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ABOUT THE JOURNAL

This is a quarterly journal dealing with articles and research findings in various social sciences, developmental strategies and other co-related matters emphasising the problems of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. It also publishes reviews of books pertaining to the aforementioned subjects.

TO THE CONTRIBUTORS

Contributions based on Anthropology, Demography, Economics, Human Geography, Museology, Planning and Sociology with particular reference to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes are invited. The articles should be type-written in double space on one side of half foolscap paper. Invariably two copies of the articles should be sent. The contributors should also not forget to send their biodata in a separate sheet along with the article and its brief synopsis. No remuneration is paid to the contributors. Only twenty-five off-prints of the articles are supplied. Two copies of the books should be sent for purpose of review.

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EDITORIAL

The quarterly journal of the Institute with the nomenclature, 'ADIVASI' has emerged from its first issue of the year, 1993. The journal owes its origin in 1955 when the inaugural number was published bearing the name Orissa Tribes Research Journal of the Tribal Research Bureau (T.R.B.) which was the initial name of the Institute. The First Editor and Assistant Editor were Shri Gananth Das, I. A. S. and Shri Ajit Kishore Ray, who wrote the editorial page. Thereafter, several numbers of the journal has been published. Currently, the journal of the Institute is considered as one of the oldest of its kind in our country. The Editors, the Editorial Board and the Scholars who laid its foundation on which present super-structure rests deserve our sincerest obligations. To keep a journal alive and to publish its numbers regularly are only possible with the goodwill of all concerned.

The journal which primarily devotes its attention to unravelling the society andculture of the Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Caste communities has assumed a crucial status in the context of development intervention in these communities during the post-independence period. If the journal would cater to the needs of the policy-makers, planners, development practitioners, evaluators and scholars, the purpose would be served. The Editor sincerely wishes te receive unstinted co-operation from all concerned to cherish a better academic status in this intellectual endeavour. As our country is determined to integrate the weaker sections of the communities in the national mainstream of culture the journal of this kind is bound to play an essential role in documenting the fading outlines of their rich cultures and in providing clues for future policy implications. The esteemed members of the present Editorial Board take keen interest in promoting the cause and paving its path.

The present issue contains three papers. The paper contributed by Professor S. N. Ratha shows the Inter-relationship among man, plant and animals in the context of forest and tribal culture. The paper submitted by Shri M. K. Mohanty *et al* is a physical anthropological study of the Mirdha Tribe of Western Orissa. The paper of Bhri S. K. Mandal focuses on the persistence and change among the Warli Tribes of Gujarat. Besides the above papers a book review section has also been appended.

(EDITOR)

Forest and Tribal Culture : An Overview of the Man-Plant– Animal Relationship

S. N. Ratha

I

Tribal communities all over the world live close to nature. We have empirical ethnographic data outlining the nature of relationship and interactions the tribals have with various elements of creation. An over acknowledgement of the 'gifts' received from nature finds its expressions in their worship of its various manifestations plants, animals, hills, rivers and many other objects. In closer analysis of the tribal world view, we discover that objects of nature are not seen as inanimate entities but as persons, as fellow human beings. A substantial part of the tribal lore-myths, legends, folk tales, folk songs-reaffirms the concern of a tribal community for its ecosystem and efforts to conserve the resources of its neighbourhood.

This concern institutionally finds its expressions in 'totemism' a practice that refers to a cultural phenomenon in which human groups and individuals occupy defined positions in a network of relationship with the objects of the ecosystem of the immediate neighbourhood.

II

Classical anthropologists attributed 'ignorance of the primitive mind' in explaining the tribal belief in the organic relationship between human and non-human components of the creation. Thus Frazer's conception theory (1910) associating totemism with the savage ignorance of paternity. Hutton's placenta theory (1961) linking the animal or the bird that eats the disposed placenta or plant which sprang at the place of its burial; flow from this erronecus association. Durkheim (1915), Radcliffe Brown (1914) and Thomson (1949), looking upon totemism as a form of magico-religious practice designed to control nature for human benefits ; the psycho-analytical hypothesis assuming the unconscious displacement of the feelings of guilt arising from the act of patricide of the young males of a primitive hoard taking the overt form of the totem to substitute the murdered father (Freud 1960); the nominalistic hypothesis maintaining that the use of animal names for the purpose of identifying or differentiating social groups as a basic causative factor in the emergence of totemism (Murdock 1949,) Haekel (1952) Lang (1905), and Elwin (1942), advocating its origin partly through actual historical accidental happenings and partly through the process of limitation ; are reluctant to accept that our early ancestors were capable of rational thinking. Frazer (1910), even rejected his earlier formulation of 'economic magic theory' of totemism as it appeared to him too rational to have originated from the 'savage mind'.

III

The Birjia Asur of Chotanagpur regard the totem as a relative and salute it when they sight it. They weep over the dead body of the totem and ceremonially dispose it off as is done to a relative (Roy 1917).

The Birhor of Chotanagpur patrilineally inherit and not acquire the totems (Roy 1925). Totem taboos exist, and are sometimes carried to extremes. Men of the Murum clan over

their eyes when they chance to come across Murum stag. Eating, killing or destroying the clan totem is regarded as equivalent to killing a human member of the clan. It is further believed that a diminution in the number of the totem animals, plants or other objects caused by their destruction or killing will endanger a corresponding decrease in the size of the clan. Violation of the totem taboo entails payment of a fine and the provision of a feast to the clan members. If, however, he should happen to come across the carcase of his totem animal, he must anoint its forehead with oil or vermilion, although he has not actually to mourn for it or bury it. The intimate and vital connection between the totem and the clan is evidenced further by another practice—the annual sacrifice to the presiding spirit of the ancestral hill. Every Birhor clan has a tradition of its ancient settlement having been located in some hill or the other within Chotanagpur, and once a year the men of each clan assemble in an open space to offer sacrifices to the Ora-bonga or Baru-bonga of the ancestral hill. Members other clans do not participate in these sacrifices. The oldest member of the clan present, officiates as the sacrificer.

The Murmu clan members among the Santals do not kill or eat the babbler bird after which it is named because it is said to have guided their ancestor to water when he was dying of thirst (Frazer 1910).

The Oraon of Chotanagpur abstain from hunting, killing, eating or using the totem (Roy 1915). The taboos are also extended to objects that resemble the totem. Men of the tiger clan, for instance, also abstain from eating the squirrel as its stripped skin resembles that of a tiger.

The Bhumij consider their totem as *Bhayad* or agnate and is treated as such. Members of Nag totem, for instance, believe that Cobra will not harm them and members of Rul totem (a kind of fish) bury their dead in the sand of the river so that they may join their *Bhayads* under the sand in water (Das 1931).

The Muria Gond of Bastar region avoid injuring or eating their totem animals or plants and usually give them special honour; and worship and mourning for the dead totem is a normal practice in many clans (Elwin 1947).

IV

These accounts provide fairly adequate data to look upon the forest as a socially relevant institution in the context of tribal culture rather than an impersonal habitat of plants and animals. A cursery look into the sample ethnographic data (Table-1) reaffirms that harmony in man-plant-animal interaction is a universal phenomenon and their relationship is largely symbiotic. Each tribe, inhabiting a particular geographical areas seems to have consciously applied this universal principle to construct a cultural device to ensure reasonable safety to the flora and fauna in its neighbourhood.

In recent years, however, it became a pattern to picture the tribals as the destroyers of the resources of national importance. Traditionally tribal economies made marginal demands on their habitat. The attitude towards the natural resources is one of respect due to a sacred gift. Extension of outside administration and impact of non-tribal population, however, have brought in a change in this attitude. Various developmental programmes taken up by government in tribal areas have also largely ignored the importance of local man-nature relationship. The governmental policy of considering forest as national wealth depriving the tribal of his freedom to manage his environment has forced on him an attitude to exploit the forest as much as he can, whenever opportunities arise. Heavy demand for forest produces from the non-tribals and growing cash needs of the tribal have now intensified their over-utilisation (Ratha, et.al. 1985). Change in religion led the converted to reorient his relationship with his environment in terms of his newly acquired ideology. The change of tribal attitude towards natural resources that has assumed commercial tones should therefore be understood in the context of its occurrence and the forces operative around.

V

In our search for a reasonable explanation of the tribal attitude towards the non-human component of the neighbourhood we find Fisher (1963) looking upon man-nature relationship as an integrated phenomenon and seeking its origin in man's urge to become a whole man and to make his individuality clear comes closer to our thinking. We feel that for the maintenance of the forest the tribal ideology of holding all components of the environment—human as well as non-human, with almost equal respect need to be accepted and universalised.

TABLE I

The Totems of some selected Indian Tribes

Name of the Tribe	Reference	Habitat	Totems				Total
			No. of animals, reptile, fish, bird, insect clans	No. of plant vegetable, flower, grass, leaf, fruit, root, clans	No. of inanimate objects and other natural formation	No. of other unclassified clans	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Birjia Asur ..	Risley (1891) ..	Bengal ..	10	3	..	..	13
Birjia Asur ..	Roy (1917) ..	Chotanagapur ..	34	..	..	..	34
Birhor ..	Roy (1925) ..	Chotanagapur ..	12	10	7	8	37
Munda/Mundari	Risley (1891) ..	Bihar, Bengal, Orissa, M. P.	142	83	72	42	339
Santal ..	Fazer (1910) ..	Bengal ..	7	3	1	1	12
Bhumij ..	Risley (1891) ..	Bihar, Orissa, Bengal ..	11	4	..	5	20
Bhumij ..	Roy Chowdhury (1929)	Mayurbhanj, Orissa ..	5	3	2	5	15
Juang ..	Risley (1891) ..	Orissa	12	10	1	1	24
Juang ..	Elwin (1948) ..	Keonjhar, Orissa ..	5	12	3	..	20
Korku ..	Driver (1893) ..	M. P. ..	..	5	7	..	13
Gond ..	Risley (1891) ..	Bengal ..	15	1	4	12	30
Gond ..	Ferrira (1965) ..	M. P., Bihar, A. P., Orissa, Maharashtra.	39	17	6	13	75
Muria Gond ..	Elwin (1947) ..	Bastar, Bihar ..	29	3	..	4	36
Oraon ..	Roy (1915-1928)	Chotanagapur ..	43	19	4	2	68
Kuttia Kond ..	Niggemeyer(1964)	Orissa ..	5	1	..	8	14
Bhil ..	Luard (1909) ..	Malwa ..	19	23	15	69	122
Bhil ..	Ethnoven (1920)	Gujarat ..	12	5	..	..	17

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P almar Main Lines among the Mirdha Tribe of Sambalpur District, Orissa

M. K. Mohanty
M. Naik
R. K. Chaudhury

During the past century, wise and humble attempts have been made to describe the human variations among different sections and communities of India. A lot of efforts have been made in Palmar and finger dermatoglyphics to throw some light on population differences. References may be made to a number of studies by Galton (1896), Henry (1937), Wilder (1904), Pons (1959), Holt (1949), Cummins and Midlo (1943, 61), Sharma (1957, 62, 63), Malhotra (1984), Usha Deka et al (1990), Roy Choudhury (1962, 67) and many others. This paper is an attempt to see the incidence of palmar main-lines among Mirdhas. The Mirdhas are a small endogamous tribe of Sambalpur district, Orissa. They are generally referred to as 'Kuda'—Meaning an earth digger. The present work has been compared with those of some other tribes of Orissa.

Materials and Methods

Bilateral palm prints of 124 unrelated male samples were collected from Meghpal and Badsahir villages under Jujumora block of Sambalpur district, Orissa. The method of printing, analysing, formulating and interpreting were described by Cummins and Midlo (1961). Chi-square test has been made in between Mirdha and other populations of Orissa to show the closeness and statistical differences.

Results and Discussion

Table-1 shows the per cent frequencies of termination of Palmar main lines in 124 male Mirdhas. Line-D has high percentage of termination in the position 9 (31·51%) followed by 11 (31·05%) and 7 (24·19%). Ending in position 10 constitute only 7·66 per cent of the total. The ending in the position 7 is more 30·64% in left palms where as that of in the position 11 is more 44·35 per cent in right palms, Triradius and line-D are absent in one right palm (0·81%) and in one left palm (0·81%).

Line-C ends frequently in positions 9,7 and 5' in both the hands and the percentages are 28·23,19·36 and 10·48 respectively. High percentages of termination of C line are seen in the position 9(39·52%) in right palms, in the position 7(21·77%) in left palms and in position 5(12·90%) in left palms. Abortive types is X and X types are seen more frequent 15·32% in left hands and 11·29% in right

hands respectively. X shows high (9·68%) incidence in total than X (8·46%). O condition or complete absent type makes 4·43 per cent which is high in right palms (8·06%).

Termination of line-B is more in the position 7 (31·04%) followed by the positions 5' (30·24%) and 4(20·97%). In the right palms line-B ends in 41·93 per cent cases in position 7. In position 5' and 4, the line-B ends in 31·45 per cent and 26·61 per cent cases in left palms respectively. Line-B is not seen in one left palm which is a rare case (0·81%). A line ends in position 4 In 50·81 per cent cases followed by position 3 (31·86%). Right palms show more termination (62·10%) in position 4 than the left (39·51%). Line A termination is seen less 2·01 per cent (4·03%) in right palms) in position 1. Only in one case A-line ending is seen in position 7.

The percentages of dissimilarity in main line formulae (MLF) are shown in table 2. 64 different types of MLF are occurirng in right and 69 are in left palms. Certain common formulae (MLF) are seen in both the hands. They are 25 in number. This number is deducted from the total of right and left number of MLF, Therefore, in both the palms the different types of MLF are seen to be 108 (64+69=133—25 =108). The percentages of dissimilarity in MLF in right, left and in both the palms are 51·61,55·64 and 43·55 respectively. This percentage is much higher than that of percentage of dissimilarity calculated 4·25 by Cummins and Midlo (1943,61) in 4000 palms. It is obvious that if the sample size is more than the number of combination of MLF will be more.

The main line formula (MLF) is no doubt indicative of the slant of ridges in the distal position of the palm but the most convenient and useful quantitative expression of the degree of transversality is the integral value known as main line Index (Roy Choudhury, 1957,62). A greater value of which reflects a greater degree of transversality of the ridges. The MLF among Mirdhas are calculated to be 8·20 in right and 6·98 in left palm. The average value (R+L) is seen to be 7·59 and the extent of transversality (R/L ratio) is 117·48.

Table-3 shows the frequencies of palmar main lines on the basis of Wilder's three main lines formula. It is found that 11·9·7.—formula appears to be more common in the right hands (28·23 per cent) than in the left hands. While 9.7.5.—formula occurs more frequently in the left (10·48 per cent) than in the right. 7·5·5.—is seen to have occurred in equal frequencies in both right and left palms. 11·9·7.—is seen more (29·84 per cent) followed by 9·7·5—(7·66 per cent) and 7·5·5.—(5·65 per cent) when right and left hands are taken together.

Table-4 shows the comparison of frequency distribution of Wilder's three PMLF in different tribal populations of Orissa, Mirdha tribe exhibit higher percentage (29·84) for 11·9·7.—modal type foilowed by Bodo Gadaba (29.52). 9·7·5. is seen more (30·00 per cent) among Paroja and Parengas where as 7·5·5.—is seen more frequent (18·70 per cent) among Ollaro Gadaba. Mirdhas exhibit lowest percentage 15·32 and 11·29 for 9·7·5.—and 7·5·5.—respectively.

Table-5 displays the chi-square values computed between Mirdha and other tribal populations of Orissa studied by Mahapatra for Wilder's three MLF. In all the cases the X^2 values are found to be insignificant at 5 per cent level with 2 degrees of freedom and Mirdhas show a closer affinity with these tribe when the palmar main lines are taken into consideration.

TABLE No. 1

Per cent frequencies of termination of Palmar Mainlines

Position	Line-D			Line-C.			Line- B			Line-A		
	R.	L.	Total	R.	L.	Total	R.	L.	Total	R.	L.	Total
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)
0	0·81	0·81	0·81	8·06	0·81	4·43	..	0·81	0·42	..	..	...
1	..	..	...	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4·03	2·01
2	..	...	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1·61	3·23	2·42
3	..	...	..	...	..	..	..	0·81	0·42	21·77	41·94	31·86
3h	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1·61	0·81	4·03	7·26	5·64
4	..	..	..	0·81	8·06	4·43	15·32	26·61	20·97	.0	39·51	50·81
5′	..	..	..	8·06	12·90	10·48	29·03	31·45	30·24	.37	4·03	6·45
5″	..	..	..	4·03	2·42	3·23	3·23	7·26	5·24	0·81	..	0·42
6	..	...	..	4·03	1·62	2·83	4·03	10·48	7·26	...	...	..
7	..	17·74	30·64	24·19	16·94	21·77	19·36	41·93	20·16	31·04	0·81	..
8	..	7·26	1·61	4·43	..	..	..	3·23	0·81	2·02	..	..
9	..	23·39	39·52	31·51	39·52	16·94	28·23	3·23	..	1·62	..	..
10	..	5·64	9·68	7·66	4·03	0·81	2·92	...	...	..	..	..
11	..	44·35	17·74	31·05	1·62	...	..	..	...	...	..	..
12	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
13	..	0·81	..	0·42	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
X	..	...	..	..	1·61	15·32	8·46	..	..	..	..	..
X	..	..	..	..	11·29	8·06	9·68	...	..	..	...	...

TABLE 2

Percentage of dissmilarity in main line Formulae

Sides (1)	Total number of palms (2)	No. of different formula (3)	Percentage of dissimilarities (4)
Right ..	124	64	51·61
Left ..	124	69	55·64
R+L ..	248	108	43·55

TABLE 3

Per cent frequencies of Palmar Main Line Formulae (Wilder's three MLF)

MLF (1)	Right		Left		Total (R+L)	
	No. (2)	Per cent (3)	No. (4)	Per cent (5)	No. (6)	Per cent (7)
11.9.7.—. ...	35	28·23	2	1·61	37	29·84
9.7.5.—. ...	6	4·84	13	10·48	19	15·32
7.5.5.—. ..	7	5·65	7	5·65	14	11·22

TABLE 4

Frequency distribution of Wilder's three MLF. in different tribal populations of Orissa

Tribes (1)	No. (2)	11.9.7.—. (3)	9.7.5.—. (4)	7.5.5.—. (5)
Bodo Gadaba ..	101	29·52	26·19	14·96
Ollaro Gadaba ..	105	27·10	22·80	18·70
Didayi ...	84	24·30	28·60	17·30
Bhumiya ..	86	25·00	29·10	18·00
Paroja ..	100	126·00	30·00	14·00
Parenga ..	100	25·00	30·00	14·00
Mirdha ..	124	29·84	15·32	11·29

TABLE

X^2values between Mirdha and other tribal Por

Population	X^2—valu		
(1)	(2)		
Bodo Gadaba ..	1·83		
Ollaro Gadaba ..	1·43		
Didayi ..	4·77	2	t
Bhumiya ..	4·66	2	cant
Paroja ..	2·63	2	gnificant
Parenga ..	4·80	2	Insignificant

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CHANGE IN TRIBAL SOCIETY : CASE STUDY OF THE WARLI

S. K. Mandal

I

The tribes in India are variously known as 'adivasi' (original inhabitant), 'jana' or 'janjati' (to be born or to give birth to), 'adimjati' (primitive community) and so on. In early anthropological literature they have been designated as 'noble savage', 'primitive contemporary', 'preliterate community', 'living fossil' and so on. In ancient Indian literature, the tribes received mixed treatment. The Mahabharat classes them with the 'sinful creature of the earth', akin to Chandalas, ravens and vultures. The first Aryan settlers in India regarded them with antipathy, charecterising them as devils, man-eaters, black as crows, sprung from the sweat or dung of cows. The mention of the tribes is made in the Katha Sarit Sagar, the great anthology of tales current in India in the eleventh century. The Sabaras, Bhillas, Pulindas are mentioned. The most famous reference to the tribes in Indian antiquity is in Valmiki's Ramayana, which describes the emancipation of a woman ascetic Sabari, belonging to the famous tribe of Eastern India (Elwin 1964).

There are 426 tribes in India as identified by a recent ethnographic survey out of which 165 are sub-groups (Singh 1990a). Danda (1991b), however, has estimated the total number of tribal communities to be 642, several among whom have now either become extinct or been merged with other communities. There are some who have undergone transformation of their identity altogether. The total population of Scheduled Tribes in India is 51,628,638 constituting 7·76 per cent of the total population of the country (Census of India, 1981). Barring the States of Punjab, Haryana and Union Territories of Chandigarh, Delhi and Pandicherry the tribes are spread all over the country. The numerical strength of the tribes exhibits a wide spectrum. There are tiny tribes of less than 50 souls (Great Andamanese) and larger tribes of more than seven million strong. The larger tribes are Gond (7,449,193) of Central India, Bhil (7,367,973) of Western India, Santal (4,260,842) of Eastern India, Mina (2,087,075) of Western India and Oraon (1,871,995) of Eastern India. Constituting 7·76 per cent of Indian population 'the tribals control 20 per cent of the country's area, largely hilly which is the repository of minerals and hydraulic and forest resources. The tribes are also located in strategic border areas. They are thus our sentinels' (Singh 1989 : 2).

Three distinct zones can be identified where the tribes are concentrated, North-Eastern Zone, Central Zone and Southern Zone. In North-Eastern Zone the important tribes are the Adi, Bodo, Naga, Khasi, Garo, Mishmi, Mizo, Lepcha, Rabha and the like. The Central Zone is the land of largest tribal concentration streching from West Bengal, Bihar, Orissa to Maharashtra, Gujarat through Madhya Pradesh. The most important tribes are Santal, Oraon, Ho, Munda, Gond, Kharia, Kawar, Khond, Chero, Savara and so on. The Western part of Central Zone is dominated by Bhil, Mina, Dhodia, Dubla, Warli, Korku, etc. In Southern Zone the important tribes are the Aranadan, Chenchu, Yanadi, Koraga, Toda, Badaga, Kota, etc. Apart from these, there are a few scattered tribes like the Great Andamanese,

Jarawa, Onge, Nicobarese in Andaman and Nicobar Islands, Gaddi, Gujjar, Kinnaura of Northern sub-Himalayan region and the like.

The Negrito, Proto-Australoid, Mongoloid and Caucasoid—All these four major and primary racial elements are found in Indian tribes. The Negrito racial elements are found among the Great Andamanese, Onge, Jarawa and Sentinelese of Andaman Islands. The aboriginal tribes of the Central and Southern India are the representatives of Proto-Australoid race like the Gond, Munda, Oraon, Chenchu, Sholiga, Urali, etc. The Mongoloid elements are dominant among the tribes of North-Eastern Zone like the Adi, Bodo, Garo, Mizo, Mishmi, etc. And finally the Caucasoid tribes are scattered in South and Western India and represented by the Toda of Nilgiri, Rabari and Gujjar of Rajasthan and Gujarat (Ganguly, 1990).

The tribes of India speak all the four major language families. The Bhil, Mina, Chaudhry of Western India and Bhumij of Eastern India speak dialects belonging to the Indo-Aryan Family of languages. All the tribes of South India as well as the Gond, Oraon and several others speak the language of Dravidian Family. Most of the tribes of Central and Eastern India like Santal, Munda, Ho, Kol, Kawar, Nagasia and such others have dialects belonging to the Mundari Family. The Tibeto-Burman speaking tribes are concentrated in North-East India like Tripuri, Chote (Purum), Mizo, Naga and several other. The dialects of the Negroid tribes of Andaman have not yet been classified, Linguistically the tribes of Central India exhibit an interesting situation. The segments of same tribe speak the languages belonging to the Indo-Aryan, Dravidian and Mundari language families. The Nahal—A sub-group of Korku in Madhya Pradesh, who apart from speaking these three languages are said to be the custodian of the elements of yet another language family which has almost disappearing and which is said to contain words and structures which do not exist in any of the well known language families (Singh, 1992),

The economies of the Indian tribes exhibit different stages of economic pursuits. In fact, they associate themselves with almost all the traditional and modern economic activities. According to Danda (1991 a), the tribal economy can be classified intof our stages from a simple to a complex form namely, food

[illegible] majority of the tribes of North-East India practise shifting cultivation. This subsistence economy is also practised by the tribes of Central and South India like Baiga, Abujmaria, Didayi, Juang, Kanikkar, Konda Reddi, Soliga and such other. The Apatani, Khasi, Mao and such other tribes of North-East India practise terrace cultivation for their charecteristic habitat. A majority of Indian tribes are peasants who pursue settle cultivation. The Santal, Oraon, Munda, Kunbi, Ho, Gond, Bhil, Chaudhry, Jamatia, Kawar and many such tribes are agriculturists. The Asur, Kalbelia, Koraga, Lohra, Mahali, Yerukula subsist mainly on their income from craft. The Khampa of Himachal Pradesh, Mahadev Koli of Maharashtra, Mishmi of Arunachal Pradesh and Toto of West Bengal draw their subsistence from trading as the primary means of livelihood. The tribes like Adiyan, Jenu Kuruba, Saharia and Saunti depend on wage labour as their primary source of income.

The tribes have been the 'part of the universe of Indian civilization of its history, and of its consciousness (Singh, 1989 : 1). Major streams of history have influenced them in many ways. They have founded states, given identity and self respect to 'regional culture' and survived as ruling lineages and dominant communities in many parts of the country. In the areas of language, folklore including adaptation of Puranic and epic lores and 'local' form of religion and culture, particularly material culture the tribes have contributed many important elements. Many tribal words have been borrowed, as evident by the Mundari words in Vedic Sanskrit, not only that there has been structural adaptation also. In many parts of India the tribes are closer to non-tribals in terms of kinship, administrative control, politics movements and so on. There has been sharing of space, rituals, ceremonies, technology and aspirations by both communities.

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out over large parts of the country along the plains and the river valleys. At later stages of history there came, in several waves semi-agricultural Tibeto-Burmans from across the north and north-eastern borders of the country. By the time the Aryan speaking peoples settling down in the Indus and Ganga-Yamuna valleys, with a highly developed language. They have mastered the technology of agriculture, and of animal husbandry. They have evolved developed system of local administration. Within five centuries before Christian Era they evolved organised social and religious system. By the beginning of the Christian Era they were able to build into socio-religious system of Brahmanical Hinduism, an economic structure based essentially on a production system managed and controlled on hereditary principles of group formation which came to be known as caste system. Agriculture and animal husbandry being the principal source of their economy, their hunger was increasing for more and more land for pasture and cultivation. They pushed the indigenous so called 'tribes' slowly but surely, bit by bit, to farther and farther areas until they came to find their refuge in relatively more inaccessible regions of forests and hills and large mountain slopes. The process went on for centuries and millenia, in a very slow and steady but very relentless mannar. At times there were struggles for fertile land occupied by the indigenous tribes. Those tribes who were defeated in the war and taken prisoner, were immediately made economically and socially subservient altogether and ultimately incorporated in the Hindu social organization but they were given a place at the lowest rank like the Chandala (Ray, 1972).

The tribes were living for centuries in relative security, seclusion and isolation with their varying levels of primary economy. They were on the whole able to maintain their separat tribal identity, and could preserve their respective socio-cultural life. At time the more advanced and powerful people from plains penetrated their areas and created disturbances. Buddhist and Hindu Brahmanical missionaries and religious leaders made periodical visits from time to time. The Mughal made their inroad around eighth century A. D. till the establishment of Mughal Empire. The tribals and their chiefs were harassed by the Muslim rulers which eventually resulted in substantial erosion of their authority. The Bhil of Western India suffered from Muslim invasion, they were forced to adopt Islam. The Minas of Rajputana fought against the Mughals and eventually lost their kingdom. In Central India, the Gond dynasty had to fight the Mughals. The Gond rulers had ruled the Gondwana region for about two hundred years. Two prolonged attacks by the Mughals and the Marathas destroyed the Gond Kingdom by the end of eighteenth century. In eastern India the Mughals unleashed the reign of terror on the Oraon, Ho and Munda tribes. We find the Islamic influence among the Central Indian tribes. Among the two largest tribes, Gond and Bhil, Muslim denomination is found in Madhya Pradesh. The descendents of the Gond ruler of Deogarh (Madhya Pradesh) Bakht Buland, who turned Muhammadan, still profess that religion (Russell and Hiralal, 1916). This is also confirmed by the recently conducted ethnographic survey (cf. Singh, 1991). Likewise a majority of the Tadvi Bhil of Madhya Pradesh are Muslim. When the Mughals invaded South India, they forced the Banjara, an enterprising tribe of north-western India to employ their cattle for transporting their supplies. That is how the Banjara migrated to Andhra Pradesh and other adjoining areas in the south. Lastly, the British rule in India did havoc on tribal religion. Following the administration the army came as the 'Messengers of Christ'. They penetrated deep into many of these tribal communities and converted a good many of them. A majority of the north-east Indian tribes are now Christian.

The tribes occupied a definite geographical areas and exercised effective control over its people. Permanent settlement in a particular area gave geographical identity to a tribe. The territory under the domain of a particular tribe was generally named after it. It is believed that

India derived its name, Bharat from the mighty Bharata tribe. Similarly, the vast Matsya kingdom which flourished in the 6th Century B. C., was identified with the Matsya tribe. The Mina tribe of Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh is believed to be the descendant of the Matsya tribe. Even today, there are a number of regions which owe their names to the tribes inhabiting there. In north-east, the States of Mizoram, Nagaland and Tripura are named after the Mizo, Naga and Tripuri tribes, respectively. Similarly, Santal Pargana in Bihar, Gondwana covering parts of Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra and Andhra Pradesh and Lahaul, Swangla and Kinnaur in Himachal Pradesh are named after their tribal inhabitants (Verma, 1990).

After independence, certain tribes have been specified under the Constitution of India as the Scheduled Tribes. Only those tribes which have been included in the list of the Scheduled Tribes are given special treatment or facilities envisaged under the Constitution. There is no religious bar for specifying a person as member of a Scheduled Tribe. However, all the facilities and opportunities could not be availed by the tribes of different regions of the country uniformly. It is interesting to note that sometimes they have adopted many new innovations, but at the same time, also retained many old customs and prejudices in their culture. The Warli of western India, particularly of Gujarat and Maharashtra present such a case who have adopted many innovations including a new ideology that retained an age old custom relating to their marriage system.

II

The Warlis are an aboriginal primitive agriculturist tribe of India spread along the western coast from Gujarat in the north through the Union Territory of Dadra and Nagar Haveli and States of Maharashtra and stretched to coastal region of Karnataka in the south. They are more than five lakh in India. Their concentration is in the laps of Sahyadry range ceded in the States of Maharashtra and Gujarat. A majority of them are found in Thana and Nasik districts of Maharashtra and adjacent Dang and Valsad districts of Gujarat. Their population in these two States, according to 1981 Census is 361,273 and 152,983 respectively. A handful of them are in Karnataka State (700) and Union Territory of Daman & Diu (800) while they are in substantial number in the Union Territory of

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Satpura and Vindhya mountain range. In course of time the name distorted to Varudaki, then Varulai and finally it was Varli or Warli (Rajwade, 1924). According to Save (1945) who was done first detail ethnography on them, the Warlis belong to Dravidian stock. He states, 'It may be taken that the tribe (Warli) is of non-Aryan origin and lived in the country near the Vindhyas and Satpuras from which it came southwards. Some of them took shelter in the Satpura hills in Khandesh where we still find them. Some probably the major portion, descended to the hilly forest of Dharampur and Bansda (now in the State of Gujarat). Their language, which has been considerably influenced by Gujarati, goes to prove that they moved towards the south from the north. Many Warli claim that their original home was in Namnagar or Nagarhabeli in Daman territory.' He ascertained that they are called Warlis because they used to spread Waral—brushwood for burning the land for agricultural purpose. Webster's third International Dictionary (1961:2576) described the Warlis as "a people of India inhabiting the region north of Bombay." According to another view, when the British entered the hutments of Kol tribe in Bombay, they named it as Worli. It is quite possible that the Kol tribe might have settled in Worli (now a prosperous place in Bombay metropolis) in 17th Century and then the Kols were known as Warlis (Pandya, 1981). The internal migration of the Warlis, from south to north or north to south was a continuous process might be due to the pressure of mighty Maratha or of the 'Phirangis' (British) or might be due to some natural calamity,

Though the institution of market has some influence on the tribes of Gujarat (Bose, 1981) the economy of the Warli is of subsistence nature. They carry out the production without any machine technology and t is mainly for their

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cultivate the hill slopes and forest patches. Due to its gradiant shape the rain water slips down, the humus is washed away and the soil cannot conserve the moisture. The slash and burn cultivation is the prelude of production in human history and its origin can be traced back from Neolithic period of 7000 B. C. on the basis of archaeological data (Sharma, 1976). This system of land use has been continuing for 9,000 years. In course of its development and natural decay it lost many of its features. Among the Warlis of Gujarat scarcity of land and forest cover do not allow the land to remain fallow for longer periods. As a result the classical methods of slash and burn cultivation cannot be applied while the same crop cultivated in slash and burn techniques requires previous process. Further, the people of older generation with orthodox attitude are apathetic to modern technological innovations and still adhere to the old techniques of slash and burn cultivation.

Among the Warlis of Gujarat 40 per cent are landless. Ninety per cent among the land owners possess less than six acres of land (Pandya, 1981). In Nani Vahiyal, a tribal village in south Gujarat, 38 per cent of the Warlis are landless, 20 per cent possess one acre of land, 36 per cent possess land between 1—5 acres, three per cent possess land between 5—7 acres and rest three per cent of the Warlis possess more than 10 acres of land (Malhotr & Mandal, 1984). The nagli (*Eleusine coracana*) is the staple food of the Warli, so their principal crop. Nagli is a mustard like grain containing high percentage of carbohydrate. It is not produced consecutively two years in the same plot of land. After one year of nagli cultivation the land is left for other minor crops. After three years, nagli is cultivated in the previous plot of land. For preparation of land for nagli cultivation they collect the tree branches and dry leaves from the forest and spread thickly and evenly on the land and set fire on it in the month of Fagu (Feb-March). Then they spread the ashes on the ground. If tree branches of leaves are not available they collect cow dung cake and do the same. They concede that these are for killing the weeds and insects as well as to manure the land. They manure the seedling fields using leaves and twigs from the jungle, a small area of which can provide sustainable yields, since the tree are never destroyed and their jungle does not have to start from scratch every cycle. In addition, paddy straw that was used in the previous year's thatch and twigs from old fences are also used, together with some cowdung. This practice is the ramnant of their previous techniques of slash and burn cultivation. Nagli is harvested in the month of November-December. It is followed by minor rituals and sacrifice of hen. Stalks and shieves are heaped in a specially prepared threshing ground, far away from home. Threshing is done by bullocks. The menfolk guard the threshing ground. Women are prohibited there. They observe sexual abstinence during harvesting and threshing period.

The subsistence economy of the Warli is supplemented by fishing, hunting, day labour, etc. They catch fish in streams with net, trap, hook and line. In the forest they hunt small games like rabbit, percupines and fowl. Their hunting implements include bow and arrow, stick, pallet throwers etc. Community hunting and fisning is done during festivals.

In Pindwal, another Warli village in south Gujarat, it is observed that the Warli follow two stages of marriage. Marriages are held in the month of March or April after their main festival of Holi. First phase of marriage is known as *pean* and the second or final phase is lagan. Lagan is very important in the life of a Warli, where smearing of termeric paste is must. The Warlis believe that who ever donot go through lagan ceremony, they cannot have entry in the heaven. The lagan ceremony involves huge amount of money which is very difficult for a boy to procure. So, generally they go for *pean*, which is institutionalized in the Warli society. Their main festival Holi has an important role to pay in the process of pean. Holi is celebrated for 5—7 days. During these days they take large amount of indigenous liquor and make fun. The Holi fire is lit in a big pit which remains in flame for seven days. Each family has to contribute seven pieces of firewood for this Holi fire. The Holi fire is lit in the centre of an open field

surrounded by the contributed firewood or log or tree branches in a particular spot which indicates the location of the house of the contributor in the village. Every day one piece of wood would be poured in the fire pit to keep aflame continuous for seven days. In the first evening when the festival is inagurated and Holi is lit, the village chief of the tribe declares *chhut* (free mixing of boys and girls) for seven days, During this free mixing period the boys and girls develop intimacy through courtship. At the closing of the festival this declaration of *chhut* is lifted formally and whoever unrelated boys and girls are found gossiping in a lonely place are penalised and imposed exorbitant fine in cash. So, normally they go for *pean* (first marriage). The parents of the boy go to the girl's parent for negotiation. They carry a few bottles of liquor with them for this purpose. The acceptance of the liquor by the girl's parents suggests their approval for the marriage. The date for *pean* is fixed after 15—20 days when the boy is carried on the shoulder to the bride's house, they exchange garlands in the presence of the elderly persons. No other ritual is observed and no feast is offered in this occasion. Following day the couple go to the boy's house and live there permanently. The children born of such union are considered to be legitimate children. They may undergo final marriage (lagan) at any time in their life time. But a person cannot perform lagan until his father does not perform it.

In the absence of male child, the parents of the girl keeps their son-in-law in their house. As usual the groom has to pay brideprice or marriage service etc. The son-in-law lives with his father-in-law, works in their fields and look after other household jobs. At times he visits his natal home, does necessary works and returns to his wife. The man cannot leave his father-in-law's house permanently till a female child is born to them. When a female child is born they leave the child with his father-in-law and go back to his natal home. In most of such cases, all the bride price is returned to the son-in-law.

These are some of the exotic cultural traits still persist in the Warli society. At the same time there are drastic changes in their ideological horizon which brought about changes in consciousness and involved the Warlis of Thana district of Maharastra in communist movement. They revolted (1945—1947) against the feudalism and the British imperialism.

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need. But about 150 years ago, the British realised the commercial value of these forests, mainly due to their proximity to Bombay. With the help of private contractors and large scale repression, the destruction of the forest began. In pre British period the Warlis were owners of land they tilled for subsistence agriculture (Symington, 1939). They could not develop their agriculture due to reasons, firstly they could not subdue the luxuriant vegetation in the forest because they used to cultivate in the forest, secondly the introduction of plough tax by the British. The tax was fixed annually by the collector on the basis of the prevailing market price and the tax ranged from Rs. 5 to Rs. 15 per annum. If a man put an additional plough to increase the production on the same piece of land which last year he scratched with only one, he had to pay for two. By this time the non-agriculturist outsiders got inside the forest for timber. The Warlis did not, then, develop monetary economy. But for the payment of the plough tax they required money which they used to get from the money-lenders and shopkeepers. The shopkeepers maintained account of the borrowed sum but the illiterate and innocent Warlis knew not what was written in the account book. As the British court go by only written records the decrees passed in favour of the lenders. Transformation of tribal cultivators into tenants attended the process of alienation of land from the tribal to the non-tribal outsiders. The forest conservation policy of the Government also hit the forest and hill tribes very hard. By 1878 Forest Act was passed to include nearly 50 per cent of the forest areas, with little regard for custom which granted the tribals the right to use forest produce unrestrictedly from generation to generation (Saldanha, 1983). Many money-lenders and landlords turned to forest contractors and timber merchants and acquired greater

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of either grain or cash. Lifelong servitude, sometimes for generations was the fate of those tribes whose marriage expenses were paid by the land-lord money lenders. The meagre amount paid to the marriage servant (lagnagadi) and the dishonesty of the land-lord maid it impossible, in most cases, for the marriage servant to repay loan and to free himself from the bondage. The marriage servant's wife and children naturally became the slaves of the land-lord. The land-lords considered their tenant's wives and the wives of their marriage servants to be their personal property and sexually exploited these women whenever they wished to do so. Even the land-lords often used these women as mistresses and for entertaining his official and non-official guests (Parulekar 1975).

The Warli revolt was led by the Kishan Sabha, peasant wing of the Communist Party of India (CPI) who entered the Warli region in 1944 in order to mobilize the peasants, giving them confidence, courage and political consciousness. The Warlis, both men and women were organised. As a conscious and organised step, all stopped work, no more forced labour, no work for land-lords and money lenders. There were regular meetings and rallys. Many Warli men were arrested, and subsequently protracted struggle started. Many hide in the forest. Police started oppression. But the women faced the police fearlessly. Sometimes many women used to chase the police out of the village. After attending the conference of the Kishan Sabha (held in January 1945 at Kalyan taluka in Thana district) some of the Warlis were very much influenced by the new ideology. They spontaneously went from village to village with red flags, shouting the slogans 'Down with forced labour'. In the next conference at Umbergaon taluka in May some year nearly 5,000 Warlis attended it of which approximately 500 were women. They resolved not to work for the land-lords without wages. The land-lords were forced to pay wages. Then the movement gained momentum and spread all over the district. The movement continued up to 1947 when India attained Independence. They were freed from their bondage. They were politically conscious and resentful of their oppression by the land-lords, money lenders, forest contractors and their henchmen and later the police. This consciousness was expressed and translated into action. But there consciousness was confined to 'class in itself' and not 'class for itself'. In post Independence period their political consciousness has transcended them from CPI to CPI (M) and also beyond. Class struggle, neo-colonialism, comprador bourgeoisie, Euro communism, revisionism are the common words in their political vocabulary.

In micro situation, as we have seen, the exotic cultural traits persist till today but in overall tribal situation in India there is tremendous change as ascertained by Singh (1990b) in a recent seminar on Tribal Perspective : 1969—1990. According to him the tribes in India are no more homogenous as it was believed 25 years ago. There is not one tribal economy but there are many tribal economics which are getting integrated with national market. The participation of the tribals in politics and administration of States in Middle India where they are present in sizeable numbers has also become more and more visible, with the tribals becoming a Chief Minister or a Deputy Minister, and occupying positions of power and authority. The development process has resulted in creation of a tribal middle class consisting of professionals, contractors and power brokers whose presence is becoming increasingly visible. There are tribal movements of all types. The most visible of them were the movements seeking political goals ranging from autonomy to independence. The second type of movement related to agrarian issues including restoration of land. The third centered around language and script. The fourth type related to social mobility, sanskritization and return to tribal roots. The sanskritic movements are not only a process of upward mobility but also as a device whereby the tribals seek adjustment with peasants and other caste groups and try to secure a share in regional power structure. There is also the model of westernization in tribal society in the north-east, represented by Christianity. which has spread rapidly. Christia-

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BOOK REVI

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(Tribal Studies of India: Series T 155)
Foreword by Justice V. R. Krishna Iyer.

The Book under review contains 3 parts with 15 chapters. The Part I with 6 chapters profusely illustrates the Birsaite movement—Ulgulan in the contextual framework of the historical background of the Jharkhand and its people. Quoting views of eminent historians, ethnographers and anthropologists the back drop has been elegantly set by the author. The character, personality and the activities of Birsa Munda has been portrayed vividly. The impact of the christianity, the philanthropic services rendered by the missionaries with the under current of proselytisation form a significant portion of this part of the book. The role of tribal women in Jharkhand, the activities, status in the context of persistence and change have been very sincerely and elaborately discussed.

The Part II contains 6 chapters pertaining to the Jharkhand movement and Kolhan movement. The Jharkhandi tribal people, their original settlement, displacement, socio-structural and cultural nexes, leadership during the pre and post independence pericds have been discussed meticulously. The section on the anti-Christian movement highlights the conflict between the tribal converts and non-convert counterparts and the reduction of chasm between them. The Kolhan movement has been described as the said movement proceeds the Jharkhand movement. The Section on the repression by the State with firing incidents on various occasions depicts the tribal agitations for the revitalisation of their indigenous religious beliefs. The objectives and the work programmes of Jharkhand Mukti Morcha (JMM), the policy of divide and rule and the political forces interacting have been brought to surface. The author has noticed schisms in the present day scenario of the movement and states, "Jharkhand has become a political tool in the hands of some self-aspiring tribal leaders".

The Part III of the book contains 3 chapters and pinpoints the problems of Jharkhand vis-a-vis forest development policies. The question that the tribal people are responsible for the depletion of forests thereby causing ecclogical imbalance, has been discussed in the context of displacement and rehabilitation. In the chapter on the summary and conclusion, the author analyses the concept of the half-a-century old Jharkhand movement and states, "The conch is silently blowing for the Jharkhand masses for a radical change".

The author has taken meticulous care in the data collection from various sources and in the presentation of facts in elegant style. The foreword of the book written by honourable Justice V. R. Krishna Iyer is so informative and so nicely structured that one will be tempted to read it at a stretch.

K. K. MOHANTI
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