folk. Most of them do not know the market rates. The females sell and buy goods at the market places and are easily duped by the advanced businessmen. At the time of need, they get money from local traders and at the time of harvest three to four times of the money is taken by the money-lender. The officials like Forest, Revenue, Excise staff take advantage of their simplicity and take their produces in the form of bribes. The marriage being very expensive, they borrow money and become prey of the exploiters. The Dombs are cunning and they exploit them at the time of selling salt and cloths to them. Two to three times of the actual price is taken from these innocent folk.

The Bhottaras are not untouchables. They consider Dombs, Panos to be very low and do not touch them. Brahmins allow Bhottaras to enter into their houses. Most of the other communities except Brahmins, Karan, Khandayat take water from them. They treat Amanatyas Bhumias as their equals but tribes like Kondh, Gond, Godabas are held inferior to them. They do not practise any defiling occupations and can worship in Hindu temples. They are yet educationally very backward and hence deserve special safeguards.

BHUMIJ

Bhagirathi Chowdhury

"The Bhumij" writes Risley "are nothing more than a branch of the Mundas, who have spread to the eastward and mingled with the Hindus, and thus for the most part severed their connection with parents tribe." In Mayurbhanj 'Munda' is another name for the Bhumij. Whatever may be the story of their origin and migration, the tribe in Orissa is concentrated heavily in the districts of Mayurbhanj, Sundargarh, Keonjhar, Balasore and sporadically distributed in other parts. A table given below will show the districtwise distribution of the tribe in Orissa.

Name of the District	Population		
	Total	Male	Female
Balasore ..	20,149	9,954	10,195
Mayurbhanj ..	79,394	39,278	40,116
Cuttack ..	1,734	849	855
Keonjhar ..	8,122	3,971	4,151
Puri ..	64	34	30

Name of the District	Population		
	Total	Male	Female
Dhenkanal ..	2,325	1,201	1,124
Sundargarh ..	4,288	2,278	2,010
Ganjam ..	1	1	..
Boudh-Khondmal	4	3	1
Bolangir ..	2	2	..
Sambalpur ..	78	54	24
Koraput ..	20	8	12
Total ..	1,16,181	57,633	58,548

Language—The tribe has got its aboriginal tongue, but they are adopting Oriya rapidly. They now speak both Oriya and Bhumij at home and outside. They have developed liking for Oriya.

Subdivisions

The different sections of the Bhumij tribe as given by the Census Report of the Mayurbhanj State, 1931, "are known as Tamaria, Barabhumiya, Matia, Desi, Teli, Haldi-pokharia and Sahara-Bhumij. The Tamaria section are generally employed as sawyers, while the Teli section press oil. Females of the Haldi-pokharia section serve as midwives to the other Bhumij. The Desi Bhumij prepare and sell burnt lime. The Matias do earth work. The Barabhumiyas derive their name from Barabhum". Of these sections, the Tamaria, a more Hinduised sections, has become a separate caste. The Desi or Desia or Singbhumia Bhumij found in Keonjhar have got lowest position among these sections.

Each of these sections is again divided into a number of exogamous groups known as *Kili*. One of the informant of the village Kadapani in Bisoi P. S. of Mayurbhanj district gave me a list of twelve *Kili* found among the Bhumij. They are Saman, Sandi, Barda, Birjilu, Donda, Hansda, Gulgu, Hembrom, Koyali, Nag, Rui and Uru. These names seem to be totemistic in nature, but can not be ascertained exactly at present. These names indicate some kind of bird, beast, insect, plant or some inanimate objects. As mentioned earlier, the *Kili* is a strictly exogamous body and its members cannot marry among themselves. Such union is considered incestuous and dangerous. The *Kili* is a unilateral group where descent is traced in the male line.

Marriage

They practise both child and adult marriage and thus there is no fixed age for marriage at present. The most common type of acquiring a bride is through negotiation and by payment of bride price. Marriage by capture, by service and by intrusion are also prevalent. Levirate and sororate are allowed and so also widow-remarriage which is known as *Sanga*. Cross-cousin marriage is in vogue. Divorce is allowed and divorced women can remarry.

For marriage negotiation the boy's family employ a clever man called *Dandia* (go-between) who pays several visits to the girls' house for fixing the marriage and the bride price known as *Ganang*. The bride price consists of two bullocks worth Rs. 80.00 to Rs. 100.00 Rs. 5 in cash, clothes for the grandmother, mother and the brother. Before the marriage is settled up

they consult with the astrologer to calculate the stars of the boy and the girl. When he declares in its favour they proceed with the proposal and fix the marriage.

On the appointed day the bridegroom accompanied by friends and relatives of both sexes and the musical band proceeds to the girls' village for marriage rites. As soon as they reach the outskirts of the girl's village they are taken to the *Dera* (a house in the village kept vacant for the groom's party). The guests are entertained with rice beer. Previously when they had musical instruments, the young boys and girls of the bride's village were to welcome them with dance and music. If there is sufficient time for the marriage rites, the grooms' party cook their meals in the *Dera*. Afterwards the groom is conducted to the marriage booth constructed in the courtyard of the bride's family. The Brahmin priest, who is usually invited in some localities of the district, officiates in the marriage. He performs a *Homo* and joins the hands of the bridal couple as the binding rite of marriage. In the absence of the Brahmin priest, the maternal uncles of the couple come to help them to perform the rite of *sindur-dan*, in which the bridegroom and the bride apply vermilion paint on each others forehead twice. Then they are conducted to the *Dera* and anointed with turmeric and oil. Later on they are given food to eat. Then they return to the bridegroom's village, accompanied by the friends and kinsmen of the bride. Previously when they had their dances and musical instruments, every marriage ceremony was marked by dancing, singing and drinking for several days together. Afterwards the bride-price is paid to the bride's parents.

Birth rites

During the period of birth pollution which continues for 9 days, the whole family is considered unclean. On the last day of this period, the family cleans its house and washerman if available, is recruited to wash clothes of the family and the Hindu barber to shave the male members and the baby and to pare the nails of all the members of the family. A name is selected by dropping rice grains and oil-seeds while uttering the selected names. The kinsmen and the friends are entertained with rice-beer.

Death rites

Both cremation and burial are practised by them according to the availability of firewood. Mourning period for the whole lineage (*Kutumba*) continues

for ten days. On the very day of occurrence of death the cooking earthen pots are removed from all the families of the lineage. During the period of pollution, they abstain from eating fish and flesh. On the 10th day, the Hindu barber shaves and pares the nails of all members of the family. The washerman cleans the clothes of the family. In some localities Brahmins are invited to perform *Sradha* for the departed soul. On this day food is cooked in new earthen pots.

Religion

The religious beliefs and practices of the Bhumij show adoption of some Hindu religious traits into their tribal religion. The Brahmin priest whom they require for their marriage and death rites, has no function in their religious practices. All the offerings and sacrifices to their deities are made through a *naya* or *Dehuri* (village priest) belonging to their own tribe or clean caste.

Like Hindus they observe *Raja parab*, *Ganpha* and *Makar Sankranti*. Religious rites connected with the agricultural operations consist of *Asarhi* before reploughing and transplanting paddy seedlings, *Badhna* before reaping and *Nua khiq*, the new rice eating ceremony. Before collecting new leaves, fruits from the forest, they perform a rite called *Fulpuja*. On the occasion of these religious ceremonies, the *Dehuri* performs *Pujas* to the village deities located in a grove. They also perform *Saharae* during *Diwali* when cattle are worshipped by the priest. They have not yet completely lost their faith in the working of magic and witchcraft. They also believe that diseases are brought by the malevolent deities. Thus they also take the help of the *shaman* for magical cure.

Dance and Music

As mentioned earlier, they have given up dancing and singing in the recent past. But some of them have musical instruments. They occasionally dance as a source of recreation. The girls dance to the sound of the musical instruments played on by the boys.

Houses and Settlement

The Bhumij settlements are situated near the hills or forests whenever available. They also live in the Hindu villages. In this case, they always build a separate ward of their own. Before constructing houses in a new site they employ grain-divination in

selecting the site. In the evening they place rice grain and a vermilion in any corner of the new site. On examination when these grains are found in tact in the following morning, they consider the site to be favourable for human habitation. A Bhumij ward is marked by big trees which give fruits. In Mayurbhanj they live with the Kharia, Santal, Munda, Bhuiya and caste Hindus. In such villages their houses are not indiscriminately scattered among the domiciles of other castes and tribes but occupy a definite quarter of the village. In such villages which are found around Baripada town they have adopted many cultural traits of the Hindus and they also pose like clean caste Hindus.

A Bhumij house is rectangular in size, length varying from 15' to 9' while the breadth is usually between 7' and 5' and the height is between 5' to 8'. Ordinarily verandahs are built in the front. The houses with mud walls have generally straw or wild-grass thatched roof. Most of them own more than one room with opening to the courtyard. Cowsheds are built close to the living room. The walls are decorated like those of the Santal with coloured water pre-pared from soil.

Dress and Ornament

As regards dress and ornament they follow the Hindu neighbours. Men wear napkins and occasionally long dhotis while women wear saree which covers upto knee. Use of blouse and inner petti-coat is yet to become popular among Bhumij girls. Children are given shirt to wear. Only well-to-do Bhumij can afford to wear shirt and other modern dresses. Women are not very much particular to decorate the different parts of their body with a large varieties of ornaments. They put on glass or metal bangles on their wrist, one or two necklaces of imitation coin or chain in their neck, one ring in the nose. Only well-to-do families can afford to use ornaments made of gold or silver. All these ornaments are purchased from the market.

Occupation

Their main occupation at present is settled cultivation which is supplemented by wage-earning, collection of jungle products and hunting. After harvest when they do not find any scope for wage-earning, the Bhumij men go to work in the mining quarries, in tea garden of Assam and in Calcutta. They stay there for a period of three to four months and come back when the agricultural operation is started for the next crop. They grow only one crop of rice

in a year. They grow some rabi crops such as oil seeds, pulses in their up-lands and vegetables in the kitchen garden. As land is not sufficient for most of the families, they work as part-time labourer for the neighbouring cultivators during the agricultural calendar. Hunting as a gainful economic pursuit has been given up due to depletion of forest and restrictions imposed by the government.

Food and Intoxicants

Rice is their staple food and is taken throughout the whole year. They abstain from eating beef, pork, but take fowl, white-ants and termites like those of Bathudi and Sounti. They take rice-beer and mohua-liquor like the neighbouring tribes of Santal, Mahali and Kharia.

DAL

Praśanta Kumar Mohapatra

The Dal are found mostly in the southern and western regions of Bolangir district the main concentration of which are in Belpara, Khaparakhole and Kantabanjhi Panchayat Samiti areas. They inhabit this area since many generations and are unable to trace the history of their migration from any other region. Some of the Dal villages are Tanhala, Malpara, Chacheribong, Bhalukhai, Thodibahal, Kukurhad, Magurchuan, Phulkani, Hatmunda, Kudi, Pahanmunda, Shaimara and Debri, etc. The distribution of the tribes as found in various districts is given in the following table.

Name of tribe - Dal.

District	Population		
	Total population	Male	Female
1	2	3	4
Kalahandi ..	1,875	848	1,027
Koraput ..	1	..	1
Sambalpur ..	14	7	7
Bolangir ..	7,675	3,749	3,926
Sundargarh ..	14	6	8
Puri ..	31	13	18
Keonjhar ..	201	119	82
Cuttack ..	17	17	..
Mayurbhanj ..	6	1	5
Balasore ..	10	10	..
Total ..	9,844	4,770	5,079

The houses of the Dal are in the pattern of local Hindu people and they thatch their houses with 'khararas' or country tiles prepared by themselves. They live with other caste people like Bhuliyas, Loharas and Panas. The dress and ornaments are same as the local people. They speak colloquial Oriya like their neighbours and do not admit to have a separate dialect of their own.

The Dal kinship system presents an interesting study. It appears that they were first divided into six exogamous units, namely, Bhoi, Jhankar, Majhi, Mallik, Bisal and Jani. In course of time the exogamous nature of few of the divisions like Bhoi, Mallik, Majhi and Jani has changed and these have become endogamous units having two different subdivisions. Each subdivision consists of a number of lineages and each subdivision is an exogamous unit. For example the Bhoi group is divided into two subdivisions or 'Bansas' namely *Sat gachhia* and *Bar gachhia*, i.e., seventrees and twelvetees. *Sat Gachhia* consists of the seven lineages, like Guruskabhoi, Jugaska Bhoi, Libujka Bhoi, chil-milka bhoi, Jadka bhoi, Jalangia bhoi and satmalika bhoi. The other division *Bargachhia* also consists of twelve different lineages.

The two subdivisions of an endogamous unit are generally known as *Banjulka* and *Mutka* which are exogamous ones. The other two units of Dals like Bisal and Jhankar are exogamous units and can have marriage relations with the four other units mentioned above.

In choosing a bride, father's sister's daughter and mother's brother's daughter are preferred. A person can also marry the 'Kanya' or wife of a person belonging to his own clan if the person dies. Arranged marriage is the most commonly prevalent form

of marriage among the Dals. The father of the groom goes with a pot of liquor and a basket-ful of fried rice *bhuja* to the bride's father accompanied by his affinal relations. If the father of the bride drinks the liquor and eats *bhuja* the negotiation is understood to have been accepted. The parents take the help of a Oriya brahmin to select the auspicious day of marriage but no brahmin is asked to perform the marriage rituals. On the day of marriage ceremony the groom sits on *chanhara* or a sacred mat and the girls of his village dance round him and the groom takes a ceremonial bath. The groom's party start by evening to the bride's village where the couple is made to sit together. The women folk of the bride's village dance round the couple and sacred rice is thrown over the couple. Groom's father provides provisions to the bride's father for the feast which is given to the villagers of the bride's father. Drinking and dancing continues till morning when the couple are sent back to the groom's village. The groom's father pays the bride price before the marriage ceremony which consists of clothing for all the members of the bride's family, cash Rs. 40, a goat and liquor.

The Dals have a few persons of their own who are known as *Mahamanab*. They are the leaders of the Dal society and exert immense influence with regard to the issues like divorce and disputes among the Dals. Names of few of them are Satyanarayan Mallik, Chanhara Jhankar of Gambhari village, Tikerasa Jhankara of Chacheribeng village, Perra Jhankara of Hatimunda village and sadhu Bhoi of Aenlahata village. They conduct the '*Jatia samaj bhoji*' where all the Dals of that region gather and discuss about the issues and are entertained by the leaders. The contributions are collected from the parties who come for settlement of their disputes and are aided by the leaders who are economically better off. In case of a divorce the girl who is divorced is brought to the gathering by her father. The man who divorces pays to the divorcee, an amount of Rs. 5 and a new cloth. The *mahamanab* or the leader gives the girl to another person on that day and the bride price procured is spent on feasting and merrymaking over there. These social gatherings are usually held in the month of Chait and Baisakh. People from distant villages are invited to attend the gathering.

Dals cultivate ragi and *Kodua* more than paddy and *Gurji*. Among pulses they grow *Kolath*, *Munga*, *Biri* and oil-seeds like *Rasi* and *til*. Maize and *Khed*

Jandra (millet type) are also grown. *Kosri* or Sugar-cane is also cultivated. Vegetables like brinjal, tomato and chillies are also grown in the kitchen garden. Tobacco is cultivated by almost all individuals. As the fields are almost high and have no irrigation facilities the Dals have dug wells near their gardens for lift irrigation. For paddy and ragi, etc., they depend on rain entirely. Apart from these each Dal owns a number of *mahul* trees. Mahul is collected and stored by each family on which they depend for their food. Mostly mahul is exchanged for ragi and Kodua with the contractors who brew liquor in the neighbourhood. They depend on the markets nearby for salt, oil, turmeric and clothings. These are sold by the *marwari* business men who charge exorbitantly for an article. For example an ordinary dhoti is charged Rs. 10 to 12 and an ordinary shirt for rupees 7 to 8. The Kultas, Bhuliyas and Marwaries also exploit the Dals by advancing loans for the land produce before harvest. The Dals sell their produce at a nominal rate as a condition at the time of giving loan. The Dals are compelled to dispose off their produce at the rate of 3 mans per rupee which is sold in the market at the rate of 1 man per rupee. It was told by the Dals that the Graingolla personnel do not help at the time of need for which they find no other alternative except going to the traditional money lenders, who exploit them.

The Dals of Belpara, Khaparakhole and Kantabanjhi regions are connected with the worship of God *Mahadev* at a place known as *Harishankar*. There happens to be a temple of Lord Siva where the Dals are the traditional worshippers of this god. It remains for study at the spot as to how these people involved themselves in worshipping a Hindu God. Apart from that each gotra mentioned above has a god for their own group. For example *Vaira*, *Jannakanher* are the Gods worshipped by the Bhoi group. *Dolkribudhi* and *patkhanda* gods are worshipped by Jani group. *Duarsani*, *Chandi Majhi* and *Bar Roul* are worshipped by Bisal group. They have separate sacred houses for each of these gods and goddesses.

They observe certain traditional festivals like Mahul new eating in the month of Chait, roots and tubers like Kukhru and Dahikanda new eating in the month of Asadh. Apart from these they observe festivals like *Phagun Purnami*, *Dashera* and *Diali uans* (new moon) on the occasion of which they eat, drink and dance.

DESUA BHUMIJ

Bhagirathi Chowdhury

The Desi or Desua Bhumij, also known as Sing-bhumia Bhumij constitute a section of the Bhumij tribe of Munda origin. In some localities they are commonly known as 'Bhumij' and while referring to the tribe, the word 'Desua' is always dropped. Their district-wise distribution in Orissa is given below:—

Name of the district	Population		
	Total	Male	Female
Sambalpur ..	3	3	..
Puri ..	39	22	17
Mayurbhanj ..	206	112	94
Total ..	248	137	111

They are considered untouchable and they do not get the services of the Hindu Brahmin, barber and washerman. They have totally forgotten their aboriginal language, and have adopted Oiya as their mother tongue.

Clan and Marriage—The tribe is divided into a number of exogamous groups called *Kili* or *Gotra*. They are Karji, Pardhan, Dalnaik, Naik, Barda, Hemrum, Magdha, etc., most of which are found among the other sections of the tribe. Marriage within the same *Kili* is forbidden and considered incestuous.

Arranged marriage is the general rule. But there are also marriage by capture and marriage by intrusion prevalent among them. In case of former, the amount of bride-price is less than what is paid in an arranged marriage. Bride-price in a marriage by intrusion is never paid. In this case a girl comes and enters into the house of the boy of her liking. If the boy's parents accept her, no bride-price is demanded. Widow remarriage is allowed without payment of bride-price. Levirate and sororate are prevalent. There is provision for divorce though it is very rarely practised.

Proposal for marriage by negotiation comes first from the boy's side. When both the parties give their consent the betrothal takes place. On this occasion the boy's parents accompanied by some kinsmen pay a visit to the girl's family with a new cloth for the bride and nearly ten seers of paddy and a pot-ful of liquor. A day is fixed for the marriage rite

which takes place in the boy's village. On the appointed day a group of young boys and girls with their musical instruments go to bring the bride. They carry with them the bride-price which consists of Rs. 4 in cash, two maunds of paddy and a cloth for the girls' mother. Unless bride-price is paid the bride's parents do not send their daughter for marriage. After payment of the bride-price they come in a procession with dancing and singing and reach the groom's village in the evening. On their arrival they are received with dance and music. The bride is taken to the groom's house. Now the marriage rites take place near the marriage booth constructed for this purpose in the courtyard of the groom's family. The father or in his absence paternal uncle offers food and liquor to ancestors and *Thakurani* before the *Sindurdan*, the binding ritual of marriage. Then the groom and the bride give vermilion marks on each other's forehead. They are anointed with oil and turmeric. The marriage is concluded with feasting, drinking, dancing and singing which continue till the next day when bride's party returns to their village.

Birth rites—

Birth pollution continues for nine days, when the males of the family and the baby are shaved by their tribesmen. The mother washes her cloths and takes bath. The houses of the family concerned are cleaned. All the used clothes are washed by the family members. The woman who acts as mid-wife for the delivery, selects name for the baby by dropping rice grain and *Khasa* (a variety of oil seed).

Death-rites—

The mourning period continues till the purificatory rites are observed on the tenth day. During the period of pollution, they abstain from eating fish and flesh. On the tenth day, all the males of the deceased's lineage shave their heads and females pare their nails. All used clothes are washed by themselves. After cooking food, they go to bring the departed soul and offer food. Thus the death pollution is removed. It is now the common rule to bury the deads. The difficulty of procuring firewood does not allow them to cremate.

Religion—

Whatever may be their religious beliefs and practices in the past, they now observe several festivals of the

neighbouring Hindus. Among these *Raja Parba*, *Ganha Punaz*, *Dasara*, *Makar Sankranti*, *Prathamasti* are important. On the occasion of *Raja Parba*, they like the Hindus, suspend all work and spend the time as holidays for three consecutive days. They make swings. Song competition between boys and girls who form two separate parties goes on among the tribe. They do not offer sacrifices or any other materials to the deities communally. They have no priest to worship their deities. They are also not required to participate in the religious ceremonies connected with the agricultural operations, observed by the Hindus of the village. They worship *Thakurani*, who is installed in a clay image for seven days in a year. Every festival is marked by singing and dancing by girls to the accompaniment of musical instruments played on by the boys. Drinking of rice beer and *mohua*-liquor is a common thing in every festival.

They have belief in magic and witchcraft. For illness they consult with the shamans who belong to their own tribe. Occasionally they go to hospital for medicine.

Dance and Music—

They celebrate every festival and the marriage ceremonies with dance and music. Girls in a row dance while the boys play on the *Changu*, the only musical instrument they possess. Their songs are in Oriya language which has been adopted as their mother-tongue.

Houses and Settlement—

The Bhumij settlements which form part and parcel of the Hindu villages are built completely detached from the wards inhabited by other castes and tribes. The arrangements of houses in a Bhumij ward does not follow any definite pattern. In some villages, houses are built in a linear fashion with two rows of houses facing the same street, which also serves the purpose of courtyard. In some villages houses are scattered over a big area. They like to build houses in a place where there are fruit-trees and a good source of water, such as a spring, a well etc. They have kitchen gardens which are located in front of the houses or at the back. The non-availability of faggots due to depletion of forests and their meagre income to meet the expenses for a stone or a mud wall, force them to keep their kitchen gardens open. Here they grow millet, maize and a few varieties of vegetables mostly for their own consumption during the rainy seasons. They do not possess any common-house in the ward.

The tiny mud huts with straw-thatched roofs of the Bhumij by the side of big and well-maintained houses belonging to caste Hindus, will at once give an impression of their poverty and misery. The houses with low walls are very small in size. There is no widow in any house. The door is so small that while entering into a house one has to bend his head as low as waist. The shutters are either made of wattles or kerosine tins. Very small verandahs are constructed in the front side. Most of the families possess only one

room which serves the purposes of kitchen, sleeping and store-room. As soon as a son is married a separate house is built by him. Unmarried grown-up boys of the ward sleep in some vacant houses. So also the unmarried girls sleep in a widow's house.

Household Articles.—

As regards household articles they make a very miserable show. Now they use sack or a mat made of wild date palm as their beds. A family may possess two or three aluminium utensils for taking food, some earthen vessels for cooking and storing water, a few items of basketry. One or two families in the village may be possessing a steel trunk or any other valuable property. The axe, bows and arrows are the only weapons used by them.

Dress and Ornament—

Men wear napkins and occasionally long dhotis while women wear mill-made sarees. Use of blouse and inner petticoat has become very popular among the young girls. Use of shirt, short and banian is gaining popularity among the young boys. All these dresses are purchased from the local market. Children upto six to seven years of age are allowed to go naked.

The Bhumij women wear a limited number of ornaments, made of cheap metal, sold in the market. A chain or a necklace of imitation coin for the neck, glass or metal bangles on the wrist and metal anklet are the common ornaments used by them. Those who can afford, wear ornaments made of valuable metals like gold and silver. Young boys are sometimes seen wearing flower designs made of metal in their lobes.

Occupation—

The Bhumij have taken to wage earning as the main source of income. Most of them are landless and only a few families have got land which is not also sufficient to meet their requirements. So almost all of them work as labourer for the neighbouring cultivators. Children are employed to tend cattle of the cultivators. The depleted forest in the neighbouring area does not provide much scope for collecting green leaves, roots, and fruits, as in the past. With much difficulty they can bring fuel and sal leaves for sale. In leisure time they manufacture bricks on demand. During summer a few Bhumij men go to work in Tea garden of Assam or in Calcutta or in the mining quarries in Keonjhar.

Food and Intoxicants—

Although rice is their staple food, they hardly get full meals throughout the whole year. Whenever it is available it is taken. They eat beef, pork, fowl white-ant, mouse, termites and other unclean food. Rice-beer and *mohua*-liquor are taken.

For their unclean food habits, they are still considered as untouchables. They do not get the services of Brahmin, barber and washerman of the Hindu society.

DIDAYI

P. K. Mohapatra

The Didayi are a small primitive hill tribe of the district of Koraput inhabiting the 4,000 feet plateau of the Eastern Ghat range. The plateau is a continuation of the habitat of the Bonda, who are frequently referred to as notorious by the local people due to their atrocious attitude. The total number of Didayis according to 1961 census is 1,978 out of which 962 are males and 1,016 are females. The total literate figure is 54 out of which 46 are males and 8 females. At present they do not live in a compact geographical area and migration has taken place in the plains lying at the foot of the plateau on both sides. Comparatively more frequent migration has been in the direction of the valley on the eastern side of the plateau as the tract is more secluded from the general stream of population of the district. As a result of this they can be said to be divided into two groups, i.e., the hill and the plain Didayi. It is interesting to note that the people living on the hill-tops have almost social ties with the plains people who, to a considerable extent, have been influenced by the Telugu speaking people living close to them. The hill people have retained, to greater extent, the primitiveness which can be observed from their habit, dress and other activities.

The Didayi speak a dialect closely akin to the language spoken by the Gadaba and Bonda ; hence it belongs to the Mundari group. The plains people have

incorporated many Telugu words into their language due to contact. The hill people are comparatively dirty with regard to their dress, habits and mostly keep long locks of hair known as 'Gunagbo'. The plains people have done away with this practice and are comparatively better off with regard to their dress habits.

The Villages

There is a sharp contrast between the type of villages of the two divisions of Didayi. The hill villages are limited and their number hardly exceeds ten. The plain villages on both sides approximately are twenty in number. Approach to the villages is extremely difficult as the 4,000' plateau stands as a huge barrier. There is absolutely no road to reach these villages. The only easily accessible village is Orangi lying at a distance of three miles East of Kudumuluguma Panchayat headquarters situated on the main road from Jeypore to Balimela. From Orangi one has to climb the Kondakamberu range of the Eastern Ghat mountains to reach the hill villages. A steep descent from the plateau makes one to reach the plain villages of Didayis and Kandhas on both the banks of river Machhkund amid dense forests. There are other round about approaches to the plain Didayi villages to avoid the steep ghat.

The houses in hill as well as plain villages lie scattered all over and no regular street is found. The houses are built in an individualistic manner and the villagers do not share a common roof like Kandhas. The one characteristic which is marked in the hill villages is that it is inhabited by members of a single clan and in an exogamous unit. In a plain village this is not strictly the rule. They have accommodated people from other castes and tribes keeping their identity by separate hamlets.

The Didayi houses constitute two rooms, a front verandah (*Pleda*) and a small open space before house. The entire thing is fenced all-around and is called *turrah*. There are no back-doors or windows. One entrance is used for both the rooms. The bigger one at the entrance is known as *Mannah Duan* and the small one is called *Dhan Duan* and is used as store-house for *ragi*, *suau* and other crops. The bigger one is used for a sleeping and cooking. The earthen platform, attached to oven (*Nukturson*), is in one of the corners and is used for keeping pots. It is known as *Batur*.

The Clan

The Didayi kinship system is based on two distinct exogamous clans known as *Ghia* and *Nta*. *Ghia* *Sig*, *Gudia*, *Majhi*, *Muduli*, *Surma* and *Sisa* constitute the *Ghia* clan and *Nta*, *Mleh*, *Gushuwa*, *Golpeda*, *Patasi* and *Ksiwa* constitute the *Nta* clan. The groups of each clan are exogamous and can have marriage relations only with any of the groups of the next clan. The clans have their respective totems. *Malabu-Bais* or 'Nag' is the totem of the *Nta* clan and *Nku-Bais* or tiger is the totem of *Ghia* clan.

Marriage System

As the Didayi kinship system is based on two exogamous clans, mother's sister's children and father's brother's children are considered to be brothers and sisters. Preference is given to father's sister's daughter and mother's brother's daughter who are called *Marraseboi*. Generally, three forms of marriage are prevalent in the Didayi society. They are *Bihay* or marriage by negotiation, *Gube* or marriage by capture and *Posiamundi* in which the girl forcibly enters the groom's house and enters into sexual-relations with him. On the event of negotiation marriage the groom's father goes to the bride's father to ask for his consent. The groom is called upon to the bride's house. It is interesting to note that the decision depends

upon the girl's willingness to marry the man. When the girl gives consent her father asks the groom's father to come to his house in each month for one year. This custom is known as *Tosopangla*. The groom's father visits bride's father's house bringing with him one *man* of rice, *salap* wine and sometimes a cock. February to April is the season for marriage (*Magh*, *Phagun* and *Chait*) and Tuesday and Wednesday are considered to be the two auspicious days for marriage. After completing his term of visiting the bride's father's house, the groom's father asks for performing the marriage ceremony. The son's father gives one goat, ten *mans* of rice, one pot of *salap* wine, cash of rupees twenty and a cock to the bride's father. The bride's father then gives a feast to his villagers and asks the son's father to take away the girl after payment of bride-price, called in their language as *Gneng*. This constitutes a cow, one metal plate, one arrow, three plates of rice, one new cloth and one small chicken seated over a cock. After receiving this the bride's father says to the groom's father that he is finally giving his daughter for his son. Then the girl goes to the groom's village accompanied by the *tosore* or the guests of the groom's villages. After reaching the groom's village the groom and bride are brought together and the priest puts a *Hdasing* (chicken) on the hands of the couple which is allowed to eat rice. Then its neck is wrung and the blood is mixed with rice which is thrown over the couple. After this, turmeric water ('*Siandia-kigbike*') is thrown over the couple from above the grooms' roof by his younger brother, and dancing and drinking take place till evening. The couple is not allowed to have sex relation for eight days from the day of the marriage.

Economy—The hill Didayi practise shifting cultivation whereas the plain people have adopted to settled agriculture. Both the groups cultivate *ragi* and *suau* extensively which is their staple food. There is, however, exception for few villages like Konangi and Orangi lying on the plains with greater avenue for wet land cultivation. These villages cultivate paddy as their major crop.

The monthly cycle of economic activities of the hill Didayis is given below :—

Magh, Pahagun—*Guebar* or virgin forests are cleared by felling trees.

Chait, Baisakh—The dried logs are burnt. Bamboos are fetched from the jungle and fencing of the houses are made.

Landi—Houses are thatched with *Piri*, a type of jungle grass which grows on *Birla* or tree less hill-tops which are abandoned for few years after shifting cultivation is practised over it. The *suan* fields are dug for broadcast of *suan*.

Asadh—Seeds of *suan* are broadcast, the stumps and other under-growths of *Guebar* or virgin forests are cleared for broadcast of ragi and other seeds.

Bondapo—Seeds of ragi, maize, millet, *Jhudung* (bean), chilli, *jada* (oil-seeds), cucumber and *biri* (Romia) are broadcast on the patch of cleared forest.

Aosa—Vegetable plants like tomato, brinjal and chillies are planted.

Dashera—Weeds are cleared from *suan* and ragi fields.

Diwali, Pand, Pus—*Suan* and ragi are harvested, husked and stored.

The Didayis of the plains do not have sufficient virgin forest for practising shifting cultivation, hence they depend on paddy and ragi. They grow cash crops like *alsi* more extensively than the hill Didayi. The hill and plain Didayis both collect a variety of roots and fruits throughout the year to supplement their food economy.

The Didayis are voraciously addicted to juice of *salap* tree which is available in abundance in the forests. The wine is available almost throughout the year and is depended upon as one of the major sources of their food economy. Liquor prepared from ragi and *mahul* are also in use among them. It may be concluded that the hill Didayi live on subsistence level having no scope for wet land cultivation and can be said to be still on collectional stage where the plain Didayi are economically better off having scope for wet land cultivation as well as for raising various types of cash crops like oil-seeds and pulses.

The process of shifting cultivation as practised by the hill Didayi is that a virgin forest is cleared by felling the trees in the months of *Magh* and *Phagun* (February-March). They are allowed to dry up for a month after which fire is set. During May and June the stumps and other undergrowths are cleared for broadcast of seeds. The first stage of the forest is called *Guebar*. After one harvest the same field is called *Sasambar* where only small variety of *Suan* is cultivated. After

the second harvest the same plot becomes *Birla* for three to four years when no cultivation is made over it. After three years it becomes again *Guebar* and shifting cultivation is practised. The process continues till that patch of land is finally used for cultivation of small variety of *Suan*, maize and vegetables.

A List of items collected to supplement their food economy is given below. All the Didayis, whether hill or plain, collect these in various seasons. Some of them are eaten ceremonially at different seasons of the year.

Sl. No.	Name of the item	Local Oriya Name	Month in which collected
*1.	Gba	.. <i>Saranda root</i>	Phagun
2.	Tumo	.. <i>Daudi Kanda</i>	Do.
3.	Kondela	.. <i>Pitakanda</i>	Asadh-Bandapo
*4.	Ntarla	.. <i>Targai Kanda</i>	Osa-Dashera
5.	Grasehan	.. A type of green	Dashera
6.	Hlhi	.. Bauns Kardi (bamboo shoots)	Asadh, Bandapo Osa
7.	Unguh	.. Kakda (crab)	Asadh, Phagun
8.	Hada	.. Machh (fish)	Asadh-Phagun-Chait
9.	Bodeh	.. <i>Salap Kida</i>	Asadh-Phagun
10.	Hiaung	.. <i>Topenga</i>	All through the year
11.	Treh	.. <i>Kendu</i>	Phagun to Landi
*12.	Ulih	.. Am (Mango)	Chait to Landi
13.	Tarrah	.. <i>Charkoli</i>	Chait
14.	Kode	.. <i>Jam</i>	Landi
15.	Inhir	.. <i>Amtanki</i> (Mango seeds)	Bandapo
16.	Titingchoi	.. <i>Tintli manji</i>	Phagun
17.	Dabachoi	.. <i>Batapi</i>	Asadh
*18.	Lambo	.. <i>Sialimanji</i>	Phagun

The stars indicate that those items are eaten ceremonially in their respective months. To eat those items before observance of the ceremony is a taboo, violation of which results in disasters caused to the people by the God and Goddess.

Sl. No.	Name of the item	Local Oriya Name	Month in which collected
19.	Hela	.. <i>Tangnimanji</i>	Landi
20.	Lewa	.. <i>Dimiri</i>	Landi, Asadh
21.	Shaw	.. Kadli plantain	All through the year

Sl. No.	Name of the item	Local Oriya Name	Month in which collected
22.	Gdikar	.. <i>Keranda</i>	Bandapo
23.	Ple	.. <i>Panas</i>	Landi
24.	Sapum	.. <i>Salap</i> (liquor)	Dashera to Baisakh

SOUNTI

Bhagirathi Chowdhru

The Sountis (also spelt as Saunti) mainly found in the adjoining areas of Keonjhar and Mayurbhanj districts. Their distribution in Orissa is given below:—

Name of the district	Population		
	Total	Male	Female
Keonjhar ..	30,891	14,924	15,967
Mayurbhanj ..	11,450	5,847	5,603
Koraput ..	439	232	207
Sambalpur ..	29	13	16
Ganjam ..	350	158	192
Sundargarh ..	71	39	32
Dhenkanal ..	23	11	12
Puri ..	322	179	143
Cuttack ..	65	23	42
Balasore ..	769	349	420
Total ..	44,409	21,775	22,634

According to their own tradition as mentioned in the Census Report of Mayurbhanj State, 1931, the tribe took its origin in the 16th century from one Joy-gobinda Das of Puri, though said to be a Khandayat by caste. According to Mr. O' Malley as quoted in the same report "the nucleus of the caste consisted of persons outcasted from respectable Oriya castes who were allowed by the Chief of Keonjhar to settle in Mananta, one of the villages in his State. Their numbers grew rapidly as they received other out-castes with open arms. The only qualification for admission was that the new comers must have belonged to some caste from whom Brahmins would take water". Thus, the name Sounti was derived from the word 'Saunta', meaning 'gathered in'. Whatever may be the story of their origin, they are considered ritually clean having some functions connected with the Ruler of the State in the past. Their institution of 'Berdhaja', the head of the tribe, has now become functionless since independence. As a result of their services to the Rulers and Zamindars, they received titles which became territorial or functional groups later on. Out of 126 groups, a list of 97 has been given in the Census Report of Mayurbhanj State, 1931. These titles are known as *Khili* and said to be exogamous. Their *Gotra* is Nagasa. In their ceremonial customs and manners they follow the Brahminical system and employ Brahman, Barber and Washerman.

Marriage

Marriage amongst them is mostly adult and there is no bar for child marriage. Polygamy is permitted and widow remarriage is allowed. The parents take the sole responsibility of arranging marriages for their children. Proposal always comes from the boys' side. Several visits are exchanged by both the parties for negotiation. An astrologer is to be consulted to compare the stars of the boy and the girl. If he declares in its favour, bride price amounting to rupees four to ten in cash is paid before marriage. A date for marriage as declared by the *Oriya Panji* is fixed. On the appointed day the bride-groom in a procession of friends and relatives, and the musical band of the Dom or Ghasi community goes to the bride's house. Here the marriage is performed by the Brahmin according to vedic rites. Previously when they had dance, the party was welcomed by dancing and singing. After the marriage rites, the couple return to the groom's village. A Sounti marriage party consists of a large number of males and females both old and young. A party from the girl's village also escorts the couple and it becomes a costly affair for both sides to entertain the guests. Divorce is allowed on reasonable grounds.

Birth rites

The birth pollution among the Sountis remains till the purificatory rites are observed on the ninth or twenty-first day. During the period of pollution no outsider takes food or water from any family of the *Kutumba* (which is equivalent to lineage in the village). On this day houses are cleaned and the washerman is required to wash the used clothes of the whole lineage. All the male members of the lineage and the new baby are shaved by the barber. All the used earthen vessels are replaced by new ones. The mother takes her bath and wears a new cloth and her nails are pared by the barber. On this occasion, the kinsmen and friends are invited and entertained at a feast. The baby is dressed for the first time and a name is given by the tribesmen present.

Death rites

Funeral and mourning rites usually follow the local Hindu customs of the neighbours. They practise both burial and cremation according to economic condition of the deceased's family. If they can afford to arrange wood, they can burn all the deads except those dying of smallpox and cholera. When

a person dies, a corpse is carried on a wooden bier by the male members of the tribe. They carry a winnowing fan, a pot, fire, axe, etc., with them. Before cremation or inhumation, the corpse is washed and anointed with oil and turmeric. It is laid down on the pyre or let down into the pit with face upward and head towards the north or west direction. When they return back from the burial ground after taking bath, all the cooking earthen pots are removed from the kitchens of all the families of the lineage. Then all members of the lineage go to take bath. The mourning continues for ten days and whole lineage is considered ritually unclean. On the ninth day houses and clothes are cleaned. The lineage male members are shaved. On the tenth day a *Sradha* is performed where a Brahman officiates to offer food to the soul of the deceased. In the night the soul is brought back to the house and offered food. On the eleventh day a feast, if the deceased's family can afford, is given to the kinsmen and relatives who come with presentations.

Religion

As regards their religious beliefs and practices, they have no distinctive features of their own. They follow the same festivals as followed by their Hindu neighbours. The Raja Parba, Gamha Punac, Makar Sankranti, Dasara, Kali puja are some of the important festivals observed by them. Along with other Hindus they worship chief village deities, Basuki (Earth Goddess), etc., at the time of taking new rice and while transplanting and reploughing the paddy seedlings.

Like some of the local Hindu people they believe in the magic and witchcraft. Among them some work as shaman and village priest.

They had dances and songs at the time of marriage and festivals. But these have been totally stopped. At leisure, while working in the agricultural field, they sing songs. Here the boys form one group and the girls another. Previously *Changu* was their musical instrument. Young boys or girls in a group go to the neighbouring villages on dancing expedition. Now this has been given up. Kirtan as a type of recreation has been accepted by them.

Houses and Settlement

It is not easy to find exclusive Sounti villages. They mostly live in the midst of Hindus and other tribes such as Bhunj, Gonds, Kharía, etc. In such villages they occupy a separate ward. This type of settlements are

seen in Keonjhar and Mayurbhanj districts where most of them have taken to wage-earning as landless day-labourer or farm-servant. But in a typical Sounti village such as Palasa in Keonjhar district, they own land and do permanent cultivation, which is supplemented by wage-earning.

The houses in a Sounti settlement are generally built in rows with a common street running in between. In some villages they also occur here and there in a scattered fashion. Well-to-do Sounti families build their houses around the four sides of a courtyard. Behind the houses are the kitchen gardens protected either by mud walls or fences. Fruit trees are seen in the kitchen gardens.

Each house consists of one room, which is rectangular in size with no window and not more than one door. Most of the families possess more than one room. The houses with two or four-sided gable roofs thatched mostly with straw or wild-grass and occasionally with nariatiles, have mud walls washed with red earth. The houses have spacious verandahs generally in front. Those who possess cattle, a shed is invariably built very close to the house.

Household Articles

In respect of furniture, they are very poor. In a household, one can find one or two wooden framed cots woven with thin ropes. They either weave or purchase the mats made of leaves of wild date palms for sleeping purposes. Wooden furnitures are very rarely found in some households. Discarded and torn-up clothes stitched together are used as bed. They use earthenware vessels for cooking food and storing water. Plates and pots of bell-metal, aluminium are used in taking meals. All these utensils and other cooking implements are purchased from the local markets. It is common to find steel trunks, cotton umbrella, torch light, wooden boxes in Sounti houses. Some well-to-do families have got bicycle also.

Dress and Ornament

Old men wear a piece of mill-made dhoti or napkin which rarely covers the knee, Young men, though wear napkin and banians while working in the field, put on long dhoti shirt, shorts and even shoes, if they can afford. When elderly men go out they use another napkin or a banian as an upper garment. Aged wo-

men wear long sarees which also cover the upper parts of the body. Young girls use blouse and inner petticoat when they go out.

A very limited number of ornaments are worn by women. They have glass or metal bangles for the wrist, rings for the fingers, toes and nose, necklaces and chains for the neck, anklet for legs, clips, pins and flower designs for the head hair. Most of these ornaments are made of cheap metal and are purchased from the local markets. Only wealthier section possesses ornaments made of gold or silver. Wearing of thread in the neck and rings in the ear lobes are occasionally seen among the boys.

The most important weapons they possess are bows and arrows, axes, knives, etc. The Sounti cultivators have the same bullock driven ploughs as used by the neighbouring castes and tribes. Baskets, pots, weapons, utensils and iron agricultural implements are purchased from different castes of people selling in the local markets. The traps and nets used for fishing, which they do during the rainy season, are also purchased.

Occupation

As most of them are landless, they work mostly as contract-labourer and day-labourer or agricultural labourer for the local cultivators who require the extraneous labour. Those who have land, do the cultivation themselves. But in most cases amount of land is not sufficient to meet the cost of their living. So some of them work as part-time labourer and some do petty business such as buying rice at a cheaper rate from one locality and selling at a higher price in another place. Hunting and collection of jungle-products have been given up due to depletion of forests. They do not even find scope for their annual hunt in the month of Baisakh (April). Fishing as a leisure time pursuit is done according to availability of scope. There are also some who serve as school-teacher, peon, etc. But their number is negligible.

Food

Their staple food is rice which is taken throughout the year in whatever quantity it may be available. Generally rice is taken twice daily on ordinary days and thrice on the days of heavy work. From rice-flour cakes are prepared and taken especially on holidays. Non-vegetarian food is much more relished but they are handicapped by their low-income. Fowls are sacrificed at the religious ceremonies of the village and are eaten. On festive occasions meat or some

vegetable curry constitute a side item but ordinarily sag (green leaves) is the common item. Unclean food like beef, pork, etc. are avoided. But they take white-ants and termites. They abstain from taking rice-beer and wine. Those who violate this taboo, are outcasted.

They do not take food or water in the hands of Kudumi, Teli and untouchable castes. Brahmins accept food and water in their hands but never from their kitchen. Washermen's and barber's services are available to the Sountis. Brahmins are required to officiate in their marriage and death rites.

DHARUA

R. K. Pradhan

Dharuas or Dharua Gonds are one of the oldest tribe of Orissa and are found in different districts of Orissa. According to Sir H. Risley they are one of the several septs of the Gonds and are otherwise known as Naiks. He is of opinion that the Dharuas are the ordinary Gonds, who, in most of the districts form an endogamous group. According to Russell the word Dharua may be derived from "dhur" (dust), that is the common people and they are inferior to Raj Gonds. On the other hand, Sir Edward A. Gait expresses his views that the Dharuas were once predominant tribe of the Narasingpur State and formed a major group. At that time they ranked high and enjoyed the services of Brahmans, Bhandari, Dhoba all of whose services are now denied to them and they are no longer of any political importance. They are considered as a distinct community so far as the physical characteristics are concerned. The Dharuas closely resemble with Negro type. They have medium stature with well developed chests and massive shoulders, and the nose is broad. Their hair is black, coarse and curly and they have scanty growth of beard and mustache.

The present population of the Dharuas with literacy is given in the following table districtwise:—

District	Total population	Male	Female	Literate	
				Male	Female
Kalahandi ..	549	307	242	50	..
Koraput ..	4,888	2,404	2,484	78	3
Sambalpur ..	83	47	36	14	..
Bolangir ..	882	415	467	96	15
Sundargarh ..	101	51	50	4	8
Dhenkanal ..	77	41	36	8	3
Cuttack ..	96	58	38	..	1
Mayurbhanj ..	533	247	286	55	2
Balasore ..	1	..	1	1	..
Total ..	7,210	3,570	3,640	306	32

As I have mentioned before, the Dharuas, in most districts, form one endogamous group. Some large septs, especially the Mika and Dhurwa, are divided into a number of sub-septs within each of which marriage is not allowed. The Dharuas or Dharua Gonds are divided into 1. Soma (Moon), 2. Surya (Sun), 3. Jadu, 4. Kadamb, 5. Gangu, 6. Garga vamsas which are well known Kshtriya stocks of India and it seems that this classification of the tribe has most probably been based on the tradition of the Hindu Puranas. Each of the Vamsas is said to have Rishi representing the name of the clan of the family and it is interesting to note that that each Rishi is represented with an animal which is highly respected by the family. According P. Acharya, these six vamsas have been classified according to the number of Gods and this classification is due to the number of sons born to each of the seven sons of Parameswar at the time of creation. This classification according to Sri Acharya is as follows:—

Name of family	Name of God	Name of Rishi	Name of the animal
1	2	3	4
1. Ganga ..	Duideo	Makar	Crocodile
2. Surya ..	Tirideo	Vasistha	Lion
3. Kadamba	Charideo	Subesh	Falcon
4. Jadu ..	Pand-deo	Kasyp	Tortoise
5. Garga ..	Chhadeo	Garga	Elephant
6. Soma ..	Sata-deo	Nagasa	Cobra

As regards the family, the father acts as the head and manages the family. The income of the family members go to the headman and it is the head man's duty to fulfil the needs of the family members. Both nuclear and joint families are found among the Dharuas.

Marriage is an important social obligation. In the Dharua community the father is over anxious to get his sons and daughters married early. There is no fixed age for the marriage for both the sexes, except that they should marry as early as possible. However the practice of both infant and adult marriage is found among the Dharuas, but under Hindu influence they are more inclined to adult marriage. Marriage is generally done by parental arrangement. Sindurdan and marriage to mango tree form prominent part of the ritual of this tribe and the marriage is finished with pouring water over the bride and bride-groom by a barber. The widows and widowers are allowed to marry again and no special function is held on these occasions. But feast is given to the people of thier community in both the cases.

Occupation

In olden, times the Dharuas were mostly agriculturists by occupation though some of them were employed in the military service maintained by the native Rajas. But in course of time, a great change has taken place in their economic life. Now, besides being agriculturists, they are found in different wage-earning professions. They are in character, reserved, sullen and suspicious and thus put themselves into a lot of troubles in various ways. They are indifferent cultivators and consequently the yield from their land cannot suffice the consumption of the family. However, mighty national plans are being worked out to provide them with ample opportunities for their economic development.

Religion

Religion is the cream of every society. The cultural superstructure stands firmly on religion. The Dharuas worship the Gods associated with their clans. Their superme Gods are known as Bar Deo and Dhulha Deo. In addition to the above Gods they also worship the Hindu Gods and Goddesses coming in close contact with the neighbouring clean-caste people. They also believe in the existence of Ghosts and spirits and thus offer food to their ancestors at the time of observance of various festivals. The Dhauras do believe in the witch craft. When any member of a family is attacked with disease the people think that it is due to the anger of a God or Goddess and sacrifice fowls, etc., to propitiate the God or Goddess.

Disposal of the dead

The Dharuas burn the dead bodies. Before the dead body is taken to the funeral ground, it is anointed with oil and trumeric and is wrapped with a new cloth. The dead body is generally taken by the clan members and is burned in the funeral ground. The kith and kin of the deceased mourn and observe death pollution for a temporary period of three days after which they purify themselves by bathing. On the third day, they make offerings of food to the departed soul.

Conclusion

Independence has brought new light and great hope for the entire tribal communities of India and the Dharuas, no doubt, will share the opportunities open for them. Since independence Government have been trying to make the people free from the economic and social evils. As a matter of fact, it is hoped that time will come when these people will come to the same footing of the general population of the country.

BATHUDI

Bhagirathi Chowdhury

The Bathudis are mostly found in the districts of Mayurbhanj and Keonjhar. They are said to be a branch of Bhuiya tribe. According to Russell the 'Bathurias' form an inferior sub-section of the 'Bhuiyas', and are looked down upon because of having taken food from other low Caste. According to the local traditions quoted in the Census Report of Mayurbhanj State, 1931, the Bathudis claim Ayodhya or Oudh as their original home but they are not able to substantiate this claim. The district-wise distribution of the tribe is noted below:

Name of the district	Population		
	Total	Male	Female
Keonjhar ..	37,465	19,092	18,373
Mayurbhanj ..	59,377	29,208	30,169
Balasore ..	7,076	3,419	3,657
Sundargarh ..	75	75	..
Koraput ..	5	4	1
Total ..	103,998	51,798	52,200

The Bathudis speak Oriya as their mother-tongue. In Mayurbhanj and Keonjhar they live in the midst of caste Hindus, Sounti, Plain Bhuiyas, Gonds and Kharias. There are some exclusive Bathudi villages in the adjoining areas of Mayurbhanj and Keonjhar districts. Wherever they live in a Hindu village, they establish separate wards.

Settlement and Houses

In a Bathudi ward or village, the spacious houses with high verandahas at the front and back are built. Most of the families possess more than one living room, built around a rectangular courtyard. Sometimes brothers build their houses facing to a common courtyard. Houses are built either in a linear or in a scattered fashion. Most of them own kachha houses with mud walls and straw thatched or local tile thatched roof. Sometimes walls are made of wooden planks planted upright and plastered with mud. Although four-sloped roof is the general pattern, two-sloped roofs are not totally absent. It is not common to find windows or more than one door in a Bathudi house. Cow-sheds are built close to the living house. Behind the houses are the kitchen garden protected either by mud walls or fences.

As regards household articles, they make a poor show. They use wooden framed cots woven with thin ropes and mats made of wild date-palm leaves for sleeping purposes. Wooden furnitures are very rarely found. They use earthenware or aluminium vessels for cooking and storing water. Pots and plates of bell-metal and aluminium are used in taking meals. All these articles are purchased from the local market.

Dress and Ornament

Old men wear small dhoti or a napkin, while well-to-do Bathudi boys wear long dhoti, shirt, shorts and even shoes. Aged women wear a saree which reaches up to the knee. Young girls wear blouse and inner petticoat. While working they always use small cloths. A very limited number of ornaments are used by women. They wear glass or metal bangles round the wrist, rings for the fingers, toes, nose and ear, necklaces and chains for the neck, anklet for legs, clips and flower designs for the head hair. Most of these ornaments are purchased from the local market. Wealthier section of the tribe possess gold and silver ornaments. Some boys are seen wearing rings in the ear and a thread or a chain in the neck.

The most important weapons possessed by the Bathudis are bows and arrows, swords, axes and knives. The Bathudi cultivators have got the same bullock-driven ploughs and other agricultural implements used by the neighbouring castes and tribes. Baskets, pots, weapons, utensils and iron agricultural implements are purchased from the different castes who manufacture them for sell.

Internal Divisions

The tribe is divided into several *gotras*, viz., (1) Parasara, (2) Nageswara, (3) Sailya (4) Ganeshwara (5) Kashyapa (6) Dhanaphula, (7) Bharadwaja, etc., some of which are common among the neighbouring Hindu castes or tribes. As noted in Census Report of Mayurbhanj State, 1931* the tribe is divided into more than fifty-six different sections "which are derived from as many titles they respectively bear with their names. Most of these titles appear to relate to the particular military or domestic service rendered by the ancestors of the section bearing that title in their relation to the Zamindars". But my investigation reveals that these subdivisions called *Khili* are exogamous, and marriage within the group is tabooed.

The headman of the village is called *Badnaik* while the head of several villages are known as *Desapadhan* in Mayurbhanj and *Mahanaik* in Keonjhar. He is assisted by *Paramanik*. But their caste, organization has become functionless since eight to ten years.

Birth Rites

They observe birth pollution for nine days. On this day the houses are washed, and the washerman is required to clean all the used clothes of the family concerned. The baby's head is shaved along with other male members of the family. Festive meals in new earthenware vessels are prepared. The friends and relatives are invited to a feast, if the family concerned can afford.

On the twenty-first day known as *Ekusia* the name-giving ceremony takes place. A pot filled up with water is brought. Two pieces of thread crossing each other at right angles are placed, at the brim of the pot. Through a quadrangle a *Khasa* (a kind of oil-seed) is first dropped. Then rice grains are dropped one after another by uttering different names. Dropping of rice grain continues till one of the grains and the *Khasa* meet each other. The name at which this particular rice grain was dropped is given to the baby.

Before marriage, both boys and girls should have received *Karna mantras* from the Vaishnava *Guru*. Unless one undergoes this ceremony, he or she cannot marry.

Marriage

Marriage among the Bathudi is a costly affair when compared with their economic condition. Marriage is chiefly adult, though infant marriage is not unknown. Proposal for marriage generally comes from the boy's side. Before any negotiation is started the boy's parents consult with an astrologer to know whether the marriage would be a successful one. When he declares in its favour, two persons are employed as *dandia* (go between) for negotiation. They pay several visits and fix the bride price which consists of Rs. 30-00 to Rs. 100-00 in cash, rice about 2 mounds, paddy about one to two maunds and several pieces of clothes for the bride's parents, grandfather, grand mother and brother. In Keonjhar the marriage rites are performed generally in the groom's house and occasionally at bride's village. But in Mayurbhanj now most of the grooms go to marry in the bride's village. One to two months before the marriage proper, the bride price is paid to the bride's parents. The party which accompanies the bride to her husband's house consists of both males and females in large number. Drum-beaters belonging to Dom or Ghasi castes also join with them on requisition. The marriage rites are performed according to Vedic rites by the Brahmins of high status. Two to five days after the marriage the bride cooks food, and the couple offer these food to the dead ancestors. After this ceremony, honey-moon takes place. After a week or so the couple pay a visit to the girl's parents with presentations.

In the past every marriage was celebrated with dancing and feasting for several days. But now they have given up dance and guests are entertained with one meal only.

Previously there were marriage by capture and also marriage by service. But now these are rarely practised. Widow remarriage is allowed. Divorce with the approval of the village council is prevalent.

Death Rites

They practise both cremation and burial. Families who can arrange wood, can cremate the deceased. Only cases of death by cholera or smallpox and corpse of the child are usually buried. The corpse before burial or cremation is anointed with oil and trumeric. New cloth and some paddy grains are given with the deceased. After burial or cremation, the lineage (*Kutumba*) members take bath, all the cooking earthen

ware pots are removed from the house of the deceased. After returning from bath, they take bitter rice (*Pita Bhar*).

The death pollution continues for seven to nine days when the final purification rites take place. On this day, all the male members of the deceased family get their hairs cut, all the used clothes of the family are washed by the washer man, houses are cleaned. They take uncooked food on this day. During the period of pollution they abstain from eating fish and flesh.

Next day, a Brahmin is invited to officiate in the *shradha* in which food is offered to the deceased. In the evening, shade is brought to the house where rice-flour is spread on which cooked food is kept. After the shade is conducted to the house they examine the rice-flour. If any impression is seen on the rice-flour they think that shade has come. The persons who go to call the shade, now eat the cakes made from this rice-flour. Next-day, a feast is arranged for the kinsmen and friends who come with presentations.

Thus the Bathudis enjoy the services of Hindu Brahmin, barbar and washer-man. They are treated as clean caste. Brahmin accept water from them.

Religion

The religious beliefs and practices of the Bathudis are same as found among the Hindus of the neighbouring villages. They along with caste Hindus observe Raja parba, Gamha Purnima, Makar Sankranti, Dasara, Kali Puja, etc. Their village deities are worshipped by the village priest on the occasion of eating of new rice and mango and while transplanting and reploughing the paddy seedlings. They have not yet completely lost their belief in the working of magic and witchcraft.

Occupation

The main occupation of the Bathudis is settled agriculture. Amount of land owned by most of the families is not sufficient to meet all requirements. There are also landless Bathudis who solely depend on wage-earning or petty-business. Thus most of them work as part-time labour and do petty-business of buying rice at a cheaper rate from one locality and selling at a higher rate in another locality. They grow paddy and few varieties of cash crops such as pulses, sugar-potato, groundnuts, etc. Hunting and fishing are no more practised as gainful economic pursuits.

Food

Rice which is taken throughout the whole year, is their staple food. Some green leaves or vegetables constitute a side-item. They prepare cakes from rice-flour. They are fond of non-vegetarian dish but they are handicapped by the non-availability of scope for hunting and also by their low income. They take clean food and abstain from eating beef, pork but take termite, red-ants. Fowls are sacrificed at the time of religious ceremonies and eaten. Previously they were not accepting food from the Brahmins. Alcoholic drinks such as mohua liquor and rice-beer are generally avoided.

At present they have a status of a clean caste in the caste hierarchy of the Hindu Society.

OMANATYA

Gopinath Satpathy

The Omanatyas or the Amanatyas are one of the agricultural communities of Orissa. It is said that their ancestor was a minister (*Amatya*) of Sri Ram. After Ram had gone to heaven there was no one to take care of them and hence they took to agriculture. They have the different titles given by the king such as Pradhani to the chief secretary in Royal affairs, Pujari to the worshipper of Gods.

Their distribution in the districts of Orissa is given below:

Name of the district	Males	Females	Total population
Koraput ..	6,952	7,193	14,145
Mayurbhanja ..	61	51	112
Boudh-Kondhmal ..	40	63	103
Kalahandi ..	1	3	4
Ganjam ..	1	..	1
Total ..	7,055	7,310	14,365

Their total population is 14,365 of which 14,316 constitute the rural population and 49 live in urban area. They are concentrated in North of Jeypore and Nowarangpur.

They speak Oriya and have no other tribal language of their own.

The tribe is divided into two endogamous sections known as Bodo and Sano like the Bhottaras of Koraput. Many do not admit such division. They have a number of exogamous clans called *Bagh* (tiger), *Ohudo* (Milk), *Gag* (cobra), *Kumda*, etc.

The Omanatyas live in heterogeneous villages with other communities like Bhottada, Rana, Dom, Paik, etc. There are a few villages, where the Omanatya families predominate. They have one secular head known as *Naek*, one priest known as *Pujari* in the village. The *Naek* decides all disputes in a general council of elders. A number of villages together constitute a *Desa*. The head of the *Desa* is the *Kulnaek*, whose office is hereditary. He arranges meetings for settling up social disputes and takes the prominent role in excommunicating the members of the caste, for their faults like *gobadh*, kidnapping women of other community. They cannot tolerate a man suffering from sores with grubs and the sufferer is excommunicated. To be received back into the caste structure, the offender has to give a caste feast of which the *Kulnaek* is the first to partake.

Nuclear families are the chief social units. There are extended and joint families, but the number is very few. The extended joint families break down with the marriage of the sons and after issues are born to the new couple. The son-less family

adopts his *gharjoia* or any other individual as its son. The adopted son gets the same privilege as the true son. The family is patrilineal, patrilocal and patrilocal in nature.

Birth pollution on the part of the mother extends over 25 to 30 days. After 25 days, new pots are used and the old ones are thrown out. The nails are pared. The name giving ceremony is observed. The uncle is allowed to drink on this occasion. With the observation of the ceremony, she is allowed to touch cooking pots. The names are selected by *Disari* by divination. The *Sonari* pierces the nose and ear at the age of three.

With the growth of mustache, the boy is considered to be adult and arrangements are made to seek a girl for him. Cross-cousin marriage is the general rule. Usually girls are married before attaining puberty. In some instances, grown up girls are also married. The Omanatyas follow the same elaborate process of selecting and marrying the girls like the Bhottaras. The parents set out with some eatables to the bride's place to ask her parents. A second visit is paid in similar fashion, when the negotiation is decided. On an auspicious day fixed by *Disari* they send *Mahal-Keria* (Mediator). The mediator pays ten annas to the girls of the bride's village and is known from that day as the *Mahalkeria* for the particular marriage. On the 4th visit, the *jhola* is fixed at 3 *puti* rice, 1 *puti* paddy, rupee one for bangles, and a cloth for mother and a cloth for unmarried sister in case of infant girl and 2½ *puti* rice, two pieces of cloth for elderly girls. With this visit, the proposal is finalised. The villagers are asked to prepare pendals in their respective villages. On the appointed day, the bridegroom is conducted in a procession to the bride's village. The bridegroom is conducted to the booth constructed of eight posts of sal tree, and a central post of Bassia tree with seven pieces of turmeric and mango leaves tied to it. The bride is brought to the pendal. The *Disari* links together their little fingers, while the women throw rice coloured with turmeric on them. Water, brought from the village stream and coloured with turmeric is poured over the couple from five pots. They wear new cloths and there ensues a feast. Night is spent in dance and song.

On the following day, the bride is conducted to the home of bridegroom. At the entrance of the village, the bridegroom's mother sprinkles rice coloured with turmeric over them. Liquor is distributed and a feast ensues.

The *Disari* takes seven grains of rice, and seven areca nuts and ties them up in the ends of the cloths of the contracting couple. They go round the sacred poles seven times and return home.

On the next day they perform *Kado Handi* ceremony. They throw mud, turmeric water over each other.

All then go to the stream and take bath. They return home, when the girl is carried on the shoulder of the boy. All pay their homage. Then the grand feast follows.

On the 9th day, the couple go to the girl's place and a feast is given there.

At marriage, a sacred thread is given to the groom which he wears all through his life.

In case, a bridegroom is not available they make a pseudo marriage. No stigma is attached to her if she remains at her parent's house after the pseudo marriage. This marriage is performed on a good day. The mahul post is fixed on the courtyard and is adorned with vermilion, *Kajal*, etc. Seven sheaves of turmeric and mango leaves are tied to the mahul post. The bride is brought to the pendal and the marriage ceremony is consummated by pouring water on the mahul post and the woman, who holds it tightly. A feast is given and all depart.

At times the Omanatyas take recourse to marriage by elopement, and marriage by service as is the case with Bhottaras. The instances are very rare.

Polygyny is allowed. The younger brother may marry the wife of the deceased elder brother. Widow and divorced woman can marry again.

Both burial and cremation are practised by them. They bury the dead in sleeping posture with the head to the south. The death pollution lasts for 10 days. They use new cooking vessels after shaving and purification. During these ten days the caste occupation is not carried out and the mourners are fed by the people of other sept. On 11th day, a feast is held in the village.

The Omanatyas worship Thakurani and one of their caste officiates as the priest. They observe *Pusa Punia* in Pusa, *Magh jatra* in Magh, *Amnu* in Chaitra, *Akhi Muthi* in Baisakh, *Amus* in Sraban, *Dhamua* in Bhadrab, *Dashara* in Asin, *Dewali* in Kartika. Well-to-do families observe *Laxmi Puja* in Magusir. They also participate in Holi festival in Fagun and Car festival in Asadh with the neighbouring population.

They dance on various occasions like marriage⁹ *Pusa Punia* etc. Their dances are known as *Pania Junia Nach* and *Cherachera Nach*. They sing *Chaita Parba songs* on festive occasions and *Kutuni songs* at the time of marriage.

They settle in fairly large, heterogeneous villages. The houses are set in rows, apart from the other communities. In certain villages, the houses are clustered together. There is no dormitory house in the village and no common hall.

The walls of the houses are made of wood, wattles plastered with mud. The roof is thatched with straw. Gradually, the mud houses are being replaced by brick houses. The rooms are spacious and there are 2 to 4 rooms in a house. No window is seen in their houses like those of the neighbouring population.

The stock and store of the house consists of cane basket with lid, rope, string cots, knife, storing pots of straw, earthenware vessels. Well-to-do families have buckets and aluminium utensils, brass jars and pots. They have both husking lever, and handpound *Kutuni*. Each house has a plank used in washing the clothes. Each house has got *Barsi* and screw driver to make its own plough and agricultural implements.

They dress themselves like the neighbouring population. Their dress simply consists of cloth, napkin, chaddar. A few use shirt, banian. The females use mill-made as well as hands made clothes. They wear *Khadu* of silver, on the wrist, armlet on the arm, glass and rubber bangles *Noli* and *Phulis* of gold and brass in ear, *Dandi* and *Fasia* in nose, *Pauji* in leg, rings on fingers and toes. The males wear *Nolis* in the ear, *Khadu* in hand, rings in the fingers and necklaces in neck. Golden ornaments are rarely seen. They wear black bead necklaces round their neck.

The musical instruments consist of Mardal, Gini and Thal.

They have all the agricultural implements used for wet cultivation such as sickles, plough, *Arkudi*, *Kodi*, (spade), plough share. The fishing implements like traps, small nets are seen. They use axe, bow, arrow, and gun for hunting purposes.

They are good agriculturists and practise wet cultivation. Shifting cultivation is not practised. Sugar-cane, paddy, tobacco, ragi, several varieties of pulses, oil seeds are their major crops. Vegetables like brinjhal, onion, potato etc. are cultivated. Fishing is usually carried out. Hunting is practised at leisure.

A few of them have joined the Government service. Most of them have some amount of land which they cultivate. In lean months, they also work as labourer to earn the livelihood.

In spite of their labour and production from agricultural fields they are very poor because they are exploited by money-lenders, intelligentsias of the localities, traders and Government officials. At the time of marriage, they are in need of money and borrow the same paying high interest for the same. Similarly, the traders cheat them while selling and buying article. They do not know properly the metric measurements and Naya paisa and as a result of their ignorance, they are duped.

However, in the social scale, they enjoy a higher status. They do not touch the untouchables like Dom, etc. They do not take food from Bhottaras, Bhumias. The Malis, Gauds accept food and drink from them. They do not rear pigs like the Bhottaras. They can enter Hindu temples. Some well-to-do people are now engaging Brahmins in their marriage and social functions. They are developing an interest in education and are gradually improving. It is hoped, that within a few years, they may not be considered as tribals.

PARAJA

Sibaprasad Rout

The Parajas are otherwise called Paroja, Porja, Paroja or Parja, and inhabit Koraput, Khalahandi and Sundargarh districts. According to the 1961 Census the Parajas number 159,866 found mainly in Kalahandi and Koraput districts. A few Parajas are also found in Sundergarh, Sambalpur, Boudh-Phulbani, Dhenkanal Puri, Cuttack and Mayurbhanj. Their distribution in various districts is stated as follows:—

Districts where the Parajas are found	Total Population	Male	Female
Koraput ..	1,41,694	70,681	71,013
Kalahandi ..	16,410	7,500	8,910
Sundargarh ..	1,220	1,220	..
Dhenkanal ..	4	4	..
Phulbani ..	3	1	2
Puri ..	8	2	6
Cuttack ..	340	155	185
Mayurbhanj ..	113	55	58
Total ..	1,59,866	79,664	80,202

The name Paraja appears to be derived from the sanskrit term Parja, a subject. Mr. Carmichael has stated that "by far the greater number of these Parajas are a kin to the Kondhs of the Ganjam Maliahs" and emphasised that the Gadabas are "by no means of the patriarchal type that characterises the Parajas. Russell and Hiralal, on the other hand, hold the view that the Parajas are a kin to the Gonds and not Kondhs. As they write, "The Parajas appear to be

Gonds and not Kondhs. Their sept names are Gond words, and their language is a form of Gondi, called after them Parji" Parji has hitherto been considered a form of Bhatri, but Sir G. Grierson has now classified the latter as a dialect of the Oriya language, while Parji remains. "A local and very corrupt variation of Gondi, considerably mixed with Hindi forms. Now most of them including the women speak Oriya, although traces of their original dialect can be picked up from their traditional songs. Their tradition traces, their original home to Bastar. In Koraput they live with Rana, Gadba, Paik, Mali, Doms, and Kondhs.

Sections of the Tribe

The term Paraja is so broad a term that it includes, in a very loose sense of the term, a number of other communities. At times the Bondas and Gadabas also refer themselves to be Bonda Parojas and Gadaba Parojas, respectively. Hence, it is very difficult to give a complete list of the various sections of the Parajas. Their main sections, however, are—

- (1) Sodia or Bad Parja
- (2) Bareng Jodia Paraja
- (3) Penga Paraja
- (4) Konda Paraja or Selia Paraja

The first section is considered to be of highest social ranking as compared to others. They abstain from taking beef and buffalo meat, while the other sections eat buffalo-meat and beef. The Konda Parajas are known to be Selia or Chhelia Paraja as they were said to be goat breeders in long old days. They now call themselves to be Konda Parajas and claim to be a section of the Parjas, but R. C. S. Bell, in his Koraput district Gazetter, 1945 has equated them with the Konda Dora and has thus excluded them from the bulk of pure Parajas.

Exogamous Septs

The Parajas have a number of totemistic septs, as Bagh (tiger), a Kachhim (tortoise) Bokda (goat), Netam (dog), a Gohi (big lizard), Pandki (dove), and so on. Killing, harming, or eating the totem animal is forbidden and they have certain rites to show respect to their clan totems.

Kinship and Marriage

Marriage is strictly prohibited between the members of the same clan, but Russell and Hiralal hold the view that at times "the rule is not adhered to, and members of the same sept are permitted to marry so long as they do not come from the same village, the original rule of exogamy being perhaps thus exemplified". *Medha Gantia*, a ritual officer reads the omen to see if the future marriage would be a successful one. The proposal for marriage is made by the boy's father. Cross-cousin marriage, i.e., marrying mother's brother's daughter is the general rule. Marriage is performed after the boy attains 18 years of age and the girl above 15 years.

Marriage by arrangement is the common form of marriage but a few cases of marriages other than arranged marriages are also found. These types of Paraja marriages are thus mainly five in number—

- (i) *Haribol Baha* (marriage by arrangement)
- (ii) *Udliā Baha* (love marriage)
- (iii) *Jhinka-Utra Baha* (marriage by capture)
- (iv) *Paisamundi Baha* (marriage of the widows and the divorced ladies).
- (v) *Gharjwain* (marriage by being adopted as a son to the wife's father).

The marriage takes place at the boy's house where two separate sheds are made for such purpose. The bride is taken to the groom's house by her female relatives only. In the groom's house they are made to sit on a new mat and three to seven pots of water are poured over them. The bridegroom's expenses, as estimated by Russell and Hiralal are about Rs. 50 and that of the bride is about Rs. 10. But now-a-days the bride price

(*Jhola* or *Pani*) of the Jodhia Parajas of Koraput amounts from Rs. 50 to Rs. 150.

At weddings the Parajas have a dance called *Surcha*. Music for the dance is provided by bamboo flutes, drums and string instruments of violin type.

Widow marriage is permitted, and in fact the younger brother has every right to marry his deceased elder brother's wife. Divorce is also permissible.

Religion and Festivals

The Parajas worship the various Gods and Goddesses residing over hills, streams and forests. They also worship *Danteshwari*, the tutelary Goddess of Bastar. They observe festival to mark first sowing, eating of new rice, eating of mango, and so on. Chickens, rice grains and other *puja* materials are offered to the dieties as well as to the ancestors. Most villages have a *Sirdha* who is possessed by the deity. When rain is wanted the Parajas fix a piece of wood into the ground and worship it as the king of the clouds for rain.

A snake, a jackal, a hare and a dog are unlucky objects to be seen while starting on a journey. Wednesday and Thursday are lucky days.

A few members of the Paraja tribe belong to the *Ramanandi* sect and they observe certain specific ritual taboos.

Disposal of the Dead

The dead are invariably buried, the corpse being laid in the ground with the head to the east and feet to the west. Some of the Parajas put the head to the north direction being influenced by the Hindus.

Occupation, and Social Customs

The Parajas are primarily cultivators, but the poorer sections are mostly landless labourers. They are not considered to be an impure caste. Women are tattooed and some Paraja boys allow their hair to grow long and to form a bunch on the head.

Educationally, the Parajas fall far behind like many other tribes. About 96.6 per cent of the Parajas are found to be illiterate according to the 1961 Census.

RAJUAR

Bhagirathi Chowdhury

The Rajuar or Rajwar is a minor tribe of Orissa. Their population is only 1,018, out of which 956 were enumerated from the district of Mayurbhanj. Most of the authorities have the opinion that the tribe is probably an offshoot of the Bhuiyans. The Rajuars of Bengal give a different story admitting that they are the descendant of mixed union between Kurmis and Kols. In Chotnagpur, they claim to be an inferior class of Rajputs.

Subdivisions

Risley has mentioned several Subdivisions of the tribe. They are : Angrok or Angwar, Chapwar, Sikharia, Sukulkara, Bar-Gohri, Majhal-Turiya and Berra-Rajwar. Again these subdivisions are divided into a number of exogamous groups. The following names of these groups are quoted from 'The Tribes and Castes of Bengal'. These are : Bhogta, Chapa, Chirra, Dori-har-jogi, Karhar, Kasyapa, Katwar, Kharakwar, Lathaur, Loharatengi, Majhiya, Marrik, Matwara, Nag, Rikhi, Sankwa and Singh.

Marriage

They practise both adult and infant marriage. Sexual intercourse before marriage is strictly prohibited and looked down upon. A woman having sexual affairs with a man of another caste would be excommunicated. Polygamy is allowed. Widow remarriage in the *sanga* form is prevalent. Divorce is allowed on reasonable grounds such as adultery, incompatibility of temper. The rite of *sindurdan* (marking of vermillion) is the binding portion of the marriage. Their marriage is said to resemble to the marriage among the Kurmis.

Death rites

The deads are generally cremated. Death pollution continues for eleven days when a *Sradha* ceremony is performed. A piece of bone of the deceased is collected and preserved for final disposal in a river.

Occupation

Agriculture is their main occupation. But their economic condition is like those of the landless labourer.

They do not eat beef, pork and other unclean food. They take fowl and alcoholic drinks and the leavings of the higher castes.

Status

In their ceremonial and religious observances they employ degraded Brahmins. The tribe is considered

low and Brahmins do not accept water in their hands. Those Brahmins and Vaishnava who officiate in certain ceremonies accept *pakka* food from them. Kurmis are the lowest caste from whom they accept food.



KUTIA KONDH WITH CHILD



KOYA WOMAN

MATYA

Gopinath Satpathy

The Matyas of Orissa claim to be the autochthons and nothing is heard of their migration to this Province. They use a sacred thread because this privilege was conferred on them by the former Rajas. They owe their name from their association with soil and land. To day, they prefer to designate them as Mati Bhumias instead of Matyas.

They are distributed in ten districts of Orissa and their total population is 5,711 of which 5,572 live in rural areas and 139 constitute urban population. The districtwise population is given below :

Name of the district	Male population	Female population	Total
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Sundergarh ..	1,331	1,174	2,505
Koraput ..	567	552	1,119
Keonjhar ...	296	273	569
Ganjam ...	188	198	386
Balasore ..	221	143	364

Name of the district	Male population	Female population	Total
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Phulbani ..	98	124	222
Puri ..	100	95	195
Cuttack ..	100	90	190
Sambalpur ..	11	86	97
Mayurbhanj ..	49	15	64
Total ..	2,961	2,750	5,711

They are chiefly distributed in a continuous belt in the North of Malkangiri subdivision in the district of Koraput, and the present note is based on the observation in this area.

They speak Oriya language but it is mixed with Loria.

The Matyas have their settlements on the plains. The settlements are small and the forests surround these. The houses are very small and low. The houses have only one or two rooms. The roofs are thatched with straw and the walls are made of wattles and mud. The walls are coloured red but not painted.

They have gourds to carry water, earthen vessels, leaf containers, tobacco and snuff cases, combs, bifurcated axes, rope cots, and oil and rupee containers of bamboo, earthenware lamps as household equipments. They use handpound Kutuni in their houses.

The agricultural implements consist of plough, ploughshare, *kodal*, spade digging stick and axe.

They use bow and arrow, axe, knife, as hunting implements. Fishing traps and small nets are rarely seen.

The musical instruments consist of flute, *ding ding*, dancing stick, *changu* and drum.

They dress themselves like the neighbouring tribal folk. Ordinarily, the men wear *lenguti* but while going to market place, they wear cloths and the well-to-do wear cloth, banian and shirt even. The napkin and chaddar are worn by all. The females wear coloured sarees, woven by Doms and Gandas. They do not know the use of blouse. The ornaments like those of the neighbouring communities consist of anklets on legs, bangels on wrist, bead necklaces in the neck, various types of rings in the ear and nose, rings on fingers and toes. They do not use as much bead necklaces as the Bandos or Koyas do.

The Bhumias and Matyas consider themselves as two sections of one tribe, namely Gond. The internal structure of the two tribes are identical. They have four exogamous totemistic clans such as Bagh, Nag, Cheli and Kachhimo. The members of different clans have different surnames, like Kape, Preima, Pujari, Naek, Chalan, Putia, Dora etc. The members of one sept consider them as brothers and sisters and hence marriage is prohibited among them.

The family is nuclear and is the main social unit. The sons get separated as soon as they are married and live in separate hamlet. The family is patrilineal, partrilocal, and patripotestal. Both husband, wife and children work as a unit and pursue the economic pursuits with the common aim. The father worships the ancestor, for the sake of all the members of the house.

Village is the next larger unit. The secular headman is known as *Naek*, the religious head is *Pujari*, the village attendant is *Barik* and the attendant of the visitors is *Challan*. At present, the role of *Naek* as tax-collector is gone, yet he remains as a prominent figure for his roles in social functions. The *Naek* decides the disputes and imposes the fines. The *Barik* is a man from scheduled caste and he acts on the order of *Naek*. The fine is distributed among the *Naek*, *Barik* and *Challan*. The *Pujari* does all religious worships and gets the major share of the sacrifices. There is one *Disari* in a village, who is expected to forecast the annual crop, auspicious days. He is respected whatever may be his caste. The village has one *Guru*, who comes once a year. He gives *Tulasimal* to the aged persons and threads at the time of marriage. He is given rice, cloth, money for his activity. The villagers join together in the hunting, and festivals of the village.

Cross cousin marriage is the rule. In case of refusal the male is entitled to compensation from the boy who marries her. Bride price is paid. When a married woman goes out with another man, the first husband gets some compensation, known as *Sagarta*. The four forms of marriage such as *Jhiamaga* (arranged), marriage by elopement, captured marriage, and marriage by service are adopted. In the first form the initiative is taken by the parents of the son to select the bride. They put up the proposal before the father of girl. If it is accepted a pot of liquor is presented. At a later date, they go with another pot of liquor, rice and fix up the bride price. The date is fixed in consultation with *Disari*. The liquor is distributed among the villagers who accept it and there by indicate their consent to the transfer of the girl to the man. On the previous day of marriage, the girl accompanied by a number of girls of her village is brought to the bridegroom's village in a procession with a Dom acting as musician. A pendal has been erected in front of the bridegroom's house. The couple take their seat on this platform. They are bathed in turmeric water and are given new cloths to wear. Their hands are joined together. They then go round the *Mahul* branch, planted on the ground for seven times, and enter the bridegroom's house. The relatives of the boy, stand on their way and make them admit two things namely (i) that they will be faithful for th entire life to each-other (ii) that they will behave properly towards their kith and kin. A feast follows. The night is spent in dancing and drinking. Next day, the bride's parents return with their *jhola*, which is usually a pair of cow or bullocks. At present cash is being paid instead of



SAORA YOUTH FROM GUNDARBA,
GANJAM DISTRICT



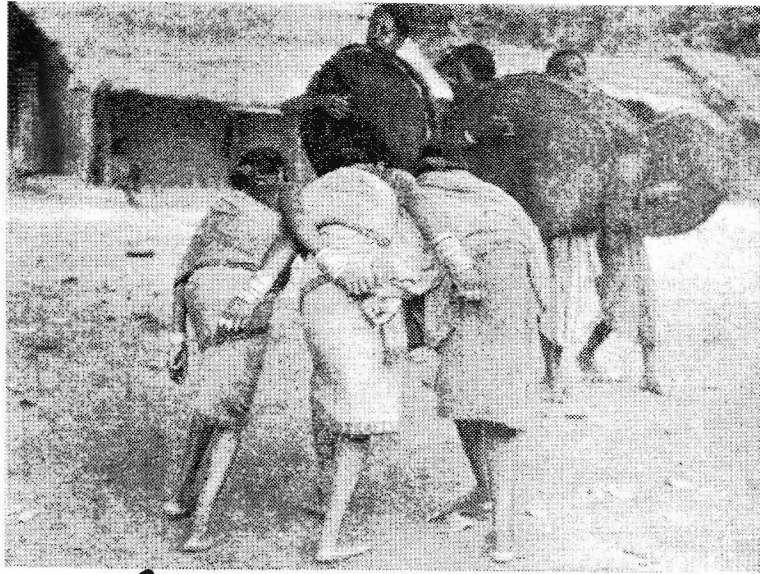
SAORA GRAND-MOTHER WITH HER
GRAND-SON



SAORA YOUNG BELLE



A SAORA BELLE



JUANG BOYS AND GIRLS DANCING



JUANG DANCE



JUANG WOMAN WITH CHILD



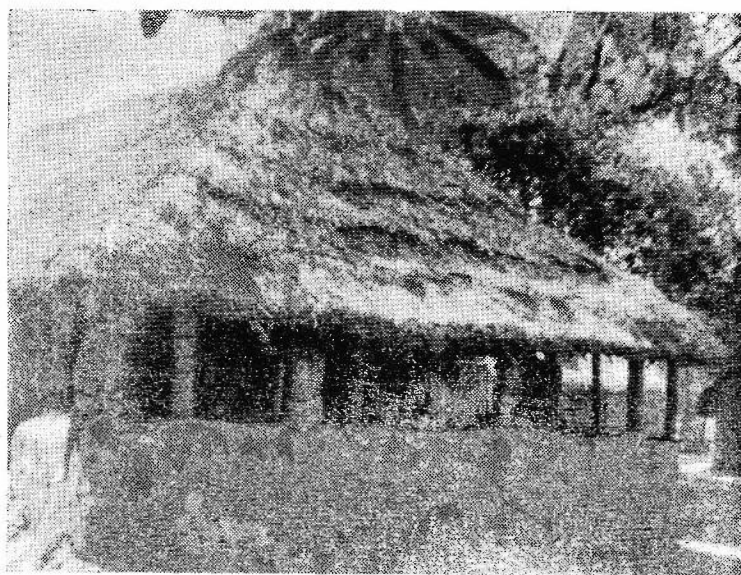
A JUANG HEAD MAN



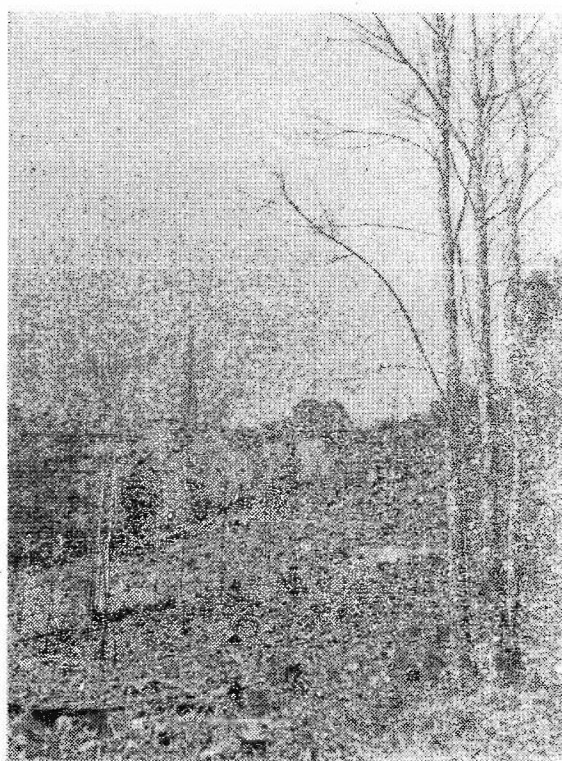
JUANG BOY



JUANG WOMAN



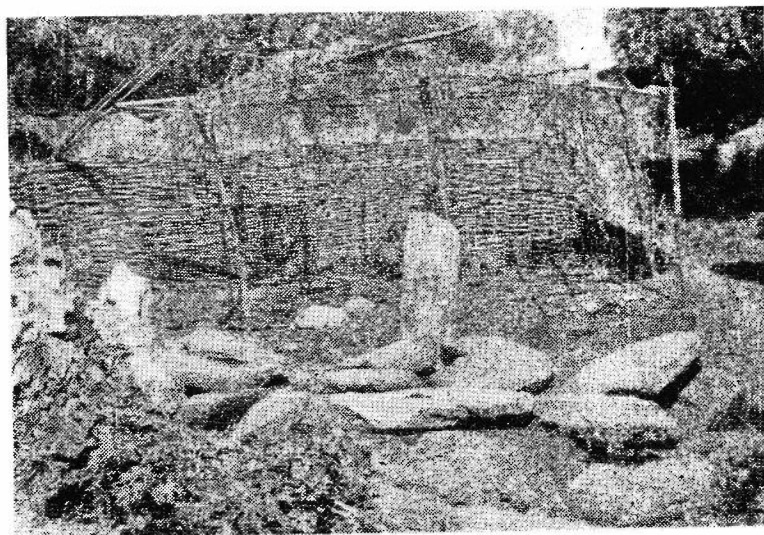
BACHELOR'S DORMITORY



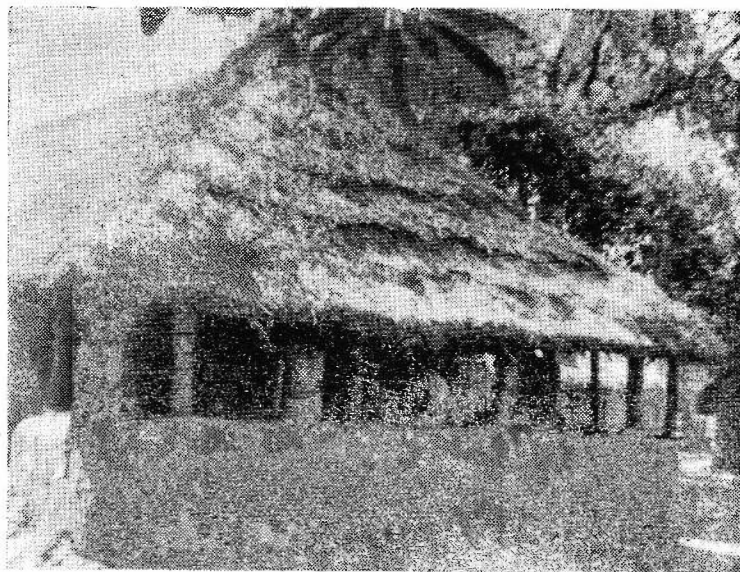
LAND CLEARED FOR SHIFTING CULTIVATION



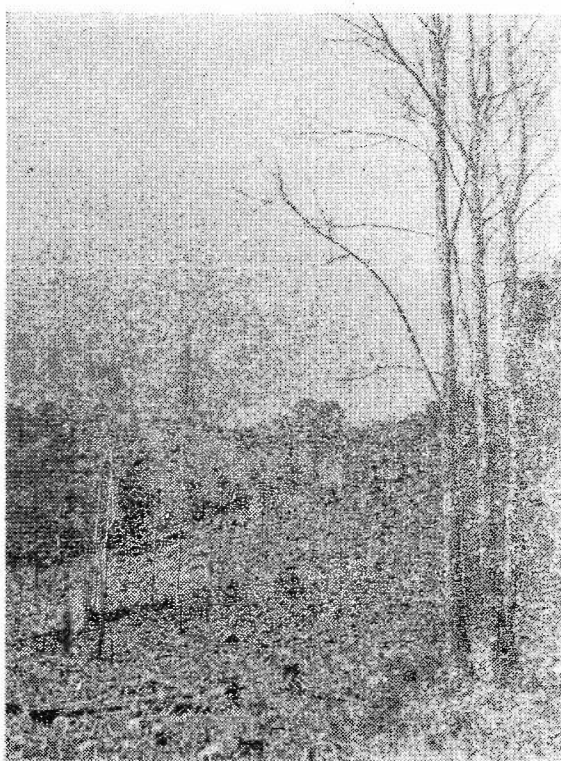
BONDA WOMAN



BONDA VILLAGE GODDESSES



BACHELOR'S DORMITORY



LAND CLEARED FOR SHIFTING CULTIVATION



BONDA LADY WITH A CHILD



BONDA BOY

cows and bullocks by the well-to-do and advanced families.

Some times, both boy and girl who have previously agreed elope to a relative's house at a distant village. There they live as husband and wife. Later on, a feast is given to the villagers. Some amount of bride price is paid and they get the recognition as a couple.

On certain occasions, the boy snatches away her sweet heart from the river side, forest, or market place. After a mock fight, and quarrel with the girl's parents, they are married. Bride price is paid and a feast is given.

In certain cases, a poor man can not afford to pay bride price. He decides to take up a job under a man for a stipulated period. He is only given food and cloth for this period towards his labour. At the end of this period, he marries the daughter or sister of the employer. He may settle up in the same village or may go to his own village.

The widow and divorced woman are allowed to marry. The *Gharjuai* system is also prevalent; Monogamy is the rule.

The deads are buried or cremated. The men of outstanding position are cremated whereas, the common folk are buried in sleeping posture with salt and planks around, below and above. Death pollution is observed for 3 days. On this day, they are purified and they join in a feast. In case of cremation, on the 4th day, the cremated spot is cleared up; milk is poured on, and a small hutlike structure is raised at the spot. At certain places instead of hut like structures, a bamboo pole or wooden pole is set up and the dead man's rage is attached to it. The utensils are broken and are thrown there. After a year, they perform yearly death rite (*buda*) for which they invite all relatives, and arrange a feast. They offer rice, meat, beer, etc., to the deceased, who is considered a *Duma*, and erect a *gudum* in his name.

The birth pollution in case of a girl issue extends over seven days and in case of a boy extends over 9 days. On the day following the period of pollution, the mother and the baby are cleaned with turmeric. If the household can afford, the mother is given a new cloth to wear. The child is given a name by *Disari*, who selects it by divination. They are usually named after the day of their birth, or after the ancestor's name. A feast is given to all on this occasion.

The Matyas consider the village Goddess as supreme. They worship ancestors and a number of spirits. The village deity is represented by her carriers (*Bahans*) like elephant, horse, etc. The *Pujari* worships her and offers sacrifices of fowl, goats, pigs on various occasions.

Their main festivals are (*Dhannuakhia*) new rice eating ceremony in the month of *Bhadrab*, *Dual Dei Puja* in *Asin*, new *Simb* and *Saru* eating ceremony and *Pusa Punia* in *Pusa*, new Mango eating ceremony and *Chaita parab* in *Chaitra* and *Baisakh*. They offer all new fruits to Goddess, ancestors, before they eat, sell or deal with them. The days for observing the new eating ceremonies are decided by the *Naek* and *Disari* of the village and all observe them on that day.

During *Asin* (October), the village deity called *Dular Dei* is worshipped for 3 days namely 2nd week Saturday, Sunday, and Monday. The *Disari* fixes up the time. Sacrifices are made to Goddess. The *Disari* gets the head. The rest is divided into four parts. One part is taken by *Disari* as his share, one part by the headman of the village and the rest is distributed among the villagers.

They are very fond of dance and music. The *Dhemesa Nach* is one of their important dances. They have different types of songs befitting to the occasions.

The main occupation of the community is settled agriculture. Most of them cultivate their own land. They produce paddy, maize, *suan*, pulses and tobacco. They cultivate various types of vegetables. Forest products are collected and fishing is resorted to at times. Some of them have taken up jobs. They are expert in earth work and are employed in it by the contractors.

They take paddy for a part of the year. They manage with edible roots of the forest, mango kernel, maize flour, and *sua*, etc. for 4 to 6 months in a year. Liquor of various types like ricebeer, *salope*, *mohualiquor*, *datepalm juice*, etc., are their favourite drinks. They do not take beef. They have given up the taking of pork.

The Matyas treat the Scheduled Castes like *Dom Pan*, as untouchables. They take food from the Matyas. Similarly the *Bondos*, *Koyas* are regarded low in status by them for their crude and uncivilized

way of life. They consider them to be on par with the Ronas, Sundhi and Bhumia.

The barber and washerman do not serve them. The Brahmin does not attend their rituals.

Education is yet to spread among them. It is hoped that, with the expansion of road ways in their area, they will improve.

BANJARI

P. K. Mohapatra

Banjaris are a small tribe living in the western and northern regions of Orissa. Russell and Hiralal describe the tribe as having migrated from Rajputana and its surrounding places. They also deduce from the word Banjara that it is a derivation from the Sanskrit word "*Banijya Kara*, a merchant". Formely they were migratory in their habit and sold commodities in various places moving in a large group and carrying the good on their bullock carts. It is reported from history that the Banjaris were employed by the Hindu as well as Muslim kings to carry necessities for the Soldiers to the war fronts.

It appears this tribe have, in course of time, migrated to different places in Orissa through Central Province and Bihar. The distribution of the population is indicated in the table below:—

Name of the district	Total number	Males	Females
Kalahandi ..	1,933	896	1,037
Koraput ..	427	197	230
Sambalpur ..	370	176	194
Bolangir ..	147	63	84
Boud-Kandhmal ..	1	..	1
Sundergarh ..	800	391	409
Total ..	3,678	1,723	1,955

The literacy figure among the Banjaris are as follows:—

Kalahandi ..	188
Koraput ..	32
Sambalpur ..	53
Bolangir ..	7
Baud-Kandhmal ..	1
Sundergarh ..	67

As described by Hiralal and Russel the two parties of a marriage meet at a particular place where bride price is fixed and which varies from Rupees 200 to 1,000. The groom goes to the bride's house to stay for few days after the negotiation is settled. Marriage ceremonies are held in rainy seasons as during dry weather they travel from one place to another. Widow marriage is prevalent and when a man dies the widow is taken by either the elder or younger brother of the deceased.

At the time of birth of a child the mother remains unclean for five days and lives in a separate hut. She washes the feet of all the children of the settlement on the sixth day, feeds them and returns to the hut of her husband. Bodies of unmarried persons and those dying of smallpox are buried and those of others are burnt. The mourning rites are observed for three days only.

The deities worshipped by the Banjaris are Banjari-devi, Mithu Bhukia and Siva Bhaia. Cattle are also

worshipped by the Banjari who provide the means of transportation on which they depend for their livelihood.

The Banjaris are also referred to as dacoits who plunder the by-passers, etc., Gradually they are becoming settled agriculturists in Orissa.

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GADABA

Gapinath Satpathy

The Gadabas are one of the most colourful and primitive tribes of Orissa. They are one of the early settlers of this country and trace their origin to the time of Ramayan. It is said that their original home was at Godavari from which they have derived their name Gadaba'. According to Mr. Ram Doss they owe their name to the term 'Geda' in Telugu or 'Gada' in Oriya, which means 'brook' Mr. Ram Doss and Dr. Majumdar connect the Gadabas with Munda family. Dr. Majumdar further contends that the Gadabas belong to Austro-Asiatic linguistic family. These views seem to be correct so far as the two sections like Bada and Sano Gadabas are concerned but the other section, namely, the Ollaro falls into a different linguistic group, namely, the Dravidian.

The Gadabas are seen in adjoining mountainous tracts of Andhra, Orissa and Madhya Pradesh. In Orissa, they are distributed in seven districts as shown below:—

Name of the district	Male population	Female population	Total
1. Koraput ..	21,430	21,130	42,560
2. Kalahandi ..	595	593	1,188
3. Sundergarh ..	59	30	89

Name of the district	Male population	Female population	Total
4. Ganjam ..	17	28	45
5. Sambalpur ..	20	4	24
6. Mayurbhanj ..	7	10	17
7. Baud and Kondhmal.	7	9	16
Total ..	22,135	21,804	43,939

Their total population in Orissa is 43,939 of which 43,325 constitute rural population and 614 live in urban areas. Their main concentration is in the district of Koraput on its central plateau stretched over from the borders of Madhya Pradesh to the borders of Andhra. Their population is maximum in Lamataput, Jeypore, Nandpur, Semiliguda, Sunabedha and Pottangi areas in Koraput. The Gadabas of Lamataput are Bodo Gadabas, those of Nandpur and Sunabeda are Sano Gadabas, and of Pottangi are the Ollaro Gadabas.

They have their own language known as 'Gutab' or Gadaba language. Mr. Grierson has included their language in Munda linguistic family. A few of them living near the towns and working as labourers in firms can speak Oriya. They have also adopted a certain Oriya terms into their vocabulary.

The Gadabas are not a migratory folk. They live permanently in large villages situated on inaccessible mountainous areas. Almost all the villages of Koraput subdivision have Gadaba population mixed with other tribes and castes. The villages consist of two rows of houses with a broad path between having banyan trees in the centre. The headman possesses the largest house, which is generally situated at the centre of one of the rows. The houses are thatched rectangular constructions with verendahs in front. The walls are made of bamboo, and wood plastered with mud. The more ancient structures consist of two adjacent rooms, one rectangular in plan and beyond it a circular one with conical roof. There is the dormitory house in the village. Every Gadaba village has stone monuments roughly circular in plan made of horizontal slabs with vertical ones interspersed with them. These are used as general meeting places. There are stone slabs representing their deities.

Their household stocks consist of earthenware vessels, rope, wooden stick, houndpound *kutani*, leaf containers for storing foodgrains, baskets, small nets, earthenware lamp, grindstone, palm leaf mats, few gourds, carrying poles, broomsticks, bamboo traps for fishing, knife, bow and arrow, combs, flute, tobacco containers. They have recently learnt to use aluminium plates, jars, umbrellas, kerosine lamp, lantern, wooden mortar and pestle, and husking lever which one gets usually among the advanced Gadaba families. String cots are rarely seen. They have their weaving loom.

As musical instruments they use big drum, *talmuli* *baja*, *madals*, flute, *tamak* and *mahuri*

As agricultural implements, they use plough, plough share, hoe, spade, sickle and digging stick.

They have bifurcated axe, bow and arrow, spear, and sword.

The Gadaba male wear ordinary cloth. Their dress usually consists of loin cloth, cloth, napkin, chaddar. Very few use shirt and banian. The women of the tribe always wear picturesque clothes. Round their waists they tie a fringed narrow cloth, called a *kerang*,

woven by themselves on the most primitive loom, of which the wrap is the hand spun fibre of different jungle shrubs and the woof is cotton dyed at home with indigo, and *morninda-citrifolia* and arranged in strips of red, blue and white; either over or under this they wear a hustle made of raw-hide laces or of strands of stout cord woven from other shrubs and tied together at the end; round the upper part of the body is another cloth similar but smaller than the waist cloth. This traditional dress is gradually going to be replaced by cotton clothes made by Gandas and Doms and coloured red. Mill-made clothes are coming to be used. They entirely cover one of their arms from wrist to elbow with a number of brass bracelets. In the ear they wear enormous coils of thick brass wire as ornaments. On their forehead is a chaplet of cowrie shells. Round their loins they wind a girdle of rope called *Kuddal*. The hair is dressed in two coils, whose ends are plaited together at the back of the neck, bound round a piece of wood bent into the shape of a horse shoe, which is used as a stiffening material. Round the neck necklaces of beads are worn. To these bead necklaces a coin is sometimes attached as a pendant. They wear a number of rings on their fingers and toes. Silver or brass anklets in the leg are considered fashionable ornament. They wear a number of of *Khagalas* of brass or alloy round their neck. Of course, these ornaments are gradually losing its ground and ornaments in the fashion of neighbouring population are replacing them.

The Gadabas are divided into a number of divisions like Bada, Sano, Ollar, Kalayi, Kapu, Kateni, Jurumu and Parenga, etc. In Orissa most of these sections are not seen. Mr. Ram Doss differentiates them on the basis of their costume and ornament. In Orissa only three divisions like Bado or Gutab, Sano, and Ollaro Gadabas are seen. This Sano is also called Parenga. Bado Gadabas are the highest in social status. They do not take water from the other classes. The other sections mix with one another freely.

Family is the simplest unit. It is nuclear in its structure. The son is separated from his father as soon as he is married. The family is patrilineal, patrilocal and patripotestal.

The residents of a village are divided into a number of Phratries (Bonso). Each Bonso is known by its surname derived from the village of origin. For instance, those who are from the village Deulpada are called Deulpadia.

A number of such Bonso come under one group, known as clans of the Gadabas. These are exogamous and totemistic. Kora (Sun) Nag (Cobra) Bagh (Tiger), Kora (Parrot) and Collari (Monkey) are a few of the clans mostly prevalent among the tribe. Though these totem objects have lost much of their importance in the social and religious life, yet occasionally they are worshipped and mourned. They believe that the totem object will do them no harm.

The village is a social unit and the villagers behave as one for a number of purposes. The religious ceremonies, annual hunting, are observed in a village jointly. Every village has a secular head known as *Naek*, an attendant to *Naek* known as *Challan* and a bearer called Barik. The Barik is a Dom by caste. He has to communicate the declarations meant for the villagers, and acts as a messenger to the individual families of the village. The *Chalan* is to entertain the outsiders, and government officials coming to the village from time to time. The headman with the other members of the village decides all the disputes and maintain order in the village. He takes up the responsibility of distributing meat at the time of *Chait Paraba*. The day of new grains eating is to be decided by the *Naek*. The village has a *Disari*, who officiates as the priest for all worships in the village. He is consulted in matters of individual illness, and calamities of the village.

The Gadabas have the institution of boys' and girls' dormitories. For this purpose, two houses, one for the boys and the other for the girls are set apart in each village. The boy's dormitory is looked after by a young man called *bise* and similarly the girl's dormitory is under the charge of an elderly girl. The unmarried boys and girls sleep in their dormitories, since they are eight years old. They dance and sing songs in these dormitories. Gradually this institution is losing its hold and at a certain places, *kirtan mandals* have been started, the membership of which is open to all.

The pregnant woman does not visit burial ground and does not touch the corpse. On the birth of a child, the mother is held impure for about 15 days. The name-giving ceremony is observed by 10 days. Usually, the Gadabas of hills name their children after the days of the week on which they are born; whereas the Gadabas of the plain consult the *Disari* and prefer to have low country names by selection. Hair cutting ceremony is observed after one year.

The maternal uncle shaves the child and throws the hair into a water source. Ear-piercing can be done on any day according to their convenience.

Marriages take place after the attainment of puberty. The usual age at marriage is 18 to 21 years for boys and 15 to 18 years for girls. The cross-cousin marriage is usually preferred. The marriage of widow is permitted and usually the younger brother of the deceased marry her. If she does not marry him, the second husband has to pay a sum of money called *rand tonka* to him. Polygyny is also in vogue. A divorced woman can marry again. Bride price is, always paid. They adopt five forms of marriage known as 1. Arranged, 2. Udli, 3. Paisamundi, 4. Gharjwain, 5. widow marriage.

Arranged Marriage—The selection of the bride is at first made by the parents with the approval of their son. A formal offer of marriage is made to the parents of the bride along with the presents of liquor, rice, fowl, etc. first through relatives and later by the parents of the boy. The proposal being accepted, an auspicious day for the marriage is fixed by *Disari*. On that day, the bridegroom's relations go to the home of the bride with a rupee towards marriage expenses, a new cloth for girl's mother, and half a rupee for the females of the bride's village. The bride is given glass bead necklace and bangles. A feast follows. The bride is conducted to the village of bridegroom in front of whose home a pendal has been raised. There are sal stems planted on the pendal. The bride sits on the grindstone with the bridegroom sitted on her thigh. The elderly women throw turmeric paste on them. They bath in turmeric water, wear new clothes, after which the *Disari* joins their hands in martial union. A feast with much drinking follows and the whole day is spent in dance and song. Next day, they play in mud after which they go to stream and take bath. A further feast and dance follows. Now the bride price has been raised to some hundreds. This is a more elaborate form and is expensive.

In *udulia* type, the couple fall in love with each other and elope to other village, where they have relatives. There they live as husband and wife. The bride's parents subsequently go there with his kins and induce the girl to return. They are pacified by food and drink. The bride price is paid and the marriage is soemnized even after the birth of the child. The amount of bride price is less and is paid by instalments in this case.

In Paisamundi Marriage, the woman failing to allure the man, whom she likes, goes and makes an intrusion into his house. She takes some presentations. She is generally abused, beaten and refused food. If she remains silent, she is accepted as the daughter-in-law of the family. No ceremony is performed but a feast is given by the boy's parents to the villagers. The widow and divorced women are common in this type of marriage.

Sometimes, the poor Gadaba may serve in well-to-do family with the aim of getting his sister or daughter in marriage after a stipulated period of service. After the stipulated period, the boy is married to the girl and the expenses are borne by the girl's parents. After marriage he may stay with his father-in-law or may setup a new house either in his village or there.

The widow marriage does not involve any elaborate ceremony and is consummated by putting a few grains of rice coloured with turmeric on the foreheads of the pair.

Whatever may be the type, their marriage is not a private affair. The entire village take an active part in it. The father of the bridegroom or the bride invites the villagers to a meeting where puffed rice and jaggery are distributed. Four persons are selected to take up the responsibility of the affair. Two remain in charge of store and two in charge of kitchen. They are smeared with turmeric paste to be distinguished from the rest.

In recognition of their services, they are invited to a feast at the end of marriage and are given drink and meat. They thank the host and depart.

Both male and female can divorce each other. The husband pays rupees two to the divorced wife and in case of being divorced he gets some compensation from the new husband of his wife.

The Gadabas practise both burial and cremation. The well-to-do persons cremate the dead, where as the rest usually bury them. The death news was sent to the relatives by Dom. All come and mourn for the dead, who is kept in a corner of the hut. It is removed outside the hut, given a bath, anointed with castor oil and vermilion and is carried to the grave. At certain places, the corpse is carried in bamboo coffin and at other places, it is taken by six persons

upon their shoulders. All follow the dead. In case of burial the head is kept towards east in the case of female and to the west in case of male. The nephew or the brother does the rite and in their absence, the son is compelled to do it. Persons dying of leprosy and smallpox are sure to be buried. In case of death by the attack of tiger, the corpse will be cremated at the spot after the Disari does some worship. Death pollution is observed for 10 days at certain places and five days at other localities. On the first day after disposal of the dead, they take bath in a stream, catch fish and cook the same with rice. They give it on the way to graveyard either in pot or cup. The 2nd day is spent without any rite, where pollution is observed for ten days. In places of observing pollution for 5 days, on the 2nd day, milk and plantain are given to the dead, and the 3rd and 4th day have no activity. On the 5th day, a feast is given, and the invitees drink in excess and take beef to their heart's content. In places of observing it for 10 days, on 3rd day the clan members touch oil and vermilion; take bath, eat beef and drink *pendum* (the ragibeer) after offering cooked rice, fish, wine and meat to the dead at the graveyard. On 10th day, the general feast is held, where beef and *pendum* are taken in abundance.

They observe the *Gottar* ceremony within two or three years after the death of their father and mother. Many buffaloes and cows are sacrificed in honour of their ancestors in this occasion. They believe that unless this is observed, their dead ancestors do not attain salvation or rebirth. This is observed on a day of Magh (January-February). As many he-buffaloes as the dead spirits one wants to free, are bought and are treated decently. The females weep and express their sorrow. They are tied to pegs in a row in a field and are butchered by axe, by the drunk Gadabas. Their lives are taken out in most cruel manner and their intestines are drag. Mr. Ram Doss has given a detailed picture of this scene.

Gottar is both an individual and a communal affair. In individual form, it is done by the brothers of the dead. Communal *Gottar* is done by the entire village to get them free from all sins once in twenty to thirty years.

Gadabas worship a Goddess whom they call Thakurani. They pay homage to Iswar, Bhairalu, Gangadevi, etc. They believe in ancestral spirits, and clan gods. Goddess is represented by slabs of stones and are worshipped by Disari. The place is known as 'Hundi'.

They observe a few festivals. The most important of them is *Chaita Parab*, held in the month of March-April. This is a communal festival associated with hunting. All go to the forest and do not return without a prey. When they hunt it is carried to the end of the forest and the women are called to the spot. The women dance and lead the men carrying the dead animal to the village. The animals are laid down in front of the house of headman. The animals are cut and meat is distributed. The entire festival lasts for eleven days during which both boys and girls compete with each other in singing duets. They dance in circles. This is a period of love making as boys and girls visit other villages.

They observe eating of new rice in Bhadrab, *Dasa-hara* in Asin, *Pusa Punia* in Pusa, and eating of new mango in Fagun. On *Dasahara*, they make offerings to the arrows and bows and sacrifice a type of fish called Magara. They eat *Kakudi* from this day. On *Pusa Punia*, the boys and girls dance, steal away vegetables and other things from the houses, and offer a gruel of ragi powder and gingle seeds to the ancestors. They arrange feasts of beef, pork on this occasion. They offer all their new fruits to ancestors and Goddess, before they use them.

The Gadabas are fond of Dance and Music. One of the most important dances of them is known as 'Dhemsā'. This is a ritual dance and is performed during communal festivals like *Pusa Punia*, *Chaita-Parba*, etc. Both men and women join the dance. Women dress themselves in Kerang sarees. The males remain in charge of orchestra with instruments like Dhol, Tamak, Mahuri etc. Mr. Shaw has described their dance as follows:—

"The Gadaba women stand in a semi-circle first holding each other with arms at each others, waist on the back side. They put the left leg forward and the right leg backward and begin their dancing with simple stepping of one and two. Then they stop, move forward and backward, showing a skill in dancing on their heels with slow movements of their body."

"They sometimes divide themselves into two groups and dance and then join together, when again the dancers move faster and run, move backward and forward bending at the knees with steppings of eight and four. Again they disjoin and form two rows. One group forms crosses with their hands and raises them up, and the other group forms crosses with their

hands and passes through the first row. The dance goes all the while. The dancers shout sometimes in the middle of the performance with synchronised voice".

The Gadabas are very fond of music. They have different songs befitting to the occasion. They sing in their own dialect. Love is the main theme of the most of the Gadaba songs. The 'Kanya geeta' or bridal songs are heart touching. Natural beauties are described in most of the songs. The marriage song is simple in meaning and style.

Their dance and music have some similarity with those of Koyas.

The Gadabas practise both shifting and wet cultivation. Those who live on plain adopt some amount of shifting cultivation in a localised area. Each family divides its holding for shifting cultivation into two parts and cultivates a part, when the other remains barren. The places are alternated once in every three years. They have also little paddy cultivation. The Gadabas of hill solely depend on the shifting cultivation.

The chief agricultural products are paddy, ragi, suan, maize, several types of grams, etc. Their staple food is ragi. Rice is only a supplementary food. Since their production is insufficient they resort to food collection in the jungles. Mango kernel, edible-roots, etc, support them for two months. The hill Gadabas practise hunting as a means of livelihood, whereas the plain takes it as a pastime. Fishing is also carried out.

They work as labourers in different firms, and with contractors. In addition to weaving, they adopt the occupation of palanquin-bearer.

Beef, pork is taken by them. Liquor like raggi liquor (pendum), Handia (rice liquor), Mahua liquor, etc. are usually taken extensively.

The Gadabas are held low in the eyes of the neighbouring communities. The observance of Gottar, taking of beef, and weaving of cloth bring them down in others' estimation. They are held superior to Doms, Ghasis, but inferior to other tribals like Bhumia, Koya, Kond, Gond, etc.

They are gradually improving. They are becoming literate. With the expansion of communication, they are coming in contact with the neighbours and are

adopting better mode of living. It is hoped that they will be economically better off and prosper in near future.

GOND

Bhagirathi Chowdhury

The Gond tribe is distributed all over India. Their main concentration is in the belt covering Western Orissa, Northern Andhra, Madhya Pradesh, Southern U. P. and Rajsthan. The Gonds of all these areas do not form a homogeneous population. Though they maintain certain common characteristics among them, they show wide cultural divergence and belong to different linguistic groups.

The Gonds are, historically speaking, the most significant tribe of India. From the beginning of the mediaeval period of Indian history up to the rise of the Maharattas the entire belt of central India was ruled by Gond Kings and Chiefs. The remnants of a martial and chivalrous tradition can be traced among the Hinduised Gonds even at the present time. There

are historical legends among the Hinduised Gonds of Orissa to indicate that their ancestors came to the State as martial people and were settled on land as feudal chiefs.

The Gonds of Orissa can be divided into two entirely different groups. The Gonds of Sundargarh, Sambalpur, Bolangir and a part of Kalahandi have been highly acculturated into the Hindu society and have attained the status of a warrior caste. They know no other language except Oriya. The Gonds of Kalahandi and Koraput are a primitive tribe in every respect having their distinctive dress, habits and customs. They speak 'Gondi'—a dialect belonging to the Dravidian family.

According to the 1961 census the total population of Gonds in Orissa is 445,705 out of which 221,629 are male and 224,076 are female. The two groups of Gonds have not been separately enumerated but a rough idea can be formed about the separate groups if their distribution over the various districts are studied. The distribution is as follows:—

Name of the district	Population	Male	Female
Kalahandi ..	104,405	51,621	52,784
Koraput ..	55,272	27,815	27,457
Sambalpur ..	93,875	45,467	48,408
Bolangir ..	72,289	36,116	36,173
Phulbani ..	8,087	3,902	4,185
Ganjam ..	92	48	44
Sundargarh ..	34,849	18,127	16,722
Dhenkanal ..	20,379	10,862	9,517
Puri ..	562	250	312
Keonjhar ..	39,232	19,042	20,190
Cuttack ..	1	1	..
Mayurbhanj ..	16,659	8,376	8,283
Balasore ..	3	2	1

The Gonds of Kalahandi, Koraput and Phulbani may be taken to belong to the primitive section whereas the rest can be taken to belong to the acculturated section. A further evidence of this can be obtained

from the distribution of literacy among the Gonds in different districts, which is as follows:—

District	Illi-terate	Literate and educated	Literate without educational level
Kalahandi ..	97,264	7,141	6,659
Koraput ..	53,131	2,141	2,000
Sambalpur ..	77,926	15,949	14,016
Bolangir ..	66,174	6,115	5,792
Phulbani ..	6,878	1,209	1,089
Ganjam ..	78	14	13
Sundargarh ..	29,906	4,943	4,450
Dhenkanal ..	16,693	3,686	3,283
Puri ..	495	67	62
Keonjhar ..	35,350	3,882	2,970
Cuttack ..	..	1	..
Mayurbhanj ..	13,790	2,896	1,990
Balasore ..	3	..	..
Total ..	387,788	48,017	42,332

Besides the linguistic divisions, the tribe (both groups) is divided into a number of totemistic clans. Each clan is exogamous. Besides this there are certain brother clans between whom marriage is prohibited.

The acculturated Gonds live in villages inhabited by other castes and tribes. They especially live along with Kandh, Bhuyan and Gour. The primitive Gonds live in homogeneous villages.

Among the acculturated Gonds considerable respect is shown to the elders. Among the primitive Gonds different age-groups have an informal organisation of their own. Within this age-grade there is considerable intimacy. Among the primitive Gonds the women giving birth to children are kept in seclusion and a lot of rites are observed to keep the children safe from the evil spirits. Among the Hinduised Gonds all rites are performed according to Hindu customs but the local deities and the Gond Gods are also worshipped.

Marriage is strictly forbidden within the same clans and brother-clans. Cross-cousin marriage, marriage by service and regular marriages arranged by the parents are commonly practised. Bride-price is always paid, and the amount is generally fixed in a meeting of the parties. Both infant and adult marriages are popular among the Hinduised Gonds.

Marriage takes place in the bride's house. The ceremony the Hinduised Gonds is modelled after the marriage rites of lower caste of Hindus. They get the services of barber and Brahmin who conduct the vedic rites as the binding portion of the marriage. Among the primitive Gonds their tribal priest performs the rites. Both men and women participate in the marriage procession. Use of alcoholic drinks and dancing have been stopped by the Hinduised Gonds while the primitive Gonds dance in a drunken state during the marriage. Marriage is one of the biggest items of expenditure in a man's life and plunges a person into debt.

Widow-marriage is practised. Divorce on reasonable grounds are allowed by the tribal panchayats. The deads are either buried or cremated. Mortuary functions of the Hinduised Gonds show maximum Hindu influences. Pollution is observed for ten days after which there is purification and calling back of the shade. They get the services of the brahmin, barber and washerman at the time of the purificatory rites. Among the primitive Gonds, the cause of an unnatural death is to be ascertained by magic. Mourning is observed for four days when the houses are cleaned and a menhir is erected, if the deceased's family can afford to pay money for the food and drink needed for the erection of the same.

The religion of the acculturated Gonds is a system of tribal beliefs and practices mixed up with Hinduism as practised in the villages. There are a number of Gods such as Jangadeo, Lingadeo and Buradeo, who are entirely Gond Gods in the sense that only the Gonds worship them. There are also some malevolent deities bringing considerable harm which

includes disease, death, loss of cattle and other property. There are household Gods like Jhulan Devi, Gods of forests, crops, etc. If they are not properly worshipped and if no offering is made to them they do considerable harm. In addition to worship of the tribal gods they also worship images of Jagannath, Krishna, Rama and other Hindu deities. They also read Bhagabata, Ramayan, Mahabharat and other sacred books. They also participate in the Hindu festivals like Raja, Holi, Makar Jatra, etc.

The primitive Gonds worship Kali, the ghosts and the deities presiding over forest, crops and Earth Goddess. They have a number of religious observances connected with the first eating of crops and some jungle products and various religious rites connected with their agriculture and other economic pursuits. They also worship some Hindu Gods such as Mahadev, Ramachandra and Hanuman.

Dancing and singing on the occasions of ceremonies and marriage have been given up by the Hinduised Gonds, while the primitive Gonds have retained it.

The Hinduised Gonds living in the midst of the Hindus in Northern Orissa live in spacious house and put on dress and ornaments as found among the lower castes of the Hindu society. The primitive Gonds use a few varieties of dresses. The men wear a piece of cloth as loin-cloth for the most of the time. They also put on turbans, and bracelets on their hands and beads of imitation coral on their necks. Women put on a cloth which is also used as upper garment. They put on metal or glass bangles on the wrist, imitation corals and glass beads on a lavish scale round their neck. Combs are stuck on the hair. On the occasion of festivals when they dance they adorn their heads with paper-made flowers, peacock's plumage and coloured feathers of birds.

Their main occupation is agriculture supplemented by the collection of jungle products, hunting and shifting cultivation (only among the primitive Gonds of Koraput). They grow rice, millet, maize, mustard and few varieties of pulses. They also grow tobacco and vegetables. The Hinduised Gonds have developed a commercial sense and do petty business in the local markets.

Their staple food is rice, gruel of millet and maize. The Hinduised Gonds abstain from eating beef, pork and other unclean foods and drinking of rice-beer or wine. But among the primitive Gonds every house holder breeds a large number of goats, pigs, poultry or meat. Besides these, they procure various animal from the forest, such as rabbits, lizards, rats, some

species of snakes. They drink rice-beer and other alcoholic drinks. They seldom use spices except red-pepper and turmeric.

The Hinduised Gonds who claim themselves to be Kshatriya, have styled themselves as Hindus by copying many Hindu customs and practices. They get

the services of the Hindu Brahmin, barber and washerman. The Brahmin accepts water in their hands. But they have certain customs and practices of their aboriginal origin and for this they are treated as tribal. However, none of these customs and practices are in violent conflict with the Hindu society.

PENTIYA

Gopinath Satpathy

The Pentiyas of Orissa identify themselves as Haluva Paiks, or simply Haluva. In the Madras Census Report, 1901, they are designated as Pantia and Pentiya and are described as Oriya betel-leaf sellers. Today, they are found in large number in Koraput district of Orissa and their main profession is cultivation. It is told that they have migrated from Bastar to Pentikonna and later to other parts. Hence they are known as Pentiya. Their districtwise population is given below:—

Name of the district	Number of Male	Number of Female	Total population
Koraput ..	2,067	2,045	4,112
Mayurbhanj ..	1,968	1,885	3,853
Keonjhar ..	370	315	685
Phulbani ..	277	274	551
Dhenkanal ..	182	187	369
Cuttack ..	16	45	61
Sambalpur ..	18	6	24
Puri ..	1	..	1
Total ..	4,899	4,757	9,656

Their total population is 9,656 of which 9601 constitute rural population and 55 live in urban areas.

It is reported in gazetteers that their language is Haluva which the Pentiyas of Jeypur do not admit. They speak Oriya and admit Oriya to be their only language.

The tribe is divided into two endogamous sections called Bodo and Sanno. The Sannos are held to be the illegitimate descendants of the Bodos. This pure section namely Bodo has a number of septs like 'Kurum', 'Bagh', 'Nag', 'Surya'. The objects which the septs indicate are honoured.

The family is nuclear. It is patrilineal, patrilocal, and patripotestal. Joint families are rarely seen.

They have their tribal panchayat. The officials are designated as *Bhatnaek* or *Kulnaek*, *Pradhani*, *Dalei*, *Dhoba*, *Bhandari*, and *Chalan*. The *Challan* is the messenger of the council and acts on the direction of the *naek*. The *Bhandari* shaves the offenders, the *Dhoba* cleanses his clothes. The *Bhatnaek* manages the affairs of the council and is the head. Over a number of villages, there is one Kul or Bhatnaek. He is assisted by Pradhani, Dalei, in deciding caste matters and social disputes. Especially the caste council is summoned to receive back the outcasted persons. When an individual accidentally or knowingly kills a cow, or is affected with sores (*machiapatak*), he is outcasted. He is taken back into the caste after a ceremony is performed. The offender is taken to the bank of a stream, given some offerings from the Jagannath temple at Puri. He then provides a feast, and the Bhatnaek is to accept the food, first of all. After the feast, he takes a bath and is purified.

The birth pollution is observed for 21 days by the mother of the issue. She is not allowed to cook, though she is free to touch water after 12 days. They

perform name giving ceremony and the name is selected by the *Disari* or astrologer according to the day and time of the birth. The *Ekoisia* ceremony on the 21st day is observed and some of them perform ear-piercing ceremony on that day.

They adopt adult marriage though, the occurrence of child marriage is not rare. Cross-cousin marriage is preferred. The negotiation being complete and the date fixed, pendals are raised in front of both bride and bridegroom's houses. On the day of marriage, the bridegroom with his party goes to the bride's village with customary bride price like three cloths for bride's mother, three ruppees for her father, a cloth and two annas for each of her brothers. They present these articles to them and take rest in a separate house. Some amount of rice, liquor, and food articles are also given to the bride's party. The couple take bath and are brought to the pendal. The *Disari* officiates as the priest. On the pendal, the bride and bridegroom stand apart with a screen between them. The bridegroom is given the sacred thread and the couple go round the pendal for seven times. The *Disari* links their fingers together and the ceremony is over. There ensues a feast. On the following day, the bride and bridegroom return to the bridegroom's house. At his house, they play with each other by throwing turmeric water. A feast is given and the night is spent in dance.

The widow can marry again. The younger brother may keep the wife of the deceased elder brother. Polygyny is permitted.

The deads are burnt. Death pollution is observed for 10 days. They follow the death rite similar to that of their Hindu neighbours. A feast is given to the caste people at the end of the purification ceremony. Yearly *Sradh* ceremony is performed by them and a Brahmin is called to officiate.

Their main festivals are *Akhi Trutia* in Baisakh, *Gundicha* in Asadh, *Rakhi Punia* in Sraban, new rice ceremony in Bhadrab, *Dasahara* in Asin, *Dewali* in Kartika, *Laxmi Puja* in Magasir, *Pusa Punia* in Pusa, *Magh Parb* in Magh, *Holi* in Fagun, new mango eating ceremony in Chaitra. They participate in all the festivals of the Hindu neighbours.

The Pentiya villages are mixed ones. They live on plain. Agricultural lands, and forests surround their villages. The houses are set in two continuous rows

and the village path passes in between. Their houses have more rooms, with courtyard. The rooms are spacious. There is wide varendahs in front of the rooms. The cowsheds, goatsheds are separately built from the main sleeping room. The houses are thatched with straw or grass. The walls are made of planks plastered with mud and are painted yellow and black.

They use earthen vessels, string cots, leaf umbrellas, sticks, husking lever, etc., and these type of domestic articles are found in each house. Aluminium utensils, brass plate, jar, and glass, lantern cloth, umbrella, torch light are found in most of their houses. They have all agricultural implements like plough, yoke, ploughshare, leveller, sickle, digging stick, *ankudi*, spade. The axe, *katuri*, knife, sword, and a few guns are available in their villages. Fishing traps, fishing nets, are mostly seen in their houses. They play on Drums, *Tanaks*, *Madals*, *Gini*, and *Thal*. They wear mill-made and hand made clothes, and adorn them with gold, silver, and brass ornaments.

Their main occupation is settled agriculture and they donot practise shifting cultivation. As major crops, they harvest paddy, ragi, niger, pulses, and different kinds of gram. They grow vegetables. Fishing is often practised. Hunting is resorted to as pastime. Collection of edible roots, and other forest products play important role in their food quest.

They live upon rice. In the months of scarcity they take ragi, mango kernel, sweet potato, etc. to supplement their diet. They donot eat beef or pork but they take meat and mutton etc. Fowl is their favourite food.

They occupy a high social position. They are served by barber, washerman. Brahmin is employed on certain occasions by well-to-do families. They treat tribal people such as Koya, Paraja, Gadaba, Bondo, Kondh etc. and castes like Dom, Pano, Sundhi Teli, as inferior to them. They are interested to educate their children and the village schools are attended by their boys and girls in large number. Since they are poor, they fail to secure the position in the society as they deserve. It is hoped that their condition will improve and they will receive the due recognition in the society.

BINJHIA

Prasanta Kumar Mohapatra

The Binjhias migrated from Nagpur region since many generations back and settled in the Gangpur State. They came in search of cultivable land through the province of Bihar and finally settled in the regions which was known as Gangpur State. The concentration of the Binjhias are found in the villages lying in the northernmost region of Sundargarh district such as Biramitrapur, Jalangbir, Kardega, Bankuba and Ranakota, etc. They also inhabit the contiguous areas of Bihar province as these villages lie on the border of the two provinces via Orissa and Bihar. Population distribution is given in the following table:—

District	Population		
	Total	Male	Female
1	2	3	4
Bolangir ..	82	40	42
Sundargarh ..	2,140	1,157	983
Keonjhar ..	8	3	5
Total ..	2,230	1,200	1,030

The language they speak is known as Jaspuri a crude type of Hindi. They have, in course of time, incorporated many Oriya words into their language. They also speak Oriya and Hindi languages. The dresses they wear are similar to those of the local Hindu

people. The houses are thatched by indigeneous tiles prepared by themselves which are known as *Khaparas*. Usually two rooms and one elaborate varendah on the front constitute the entire house. They also construct cowsheds and poultry sheds. They do not eat beef and are not habituated to rear pigs.

The Binjhias are divided into seven exogamous units and call them as gotras. They are Matha, Majhi, Karji, Padhan, Badek, Mirdha and Paras-Ganjhu. Cross cousin marriage is prevalent and father's sister's daughter is mostly preferred. Marriage rituals are similar to those of the local Hindu people and Brahmins are called upon to perform the marriage ceremony. They also use the local Harijans as drummers in their marriage ceremonies. Bride price constitute 3 to 4 Khandis of rice (1 Khandi equivalent to one maund), clothing for all the members of bride's house and one goat.

The festivals observed by the Binjhias are Hindu festivals like Ratha Jatra (car festival), Gahma Purnami and Dashera. The only festival observed by the local tribals and Binjhias is Karma festival. Girls and women fast on this occasion and worship the branch of karma tree. Dancing and drinking continue for the whole day. The festival is observed, as the Binjhias say, for the welfare of women folk. On other festive days like Ratha Jatra and Dashera the Binjhias worship no god but they butcher cocks and goats and eat and go to see the festivals observed by the Hindus nearby. Gramsiri or the village goddess is worshipped by the *Kalo* or the village priest of Binjhias.

The Binjhias depend on the cultivation of Gurji, paddy, maize and ragi, pulses like Kolath, Rahad,

Mung, Biri, Gangei and oil seeds like Til and Rasi. They also grow vegetables like brinjal, tomato and chillies. The Binjhias say that formerly they were habituated to taking wheat and oat more than rice but the soil here is not suitable for cultivating wheat and oat. Gradually they had to abandon the habit.

With regard to their relations with Binjhals they say that they have absolutely no connection with Binjhals. They have heard about the Binjhals but never had any contact with them. They say that the Binjhals eat snake, beaf and other dirty things and they are in no way similar to them.

PARENGA

Gopinath Satpathy

Mr. Thurston has treated the Parengas as a subdivision of Gadaba. Mr. Bell has dealt it as a distinct principal tribe of Munda group. It is ascertained from the areas near Padwa in Koraput district that there are certain similarities among the Parengas and the Gadabas but they are different tribes. In the list of tribes, they have been mentioned separately.

They are mainly concentrated in the district of Koraput. The districtwise population is noted below:—

Name of the district	Number of male	Number of female	Total population
1. Koraput ..	3,262	3,440	6,702
2. Keonjhar ..	40	43	83
3. Mayurbhanj ..	14	2	16
	3,316	3,485	6,801

Their total population is 6,801 of which 6,800 live in rural areas.

They have a tribal language of their own. Some authorities identify their language with that of Gadabas. Prof. Ramamurti has pronounced their language to be very closely akin to that of Savaras of Parlakimedi Maliahs. They opine that their language is known as Parengabhasa, which Gadabas may not follow properly. Some of the Parengas can understand and speak local Oriya.

They are divided into two endogamous sections known as Kholei, and Parenga. They have a number of exogamous septs as sun, beer, tiger, etc. The septs are totemistic in nature.

Their families are nuclear, patrilineal, patrilocal and patripotestal. The village is a socio-economic unit. The festivities are observed in the village communally, they go to hunt together. All the villagers join in dance and music. Social observances like birth and death are communal affairs, where all the villagers participate.

They have youth organisations. Boys of 8 years and above live in the dormitory till they are married. At certain places, dormitory houses for girls are seen but in most of the places, they sleep in a widow's house having no separate house for them.

The birth pollution is observed for 7 days. The name giving ceremony is held on 10th day, the name being selected by Disari by divination. The birth day is taken into consideration in selecting the name. The hair-cutting ceremony is observed after one year, on a day suitable to them and the maternal uncle shaves the child. The hair is thrown outside. Ears and nose are pierced on a day convenient to them. They believe, unless the ears and nose are perforated, they will not be considered as Parengas by their deities.

When the boy has mustaches, they consider him as adult and arrange marriage for him. Both adult and child marriage are in vogue. The Disari is consulted in the selection of bride, in fixing up the time to proceed for negotiation, and for settling the date of marriage. The Disari officiates as the priest for the marriage. Bride price in the form of cow, bullock, are usually paid. Recently, they have developed the payment of money in place of cow, etc., at a certain localities. The chalan goes to bring the bride. They also adopt marriage by elopment, marriage by capture. Very often the married women go with other unmarried person, leaving her first husband and in this occasion *Sagarta* is demanded. Polygyny is prevalent. An individual may marry his deceased elder brother's wife.

Death pollution is observed for 5 days. On the 3rd day, they are shaved, and perform *Pita* ceremony. On the 5th day, a feast is given to villagers. After a year, they perform *Badkam* and all are invited to this occasion and are given drink and food. The Gottar ceremony is observed like the Gadabas. A he buffalo for each deceased male and a she buffalo for each deceased female are killed on this occasion. They practise both burial and cremation and in either case the male corpse is laid with head to the West and the female with the head to the East.

They observe *Push Parba* in Pusha, *Nandinacha* or *Punia* in Magh, *Amma* and *Chaitra Parba* in Chaitra, *Asa Parba* in Asadh, *Amus* in Sraban, New rice eating ceremony in Bhadrab, *Dasahata* in Asin, *Khala Puja* in Magusir. New crops are dedicated to ancestor spirits and Gods, before they are used by them. The most important festival is *Chaita Parba*, which is observed for 10 days. On the 1st day, they sacrifice a goat, two fowls at their village deity.

At evening they cook rice, fish independently at their houses and feast. On the 2nd day, they clear a spot on the road with cowdung. Two fowls are sacrificed one for road worship and the other for ancestor worship at their homes. For the following days up to 8th day, they join in dance and song. They drink excessively and enjoy the occasion. On 9th day, they sacrifice goat, fowl, pig before village deity. Their hunting implements are kept before the Goddess and are worshipped. The village priest officiates on this occasion. On the next day, they go to the jungle after offering two or three fowls to hill and forest Gods. All hunt in the forest for a number of days and return with grand success.

In the month of Sraban they observe Amus, when they kill a cow or bullock in a temple. They join in a feast and dance in joy.

They are very fond of dance and music. On the arrival of an outsider, they express their eagerness to dance if some amount is given to them to arrange the *mahuria*. The important dances are *Dhemesha Nach*, *Gotar Nach* and *Ghumura Nach*. In *Gotar Nach* all will dance with swords and sticks. In *Ghumura Nach* flute, *gini* and *thal* are used. *Dudunga Nach* is not so widely practised as with Parajas and Gadabas.

They sing songs known as *kindri gita* in *Chaita Parba*, which seems to be borrowed from Oriya songs. The specimen of such song is given below:—

“Gad Kandi Kandi Kanta Bausa
Babu Kale Kalikate
Chaita Masar Kinderigita
Gouteba gote gote.
Ga ga Mor
Ga Kertan
Ga Teba Suni Dekhu.
Tumari Amari Ekant Tile
Pade Pade gai Dekhu
Gaileru Babu, Chhank Thibu, Nohile Garahu
Jibu—Chaita Parb Mangalbar.”

Their gotar songs are very thrilling and suit to the situation. Similarly they have *Bihasongs* at the time of marriage.

Their houses are very small in structure having two rooms. The outroom is used for kitchen and sleeping purposes. The inner chamber is the seat of their ancestors, and they store everything in it. The houses are thatched with leaves of forest plant and grass. It is two low and the thatch seems to veil the entire house. The walls are made of wattles plastered

with clay. The walls are painted. The verendahs are spacious, where they perform their daily activities. The houses are clustered at places in the village.

The household equipments consist of earthen pots, gourds, leaf umbrellas and kutuni etc. With a certain families brass plate, cups, jars, and aluminium utensils are found. Their females wear hand-made sarees. Their original cloth made of kerang fibre is similar to that of Gadaba, but is stripped on a white or dingy white background, while, the Gadaba cloth is broadly stripped in various colours. This traditional kerang dress is not in full use and most of them dislike to wear it now. The males wear hand-made and mill-made cloth, napkin while going out; but their daily dress is a piece of *Kaupini*. Shirts, banian are also used by well-to-do and advanced members of the society. Their musical instruments are Drum, *Tamak*, *Ghumura*, *Mardal*, *Gini*, *Thal* and Flute. *Mardal*, *Gini* and *Thals* are purchased. They make their own agricultural implements like plough, yoke, ploughshare, ankudi, spade and digging stick.

Their main occupation is agriculture. They practise both shifting and wet cultivation but they depend mostly on shifting cultivation. Lands are changed yearwise, as there are no more big trees. Collection of forests products like edible roots, fruits is often resorted to. Fishing is practised. Hunting is made at times.

They eat rice, *ragi*, *sua*, sweet potato, pulses, maize and types of grams which they produce in their field. Salt and clothes are purchased either payment in cash or in kind. They take the meat of all animals. Beef, pork, fowl, meat, mutton are very much relished. Liquors of various types are daily taken by them. Rice beer, Mahul beer, Ragi beer, Datepalm beer are few of them. Their staple food is maize, and *ragi* as the paddy goes for a very limited period. Mango kernels, mahul flowers manage them for a certain part of the year.

They are mostly exploited for their illiteracy. Interests at a very high rate are realised from them by the money-lenders and business-men at the time of recovery. They charge at the rate of 50 per cent as interest. They are duped by the traders of clothes and salt. They do not know the use of Metric system and as a result of this they are mostly cheated.

They are illiterate and looked down upon by the neighbouring castes. They are the worst sufferers and deserve special attention for their uplift.

HO

R. K. Pradhan

The Hos form a major group among the Orissan tribes. It is the popular epithet Kol by which the Hos are generally known to the outside world. But the Hos dislike to be addressed as Kol, which, in sanskrit, means pig. The word 'Ho', has, most probably been derived from the word 'horo' which, in their language, means man and the word 'horo' might have assumed different forms like Koro, Kolo, Kol, etc., in course of time. However, many distinguished Anthropologists are of the opinion that the Hos, Kol, Kolh, etc., are the off shoots of the same origin. Kolhs or Hos are classed for linguistic purposes as Kolarians. As regards the physical characteristics, the Hos are of short stature, dark complexion with broad and flat nose. The eyes are dark brown, hair black and straight or wavy. Beards and mustaches are, so to speak, absent. The chin is narrow but in some cases prognathism is also found. The Hos do not possess strong and muscular bodily features.

The distribution of Ho population in different districts of Orissa is given below in tabular form. The number of literate Hos, against each of the districts, is also given in the table.

District	Total population	Male	Female	Literate	
				Male	Female
Kalahandi	.. 27	15	12	5	9
Koraput	.. 62	28	34	..	..
Sambalpur	.. 74	59	15	8	..
Bolangir	.. 841	438	403	103	16
Sundargarh	.. 785	419	366	145	1
Dhenkanal	.. 2,006	983	1,023	114	2
Puri	.. 109	53	56	4	..
Kenonjhar	.. 9,044	4,394	4,650	215	53
Cuttack	.. 2,113	1,162	951	112	16
Mayurbhanj	.. 27,090	13,155	13,935	1,846	218
Balasore	.. 1,172	607	565	121	82
Total	.. 43,323	21,313	22,010	2,673	397

Social Organisation—The Hos have no sub-tribe, but septs are numerous and the septs take their names from some animal, plant or material object. These septs or Killis appear to be totemistic. The rule of exogamy is a characteristic feature of Ho social organisation and thus on no account a man belonging to a totemic sept can marry within his own sept or killi. In the villages, where there are several Killis and are the divisions of one major Killi, marriage within the village is not allowed. Moreover, marriage outside the tribe is prohibited.

Among the Hos there are various ways of acquiring a mate the principal among them are—1. Andi 2. Diku Andi 3. Oportipi 4. Rajikhusi and 5. Anadar.

In the first two types of marriage, ceremony plays an important role. Andi is their traditional form where as Diku Andi is borrowed from the Hindus. In these two types of marriages the selection of bride is made by the father or guardian through a middle man. In the traditional type Dehuri officiates and makes offerings to sing-bonga but in Diku type of marriage, Brahmin comes and performs the marriage ceremony like that of the Hindus.

Owing to high bride price the some Hos can not marry. Many males and females have to remain unmarried although advanced in age. Hence they have to adopt other types of marriage. The man who fails to marry a girl, as a result of high bride price or some other reasons, he looks for chance and captures the girl he loves by force, with the help of his friends. This type of marriage by capture is known as Oportipi. The Raji Khusi type of marriage is done by mutual consent without any ceremony or bride price whereas Ander is marriage by intrusion. If girl and boy love each other and are willing to marry and the parents are not in favour of this marriage, the couple run away without the knowledge of their parents and live in some other place until their parents are willing to recognise their marriage. No bride price is paid nor any ceremony is held in this type of marriage.

In the Ho society both joint and nuclear families are found. Patriarchy and Patriliney are the characteristic feature of the Ho family. Authoritative role is played by the father in the family. There is division of functions among the members of the family. Production of food is a corporate responsibility of the extended family but after the food, is distributed among the individual families it is the duty of each family to see that the food is properly consumed without being wasted. The children belong to the individual family, but their education is looked after by the Killi. The relationship existing between family and Killi is

reciprocal and the family receives help from the Killi in proportion to the assistance it renders to the wider family group or Killi.

Economic Organisation—The Hos are purely agricultural people. From the setting in of rain the people of this community employ themselves busily in agricultural operations. The women folk also take part in all agricultural pursuits except ploughing. The agricultural implements include ordinary wooden plough tipped with iron, a harrow, the Kodali or large hoe, tangi, block-wheeled dray. These implements are made by the Hos themselves. The Hos use cows and oxen as drawing animals. They do not take the milk of the cows. Buffalos are also preferred as plough cattle. Paddy, maize, ragi, are the main crops they cultivate in the hill slopes. Besides these, they grow brinjals, gourds, etc., in their kitchen gardens.

Hunting and collecting of edible roots and tubers are a part and parcel of their economy. The females collect roots, tubers, green leaves, mushrooms from the jungle. The Ho children practise archery from their childhood and kill birds and animals from the jungle for their food.

The Hos go for wage-earning to earn their livelihood. They accept their wage in kind gladly, while money wage does not satisfy them though it is more. Hence the employer always sees that the Hos labourers are paid in kind.

Money is medium of exchange in the Ho society. But barter system has not been abandoned. They exchange paddy or rice for tobacco, salt, dried fish, and also for vegetables. Earthen utensils and pottery are purchased in exchange of paddy.

The Hos do not spend money economically. They spend their hard earned money on petty toys trinkets, cheap, cigarettes, soaps and scents. Much of their wage is also spent in drink which is sold in a very cheap rate and its harmful effect ruins the health of these people.

Festivals—The Hos observe seven important festivals in the year. These festivals are associated with their agricultural life and therefore their time is determined by the needs of agriculture. The most important among these festivals is Magha Parba or Desuli Bonga. This festival is held in the month of Magh. By this time their granaries are full of grains and they have a strange notion that this time is meant for sexual pleasures. Hence, people, irrespective of position become passionate and enjoy a lot so far

as sex is concerned. The parents impose no restriction on the young boys and girls during this festival. In this festival sacrifice of three fowls are made by the village priest and bread, made of rice-flour, is offered to their Gods and Goddesses.

The second important festival *Bah Bonga* takes place in the month of March or April when the sal tree is in full bloom. Offering of flower along with food is made in honour of the God associated with this festival. The other important festival known as *Damuria* is celebrated in May or June at the sowing of seeds. This festival is observed in honour of their ancestors, who, they believe, will guard crops against destruction. A goat is sacrificed and food is offered to the ancestors. In all these festivals music and dancing are important programmes.

Now-a-days, culture contact of the Hos with Dikus as well as with the clean-caste people of the locality has resulted with the adoption of many Hindu festivals. Thus they observe *Laxmi Puja*, *Diwali*, etc., in the manner the Hindus.

Political organisation—Every Ho village is a social as well as a political unit. The headman is the supreme controller of the village and all the powers are vested in him. The land of the village is at the disposal of the headman. There are other officers like *Munda* and *Dakua*, etc., who help him in the village administration. The *Munda* supervises the village forests from time to time. He possesses the powers of a head constable and is responsible for the crimes committed in his jurisdiction. During the period of out break of epidemics in the village he visits places and advises the people as to how to prevent the disease. The petty cases of the village are decided by him. He, with the assistance of elders of the *Killi*, fixes the date of the marriage ceremony and other festivals and advise the people with regard to their duties and responsibilities in those functions.

Killi also plays an important role in the political organisation of the Hos. They owe strong allegiance to this organisation with regard to the matters of religion and social relationship.

Youth organisation—In most of the villages there stand dormitories, the institutions which train the boys and girls in social, economic and religious aspects. The boys, as soon as they attain a certain age, are sent to the bachelors hut where as the girls are sent to the hut meant for them. The bachelor dormitory is under the charge of a responsible boy who acts as the captain and assigns several duties to the other

boys, for the maintenance of the institution. So also happens in the case of girls' dormitory. The villagers contribute their mite to this institution for its maintenance. The boys and girls learn music and dancing along with economic and social activities. Now-a-days these institutions are gradually dying out and modern 'Clubs' are raising their heads in their place.

Status of Women in Society—The Ho women possess good physique and beautiful appearance. Commenting the beauty and attractiveness of Ho girls *Mr. Tickell* writes, "Their open happy countenances, snowy white teeth and robust, upright figures remind one of swiss peasant girls." As I have mentioned before, the Hos can not marry in the proper age owing to high bride price. Thus the position of women in the family, after marriage, is somewhat high. Women in Ho society are true partners of their husbands in life. They discharge all the household duties of the family and help the husbands in the agricultural operations and in other economic pursuits.

Maternity or motherhood is highly respected by the members of the Ho family. The expectant mother receives sympathy and affection from all the people of the *Killi*. After the birth of the child both father and mother are considered unclean for a period of eight days. The husband cooks meals for his wife during this period. Then the name-giving ceremony of the child is held and generally the name of the grand father is given to the first born son. The mother is not allowed to do any hard work for some months after the birth of the child.

The Ho women play very insignificant role in religious functions and they are not allowed to take any part in the political organisation.

Material Culture—The Ho village is generally built on high ground and it generally runs east to west. The average Ho houses are divided into two apartments and are generally built of mud, thatched with grass or straw. The walls are painted with some black or red colour with artistic designs. Every house has a verandah in front. The sheds for keeping bullocks and goats, etc., are built separately.

The domestic utensils include earthen cooking pots, pitchers and plates and cups made of brass or aluminium. The Hos keep baskets for storing up food grains. The dress of the Hos is very simple. The women folk put on coarse *Saris* and men generally wear small *Dhotis*. The females possess lovely black hair and dress it very nicely. They tie the hair in a

dic-like knot at the back of the head and cover it with different kinds of jungle flowers, which add charm to their beauty. They wear ornaments like ear-rings, nose ornaments, necklaces made of beads, and armlets. They wear bangles in their hands. Most of the ornaments are made either of gold, silver or alluminium etc.

The weapons of the Hos include bows and arrows, spears and battle axe. In addition to these they have different kinds of traps and nets to catch birds and small animals.

Religion—Sing-bonga is the supreme God of the Hos for they believe that Sing-bonga has created them. Nage-bonga or the river deity, who is regarded as the wife of the Sing-bonga is worshipped by the Hos. Nage-bonga is very fond of pigs for which the Hos sacrifice pigs before her on different festive occasions. Dessauli is another principal God who is benevolent to them and protect them from the attack of different diseases. The Hos also worship a number of Gods and Goddesses. Now, they are worshipping the Hindu Gods and Goddesses as a result of their contact with neighbouring Hindus. In all the religious functions Dehuri, the village priest, officiates and makes offerings to the deities.

Disposal of the dead—Funeral ceremony deserves a special mention, as the Hos show a great reverence in honour of the departed soul. The body is carefully washed by the family members and is anointed with oil and turmeric and then it is kept in a coffin. All the ornaments, clothes and other implements used by the deceased are kept in the coffin and the

whole thing is burned. Next morning, water is thrown on the ashes and bones are carefully collected and kept in an earthen ware. The earthen ware is hung in the mourner's house till the last funeral ceremony takes place. Then it is taken to the funeral ground in a procession accompanying music and dancing. The bones are put in a hole and the hole is then covered with a big slab of stone, which serves as the monument of the deceased.

Conclusion—After the attainment of independence remarkable changes are taking place in all sections of Indian population. So also the tribal people are rising from their deep slumber and are marching ahead in progress and prosperity. Special plans and programmes are being implemented for the welfare of this section of people. Their problems are gradually brought to the notice of Government by Tribal Research Institutions and by great social scientists and social workers. The Hos are also stepping forward in harmony with other tribal folks. Their poor dresses are replaced by modern fine dhotis and shirts, their earthen pots and other utensils are gradually replaced by beautifully designed metal utensils. The percentage of literacy among them is increasing and their educated people are being absorbed in better professions.

In short, the Hos are gradually developing in all aspects of life and are coming forward to associate themselves with the national endeavour for progress and prosperity.

KORA

Gopinath Satpathy

According to Mr. Risley, Kora, Khaira, Kaora, Khayra, is a Dravidian caste. Probably they are offshoot from the Munda tribe. They are good earth workers and cultivators. In Orissa, especially in the districts of Dhenkanal and Sambalpur, a large number of Khaira are found. It is told that they owe their name 'Khaira' from their occupation of making catchu (Khair). Their district-wise population is given below :

Name of the district	Male Number	Female Number	Total Population
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
1. Dhenkanal ..	1,521	1,836	3,357
2. Sambalpur ..	900	1,300	2,200
3. Koraput ..	219	213	432
4. Keonjhar ..	197	161	358
5. Cuttack ..	184	119	303
6. Mayurbhanj ..	147	123	270
7. Bolangir ..	59	49	108
8. Balasore ..	48	43	91
9. Puri ..	16	16	32
10. Kalahandi ..	6	10	16
11. Sundargarh ..	6	8	14
12. Ganjam ..	4	4	8
Total ..	3,307	3,882	7,189

Their total population is 7,189, of which 7,186 live in rural areas and only 3 inhabit in urban area.

They speak Oriya. It seems that they have no other language of their own except the language of the region, in which they inhabit.

The tribe is divided in to a number of endogamous divisions. Dhālo, Molo, Sikharia, Badamia, Surajvansi, etc., are a few of such divisions. The folk living in Orissa claim themselves to be of Surajvansi division and do not recognise any other division. They have a number of totemistic septs such as *Kaich*, *Nag*, *Makad*, *Khajur*, *Dhan*, *Nun*, etc. Some of the totems denote the names of trees, some animals and a few indicate the names of food stuff or articles. Whatever may be the nature of these totems, they honour them.

The family is the smallest social unit. It is nuclear patrilineal, patrilocal and patripotestal. Larger than the family, is their kin group, which is counted up to three generations both in the father's and mother's side. Marriage is strictly prohibited within this kin group, and the members of a same sept. They adopt both infant and adult marriage. A bride-price varying from five to ten rupees is paid at certain localities. The Hindu marriage ritual has been adopted. The astrologer, or the brahmin fixes the auspicious hour, does sacred fire (*homa*) and gives the sacred thread to the bridegroom to wear for the entire life. The barber is employed. At certain places, the marriage ceremony is finalised by simply smearing vermilion upon the forehead and at the parting of the bride's hair by the bridegroom. Polygyny is permitted. The widow is allowed to marry again. She is under no obligation to marry husband's younger brother, though such marriages are deemed both respectable and convenient and very commonly take place. The husband can divorce the wife, but not the *vice versa* and he has to pay food and clothes for six months to her. They have been influenced by the examples of the rest of the population of the area and divorce has been prohibited by their caste assembly. In case, a woman is divorced, she can marry again.

The birth pollution is observed for 21 days by the mother of the issue. In case of a girl issue they perform the birth ritual on 12th day. Her mother pares her nails and is allowed to touch water but she cannot cook up to 21st day. A feast is given. In case of a boy

the feast and the birth ceremony is observed on 21st day.

They bury the dead. Hindu custom of cremation is gradually entering into the society and to-day all the well-to-do families like to adopt cremation. The corpse is laid in the pit with face downwards and the head to the south. Those who die of cholera, or small pox are buried. They observe mourning for 10 days and abstain from non-vegetarian diet. A *Sradh* in imitation of the Hindus is performed on 11th day. They observe annual *Sradh* ceremony and offerings of rice, molasses and ghee etc. are made to the deceased in the month of Kartika.

The Koras claim to be Hindus, worship Hindu Gods, and call themselves Saktas or Vaishnavas. Their village and household deities are Bhairabi, Gram Deoti, and ancestral spirits, who are offered rice, sugar, plantain and sacrifices of fowl and goats. They worship these Gods and Goddesses, through the degraded Brahmins.

The main festivals are *Dasahara* in Asin, *Purnima* in Kartika, *Gurubar* in Magusir, *Pusa Punia* in Pusa, *Nua amkhia* and *Holi* in Fagun, *Manga'bar* in Chaitra, *Akhi Muthi* in Baisakh, *Rakhi* in Sraban and new rice eating ceremony in Bhadrab.

The condition of Khairas has not developed. The houses are very small, made of walls of clay and wattle. The roofs are thatched with straw, forest grass. A few tile-roofed houses are seen.

They opine that digging tanks, making roads and earth work is their traditional profession. In course of time, they had adopted the making of catchu as their profession, which involves the following procedure. Having cut down a tree, they strip off the bark. The inner wood is cut into pieces and the pieces are boiled with sufficient water for 4 days. A black paste is obtained. The water is let out, and the residue is dried under the sun in the form of cakes. It is eaten with betel-leaf. The adoption of this profession has made them to roam from place to place with their families as the procedure involves the co-operation of both male and female and depends on the availability of catchu plant near at hand. The trees being exhausted, they shift their camp. This wandering life, in the forest with females and children has brought them down in other's estimation and they have lost their social position. Most of them have now given up this profession and have taken up agriculture. In Orissa, nearly all of this caste do some amount of culti-

vation either on their own land or on share-basis. To-day, they are first rate agriculturists and labourers. They produce paddy, pulses, different kinds of grams, oil seeds, etc., from their field. Hunting in the forest is carried out at times. Fishing is rarely practised. Collection of edible roots and forest products supplement their food and economy.

They do not eat beef. Pork has been given up. It is reported by them, as well as, by Mr. Risley that the Chotnagpur Koras eat beef, drink wine, and practise degraded occupation of catchu making. In Orissa, there are localities, where the Koras have given up even drinking habits. They are trying to be as clean and respected as their Hindu brothers.

The most interesting thing is their caste or tribal organisation. In the village level all their disputes are adjudicated. If any one is not satisfied, he can invite outsiders to reconsider it. Superimposed on this village Panchayat, is their Caste Council. The Caste Council sits at least once in a year. Representatives with the village head attend the meeting. Usually matters relating to the reform in the caste organisation, are formally discussed here. Admitting an ex-communicated Khaira individual and taking in a non-Khaira into their caste fold, adjudicating grave social offences come under the purview of this council. If an individual ranking above Khaira caste, is turned out of his own caste for carrying on an intrigue with a Khaira woman and eating food which she has prepared, they usually admit him into Khaira caste structure by taking a feast at his expense.

This Caste Council is pressing much for excluding their caste name from tribal order. They put forth points to show that they are Surya Bansi Khatriya and are called Khaira, due to their occupation of making catchu. Since they do not practise it any more, they may be raised to Khatriya status. They have referred the matter to *Mukti Mandap Pandit Sabha* at Puri citing the award of the judge of Dhenkanal about their caste. A book named "*Suryavnsi Khatriya Jati Bikas*" has been published, where the author has stated the points. This clearly shows that the tribe or caste men are now conscious of their status and are keen for its growth.

They are interested to send their boys and girls to school for education. They are aspiring to improve. It is likely that their condition will change and they will secure the position they deserve.

JATAPU

Siba Prasad Rout

The Jatapus number 1,081 according to the Census of 1961 and are found mainly in Koraput district of Orissa, where their number is 10,583. In the district of Ganjam their population is 218. As viewed by Mr. C. Hayavadana Rao, "The name Jatapu is popularly believed to be an abbreviated form of Konda Jatapu Doralu, or lords of the Kond caste. To this caste the old chiefs of the Palkonda Zamindari are said to have belonged. " They appear to be a recent offshoot of Kondhas and are numerous in Gunupur and Rayagada on the fringe of the Telegu country. As described in the Madras Census Report, 1901, the Jatapus are "a civilized section of the Khonds, who speak Khond on the hills and Telegu on the plains, and are now practically a distinct caste. They consider themselves superior to those Khonds who still eat beef and snakes and have taken to some of the ways of the castes of the plains". Their distribution in the two districts is stated below:

District where the Jatapus are found	Total population	Male	Female
Koraput	10,583	5,263	5,320
Ganjam ..	218	102	116
Total ..	10,801	5,365	5,436

Social Organisation

The Jatapus lack any elaborate village Panchayat. *Nayudu* is the headman of the community and each village has *Nayudu* of its own who functions beneficially to the community. He decides the disputes of the village and brings compromise. *Nayudu* is otherwise known as *Samanthi*, and is assisted by the *Jani*, the caste priest, in deciding quarrels and conflicts in the village. The *Jani* officiates in the ceremonies and summons council meetings.

The cast titles of the *Jatapus* are *Dora*, *Naiko*, and *Samanto*. In the hierarchy of social status they consider themselves to be superior to the Kondhs, and are not addicted to drink or intoxicants like other tribes.

The tribe is divided into a number of septs, such as—

- (i) *Thorika* or *Thoyika* a (species of wild fowl)
- (ii) *Kadrika* (another species of wild fowl)
- (iii) *Mamdangi* (bull or cow)
- (iv) *Addaku* (*bauhinia racemosa*)
- (v) *Konda Gorre* (certain breed of sheep)
- (vi) *Navalipitta* (peacock)
- (vii) *Arika* (*paspalum scrobiculatum*)
- (viii) *Kolaka* (arrow)
- (ix) *Kutraki* (wild goat)
- (x) *Vinka* (white ant)

The members of each sept revere their respective sept totems.

Marriage

Marriages are performed generally after the marrying partners become adults, but marriage in childhood is not completely absent. A man has every claim to marry his father's sister's daughter. Marriage ceremony closely resembles to the marriage of low-land Telegus. The bride price or *voli* consists of a new cloth for the bride's mother, rice, various kinds of grain and liquor. The bride is brought to the groom's house. On the following morning toe-nail-cutting ceremony (*Kallagola sambramam*) takes place. On that day, in an auspicious hour, the wrist-threads (*Kankanam*) are tied on the wrist of the marrying partners and their hands are joined together. They then take bath and a feast is held.

Other forms of marriage like—marriage by capture, marriage by service, marriage by mutual consent, and marriage by selection from *Dhangda Basa* are also prevalent among the Jatapus.

Remarriages are approved by the society. Divorce is permitted and the divorcees are allowed to marry again. A younger brother may claim, if he so likes, to marry the widow of his elder brother.

Death

The deads are usually buried, but those who die from snake-bite are burnt. The pollution, arising out of the death cases, lasts for three days. During these

days, cultivation is not carried on. Every year, an annual ceremony, in the honour of the dead, is performed by each family. A fowl or goat is slaughtered and a portion of the day's food is collected in a plate and placed on the roof of the house. Besides, all the castemen perform a ritual in honour of the dead ancestors in every twenty years. On this occasion, all the castemen join together and sacrifice a pig or a cow in honour of the ancestors.

Religion

The caste-goddess of the Jatapus is known as *Jakara Devata*, who is propitiated with sacrifices of pigs, sheep and buffalos. *Goddali Pandugu* and *Angum Pandugu* are the main festivals. Rituals are also performed to mark the harvest of each crop and to mark the eating of those crop. Before any new crop is eaten, it is first ceremonially offered to the deities. The Jatapus are Hindus and they consider themselves superior to the Kondhs.

Conclusion

The Jatapus are mainly agriculturists, but the poorer section earn their bread by wage earning or being employed as labourers. It has been stated that the Jatapus have their own script, and about 50 per cent of them speak Jatapus but the script is not much developed. Regarding education they are lagging behind like many other tribes. More than 95 per cent are found to be illiterate.

KHARIA

Umacharan Mohanty

The Kharia, another interesting major tribe of Orissa, which has been classed on racial, cultural and linguistic grounds amongst the Munda group concentrates chiefly in the north and north-western districts of Mayurbhanj, Sundargarh and Sambalpur. The distribution of the tribe according to 1961 census is given below:—

Name of the district	Total population	Male	Female
Kalahandi ..	516	256	260
Koraput ..	350	145	205
Sambalpur ..	19,180	9,475	9,705
Bolangir ..	461	262	199
Boudh-Phulbani ..	317	159	158
th Ganjam ..	252	135	117
Sundargarh ..	53,243	26,578	26,665
Dhenkanal ..	8,675	4,321	4,354
Puri ..	1,344	661	683
Keonjhar ..	282	170	112
Cuttack ..	420	225	195
Mayurbhanj ..	10,930	5,255	5,675
Balasore ..	721	322	389

The tribe is broadly divided into three distinctive divisions, viz., the Pahari Kharia or Erenga Kharia, the Dhelki Kharia and Dudh Kharia. The Pahari or hill Kharias have their stronghold in the Similipal range of Mayurbhanj. Besides, they are also seen in a good number in Nilgiri of Balasore, Mayurbhanj, Keonjhar, Bonai of Sundargarh and Dhenkanal. The largest concentration of the Dhelkhi Kharias is found in the ex-States of Gangpur in the Sundargarh district specially in the police-station of Talsara. Though Ranchi area is the home of Dudh Kharias they have spread throughout the Western Orissa along with Dhelki Kharias. Besides these, there are a few more divisions such as Munda Kharia, Oraon Kharia, Berga Kharia and Satera Kharia but these minor sections are either degraded groups or created on account of intermarriage with Munda, Oraon or other outsiders.

Hill Kharias regard themselves as the autochthones of the Mayurbhanj hills while both the Dudh Kharias and Dhelki Kharias possess traditions of their ancient migration from the Kaimur plateau or Rhotasgarh to Chotnagpur via Kharia Ghat. The Dhelkis came earlier to Chotnagpur area and Dudh Kharias followed them.

These three divisions represent three grades of primitive culture. The Hill Kharias depend mainly on food gathering economy. They collect honey, silk cocoon, lac, the edible herbs and tubers and other minor forest products. The religious ideas and practices and social custom of the Hill Kharias are also equally primitive. The Dhelki Kharias have adopted settled plough cultivation and have evolved a more advanced religious and social system. Dudh Kharia section is most advanced culturally, and enjoy higher social status. In Physical features also the Dhelki Kharias stand midway between the Pahari Kharias with their coarse features and Dudh Kharias with their comparatively fine features.

The Hill Kharias live on the tops or slopes of hills near the forests. Their villages are irregular. Some five to twelve families may live together in scattered houses which form their settlement. But Dhelki and Dudh Kharias live in regular villages with other castes and tribes. Every Dudh and Dhelki Kharia village has its separate *Akhara* or dancing and meeting place, its sacred grove and the cremation ground and clan cemeteries. The Hill Kharia settlements possess only the sacred groves.

The Hill Kharia house is a small rectangular hut with walls made of Sal wood plastered with mud. The roofs are double-sloped which are thatched with grass. Generally a single room serves the purposes of sleeping and cooking though at times it is divided by an inner wall. The dwelling houses of Dudh and Dhelki Kharias are more substantial than those of hill Kharias. In Sundargarh and Sambalpur area most of these houses are thatched with *Khapper* and individual families possess more than one room with verandah and cowshed. The household articles of the Kharias constitute a few date-palm leaf mats, occasionally with one or two string cots, some earthen vessels, gourd vessels with a few metal or aluminium utensils and a few bamboo baskets. Besides they keep a number of hunting implements such as bow and arrow, *Maha-Kinkom* a type of spear. *Barha-Kande* a type of battle-axe and other agricultural and fishing implements in their houses. *Madal* a two skin drum; *Nagera* a type of drum called kettle drum and *Rutu* a type of bamboo flute are the chief musical instruments of the tribe. In Mayurbhanj the Hill Kharias use *changu* during their dance and music.

The traditional occupation of Kharias was to carry *Dholis* or *Palanquin*. But at present they are mostly agriculturists. Besides agriculture they depend greatly on daily wages. In Sundargarh and Sambalpur there

is perhaps no tribe or caste possessing more hard working and sincere labourers than the Kharias. A large number of Kharias used to go to tea-garden of Assam in the recent past. But now most of the Kharias are employed as farm servants or as day labourers in their area. Some educated Kharias have been employed in different types of services. But Hill Kharias still remain very backward economically.

In social organisation the Hill Kharias differ widely from the Dudh or Delkhi Kharias. The absence of clan organisation is the interesting aspect of the social system of the Hill Kharias.

The Hill Kharias have no regular clan organisation, sometimes they claim to belong to some Gotra as *Nag*, *Saluk* or *Sal* but they follow no clan rule of exogamy in their marriage nor abstain from eating or harming their totem animals or objects. The Hill Kharias have different class or *Sangyas* of totemic complexion. They have also adopted some titles of village functionaries such as *Naek* or *Dehuri*, etc. But possession of a common *Sangya*, or surname is no way bar to inter-marriage among Hill Kharias. The Dhelki and Dudh Kharias are divided into totemistic exogamous clans. Thus the Dhelkis are divided into eight clans, viz. *Muru* (Tortoise), *Soreng* (rock or stone), *Samad* (a kind of deer) *Alias Buge* (the quail), *Barliha* (a fruit), *Charbad* (a bird), *Hansda* (the ell), *Mail* (dirt) also called *Kiro* (a tiger), and *Topno* (a bird). The Dudh Kharias recognise nine clans as the original clans of the tribe who first came to Chotanagpur along the banks of the Koel from the north-west. These are *Dungdung* (the eel), *Kulu* (tortoise), *Samador Kerkita* (the quail), *Bilung* (salt), *Soreng* (stone), *Ba* (paddy), *Tete-tohin* (a kind of bird) and *Kiro* (tiger). The other clans are said to have originated as off-shoots from these original clans.

The kharias live with other tribes and castes in the villages. They are socially considered almost equal with the Munda, Oraons and Kisans. The Dudh Kharias strictly avoid to eat from the hand of outsiders. But they drink wine in the houses of these tribes. Generally Kharia wards are situated at the end of the villages in close proximity to the ward of these tribes.

In Kharia villages generally a senior-most member is selected as priest and he is acknowledged as the leader in all social and religious matters. He is styled as the 'Dehuri' or 'Dihuri' among the Hill Kharias and 'Kalo' among the Dhelkis and variously as 'Kalo' or 'Baiga' or 'Padhan' among the Dudh section. But priest is by no

means the final authority as in each village, the council of elders decide all important matters of local interest. The council of elders also raise funds for public worship or for sacrifice at the time of epidemic. They remain as witness in all social functions such as in *Chatti* ceremony after child-birth, marriage, funeral ceremony or at the time of public worship. In all serious offences the village council ex-communicates a person. If the offender is not satisfied or if he wants readmission he may convene a tribal assembly or *Kutumb Sabha* for fresh investigation. *The Kutumb Sabha or Parha Panchayat* is above the village organisation. The inter-village Panchayat is known as *Bhira* amongst the Hill Kharias. It consists of representatives of a group of related settlements of any particular slope and is presided by the wisest *Dihuri* of these settlements. The presiding headman is called the *Dandia* of the *Bhira*. Among the *Dhelki* Kharias there is also no standing Panchayat of a group of federated villages called *Parha* or *Gadi* nor is there a permanent *Mukhia*. But a man of *Muru* clan among the *Dhelkis* acts as *Pain-diha* or master of the ceremonies and a man of the *Samad* clan acts as *Bhandari* in a tribal feast or at the time of readmitting an out-casted member of the tribe into the caste. The *Pain-diha* administers the purifying potion to the ex-communicated person at the time of re-admission and the *Bhandari* serves at the purification ceremonies meant to remove birth-pollution, death-pollution, etc. The *Dudh* Kharias have also similar *Parba* organisation which has a permanent headman called *Kartaha*.

The important function of the *Parba* organisation is to readmit an ex-communicated person. After trial when a person is considered fit for readmission he is asked to provide a feast to the tribal elders. On the particular day all the members of the outcasted family remain fasting. In the afternoon a white fowl or white goat is sacrificed to the Sun-God or Supreme diety. The chief functionary called *Pani-diha* (among *Dhelkis*), *Kartaha* (among *Dudha*) or the *Dandia* (among the hill Kharias) puts one or two drops of blood of the sacrificed animal or fowl in the leaf-cup, containing turmeric water and hands over to the headman of the ex-communicated family. While the ex-communicated person drinks this purifying potion, the *Pani-diha* declares him as re-admitted into the community. Next he serves the cooked rice on the plate of each tribe-fellow present. Thus the family becomes purified.

Birth rite—The Hill Kharias observe birth pollution for nine days. During this period the mother must not leave the hut. On the ninth day the mother and

baby take ceremonial bath and the family becomes free from pollution. In some places the mother and baby undergo second purification ceremony on the twenty-first day. The *Dudh* and *Dhelki* Kharias observe pollution for seven days and final purification ceremony is observed after two weeks or three weeks or even a month later according to convenience. During the purificatory rites, the child is given a name, the selection of which is done by performing a magico-religious rite. The ear-boring ceremony is the next important ceremony which takes place before the child attains the age of about five or six years.

The three divisions of the Kharia tribe never marry within each other nor they allow outsiders to marry within the group. Generally the marriage is celebrated after attaining puberty. Boys generally marry at the age of twenty or twenty-one and girls marry at the age of fifteen to eighteen years. Cross-cousin marriage is most prevalent within the tribe. The marriage is generally arranged and the groom's party pays bride price which varies from one to twelve heads of cattle and some coins. The bride goes to the bridegroom's house in marriage. Besides the arranged marriage, in exceptional case they marry through other forms of marriages such as 'elopement marriage' 'intrusion marriage' and 'marriage by forcible application of vermilion'. Curiously enough, the more backward Hill Kharias less frequently resort to irregular forms of marriage in comparison with the *Dhelki* or *Dudh* Kharias. But the marriage ritual of *Dudh* and *Dhelki* Kharias are much more elaborate than that of the Hill Kharias. All the sections allow divorce and widow re-marriage. The Kharias mostly bury the dead, but in exceptional cases they also cremate. In every village the grave yard is situated near the stream or river under a few large trees. A few Kharias carry the corpses of their dead for burial in the grave yard of their ancestral village, if it is not too far off.

The Kharias are extremely fond of dance and music. Every evening after the tiresome work of the day all assemble at the *akhara* of the village where young men and women dance and sing in accompaniment of *Madal*. Though at present they have abolished the *Kharia Jatra*, in festive occasions such as *Nua-khia*, *Karama Puja*, or *Phagua*, they plunge in dance and music.

The Kharias worship chiefly the supreme God in the form of Sun and a number of spirits of hills and forests. But above all on all occasions they worship the ancestor spirits with great reverence.

The language of the Kharias belongs to the Munda group . At present the Hill Kharias of Mayurbhanj have completely forgotten their language and they have adopted Oriya as their tongue. But the other two branches have still retained their primitive tongue though

it is no longer a typical Munda language . It has been greatly influenced by Indo-Aryan languages. In the words of Grierson, Aryan principles now pervade its grammatical structure and vocabulary.

KISAN

Uma Charan Mohanty

The little known tribe, Kisan, remained long obscured in account of its Hindi appellation which means cultivator. The tribe seems to be an offshoot of the great Oraon tribe which belongs to the Dravidian group. But at present they take pride in declaring themselves as a separate tribe and only acknowledge the Oraons as their younger brother. The language of the Kisan is allied to that of Oraon and they call it 'Kun Boli' and declare themselves as *Kunhar*. According to their traditions the Kisans have migrated from Chota-Nagpur to Sundergarh from where they moved to other places. Either for labour or for agriculture the tribe has spread over an extensive area. The present distribution of the tribe as enumerated in 1961 Census is given below:—

Name of the district		Total population	Male	Female
1. Sambalpur	..	66,528	33,298	33,230
2. Sundergarh	..	50,632	24,146	26,486
3. Dhenkanal	..	6,010	3,057	2,953
4. Keonjhar	..	2,241	1,088	1,153
5. Cuttack	..	108	40	68
6. Mayurbhanj	..	69	37	32
7. Koraput	..	41	25	16
8. Kalahandi	..	6	2	4
Total		125,605	61,693	63,942

The Kisans do not reside in any compact area of their own but live in multi-caste and multi-tribal villages though in most cases they have their own

Tola or ward at the end of the village. They live with caste Hindus such as Brahmin, Teli, Agharia, Sundhi, Keut, Lohar, Kumbhar, etc., and with tribal people such as the Bhuiyans, Mundas, Oraons, Karias, or Kols. In social status they are below the Hinduised tribes such as Bhuyans, Gonds and Kandhas but almost rank equally with the Munda, Oraon and Kharias. They are not served by Brahmins, washermen or barbers yet they have almost integrated with the local Oriya Society having lived long with these people. The chief virtue of the tribe is that though they have been greatly influenced by the local culture they have not lost as yet their own identity. The tribe has no subdivisions but in different areas they have different names such as *Kuda* or *Koda* and *Mirdha*.

The Kisans are both industrious and intelligent. Most of them possess some land. They work hard in the fields. Even the wealthy Kisans do not hesitate to work in fields with labourers. There are a few rich Kisans who have fifty acres of land or more. They employ several servants and lead a prosperous life. But majority of the tribe lead the life of poor labourer.

The Kisans are the best earth-workers. Many of them have known carpentry and laying of bricks. Most of the poor cultivators and all the landless people depend greatly on daily wages or serve as 'Goti' or 'Halia' under rich cultivators. Besides they also supplement their resources by way of food gathering and collect *Mahul*, *Char*, *Kendu* and other green leaves and tubers.

Educationally they are very backward. Hardly ten per cent of the Kisans are educated. After independence the situation has altered substantially and a good number of Kisan youths are now entering into schools and colleges. A few educated Kisans now serve as teachers, clerks, or work in farms and factories.

The Kisan settlements are generally situated on plain open land with scope for expansion. In most of the villages it is only a separate ward at the end of the main village adjoining to the wards of other tribals such as Mundas, Kharias or Oraons. The houses are not very high, mostly with double sloped thatches. In Sundergarh and Sambalpur area most of the houses are thatched with country tiles (called *Khappar*) but in other areas these are either thatched with straw or locally available grass.

The Kisans are divided into more than sixteen clans or *Bansa* such as *Majhi*, *Lakda* (tiger), *Topo* (a bird), *Bahala* (wild dog), *Bada* (Banyan), *Kind* (a type of fish), *Kujur* (a plume), *Ming* (kite), *Eka* (Tortoise), *Haha* (crow), *Tiga* (monkey), *Hes* (paddy), *Panna* (Iron), *Beka* (salt), *Khale* (curd), *Pala* (curd ?), etc. Each *Bansa* is exogamous and totemistic. The *Majhi*, *Lakda* and *Topo* clans seem more progressive. Each clan is further divided into sub-clans which are called *Khudi* by the Kisans. The *Majhi* clan is divided into *Nageria* and *Sabaria*, etc., the *Bada* clan is divided into *Sud* and *Chattria*, etc. The sub-clans are generally named after some particular village where the ancestors of the sub-clan were residing previously. The major clans or sub-clans have their clans meetings which are held annually or once within three to twelve years. The formal or informal meetings of the clans are also held either at the time of *Bansa Khoja* or *Guhali Puja*.

The Kisans show a great deal of co-operation and mutuality in their social life. All the Kisans of a village live as a corporate group. The Kisan elders of the village form an informal group and look into all socio-religious affairs of the village. The headman of the village is called *Sian*. In important disputes the Kisan elders invite the Gountia of the village and take his counsel in arriving at a decision.

In Kisan villages there are a few persons who serve as *Mati*. The *Mati* is the witch doctor of the village. To some extent he is the spiritual priest and teacher in the Kisan society. The *Mati* undergoes regular training

and serves selflessly for the benefit of others. The chief function of the *Mati* is to cure diseases. In death rites the *Mati* serves as *Kalo* (the priest) as he is more intimately familiar with the spirits of the Under World.

Over and above the village, the Kisans have another territorial unit which consists of a cluster of federated villages. These villages have a particular *Ghat* in the nearby river or brook where every year on a fixed day, either in the month of Kartik or Margasira, the Kisans observe *Ganga* ceremony and throw the pots containing the effigies or bones of the dead persons of the year. For each *Ghat* there is a particular official who is called *Panigiri*. The chief function of the *Panigiri* is to readmit the ex-communicated persons into the community.

In old days, the *Bariha* was the tribal chief in such confederated villages. At present in most of the areas the institution of *Bariha* has been abolished and Panchupalli Panchayat have been evolved. The Panchupalli Organisation is an informal body consisting of important persons of different villages. These people decide all the caste disputes.

The Kisans are extremely fond of dance and music. The *Nadu Jatra* is the important festival of the tribe. But at present the Kisans have reorganised their caste meetings. In the three ex-States of Gangpur, Bonai and Bamanda three caste meetings or 'Kisan Jati Sabhas' are functioning at present.

The chief aim of these caste meetings is to reform their society, to drive out superstitious customs and to improve the social and economic conditions of their community. Now all these meetings are fighting hard to prohibit drinking, to stop the dancing of women, to eradicate irregular forms of marriage. Through these caste meetings, Hindu rites and customs are being introduced into the Kisan Society. Besides, these are serving as useful media to bring consciousness amongst the people.

MIRDHA

Uma Charan Mohanty

The Mirdha is a small Dravidian tribe which is commonly referred as *Koda* in the districts of Sambalpur and Bolangir. The traditional occupation of the tribe is the digging and carrying of earth and hence they are known as *Koda*. The term Mirdha means head coolie. Previously these people used to serve as earth workers not individually on the basis of daily wages but worked in groups on the contract basis. The headman of such group is called *Mindha*. Thus the so called *Kodas* have adopted the honourable term Mirdha instead of the derogatory term *Koda* which means earth working labourers.

The Mirdhas identify themselves as '*Kunhar*' in their mother-tongue and speak '*Kun Boli*' the language of the Kisans. Not only in language, but in social customs, religious rites and political organisation the Mirdhas have greater similarities with the Kisans. Indeed the so called Mirdhas are none else but a section of the Kisan tribe.

At present there are only two divisions within the tribe the '*Bad Kuda*' or '*Kunhar*' and '*San Kuda*' or '*San Kunhar*'. The *Bad Kuda* have retained many of their original Kisan customs while the *San Kuda* section seems more Oriyaised in their customs. The chief difference between the two sections is that while the *Sana Kuda* bridegroom goes to the bride's house in accompaniment

of drums the *Bada Kuda* bride only comes to the groom's house and no drum is beaten save traditional musical instruments which are played by their own community members only.

As Kisans, the Mirdhas do not touch food cooked by outsiders including Brahmins. The population of the Mirdhas in the 1961 Census is given below—

Names of the district	Total population	Male	Females
1. Sambalpur ..	16,491	8,195	8,296
2. Bolangir ..	4,946	2,469	2,477
3. Dhenkanal ..	2,094	1,104	990
4. Kalahandi ..	1,268	662	606
5. Koraput ..	732	343	389
6. Boudh-Phulbani	593	293	300
7. Keonjhar ..	172	105	67
8. Puri ..	144	70	74
9. Cuttack ..	181	79	102
Total ..	26,621	13,300	13,301

REST OF OTHER TRIBES

Baiga—

Total population in Orissa is 43 only.

Birhor—

A very important tribe of Bihar but their population is only 273 in Orissa.

Chenchu—

A very important south-Indian tribe. They periodically migrate into Orissa. Their population in Orissa is 52.

Ghara—

Supposed to be a section of the Gond

Gandia—

A section of Koya with a population of 199

Kandh Gaud—

A cross-breed of Kondh and Gour caste

Kawar—

Total population in Orissa is 2,778. Belong to the Dravidian stock. Found in Western Orissa.

Kharwar—

Total population in Orissa is 717.

Kol—

Total population in Orissa is 46,397

Kolah-Kol-Lohars—

Total population is 792

ia—

Total population is 203,515

(The above three tribes form a part of the Ho tribe).

Koli including Malhar—

A small semi-nomadic tribe with a total population of 344.

Korua—

A small tribe, mainly found in the districts of Bolangir, Mayurbhanj and Keonjhar. Total population is 953.

Kotia—

Supposed to be identical with Kutia Kondhs. Total population is 3,559. Found mainly in Koraput district.

Lodha—

A part of Sabara tribe. Total population is 2,370. Found in the coastal districts.

Madia —

A part of Koya tribe. Total population is 381.

Mankidi—

Total population is 627

Makirdia—

Total population is 169.

(The above two tribes form a part of the Birhor tribe).

Munda—

Total population is 221,399

Mundari—

Total population is 17,688

(The above two tribes form a part of the Ho tribe).

Tharua—

Total population is 310. Mainly found in the district of Balasore.