

THE JAMATIYAS OF TRIPURA

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FOREWORD

This monograph on "The Jamatias" is another addition to our publications. The Directorate of Research have earlier published monographs on the Kukis, the Noatias, the Kalais, the Kaipemgs, the Uchais and the Reangs etc.

2. This monograph contains not only a very detailed analysis of social life and community organisation but also an intensive study of some of the Jamatiya villages. There being very few studies on the Jamatias earlier, it is hoped that this will be very useful for various purposes both for the Government and for the people, who are interested to know about the customs and manners, rites and rituals and various aspects of the ways of life of the Jamatias. In this context, the monograph prepared by Shri Prodip Nath Bhattacharjee will meet a long felt demand.

3. Shri Prodip Nath Bhattacharjee deserves gratitude of the Government for his valuable contribution.

Agartala,
1-2-1984.

S. R. Nandy,
Director of Research,
Government of Tripura.

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(ii)

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In my field study I was actively helped by Shri Naba Kishore Jamatiya and Shri Chaitanyahari Jamatiya of Burburia, Shri Brajamohan Jamatiya of Karaimura, Shri Siddhi Pada Jamatiya, Shri Lalit Jamatiya and Shri Rebati Jamatiya of Silighati, Shri Madhuprem Jamatiya of Nagrai, Shri Nirodhan Jamatiya of Twibaklay and Shri Ganesh Kalai Singha of Jantranapara. I am deeply indebted to them for their sincere co-operation in my work.

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I shall consider my labour amply rewarded if this book is found helpful in any manner to the researchers in this field.

Agartala,
3.9.83.

Prodip Nath Bhattacharjee.

(iii)

A KEY TO PRONUNCIATION OF NON-ENGLISH WORDS :

The letters with certain marks above them in some cases are pronounced as shown below :

O, o sounds like 'O' as in English 'hot'

A, a „ „ 'a' „ „ „ 'art'

I, i „ „ 'i' „ „ „ 'bit'

u „ „ 'oo' „ „ „ 'book'

e „ „ „ 'e' „ „ „ 'bed'

ay „ „ „ 'y' „ „ „ 'my'

Yng sounds some what like ng as in English sing.

W „ „ „ 'a' as in English 'account'

Uw „ „ „ 'o' „ „ „ 'go'

N after 'a' vowel generally stands for nasalization.

Signs and Symbols :

+ Joining of two words or syllables.

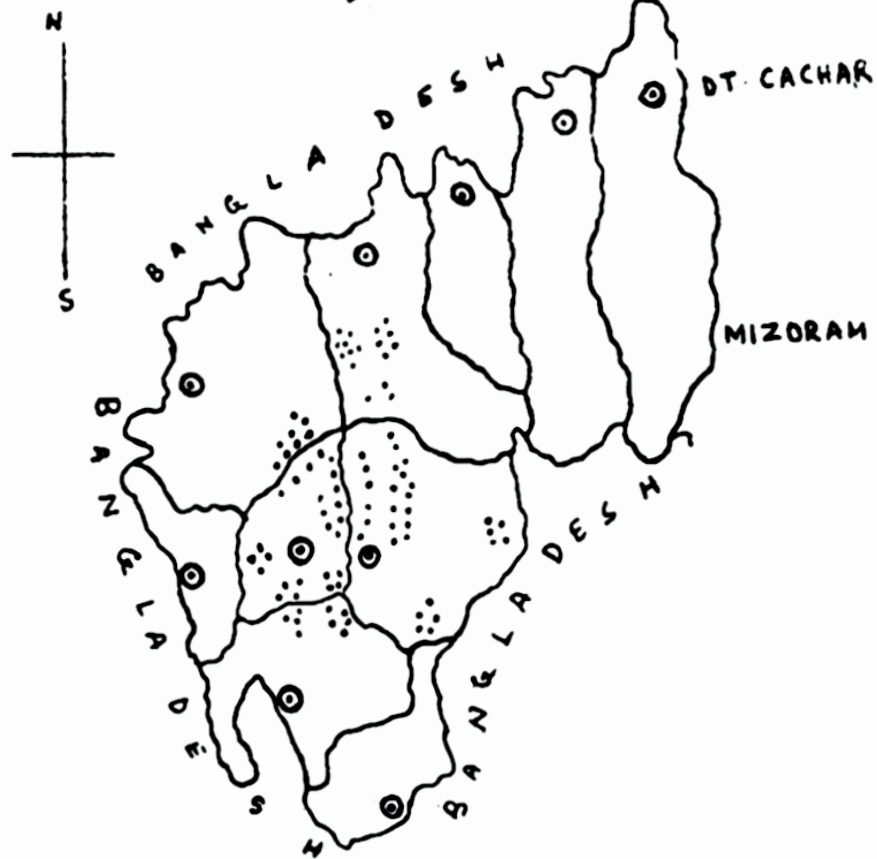
= The resultant sound e.g. Twy + tum = Twytum

/ or e.g. *Chamwrwy tisamanni*/*Chamwrwy tisamwng*.

Chamwrwy tisamanni or *Chamwrwy tisamwng*

TRIPURA

PRINCIPAL JAMATIYA HABITATIONS



REFERENCES

Sub Divisional H.Q. : ⊙
Jamatiya Villages : ····

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The Jamatiyas, one of the nineteen tribes of Tripura live largely in Udaipur and Amarpur Sub-Divisions of South Tripura District, and Khowai of West Tripura District. A few numbers of them are also found in the Sadar Sub-division of West Tripura district. They hold the third position in respect of numerical strength among the 19 tribes of Tripura.

According to the Census Report of 1971, the total population of the Jama-tiyas in Tripura is 34,192 which is 7.59% of the total tribal population of the state.

The Survey Report of Hill Tipperah of 1874-75 by W.W. Hunter also shows that the Jamatiya tribe was holding the third position in respect of numerical strength. The following table indicates numerical position of the Jamatiya tribe in comparison with other tribes of Tripura.

Table-I

1874-75

Name of the Tribe	Numerical strength :
1. Tipperah	27,148
2. Jamatiyas	3,000
3. Nowatias	2,144
4. Riangs	2,435
5. Halams	5,577

According to the Census Report of 1901, 1911 and 1961 the total popu-lation of the Jamatiya tribe was :

TABLE-II

Persons during the Census Year :

1901	1911	1961
490	178	24,359

According to the Census Report of Tripura of 1931 the total population of the Jamatiyas was 11,090. The following table of 1931 shows the settlement of the Jamatiyas in various Sub-Divisions of Tripura.

TABLE-III

Centre	Total Population	Male	Female
1	2	3	4
Agartala	1 (0.01 %)	1 (100 %)	
Sadar	613 (5.53 %)	323 (52.69 %)	290 (47.31 %)
Sonamura	877 (7.91 %)	438 (49.94 %)	439 (50.06 %)
Udaipur	5,028 (45.34 %)	2,514 (50 %)	2,514 (50 %)
Amarpur	3,091 (27.87 %)	1,587 (51.34 %)	1,508 (48.79 %)
Khowai	1,452 (13.09 %)	756 (52.07 %)	696 (47.93 %)
Kailashahar	2 (0.02 %)	1 (50 %)	1 (50 %)
Dharmanagar	26 (0.23 %)	14 (53.85 %)	12 (46.15 %)
Sabroom			
Belonia			
Total :	11,090 (100 %)	5,634 (50.80 %)	5,456 (49.20 %)

The above table shows that Udaipur Sub-Division tops the list and next to Udaipur come Amarpur, Khowai, Sonamura and Sadar Sub-Divisions in that order.

In the census Report of 1971, it is found that South Tripura District has the largest Jamatiya population, with 27,337 and next to it comes, West Tripura District with 6, 644 while North Tripura District has only 171.

Nomenclature :

There are controversies regarding the origin of the term Jamatiya. It is mentioned in the book "Tribes of Tripura" that from the etymology 'Jamat'—

which in Bengali/Urdu means assemblage, the tribe name Jamatiya is supposed to have been derived. Some believe that the Jamatias were recruited in the army which was called Jamat and subsequently came to be known as Jamatias.

In this connection the views of Somendra Chandra Deb Barma and Omesh Saigal are worth mentioning here. In the book entitled 'Tripura Rajyaer Census Bibarani' 1931, Somendra Deb Barma states that"

"The Jamatias in the past served in the army of Tripura. The word Jamat means a group or a congregation of people. The army which was formed by them was called jamat. Since then they have been known as Jamatias".

Omesh Saigal holds the view that 'Jamat in Urdu means an assemblage of persons. The former rulers of Tripura used to recruit his army from a class of Tribals who were not only warriors but also has proved their loyalty to him. A fair proportion of his (sic) armed forces were drawn from amongst the Jamatias who formed a group in his (sic) army, and it was from this fact that they derived their clan name.

In the opinion of others, the term jamatiya is derived from the word 'Jama' which means tax and *twiya* meaning not to bear the burden of. They hold the opinion that as the Jamatias were serving in the army, they were allowed to enjoy these privileges.

The above mentioned view is also supported by the statement of W.W. Hunter. He asserts that "the Jamatias are the fighting caste of Tipperahs and are well fitted for jungle warfare. They are exempted from all forced coolie labour, a privilege of which they are very tenacious and the infringement of which was the cause of a sanguinary rebellion some years ago".

Yet another group of elder persons of the Jamatiya community are of the opinion that when *Pub Narayan* (a legendary hero of the Jamatiya community) brought the image of *Biyagwang Goriya* (one of the popular deities of the Jamatias) from the land of Kukis by exhibiting great valour and presented it to the king, the king ordered him to worship the deity in a jamayet i.e. in an assemblage and since then those persons who are worshipping the image of *Goriya* in a group came to be known as Jamatias.

One is apt to find contradiction in these seemingly opposite views. But the words *Joma*, *Jomat* and *jamayet* came from the same language, that is Arabic and are related to military service rendered by the Jamatias. So the three opinions as mentioned above form a paradox which itself is a pointer to the fact that the term jamatiya is not an ancient one and so also the Tribe. The influence of Arabic became prominent in this region during the rule of the Nawabs of Bengal only. The continuous fighting between the kings of Tripura and the Muslim rulers of Bengal paved gradually the way for this Arabic language to penetrate to Tripura thus casting its influence to a great extent.

Ethnic origin of the Jamatiyas :

According to suhash chottopadhyay, a noted linguist, the following eight tribes namely, the Tipra, Ring, Jamatiya, Noatiya, Rupini, Koloi, Ulchoi and Murasing belong to a one and undivided group. Their spoken language is *Kagbarak*. *Kagbarak* belongs to the Bodo branch of the Tibeto-Burman language group.

Regarding the ethnic origin of the Jamatiyas, the earlier authors have described them as a branch of the Tripuri tribe in their classification of the Tripuris.

R. H. Sneyed Hutchinson is of the opinion that "The Tippera in the Chiittagong Hill Tracts number 23,341 and are scattered through-out the district. This tribe is also called Tripura and is divided into two classes, the Purna or Tippera proper and the Jamatiyas.

In the Census Report of 1901 E.A. Gait states that the Tipperas are divided into Purn or Tipra proper and the Jamatiyas.'

In the classification of the Tipperahs, Edward Tuite Dalton states that 'The tribes of Tipperahs are four in number—Rajbangsi, Nowatyahs, Jomatias (sic) and Reyanges.

In describing the origin of the Jamatiyas—Kailash Chandra Singha holds the view that 'they are a pure branch of the Tripuris. They were the main army of Tripura during the ancient period.

In this context E.A. Gait is of the opinion that 'From them the Tipra kings formally recruited their fighting men.'

Omesh Saigal holds the view that 'They were given a special position amongst the tribals and were exempted from *Ghar Chuktis* (House tax) and given settlement mainly in the Udaipur division. As a result of this, the Jamatiyas, though they once belonged to the Tripuri Tribe, managed to evolve a political system of their own and developed economically and socially.'

Regarding the origing of the Jamatiya tribe, Kailash Chandra Singha also holds the view that, the Jamatiya tribe is a branch of the Tripuri tribe. In his Rajmala he has mentioned that 'the Tripras or Twipras are chiefly divided into four branches e.g., (1) Tipra, (2) Jamatiya, (3) Noatiya and (4) Rieng. These branches are further sub-divided into various branches.

The view of Thakur Nagendra Chandra Deb Barma is worth mentioning here. He points it out that

It is known from the investigation of the history of Tripura that when Udaipur was the capital of Tripura, tribal people were given permanent residence round the capital for doing various duties of the State. The system of paying monthly salaries to the soldiers did not exist at that time. Instead,

they were given land settlement around the capital. This assemblage of the community gradually established matrimonial alliance and blood relationship among themselves and ultimately developed into a separate endogamous community.

In this context it should be noted here that till to-day the Jamatias are concentrated mainly in the Amarpur and Udaipur Sub-Division which were erstwhile capitals of Tripura. Amarpur was the capital of Tripura for a short period during the reign of Amar Manikya and Rangamati which was later named as Udaipur during the reign of Udai Manikya was the capital of Tripura for a long time.

In this context, the view of Somendra Chandra Deb Barma in the Census Report of 1931 is worth mentioning. He holds the view that 'The Tripuri Khatriyas are divided into five groups (1) Puran Tripura (2) Deshi Tripura (3) Jamatiya (4) Riag and (5) Noatiya. These five groups belong to the Khatriya Varna.

Ethnologically, the Jamatias are akin to the Tripuris and their physical characteristics also resemble those of the Tripuris. Their language is also the same. They speak Tripuri in a drawl tone.

The above mentioned views indicate that the Jamatiya tribe is supposed to have originated from the defence personnels of Tripura. As the armed forces of the previous rulers of Tripura consisted of the different tribes e.g. Tripuris, Noatias and the Rinags there is every chance of the admixture of various tribes in the formation of the Jamatiya tribe. There is also a little trace of the Kukis in this tribe as *Kherpang* lineage of the *Biyagwnang Goriya* came from Kuki land along with the image of *Biyagwang Goriya*. Besides this, to speak more precisely, as the Tripuris held a predominant position in the armed forces of Tripura, they played vital part in the formation of the Jamatiya tribe.

The matrimonial relationship among the families of the defence personnels played an important role as a melting pot in the first stage of its development.

Later on the neighbouring tribals who were attracted by their settled cultivation, disciplined life, administrative pattern and unity entered this community by matrimonial relationship.

DIALECT

The Jamatiya dialect is one of the eight dialects of the Kagbarak language. According to the census report of 1971 the total number of the Kagbarak speaking persons in Tripura is 3,60,654 which is 79.97% of the total tribal population of Tripura. It should be noted that the Rupini, the Murasing and the Koloi subtribes were not reported as Kagbarak speaking tribe in the 1971 Census Report though their mother tongue is also Kagbarak. Kagbarak language has been scheduled as a Tribal Language by a Presidential order published in the Gazette of India, Part-II Section I dated August 13, 1960. And now it is one of the two official languages of Tripura.

The Kagbarak speaking tribes and subtribes of Tripura are

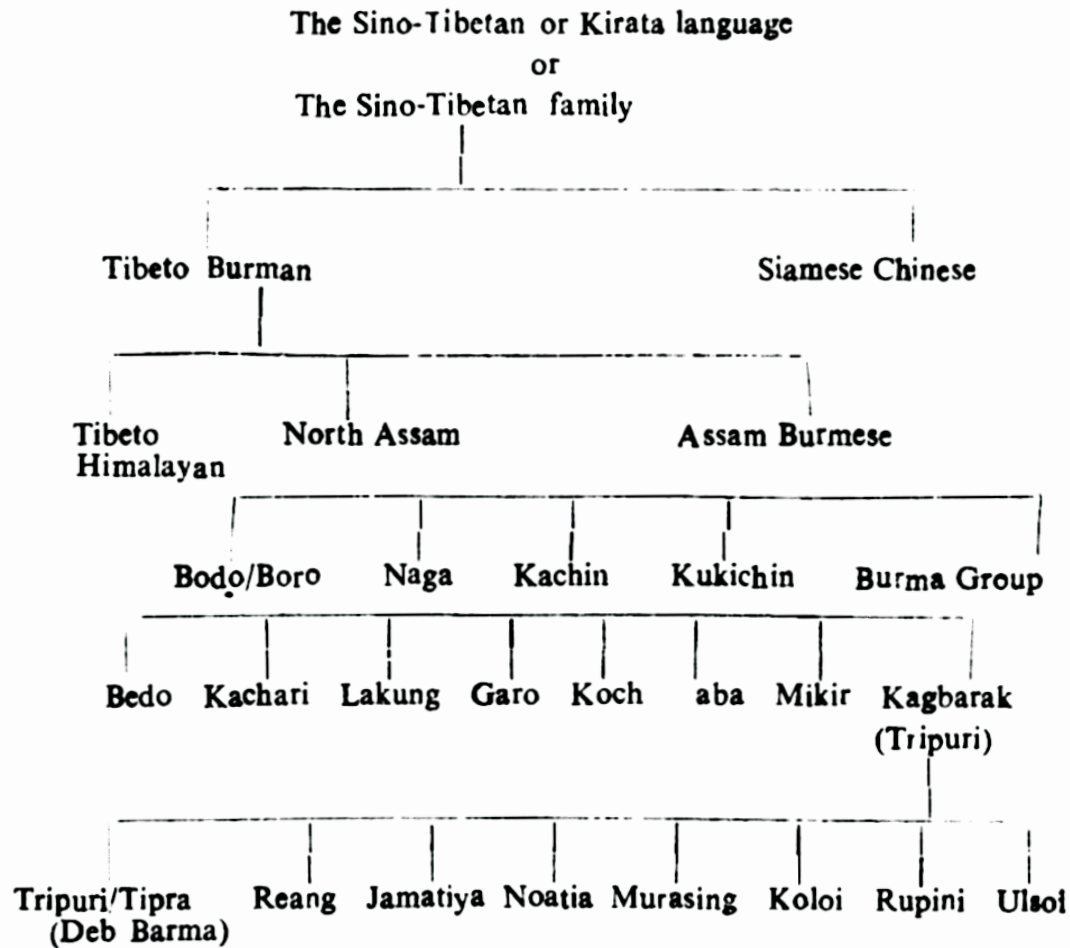
- (1) Tripuri/Tipra
- (2) Reang
- (3) Jamatiya
- (4) Noatia
- (5) Rupini
- (6) Koloi
- (7) Ulsoi and
- (8) Murasing.

The phonetic, morphemic and syntactic characters of their dialects have close affinity with each other, though they have their own individual characteristics as is usual with dialects of almost every languages. But the degree of difference of the eight dialects is not so much as is found in the case of Bengali or Hindi languages.

The view of Dr. Suhas Chottopadhyay regarding the close affinity of the eight dialects of the Kagbarak language is worth mentioning here. According to him, "The extent of dialectical difference among the different dialects of Kagbarak is not as wide as is found in the cases of Bengali or German. The phonemic structure of the dialects of Kagbarak are almost identical. The grammatical structures are also wonderfully similar to each other. And the differences in their vocabulary are very negligible.

The Jamatiya dialect of the Kagbarak language belongs to the Bodo language group. The languages belonging to this group originated from the Sino-Tibetan language in which the Second largest number of people of the world speak. The

process of how the Jamatia dialect has come into being with its root in the Sino-Tibetan language group may be shown in the following chart :—



The following list of a few Jamatiya words with their Boro (a language belonging to the Bodo/Boro group, spoken in Assam by the Bodos) equivalents show the close connection of the vocabulary of the two languages.

Jamatiya dialect (Kak-Barak)	Boro	English
Mwtay	Moday	God/Spirit
Sal	San	Sun
Twy	dui	water
Bukur	bigur	skin
Twyma	duima	river
Tao	dau	Bird
Fickung	bikhung	back
Ha	ha	earth
Thaili	Thaili	Plantain

The affinity of the Jamatiya dialect with other branches of the Bodo language group in vocabulary is shown in the following list :

English	Boro	Rabha	Lalung	Diamasa	Hojai	Garo	Jamatiya	Chinitya
Get-	man	man	iman	mai	mai	man	man	nim
Ask-	sang	sing	sang	shing	shing	sang	sa	shi

[The above lists are prepared on the basis of the list prepared by G.A. Grierson, Linguistic Survey of India, Vol. III Part-II Page 111, 112, 113.]

In spite of the structural and morphological affinity between the Jamatiya dialect and the eight dialects of the Kagbarak language, it differs a great deal from them phonologically. The phonetic peculiarity and use of shortened forms of pronunciation of words or change of pronunciations in the sub-straction of one or more alphabet either from the first or last part of a word make it difficult for the speakers of other dialects of Kagbarak to speak this dialect correctly. Partial or full nasalization is also another characteristic of the Jamatiya dialect.

As the Jamatiya dialect is still in the spoken form and as they have no script of their own it is very difficult for the other scripts to get the right pronunciation as they have and also to keep the special tonal characteristics of this dialect intact. Some structural patterns of Jamatiya sentences are given below :

1) The usual order of words is subject + object + verb e.g.

- a) *Ang may chauw = I eat rice*
 Sub obj verb Sub verb obj
- b) *Boo ball thungo = He plays foot ball*
 Sub obj verb sub verb obj.

2) Adjective of a sentence usually takes place after noun e.g.

- a) *Khum naithok = Beautiful flower*
 Noun Adj. Adj Noun
- b) *Cherai Kan'han = Good boy*
 Noun Adj. Adj. Noun

3) In imperative moods, in case of order the suffix 'di' is added to the verb. The word 'doo' indicating request is used in different positions in the sentences-e.g.

- a) *Tabok nogwo Thangdi = Go home now. (order)*
- b) *Doo ako may Chagradi = First take your meal (request)*
 (initial position)

- 4) The suffix 'ya' and the word 'Kwrwy' are added to the verb and noun to indicate a simple negative sentence. e.g.

- a) Ang uro thangya = I do not go there.
 b) Ani rang kwrwy = I have no money.

(Here, in the first sentence, the word 'thang' (to go) is the verb and 'ya' is the suffix to denote negation. In the second sentence 'rang' is the noun and the word 'kwrwy' is used to denote negation.)

- 5) Generally the word 'Ta' is applied before a verb in order to denote an imperative negative sentence to express don't e.g.

- a) Nwng may ta chadi = (you) Don't eat rice.
 b) Ta wanadi = Don't think.

Here, 'ta' is used before the verb to indicate don't.)

- 6) Usually noun is formed adding different suffixes like 'nay' 'mwng etc. to the verb e.g.

- a) Boo rwchapo = He sings.
 Here, rwchap + o = Rwchapo = Sing/Sings (verb)
 (To sing) Present tense
 verb indicator,
- b) Boo rwchapnay kanhan = He is a good singer.
 Here, rwchap + nay = Rwchapnay = Singer (Noun)
 (Sing) + (doer)
 verb
- c) Booni rwchapmwng kanhan = His song is good.
 Here, Rwchap + mwng = Rwchapmwng = Song (Noun)
 (to sing)
 verb

- 7) Generally the gender is determined according to the nature of the concerning noun.

A noun that denotes a male is a masculine gender.

A noun that denotes a female is a feminine gender.

A noun that denotes either a male or a female or both is said to be common gender.

Some of the ways of forming the feminine genders are :

- a) By using an entirely different words e.g.
- i) Say (Husband) — Hik/Bihik (Wife)
- ii) Chamri
 (Bridegroom) — Hajwk (bride)

- iii) *Yar/Kichiyng* —*Mare* (the female friend of a female)
(the male friend of a male)
- iv) *Chwla* (boy) —*Bwrwy* (girl)
- b) By adding a particle or suffix like *jwk*, *ma*, *bwrwy*, *bi*, *ti*, etc. at the end of the verb e.g.
- i) *Swy* —(dog—any male or female)
swy + ma = Swima —female dog.
- ii) *Pun* —(goat-any male or female)
pun + jwk = Punjwk —She goat.
- iii) *Takum* —(Swan—any male or female)
Takum + bwrwy —Takumbwrwy—Goose.

Names of persons ending with 'ti' generally indicate the name of women e.g.

Afuti, *Kufuti*, *Bwlangti* etc.

- c) The suffixes *la*, *sa*, *ta*, *jwa* etc. are generally used to denote masculine gender of the noun e.g.
- i) *Swy + la = Swyla* =male dog.
- ii) *Pum + jwa = Punjwa* =He goat.
- iii) *Takum + chwla = Takumchwla* =Gander.
- d) *Borok* (man), *Cheray* (child), *sa* (child) etc. are used as common gender.

- 8) The case endings (vivakties) as are usually used may be classified in the following table :

Case	Nomina- tive Case	Accusa- tive Case	Instru- mental Case	Dative Case	Ablative Case	Pose- ssive Case	Locative Case
Number	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	6th	7th
Case endings	0	no	bay	no	ni	ni	0
Example	Borok	Borokno	Yakbay	borokno	borokni	borokni	Borok

1st=*Ram* may *chauw*—*Ram* eats rice

2nd=*Ang Ramno* u *boi rokha*

=I gave this book to *Ram*.

3rd=*Chwng kolom bay Swiwo*

=We write with pen.

4th=*Bika binano bik rodi*

=Give alms to the *begger*.

5th=Bwfang Sakani bwthaay Kwlay
lanhan

=The fruit has fallen from the
tree.

Or,

Tinini *simi/sini* iskul fiyognay

=The School will repoen
from today.

6th=U Ramni boi

=This is Ram's book.

7th=Nogsingwo borok tonguw

=There is a man in the house.

Note :—It will be seen from the examples given above that the system of case, and that of using different particles as case endings are more or less similar to Sanskrit and Bengali Grammer rules of the respective areas. There is no distinction between the case ending particles of the 2nd and 4th case in the Jamatiya dialect. So also is the case with Bengali.

9) Generally suffixes are added to the verb when the subject is in plural
—c.g.

a) Ang boi pore we

=I read book

b) Chwng are porelayuw

=We read there

c) Nwng ta wanadi

=You (singular) don't think.

d) Nirog tawalaydi

=Yoy (Plural) don't think.

e) Boo may chalaha

=He has eaten rice.

f) Borog may chabay lanha

=They have eaten rice.

In the above mentioned a, c, and e sentences as the subjects are in singular number, the verbs are in their neutral form. But in the sentences—b, d and f as the subjects are in plural number the suffixes 'lay, 'bay have been used.

10) The three main tenses used in the Jamatiya dialect are 'tabok' (present tense), 'layma' (Past tense) and 'fayma' (future tense). In the Jamatiya dialect the tense of a verb not only shows the time of an action or event but also the state of it. So the use of the three main tenses and their continuous forms are in vogue in the Jamatiya dialect.

The Chief tenses along with their continuous forms of the verb khwlay (to do) as used in the Jamatiya dialect has been given below :

PRESENT TENSE :

Singular

1st person Ang khwlaywo

2nd person Nwng khwlaywo

3rd person Boo khwlaywo

Plural

Chwng khwlaywo

Nirog khwlaywo

Borog khwlaywo

[Present indefinite tense is formed by adding wo/o as suffix to the verb.]

PAST TENSE :

1st person Ang khwlaykha

2nd person Nwng khwlaykha

3rd person Boo khwlaykha

Chwng khwlaykha

Nirog khwlaykha

Borog khwlayha

[Past indefinte tense is formed by using 'Kha' as suffix to the verb]

FUTURE TENSE :

1st person Ang khwlaynay	Chwng khwlaynay
2nd person Nwng khwlaynay	Nirog khwlaynay
3rd person Boo khwlaynay	Borog khwlaynay

[Future indefinite tense is formed using 'nay/'anu' as suffix to the verb.]

PRESENT CONTINUOUS

1st Ang khwlayuwy tonguw	Chwng khwlayuwy tonguw
2nd Nwng khwlayuwy tonguw	Nirog khwlayuwy tonguw
3rd Boo khwlayuwy tonguw	Borog khwlayuwy tonguw

[Present continuous tense is formed using 'uwy' as suffix to the verb and 'tanguw' at the end]

PAST CONTINUOUS

1st Ang khwlayuwy tongkha	Chwng khwlayuwy tongkha
2nd Nwng khwlayuwy tongkha	Nirog khwlayuwy tongkha
3rd Boo khwlayuwy tongkha	Borog khwlayuwy tongkha

[Here 'uwy' is used as suffix to the verb and tongkha at the end]

FUTURE CONTINUOUS

1st Ang khwlayuwy tongnay	Chwng khwlayuwy tongnay
2nd Nwng khwlayuwy tongnay	Nirog khwlayuwy tongnay
3rd Boo khwlayuwy tongnay	Borog khwlayuwy tongnay

[Future continuous tense is formed using 'uwy' as suffix to the verb and 'tongnay' at the end]

There is no distinction between the past indefinite form and present perfect form in the Jamatiya dialect. Both the tenses are expressed using words 'Kha' or 'laha' at the end of the sentences.

- | | |
|---------------------------------|--|
| a) Ang may chakha | = I have eaten rice. |
| b) Ang miya may chakha | = I ate rice yesterday. |
| c) Ang fuwaiyo may chalaha | = I have eaten rice in the morning |
| d) Ang miya fuwaiyo may chalaha | = I ate rice in the yesterday morning. |

The distinction can be understood from the context or from a time adverb.

Above are the different jamatiya sentences in different tenses along with their English translations. For these the mechanism of Jamatiya tense forming pattern may be seen in greater details.

11) Pronouns :—

The followings are personal pronouns :

<i>Singular :</i>	<i>Plural :</i>
Ang (I)	Chwng (We)
Ani (My)	Chini (Our)
Ano (Me)	Chinino (Us)
Nwng (You)	Nirog (You)
Nini (Your)	Nirogni (Your)
Nono (You)	Niragno(to you)
Boo (He)	Boorog (They)
Bini (Him)	Boorogni (Their)
Boono (His)	Boorogno (Them)

Demonstrative Pronouns are :

U	= This	Iyang	= This way (farther)
Omo	= It	Uyang	= That way (nearer)
Uwmo	= That	Uwyang	= That way (farther)
Aiyang	= This way (Nearer)		

Interrogative pronouns are :

Swba/Sabw	= Who	Swbani/sani	= Whose
Twma/Ta	= What	Biyang	= Where
Bomoo/boo	= Which	Buko	= Where.
Swbano/sano	= Whom		

12) Usually, the 2nd and 3rd person, pronouns have only one level unlike the case with, for example, Bengali. In Bengali, the 2nd person pronoun 'you' has at least three levels : Aponi/Apni (for respect), Tumi (general), Twi (for intimacy and derogation). But the Jamatiyas use only 'Nwng' in all these cases and such distinction of levels do not exist in their dialect.

But in case of certain specific relationship terms the suffixes 'song' and 'rog' are added to nouns thus making them plural.

The following are some of those relationship terms :

- The bridegroom and the bride address their father in law and mother in law as 'Babasong' and 'Amasong' respectively.
- The husband's elder brother is addressed as 'Dadasong'/'Daasong' by the bride similar a wife's elder brother is addressed as 'Dadasong'/'Daasong' by the bride groom.
The husband addresses his wife's elder sister as 'Balsong' similarly the wife also addresses the elder sister of her husband as 'baisong'.
- The bridegroom is addressed by his father in law and mother in law as 'Chamraisasong',. Similarly, the bride is addressed by her father in law and mother in law as "Hanjwksasong".

- e) The bride is addressed by her husband's brother and sister as 'Buw-
aijwksong'/'Buwaiwkrog'.
- f) Similarly, the bridegroom is addressed by his wife's elder brother and
sister as 'Buwaisong'/'Buwairog'.

13) The parts of speech present in the Jamatiya dialect are :

- | | | |
|-----------------|---|---|
| a) Noun | = | <i>Ram iskulo Thango.</i>
Ram goes to School. |
| b) Pronoun | = | <i>Boo iskulo Thango</i>
He goes to School. |
| c) Verb | = | <i>Boo iskulo Thango.</i>
He goes to School. |
| d) Adverb | = | <i>Boo tuluk tuluk khe hiynguwu thanguw</i>
He is going slowly. |
| e) Preposition | = | <i>Bwfang sakawo mokra tonguw.</i>
There is a monkey on the tree. |
| f) Adjective | = | <i>Ram cherai kahan</i>
Ram is a good boy. |
| g) Conjunction | = | <i>Ang bay nwnng iskulo thangnay</i>
You and I shall go to school. |
| h) Interjection | = | <i>Ako' ! ani kwpal haya.</i>
Alas ! my luck is bad. |

Note :—The conjunctions 'bay' and 'tey' both mean 'and'. But 'tey' is used
when the nouns it joins are more than two in number. e.g.

Nini boi, kolom *tey* khata tobodi = Bring your book, pen and
khata.

Nini boi bay kolom naithog = Your book and pen are good.

Unlike the English language adjectives do not change forms when indicat-
ing degrees of comparison in the Jamatiya speech. It is ascertained from the
context and by the addition of certain words such as 'say (for comparative)
'mamlaisay' (for superlative). Of course other words are also used for this
purpose according to the context. e.g.

- | | | |
|---|---|---|
| a) Ram cheray kanhan
(Positive Degree) | = | Ram is a good boy. |
| b) Ram Shyamni say kanhan
(Comparative) | = | Ram is better than shyam |
| c) Ram u kamini mamlai say cherai
kanhan (Superlative) | = | Ram is the best boy of this
village. |

14) The frequent usage of shortend form/weakening of sound of root words by not pronouncing some letters from the first part of a word or even words from a sentence is also an important characteristic of the Jamatiya speech e.g.

- | | |
|-------------------------|------------------------------|
| a) Aswk Whgkha honkhway | = Aswk wngkha khway |
| | = Aswk wngkha khe |
| | = Aswk wngkhe |
| | = Aswk wngkhe |
| | = Aswk wnkhe |
| | = akhe |
| b) Twmani | = Tani |
| c) Bokhook | = Khook. |
| d) Bwkwrang | = Birds' Wing |
| Kwrang | = „ |
| kang | = „ |
| e) Bokol | = Small round shaped article |
| Kol | = „ |
| f) Bwthwy | = Egg |
| Thwy | = „ |

15) Borrowed words :

A good amount of borrowed words from the neighbouring tribal and non-tribal languages especially various local Bengali words are also found in the Jamatiya dialect. An amount of Parsi, Arabic and recently some English words can also be traced in the Jamatiya speech,

But these borrowed words have been completely assimilated by them. They pronounce them according to their own phonetic structure (characteristic) and as a result these words have lost their original phonetic characteristic in their Jamatiya use.

Some of the Borrowed words are :

Jamatiya	English	Bengali
i) Osubida	Difficulty	Oshubidha
ii) Obab	Want	Obhab
iii) Baaba	Father	Baba
iv) Chati	lamp	Chati
v) Lota	Jar	Luta
vi) Dukh	Sorrow	Dukkhko
vii) Upay	Way	Upay.
viii) Kisa	Little	Kisu
ix) Goiam	Guava	Goyam

x) Pukiri	Pond	Pukur
xi) Ajaira	Unnecessary, useless.	Ajaira
xii) Nay	Grand mother	Nani

16) There exists in the Jamatiya dialect quite a good number of words which have different meanings according to their pronunciation. A language with such a characteristic is known as tone language in linguistic. Jamatia is a tone language e.g.

a) Tan	= i) To cut (ii) What (iii) To play on a musical instrument.
b) Twy	=i) Water ; (ii) Cold ; (iii) the egg (iv) to carry.
c) Nung	=i) to drink (ii) to call (iii) to address.
d) Cho	=i) to lie in wait/search for an opportunity ii) To wet (iii) A cinder.
e) San	=i) Salt (ii) ear ; (iii) The shon grass.
f) Hon	=i) To rebuke ; (ii) To speak ; (iii) To give.
g) Chan	=i) An uproar ; (ii) To wear off.
h) Chen	=i) Defeat ; (ii) to become ill gradually.
i) Kan	=i) To wear ; (ii) To speak loudly.

17. Numerals : The numbers as they exist in the Jamatiya Tribe are 1 to 10 and 20 only. They are as follows :—

	1 Sa
	2 Nwy
	3 Tham
	4 Brwy
	5 Ba
	6 dok
	7 sini
	8 Char
	9 Chuku
	10 Chi
and	20 Khol.

For other numbers they use combination or combinations of these words. For instance 11 (eleven) is 'chisa which literally means ten one ; chi = ten, sa = one, 25 (twenty five) is 'Khol ba' which literally means twenty five ; Khol =twenty, ba=five. 45 is 'khol nwy ba' which literally means two twenties and five and so on.

In expressing the number of an object they use different words meaning shape, size, length, some parts of the body, etc. before them according to the

object they qualify. There are fixed rules about the words to be used with a particular object while counting it, for instance.

- a) Borok Khorok brwy = Four men

[Here 'brwy' means four and 'Khorok' is the word used with human beings while counting them. 'Khorok' literally means head which is the shorter form of 'Bookhorok'.]

- b) Musuk ma brwy = Four cows.

[Ma is the word used with animals while counting them. It is the shorter form of the word 'mang'].

- c) Thaylik Thaybrwy = Four bananas.

[Here, 'thay' is the word used with fruits while counting them. The word 'Thay' is the shorter form the 'bwthay' which literally means fruit].

- d) Kolom Kong brwy = Four pens.

[Here, Kong is the word used with long things while counting them. The word 'Kong' is the shorter form of the word 'bakong' which literally means long thing].

- e) Boi Kang brwy = Four books.

Or,

- Blai Kang brwy = Four leaves.

[Here 'kang' is the word used with flat things while counting them. The word 'Kang' is the shorter form of the word 'bwkwrang' which literally means wings of the birds.

- f) Rang *khook* brwy = Four rupees

[Khook is the classifier used with rupees while counting them. The word *khook* is the shorter form of the word '*bakhook*' which literally means bunch/heap].

- g) Toktwy *thwy* brwy = Four eggs of hen.

[The word '*Thwy*' is used with eggs. It is the shorter form of the word '*bwthwy*' which literally means egg.]

- h) Markle *kol* brwy = Four marbles

Or,

- Mokol *kol* nwy = two eyes.

[The word *kol* is used with small and to some extent round shaped articles. It is the shorter form of the word 'Bokol' which means small round shaped articles].

This above mentioned feature is found in the case of some other languages of Tibeto-Burman group also.

In his description of the numerals of the 'Sho' or 'Khyang' Tribe of Southern Chin sub-group G.A. Grierson writes—

“There are several general prefixes. The Chittagong list occasionally uses the prefix ‘pai’ before numerals applying to human beings ; thus pa pai-ni, two fathers. Fryer has pun, which before h and m becomes pum; thus, pum-hot, one. Honghton gives piin, or before the two first numerals, pa. In the specimen we find macho hu-math, goat young one, where hu is a generic prefix. Honghton gives ziin for animals and birds ; theck for fishes, arrows etc ; ba for reptiles ; lun for long things ; and lo for flat things. Fryer has zum for quadrupeds ; thek for fish ; and ‘yum’ for reptiles.” [GRIERSON G.A. : Linguistic Survey of India, Vol. III. Tibeto-Burman Family's Part-III. Specimens of the Kuki chin and Burma Groups. Page-335, First Edition 1904, Reprint-1967. Motilal Banarasi Dass, Bunglow Road, Jwharnagar, Delhi-7].

From the above discussion of the Jamatiya dialect the following points may be seen :

- i) The Jamatiya dialect belongs to Sino-Tibetan family of the Tibeto-Burman Sub family of the Assam Burmese branch of the Bodo/Boro group of the Kagbarak language.
- ii) Inspite of its morphological and syntactical affinity with the kagbarak language, it differs from it phonetically to some extent.
- iii) Partial or full nasalization is a feature of this dialect.
- iv) The using of short forms of pronunciation is also a feature of it.
- v) Another feature is the presence of many borrowed words from non-tribal languages, mainly the local Bengali.

This brief survey gives only the barest outline of the Jamatiya dialect. The Jamatiya dialect is still at the oral stage. Not much has been done to study this language properly so far.

The need for a new and comprehensive survey of the language in the light of modern methods of linguistic investigation is an urgent need not only for academic purposes but also for working out of a correct solution of the language problem.

The poor numerical strength of the Jamatiya speaking persons cannot be the only yard stick of the standard of this language. The richness of oral literature should also be taken into consideration in this context.

The Jamatiya dialect possess a rich oral literature, songs, legands, tales, proverbs, riddles etc . The lyrics give glimpse of their life. Linguists will be able to discover the vast treasure of their dialect if they study it as one of the sources to the origin and to development of the Tibeto-Burman Sub-family of languages.

CHAPTER II

SOCIAL LIFE

The Society of the *Jamatiyas* is patriarchal. The superior position of the male over the female is acknowledged in the Society in all matters. Socially, the *Jamatiyas* are endogamous. In this respect E.A. Gait is of the opinion that unlike all other tribes of Tripura, which have different daphas or Sub-Divisions among them, the *Jamatiya* is a single endogamous tribe without having any sub-class in it.

The basic unit of the *Jamatiya* society is the family. It appears from the survey of a *Jamatiya* village that nuclear, simple or independent type i.e. family consists of a married couple with its unmarried children or married couple having no children has the highest frequency. Next in order comes the type of family consisting of married couple and their unmarried children together with the parent or parents of the man.

Next comes the extended or joint type of family consisting of several married brothers with their spouses and children as well as parents and unmarried siblings, also married son or sons with their wives and children.

It should be noted that monogamy i.e. man with one wife is the general rule of the Society. A Polygynous type of family i.e. a man with more than one wife may be found in some cases. But they are just exceptions. The rule of Polyandry i.e. a woman with more than one husband is strictly prohibited in their Society.

Generally disparity in income, immorality, lack of obedience to the elders, unwillingness to work in a co-operative way, quarrel among the family members are considered as main causes responsible for the break up of the *Jamatiya* family.

The adoption of a child boy or girl is quite frequent among the *Jamatiyas*. The adopted son is called *Pusimanibwsa* or *lirmachwla*. Generally only childless, well to do couples indulge in such practices. Some times this is done through religious functions.

Position of woman :—

Generally the position of the *Jamatiya* woman is the same as that of husband's. She is a hard worker and she works harder than a man in many respects. But still, her status is recognised by the position of her husband.

Usually the male dominates over the woman. The father as the head of the household occupies the central position in the family. Lineage and descent are traced through the father's line, and so the society is patrilineal. The woman never challenges the superiority of the man. The Women are also restricted to take part in village Council elections.

The women spend their whole life in performing household chores only. She prepares food and cleans the house, fetches water and fuel and clean domestic utensils and clothes. All these give her little time for recreation.

The role of the Jamatiya woman in the economic sphere of the family is very important. The women help the male members in different agricultural activities such as weeding, transplanting, harvesting etc. They also weave their clothes of daily use on their indigeneous looms.

In the matter of religious rites the status of a women is much lower than that of a man. The women are prohibited from becoming an *Ochay* (traditional priest) of their community.

Ceremonial friendship :—

The practice of ceremonial friendship is in vogue in the Jamatiya community. The only restriction in ceremonial friendship is that the male person's friendship should be with a male only. Similarly, a woman's ceremonial friend must be a woman.

Kinship System :—

The members of the Jamatiya Society of Tripura are tied together in groups by various types of bonds of which the lineal descent and marriage ties are important. The unilateral extended lineage group is known as *Santay*. All members of the same *santay* are believed to be originated from the same parents. In case of death of any member of a *santay* all the members belonging to the same *santay* observe impurity for a period of thirteen days. Only a prerson of the same *santay* has the right to perform the *sraddha* (funeral ceremony) for a member of the same *santay*. Generally marriage relationship does not take place between the members of the same *santay*.

Generally a *santay* is known by the name of a prominent member of that lineage. Some of the *Santays* are as follows :

1. *Kumariya langta santay*—It is named after the name Kumariya langta, a famous saint who did not wear clothes.
2. *Parikshit Santay*—It is named after Parikshit, a famous Jamatiya *Sardar* under whose leadership Jamatiya revolt of 1863 took place.
3. *Biyagwnang Kherfang Santay*—It is named after the *Kherfang* of the *Biyagwnang Gariya*.

There are two systems of Kinship terminologies of the Jamatiyas—(i) Classificatory ; (ii) Denotative.

The traditional norm of the Jamatiya Society is regarded as classificatory system. The denotative terms are adopted from the neighbouring castes and communities. A chart of Jamatiya kinship terminologies has been given below :

Sl.No.	Terms in English	Terms used by the Jamatias :
1.	Father's father	= Chuchu
2.	Father's mother	= Nany
3.	Mother's Father	= Chuchu
4.	Mother's mother	= Nany
5.	Father	= Baaba
6.	Mother	= Anma
7.	Father's elder brother	= Yong chwla
8.	Father's elder brother's wife	= Yongbwrwy.
9.	Father's younger brother	= Kaka
10.	Father's Younger brother's wife	= Kaki
11.	Father's elder sister	= Yong bwrwy
12.	Father's younger sister	= Pi
13.	Father's elder sister's husband	= Yong chwla
14.	Father's younger sister's husband	= Piyay
15.	Mother's elder brother	= Yong chwla
16.	Mother's elder brother's wife	= Yong bwrwy
17.	Mother's younger brother	= Mama
18.	Mother's younger brother's wife	= Mami
19.	Mother's elder sister	= Yongbwrwy.
20.	Mother's elder sister's husband	Yong chwla.
21.	Mother's younger sister	= Totoy.
22.	Mother's younger sister's husband	= Mama.
23.	Husband's father	= Baaba, Baabasong, Kwraa,
24.	Husband's mother	= Anma/Kwrajwk/ Anmasong
25.	Wife's father	= Baaba/Kwraa/ Baabasong
26.	Wife's mother	= Anma/Anmasong/ Kwrajwk
27.	Husband's mother's elder brother	= Yongchwla
28.	Husband's mother's younger brother	= Mama
29.	Elder brother	= Dada
30.	Wife's elder brother	= Dasong
31.	Husband's elder brother	Dasong/Dada
32.	Elder Sister	= Bay

Sl. No.	Terms in English	Terms used by the Jamatias
33.	Wife's elder sister	= Bay/Baysong
34.	Husband's elder sister	= Bay/Baysong
35.	Wife's elder sister's husband	= Kwmwy
36.	Husband's elder sister's husband	= Kwmwy
37.	Son's Wife's father	= Chamay
38.	Sons' Wife's mother	= Chamayjwk
39.	Daughter	= Sajwk/Sajwkman
40.	Daughter's husband	= Chamwrwysa
41.	Younger brother	= Fayon/Fayong
42.	Wife's younger brother	= Prang/Angprang Buprang
43.	Husband's younger brother	= Prang/Angprang/Buprang
44.	Son	= Sa/Ansajwla/Busajwla
45.	Son's son	= Suk/Angsuk/Achu
46.	Brother's son	= Batija/Dadani bwsa
47.	Elder sister's son	= Baaygina/Baaynibwsa
48.	Younger sister's son	= Yongchwla/Ang hannokjwknibusala
49.	Wife's younger sister's son	= Yongchwla/Ayong/ Ayongchwla.
50.	Son's daughter	= Suk/Angsuk/Busuk
51.	Husband	= Say/Angsay/Busay
52.	Wife	= Hwwy/Anghwwy/Bihik
53.	Son's wife	= Hanjwk/Hanjwksa/ Hansa
54.	Younger brother's wife	= Oayjwk/Buwayjwksong/ Buwayjwkrog
55.	Elder brother's wife	= Bachuwy.
56.	Widow	= Randi
57.	Widower	= Randa
58.	Adopted son	= Rimanchwla

General rules of the kinship nomenclature :

The Jamatias use certain words which show the position of the kin whether he is junior or senior to particular relative with whom the reference is made. The followings are a few examples of the indication of such differentiation of age :

1. Father's elder brother is *yongchwla*, father's younger brother is *kaka*.
2. Father's elder brother's wife is *yongbwrwy*, father's younger brother's wife is *kaki*.

3. Elder brother is *dada* ; younger brother is *fayung*.

Again the differentiation of age is marked by the application of certain suffix or prefix terms such as :

Kotor means eldest.

Kwchar means middle or Second eldest.

Kusu means next to *Kwchar*.

It should be mentioned here that unlike the Bengalee kinship terminologies, in the Jamatiya kinship terminologies, the adjectives are always added at the end of a term. Thus where as *bay* indicates sister, *bay kotor* means eldest sister.

Life cycle :

From birth to death the life of the Jamatias is surrounded by various taboos requiring a number of rituals, sacrifices and festivals performed at different stages of life. An attempt has been made here to describe the different customs they observe at birth of a child, at marriage and death.

Pregnancy and birth :

The state of pregnancy of the woman is considered as one of the critical stages in her life. Though she becomes physically weak household duties do not give her any rest. Some times as result of excessive hard work miscarriage takes place. When miscarriage takes place within the first three months of pregnancy it is called *kwchak kulumanni*. If it takes place after that period it is called *talsokoa*.

There is a belief current among them that a pregnant woman should be given what she desires to eat, of course according to the means of the family. Otherwise, the newly born baby would be too greedy to have the food item his mother could not have.

Pregnant women are prohibited from eating *mirga* (a variety of fish) and fishes which have no scales.

At the fifth month of pregnancy, a religious function name *Katheuw* is performed to ensure easy and safe birth. The puja is to be performed in the morning and evening. The morning performance is called *aychuk katheuw*, and the evening performance is called *sariykatheuw*. Generally duck is sacrificed in this puja.

There is a belief current among the Jamatias that if the pregnant woman feels that the right side of her abdomen is heavy or if that part bulges she would give birth to a male child. The similar feeling on the left side indicates the coming of a female child.

The pregnant woman should not cross the court of *pain* (Shulogoti) drawn on the earth otherwise, she may be in danger at the time of child birth.

She should not work while there is eclipse going on. She may give birth to a deformed child if she works during eclipse.

If a pregnant woman kills a fish by throwing it down on the ground violently her child would have some sort of defect.

Twin babies will be born if a pregnant woman takes fruits joined together.

During pregnancy of the wife the husband should not go for hunting, act as assistant to the *Ochay* (Priest) and sacrifice an animal or participate in the cremation of any body.

Delivery of the child :

When the labour pain starts the woman informs it to her husband or to any relative of hers. Child delivery is attended by women only. In every village there are a few women who have experience as delivery nurse, the *kumajwk.* and *lokmaajwk.* They are not fixed persons. Any woman who has experience in this respect can become *kumajwk* and *lokmaajwk.* They are not paid in cash. They are offered *chok* (wine) only and on the day of the *lanpra Puja* they are entertained with a feast which is known as *Kumajwk lokmaajwk mamwng.*

The necessary articles required at the time of child delivery such as *yakathan*, rope, *wamutha* etc. are kept ready well in advance.

Generally no separate room is reserved for child delivery. It is done in the corner of the main house marked by placing bamboo pieces along the ground. The house in which delivery takes place is called *masumwra nog* or *baa nog.*

The technique of delivery varies from area to area. In some cases the woman is asked to hold a rope hanged horizontally over her head, in sitting position, her legs extending forward and pressing firmly against the *yakathan* (bamboo made leg support used by women while working at a loin loom) catching the rope she gives pressure to the *yakathan* which helps her in having a normal delivery. The sitting position is similar to the position taken by the Jamatiya women folk at the time of weaving *rinayborok* in their loin loom.

It is believed that in case of delay in delivery if the husband gives a gentle pressure on the abdomen of the wife delivery will take place quickly.

In the case of complications the husband should tell his wife that he is going to catch crab and should go out from the house with some articles. This they believe, helps speedy delivery.

After delivery, the umbilical cord is cut with a sharp bamboo-splinter called *wamutha*. The *fo* (placenta) with *suchubwswlwy* (sanctified mustered seeds, turmeric and paddy etc.) is wrapped in a banana leaf very carefully and is taken outside the boundary of the village where a pit is dug and the placenta with *chuchubwswlwy* is buried.

Immediately after the delivery, the mother is given a glass of warm water mixed with *chuwa* to drink. Then the baby is washed with warm water by the *Kumajwk*. Then the *Kumajwk* hands over the baby to the *lokmajwk*. The *lokmajwk* tucks a chopper under right armpit and head of the baby in his right hand and says *ani wngka de ? ani wngkha de ? ani wngkha de ?* meaning 'have I delivered' three times raising and lowering her feet and facing north so that the head of the baby points towards the east. Then the mother is washed with *twytung* (warm water) by the *kumajwk* and the *lokmajwk* jointly and seated beside fire. This is called *siynghangmwng*. It reduces her pain and helps to stop unwanted discharge.

In case of excessive discharge the mother is given water with which *dalkwchak* (musuri dal) was washed as medicine. In case of insufficient discharge the mother is given water with which *dalkormo* (Khesari dal) was washed as medicine. In cases of irregularity of discharge, charms and incantations by the *Ochay* is used. This kind of post natal treatment is known as *Kwchak baa uw* or *kwchak baaya*.

In case of the birth of a male child the period of impurity is observed for eighteen days and in case of a female child seven days impurity is observed by the mother. The period of impurity is called *masumwra*. When the mother becomes physically fit her head is washed with wash water. A function named *aburswngmwng* is performed in connection with the bath of the mother. The head of the baby is also washed the same day, which is called *masumwra khorok sumwng*.

When the umbilical cord of the baby dries up the *lanpra Puja* is performed in his name which is officiated by the *Ochay* in the morning. The relatives of the baby give him a name and tell the *Ochay* to perform the *puja* in that name. In some cases the *Ochay* is asked to give a name to the baby. This *Puja* is known as *chwray kwtharni lanpra romwng* (giving the *lanpra puja* for the holy baby). The hair of the baby is cut by the barber and he is paid a fixed sum of Rupee one and paise twenty five for it.

Then the *Ochay* goes to a tank or stream and performs the *Puja* to propitiate the evil spirit of water and it is called *twyswkal tamwng*. After the performance of the *puja* the *Ochay* strikes his chopper in the water which is an indication of cutting the evil spirit. This is done so that the evil spirit of water does not cast its evil eye on the baby. This evil eye is called *sily bayli* in the Jamatiya dialect. After this *puja* the clothes of the baby is washed on the *ghat* (bathing place).

Before performance of the *chwray kwtharni lanpra puja*, no other *puja* is performed in the house.

Chuchu bwswlwy (a mixute of turmeric, rice, and seeds), broom, *rusambi* (a flat bamboo made strip used in their traditional loom) are kept in the *masumwra nog* (maternity house). After touching the baby with the *rusambi*, it is kept under the bed so that the evil spirit can not do any harm to the baby.

One can touch the newly born baby only after touching the fire kept in the maternity house. It means that the baby should not be touched in a state of impurity.

If the breastmilk of the mother does not appear within five days of delivery a ceremony called *aboktwy khangmwng* or *bimwng* (wanting of milk) is performed. This ceremony is conducted by the female members of the family. It is held in the evening and supply of milk for the baby is wished.

In this ceremony seven cakes are prepared with the powder of atap rice and an amount of water is added to some rice powder and stired to look like milk. Then this white mixture is boiled in a pot and those cakes dropped into it. Then the liquid and the cakes are offered as *naibadya* in the name of the seven deities.

These seven deities who are sisters are called *bukhuk sini*. These seven sisters are also known as 'swkal'. Their names are : 1. Dakini, 2. Jogini, 3. Mogini, 4. Khagini, 5. Lohari, 6. Prohori, and 7. Premsori.

The ceremony is officiated by the *Ochay*. Seven *naibadyas* are offered on banana leaves in the courtyard. After the completion of the Puja the *Ochay* is required to ask the mother 'has the milk appeared for the baby ?' The assistants of her reply 'yes', 'yes', it has appeared. It has filled up the jars. The *Ochay* again asks 'is it true ?' They reply yes it is true. Then the ceremony ends.

Barrenness :

The general notion of the Jamatiyas towards barren men and women is that they are deprived of the grace of the god. They should not take active part in many of the socio-religious functions. It is considered inauspicious to see the face of a barren man or woman early in the morning at the time of getting up from bed and at the time of departure for an important work.

The jamatiyas perform certain pujas in order to cure one of barrenness. This puja is performed in a *twysa* (canal) and the puja is officiated by the *Ochay* (Priest). This puja is known as *twysa-baauw* (barrenness removing puja). The number of persons present in the puja should be seven. After the completion of the puja all persons present except the *Ochay* take the *prasad*.

The woman is forbidden to take or use the water of that *twysa* (small canal). Only when the son of that woman grows up and feeds his mother with the fish caught from that *twysa* the restriction put on her will be lifted.

Marriage :

The Jamatiyas attach some degree of religious values in the performance of marriage ceremony on the part of a man or woman. So some special privileges and importance are generally given to the married persons in their society.

The Jamatiya society is patriarchal and patrilineal. It is an endogamous tribe. Monogamy is the ideal and general rule. In case of barrenness, death, divorce etc. a person may marry a second wife.

The average age for marriage of the Jamatias living in the interior and backward villages differ from that of those living in the advanced and urbanized villages. In the backward area child marriage is still prevailing in a large scale and the bride is senior to the bridegroom in respect of age. The average age of marriage varies from 12 to 16 in case of males and 15 to 18 in case of females. Regarding the age range of the girls their view is that the girls should be physically fit for agricultural and domestic work before their marriage. Among the educated Jamatias adult marriage is the general rule. In this kind the average age varies from 20 to 25 years in case of males and 15 to 20 years in case of females. Here the bride is generally junior to the groom in respect of age.

Except the months of Chaitra (March-April), Vадra (August-September), and Pous (December-January) marriage may be performed in all the nine months. The month of *Magh* (January-February) is considered as the best month for marriage ceremony. Marriage may be fixed on any day except the time of *Purabjogini*. Most of the marriages are performed in the second half of the morning. It should be noted here that the Jamatias put emphasis on an auspicious date according to the *Panjika* (almanac).

For the purpose of marriage ceremony, the Jamatias prepare two pandals with bamboo. One pandal is for worshipping of the fourteen gods, and the other is for the functioning of the marriage ceremony. A *haiya* (altar) is constructed at the centre of the marriage pandal.



A marriage pandal and ashana of Chanddha Devata



A scene of the preparation of Chakhwy (food article)

Types of Marriage :

There are two types of marriage current among the Jamatias. The first type is marriage by service, a system in which the groom lives at his father in law's house. It is known as *Chawmrwy nahomwng/nahomani*. According to their custom, after marriage the bridegroom has to stay for a minimum period of two years in his father in law's house. Generally, the father in law gives him a separate house and land for this purpose.

Such a type of marriage is known by the following three names which have certain special characteristics. These names are :

1. *Chamwrwy Tisamani* or *Chamwrwy tisamwng*.
2. *Chamwrwy nahomani* or *Chamwrwy nahomwng*.
3. *Chamwrwy kamani*.

The second type of marriage is known as *hanjwk nahomani* or *hanjwk nahomwng* and *hanjwk rohomani* or *hanjwk rohomwng*. Under this system, the marriage ceremony is performed in the bride grooms' house. In this system, the marriage proposal is initiated by the groom's side. The bride's side calls this marriage as *hanjwk rohomwng* (Sending of the bride). On the other hand the groom's side calls this system of marriage as *hanjwk nahomani/hanjwk nahomwng* (accepting of the bride).

Now a days, due to the influence of modern education, urbanization etc. a new trend has also been developed in their society. In this system the marriage is held in the bride's house and on the next day the groom returns home with his newly married wife. This is however relatively infrequent and confined to a few urbanized and educated persons.

Marriage Regulations :

Cross cousin marriage as well as parallel cousin marriage is forbidden. Marriage within the blood relationship up to three generations from the maternal side but from the father's side up to santay's side is also restricted.

A Jamatiya is restricted to marry his younger or elder brother's widow and the elder sister of his wife. On the other hand there is no bar in marrying one's wifes younger sister. A widower is required to marry a widow and a widow is also required to marry a widower.

In the Jamatiya community the system of bride-price has been in existence since time immemorial in the form of marriage by service. The practice of dowry is seldom found.

The system of exchange of garlands and scattering of flowers at weeding is not in existence among them.

Divorce (Kaglaymwng) :

The rate of divorce is quite high among the Jamatiyas. Divorce can be sought on the ground of madness, impotence, barrenness, adultery and being quarrelsome to the **moyol panchay** (Head of the regional Council) of that region. According to custom the party which divorces has to pay the fees of divorce (Which is six score rupees i.e. Rs. 120/- six adhulies (six fifty paise), six sikies (six twenty five paise), six duanies (six twelve paise) and six anies. Thus the total amount stands as Rs. 125.68 to the *moyol panchay*.

In case of divorce of a couple with children, the husband rarely demands the children to be with him. It is a common picture in the Jamatiya community that, after divorce the minor children stay with their mother.

It is also a custom that if a person marries a divorced woman or a widow with children, then though these children may address him as father, they do not get the share of property of their foster father.

Rites connected with the disposal of the Dead Body :

The rites connected with the disposal of the dead body varies from place to place to an extent. The corpse is washed with warm water and rubbed with oil and then wrapped with a piece of new cloth. The clan members and relatives carry the corpse to the cremation ground and the funeral pyre is made and arranged by them.

Before lighting the funeral pyre cooked rice is offered to the dead body with the curry of fish, egg or meat of pigeon. The sons then go round the dead and the eldest son does the lighting of the mouth of the corpse with his left hand first of all and then other sons and relatives offer fire one by one in the same manner. It should be noted that the eldest son is to start the lighting first.

After the completion of cremation all after taking bath return to the house of the dead. A chopper, turmeric, tulshi leaf (holy basil), a small water pot containing water and fire prepared with fire wood are kept ready. All of them touch all these articles and return home.

On the next day some of the clan members go to the cremation ground and collect the residual bone of the cremated body and put it into a bamboo tube. The tube is wrapped with a white piece of cloth and placed in the courtyard surrounded by a covered fencing. The enclosed space is called *bari*. Since that day the sons of the dead wear *dhorna* (a piece of cloth from which a piece of iron hangs. This cloth is worn round the neck.) Then one of the sons, usually the eldest one, or the youngest one or with the permission of the eldest one, any other son offers puja in the '*bari*' daily till the *sraddho* ceremony is held. The other sons simply observe fast.

The relatives of the dead who are not his kinsman perform the *Sradha* ceremony after three nights. But the *santays* (belonging to the same lineage) perform the *sraddha* on the thirteenth day. The sons of the dead shave their heads one day previous to the day of *sraddha* ceremony. On the day of the *sraddha* ceremony the *dharna* is united from the neck. Religious songs are sung on the night of the *sraddha* ceremony.

After the completion of the *sraddho* ceremony, the period of taking vegetarian food is ended by taking *bodas* prepared with the leaves of bitter tasting vegetable e.g. young leaves of *korola* (balsam apple), *dimy* (a kind of pot herb) etc. amount of fried dehydrated fish and rice powder. In this way the ceremony of *sraddho* is ended.

It may be mentioned here that in case of unnatural death the *sraddho* ceremony is performed on the third day.

Children below eighteen months of age are not cremated, they are buried.

In case of the death of a pregnant woman the foetus is taken out from the womb of the mother. Then the mother is cremated and the foetus is buried.

Traditional dress, ornaments and handicrafts of the Jamatiyas.

The traditional dress and ornaments and the pattern of wearing the same by the Jamatiya women is similar to those of the Tripuris and many other tribal communities of Tripura. Most of the Jamatiya women still weave their own clothes. Their handloom clothes are beautifully designed and longlasting. Among their garments the *riinanyborok* (a piece of cloth for covering the lower part of the body-waist downwards), the *riisa* (a piece of cloth to cover the breasts of the girls) are worth mentioning. But dresses of the men is similar to those of the neighbouring Bengalees. Men wear dhuti, shirt, vests etc. The use of *Kanchwlwy borok* (a kind of traditional jacket worn at the time of agricultural work) is very common among them.

In the past, the Jamatiya women were very fond of various kinds of ornaments. The ornaments used by them were *rangbwtang* (a chain or thread studded with coins for wearing round their necks), *brindabonful* (a kind of brass or silver ear rings), *boliya* (a kind of thick bangle made of different metals), *sanggeyng* (a kind of metal made hair clip used in their bun) etc. But the above mentioned traditional ornaments have been abandoned by them for a long time.

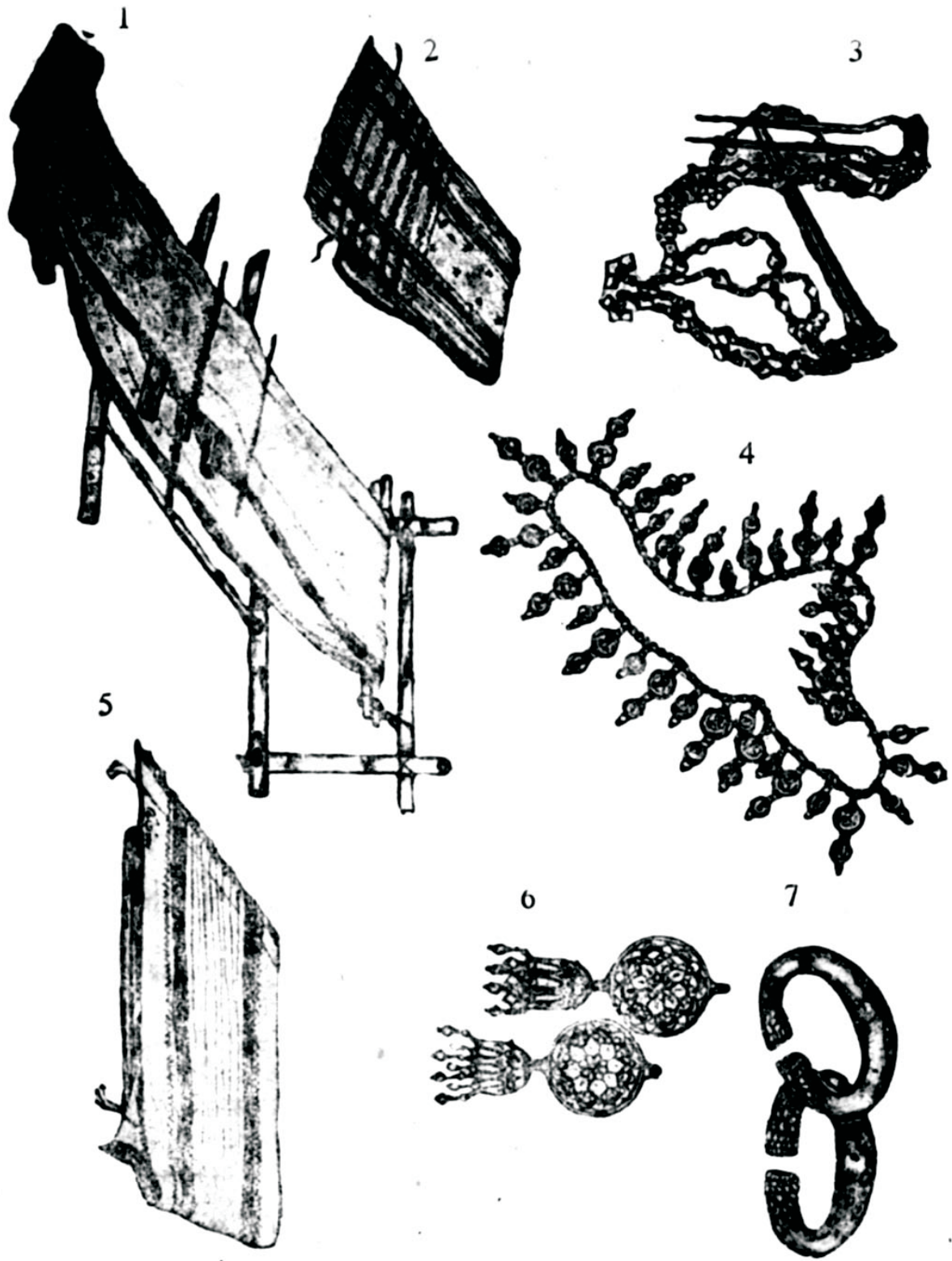
Bamboo holds an important role in the Jamatiya community. In fact, bamboo is so indispensable in their life that their daily life cannot be thought of without bamboo. They make different articles of daily use with bamboo which distinctly bears the high standard of Jamatiya craftsmanship. The various bamboo made articles of the Jamatiyas are as follows :

1. *langa* (a kind bamboo made basket used for carrying articles from one place to another).
2. *Chenpay* (smaller than *langa* in size mostly used for carrying different articles to the *Jhum*).
3. *Khuturuk* (a kind of bamboo made basket used for storing valuable articles).
4. *Tisiyng* (A kind of *langa* with gaps in the waves used for carrying fire-wood, green vegetables, pitcher etc.).
5. *Dul* (a kind of large hollow shaped bamboo basket used for storing paddy).
6. *Bayliyng* (a kind of bamboo made winnowing-fan used for winnowing grain).
7. *Wasung* (a kind of bamboo made tube used as a container of different kinds of cooking articles).

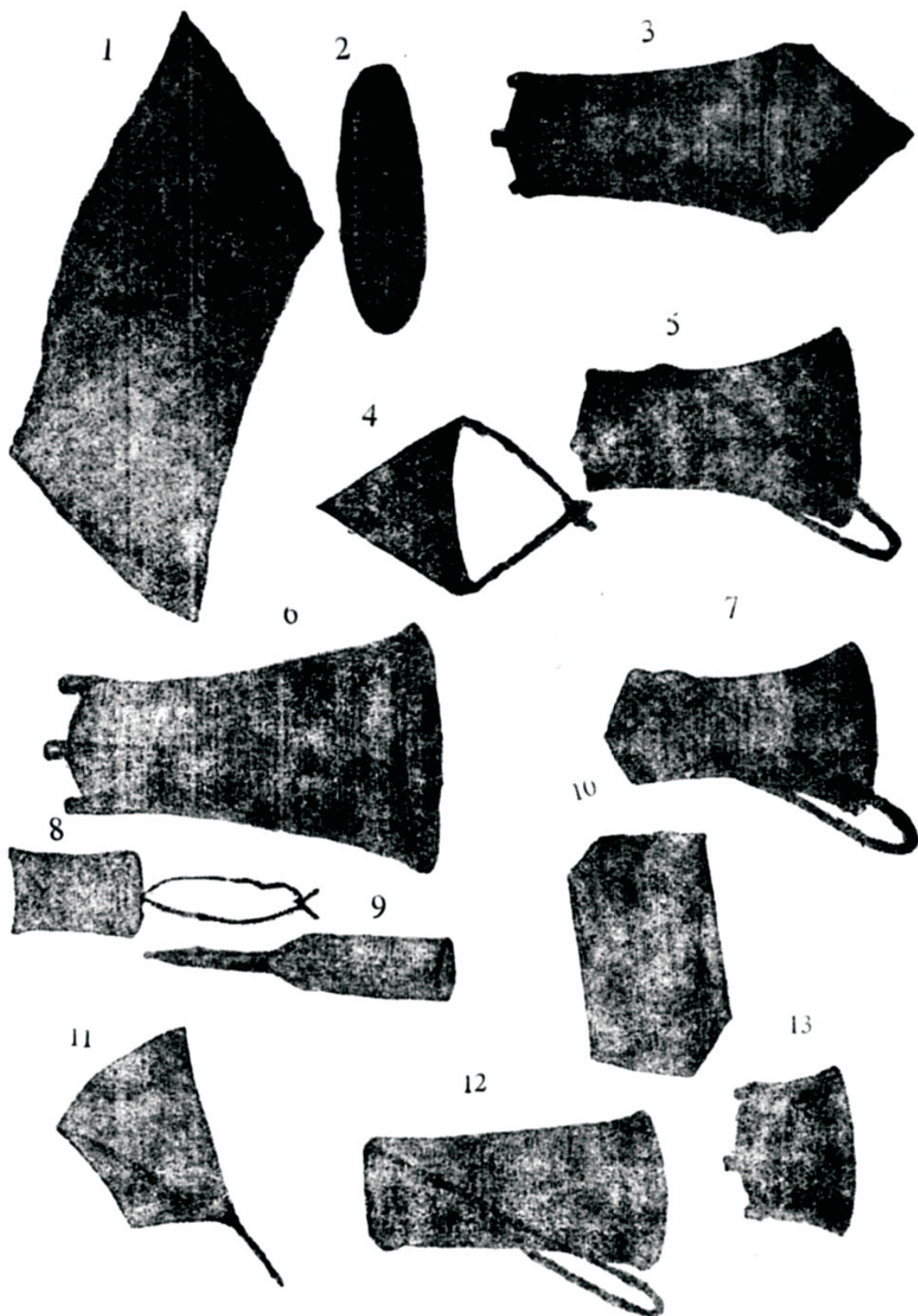
Besides the use of above mentioned articles they are also skilled in making various kinds of articles to catch fish. The tools are as follows :

1. *Socheyng* (a round shaped bamboo made box to trap fish).
2. *Jurukha* (a funnel shaped fish trap).
3. *Sudan* (a kind of fishing net made from bamboo strips).

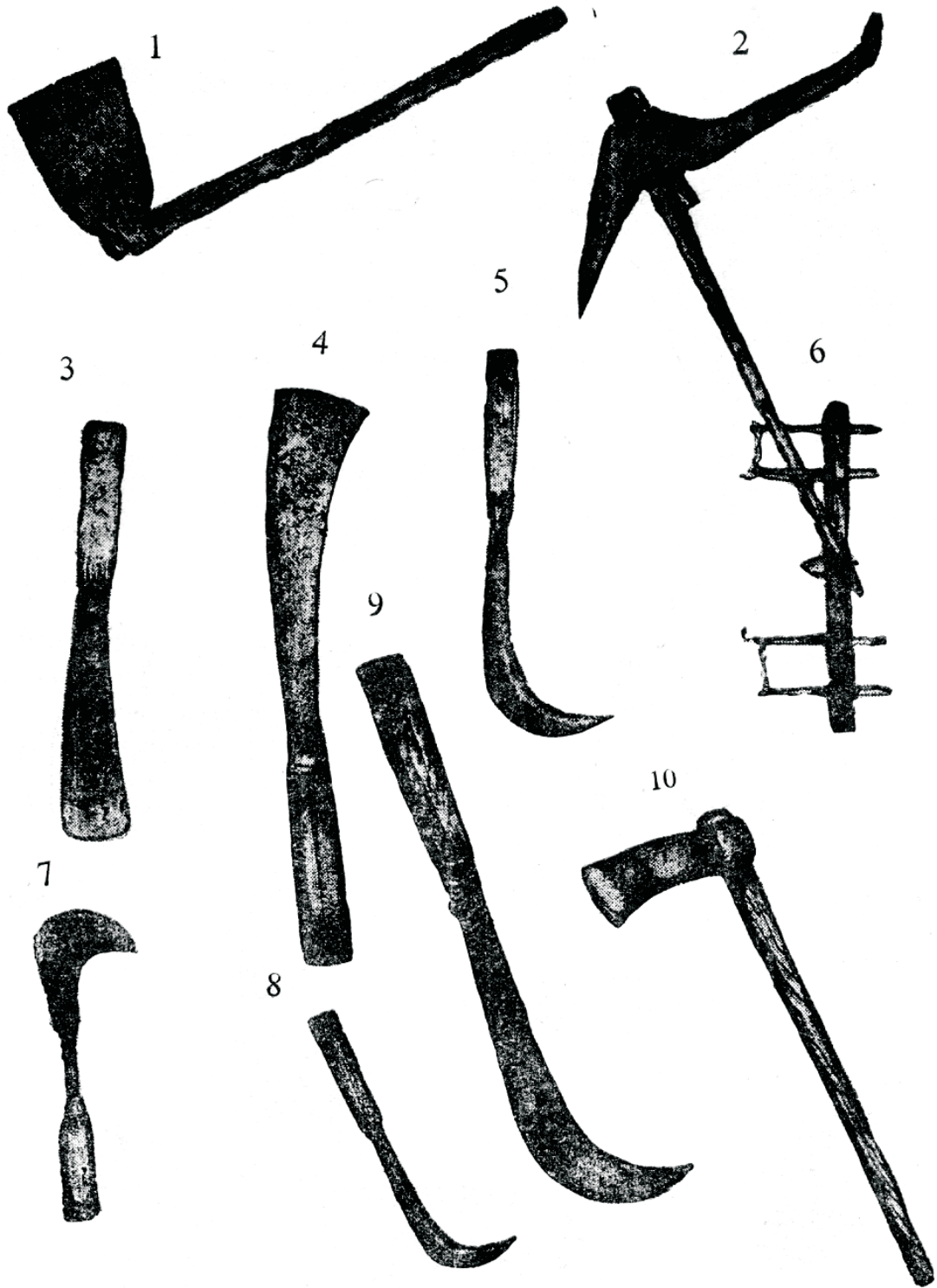
Ornaments and the loomloom



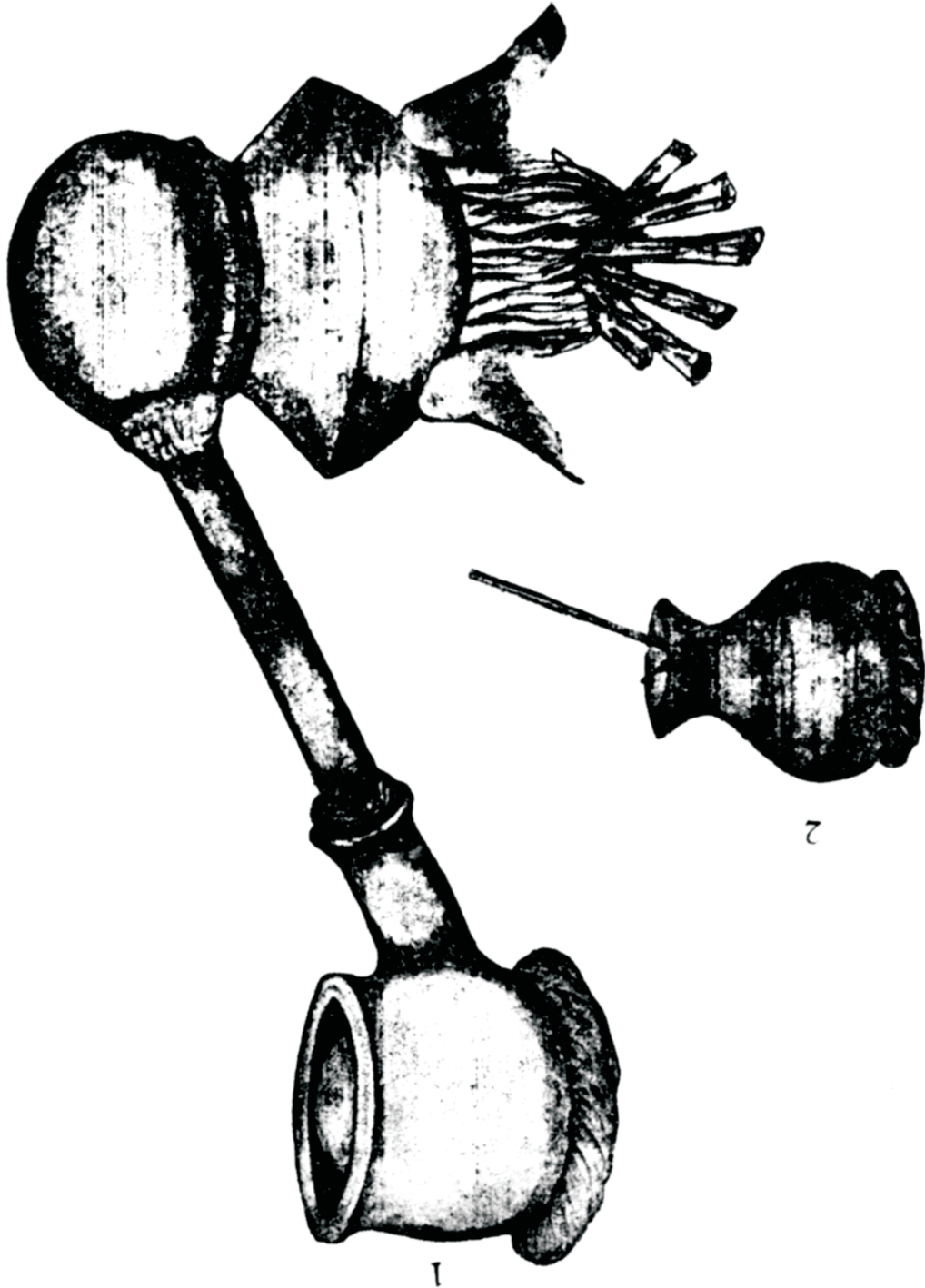
House hold articles



Agricultural implements



Apparatus for brewing wine



A key to the sketches**Ornaments and Loin loom**

1. Rii-thanti
2. Riisa
3. Sangeyng
4. Rangbwtang
5. Riinay
6. Wakhon
7. Boliya/Bolaya

Household Articles

1. Yangkhung
2. Bayliying
3. Khuturuk
4. Chakhwy-Khok
5. Langa
6. Khoktey
7. Tisiyng
8. Faykhok
9. Hata-Kathi Khok
10. Jaapa
11. Pokhay
12. Dingra
13. Ton.

Agricultural Implements

1. Godal
2. Langon/Langol
3. Damwra
4. Daborok
5. Seni
6. Jungol/Jungon
7. Nerakachi
8. Chekhwra
9. Da
10. Ruwa

Apparatus for brewing Wine.

1. Baati.
2. Bwtwk.

WINE AND THE JAMATIYAS

Wine plays a very important role in the life of the Jamatias. It is closely associated with their socio-religious life. The arrangement for the preparation of wine is found in almost every Jamatiya house. Generally the women are skilled in it. In their traditional religious rites and functions the *Ochay* offers wine to the angry evil spirits in order to propitiate them. Some times the *Ochay* is offered wine instead of cash as fees for their services. Besides this, if one has to make a complaint to the *chokdiri* (head of the village council) against some body and seeks justice he must offer wine as fee. Above all it is used as an important item of hospitality. Guests are entertained with wine.

Wine is also taken as medicine for a lot of ailments. It is used as a medicine itself or as ingredient of other medicines. In the cases of catarrh, cold and fever, sting of various kinds of insects, stomach troubles etc. Wine is taken as an effective medicine. A mother after child birth is given *chuwan* (an essential ingredient to prepare wine) mixed with warm water. In cases of swelling in any part of the body *chuwa* is made into a paste by mixing water the paste is then warmed and applied on the affected place. Besides this, *bwrwyrog*, *burasa* who are considered responsible for various diseases are worshipped with wine by their *Ochay*.

There are various categories of wine and they are known by different names. The two main categories of wine are known as *Chok* or *arak* (refined wine which is preserved in bottles) and *panchwa* (unrefined wine which is prepared in an earthen jar and taken with a bamboo pipe). *Panhwa* is known by different names mostly according to the name of the container.

For example when *panchwa* is taken from a small sized earthen vessel it is known as *bwtwk* ; when the same *panchwa* from a bigger container i.e. from an earthen jar (*darwkay*) it is known as *darwkay* ; when the *panchwa* is taken from a still bigger container i.e. *thila* (a big jar with a bulging belly) it is called *thila*. Of course when the quantity of *Panhwa* is half or less than half of a *thila* it is called *gora*.

Chuwan :

It is an essential ingredient to prepare wine. It is the main fermenting agency. The bark of *chuwanthwy* tree and the leaf of *chuwantlay* tree and sunned rice are required to prepare *chuwan*. Besides this, jackfruit leaf, sugar cane leaf, *mwkhwra ata* leaf etc. are also added to them for the taste of the wine. All these articles are just pounded into a powdery form and then made into round tablets by mixing water. The tablets are dried in the sun.

Bwtwk :

For the preparation of *bwtwk* rice is boiled in a pan. The *bwtwk* prepared from the *awamaymi* rice is very tasteful and considered as the best of its kind. Then the boiled rice is spread over a *dari* (a kind of bamboo made mat) to cool off. The powder of a *chuwan* tablet is mixed with this rice and preserved in a *bwtwk* or *darwkay* or *thila*. The mouth of the container is covered with a banana leaf. This *chuwan* mixed rice is called *chokman*. Generally the rice ferments within two days and two nights. After fermentation drinking water is poured into the container and the juice (*panchwan*) of the *chokman* is sucked with a bamboo tube (*chungi*).

There is a rule regarding the quantity of *panchwan* in social drinking. The wine is drunk from a common pot by means of pipes. Every one must have an equal quantity of the drink.

There is a technique to ensure this quantity. A bamboo strip is placed horizontally on the mouth of the container of the *panchwan* and a portion of the strip is pulled back to the middle of it and is pushed into the container vertically. This strip functions as an indicator and is known as *tiyngi*. A man stops drinking as soon as the level of the drink falls below the end of the indicator. A man acts as an umpire. He sees to one does not drink more than his share. When one's turn is finished the umpire pours water to bring the drink to original level. In this way every body takes his due share one by one according to the seniority of the age.

When both the men and women drink at gathering men first takes the drink one by one according to the seniority of age. When the men have drunk the women begins.

During the time of group drinking the first person to take the drink salutes others with folded hands before taking the drink saying '*Jottono khulunbay jakha*' meaning 'I salute every body'. Others say '*Kwtwy khelay di/kwtwy Khelay thwng*' meaning 'let the wine be sweet'.

Chok/arak :

For the preparation of *chok/arak* first of all *chokman* is put into an earthen pot known as *baatiwa*. Another earthen pot known as *baatikhorok* with a hole on the back is placed up side down on the mouth of the *baatiwa*. The point where the two pots join is covered with the mixture of *chokman* and mud to make it air tight so that the steam does not come out. Then one end of a bamboo tube (*Soboso*) is fitted to the hole of the *baatikhorok*. Here also the leak of the joining is closed with *chokman* and mud.

The other end of the bamboo tube is inserted to a container called *patni* where the wine is stored. Then the *chokman* is brewed and the vapour comes out through the bamboo tube (soboso) and deposited into the *patni* and then wine of the *patni* is packed in bottles. Thus through the distillation process the *chokman* is brewed and wine is prepared.

Customs of Wine drinking :

At the time of community drinking the importance is given to equality. Every body should have equal share irrespective personal demand or capacity to consume the drink.

In case of *chok* drinking if it is found that after the distribution of one cup of *chok* to each person if some quantity of the wine is left over some more quantity of wine is added to it and then it is distributed again. In case the host is unable to supply extra quantity of the wine, the left over is not utilised.

CHAPTER III

POLITICAL LIFE

The traditional administrative system of the *Jamatiyas* is democratic in nature. The mechanism of their social control is so well organised that the violation of their customary law is seldom found in their community. Any kind of difficulty or problem is met with joint decision taken by them. The whole *Jamatiya* community is socially controlled by their *hoda* (The Supreme council).

For the decentralisation of the power of the *hoda*, it is divided into three distinct separate units. These are :

- i) *Luku* (Village level Council)
- ii) *Moyol* (Regional level Council)
- iii) *Hoda* (Community level Supreme Council)

Besides these three tier system of administration there is an Advisory Committee of eight executive members drawn from all over *Jamatiya* community.

The village Council (*Luku*) :— The village Council mainly consists of one headman (*Chokdiri*) and two or more assistants (*Khandols*). Usually *chokdiri* is directly elected by the senior male members of the *luku*. The essential qualifications for the post of the *Chokdiri* is that he should be a married person with wife and children and should be economically sound. He is the formal spokesman of the village.

The village council deals only with the minor socio-economic disputes of the village. Justice is done according to the traditional rule. In case of any dispute, the *Chokdiri* takes the help of the old and influential members of the Village who constitute the jury. The *Chokidiri* maintains good relation with the *moyol panchay* and the *hoda okra*. He participates or sends two representatives (*adongs*) in the annual supreme Council meeting (*agon kokmalaymwng*). He supervises all sorts of social functions like marriage, death or any other rituals and also looks after the welfare of the village.

Regional Council (*Moyol*) :— The *moyol* is the next higher level administrative organisation to the *luku*. A regional Council consists of 30 to 50 village Councils of a compact geographical area. There are two headmen (*moyol panchay*) in each regional Council. They are elected by the *adongs* of all the *lukus* under that particular *moyol*.

The *moyol panchays* should also be a married persons with wife and children. He maintains law and order and the welfare of the region. They are

empowered to decide all kinds of inter village disputes of the region with the help of the *Chokdiris*. But his judgement is not final. He may send a case to *hoda okra* for final judgement.

The *moyol panchays* of Kalyanpur and Raimasharma have been vested with exceptional powers. In certain specific cases, their judgement is final. Of course, they have to inform the *hoda okra* of these cases during the next annual conference of the *hoda*.

Supreme Council :— *Hoda* is the Supreme Council of the *Jamatiya* community. The head of the *hoda* is called *hoda-okra*. Previously there was only one *hoda-okra* for the entire *Jamatiya* community. Later on the system of two *okras* was introduced for the two divisions of the territory e.g. Amarpur and Udaipur. The two *okras* are elected by the *adongs* of each village Council (*luku*) in the annual conference (*agon kokmalaymwng*) which is held in the month of Agrahayana. The *okras* are generally elected for a period of five years.

As regards the qualifications for the post of an *okra*, he must be religious minded well known personality with adequate experience of the functions of their traditional administrative organisations and customary laws.

He should also be acquainted with their customs and impartial in his treatment towards all. He should also be a married man with wife and children.

The *hoda-okra* is the formal spokesman of the entire *Jamatiya* community. His verdict is final. The function of the *hoda* is to arrange some festivals like *Goriya Puja*, *Balangswamani*, *Gang Puja* etc. for the welfare of the entire *Jamatiya* community. Besides the religious function the *hoda* has judicial functions too. All kinds of cases like divorce, adultery, kidnapping, anti-social activities and complicated cases which could not be solved by the village Council and regional Council are dealt with by the *okra*. The *hoda* is the highest Court of appeal vested with highest degree of legislative, administrative and judicial powers.

Advisory Council (Upadesta Committee) :— Besides the three tier system of administration of the *Jamatiyas*, there is an advisory Council consisting of eight executive members. It is a later development in their community. The aim regarding the creation of this advisory Committee is to give an opportunity to the young and educated *Jamatiyas* to enter this Committee and to reflect their modern and scientific outlook in their community. This Council also acts as a check on the dictatorial tendencies of the *okras*.

Procedure :— On a complaint lodged by an individual of their community, the complainant has to offer one bottle of beverage or Re 1/- to *Chokdiri*

as a fee. Then the headman fixed a date, time and place for the meeting. Usually meeting is held in the *Chokdiri's* house. Both the parties assemble with witness. The headman (may be *Chokdiri*, *Sardar* or *Okras*) and some elder persons constitute the Jury. Meeting is called by the *Khandol* in the evening. The headman takes his seats and directs the complainant to place his case before the assembly. After hearing the complains the headman asks the accused to defend himself. Then the witnesses are asked to give their statements. Then the members of the Jury discuss the pros and cons of the case among themselves.

The Council punishes an offender by different ways as fine in cash or kind, astricises on a person from the village or society and so on. Punishment to the female offender is sympathetically considered. Fine in cash is a recent development. In the past, lashing with a cane stick was in practice. The money collected through fine is utilised in the common festivals. The mechanism of Social control is so organised and strict that violation of law is few in number in the Jamatiya society. When the *Chokdiri* fails to settle any case or his judgement is not accepted to either of the parties, the case is referred to the *moyol* panchay which in turn sends it to a non-related village Council for settlement. But the *Panchay's* judgement is not final even here and one can appeal against his judgement to the Supreme Council. The *okras* do not call a meeting in their houses. He selects any village Council as a place for hearing of the case. In this matter the *moyol Panchay* and the *Chokdiri* to whose jurisdiction the case originally belonged must be present during the trial of the case.

The following list bears the name of the *okras* since the founding of the Supreme Council. Owing to the absence of any written document, it is very difficult to prepare a complete chronological list of the *okras*. Even then on the memories of the elelderly persons of their community, the following list has been prepared :—

Sailen Jamatiya
 Bandaray Jamatiya
 Dulhada Jamatiya
 Bilai Jamatiya
 Kungtuk Jamatiya
 Raharsing Jamatiya
 Banshina Jamatiya
 Diring Sing Jamatiya
 Nahaiya Jamatiya
 Dayeelng Jamatiya
 Chingra Jamatiya
 Gopindar Jamatiya.

Sankada Jamatiya	— Khunpilong
Majram Jamatiya	— Hadra
Saitaki Jamatiya	— Bampur
Tapachandra Jamatiya	— Marandi
Tailabashi KJamatiya	— Shilighati
Abhay Charan Jamatiya	— Twyharchwng
Premananda Jamatiya	— Hadra
Subal Chandra Jamatiya	— Ganggria (Sarbang)
Golokram Jamatiya	— Burburiya
Bani Chandra Jamatiya	— Raiya
Sadhupada Jamatiya	— Bampur
Druha Chandra Jamatiya	— Hadra
Haribandhu Jamatiya	— Twykichik
Ananda Hari Jamatiya	— Daring
Hari Chandra Jamatiya	— Kuar
Subhay Chandra Jamatiya	— Nagray
Mahiswar Chandra Jamatiya	— Pitra
Kushoray Jamatiya	— Manduwy
Raghunath Jamatiya	— Sungrung
Bhadu Chandra Jamatiya	— Raiya
Rupananda Jamatiya	— Hadra
Sudarshan Jamatiya	— Noabari
Palong Chandra Jamatiya	— Kachima
Surjokanta Jamatiya	— Tulsiray
Tejomoni Jamatiya	— Tuta
Jagatuanda Jamatiya	— Tinghariya
Amritbashi Jamatiya	— Sangtram
Gobinda Gopal Jamatiya	— Raykhalang
Matilal Jamatiya	— Khunpwylnwng
Mohon Chandra Jamatiya	— Shilighati
Gopinath Jamatiya	— Nagray
Haridata Jamatiya	— Noabari
Chandra Mohan Jamatiya	— Baisho
Kripamay Jamatiya	— Bagma
Siddhi Kumar Jamatiya	— Kuwaymura
Birendra Jamatiya	— Debbari
Lakshmabali Jamatiya	— Shilighati
Brahmmananda Jamatiya	— Burburiya.

(The above mentioned list has been made with the active help of Sri Krishna Keshab Jamatiya of Ranimura Bari, Udaipur Sub-Division, Shri Chaitanyabari Jamatiya of Burburia, Amarpur Sub-Division, Shri Sachindra

Jamatiya, Shri Harimohan Jamatiya, Shri Ananga Mohan Jamatiya and Shri Khagendra Jamatiya of Khamarbari, Khawai Sub -Division).

The last annual Conference of the Jamatiya hada was held in the month of December 1982 at *Barwykwpla para* of Udaipur Sub-Division in which Shri Lakshabali Jamatiya of Shilighati and Shri Brahmmananda Jamatiya of Burburiya were elected as *hoda okras*.

The members of the Advisory Board are :—

1. Shri Bhanjan Kumar Jamatiya of Gamariya
2. Shri Lakshadahari Jamatiya of Raiyabari.
3. Smt. Kusumba rani Jamatiya of Parakwtal
4. Smt. Chalakti Jamatiya of Thaipolobari.
5. Shri Bisweswar Jamatiya of Pitrabari and
6. Shri Dayalhari Jamatiya of Harebari.

CHAPTER IV

RELIGION

During the Census of 1911, 1961 and 1901 the entire Jamatiya population returned themselves as Hindus. The Census reports in connection with their religion is furnished below :

Persons during the Census Years

Census Year :	1901	1911	1961
Total :	4,910	178	24,359
Hindu	4,910	178	24,359

It has been mentioned in the 'Tribes of Tripura' that the Jamatiyas are Hindus. The present day Jamatiya religion may be characterised as a mixed type of Vaishnavism and animism. They are divided into two sects vaishnavas and Saktas. Many of them are Vaishanva mendicants who are called sadhus.

Shri Somendra Chandra Deb Barma states in the Book 'Tripura Rajyer Census Bibarani' that the religiousness of the Jamatiyas is appreciable. They are the followers of Sakta doctrine. They accepted 'Vishnu Mantra' under the guidance of the 'Goswamis'. In the Census of this year 10,287 Saktas and 803 Vaishnavas are found in their community. All of them use mala and chandan. They think it as their duty to go on a pilgrimage every year and usually visits holy places like Kashi (Varanasi) Brindaban etc. Harisankirtan (Singing of the holy songs of the god Hari) is considered as one of the most important religious duties among them.

The Jamatiyas accepted Vaishnavism during the reign of Maharaja Birchandra Manikya (1861-1896). The 1931 Census report mentions how they came to embrace Vaishnavism. During the reign of Maharaja Birchandra Manikya there was an official named Oakiray Hazari who was very cruel and tyrannical. The Jamatiyas rose in revolt against his oppression in 1862 under the leadership of Parikshit Jamatiya. The Maharaja succeeded in crushing the rebellion with the help of the Darlongs (one of tribes of Tripura). Birchandra, however, did not punish the leader and spared his life. Touched by this gesture of generosity the Sardar accepted Vaishnavism and promised to follow the customs of Vaishnavism. After that, the whole community came to accept Vaishnavism. So this armed rebellion of the Jamatiyas was turned into a cultural revolution by Birchandra.

It should be noted here that as a result of embracing Vaishnavism they gave up eating of pig, begun to wear sacred thread (Paitha) and started to appoint Brahmin priests for the performance of their religious functions. They consider the Ramayana, the Mahavarata and the Gita as their holy books.

Besides the worshipping of many deities of Hindu belief such as *Kali*, *Durga*, *Saraswati* etc. and observance of many rituals connected with birth and death, they also perform their traditional pujas like the *Goriya Puja*, *Lanpra Puja*, *Maylwnngma Puja*, *Khulwnngma Puja* etc. It should be mentioned here that their traditional pujas are officiated by their traditional priest (Ochay) and non-traditional Pujas may be performed by a Brahmin priest. In their religious affairs there is synthesis of Vaishnavism, Saktaism and their traditional system of worship. Their religious beliefs may be termed as polytheistic. Animism or rather spiritism is an important factor of the Jamatiya religion. One of the objects of their puja is to obtain immunity from any unwarranted form of danger. They perform these pujas only for obtaining immediate results.

The deities, spirits and other supernatural agencies which are worshipped by the Jamatias may be divided into the following two categories :

1. The worship of the deities which have come from their traditional puja, are the *Lanprapuja*, the *Maylwnngma puja*, the *Khulwnngma puja*, the *Noksu Puja*, the *Burasa Puja*, the *Bwrwyrag Puja*, the *Mahadeb* and *Madev Puja*, *Chouddo devata Puja*, *Mwy tanmwng* or *twymankermwng*, *Kuwaychanayma* etc.

2. The worship of the deities which have been borrowed from the neighbouring castes and communities as a result of acculturation are the *Durga Puja*, the *Sani Puja*, the *Trinath Puja*, the *Laxmi Puja*, the *Saraswati Puja*, the *Rakshakali Puja*, the *Rathajatra* Festival, the Janmastami festival etc.

Given below are the brief descriptions of a few traditional and non traditional pujas and religious functions of the Jamatias :—

I. GORIYA PUJA

Goriya Puja has a deeply rooted significance on the socio-political and religious life of the Jamatias. In order to understand the religious life of the Jamatias one must have a clear cut idea of the role of the *Goriya Puja* in their society. *Goriya* is considered to be a benevolent male deity and fulfiller of the desires of his worshippers. *Goriya* is dear to them and the puja is performed socially. Unlike all other *Kagbarak* speaking tribes of Tripura, the Jamatias perform this as a community festival.

Every year, the *Goriya Puja* starts from the day of *Mahabishu Sankranti* i.e. from the last day of the Bengali month of *Chaitra* (March-April) and continues for seven days and seven nights. The day on which the *Goriya Puja* starts is called *buiso* by them.

There is no fixed place for the puja. The Puja is performed in an open Courtyard. From time to time the venue of the Puja is changed with the consent of the villages changing over and taking over the Puja. The place of the Puja is declared formally in the annual conference of the *hoda*.

At first only one image of *Goriya* was worshipped. Lateron, since Pub Narayan's bringing of the image of *Goriya* from the land of the Kukis, the worship of two images began among them. And from that period the original image is now known as elder brother of *Goriya* and is called by various names such as *Biyakwrwy Goriya* or *Bwlaykwrwy Goriya*. On the otherhand the image brought by Pub Narayan is known as younger brother of *Goriya* and is called by the names such as *biyagwnang Goriya* or *bwlay-gwnang Goriya*.

The image of the *Biyakwrwy Goriya* is a piece of bamboo. On the otherhand the image of the *Biyagwnang Goriya* is a three tier bamboo structure which is considered to be limbs of the image. Of course, recently the design of the image of the *Biyakwrwy Goriya* has been changed and now it is a single tier.

The image of the *biyagwnang Goriya* is taken out in procession from the Puja pandal. On the otherhand the image of the *Biyakwrwy Goriya* is not taken out in procession.

The officials required for this puja are selected during the annual conference of the *hoda*. These officials are :

1. *Kherfang* : It is a hereditary post. The two *kherfangs* for the two images are selected from the two separate *Kaherfang* lineages e.g. *Biyakwrwy* and *Biyagwnang Goriya*. The head of the image and all other materials of the *Goriya* are preserved in the house of the *Kherfang*. The annual puja is held in the *Kherfang's* house.
2. *Ochay* : The main priest of the *hoda*. The *hoda ochay* is selected in the annual Conference of the *hoda*.
3. *Mwtay balnay* : The bearer of the image of *Goriya*.
4. *Doriya* : He is the drum beater of the *Goriya*.
5. *Bogla* : Companions of the *Goriya*.
6. *Bhandari* : Store-keeper of the puja.

For the construction of the image six persons go to the nearby forest wearing sacred garments to collect three spotless bamboos. The detection of the spotless bamboos is done in a special spiritual manner which is called *pathkar-mwng*. Then a *bhog* (offering) is given under the spotless bamboo and cut this by a single stroke while holding his breath. This bamboo is called *watwy fang raja*. The other two are cut in an ordinary manner. Then the *mwtay balnay* cuts the bamboo and the image is constructed and covered with white thread and cloth.

The pandal of the puja is constructed in the courtyard. It is made of bamboo and decorated with their hand-woven *risa*, *dhuti* etc. A trident is embedded in the ground at a distance of one cubit away from the image of *Goriya*. Beside this trident twenty others weighing each about of 10 K.G. are

also fixed. These tridents are eight to nine cubits long. A boundary line leading from these tridents to the fencing is marked by two white threads. Admission within the precincts of this boundary at the time of the puja is prohibited. Only the officials of the Puja have admission in this area. Before the commencement of the Puja the *ochay*, *mwtaybalmay* and the *doriya* sprinkle water sanctified by *mantra* in this area.

On the first day of the puja, an image of the *Goriya* is prepared with rice paste. After reciting the *mantra*, the *Ochay* performs the rite of inspiring it. Then a *naibadya* is offered to this image. Then a *naibadya* is offered to bamboo made image by the *Ochay*. A sacred thread is also placed on the shoulder of this image. Then the image is handed over to the *mwtaybalmay* and he approaches the *Kherfang*. The *doriya* then beat drum and follow him along with the disciples.

Then the *mwtaybalmay* goes round a *banchay* (An altar consisting of *Tulsih* (holy basil) and some other sacred plants) thrice. Then the officials of the puja and some distinguished persons wash the feet of *Goriya*.

Then *bhogs* are offered by present disciples. The puja begins at eight to nine A.M. The sacrificing function begins with buffalo and he-goat offered by the *hoda*. Next comes the sacrificing of buffaloes and he-goats offered by the disciples. The sacrificing of a buffalo must be accompanied by the killing of a he-goat and a new napkin.

After the performance of the puja the officials of *Goriya* go to a separate room allotted to them for taking meals. At the time of taking of meal also they are to observe certain customs and taboos. The cook is also required to observe purity in this period. In this way they take their meals for seven days. During the time of their taking meals entrance of any outsider is strictly prohibited. After taking their meals they wash their hand and mouth, take their respective seats and take *kuwayfatwy* and *duma*. Here also the *Ochay* is required to accept first.

Then the officials take rest for an hour. Then at about 3 P.M. they start to carry *Goriya* to the Scheduled villages. In case of impurity in any village, *Goriya* is not taken to that particular village.

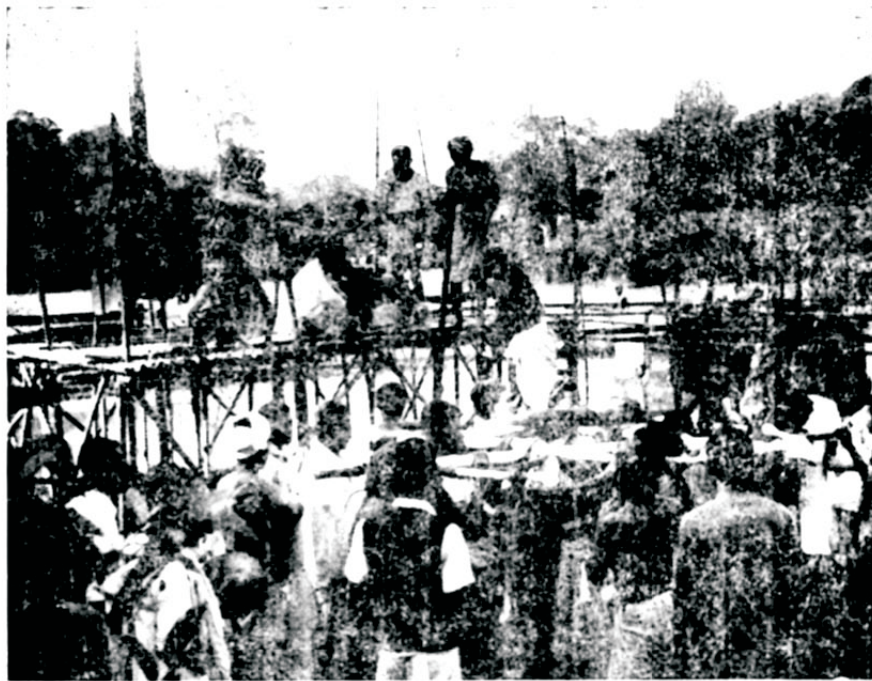
The villagers welcome the followers of image of *Goriya* in its movement cordially. The owner of the house tries his level best to satisfy them. In this way they go from house to house, from village to village with the image of *Goriya* dancing for five to ten minutes in each house and then bless the owner of the house. This continues for seven days and seven nights.



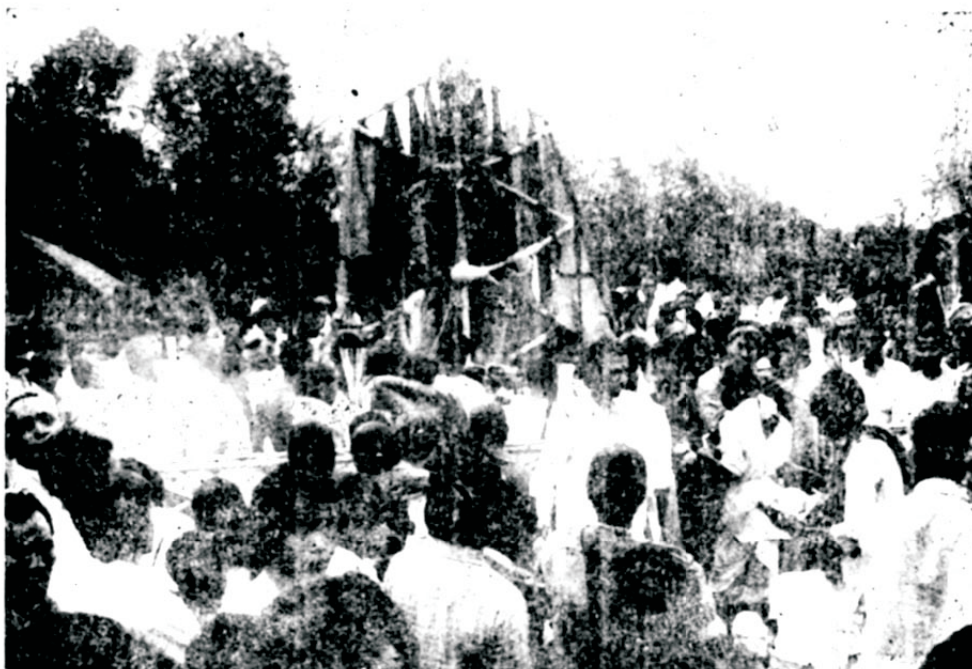
The image of Biyakwry Goriya with a devotee in front.



Devotees with he-goats for sacrifice



A. Scene of the Construction of the image of the Goriya in Progress.



The image of the Biyagwnang Goriya with devotees.

The role of the *boglas*, who are regarded as friends or companions of *Goriya* is very significant. They accompany the image during its movement. They make jokes with the spectators and the followers. The leader of the *Boglas* is called *mohonta*. The *boglas* sing many sex erotic songs. Of course the pranks of the *boglas* are just not taken seriously. If any spectator requests the *mohonta* to cure him or her of an ailment, he takes a little water and chants some *mantras* on it and gives the patient. Some times he simply tells the patient '*ta wanadi*' (don't worry) and the patient gets cured.

At the end of the seven days and seven nights the image is again taken to the *Kherfang's* house. Then certain religious functions are done. Lastly, the *Ochay* tells the latest result of the puja to anyone of the officials of the *Goriya*. The *Mwtaybalmay* then ask all to immerse the image of *Goriya*.

Before immersion all the clothes of the image of *Goriya* are taken off. At that time many *jatris* (Followers of the *Goriya*) treasure pieces of clothing removed from the image of *Goriya* as souvenir and blessings. It should be mentioned here that the seventh day of *Baishak* i.e. the day of the immersion of the image of *Goriya* is an auspicious day to them. *Sena Puja* and the puja of *maylwngma* and *Khulwngma* are also performed on that day.

2. Lanpra Puja :

The *Lanpra puja* has an important place in the religious life of the *Jamatiyas*. It is done at different stages of life, birth, marriage and death for the welfare purposes. This puja signifies the dissolvment of all kinds of impurity or the termination of a period of mourning. Before the start of any new venture or for the success of any important event, as for example before finalising a marriage, constructing a new house they perform this puja. The *Ochay* officiates this puja.

The *lanpra puja* is performed in two different manners, 1. By sacrificing a fowl and 2. by offering *naibadya*. At present the practice of offering of *nabidy* is in vogue in their community. The article generally required for this puja are banana, sugar pole (batasa), ataprice etc. Generally the fees of the *Ochay* is not paid in cash. He is offered *chok* (wine) to drink.

The term *lanpra* is derived from the *Jamatiya* word *lama* meaning way or path and *Pra* meaning junction. So *lanpra* literally means the junction of roads. The six deities that are worshiped in the *lanpra puja* are :

1. *Akatha* ; 2. *Bikatha* ; 3. *Twybuk* ; 4. *Sangrang* ; 5. *Sukundray* and 6. *Mukundray*.

3. Maylwngma and Khulwngma :

The common family deity of the *Jamatiyas* is *maylwngma* and *Khulwngma*. Both of them are female deities. *M^ulwngma* presides over crops and *Khulwngma*

is the deity of cotton. For the performance of the *maylungma* and *Khulungma* puja two earthen pots are filled with newly harvested Jhum rice. The pots are decorated with rice paste and tied with hand made cotton. Some times a *swastika* symbol is drawn with vermillion of the earthen pots. Some egg shaped pabbles painted with vermillion are also placed within these earthen pots. These earthen pots are placed in a neat and clean portion of the house. They offer flower and light candles sincerely in front of the pots of *maylungma* and *khulungma*. The earthen pots are called *rondok*. The puja is performed twice in a year. The first one is performed on the day of *sena puja* (the day on which the image of the *Goriya* is immersed.) The second one is celebrated on the first day of eating new rice.

4. The mwytanmwng Puja
(Worship of river or stream) :

Mwytanmwng or *Twyman* Puja is a socio-religious function of the Jamatiyas. It is performed by the *luku*, *moyol* and *hoda* and also by certain individual households, for the welfare of the members within the jurisdiction. Of the above level organisations. The puja which is held in *luku* level is known *luku samwng* and the puja which performed by household level is called *nukhung samwng*. In the community level puja one buffalo is sacrificed on the bank of the Bijoy river of Bishalgarh, one on the Gomoti river, one on the Khowai river, and one at matabari (Tripura Sundari temple of Udaipur). Besides them one buffalo is sacrificed in the puja of each regional level organisation. In the village level and household level pujas male-goats are sacrificed.

5. The Ker Puja :

The *Ker* is performed in order to protect the people of a particular area from disease, anxiety, epidemic etc. It can take place on any saturday or tuesday. Unlike *Goriya Puja*, it is full of restrictions. The puja is officiated by an *Ochay*. The chief characteristic of the *Ker* is *mudra* which indicates binding or fastening with seal of an area. During the puja the villagers are restricted to light an oven, they are not supposed cross the boundary of *Ker*.

According to the time and purpose of the worship of the *Ker*, it may be divided into various names. Some of these are as follows :

1. *Saon Puja*, 2. *Agan Puja*, 3. *Chaitra Cheynggwra*, 4. *Special Ker* or *mudra*.

The *Saon Puja* is performed by the *hoda* (community level organisation) for the protection of the people from scarcity.

The *Agan Puja* or *Bolong Katerama* is performed by the *hoda* for the protection of those who practice *Jhuming* in the forest.

Chaitra cheynggwra is performed to protect the villagers from various diseases like cholera, pox etc.

Special Ker or Mudra : It is performed if any village or any family thereof is in danger due to the outbreak of small pox, cholera, etc. The puja is also performed when outbreak of small Pox or cholera epidemic usually starts or are apprehended. Besides this the people of the Village can also perform this puja if there is any possibility of external aggression of the village by its neighbouring villages. This puja acts as a safeguard of the village and it protects the village from internal disturbances & external aggression.

Generally this *Ker* or *mudra* is performed in the morning time. Like general *Ker Puja*, this special *Ker* or *mudra* is also held on the Saturday or Tuesday.

Generally, a *naibadya* is offered in this puja. The following articles are required for the puja, viz. *atap* rice, sugar, sugar pole, banana and seasonal fruits. In this puja *atap* rice is a must and at least one coconut must be given. The *Ochay* officiates the puja. In this puja mustered seeds & green turmeric is also required though this is not offered alongwith the *naibadya*. A slight variation of articles are prescribed by the different *Ochays* for this puja.

Rules and Regulations :

On the day of the worship, all the members of the family must remain in their house. According to the rule of this puja, if any member of the family remains absent this puja can not be performed. If this puja is observed by any individual house, then no member of the other family should be present during this puja.

But if this *Ker* is performed by a village collectively for the safety of the village, then all the outsider of the village are prevented from entering the village during the performance of this puja. There is a slight difference of opinion among the three groups of *Ochays* regarding the restriction on movement in connection with this puja. According to the view of the first group of *Ochays* just after completion of the Puja, the outsiders may be allowed in the village and the villagers may be allowed to go outside the village. On the other hand according to the view of the 2nd group of the *Ochays*, a full day restriction on movement is necessary. But the 3rd group of *Ochays* is of the opinion that 3 days restriction on movement should be observed. However, the above mentioned restriction on movement depends on the decision of the officiating *Ochay*. There is no single opinion in this respect. During the period of this puja nobody of the village can sleep or spend their night outside the village and no outsider can come and sleep in this village. This puja is again performed in case if any breach in the restrictions take place or for lapse in the rules of the puja. On the day of the puja, from the morning till the completion of it, nobody can go outside of his house for his daily works. Untill the completion of the puja, nobody can husk paddy or wash his clothes or cut trees. The *Ochay* has to observe fast to officiate this puja.

For the performance of the puja, 3 (three) bamboo made platforms are prepared on the water of the main *cherra* (stream) of the villages. These platforms are made in a line. Out of this 3 platforms the platform which stands on the up stream (which faces the upstream) is the main platform of this *Ker*. The 3rd platform stands on the down side on the stream i.e. it faces the downside of the stream. The 4 poles of the main platform are to be decorated with flowers, wood apple leaves and garlands. In this puja, they draw a picture of the Goddess *Kali* on a paper and 5 other separate pictures of the 4 guards of the goddess *Kali* and then place the picture of the goddess *Kali* just in the middle of her 4 guards on the main platform. The *Ochay* comes to perform the Puja after taking his bath and prepares the *naibadya*, first. After getting everything ready the *Ochay* starts the Puja. First, he worships the main platform. Then the second one. At last, he performs the puja of the third platform. *Naibadya* (*Bhog*) is offered to all the (3 three) platforms. The 3rd platform is called in their language *twyswkal* (evil spirit of water). The *bhog* of this platform is not distributed among the villagers because, nobody takes it. The *bhog* of the 2 other platforms are distributed among the villagers. After the completion of the puja the faces of the 4 guards of the goddess *Kali* are turned to opposite direction. It should be mentioned here that, those, who bring the picture of the goddess *Kali* after the completion of the puja from the platform must keep silent, they should not speak or laugh. Generally 4 persons carry the 4 pictures to this platforms. When any of the 4 persons who carried the pictures to the worshipping platform comes back, then they declare that the puja is over. Then they carry the *prasads* to the house of the *chokdiri* of the village and distribute it. Every one of the village take the *prasad*. So they send these *prasads* to all the houses of the village.

In the evening, some *Ochays* at the end of the puja sprinkle the mixture of *atap* rice, green turmeric and mustard seeds which are sanctified by *mantras* (purify), in all the houses of the village. This mixture is called *suchubwchwlwy*. This is done for the protection of the villagers from evil forces. One person sprinkles it as representative of the *Ochay* by his consent, but during the moment of sprinkling this person engaged in sprinkling must keep mum.

Before sprinkling, they ask all the families of the village to keep the front and back doors of their house open, for sprinkling this purified articles in inside and outside of the house.

This is not their annual festival but this is a special festival.

The reason of the Special Ker or Mudra in the Twybaklay village.

Twybaklay is one of the biggest Jamatiya villages in the Amarapur Sub-Division of Tripura. There are 93 families in this village consisting of about 600 people. But due to some minor reasons of quarrel (political & social)

these village is now divided into two units socially North Twybaklay and South Twybaklay (1979). There is a tradition among the Jamatias that in case of establishing a new Kami (para) or separating the existing *para*, the separated para must perform the *Ker Puja*.

The performance of a separate *Ker Puja* in a village indicates its final and complete separation from the existing para and it is officially accepted by all. Immediately after establishing of a new para, a separate *chokdiri* is to be elected as the leader of this new para.

After the final division of this *kami* the *chokdiri* of the Dakhin (Right) Kami performed the *Ker Puja* according to the tradition. But on the next morning the *chokdiri* of the *Dakhin Para* found that the bamboo sticks which were sanctified by the *Ochay* during the puja and were fixed on the earth (*duari*) were uprooted by some persons at night. He also heard the sound of sand throwing on the roof of his house at night. After a few days some of his family members became sick. He then apprehended some misfortune of the village. He was afraid of the activities of some evil spirits. On the next day, he informed all the villagers of the *Dhakin para* and told them about the unknown misfortune. Then all the villagers unanimously decided to perform this special *Ker* or *mudra* for their protection from the unknown misfortune and later on this special *Ker* or *Mudra* was duly performed in the village.

(This special *Ker* or *Mudra* was performed on the 20th March, 1979 on the Saturday at Twybaklay, Dakhin para)

6. The Noksu Mwtay

Noksu is a female deity. The puja is performed on the day of the *Goriya Puja*. *Noksu* is believed to be the guardian of a homestead. It is not a common household deity. Many Jamatias believe *Noksu* as an another form of *Monosha*.

7. Songotran Puja :

The songotran puja is performed for the better production of crops and also to get favour of the supernatural powers for the performance of some critical work e.g. to find out a lost article. In such cases they promise an offering to *songotran*. The puja is performed on any Sunday. An earthen cone represents the deity.

8. Kuway Chanayma :

This puja is performed if the *Ochay* prescribes for it for the removal of the influence of an evil spirit. The puja is performed on the day of *maha astami* (during the period Durga Puja).

9. Burasa :

This puja is also performed if the *Ochay* thinks it necessary for a person to be free from the influence of the evil eye of *Burasa*.

10. **Bwrwyrog Puja :**

The *bwrwyrog Puja* is performed according to recommendation of the *Ochay* for the recovery of a person from any disease. In this puja a platform is made of green bamboo and a *naibadya* consisting of rice cakes and other things is offered to *bwrwyrog*. According to the instruction of the *Ochay* fowl, duck, pigeon ; male goats can also be sacrificed to satisfy *bwrwyrag*.

11. **Nakiri :**

It is a benevolent deity. The puja is performed in the month of *Chaitra* before the *Goriya Puja*. This puja is officiated by the *Ochay*.

Pujas and religious functions borrowed from the neighbouring castes and communities :

The Jamatiyas perform many religious functions borrowed by them from their neighbouring non-tribal castes and communities. It should be noted here that their traditional pujas are officiated by their traditional priests. On the other hand the non-traditional puja and religious functions are officiated by their traditional priest or by local non-tribal Brahmin priest. A short description of the borrowed deities are given below :

1. **Trinath Puja :** The worship of *Trinath* is prevalent among the Jamatiyas. This puja is performed once in a year in the month *Baisak* (April-May) or *Jaistha* (May-June). Generally the person who knows the performance of the Puja, recites the glory of *Trinath*. Three earthen pots, three lamps and three *kalkies* (bowls of a habul babul) of *gancha* (hemp) and a *naibadya* are required for this puja.

2. **Durga Puja :** A few well to do Jamatiya families some times perform this puja on their own. Their conception regarding the form and figure of *Durga* is almost identical with that of the local non-tribal Hindu castes and communities.

3. **Saraswati Puja :** The *saraswati Puja* is not done individually. But this goddess of learning is worshipped by the Jamatiya students in their schools.

4. **Shani Puja :** This puja is performed once in a year in the month of *Jaistha* (May-June). The owner of the house hold may officiate this puja by reciting the glory of *Shani* from the *Shani Panchali* (poems glorifying *Shani*) or only hail the name of *Shani*.

Besides these, the Jamatiyas observe some other ceremonies and religious festivals according to the date and *Tithi* (Lunar day) of the almanac like *Pausa sankranti*, *Rathajatra*, *Dul Purnima*, *Janmastami*, *Vimekadashi*, *Parsha ekadashi*, *Shyan ekadashi* etc.

Construction of the images of their customary deities :

Bamboo plays an important role in the religious life of the *Jamatiyas*. The images of their traditional deities are made of bamboo. The green bamboos are first hacked into pieces and then designed for making the images of various deities according to their custom. The structures and designs of various deities differ from deity to deity. There are specific designs in constructing of specific deities. The *Ochay* is the only person to offer necessary instructions regarding the structure of the images and arrangement of bamboo pieces in the puja of various deities.

From the above discussion of the traditional religious functions of the *Jamatiyas* the following points may be seen.

1. The traditional pujas are officiated by the traditional priests.
2. The *Ochay* tests the result of his efforts immediately after the puja and this procedure is known as *semanaymwng*. It is customary for the householder to enquire if the puja had its desired effect or not and this questioning is termed as *semaswngmwng*. *Semaswngmwng* is the term used when the *Ochay* reveals all the signs favourable and unfavourable to the householder. If it should happen that the signs are unfavourable then the *Ochay* applies all his skill and experience and finds out which other deity has accidentally been angered. This process is known as *thikananaymwng*. In this way at the end of the puja the *ochay* finds out the answer with the help of a few grains of rice. If the sign is unfavourable he should discover that a particular deity has been rendered displeased. He then immediately arranges for another puja at the end of which he again reveals the result to the anxious worshipper.
3. Fire worship has no place in their traditional pujas. But the worship of water, that is to say the propitiation of the deities of streams, mountains is very much prevalent.
4. Since the *mantras* used during the puja are not penned down, the wordings vary from place to place. The substance of course remains unchanged.
If the *Ochay* happens to have the gift of the gab, he naturally renders them special and wonderful.
5. The various idols are made out of bamboo. This shows that the local product is not neglected very much on the contrary.
6. God is known to them as *mwtay* who is above the five senses.
7. Sacrificing animals, the rite of inspiriting an image and propitiation of evil spirits are the important characteristics of the puja.

8. The offering placed before the deity varies due to the financial capability, taste etc. of the worshipper. And due to this a buffalo is sacrificed during regional and community level pujas likewise a goat is sacrificed during the village level pujas. In many cases, instead of the name of the worshipped deity, the puja is performed in the name of the sacrificial animal.

9. Flowers are not used in the pujas.

10. The neighbouring non-tribal Hindus have greatly influenced the traditional religious functions and festivals of the Jamatias. Their customs, rites, and religious festivals bear traces of the religious functions practised by non-tribal Hindus. So great is the impact, so closely inter-twined are they both that now it's next to impossible to tell them apart.

11. Their deities are both benevolent and malevolent, male and female.

CHAPTER V

VILLAGE STUDY REPORT

Given below are the reports of studies of a few villages where the majority of the inhabitants are the Jamatias. The object of this report is to give the readers a sampling of physical aspects including their habitation pattern, their location, their distances from the Sub-Divisional head Quarters, the ethnic composition of the inhabitants and few aspects of their socio-economic conditions.

The study of two villages :

1. Twybaklay in Amarpur Sub-Division, South Tripura, and
2. Shilighati in Udaipur Sub-Division, also in the South are more elaborate than those of the others. Of these two villages Twybaklay is situated in a somewhat remote area not easily accessible while Shilighati is situated in a comparatively forward place and whose the population consists of many educated people engaged in different kinds of employments.

So it is hoped that the picture of these two villages together will give a somewhat fuller image of the general socio-economic condition of the Jamatias.

These studies were undertaken around 1980-82. But most conditions obtaining during those periods still remains unchanged more or less.

SOCIOLOGICAL STUDY OF TWYBAKLAY— A BACKWARD JAMATIYA VILLAGE.

Twybaklay is a village that lies roughly between *Amarpur* and *Teliamura*. This village is in the *Amarpur* Sub-Division of *South Tripura* District situated in the midst of *Tripura* and surrounded by hills. The village was once covered by jungle. This village is about 10 Kms. from *Ampi* which is a good business centre of this region. The village is under *Ampi* Tehsil and under the jurisdiction of *Ampi* Police outpost. There is no good communication between *Ampi* and *Twybaklay*. One has to go from *Ampi* to *Twybaklay* on foot through jungle path, though a forest road is being constructed.

The name of the village *Twybaklay* is derived from the *Jamatiya* word *twy* which means water and *baklay* which means separation. That is, the village is situated in the area where a hilly stream has branched off in many directions. This village is surrounded by very low and flat land. Valleys located between hillocks produce rich crops of paddy, jute etc. The soil of eastern and southern part of the village is laterite and covered here and there

with jungle and is thinly populated, as this barren soil cannot maintain a large agricultural population. However, to-day due to deforestation large forest trees are relatively scarce.

The only important place worth mentioning is *Ampinagar* which is situated immediately on the western side of this village. *Ampinagar* has got many important centres of public utility namely ; Primary Health Centre, Post Office, Police Outpost, One High School and One Primary School, Power House, Water Supply, Cinema Hall, Block Office, Animal Husbandry Office etc.

Twymbaklay is absolutely a *Jamatiya* village. All the inhabitants belong to the *Jamatiya* Tribe. The total population of this village in 1980 was 521 and the total number of house-holds 93.

Quite close to this village are a few other *Jamatiya* villages which stand on the southern side of the village. The names of these villages are *Radhanagar Para* (with 18 house-holds), *Sadagar Para* (with 7 house-holds), *Garjan Jamatiya Para* (with 63 house-holds), *Chhechua Jamatiya Para* (with 85 house-holds), *Tetaimukha* (with 26 house-holds) etc. All these villages are inhabited by the *Jamatiyas*. These villages are situated on a belt of land and are linked with one another and share a very close rapport. This unity is due to their geographical congruity and a spirit of unity which is inherent among the *Jamatiyas*. Their traditional self-governing institution for social administration is also responsible for this unity among these villagers.

Medical facility and communication :

For medical facilities for minor cases the local people depend mostly on quacks. Cases of serious nature are, however, taken to the Primary Health Centre at *Ampi*. Besides all these, there are indigenous medicinemen who are known as *Ochay* amongst the *Jamatiyas*. The villagers give much more importance to the *Ochay* than to the hospital for the recovery of the patient. For the recovery of the patient the *Ochay* applies various indigenous medicines, mantras (Charms) and performs *pujas*. The fees of the *Ochay* is generally given in kind and not in cash. Generally they offer him rice beer.

Surprisingly enough, there is not even a first aid box in any house of the village for animals, though most of them are dependent on agriculture. In case of illness or epidemic the animals are treated with roots and herbs by elderly people having some past experience and also by trial and error methods. The nearest Veterinary Centre is at *Ampi*. So the death of domestic animal is common in this village.

There is no good communication facility in this village. There is no bus route near the village. The only bus stop is at *Ampi*. There is no road link between *Twymbaklay* and *Ampi*. The villagers of *Twymbaklay* come to *Ampi* on foot through a jungle path. The villagers go from one house to another

house through paddy land and the jungle. There are still many villagers who have not even seen a motor car.

Marketing centre and Educational Institutions :

There is no shop of any kind in this village. Even bidi tobacco, betel leaf and dry fish which are classes as conventional necessity to the villagers are not available, as and when required within the village. The nearest market is at *Ampi*. A bi-weekly market is held at *Ampi* on every monday and thursday. The market day of monday is more important then that of thursday. On these market days the villagers of *Twymbaklay* come to this market and purchase their necessary goods. When they come to this market they mostly purchase bidi, tobacco, salt, dry fish, betel leaf, oil etc. But they seldom purchase fish or meat or other vegetables. The *Jamatiyas* do not sell anything in the market. One of the remarkable feature of the *Jamatiyas* of *Twymbaklay* is that the *Jamatiya* women seldom come to the market unlike the all other neighbouring tribes like *Ringas*, *Morshums*, *Kolois* etc. The male members like to have tea in the tea stall at *Ampi*.

There is only one Primary School where classes from one to five are taken. There is only one teacher and it is very difficult to teach from class-I to Class-V. This School was established in 1965 and at present its total student strength is 15 (fifteen). The nearest High School is at *Ampi*.

The level of literacy in this village is very disappointing. There are only 5/6 persons who can read and write to some extent. There is only one boy who was admitted in the High School at *Ampi* in Class-VI. In the long history of *Twymbaklay* he is the only boy to go to a High School. He used to come to School on a bicycle. He is the first boy to have purchased a bicycle in 1976 in this village. But he could not pass the examination of that class and has since stopped his study. At present he is the only educated member of this village.

It is tragic that the majority of village folk are not so conscious, as they should be, towards formal type of education imparted at Schools to-day. Early marriage is also an hurdle to overcome in order to raise the percentage of literacy. It has been found that many children are interested in education but their parents are unwilling and disinterested to send their children to School. They prefer to send their children for agricultural work. Though the teacher of the Junior Basic School is trying to encourage the students to come to School, the attendance of the students in the school is far from satisfactory.

But at present, the young generation are feeling the necessity of education. This is due to the development of their political consciousness and outlook. With the development of communication the young generation have come into

close contact with towns and plain area. Christian Missionaries are also encouraging them in their education. But the Missionaries are more interested in conversion into Christianity than in spreading education. They are also encouraging young boys to learn the Roman script instead of Bengali script. The picture of female education at Primary standard is as gloomy as anything.

Economy :—

Like most Bengali villagers, the villagers of *Twymbaklay* are also dependent on agriculture. But their agriculture is a mixture of early axe cultivation (shifting cultivation) and settled cultivation with the help of the bullocks and ploughs. Since there is no industrial centre in this region or in its immediate neighbourhood, naturally scope for mobility of occupation particularly from agriculture or allied fields is almost nil. All the villagers are more or less engaged in agriculture.

The economic condition of the people of the *Twymbaklay* village consisting of 93 Jamatiya house-holds has been given below and this may be taken as the representative picture of the whole of the *Jamatiya* villages of backward areas of Tripura.

TABLE—I

Category of the families	Number of families	Percentage
1	2	3
1. Landless families	30	32.26 %
2. Land owning families	64	68.82 %
3. Land taken onshare cropping	12	12.90 %
4. Families wholly dependent on shifting cultivation	13	13.98 %
5. Partly on shifting cultivation	58	62.37 %
6. Families holding 5 or more than 5 Kanis of land	1	1.08 %
7. Total number of families engaged in shifting cultivation	71	76.94 %
8. Member of Co-operative Society	34	36.56 %
9. Families indebted to money lenders, landlords and traders	25	26.88 %
10. Assistance from the Government for agricultural activities and others since 1970	55	59.14 %
11. Lands transferred to non-tribals during last 10 years	—	—
12. Lands transferred to non-tribals during last ten to thirty years.	1	1.08 %

In an analysis of the above mentioned table it is found that in the *Twybaklay* village out of 93 house-holds 30 *Jamatiya* house-holds are landless which is 32.26% of the total number of families of the village. The total number of land owning families of *Twybaklay* village is higher in comparison with other tribal village of *Tripura*. There are 64 land owning families in this village which is 68.82% percent of total number of families. But the quantity of land possessed by these land owning families is very poor.

The system of share cropping (the system in which half of the produce goes to the land owner and another half to the actual tiller of the soil), is also prevalent in this village. There are twelve families which is 12.90% of the total families of this village are engaged in share cropping and it has been observed that all the share cropper families are landless.

Like all other tribes of *Tripura*, the *Jamatiyas* of this village are also engaged in *Jhuming* (shifting cultivation) in addition to their plough cultivation. In this village 71 families of this village are engaged in shifting cultivation. The shifting cultivators of this village are of two types.

The one type, consists of those families which are wholly dependent on shifting cultivation, and the second type consists of families which are partly dependent on shifting cultivation and partly on plough cultivation. The families which are wholly dependent on shifting cultivation is 13 which is only 13.93% of the total families of the village. On the other hand, the families which are partly dependent on *Jhuming* and partly on plough cultivation is 58 which is 62.37% of the total families of the village. It is worth mentioning that the villagers of *Twybaklay* are interested in *Jhuming* as this village is surrounded by hills of *Atharamura*.

Besides the above mentioned two types, there is also another group of families which have absolutely abandoned *Jhum* cultivation and are wholly dependent on plough cultivation and such type of families constitute 24% of the total families of this village which is a remarkable feature of their economy.

One remarkable feature of agricultural economy of this village is that *Jhuming* (shifting cultivation) is practised by both the land owners and the landless classes of persons. Though 32.76% of the families are landless but 76.34% of the families are practising *Jhuming*. This is mainly because they want to supplement their income.

The villagers of *Twybaklay* cultivate two crops, mostly *Aman* and *Aush*. For higher production of crops, many families are now using modern fertilisers and insecticides which they obtain from the nearby agricultural office. But they are still following the traditional tools of cultivation. Bullocks and cows, are still their only live stock.

The villagers of *Twymbaklay* are now gradually becoming conscious about the function of the Bank and the necessity of modern co-operative societies. It has been seen that six families of this village have their accounts in the Ampinagar Gramin Bank. They are now aware of the rules and regulations of the Bank regarding monetary transactions and obtaining of loans from the Bank.

In this village there are 34 families who are members of the Ampinagar large scale Multipurpose Co-operative Society which is 36.56% of the total families of this village. During the last ten years, fifty five families of this village which is 59.14% of the total house-holds of the village received monetary assistance from the Government for agricultural works in addition to educational help.

Regarding occupational categories, labour comes next in order. During the off season of agriculture, the villagers are generally engaged in various types of work. They work in road construction or work of the Forest Department as daily labourers during the plantation season of the forest department. They also help one another as exchange labourer.

Ancestral trade of work includes basket making, making of necessary bamboo made agricultural tools and weaving. They make their necessary bamboo baskets themselves which are essential to them for their daily use. They do not purchase any bamboo made article from market. Both the male and the female folk of this village are skilled in making of these articles. Even the children help their parents in this work.

Like all other tribal communities of *Tripura*, the *Jamatiyas* of the *Twymbaklay* village are also skilled in weaving. All the families of this village are having their traditional loin looms. In the past, they prepared the thread from the cotton of their *Jhum*.

But now-a-days, they purchase ready made thread from the market and prepare their clothes upon their own loin looms. Both the male and female members of this village know the art of weaving cloths. Their handmade cloths are longlasting. Among the articles prepared by them are mainly *riinay* (Cloth for using in the lower part of the body), *Risa* (a piece of cloth used by the girls to cover their breast), bedcover, wrapper (chadar) etc. Their prepared articles are well designed and decorated.

Religious Functions of the Twymbaklay village :

The *Jamatiyas* of *Twymbaklay* are Hindus. The religious beliefs and practices of the *Jamatiyas* of *Twymbaklay* village may be characterised as poly-theistic. These beliefs and practices bear the imprints of the distinct reflections of the local Hindu religious concepts.

In respect of religion, the *Jamatiyas* of *Twymbaklay* may be classified into 2 (two) sections. These sections are called *Vaishnavas* and *Saktas*. The *Vaishnava* mendicants are called *sadhus*. These *sadhus* are vegetarians, and also wear the sacred thread which is called *poita*.

The religious functions of this village may be divided into two categories. Their traditional *pujas* which are officiated by the *Ochay* of their community and the *pujas* which are borrowed by them from the local non-tribal Hindu castes and communities are officiated by the *Brahmin* priests.

The traditional *pujas* which are performed in the village are :

1. The *Goriya Puja* ;
2. The *Sena Puja* ;
3. The *Ker Puja* ;
4. The *Agon Puja* ;
5. The *Lanpra Puja* ;
6. The *Gang Puja* ;
7. The *Buradevata Puja* ;
8. The *Maylwnigma Puja* ;
9. The *Khulwnigma Puja* ;
10. The *Songotran Puja* ;
11. The *Puja* to end *Dondodosa* etc.

It is a significant feature of their traditional *pujas* that flowers, durbas and Tulshi leaves are not required in such *pajas*.

The *pujas* which are borrowed from the local non tribals are. :

1. *Shani Puja* ;
2. *Trinath Puja* ;
3. *Saraswati Puja* ;
4. *Manasha Puja* ;
5. *Durga Puja* etc.

Besides this, the families of *Twymbaklay* also observe some other ceremonies according to the *Tithi* of the *Panjika* (almanac). Generally *Janmastami*, *Vim-ekadasi*, *Parsha-ekadasi*, *Shayan-ekadasi* etc. according to the dates fixed by the *Panjika* are observed by the unmarried young girls of this village. The male members do not observe it.

The *Dul Purnima* and the *Rathajatra* festivals are also observed by some people of this village. On the day of *Rathajatra* they offer naibadya consisting of fruits, sugar pole, and atap rice in the morning. On this occasion, they also offer cooked rice to the God Jagannath Deb. After the completion of some rituals they sing some religious songs and then distribute the *bhog* (offering) among all those present.

It is worth mentioning that the borrowed *pujas* and festivals are generally observed by well to do persons of this village.

House structure :

The houses of the *Twymbaklay* village are situated on the ground of plain lands. The houses of the village are built of split, flattened bamboo with thatched roof. Some houses of this are built with mud wall. The typical *Jamatiya* houses of the *Twymbaklay* village are very simple in design, always rectangular in shape with a single door. There are only one or two windows which are small in proportion to the size of the house.

Every house of the village has a verandah where fowl, firewood, mortar and other implements are stored. There is a separate kitchen in each house. In each *Jamatiya* house, there is a fixed place where the two earthen pots of the Goddess *Mayhwngma* and *Khulwngma* are placed. The houses are closely situated. Each neighbourhood is composed of a number of neighbouring houses. The variation in the house structure indicates the status of the owner.

Changing pattern of the Twymbaklay village :

In the past, the Indian villages were regarded as conservative, stoic, unchanging and isolated from one another. So also was the idea about tribal communities. But the rapid changing of social, economic, and leadership pattern of the tribal communities have disproved this theory. As culture is dynamic, the tribal communities have faced and are constantly facing changes. Of course, in spite of the changing pattern of their lives, they have still retained certain traditional characteristics of their communities with modifications here and there to a greater or lesser extent.

Like all other tribes of India, the *Jamatiya* community of *Tripura* is also under the constant pressure of these changes. In analysing the changing pattern of the *Jamatiyas* of *Tripura*, certain points are to be kept in mind and they are :—

Firstly : In *Tripura*, there are as many as 19 Scheduled Tribes each maintaining its distinctive culture and tradition and the *Jamatiyas* constitute on 7.59% of the total tribal population of the State.

Secondly : The non tribals, mainly the Bengalees with their modern education and advancement in Socio-political affairs constitute about 72% of the total population of the State.

So the trend of changing pattern of the *Jamatiya* community has taken place in two ways. One is the result of their close contact with other tribal communities with whom they have many affinities physical, religious, linguistic etc. and this type of change may be termed as inter-tribal acculturation.

Another has come from their long and inseparable contact with the non-tribals and this type may be termed as tribal-nontribal acculturation.

Besides these two, the modern factors like the impact of Christianity, urbanization, education, modern democratic set up, communication, political parties and various types of scientific inventions which are of recent origin. These factors are in one way or other changing the *Jamatiya* community.

A sociological study of a *Jamatiya* village like *Twymbaklay* shows certain unmistakable trends in the above mentioned directions. A brief description of the nature of these changes will be helpful in the analysis of the pattern of these changes—to analyse the changing scene of the village a brief description of the *Twymbaklay* village is necessary.

Twymbaklay is not very old village. No historical record regarding the founding of this village is available. But the old persons of the village are aware of it to some extent. Some of them were mere child when they first came with their parents to settle in this village from the neighbouring villages, and some of them have heard of it from their parents. Practically, the present village of *Twymbaklay* was a deep forest surrounded by a small fertile plain land, situated on the side of a stream. Beside the existing village there was a few *Jamatiya* villages, where the forefathers of *Twymbaklay* village were living. But after the partition of India when the refugees were coming from Pakistan, a few *Jamatiyas* sold their land to the refugees and they shifted to the present village. Moreover the well-to-do-members of the other tribes have also purchased their land and the *Jamatiyas* shifted to the present *Twymbaklay* village for their livelihood. As the *Jamatiya* are very much united, so the new settlers of the village all belong to the *Jamatiya* tribe and this is *Jamatiya* village exclusively.

To begin with, the village *Twymbaklay* situated in interior *Tripura* and is at a distance of about thirtyfive K.M. from the Sub-Divisional town of *Amarpur*. Though this village is surrounded by hillocks and the percentage of literacy is very low and though the villagers of *Twymbaklay* excluding a few persons have not even seen a motor car, yet the influence of modernization and civilization are at work at this village though on a limited scale.

The major factors which influenced the course of development in this village are :

Urban contacts, Modern Education and touring of Government officials. Their matrimonial relationship with other neighbouring villages are also playing an important role in broadening their outlook. Their thinking is now not confined within the village.

Marriage :

During the last ten years fiftyone marriages were performed in this village.

Out of these 23 boys (Groom) married outside of their village within a jurisdiction of about 20 K.M. and their wives are staying with them in the *Twymbaklay*.

Out of the 51 marriages 4 boys of this village married with the girls of the same village and the girls are staying at their husbands house. Besides this, out of the above mentioned 51 marriages 18 girls of this village are married with the boys of different outside villages in *chamwry nahomani* system of marriage and their husbands are living with their wives in their father-in-law's house at *Twymbaklay*. Moreover, six boys of the village married within the village in *chamwry nahomani* system of marriage and they are also living in their brides' house in *Twymbaklay*.

Thus *Twymbaklay* is related to 20 to 25 neighbouring villages covering an area of about 40 kilometers by matrimonial relationship. So this cultural contact with other villages have led to some modifications in the ways and outlook of the people of this village. *Twymbaklay* is not an isolated village now, culturally is in contact with more than 20 villages.

The blessings of scientific inventions like the radio, bicycles, clocks, wrist watches etc. and the urban contact of a section of the people are influencing the fabric of the rural Jamatiya community.

Till 1970 there was no radio in *Twymbaklay*. But at present, there are seven radio sets in this village. Through these radio sets the villagers listen to various kinds of songs and are aware of current news. They are now trying to imitate various Hindi and Bengali songs. Even an old man of the village sometimes hears the speeches of ministers and other political leaders over these radios. So these radios have influenced the cultural and political outlook of the villagers to some extent.

There was no bicycle in this village till 1975. In 1975 one student of this village who was going to a high School which was situated at a distance of about 10 K.M. from this village, purchased a cycle to go to School. That is the only bicycle in the village till now. With the purchase of this bicycle, some villagers learnt to ride the cycle and they begun coming to the nearby marketing centre regularly. So this close connection with this commercial centre have helped to grow their commercial outlook.

Even upto 1972, there was no clock/watch in this village but in between 1972 and 1979 there are three wrist watches arrived at this village. So now the people have become conscious about the value of time like the urban people.

Dress and ornaments :

In the dress and ornaments of the people of this village, there have been a very noticeable change. In the past the women folk of this village used to wear chains studded with coins round their necks. This chain or necklace is called

rangbwat. Like the *Riangs* and the *Morshum* tribes they also used to wear peculiar type of silver ear-rings which is called *brindabonful*. But now these old fashioned ornaments have been completely given up by the present day women folk. At present not a single woman of this village wears this ornament. The girls are now fond of ornaments made of 'rolled gold' and other cheap materials available in the local market. A few years back the *Jamatiya* women of this village used to wear black coloured mill made ganjees. But now this ganjee is gradually being replaced by modern blouses, though this black coloured ganjee is still found on a few old women of this village. Formerly, the *Jamatiya* women collected cotton from the *Jhum* and after spinning them by the hand wheel at home made their traditional clothes. At present most of them buy yarn from the market to prepare their garments. Though the women still wear their traditional dresses, changes in their design and the manner of wearing them has come about.

Generally, the male inhabitants of this village wear mill made *dhuties*. Earlier most of them used 'markin' clothes which reached knee-level only. But at present they wear mill made *dhuties* of better quality. Upto the year 1976 nobody of this village had even worn trousers. But since 1976 a few young boys who were in touch with towns began sporting them. In the past, the simple villagers were careless about their dresses, hair, foods etc. But at present most of the young boys are very particular about their health and fashion. They regularly use soap, and are very eager to dress their hair in an attractive manner. Some of them even carry combs in their pockets.

Food habit :

In the food habit and house designs also there has been changes. In the food habit of the people, tea is a new addition. In a few houses of the village, all the necessary articles for the preparation of tea is available. Besides the head of the family generally brings chocolates, biscuits from the market for his children.

During the reign of the late Maharaja Birchandra Manikya Bahadur in the middle of 19th Century, the *Jamatiya* tribe was given a superior status by allowing them to wear sacred thread and the villagers of *Twymbaklay* has been wearing them ever since. He made them *Vaishnava* and prohibited them from eating meatstuff. He also ordered them to maintain certain rules and regulations of purity in their daily life and the *Jamatiyas* of *Twymbaklay* have been obeying these customs since then.

But at present most of the *Jamatiya* young boys of this village are taking meat and are not willing to maintain their social customs and status that were adhered to by their forefathers. In *Twymbaklay* most of the people are habituated

to smoke *bidi* and cigarettes beside their traditional *duma* (*hukkah*), Generally they take *bidi* when not at home and at home they take their traditional *duma*.

House Design :

A few years ago, all the houses were made of straw but at present, there are two houses in this village with roofs of corrugated tin sheets. In respect of the pattern of construction of the house also, a little change is noticed. Previously their houses were constructed in rectangular shape with the door of the house on the breadthside of the house. Moreover, the number of windows and their sizes were not in proportion with the size of the house. At present, they have started to keep door on the lengthside of the house and increased the size and number of the windows. Most of the walls of the houses are made of mud & clay.

Furniture and Utensils :

There have been several additions to the list of their domestic utensils and furniture in the house of *Twymbaklay* village. The use of aluminium articles is increasing day by day among the villagers. Besides these, brass utensils are also used in a limited scale. Tables, chairs, and chowkis are found in very few houses of this villages. Before 1970, there was no electric torch in this village. The people, then used bamboo made *moshals* for movement at night. But at present many villagers possess torches. So they can now move at night without any difficulty.

Agriculture and Water Facility :

Before 1970 there was no tubewell or well in this village. The village tank and the hilly streams were their only source of water. At present there are two tubewells and one deep well in this village. There is no remarkable change in the sphere of agriculture of this villages. The villagers still use the traditional agricultural tools. But some of the villagers have been using chemical fertilisers for the better production of the crop and they have been using insecticides for the safety of their crops. The significant change in this respect is that due to the influence of the plain cultivators they are becoming more interested in taking up plough cultivation in addition to their traditional *Jhuming*.

A very noticeable change is found in the economic activities of the villagers. Before 1976, nobody of this village had anything to do with the post office or bank or Co-operative society. But due to their contact with some Government employees, particularly with the local school teachers they are gradually becoming conscious in respect of their economic activities. At present some people of the village are in touch with the Gramin Bank, Co-operative Societies. Some of the villagers are now coming to the Gramin Bank and Co-operative Society to

obtain loan for agricultural works and for digging fishery tanks. About 15 persons of this village are in monetary transaction with the Gramin Bank of Ampinagar and 36.56 percent families of this village hold the membership of Ampinagar large Sized Multipurpose Co-operative Society. The Gramin Bank and the Co-operative Society have extended their helping hand to protect the villagers from the grips of the village *mahajans* (traditional money lenders).

But it should be mentioned here that all the villagers are still not habituated in coming freely to the Bank to get financial assistance. Though they can get money from the Bank at less interest, they prefer to go to the village money lenders and take loans at a higher interest. But it is fact that the public sectors like the Gramin Bank and Co-operative Societies are gradually becoming more and more popular among the villagers than the private sources.

Treatment :

The factors of utility, convenience and availability have played a more important role in bringing several new elements into the life of the community. The supply of Quinine tablets regularly by the malaria surveillance workers and the efficacy of modern medicine have greatly changed the outlook of the people of this village towards modern system of treatment. But even to-day at the primary stage of ailment, indigenous herbs and magico-religious practices are still preferred. They come to the hospital or call on a village doctor only when the indigenous treatment fails. Now most of the villagers do not rely on the absolute power of their traditional system of magico-religious treatments. So the modern medicine is gradually replacing the traditional treatment.

In the matter of marriage also some changes are noticed in this village. Previously, child marriage was a common practice. The average age of the boys for marriage was 13 to 14 and for the girls 15 to 16. But due to economic pressure and modern education the practice of child marriage is gradually diminishing. Even then some of the villagers still continue it on a limited scale.

Religion :

A significant change is also found in respect of religious faith of the villagers of *Twybaklay*. It is absolutely a Hindu village. The people of this village worship all the major deities of All India Hindusim and at the same time they observe most of the rituals connected with the human life cycle characterised by some of their distinctive traditional peculiarities. Many of the villagers also have a clear conception about the holy books of the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata*. Along with worshipping of the deities of all India Hindusim, the people also continue to observe their own traditional rituals and ceremonies. The traditional festivals like *Goriya Puja*, *Ker Puja*, *Gang Puja*, *Burasa Puja* etc. are observed in this village along with the *Laxmi Puja*, *Sani Puja*, *Trinath Puja* etc. There are two families who are the disciples of Shree Anukul Thakur.

So their spiritual thinking is also changed to some extent with the changing to their economic, social and political conditions.

Change of attitude :

Regarding the religious faith of the *Twymbaklay* village, it should be mentioned here that some of the young boys of the village are not willing to observe the norms of Hinduism. They think that their claim as Hindu will increase the influence of the local non-tribal Hindus on them. They are demanding freedom from the hand of the local non-tribal Hindus. These young people do not like to have any social and religious relationship with the local non-tribal Hindus. So these boys even order the villagers not to involve a Brahmin priest for the performance of their religious functions, like funeral ceremony, marriage ceremony etc. For the performance of their religious functions they call the *Ochays* (Traditional Priest) to officiate the function.

When I visited this village on 2.4.79 I heard that a certain person of the village had invited a Brahmin priest to officiate the performance of the *Sraddha* ceremony of his deceased father. But when these young boys heard this, they requested him to change the decision to invite the Brahmin priest. But the villager was determined to engage the Brahmin priest to officiate the *Sraddha* ceremony and it was duly officiated by the Brahmin priest. After the completion of the *Sraddha* the villager offered him one cow and a good amount of rice and money as *dakshina* (fees of the priest) for the peace of the soul of his deceased father. But when the Brahmin Priest was returning to his house with these articles, he was attacked by those boys and everything grabbed by them.

THE CHANGING SCENE IN THE POLITICAL SPHERE OF TWYBAKLAY VILLAGE—A CASE STUDY.

With the Gaon Panchayat election of 1978, the political trends and consciousness of the people of Twymbaklay village have radically changed. At present the people of this village are in contact with the State politics to some extent.

Practically even upto the General Election of 1971, the villagers of Twymbaklay were not at all conscious of their political rights. Formerly, the people of this village were much influenced by the Congress Party as the *Chokdiri* (village leader) of the village himself was the supporter of this party. At that time, generally a few number of the voters would exercise their voting rights. The C. P. I. (M) was very much active among the tribals of the neighbouring villages. But this party could not create any political base in Twymbaklay. The people of Twymbaklay were very indifferent to the political

affairs of the state. So, the *Sardars* used this opportunity and during the period of election only a few members of the village under their guidance were found active and they would usually collect some of the villagers for casting their votes in favour of the party to which the *Sardar* belonged. When the election was over the political activities of the village would also come to an end. In fact, the political power of the village was in the hands of a few old and elderly members of the village. Besides, the "*Chokdiri*" was the only man to whom the task of social, political, and religious functions of the village were vested on.

But after 1970 the leaders of the 'Tripura Uapajati Juba Samity' (a State level regional political party of Tripura) began to try to influence over the people of Twybaklay village. As some of the leaders of T.U.J.S. party belonged to the Jamatiya community, the majority of the villagers began to transfer their allegiance from the Congress Party to the T.U.J.S. Party. Moreover, the T.U.J.S. party that claims itself to be the patron of the welfare of the tribals of Tripura, it abled to gain whole hearted support of the young generation of the village. So in the Legislative Assembly Election of 1977 Shri Nagendra Jamatia of T.U.J.S. Party was elected from this area. The Congress and C.P.I.(M) candidates could not influence their political images upon the villagers of Twybaklay.

But the situation was quite changed in Gaon Panchayat Election which was held after six months of the Assembly Election. In the Gaon Panchayat Election, there was a direct contest between a candidate of the T.U.J.S. Party and a candidate of the C.P.I.(M) Party. It was the first time that Congress Party had no candidate from this village and it was also the first time that a C.P.I.(M) candidate contested in the election from this village.

It is interesting to note that in the Assembly Election (1977) though the C.P.I.(M). candidate was utterly denied by the villagers, but in the subsequent Gaon Sabha Election the C.P.I.(M). candidate was defeated by the T.U.J.S. candidate by a margin of 20 (twenty) votes only. So by a difference of only six months, the political trends of the voters of this village was radically changed. Obviously enough, this election helped to create a political foothold of the C. P. I. (M). Party in this village. And it ultimately led to a political division in the village.

Reasons for Political Bifarcation in the Village :

Shri Bikrampada Jamatiya, the C.P.I.(M). candidate for the Gaon Sabha Election was formerly a supporter of the T.U.J.S. Party at the time of Assembly Election of 1977 which was held six months earlier than the Gaon Sabha Election. It is heard that Shri Bikrampada Jamatiya turned emotionally into a C.P.I.(M) candidate in the Gaon Sabha Election. As Shri Jamatiya had a very friendly relation with the school teachers of the village and other teachers

who were known as the supporters of Leftist ideology, the T.U.J.S. workers began to suspect him as a supporter of C.P.I.(M) Party.

Moreover, Shri Bikrampada Jamatiya used to sit in a tea-stall at Ampa. The owner of that tea-stall was also an active supporter of C.P.I.(M) party. Thus the movements of Shri Jamatiya increased the suspicion of the workers of T.U.J.S. about him. Besides, Shri Jamatiya is a well-to-do and reputed man of this village. In all his personal affairs, he used to discuss with the school teachers of his village. So, all the members of the T.U.J.S. party began to address him as a 'Communist' ridiculously and began to neglect him. Being neglected and excommunicated by some of his old friends of Uttar Para of his village (North Part), Shri Jamatiya was aggrieved and decided to cut off his relations with the T.U.J.S. Party.

Within a short period the date for Gaon Panchayat Election was announced and the group of the T.U.J.S. party did not invite him to attend the Party Meeting for the selection of the candidate for the ensuing Panchayat Election. Shri Jamatiya took it as a serious insultation towards him and he promised to contest in the Gaon Sabha Election against the candidate of the T.U.J.S. Party. The C.P.I.(M) Party availed this opportunity and invited him to be a candidate of their party. He accepted the offer and contested as a candidate of the C.P.I.(M) Party. Notwithstanding, he was defeated in that election, he succeeded to secure a good number of voters in favour of him and the party. He was defeated by a margin of 20 votes only and thus C.P.I.(M) party abled to create a base of their party in the village Twybaklay.

1. Tinghariya :

It is situated about 8 K.M. away from Amarpur town to the north and about 18 K.M. from Ampa to the south beside the Teliamura Amarpur road.

It is under *Sechua* Tehsil. There are total 152 households.

It is a mixed village of the Jamatias, Marshums, Tripuris, Bangshis, Ranghkals, Manipuris, and the Bengalees. Out of 152 households, 115 households belong to the Jamatias, 26 belong to the Marshums, 3 belong to the Tripuris, 1 to the Rangkhals, 1 to the Manipuris, 3 to the Bangshis and 3 belong to the Bengalees.

Out of 115 Jamatiya households 75 households are landless while the rest possess land.

Out of 26 Marshum families, 22 families are landless. Other landless families are Bangshis 3, Tripuris 3, Bengalees 3, the Manipuri household is also landless.

In this village 40 Jamatiya households are holding 5 or more than 5 Kanis (2 acres) of lands. The biggest land holder is Shri Madhurjya Mohan Jamatiya.

He is holding about 30 Kanis of lands.

Of the 4 Marshum land owners, the biggest land holder is Shri Banijo Chandra Marshum. He has 20 Kanis of lands.

In Tinghariya village among the Jamatias 72 households are engaged in Jhum cultivation out of which 36 households are totally dependent on Jhum cultivation and 36 households are dependent partly on Jhum cultivation and partly on plough cultivation.

67 Jamatiya families have no land for house site. They live in Khash land. 9 Jamatiya families are members of a Co-operative Society.

Among the Jamatias, there are 343 children between the age of 1-16 years, 171 boys and 172 girls. 51 boys and 4 girls go to School.

The following is the picture of assistance given by the government since 1970 for their development.

1. Agriculture	— 7 Families.
2. Animal husbandry	— 24 „
3. Village and small scale Industry	— 4 „
4. Others	— 37 „

2. Sesua :

This village is situated about 12 K.M. from Amarpur town to the north and about 12 K.M. from Apmpi to the south beside Teliamura Amarpur Road. There are total 85 households.

It is a mixed village of the Jamatias, Marshums and the Bengalees. Out of 85 households 58 belong to the Jamatias, 14 belong to the Marshums and 13 to the Bengalees.

Out of 58 Jamatiya households 27 households are landless while the rest possess land. Out of 14 Marshum households 6 households are landless and out of 13 Bengalee households 12 households are landless.

Out of 31 Jamatiya land holding households 12 households are holding 5 Kanies (5 Kanis=2 acres) or more than 5 Kanis of land. The biggest land holders of this village are Shri Surendra Jamatiya and Shri Gobinda Jamatiya. Both of them are holding 25 Kanis of land each.

In Sesua village among the Jamatias, 41 households are engaged in Jhum cultivation. Out of which 22 households are completely dependent on Jhum cultivation and 19 households are partly dependent on Jhum cultivation. 27 households have no land for house site. They live either in Khashland or in other's house. 7 Jamatiya households are members of the Ampinagar large scale multi-purpose Co-operative Society.

There are 22 School going students in this village, 18 boys and 4 girls. They read in the Sesuabari Junior Basic Schol.

The following is the picture of the assistance given by the government to Jamatiya households since 1970 :

1. Agriculture	— 1
2. Animal Husbandry	— Nil
3. Village and small scale Industry	— Nil.
4. Others	— 14.

3. Kushoray Jamatiya Para :

This village is situated about 13 K.M. away from Amarpur to the north about 12 K.M. away from Ampri to the south and about 1 K.M. from Nagrai Bazar. This village is inhabited by the Jamatias exclusively. There are 36 Jamatiya households in this village.

In this village out of 36 households 16 households are landless while the rest possess land. Out of 20 landholding families 9 are holding 5 or more than 5 Kanis of land. The biggest land holder of this village is Shri Brajanidi Jamatiya. He is holding 32 Kanis of lands.

In Kusoray Jamatiya Para 7 households are engaged in *Jhum* cultivation out of which 2 households are completely dependent on *Jhuming* and 5 households are partly dependent on *Jhum* cultivation. 10 households of this village have no land for house site. They live either in Khashland or in other's house. Only one household is a member of the Ampinagar Co-operative Society.

In this village there are 97 children between the age of 1—16 years, 45 boys and 52 girls. 12 boys go to the Mandhaibari Junior Basic School.

The following is the picture of assistance given by the Government to the Jamatias since 1970 :

1. Agriculture	— Nil.
2. Animal Husbandry	— Nil.
3. Village and small scale Industry	— Nil.
4. Others	— 23

4. Nograï :

This village is situated about 15 K.M. away from Amarpur to the north and about 10 K.M. from Ampri to the south. There are total 44 households in this village.

Out of 44 households, 41 belong to the Jamatias, 2 belong to the Tripuris and 1 to the Bengalees.

Out of 41 Jamatiya households, 13 households are landless while the rest possess land. Tripuri 2 and Bengalee 1 households are also landless.

Out of 28 Jamatiya landholding families 21 households are holding 5 or more than 5 Kanis of land. The biggest landholder of this village is Shri Sarbahari Jamatiya. He is holding 32 Kanis of land.

In Nutan Nograi, 18 Jamatiya households are engaged in *Jhum* cultivation out of which 14 households are partly dependent on *Jhum* cultivation and 4 households are completely dependent on *Jhum* cultivation. 7 Jamatiya households of this village are members of the Ampinagar Co-operative Society.

The following is the picture of assistance given to the people of this village by the Government since 1970 :

1. Agriculture	— 3 households
2. Village and small scale Industry	— 5 „
3. Animal Husbandry	— 1 „
4. Others	— 9 „

5. **Puran Nograi**

This village is adjacent to Nutan Nograi. It is a mixed village of the Jamatias and the Marshums. There are total 41 households in this village out of which 30 households belong to the Jamatias and 11 households belong to the Marshums.

Out of 30 Jamatiya households 12 households are landless while the rest possess land. And out of 11 Marshum households only one is holding, $1\frac{1}{2}$ Kanis of land. In this village, 17 Jamatiya households are holding 5 or more than 5 Kanis of land. The biggest landholder is Shri Anantabahu Jamatiya. He is holding 42 Kanies of land.

In Puran Nograi village 15 households are partly dependent on *Jhum* cultivation and 5 households are totally dependent on *Jhum* cultivation. 9 households of this village are members of the Ampinagar Co-operative Society.

The following is the picture of the Government assistance given to the Jamatias since 1970 :

1. Agriculture	— 5 households
2. Industry	— 71 households
3. Animal Husbandry	— Nil.
4. Others	— 7 households.

6. **Senimonto Korbuk Para :**

This village is situated about 12 K.M. away from Amarapur to the north and 12 K.M. from Ampinagar to the south. It is inhabited by the Jamatias exclusively. There are total 26 households in this village.

Out of 26 households 11 households are landless while the rest possess land. In this village 10 households are holding 5 or more than Kanies of land. The biggest landholders are Shri Sarna Kamini Jamatiya and Shri Pada Mohan Jamatiya. Both of them are holding 12 Kanies of land each.

In Senimonto Korbukpara, 18 households are engaged in *Jhum* cultivation out of which 3 households are completely dependent on *Jhum* cultivation and 15 households are partly dependent on *Jhum* cultivation. 3 households of this village are members of the Ampinagar Co-operative Society. There are 71 children between the age of 1—16 years, 38 boys and 33 girls. The nearest School is Sesuarbari Junior Basic School and only 6 boys go to this School. There is a grocery shop in this village the owner of which is a Jamatiya.

The following is the picture of the Government assistance given to the villagers since 1970 :

1. Agricultural activity	— Nil.
2. Animal Husbandry	— Nil.
3. Village and small scale Industry	— Nil.
4. Others	— 2

7. Gorjan Jamatiya Para :

This village is situated about 18 K.M. away from Amarpur town to the north and about 5 K.M. from Ampa to the South. It is inhabited by the Jamatias exclusively. There are total 63 households.

Out of 63 households, 24 households are landless while the rest possess land. 26 households are holding 5 or more than 5 Kanies of land. The biggest landholder is Shri Moronnai Jamatiya. He is holding 22 Kanies of land.

In Gorjan Jamatiya para, 43 households are engaged in *Jhum* cultivation out of which 23 households are completely dependent on *Jhum* cultivation and 31 household are partly dependent on *Jhum* cultivation and partly on settled cultivation. 4 landless households earn their livelihood working as day labourer. 24 households have no land for house site. They live either in Khash Land or in other's house. 5 households of this village are members of the Ampinagar Co-operative Society.

In Garjan Jamatiya Para, there are 104 children between the age of 1—16 years, 53 boys and 51 girls. 17 boys and 8 girls go to the Garjan Bari Junior Basic School of this village. The nearest post Office is at Nogra which is about 4 K.M. from this village.

The following is the picture of assistance given by the Government to the villagers since 1970 :

1. Agriculture	— 2 households.
2. Animal husbandry	— Nil.
3. Village and small scale industry	— Nil.
4. Others	— 14.

8. Tetoimukha :

This village is situated about 19 K.M. away from Amarpur town to the north and about 5 K.M. away from Ampa to the south. It is inhabited by the Jamatias exclusively. There are total 26 households in this village.

Out of 26 households 10 households are landless while the rest possess land. 11 households are holding 5 or more than 5 Kanis of lands. The biggest land holder is Shri Brihapada Jamatiya. He is holding 22 Kanis of lands.

In Tetoimukha, 14 households are engaged in *Jhum* cultivation out of which 5 households are completely dependent on *Jhum* cultivation and 9 households are partly dependent on *Jhum* cultivation and partly on plough cultivation.

There are 78 children between the age of 1—16 years, 37 boys and 41 girls. 7 boys and 3 girls of this village go to Tetoibari Junior Basic School which is situated about 1½ K.M. from this village.

9. Khejurbari :

This village is situated about 16 K.M. away from Amarpur town to north and about 8 K.M. away from Ampa to the South. It is inhabited by the Jamatias exclusively. There are 26 households in this village.

Out of 26 households 5 households are landless while the rest possess land. 9 households of this village are holding 5 or more than 5 Kanis of lands. The biggest land holder is Shri Krishna Kumar Jamatiya. He is holding 15 Kanis of lands.

In this village, 14 households are engaged in *Jhum* cultivation out of which 3 households are completely dependent on *Jhum* cultivation and 11 household one partly dependent on *Jhum* cultivation and partly on plough cultivation.

There are total 67 children between the age of 1—16 years, 33 boys and 34 girls. 6 boys and only 1 girl go to Tetaibari Junior Basic School which is situated about 3 K.M. from this village.

10. Radhanagar Para

This village is situated about 22 K. from Amarpur town to north east and 8 K.M. from Ampa to the south east. It is inhabited by the Jamatias exclusively. There are total 13 households in this village.

Out of 13 households 5 households are landless while the rest possess land. 8 households of this village are holding 5 or more than 5 Kanis of lands. The biggest land holder of this village is Shri Lila Kumar Jamatiya. He is holding 10 Kanis of lands.

All the 13 households of this village are engaged in *Jhum* cultivation out of which 5 households are completely dependent on *Jhum* cultivation and the

rest 15 households are partly dependent of Jhum cultivation and partly on plough cultivation 3 households of this village are members of the Ampinagar Co-operative Society.

There are total 54 children between the age of 1—16 years, no school student in this village.

11. Sadagar Para :

This village is situated about 22 K.M. from Amarapur town to the north east and about 10 K.M. from Ampa to south east. It adjacent to Radhanagar para. There is no natural barrier between these two villages. It is exclusively inhabited by the Jamatias. There are 7 households in this village.

There is no landless household in this village. All the 7 households possess land. Out of 7 households 5 households are holding 5 Kanis or more than 5 Kanis of lands. The biggest land holder of the village are two persons and they are (1) Shri Srihari Jamatia and (2) Shri Kunjohari Jamatia. They are holding 10 Kanis of lands each. All the seven households of this village are dependent partly on *jhum* cultivation and partly on plough cultivation.

There are 28 children between the age of 1—16 years, 17 boys and 11 girls. There is no school going student in this village.

STUDY OF AN ADVANCED JAMATIYA VILLAGE

Shilghati is a village situated at a distance of about sixteen K.Ms from Udaipur, a district town of South Tripura. Udaipur was the capital of Tripura for a long time during the reign of early kings of Tripura. Previously, Udaipur was named as Rangamati. Rangamati came to be known as Udaipur during the reign of Udaimanikya.

Shilghati is located on the northern side of the river Gomoti and is about three K.Ms. from Kakraban which is a semi-urban area. The people of Shilghati often come to Kakraban to meet their daily needs. There is one H. S. School, one Teacher Training College, one Sub-Post Office and one market at Kakraban. As there is no bus stand at Shilghati, the people of this village have to go to Kakraban for buses and vehicles etc. So all the villagers of Shilghati are quite habituated to come to Kakraban at any time and this three kms distance is a little matter to them. There is a regular bus service between Kakraban and Agartala. Shilghati is surrounded by fertile plain lands and the houses are constructed on the tillas which are about 15 to 20 feet high from the plain land.

Shilghati is an old village. No historical records in connection with the actual founding of the village are available but the elderly people have some information regarding the past history 'as it was orally transmitted to them by their forefathers'.

According to the view of some old members of this village, originally the name of the village Shilghati was *hwlwyahati* which is a *Kag-barak* word. In the *Kag-barak* language *hwlwy* means hard stone and *Ghati* means side of a tank or a river which is used by the people. According to them at that time there was a lot of big pieces of hard stone on the side of the river which was flowing beside this village. So the Jamatias called it by the name of *hwlwyghati*. But in course of time the Bengalees began to call it as Shilghati because in Bengali *Shila* means stone and *Ghat* means side of a tank or ariver. Later on when the Bengali officials came to this village, they also recorded it as Shilghati in the official records. So in this way the hamlet *hwlwyghati* gradually came to be known as Shilghati which is a corrupted from of *hwlwyghati*.

Shilghati is exclusively inhabited by the Jamatias. There are one hundred and seventy eight families residing in this village with a total population of about 2000. The village is physically divided between two parts, namely *Kasambi* (East para) and *Wanalwng* (West Para). The name *Kasambi* is a *Kag-barak* word meaning a kind of tree and the term *Wanalwng* is also a *Kag-barak* term which means a bamboo garden. So from the name of the two parts of this village it can be said that, in the past there was a deep forest in the present village of Shilghati. The *Kag-barak* name also indicate the oldness of this village.

There is a Senior Basic School in this village and this was established during the reign of a king of Tripura about 40 years ago. At present there are about eight teachers in this School out of which four teachers belong to the *Jamatiya* Community. There is one *Jamatiya* female teacher also in this School. The students strength of this School is 150 out of which the *Jamatiya* students consists of 90% of the total strength.

In order to give clear cut picture of the economic condition of the *Jamatiyas* of Shilghati in relation to their agricultural activities the analysis of the data of 142 *Jamatiya* families of this village is given below :—

Sl. No.	Name of the items	Total number of families	Percentage (%)
1	2	3	4
1.	No. of land holding families	120	84.51 %
2.	No. of landless families	22	15.49 %
3.	No. of families holding 5 or more than 5 kanis of lands.	67	47.18 %
4.	No. of families partly dependent on Jhum (Shifting cultivation) and partly on settled cultivation.	114	80.28 %
5.	No. of families wholly dependent on shifting cultivation	16	11.27 %

1	2	3	4
6.	Land taken on share cropping basis	55	38.73%
7.	Traditional skill in the family (Weaving)	141	99.30%
8.	No. of families indebted to money landers, traders etc.	94	66.20%
9.	No. of members of the local Co-operative Society	73	51.41%
10.	Assistance from the Govt. since 1970 :		
	(a) Agricultural activity	51	35.92%
	(b) Village and small scale Industries	1	00.70%
	(c) Irrigation	2	01.41%
	(d) Others	42	29.58%
	(This is excluding educational help)		67.61%

From the above Table it will be clear that only 15.49% of the *Jamatiyas* of this village are landless which is lower than average level of landless of all other Tribes of Tripura which is 20%. It is pleasing to note that 47.18% of the *Jamatiya* families are holding five or more than five *Kanis* of agricultural land which clearly indicates the soundness of their economic condition. In order to supplement their income most of the *Jamatiyas* practice *Jhum* (Shifting) cultivation besides the plough cultivation.

In the Shilghati villages 80.28% of families practice shifting cultivation along with the plough cultivation. In this village only 11.25% families depend wholly on *Jhum* cultivation.

In the *Jamatiya* community there are some persons who practise share cropping inspite of having their own land. In this village 38.73% families are engaged in share cropping. The landless families are mostly engaged in share cropping and they also work as agricultural labourer and sometimes as day labourer along with practicing *Jhum* cultivation. In this way the landless persons are sometimes engaged in more than one occupation.

The people of this village also grow a large number of pineapples. Shilghati is famous for pineapples and the villagers earn a good amount of money from this source. So in this respect the people of Shilghati are more interested in the plantation of orchards than the people of Twybaklai Village.

Unlike the Twy-baklay village, all the *Jamatiyas* of Shilghati irrespective of male and female are bi-lingual (*Kag-barak* and Bengali). In the *Twy-baklay* village due to its little contact with the Bengalee people, only a few male members of the village can speak Bengali fluently but the women there only understand Bengali. They cannot speak it. Unlike the Twybaklay village about 90% of the people of Shilghati can put their signature. 21 people of Shilghati are Govt. employees including public undertakings who are serving in the various Govt. departments like Oil & Natural Gas Commission, Education

Department, Central Reserve Police etc. So Govt. service in addition to agricultural activities have strengthen their economic stability. Many students of Shilghati go to High Schools and Colleges. The people of Shilghati regularly read various English and Bengali newspapers such as the Dainik Sambad, the Anandabazar, the Jugantar and the Chini Kak (A Kag-barak weekly newspaper) and magazines like the Sunday, the Illustrated Weekly, Desh, etc. So in respect of education and modern outlook. Shilghati is far ahead of Twy-baklay village and it may be compared with any modern village of Tripura.

Like the Twy-baklay and all other tribal villages of Tripura there are loin looms in almost every house of Shilghati. Both the boys and girls know the technique of weaving. They prepare there *Ritrak* (Bedsheets), *Rignay* (Women's garment), *Rituku* (napkin) wrappers etc. from their own loinloom. Their prepared articles are well designed and famous for longevity.

Formerly, like the villagers of Twi-baklay, the villagers of Shilghati also used to wear *Rangbwtang* (Necklace of coins). The female members of the village used to wear *Achlay* (Chains), *Boati* (Bangles) etc. as their favourite ornaments. Like the women of Twy-baklay, the women of Shilghati were also very fond of black coloured mill made Ganjees. The male members of Shilghati like all other *Jamatiya* villages also wear *Kachlui-borok* (One peculiar type of handmade shirt for working in the field) during their work in the *Jhum* or in the field. But at present these dress and ornaments have become obsolete as the Shilghati village for a long time and even many young boys of the village do not know the names of the above mentioned ornaments and dresses.

At present most of the male members of the village use dhuti and shirts and the young boys generally wear modern tailored shirts and pants. At their houses the boys also are found wearing their home made napkins.

The girls and the women of this village normally use blouse as their upper garment and *Rignay* as their lower garment. The married girls also use *shanka* (Conch shell bangle), and vermilion on their forehead. The girls of this village also prepare one kind of coloured bedsheets by joining two pieces of clothes which is called *Rinay-merek* in their dialect. (rinay=lower garment merek=coloured). Formerly they prepared it by the thread spun from cotton collected from their *Jhum*. The colour of these clothes were also prepared in their indigenous process and the colour is also permanent. For making black colour they use fruits of *nela* tree, for red colour they use the fruits of *asung* tree and for yellow colour they use defal fruits collected from the near by forest. For making permanent colours they first boil the fruits in water and later soak the threads into the decoction of the fruits. But at present they do not make the threads from the cotton and instead of it they purchase coloured yarns from the market and prepare their garments.

Unlike in Twy-baklay which may be regarded as a representative of the backward *Jamatiya* villages of Tripura, in Shilghati the *Sikwlabwtwk* ceremony (*Sikwla*=youth, *bwtwk*=liquor) is not held in this village. At present this has been transformed into a common feast with indigenous cakes in Shilghati.

Unlike in Twy-baklay child marriage is not practised in Shilghati and the bride is generally junior to the bridegroom in respect of age. The average age for marriage for the boys is between 20 to 25 years and for the girls it is between 15 to 20 which is an exceptional case for the *Jamatiya* community.

This village is related with a large number of *Jamatiya* villages by marriage relationship. Inter-tribal marriage is also found in this village to some extent. Many boys of this village are in marriage relationship with the *Noatia*, *Tripurj* and *Riang* communities and this has resulted in the synthesis of their culture with those of other tribes.

Generally, the *Jamatiya* girls do not marry outside their community. In the Shilghati village some *Jamatiya* girls are married to the boys outside their tribe like the *Tripuris*. But for the performance of such marriage, the approval of the *Jamatiya hoda-okra* (head of the Supreme council) is required. In Shilghati boys of non-*Jamatiya* community who have married *Jamatiya* girl and are residing in that village have accepted *Jamatiya* title and have been accepted in the *Jamatiya* society. These newly admitted *Jamatiyas* have been enjoying all the privileges of an original member of the *Jamatiya* community.

As in Twy-baklay village both the *chamwrwy tongmani* (bridegroom residing in father-in-law's house) and the *hajwk rohomani* system of marriage are also in practised in Shilghati.

Besides these, marriage in the bride's house like that of the Bengalees is also in practise on a limited scale. In this village it was observed that the widowers have married widows only though they could have married a divorced woman or even a virgin.

According to the view of some elder persons of the village, during their childhood they used to play *Kadeng* (stilt walking). At present due to the non-availability of *sukuy* (Ghila in Bengali), another popular game named as *sukuy* throwing has become extinct among them. *Badol khum* and *Ray Badul* were two other favourite games of them.

There are two rickshaws in this village pulled and owned by two *Jamatiyas* of this village. There is one grocery shop in this village and the name of the owner of the shop is Shri Tarini Mohan *Jamatiya*. Some richmen of this village have pucca houses at Kakraban bazar rented out to the shop-keepers there.

Shilghati predominantly a Hindu village. There is no common worshipping place like temple in this village. But the people of Paschim para (Wanalwng) perform *Rakshakali Puja* every year at a particular place collectively. This puja is performed on any Saturday or Tuesday in the month of Agrahayana (November-December). Similarly, the people of the Purba Para (Kasambi) also perform *Bolong Kate Romani Puja* (Worship of the God of forest) collectively, under an old *banyan* tree in this village. This puja is also performed on any Saturday or Tuesday in the month of Agrahayana.

There is a very old *banyan* tree standing just on the middle part of this village and all the villagers look upon it with reverence. Many of the villagers believe that there is an invisible shivalinga lying inside of this tree. Some elderly persons said that many years ago, one influential person of this village wanted to cut the tree to construct a house in its place. But later on he was compelled to change his decision as he was forbidden by some super natural power in dream. So this helped to the growth of some super natural beliefs among the people and they begun to attach some degree of super natural beliefs with this tree. On the day of *Shiva Chaturdashi* many villagers offer *Puja* and sacrifice he-goats under this sacred tree. So this holy tree has become an important place of their religious functions.

Like the people of Twy-baklay, the people of Shilghati also worship *maylwngma* (Goddess of corn) and keep a stone in the earthen pot of the Goddess *maylwngma*.

Like other similar tribes of Tripura the *Jamatiyas* of Shilghati also mark a conical symbol on the earthen pot of the Goddess *maylwngma*. When a family is to be separated from a joint family they have to establish a new earthen pot of *maylwngma* and it signifies the final separation of the part from the joint family. On the day of this *puja* they keep their *daborok* (Chopper), Axe, and all other useful instruments of daily work before the earthen pot of *maylwngma* for her blessing.

After preliminary examination of a sickman if the *Ochay* thinks that the propitiation of *Burasa* is necessary he then prescribes for it. The propitiation is performed in the forest according to the advice of the *Ochay*. The sacrifice of the animal in this *Puja* is made according to the selection of the *Ochay*.

The *Annaprashan* ceremony (giving rice to the child for the first time) is also performed among the *Jamatiyas* of the village. On the day of this ceremony, the father of the child invites relatives and friends according to his capability and it is a custom of their society that all the invitees should come with a presentation.

The *Jamatiyas* of Shilghati as a rule, cremate their dead bodies. Soon after the expiry information is sent arround to the relatives and friends and also to the neighbouring villages. The corpse is washed, clothed and tied to a bamboo bier. The bier is carried by four persons on their shoulder and proceed to the cremation ground with a procession accompanied by *Mridanga*, *Kortal*, Bell etc. and they keep on repeating some solemn slogans such as '*haribal*'. It is the custom of the *Jamatiyas* of the Shilghati that as soon as the villagers receive the death news of a person, one member from each family will go to the nearby forest and collect at least a piece of dried wood and take it to the cremation ground. Even the relatives from the neighbouring villages attend to the cremation ground with a piece of dried wood.

Unlike the Twy-baklay village, the *Jamatiyas* of Shilghati do not invite anyone for taking meal on the day of the *Sraddha* ceremony. They only inform the relatives to observe the period of impurity and to take vegetarian food.

The worship of *Noksu* is also observed in this village by some families. Those who worship *Noksu* generationwise are according to them, decendant of the Tripuri origin.

Previously there was a Co-operative Society among the *Jamatiyas* of this village. This Co-operative society was formed by the Villagers of Shilghati and its membership was limited only to the Villagers and it was compulsory for them. This system was known as *mustichaul* (handful of rice). The aim of this society was to perform various religious festivals of the village. In this system two assistants of the *Chokdiri* of the village collected a certain amount of rice once in a week from each house and deposited the whole amount of rice to the *chokdiri* of the village (Village headman). The collected rice was spent only for the performance of the village *Pujas* and nobody was allowed to take any loan from the Co-operative society for personal affairs. The customary rule of this society was that after meeting the annual expenditure of the Puja the surplus amount of money from the sale proceeds of the collected rice had to be deposited to the fund of *hoda-okra*. The *Chokdiri* of this village used to spent the whole amount of money that was collected as per their annual budget of expenditure.

It should be mentioned here that the poor and incapable persons of this village were generally exempted from donating to this collection but they were allowed to enjoy all the privileges of this village equally. But this system of *musti chaul* was stopped about 5/6 years ago. At present, for the performance of any village festival they collect subscriptions from individual houses of the village.

At present, in the place of *Musti Chaul* the villagers Shilghati have started a Co-operative society named *dharma Gola*. But unlike the *Musti Chaul* system the aim of this *dharma Gola* is not to pay for the expenses of any village *Puja*. It is not related to any religious functions. Its aim is to provide monetary help to the villagers in time of their need. It is compulsory for all the villagers of Shilghati to become members of this *dharma Gola*. But no outsider is allowed to become its member.

Each individual family of this village has to deposit 10 kg. of paddy in the first instance to become a member of the *dharmagola*. In this system if a family is incapable to deposit the required amount of paddy, the other villagers would help him to become a member by contributing from their stock. Any villager can take loan from this *dharmagola* in times of his need at a certain rate of interest which is generally lower than the village *mahajans* (money lenders).

This *dharmagola* was started in this village about 15 years ago. Generally, all the villagers select two collectors and one manager for its management in the house of the *Chakdiri* of the village. But the *Chakdiri* has no right to interfere in its administration.

This *dharmagola* is also at work in some neighbouring *Jamatiya* villages like Hadra, Totabari etc. It should be noted here that this type of *dharma-gola* is not found among the *Jamatiya* villages of Amarpur and Khowai Sub-Division and not in Twybaklay also.

It is informed that in the past, the *Sati* system was in practice in this village. There is an old *dumbur* (figtree) tree still standing in one corner of the village on the side of the river Gomoti which still bears the testimony of the practicing of the *Sati* in this village.

Regarding the practice of *Sati* in the *Jamatiya* community of Tripura reference to a letter of Mr. F. Loyal, the Commissioner of Chittagong in his report to the Governor of Dacca in 1888 A.D. may be made. The letter of Mr. F. Loyal to the Maharaja of Tripura printed in the Rajmala is here :—

“During my recent movements in the Sonaumura Division in March last, I heard of three cases of the kind having occurred amongst the *Jamatiyas* in the course of the last two or three years. These cases are noted in margin:

1. Wife of Charan Senapati of Burma Cherra about three years ago.
2. Wife of Ganga Mohan Senapati, named Beni Lakshmi of Failong Cherra in about Baisak before last.
3. Wife of Milaram Burma of Hantari Chowdhury's para on Tiruppa Cherra, in about Magh last.”

(Sen Kaliprasanna, Shri Rajmala Vol. II, P.209)

It has been informed by some old persons of the village that the last *Sati* was held under this dambur (fig free) tree. Late Tepan Chowhdury of the village was arrested and imprisoned for two to three months for observing this system as this *Sati* practice was prohibited in Tripura by the order Birchandra Manikya in 1889.

It was due to the initiative of Umhanta Das and in accordance with the advice of Mohini Mohon Bardhan, the Minister of Tripura that Birchandra Manikya prohibited the practice of *Sati* in Tripura by a duly promulgated order in 1889 A.D. (Bengal Administrative Report 1888-89).

The grand children of Tepan Chowdhury are still living in this village. His grand child Shri Nirmal Jamatiya informed that their fore-father came to this village from the Khowai Sub-Division and at that time they were not known as *Jamatiya*. At first they used the Surname *Fa*.

The genealogy of Tepon Chowdhury is given here :

- ```

graph TD
 1[1. Kamdil Fa] --> 2[2. Binanda Fa]
 2 --> 3[3. Tepan Chowdhury (He was imprisoned
for the practicing of Sati)]
 3 --> 4[4. Dithi Chandra Jamatiya]
 4 --> 5[5. Ujjal Chandra Jamatiya]
 4 --> 6[6. Purnadhayal Jamatiya.]
 4 --> 7[7. Binanda Mohan Jamatiya]
 4 --> 8[8. Ajit Jamatiya.]
 4 --> 9[Janardhan Jamatiya]
 9 --> 10[Nirmal Jamatiya.]

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### **Jamatiya Villages of the Kalyanpur Moyol (Region).**

### Khowai Sub-Division

The Jamatiyas of the Kalyanpur *moyol* of Khowai Sub-Division migrated from Udaipur, Amarpur and Sonamura Sub-Division now in the south Tripura District. It is learnt from the Jamatiya elders that the settlers of the Kalyanpur mayal were Sri Mahamuni Jamatiya, Mangalmuni Jamatiya, Bargamuni Jamatiya, Duhada Jamatiya, Lahin Chandra Jamatiya, Padachinha Jamatiya and Sri Angamuni Jamatiya. They settled in the present village of Moharbari and Baishghariya, first. Later the vast tracts of cultivable land of this area attracted the Jamatiyas of the South and they gradually came to settle. At present there are about 34 Jamatiya villages consisting of 700 Jamatiya households in the Kalyanpur *moyol*.



The Kalyanpur *moyol* was established on a Monday on the 25th Falgoon in 1324 T.E. T.E means Tripura Era, the Calander introduced by the Kings of Tripura. If 570 is added to T.E the year in A.D. is found. So 1324 T.E. means 1914 A.D. The first *sordar* of the Kalyanpur *moyol* were Shri Arjunda Jamatiya and Shri Krishna Chandra Jamatiya and they took over 1328 T.E. Shri Gaharda Jamatiya and Shri Goalnanda Jamatiya were recognised by the hada akra (Head of their traditional supreme council) on the 23rd Chaitra 1335 T.E.

A copy of the letter of credentials giving these two men permission to conduct the trials of the Jamatias of the moyol according to their traditional custom is given here along with its english version :

শ্রীপ্রেমানন্দ সর্দার  
শ্রীতৈলবাসী সর্দার  
স্বাক্ষর শ্রীবাণিচন্দ্র সর্দার (নিং)  
শ্রীগোলকরাম সর্দার (নিং)  
শ্রীজগৎসিং জমাতিয়া (বং)

“কল্যাণপুর অঞ্চলের জমাতিয়াগণের আইন বিচারের  
ভার ও অনুমতি পত্র”

মুল্লুকের অক্রা শ্রীযুত বাণিচন্দ্র সর্দার ও শ্রীযুত গোলকরাম সর্দারের প্রথম অনুমতি এই,

২৩-১২-৩৫ খ্রিঃ তারিখে শ্রীহৃন্দাবন চৌধুরীর কাছারী মহড়বাড়ীতে পান্ডামিত্রসহ মিটিংএ শ্রীযুত গোয়াল নন্দ জমাতিয়া ও শ্রীযুত গহোরদাস জমাতিয়া কল্যাণপুর ময়ালের সর্দারদ্বয়ের সম্মুখে হইতে ময়াল সর্দার নির্বাচিত হইল এবং এই ধারা উত্তরাধিকারসূত্রে অব্যাহত রাখার ভার কল্যাণপুর জনগণের উপর রইল।

(১) আমাদের জমাতিয়াগণের যে পূর্বাগত রীতিমতে যে পূর্ব পুরুষগণ বিচার করিয়া থাকেন; তৎবিচার অনুসারে বিচার করিবে।

(২) যদি কেহ বাদ বিবাদ হয়, অর্থাৎ অত্যাচার বশতঃ দোষারূপ করে তাহাদিগকে দোষের ভারতম্য অনুসারে দাবি দাওয়া করিবে।

(৩) যদি কেহ এই বিচার না মানিয়া অন্য বিচারালয়ে যায় তবে তাহাকে/ তাহাদিগকে ৫০ (পঞ্চাশ) টাকা অর্থ দণ্ড ও পাঁচ বেত দিয়া শাসন করিবে।

এতদার্থে এই অনুমতি দেওয়া গেল।

ইতি

সন ১৩৩৫ খ্রিঃ ২৩শে চৈত্র।

নিং

শ্রীগোবিন্দ পদ উঝায়

বং

শ্রীজগৎ সিং জমাতিয়া

লিখক—

শ্রীজগৎ সিং জমাতিয়া



Sd. { Shri Premananda Sardar  
 Shri Tailabashi Sardar  
 Shri Banichandra Sardar (given by)  
 Shri Golakram Sardar (given by)  
 Shri Jagat Singh Jamatiya (Written by)

The task and permission for dispensing justice to the Jamatias of the Kalyanpur region according to the Jamatiya laws :

The following is the first permission of the okra of the Mulluk Srijukta Banichandra Sardar and Srijukta Gulakram Sardar.

At a meeting held on 23.12.35 T.E. at the Katchery of Sjt. Brindaban Choudhury in attendance of his companions Sjt. Goalnanda Jamatiya and Sjt. Guhardas Jamatiya have been elected Moyol Sardar since the time of Kalyanpur Mayal Sardars and it should be the duty of the people of Kalyanpur to perpetuate this tradition down the generations.

1. They will try the cases in the ways shown by our forefathers.
2. If there is quarrel and if somebody does wrong he should be given varying degrees of punishment according to the severity of the case.
3. If somebody disregards the verdict of this court or seeks justice in another court then monetary fine of Rs. 50/- (fifty) along with five cane thrashings should be imposed on him/them.

For this purpose this permission is given

The year of 1335 T.E. the 23rd Chaitra.

Given by :  
 Sri Gobinda Jamatiya  
 (Ochay)

Written by  
 Sri Jagat Singh Jamatiya.

Written by :  
 Jagat Singh Jamatiya.

The following list bears the names of the *Moyol Panchays* of the Kalyanpur *moyol* since its founding. On the basis of the memories of the elderly persons of their community, the following list has been prepared :

- |                          |                |
|--------------------------|----------------|
| 1. Arjunda Jamatiya      | — Baishghariya |
| Krishna Chandra Jamatiya | — Twybru       |
| 2. Gahurda Jamatiya      | — Champlai     |
| Gayalnanda Jamatiya      | — Baishghariya |
| 3. Mahananda Jamatiya    | — Nayanpur     |
| Isanchandra Jamatiya     | — Hadrai       |
| 4. Nagarbasi Jamatiya    | — Trisa        |
| Gopinanda Jamatiya       | — Moharbari    |
| 5. Brindaban Jamatiya    | —              |
| Singrai Jamatiya         | — Nayapur      |

|                           |                |
|---------------------------|----------------|
| 6. Brikahetu Jamatiya     | — Dayeeling    |
| Balaprem Jamatiya         | — Champlai     |
| 7. Sunanda Jamatiya       | — Baishghariya |
| Harilal Jamatiya          | — Ghilatali    |
| 8. Radhamadhab Jamatiya   | — Khamarbari   |
| Chandrabhanu Jamatiya     | — Baishghariya |
| 7. Padma Kumar Jamatiya   | — Ghilatali    |
| Kripacharja Jamatiya      | — Kunjomura    |
| 10. Prem Chandra Jamatiya | — Hataykusuk   |
| Purnapada Jamatiya        | — Hadrai       |
| 11. Brajapada Jamatiya    | — Ghilatali    |
| Upasashi Jamatiya         | — Kunjamura    |
| 12. Panchapada Jamatiya   | — Trisa        |
| Basanta Jamatiya          | — Baishghariya |
| 13. Prajamuni Jamatiya    | — Mwsy Kami    |
| Baishnab Pada Jamatiya    | — Khamarbari   |
| 14. Durbashamuni Jamatiya | — Mwsykami     |
| Indra Kumar Jamatiya      | — Trisa.       |
| 15. Brikhalal Jamatiya    | — Morgang.     |
| Rajendra Jamatiya         | — Baishghariya |
| 16. Amritpada Jamatiya    | — Hadrai       |
| Manik Singh Jamatiya      | — Khamarbari   |
| 17. Kashipada Jamatiya    | — Trisa        |
| Sakhinanda Jamatiya       | — Kunjomura.   |
| 18. Deva Kumar Jamatiya   | — Sindaybil    |
| Haradhanmuni Jamatiya     | — Hataykushuk. |
| 19. Nijedhan Jamatiya     | — Mohorbari    |
| Thapidayal Jamatiya       | — Pakpwy       |
| 20. Majindra Jamatiya     | — Khamarbari   |
| Sadhu Kumar Jamatiya      | — Nayanpur.    |

#### 1. Sindaybil :

This village is situated about 25 K.M. to the south of Khowai and about 8 K.M. from Teliamura to the north. It is bounded on the east, west, north and south by the Jamatiya villages of Ghilatali, Mohorcherra Bazar, north Ghilatali and South Nayanpur. In the Jamatiya dialect the oyster shell is called *sinday*. The village which was once a marshy land (bil) got its name sinday-bil which literally means the marshy land of the Oysters as once a large number of oystershells were found here. It is a mixed village of the Jamatias and the Bengalees. About 20 Jamatiya families live in this village. Shri Dhibya Kumar Jamatiya an ex-moyol *panchay* of the Kalyanpur *moyol* lives in this village.



**2. Wathwylwng :**

This village is situated about 25 K.M. away from Khowai to the south and about 8 K.M. away from Teliamura to the north. It is bounded on the north, south, east and west by North Ghilatali and South Kalyanpur, Krishnapur, Atharamura hill range and Sindaybil respectively. Wathwy is a kind of bamboo and the village got its name as once a large number of *wathwy* were found here. There are about 12 Jamatiya households in this village. It is inhabited by the Jamatias exclusively.

**3. Nayanpur :**

This village is situated about 26 K.M. south from Khowai and 7 K.M. north from Teliamura. It is bounded on the north, south, east and west by the Jamatiya villages of Sindhaybil, Champlay, Ghilatali and Mohorcherra. It was a mixed village inhabited by the Jamatias and the Bengalees. There were about 15 Jamatiya households in this village before violence in Tripura in 1980. Shri Sadhu Kumar Jamatiya, the present *Panchay* of the Kalyanpur *Moyol* was a resident of this village. The Khowai river flows through the western side of the village.

**4. Pakpwy :**

This village is situated about 27 K.M. away from Khowai to the south and 6 K.M. away from Teliamura to the north. The village is bounded on the north, south, east and west by the Jamatiya villages of Nayanpur, Mayungganga/ Mayungtuku, Krishnapur, and Champlay. Pakpwy is a kind of tree the fruit of which is used in weaving. The village got its name Pakpwy as once a large number of Pakpwy trees were found here. There are about 15 households in this village. It is exclusively inhabited by the Jamatias. Sri Thapidayal Jamatiya, the earlier Mayal Panchay of the Kalyanpur Mayal was the resident of this village.

**5. Kalangsing :**

It is situated about 1 K.M. away from Teliamura to the north. It is bounded on the north, south, east and west by the Jamatiya villages of Mayung Ganga, Khowai river, Dakshin Mayung Ganga and Baishghar respectively. It is a mixed village and there were five Jamatiya families before the violence of Tripura in 1980.

**6. Twythampwy :**

This village is situated on a high land and about 8 K.M. away from Teliamura to the south.

It is bounded on the north, south, east and west by the Jamatiya villages of Kunjamura, Sarmakem, Khasiyamangal and Baramura hill range. About 35 Jamatiya families live in this village. All the villagers belong to the Jamatiya

community. The name *Twythampwy* probably has been derived from the Jamatiya word *Twy* which means water and *thampwy* meaning flies and mosquitos.

**7. Kunjomura :**

This village is situated about 5 K.M. away from Teliamura to the east. It is bounded on the north, south, east and west by a stream, *Twythampwy*, *Khowai* river and *Ballary* respectively. There are about 4 Jamatiya households in this village. *Shri Sakhinanda* Jamatiya of this village is a famous man of this area. He was the *Moyol Panchay* of *Kalyanpur Moyol*.

**8. Icharbil :**

It is situated about 2 K.M. away from Teliamura to the north and about 31 K.M. away from *Khowai* to the south. This village is bounded on the north south, east and west by *Khamarbari*, *Khowai-Teliamura Road*, *Khowai Teliamura Road* and *Darjeeling* respectively. It is a mixed village of the *Jamatiyas* and the *Bengalees*. There were about six households in this village before the violence of Tripura in 1980.

**9. Trishabari :**

This village is situated beside *Khowai-Teliamura Road* and about 30 K.M. away from *Khowai* to the South and 3 K.M. away from *Teliamura* to the north.

It is divided by *Khowai Teliamura road* between east and west parts. The eastern part of the village is inhabited by the *Jamatiyas* and the western part is inhabited by the *Jamatiyas* and the *Bengalees* jointly. About 35 *Jamatiya* households live in this village. As the village stands on the side of *Trisha cherra* (a stream) it is named as *Trishabari*. Late *Indra Kumar* *Jamatiya* and his son late *Krishnapada* *Jamatiya* were the *Moyol Panchay* of the *Kalyanpur Moyol*. There is a wood made image of lord *Jagannath* in their house. This village is famous for *Rathajatra* festival.

**10. Khamarbari :**

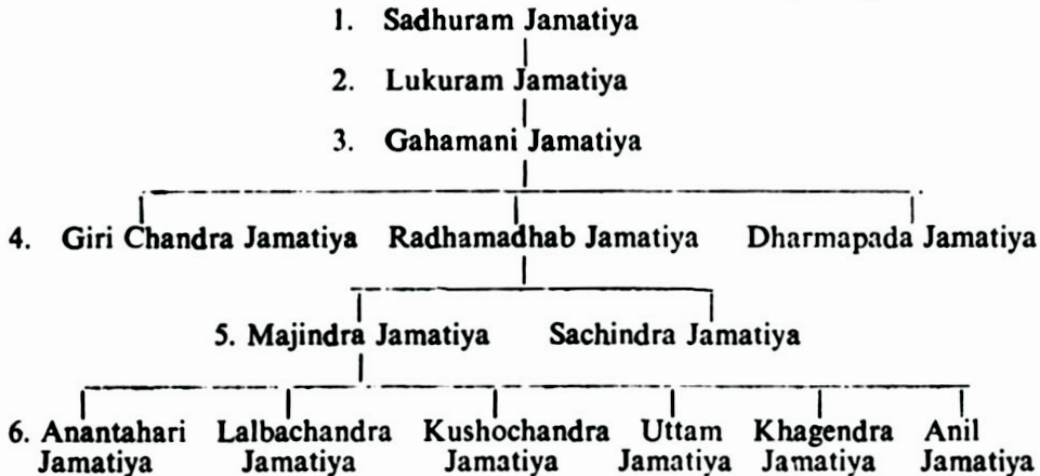
This village is situated about 4 K.M. from *Teliamura* to the north-east and about 29 K.M. from *khowai* to the South. It is bounded on the north South, east and west by paddy fields, village *Darjeeling* and *Hataykwhwk*, *Trisabari* and the *Baramura* hill range respectively. About 90 *Jamatiya* families live in this village. It is inhabited by the *Jamatiyas* exclusively.

There is a junior Basic School, one *Balwari* School, one weaving centre, one handicraft centre and one grocery shop in this village. Some persons of this village are engaged in government service also. This is an electrified village.



The late Radhamadhab Jamatiya, the *ex-moyol Panchay* of the Kalyanpur Moyol was the resident of this village. And his son Sri Majindra Mohan Jamatiya is the present *Moyol panchay* of the Kalyanpur Moyol. Sri Anantahari Jamatiya, son of Sri Majindra Jamatiya was the first person in the Jamatiya community to be a member of the Tripura Legislative Assembly.

The geneological chart of the late Radhamadhab Jamatiya is given below :



#### 11. Chalitabari :

This village stands beside Khowai Teliamura Road. It is about 29 K.M. distant from Khowai to South and about 4 K.M. distant from Teliamura to north. It is bounded on north, south, east and west by Tibrubari, Trisa, Teliamura Khowai Road and Gayriyng Kukhan respectively. The Jamatiyas call this village as *Twy Thayplo* (*Twy* means water and *Thayplo* is called as Chalita in Bengali). So Chalitabari is the Bengali name of *Twy Thayplo*.

#### 12. Gayriyng Kukhan :

This village is situated about 29 K.M. away from Khowai to the south and 4 K.M. away from Teliamura to the north. It is bounded on the north, south, east and west by Moharbari, Khamarbari, Chalitabari and a Tripuri village respectively. It is learnt that this village got its name Gayriyng kukhan which literally means the burnt watching shed of the *Jhum* as once a *gayriyng* was burnt here. In the past it was exclusively inhabited by the Jamatiyas. But now it is divided into two parts east and west. About 10 Jamatiya families live in the eastern part of the village.

#### 13. Tibrubari :

It is situated about 28 K.M. away from Khowai to the south and about 5K.M. away from Teliamura to the north. This village is bounded on the north, south, east and west by Moharcherra, Chalitabari, Khowai Teliamura Road and Moharbari respectively. It is an old Jamatiya village and is known as *Twybruhatay* by the Jamatiyas. The Jamatiya word *twy* means water, *bru*



means water bubble, and *hatay* means hill or high land. So it means a high land with water spring. Now it is known as Laltila.

**14. Moharbari :**

It is situated about  $27\frac{1}{2}$  K.M. from Khowai to the south and about  $5\frac{1}{2}$  K.M. away from Teliamura to the north-west. It is bounded on north, south, east and west by Parakolok, Khamarbari and Gayriyng Khukan, Tibrubari or Laltila and Duski (a Tripuri village) respectively. The first Jamatiya settlers of Kalyanpur *moyol* settled in this village. There are about 80 Jamatiya households in this village. Sri Manik Singh Jamatiya and Sri Nijedhan Jamatiya of this village were the *Moyol Panchays of Kalyanpur Moyol*.

**15. Gorjon :**

This village is situated about  $31\frac{1}{2}$  K. M. away from Khowai to the South and about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  K. M. away from Teliamura to the West. It is bounded on the north, south, east and west by the villages of Puranhadray, Danchakma, Hatay Kwchwk, and Hadupa respectively. About 15 Jamatiya households live in this village. It is inhabited by the Jamatias exclusively. Most of the families of this village are converted into christinity. The name Gorjon probably has been derived from the Jamatiya word *Gorju* which is a kind of tree.

**16 Hadupa :**

This village is situated about  $28\frac{1}{2}$  K.M. away from Khowai to the south and  $3\frac{1}{2}$  K.M. away from Teliamura to the west. It is bounded on the north, south, east and west by the villages of Hadray, Dangchowma, Gorjon and Tarachand Rupni Para respectively. This village is inhabited by the Jamatias exclusively. About 15 families live in this village. This village is divided into two parts by a road and they are named as North Hadupa and South Hadupa. There is J. B. School on the border of the village.

**17. Wak Simulwng :**

This village is situated about 28 K. M. away from Khowai to the South and 5 K. M. away from Teliamura to the west. It is bounded on three sides i. e. north, south and west by the forest of Baramura hill range and east by the village Tarachand Rupini Para. It is a mixed village of the Jamatias and the Rupinies. About 15 Jamatiya families live in this village. The literal meaning of the Jamatiya name wak *Simulwng* is the cremation ground of the boar.

**18. Hadray :**

This village is situated about 29 K. M. away from Khowai to south and 4 K. M. away from Teliamura to the west. It is bounded on the north,

south, east and west by Baramura hill range, south Hadupa, Puran Hadray and North Hadupa respectively. About 35 Jamatiya families live in this village. The Mohorcherra ( a stream ) flows through this village. Shri Jyotish Chandra Jamatiya, a famous Jamatiya medicineman belongs to this village. Jamatiya words hada meaning community and ray meaning leader or a respectable person.

**19 Samparai haduk :**

This village is situated about 29½ K. M. away from Khowai to the south and 3½ K. M. away from Teliamura to north. It is bounded on the north, south, east and west by the Jamatiya villages of Gayriyng Kukhan, Puran hadray and Hataykusuk, Trisa, and Hadray respectively. The literal meaning of the name Samparay haduk is the tilla land of *Samparai* (a kind of flower). This village, is adjacent to Khamarbari village to the west. About 25 Jamatiya families live in this village. Shri Chandra Bhakta Jamatiya is a famous man of this village.

**20. Sarmakem :**

This village is situated about 42 K. M. away from Khowai to south and 9 K. M. away from Teliamura to the south. It is bounded on the north, south, east and west by Twythanpwy, Purbasinglwng of Taidu, Atharamura hill range and Ampu Teliamura Road respectively. It is a mixed village of the Jamatiyas and the Morshums. About 5 Jamatiya families live in this village.

**21. Baishghar :**

This village is situated between Teliamura and Trishabari. It is about 32 K.M. away from Khowai to south and about 1 K.M. from Teliamura to the west. It is bounded on the north, south, east and west by the villages of Champlay, Sardu, Golabari and Teliamura respectively. It is one of the villages that the Jamatiyas first established in the Khowai Sub-Division. Three *moyol Panchays* of the Kalyanpur *moyol* belonged to this village.

**22. Darjeeling :**

It is situated about 31 K.M. away from Khowai to the south and about 2 K.M. away from Teliamura to the west. It is bounded on the north, south, east and west by the Jamatiya villages of Khamarbari, Twysndaray, Icharbi and Karailong. About 15 Jamatiya families live in this village and is exclusively inhabited by the Jamatiyas. It is situated on a high Tilla land.

**23. Hataykwchwk :**

It is situated about 31 K.M. away from Khowai to the south and 2 K.M. away from Teliamura to the west. It is bounded on the north, south, east



and west by the villages of Khamarbari, Twysindray, Icharbil and Garjan respectively. The name *hataykwchwk* probably has been derived from the Jamatiya word *hatay* means high land and *kwchwk* means high. Literally the word *hatay kwchwk* means high land. There are about 80 Jamatiya households in this village. Sri Haradhan Jamatiya, the ex- *moyol Panchay* of Kalyanpur *moyol* lives in this village.

In this village a group of young boys founded a *lanpra Goriya* Mission in 1981 under the leadership of Shri Krishnadhan Jamatia a resident of this village. The aim of this mission is to revive their traditional socio-religious functions through a reformation movement. The chief aim of this movement are :

1. Prohibition of offering of wine and sacrificing of animals and birds in the puja.
2. To stop the worshipping of the evil spirits.
3. To appoint only Jamatiya *Ochay* (priest) to officiate their pujas.
4. To begin the worship of only *Goriya* and *Lanpra*.

The followers of this Mission believe in the annual worship of the *Goriya* and are in favour of setting up separate establishments dedicated to the *Goriya* in each and every Jamatiya village. The purpose is that then the *Goriya*, apart from the annual puja would also be worshipped during some particular days of the year. In the eastern corner of this establishment, a platform (altar) would be raised up on the courtyard, where every week a lamp will be kept burning (*Chati sogmwng*) and some incense sticks (*sataray sogmwng*) be lighted, prayers, religious songs and discussions would also be included. The particular week day up on which the *Goriya puja* would be fixed will also have to be the day up on which the first *Goriya puja* was performed. A calendar of dates will naturally be consulted. The puja will be carried out in the evenings. A *naibadya* (offering) will be offered to *Goriya* in the morning. There shall be no sacrificing of animals and birds.





Jamatiya belle



A scene of a folkopera



Late Brojomohon Jamatiya, A famous social worker.



Shri Maindra Jamatiya,  
Moyol Panchay of Kalyanpur  
with the members  
of his family.



Some Jamatiya women  
of Khamarbari.



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