



adibasi

A Journal of Anthropological Research

Vol. XXIII, No. I
1983

	Page
The Gonds of Southern Region ..	1
<i>Dr. D. R. Pratap</i>	
The Santals: A glimpse into their life and activities ..	16
<i>A. K. Das</i>	
The Lodha and their life and problem ..	29
<i>Prof. P. K. Bhowmick</i>	
The Ho of Bihar ..	42
<i>Dr Biman Kumar Dasgupta</i>	



Adibasi

Vol. XXIII, No. 1

Instruction to Authors

Adibasi is a quarterly periodical published by the Tribal and Harijan Research-cum-Training Institute, Bhubaneswar, Orissa every year in April, July, October and January. It contains papers and findings on Social Sciences emphasising tribal Problems of Orissa.

Adibasi invites contribution from persons interested in Anthropology, Demography, Economics, Human Geography, Museology, Planning and Sociology with particular reference to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.

Manuscripts sent for publication must be type-written in double space on one side of the paper. Each contributor will be given twenty-five off prints.

New Contributors are required to send a note on their academic qualifications, research experience and postal addresses along with their manuscripts.

All correspondence should be addressed to Dr. N. Patnaik, Director, Tribal and Harijan Research-cum-Training Institute, Bhubaneswar, Orissa.

Annual subscription of the Journal :

Rs. 16.00	..	Inland
Rs. 20.00	..	Foreign

(This is subject to revision)

Back issues are available for sale. Adibasi is also supplied on exchange basis.

Editors

**SHRI PREMANANDA
TRIPATHI, I. A. S.
Dr. N. PATNAIK
M. Sc. Ph. D.**

The authors are solely responsible for the presentation and the manner in which their articles are written. The opinions expressed in the articles are also the author's and not those of the editor's and the Government.



The Gonds of Southern Region

Dr. D. R. PRATAP

This paper deals with the "Gonds of Southern Region" in general and in particular those inhabiting the State of Andhra Pradesh. According to Geographers, the Vindhyas and Satpuras together constituted a main dividing line between North and South India (George Kuriyan). Therefore the criterion for identification of 'Southern Region' in this paper is not a political division but a geographical region inhabited by the Gond populations to the South of Vindhyas approximately lying between 16° and 20° N Lat. and 78° to 83° E Long. Broadly areas covered by Gond population in the region are the States of Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, parts of Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra and Orissa. There are many groups which constitute the Gond tribe. The scope of this paper is limited here to largely Gonds inhabiting the State of Andhra Pradesh in particular due to my long association with them. The general observations on the life style of the Gonds obtained in different parts of the region are based on my occasional visits to those areas.

Introduction

The Gond is the most predominant tribal community of India inhabiting the mountainous tracts of Central and Southern India popularly known as Gondwana land. The country of Gondwana includes the Satpura plateau and a section of the Nagpur plain and Narmada valley to the South and West.* There is however no district or State situated in Central India which does not contain some Gonds and it is both on account of their numbers and the fact that Gond dynasties possessed a great part of its area that

the territory of the former Central Provinces was formally known as Gondwana or the country of Gonds. According to 1971 Census the total population of Gonds in India was 4,812,164 and constitute 12.78 per cent of the total tribal population of India. The majority of them 73.38 per cent are found in Madhya Pradesh, 10.38 per cent in Orissa, 6.89 per cent in Maharashtra, 3.27 per cent in Andhra Pradesh and the rest in the other States. In Madhya Pradesh the Gonds are spread from the Satpura plateau, where the Western type of Gondi is spoken. Mandea and Chattisgarh in the East where the Gonds have adopted Eastern Hindi at the same time retaining their tribal identity. In the South in the Kankar and Bastar areas Gonds constitute the majority of the population of Koyas or Dorlas; the most Southern branch of the Gond family, occurring in considerable strength in Andhra Pradesh. In Maharashtra State the Southern districts of Chanda and Yeotmal are the strong hold of Gonds, who speak Gondi which is different from that of Satpura region. Another substantial group closely akin to the Gonds of Chanda are found in the hilly country between the Godavari and Penganga rivers constituting the Adilabad, Karimnagar and Warangal districts of Andhra Pradesh. Apart from these major concentrations they also live in small numbers in West Bengal, Bihar, Orissa, Gujarat and Mysore.

The generic term Gond encompasses several endogamous and linguistically distinct groups. The derivation of the term Gond is uncertain. The Gonds are neither racially, nor culturally, nor linguistically a homogenous group. The

* Russell, R. V. and Hiralal, R. B.; *The Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces of India*, 1916, London, Macmillan and Company Limited, PP. 41.

cultural, material and physical difference are so great that one wonders why they should be grouped under the same tribe. They call themselves Gond or 'Koitur'. General Cunningham considered that the name Gond probably came from Gauda, commonly used as the name of part of Bengal. In 1041 A. D. Gauda formed part of the dominion of Karna Deva, Raja of Chedi. Cunningham's view was supported by Chatterton who said, possibly the name Gond came to them, because in early days, this part of India formed the Western portion of the old Gaur Kingdom of Bengal and so the Dravidian Koiturs, who lived in Gaur land became known as Gonds. Hislop considered that the name Gond was a form of Kond (Khond tribe). He pointed out that "K" and "G" are interchangeable. It seems highly probable that the designation Gond was given to the tribe by the Telugus (Russell). Sir Grierson stated that the Telugu people call the Konds as "Gonds". It is very common that the Telugu people called the hill tribes as "Kondavadu" meaning (Konda-Hill, Vadu-Man) "hillman" perhaps the term Gond is transformed for the Kond given to them by the Telugu people. The Gonds speak a Dravidian language of the same family as Tamil, Kanareese and Telugu and therefore it is considered probable that the Gonds hailed from South. They might have travelled up the Godavari river into Chanda; from there up the Indravati into Bastar and hills South and East of the Chattisgarh plain; and up the Wardha and Wainganga to the districts of Satpura plateau. As already seen the Khonds are called Gonds by the Telugus and Kandh by the Uriyas. The Khonds apparently came up more towards the East into Ganjam and Kalahandi. It is probable that the Kond and Kandh became Khond in English pronunciation. The Gonds, and some Koyas and Khonds of Andhra Pradesh speak the "Kui" dialect with regional variations. The linguistic evidence appears to afford strength to the view that the Gonds and Khonds were originally one tribe in the South of India and that they obtained separate names and languages since they left their original homes for the North. The fact that both of them speak languages of the Dravidian family whose form is in Southern India, makes it probable that the two tribes originally belong there and migrated North into the Central province and Orissa. This hypothesis is supported by the traditions of the Gonds (Russell).

Professor Haimendorf considered the Koyas as Telugu speaking Gonds. Hence it would be

appropriate to replace the Generic name 'Gond' by the term 'Gondi' speaking populations. As the Gonds speak a common language, have common name and habitation and a contiguous territory, the cultural diversity need not come in the way of considering them as belonging to a common tribe.

The term Raj Gond is considered to have been derived from the princely status that the Gonds enjoyed for a long period as rulers and chieftains of the famous Gondwana with Chanda as the principal seat of Gond rule and Manikgarh, Sirpur, Utnoor as vassals where the ruined forts today stand witness to the once flourished Gond rule. The term Raj Gonds is also attributed to the racial admixture due to the impact of the Rajput rulers who even had marital relationships with the Gonds, who immigrated to these tracts between the 11th and 15th Centuries.

The Gonds are segmented either on territorial or hiriarchial grounds. Thus the Gonds of Bastar are the Muria Gonds and Maria Gonds, while the Chattisgarh Gonds are segmented as Amat Gonds, Dhur Gonds, Oriya Gonds etc., and in Adilabad, they are called as Raj Gonds. Sometimes they are called after the territory they occupy and are identified by different terms in different tracts. Among the Gonds there are two aristocratic subdivisions, the Raj Gonds and Khatolas. According to Forsyth the Raj Gonds are in many cases the descendants of alliances between Rajput adventures and Gonds. But the term practically comprises the land holding sub-division of the Gonds. In the Telugu country the Raj Gond is known as Dorla or Dorlasattam. The Khatola Gonds take their name from the Khatola State in Bundelkhand, which is said to have been Governed by a Gond ruler.

Southern Gonds

The Gonds occupy two main tracts—one to the North of the Vindhyas and the Satpuras and the second to the South of these gigantic hill ranges. The first is the wide belt of broken hill and forest country and is mainly comprised in the Chhindwada, Betul, Seoni and Mandla districts with portions of several other adjoining them. And the second is still wider and more inaccessible mass of hill ranges extending south of the Chattisgarh plain and the South-West down to the Godavari which includes portions of the three Chattisgarh districts, the Bastar and Kanker States and the great part of Chanda. The Vindya range traverses nearly the whole of the

width of peninsular India, a distance of about 1,050 Kms. with an average elevation of 300 metres above sea level, overlooking the valleys of Narmada and some on the South, and sloping gently northwards to the Ganga valley. Forming one of Indian main water sheds, this mountain was long recognised along with the Satpura range which is more or less parallel to it at the dividing line between north India and Deccan. *Thus Gond population of Bastar, Raipur and Durg districts of Madhya Pradesh; Yeotmal, Chandrapur and Nanded districts of Maharashtra; Kalahandi, Koraput, Bolangir, Ganjam and Boud-Khondmals districts of Orissa; the entire Gond population of Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka, constitute the Southern Gonds of India. They number 2,009,405 as per 1971 census and constitute 41.7 per cent of the total Gond population of India. Even among this Southern group the majority (62.59 per cent) live in Madhya Pradesh; 16.03 per cent in Maharashtra, 13.45 per cent in Orissa and about 8.00 per cent in Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka. These Gonds differ both in language and custom from those living in the Northern region as well as among themselves. In Madhya Pradesh three district groups, namely the Murias, the hill Marias and the Bison horn Marias are well recognised and are more akin to the Koyas of Andhra Pradesh. In Orissa State the Gonds inhabiting the Raigarh Block adjoining Bastar and Raipur districts have still retained their language though considerably influenced by Hindi and Halbani and call themselves Gond. While another section of Gonds living in the plains call themselves Gonds and consider themselves superior to other Gonds. The Gonds inhabiting the Kalahandi and Bolangir districts have completely lost their language and speak Oriya and call themselves Oriya Gonds. The Gonds inhabiting the Maharashtra and Andhra Pradesh State are identical in custom and also have historical connections, and have two main subdivisions, namely, the Raj Gond and Dhruwa Gonds. The Dhruwa or dust Gonds are considered inferior in social status to the Raj Gonds and mainly inhabit Maharashtra State. It is noteworthy that all Gonds of Andhra Pradesh consider themselves Raj Gonds whether they hail from former royal families or ordinary peasant families. This paper mainly deals with this sub-section of the Southern Gonds.

Variation in Gond population since 1921:

The Gond population is recording a steady increase since 1921 as per the census figures. They numbered 2,837,577 in 1921; 3,063,753 in 1931; 3,201,004 in 1941; 3,991,767 in 1961 and 4,812,164 in 1971. The decadal percentage variation is 7.97 between 1921—1931, 4.47 during 1931—1941, 12.47 between 1941—1961, and 21.31 between 1961—1971. The decrease in growth rate is considered to be due to under enumeration. The growth of Gonds is lower than that of the general population increase of India (24.66) as well as the Scheduled Tribe population of India i. e., 27 per cent. In regard to the State-wise growth, barring Gujarat, Karnataka and West Bengal where the population is very small; Madhya Pradesh and Maharashtra recorded 21.9 per cent and 21.7 per cent increase, while Orissa (12 per cent) and Andhra Pradesh (9.6 per cent) recorded comparatively lower rate of increase. The male population has increased faster than the females.

The proportion of urban population is very insignificant being 3.4 per cent of the total population. However, the urban population in Andhra Pradesh (5.1 per cent) and Madhya Pradesh (4.3 per cent) has considerably increased during the past decade due to the migration of Gonds to the new industrial towns in the respective regions.

Demography:

The distribution of Gond population by age indicates 40.9 per cent children below 14 years of age as per 1971 census. The Southern Gonds of Maharashtra also exhibited nearly the same percentage of children i.e., 40.4 per cent and 40.5 per cent in Maharashtra and Andhra Pradesh respectively. A sample study conducted in Utnoor Tahsil of Andhra Pradesh and Raigarh block of Orissa have shown 40.76 per cent and 41.70 per cent of children respectively. Such population is characteristic of young population associated with high birth and death rates. Adults in the reproductive age constitute nearly 49 per cent of the total population, while older persons above 45 years of age constitute nearly 10 per cent in the Southern region. The average size of the household is between 4.5 and 4.7.

The composition of male population in the Southern Region is comparatively high. As per the sample study of the Tribal Cultural Research and

* Government of India—India—A Physical Geography publication Division,—Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, 1968, PP 10 and 11.

Training Institute, Hyderabad there are 1,144 males in Orissa and 1,047 males in Andhra Pradesh per 1,000 females. Studies of the Tribal Cultural Research and Training Institute, Hyderabad and Yadav (1970), Madhya Pradesh reveal that though polygyny is freely allowed, it is resorted to only on economic grounds or for enhancing social status. Of the total marriages among Gonds, 2.5 per cent of males and 5.3 per cent of females married below 15 years of age indicating prevalence of child marriages on a very small scale even now. It was observed that the males marry between 20—24 years and the females between 15—19 years. The mean age at marriage for females is 16.76 years in Raigarh area and 15 years in Utnoor area, while the age at menarche is 14.1 years in Utnoor and 15.5 years in Raigarh. Thus the Gonds marry their daughters about a year after menarche.

The crude birth rates are 44.5 and 35.8, while the crude death rates are 19.1 and 13.4 respectively in Utnoor and Raigarh areas. Thus the annual growth rate is 2.5 per cent and 2.24 per cent respectively in Utnoor and Raigarh. The overall birth rate for the Gonds of India i. e., 42.4 based on 1971, Census figures is higher than both these rates.

Physical type and Anthropometry

Though the Raj Gonds exhibit homogeneity in language and culture there is considerable diversity in physical appearance. Prof. Haimendorf is of the opinion that it may be due to the fusion of population of different racial stocks which occurred in the distant past. Forsyth also confirms the same view and says that the mixed breed call themselves Gond-Rajputs, or Raj-Gonds, and are the direct result of the alliances between the Rajput adventurer and the Gond. It appears that the Gond chiefs have freely taken wives from the Rajputs to enhance their social prestige by paying huge amounts. Stephen Fuchs also supports the view and says that in former times the Gonds almost certainly freely admitted other tribal groups into their community. He, however, feels that the admixture with Rajputs was confined to a few chiefs and their racial stock was not perceptibly changed.

Professor Haimendorf distinguished three physical types among the Raj Gonds of Adilabad of which the most prevalent type is characterised by a broad and rather flat face, high cheek bones, a small short nose which widens rapidly from a narrow depressed ridge, on a peak and not very full mouth and a small pointed chin. Medium

stature and a rather slender build are frequently associated with this type.

The second type is characterised by the more robust Gond of heavier build with a longer face and more prominent features, a large straight nose, full lips and a moderately strong chin. The cheek bones are less pronounced.

The third type less frequent and reminiscent of Kolams is the type with a face of extremely coarse modelled, low receding forehead; eyes in shallow sockets, a flat massive nose, broad even at the ridge, which is very depressed at the root and ending in wide nostrils, a large mouth with fleshy slightly upturned lips which are seldom closed even in repose.

An anthroposomatoscopic study conducted on 97 male Raj Gonds of Utnoor (1980) by the Tribal Cultural Research and Training Institute, Hyderabad reveals that the Raj Gonds are predominantly dark brown to brown skinned with occasional light brown coloured individuals. The hair is low or deep waved with a small element of straight haired individuals, black to dark brown in colour. The hair on face, chest, arms and legs is characteristically very scanty.

They are medium statured with a mean stature of 161.3 Cms. The heads are dolichocephalic with a mean value of 74.45 Cms. and occasionally mesocephalic but never brachycephalic. The facial height is very low and the jugomandibular index indicates broad faces with jutting malar bones. The nose is broad to very broad with a mean value of 85.03. It is short in length, with shallow nasion depression, and straight in profile. The forehead is receding while the chin is prominent, medium or square in shape. The lips are of medium thickness and slightly everted. The description closely confirms to the first type described by Prof. Haimendorf.

The dolichocephalic head-medium stature, wavy hair, dark brown to brown skin colour places the Gonds among the proto-australoid or weddid groups of India. But the jutting malars indicate admixture with Mundari population. The dermatoglyphic studies of Tribal Cultural Research and Training Institute (1978) also confirm the above view as they have a lower pattern intensity index (13.20) like that of Vettukuruma, Oraon and Khonds who considered as mixed australoids. The Gonds are also characteristic in exhibiting the highest rate of

colour blindness (6%) compared to the lower rates below 2 per cent among other tribal population.

Language

Gondi is a Dravidian language and stands according to Grierson, closer to Tamil and Kanarese than to Telugu. A large number of Hindi words have been adopted into the vocabulary of Gondi in Central India and Telugu and Marathi words in Adilabad and Chanda districts. Gondi has no written characters and literature. The Gondi spoken by the Raj Gonds of Adilabad differs from the Gondi spoken in Bastar, Betul and Chanda. A distinctive feature of Adilabad Gondi is the frequent substitution of an initial 'S' for the initial 'H' of the Bastar and Chanda dialects. Thus in Adilabad Gonds pronounce 'sile' (for no) but the Bastar Gonds pronounce 'halle' (no) and 'Surana' (to see) instead of 'Hurana'. In the nominative the Gonds of Betul usually drop the initial 'n' inherent in the first and second person of the personal pronoun and say 'ana' (I) and 'imma' (thou) the Gonds of Adilabad use the full form 'nana' (I) and 'nime' (thou). The Chanda Gond, like the Hill Maria says 'lon' (house), while the Adilabad Gond pronounces the word clearly 'r', 'ron'. Thus the language of the Gonds is basically the same though it differs in pronunciation and absorption of local languages in its fold.

In a population of approximately 48 lakhs of Gonds in India, about 17.50 lakhs population i. e., 36.39 per cent speak Gondi. Whereas in the Southern region comprising the States of Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka and parts of Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra and Orissa, out of a Gond population of 19.45 lakhs, 11.35 lakhs constituting 58.33 per cent speak Gondi. Therefore the percentage of Gondi speaking people in Southern region to the total Gondi speaking population of India works out to 65 per cent.

History

The Raj Gonds are famous for their rich mythology, as flourishing rulers of the mediaeval period of Indian History. They ruled vast tract divided into four major principalities between 14th and 18th centuries.

In the wake of the disintegration of the Tughlaq dynasty at Delhi, a new and independent Kingdom of Bahamani Sultans was established in the Deccan. A number of other princi-

palities also sprang up on the ruins of the earlier Kakatiya Dynasty of Warangal. The Southern Gond principality of Sirpur/Chanda was one such Gond independent State that was thrown up by the prevailing political turmoil in the Deccan. Along with the Southern Gond Kingdom of Sirpur/Chanda the other Gond Kingdoms were believed to have almost simultaneously sprang up at (1) Garha (Northern), (2) Deogarha (Central), (3) Kharla (Near Betul).

Forsyth (1871) believed that these Gond Kingdoms were actually established by the Rajputs who were pushed to these inaccessible tracts between 11th and 15th centuries by the invading Mohammedan armies. But in contrast, Temple (1882) thinks that these kingdoms were established by Gonds themselves and organised themselves into three or four principalities under local chieftains. Chatterton (1916) also lends support to this view in his monumental work. "The story of Gondwana",

The Southern Gond kingdom seems to be the earliest organised State. Legend also supports the view crediting Bhim Ballal with the establishment of the first Gond kingdom with Sirpur as his capital in the year 895 A. D. The legend also traces the succession line of the Kings and mentions that Suraji Ballal Shah won the title of 'Shersha' from the Emperor of Delhi besides securing gift of Gondwana from Mandala Southwards in appreciation of his services. However, his son Khandikya Ballal Shah shifted the capital of his kingdom from Sirpur to the present day Ballarsha and from there to Chanda. Ain-I-Akbari mentions that Gond King Babaji commanded thousand horses (cavalry) and forty thousand infantry and was in possession of the diamond mines of Wairagarh.

It can therefore be derived that Babaji ruled in the beginning of 16th Century taking into account the succession of three Gond kings in between Khandikya Ballaishah and Babaji. It can also be safely inferred from this that the first Gond Kingdom sprang up around the middle of 14th century taking advantage of the confusion that engulfed the Kakatiya territory for about two decades with the fall of the dynasty in 1323 A. D. Sethu Madhava Rao (1949) is also of the view that around "1350 A. D. Gonds seized power and established the kingdom at Sirpur, whence they must have overflowed into the present district of Chanda".

The history of Deccan provides many glimpses into the notable role played by Gonds in the political vicissitudes of the kingdoms of Warangal, Bahamani, Kherla, etc. Fixing 1350 A. D. as the date of establishment of independent Gond kingdom of Chanda, the Gonds must have enjoyed independent status for about a little less than a century through their vassals like the Raja of the Gond area, Kherla near Betul. Warangal according to Grigson, is an original home of the ruling family of Bastar. "This Kakatiya family has probably originally feudatory to the Chalukya kings and only later ruled independently. Pratapa Rudra, the greatest and the last independent Kakatiya king of Warangal, lost his life and independence in battle with the Mohammedan invaders of the Deccan under Ahmad Shah Bahamani early in the fifteenth century and, according to Bastar tradition and folk song, his brother Annam Deo fled across the Godavari into Bastar, which had been an outlying and loosely held group of feudal dependencies of Warangal**".

Kalam was one of the important diamond mines that attracted the evil designs of the powerful neighbours of the Gond Kingdom of Chanda. Famous Muslim historian Ferishta writes that Ahmad Shah attacked the fort of Mahur and took possession of diamond mines in Kalam belonging to the Rajah of Gondwana after putting to sword a garrison of five thousand at Mahur.

Ferishta's accounts clearly show that the Gond Rajahs not only took sides in the State wars of Muslim kingdom but also wrecked vengeance whenever opportunity arose. However, the independent status of the Gond kingdom came to an end with the annexation of Berar by Akbar along with the Gond fort of Manikgarh in 1598 A.D. However it was the raising Maratha power of the 18th century that completely annihilated the Gond kingdom of Chanda. Raghoji Bhonsle annexed Chanda after killing the last of the Gond Rajah in 1751.

In fact Mahur under Gond control flourished as a centre of religious activity both for Jains and Mahapurnbhav movement. Evidence is available to show that Jain Mahants of Sikhar Jagir at Mahur enjoyed the patronage of Gond rulers. This movement did not have any impact on the religious life of the Gond.

The historical record of a British settlement Officer reveals the flourishing Gond life in the Chanda kingdom. "They left, if we forget the last few years, a well governed and contended kingdom adorned with admirable works of engineering skill and prosperous to a point which no after time has reached. They left their mark behind them in royal tombs, lakes and palaces. *Their love for agriculture and irrigation is indicated by their method of inducing cultivators to construct irrigation tanks by giving "to any one who made a tank, a grant free revenue of the land lying beneath it. A large number of small irrigation tanks were constructed under this inducement in the Wainganga valley which still remain***".

Describing the conditions of Gonds of Adilabad, Prof. Haimendorf (1948) mentions that "as long as the Gonds remained the ruling race, their standard of living and their material culture seems to have been by no means low and there can be no doubt that, relative to the general standards of yesterday, it was higher than it is today".

In great contrast the present day Gonds have none of the qualities and capabilities of their fore-fathers. How is it that such a flourishing and prosperous Gond people have retreated to the mountain pastures and became primitives? The answer lies in the period of Maratha conquest, pillage and plundering of Gond principalities. While Marathas are credited with the stemming of Mohammedan onslaughts, they stand equally discredited for laying waste and looting persistently the both resisting and surrendering territories of Gond chieftains and in the process divested the Gonds of the last vestiges of civilizations and forced them to take to high way robberies and savagery narrated by the travellers of these lands of the period. "They regularly plundered and murdered stragglers and small parties passing through the hills... and after looting and killing the whole night re-treated across country to their jungle fortresses guided by the light of a bona fire**".

Thus the Marathas, while subjugating and extracting tribute without any thought for the establishment of regular government in the area contributing for the reduction from once princely people into a plundering bands of high way robbers. However, the advent of the British and

*Verrier Elwin, *The Muria and their Ghotul*; 1947 Bombay, Geoffrey Cumberlege, Oxford University Press, PP. 20.

** Russell R.V. & Hiralal, *The Tribes and Castes of Central provinces of India*, London, 1916 Pages 46 & 47 respectively.

their firm establishment in the country had once changed the Gond way of life. The situation of maladjustment was completely controlled and the ferocious Gond took a completely reverse posture by becoming meek and gullible. After the introduction of a strong and equitable system of Government, by the British, these wild murderers soon settled down and became the timid and inoffensive labourers which they now are”^{*}.

Economy

The main occupation of Gonds is agriculture or agricultural labour. The Gonds of Bastar still practise the traditional method of shifting cultivation called 'Bewar'. The Gonds of Andhra Pradesh who are almost confined to Adilabad district and the Gonds of Chanda are settled agriculturists growing mainly food crops like Jawar which is their staple food and cash crops cotton which is extensively grown in the black cotton soils of Uttoor high lands. Paddy is also grown in some patches where irrigation is assured under tanks, wells or lift irrigation sources. Mixed cropping is practised. In between rows of Jawar or cotton, rows of red or black or green grams are grown besides bengal gram. The Gond country of Andhra Pradesh is not blessed with abundant irrigation though the tributaries of Godavari like Penuganga and Kadem, flow through Gond country as they are not so far harnessed for the benefit of Gonds. Unlike other tribal areas Adilabad is not having a large number of hill streams or natural springs. Even the Kadam dam across the river Kadam serves only the non-tribals. However, in recent years many medium and minor irrigation projects have been taken up for construction. Satnala medium irrigation project and a number of lift irrigation and other minor irrigation schemes are initiated for improving the irrigation facilities. In the Raigarh area of Orissa the Gonds cultivate millets for food and niger as cash crop. The soils of Bastar and Orissa State are not suitable for cotton cultivation and that crop is conspicuously absent. Maize has been introduced recently and is becoming popular in Dandakaranya region. Apart from the cultivated lands the Gonds all over the Southern region grow vegetables in gardens attached to their houses.

Gond economy is unisectoral with heavy dependence on agriculture without any diversification though many agro-mineral and forest

based industries like cement factory, cotton spinning factories, paper mills, etc., have come up in the Gond country and in its periphery. In Andhra Pradesh so far no Gond is employed in these industries according to tribal manpower study in tribal areas of Adilabad district (1978). Even in the forest labour Gonds are not much in prominence. However, the per family land holding is highest in comparison to tribal areas in other districts. According to a Survey^{*} per family land holding of Gonds worked out to 13 acres. This was because of the large scale land assignment policy adopted by the then Nizams Government by excising the productive forests areas and assigning them to tribals. Consequent upon a minor Gond rising called Bobjhari uprising against alienation of tribal lands by non-tribals, each tribal family was assigned land to the extent of 15 to 25 acres, being the economic holdings, which are called 'Loani Khaos' assignments. Further, joint family predominates other types of families, the result being large-sized family holdings. In the Raigarh area also it was observed that the Gonds own holdings of 10 acres and above on the average. The community exhibits a remarkable sense of attachment to land than to any other occupation. A study conducted among the Raj Gonds of Adilabad district revealed that there is no significant change in the occupational pattern. It is noticed that the shift is only within the agricultural sector.

It is very rarely that one comes across the traditional occupational groups like carpenter or blacksmith in these areas as the Gonds are their own carpenters and blacksmiths. Male members of the Gond family carve their plough yoke and cart with the wood secured from forests. The iron parts like plough share axe head, etc., are purchased from the weekly market fixed after moulding by the Gonds themselves.

'Lamsadi' or marriage by service, a universal traditional custom of Gonds is one of the social institutions that has economic consequences. A Gond family having only daughters or one or two sons who could not collectively undertake agricultural operations of the large family holdings extending upto 50 to 100 acres bring a poor Gond boy on promise of marriage to the daughter after a period of service in the family agricultural lands. Many Gond families remain as either vertically or horizontally extended

^{*}Russel and Hiralal, the Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces of India, London, 1916, P. 147

^{*} Government of Andhra Pradesh; *Occupational Pattern and Development of Priorities among the Raj Gonds of Adilabad district*, 1972, Tribal Cultural Research and Training Institute, PP : 23.

joint families to facilitate corporate economic activity of the kin without the need for hired farm hands which are very scarce also.

Both men and women participate in the family agricultural work. Men undertake ploughing, digging, thrashing and other heavier type of agricultural operations, while women help them with weeding, crop cutting and other lighter agricultural operations.

As most of the rainfall occurs during south-west monsoon period, only kharif crops are grown during June—August while the second crop is raised in small patches, where irrigation facilities are available.

Some of the Gonds supplement their agricultural income with collection and sale of minor forest produce like gum karaya and chiranjee. They also collect beedi leaves a seasonally for wages paid by the contractors.

This, once ruling tribe which went through a period of a mal-adjustment and finally settled down to sedentary agriculture, though possessing sizable agricultural holdings of fertile black cotton soil in which cash crops like cotton and food crops like Jowar and various grams are grown still leads a subsistence level of living. An analysis of the family budgets showed that *per capita* income of an average Gond worked out to Rs. 206.99.

Dietary habits

The dietary habits of the Southern Gonds are almost similar except that the cereals and pulses consumed in various places differ on the basis of the crops cultivated according to the suitability of the soil for different crops. In Andhra Pradesh and Maharashtra, Jowar and Maize along with red gram or field beans form the staple food, while in Bastar, Raipur and Orissa, Ragi, Kodi or Italian millet form the staple diet. Maize has been introduced in this area recently by the displaced persons of Bangla Desh settled in Dandakaranya. Rice is grown as a rain-fed dry crop in Madhya Pradesh and Orissa, rarely in Andhra Pradesh and Maharashtra. The usual diet consists of a gruel made out of broken Jowar called 'Peja' in central India. It is consumed without any vegetables early in the morning. Smaller grains like samai and Italian millet are extensively

consumed in Bastar and Orissa. Usual side dish is red gram dal with much chilly powder, a few onions and tamarind. Vegetables are consumed in large quantities, only during the winter when they are extensively grown in their back yards. They rarely consume oil, milk or milk products. The consumption of mutton is also very negligible. In contrast to the large consumption of wild foods like roots and tubers, fruits and leaves by other tribals of the region, the Gonds consume mainly cultivated foods. Their cereal and pulse consumption is relatively superior than the other tribals and their diets are rarely deficient in proteins and calories. However, minerals such as iron and calcium, vitamins A and B Complex are deficient due to absence of milk and milk products and fruits in their diets. The habit of drinking black tea without milk is becoming very popular. Among the food available in the environment *Bassia latifolia* provides the Gond with clesisted mahua flowers and *Buchanania latifolia* with Chiranjees, both of which are found in stiff of great value to all tribals. *Phosonia sylvestris* and *Borassus flabellifer* these two palm trees that yield sat (Sandi and Toddy) occur rarely. *Caryota urens*, whose palm wine is highly valued among Koyas and Bastar Gonds is unknown in Adilabad district.

The Gonds now a days do little hunting and appear to have abandoned hunting as a sport or ritual activity.

The Gonds usually look healthy but suffer from malaria, scabies, tuberculosis and digestive tract diseases whose incidence is relatively more in the inaccessible areas*.

Social structure

The social structure of the Southern Gonds is different from Gonds of other regions. It is based on mythologically decreed four phratry organisation. Each of these four exogamous phratries consists of a number of clans and members belonging to clans of a particular phratry are considered brothers and sisters. The four phratries trace their descent to four, five, six and seven mythical brothers from whom the members of the phratry are considered to have sprung up and they are named as four brothers phratry (Nalwen Saga). The social structure of the Southern Gonds is different from the Gonds of other regions. Clan and tribe are

* Government of Andhra Pradesh, Health Services in Sub-Plan areas of Andhra Pradesh, 1978. Tribal Cultural Research and Training Institute.

related contextually in two different ways, in the first instance tribalness as membership of an endogamous unit and in the second instance the tribalness as distinct from the wider Indian context of casteness. The Gond descent system is based on structural principles of unity and indivisibility and that makes it categorically distinct from the Indian caste system. However structurally Gond Kinship system is a part of wider Hindu system. The Gonds see themselves as totally separate. Prof. Haimendorf*, observed that Gond society is conceptually a total system and no segment of it can contract out of basic framework of phratries and clans. On the contrary Hindu caste system have inbuilt tendency to split up into endogamous sub-sects of varying social status and no section of Raj Gond society could function as independent endogamous unit short of complete repudiation of all ties of tribal solidarity.

Both clan and phratry systems are complex among Gonds and the Gond society is vertically divided into four major exogamous patrilineal groups known as phratries (Saga). The phratries are not divisions in the sense of sub-castes or tribal segments but constituent parts of social structure which cannot function except through their continuous interaction in marital relations and ritual operations. The four phratries are referred to as Yerwen saga, Seriwen saga, Siwen saga and Nalwen saga "Wen" is a Gondi term implying a category of pri-mordial male ancestors while yer, ser, si and nal are abbreviations of numerals in Gondi language for seven, six, five and four respectively. These numbers do not indicate a system of ranking but relate to the order of emergence of original ancestors. Each phratry has its own deity-Persa Pen worshipped by all its constituent clans. The phratry is not a corporate ceremonial unit. The clan God is worshipped by the clan members and maximal lineage. Each of these four phratries comprises a number of clans and members belonging to particular phratry are considered as brothers and sisters. The phratries constitute a basic frame within which the tradition bound social forces operate and almost every major social and ritual occasion bears out this phratry based fragmentation of social structure of Gonds.

The phratry is governed by two basic principles, i. e., descent and fraternal solidarity. Descent is vertical axis following the division of the Gond society into four phratries originating from their four epical ancestors. This system binds the living male members together which form an agnatic group while the horizontal dimension revolves on the basic principles of fraternal solidarity between the contemporary members of the agnatic group and their wives. The phratry regulates marital relations and corporate activities in the social and economic and ritual relations of their life.

Each phratry is strictly exogamous and subdivided into a number of clans*. Clan rather than phratry is the most immediately apparent motif in the Gond society. Every man or married woman or boy is identified by the clan and by its phratry. Every member of the Gond society knows by heart which clan belongs to which phratry and the relationship between two individuals persists through a classificatory model. All members of a person's own phratry stand to him or her in the relation of 'Saga', i. e., paternal kinsmen and are excluded from the ranks of potential mates. Members of other phratries are 'Soira' or potential mates and relations-in-law. The phratry system is not so strong in Bastar and Orissa as in Adilabad but even here they consider those clans as brother clans which worship the same number of clan Gods. The four phratry system does not extend to all branches of Raj Gonds, while four phratries are found in that part of Madhya Pradesh which lies South of Nagpur, only two phratries occur among Gonds of Northern Nagpur plain and Satpura region. Many of the Gond clans are totemistic and named after animals. Generally the members of a sept do not kill or injure their totem animals.

Though the Gonds of Adilabad and Raigarh are separated by many other groups over a very large distance it is very interesting to note that a number of common totemistic clans exist between them, such as, Maravi, Naitam, Pusam, Poyam, Kurram, Vetī, Tekam which indicate that inspite of regional diversity the Southern Gonds have a common kinship system.

*Haimendorf, C. V. F. The descent Group system of the Raj Gonds, 1956. London, School of Oriental and African studies Vol. XVIII: Part-3.

*Michal Yorke : Kinship, marriage and ideology among the Raj Gonds a tribal system in the context of South India, 1979; Vol. 13 No. 1 contribution to Indian Sociology.

*The clan organisation of the Gonds "Burdakar M. P. Man in India XXVII 1947.

Until marriage a Gond girl is only a daughter of her natal clan. It is therefore essential in Gond society that all girls are married. The girl becomes a member of that clan in which she is primarily married. The Gond men may have more than one primary marriage and it is the reason for the prevalence of polygyny. Soon after marriage a bride is introduced to the clan deity of her husband. She will never lose the membership in spite of secondary marriages to members of other clans.

Though the Gond woman enjoys freedom in selecting mates, divorce and dances, her status is definitely inferior to that of the males. The Gond woman cannot cook or offer any food offered to the clan Gods. An unmarried girl cannot take part in the rituals of the clan deity-persa pen. Though the unmarried Gond girl enjoys unrestricted freedom, the moment she is married, she is subjected to number of restrictions and has to be more faithful to her husband. In spite of working very hard in the fields, as well as cooking food for the family, tending cattle, fetching water and doing all sorts of odd jobs, a woman cannot inherit any property from her parents or from her husband. A married woman has to observe avoidance of her son-in-law and also her husband's elder brother (Raigarh). Such restrictions make the position of Gond woman inferior to that of their men.

The Gonds of Bastar and Raigarh area of Orissa have the institution of common sleeping houses known as Gotulghar, which are conspicuously absent among the Raj Gonds of Maharashtra and Andhra Pradesh. The boys and girls have two separate houses called Dhangria, Ghotal (Boy's dormitory) and Dhangri Ghotal (Girl's dormitory) in Raigarh, where every unmarried boy or girl above 12 years have to sleep at night. In Bastar and Raigarh the boys and girls have a regular organisation, the captain of the boy's dormitory being called Kotwar and the Vice-captain Mukwan, while the captain of the girls' is called Belosa and the Vice-captain is called Dolosa. The boys and girls sing and dance together and are also taught the tribal ritual and etiquette at the Gotul. The boys and girls become intimate and ultimately settle their marriages.

Descent and inheritance are patrilineal, residence being patrilocal except in the case of marriage by service (Lamsade) where matrilocal residence is permitted for the period during which the son-in-law is expected to serve in the

parents-in-law's house. Family is the basic unit of Gond social structure. Majority of the Gond families are either extended or joint families. Polygynous families are frequently met with as many of the landed Gonds usually marry more than one wife. Though marriage by negotiation is the frequently resorted to as a method of acquiring mates, capture, service and mutual love and elopment are also met with. It is interesting to note that sometimes a boy is also captured to secure not only a bridegroom for the daughter but also to ensure a working hand for the farm work. However, the status of this lamsade son-in-law is in no way inferior to the other members of the family. Even after marriage and expiry of the period of service, sometimes, the son-in-law may continue to stay in the father-in-law's house and gets a share of the property along with sons of the family.

It may be concluded that clans and sub-clans system of Gonds continue to operate effectively in general and particular at ritual level. Further it is also observed that remarkable feature of the Gond society is that clan system persists as an integrating force. It is noticed that the traditional authority is decaying while the rigidity and the strength of Gond's descent group system has continued to remain unaffected.

Religion:

The Gonds all over India are polytheistic. All deities are thought of in anthropomorphic terms. All Gonds worship a supreme being, called Shembu Pen in Chanda and Adilabad and Bara Deo in Madhya Pradesh. Various other names are used for the Supreme God. Near Chanda and Adilabad, God is known by the name Persa Pen, in Bastar as Bara Pen, in Orissa Badiyal Pen. It is evident from Gond tradition that in olden days Bara Deo was honoured by the sacrifice of a cow, which practice is on the wane. Bara Deo is recognised as the creator and master of the universe. Yet in their religious ritual, he plays a very unimportant part. Dhartri Mata, the Earth mother is also worshipped universally.

The cult of village guardian deities both male and female is also a universal phenomenon of Gond religion. Thus Aki Pen, the village guardian and Auwal (mother) the village mother are found in every Gond village of Adilabad and Kher mai in Central India. Gods of disease such as Manai mata, Sital Mata, shrines of Bhimana, Jangubai, Beani, Rajel pen, all deities with power to influence the fate of the human beings

are also found in many villages, but their cult rests with the individual families and they are known as household Gods. These household Gods increase or decrease as special occasion necessitates. If a set of Gods do not work satisfactorily they are also discarded and a new set introduced. Similarly field Gods, cattle Gods and Gods of the dead are also very common. They worship Gods presiding over the village destinies, the crops, epidemic diseases, the spirits of their forefathers and the weapons and creations of the chase. They consist of stones or mud platforms, placed at a convenient distance from the village under the shade of some appropriate tree and often having a red or white flag, made of a piece of cloth, tied to the end of a pole to indicate their positions.

The cult of the clan Gods or deities stands foremost in the Gond's religious consciousness except in areas where the tribal culture is already in a state of disintegration. Among the Southern Raj Gonds of Adilabad and Maharashtra the cult of clan God is still very prominent and it is firmly anchored in Gond mythology preserved through oral tradition by the Pradhans who are hereditary bards to Gonds. Due to growing contacts with neighbouring Hindu population in Central Province the old forms of ritual customs including cow sacrifice has disappeared. The Gond religion in its original form is still very much evident among the Gonds inhabiting the hill tracts lying between Penganga and Godavari river. The relationship between the Gonds of Adilabad and Yeotmal and Chanda district is very close and identical belief system and cult form prevail among them. Even among the Madyha Pradesh Gonds each clan has a Bara Deo or Persa Pen of its own and it is believed that the spirits of the deceased are united with Bara Deo of their own clan some times after death. They also regulate their marriage according to the number of their clan Gods. However the worship of clan gods is conspicuously absent there.

Though the deities propitiated by the Gonds on one or the other occasion are many, it is mainly the cult of the clan-deities, the Persa Pen, which derives sanction from their sacred epics. According to Gond doctrine the culture hero Pahandi Kupar Lingal instructed the ancestors of the Gonds in the cult of the deities to be worshipped by each of the four phratries (saga) and procured for them four iron spear heads, four whisks (chauwur), four sets of brass bells (gagre), four bamboo staves (kati) and four

cloths (kariwa), the symbols used in the cult of Persa Pen, the great God. The original four phratries (saga) have later split into clan (parni) and into sub-clans (kehandan) and the Gonds explain that in the course of time each of the clans obtained a set of ritual objects and began to worship the Persa Pen of their phratry at separate sanctuaries. Now there is no clan which does not pride in the possession of its own Persa Pen symbols.

Associated with the Persa Pen of all clans are 'sati' small stones or lumps of hardened vermilion paste which represent the female ancestors of the clan and Kanik, the symbols of prominent male members of the clan. The deceased clan members are formally joined with the clan deities by the sacrifice of a goat, and on the third evening of Persa Pen feast in 'pus' is entirely devoted to the propitiation of the clan ancestors and the departed.

To propitiate deities there are separate priests for the clan deities and village deities. The clan priest is called 'Katora', whose office is hereditary. Each clan and sub-clan has one family of 'Katora'. Usually the office passes from father to eldest son, but if necessary any member of the family can function as 'Katora'. He is very important in establishing harmonious relations between the living clan members and invisible forces including spirits of ancestors and departed. The village priest is known as 'Devvari' and performs rites for the village deities. He is usually the descendent of the village founder and often combines his function as priest with that of 'Patel'. The 'Bhaktal' or seers are those people who establish direct contact with the Gods by falling into a state of trance, interpreted as possession by Gods during certain ritual performances. These are men and rarely women. The two principal Persa Pen feasts are held in the months of Bhawe (May-June) and Pus (December-January), and a minor ceremony is often performed at the time of Dassera. Another functionary in both Adilabad and Central Provinces is the 'Pradhan' or 'Pradhanga', who are the traditional bards of the Gonds, and the songs and stories which they preserve by oral transmission are the most important depositories of Gond tradition. Their presence at religious rites is obligatory, but they function only as musicians, never as priests.

The belief in witchcraft and magic is strong among Gonds; the Gonds in the recent past used to sacrifice cows. It was also a recorded

fact that Gonds were accustomed to offer human sacrifice specially to goddess Kali and goddess Dhanteswari, the tutelary deities of Rajas of Bastar and Chanda districts. Mr. Hislop is of the view that human sacrifices were offered until well into the 19th century. This practice is not in vogue now and given up completely. However during my recent visit in October '80 to Raigarh block Woorimetla Tahasil of Koraput district of Orissa State the officials informed that recently i.e., 2 years before a case of human sacrifice was reported from Jalanpara village of Raigarh block. During my tours in 1949 in Kerimeri circle of Adilabad district a young Gond who was driving my cart narrated that he was himself a victim who was caught and tied to a tree in Kerimeri forest and was about to be sacrificed, but fortunately he was rescued by a team of forest officials who happened to incidentally pass through that way. These two stray incidents appear to be remnants of the past abnoxious religious practices.

The Gond festivals are also associated with the first eating and sowing of the new crops. In Chait (March) the Chaitra festival is celebrated in Bastar, Orissa as well as in Andhra Pradesh. A pig or fowl is offered to the village gods and the new beans and jowar or other foods are offered uncooked. After dancing and singing for the whole night they start eating the new foods. Before sowing new millet a sacrifice for the mother goddess and a sacrifice for the village deities are performed to ensure the successful germination of the seeds. Some grains, fowls and a pig are sacrificed to the deity and the blood of the sacrificed animal is sprinkled over the seeds and the charmed seeds offered to the god are then distributed to all the villagers who sow it in their fields for luck.

Development Trends

The traditional Gond political structure consisted of hierarchically organised centres of power—'Patel' (village level head), 'Mokhash' (head of group of villages), Rajah or Chieftain and finally the Gond King of Chanda. At the village level the 'Patel' used to preside over a tribal council consisting of hereditary elders including the 'Patadi' and 'Katora' the priest of the village. Marriage negotiations, family disputes, petty economic offences, social disputes like divorce and elopements, incestuous

material and sexual relations, violation of principles of tribal endogamy or phratry or clan exogamy besides fixation of dates for festival elections and first ploughing of fields are some of the activities of the traditional councils at the level of village and tribe. 'Mokhashi' who commands the economic resources of a group of villages also settles the inter-village disputes and other disputes that could not be settled by the village council. A Rajah was similar to 'Mokhashi' but for his large area of jurisdiction and higher political and social status and command over economic resources of a large number of villages. The 'Mokhashis' and 'Rajahs' owned their allegiance to the Rajah of Chanda and paid him tribute besides helping him with men, materials and money in times of need and war.

The Gonds of Bastar and Orissa have caste Panchayats which settle inter-tribal and intra-tribal disputes. The members of the Panchayat are selected by mutual consent and enjoy office till his behaviour is good. Inter-tribal and intra-village disputes are settled by a common sitting of the two Panchayats. The guilt or established either by direct eye witness, divination or by ordeals like putting one's hand^s in boiling oil or lifting a red hot crowbar. The offences that are dealt by the panchayats are adultery, taking another man's daughter or wife, being sent to jail, eating jail food, eating with a man of lower caste etc. Ex-communication is the severest punishment. Feasts have to be arranged for readmittance of the communicated person into the community.

The traditional power structure underwent a radical change after the down fall of Gond kingdom of Chanda in 1751. A new structure of power and authority was introduced down to the grass root level. The Marathas introduced the institution of Deshmukh and 'Deshpande' with 'Watan', for group of villages belonging to non-tribals. The 'Deshmukhs' were meant for collecting land revenue while the 'Deshpande' used to keep the accounts of the village revenue and land and crops records. Some of them became 'Watandar' Patels and Patwaris for some of the villages under their jurisdiction and in the process leaving out the Gond chiefs with the semi religious and social functions. Further, the successive Nizams added the feudal offices of 'Jagirdars'

Russel, R. V. and Hiralal, R. B. The Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces of India, 1916; London, Macmillan and Co., PP. 112.

who used to exploit the weak and powerless Gonds. The establishment of Nizam's Rule further expanded the administrative machinery up to the village level. A hierarchy of administrative personnel have been systematically preserved and the 'Deshmukh' and 'Deshpande' were also stripped of the powers with the introduction of Panchayat Raj and Community Development. The whole of Gond concentrated area is brought under democratic decentralization set-up with the establishment of Panchayat Samitis. Thus a feudalistic society of Raj Gonds of Southern region has been transformed into a decentralised democratic society with a statutory leadership elected through adult franchise in place of hereditary succession.

The dawn of independence and the strategy of directed change adopted for the socio-economic transformation of the country unleashed a series of development programmes whose benefits percolated even to the Gond areas. However, unlike the other Gond country, the Gond areas of Adilabad have been fortunate enough in reaping the benefit of development programmes as early as 1940. As mentioned earlier the necessity for introducing the programme was felt by events leading to the Bobjihari uprising and the consequent chaos created in the Gond society. There was a similar uprising in Bastar in 1910 also. The developmental programme envisaged in Adilabad district in early 1940's mainly centred around provision of much needed social and economic infrastructure. As a part or implementation of these developmental programmes vast areas of unproductive forest was excised and assigned to the Gonds under 'Laoni Khas' scheme to provide them a fairly stable and reliable source of livelihood. This economic development programme formed basis for envisaging Gond education scheme to help transformation of Gond society. As a first step under this scheme a training centre was started to teach 3 Rs of education to the illiterate adult Gonds and to introduce them to improved agricultural and allied practices. The successful trainees of this centre were appointed as teachers in newly started schools. Special primers and charts were prepared in Gondi with Devanagari script. Thus an education programme suited to their genius was started for the exclusive benefit of tribals who were then almost at zero point of literacy.

The Gond Education Scheme, Co-operative Movement and Land Assignment constitute the

vital components of the Gond Development Programme whose strategy was evolved by Prof. Haimendorf and adopted almost up to the beginning of second Five-Year Plan. During the Second Five-Year Plan the entire programme got merged and almost lost its identity with the introduction of Community Development Programme in Gond area in the year 1952. A specific strategy of Tribal Development called Multipurpose Projects was evolved at All-India level and implemented in areas of tribal concentration all over the country. One of such Multipurpose Tribal Development Project was first introduced with its headquarters at Utnoor in 1956-57 bringing the Gond area of Adilabad into the fold of intensive development for the first time. The process still continues, though the instrumentality underwent changes from Multipurpose approach to Tribal Development Block approach during Third Plan period heralding new era of tribal development in areas of Gond predominance. The sub-plan strategy has adopted integrated Tribal Development approach by creating a second tier district level development Institution called Integrated Tribal Development Agency for the promotion of accelerated balanced development of identified areas of tribal concentration since the Fifth Plan period.

Many new institutions have come into existence due to implementation of tribal development programmes. Besides the non-residential primary schools and upper primary schools and high schools, residential ashram schools are also established to suit the tribal way of life. Similarly in addition to the common primary health centres and headquarters hospitals, mobile medical units were established to take medical care to the door steps of the tribals. Many protective regulations have been passed to safeguard the interests of tribals in land and forest and shield them from the depredations of money lenders, land alienators etc., besides continuation of land assignment scheme.

The tribal development programmes implemented for the benefit of Gonds of Adilabad region have no doubt helped them to grow, yet the Gonds have not been able to avail the opportunity fully thrown at their door step. There appears to be certain inherent weaknesses of fear psychosis and barriers operating in their minds due to long impact of various forces. Their sense of pride permitted them to be lenient in their outlook. The land grabbing and aggressive immigrant fully exploited

their simple nature to their advantage. The magnitude of the incursions of non-tribals becomes clear if we glance at decennial growth of population in 1971 over 1961 in Utnoor Taluk. The total population has increased from 55.09 to 93.82 thousands. The Gonds characteristically succumb to the pressures of new settlers. The similar situation was observed by Mr. Naronia as early as 1944 while discussing the problems of tribes of Madhya Pradesh. I was told during my visit to Raigarh block that Gonds were not able to withstand the pressure of non-tribals.

Protective laws have been in force in all the scheduled areas of the country but these laws have proved ineffective on account of manipulative techniques and circumvention of laws by the non-tribal. In Utnoor Taluk, hardly there is any village where Gonds have not been totally or partially ousted by the non-tribals inspite of strong protective laws promulgated to save the tribals' interest.

Due to opening of a net-work of roads commercial activity has increased. Commercial centres and shops have grown all along the roads in this region and these may endanger the capital assets of the Gonds and also adversely affect their living. The Gonds who were previously raising mainly food crops have now taken to commercial crops like cotton. They are also making use of radio sets, bicycle, etc. They do not invest on capital assets. The fruitful use of income calls for skill and foresight which the Gonds do not have. In contrast to the situation the Gonds of Raigarh still prefer to grow food crops and the new crop like maize is introduced recently by the immigrants on a commercial basis, but the material possession of these Gonds in this region is still traditional. The tea is usually served in leaf cups and for the visitors it is served in brass ware plates (Thali). The quality of life in these villages do not appear to have undergone change when compared to the Gonds of Adilabad.

The Gonds do not appear to have realized the value of education in strengthening their socio-economic fabric. A net-work of educational institutions have grown in a period of 30 years yet few Gond children have succeeded in the transition from these schools to the normal Middle and High Schools. The number of matriculates

is very small while the graduates can be counted on finger tips. The apathy to pursue education appears to be universal among the Gonds. Even in Madhya Pradesh position of literacy among Gonds is not better. Out of the total population of 48 lakhs only 4.42 lakhs are literates among the Gonds i. e., the percentage of literacy of Gonds to the total S. T. population of India is 1.16 per cent. The percentage of literate Gonds constitute 9.20 to its total population (1971 census). The illiterates constitute 91.65 per cent to the total population of 37 lakhs in M. P. The matriculates are only 7,048 which works out to 0.18 per cent. The graduates and post-graduates are 288 (0.01 per cent). Among the Gonds of Andhra Pradesh the literacy percentage is only 3.3 per cent.

The two Gonds who have been representing reserved assembly constituencies till 1978 have lost their seats to other tribal communities in Adilabad & these representatives did not represent the interest of their constituents effectively. Stephen Fuchs in 1960 observed "that though the Gonds are better represented in Parliament and in the Legislative Councils their participation in forming Government policy is not at all in correspondence with their numbers. At the last election, the Congress party put up several Gond candidates in various districts and they were elected on the Congress tickets. These candidates, however, had either so completely adopted non-tribal ways of life that they could not adequately put forward the problems of aboriginal Gond, or they were so backward that they could not make themselves heard in the councils.*

The Gond society is also under the impact of religious movements. In the States of Madhya Pradesh and Orissa, the Gonds appear to be under the strong influence of the religious leaders who are advocating various restrictions on food, drink etc. A similar wave is also seen among the Gonds of Raigarh of Orissa State. The Gonds of Adilabad who have preserved a rich cultural tradition are also exposed to the alien faith and they are under the influence of late saint Tukdoji Maharaj. His disciple, saint Surya Bhan Maharaj who resides in the high lands of Utnoor Taluk is also advocating vegetarianism and other taboos. In Udaipur village of Raigarh it was noticed that even the traditional social institution 'Ghotul' (youth dormitory) is under the influence of the religious movement. Gonds in this village have

*Stephen Fuchs: The Gond and Bhumia of Eastern Mandle; 1960; Bombay, Asia Publishing House, PP: 236.

also learnt new pattern of Bhajans and prayer taught by their religious leaders; 'Babas' and this is reflected in their music and dance patterns.

It may be seen that the religious institutions, religious beliefs, social life of Gonds are undergoing changes. As a result of this the Gond society is found to be segmented into the traditionalists and neo-religious practitioners.

Marked changes have not taken place in the occupational structure as the agriculture continues to be the main-stay for a vast majority of the Gonds. Among the Gonds of Adilabad, diversification of occupational base has been attempted by way of developing animal husbandry sector. Consequently dairy industry is taken up by Gonds and the results of this

programmes are yet to be seen. The Gond farmers were also motivated to adopt wet cultivation methods, but this programme was not well received by Gonds.

It is evident from the above analysis that the Gond society continues to display the firm solidarity and cohesiveness in its structure, though they have been exposed to rapid changing situations. Gonds in their day to day life do not resort to corporate action in their economic activities. The gains accrued to the Gonds have not been commensurate with efforts and investments made by the Government. The strategy adopted by sub-plan will ensure flow of benefits to the tribals and in the process will also break the barriers in progress. It is hoped that Gonds would soon appreciate plan programmes and avail opportunities provided to them.

The Santals: A glimpse into their life and activities

SHRI A. K. DAS

Introductory

The Santals, one of the largest tribes of India are spread over a wide area in Bihar, Orissa, West Bengal, Tripura, Assam and also in Bangladesh, but the majority of them live in Bihar and West Bengal. This Community has attracted the attention of the Administrators, Social Scientists and Welfare Workers because of its distinctive position amongst fellow tribals of Eastern India. Perhaps P. O. Bodding was the pioneer who introduced the Santals through his writings to the outside world. Indian anthropologists later on joined to this and many publications were brought out on different aspects of Santal life. Mention may be made about the names of P. C. Biswas, N. Dutta Majumdar, Martin Orans, V. K. Kochar, K. K. Dutta and many others.

Anthropologists like B. S. Guha, D. N. Majumder, S. S. Sarkar devoted much thoughts on the racial characteristics of the Santals and assigned their affinity to Proto-Australoid and/or Pre-Dravidian stock. A marked resemblance has been noticed with the Veddas of Srilanka and the aborigines of Australia. Mongoloid strain has also been noticed among some of them.

Demography

The present population of the Santals accounts for more than three and half millions (36,33,459) constituting 9.55 per cent of the total tribal population of India. They are numerous in the States of Bihar, Orissa, West Bengal and Tripura where they are recognised as Scheduled

Tribes. The State-wise break up of their population in these four States as per 1971 Census are as follows

Bihar—18,01,304; Orissa—4,52,953, West Bengal—13,76,980 and Tripura—2,222.

Besides those States they are also found in other areas where they are not recognised as Scheduled Tribes, hence their population figure is not available from the Census.

It has already been mentioned that 9.55 per cent of the total Scheduled Tribe population of India belong to Santal community. Of the total Santal population (36,33,459) the State of Bihar shares 49.58 per cent (18,01,304). West Bengal 37.90 per cent (13,76,980), Orissa 12.46 per cent (4,52,953) and Tripura holds the lowest position with 0.06 per cent (2,222). Let us now examine the position of the Santals in respect to the total population of the States where they are recognised as Scheduled Tribes. In Bihar the Santals constitute 3.20 per cent of the total population, West Bengal comes next with 3.11 per cent followed by Orissa with 2.06 per cent and Tripura with 0.14 per cent of the total population.

In West Bengal 54.35 per cent of the total tribal population (25,32,969) are Santals, in Bihar the corresponding percentage is 36.52 of the total tribal population (49,32,767), in Orissa it is 8.93 per cent of the total (50,71,937), tribals and in Tripura the percentage is only 0.49 among the State tribal population (4,50,544).

The following chart will be helpful to get an over view of the demographic situation of the Santal population in four States by their distribution through rural and urban areas.

States	Total (T) Rural (R) Urban (U)	Persons	Males	Females
Bihar	T	1,301,304	899,664	901,640
	R	1,762,591	879,527	883,064
	U	38,713	22,137	18,576
West Bengal	T	1,376,980	697,365	679,615
	R	1,354,823	685,340	669,483
	U	22,157	12,025	10,132
Orissa	T	452,953	225,741	227,212
	R	444,030	221,055	222,975
	U	8,923	4,686	4,237
Tripura	T	2,222	1,189	1,033
	R	2,219	1,186	1,033
	U	3	3	..
All Combined	T	3,633,459	1,823,959	1,809,500
	R	3,563,663	1,787,108	1,776,555
	U	69,796	36,851	32,945

Considering the combined population figures of the four States it is found that there are 992 females per thousand males. But for individual States there appears a variation. In Bihar and Orissa the females are larger in number than the males. Contrary to this the corresponding female population of West Bengal and Tripura are less than the male population.

The preponderance of rural population over urban population is the common feature in all cases. When all States counted together we find 98.08 per cent of the Santal population live in rural areas. The same trend is maintained for individual States. For Tripura of course the urban population is almost absent, there are only three males in urban area. Of the total urban Santals (69,796), 56 per cent are in Bihar, 32 per cent in West Bengal and the remaining 12 per cent in Orissa. It appears that the proportional high percentage of urban Santals in Bihar is due to impact of industrial complexes developed in and around tribal areas.

Geographical Location

There is a characteristic concentration of this population in certain areas of Bihar, Orissa and West Bengal which appear as the hub for their dispersion to adjoining areas. In Bihar they are mainly found in Santal Pargans, Singhbhum and

Maubhum districts. The districts of Mayurbhanj, Balasore and Keonjhar of Orissa are also noted for this population. In West Bengal the districts of Purulia, Midnapur, Bankura and Birbhum are the areas of major concentrations. The Santals have been living in these areas through centuries and they have built up a tradition of their own which left impression on the neighbouring population. This tradition may be traced back to proto-historic era.

Language

The Santali dialect belongs to the Austro-Asiatic group of Austric Speech family. According to G. A. Grierson the present dialect of the Santals has been derived from the old Kherwari language. In this regard this dialect has got similarity with the Mundari speaking people because of their common genesis. The Santals in general are bilingual. Besides their mother tongue they have adopted regional languages which are current in their habitation. Thus in Orissa they can speak in Oriya, similarly in Bihar they speak in Hindi and in West Bengal it is Bengali. This population has no script of its own. There are Santali books written in Bengali, Nagri, Oriya and Roman scripts. A new script has been introduced in recent years known as Olchiki which has an influence of Oriya script.

Historical Background

The Santals are very conscious about their identity and heritage. They have consciously or unconsciously built up a sense of solidarity amongst themselves. Their internal solidarity is often based on their principle of likeness that is a shared cultural characteristic which binds them together. Certain external forces simultaneously have posed a threat to their existence which created internal solidarity amongst themselves. These forces are often referred to as 'Dikus'. The money lenders, contractors, political infiltrators and such other exploiters are grouped in this category. There is a myth of their origin which is widely accepted by the members of the community. The essential features of this myth are also shared by the Mundas, Hos and other neighbouring tribes which also help in the formation of a regional solidarity. There is a close linguistic relation with the Santals, Hos, Mundas and Bhumijās which contributes to this solidarity.

There are two events in the history of the Santals of particular importance—(i) the establishment of a Santal colony in Damin-i-koh and (ii) Santal insurrection of 1855.

The Santals settled in the district around Dumka, the present Headquarters of Santal Parganas in the later part of 18th Century and beginning of 19th Century (1790—1810). The hill tract of Rajmahal lies fifteen miles north of Dumka. The Mal Paharias and the Sauria Paharias were the first recorded inhabitants of this region. On the recommendation of the then Government Damin-i-koh was formed in 1832-33. The area comprised 1,366 Sq. miles. The hill tract was reserved for the Paharia people and about 500 Sq. miles at the foot of the hill were given to the Santals who came from the district of Birbhum. This colony plays an important role in the history of the Santals. It became a place of self preservation at the time of disintegration and ruin.

With the passage of time the Santals in Damin-i-koh faced several adversities at the hands of the money-lenders, traders and contractors. Their grievances could not get justice from the Government officials. This disquieting feature ultimately turned into revolt. The rebellion started in June 1855 under the leadership of four brothers Sidu, Kanhu, Chandu and Bhairab from Parheit valley in the very heart of the Damin-i-Koh. After sporadic incidents the rebellion was quelled down by the administration

in the beginning of 1856. It is said that some ten thousand Santals lost their lives during that confrontation with the sepoys. But this incident brought about a change in the outlook of the administration which followed certain administrative reforms. A separate district named as Santal Parganas was established. Upto 1911 it was under Bengal, but at present belongs to Bihar State. Since the formation of this district it has become the core of the Santal tradition and activities. It was recognised as a non-regulated district under the control of a Deputy Commissioner with four assistants under him, they were vested with civil as well as criminal powers. The Santals of this particular district enjoyed special legislative protection. The Santal Parganas Land Settlement was introduced in 1873 whereafter the problem of land was stabilised.

Migration

Some scholars traced out of migration and settlement of the Santal community in their present habitats through successive protohistoric and historic era and link up their traditional homeland to Central India (well known Dandakaranya area). Later on they came down to the eastern flank of Dandakaranya (at present administratively demarcated in Bihar and Orissa States). They were a people of nomadic habit who wandered from place to place with a tendency to move towards east. What is certain is that they settled within historic times in the Chotanagpur plateau and in the adjoining districts of Midnapore and Singhbhum, and moved towards north at the close of the 18th century and made their home in Santal Parganas. From now on we find them mentioned in Government papers, news papers and other publications. The pull factor behind this migration centred round (i) Jungle clearing for permanent settlement, (ii) demand for manual labour force for mining and quarrying, (iii) for engaging them in indigo and tea plantations and other allied avocations and finally, (iv) demand for agricultural labour force. A good number of them were also engaged in railway construction.

In West Bengal the Santals have a good deal of historical tradition in the districts of Midnapore, Purulia, Bankura and Malda. Their entry and settlement in those areas may be traced back to two hundred years or more. With the growth of collieries in western part of Burdwan the Santals migrated there as colliery labourers. However, they do not live in those collieries but live in

adjacent villages where they made their permanent settlement. In due course some of their members also became cultivators and/or agricultural labourers. There is a general migration of these population in interior villages during agricultural season. In addition to the Santals of the district itself the labour hands of this community are also brought from Midnapore and Bankura districts as seasonal migrants. There are particular police-stations in Burdwan district (Angram, Galsi, Bhatar, Memari, Raina, Jamalpur, Kalna, Mantesar, etc.) where heavy influx of this migrant population take place each year. In this process some families get themselves permanently settled in the adjoining areas.

In and around Jhargram Police Station of Midnapore district they came by two ways—one branch came there from the north (Santal Parganas) and the other group came from South-West that is Mayurbhanj area of Orissa.

After the Santal insurrection of 1855 a good number of them migrated to Hazaribagh and crossed over Rajmahal Hills to enter Birbhum and others went to Murshidabad and Malda districts.

Those who went to North Bengal and Assam to work as tea plantation labourers after certain period settled down in the neighbourhoods to develop permanent settlements. In North Bengal the Police-Stations of Naxalbari and Kharibari acquired distinctions in the history of recent peasant movements due to the participation of Santal settlers.

Seasonal Migration

Seasonal migration plays a dominant role in the socio-economic life of Santals. Landless Santal labourers from western Midnapore, Bankura, Purulia and from some parts of Santal Parganas of Bihar and Mayurbhanj area of Orissa come to Murshidabad, Burdwan, Hooghly and Howrah districts of West Bengal to work in the agriculture and brick fields. These Santal immigrants are generally looked upon as sturdy and dependable workers and find ready employment among the non-tribals of the district. This migration is creating disharmony in their social life both in their village of origin as well as in the place of their migration. In the place of migration they pass a life of detachment where ceremonies, festivals etc., are not observed, certain social norms are also devalued. Simultaneously their family in villages suffers a temporary 'break' owing to absence of certain working members. This temporary disorganisation invites some sort

of deficiency in the functioning of the family. In addition, the contractors sometimes recruit able workers from younger generation for working in the industrial centres. This creates a vacuum in the village life. Those migrating with the contractors acquire various types of vices which results in to Maladjustment after their return to the respective villages.

This seasonal migration also brings some better things in tribal's life. This migration appears to have curbed the boundaries of separatism between the Santals and rural peasantry, because they work in close economic relationship to a considerable extent. This migration has also helped to refresh and reinvigorate their distinctive cultural traits and retain their identity in spite of small numbers in the districts as the Santal labourers can come in close contact with those of the Santals of Santal Parganas.

New Settlers

Though not out of context a few major features of the colliery labourers, industrial labourers and tea garden labourers are worth noting. In Burdwan district a good number of Santals have gradually settled down within the last three or four generation in connection with colliery work. They do not however live in the collieries but in villages adjacent to the colliery. These people practise side by side agriculture also in their own land or in others' land as share-croppers. Thus they do not have totally lost their agricultural moorings. In the Chittaranjan Locomotive Workshop, Hindustan Cable Factory and in Durgapur Steel Project some of the Santals work as unskilled labourers. They do have attachment towards agriculture which results to heavy absenteeism during agricultural season. Tea Industry is an agro-based industry, many of the Santals who have once worked as tea garden labourers now have built up permanent villages.

The Santals call themselves 'Hor Hopon' or 'sons of Man'. They are a community with distinctive social and religious characteristics. Two major territorial groups are recognised among the Santals,—the Santals of Santal Parganas and adjoining regions, north of the Damodar river and the Santals of southern fringe of Bihar, northern fringe of Orissa and South-western fringe of West Bengal lying south of the river Damodar. The northern Santals are called by southerners as 'Dumka

Hor' (that is the people of Dumka, a town in Santal Parganas of Bihar). The southerners are called by the northerners as 'Bugri Hor' (people who do not use chaste form of language). These two groups have dialectical and certain socio-cultural differences.

Educational Institutions

The Santals had their traditional institutions through which members of the society were made acquainted with their cultural heritage. Those institutions were run in the line of Guru Schools. Music, songs and dances were the forms of teachings. In former times every clan had its Guru School headed by an old person who had intimate knowledge of the myths, legends and customs of the people.

In the Pre-Independence era due to the activities of different Christian Missions the Santals were brought under the impact of modern education. But this influence was felt mainly by the Christian section of that community. After Independence vigorous step was taken by the States as well as the Centre to propagate education among this population. The programmes included the setting up of educational institutions and extending various facilities which need no elaboration here.

Let us now examine the literacy position of the concerned population. The percentage of literate and educated persons for the total population in Bihar is 19.94 against 11.64 of the Scheduled Tribe population and 7.51 per cent of the Santal population. This gradual decreasing trend of educated persons from State level to tribal population and coming down to the Santals to

the least is maintained in the case of other three States. The following chart will reveal the position:—

State	Percentage of literate and educated persons		
	Total population	Tribal population	Santal population
Bihar	19.94	11.64	7.51
West Bengal	33.20	8.92	7.93
Orissa	26.18	9.46	9.06
Tripura	30.87	15.03	9.09

The Santals, though a dominant tribal population in Eastern India but in the field of education their achievement is very low in comparison with Mongoloid and other small tribal groups. The following chart presents a comparative picture of literacy amongst the Santals in different States of Eastern India. Of the total Santals residing in the four States, only 7.86 per cent are literate and educated, the percentage of male literates being 13.11 and females 2.03. If this be taken as a base line of progress then we find that Bihar, with largest number of Santals is the only State which could not achieve position higher than the line of progress in respect of total, male, female literacy. A contrary scene is observed in case of West Bengal where the achievement is more than the line of progress in every respect. In case of female literacy only Orissa could not put a mark above the line; the same is the case with Tripura.

Sl. No.	State	Total	Male	Female	Literate and educated persons					
					Total		Male		Female	
					No.	P.C.	No.	P.C.	No.	P.C.
1	Bihar ..	1,801,304	899,664	901,640	135,280	7.51	117,158	13.02	18,122	2.01
2	W e s t - Bengal.	1,376,980	697,365	679,615	109,241	7.93	95,263	13.66	13,978	2.05
3	Orissa ..	452,953	225,741	277,212	41,054	9.06	36,430	16.14	4,624	1.66
4	Tripura ..	2,222	1,189	1,033	202	9.09	190	15.98	12	1.16
Total ..		3,633,459	1,823,959	1,809,500	285,777	7.86	249,041	13.11	36,736	2.03

The above discussion underlines two major factors—(i) the Santal being the most numerous amongst the tribals of Eastern India, could not surpass the line of achievement of the respective area and (ii) amongst the Santals themselves the development could not follow a uniform pattern in all the States. Surprisingly, in Bihar where they cover more than fifty per cent of their population and where the Christian Missionary activities lasted for a longer period there the performance appeared with a poor show.

The percentage of actual students to the expected students is far below the mark in respect of Primary and Secondary education. A sample survey conducted in the State of West-Bengal has revealed that a little below 50 per cent of the students do not take admission in the Secondary stage after completion of Primary education. The roll strength in the Secondary stage also tapers at the higher level due to wastage and stagnation to the extent of thirty to forty per cent. Those few who proceed for Post-Matric education get themselves admitted in the Arts or Commerce stream. That is the reason why we do not find them in the professional fields. Most of them get in white collar jobs. Due to their poor achievements in the field of education diversification of occupation has not taken place to the desired extent.

Occupational pattern

The Santals were formerly engaged in collection of forest produce, hunting, fishing and cultivation on hill slopes. Their main trading craft was extraction of oil and manufacture of lime. At present they are mostly engaged in cultivation, but mainly in the capacity of share-croppers, agricultural labourers and small farmers. In earlier days Indian corn was their staple food but gradually they came to depend more on rice, though they cultivate other cereals also. With the starting of tea industry in 1860-70s in North Bengal and Assam many Santals were employed as labourers. Many of them were engaged in the construction of railways. A good number of them were brought for colliery work although they remained unskilled labourers. Many of them are found in the Police and military service and some of them are also engaged in teaching profession. A very insignificant percentage is engaged in services in different offices. Though at present many of them depend on land and became settled agriculturists but in methods and in use of

implements they have not yet reached the level of other neighbouring non-tribals.

Data available in our hand do not permit us to go into the details of participation of workers in different industrial categories for each State separately. By considering the situation prevailing in West Bengal we may, presume that more or less similar things are happening in other States.

In West Bengal 38.45 per cent of the Santal population are workers (529391) as per 1971 Census. Of the total workers, about 90 per cent are engaged in Agricultural sector, Cultivators 33.74 per cent (178627) and Agricultural Labourers 55.70 per cent (294864). Thus is seen that more than half of the working population eke out their existence as labourers. Of the remaining 10 per cent of workers about 5 per cent are engaged in "Livestock, Forestry, Fishing and Plantation" (17,845=3.37 per cent) and "Mining and quarrying" (74,621=1.41 per cent). Of the rest, 2.43 per cent (12,880) are engaged in "other services". The residual 3.35 per cent are shared by five categories of Household Industry (3,655=0.96), other than Household Industry (6,441=1.22), Construction (1,249=0.23), Trade and Commerce (2,573=0.49) and Transport, Storage and Communication (3,795=0.72).

The emergence of agricultural labourers to a larger proportion has been caused due to the transformation of land owning cultivator to landless condition in a progressive way. As because the community as such was least subjected to technical know-how of other non-agricultural sectors, so the diversification and occupational mobility were restricted to a great extent which ultimately curbed down their participation in gainful occupations. A sample survey was conducted in a number of villages in West Bengal to ascertain the occupational change through generations. The findings revealed that in grandfathers' generation most of them were cultivators while agricultural labourers were few in number. In fathers' generation the proportion of cultivators reduced and simultaneously there was an increase in labourers, in ego's generation agricultural labourers became most numerous and the cultivators were reduced to minority. Even in the cases of cultivators the per family land holding became only 1.50 acres.

Ownership and land use problems

Those who cultivate their own land possess holding sizes mostly (90%) within a range of three acres. Those lands are again fragmented and in most of the cases these are upland. Because of this situation rain water is drained out and storage facilities are negligible. As the cultivation depends on rain-fed water and irrigational facilities are practically nil the crop output is poor. Monocropping (rice-cultivation) is the general practice. Because of the unfertile nature of land and non-adoption of improved practices to the desired extent they cannot get fullest use of their land. All these limitations have kept them away from getting into commercial cropping by raising of jute, potato and other vegetables. The wheat area in West Bengal is becoming extended gradually but the Santals have not yet taken to this cultivation in a significant way.

Social structure

The Santal tradition relates that the first human couple Pilchu Haram and Pilchu Buri divided them into twelve ancestral clans one of which has been lost. These clans are totemic in nature and exogamic in character. These are further sub-divided into sub-clans. The names of the clans are: Hasdak, Murmu, Kisku, Hem-brom, Soren, Mandi, Tudu, Baske, Besra, Pauria, Ceral and Bedes. The first eleven clans exist today excepting the last clan. Violation of tribal endogamy and clan exogamy are greatest offences. Those who disobey this rule are expelled from Santal Society. This is the highest social punishment in Santal Society. Those who break clan exogamy are sometimes re-admitted in the society but those breaking tribal endogamy are not pardoned and dealt with before the Hunt Council. Previously the orthodox punishment known as '*Bit laha*' was prescribed but this occurs rarely at present.

Now-a-days three types of families are generally visible amongst the Santals (1) nuclear family comprising husband, wife and unmarried children and occupies a single nuclear household (2) Pyramidal family—Families of this type are generally small extended families of procreation of only one individual in the senior generation but at least two individuals in the next generation, (3) extended family This type of family was the societal norm of the past but the incidence of such family at present is very limited. This type of family generally comprises the families of pro-

creation of at least two siblings or cousins in each of at least two adjacent generations and normally occupies a single dwelling by the entire large extended family.

The Santals are a Patriarchal people and follow patrilineal descent. They have both consanguineal as well as affinal relatives. Their kinship terminologies are mainly of classificatory type. Side by side, descriptive terms are also found. For example, the terms for father's brother are the same, the only difference being marked by the addition of descriptive words like *Gongo* (elder) or *Hopen* (younger); so also the terms for father's brother's wife and of the mother are the same, only modified by addition of descriptive terms, younger or elder.

Father	..	<i>Apum</i> Now also <i>Baba</i>
Father's brother	..	<i>Gongo Apum</i> (Elder) <i>Hopen Apum</i> (Younger)
Mother	..	<i>Ayo</i>
Father's brother's wife	..	<i>Gongo Ayo</i> (elder) <i>Hopen Ayo</i> (younger)

The strong community fellowship feeling of the Santal is demonstrated in the few very important and crucial stages in the life of the individual. These are marked by the performance of certain rites in which the whole village population participate. Some of these are *Janam Chatiar* ceremonial cleaning after birth *Chacho Chatiar*, ceremony performed for giving full social rights *Bapla* or marriage ceremony, death and funeral ceremony.

Through the '*Janam Chatiar*' a Santal child becomes one of the family but he has no social right. These are given through '*Chacho Chatiar*' when the child is four to twelve years old. This rite is not performed for the families as they are not considered full fledged members of Santal society.

'*Bapla*' is the term generally used for marriage by the Santals. Adult marriage is the norm. The essential features of marriage are *Sindur dan* and serving marriage feast hereafter the wife passes into her husband's family.

Inheritance

At present in Santal society the sons generally inherit the property of the father in equal shares. A daughter generally does not get any share of

his father's property. When a Santal has no son but only a daughter, then the daughter inherits the self acquired property of his father in some cases. A daughter is generally maintained by his father or brother till her marriage. They also bear all marriage expenses. If a man dies without sons or daughters, the widow is allowed one calf, one *Bandi* (10 to 12 maunds) of paddy, bati or one cloth, and returns to her parent's house, unless, as sometimes happen she is kept by her husband's younger brother. A widow with minor sons keeps all the property in her possession, the grand father and uncle seeing that she does not waste it. If the widow remarries before the sons are married the grand father and uncles take possession of all the properties; the mother has no right to get anything, but some times a calf is given to her out of kindness.

However, the widow has the right over the property which she brings from her father's house during marriage. She has absolute right over her own earnings and personal belongings. The customary laws of the Santals have not yet been codified. As a consequence of which in litigations the fate of the judgment is decided by the evidence put forwarded by the parties concerned and these often do not lead to flawless decisions. Quite often their cases are dealt with in accordance with Hindu Succession Act without putting sufficient weightage to their customary laws.

Political Organisations

The present village or political organisation of the Santals is a vestigial form of the past traditional political system. In every village there are five officers each with distinct function assigned to him. The headman is known as *Jogmanjhi*, who is assisted by a *Paramanik*, an Assistant *Paramanik* or *Jog Paramanik*, *Naiki* the village priest and *Gorait*, the messenger. Now a days the minor disputes are generally decided by the village *Panch* though its past influence on the society. The '*Manjoi Than*' is the usual place for communal talks and council meetings. Previously, above the village council stood the *Pargana* council or outside council which had its jurisdiction over a number of villages. But at present there are some hereditary *Parganaits* and a '*Dihuj*' for each large district which is responsible for calling the Annual hunts and who presides over the *Lo Bir* or Santal 'High Court' on the night which intervenes between the two days of

hunting. This ceremonial hunting is generally held in the month of April. This is at present the highest Council recognised by the Santals. All sorts of disputes are placed before the Council for getting judgments and these are followed with strict observance of laws.

The modern panchayati system which has been introduced in the village has put a parallel mechanism and in the face of it the traditional institute is getting lesser importance day by day. With this introduction of Panchayati Raj (New system) an era of friction has been created where traditionalism competes with modernity. But because of the official recognition of the Statutory Panchayat the old system is fading away. In the village level Panchayat there is no reservation for the tribals, as a consequence of which rights and privileges of the Santals are being overshadowed by certain forces of external origin. The dominant political power of the area is getting infused in the local Panchayat Bodies and this creates an inevitable conflict between the members of the society and bringing about mutual distrust amongst themselves.

Social Movements

The Santal society has been subjected to many social movements which were of endogenic in nature. These movements were all of reformistic type. Of those Kharwar movement may be mentioned which persisted for a long period. Though basically a social movement it had a political undertone which played a great role in the rebellion of 1855. This Kharwar movement was led by different reformist leaders of the Santal society. Of them, name of Bhagrit may be mentioned who played a significant role around 1871. The idea underlying this movement was to emulate some Hindu rituals and practices in the life of the individuals. The emphasis was laid upon physical and mental cleanliness and patience and tolerance in daily life. Characteristically this movement did never get steep popularity or ascendance. In the later part it suffered from splits into different sects, *Babaji*, *Babuji*, *Safai* and *Samara*. Their common binding factor remained the same. They were the worshippers of *Ram Chando*, the epic hero Ramchandra. A section of the Kharwars later on adopted Brahmanical or Khatriya idealism and thereby adopted sacred thread. They were *Janeodhari* Santals and ultimately this later group formed a sect of their own.

These movements have in many ways disturbed the social contour of the society and injected some sorts of stratifications which were not known to this society previously. In this way the solidarity and cohesiveness of the Santal society were disturbed. Very recently a reversal trend is noticeable in which the splinter groups formed in the past are trying to get into the core-element of the society. In doing so political instruments are being used to establish their lost identity.

Emerging Problems

The gradual pauperisation and transformation of the cultivating class to labourers have been caused by a process of deprivation. They have been dispossessed of their assets by alienation of land and dislodged from their traditional moorings. Because of their illiteracy and poor economic condition they could not avail of the current land reform measures and the safeguards against land transformations could not come to their aid in its true sense. All these factors gradually affected the life and thinking of the population. They became conscious about their deprivation which gave rise to despair and distrust in their mind. Bodding writes, "My impression is that in the heart of a Santal or in the back of his mind a feeling of despair and hopelessness is to be found". They became suspicious about the outsiders and lost their confidence in administrative machinery. This type of situation prevailed for a pretty long time and a socio-political vacuum was created in the Orissa-Bihar-West Bengal tribal zone. This condition was capitalised for political manoeuvring and the so called 'Naxalite' Movements gained ground in the pockets where they reside. These movements got their roots among the tribals, more particularly among the Santals because of the philosophy of life they nurture. They believe that they are here in this world only for a short time, it is just like a visit to a market. Their life is so transient that it can be compared with water drops on the leaves.

The social life of the Santals has a strong religious background. *Thakur-ju* is their supreme deity whom the Santals regard as a good god, the creator and preserver and very casually worships Him at the time of crisis. But they believe in a number of *Bongas* (Universal National Bongas, the House and Clan Bongas, Boundary Bongas etc). Many of these Bongas are regularly worshipped on community level as well as house

hold level by the priest and by head of family with sacrifices of birds and animals to get rid of their vengeance. 'Bonga' worship is mainly done out of fear and this fear complex has engulfed their whole life and activities. That is why some have observed a passive outlook among this population and a sense of rejection towards life.

The Santals have experienced different socio-economic changes through several decades. Santal society at large because of its integrative forces could withstand these changes to a great extent. But in certain areas particularly in the field of economy some sort of maladjustments have appeared. Special reference may be made to land problems. Because of continuous land transfer and fragmentation of holdings owing to split up in the families there has been a substantial change in their economic status. With the decrease in holding sizes and losing their rights over their land the number of owner cultivators has decreased and simultaneously the proportion of agricultural labourers and share croppers has increased. In this disbalanced condition all economic evils have played their role which ultimately created a social vacuum. There has been increased entanglement to indebtedness, rampant exploitation went on through land grabbing and ruthless eviction from their lands have pauperised them to such an extent that their whole economic fabrics have been shattered. In this frustration and despair external agencies availed of this opportunity to make political inroads in their society. In certain pockets of West Bengal, Bihar and Orissa where the Santals are found there started peasant movements. These movements crystallised and peasant unions were formed. In the process of these movements some elements of violence were observed which challenged the age old authority. An objective condition which was prevailing in the mental make-up of the society helped a lot in this regard. In the mind of the Santals the glorious struggle of 1855 led by Sidu and Kanhu still persists. They can easily identify their immediate exploiters who are not but the descendants of the 'Dikus' (outsiders). These 'Dikus' are instrumental to bring about riots in the areas of Santal habitations in the past and a Santal cannot disassociate his past experience with the present situation. All these created a ground for launching peasant movements in the recent past and also at present. The role of the neoliterates among the rural

Santals who were once drop-outs had a substantial influence to fanning out the struggle. These neoliterates were a detachment from the society and acquired a posture of elite but to a great extent they were maladjusted having no specific jobs and remaining idle. They were infact an element of 'third culture' created in rural society by the propagation of modern education. It is an element of mixed hues of rural traditionalism and urban elitism but never fitting with the parental cultural matrix.

Side by side economic stratification has arrived in the Santal society where a distinct 'Babu' element has appeared. This happened because of getting urban jobs by those microscopic few who could complete their High School education or Under Graduate courses. They moved to urban centres for livelihood and became partly detached from their rural life and formed society amongst themselves. Their aspiration and level of living are so distinguished from their rural brethren that in most cases they are unable to provide leadership to their own folk in villages.

Though Santals are spread over a large tract of land within the geographical jurisdiction of different States with different social environment and undergone varied changes, through historical phases have still retained their solidarity. This was possible because of their following common cultural traditions, common language, belief in common descent through myths and folklores, with same music dances and songs, having similar world view and similar idea about super natural forces. In spite of their own integrative forces they have been exposed to forces of change which ultimately affected their society.

Due to the impact of modern education there has been gradual transformation in their elite character with the formation of an educated class in their society. This educated class who are mainly in the services are facing various types of difficulties. Due to low rate of female literacy among them educated males often face problems in getting their mates from educated section and this sometimes lead to maladjustment. They sometimes marry out side their own society or religious group at the cost of the disliking of the community and they suffer from seclusion. There are some incidences where the well qualified Santals have left their society.

The educated Santals who are living in urban areas generally lead a secluded life. They conno

maintain regular contact with their community men in rural areas and in this process are gradually becoming detached from their traditional way of life.

In recent years the educated Santals are organising movements for getting their own script (Ol Chiki) recognised officially in West Bengal. The issue remained animated for several years and that has created different cleavages in the Santal society. Some fought for regional script (Bengali), some favoured Roman script and they believe that the adoption of a new script would lead to further complications in future.

The Santals in general suffer from a complex that they are neglected and not recognised by the non-tribals. This is acting as a retarding factor for intigration with greater society. This situation provides ample opportunity to those leaders for exploiting the situation to achieve their end. Because of this they are found to organise different types of movements on different issues from time to time such as, recognition of a particular script, recognition of their language and demanding renaming of the streets by the name of their past heroes.

The popular peasant movements that are being launched in their areas mainly by the outsiders could not bring about adequate economic relief. On the contrary these movements disturbed the traditional age-old relationship between the Santal peasantry and non-Santal land owning class. The enmity that was dormant through historical passage suddenly revived in different socio-economic fronts. A situation arrived where mutual distrust set in. It generated ethnic consciousness which is often misinterpreted as class polarization.

They have their own traditional Panch to settle socio-religious problems. At present the authority of this institution has been curbed down to a great extent and people rely least on the verdict of the Panch when it goes against their interest. This affects their social cohesiveness and leads to conflicts and tension.

Two most important social evils are their addiction to alcoholic drinks and practice of witchcraft. It is a common experience in tribal areas that in all socio-religious activities they become intoxicated with the taking of liquor both home brown and purchased which compell them to part with a good share of their earning. This

ultimately affects their economic life, leading to indebtedness and consequently landlessness.

At present there is a tendency to present Santali songs and dances to the outside world through public gatherings, radio, cinema, etc., where real tone and genuine feature often suffer from distortion. This affects the true presentation of their culture and creates a problem of losing an important facet of their heritage.

Witchcraft appears as a dreadful element in their society. They bear fearful attitude towards it. By taking advantage of this situation some wicked persons willfully victimise co-villagers by declaring them as witches and establish their rights and privileges by witch hunting. Adequate steps have not yet been adopted to check this belief based on falsification.

Potentials and Problems of Development

The disturbing situation prevailing in the tribal areas can be improved by adopting a rational approach to land use problem. In West Bengal after the introduction of Land Reforms Act the surplus land were vested to the Government. Though a programme has been adopted to redistribute those lands to the tribals on priority basis but the work in this direction has so far been in slow pace. In order to avail of the fullest benefit the land distribution process should be expedited.

But the surplus land which are available in the State cannot meet up the total requirement and the size and fragmentation of the land distributed pose another problem. The acreage that would be available to a family cannot be an economic unit unless it is utilised in all resources. Fragmentation of plots further stands on the way of efficient management. Hence, emphasis should be laid on the planning of land utilisation by adhering strictly to follow-up programmes such as land reclamations, restoring to original vegetations which existed previously, extending irrigational facilities and helping the farmers in their in-put capacity. Despite all these the quantity of land that would be available in tribal areas cannot satisfy the economic need of the concerned population. Alternative resources are therefore to be found out and utilised. Oil press was previously present in Santal villages, but this is rarely to be found now-a-days. This displacement of the traditional craft was caused by introducing exported edible oils which discouraged local growers to raise oil seeds. As a consequence of it the poor tribals are to buy edible oil (Mustard,

Rapeseeds, etc.) from the grocer's shop which in most cases is of sub-standard type. Hence, by introducing oil seed cultivation in tribal areas and installing oil press in their villages the problem can be met partially, if not fully. This is an example how mobilization of economic resources can be made in Santal villages. Introducing sugar-cane cultivation among those tribal farmers and extending facility for extracting cane-juice and making of *gur* (Molasses) will be another proposition to this effect. There are very few farmers among the Santals who cultivate sugar-cane in their fields, even in those few cases the strain which they use are of inferior quality and often suffer from diseases. These should be replaced by improved variety.

The term 'Social Forestry' which has so loudly been talked now-a-days, made little headway in Santal villages. Intensive drive should be made to popularise plantation of certain species like Lemon, Papya, Drum Stick, etc. It may be interesting to note that a pair of lemon is sold in cities and towns at a price almost equal to that of an orange. Drum stick and Papya are becoming dearer in urban areas. So, all these plantations will help the tribals for their economic betterment. This venture has very little risk in it, if marketing potentiality is properly utilised.

The Santals have their own herbal medicine system. There are herb doctors and medicine-men who can identify local roots, leaves, stems, seeds and fruits of various species of plants and prescribe those for specific ailments. Now-a-days because of disuse of the traditional methods many of the plant species have been forgotten. There remains ample scope to find out these species and to test their efficacy in treatment. Like many other oriental herbs which can be used for modern laboratory for preparation of medicines those species found in tribal areas can be utilised for commercial purpose. In this regard growing of herbal plants can be encouraged among the Santals. Many of the herbal plants are being used as basic raw materials for drug laboratories. Cultivation of these medicinal plants has got commercial potentiality.

There is dearth of supply in Kerosene Oil in rural areas, its spiraling price is also affecting the consumers. The tribal buyers are thus hard hit by this price rise. In this regard a substitute for Kerosene Oil can be prescribed which will relieve the present crisis. Plantation of castor in and around homestead may be suggested. Oil extracted from the seeds can be used for home consumption for lighting lamps.

Consumption of fuel in households has become an every day problem in rural areas. Some sort of substitute from local resources are to be found out so that tribals may be directly benefited from it.

Due to the absence of storing facilities of green vegetables farmers are to sell out their produce at a low price to the middlemen. Those products are often brought to the urban centres in relayed mechanism which ultimately attribute to the artificial price rise for which the ultimate buyers are to pay exorbitant prices. In this mechanism both the real growers and buyers become looser. This may be checked to a considerable extent by introducing food preservation and processing units in tribal areas. This will provide justice at both the ends.

Scientific poultry keeping should be encouraged. In this regard keeping of fowls will be beneficial to them. Collecting centres for eggs should be within easy reach of the tribals. There is over increasing demand for eggs in urban industrial areas. So if the marketing machinery is established this may encourage the villagers.

Contextually it may be mentioned here that in West Bengal there has been practically no large-scale duckery. In tribal areas there are still ponds and such other water resources where duckery can be established. The real problem which is to be counted in this regard for setting up poultry and duckery lies in the supply of feed. This feed can be procured and by proper research local based materials should be utilised for preparation of compound feed.

In addition, some small-scale industries should be developed in selected tribal pockets where articles for peoples, consumption may be manufactured (cultery, plastic/polythene goods wooden toys and other wood materials, packaging materials, etc.).

A few suggestions have been made above by looking into the economic potentiality of the tribal areas. Some of the suggested measures are not altogether unknown to the tribals. But the steps that will have to be taken is to intensify the extension work and giving primary economic support to the tribal. There are a few proposals which are quite new to the tribals and for that purpose training is essentially required for engaging the trained personnel in workshops. A few workshops are to be

established in tribal areas. In all cases the marketing machinery is to be fully equipped. All these activities of investment / training, marketing, etc. require institutional patronage and the same may be entrusted with the LAMPS (Large sized Multipurpose Co-operative Societies) now being operated in tribal areas.

In the past the Santals used to lead a corporate life and felt secured in that system. But due to certain external forces the Santals lost that corporate life and became individualistic and a sense of insecurity emerged. This is the reason why they are not able to make any new economic venture in their individual capacity. The lack of competitiveness did not favour them in the development of entrepreneurship among them. On the other hand those few educated amongst them who are employed in different types of services achieved that aspiration level which do not fit into their traditional value system. In other word it may be stated that two contrary forces are playing part simultaneously in Santal—life one is low achieving motivation and high aspiration level. Hitherto the traditional Santal society was more or less homogenous in nature and maintained tranquility. With the introduction of new social value system the society suffered from several contradictions which dictated them.

Our foremost thinking about the development of the Santals should be laid upon their past tradition from which the future prospect would emerge. Rapid industrialisation will in no way help their economy and society. They have been employed as labourers only and industrial sector is one of them. This only help to exploit the labour potentiality of a society but could not generate economic power for wholesome development in a sustained way. This mechanism has largely failed to instil social security. Because of this failure the Santal society as a whole is suffering from several drawbacks. Here it is not proposed to exclude the employment of the Santals in industrial sector but in doing so it is to be taken into account that on the one hand the industry gets the help of the Santal labour for its growth and on the other hand there should be a feedback process which will benefit the Santals too. So, there should be a compulsion on industries to look into the welfare of the tribals so that the measures in this line percolate at the village level. As for example, the Santals living in industrial areas in no time acquire a characteristic

of urban buyer. His consumption habit is also changed. He becomes accustomed to taking sugar, uses soap for toilet purpose etc. After his return to village in the off season or permanently he retains those newly acquired consumer habits which only drains out his hard earned money. Here the industrial sector can help the villagers. The villagers may be taught cultivation of sugarcane and extract *gur* for their consumption, soap manufacturing industries may be started with in small-scale, oil press may be set up for producing edible oils. These will save their money and in the process of industrialisation they will not lose everything but gain something. All these activities are to be financed and supervised by the welfare units of the industries. If these ideas are translated in good spirit then there will be a healthy relationship between the industries and the Santals. A social justice in real sense will then be brought to the villagers. This demands for looking into industrialisation in the new perspective.

Santals still practise cultivation of certain crops (Maize, Millet, etc.) of local variety to a

very limited extent. For want of encouragement these are gradually failing in disuse. Instead of replacing the said type of cultivation by introducing new crops the indigenous cropping pattern should be retained by introducing hybrid strain. The lost crafts and traditional skill should be revived by looking into its economic prospects.

While drawing up programmes for development for the tribe the basic constraint is faced in the lacking of resource data of the respective areas particularly in the land use and cropping pattern and the existing method of land management. Due to the lack of these data programmes have been drawn at the macroscopic level and microscopic planning of the respective areas has been neglected. It is encouraging to note that some realistic approach has recently been adopted to overcome the difficulties. Base line surveys are now being conducted in tribal Sub-Plan. It is expected that with the inflow of basic data on various aspects of economy microscopic planning will get importance in the overall planning system.

The Lodha and Their life and problem

Prof. P. K. BHOWMICK

Introduction

The Lodhas are considered as one of the denotified communities of West Bengal since the revocation of the Criminal Tribes Act in 1952. Prior to that, they were treated as a Criminal Tribe as they indulged in frequent crimes and as such, were clamped by a set of rigid penal rules and regulations for maintenance of law and order by the Administration. Even now, in the areas inhabited by them, all sorts of antisocial activities are generally attributed to them and, in fact some of them are still involved in crime and predatory conduct. This stigma of criminality has made them 'social isolates' which has prevented them all along to merge with the societies around. Even they are not classed in the same category with other tribal or non-tribal depressed communities of the area though they share with them the same pattern of life of 'below-subsistence economy'. All their neighbours, including the other tribal groups hate, avoid and harass them in various ways. Thus the Lodhas constitute a distinct neglected unit of population having hydra-headed problems of life including a great deal of psycho-emotional stress originating from these.

These together have resulted into occasional interethnic tensions and clashes in the past and broke down law and order altogether in this area causing much anxiety and problem to the administration. The feeling of antipathy and distrust prevailing against them among the other neighbouring castes have created irreconcilable class hatred and antagonism. As a result, they were withdrawing themselves into a narrower shell and drifting away from the larger society around.

Though they have many traits of tribal life too, but these are in the process of transition now.

As a matter of fact being a problem and affected population they would naturally attract special interest of the academicians and anthropologists and provide them an interesting field of study.

In 1957, however, the Lodhas were declared as 'Scheduled Tribe' on the basis of recommendation by the Backward Classes Commission. So in any scheme that may be drawn up for the welfare of these backward people by the State, special attention has to be given to their special and typical problems and the plans cast according to their needs and implemented with their participation and co-operation to obtain optimum results.

Habitat

The Western Part of West Bengal is a continuous part of Chotanagpur plateau. It spreads out along the Western border of Midnapur where the majority of the Lodhas live. Mayurbhanj district of Orissa and Singhbhum district of Bihar run along the western border of the State of West Bengal. Here in the midst of groves of mango, *Mahua* (*Madhuka latifolia*), the dwarf *Sal* (*Shorea robusta*), *Asan* (*Terminolia-tomentosa*) trees on the wide expanse of red brittle soil of undulating rolling ridges, girdled by a chain of streams and rivulets which remain dry in summer and overflow their banks during the rains, in this blissful environment of nature-life the Lodha a tribal group who are the subject matter of this discussion.

The jungle-covered rugged terrain of Bengal-Bihar-Orissa border is now the homeland of the Lodhas. In spite of deforestation by felling of trees over the years which has affected their tribal economy, most of the Lodhas still cling to this

ecology and environment. Over population, inter-ethnic tensions, better opportunity of employment elsewhere with an assured livelihood however have tempted some of the Lodhas to migrate into more eastward parts of the district where the landholding communities generally face acute shortage of seasonal agricultural labour and need them. Such migration, in course of time, has divided the tribe into two distinct segments, jungle-Lodha and more or less acculturated Lodha on the basis of techno-eco system.

In the jungle area, the major ethnic group is the Santal. Along with them there are Munda, Bhumij, Kora and the Mahato—an aboriginal derivative and a few Orissan castes like, Karan (Scribe), Khandait (Warrior), Raju (cultivating caste), Teli (oil dealer) etc. In course of time when they settled more or less permanently in the eastern region where they migrated as seasonal labourer we find them living together with the Santal, Munda, Kora, Mahali and Bagal (aboriginal derivative), Bagdi, Sadgop (land-holding) and the Mahishya (landholding agriculturist) and Brahman (priest) castes. A sort of feeble temporary articulation through economic symbiosis is quite discernable in the regional socio-economic structure, in the places where they have settled.

Historical Background

The term 'Lodha' is derived from 'Luodhaka'—meaning a 'trapper' or 'fowler'. There is a land-holding caste in Madhya Pradesh (Hiralal & Russel : 1916) named 'Lodha' or 'Ludhi'—immigrants from the United Provinces (Uttar Pradesh) and originally belonged to Ludhiana district of the Punjab. But the present ethnographic data do not support any relationship of the Lodhas of Bengal-Bihar-Orissa region and the Lodhas of Madhya Pradesh or Uttar Pradesh. They speak a corrupted Bengali, i. e., Indo-Aryan language group (Dasgupta : 1978) so far as the phonological and morphological structures of Lodha dialect are concerned. This clearly indicates that the group has been completely assimilated into the regional Bengali culture so far as their language is concerned.

Physial affinities of the Lodhas reveal (Bhowmick : 1956) that they belong to Veddid racial group having more affinity with the wild Kharia (Roy & Roy : 1937) of Dhalbhum, Malers (Sarkar : 1954) of Rajmahal and the Chenchu of Krishna basin. Though this indicates some sort of common jungle-living, pre-agricultural economic background of all these communities,

yet it is very difficult to assess in the present context how far it was possible for this ethnic group to migrate eastward during the proto-historical period.

Lodhas assert themselves as "Savara" a generic forest dwelling community mentioned in the Puranas and epic literature like the Ramayana. A good number of forest dwelling communities in India also feel proud in asserting them as 'Savaras'. According to the tradition of origin, the Lodhas say that they are the descendants of King Vishwabasu who once reigned over the jungle tract of the Savara country of Nilachal in Orissa. This tribal king originally possessed the idol of Lord Jagannatha now installed in the famous temple at Puri. Once the king of Puri, Indradumna was ordained in his dream by Lord Jagannath that He wanted to come from his Jungle abode and stay at Puri. Then he sent his trusted minister—Vidyapati—who was a Brahman by caste to the jungle to bring the image of the Lord. That astute Brahman very tactfully entered into Nilachal—the Savara Country—made love with Lalita—the endearing and beautiful daughter of the King and through her help came to know the actual abode of the Lord. Later on, he successfully implemented the plan of stealthily taking away this image of the Lord to Puri—a story of the process of Brahmanization in this area. It is said that the Lodhas since then do not pay respect to the Brahman—but in fact they still do it. This legend has helped the Lodhas to place them in between the tribe-caste continuum. Again, the Savaras (including the Lodhas) of this area are divided socially into four distinct groups like—

- (i) Lodha-Viswabasu group,
- (ii) Chirmar-Vyadha-Kirata-Kalaketu group,
- (iii) Sapuria-Snake charmer Savara-Jara Savara group; and
- (iv) Paniabhanga-comb-manufacturer Savara group in the model of Varnashram. But no marital relation prevails among them.

From the legendary sources as well as from other evidences it becomes very clear that this tribal group came in contact with the dominating Hindu castes from an early period. This prolonged interaction has circumstantially made them to accept many regional Hindu traits—accelerating their Hinduization.

Population

The Lodhas are distributed mainly in Midnapur and Hoogly districts of West Bengal, Mayurbhanj of Orissa and Singhbhum of Bihar. The 1951 census records their total population as 8,346 in West Bengal of whom 6,040 live in Midnapur and 2,066 in Hoogly. But in subsequent census reports separate enumeration of the tribe has been omitted. The authorities for the purpose of enumeration mixed up the Lodhas with the Kharia/Kheria since 1961. As a result, we get a total population of 45,096 in 1971 census. But according to the estimate of the present writer it can be said that total population of the Lodhas in the district of Midnapur alone will be around 20,000. Police-station wise distribution of the Lodhas have been estimated

by the writer in Table I. In Hoogly district of West Bengal it is about 4,000 and in Orissa their population is around 2,000 and in Bihar it is below 1,000. It is important to note here that the Lodhas living in the district of Hoogly have no relationship with the Lodhas living in the Bengal-Bihar-Orissa belt. Possibly the Lodhas at Hooghly had migrated to Hoogly along with other ethnic groups as migratory agricultural labourers and subsequently they settled there permanently. On enquiry it was found that some of them went to these places to catch snakes and lizards to earn a living.

Recording of less population of the Lodhas during 1951 census, is due to the fact that some of them identified themselves as Savaras.

TABLE I

Approximate Lodha population in Midnapur (Police-Station wise)

Subdivision	Police-Station	Population	
1. Jhargram (Jungle areas)	Jhargram	5,500	
	Jamboni	700	
	Binpur	800	
	Sankrail	800	
	Gopiballavpur	500	
	Nayagram	2,200	
			10,500
2. Midnapur (Sadar)	Kesiari	3,000	
	Narayangarh	3,200	
	Dantan	500	
	Sabang	800	
	Kharagpur	1,000	
	Kotowali Keshpur Pingla	1,000	
			9,500
	Total		20,000

There are a few Lodha concentrated villages in the district. Most of them live along with other tribes and castes in the periphery of the villages. The total Lodha families studied by the author long ago (1963) revealed that in 408 families, there are altogether 1,040 males and 967 females.

Education

Lodhas are neither interested nor in a position to avail of the present educational facilities. As per report of the State Government (Das and Mukherjee: 1977) 3.3 per cent of Lodhas are

considered as literates. There is only one graduate and 4 persons who have passed Madhyamik (Secondary) standard of whom one is reading in a college. Since 1964 several Ashram Hostels* meant for the education of the Lodha children attached to Basic Schools have been established of which Bidisa hostels are considered as promising. From Bidisa two boys passed Madhyamik Examination last year. In each unit of the Ashram Hostel there is provision for 20 seats, but at Bidisa in one unit there are 30 seats. In Ashram the Lodha children get various facilities at the following rates.

TABLE 2

Items of expenditure in Ashram Hostel Unit (20 Heads) per year

			Rs.	Rs.
1. Meal charge	..	Per head p/m.	70.00	16,800.00
2. Misc. (Hair cutting, Kerosene oil, soap, etc.)	..	Per head p/m.	00.84	200.00
3. Sports and Games	..	..	..	100.00
4. Clothing	..	Per head	40.00 yearly	800.00
5. Medicine	..	..	..	100.00
6. Agricultural training	..	..	..	200.00
7. Cook (one)	..	Per month	50.00	600.00
8. Helper	..	Per month	30.00	360.00
9. Hostel Superintendent	..	Per month	100.00	1,200.00

The Lodha children are basically reluctant to attend the schools. This is due to the less encouragement being given to them by their parents. The Lodha children roam in the jungles in search of wild fruits, small games, fishes and mollusca which they consume. Some time, a grown up boy is employed as cowboy by a caste people to look after his cattle at a nominal wage. Naturally the Lodha children are reluctant to go to schools without any encouragement from outside. The Tribal Welfare Department provided some Ashram hostels as stated early but there is no provision for purchase of papers, books and other things meant for the students

reading in these schools. Even the Left Front Ministry of this State of West Bengal of which the Minister-in-Charge of Tribal Welfare is a tribe by origin, has overlooked many problems of the hostels. The Lodha children being extremely backward mainly required sympathetic encouragement and supervision of different nature along with non-formal or life-centred type of education. These are ignored by the Department of Tribal Welfare who is entrusted to do this type of work among them and as such, in most of the Ashram Hostels the authorities face tremendous difficulties to run the hostels. So results are not satisfactory. Grants are released

* Samaj Sevak Sangha (Bidisa) 2 for boys and 1 for girls

Badalpur Basic School (Sabong)—2 for boys

Bharat Sevashram Sangha (Jhargram)—1 for boys

Lodha Sevak Samaj Sangha (Chaksahapur)—1 for boys and 1 for girls (proposed)

A sum of Rs. 1,21,000 has been sanctioned for the proposed girls' hostel at Chaksahapur. But it has not yet been started. For other Ashram Hostels a sum of Rs. 20,000 per hostel for building construction has been granted.

very irregularly and always in delay. The Department never sanctioned any amount for repairing or white-washing of the Ashram hostel building to create a good environment. Even they do not provide money for periodical expenditure incurred in connection with boarding, utensils and equipment necessary for the hostel. In such a situation the organisers have to shoulder the expenses according to their means so the work of education is done half-heartedly.

The Lodha children have many problems. A thorough Psycho-emotional adjustment is necessary to make them fit with the changed environment and special attention should be given to their uplift and socialisation. The Lodha children sometimes free from the hostels and it is very difficult to bring them back again. They need to be made more disciplined. But any disciplinary measure taken by the Ashram authority is strongly resented by the local guardians. It is suggested that Ashram Hostel has to accommodate and maintain the children (75%) per cent coming from distant villages. It has been found that the Lodha children are generally in the habit of removing hostel properties including the rugs, utensils, shirts, clothing, etc. The local Lodha people, indulge in all these criminal acts.

At Bidisa two Balowadi Schools (meant for the children belonging to age group 2—6) have been established by the West Bengal Council of Child welfare. It has been noticed at these Balowadi Schools, which are almost of pre-basic standard, the children are being gradually associated With the social norms and values. It is expected that these children will be able to overcome difficulties in future so far their higher education is concerned.

Occupational Pattern

Occupation of the Lodhas varies from place to place. It has been stated earlier that the Lodhas are even now in a pre-agricultural stage of economy. In the Jungle areas they are engaged in collection of Jungle products like—

- (i) *Sal* leaves for preparing dining plates stitching these by thorns.
- (ii) *Kendu* leaves for preparing *bidi* or country cigar.
- (iii) Edible roots and tubers for household consumption.
- (iv) Catching of snake, lizard (Bengal monitor or *Godhi*). The hide is sold for cash money. Snake catching is a very favourite pastime of the Lodhas.
- (v) Catching tortoise and fish from the paddy fields and silted tanks. Most of these are sold in the locality and only a little is consumed by them.
- (vi) Some of them are engaged by the Forest Department for constructing nursery beds for plants, etc.
- (vii) Earlier most of the jungle Lodhas were engaged in *tusser* cocoon rearing, but now-a-days they cannot do it due to Prohibitory Forest Laws.
- (viii) Other Lodhas collect firewood for fuel and sell these in the market.

In non-forest areas Lodhas are found to be engaged in road construction and agricultural activities on wage. But very few of them have become successful cultivators even after continuous encouragement and help from the Government or the voluntary organizations in charge of the welfare of this tribe. Even land given to them have not been fully cultivated. These are either sold out or given to others to cultivate and the Lodhas get 1/3rd of the output as per share-cropping system prevailing in the locality. Through growth-centres a good number of Lodhas are found to change their occupation (Bhowmick : 1968) accepting new profession like weaving, tailoring, carpentry and mat-making.

Most of the Lodhas are involved in anti-social activities like theft, burglary, dacoity, robbery, etc. In this respect they act in collusion with non-Lodha people. There are a good number of stolen property receivers who encourage them in anti-social activities. Crime records in the Police Department also corroborate the involvement of the Lodhas in such anti-social activities. It has been observed that out of a total number of 1,600 active criminals of this district, the Lodhas constitute 1/3rd. Total population in the district of Midnapur in 1971 is 55,09,247. This indicates the preponderance of the Lodha criminals among the offenders.

Land use and Ownership Pattern

It has been stated that a good number of Lodhas are landless. Only a few have cultivable

land. Those who have land are also not in a position to produce other crops or vegetables except paddy. This is due to the fact that they have no bullock or agricultural implements. It has been also observed that they are not serious cultivators. They are so poor that during the agricultural operations in their own field they cannot maintain themselves on their own resources. Naturally the alternative for them is to work as day labourer in the field of others on wage.

Very recently a few rehabilitation centres have been started for the Lodhas in which provisions have been made for purchase of land, supply of bullocks and good seeds as well as necessary agricultural implements. But these projects are not getting adequate response. In all the cases it has been observed that a typical hospital mentality is prevailing among the Lodhas—they expect everything readymade. They are basically lazy and dishonest and reluctant to do any hard work. The bullocks given to them were sold out, even in many places the house-building materials, specially wooden planks and tiles, corrugated iron-sheets, etc., had been sold to outsiders for cash or kind.

For a few year specially during and after Emergency, a good number of *Khas* (Government vested) lands have been distributed to the Lodhas including other landless people. The Tribal Welfare Department of the Government of West Bengal in some places is supplying pump sets, sanctioning money for reclamation of land and purchase of other agricultural implements for the economic rehabilitation of these people in a more cautious way to ameliorate their economic problems. But the result is not satisfactory.

Social Organisation

Family is the smallest social unit among the Lodhas. A survey conducted among them revealed that out of 408 families, 278 (68.14 per cent) are of simple or elementary type in which parents and unmarried children live together. Parents with old father or divorced daughter without children represented only 9 families i. e., 2.2 per cent. Among the Lodhas conjugal infidelity is observed. Parents with the children or previous marriage are found and they represent 18 families i. e., 4.41 per cent. There are altogether 17 polygynous families in which two wives with their respective children live in a common house. Joint or extended

type of families are 86 i. e., 21.08 per cent. Here the old father with some of his married sons along with their children lives in a common house.

So far as family size is concerned the 408 families surveyed are classified as follows:

TABLE 3
Family size

	No.	Percentage
(i) Small sized families having 3 members or less.	101	24.75
(ii) Medium sized families having 4—6 members.	228	55.88
(iii) Large sized families having 7—9 members.	63	5.44
(iv) Very large sized families having 10 or more members.	16	3.92
Total	408	100

The society of the Lodhas is patriarchate. Due to prolonged interaction with the local Hindus, they have been greatly influenced by the regional Hindu customs.

Sometimes the Lodhas proclaim their own identity by calling the local castes as *Bangali Babus* i. e., Bengali gentlemen whereas the other tribals are considered by them as *Adibasi* or aboriginals. Naturally their position is in between the castes and the tribals. The Lodhas have a clan organisation which is known as *Gotra*. This is a patrilineal unit. A man born in a particular *Gotra* will remain so till he dies. Girls after marriage change their clans and they are known by the clans of their husbands. After divorce a woman again reverts to her father's clan till she remarries. Table 4 gives the details of clan characteristics as well as distribution of families by clans. Marriage in the same clan is strictly prohibited. There are a few taboos and restrictions in respect of food habit and other conventional observation in respect of some clans.

TABLE 4

Distribution of clans (Head of the family has been considered)

Clan name	Totemic objects	No. of families	Percentage
1. Bhugta, Bhakta	.. Chirka Alu, a kind of yam available in the jungle.	120	29.41
2. Mallik	.. Makar, a kind of mythological shark or sea-monster or sal-fish.	78	19.11
3. Kotal	.. Moon or grass-hopper	68	16.66
4. Layek, Laik, Nayek	.. Sal-fish (<i>Ophicaphalus marulius</i>)	67	16.41
6. Digar	.. Porpoise	21	5.14
6. Paramanik	.. A kind of bird names Manik	20	4.95
7. Dandapat or Bag	.. Bagh or tiger	10	2.45
8. Ari or Ahari	.. Chanda-Fish (<i>Ambasisis ranga</i>)	19	4.65
9. Bhuiya or Bhunia	.. Sal-fish (<i>Ophicaphalus marulius</i>)	3	04.00

The totemic objects are respected and never consumed by the clan members even if it constitutes an unavoidable food item in Lodha society. But a detailed analysis of Lodha clan names tells different story. Most of the Lodhas specially in acculturated zones use their clan names as surnames, whereas the Lodhas in the jungle areas use "Savar" or "Sabbar" to express their personal identity without mentioning their clan names as surnames. A few clan names have special significance identifying them with the greater regional setting. These are Kotal, Digar, Dandapat, Nayek or Layek etc. associating the group with a specific type of work or assignment.

Marriage by payment of bride-price is the general rule among the Lodhas. The bridegroom has to pay a sum of Rs. 7 (seven only) at the time of marriage to the parents of the bride along with some clothes for the bride and her parents. When a girl is married in the 'teen age' a second marriage ceremony is performed in such cases. The chief conductor of marriage is termed as Sambar. No Brahmin priest participates in Lodha marriage ceremony. Mother Earth (Basumati), the God of Righteousness (Dharam Devata) are also worshipped at the time of wedding. A wedding feast is given on the day of marriage to which all the traditional village officials including the relatives

are invited. Widow remarriage or marriage of a divorced woman is in vogue and this is known as *Sanga*. In such marriage no bride-price is paid. Only a sum of Rs. 1.25 paise is given to the guardian of the widow or the divorced woman by the prospective groom.

Though they are Hinduised to a large extent, still they worship some of their traditional deities like the Baram (village tutelary deity), Chandi, and Sitala, when animals like goat, sheep, cock are sacrificed to appease them by the village priest (Deheri) or his assistant (Talia). No Brahmin priest is found to participate in their religious ceremonies.

Political Organization

The Lodhas have their traditional tribal council which is known as Panchayat or Desh. The head of the council is called *Mukhia* who in all tribal affairs gives his verdict which every body has to observe without demur. There is a village messenger known as *Atghoria* or *Dakua*. His main duty is to intimate the villagers about the particular decisions and directives of the Panchayat on village or community affairs. In a traditional council, personal disputes of the village, and the general problems of the village administrations including the annual workshops and celebrations are discussed. The religious head of the community is known as *Deheri* and

the Assistant priest in known as *Talia* who sacrifices the animal. There are also other important persons in the village or tribal councils.

After the introduction of the Panchayat Raj in our State a good number of the Lodhas are being gradually associated with village administration. A few of them have affiliated themselves with some political parties of the locality and contested the last election in which the CPI and CPI (M) affiliated candidates won. Naturally this gave them the opportunity of mixing with other sections of the people, thus bridging up the hiatus so long prevailing among these communities. Such political involvements have created more tension and factions in a few villages on the basis of party ideologies. Thus in many cases the village or tribal solidarity or communal integrity has been threatened.

Social Problems

The problems of the Lodhas are strikingly different from those of other tribes and castes. They are commonly stigmatised with the commission of dacoity, burglary, pilferage and theft. Active Lodha criminals constitute one-third of the active criminals in the Midnapur district. This clearly indicates the nature of criminal propensity of the Lodhas. There was no scientific attempt on the part of the administration to ascertain why the Lodhas became criminal-minded, and what are the socio-economic factors that dragged them to the path of criminality. Even after the repeal of the Criminal Tribes Act in 1952 and some welfare attempts on the part of the Government to improve their living condition, the Lodhas have not responded adequately. Naturally we have to probe into the causes and explain the realistic situations more critically and scientifically that have generated such aversion.

To do this, we have to go back 200 years when the Lodhas used to live in the jungle with their jungle based food gathering, self content economy. They were not threatened by population explosion nor the other communities encroached into their home land with a different economy, the economy of agriculture, causing more crisis by denuding the forest. At the same time, the ownership of the forest was changed. The East India Company took the administration of Midnapur as well as the *Jungle-Mahal*, the habitat of the Lodhas. With this they faced an intriguing situation.

Of course, all over the world, different groups of aboriginals are facing some sort of crisis or other because of changes in the broader ecological and socio-cultural systems. The question of integrating these groups with the wider community life now faces the more advanced and privileged groups of people and administration in every country. However, at that time nobody thought of the problems of the Lodhas sympathetically and scientifically. When permanent settlement was introduced in Bengal, the Zamindars or Kings became the Lord of the jungle—the home of the Lodhas where they used to get their food, shelter every things. They were prevented to enter into the forest or to use it indiscriminately for their livelihood. On the other hand, the agricultural communities like the Santals, the Mundas, the Bhumijas, the Mahatos, gradually encroached into the forests and brought the lands under cultivation although any sort of entrance into such forests was declared punishable offence by the Administration.

By a trick of law they were dispossessed of their forest abodes and deprived of their hold and dependency on the forest. Thus, the economically displaced Lodhas could not adapt themselves to the changing situations immediately and some of them began to migrate to different parts of the district in search of jobs and employments for survival. The growing needs of the expanding families could not be met with a hewer's income. Faced with this compelling situation, the Lodhas had to accept the challenge of survival and resorted to anti-social activities as a convenient means of livelihood.

"The economic and territorial displacement under a new setting with the impact of scheming communities all around, affected very seriously their traditional patterns of economic life, and ultimately upset the equilibrium of the whole society. Probably under such circumstances, pilfering, petty theft, lifting of articles from the houses of the neighbours and clandestine sale of jungle produce were first resorted to individually, which, in course of time, developed into group habits. Amidst poverty, unsympathetic attitude of the neighbours and stoic apathy of the then ruling Government, criminality cut a deep gorge into their society in which the people had to roll down helplessly". (Bhowmick 1963).

Mr. Stephen, the then Member of Law and Order of British India introduced the Criminal Tribes Act in 1871. His remarks in this connection is very significant. He recorded; "The

special feature of India is the caste system. As trade goes by caste, a family of carpenters will be carpenters, a century or five centuries hence, if they last so long. Keeping this in mind the meaning of professional criminal is clear. It means that a tribe whose ancestors were criminals from times immemorial, who are themselves destined by the usages of caste to commit crimes and whose descendants will be offenders against law until the whole tribe is exterminated or accounted for the manner of the Thugs. When a man tells you that he is an offender against law, he has been so from the beginning and will be so to the end, reform is impossible for it is his trade, his caste. I may almost say his religion is to commit crime".

This view was also shared by many Indians. Ultimately the Criminal Tribes Act was passed for suppression of such crimes and applied all over British India. As a result, more than 300 communities were declared as Criminal Tribes.

Gradually the Lodhas faced many other social and economic problems with the march of time. They were affected very seriously. Their problems were of the following nature :—

- (i) "Economic and territorial displacements i. e. loss of livelihood which caused loss of self-confidence.
- (ii) Being not specialized in any profession, they could not fit themselves into the existing greater economic structure.
- (iii) Stigma of criminality lowered their social status and prestige in society.
- (iv) Subsequent Police oppression, punishment and torture completely loosened their group cohesion and solidarity.
- (v) Arrest and confinement in jail, completely shattered familial bondage and relations, generating atomised or individualistic mentality.
- (vi) Poverty exposed them to exploitation by others and made them surrender to many undesirable situations.
- (vii) Being compelled to sell the stolen properties to others at a nominal price and thus being cheated, they came to think that the non-Lodha people are dishonest and tyrannical. This made them suspicious and revengeful.

(viii) Infants reared without care and less affection from the parents became hostile to others when they attained maturity. This generated certain peculiar bendings and angularities in their mind, retarded socialisation and made them indisciplined,

(ix) Chronic poverty and low aspiration level in the zeal and enthusiasm of these people and developed constraints in their culture, making them lazy and lethargic. This also made them unresponsive to any sort of change or innovation.

(x) Constant police torture, and torture and exploitation by the neighbours made them migratory, their homes being less attractive to them. Thus they began to lose the sense of belonging.

These made them isolated and recoil into the shell of their old traditions. Also these developed in them coyness, timidity and imbued their mind with fear and distrust. Thus circumstanced, the Lodhas having no rudimentary education, no skill in crafts or arts, no land in their possession and no fixed employment—were compelled to live below the poverty line and indulged in spurts of anti-social activities whenever hunger provoked them to go against the society and the law of the land."

It is observed from the patterns of human living that every group or community has its own intrinsic problems. The problems vary from place to place and time to time on the basis of the nature of their exposure to the external situations and inter-actions. Naturally, to pin-point these problems we have to consider the ecology-area, as well as their ethnic identity and culture. The problems of a community having pre-agricultural stage of economy, rather very rudimentary agrarian economy, pose different problems to the administrations and the social scientists who are interested and engaged in the schemes of development and welfare of the down trodden communities. So an omnibus blue-print for welfare for all the tribal communities cannot be made and cannot be applicable in all cases.

Though attempts were made by the Government along with a few voluntary organisations for the welfare of these communities for sometimes past, yet from experience it can be said that these have either totally failed or have not produced satisfactory results. The basic problems of the Lodhas, according to close observation by the

author are the following and have to be solved for their proper uplift:—

1. *Problem people*—Besides having the common acute problems of living, they have a bunch of psycho-emotional problems. Chronic social neglect by the greater society has dwarfed their mind and abilities. Laziness, reluctance to do any hard labour and restlessness have made them a typical parasitic stock. Through rehabilitation, they demand and dream of immediate solution of all their problems like the 'shock therapy'. As these are beyond reality, being a long-term process they have become restive and frustated and go on campaigning against the organisations or the Government attempting their rehabilitation. So due to this psychological freak, these problematic people should have to be treated very carefully. Otherwise they will become antagonistic and non-co-operative and the work of their rehabilitation will become more difficult.

2. *Problem neighbour*—Their neighbours are also very problematic. A good number of the people of the locality have forged clandestine economic deals with them and buy from them the stolen articles at very cheap rates, as also employ them for agricultural work on minimum wages. Thus exploiting them in various ways, they derive a good deal of benefit. But strangely enough the Lodhas, on the other hand, consider this relationship as friendly and desirable. The former group does not want rehabilitation of the Lodhas as it will deprive them from making huge profits by sale of the stolen goods which they buy at very nominal costs, as also in that case, they will not get cheap labour by the usual tactics of threatening them of divulging their crime and getting them arrested by the police. Naturally the neighbours who get cheap labour from them are not at all interested in their proper rehabilitation. They tell the Lodhas that the real motive of these Welfare Schemes is an attempt to break their tradition and economy and make them subservient to the Government, so they become suspicious of the welfare agencies and the Government which implement such schemes. Besides as only a few people are getting the benefit of these schemes, the rest feel naturally deprived and discontented and keep apart. To get their full co-operation, therefore, this false notion has to be dispelled and the rehabilitation schemes should have larger coverage.

3 *Problem Administration*—The administration sometimes creates more problems either by failing to understand the situation in reality or to implement the schemes meaningfully to cater to their needs. Even in many cases the basic problems are not properly understood by the officials. Most of the Welfare Projects undertaken so far have failed due to such misunderstanding. For example, the State Government spent a sum of Rs. 1,23,840-00 for assisting the Lodhas of Narayangarh and Nayagram by giving them plough cattle and mud-built residential huts during 1970-71 and 1971-72. This has failed due to lack of proper planning and supervision. The bullocks and the house building materials were sold out by them. Similarly, though a huge sum has been spent for the Lodha project, it has also turned into a failure for the same reasons. So the administrative machinery implementing the Tribal Welfare Schemes should be very careful, cautious and active in future. It has been found that the local authorities regularly send 'Utilisation Certificates' for proper use of the money sanctioned for such schemes to the government. But the benefits that accrued to the people were quite nominal and disproportionate. It indicates that there had been a good deal of misspending and bad planning. These lapses have to be guarded against, in future.

Major Economic Potentials of the region

The Physio-geography of the region specially where the Lodhas live is significant. Two regions can be well demarcated in this expansive tract. One is forest or jungle covered rugged terrain with less communication facilities and another more or less acculturated region where the Lodhas live in a comparatively dispersed as well as isolated condition. Mainly the ecological conditions and their allied contributions are responsible for the unexpected backwardness of the tribal people and the region. The local techno-ecosystem is interlaced with the life style of these people.

It has been stated earlier that the land of the Lodhas are a continuity of the Chotanagpur plateau. The climate here is hot with long severe summer and draught is the main feature of this area. The average annual rainfall is within 65 inches. The soil is mostly sandy-loam and reddish brown with occasional lateritic outcrops here and there. Due to undulations a patch of land between two table lands generally

happens to be fertile, but such lands are not under the possession of any tribal group. The table-land known as *Dahi* or high-land is completely unfit for agricultural operations. Besides, in the jungle area, these are covered with various types like *Sal*, *Mahua*, *Asan* etc. Strikingly the Lodhas in deforested areas have the advantage of better topography and irrigational facilities. But the Lodhas, in almost all the regions are landless. Very little land is found to be under their possession. A few Lodhas had however their own lands earlier. But in course of time these lands have been alienated to others. Though through rehabilitation projects and by distributing *Khas* land to the landless tribals during these days, some of them have been provided a piece of land, but it cannot be utilised by them properly as they do not know the good techniques of cultivation. Besides the other causes are :—

(i) Bad location of the land which lacks irrigation facilities.

(ii) They have no aptitude for agriculture. Agriculture requires a constant watch and hard labour from start to finish and agricultural cycle requires sufficient time to get the crops. These people cannot wait so long without earning otherwise due to their extremely impoverished condition. So they leave their lands uncultivated and prefer to work as day labourers by which they can earn every day. So agricultural incentive given to them is not at all found fruitful.

(iii) Lack of plough, cattle and other implements. This being the case, man-power seems to be the only resources which has to be properly utilised for uplift and gainful employment of the Lodhas. This can be done in the following manner:

In the jungle areas a few plans specially forest based projects should be introduced by the Government for collection of *tusser* cocoon, poultry farming, goat-rearing, soap making etc., in which they will be self-employed and earn their living. The primary investment, in all cases will have to be made by the Government.

Problems of Development

During the Second Plan Period, a few model colonies have been organised by the Government in the Lodha and tribal inhabited areas. These include: (1) Auligeria-Jharam run under the supervision of Harijan Sevak Sangha.

The Gandhian leader late Prof. P. R. Sen took charge of this scheme along with some social workers. Though this project is maintained by the Education Department by sanctioning annual grant to the schools there (Pre-Basic to Senior Basic i. e., Class VII), but no hostel has been provided for the tribal students. The economic development of the project is almost a failure.

(2) Dholkat-Pukuria (Jhargram) Rehabilitation Colony under the supervision of Bharat Seva-shram Sangha—a religious institution is, however, doing very sincere work. They are also running school upto Class VIII standard and have constructed one Ashram Hostel for the Lodha boys. The project is not progressing well though very sincere attempts are being made by the organisers mainly for lack of funds. Uptil now no student has attained the Madhyamik Standard, but a few Lodha youngmen of this centre are getting training through Block Office in carpentry and fitting.

(3) The Harijan Seva Kendra at Kukai (Kesiari P. S.) under the supervision of a Sarbodaya worker has however flourished. A *grain gola* has been established there for serving the Lodhas as well as other tribals. This is giving good service. The then Director of Tribal Welfare Department suggested personal allocation of land under individual title from the purchased land of the Government. This they received some land. But the Lodhas are not in a position to cultivate their own land both for lack of money and training. Though they have not sold out these lands but some have been left uncultivated and some made over to others for cultivation for an agreed share of crops or a little money. Thus the scheme is not functioning well now. There is a primary school near the village. But uptil now not a single boy of this village has passed the Madhyamik standard. With the departure of the social worker on other assignment, local politics and factions among the villagers have spoiled the whole project.

(4) Dhansole (Lalgarh) Rehabilitation Project It is a jungle-based village. Sufficient quantity of agricultural land has been purchased and distributed to the Lodhas and these are now cultivated by them. A model colony has also been set up here. But due to flood and cyclone it is now in a ramshackle condition. But the Lodhas here are getting employment from the Forest Department and regularly cultivating getting their lands. But no school has been set up here to educate the Lodhas.

(5) *Daharpur Lodha Rehabilitation Project or Bidisa Project : (Narayangarh) P. S.*—For this scheme initially Rs. 1,500 per family was spent for the rehabilitation of 39 families. More emphasis was given on land purchase, and not on construction of houses. Every beneficiary family got about an acre of good cultivable land. The plough and cattle were given to the Lodhas. Even the co-operative which was started for them is now defunct. The incorrigible criminal Lodhas are in league with the local interested persons and are attempting to flounder this development project. To counter their heinous plan, the organiser started immediately Ashram Hostels where the Lodha children have been brought to a different surrounding to isolate them from the criminals—where they now stay in a quite different and healthy environment along with many other tribal and caste children. The children are given vocational training in agriculture, bee-keeping, pisciculture, dairy, carpentry, weaving and tailoring. Thus an arrangement has been made to transplant a middleclass norm which may attract others. Even dropouts are employed in a Press and Printing Project (Training-cum-production) set up here and thus they are gradually acculturated with the general social norms and greater economic spectrum.

(6) The Debra-Chaksahapur Lodha Rehabilitation Project under the initiative of a Lodha youngman encouraged by some anthropologist and Government officials was started with enthusiasm. But local politics and lack of experience have stunted its growth and it is almost in a decaying condition now. A case has already been instituted by the Government against the organiser directing him to handover the charge as well as the assets. He has done so in the meantime. There is one Ashram Hostel for the boys here. Funds have been sanctioned for construction of another Ashram Hostel for the girls here. But it has yet to be established.

(7) Institute of social Research and Applied Anthropology started one economic rehabilitation centre at Chhotojhaur under the police-station of Gopiballavpur. No Government Grant has been sanctioned for the same.

For a few successive years tension between the Lodha and non-Lodha communities in this area is continuing. In 1959 there was a riot at Dhansol between the Mahatos and the Lodhas. Again in 1960 Santals, Mahatos and others

declared 'gira'—traditional attack on the Lodhas when a few of them were killed and a good number of Lodha villages were set on fire. Again in September 1969 the Santals declared 'gira'—traditional attack by tying a knot on the bark of a branch of a *Sal* tree giving intimation of the date and time of attack to the Lodhas, as well as the other caste groups declared *Kira* against them by beating of drum-making attack on a large-scale. As a result more than twenty persons were killed in broad day light. Thus a tension was created and it is yet to be resolved. The Government immediately sanctioned more than Rs. 6 lakhs for their relief and resettlement but no work has yet been started except relief.

Conclusion

By way of conclusion it can be said that the attempts made for rehabilitation of the Lodhas during these years by the Government either directly by the Government machinery or through the voluntary organisations are not at all satisfactory and the schemes have flopped due to bad planning. Naturally a thorough probe into this matter is necessary and the opinion of the experts should be taken. The hostility created so long between the Lodha and the non-Lodha communities has widened so much that the administration has to take serious steps in this matter to maintain law and order in the area. Periodical breakout of these riots could not be checked simply by sanctioning money for the projects meant for the Lodhas or by providing them relief after the riots without removing the causes of tension. The way how these groups are interlaced with the particular ethno-ecological system should be examined more carefully to find out their basic problems and remedies thereof. We would then perhaps find out the clue to the riddle why these groups fail to respond quickly and favourably to the facilities of integrating themselves with the wider social life, which may appear to us to be 'obviously advantageous' for them.

"We should try to examine the impact of the efforts at changing their ways of life as made through the rehabilitation schemes and welfare activities for these groups. We shall then and then only be able to locate where the shoe pinches. Here lies the role of the applied anthropologists and action anthropologists. Being freed from prejudice which affects the laymen and sometimes the administrators, we should view the case from a scientific angle which should be at the same time humane. (Bhowmick: 1976).

We must note the nature of relationship among three segments of the society: the neglected communities or ethnic groups, the advanced ethnic groups and the government administration for the sake of proper estimate and planning."

It has been observed that no follow-up scheme in any case is pursued by the Government which is very essential for achieving the desired results. Once money has been spent the authorities in most cases try to wind up the project without proper assessment of the whole situation. By experience everybody can learn. Even the Government does not pay attention to the thinking and suggestions of the experts. All the time, political views are reflected through Welfare Projects which, in most of the cases, are not rational or scientific

at all. It is the duty of the Government therefore to make an endeavour to bridge up the mutual gap between one ethnic group and another. "But the task of promotion of inter-ethnic harmony can never be accomplished by the Government alone. The wider society must be aware of the necessity of such harmony. The advanced ethnic groups must free themselves from the prejudices and angularities they have developed towards the backward communities. For this reason a scientific outlook must be developed which would emerge from more intensive work of the applied anthropologists and action anthropologists among the tribal-folk in future. This however necessitates greater co-ordination between the planners and the action anthropologists and the follow-up measures to assess the working programmes." (Bhowmick: 1976).

REFERENCE

- | | | |
|-------------------------|-----------|---|
| Bhowmick, P. K. | (1963) | .. The Lodhas of West Bengal. A socio-economic study, Calcutta. |
| | (1968) | .. Development Schemes as Factors of Social and Economic Changes: Journal of Social Research, Ranchi. |
| | (1970) | .. Welfare Programmes and Administration: Tribe, Udaipur. |
| | (1970) | .. Ex-Criminal Tribes of India. Indian Museum Bulletin, Calcutta. |
| | (1975) | .. An Essential Primary Considerations for Rehabilitation Schemes, Vanyajati, Delhi. |
| | (1976) | .. Problems of Denotified Tribals, Man and Life, Calcutta. |
| | (1977) | .. Developmental Approach to the Problems of Adivasis, Journal of Social Research, Ranchi. |
| Bose, P. C. | (1932-33) | .. Racial Affinities of the Mundas. Bose Research Institute, Calcutta. |
| Daly, F. C. | (1916) | .. Manual of Criminal Classes Operating in Bengal, Calcutta. |
| Dasgupta, Dipankar | (1978) | .. Linguistic Studies, Calcutta |
| Gupta, R. K. | (1954) | .. A work among the Lodhas, Calcutta Police Journal, Calcutta. |
| Gupta, R. K. | (1959) | .. Lodhas Revisited. Man in India, Ranchi. |
| Risely, H. H. | (1892) | .. Tribes and Castes of Bengal, Vol. I & II |
| Roy, S. C. & Roy, R. C. | (1937) | .. The Kharias, Vol. I & II |
| Sarkar, S. S. | (1954) | .. The Aboriginal Races of India, Calcutta |

The Ho of Bihar

Dr. BIMAN KUMAR DASGUPTA

The Ho form a part of population in Bihar, Orissa and West Bengal and their number, as per 1971 Census (Chari 1975) is as follows :

		Total	Male	Female	Literate	Rural	Urban
Bihar	..	5,05,172	2,47,554	2,57,618	64,336	4,79,529	29,643
Orissa	..	31,916	15,894	16,022	2,860	31,174	742
West Bengal	..	1,036	529	507	123	873	163

Their maximum concentration is in the Singhbhum district of Bihar where they compose 47 per cent of the total tribal population of the district. Primarily they are agriculturists.

Many of the tribal groups of Central India exhibit a close relationship between clan and land. For example, it has been seen (Sinha, Das Gupta, Banerjee, 1964) that the erstwhile Barabhum estate was divided into fiefs headed by feudal lords and these fiefs have been dominated by one clan or the other. Thus Sarberia fief is dominated by Bhuinya clan. Panchasardari by Ubusandil or say Dubraji by Gulgu. Among the Munda also a number of villages are organised into a *parha*. Twelve, twenty or twenty-two villages form a *parha* and each *parha* belong to a dominant clan. Thus *baroparha*, adjacent to Khunti town, has Tiru as the dominant clan. The head of the *parha* who generally belong to Tiru clan exhibit some amount of superior position amongst his clan members, decide cases of interpersonal clashes within the *parha*. The Ho also have such territorial units known as Pir comprising a number of villages having a dominant clan. The head of a pir is a Manki who 'lived in a commodious

house, maintained a number of servants avoided manual labour, indulged in the luxury of keeping a mistress' (Sinha, 1961). The *Manki* and his agnates formed definitely a higher class amongst the villagers in a *Pir*, and his authority was strengthened because of the political authority exercised by him as a Chief under the Mayurbhanj Raja. In the settlement report of 1919, we find the mention of a number of pirs such as Bharbaria, Lagra, Thai, Lalgah, Anwla, Bantra, Jamdia and so on. Majumder (1950) reports the existence of 26 pirs, some big and some small. Bara Pir with 131, Thai Pir with 94 and Saranda Pir with 78 villages are known to be some of the biggest pirs in the area. Though we know that each pir is headed by a *Manki* Hunter writes that 'a Manki was placed in charge of 3 to 12 villages' (Quoted Singh, 1978). The pir where today the Ho live with many non-Ho, exert a serious impact on their cultural life and to a common Ho, a *Manki* is the repository of power, prestige and better way of life. After the British conquest of Singhbhum, the British took note of the command and respect elicited by the *Mankis* and relegated on them the responsibility of policing. In addition the *Mankis* were requested to help in

revenue collection with the assistance of Mundas (village headman) or ryots (Singh, 1978).

The houses in a Ho village are arranged in a linear fashion. Each house has a kitchen garden and a courtyard. Big flat (dolmen) or vertical (menhir) stones are scattered all over the village. After the dead body is burnt, the charred bone remains, collected in a pot (generally earthen) are buried inside and this place is capped by a big flat stone. Villagers gossip sitting on it and often village council meetings are held on it. Such burials are done in one side of the courtyard or in any other place within the village and are known as *aasan*. Often a *killi* (clan) has a specifically demarcated area as *aasan*. It is customary to bury the bones in one's *killi* ossuary. But if such ossuary is not available within easy reach, it is likely that the burial is done in the ossuary of any kin. Hos practise monogamy. Polygynous marriage is usually avoided probably due to high *gonam* (bride price). Because of this *gonam* again, young boys and girls are going for *raji khusi* (mutual agreement) of coartipi (marriage by elopement). This means avoidance of *andi* (marriage by negotiation) which has elaborate rituals, heavy demand for bride price and unmanageable expenses. Marriages may be within the village or outside and each village is inhabited by one *killi* or two. In any case the residence is patrilineal. Marriages earlier were closer and restricted within a *pir*, while now-a-days marriage often take place outside the *pir*. This is possible due to greater and better communication facilities, and also due to their desire to widen kin relationship and develop contacts outside the *pir*. Whether it is village exogamy or village endo my *killi* exogamy is a must and those who break the rule are labelled as *kajomesin*. Those who violate the rule of *killi* exogamy are thrown out of the group and are taken back only on payment of a fine.

Patrilineal Hos have denotative as-well-as classificatory terminologies and as per Spier's classification, the kinship system can be put under Hawaiian category. Mukerjee (1973) comments that the tribes who practise cross cousin marriage but do not belong to classificatory system are Lushail Juang, Baiga, Bhil and Toda. Alongwith other Chotonagpur tribes, the Ho have identical terms for Mother's Brother and Father's Sister's Husband. Terms for father's younger brother and step father respectively stand as *kaka* and *kakabada* and this indicate the existence

of junior levirate. But then the *Gungu* is of much significance as it involves about 18 kins of different generations and sexes. The relationship terms of the Ho throw some light of the existence of marriage by exchange when two families agree to give marriage to a young man and a young woman. But they cannot choose partners indiscriminately and conform to the rule that eldest of the bridegroom's brother will have to choose the eldest of the bride's sisters. Marriage by exchange was practised by previously unconnected families and for one generation only.

The religious life of the Ho centres round the institution of *ading* and the two important festivals, *maghe* and the annual hunting festival. It is necessary to put at this point that *diang*, a locally made rice beer is not only an intoxicating drink, but as per their ritual prescription, they must offer it to the deities or to the ancestors on any important occasion.

Ading is small clay mound located on the eastern side of the kitchen (Das Gupta 1963) and is regarded as a resting place for the dead ancestors and this is a sacred spot. For that reason they do not allow the members of other *killi* to enter the kitchen. On the important occasions, *ading* is offered at *ading*. To acquire the right of offering *diang* to *ading*, a newly wedded bride has to pass through an introducer ceremony at the *ading* immediately after she enters her husband's house.

There is a set of elaborate rituals by which the dead ancestors are invoked to come to *ading*. Two days after cremation; the soul is brought to *ading*. By evening the kins assemble. Ashes are sprinkled all around the *ading* and on one side two persons sit silently. Others wait outside. Two persons go to the cremation ground—one of them carries a pot of water and the other carries a bell. Both of them advance towards the house and sprinkle water as they ring the bell mildly. They sing various verses requesting the dead to come to the *ading* and have lasting rest. As they reach the entrance of the kitchen (where the *ading* is situated) they enquire whether the soul has reached. The two persons sitting by the side of the *ading* search for any mark on the ashes and if there be none, the ceremony is repeated. If no mark is discovered even in the seventh time, a hen is offered to Singbonga and it is believed that after this the soul has no other alternative than to come to the *ading*.

Maghe is an important festival of the Ho and is celebrated after harvest in January-February, every year. During this period the Kusum and Palas trees are bedecked with colourful flowers. The major attraction of the festival is held at the *akhra* (dancing arena). *Maghe* dances are danced and *maghe* songs are sung. The celebrations last for four days and each day is separately named (Chattopadhyay and Ray Chaudhuri 1956). The *maghe* festival is dated in such way that villagers in the neighbourhood can get the opportunity to attend and participate in it. Young boys and girls attend such dances positively because there is ample opportunity of free mixing and select a partner of one's own choice. This helps the guardians to avoid high bride price, that is, compulsory in *andi* marriage. Apart from its purely ritual aspect, *maghe* festival has the importance of establishing inter-village fraternity and of repairing and cleaning every Ho homestead.

Das Gupta & Gupta (1957) have observed that the hunting habit of the Ho is dying out. But every year in March-April, a ceremonial hunting is arranged by a group of villages. A group of young people start from a village after offering puja at *jahersthan*. The priest propitiates Sangarbonga (the deity presiding over hunting) and furnishes to the party information about the auspicious direction. The hunters have bow, arrow and battle axe as the main hunting implements. The hunt is brought to the village; *diang* is offered to Sangarbonga while the *deuri* sacrifices white chicken for Singbong and a coloured chicken for Sangarbonga. The meat is shared by all the participants. But in some areas, on this occasion, villagers arrange ceremonial dancing only. Whatever it may be, the Ho exhibit, through such festivals, a spirit of inter-village comradeship and make every festival a festival of fraternal understanding. The Ho also have their fairly concerted movement to guide their culture within a desired frame. The *adisamaj* movement of the Ho was founded by Lakho Bodra, a Ho of the district of Singbhum. Lakho Bodra, a son of a well-to-do agriculturist had education upto matriculation. He invented a script on the basis of some marks on ancient stones in the Ho area; and this he believed to be the old script of the Ho. With this asset, he contested to general elections but lost. Though this brought an end to the political aspiration of Lakho Bodra, he can get the credit of introducing a disciplined *adisamaj* movement of the Ho and pleaded for discontinu-

ing group dancing and heavy drinking, for condemning payment of bride price, etc. Lakho Bodra has done a beautiful job in putting an organised structure to *adisamaj* movement. Das Gupta (1976) reports 'there were 10 commanding centres or *asang matul* all over the district of Singbhum and also one centre was located in Keonjhar, Orissa... Each village has one local committee and superarching all the local committees there is one executive committee'. *Bonga Hora*, contains the religious prescriptions of Lakho Bodra and it is told that the religious codes have been influenced by the *bhakti* cult. The *adisamajists* follow almost all the Ho festivals and in most of the cases Ho deities are re-interpreted and equated with one Hindu god or the other. Thus Brahma is equated with Dassauli; Siv with Koui; Vishnu with Gua and so on. *Adisamaj* movement thus is intended to bring in some social reforms in a disciplined manner, but Das Gupta (1976) comments "the association of many of its followers with the Jharkhand party right from its formative phase has put a political stamp on the movement".

Already the Ho culture have been showing a number of changes in its contents and a number of norms have received rethinking due to modern impact. The high rate of bride price and the heavy expenses involved in *andi* marriage is not liked by many because this has resulted in increasing number of marriage by elopement. The springing up of industrial establishments in the Ho area have brought in a number of problems in them. These are :

- (a) alienation of land and taking up of new means of subsistence;
- (b) adjustment in two economic set up—agriculture in the natural set up and industrial work in the factory set up;
- (c) the above has again given raise to breaking up of family for two types of economic pursuits, and consequently of blance between the two, often polygynous marriages have been resorted to.

Anyway, in one such situation, Das Gupta (1978) observes "The main thrust of the adaptation of the Ho to the industrial milieu has been to combine the gains in the rural agrarian economy with work in the factory. This has been achieved by various means like staying in the village itself, a high degree of seasonal absenteeism and maintaining two wives and two sets of families."

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- | | | | |
|---|----|------|--|
| Chari, R. B. | .. | 1976 | Report Census of India, 1971 series I, Paper I, Table VIII, pts A & B, New Delhi. |
| Chatterjee, Anathnath and Das, Taraknath | .. | 1927 | The Hos of Seraikella. Anthropological papers, New series No. 1, University of Calcutta, Calcutta. |
| Chattopadhyya, Gauranga and Ray Chaudhuri, Bikash. | | 1956 | The festival Maghe of Seraikella area. Journal of Asiatic Society, Vol. XXII, No. 1, Calcutta. |
| Das Gupta, Biman Kumar | .. | 1963 | Ading Sebi Ho (in Bengali) <i>A m r i t a</i> , August 1973. |
| Das Gupta, Biman Kumar and Gupta, Pabitra | | 1957 | A ceremonial hunting among the Ho in Seraikella <i>Adivasi</i> , Vol. III, No. 2, Bhubaneswar. |
| Das Gupta, Pranab Kumar | .. | 1976 | Adi Samaj movement, paper read in the Seminar on Ongoing Tribal Movements in India, Calcutta. |
| Das Gupta, Pranab Kumar | .. | 1978 | Impact of Industrialization on a Tribe in South Bihar, Memoir No. 48, Anthropological Survey of India, Calcutta. |
| Majumdar, D. N. | .. | 1950 | The Affairs of a Tribal (a study in Tribal Dynamics) Ethnographic & Folk Culture Society, Lucknow. |
| Mukerjee, B. | .. | 1973 | Kinship terminologies. Journal of India, Anthropological Society, Vol. 8, Calcutta. |
| Sinha, Surajit, Das Gupta, Biman Kumar, Banerjee Hemendra Nath. | | 1964 | Villages, towns and ethnic groups of Pargannah Barabhum, Memoir No. 14, Anthropological Survey of India, Calcutta. |
| Sinha, Surajit | .. | 1961 | State Formation and Rajput myth in Tribal Central India, Man-in-India, Vol. 42, No. 1, Ranchi, |
| Singh, C. P. | .. | 1978 | The Ho Tribes of Singhbhum. Classical Publications, New Delhi. |

—X—

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

Dr. D. R. Pratap .. Director
Tribal cultural Research-cum-Training Institute
Andhra Pradesh.

Shri A. K. Das .. Deputy Director
Cultural Research Institute, Calcutta.

Prof. P. K. Bhowmick .. Professor of Anthropology
University of Calcutta.

Dr. Biman Kumar Dasgupta .. Anthropological Survey of India
Calcutta-16.

THE STATEMENT ABOUT OWNERSHIP AND PARTICULARS ABOUT
THE NEWSPAPER ENTITLED ADIBASI AS REQUIRED TO BE PUBLISHED
UNDER RULE 8 OF THE REGISTRATION OF NEWSPAPER (CENTRAL)
RULE, 1956

FORM IV

Place of publication	.. Tribal & Harijan Research-cum-Training Institute Bhubaneswar-14, district Puri.
Periodicity of its publication	.. Quarterly
Printer's Name	.. Director, Printing, Stationery and Publication Orissa, Cuttack.
Nationality	.. Indian
Address	.. Madhupatna, Cuttack-10
Publisher's Name	.. Director of Tribal & Harijan Research-cum- Training Institute, Government of Orissa.
Nationality	.. Indian
Address	.. Bhubaneswar-14
Editors' Name	.. Shri Premananda Tripathi, I. A. S. Commissioner-cum-Secretary to Government, Harijan & Tribal Welfare Department, Government of Orissa.
	Dr. N. Patnaik, Director, Tribal & Harijan Research-cum- Training Institute, Bhubaneswar.
Nationality	.. Indian
Address	.. Bhubaneswar, Orissa (India), Pin-751014