

# **ADIBASI**

**Vol. III**

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**TRIBAL RESEARCH BUREAU  
ORISSA**



# ADIBASI

Vol. III

1958-59

No. 1

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## Economic Condition of the Tribals in the District of Ganjam

H. K. Ghosh

The area of the district of Ganjam is 4,83,504 square miles with a population of 16,24,829 out of which 1,12,006 belong to Scheduled Tribes. Out of the total area of the district an area of 1303 sq. miles with a population of 1,55,990 has been declared as scheduled areas under paragraph 6 of the 5th schedule of the constitution of India.

The two chief tribes of the district are Khonds and Sauras, their population being approximately 10,500 and 50,000 respectively who reside in the scheduled areas of the district. Some of these tribes have also settled in the plains and have lost their own primitive culture and traditions.

**General description of the tribes :**  
Aborigines of Ganjam like those all over India fall into two distinct classes. The true highlanders who have retained much of their own culture and live a

full life in the hills, and the aborigines of the plains who have slowly drifted from their mountain heights and have largely assimilated the culture and customs of their more sophisticated neighbours. The plains aborigines like the Kampa Sauras of parlakimedi Taluk, the Sudha Savaras and many of the Khonds do not present a problem greatly different from that of the non-Adibasi rural population with whom they live. Many of them are poor, miserable and diseased. They need immediate assistance. But the true highlanders who live on the hill tops and slopes like the Langia Sauras and Kuttia Khonds are some of the most ancient peoples of India. These tribes are believed by anthropologists to be descendants of that very ancient Palaeolithic civilisation formerly widespread in South East Asia which spread into peninsular India as far back as



neolithic times. These tribes still have their austroasiatic tongue and preserve many cultural elements that find parallels in Assam, Malaya, Luzon and the Pacific Islands. These people have maintained their moral and their will-tohappiness.

**Occupation of the tribes :—** The main occupation of the aborigines of the district is agriculture and collection of jungle produce. The main crops are paddy, ragi and other dry grains and oil-seeds like niger and castor. The forest areas in many places are very extensive. There are a few heights which reach 5,000 feet. There are quite a few perennial streams, also. But the forests are being destroyed by the primitive Podu system of agriculture pursued by the aborigines and by forest fires. As a result many perennial streams have disappeared and summer flow of rivers is diminishing slowly but steadily. The aborigines have taken recourse to "Podu" or "Axe" cultivation since most of the flat lands occupied by them have gradually been snatched away from them by the non-aborigines by dishonest means. Wherever they have got sufficient flat lands

or paddy lands they do not take to Podu cultivation. The Lanjia Saura however constructs terraces on the hill slopes for cultivation. The real life of the Lanjia Saura is on the terrace. It is on this that he expends his most loving and industrious care and even the axe clearings are often built up by stone walls into rough terraces. The terraces of the Langia Sauras are marvels of primitive engineering. Every field is protected by stone walls. From morning till night they are busy on the terraces. The Sauras take to "Podu" cultivation as only a subsidiary occupation using it only for cultivation of pulses and small millets by not deliberately cutting trees for use as beam stalks and by not ploughing over the clearings as the Kondhs usually do. The Khonds, are much more destructive in this respect. They depend almost entirely on Podu cultivation and have to go in for it to a much greater extent having lost the lands in the plains to the non-aborigines. This practice of cultivation called 'Podu' is done by cutting and burning forests on tops and slopes of hills and raising two or at most three annual crops on the ground and



then abandoning that land until the trees have grown again sufficiently to admit a second feeling. This process continues until the land gets washed so bare of soil and seed that no more forest growth is possible. It is thus finally abandoned and there remains a bare hill side useless for any purpose, producing only thorns, creepers and coarse grass. In the Podu lands only dry crops are raised. A particular crop is not grown in any one season as the growing of mixed crops is a rule rather than an exception. A variety of grains are broadcast. In some places valuable commercial crops such as turmeric, castor, brinjal, plantain and chillies are raised. The dry crops generally grown on Podu lands are Ragi, Redgrain, Judenga, Baila (creeper), Kangu, horsegram, Ghantia, Maize, Castor and other hill products.

Besides being a positive source of evil the Podu cultivation is itself inherently defective and economically unsound. The average yield of each crop on an acre of Podu land is  $2\frac{1}{2}$  putties besides about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  putties of creeper grains. The total yield is thus 4 putties

whereas in the low lying country on the plains the average yield per acre is 8 to 10 putties. Commercial crops are generally not grown on the hills. Generally the aborigines have taken recourse to Podu cultivation as a subsidiary occupation while in some remote cases specially in Khond areas, they do Podu exclusively mostly due to nonavailability of land in the plains. Besides the Village Headmen in the agency areas often encourage Podu cultivation for getting money from the aborigines. There is also a long standing habit among the aborigines to abandon old villages and from new ones. This habit is partly responsible for Podu cultivation. In the entire Agency portion of the district there are about 12,600 acres under Podu cultivation.

**Agricultural holding of the aborigines:**--The agency areas of the district have not yet been surveyed. So it is not possible to say accurately the extent of land owned by the aborigines. But from a very rough estimate it is found that there are 75,600 acres of cultivated land both dry and wet. Out of that more than 30,000



acres are owned by non-aborigines. Again out of the land available for the aborigines the extent of paddy land is very scanty and the crops raised by the aborigines are subject to the ravages of the wild animals. Due to these facts the aborigines of the district are not fortunate to have a rice diet throughout the year. In most cases they have to depend on the roots and leafy plants for two to three months in a year.

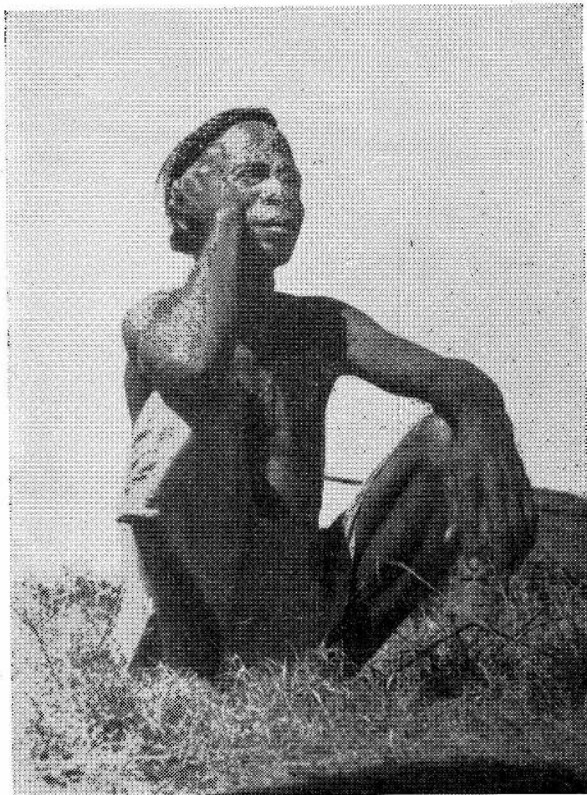
**Land tenure system:**—The aborigines enjoy lands free of assessment; but pay mamuls in cash and kind to the Muthaheads and their subordinates. This mamul system peculiar to the Ganjam Agency and in course of time has been historically connected with the system of land administration though it is not in any sense legally connected with it. This acquired a sanctity through established usages extending over a long time and in the beginning was considered to be in conformity with the principles of justice and equity. The sole object of this "mamul" system was to keep the aborigines under check and control through the agency of non-origine chiefs known as

Muthadars stationed in the locality.

The need for having such hill chiefs with a regular heirarchy of subordinate local officials was no doubt a necessity during the early parts of 19th century, when the indigenous hill races the Khonds and the Sauras-illiterate and ignorant of the ways of the world and yet ready to go on the war path when any of their many susceptibilities are wounded, were very turbulent and were considered to be dangerous neighbours to others living in the plains.

After the advent of the British rule the old administrative organisation in the Agency areas, being divided into Muthas each under a Bissoyee or a Patra with his militia of Hodadars and Paiks was allowed to continue. They were made responsible for controlling the hill tribes and maintaining peace and good order as before. They were also allowed not only to enjoy the usufructs of some lands in their respective areas in which their services were required but also the customary mamuls paid by the hill tribes. These mamuls have continued for over a century. They





Guarding the field



are paid either in cash or in kind. These mamuls consist of several items and the system was so very exhaustive that it never gave a chance to the hill tribes to improve their lot. For the first time a list of various kinds of mamuls paid by the aborigines to the hill chiefs and their subordinates was compiled by Mr. Taylor, the then Collector of Ganjam in the year 1900 in his book "Taylors Memoirs". The Partially Excluded areas Enquiry Committee has rightly remarked that the mamuls system is inherently bad in as much as it is troublesome for realisation on the part of the Muthadars and further the Muthadars harass the hill people by exorbitant demands.

In course of time the limited purpose of the "mamuls" has been lost sight of and they have been increased and worked out with a view to provide ample income for the Hodadars and the Muthaheads. The mamuls were till now a great and a increasing burden on the hillmen, out of proportion to the services rendered by the Patros and Bissoyees and far in excess of what the hillmen would have given to

Government in the shape of reasonable assessment on each holding. These mamuls were so varigated and miscellaneous in nature that it is doubtful that in that distant part they were ever collected in full by the Muthaheads. The Muthaheads realised it too well that a complete hold over the adibasis would be secured if in addition to the man-power they had at their disposal to compel mamuls they could appeal to the religious and superstitious traits in the character of the Adibasis. They installed Oriya deities and secured some mamuls in the name of the deity so imposed. For the first time in 1905 the Adibasis seem to have started questioning the mamul system. Government on becoming aware of this fact and of the fact that the mamul recognised and prescribed was based on no reasonable standards, issued orders that recorded mamuls could be revised by the Agent to the Governor subject to the parties agreeing to such revision. The abolition of miscellaneous mamuls was made in the year 1949, but these orders did not reach the remote agency areas & had hardly any immediate effect. They had



to be republished in the year 1954 and again in the year 1955. Abolition of these mamuls was a considerable relief. But the remaining "Sanja" mamuls and the "Cist" mamuls i. e., rent payable in kind or cash was also found to be quite exorbitant. A Special Officer was, therefore, appointed & there have now been commuted to cash under orders of Government at Re. 1/- per acre of paddy land.

#### **Other economic exploitations:—**

The aborigines of the district are subjected to various forms of exploitations which are mainly responsible for their wretched economic condition.

##### **1. Perpetual indebtedness:—**

The domestic economy of the Khonds and Sauras and their rural economy is in a very primitive state. Their common needs are very few and easily satisfied and their needs are of such easy nature that the aborigines always remain confident that their income would cover their expenditure. With this self assurance they plod on till a sickness, a marriage or death ceremony over-takes them and over-throws the balance of their domestic

economy. They are addicted to drinking and more so on occasions of festivals and ceremonies. They spend extravagantly on marriage. Again the aborigines are very superstitious in many of their beliefs. They do not use any medicine for cure of their illness except trying to propitiate their Gods. The Sauras as a tribe are obsessed with the thought of death and the menace of the other world. All disease, all domestic or economic tragedy is the work of irritable ghosts who must be instantly appeased. When, therefore, someone in the family gets a touch of fever the Saura assuming that his deceased wife's deceased uncle is annoyed with him, rushes off to get a pig or a buffalo to sacrifice. Being in a highly excited state of mind he agrees to pay any price so long as he can get what he wants quickly. The money-lenders who are present among the aborigines watching carefully the needs of the aborigines and are always ready with tempting offers of cash loan or supply of animals on credit to suit their requirements. Thus the aborigines come under the clutches of the money-lenders and become an easy prey in the money lending trap. The money



lenders in most cases at the time of making the advance deduct the total interest of the year from the principal though the borrower is made to sign that he has received full payment. Often the money-lenders procure from the debtors their signature on a blank paper and then put down any figure they like. These things rarely come to the notice of the law courts since the aborigines are ignorant and do not dare to bring to the notice of the officers the mal-practices of the wily creditors. The rate of interest charged is exorbitant and it has got at the hands of the unscrupulous creditors a peculiar way of doubling itself after the first year. The interest swells. The principal remains unpaid. All the payments made by the debtors every year either by cash or in kind are adjusted towards the interest. Thus the debtors remain perpetually indebted to the money lenders. It cannot but be admitted that the rural indebtedness of the aborigines owing to a degenerated system of money-lending is a living canker that has eaten into the very vitals of the economic life of the aborigines of the district.

**Lack of proper marketing facilities:—** The staple products of the aborigines are turmeric, pulses, millet and oil seeds like mustard gingelly, niger and caster. Arrowroot is grown in parts. Oranges are also grown in some parts of R. Udayagiri and Paralakimedi Taluks. Among the products collected and sold by the aborigines tamarind comes first. Most of these products are exported from the Agency areas to the plains through the petty traders and Sahukars who again supply the daily necessities of life of the aborigines which mainly comprise of salt, dry fish, onion, clothes, utensils, imported from the plains. The proper marketing of the goods with a view to secure a fair price for the agricultural or other forest produce of the Adibasis is an important problem. The Adibasis of this district are generally deprived of the benefit of proper marketing of their produce to secure a fair price and getting their daily necessities of life at reasonable prices, owing to their idleness, ignorance, poverty and indebtedness. The Adibasis generally do not like to come to the 'hats'. They mostly depend on



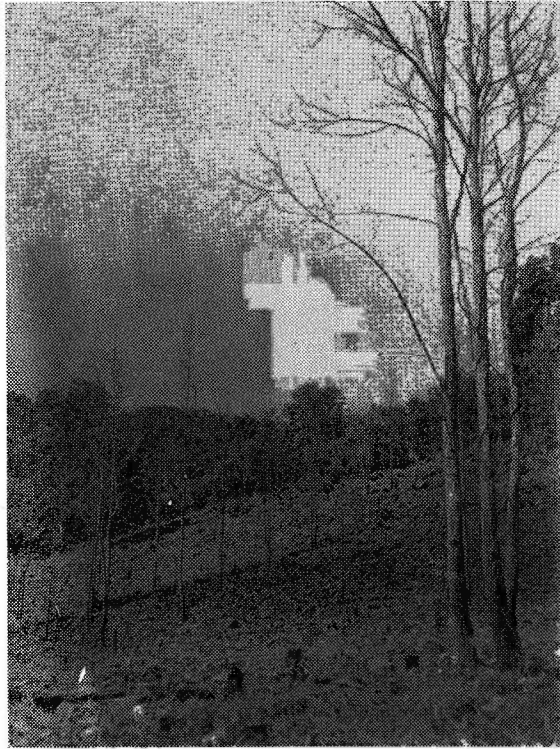
their daily necessities of life that can have at their doors. Even if they come to the markets they are indifferent customers. They do not take the trouble of ascertaining the correct price for the commodities they purchase from a number of shopkeepers. Therefore they pay high prices. They purchase their requirements like tobacco, salt, dried fish through barter exchange and thereby they are cheated badly by the traders. The few examples given below will indicate the extent of exploitation to which the ignorant and simple aborigines are subjected to.

1. One adda of blackgram (one Adda = 60 tolas) worth 0-8-0 is exchanged for one adda of salt worth one anna.
2. One adda of Jhudanga worth 0-6-0 is exchanged for one adda of salt worth one anna.
3. One pumpkin worth 0-3-0 is exchanged for  $1\frac{1}{4}$  adda of salt worth 0-1-6.

In respect of marketing of the produce the Adibasis do not get a fair deal. In marketing of their produce they are exploited by the Panos and other middlemen who live on the aborigines. The Pano

is the same as the Dom, Panka or Ganda, the great untouchable weaver caste of Central India, sometimes regarded as a criminal tribe, everywhere held in social detestation as the lowest of the low. But in the Agency areas of this district the Panos have established themselves in close contact with the aborigines living side by side with them though in separate hamlets. Originally probably they came to provide the people with cloth. They have been described in the oldest memories as a sharp, intelligent race with a rapid tendency to admixture. From the mythology of the Khonds it is not clear as to when the Pano came into his life. In fact the Pano does not get any mention in the mythology of the Khond. But that he came into the area long ago and that too when the aborigines were probably naked savage is evident from many salient points. The Pano is the weaver of the area today and that would take us to believe that he was the man who captured the imagination of aborigines by showing them clothes and by teaching them their use. But their superior cunning and intelligence, however, has now





Shifting Cultivation



made them much more than mere weavers. They now become the agents, money-lenders and advisers of the aborigines. They have now made an extra ordinary and sinister dominion over them. In the Khond area they have an important place in society. They are the middlemen who market the produce of the Khond and who cater to his needs by way of supplying his requirements. The Pano has no title to any tribal land and as a child of the soil even though he is seen in some cases to have become a prosperous landowner now-a-days. By nature the Khond is indolent and lordly and is loath, to go out of his village leaving the village society and drinking bouts there. He has an inferiority complex and fears that he would be cheated. These and other reasons prevent him from making attempts to market his produce. The Pano is perhaps also responsible to no small degree in this since he offers to do the marketing facility. He (Pano) on account of his mixed origin and the commercially developed mental outfit is able to do better in this direction. Due to the feeling of inferiority and familiarity with which the

Khond looks upon the Pano the latter is able to coax and cajole and take enormous profit with the knowledge and acquittance of the Khond who consoles himself with the belief that the services of the Pano rendered to him deserves concession. The Pano of the southern Agency is more sharp than his brother in the Khond hills and knows better how to cater to the whims of the Sauras, who are far more industrious mostly busy in their terrace cultivation. One important characteristic of the Saura is that unless it is absolutely necessary he would not venture out of his village. The Pano who is aware of the secret goes to the Saura to his house on the hill tops and thrusts his wares on the Saura and arranges that the price shall be paid in grain at the next harvest at very cheap rates plus an appropriate interest. When harvest time comes round the Pano spends his days standing on the Saura's thrashing floors scooping in his dues in baskets full without any proper heed to the exact amount he takes. Thus the Saura does not get an opportunity to market his produce and get a fair price for the same.

In addition to the facts stated above lack of communication facilities also stands on the way of providing marketing facilities in the tribal areas and therefore the tribals are compelled to sell their produce to the middlemen at their doors at very low prices. Moreover, the houses of the aborigines, as they are usually constructed, do not allow them to stock and store their produce for sale at future date. So they sell away their produce if any at the time of harvest.

**Illegal control of land by non-aborigines:** Most of the wet lands available in the Agency areas are owned by non-aborigines, who have got the lands transferred to their names by fraudulent means. As a result of that the aborigines are compelled to go up the hills and take to shifting cultivation. Many of the aborigines are landless labourers who for the most part of year depend on the jungle supplies for their living.

All these circumstances combined together keep the aborigines at the lowest condition of continued poverty and want. Though centuries have passed by the problem of the aborigines is still there. So long as the hill people were isolated they devel-

ped their own manners of life without any interference from outsiders. With the march of time and the development of means of communication the tribals are no longer isolated and their contact with the men of the Plains has brought into existence several new problems which threaten to wipe out or completely absorb the aborigines into the general mass of population. They may be said to be suffering from inferiority complex. Drink, disease, malnutrition and debt are at work to handicap their development. There is already a large number of landless labourers among them. The holdings are small and the food production is insufficient. Podu cultivation considerably reduced the area of forests and the soil erosion is serious. What little they grow and earn goes into the pockets of the middle men and money-lenders. These prevailing circumstances confront the Government with very serious and acute problems. The average annual income and expenditure statement of an average Adibasi family of the District given below will indicate that the expenditure exceeds the income to a large extent.



**Statement showing the annual income of a typical aborigine from his produce  
and the annual expenditure to maintain his family**

Total income from produce		Expenditure to maintain the family of 4 members i. e., 2 adults and 2 children		Remarks
Nature of crops which the aborigine grows	Value of the crops in rupees	Commodities regained by the aborigine	Expenditure in rupees per annum	Deficit or surplus in rupees
1	2	3	4	5

		Food	Per day	Remarks
Sua	Rs. 25/-			Average income from produce per annum } 470/-
Gonga	15/-			
Maize	20/-	2 seers of rice	0-10-0 per day	
Jhudongo	5/-	2 seers of Sua	0-6-0	Average expenditure of an aborigine family of 2 adults and 2 children of 10 years of age. } 655/-
Paddy on dry lands }	50/-			
Paddy on wet lands }	150/-			
Ragi	15/-	1/4 seer of Dhali on average }	0-2-0	Therefore deficit per annum } 655-470 = -185
Turmeric	150/-			
Caster seed	10/-	Other articles - salt, dry chillies fish etc. }	0-1-6	
Red gram	25/-			
Horse gram	2/-			
Rs. 467/ or 470/-				
		Curry	0-1-0	
		Tobacco	0-1-0	
			Rs. 1-5-6	

1	2	3	4	5
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## Cloth

## Male :—

1 Wearing cloth	Rs. 5-0-0
1 Gamancha	1-8 0
1 Towal	1-0 0
1 Duppati	3-0 0

Rs. 10-8-0

## Female :—

1 Wearing cloth	6 0-0
Wearing small size	2-8-0
Duppati	3-0-0

Rs. 11-8-0

## Son :—

Gamanchas 2	2-8-0
Towal 1	1-0-0
Small Duppati 1	1-8-0
Banian 1	1-0-0

Rs. 6-0-0

## Daughter :—

Small towels 2	2-8 0
Duppati	1-8 0

Rs 4 0 0

Sickness	50-0-0
Drink	50-0-0
Agricultural expenditure (i. e.) ploughs, seeds etc. }	40-0-0

## Total

775-12-0 or  
770-0-0



### **Economic protections given so far**

1. Abolition of miscellaneous mamuls and commutation of "Sanja Mamuls"

As already mentioned in the year 1949 Government issued orders that all mamuls which did not have any relation to land should be abolished. By this order although the relief was substantial in most of the cases the "Sanja Mamuls" and Cist Mamuls were found to be unnecessarily exorbitant and this mamul has also been commuted to cash rent. By this the aborigines are relieved of payment of all kinds of mamuls which previously never gave a chance to the Adibasis to improve their lot. The mamul system was mainly responsible for emigration of the Adibasis of this district to Assam hills, sale of their land to non-tribals and their continued indebtedness.

2. To stop the transfer of land by the hillmen to the non-hillmen Government have prohibited such transfers of land by hillmen to non-hillmen without permission of the competent authority. The law has been there since long but now it is more rigourously enforced.

3. To combat exploitation by money lenders the Orissa money-lenders Act of 1939 has been extended to the Agency areas under which the money-lenders are required to get themselves registered, charge moderate rate of interest and maintain proper accounts and grant receipts.

### **Economic measures**

The aborigines have lapsed into a life of economic in action and mental lethargy on account of various reasons. For amelioration of the condition of the aborigines programme has been drawn up. Some of the measures taken up are given below.

1. For proper marketing of the agricultural and other forest produce of the aborigines Government have started Multipurpose Co-operative Societies in the tribal areas. Though the number of such Societies is very small at present it is being increased from year to year.

2. To provide the daily necessities of life of the aborigines at reasonable prices Government have started some Fair Price Shops at central villages which are working satisfactorily.

3. Standard weights and measures are being introduced to save the aborigines from the exploitation of the middlemen.

4. For improvement of agriculture Minor Irrigation Projects have been executed and the tribals are being supplied with plough bullocks, improved seeds and manure and agricultural implements free of cost. Demonstration Farms are also being established in the tribal areas to impart necessary training to the Adibasis in improved methods of agriculture.

5. To wean the Adibasis away from Podu cultivation and to provide them with settled cultivation and other amenities of life Adibasi colonies are being established where the Adibasi families are given financial aid for construction of their houses, purchase of bullocks, seeds and manure, agriculture implements. They are provided with 5 acres of land per head with irrigation facilities.

6. Means of communication are being improved. The interior villages of the tribal areas are being linked with the main roads which will help the Adibasis in proper marketing of their Agriculture and other forest produce.

7. For improvement of education among the Adibasis special type of schools named as Ashram Schools have been started where along with general education up to M. E. Standard training is imparted in various crafts. In the Ashram Schools the Adibasi pupils are given monthly stipend of Rs. 20/- P.M. The Adibasi students reading in other educational institutions are also given stipends, lumpgrants and other educational facilities.

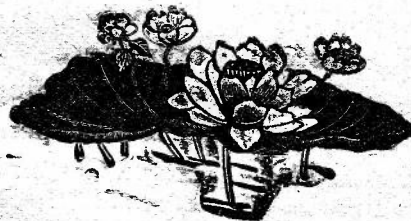
8. National Extension Service Blocks have been opened in the tribal areas to take up various schemes for the economic and social improvement of the aborigines and developing the areas.

It may however be admitted that the enactments and measures have not achieved much success mainly for the reason that due to their illiteracy, ignorance, abject poverty, age-old oppressions and exploitations they are not aware of their rights and able to take full advantage of the facilities extended. But it is a fact that the measures taken by Government for their economic improvement are appreciated by them and they demand more



facilities now. All the same their poverty and extreme backwardness is a problem of such vast magnitude that measures taken by Government can hardly be expected to solve it in any effective manner within so short a period. It is, however, hoped that the successful implementation of the welfare measures

taken up now and opening up of communication in the tribal areas, thus bringing them in close contact with the outside world, will before long enable the Adibasis to take their rightful place in the economic and social structure of the country.



## Justice by Oaths and Ordeals among Daflas

Padmadhar Saikia

The Daflas are mainly found in Kameng and Subansiri Frontier division N.E.F.A. They are also sparsely distributed in districts of Darrang and North Lakhimpur, Assam. The Daflas constitute an important section of N.E.F.A. tribes and their population is 1,50,000. (on 10th May, 1956, the Prime Minister furnished this figure on Dafla population in N. E. F. A. as desired by Janab Amjad Ali. The above figure is only rough and based on local estimates as no regular census has been taken so far.)

In the year 1956, the writer carried out field research among the Daflas of Charduar and Kimin. Charduar is nearly 24 miles from Tezpur and for many years it was the headquarter of the political officer, Balipara Frontier Division. Balipara Frontier Division, as such no longer exists and this area is now transferred to Darrang district. At Charduar there are

four thickly populated Dafla villages. Kimin is a base camp of Subansiri frontier division. The writer also had the opportunity to collect information from many hill Daflas, who in winter month came down to the plains for trade.

Among the Daflas, oaths and ordeals are the traditional methods of determining the guilt or innocence of persons charged with crime. Cases of petty theft are very frequently settled by means of oaths. The practice of making the accused pass through some ordeals is now rare, and Daflas of younger generation in Charduar area have not witnessed any in their life. However ordeals are even now resorted to in the interior tracts to adjudge cases of serious nature.

**Ordinary oaths.**— The Daflas have firm belief in oath and that is why petty cases are always settled by this means. When something is stolen the owner of the property privately approaches the suspected culprit and tries to



persuade him to return it. The former however must have sufficient grounds for suspicion, otherwise it creates bad blood between the accused and himself. If the accused person denies it, the complainant informs the villagers about it, whereupon the villagers ask the accused to prove his innocence by oath. If the accused person cannot prove his innocence by the recognised method of oath, he will be considered guilty and he will have to compensate for the lost article.

If the accused agrees to take oath, a day is fixed for the same. On the appointed day the accused takes oath in presence of the elderly members of the village.

The procedure for taking oath is as follows.

The medicineman (*Niebu*) utters incantations at the time of taking oath. The accused person bites a tooth of tiger saying "If I am telling lie the tiger will kill me". Similarly oaths are taken by placing a bit of earth in the mouth of the accused who utters "If I am telling lie, I shall go inside the earth". If the oath is performed by taking rice in mouth, it is supposed that the performer will run short of paddy next year and if it is taken by keeping a '*Dao*' in

between the two sets of teeth he will get severe injury from sharp weapons.

**Oath near a Sacred Stone** (*'Sori dingdung'*)—According to the information collected the ordinary oaths are taken only in case of theft. In case of adultery and other sexual offences, oaths are taken near a sacred stone. In Betgarh Village of Charduar, there is a small upright stone under a tree which they call '*Sori*'. No villager defiles the area near the stone nor does any one point his finger at it. They believe that there resides in that stone an evil spirit called '*Sori*'. In cases of sex offences one has to take the '*Sori-dingdung*' here.

About five years ago, one youngman, Taba, of Betgarh Village had adulterous relations with a young married woman, Yamog. Yamog's husband, Taseng came to know about it, and informed Pinji Weli, the village headman. On being asked by the village elders Taba and Yamog confessed their guilt. At the same time they promised not to repeat it in future. Yamog's husband was not satisfied with the confession. He asked Taba and his wife to swear near '*Sori stone*' in order to prevent future recurrence of their illicit relation.

A day was fixed for that and on the appointed day Pinji Weli who is also an expert medicine-man sacrificed a dog near the 'Sori'. The liver of the dog was kept near the image and then he invoked the spirit. First Taba touched both the stone and sacrificed dog's liver with his left hand and uttered, "I will not do so in future. If I commit such an offence I shall suffer from bad disease." Yamog also took the oath in the same manner. But both of them indulged in illicit relations again even after the 'Sori-dingdung' and eventually fled away to North Lakhimpur Sub-division. Pinji Weli was glad to inform me that both of them later fell victims to bad skin disease.

Pinji Weli asserted that if some one commits adultery after 'Sori-dingdung' the oath breaker is sure to suffer from some bad disease in their sex organs. But at the same time, he assured that an expert medicineman like him could cure such maladies by some magical performances if the guilty person confesses it. Such a remedy, however entails a good deal cost on the party concerned. Few years back a youngman committed adultery. When the public

came to know about it, the guilty persons were compelled to take oath. But after the 'Sori-dingdung' they again indulged in adultery and both of them suffered from some serious diseases in their sex organs. The youngman succumbed to it. The woman approached Pinji and requested to cure her. Pinji performed some magical ceremonies and she was cured. Pinji took a good sum from her as remuneration.

These are the common forms of oath practised by the Daflas. They have firm belief in the efficacy of the oath as a means of determining the innocence or guilt of persons, and all my informants are convinced of the evil consequences of false swearing.

**Ordeals**—As mentioned before, the ordeals are rarely resorted to and that too in serious cases such as murder and theft of very valuable properties such as Tibetan bells, beads etc. There are two forms of ordeals. One is 'Chudung-dingdung', that is proving oneself by introducing the hands into boiling water. It is firmly believed that boiling water does not injure an innocent person. The second form of ordeal is called 'Rokder-Dingdung'. Rokder means iron. Here instead of boiling water a



a red hot piece of iron is placed on one palm of the accused. Few green leaves are kept over the palm and over it the red hot iron piece is placed. It is believed that the red hot iron burns the hand of the guilty alone, whereas the innocent do not even feel the sensation of heat.

The following are the details of *Chudung-dingdung* which took place about ten years ago in Hudubari Village, Charduar. The then Political Officer of Charduar was also present on the spot. One evening, Rayom, a villager of Bharali took a large quantity of rice-beer at Hare's house in Hudubari village. Hare's wife was then pregnant. Rayom under the influence of rice-beer suddenly hit Hare's wife near her breast. The woman died at once. Rayom immediately took to his heels. Hare informed the villagers that Rayom killed his wife. But Rayom denied it.

The Political Officer was informed about the incident. The Political Officer asked the villagers to decide the case among themselves. The villagers decided to settle the case by means of the ordeals of '*Chudung-dingdung*'. Both Rayom and Hare agreed to it. But the villagers suspected Hare also

and asked to prove his innocence by means of this ordeal.

The villagers cleared a portion of jungle near Bharali river and in that space a small enclosure was made by means of wooden poles with two entrances. Within the enclosed space a wooden platform was raised in slanting position. The medicineman and the assistant medicineman with Hare and Rayom had to spend the previous night in the jungle. They were not allowed to take any hot thing. Further they were not allowed to make fire. No one approached them that night.

On the appointed day, the men and women of all the Dafla villages of Charduar assembled on the spot. Pregnant women were not allowed to witness the ordeal. It is feared that the foetus inside the womb is harmed if a pregnant woman happens to witness it.

At about 10 A. M. fire was lighted inside the enclosed space by friction method with pieces of bamboo and cane. It is believed that the fire will atonce kindle if the person or persons ready for taking oath are actually guilty. The fire was fanned with a shield. Someone brought water from the Bharali river in a bamboo pail,

The water must be collected from a big river. A tiger tooth, a small stone, a small quantity of sand and some leaves and barks of tree were kept in the water. Then the water was boiled over the fire. The medicineman got upon the platform and invoked the spirit. Before the final ordeal both the complainant and the accused had to pare their nails, because any quantity of slack lime inside the nails was supposed to nullify the effect of the ordeal. They also had to wash their hands clean as the spittle and such impure things on the hand were believed to make it easy to introduce the hand into the boiling water.

Rayom came out from the jungle with a 'dao' in his right hand. He had only lower garment and his hair was dishevelled. (The male Daflas tie their hair into a knot in front of their head. At the time of ordeal his hair was not tied into knot according to their custom.) He entered the enclosed space shouting something very loudly and at once introduced his left hand into the boiling water. On examination it was found that his hand was severely burnt. Hare had to do the same

to prove himself not guilty of making a false complaint. When he had done so it was found that his hand was also burnt.

Before the ordeal was undertaken the Dafla villagers solemnly declared that the hands of the innocent person could not be burnt by boiling water. But as the hands of both the accused and the complainant were burnt, none of the persons could establish innocence. Both Rayom and Hare had to pay one bullock, one Assamese silk cloth, one 'dao' each to the medicineman. Also they had to pay a fine of one pair of bullock which were killed and the flesh was distributed among the audience.

A similar case of ordeal took place in Rongajan village. Rongajan is in the Lakhimpur district, near Kimin, Subansiri Frontier division, N. E. F. A. Gamar Tayo, an elderly member of Rongajan village lost some of his valuable properties such as Tibetan bell, beads and brass dishes. He petitioned the Political Officer that he suspected Pil Kecha, another elderly member of his village and prayed for redress. Pil Kecha denied the charge. The latter, further, asserted that the former



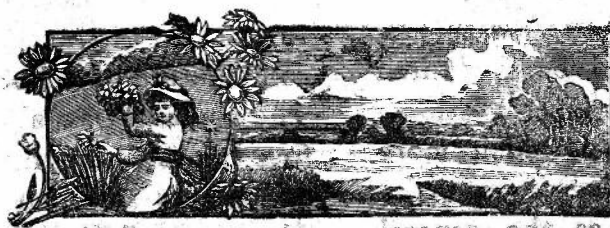
brought forth the charge against him in order to harass him out of personal grudge. As there was no eye witness of the incident the Political Officer ordered them to settle the case by means of ordeal. They agreed to it. On the day of the ordeal some office assistants of Kimin and some interpreters were also present there.

It so happened that the accused Pil Kecha brought out the stone from the boiling water without injury. So Pil Kecha's supporters went to Gamar's house, killed some of his domestic pigs and the flesh was distributed among the audience. Gamar had to pay a fine of five bullocks, one Tibetan bell and one brass dish to Pil Kecha for causing him undeserved harassment.

Shri Rajani Gogoi, assistant Political Officer Kimin (recently

retired)\* informed me that the Daflas have firm belief in such ordeals. But he also expressed the opinion that a man can often turn the opinion of the community in his favour if he can gather enough courage to introduce his hand into boiling water and make a gesture of being unhurt, regardless of the real consequences. After the act of ordeal the atmosphere usually becomes so noisy that one cannot examine the hand carefully.

'*Chudung-dingdun*' is a rare practice, and one asking the other for '*Chudung*' is something like inviting the other for a fight. If after the ordeal the alleged person is proved not guilty his supporters raid the house of the complainant and forcibly take away his valuable belongings.



## The test of a good Ashram School

Ambalal P. Vyas

60 Ashram schools have been started by the State Government for educating the tribal boys and girls. Out of these, five are meant exclusively for tribal girl students. Lacs of rupees have been spent on non-recurring expenditure for establishing these Ashram Schools, and lacs are being spent each year for running them. As the tribals were neglected and remained isolated for centuries the national Government is, each year spending these vast sums as a special facility to educate the tribal boys and girls and transform them into efficient, disciplined and patriotic citizens.

When such vast sums are spent annually out of the insufficient resources of the country it is our duty to see that every pice is well spent and bears desired fruits. This is a great National investment, perhaps much more important than most of our other costlier projects, as the general well-being, character building and allround education of the children of more than two crores of the tribals are involved in this

vast investment and grand experiment.

It is the duty of all of us, supervising, inspecting and executive officers as well as the Headmasters and other instructors to see that the Ashrams where lacs of rupees collected from the coffers of even the poorest country men in the form of direct and indirect taxes are being annually spent are properly run and efficiently managed.

What are the tests of a good Ashram ? Ashrams like other schools are no doubt educational institutions, but they are much more than ordinary schools where the students are day scholars and spend only one-fourth of their time daily in receiving instructions. An Ashram School is a combination of school and home. The students pass all the twenty four hours there in the company of teachers and other comrades. The responsibility of an Ashram School is much more than that of an ordinary school. To my mind therefore homely atmosphere, harmony, spirit of



co-operation and team spirit are as important as general studies in an Ashram School.

I however lay the highest importance to the purity of atmosphere in an Ashram School; because without that no progress is possible in other spheres like studies, teaching of crafts, spinning, agriculture and games. It is the bounden duty of the Headmaster of an Ashram school to try his utmost to maintain the purity and peacefulness of the Ashram atmosphere. He fails in his duty miserably, where this is polluted by internal quarrels, either between the Headmasters and other teachers or between students and teachers. The Headmaster is expected to be an efficient teacher, a loving guardian and a strong but tactful superintendent of the institution. His efficiency, honesty, equity and sense of justice will be daily put to test on several occasions. As the head of the institution he has to deal with higher inspecting officers, other teachers, Ashram students and the guardians and relatives of Ashram students. Thousands of rupees pass through his hands; in spite of his honesty if he can not maintain the

accounts and stock books carefully and up-to-date doubts will be raised about his character. If he is honest as well as efficient and tactful other subordinate teachers will not be in a position to raise their heads against him and create trouble or succeed in breaking the peace of the institution. If he behaves like a loving father towards the Ashram inmates, both students and teachers, and pays constant attention to their well being and convenience the tribal students proverbially loyal, dutiful law-abiding and obliging will never go against him or be a tool in the hands of disobedient sub-ordinate teachers.

I have found on several occasions that whenever and wherever the peaceful atmosphere of the Ashram has been polluted the progress of that Ashram in all spheres has suffered. I have found with great sorrow that at times even some of the officers who think of only administrative matters take delight in creating schisms amongst the teachers or between the teachers and the students as a part of policy to know the internal conditions of an Ashram school. If the officer

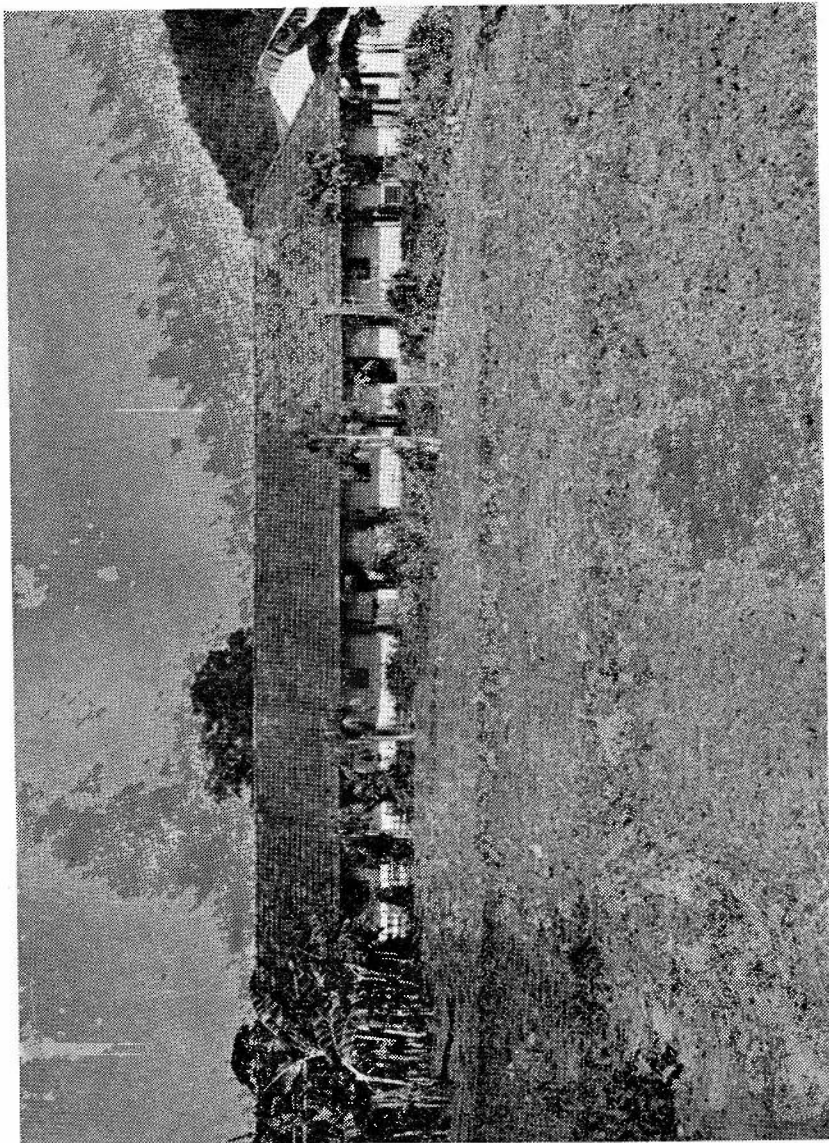
is paying regular visits and is periodically examining the account books and stock books thoroughly, corruption will not have any basis to start, thrive or continue. Rotten things will be automatically eliminated and meet with a natural death. Policy of "Divide and Rule" does not deserve to be applied in educa-

tional institutions, much less in Ashrams which are meant for a nobler purpose of all round education and character building.

I, therefore, believe that if the purity of the Ashram atmosphere is maintained other good results are bound to follow. To my mind this is the real test of a good Ashram school.







Ashram School

## Traditional Methods of Treatment of Leprosy Among the Mikirs

Bhuban M. Das. & Tarun Chandra Sharma

The Mikirs, having a total numerical strength of 91,953 individuals (Census report of India 1951), constitute an important part of the tribal population of Assam. They are mainly confined to the United Mikir Hills and North Cachar district, though they are found sporadically in other districts as well.

It has been reported by the Mikir Hills Seva Kendra, Sarihajan (Mikir hills) that leprosy occurs in very high frequency among the Mikirs. During October 1957 an investigation was carried out by the authors among the Mikirs of Sarihajan\* and its surrounding villages. Data were collected from among 80 families comprising 576 individuals. It was found

that 4.14% of the population under consideration, are affected by the disease.

The present paper, however, deals with the indigenous methods employed by the local Mikirs of Sarihajan and its neighbouring areas for the treatment of the disease. In that connection, in order to understand the nature of treatment, the factors which are believed to be responsible for causing the disease, have also been dealt with.

**Causes of the disease:**—The Mikirs believe that leprosy (chi-i) is caused by python (Ruipi) which is abundant in the Mikir hills. If a man happens to touch the blood or the body of the python he can hardly escape from the

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\* Sarihajan is a small locality situated at a distance of about 17 miles towards north-east from Manipur Road. It lies near the border of Sibsagar and United Mikir hills and North Cachar districts. The headquarter of the Mikir hills Seva Kendra is situated there.



disease. The python can spread the disease in an indirect way as well. Sometimes it contaminates the water of the hilly streams which are the only sources of water supply of the Mikirs. The contamination is believed to be caused when the excreta of python happens to mix with water. Any body using that contaminated water may fall victim of the disease. In one village called Betalat we came across a person † of forty years of age, who killed a python and touched the blood of the latter, thereby became victim of leprosy.

It is a common belief among the Mikirs that sometimes this disease is caused due to an act of sin or violation of existing traditional social and religious customs. When a member of a family is affected by the disease, the whole family is believed to be under the influence of some evil spirit. The identity of the spirit is determined by divination which again determines the types of rites of rituals to be performed in order to get rid of the evil spirit.

### Diagnosis of the disease—

Although the Mikirs have no knowledge of pathology, the age long experiences have made them able to diagnose the disease efficiently. According to the various symptoms that the patients suffering from leprosy develop, the disease is classified into the following categories by the Mikiris.

1. **Ekreng:** In this type of leprosy the patient becomes a ricket. His flesh and skin wither and the fingers of the hands and the feet show deformity.
2. **Ejut:** This is a very dangerous and corrosive type of leprosy. The fingers of hands and feet of the patient are eaten up right from the tip to the root.
3. **Edor:** Nodules in the face, nose and ear are the main symptoms of this type of leprosy. The nose becomes deformed and yellowish patches develop in the body.
4. **Etot:** In this type of leprosy the patient suffers more

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† As it appears from the conversation with the local people that they do not like the publication of the name of the affected person, the name of the particular person could not be given.

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internally. External symptoms are few, but the patient dies very soon.

**Treatment:**— The indigenous methods of treatment of leprosy among the Mikirs can be divided into two categories—(1) the magical cure and (2) the medicinal cure. At the occurrence of the disease, they first take recourse to the magical cure by worshipping and offering sacrifices to the deity presiding over such illness. They worship the deity several times successively and if no sign of improvement of the patient is seen, the causes of the disease is then believed to be due to personal act of sin or violation of prevalent customs.

The medicinal cure consists of applying a kind of indigenous herb. When it is applied upon the leprous patches, it burns the skin and the flesh making a severe wound. As per information, the wound may be healed after six months or a year leaving a burnt patch upon the body of the patient. Some people having such burnt patch in their bodies were found in this locality. Only the professional medicine-man, who prescribes such treatment, knows the herb. The

name of the herb is kept in secret in order to preserve their profession. We tried in all possible ways but failed to collect a specimen of the herb. We were told that there is not a single medicine-man in this locality under consideration and as such when it is required, a medicine-man is called from a distant village.

The magical methods applied in treating the leprosy are of two types—one is preventive in nature and the other is curative.

The worship of *Dor Arnam* (*Dor* deity) is performed in every house-hold once in a year (generally after the harvest) as a preventive measure against leprosy. The nature of worship related to the treatment of this disease is described below. The following articles are required for the worship:

1. One he-goat and one hen.
2. One *harbong* (a gourd-vessel filled with rice-beer known as *Har Alang*) and one bottle of *Har Arak*, (another variety of rice-beer)
3. A small piece of bamboo about six inches in length for divination.



4. A small quantity of sun-dried rice.
5. A small quantity of rice flour.
6. One brass-ring.
7. One silver rupee coin (called *Khasi Tanka*)

The professional priest known as *Thekere* conducts the rites and the sacrifice. The worship is performed in the jungle or at a considerable distant place from the family campus. There is no selected place for such purpose. The place is arbitrarily selected. A small mound of earth is raised at the place of worship upon which two models of snakes made of clay are placed cross-wise keeping the heads pointing to the same direction. The rice flour mixed with water is sprinkled over the mound. A plantain leaf is spread upon the ground surface in front of the heads of the snake models. A small quantity of sun-dried rice is kept upon the plantain leaf in two rows each consisting of three divisions. The *Harbong* and the *Har Arak* are placed by the side of the mound. The brass-ring is kept upon one division of rice. This arrangement being made, the *Thekere* touches the hen and the goat with the hands and invokes the name of

the deity and utters *mantras* which may be summarised as follows.

"O' *Dor Risu* (*Risu—king*), We have given you so many things. We have brought the hen and the goat for you. Kindly you come and enjoy and take away the disease from our family". Then the *Thekere* cuts half-way the neck of the hen. The hen is allowed to fall on the ground which tosses vehemently on the ground before its lifeless body comes to rest. *Thekere*, then, observed divination examining the body and the head of the hen. It is said that if the sacrificed hen lies on the ground on its dorsal or on its ventral surface, the omen is bad. But if it comes to rest on its lateral sides left or right, the omen is good. Similarly if the head happens to move inside the feather or the wings, the omen is believed to be inauspicious, but otherwise the omen is good and particularly if the head is in the direction of the house of the worshipper. The stomach of the hen is dissected and its entrails are scrutinised. Good omen is forecasted when the entrails are found in such a manner that there is no sign of rapture in the integuments which connects the loops of the entrails. Good omen implies the pleasure

of the deity and this means the cure of the disease. Then the *Thekere* sacrifices the goat by completely serving its body. The liver of the goat is taken out for observing divination by the *Thekere*. Good omen is indicated by the presence of red spots in the liver. Black spot indicates bad omen. The liver heart and a little flesh of the goat and the hen are cooked by him for the deity. The hoof, ear and the tail of the goat are offered to the deity along with rice, cooked flesh and a little rice-beer (*Har Alang*). The silver rupee coin is dipped in the rice-beer before the latter is offered to the deity. The *Thekere* conducts another divination with the help of a bamboo piece. The piece of bamboo is first cut longitudinally into two pieces with one stroke of a knife and the pieces are allowed to fall on the ground. The omen is forecasted by examining the manner in which they have fallen on the ground. If the pieces lie on the ground showing both dorsal or both ventral surfaces respectively, the omen is taken to be bad. When one piece shows dorsal surface while the other shows ventral surface then it is a sign of good omen. At the end of this

divination, *Thekere* beats the brassing nine times with a knife asking the heavenly bodies and earthly objects which are believed to have observed the sacrifice, to remain as witnesses of the performance.

Women are not allowed to participate or to witness the sacrifice. But, they enjoy their respective shares of the sacrificial feast.

**Thelen Worship**—This worship is performed in a family whenever any member of the family develops leprosy. It is performed in the jungle. *Thekere* conducts the rites and sacrifices. The following articles are required for the worship.

1. One pig (big or small)
2. Two hens.

Other items are same as those used in the *Dor* worship.

A mound of earth is raised at the place of worship and the models of snakes are arranged in the same manner as described in connection with the *Dor* worship. The procedure of the sacrifice and the divination are same as in the case of *Dor* worship.

One *Thekere* by name Cham Ingti of Chiru Rongpi village (Sarihajan) claims that he has



cured several leprosy patients by performing *Thelon* worship. He told us that his father was a renowned *Thekere* in this locality who cured many leprosy patients by the traditional method of treatment.

Another interesting procedure of magical treatment has also been reported. As per information, a python which is held responsible for spreading such disease, is consumed by the leper. The python whenever it is found, is killed and cut into pieces. The leper takes a piece of python flesh and goes to a river bank where the flesh is roasted for

consumption. He eats the roasted flesh and goes to the river where he swims against the current and while swimming he leaves off his '*rikong*' (under-garment) and comes out of the water without any cloth. Hereafter he is given a new cloth to wear.

The Mikirs who seems to be greatly indifferent and ignorant about the modern medical treatment, are the victims of many fatal diseases. They never believe that only medicine can cure a disease. So the first series of treatments in case of illness employed by them, consist of a chain of worships and sacrifices.†

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# Glimpses of Aborigines Education

Nityananda Das

An independent nation is as much proud of its educational system as it is of its mineral resources, metropolises or scientific discoveries. Particularly among the Asian countries the growth of national ideas and national outlook have a recent development. Due to long period of subjection and colonial administration most of the Asian countries have remained backward educationally. After the second world war a few independent States have emerged in Asia and the national ideals which were brewing for a long period have crystallised. Except Japan which was hybrid of east and west, no other country has an educational system fitted into the national ideal.

Besides this general problem there is another important and thought provoking issue. India has nearly two crores of aborigi-

nal population. These tribal people since the primeval time have adopted deceptive fringes of the subcontinent. In the forest clad hills and plateau they are living from the historic past and have been mostly cut off from the civilisation. Their Aryan conquerors drove them away to their present habitation and since then they have been contented in their respective dwellings. The British rule carefully kept them away from the light, and the administration advised by the missionaries did not go beyond imparting selective education to the tribal people. Various missions established their convents. In this context the aborigines of India have been excluded from all possible systems of education except their own methods of training to the young men and women.

The social scientists at the



present time have shown that culture of any people is an integrated product of all the institutions and no part of culture can be analysed devoid of its context. Education in man is the reawakening of his sleeping faculties. Man is a rational and social animal. His rationality and social behaviours are the products of constant interaction of milieu and education. By Education we cannot take a partial view like the lectures in the class room or the routine duties in a school. Education builds individual personality. Therefore it is needless to say that a scientific outlook for education should incorporate the different values and ideals which a nation finds essential for her citizens.

Looking amidst the tribal life of this subcontinent one is often amazed. Their quaint customs and practices and peculiar modes of life have drawn curious hunters for more than fifty years who ovined at maintaining a living museum of the tribes, for their romantic pursuits and intellectual manoeuvres. Fortunately anthropology at the present time has shaken off this garb and has emerged with the hope for the

survival of humanity inspite of the danger of the threatned destruction by the destructive weapons. Understanding of man by man has been the sole aim of the world at the present juncture of uncertainty; and through this alone it will be possible for man to give up wars and get engaged in constructive developments. Various scholars of modern anthropology have now come out with wide experiences from the tribes of the world. From their reports and publications we get enough materials to obtain glimpses of the educational systems prevailant among these tribes.

The life in any tribal area is not as smooth as bed of roses. Men, women and children working for ten hours a day hardly earn their subsistence for eight months in a year. The rest of the time they have to depend on the collections from the forests and other sources. Of course, there are certain tribes who are ignorant of the agricultural practices, and live either on herticulture or collection. Therefore, adequate premium is levelled on work. The dignity of labour is the sole dignity of the simpler societies. Every body attains

skill in all the essential services, and are jacks of all trades. Therefore children of the age of ten or below share the duties of the adults and participate in daily activities. Grazing cattle and collecting fodder for them are the principal duties of the children. But they also take part in ploughing and harvesting. Idleness is universally decried. Simultaneously coercion is avoided. Margaret Mead in her book "Co-operation and Competition among the Primitive Peoples", has lucidly depicted the social objectives of thirteen tribes. She has taken into consideration the age development, sanctions, internal and external securities, as well as the goal drive in these thirteen societies. She has shown how in the three individualistic societies the entire upbringing of the children is based on sordid self interest. The orientations of the individuals in those societies are built up, to achieve self attainments without caring for other members. There is bitter competition among the four societies she studied. The mere presence of the others is taken as a competing factor and must be surpassed through all possible means. But the picture changes abruptly in

the co-operative societies, where the association of the individuals is taken as an improvement over the single ones, and even all forms of competition are rooted out from the early childhood. Accordingly the educational system is devised in these six societies, to achieve their respective goals.

Ruth Benedict has also shown how among the Kwakiutl Indians of the North West coast of America the children are made to think in terms of competition and they are moulded to acquire wealth and finally destroy these. Among the Dobuans of the Pacific similarly the traits of suspicion grow from the childhood, and later paranoid personalities of the Dobuans are the outcome of an identical training of the children. But the divergence in Zuniculture where co-operation is the cardinal principle of human behaviour the children are treated equally with the adults and the children are made to think that they are to play or spend the later life with the others. Corer in his study of the Lepchas of Cis Himalayan region has shown how the children are trained to be patient and peaceful.



Among the Oraons the Dormitory institution caters the need of education to the young. This dormitory or Junkadpa has compulsory membership. The boys and girls above the age of eight or ten are eligible for membership. Once they are members they have to carry out all the obligations and duties of the society. The period of novice is no doubt a very hard period during which the Oraon boys undergo all sorts of hazards. They must obey the orders of the elders and perform the duties according to their instructions. By and by they acquire skill and proficiency in various fields and then only they are taken as full fledged members of the society. The Dormitory is the most important institution among several tribes of India. Of course among the Chotanagpur tribes there are separate dormitories for bachelors and virgins. But among the Gonds of Baster and other tribes there is only one for both.

— This institution has been severely criticised from all the quarters. The missionaries have constantly depreciated the practice, and have shown the large spread of immorality due to this

practice. The Hindus of the subcontinent have even levelled the premarital sex relations as prostitution. A first-hand field investigation has revealed that among these tribes sexual frustration is practically lacking. Boys and girls know early the mystery of sex and accordingly accept it as common happenings of daily life. They neither suffer from any inhibition nor lead themselves to imagination.

Sex is a biogenic primary need of men either in the Tundras or in the tropics and its satisfaction is essential for them. Therefore to think survival without sexual satisfaction is rather absurd. It may be possible for the sages. Researches among men and women of the civilised societies clearly reveal the large incidence of sexual maladjustments. Work of Catherine Davis among the American students has shown that more than 60 percent of students of both the sexes practice homosexuality. No data among the Indian students have been collected. But it can be conjectured that if any work is conducted among our students, it will provide surprising facts. Among the most civilised Americans, sex

offences are growing every day and men and women in that society are full of inhibitions.

Are these not formidable facts requiring careful attention? At the present time the American educational system is *emphasising* the inclusion of sex education as a part of school *curriculum*. Therefore without reservation it can be said that what the most civilised people are proposing now are being practised among our tribal people since ages. Moreover the large number of mental diseases, which are ironically said as the boon of civilisation, according to the psycatrists, arise due to sexual inhibitions and mal-adjustments. But I gathered from the reports from the Mental Hospitals at Ranchi, that, hardly any tribal people come there for treatment for mental disorders on account of sexual mal adjustments. Homosexuality and masturbation are practically unknown, among the tribal people.

Marital and conjugal life among the tribes I studied is a very smooth one. Obedience to the parents and superiors is imbibed among children from early childhood. But the obedience is not sought by coercion.

Many children reported that they did not remember to have been beaten more than once or twice by their parents. Those were due to the negligence of the child in performing the regular routine duties more than once and due to considerable loss arising out of that. Children from puberty are treated as equals and enjoy considerable freedom. Of course among several tribes of Africa there are hard initiation rites. They are the indicators of manhood, and every young man and woman has to undergo them to be full fledged members of the society. Then and then he or she can marry and live as respectable citizen. All these and many more will clearly reveal the great important levell-ed among the tribes on work and labour.

Now we can analyse the change in the tribal life due to the impact of modern civilisation. It is an established fact that no culture or society is static. The institutions there in, are constantly acquiring new traits. Even changes are bound to crop up from within though the culture concerned may be insulated from the external influences. Therefore none of the tribes can be said



to be out of the orbit of technical civilisation. Most of the Indian tribes are now shaking off their old moorings and are coming in large numbers to the open arena where contact with the civilised people are influencing change. The constitution of India has envisaged to assimilate these tribes within ten years from its inauguration. Therefore the policy of the present administration is the assimilation of the tribes into Indian social pattern within this time-limit. The various state Governments have opened separate Departments for the welfare of tribal people and the Union Government have a Commissioner for the Scheduled Tribes. The Union and the State Governments are providing large number of scholarships to the students hailing from the Scheduled Tribes. Moreover other types of financial help are accorded to them to promote education among the tribes. Slowly and gradually large number of tribal pupils are coming to various schools and colleges and are also receiving technical education. But the main question which raises controversy among the tribes themselves and also among others

whether those measures are adequate to enlighten the tribal people. No doubt due to the efforts of the missionaries there are a handful of English educated persons among the various tribes. After the attainment of independence the Governments themselves have undertaken this function. There are evidently differences among the educated and the noneducated sections of the tribal population. Those boys and girls who are being educated in the institutions acquire new values and attitudes. Their lives and behaviours take dramatic turn. They are cut off from their moorings and hence provide puzzling issues before the educationists. During my field work I have come across several tribal students. I have also taken stock of their attitudes and values. Among the boys in higher classes a very peculiar cross current is flowing. Their mental stream is flowing along new channels, and they are sceptical about their life. Their parents who would have normally trained them in the daily pursuits of life have become defunct personnel, and they have little regard for the organs which used to train their minds in the

past. The process of education may be considered from two points of view, the sociological and psychological. The sociological function of education is to transmit the cultural equipments, knowledge, skills, values and sentiments from one generation to the other. The psychological function is the effect on community life and its effect on the members of the society. A four point criteria can be assigned to the education system (a) Methods, (b) Personnel, (c) Content, (d) The motives and Attitudes, underlying the educational process,

On the above lines we can scrutinize the tribals education in transition. As has been stated earlier, among the contemporary tribal people the gulf between the informal education which is imparted at homes and the formal education which is imparted in the schools is practically lacking. Except the highly specialised craft or the magical spells there are no specialised organs. Moreover the education is always direct. By direct we mean learning by experiencing. We usually read and are made to understand things which have no relationships in our daily life and which we

sometimes cannot see during our life times. The people of Uttar Pradesh or the Punjab are often told about the sea or the port. But hardly a handful of them get opportunities in their lives to see the sea. This acts as a handicap in their education and learning. We have already seen the personnel among the tribes. There are no professional teachers and of course no learned professors. As every body is jack of all trades except the sorcerer or magician the rest are teachers and students simultaneously. Among the pre-literate societies the interest of children themselves make them active participants instead of passive recipients. Content of education similarly aims at two main points the individual adjustment to the community and the acquisition of the skills, including sex life. Now the last though not least in the motive and attitude underlying the educational process. There is a large grade of sharing the interests of the adult and there is always reciprocal obligation on the part of the adults to understand the handicaps and difficulties of the children. Discipline among the tribes is self-evolved, unlike our societies where it is imposed by



the authorities, prizes are real sources of satisfaction, and the rewards are won for the benefit of the individual in the context of social benefit obtained from his actions. Thus the entire educational system is one of homogeneity and reciprocity. I have said earlier that there is a great deal of difference between the tribal boys who have joined the school, and who have not joined. Often their teachers complain that the school students hardly understand abstract formulations. Of course we cannot generalise the statement but it is not absolutely untrue. The indirect method of teaching has not been properly utilised by the tribes. The Government of our States have established Ashram Schools and in them we are imparting education with vocational bias. The boys no doubt also work while they read in the Ashram Schools. At many places the opposition leaders are heard saying, that why our children would get Basic education while the non-tribal boys would go for the English education and then get employments. This is a point for consideration. We cannot say that the system of education prevalent in our coun-

try is good. Starting from eminent leaders to the common men every one is of the opinion that the University degrees are utilised merely as a visa for applying for the services. Besides they create a gap between the reality and the life which our educated boys and girls dream of leading after the termination of their studies.

But that does not mean that the tribal people should be left to their lots. I am on no account a protagonist of segregation policy which I have vehemently opposed earlier. But simultaneously I cannot think in terms of want on destruction of tribal life and their educational process by replacing our system of education. Nowadays the educationists are keen to find the *discontent* and indiscipline among our students. Are we to make the tribal boys also indisciplined, who are traditionally disciplined? Definitely not. Therefore the policy on tribal education should be a cautious one and should not disintegrate the tribal life. I do not claim to be an expert educationist. I am merely a humble student of anthropology. Therefore it is not

appropriate for me to suggest an exact educational system for tribal societies. Let the educationists, reformers and politicians think out the problem and the social scientists will make their scientific knowledge and experiences available, by fusion of which an effective educational policy may be evolved.

The last but not the least important is the problem of language and script. Almost all the tribal languages have not got scripts. Broadly speaking the interior tribes speak languages belonging to two families Ho, Bhumij, Birhori, Khariai and the languages spoken by the Gonds and Sauras. The Dravidian language is spoken only among the Oraons of Chotnagpur and several southern tribes. The frontier tribes of course speak dialects of Tibeto-Burman and Indo-Burman languages. But none of these languages has got a script. Therefore the question of an uniform language for the tribes is not a minor problem. At the present time the tribes are educated through different regional languages. But there are multiple complaints of lack of reception among the smaller boys. The point is

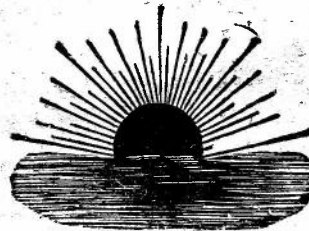
whether the tribal students are to be educated at the Primary and Secondary stages through the medium of their languages? The most difficult task before a scheme like this to be successful, is the adequate number of trained persons in tribal languages. Peculiarly enough that section of the tribes who are educated pretend to forget their languages. So how can we expect them to develop their languages. To train sufficient number of teachers to teach them in their respective languages is a process which can be given a start. But again what about the poor non-tribal students in the schools situated in the heart of the tribal areas? They cannot be successfully educated through the medium of the prevalent tribal language.

Hindi in Devnagri script has been accepted as the national language. Therefore one of the objectives of the administration is also to propagate Hindi among non-Hindi speaking population. There is no harm if the tribal people are also made to learn Hindi and regional languages, side by side with their languages. One argument of substance is that the tribal languages have not been developed. But can we develop



them and compile their grammars? Missionaries of the past, like Father Hoffman and Bodding have written grammars on tribal languages like Mundari etc., and then why cannot our linguists and grammarians undertake the duty. The second problem is the evolution of suitable scripts for the tribal languages. Stray individual efforts have framed scripts on various languages. But these are neither standardised nor generally accepted. In Hyd-

erabad State during Nizam rule a very able Social Anthropologist Dr. Hamindorf at present Professor of London School of African and Oriental Studies studied the problem of script. After long and careful scrutiny, he practically ruled out the prospects of separate scripts. Therefore it is needless to say that the evolution of new scripts is time-taking. The only solution to script problem is the regional scripts or Devanagiri scripts.



# ପାଲଲହଡ଼ାର ପାହାଡ଼ି ଭୂସ୍ତ୍ରୀ ଓ ବସବାସ ସମସ୍ୟା

ସତ୍ୟନାଥ ସ୍ୱାମୀ ମିଶ୍ର

ଓଡ଼ିଶା ସରକାରଙ୍କର ଆଦିବାସୀ ଓ ଶ୍ରାମଜନ ବିଭାଗ ଭରଫରୁ ଏବଂ ରାଜସ୍ୱ ବିଭାଗର ଆବୁକୁଲରେ ୧୯୪୯ ମସିହା ଠାରୁ ତେଜାନାଳ ଜିଲ୍ଲାର ପାଲଲହଡ଼ା ସବଡ଼ିଭିଜନରେ ଏ ପର୍ଯ୍ୟନ୍ତ ଛଅଗୋଟି ଆଦିବାସୀବନ୍ଧୁ (କଲେଜ) ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥା କରାଯାଇଅଛି । ଏ ବନ୍ଧୁମାନଙ୍କରେ କେଉଁଠି ଓ ତେଜାନାଳ ଜିଲ୍ଲାର ପାହାଡ଼ି ଅଞ୍ଚଳର ଭୂସ୍ତ୍ରୀମାନଙ୍କୁ ଓ କେତେକ ଯୁଆଙ୍ଗ ପରିବାରକୁ ଅଭିଆନ କରିବାର ଉଦ୍ଦେଶ୍ୟ ଅଛି । କହବା ବାହୁଲ୍ୟ ଯେ, ଏ ସବୁ ଶ୍ରେଣୀର ଓ ସ୍ଥାନର ଆଦିବାସୀମାନେ ଗୁଣବାସରେ ମୋଟ ଉପରେ ଅନଭ୍ୟସ୍ତ । ଜଙ୍ଗଲରେ ଏକରକମର ପୋଡ଼ା(ସ୍ଥାନୀୟ ଭାଷାରେ 'କମାଣ') ଗୁଣକରି ପଟର ତାଲୁ ଜାଗାରେ କାଁ ଭାଁ ହରଡ଼ ମୁଠାଏ ବା ତିଳା ହ ମୁଠା ଗୁଡ଼ି ଦେଇ ଗୁଣର ପଟ ଶେଷ ହୁଏ । ପ୍ରକୃତର ଦୟାରୁ ଓ ବନ୍ୟ ଜନ୍ତୁଙ୍କର ଉତ୍ସାହରୁ ରକ୍ଷା ପାଇ ଯାହା ରହିଲା, ବେଶ୍ ସେତକ ହେଲା ଆମଦାନି । ଉତ୍ତରାଞ୍ଚଳର ଯାହା ବସନ୍ତ ଥିଲା, ସେତକ ମିଳିଗଲା ।

ଏମାନଙ୍କୁ ଚରଦାନ ଜଙ୍ଗଲରେ ପ୍ରକୃତର ଭୂକୁଟି ଉପରେ ନିର୍ଭର କରି ରହିବାକୁ ଗୁଡ଼ିଦିଆଯାଇ ନ ପାରେ । ଏମାନଙ୍କ ପାଇଁ ଆତ୍ମମାନଙ୍କର କିଛି ନା କିଛି କର୍ତ୍ତବ୍ୟ ଅଛି । ତେଣୁ ସେମାନଙ୍କ ସାମୁହିକ ଉନ୍ନତି ପାଇଁ ସରକାରଙ୍କର ଏହି ବସବାସ ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥାର ଯୋଜନା ।

ମୁଁ ଆଗରୁ କହିଅଛି ଯେ, ପାଲଲହଡ଼ା ସବଡ଼ିଭିଜନରେ ଆଜିଯାଏଁ ଛଅଗୋଟି ଆଦିବାସୀ ବନ୍ଧୁ ବସାଯାଇଛି । ଏଥିମଧ୍ୟରେ ସବୁଠାରୁ ପୁରୁଣା ହେଉଛି ବନ୍ଧାଭୂଇଁ ବନ୍ଧୁ । ୧୯୪୯ ମସିହାରେ ୧୧ଟି

ପାହାଡ଼ି ଭୂସ୍ତ୍ରୀଙ୍କୁ ନେଇ ଏହା ଆରମ୍ଭ କରାଗଲା । ୧୯୫୦ ମସିହାରେ ପୁଣି ୧୧ଟି ପରିବାର, ୧୯୫୧ ମସିହାରେ ୨୨ଟି ପରିବାର, ୧୯୫୩ ମସିହାରେ ୧୦ଟି ପରିବାର ଓ ୧୯୫୪ ମସିହାରେ ୪ଟି ପରିବାର, ଏହିପରି ସର୍ବମୋଟ ୫୮ଟି ପରିବାର ନେଇ ବହୁତ ସ୍ଥାପନ କରାଗଲା । ଏହି ବନ୍ଧୁର ସମସ୍ତ ପରିବାର ବନ୍ଧାଭୂଇଁ ଓ ଶ୍ରାମକାଣ୍ଡ ଦୁଇଟି ସାହରେ ରହିଥିଲେ । ବନ୍ଧାଭୂଇଁରେ ଥିଲେ ୪୪ଟି ପରିବାର ଓ ଶ୍ରାମକାଣ୍ଡରେ ୧୪ଟି ପରିବାର । ସେଥିମଧ୍ୟରୁ ୨୪ଟି ପରିବାର ବିଭିନ୍ନ କାରଣ ନେଇ ବନ୍ଧୁ ଗୁଡ଼ି ଚାଲିଯାଇଅଛନ୍ତି ।

୧୯୫୧ ମସିହାରେ ପାଲଲହଡ଼ାରେ ଦ୍ୱିତୀୟ ବନ୍ଧୁ ୩୩ଟି ଆଦିବାସୀ ପରିବାରଙ୍କୁ [ନେଇ ବୁରୁରୁ-ଠାରେ ସ୍ଥାପିତ ହେଲା । ଏହା ଗମାର ପୋଲିସ୍ ଥାନା ଠାରୁ ଅନାଳ ଛଅମାଇଲ ଦୂରରେ ଅବସ୍ଥିତ । ଏଠାରେ ବର୍ତ୍ତମାନ ୧୧ଟି ପରିବାର ରହିଅଛନ୍ତି । ଗୋଟିଏ ପରିବାରର ଜଣେ କୌଣସି କାରଣ ବଶତଃ ମରିଯିବାରୁ ଦୁଇଟି ପରିବାର ଚାଲିଯାଇଅଛନ୍ତି ।

ତୃତୀୟ ବନ୍ଧୁଟି ପାଲଲହଡ଼ା ସହରର ଦଶ ମାଇଲ ଦୂରରେ ଥିବା ଯାମଗଠାରେ ୧୯୫୨ ମସିହାରେ ଆରମ୍ଭ ହେଲା । ୧୯୫୩ ଓ ୫୪ ମସିହାରେ ଏଠାରେ ନୂଆ ପରିବାର ଆସି ରହିଲେ । ସର୍ବମୋଟ ୩୪ଟି ପରିବାରରୁ ଅଧିକାଂଶ ହେଉଛନ୍ତି ଭୂସ୍ତ୍ରୀ ଓ କେତେକ ଯୁଆଙ୍ଗ ଶ୍ରେଣୀର । ୩୪ଟି ପରିବାର ମଧ୍ୟରୁ ୧୮ଟି ଚାଲିଯାଇ ଅଛନ୍ତି ଏବଂ ଗୋଟିଏ ପରିବାରର ଏକମାତ୍ର ପୁରୁଷବ୍ୟକ୍ତିର ମୃତ୍ୟୁ ଘଟିଛି । ବର୍ତ୍ତମାନ ସେଠାରେ ୨୪ଟି ପରିବାର ବସବାସ କରୁଅଛନ୍ତି ।



ପରବର୍ତ୍ତୀ ବସ୍ତିଟି ପାଲଲହଡ଼ାଠାରୁ ଅନ୍ଧାଳ  
୨୦ ମାଇଲ ଦୂରରେ ବିଷ୍ୟାତ ମାଲ୍ୟଗିରି ପାହାଡ଼ର  
ଅପର ପାର୍ଶ୍ୱରେ ୧୯୫୩ ମସିହାରେ ଆରମ୍ଭ  
କରାଗଲା । ଏଥିରେ ଆରମ୍ଭରୁ ଦୁଇଟି ପରିବାର  
ରହୁଥିଲେ । ୧୯୫୪-୫୫ ମସିହାରେ ଆଉ କେତକ  
ପରିବାର ଆସି ସେମାନଙ୍କ ସଙ୍ଗରେ ଯୋଗଦେଲେ ।  
ସମୁଦାୟ ୪୩ଟି ପରିବାରରୁ ୨ଟି ସ୍ଥାନ ତ୍ୟାଗ କରି  
ଅଛନ୍ତି ଏବଂ ଗୋଟିଏ ପରିବାରର ଏକମାତ୍ର  
ବ୍ୟକ୍ତିଙ୍କର ମୃତ୍ୟୁ ଘଟିଛି ।

୧୯୫୫ ମସିହାରେ ପାଲଲହଡ଼ାଠାରୁ ଦୁଇ  
ମାଇଲ ଦୂରରେ ମାଲ୍ୟଗିରି ଆଗ୍ରମ ସ୍ଥଳର ଅଳ୍ପ  
ନିକଟରେ ୨୫ଟି ପରିବାରଙ୍କୁ ନେଇ କୋଲିପାଳ  
ବସ୍ତି ସ୍ଥାପନ କରାଗଲା । ଆଜିପର୍ଯ୍ୟନ୍ତ ଏହି ସମସ୍ତ  
ପରିବାର ଏଠାରେ ବସବାସ କରି ଆସୁଅଛନ୍ତି ।

ସର୍ବଶେଷ ଆଦିବାସୀ ବସ୍ତିଟି ପାଲଲହଡ଼ାଠାରୁ ମାତ୍ର  
୧୧ ମାଇଲ ଦୂରରେ ବଡ଼ବରଠାରେ ୩୫ଟି ପରିବାରଙ୍କୁ  
ନେଇ ୧୯୫୫ ମସିହାରେ ଆରମ୍ଭ କରାଗଲା । ଏଥିରୁ  
ଛଅଗୋଟି ପରିବାର ବସ୍ତି ଛାଡ଼ି ଚାଲିଯାଇ ଅଛନ୍ତି ।

ଉପରଲିଖିତ ପରିସଂଖ୍ୟାନରୁ ଜଣାଯାଏ ଯେ  
କୋଲିପାଳ ବ୍ୟତୀତ ଅନ୍ୟ ସମସ୍ତ ବସ୍ତିର କେତେକ  
ଆଦିବାସୀ ପରିବାର ବସ୍ତି ତ୍ୟାଗ କରିଅଛନ୍ତି । ଏତେ  
ଶକ୍ତି ଓ ଅର୍ଥ ବ୍ୟୟରେ ଯେଉଁମାନଙ୍କୁ ଆଣି ଏହି ସମସ୍ତ  
ବସ୍ତିରେ ବସବାସର ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥା କରାଗଲା, ସେମାନେ  
କେଉଁ କାରଣରୁ ସମସ୍ତ ପୁଣି ପୁଣି ତ୍ୟାଗ କରି  
ଶ୍ୱାପଦ-ସ୍ୱଳ୍ପ ଜଙ୍ଗଲମଧ୍ୟକୁ ଯେ ପଳାୟନ କଲେ  
ତାହାର କାରଣ ଅନୁସନ୍ଧାନ କରିବା ବିଶେଷ ଜରୁର  
ହୋଇ ପଡ଼ିଲା । ବସ୍ତିରେ ବାସକରୁଥିବା ଜିଲ୍ଲାମଙ୍ଗଳ  
ଅଫିସର ସର୍ବଶ୍ରେଷ୍ଠ ନିର୍ଦ୍ଦେଶକ ଓ ଗ୍ରାମ ମଙ୍ଗଳ  
ଅଫିସରମାନଙ୍କ ନିକଟକୁ ବାରମ୍ବାର ଯାଇ ଏହି  
ବ୍ୟସ୍ତରେ ବହୁତ ଆଲୋଚନା ଓ ଅନୁସନ୍ଧାନ କରି-  
ଅଛନ୍ତି । ଅଧିକାଂଶ ସ୍ଥଳରେ ଏହା ଜଣାଯାଇଛି ଯେ,  
ବସ୍ତିରେ ଥିବା କୌଣସି ବ୍ୟକ୍ତିର କୌଣସି କାରଣରୁ  
ମୃତ୍ୟୁ ଘଟିବା ପରେ ପରେ ହିଁ ଏଥିରୁ କେତେଗୁଡ଼ିଏ  
ପରିବାର ସ୍ଥାନ ତ୍ୟାଗକରି ଚାଲି ଯାଇଅଛନ୍ତି । ପୁଣି  
ସ୍ଥଳ ବିଶେଷରେ କୌଣସି ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥା ନେଇ ଅନ୍ତେ-

ବାସୀଙ୍କର ଅସୁବିଧାର ନିରାକାରଣରେ ଅନ୍ତେବାସୀଙ୍କ  
ଧୈର୍ଯ୍ୟରତା ଘଟିଲେ ସେମାନେ ବସ୍ତି ତ୍ୟାଗ  
କରିଥାନ୍ତି ।

ଅନୁସନ୍ଧାନ ଫଳରେ ପୁଣି ଜଣାଯାଇଛି ଯେ, ପ୍ରାୟ  
ସବୁ କ୍ଷେତ୍ରରେ ହିଁ ଲୋକ ମାନେହିଁ ବସ୍ତିର ପରିବାରର  
ଗୃହସ୍ଥକୁ ବସ୍ତି ତ୍ୟାଗ କରି ପୁରୁଣା ଜାଗାକୁ ଫେରି  
ଯିବାପାଇଁ ଉତ୍ସୁକ ଅଛନ୍ତି । ପୁଣି କେତେକ କ୍ଷେତ୍ରରେ  
ପରିବାରର ବାଳକ ବାଳିକା ଏହା ମୂଳରେ ଅଛନ୍ତି  
ବୋଲି ଜଣାଯାଏ । ପିଲାମାନଙ୍କ ଅସନ୍ତୋଷର କାରଣ  
ବେଶ୍ କୌତୃହଳ ବିଷୟ । ବସ୍ତି ନିକଟରେ ଖାଇବା  
ପାଇଁ ପାଚିଲା ଫଳମୂଳର ଅଭାବ ଏବଂ ପ୍ରତିଦିନ  
ସ୍କୁଲକୁ ଯିବାପାଇଁ ତାତନା, ସେମାନଙ୍କର ଅସନ୍ତୋଷର  
ମୂଳ କାରଣ ବୋଲି ଜଣାଯାଇଛି । ଖୁବ୍ ସମ୍ଭବତଃ  
ସ୍କୁଲ ଶିକ୍ଷକଙ୍କଠାରୁ ସ୍ନେହପୂର୍ଣ୍ଣ ବ୍ୟବହାର ଓ ଗୋଟିଏ  
ଧରାବଳାଗତ ପାଠ ପଢ଼ାର ଝଟପଟ ଏହି ପିଲାମାନଙ୍କୁ  
ସ୍କୁଲ ପ୍ରତି ବିମୁଖ କରିଛି । ସ୍କୁଲକୁ ଯିବାପାଇଁ  
ବାରମ୍ବାର ଅନିଚ୍ଛା ଓ ମା ଆଗରେ ପିଲାଏ ସ୍କୁଲ  
ବିଷୟରେ ଓ ଶିକ୍ଷକଙ୍କ ବିଷୟରେ କହୁଥିବା ନାନା  
ମନଗଢ଼ା କାହାଣୀ ଦ୍ୱାରା ମା'ର ମନକୁ ବହୁଳ  
ଦେଇଛି ଏବଂ ତାହାର ପ୍ରତିଫଳା ଫୁଟି ଉଠିଛି ଗୃହସ୍ଥର  
ଦୁଃସ୍ୱପ୍ନରେ ଏବଂ ସେ ଶେଷରେ ନାରୀର ହୋଇ ଯେଉଁ  
ଜାଗାରୁ ଆସିଥିଲା, ସେହି ଜାଗାକୁ ଫେରି ଯାଇଛି  
ନୂଆ ସଂସାର ପାତକାର ସମସ୍ତ ସୁନେଇ ସ୍ୱପ୍ନକୁ ଧୂଳିସାତ  
କରି ଦେଇ । କେବଳ ଏତିକି ମାତ୍ର କାରଣ ଯୋଗୁ  
ଆଦିବାସୀ ଗୃହସ୍ଥ କଲେଜ ତ୍ୟାଗ କରିବା କଥା  
ଶୁଣିଲେ ଅନ୍ୟ କେହି ତାକୁ ବୋକା ମନେ କରିବେ ।  
କିନ୍ତୁ ସେତିକି ନୁହେଁ, କିନ୍ତୁ ସ୍ଥାନର ମାୟା ଗୁଡ଼ିକ ଯେଉଁ  
ଆଶାରେ ଏହି ପରିବାର ଗୁଡ଼ିକ କଲେଜରେ ବସବାସ  
କରିବା ପାଇଁ ଆସିଥିଲେ ତାହା ବୋଧହୁଏ କୌଣସି  
କାରଣରୁ ସଫଳ ହେଇପାରି ନାହିଁ । ଅନୁସନ୍ଧାନରୁ  
ଜଣାଯାଏ ଯେ ଗୁଣ କରିବା ଲାଗି ଉପଯୁକ୍ତ ପରିମାଣ  
ଓ କ୍ଷମର ଜମି, ଜଳସେଚନ ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥାର ଅଭାବ,  
ପିଇବା ପାଣିର ଅଭାବ, ଅନ୍ୟ ରୋଗଜୀର ପହାର  
ଅଭାବ ଏବଂ ସର୍ବୋପରି ଯେଉଁ ଶ୍ୟାମ ବନାମର  
କୋଳରେ ଯେଉଁ ଆଦିବାସୀମାନେ ବଢ଼ି ଆସିଛନ୍ତି,  
ତା'ର ଠାରୁ ବଢ଼ି ହୋଇ ଯିବାର ଭବ, ଏପରି ସ୍ଥାନ

ପରିତ୍ୟାଗର ପ୍ରଧାନ କାରଣ ବୋଲି ମନେ ହୁଏ । ଏହି କଲେଜର ଆଦିବାସୀ ଗୃହଣୀ ତାର ଘରକୁ ଅଳସ୍ତ ମୁହୂର୍ତ୍ତବୁଡ଼ି କଟାଇ ଦେବାର ଉପାଦାନ ଖୋଜି ପାଏନାହିଁ । ନୀତି ଗୀତର ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥା ନାହିଁ । କୁକୁଡ଼ା ମେଣ୍ଟାପାଳନ ମଧ୍ୟ ନାହିଁ । କାହିଁକି ଗଛତୋଳା ପାଚିଲା ଫଳ—ସଦ୍ୟ ତୋଳା କନ୍ଦାର ଆସାଦ ? କଲେଜ ସମୟର ଚକ ଘରେ ଧାରେ, ଅନ୍ଧାରରେ । ଏ ଅବସ୍ଥାରେ ବିପର୍ଯ୍ୟସ୍ତ ଚିନ୍ତାହିଁ ଏକ ସହଜ ଅବସ୍ଥା । କୋଳପାଳ କଲେଜରୁ ସ୍ଥାନତ୍ୟାଗୀ କେହି ନାହାନ୍ତି । ଏହାର କାରଣ ବୋଧହୁଏ ଏହି ଯେ, ଏଠାରେ ଅନ୍ୟାନ୍ୟ ଗ୍ରାମର ଉପକଣ୍ଠରେ ଥାଇ କଲେଜର ପୁରୁଷ ଓ ସ୍ତ୍ରୀକୁ ଫୁରୁସତ ସମୟରେ କାମ କରିବା ପାଇଁ ଅନ୍ୟାନ୍ୟ ପତ୍ନୀ ମିଳିଯାଏ । ସରକାର ଯୋଗାଇ ଦେଇଥିବା ବଳଦ ନେଇ ପୁରୁଷ କାହାର ଜିନିଷ ଟାଣିବାଲାଗି ଚାଲିଯାଏ, କିମ୍ବା ଅନ୍ୟାନ୍ୟ ମୂଲ୍ୟ ଲାଗିବାପାଇଁ କାମ ପାଏ । ସ୍ତ୍ରୀ ଲୋକ ମଧ୍ୟ ଅନେକ ସମୟରେ ମୂଲ୍ୟକାମ ପାଇଯାଏ, ତେଣୁ ଅଭାବ ଅସୁବିଧା ନେଇ ଚିନ୍ତା କରିବା ଲାଗି କେହି ସମୟ ପାଆନ୍ତି ନାହିଁ ।

ସେହିପରି ଛେଳିଆବେଡ଼ା କଲେଜରେ ଜଳସେଚନ ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥା ହେବାରୁ ଶୁଷ୍କବାସ ଓ ବାଡ଼ିବଗିଚାର ଧନା ଲାଗି ରହୁଥାଏ ସବୁବେଳେ । ତେଣୁ ଏଠାରେ ମଧ୍ୟ ୩ଟି ପରିବାର ବ୍ୟତୀତ କେହି ସ୍ଥାନ ଛାଡ଼ି ଯାଇ ନାହାନ୍ତି । ଆକର୍ଷକ ମୃତ୍ୟୁ ବା ତରୁଳନିତ ଭୂତପ୍ରେତାଦିର ଧାରଣା ଏହି ୩ଟି ପରିବାରର ସ୍ଥାନତ୍ୟାଗର କାରଣ ହୋଇପାରେ ।

ମୁକ୍ତ ପ୍ରକୃତିର କୋଳରେ ବଢ଼ି ଏବଂ ଅବସ୍ଥା ଖମେ ବଞ୍ଚିରହିବା ଲାଗି ଚିରଦିନ ଅଭାବ ସଙ୍ଗେ ଚୁମୁଳ ସଂଗ୍ରାମ ଚଳାଇ ମଧ୍ୟ ଆଦିବାସୀ ସାଧାରଣତଃ ବେଶ ସୁସ୍ଥ ଓ ସବଳ ଅଟେ । ଏଣୁ ସମ୍ଭବତଃ ଜାଗାରୁ କଲେଜକୁ ଆସିବା ସଙ୍ଗେ କାହାର ମୃତ୍ୟୁ ବା ସାଧାରଣ ଅଭ୍ୟାସଧାରରେ ପରିବର୍ତ୍ତନ ଘଟିଲେ ତାର ମନ ଏବଂ ଦେହ ଭିତରେ ଆବସ୍ଥାନ ପଶେ ।

ଯଦି ଆଗରୁ ମ୍ୟାଲେରିଆ, ଚର୍ମରୋଗ, ଉପଦଂଶ ପ୍ରଭୃତି ଦେହରେ ଘର କରିଥାଏ, ତେବେତ କଥାକ ନାହିଁ । ଏହିସବୁ କାରଣରୁ ଯଦି ଜଣେ ବା ଦୁଇ ଜଣ

କଲେଜରେ ପ୍ରାଣତ୍ୟାଗ କରିନ୍ତି ତେବେ ମାଡ଼ିଆସେ ତାଆଣିର ଭୟ । କୁହଂସାର ହେଉ ବା ଅହଂସାର ହେଉ, ଏହି ତାଆଣୀ ଶୋଷିନେବା କଥା ଉଣା ଅଧିକ ସବୁ ଅଞ୍ଚଳର ଆଦିବାସୀମାନଙ୍କ ମନ ମଧ୍ୟରେ ବସା ବାନ୍ଧିଅଛି । ସଂସ୍କାର ବଦଳାଇବା କିଛି ସହଜ କଥା ନୁହେଁ । ଅନେକ ଦିନ ଧରି ଅନ୍ୟାନ୍ୟ ଲୋକଙ୍କ ସହତ ମିଳା ମିଶା କଲେ, ଔଷଧ ଇତ୍ୟାଦି ନିୟମିତ ବ୍ୟବହାର କରିଲେ ଏହି ଅବସ୍ଥା ଆସେ ଆସେ ବଦଳି ଯିବ । ତାଆଣୀ ଭୟ ପଛକୁ ଆଉ ଗୋଟିଏ ଭୟ କଲେଜବାସୀଙ୍କୁ ଜଙ୍ଗଲକୁ ଟାଣିନିଏ । ଯେଉଁ ଲୋକ ଥରେ କୌଣସି କାରଣରୁ କଲେଜ ଛାଡ଼ି ଚାଲିଯାଏ, ସେ ଲୁହକଟା ବଳୁଥା ପରି ଅନ୍ୟମାନଙ୍କୁ କଲେଜ ତ୍ୟାଗ କରିବା ପାଇଁ ଉତ୍ସୁକାଉଥାଏ । ସାମାନ୍ୟ କାରଣ ମିଳିଲେ ‘ଦେ ଚାଲି’ ଏହି ସବୁ କାରଣରୁ ଏହି ବସ୍ତିମାନଙ୍କରେ ସେମାନଙ୍କର ରହିବାଲାଗି ଅନୁକୂଳ ଅବସ୍ଥା ସୃଷ୍ଟି କରିବା ଖୁବ୍ ଜରୁର ହୋଇ ପଡ଼ିଛି । ପ୍ରତ୍ୟେକ ବସ୍ତିରେ ସେବାଶ୍ରମ ସ୍ଥାପନ, ସେଥିରେ ମଧ୍ୟାହ୍ନ ଭୋଜନର ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥା ଓ ପାମାସୁ ଜଳର ସୁବିଧା କରାଯାଇପାରେ । ଅଭିଭାବକ ମାନଙ୍କର ତ୍ରେ ମାସିକ ଓ ଷାଣ୍ଟାସିକ ମୋଟା କରି ଖେଳ ପ୍ରତିଯୋଗିତା ଇତ୍ୟାଦିରେ କୃତଜ୍ଞତାମାନଙ୍କୁ ପୁରସ୍କାର ବଣ୍ଟନ କଲେ ଗ୍ରାମ ଓ ଅଭିଭାବକମାନଙ୍କର ଉତ୍ସାହ ବଢ଼ନ୍ତା । ଗ୍ରାମ କେନ୍ଦ୍ରର ସ୍ୱଚ୍ଛଳକମାନଙ୍କ ଦ୍ୱାରା ପ୍ରୋତ୍ସାହନ ପାଇଁ ଶୁଦ୍ଧରେ ନାତଗୀତ ଇତ୍ୟାଦି ବିନୋଦନର ଓ କିଛି କାଳପରେ ଅକ୍ଷର ପଢ଼ିତସ୍ତୁ ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥା କରାଯାଇ ପାରେ । ସବୁଠାରୁ ପ୍ରଧାନ କଥା ହେଉଛି ଗୁଣ ଯୋଗ୍ୟ ଜମି ଯୋଗାଇବା ଓ ଜଳସେଚନ ଲାଗି ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥା କରିବା । ବର୍ତ୍ତମାନ ଛେଳିଆବେଡ଼ା ବସ୍ତି ବ୍ୟତୀତ ଅନ୍ୟତ୍ର ଏହି ସୁବିଧା ନାହିଁ । ଯାମସ୍ତ ବସ୍ତି ଜିଟରେ ଗୋଟିଏ ଚରସ୍ରୋତା ନାଳ ବୋହୁଯାଇଅଛି ଓ ଗ୍ରାମବାସୀଙ୍କର ସ୍ୱଳ୍ପ ଉଦ୍ୟମ ଫଳରେହିଁ ଏହି ନାଳର ଜଳ ଗ୍ରାମବାସୀଙ୍କର ଘର ସମ୍ମୁଖରେ ପ୍ରବାହିତ ହେବାର ମୁଁ ଦେଖିଛି । ଏହି ପାଣି ସୁବିଧାନେଇ ନଭେମ୍ବର ମାସରେ ଗୋଲିଆଳୁ ଓ ମଟର ଇତ୍ୟାଦି ଏମାନେ ଲଗାଇ ଅଛନ୍ତି । ଗୋଲିଆଳୁ ଓ ମଟର ଗୁଣ, ଏହି ବସ୍ତିଭିତରେ ବାହିକ ଏହି ଅଞ୍ଚଳରେ ମଧ୍ୟ ସମ୍ପୂର୍ଣ୍ଣ ନୁଆକଥା । ଜଳସେଚନର



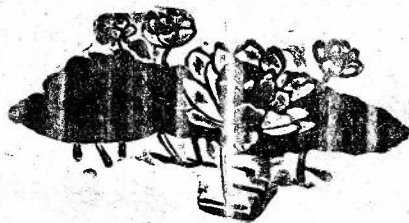
ସ୍ଥାୟୀ ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥା କରାଯାଇ ପାରିଲେ (ଏହା ମଧ୍ୟ ବିଶେଷ ବ୍ୟୟସାପେକ୍ଷ ନୁହେଁ) ଏହି ବସ୍ତି ଅଧିବାସୀମାନଙ୍କର ଦୁଃଖର କୌଣସି କାରଣ ରହିବ ନାହିଁ ।

ବନ୍ଧୁରୁଠାରେ ଗୋଟିଏ ପୋଖରୀ ଓ ଗୋଟିଏ କଟା ତିଆରି ହୋଇଛି । କିନ୍ତୁ ଏହାକୁ ବିଶେଷ ଉପଯୋଗୀ କରିବାକୁ ହେଲେ, ଆହୁରି ଟିକିଏ କାମ ଦରକାର । ଏଠାରେ ଗୋଟିଏ ନାଲି ମଧ୍ୟ ଅଛି । ଏହାକୁ ଉପଯୋଗୀ କରିବା ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥା ହେଉଅଛି । ଛେଳିଆବେଢ଼ାଠାରେ ପାଣି ଉଠାଇବାର କିଛି ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥା କଲେ, ପାଣି ଜମିରେ ମାଡ଼ି ପାରିବ । ଜନ୍ତୁ ବା ଶେଣା ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥା କଲେ ମଧ୍ୟ ଚଳିପାରେ ।

ଏପରି ଅବସ୍ଥାରେ ଗୃହ ଉପରେ ପୁରା ନିର୍ଭର କରି ରହିପାରିବା ଏମାନଙ୍କ ପକ୍ଷେ ସମ୍ଭବପରି ନୁହେଁ । ଏମାନଙ୍କର ଆୟର ପତ୍ତା ବଢ଼ାଇବା ନିମନ୍ତେ ଅନ୍ୟ କିଛି ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥା ଦରକାର । ଜଙ୍ଗଲର କାଠ ଭଡ଼ାରେ ବୋହୁବା ଏଠାରେ ଗୋଟିଏ ଲଢ଼ଜନକ ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥା । ତେଣୁ ଏହିବର୍ଷ ଏହି ସବୁ ବସ୍ତିମାନଙ୍କୁ ୫୦ଟି ବଳଦଗାଈ ଯୋଗାଇ ଦିଆଯିବାର ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥା ହୋଇ-

ଅଛି । କୁଟୀରଶିଳ୍ପ କରିଆରେ ଏମାନେ ଆୟର ଆଉ ଗୋଟିଏ ପତ୍ତା ପାଇବେ । ଏଣୁ ଘାସ ଦଉଡ଼ି, ସିଆଳି ପତର ଖାଲି, ବାଉଁଶ ଜଳଷ, ମସିଣା ଇତ୍ୟାଦି ତିଆରି କରିବା ଲାଗି ଏହି ବର୍ଷ ଟ ୭୫୦୯ ବ୍ୟୟ କରାଯିବ । ଏ ବର୍ଷ ମଧ୍ୟରେ ଟ ୧୫୦୦୦ ବ୍ୟୟରେ ଯାମରା ଓ ଛେଳିଆ ବେଢ଼ା ବସ୍ତିର କେତେକ ଗୃହର ଉନ୍ନତ ବିଧାନ କରାଯାଇଅଛି । ଏମାନଙ୍କ ପୁରୁଷା ଇତ୍ୟାଦି ଦେଖିବା ପାଇଁ ଜଣେ ବସ୍ତି-ତତ୍ତ୍ଵାବଧାରକ ନିୟୁକ୍ତ ହୋଇଅଛନ୍ତି । ସେ ମଧ୍ୟ ଜଣେ ଆଦିବାସୀ ଲୋକ । ତିନିଗୁଣିଗୋଟି ବସ୍ତିରେ ଏହି ବର୍ଷ କୁକୁଡ଼ା ଗୁସର ସବୁମୁନିଟର ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥା କରାଯାଇଅଛି ।

ଏହି ସବୁ ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥା ଫଳରେ ଏହି ବସ୍ତିମାନଙ୍କର ଅଧିବାସୀମାନେ ଯେ ସମୃଦ୍ଧ ହେବେ ଏଥିରେ ସନ୍ଦେହ ନାହିଁ । କିନ୍ତୁ ଯୋଜନାର ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥା କରିଦେଲେ ଖାଲି ହେବନାହିଁ, ମେମାନଙ୍କ ପାଇଁ ଅନ୍ୟମାନଙ୍କର ସହାନୁଭୂତି ଓ ଦୃଢ଼ସ୍ୱର ସମ୍ୟକ ପରିବର୍ତ୍ତନ ଦରକାର । କାରଣ କରବାଳ ଅପେକ୍ଷା କରୁଣାହିଁ ବେଶି ଗୁଳ୍ମ ଜୟ କରିଛି ବୋଲି ଇତିହାସରେ ପ୍ରମାଣ ଅଛି ।



## କନ୍ୟା ସମାଜରେ ନାରୀର ସ୍ଥାନ

ଶ୍ରୀ ସୁବୋଧଚନ୍ଦ୍ର ଦାସ

ବିଂଶ ଶତାବ୍ଦୀର ପରଶ, ଆଧୁନିକ ଯୁଗର ବାତାବରଣ ଓ ସ୍ୱାର୍ଥୀନ ଗୁଚ୍ଛରେ ଗୋଡ଼ ଦେଇ ଆମ ଦେଶର ନାରୀର ସ୍ଥାନ ଖୁବ୍ ଉଚ୍ଚରେ ଉଠି ଯାଉଛି ଓ ଦିଆଯିବାଟା ଉଚିତ ମଧ୍ୟ । ସରକାର ନାରୀ ସମାଜର ବିକାଶ ସକାଶେ ବହୁତ ଯୋର ଦେଉଛନ୍ତି । ବହୁତ ପ୍ରକାର ସୁବିଧା ସୁଯୋଗ ଦେଉଛନ୍ତି । ସେମାନଙ୍କ ପାଇଁ ସ୍ୱତନ୍ତ୍ର ଅନୁଷ୍ଠାନମାନ ଖୋଲୁଛନ୍ତି ଶିକ୍ଷା ଦିଆ ଯାଉଅଛି । ଏହା ଫଳରେ ଆମ ଦେଶରେ ପ୍ରତ୍ୟେକ ବିଭାଗ ବା ସରକାରୀ ଓ ବେସରକାରୀ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟରେ ନାରୀ ନିୟୁତ୍ର ପାଇ ଦେଶକୁ ତଥା ଦଶକୁ ଉନ୍ନତ ପଥରେ ଆଗେଇ ନେବାପାଇଁ ଲାଗିପଡ଼ିଛନ୍ତି ଓ ଅନ୍ୟମାନଙ୍କୁ ଆଦର୍ଶ ଦେଖାଇଅଛନ୍ତି ।

ବର୍ତ୍ତମାନ ଅନୁନ୍ନତ ଶ୍ରେଣୀର ନାରୀମାନଙ୍କ କଥା ଟିକିଏ ଆଲୋଚନା କରାଯାଉ । କନ୍ୟା ସମାଜର ନାରୀ ଉଦ୍‌ବାହରଣ ସ୍ୱରୂପ ଗ୍ରହଣଯୋଗ୍ୟ ।

କନ୍ୟା ସମାଜର ନାରୀ ଅସିକ୍ଷିତା ହେଲେ ହେଁ ତାଠାରେ ତେଣୁ କେତେକ ଗୁଣ ଅଛି ତାହା ଦେଖିବା କଥା । ଏହି ନାରୀ ସାଧାରଣତଃ କର୍ମଠ ଓ ସାହସୀ । ପିଲାଦିନରୁ ସେ କାମ କରିବାକୁ ଶିଖିଥାଏ ଖରା ବର୍ଷା ନ ମାଲ, ବଲ୍‌ବାଡ଼ରେ, ପାହାଡ଼ ପର୍ବତ ଉପରେ ଓ ଘରେ ଯାକିପାସୁ କାମ କରେ । ତା ଛଡ଼ା ସାନ ଭାଇ ଭଉଣୀମାନଙ୍କୁ ଲଳନ ପାଳନ କରିବା, ଗୃହପାଳିତ ପଶୁପକ୍ଷୀମାନଙ୍କର ଯତ୍ନ ନେବା ଓ କୁଟୀରଶିଳ୍ପ ଦିଗରେ ଅଭ୍ୟାସ କରି ବହୁତ ଉପକରଣ ତିଆରି କରିବା ବିଷୟରେ ସେମାନଙ୍କୁ କାହାରିଠାରୁ ଶିକ୍ଷାନେବାକୁ ପଡ଼େନାହିଁ । ସେମାନେ କେବଳ ଅନ୍ୟଠାରୁ ଅନୁକରଣ କରି ଏହା ଶିଖିଥାନ୍ତି । ଏଥିରୁ ସେମାନେ ଦୁଇପକ୍ଷୀ ଶ୍ରେଣୀରେ କରନ୍ତି ।

କନ୍ୟାସମାଜର ପିଲା ଦୁଇଖଣ୍ଡ ମାତ୍ର । ଖଣ୍ଡିଏ ପିଲା ଓ ଖଣ୍ଡିଏ ଦେହରେ ପକା । ସେଗୁଡ଼ିକ ଖୁବ୍ ମୋଟା ଓ ବିଭିନ୍ନ ରଙ୍ଗରେ ତିଆରି । ସେଗୁଡ଼ିକ ଦେଖିବାକୁ ସୁନ୍ଦର । ସାଧାରଣତଃ ଏ ପିଲାଗୁଡ଼ିକ ଦୁଇଭାଗରେ ବିଭକ୍ତ । ଯେଉଁ ସ୍ତ୍ରୀ ବିବାହକରି ନ ଥାଏ, ସେ ଯେଉଁ ଶାଢ଼ୀ ପିନ୍ଧେ, ତାକୁ ଡିପେଡ଼ୀ ଓ ଯେଉଁ ଶାଢ଼ୀକୁ ବିବାହ ପରେ ପିନ୍ଧନ୍ତି, ତାକୁ ‘ମାଣ୍ଡିକାଣ୍ଡ’ କହନ୍ତି । ସେହି ପିଲା ଶାଢ଼ୀରୁ ଜାଣିହେବ ଯେ କିଏ ବିବାହତା ଓ କିଏବି ଅବିବାହତା । ତା ଛଡ଼ା ଯେଉଁ ଝିଅ କାନରେ ଫସିଥା ପିନ୍ଧିଥାଏ ସେ ବିବାହତା ଓ ଯେଉଁ ଝିଅ କାନରେ ଫସିଥା ପିନ୍ଧି ନ ଥାଏ, ସେ ଅବିବାହତା ବୋଲି ଜଣାଯାଏ । ତା ଛଡ଼ା ସେମାନେ ଦୁଇଖଣ୍ଡ ଆନ ବା ତଉଲିଆ ବ୍ୟବହାର କରନ୍ତି । ଆଜିକାଲି ଶାଢ଼ୀ, ଧୁଲୁଜ ପିନ୍ଧିଲେଣି ।

ଏମାନଙ୍କର ମୁଣ୍ଡର ବାଳବନ୍ଧା ଗୋଟିଏ ଦେଖିବାର ବିଷୟ । କିଏ କେତେ ପ୍ରକାରରେ ଜୁଡ଼ାକରି ବାନ୍ଧିଥାନ୍ତି ଓ ବଣର ଫୁଲ ସେଥିରେ ଖୋସିଥାଆନ୍ତି । କନ୍ୟା ଝିଅମାନେ ଦଶ, ବାର ବର୍ଷର ହେଲେ, ତାଙ୍କ ମୁହଁରେ ଚିତା କୁଟାଯାଏ । ଏହା ସେମାନଙ୍କର ଗୋଟିଏ ବଡ଼ ଉତ୍ସବ ଓ ତାଙ୍କ ସମାଜର ନିୟମ । ଚିତା ନ କୁଟା ଝିଅକୁ କେହି ବିବାହ କରିବାକୁ ରାଜି ହୁଅନ୍ତି ନାହିଁ । ପ୍ରଶ୍ନ ଉଠିପାରେ ସେମାନେ କାହିଁକି ମୁହଁରେ ଚିତା କୁଟାନ୍ତି ? ତାର ଉତ୍ତରରେ ଏତିକି କହି ହେବ ଯେ ପୂର୍ବକାଳରେ ମୁସଲମାନ ରାଜତ୍ୱରେ ହେଉଥିବା ଅଭ୍ୟାସର ଭୟରେ ସେମାନେ ମୁହଁରେ ଚିତାକୁଟି କଦର୍ଯ୍ୟ କରି ପକାଇ ଥିଲେ । ଫଳରେ ସେମାନଙ୍କୁ କେହି ଗ୍ରହଣ ନ ଥିଲେ । ସେହି ଚିର ପ୍ରଚଳିତ ପ୍ରଥା ଆଜି ମଧ୍ୟ ଚଳୁଛି ।



ଆଜିକାଲି ଚିତାକୁଟା ପ୍ରଥା ଟିକିଏ ବନ୍ଦ ହୋଇ  
ଅସିଲଣି । କାରଣ କନ୍ଧ ବାଳକ, ବାଳିକାମାନେ  
ସରକାରଙ୍କ ପ୍ରାପିତ ଆଶ୍ରମ ଓ ସେବାଶ୍ରମ ସ୍କୁଲରେ  
ପଢ଼ି ବିଭିନ୍ନ ଶିକ୍ଷା ଓ ସଭ୍ୟତାରେ ପ୍ରଭାବିତ ହୋଇ  
ଘରେ ସେ ସବୁ ପ୍ରଥା ବନ୍ଦ କରିବାର ଜଣାଯାଇଛି ।

ବର୍ତ୍ତମାନ ଯୁଗରେ ନୃତ୍ୟ, ସଙ୍ଗୀତର ଯେଉଁ  
ବିକାଶ ଘଟିଛି ସହର ବଜାରଠାରୁ ଆରମ୍ଭ କରି  
ପୁରପଲ୍ଲୀରେ ମଧ୍ୟ ଏହାର ପ୍ରଭାବ ପଡ଼ିଆପୁରୁ କିନ୍ତୁ  
ତାର ଆଶ୍ରୟ ବନ୍ଦ ପାହାଡ଼ ପର୍ବତମୟ ଆଦିବାସୀ  
ଅଞ୍ଚଳରେ ଦେଖିବାକୁ ସ୍ୱପ୍ନ । ଏହା ସତ୍ତ୍ୱେ କନ୍ଧ  
ରମଣୀର ମନମତାନ୍ତର ଗୀତ ଶୁଣିଲେ ଅନ୍ତରରୁ  
ତୃଷ୍ଣା ଦୂରେଇ ଯାଏ । ତା ସଙ୍ଗେ ସଙ୍ଗେ ନାଚମାନେ  
ମଧ୍ୟ ବିଭିନ୍ନ ଭଙ୍ଗୀରେ ଦଳ ଦଳ ହୋଇ ନୃତ୍ୟ  
କରିବାର ବହୁ ଚଳଚ୍ଚିତ୍ରରେ ଦେଖିବାକୁ ମିଳେ ।  
କୌଣସି ନ୍ୟାୟ ନିମିତ୍ତ ଉତ୍ସବ ଦିନମାନଙ୍କରେ  
ସେମାନେ ଯୁବକମାନଙ୍କ ସହଚ ମିଳିମିଶି ଅଣ୍ଡାରେ  
ଘୁଙ୍ଗୁର ବାନ୍ଧି ନାଚନ୍ତି । ଗୀତ ଗାଆନ୍ତି । ବାଦ୍ୟ  
ବଜାନ୍ତି । ଏଣୁ ଆଦିବାସୀ ନାଚମାନଙ୍କଠାରେ  
କଳାଜ୍ଞାନ ବିଶେଷ ଭାବରେ ପରିଲକ୍ଷିତ ହୁଏ ।

କନ୍ଧ ସ୍ତ୍ରୀ ମାନେ ପରିବାରର ଛୁଆଁଠାରୁ ଆରମ୍ଭ  
କରି ବଡ଼ ପର୍ଯ୍ୟନ୍ତ ସମସ୍ତକୁ ଭକ୍ତି କରନ୍ତି ଓ ଭଲ  
ପାଆନ୍ତି । ସେମାନଙ୍କ ମଧ୍ୟରେ କଳିକଳିଆ ଖୁବ୍ କମ୍  
ହୁଏ । ପରସ୍ପର ପରସ୍ପର ପ୍ରତି ସ୍ନେହ ସହାନୁଭୂତି  
କରିଥାନ୍ତି । ସେମାନେ କାହାକୁ ଈର୍ଷା କରନ୍ତି ନାହିଁ ।

ସେମାନଙ୍କର ବିବାହ ଏକ ପ୍ରକାରର । ପୁଅ ଓ  
ଝିଅର ମତ ନେଇ ବିବାହ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟ କରାଯାଏ । ଝିଅର  
ମନକୁ ପାଇଲେ, ସେ ବିବାହ କରେ । ଜୀବନରେ  
ପ୍ରତ୍ୟେକ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟରେ ନାଣି ତାର ସ୍ୱାମୀକୁ ସାହାଯ୍ୟ  
କରିବାକୁ ଭୁଲେ ନାହିଁ । ଏପରିକି ଗୁରୁ ପାଞ୍ଚଟି ଛୁଆକୁ  
ଧର ମଧ୍ୟ ସେ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟକରେ । ଆମ ସମାଜରେ ବିଧବା  
ବିବାହ ମନା । କିନ୍ତୁ ଏ କଥା କନ୍ଧ ସମାଜରେ ନାହିଁ ।  
କୌଣସି କନ୍ଧ ନାଣିର ସ୍ୱାମୀ ମରିଗଲେ ବା କେଉଁଆଡ଼େ  
ଗୁଲିଗଲେ ସେ ଅନ୍ୟ ଏକ ସ୍ୱାମୀ ତା ମନକୁ ଗ୍ରହଣ  
କରିପାରେ ଓ ଏହି ବିବାହ କରି ତାର ସଂସାର  
ଚଳାଇବାରେ କନ୍ଧ ସମାଜ ସାହାଯ୍ୟ କରେ । ଆମ

ସମାଜରେ ବିଧବା ନାଣି ଦୁନିଆ ସହଚ ସମୂହ ନ  
ରଖି ଯେପରି ଅତି କଷ୍ଟରେ ରହେ ତାହା  
କନ୍ଧ ସମାଜରେ ନାହିଁ । ଏହା ଗୋଟିଏ ବିଶିଷ୍ଟ କଥା ।  
ବିଧବା ବିବାହ କନ୍ଧ ସମାଜରେ ବହୁ ଦିନରୁ ଦେଖି-  
ବାକୁ ମିଳେ । ଏ ସମାଜର ସ୍ତ୍ରୀ ମାନେ ବହୁ ଦେବା-  
ଦେବୀ ଉପାସନା କରନ୍ତି ।

ସମସ୍ତଙ୍କର ଧାରଣା କନ୍ଧ ନାଣି କଳା ଓ ଅସୁନ୍ଦର  
କିନ୍ତୁ ପ୍ରକୃତରେ ତା ନୁହେଁ । ଏମାନଙ୍କ ମଧ୍ୟରେ  
ଅନେକ ସୁନ୍ଦର ଗୋରୁ ଓ ଦେଖିବାକୁ ସୁନ୍ଦର ମଧ୍ୟ ।  
ସେମାନେ ନିଶାହ ଓ ସ୍ୱାସ୍ଥ୍ୟବାନ୍ । ଅଧିକାଂଶ ସବଳ  
ଓ ମୋଟୀ ।

ଗୁଡ଼ିବାରେ ଜଣାଯାଇଛି କି କନ୍ଧ ସ୍ତ୍ରୀମାନେ  
ସେମାନଙ୍କର ସ୍ୱାମୀଙ୍କର ବଦୃଶ୍ୟ ଛଡ଼ାଇବା ପାଇଁ  
ସର୍ବଦା ବ୍ୟାକୁଳ । ଏମାନଙ୍କର ବାସନା ନ ସ୍ୱର  
ଦେଖାଯାଏ । ଯାହା ମିଳିଲୁ, ସେଥିରେ ଖୁସି ହୋଇ  
ସେମାନେ ଚଳିଯାନ୍ତି ।

ପୁରୁଷଙ୍କ ଅପେକ୍ଷା ସ୍ତ୍ରୀମାନେ ଅଧିକ ଚଲଣ  
ବୋଲି ଜଣାଯାଇଛି । କାରଣ ଅନେକ ପୁରୁଷ ସ୍ତ୍ରୀର  
ମତ ନେଇ ଘର ଚଳାନ୍ତି । ଅଧିକାଂଶ ସ୍କୁଲରେ ସ୍ତ୍ରୀ  
ମାନେ ଘର ଚଳାଇଥାନ୍ତି ଓ ପୁରୁଷ ସେମାନଙ୍କର  
କଥାରେ ଚଳନ୍ତି । ଘର ଧନ ସମ୍ପତ୍ତି ସବୁ ସ୍ତ୍ରୀ ହାତରେ  
ଥାଏ । ଘରର ଯାବତସବୁ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟ ସ୍ତ୍ରୀମାନେ ହିଁ ଚଳାଇ  
ନିଅନ୍ତି । ପୁରୁଷମାନେ କେବଳ କାମ କରନ୍ତି ଓ  
ଗଣ୍ଡାଏ ଖାଆନ୍ତି । କିନ୍ତୁ ଘରର ହାଜିଲର, ଖାଇବା  
ପିଇବା ଓ ପିଲକୁ ମଣିଷ କରିବାର ଭାର ଥାଏ ସ୍ତ୍ରୀ  
ମାନଙ୍କ ଉପରେ ।

କନ୍ଧ ସ୍ତ୍ରୀମାନେ ବହୁତ ପ୍ରକାର ଅଳଙ୍କାର ଓ  
ପୋଷାକ ପିନ୍ଧନ୍ତି । ସେ ଗୁଡ଼ିକର ତାଲିକା ନିମ୍ନରେ  
ଦିଆଗଲା ।



Kondh Women



# ଅଲଙ୍କାରର ନାମ

ଓଡ଼ିଆ ଭାଷାରେ  
୧ । ବଳା  
୨ । ଡାଣା  
୩ । ବେକପାତିଆ  
୪ । ରୂପାଚେନ  
୫ । ଅଣ୍ଟାଚେନ  
୬ । ଟଙ୍କାମାଳ  
୭ । ଗୋଠ  
୮ । ଗୁଣା  
୯ । ଦଣ୍ଡି  
୧୦ । କାନଫାସିଆ  
୧୧ । କାନଫୁଲ  
୧୨ । ଲେଥ  
୧୩ । ମୁଣ୍ଡପିନ୍ଧାମାଳ

କୁର ଭାଷାରେ  
ବାଆଲଙ୍କା  
କାକଡାଙ୍କା  
ଗୁଗଲ  
ସିକାଲଙ୍କା  
ବେଏଡ଼ି  
ଟାକକାବେଏଡ଼ି  
ବେଏଶୀ  
ଗୁନା  
ବିଇଡ଼ି  
କିସେଡାକା  
ମୁଦୁରାଙ୍କା  
ଲୁଚକା  
ଟପେର

୧୪ । ମୁଣ୍ଡ ଅଳଙ୍କାର  
୧୫ । ମୁଣ୍ଡକଣ୍ଠା  
୧୬ । ମଲ

ଠକଏକ  
ଗୁଣାପାକାଳା  
ଗାଗଲା

## ପୋଷାକ

ଓଡ଼ିଆ ଭାଷାରେ  
ତଳପିନ୍ଧା  
ଉପରପିନ୍ଧା  
କମର ପଟି  
ବୁଲୁଜ

କୁର ଭାଷାରେ  
ଡାବେଡ଼ି  
ଏ ସଦ୍  
ଡଅରୁ  
ଜାକେଟି

ଏ ସବୁ ଦେଖିଲେ ମନେହୁଏ କନ୍ଧ ସମାଜରେ  
ନାସର ସ୍ଥାନ ବୁଦ୍ଧି ଉଚ୍ଚରେ । ନାସହୁଁ ତାର  
ସମାଜଟାକୁ ଉତ୍ତରୋତ୍ତର ଉନ୍ନତି କରିବା ଦିଗରେ  
ସାହାଯ୍ୟ କରେ ଓ ନିଜେ କଷ୍ଟ ସହୁ ତାର ପରିବାରକୁ  
ପୁଣି ଶାନ୍ତିରେ ଚଳେଇ ନିଏ । ତେଣୁ ବନ୍ଧନାଶକୁ  
ନେଇ କନ୍ଧ ସମାଜ ଅଗେଇଗୁଲୁଛି, ଏଥିରେ  
ସନ୍ଦେହ ନାହିଁ ।



## EDITORIAL

The present issue of the 'Adibasi' the journal of the Tribal Research Bureau, Orissa, has been delayed due to certain unforeseen events. There has been acute shortage of printing paper in the market. The management of the journal has also been improved. A new shape has been given to the Journal and it has been decided to publish it both in English and Oriya.

We welcome the formation of a "Central Advisory Board of Anthropology" by Government of India in the Ministry of Education. This is the first effort to co-ordinate Anthropological studies and researches in the country. The University Departments of Anthropology, the Tribal Research Institutions and the Department of Anthropology, Government of India, are all engaged in Anthropological studies and researches. By proper co-ordination of these activities the science will definitely occupy a very prominent place in the country. The first meeting of the Board had been held in Calcutta in the month of March, 1958. At the meeting it was emphasized that there are a large number of real primitive tribes in the State of Orissa and there is need for thorough survey and research among them, for the successful implementation of developmental schemes. The Board also included the study of Kutia and Dangaria Kandhas, Saoras and Gadabas within the Five Year Plan of researches in Anthropology.

The Tribal Research Bureau officers have now completed their studies among the Lanjia Saoras, Kandhas and Juangs. The reports contain illuminating data on the above tribes. In addition to the normal course of duties of studying the culture and socio-economic condition of the different tribal communities, the officers of Tribal Research Bureau are engaged in studying the social status of different communities and evaluation of different welfare institutions etc. for the successful implementation of welfare programmes, the advice of Tribal Research Bureau, may be utilised fully.

We invite the administrative officers in the tribal areas, the welfare staff, the social workers and other interested persons to contribute their experiences among the tribes or other communities of Orissa in form of articles.

**Managing Editor**