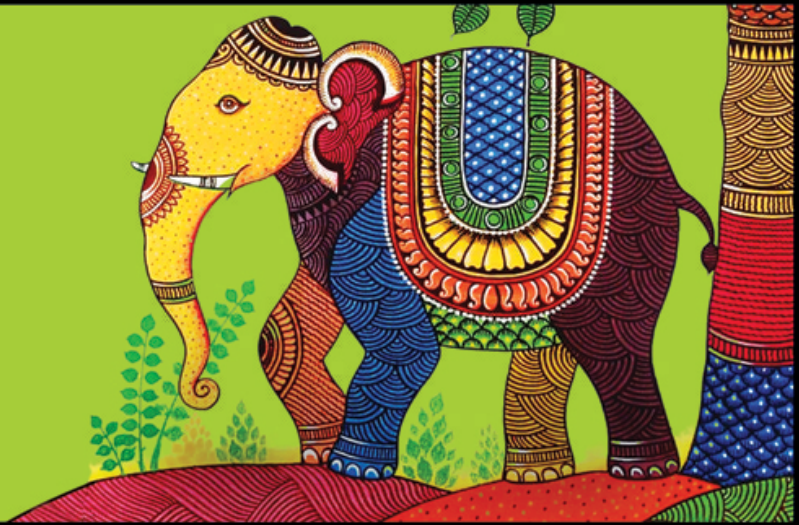


Encyclopedia of Tribes in Odisha

VOLUME
II



Edited by

A.B. Ota

S.C. Mohanty

**Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Research
and Training Institute**

ST & SC Development Department,
Government of Odisha

Supported by

Ministry of Tribal Affairs

Government of India

**Encyclopedia
of
Tribes in Odisha**

Volume II

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A. B. Ota

S. C. Mohanty

**Scheduled Castes & Scheduled Tribes
Research and Training Institute (SCSTRTI),
Bhubaneswar, Odisha, India, 751003**

***Supported by*
Ministry of Tribal Affairs, Government of India**

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Volume II

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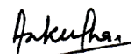
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FOREWORD

Odisha holds an important position as the home of the largest number (62) of notified Scheduled Tribes, including many Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Groups. Naturally, the spectrum of tribal culture, livelihood and development in the State is very wide. It is essential for the country to preserve this heritage of tribal culture and knowledge, so as to facilitate further analysis for formulating more effective policies and programmes for socio-economic development and cultural preservation of the tribal communities.

The Schedule Castes and Scheduled Tribes Research and Training Institute (SCSTRTI) of Odisha has been doing exemplary work in the field of ethnographic research and documentation of various aspects of tribal life and culture. This vast work of compiling relevant details in 'Encyclopedia of Tribes of Odisha' will be a treasure of knowledge for researchers and policy-makers.

Ministry of Tribal Affairs, Government of India deeply appreciates the dedicated work done by Prof. (Dr.) A.B. Ota, Director, Sri S.C. Mohanty, Consultant and the team of SCSTRTI, Odisha for compiling, editing and presenting hundreds of meaningful articles in these five volumes. It is expected that this will inspire a new generation of students and researchers, and will also motivate those working in the fields of public policy.



Anil Kumar Jha

Secretary
Ministry of Tribal Affairs
Government of India

PREFACE

The motley crowd of tribal communities living in the hills and plains of Odisha has enriched the cultural heritage of the state by their ethno-cultural diversities. Officially they have been enlisted as Scheduled Tribes (STs) numbering 62 including 13 Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Groups (PVTGs). As per the 2011 census, they number 95, 90, 756 persons accounting for 22.85 percent of the total population of the State. In terms both Scheduled Tribe communities and PVTGs, Odisha has the highest number amongst all the States, in the entire Country.

Each tribe possesses its distinct identity in terms of social organization, culture, and language. They pursue their own distinctive life styles different from each other which help them to preserve their cultural identity that is defined and redefined from time to time. They represent a type of society in the scheme of social evolution. As a structural as well as cultural concept, tribe encompasses features of simple societies. The major and smaller tribal groups have separate ethnic identities including historical and cultural heritage.

By and large, tribal communities are relatively encysted, deprived, economically backward, but their heritage, tradition and culture make their society tenacious to survive amidst upheavals and downfalls. In a nutshell, tribal communities are closed societies with open mind. In spite of certain socio-cultural changes taking place in their age old way of life under the present pressing circumstances of planned change and intervention, many of them have still kept their distinct ethnic identity intact. In this context, the inadequacy of in depth anthropological research and documentation on the colourful life style of the tribals has to be taken in to due consideration.

In this regard many works have been done by the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Research and Training Institute (SCSTRTI) of Odisha - the premier and oldest tribal research institute (TRI) of the country established since 1952. The main objective of setting up of the Institute was to conduct studies on the society, culture and development problems of the tribal communities of Odisha and to serve as a centre for providing data and advisory services to Government. Publication of books, reports and research journal is one of the important activities of the Institute for dissemination of information on various aspects of STs. So far it

has published 126 books comprising monographs and popular literature, photo hand books, development handbooks, action plans and information brochures etc. on SCs and STs. These publications are based on research works undertaken by the Institute.

In addition to that the Institute publishes bi-annual News Letters on the activities of the Institute and a half-yearly research journal, ADIVASI published in June and December containing articles on various aspects of STs and SCs. Published since 1955, ADIVASI has earned the distinction of being the oldest anthropological research journal of Odisha. The journal aims to publish original unpublished research papers on tribal centric issues to highlight those aspects hitherto unexplored. The corpus of the journal though is largely anthropological in nature; its scope is broadened to make it multidisciplinary to cope with the changing times. It endeavours to provide a forum to eminent scholars as well as young researchers to exchange innovative ideas and speculations.

Marching with the time the ADIVASI journal has gloriously entered into its 61st year of publication. Within the treasure of its published articles there are many precious articles including many old ones of the fifties, sixties, seventies, eighties and nineties as well as the recent ones of the 21st Century depicting various aspects of the life and culture of the Tribal Groups of Odisha. Considering the rapidly changing scenario of the present times in which many ethnic groups are undergoing transformation towards modernity the institute felt it necessary to compile, re-edit and republish the articles on the 62 Tribes of Odisha published in its Adivasi journal and some more brought from its other published and unpublished documents to bring out their past and present in to limelight in order to show their "then" and "now". This compilation containing 418 articles is organized into five edited volumes. It is a huge task deserving commendation.

I must acknowledge the contributions of all the eminent scholars whose articles have found place in these volumes. Many of them who were active in the past century have taken great pains and faced immense hardships to go to the remote tribal areas, collect empirical data and prepare these articles. The phenomenon of time coupled with fate and destiny has taken its toll and many of these great souls are no more with us. But they will live with us through their works. Publication of these volumes is a tribute to them.

I will be failing in my duty if I do not acknowledge the painstaking efforts of Prof. A. B. Ota, Director and Editor and Shri S. C. Mohanty, Associate Editor of Adivasi and Consultant, SCSTRTI for their relentless effort, dedication and

engrossing involvement to conceptualize the project, collect, select, compile and re-edit such large number of articles and to accomplish all other tasks required to produce these huge volumes. Both of them deserve my heartiest thanks.

It is hoped that these five volumes will serve as a reference literature on the Tribes of Odisha which will be of immense help to the researchers, development practitioners, academicians and general readers interested in conducting research and acquiring knowledge in tribal society, culture as well as their development.



Ranjana Chopra, IAS

Principal Secretary
ST & SC Development Department
Govt. of Odisha

EDITOR'S NOTE

In the aftermath of independence and adoption of Indian Constitution incorporating special provisions for the protection, welfare and development of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, the Tribal Research Institute (TRI) of Odisha took its birth in Bhubaneswar, the capital city of Odisha way back in 1952 christened as Tribal Research Bureau (TRB), in pursuance of the constitutional goals and objectives. Now rechristened as Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Research and Training Institute (SCSTRTI), this institute not only has the distinction of being the premier and oldest Tribal Research Institute (TRI) of the Country, but it is also credited with the publication of a nationally reputed as well as the oldest Anthropological Research Journal of Odisha titled "Adivasi" incorporating the research articles of reputed anthropologists, sociologists, development practitioners and researchers who have worked and gained knowledge and experience in the field of tribal and non-tribal societies and cultures. Being published since 1955, almost uninterruptedly, this veteran research journal of Odisha which is nearly 61 years old, has come up with its 61st volume in the year 2021.

Over these years, the journal has endeavored to publish valuable research articles on various aspects of the society, culture and problems of Odishan tribes and castes and marching with the time it has gloriously entered into its 66th year of publication. Within the treasure of its published articles there are many precious articles including many old ones of the fifties, sixties, seventies, eighties and nineties as well as the recent ones of the 21st Century depicting various aspects of the life and culture of the colourful tribes including 13 Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Groups (PVTGs), previously called as Primitive Tribal Groups (PTGs) of Odisha - a distinct and fascinating ethnic category among the tribes many of whom are known the world over for their pristine culture. Considering the rapidly changing scenario of the present times in which these ethnic groups are undergoing transformation towards modernity it was felt necessary to compile the selected articles on the Tribes of the State published in our Adivasi journal as well as our other research reports and publications to bring their past and present in to limelight in order to show their "then" and "now".

Prior to this, our institute also published 13 colourful Photo Hand Books on the 13 PVTGs of Odisha which has gained popularity among the Indian and foreign readers. Consequently, some of these have to be reprinted as they became out of stock. Considering the popular demand for the publications relating to PVTGs, it was decided to compile the selected articles published in our Adivasi journal from the nineteen fifties to the present and publish it in three volumes in the name of "PARTICULARLY VULNERABLE TRIBAL GROUPS OF ODISHA". In these three volumes one hundred and fifty five articles find place classified as related to (1) Ethnography (vol. 1), (2) Change & Development (vol. 2) and (3) Anthropology of Health and Medicine (vol. 3). These three volumes have been published during 2015.

While putting our priorities on bringing out publications on our PVTGs, we have never forgotten other tribes given the fact that the State of Odisha is the homeland of 62 Scheduled Tribes. Indeed, by the end of the last century we have published 10 monographs on 06 tribes of Odisha namely, 1. BHUNJIA, 2. BONDO (2), 3. JUANG (2), 4. KANDHA (2), 5. KOYA (2), and 6. SAORA. Besides a book containing ethnographic articles on 43 important tribes have been published in the name of "TRIBES OF ORISSA". For their popular demand the stocks of books on BONDO, KONDH, SAORA, JUANG and the TRIBES OF ORISSA have been exhausted and revised editions of books on KANDHA, KOYA and TRIBES OF ORISSA have been brought out in the mean time.

In addition to that we have published colourful Photo Hand Books on total 62 Scheduled Tribes of the State. These books have also become popular for which some of it have to be reprinted to meet the demand. We also have made several publications covering different socio-cultural and development aspects of different tribes of Odisha.

The present task of collection and compilation of research articles on Tribes of Odisha from our Adivasi journal and other sources is not an easy task. Most of the articles and especially those of the past century were prepared and printed when computer was either not in our dreams or in our distant dreams. Hence, those have to be computer typed again, corrected, edited, if so required, and formatted to make these ready for reprinting. To accomplish the task, we did not have the luxury of time. This has to be done in a short span of time within a busy and hectic schedule of many other pressing engagements.

This is our 2nd Volume containing 88 articles on 14 tribes. In this compilation, the names of the tribes on which articles have been presented have been arranged

in ascending alphabetical order as notified in the list of Scheduled Tribes of the State starting from the alphabet 'C' (CHENCHU) and ending at 'J' (JUANG).

The picture of the past life style of the tribes that the illustrious anthropologists of past century have presented in their articles may not be found in these days except in the memory of the still living old guards. To the present generation of the tribes it may appear strange and outdated. But as a matter of fact, change is inevitable. Due to the powerful impact of planned change and modernization many of the old life ways of the tribes have become obsolete and lost in antiquity while some others are on the verge of decline. But one has to march with time but with reference to his past that gives him his cultural identity. Moreover, everything that one need to know about the Tribes of Odisha may not be found in this book but it can certainly help open a window to the picturesque tribal world of Odisha and guide the readers to deepen their understanding of these distinguished and colourful ethnic groups who exhibit our diverse tribal cultural panorama.

Commitment of errors and omissions have become part our lives. This work is no exception. In spite of our sincere efforts, these lapses may be there. We apologize for that and request our kind and learned readers to bring those to our notice along with their constructive suggestions for improvement in order to enable us not only to correct our mistakes but also to learn from our mistakes.

We owe a deep debt of gratitude to all the eminent scholars whose articles have found place in this volume. Many of them belonged to us and few still belong to this Institute. Many of them who were active in the past century have taken great pains and faced immense hardships to go to the remote and Dark Continent of the tribes, collect empirical data and prepare these articles. The phenomenon of time coupled with fate and destiny has taken its toll and many of these great souls are no more with us. But they will live with us through their works. Publication of this volume is a tribute to them.

I will be failing in my duty if I do not acknowledge the help and cooperation of all who have typed, read, compared and corrected the typed articles as well as the printer without whom this book would not have seen the light of the day. Of all, my special thanks are due to my co-editor, Shri S.C. Mohanty, the former Joint Director of SCSTRTI and now working with us Consultant (Research & Publications) for his singular relentless effort, dedication and engrossing involvement to conceptualize the project, collect, select, compile, edit and format

the articles and to accomplish all other tasks to produce the book in spite of his multifarious pressing engagements. This work would have remained in our dreams without him.

This book is unique of its kind as in it a humble attempt has been made to amass and streamline the fragmented data about the Tribes of Odisha of the past and present times. I hope this book would be of enormous help as a ready reference for the tribal lovers and researchers alike and all those who are interested in the subject matter of Odishan tribes.

20th August, 2021
Bhubaneswar



Prof. (Dr.) A.B. Ota, IAS
Advisor-cum-Director
& Special Secretary
SCSTRTI

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CHENCHU *

*S. C. Mohanty*¹

Chenchu is a very small nomadic forest tribe of Odisha who wander across the borders of Andhra Pradesh and Odisha in search of livelihood. They have synonyms like Chenchuvaru or Chenchwar. It is said that 'Chenchu' means the tribe who lives under a 'Chettu' (tree). Another interpretation relates to the Chenchu's habit of eating mice (Chenchu). It is believed that the Chenchus and Yanadis (a tribe of Andhra Pradesh) descended from the same ethnic stock.

Guha (1933) classified Chenchu as belonging to Proto-Australoid stock. They speak a Dravidian language both for inter and intra group communication. They mainly inhabit Guntur, Prakasam and Mehbubnagar districts of Andhra Pradesh and are sparsely distributed in the bordering areas of Orissa and Karnataka. According to 1991 census their population in Orissa is only 275. Sex ratio is 599. Literacy in 1981 was 7.70%. They are mainly concentrated in the districts of Kalahandi and Sundargarh.

In the Census of 2011 their population in Odisha has drastically come down to only 13 persons including 06 males and 07 females. This has happened because being a forest dwelling and forest dependent semi-nomadic tribe they frequently change their residence between the borders of Odisha and Andhra Pradesh in search of livelihood. Therefore, their total population in Odisha was 52 in 1961, 08 in 1971, 39 in 1981, 275 in 1991, 28 in 2001 and 13 in 2011.

They mainly inhabit the Nallamalai Hill ranges in south eastern part of India comprising parts of undivided Andhra Pradesh. All of them claim that female deity Brahma Rambha of Srisailem belongs to their community. The history says that Chenchus are the first dwellers of Andhra region much before the

* Unpublished article of 2000 updated in 2018

¹ Research Officer (2000) & Consultant (2018), SCSTRTI

Dravidians. It is believed that the Chenchus were employed by the kings of the south to protect the river Krishna and Tungabhadra.

In Odisha they are largely found in the undivided Koraput district. They speak a language of their own called 'Chenchu' which belongs to the Dravidian language family.

Being a semi-nomadic forest dwelling and forest dependent tribe of hunters and food gatherers, they were in the past living in caverns or under the shady trees. Now they live in small huts. Most of the temporary Chenchu settlements are situated at the edge or interiors of forests to facilitate food gathering. Now, they are gradually shifting to the marginal agriculture and allied pursuits.

Chenchu settlements are generally unclan and homogenous comprising consanguineal and affinal relatives of both male and female lines. The huts in the settlement are built with bamboo wattle walls. Generally, 3 types of huts i.e. *chuttugudisha* (round hut), *mulagudisha* (square hut) and *kottamu* (rectangular hut) are found in a Chenchu settlement. Due to suspicion of the attack of wandering of evil spirits in the settlement or occurrence of frequent deaths, they shift the settlement to a new place. Even within the settlement the individuals shift their huts from one place to another due to quarrels and conflicts with neighbours as well as death and frequent illness of family members.

Chenchus are traditionally hunters and food gatherers. They supplement their economy by agricultural and non-agricultural pursuits in addition to selling forest produces and rearing livestock. At present, a few of them have taken up settled cultivation. They are non-vegetarians. Jawar, ragi and rice constitute their principal diet. They are addicted to country liquor and smoking cheroots and tobaccos.

In the past Chenchus were wearing scanty dresses and even wearing the leaves from the jungle. Now, they are no longer dressing themselves in leaves like their ancestors. The men are usually wearing loin cloths (*gochi*). They leave their hair untrimmed and make a knot at the back of the head. The women are dressed more decently than men and wear sarees.

The tribe is divided into two broad divisions like Konda (Hill) Chenchu and Adavi (Jungle) Chenchu. Each broad group is again divided into numbers of exogamous totemic septs (*Kulam*) viz. -*Gurram* (Horse), *Arati* (Plantain tree), *Manla* (tree), *Tota* (Garden), *Mekala* (Goat), *Indla* (House), *Savaram* (Gold coin), and *Gundam* (Pit), etc.

Family is mostly nuclear patrilocal and patrilineal and inheritance of property follows the rule of male equigeniture. In the Chenchu society monogamy is the general rule and marriage by negotiation is an ideal practice. Marriage by service and by elopement are also in vogue. They practice early marriage and

prefer cross-cousin marriage. Marriage of widows, widowers, divorcees, junior levirate, junior sororate is allowed. Bride price is prevalent and is paid both in cash and kind. A Brahman priest officiates in wedding rituals.

The Chenchu observe puberty rites for girls. The pollution period lasts for five days. Birth pollution is observed for eleven days. A newborn baby is given a name by a woman sorcerer on the fourth day and tonsure is performed when the child is three to five years old.

They either bury or cremate the dead and observe mourning and pollution for ten days. Purificatory rites are held on the 3rd and the 10th day after death. Each clan has its separate burial ground. They observe death pollution for a period three to eleven days. A purificatory rite such as the *Chiradinamu* is performed on the third day and the *Paddadinamu* or *Peddadivasam* ceremony on the eleventh day. They also observe death anniversary with a feast given to lineage members.

The Chenchu have very elaborate traditional community council known as *Kula Panchayati* headed by *Raju* (King) of *Bhumini Kulam* assisted by *Pradhani* (minister) of *Kudumala Kulam* and *Kollagudar* (whip attender) of *Uttaluri Kulam*. It settles inter and intra community disputes.

Their religion is an admixture of Animism and Hinduism. They worship a number of deities and observe rituals and festival as their neighbouring castes and tribes do. Most of their deities are represented by stone slabs. In each village, the village deity is installed under a tree. Lord Venkateswar is their patron deity. There is a male jungle deity -*Garelamai-Sama*, who is prayed before and after hunting. When an animal is killed, a portion of its flesh is offered to the deity. They are tabooed to kill only male animals to avoid the anger of the deity though sometimes the deity is also addressed as father. Their taboo against killing female game animals is an excellent tradition of conservation of wild life.

They celebrate many Hindu festivals like *Ugadi*, *Sankranti*, *Dusara*, *Sivarathri* and make pilgrimage to sacred shrines like Tirupati, Simachalam, Srisailem, etc. They also worship their traditional deities and believe in existence of soul and spirits and supernatural entities.

However the Chenchu have retained their beautiful folk songs which are sung by both men and women during festive occasions. Their dances have no religious significance but performed for recreation.

Presently, tribal development programmes have made some impact in bringing about some changes in their age old way of life.

CHENCHU *

(A Nomadic Tribe of Odisha)

*A. B. Ota*¹

*A. Mall*²

IDENTITY

The Chenchus, also called 'Chenchuvaru' or 'Chenchwar' is numerically the smallest Scheduled Tribe of Odisha. They are an aboriginal semi-nomadic tribe of the central hill regions of Andhra Pradesh. Traditionally they are hunters and food gatherers. It is believed that the Chenchus and Yanadis (another Scheduled Tribe of Andhra Pradesh) descended from the same ethnic stock.

The ecological interpretation of the 'Chenchu' tribe indicates a person who lives under a 'Chettu' meaning 'tree'. Another version relates the term to the Chenchu's habit of eating mice (Chenchu). They mainly inhabit the Nallamalai Hill ranges in south eastern part of India. The tribe is largely distributed in three districts of undivided Andhra Pradesh i.e. Mehbub Nagar, Kurnool and Guntur. All of them claim that female deity Brahma Rambha of Srisailem belongs to their community. The history says that Chenchus are the first dwellers of Andhra region much before the Dravidians. It is believed that the Chenchus were employed by the kings of the south to protect the river Krishna and Thungabhadra.

The variation of their population in different districts of Odisha in different census corroborates their nomadic way of life. In 1961 census, they numbered 52 and were concentrated in Koraput district only; in 1971 census their number drastically came down to 08 only and they were scattered in two districts i.e., Kalahandi (06) and Sundergarh (02) and they were further scattered in five districts i.e. Ganjam (10), Kalahandi (06), Keonjhar (01), Koraput (13), Mayurbhanj (01) and Sundergarh (08) numbering total 39 persons in 1981 census and to 11

* Published in the Photo Handbook on Chenchu, SCSTRTI, Bhubaneswar, 2016

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districts i.e. Balasore (03), Bolangir (02), Cuttack (02), Ganjam (10), Kalahandi (27), Keonjhar (26), Mayurbhanj (03), Puri (05), Sambalpur (36) and Sundergarh (09) their number substantially increasing to 275 in toto in 1991 Census. In 2001 Census, their population remarkably declined to 28 only spread over in 5 districts like Malkangiri (03), Khurda (03), Sambalpur (02), Baragarh (08) and Sundergarh (12). As per the latest 2011 Census their population in the state alarmingly came down by more than 50 percent to 13 persons only including 6 males and 7 females largely found in Nowrangpur district. Such drastic growth and decline and distribution of their population in the State in successive censuses amply prove their nomadic life style.

In 2001 census their literacy rate in Odisha was 46.15 percent i.e. (46.67 % for males and 45.45% percent for females), and the sex ratio miserably stands at 647 as against 599 in 1991, 696 in 1981, 3000 in 1971 and 1476 in 1961. This is hard to believe. Their sex ratio has remarkably improved to 1167 and their literacy rate, to 54.55 percent (Males-80 percent and Females-33.33 percent) in 2011 Census.

The Chenchus speak a language of their own called 'Chenchu' - a dialect of Telugu that is a branch of the Dravidian language family. They speak and use Telugu script for both inter and intra group communication.

The Chenchus belong to Proto Australoid stock who have a long and narrow head, medium stature, dark complexion, round or oval facial profile, a short nose of medium breadth and a well built and strong body. Their hair is wavy and curly, tied in a knot. The males grow beard and mustaches.

Dress and Ornaments

The Chenchus are scantily dressed. Now, they are no longer dressing themselves in leaves like their ancestors. The men usually wear loin cloth (*gochi*). They leave their hair untrimmed and make a knot at the back of the head. The women are dressed more decently than men and wear sarees.

At present, there are considerable changes in the dress pattern of Chenchu men and women. Many of the males cover the upper part of their body with cloth. The young people wear shirts but the children of one to three years age remain naked. Chenchu do not decorate themselves except having few tattoo marks on hands, face, chest and legs. Men do not wear any ornaments, but women wear cheap metal ornaments like ear rings, nose rings, necklaces, bangles, armlets etc. purchased from the peddlers or from the local market.

HABITAT, SETTLEMENT & HOUSING

In the past, the Chenchus had no houses and were roaming in the jungle and living under trees or in rock shelters because they were completely dependent on forest for their livelihood and wandered from place to place in search of food. Their habitations mainly lied in the hills and thick forests along the Krishna River

and its tributaries. The height of these places varies between 600 and 900 meters above the mean sea level.

Now, there is a marked change in their settlement pattern and the Chenchu settlements are more or less permanent, even though they make temporary camps in the jungle like Mankirdia (one of the PVTGs of Odisha) for hunting and food gathering. Though most of the Chenchu villages are situated at the edge of forests, some of their villages are situated in the interiors of thick forests. The temporary camps are occasionally set in the interior forest to facilitate collection of seasonal Minor Forest Produce and other products from the forest.

The Chenchus live in small and widely dispersed settlements called *gudem* or *penta*. In cleared patches of forest they set up their settlement. It consists of several scattered clusters of small conical huts varying from 5-8 in numbers. There is a minimum distance of 5-6 Kms. between two adjacent *gudems* which are usually located near the natural water sources and are constructed on elevated places. The grouping of huts is invariably based on kinship affiliations. Each family has its own huts. The families are generally monogamous. After marriage sons construct separate huts near their parent's hut.

Their huts are built with bamboo wattle walls. Generally, 3 types of huts i.e. *chuttugudisha* (round hut), *mulagudisha* (square hut) and *kottamu* (rectangular hut) are found in a Chenchu settlement. The *chuttugudisha* is the traditional type that is generally thatched with *katterragaddi* (forest grass) and is usually not partitioned inside. But *kottamu* is partitioned into kitchen, food store and goat pen. In few huts, one or two goats and dogs are allowed to sleep with the family members at night. A bamboo fence is built around a single hut or a group of huts. Some of them construct small house adjacent to the main house for the livestock.

Due to suspicion of the attack of wandering evil spirits in the settlement or occurrence of frequent deaths, they shift the settlement to a new place. Even within the settlement the individuals relocate their huts due to quarrels and conflicts with neighbours as well as death and frequent illness of family members.

Household Possessions:

Because of their nomadic nature, they always prefer to possess a few household articles. Among these, there are bows and arrows, a knife, an axe, a digging stick, some pots and utensils made of aluminum, grinding stone, one or two small boxes and a few clothes. They sleep on the floor. Three bricks or stones kept in a triangular shape are used as hearth. Now-a-days, they are using a few agricultural implements and weapons for defense and hunting purpose.

LIVELIHOOD

The traditional occupation of the Chenchu is hunting and food gathering. The forest areas inhabited by Chenchu are infested with wild animals like bear,

tiger, *sambar*, spotted deer, fowl, panther, antelope, wild pig, cat, peacock, wild fowls, snakes, lizards, scorpions and various kinds of birds. The Chenchus supplement their food with the flesh of these animals, which they hunt with their bow and arrows. During hunting, they take the help of their pet dogs. Besides, they collect seasonal forest products like wild fruits, roots, tubers, green leaves, gum, resin, *mahua* flowers, honey etc. and after meeting their domestic consumption needs they sell the surplus in the local market to get some income which is spent on buying their other necessities.

At present, the nomadic Chenchus are slowly opting for agriculture. Some of them are cultivating forest lands and have encroached Government lands. They practice agriculture in a very small scale. Their agriculture activities are seasonal and rain fed and hence the yield is meager. They usually cultivate crops like Bajra, Jowar and other rain fed minor millets.

Besides, they take up livestock rearing, wage earning and are now getting employed in Government and Non-Government sectors. They purchase food grains and other essential commodities from nearby market. Some families also brew and sell liquor for extra income.

Food and Drinks:

The Chenchus are generally non-vegetarians. They usually take millet, *jowar*, rice and maize, tuber and flesh of wild animals. Sometimes they survive on forest products for several days without taking any cooked food. They take varieties of fruits, roots, tubers collected from the forest in different seasons. The surplus roots and tubers are dried up and preserved for future use. They are very fond of taking honey, tubers and flesh of animals.

The Chenchu are addicted to drinking and smoking. They brew *mahua* liquor for self-consumption and sale. Drinking of country liquors is a daily routine. They also smoke country made cigarettes, tobacco rolled in *sal* leaf (Bidi) which is very popular among them.

SOCIAL LIFE

The principal units of the Chenchu social organization are the Kulam, the Gumpu and the family. The tribe is divided into several exogamous groups or clans locally known as *kulams*. These groups are also known as *intiperu* whose names are used as surnames by the members of respective *intiperus*. The members belonging to the same *kulam* are known as *kulapollu*. Exogamy is followed within a *kulam* as the members of the same *kulam* are considered to be the descendants of a common ancestor and hence, related by blood. According to Chenchu, there are 64 *kulams* within the tribe but 1961 census has identified only 26 *kulams*. Each Chenchu settlement comprises members belonging to several *kulams*.

Apart from the exogamous group of *kulam*, there is small local kinship groups composed of 5 to 10 families called 'Gumpu'. These are labour co-operatives in which the group members assist each other in different types of economic activities like house construction, agricultural works, hunting, honey collection etc. Working in a group they exploit the food resources and share the haunted games among the members.

Family is the most important and the very basic institution in the Chenchu society. The Chenchu families are generally nuclear composed of a man, his wife and their unmarried children. Generally, the married sons live in separate houses. In some cases, the old parents live with their married sons. They lead a cooperative life. Both husband and wife enjoy equal status and are equally responsible for the maintenance of family. Divorce is socially permitted for marital incompatibility.

The Chenchu family is patriarchal and patrilineal in nature. The eldest male member of the family takes care of the property and supervises the family affairs. Inheritance goes through male line and ancestral property is divided equally among all the sons. Women supplement the family income by undertaking various outdoor works besides household works.

Life Cycle:

Pregnancy& Childbirth

The Chenchu consider birth, puberty, adolescence, marriage and death as the turning points in their life. They believe that birth of a child is the blessing of the God. Stoppage of menstruation is taken as the first sign of pregnancy. The initial pregnancy condition is called *bycala*. Most of the expectant mothers perform routine household works in the early stages and not allowed to do hard works in the advanced stage. They have observed that pregnancy lasts for 9 months for a male child and 10 months for a female child. The pregnant woman is prohibited to go to burial ground, touch a corpse, take cooked food from any deceased's house or attend a girl undergoing menstrual pollution.

Among the Chenchus, the first delivery generally takes place in the wife's mother's house. An experienced elderly woman or a midwife (*mantrasani*) belonging to the tribe attends the pregnant woman during the time of delivery. In case of difficult delivery, the help of medicine man is taken. In serious cases, the service of a doctor is sought. It is believed that difficult delivery is caused by the wrath of some angry deity or spirit.

After the delivery, the placenta and waste matter (*parupu*) is buried by the side of the hut. The baby is given honey and little water after birth. For drying up of the naval region, turmeric powder, ashes of burnt cloth mixed with castor oil is applied. Now-a-days, they are using Boric Acid with bandage locally called *boddumanudu* for healing of naval cord. The head of the baby is anointed with

castor oil and covered with a piece of cloth. Sometimes they keep onions in the ears of the baby and tie a piece of cloth around its head to prevent ear diseases.

The midwife stays throughout the period of birth pollution that lasts for 5 to 10 days for nursing the mother and the child. She is given cooked food and some remuneration for her services. During this period, the mother is not allowed to move around or touch anything or participate in any religious ceremony. After the pollution period is over, the mother takes purificatory bath anointing her body with turmeric paste and groundnut or coconut oil except the head on that day. The lactating mother is prohibited to take chicken, gourd, eggs, and rabbit meat as it is considered dangerous to the health of the baby and the mother. After delivery, the mother takes rest for one to four months depending upon her and her baby's health conditions.

Name Giving, First Hair Cutting and Rice Eating Rites

The child is named at any time, even 2/3 years after his/her birth. The male child is called *mugenna* and the female child, *mugemma* before naming them. Tonsure or the first hair cutting ceremony is an important ritual for the Chenchu. All the relatives are invited to attend the ceremony. Maternal uncle first cuts three tufts of hair and the remaining part is cut by the barber near the shrines of the deities if a vow has been taken or else in the village. When the child becomes eight months old, first rice eating ceremony is observed by keeping boiled tuber in his/her mouth.

Puberty Rite

The Chenchu girl usually attains puberty (*samarthadindi* / *rajaswaralu* / *pedamanishiayyindi*) at the age of 12 to 15 years. The menstruating girl sits on a mat in one corner of the house smeared with cow dung pest and articles like broom stick, one iron knife or a sickle or an iron rod kept by her side to protect her from evil influence. Pollution is observed for 5-10 days in different areas and the girl is restricted not to cook or touch the household articles. During this period, children and men are not allowed to go to the girl or the girl is not allowed to perform any worship or to do any manual work. After the pollution period is over, she takes a ceremonial and the articles used by her during that period are thrown away. Blood relatives are invited to attend the puberty ceremony and present gifts and new cloths to the girl.

Marriage

Marriage is a very important event in a Chenchu's life. The Kulam being exogamous, marriage within the same *kulam* is treated as incestuous and therefore, strictly tabooed. So also is the marriage between the members of brother *kulam*.

The Chenchu get married at the early age of 15-18 years. Maternal and paternal cross cousin marriages are allowed in their society. Monogamy is

common though polygyny is allowed if considered necessary. If the spouse dies or divorces, remarriage usually takes place.

Generally, three types of marriages like arranged marriage (*PELLI*), love and elopement marriage and mutual agreement (*MAJI*) marriage are in vogue in their society. In all types of marriage, clan (*KULAM*) exogamy is strictly observed. A Chenchu prefers to select a bride from the outside of their *gudem*.

In an arranged marriage, after selection of the girl, the groom's parent or the mediator, locally known as Raju/ Mantri/ Kalagadu visits the bride's house for finalization of the marriage proposal after settlement of the bride price which varies between Rs. 5 and Rs.25 in cash and is given to bride's uncle. Marriage is performed in bride's house. At the time of marriage, bride and bridegroom wear yellow clothes dyed in turmeric solutions.

The Chenchu marriage ceremony though in general is associated with a series of rites; they are not so colourful like those of other tribes. The well-to-do families invite low grade Telugu Brahman priest (*nagayya*) to officiate in wedding ceremonies. The priest utters mantras, sprinkles holy water on the couple and ties marriage locket (*talibattu*) around the bride's neck. The bride and groom eat the betel leaves from each other's mouth. The wedding feast is given to the invitees i.e., the friends, relatives and fellow villagers and the expenditure is shared by both the parties.

Divorce is permitted in their society in case of ill health, adultery, barrenness, misbehavior and maltreatment. After divorce, the man and woman are free to remarry.

Death

Death is considered to be natural in the old age. Chenchus think that the soul leaves the body to go near the God. Either cremation or burial is done for the dead body. The news of death is communicated to all the kins. The family of the deceased waits for the arrival of all the important relatives. After their arrival they bath the corpse and decorate it marking it with three vertical marks (*naman*) with lime powder and vermilion on its chest, forehead and middle of legs, hands and palms. Coconut oil is anointed on its head and its hair is neatly combed. They put some incense (*sambrani*) on the dead body and cover it with a cloth.

The bier is made with a long bamboo pole. The parental uncle and another person from the same clan carry the bier on their shoulders. The bier is accompanied by a group of clan members. On the way to burial ground the dead body is kept on the ground at a place called *dimpudukallam* or resting place. All of them remove the piece of cloth covering the face of the dead body and look in to his face for three minutes. It is believed that the deceased person may sometimes come back to life at that place. Along with the dead body, articles like jaggery, jowar and Bengal gram are carried to the burial ground.

The common burial ground for all the Chenchu clans is located outside the settlement. The paternal uncle gives first stroke and then the clan members dig the pit. Ankanna (the paternal uncle) cuts the red thread waist band of the dead person and removes the *gochi* (loin cloth) from the dead body. Thus, the dead body is buried naked with the belief that man is born naked and should leave the world as such. The corpse laid in the pit, facing up wards and its head towards the north. They cover the dead body with the cloth that has been tied to bier and keep its *gochi* by its side. All the belongings of the deceased are buried. Generally costly items like ornaments are removed and returned to its family members. At first Ankanna throws a handful of earth in the grave over the dead body and others follow the suit and cover the ground with earth.

After the burial is over, all the members return without turning back and wash their face, hands, legs and are served with liquor. Vermillion mark is applied on their foreheads. All the participants again wash their heads and legs with the water at the spot where dead body was bathed. Ankanna enters the hut first and ignites an earthen lamp at the spot where the person has died. Then all his company goes to that spot with folded hands and then they return to their homes. No food is cooked on that day and no hearth is lit in the house of the deceased on that day. The widow of the deceased remains outside the hut.

The next day, the funeral party is assembled again and a fowl is sacrificed at the spot where the person died and food is cooked and served first to the soul of the deceased and then it is distributed to all the members. They are also served with liquor after which they return to their respective houses.

The Chenchus observe mourning and death pollution for ten days. Purificatory rites are held on the 3rd and the 10th day of death to which all the kith and kin are invited to attend.

RELIGIOUS BELIEFS & PRACTICES

The Chenchu worship gods and goddesses of neighboring Hindu caste people along with their own tribal deities. Most of their deities are represented by stone slabs. In each village, the village deity is installed under a tree and propitiated. Lord Venketeswar is their traditional deity. There is Garelamai-Sama, the deity of jungle who is prayed before and after hunting. When an animal is killed, a piece of its flesh is offered to the deity. The Chenchus are supposed to kill only male animals to avoid the anger of the female deity though sometimes the deity is also addressed as father. Their taboo against killing female game animals is an excellent tradition of conservation of wild life.

They celebrate all the Hindu festivals. Sivaratri is an important festival for them. They worship Srisaila Mallanna (Lord Siva) and Lord Narasimha on the day of Sivaratri. Besides, the benevolent village deities like Poleramma, Ankalamma,

Sunkamma, Peddanna, Poturaju, Mallamma, Marremma, Manthanalamma etc are propitiated in all the times of crises. LachammaThakurani is worshipped before planting of crops. Gangamma is the water deity to whom they offer prayer at the time of crossing water and when the hair of the child is cut for the first time.

Community worship is rare among the Chenchus. In their society, women do not take part in any ritual activities except making offerings of cooked food and clothing to appease the ancestors. There is no priest to conduct their rituals, but in a few cases certain individuals undertake the priestly activities. They offer animal sacrifices to appease their traditional deities.

They believe in spiritual and supernatural powers, witchcraft, black magic, oath, ordeal and evil eye. They have specialists who perform both white magic and black magic. The practitioner of white magic is called 'Gaddecheppuvadu' who diagnoses the causes of disease in a state of spirit possession and suggests remedial measures. Chenchu have their own methods of treatment with medicinal herbs for various types of diseases. Some deities are believed to be associated with certain diseases. If a person suffers from a disease or there are frequent animal deaths, he goes to the shaman called 'Gaddecheppuvadu' who detects the cause of the problem and performs a ritual called 'Datimpu' for solution of the problem.

The Chenchus believe in rebirth and life after death. They worship all their male and female ancestors. Any misfortune is attributed to the wrong action of the people relating to ancestors. They offer new clothes and cooked food to their ancestors during family rituals.

Music and Dance

Unlike other tribal groups, dance has no religious significance for them. It is performed for social recreation. Their main dance called 'Chenchu Natakamu', is a step dance (with springs and tilting steps) and drum beat dance (holding the tip of the saree in one hand and swinging it in *nrithyam* to the beat of the drum). In addition to this, singing at night and during festival days are also done.

Though they do not have songs connected with ceremonies or festivals, the main theme of their songs is 'love and romance'. Chenchu Patalu, Issurrayee Patalu (while grinding), Cata Patalu (while winnowing), Pokiri Patalu (fun and amusement) are sung during performing different activities and for amusement.

SOCIAL CONTROL

The traditional political institution of the Chenchus at the village level is called Kulapanchayat or Nasab or Panchayati (the council of village elders). It is an independent body which comprises a group of elderly men and representatives of each Kulum. It is held either in the village at a convenient place or outside the

village usually under a tree. The Panchayat delivers judgment on the matters relating to the village people and its resolutions are confined to the respective *gudems* only. If the dispute involves the residents of two neighboring *gudems*, then the elderly persons of both the *gudems* assemble at a place to settle the dispute.

The Kula panchayat is headed by the traditional secular leader called Raju – the villagehead man. He is assisted by other functionaries called Manthri (Secretary) and Kolegadu (Messenger). Generally, the leaders are chosen unanimously considering their age, experience and skills in articulating and solving the problems. The Raju must hail from the Kulam of original settlers of the *gudem* and Manthri and Kolegadu hail from numerically preponderant Kulam. Their Kulam may not be one and the same.

The main functions of the panchayat are (1) administration of justice, (2) settlement of intra-village and inter-village disputes and promotion of general welfare. The Panchayat punishes the offenders, levies fines, orders penalty feasts and in very serious cases, expels a person from the village or even from the tribe. Raju must abide by the advice of all the members before awarding punishment to the offenders or passing a resolution.

The panchayat usually deals with different cases like elopement, quarrel due to suspicion and mutual distrust, divorce, violation of tribal endogamy, petty theft and other minor disputes. In case of adultery, the guilty are summoned before the panchayat and the culprits are fined. If divorce occurs on account of wife's fault, the wife's father or guardian is required to pay *thappu* (compensation/penalty) levied by panchayat to the husband. For major crimes and murders, they report to the police.

Besides settling disputes, the headman also plays an important role in socio-religious and economic affairs of the village. The Chenchus annually propitiate the village goddesses to save themselves from her wrath. On this occasion, he collects subscriptions from the village and purchases the required articles for performing the worship.

CHANGE AND DEVELOPMENT

Due to their nomadic way of life the Chenchus are not yet recognized as a native tribe of Odisha. The concerned ITDAs of Odisha have been making attempts to permanently settle bands of Chenchu by identifying and marking the border between states in the forest areas across which they wander. Though Chenchus are residing in the jungle, they use to visit the adjacent plains villages to exchange forest produce for certain essential items like salt, chilli, rice, jowar etc. Establishment of various Government institutions has further brought the Chenchus in contact with the society at large. The development programmes implemented in remote Chenchu settlements have brought certain changes in their

life style. Government has extended educational facilities, health facilities and has taken steps for their economic development.

As a result, the Chenchus are adopting different new occupations for their livelihood. Their economy is now linked to the market economy and now they use money as the medium of exchange. The impact of modernization is reflected in their dress pattern, livelihood and socio-economic and political life. Some of them are watching movies in the neighboring towns. However, their association with forest is almost intact and even now they live in the forest as hunters and food gathers while adopting certain changes in their living pattern.

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DAL*

*S. C. Mohanty*¹

The Dal is a numerically small tribe of Odisha who as per 2011 census number 25, 598. They are largely concentrated in Bolangir and Nuapada districts. The decadal growth rate of the tribe is 66.18 %. Their literacy rate is 43.20%. For the males it is 58.99% and for the females, 27.89%.

By their myth and legendary tradition, they consider themselves to be a section of the Kandha tribe and speak the Dravidian tribal language “KUI” – the language of the Kandhas of Kandhamal district. As their folklore says, in the remote past, some members of the tribe went to the holy temple of Lord Jagannath in Puri and received sandal wood and *tulsi* leaf as recognition to act as priest in the temples of Hindu deities. Conforming to the tradition, members of the tribe act as priests (Pujari) in the famous Harishankar temple of Bolangir district and in some other Hindu temples. Hence, the Hindu castes treat them like a clean caste. Yet, they still have many cultural similarities with the Kandha tribe.

There is nothing so remarkable in their pattern of dress and ornaments except the traditional hair style of their women. Though, like other tribes they are an endogamous community, their clan system is interesting. Traditionally, the tribe is divided into six exogamous clans named *Bhoi*, *Majhi*, *Jhankar*, *Bisal*, *Malik* and *Jani*, .but in course of time four of these have become endogamous. Within the septs there are lineages (*Bench*) bearing names resembling those of the Kandha. The priestly group among them using the surname *Pujari* is considered superior to other groups.

In their society though vertically extended families are preferred, nuclear families are common. In selection of mates preference is given to cross-cousins. Marriage by negotiation is highly valued. The custom of bride price is in vogue.

* Unpublished article of 2000 updated in 2017

¹ Research Officer (2000) & Consultant (2018), SCSTRTI

Marriage rites and procedures follow caste Hindu traditions. The bridegroom goes to bride's village to bring the latter after the wedding rituals. Divorce is socially permitted for marital incompatibility. They observe six-day birth pollution and ceremonially give a name to the newborn on the 21st or 30th day. They either bury or cremate the dead and observe mourning and pollution for ten days. Purificatory rites are held on the 3rd and the 10th day.

The Dals are agriculturists. In these days, they have been adopting modern techniques and inputs of agriculture by use of high yielding variety of seeds, chemical fertilizers and pesticides for higher farm production. Their livelihood is supplemented by share cropping, animal husbandry, backyard plantation, collection of minor forest produce brick and tile making. Besides, they work as agricultural labourers, brick and tile makers. They are rice eaters and consume country liquor during feasts and festivities. Their womenfolk play an important role in the economic activities of their family. They are non-vegetarians.

At first the Dals were animists. Their socio-religious system has been changed. Over period of time they have made a colourful religious journey from an indigenous aboriginal faith to Hinduism. Their pantheon and festivals present a mixture of Hindu and tribal religious practices. They worship *Bini*, *Gangadevi*, *Kali*, *Rama*, *Laxmi*, *Durga*, *Babuna*, *Jharijhara*, *Mauli* and *Dharni*. With the caste Hindus, they observe regional festivals like, *Navarna*, *Asudh Khai*, *Birhan Behra*, *Laxmi Puja* etc. Retaining the tribal traditions they worship ancestral spirits and household deities, sacrifice animals and offer country liquors in rituals to appease their deities. They also have their own priest *Jhankar* to officiate in all kinds of rituals.

They are a progressive community to accept planned change and modernization. The impact of planned change and modernization are visible in their life style. Still, in their socio-cultural system they have retained some basic tribal features which distinguish them from other ethnic groups.

DAL *

*Prasanta Kumar Mohapatra*¹

The Dal are found mostly in the southern and western regions of Bolangir district the main concentration of which are in Belpara, Khaparakhole and Kantabanjhi Panchayat Samiti areas. They inhabit in this area since many generations and are unable to trace the history of their migration from any other region. Some of the Dal villages are Tanhala, Malpara, Chacheribeng, Bhalukhai, Thodibahal, Kukurhad, Magurchual, Phulkani, Hatmunda, Kudi, Pahanmunda, Shaimara and Debri, etc. The distribution of the tribe as found in various districts is given in the following table.

Sl. No.	District	Population		
		Male	Female	Total
1.	Kalahandi	848	1,027	1,875
2.	Koraput	00	1	1
3.	Sambalpur	7	7	14
4.	Bolangir	3,749	3,926	7,675
5.	Sundargarh	6	8	14
6.	Puri	13	18	31
7.	Keonjhar	119	82	201
8.	Cuttack	17	00	17
9.	Mayurbhanj	1	5	6
10.	Balasore	10	00	10
Total		4,770	5,079	9,844

The houses of the Dal are in the pattern of local Hindu people and they thatch their houses with 'Khaparas' or country tiles prepared by themselves. They live with other caste people like Bhuliyas, Loharas and Panas. The dress and ornaments are same as the local people. They speak colloquial Oriya like their neighbours and do not admit to have a separate dialect of their own.

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The Dal kinship system is interesting. It appears that they were first divided into six exogamous units, namely, Bhoi, Jhankar, Majhi, Mallik, Bisal and Jani. In course of time the exogamous nature of few of the divisions like Bhoi, Mallik, Majhi and Jani has changed and they have become endogamous units having two different subdivisions. Each subdivision consists of a number of lineages. For example the Bhoi group is divided into two subdivisions or 'Bansas' namely Sat gachhia and Bar gachhia, i.e., seven trees and twelve trees. Sat Gachhia consists of the seven lineages like Guruska Bhoi, Jugaska Bhoi, Libujka Bhoi, Chilmika Bhoi, Jadaka Bhoi, Jalongia Bhoi, and Satmalika Bhoi. The other division Bar gachhia also consists of twelve different lineages.

The two subdivisions of an endogamous unit are generally known as Banjulka and Mutka which are exogamous ones. The other two units of Dals like Bisal and Jhankar are exogamous units and can have marriage relations with the four other units mentioned above.

In choosing a bride, father's sister's daughter and mother's brother's daughter are preferred. A person can also marry the 'Kanya' or wife of a person belonging to his own clan if the person dies. Arranged marriage is the most commonly prevalent form of marriage among the Dals. The father of the groom goes with a pot of liquor and a basket-full of fried rice (*bhuja*) to the bride's father accompanied by his affinal relations. If the father of the bride drinks the liquor and eats (*bhuja*), the negotiation is understood to have been accepted. The parents take the help of a Oriya Brahmin to select the auspicious day of marriage but no Brahman is asked to perform the marriage rituals. On the day of marriage ceremony the groom sits on *chanhara* or a sacred mat and the girls of his village dance round him and the groom takes a ceremonial bath. The groom's party starts by evening to the bride's village where the couple is made to sit together. The women folk of the bride's village dance round the couple and sacred rice is thrown over the couple. Groom's father provides provisions to the bride's father for the feast which is given to the villagers of the bride's father. Drinking and dancing continues till morning when the couple is sent back to the groom's village. The groom's father pays the bride price before the marriage ceremony which consists of clothing for all the members of the bride's family, cash Rs. 40, a goat and liquor.

The Dals have a few persons of their own who are known as Mahamanab. They are the leaders of the Dal society and exert immense influence with regard to the issues like divorce and disputes among the Dals. Names of few of them are Satyanarayan Mallik, Chanhara Jhankar of Gambhari village, Tikerasa Jhankara of Chacheribeng village, Perra Jhankar of Hatimunda village and Sadhu Bhoi of Aenlahata village. They conduct the 'Jatia Samaj Bhoji' where all the Dals of that region gather and discuss about the issues and are entertained by the leaders. The contributions are collected from the parties who come for settlement of their disputes and are aided by the leaders who are economically better off. In case of a divorce the girl who is divorced is brought to the gathering by her father. The man

who divorce, pays to the divorcee, an amount of Rs. 5 and a new cloth. The Mahamanab or the leader gives the girl to another person on that day and the bride price procured is spent on feasting and merrymaking over there. These social gatherings are usually held in the month of Chait and Baisakh. People from distant villages are invited to attend the gathering.

Dals cultivate *ragi* and Kodua more than paddy and Gurji. Among pulses they grow Kolath, Mung, Biri and oil-seeds like Rasi and Til. Maize and Khed Jandra (millet type) are also grown. Kosri or Sugarcane is also cultivated. Vegetables like brinjal, tomato and chilies are also grown in the kitchen garden. Tobacco is cultivated by almost all individuals. As the fields are almost high and have no irrigation facilities, the Dals have dug wells near their gardens for lift irrigation. For paddy and *ragi*, etc. they depend on rain entirely. Apart from these each Dal owns a number of *maul* trees. Mahul is collected and stored by each family on which they depend for their food. Mostly *mahuls* is exchanged for *ragi* and Kodua with the contractors who brew liquor in the neighbor hoods. They depend on the markets nearby for salt, oil, turmeric and clothing. These are sold by the Marwari business men who charge exorbitantly for an article. For example an ordinary dhoti is charged Rs. 10 to 12 and ordinary shirt for rupees Rs. 7 to 8. The Kultas, Bhuliyas and Marwari's also exploit the Dals by advancing loans for the land produce before harvest. The Dals sell their produce at a nominal rate as a condition at the time of giving loan. The Dals are compelled to dispose off their produce at the rate of 3 mans per rupee which is sold in the market at the rate of 1 man per rupee. It was told by the Dals that the Grain-golla personnel do not help at the time of need for which they find no other alternative except going to the traditional money lenders, who exploit them.

The Dal of Belpara, Khaparakhole and Kantabanjhi regions are connected with the worship of God Mahadev at the Harishankar temple. There happens to be a temple of Lord Siva where the Dals are the traditional worshippers of this god. It remains for study at the spot as to how these people involved themselves in worshipping a Hindu God. Apart from that each *gotra* mentioned above has a god for their own group. For example, Vaira Jamnakanher are the Gods worshipped by the Bhoi group. Dokribudhi and *patkhanda* gods are worshipped by Jani group. Duarsani, Chandi Majhi and Bar Roul are worshipped by Bisal group. They have separate sacred houses for each of these gods and goddesses.

They observe certain traditional festivals like Mahul new eating in the month of Chait, roots and tubers like Kukhru and Dahikanda new eating in the month of Asadh. Besides, they observe festivals like Phagun Purnami, Dashera and Dialiuans (new moon) on the occasion of which they eat, drink and dance.

DAL*

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IDENTITY

The Dals constitute a numerically small tribe who are mainly concentrated in Bolangir and Nuapada districts of Odisha. According to their own myth and tradition, their forefathers were a section of the Kandha tribe. Earlier they used to move from one place to another in groups and hence were called “Dal” (group). In Odia, “Dal” stands for “group”. As their folklore says, in the remote past, some members of the group went to Puri, the holy city of Lord Jagannath and received sandal wood and *tulsi* leaf as a recognition to act as priest in the temples of Hindu deities.

The Dal people are multi-lingual. They speak ‘Kui’, a Dravidian language at home and use “Sambalpuri Odia” for inter-group communication. Kui is the mother tongue of the Kandhas of Kandhamal district. Some of them are also found to be well versed in Hindi, the national language. The Dal people are mostly rural but they consider themselves as a “clean caste” in the local society.

As per 2011 census, their total population in the state is 25, 598 including 12, 626 males and 12, 972 females showing a favourable sex ratio of 1027 females

* Published in the Photo Handbook on Dal, SCSTRTI, 2018

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for thousand males. The decadal growth rate of the tribe is 66.18. Their literacy rate is 43.20%. For the males it is 58.99% and for the females, 27.89%.

Dress & Ornaments

Ordinarily their pattern of dress and ornaments are same as that of their caste Hindu neighbours. Traditionally, the ornaments their women wear are of the cheap, simple and lighter varieties. They rarely wear gold ornaments. Now days, Dal women put on varieties of ornaments made of gold, silver and aluminum alloy. The traditional hairstyle of the Dal women is unique. They spend a lot of time in dressing the hair and decorate it with coloured ribbons, clips and specially designed combs.

HABITAT, SETTLEMENT AND HOUSING

The Dal community prefers to live in the lap of nature and natural beauty. They preferably dwell in the lush green hilly regions of Bolangir, Sambalpur, Nuapada and Kalahandi districts of Odisha. Their habitat is very well known for undulating picturesque scenes and surroundings. The soil and climatic condition of their settlement area is favorable for agro-economic pursuits.

Their settlement pattern is socially heterogeneous. They live with other caste people like the Bhuliyas, the Loharas and the Panos. Generally the Dal settlements are found near the perennial hill streams which provide them with drinking water throughout the year. Within the settlement, one finds the Dal houses, positioned in a scattered manner, having a thin serpentine pathway running in between the houses.

Their housing pattern resembles those of the neighbouring communities. The houses are thatched with self-made *khaparas* or country tiles. The house is built upon a rectangular ground plan. Flooring of the house is made of earth. The walls are plastered with mud and painted with white soil. There are hardly 2-3 rooms with a separate kitchen. Some people use their verandah for cooking purpose. The cowshed is constructed separately. Sometimes it is adjacent to the main hut. Domestic animals like goats, sheep and fowls are sheltered separately. Each house has a kitchen garden properly fenced where vegetables are grown. Now-a-days, under Government housing schemes like Indira Awas Yojana (IAY), Mo-Kudia, some of them have built *pucca* houses.

SOCIAL LIFE

Social Divisions

The Dal tribe is endogamous. It has internal social sub-divisions as exogamous clans groups. Their clan system is very interesting. Traditionally among them, there were six clan groups namely Bhoi, Jhankar, Majhi, Mallik, Bisal, and Jani. In course of time four of these clans such as Bhoi, Mallik, Majhi and

Jani have become endogamous units each having different segments. For example, the Bhoi group is divided into two segments, namely Satgachhia and Bargachhia, i.e. seven trees and twelve trees. Satgachhia consists of seven lineages like Gurusk Bhoi, Jugaska Bhoi, Libujka Bhoi, Chilmilka Bhoi, Jadaka Bhoi, Jalangia Bhoi and Sat Malika Bhoi. The other segment, Bargachhia, consists of twelve different lineages, namely Patra, Mutka, Jabaska, Lipu Chika, Lurka, Karka, Bharka, Bisal, Kunar, and Tilika. Banjahlika and Thanapets. Further, Mutka and Banjahlika lineages have become exogamous in course of time. However, the remaining two exogamous clans like Bisal and Jhankar have retained the traditional exogamous nature who make marital alliances with the other four clans.

Family

Dal family, the smallest social unit of their society, is patrilineal and patrilocal in nature. Generally, it is nuclear and monogamous. In few cases of vertically extended family, the grandparents and married sons live in the family. Though a married son sets up a household of his own, he still maintains his close links with his parents and the other unmarried brothers and sisters. In all social, economic and religious matters the entire family works together as a single unit. Until and unless the sons and daughters are not married, parental properties are not partitioned. Inheritance of property follows the rule of equigeniture in male line only.

The mother plays a pivotal role in household management. Inter-personal relationships among the family members are intimate and cordial. The elders are shown respect by the youngsters while the youngsters are looked after by the former with love, care and affection. Above all the family bond is cordial, strong and heavenly in Dal community.

Life Cycle

The life cycle of the Dal from the mother's womb to death is marked by successive *rites-de-passage* connected with pregnancy, birth, puberty, marriage and death.

Pregnancy and Child Birth

Pregnancy and child birth is always welcome the Dal community because, they despise barrenness. They say barrenness is caused by the wrath of evil spirits and also by incurable diseases. Barrenness is thought to be removed by worshipping the village deity. Now days, the Dal also get medicines from the hospital and accept the advice of the doctor for removing barrenness.

They believe that pregnancy (*garavbas*) is the blessings of Almighty God. In 5-6 months of pregnancy when the foetal movement starts, certain diet and other restrictions like taking medicines, eating non-vegetarian food, seeing or touching corpse, going to rivers, streams, burial ground, temple or tie knot during

solar or lunar eclipse are strictly imposed on the pregnant woman to avoid complications in delivery.

No pre-delivery rituals and traditions are observed. Their poor economic conditions often deprive a pregnant woman of balanced diet and she has to nourish herself with simple boiled rice, dal, edible leaves and vegetables available locally or from kitchen garden. If any major complications arise they prefer to take doctor's or midwife's assistance immediately.

A pregnant woman attends to her routine works till her advanced stage. But she is not allowed to undertake strenuous works which are considered to cause harm to the foetus in her womb or cause miscarriage.

When a pregnant woman feels labour pains, she immediately informs her mother-in-law or any other elderly female member of her family. The mother-in-law or any elderly married women having expertise and experience in handling such cases helps in child birth. The corner of a living room is used for this purpose. Sometimes, the woman attendant massages the pregnant woman's waist and belly with groundnut oil for effecting a smooth delivery. Some elderly women of the community also remain present in the lying-in room to assist the pregnant woman in the delivery. No male person can enter into the room. After birth, baby's umbilical cord is cut by a woman using a knife or blade. The placenta is buried by a male person in the backyards kept in an earthen pot. The pit is covered with a stone, so that it is not eaten away by a dog or any other animal.

Soon after child birth the female attendant cleans the baby with a piece of cotton cloth. Then she anoints both the mother and the baby with castor oil or til oil or groundnut oil and bathes them in tepid water. Five to six hours after, the attendant or the mother herself extracts some milk from her breasts and throws it away. Then she anoints the nipples with warm cow's ghee and starts feeding the new-born child. Thereafter, whenever the baby cries the mother immediately feeds it. The frequency of feeding varies from child to child. If the mother dies the child is breast-fed by other female members for a month or so. Thereafter, cow's or goat's milk added with water is given to the baby in a feeding bottle. If mother's milk is not sufficient the baby is given cow's milk. The new-born infant is warmed up three times daily for thirty consecutive days. Then this is reduced to two times and stops when the baby is six months old.

On the day of delivery the mother is given a liquid diet. She also takes some powder of *akanbindi* leaves for three consecutive days. From the second day onwards she is given boiled rice, together with a handful of garlic fried in ghee once a day for a week or so. From the twentieth day onwards she is given full meals twice a day. Sometimes she is given allopathic treatment if considered necessary for a period of six days or till the naval cord drops off.

Birth pollution is observed for six days. On the seventh day both the mother and child take a purificatory bath in the morning with warm water after being anointed with oil and turmeric paste. The lineage members (*kutumlok*) celebrate a purificatory rite called *handi dharana* in which 7-9 women take the new mother to the kitchen for touching the cooking pot containing the prepared food. Later on, the same food is served among the members and guests present there. From that day, the mother resumes all her routine household chores.

Naming Ceremony

A ceremony popularly known as *ekosia* is observed on 21st day. On this day or on the 30th day, name giving ceremony is performed. The mother and the new born baby take purificatory bath and put on new clothes presented by the maternal uncle. Friends, relatives, neighbours are invited. A Brahman priest performs the *ekosia puja* and gives a suitable name to the child. All present there enjoy the feast hosted by the child's family.

First Hair-Cutting & Rice Eating

The first hair-cutting rite of the infant takes place when he/she attains three months of age. The maternal uncle or, if he is not available, any person of the clan first shaves the infant after sacrificing a fowl to the deities. The infant is given rice and other starchy food at his/her seven months of age by performing the first rice eating ceremony. In most cases the cost of the ceremony is borne by the maternal uncle and in his absence by the father. On this occasion the baby, dressed in a new cloth fed rice porridge from a new plate.

Child Rearing & Socialisation

The new-born baby sleeps most of the time, preferably on a cot. There is no provision of a cradle but sometimes a child sleeps in a *charpoi* hung from the roof of the house. At night it sleeps with the mother until it is 6 to 7 years old. Generally the child begins to walk at about one and half years. But in many cases this is delayed because of poor growth. Walking is taught to the babies by their elder siblings.

The mother does not wean the child away from breast-feeding deliberately as it is considered a sin. The baby is allowed to take breast milk as long as it is there. On the arrival of a new baby the previous one is weaned away gradually.

For the first six months, the baby is allowed to urinate and defecate on a piece of cloth spread over its bed. The mother changes the wet cloth whenever it is noticed. During this period the mother cleans the child's mouth with a piece of cloth soaked in oil. Subsequently, he/she is taught to use a *nim*, *karanja* or *sal* twig to brush his/her teeth. Children at the age of three years are taught by their mother and elders about bathing and bodily cleanliness, wearing dresses and combing the hair.

Up to three years most children go naked. Sex differentiation is observed in their children's dress pattern. Little girls are found wearing frocks and panties, and boys putting on shirts and shorts. Girls from 7 years to 8 years of age wear small saris, but the boys continue to wear shirts and shorts.

The first words taught to the baby are *bua* (father) and *ha* (mother). Most children start talking at the age of one to two years. No care is taken to help the children to talk. In such cases the children learn it by hearing older people. Sex differentiation is observed right from childhood in their play. Male children play separately with toys made of wood sticks and stones, while the girls play with coconut shells, tile, lid and bottle corks. Grown-up girls go to the field in a group to defecate in the morning and evening and also to bathe in the nearby pond or stream. The boys also form a peer group and wander in and around the village to play and gossip. The boys of poor families do not go to school but help their parents in economic activities.

Physical punishment is inflicted on children when they are capable of understanding language, i.e. after three to four years. Punishment is given immediately after a mistake is committed in early childhood. Physical punishment generally consists of beating and pulling the hair or ears. Grown up children are not beaten but scolded for their mistakes.

Puberty Rite

At the onset of puberty i.e., the first menstruation, a girl is considered to be physically matured and fit for marriage. She is kept confined in a house for a week and is restricted to see the face of any male member during this period. The mother and other female members take care of her. On the early morning of the 8th day she takes a purificatory bath by anointing oil and turmeric paste. Then she wears new clothes and prepares rice porridge and serves it to family members, friends and relatives.

Marriage

Adult marriage and monogamy is the norm in the Dal society. Yet in certain cases polygyny is allowed if the first wife is found to be barren. Cross-cousin marriage is the preferential form of matrimony. Levirate and sororate are also allowed.

Arranged marriage is very common and marriage by mutual consent is also allowed. In arranged marriage, the boy's side takes the initiative to select the bride and settle the matrimony through the process of negotiation. Usually the proposal of marriage is made by the boy's parents. The parents or the elder brother of the groom goes with a pot of liquor and a basket full of fried rice (*bhuja*), lia (*khai*) or flattened rice (*chuda*) to the bride's house accompanied by his relatives. If the bride's father accepts the liquor and eats the *bhuja* and *chuda*, the proposal is considered to be approved. On that day, the customary bride price is settled and

the date for the marriage is fixed in consultation with the village astrologer (Nahaka). The bride price is paid by the boy's side to the bride's side before performing marriage. It usually consists of some cash, clothes for all the members of bride's family, one quintal of rice, a goat and about twenty bottles of liquor.

On the scheduled date of wedding, the bridegroom goes to bride's place for marriage. The priest (*jhanakar*) officiates in the wedding rites which resembles that of the caste Hindus. The groom sits on a sacred mat on the wedding altar and the rituals start. The wedding rites include burning of sacred fire (*homa*), joining and tying of hands of the bride and the groom (*hastagranthi*) while chanting mantras. The marriage feast is hosted by both the families. After marriage a married woman ties *bratagranthi* in her right upper arm.

Divorce

Under the genuine grounds of adultery, impotency, barrenness, maladjustment and chronic sickness of either of the spouse, divorce is allowed by the traditional community council (Jatia Samaj) of the Dal tribe. Some persons of the tribe designated as Mahamanab play an important role in settling internal customary disputes including divorce. In cases of divorce, the man and woman seeking divorce are brought before the Jatia Samaj where the matter is discussed and finalized after which the man gives the woman some cash and a new cloth. No other compensation for divorce is allowed. Infants go with mother and elder children stay with father. After the divorce is formally sanctioned by Dal JatiaSamaj, the man and woman are free to remarry since re-marriage of widows or widowers and divorcees is allowed by Dal Samaj.

Death

They cremate the dead. The lineage members and relatives are informed about the death. They come to help in cremation. On the 3rd day *telaghara* ceremony is observed. Inmates anoint *tolo* oil (oil extracted from *mahua* seeds) and take first purificatory bath. Then after being ritually clean, the bereaved family starts cooking and is free to mix with their neighbours. They observe death pollution for 10 days. Final purificatory rite takes place on the 10th day. They wash their clothes and houses. A feast is hosted for neighbours and relatives.

LIVELIHOOD

Agro-Economy

The Dals are agriculturists. They practise both wet land and up land cultivation. Paddy, *kodua*, *ragi*, pulses like *moong*, *biri arhar*, *masre*, *kulthi* and other seasonal vegetables are grown by them for their sustenance. Those having no land go for wage earning and share cropping. Animal husbandry, seasonal forest collection, brick moulding and *naria*-tile making are supplementary sources of

income for them. Dal rear goats and cattle. Most of the Dal children are engaged in tending the livestock.

Now-a-days, the Dals have taken up modern agricultural practices by use of high yielding variety of seeds, chemical fertilizers, insecticides and pesticides for higher farm production. Besides they pursue backyard plantation and kitchen gardening. They grow tobacco plant in their kitchen garden and consume it in their day to day life. They plant a variety of fruit bearing trees like mango, guava, jackal fruit and *mahua*. Preparation of country liquor from *mahul* flower is very common. It is a source of good income for them.

The Dal women play an important role in the economic activities of their family. They collect seasonal roots, tubers, green leaves, mushrooms etc from the forest nearby for domestic consumption. They also gather *mahua* flower, *mahua* seeds and *kendu* leaves for sale in the local market from which they get a good income in cash to meet the day to day household expenditure. They take part in wage earning and agricultural operations in addition to their routine household chores.

Food and Drinks

The Dals are non-vegetarians. They eat fish, meat and chicken. Pork and beef are prohibited. Rice is their staple food. Gram, *urad*, *masur* and *kulthi* pulses are of very common food stuffs. They take potato, tomato, brinjals, pumpkins, bins, radish, ladies fingers and other vegetables. Roots and tubers are also consumed. Groundnut oil is used for cooking. They eat fruits like mango, jackfruit, orange, lemon, guava, coconut etc. Milk and milk products are also consumed.

Mahua liquor is their favorite drink. To entertain friends, relatives and to appease their deities and ancestors they offer it. They smoke *bidis*, chew betel and use an indigenous cheroot.

RELIGIOUS BELIEFS AND PRACTICES

Their past history reveals that a group of Dal people received sandalwood paste and Tulsi leaf from Lord Jagannath Temple and were directed to act as priests (*pujari*) in Hindu temples. Dal act as the priests of famous Harishankar temple situated about 80 Kms away from Bolangir town and about 40 Kms away from Patnagarh. Hari (Lord Vishnu) and Shankar (Lord Shiva) (Dal's Shankar Baba) is the admixture of Vaishnavism and Shaivism. Besides, they worship goddess Maa "Vairabi" (*matrushakti*) in Harishankar temple. It indicates the pluralistic approach of their religion (*bahu debata bada*).

Dal religion is in a transitory mode. Their socio-religious system has changed with the passage of time. Over period of time, they have made a religious journey from an indigenous aboriginal faith to Hinduism. At first they were animists. Deities of forest and land were being worshipped since time

immemorial. Now they worship Hindu deities. They believe that life is mortal and mundane. God is immortal and almighty. They have their strong faith on supernatural beings. Gods and Goddesses are considered as the real controller of this mundane world. By virtue of worship (*puja*) and appeasement of the deities and spirits one can get eternal peace.

Dal Pantheon:

Ancient Deities:

Biru, Patakhanda, Babuna, Jharjhara, Mauli and Dharni

Forest Deities:

Mamuli, Khud, Dharani, Jadar and Lili are their forest deities whom they worship to save themselves from danger and disadvantages that occur in the jungle and in other life situation.

Clan (Gotra) Deities:

Gotra based deities are another religious feature of Dal which shows their innate love towards the supernatural beings, gods and goddesses. Among them, *Bhoi* group worship Vaira and Jamnakarher gods and Janni group, Dolkri budhi, Patkhanda. Likewise the Bisal group worships Duarsani, Chandi Majhi and Bar Roul.

Hindu Deities:

Jagannath, Rama, Krishna, Shiva (Shankar Baba) Vishnu, Laxmi, Kali, Durga and other the gods and goddesses of Hindu pantheon are worshipped. Besides this they also worship regional deities like Samalei, Pataneswari, Bhairabi, Barul etc.

Their socio-religious behaviours have changed a lot after their pious recognition as Pujaris (priests). They simply put emphasis on purity of soul and transparency of character. Their moral and ethical values presuppose a spiritual foundation in the Dal society.

Aesthetic Life

The Dals have good aesthete sense. The hair style of Dal women is very beautiful. Coloured ribbons, variety of clips and designed combs used in women's hairdo exhibit their aesthetic sense. Cheap and simple, ornaments were being used in the past. Now women put on ornaments made of gold, silver and aluminum alloy.

The Dals are very fond of dancing and singing. Both boys and girls sing and dance together. As soon as night approaches the unmarried boys and gather for dancing and singing. The boys and girls of the same village do not dance together, as they are considered as brothers and sisters. In fact, dancing and singing are organised on various ceremonial occasions. Their musical instruments

include *dhola*, *nisan*, *ghumra*, *bada dhola* and *bainshi* (Flute). Before dancing, country liquor is habitually drunk by the Dal.

Annual Festival Calendar

Sl. No	Name of the Ritual/Festival	Period of Observance	Deities Worshipped	Offerings/Sacrifices	Communal/Individual
1.	Magha Tiar	Magha (Jan-Feb-March)	Family Deities	No Sacrifice	Individual
2.	Mahul Kuchi	Phaguna (Feb-March)	Ancestral Spirits	Cock, Mahua liquor	Individual
3.	Shivaratri	Phaguna (Feb-March)	Shiva (Sankar Baba)	No Sacrifice	Communal & Individual
4.	Chaita Parab	Chaita (Mar-April)	Family Deities	Goat, cock	Communal & Individual
5.	Bihan Behera	Baisakha (Apr-May)	Village Deities	No Sacrifice	Individual
6.	Mati Jatra	Jestha (May-June)	Mother Earth	No Sacrifice	Communal
7.	Asadha Khai	Asadha (June-July)	Mother Earth	No Sacrifice	Communal
8.	Kodua Jatra	Sravana (July-August)	Family Deities Ancestral spirits	No Sacrifice	Communal & Individual
9.	Navana Puja		Family Deities	No Sacrifice	Individual
10.	Panchhada Puja		Tulsi	No Sacrifice	Communal
11.	Chauldhua	New rice is washed for cooking			Individual
12.	Laxmi Puja	Margasira (Oct-Nov)	Laxmi	No Sacrifice	Individual
13.	Pus Punei	Pussa (Nov-Dec)	Family Deities	Fowls	Communal & Individual

SOCIAL CONTROL

In the past the Dal had no organized community council found at the village level except an informal body of village elders sitting, as and when required, to handle the cases of violation of customs and traditions. Now they have community council (Jati Sabha) headed by a President and a Secretary to deal

with their customary matters. Any violation in customary rules are discussed and decided by the village leaders and elders in a formal meeting of the council. The council adjudicates cases pertaining to family disputes, theft, rape, incest, divorce etc. It also makes arrangements for organization and management of village level rituals and festivals.

In the present times the Dal has the experience of functioning of the democratic system of Panchayatraj. In the new set-up, elected members like Ward Members, Sarapanchas, Panchayat Samiti Chairmen and members are working to take care of their socio-economic development needs.

CHANGING SCENE

In tune with time the socio-economic situation of Dal community has changed. Now-a-days some of them are working as teachers and some are engaged in different government and private sector jobs. Different schemes, programmes have been launched by the government for their socio-economic upliftment.

In recent times, most of the dropout students of this community have been enrolled in the nearby schools successfully. Parental attitude towards education has changed. Children are no more used as domestic helps. Today they are more vigilant about their health. Though indigenous medicine has not lost its importance among them, they avail the available health care facilities for better and modern treatment. They use modern inputs for better agricultural production. Women Self Help Groups among the Dal community have become the hub of economic empowerment.

Awareness programmes on different development schemes and initiatives have made them conscious about the outer world as a whole. The impact of planned change and modernization are visible in their life style. Still, in their socio-cultural system they have retained some basic tribal features which distinguish them from other ethnic groups.

D A L *

Ch. P.K. Mohapatra ¹

The Dal constitutes a small tribe and have a population of 19,867 according to the 1991 Census. They are mostly found in the southern and western regions of Bolangir District and part of the western region of Kalahandi District. Of a population of 19,867 as many as 18,080 are found only in the districts of Kalahandi and Bolangir, the district of Bolangir having a major proportion of the population, i.e. 14,674. During the 1981 census their total number was 18,163. The growth rate in the decade between 1981 and 1991 is calculated as being 9.38 per cent. There has been a marginal growth among the literates during the decade, with the literacy rate at 16.46 per cent in the 1991 Census. Their main concentration in the Bolangir District is in Belpara, Khaprakhole and Kantabanjhi Panchayat Nuapada sub-division of Kalahandi District.

The houses of the Dal are in the pattern of the local Hindu people and they thatch their houses with *khaparas* or country tiles prepared by themselves. A house is generally rectangular in ground plan. The floor of the house is made of earth with walls plastered with mud. It consists of 2 or 3 rooms having a separate kitchen. The cowshed is constructed separately adjacent to the hut. Each house has a kitchen garden properly fenced where vegetables are grown. They live with other caste people like the Bhuliyas, Loharas and Panos. The dress and ornaments are the same as those of the local people. They speak colloquial Oriya like their neighbours and do not have a separate dialect of their own.

The Dal kinship system is very interesting. Earlier they were divided into six exogamous units, namely Bhoj, Jhankar, Majhi, Mallik, Bisal and Jani. In course

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¹ Former Deputy Director, SCSTRTI, Bhubaneswar

of time the exogamous nature of few of the divisions like Bhoi, Mallik, Majhi and Jani has changed, and these have become endogamous units having two different sub-divisions. Each sub-division is an exogamous unit. For example, the Bhoi group is divided into two sub-divisions, namely Sat gachhia and Bar gachhia, i.e. seven trees and twelve trees. Sat gachhia consists of seven lineages like Gurusk Bhoi, Jugaska Bhoi, Libujka Bhoi, Chilmilka Bhoi, Jadaka Bhoi, Jalangia Bhoi and Sat Malika Bhoi. The other division, Bar gachhia, consists of twelve different lineages, namely Patra, Mutka, Jabaska, Lipu Chika, Lurka, Karka, Bharka, Bisal, Kunar, Tilika, Banjahlika and Thanapets. The two sub-divisions of an endogamous unit are generally known as *banjulha* and *mutka* and are exogamous. The other two units of the Dal like Bisal and Jhankar are exogamous units and can have marriage relations with the four units mentioned above.

Ordinarily they put on dress and ornaments like other caste Hindu neighbours. These ornaments are of the cheap, simple and lighter varieties. They rarely wear gold ornaments. The hairstyle of the Dal women is unique. They spend a lot of time in dressing the hair and decorate it with coloured ribbons, clips and specially designed combs.

The life cycle of the Dal is marked by four different rites connected with birth, youth, marriage and death. The birth of a child is always welcome the Dal community. They consider conception and pregnancy (*garavbas*) to be a blessing from God. The gestational period in some cases may be earlier and in some cases it may be late. At the end of five months of pregnancy when the woman feels foetal movement she declares that she is feeling heavy. She is not given any medicine during this period unless required. A pregnant woman has to follow certain food restrictions. She should not eat non-vegetarian food because it will create complications at the time of the delivery. Due to their poor economic condition, they cannot afford to provide pregnant women with a good diet. The diet in general consists of boiled rice, *dal*, edible leaves and a small quantity of vegetables. A pregnant woman has to take various precautions for the baby while it is in her womb. She should not see or touch a corpse lest it will bring danger to the baby in the womb. She should not go to the river or streams or to the burial ground, to a dark place or to the temple. A pregnant woman should not tie knots during a solar or lunar eclipse. A woman works despite of her pregnancy. It is recognised, however, that work which is too heavy may result in miscarriage and, therefore, the woman who wants a child should be careful about this.

When a pregnant woman feels labour pains, she immediately informs her mother-in-law or any other elderly female member of the family. The delivery takes place at one corner of the living room. The pregnant woman is asked to sit with her legs stretched forward holding a cot. Sometimes the woman in attendance massages her waist and belly with groundnut oil for a smooth delivery. Some elderly married women of the community remain present in the lying-in room to

assist the pregnant woman in the delivery. No male is allowed to remain inside the house. After the child is born, the umbilical cord is severed by one of the women in attendance using a knife or razor blade, which is normally unsterilized. The placenta is then put in an earthen pot and handed over to the husband or father-in-law who takes it out to bury it in the back yard of the house. The pit is covered with a stone, so that it is not eaten away by a dog or any other animal.

In cases of unusual or difficult delivery the family calls for a nurse or a doctor from a nearby hospital. In cases of abortion or stillbirth the woman is always treated with the help of a nurse and sometimes by a doctor. In serious cases they take the woman to the hospital. The Dal despise barrenness. In most cases a barren woman is sent back to her parent's house or divorced and her husband remarries. The cause of barrenness is not clear. They say barrenness is due to the wrath of evil spirits and also to incurable diseases. Barrenness is thought to be removed by worshipping the village deity. Nowadays, the Dal also get medicines from the hospital and accept the advice of the doctor concerning removing barrenness.

Soon after birth the female attendant cleans the baby with a piece of cotton cloth. Then she anoints both the mother and the baby with castor oil or til oil or groundnut oil and bathes them in tepid water. The new-born infant is warmed up three times daily for thirty consecutive days. Then this is reduced to two times and ceases when the baby is six months old.

Five to six hours after delivery the attendant or the mother herself extracts some milk from her breasts and throws it away. Then she anoints the nipples with warm cow's ghee and starts feeding the new-born child. She takes some powder of *akanbindi* leaves for three consecutive days. Sometimes she is given allopathic treatment if considered necessary for a period of six days or if the naval cord drops off. Both mother and child take a purificatory bath in the morning with warm water after being anointed with oil and turmeric paste. The family invites all the members of the lineage (*kutumb lok*) for the celebration of a purificatory ceremony called Handi Dharana. The special feature of this ceremony is that 7 to 9 women take the parturient woman to the kitchen and make her touch the cooking pots in which food is stored. The guests present on the occasion are served with such food touched by her. From that day on the mother is allowed to do all her normal household tasks.

Whenever the baby cries the mother immediately feeds it. The frequency of feeding varies from child to child. If the mother dies the child is fed by other female members from the breast for a month or so. Thereafter cow's or goat's milk added with water is given in a feeding bottle. If mother's milk is not sufficient the baby is given cow's milk.

On the day of delivery the woman is given a liquid diet, and from the second day onwards she is given boiled rice, together with a handful of garlic fried in ghee once a day. She is allowed to take this for a week or so. From the twentieth day onwards she is given full meals twice a day. The name-giving ceremony takes place on the 21st or 30th day after the birth. In the morning both mother and child put on new clothes presented by the maternal uncle after a purificatory bath. A Brahman is called to perform a *puja* and to give a name to the child. If the family can afford it, a feast is arranged for the relatives.

The first hair-cutting of the infant takes place at three months. The maternal uncle or, if he is not available, any person of the clan first shaves the infant after sacrificing a fowl to the deities. The infant is given rice and other starchy food at seven months when the first eating of rice ceremony takes place. In most cases the cost of the ceremony is borne by the maternal uncle and in his absence by the father. On this occasion the baby, dressed in a new cloth, is fed rice porridge from a new plate. The mother does not wean away the child from breast-feeding deliberately as it is considered a sin. The baby is allowed to take breast milk as long as it is there. On the arrival of a new baby the previous one is weaned away gradually.

The new-born baby sleeps most of the time, preferably on a cot. There is no provision of a cradle but sometimes a child sleeps in a *charpoi* hung from the roof of the house. At night it sleeps with the mother until it is 6 to 7 years old. Generally the child begins to walk at about one and half years. But in many cases this is delayed because of poor growth. Walking is taught to the babies by their elder siblings.

For the first six months the baby is allowed to urinate and defecate on a piece of cloth, which is spread over its bed. The mother changes the wet cloth whenever it is noticed. During this period the mother cleans the child's mouth with a piece of cloth dipped in oil. Subsequently it is taught to use a *nim*, *karanja* or *sal* twig to brush its teeth. Children at the age of three years are taught by their mother and other elder persons of the family about bathing and bodily cleanliness, wearing dresses and combing the hair.

Up to three years most children go naked. Sex differentiation is observed in their dress pattern, little girls are found wearing frocks and panties, and boys putting on shirts and shorts. Girls from 7 years to 8 years wear small saris, but the boys continue to wear shirts and shorts.

The first words taught to the baby are *bua* (father) and *ha* (mother). Most children start talking at the age of one half to two years. No care is taken to help the children to talk. In such cases the children have to pick up it through the absorptive process of hearing older people. Sex differentiation is observed right

from childhood in their play. Male children tend to play separately with toys made of wood sticks and stones, while the girls play with coconut shells, tile, lid and bottle corks. Grown-up girls in a group go to the field to defecate in the morning and evening and also to bathe in the nearby pond. The boys also form a group and wander about the village to play and gossip. The boys of poor families do not go to school from 12 or 13 but help their parents in economic activities.

Puberty is an important occasion in the life of a girl. After her first menses she is considered mature and ready for marriage. At the onset of puberty she is kept secluded in a part of the house for seven days. During this period she is not allowed to see the faces of the male members of the family. The mother and other female members attend her. On the seventh day she takes a purificatory bath after anointing oil and turmeric paste over the body. She puts on a new sari, a blouse, bangles and ribbons. Then she is asked to prepare rice porridge and distribute it to all her family members and friends.

Physical punishment is inflicted on children when they are capable of understanding language, i.e. after three years. Punishment is given immediately after a mistake is committed in early childhood. Physical punishment generally consists of beating and pulling the hair or ears. Adults are not beaten but scolded for the mistakes they commit. Grown-up boys or girls are usually not beaten but scolded for their mistakes.

Monogamy is the rule but there are also cases of polygamous marriages. Each clan is exogamous. However, a person can also marry the wife of another person belonging to his own clan if the person dies. Marriage by negotiation is very common. In choosing a bride, father's sister's daughter and mother's brother's daughter are preferred. Usually the proposal of marriage is made by the boy's parents. The parents or the elder brother of the groom goes with a pot of liquor and a basket full of fried rice (*bhuga*), *lia* (*khai*) or flat rice (*chuda*) to the bride's house accompanied by his relatives. If the father of the bride accepts the liquor and eats the *bhuga* and *chuda*, the negotiation is finally approved. On that day the date for the marriage is fixed with the help of the village astrologer or Nahaka, once the brideprice has been fixed. The brideprice usually consists of Rs.40/- in cash along with clothes for all the members of bride's family, one quintal of rice, a goat and about twenty bottles of liquor. On the day of marriage the groom sits on a sacred mat on the altar and the rituals start. The Jhankar or priest of the community presides over the function. Marriage rituals are identical with those of Hindus. Levirate and sororate are allowed. The Dal have a few persons or their own who are known as *Mahamanab*. They are on the lower rung of Dal society and exert immense influence with regard to issues like divorce and disputes among the Dal. They conduct the Jatia Samaj Bhoji, where all the Dal of that region gather and discuss the issue and are entertained by the leaders. The contributions are collected from parties who present themselves for the settlement

of their disputes and are aided by the leaders who are economically better off. In cases of divorce, the girl who is divorced is brought to the gathering by her father. The man who is divorcing her gives the divorcee As. 5 and a new cloth. The *Mahamanab* or the leader gives the girl to another person on that day and the brideprice procured is spent on feasting and merrymaking. These social gatherings are usually held in the month of Chaitra and Baisakh. People from distant villages are invited to attend the gathering.

The Dal are very fond of dancing and singing. Both boys and girls sing and dance together. As soon as night approaches the unmarried boys and girls get together for dancing and singing. The boys and girls of the same village do not dance together, as they are considered brothers and sisters. In fact, dancing and singing are organised on various ceremonial occasions. Their musical instruments include *dhola*, *nisan*, *ghumra*, *badadhola* and *banish* (Flute). Before dancing, country liquor is habitually drunk by the Dal.

Corpses are generally cremated. Death pollution continues for ten days. On the third day the Telaghara ceremony is observed where the inmates of the deceased's house use 1010 oil and take a purificatory bath in the stream. From that day on people are allowed to mix with outsiders. On the tenth day the final purificatory ceremony takes place as among the Hindus.

The family is considered to be the smallest social unit. It is patrilineal, patrilocal and patripotestal. Property is inherited through the male line. In a Dal family unmarried sons normally stay with their parents and separate after their own marriages. Though a married son maintains a house of his own, he still maintains his close links with his parents and the other unmarried brothers and sisters. In all social, economic and religious matters the entire family works together as a single unit. The paternal property is divided among the brothers only after the death of the father.

In the economic field they live as cultivators in both districts. They plough both wet land and upland. They know the use of manure and chemical fertilizer, pesticide and insecticide. They cultivate *ragi* and *kodua* more than paddy and *gurji*. In the uplands, they grow H.Y.V. paddy, *kodua*, *ragi*, pulses like *mung*, *biri*, *arhar*, *kulthi* and seasonal vegetables. In wet and medium land they grow only paddy. Tobacco is also grown in the kitchen gardens of almost everyone. Apart from these each Dal owns a number of *mahul* trees. *Mahul* is collected and stored by each family and they depend on it for their food. Mostly *mahul* is exchanged for *ragi* and *kodua* with the contractors who brew liquor in the neighbourhood. They depend on the nearby forest for collecting firewood, fruits, green leaves, honey and *lac*. Hunting is a part-time activity. Landless families depend entirely on day wages. Some families are engaged in brick- and tile-making. They depend on the nearby markets for salt, oil, turmeric and cloths. These are sold by Marwari businessmen

who charge exorbitant prices for an article. The Kultas, Bhuliyas and Marwaris also exploit the Dal by advancing them loans for produce at a nominal rate as a condition at the time of giving loan. The Dal are compelled to dispose of their produce at the rate fixed at the time the loan is advanced.

The Dal of Belpara, Khaparakhole and Kantabanjhi regions are connected with the worship of the God Mahadev at a place known as Harisankar, where there is a temple to Lord Siva, where the Dal are the traditional worshippers of this god. The Dal of the Komna and Khariar blocks of Kalahandi District are still believers in Hinduism and all their activities are influenced by the beliefs and practices of their Hindu neighbours. They say that they worship all the major Gods and Goddesses of the Hindu pantheon such as Siva, Ram, Krishna, Durga, Kali, etc. Apart from that each *gotra* mentioned above has a God of its own. For example, Vaira and Jamnakarher are the gods worshipped by the Bhoi group, Dolkribudhi and Patkhanda are the gods worshipped by the *jani* group, Duarsani, Chandi Majhi and Bar Rout are worshipped by the *bisal* group. They have separate sacred houses for each of these gods and goddesses.

The Dal observe different festivals and rituals according to the Hindu calendar. Some of the festivals concerning their religious life are given below:

1. Magha Tiar	This is celebrated in the month of Magha (Jan., Feb. and March). The home deity is worshipped. No sacrifice is made on this occasion.
2. Mahul Kuchi	This is celebrated in the month of Phaguna (Feb-March). On this occasion the ancestral spirits are worshipped. They are appeased with <i>mahua</i> liquor and a cock.
3. Chait Parab	This is celebrated in the month of Ghaitra (March-April). On this occasion a goat or a cock is sacrificed in front of the home deity.
4. Bihan Behera	This is observed in the month of Baisakha (April- May) when paddy appears for the first time.
5. Mati Jatra	In the month of Jestha (May-June) the mother earth is worshipped at the end of the village.
6. Asadha Khai	This is observed in the month of Asadha (June-July). Communal worshipping made first in the village and then in the forest.

7. Kodua Jatra	In the month of Sravana (July-August) this ceremony is performed at the individual family level. The home deities and ancestral spirits are worshipped.
8. Navana Puja	This is performed when new rice is eaten. It is mostly observed in the kitchen or <i>bhitarghar</i> .
9. Panchhada Puja	This is commonly observed and is held in the middle of the village under a <i>tulsi</i> plant. A Brahman priest performs the rituals.
10. Chaul dhua	On this occasion the new rice is washed for cooking.
11. Laxmi Puja	In the month of Margasira (October-November), like other Oriya families, they worship the goddess of wealth.
12. Pus Punei	This is observed in the month of Pausa (November-December) and is an important festival in the Dal community. Fowls are sacrificed in front of the home deity.

Apart from these festivals they have a number of deities of their own. Among them the important ones are Patkhanda, Biru, Bhagabati, Gangadevi, Babuna, Jharjhar, Mauli and Dharani. They also worship forest deities like Mamuli, Khud, Dharani, Jader and Lili. During these festivals they eat, drink and dance.

DHARUA *

*S. C. Mohanty*¹

The Dharua also called Durua is a little known small tribe of the State, mainly concentrated in Malkangiri, Koraput and Nawrangpur districts and sparsely distributed in Bolangir, Sambalpur, Kalahandi, Nuapara, Mayurbhanj, Baragarh and Balasore districts. It is a Gondid tribe and is also known as Naik Gond or Dhur Gond and locally as Durua. Ethnologically, the Dharua has been assumed to have been derived from *dhara*, meaning to catch, as their traditional occupation is to catch reptiles, birds and wild games from the forest. According to their annals they were military retainers of the former feudal chief of Bamanghati and after their defeat in Tentaposi war they fled to Singhbhum. They claim Bastar as their original home land.

The Dharua are a migratory community and have immigrated to Odisha during the past from Bastar of Madhya Pradesh (now Chhattisgarh) which they claim as their original homeland. In the past, the saying goes, the tribesmen served as warriors to the kings.

They are a Dravidian speaking tribe whose mother tongue is *parji*. They are bilingual as they speak the local lingua-franca *desia* (Odia) and *telugu* for intergroup communication. As per 2011 census their population in Odisha is 18,151 and level of literacy 31.39%.

The Dharua is divided into two sub-groups such as *bara* and *chot* on the basis of the purity of descent. Each sub-group is divided into clans and sub-clans. Each sub-clan (*vansa*), is named after a mythological *Rishi* who is represented by a totemic animal following the Hindu Puranic traditions.

* Unpublished article of 2000 updated in 2018

¹ Research Officer (2000) & Consultant (2018), SCSTRTI

The Dharua regard marriage as an important event in life as well as a social obligation. Parents take the responsibility of arranging marriage of their grown up children. They perform *sindurdan*, the ritual of marrying to a mango tree. The Dharua cremate the dead and observe death pollution for three days.

The Dharua profess their autonomous tribal religion of animism with admixture of Hinduism. They are polytheists and their pantheon includes a number of tribal deities and Hindu deities i.e., Jagannath, Laxmi, Mahadev, Kali, Durga, Sitala and Manasa etc. They worship their clan gods, *Bar Deo* and *Dhulha Deo* and a host of Hindu deities. They believe in the existence of ancestral spirits, ghosts and witches. They appease the super natural agencies by offering food and animal sacrifices.

They have their own highly organized traditional community council headed by the *Sardar*. It adjudicates cases pertaining to their customary affairs and delivers its final verdict.

Agriculture is the mainstay of their subsistence economy, supplemented by allied pursuits such as wage earning, forest collection, animal husbandry, small business, *khali* stitching, rope making, snake charming, etc. They are non-vegetarians and relish pork but abstain from taking beef. They follow the rule of patrilocal residence after marriage and patrilineal rule of descent.

The Dharua possess rich oral tradition of folk songs, folk tales, riddles, proverbs and folk dances. Their folk songs include *jhumurgeet*, *darigeet*, *karamgeet*, *tusugeet*, *sarhulgeet* and *urageet* which they sing during dances performed on festive occasions. They also sing *jhumurgeet* during marriage procession and crops harvesting. Their pattern of dances is *chhau / chhaunatua*, *jhumur/jhumura*, *dhemsa*, *lathi dudia* (stick dance) and *gottar* etc. They perform *lathi dudia* dance on the occasion of celebration of *pus parab* and *gottar* dance during communal hunting and *dhemsa* during marriage ceremony. Dharua women are expert in wall painting.

At present the impact of planned change and modernization gradually has its impact on their way of life. Consequently, their age old traditional social institutions are declining. Yet they are struggling hard to retain the time tested elements of their pristine culture and thereby, preserve their cultural identity while trying their best to make the best of both the worlds.

DHARUA ¹

R. K. Pradhan

Dharuas or DharuaGonds are one of the oldest tribe of Orissa and are found in different districts of Odisha. According to Sir H. H. Risley they are one of the several septs of the Gonds and are otherwise known as Naiks. He is of opinion that the Dharuas are the ordinary Gonds, who in most of the districts form an endogamous group. According to Russell the word Dharua may be derived from “dhur’ (dust), that is the common people and they are inferior to Raj Gonds. On the other hand, Sir Edward A. Gait expresses his views that the Dharuas were once predominant tribe of the Narasingpur State and formed a major group. At that time, they ranked high and enjoyed the service of Brahmans, Bhandari, Dhoba all of whose services are now denied to them and they are no longer of any political importance. They are considered as a distinct community so far as the physical characteristics are concerned. The Dharuas closely resemble with the Negro type. They have medium stature with well-developed chests and massive shoulders, and the nose is broad. Their hair is black, coarse and curly and they have scanty growth of beard and mustache.

The present population of the Dharuas with their literacy rate is given in the following table district wise.

Sl. No	Districts	Male	Female	Total Population	Literacy	
					Male	Female
1.	Kalahandi	307	242	549	50	00
2.	Koraput	2,404	2,484	4,888	78	03
3.	Sambalpur	47	36	83	14	00
4.	Bolangir	415	467	882	96	15
5.	Sundargarh	51	50	101	04	08
6.	Dhenkanal	41	36	77	08	03
7.	Cuttack	58	38	96	00	01
8.	Mayurbhanj	247	286	533	55	02
9.	Balesore	00	01	01	01	00
Total		3,570	3,640	7,210	306	32

¹ Published in ADIBASI, Vol. V, No.3, (Spl. Issue), TRB, Bhubaneswar 1963-64, pp.135-36

As I have mentioned before the Dharuas, in most districts, form one endogamous group. Some large septs, especially the Mika and Dhurwa, are divided into a number of sub-septs within each of which marriage is not allowed. The Dharuas or Dharua Gonds are divided into 1. Soma (Moon), 2. Surya (Sun), 3. Jadu, 4. Kadamba, 5. Gangu, 6. Garga *vansas* which are well known Kshatriya stocks of India and it seems that this classification of the tribe has most probably been based on the tradition of the Hindu Puranas. Each of the Vansas is said to have Rishi representing the name of the clan of the family and it is interesting to note that each Rishi is represented with an animal which is highly respected by the family. According to P. Acharya, these six *vansas* have been classified according to the number of Gods and this classification is due to the number of sons born to each of the seven sons of Parameswar at the time of creation. This classification according to Sri Acharya is as follows:-

Sl. No.	Name of the family	Name of the God	Name of Rishi	Name of the animal
	1	2	3	4
1.	Ganga	Duideo	Makar	Crocodile
2.	Surya	Tirideo	Vasistha	Lion
3.	Kadamba	Charideo	Subesh	Falcon
4.	Jadu	Pand-deo	Kashyap	Tortoise
5.	Garga	Chhadeo	Garga	Elephant
6.	Soma	Sata-deo	Nagasa	Cobra

As regards the family, the father acts as the head and manages the family. The income of the family members go to the headman and it is the head man's duty to fulfill the needs of the family members. Both nuclear and joint families are found among the Dharuas.

Marriage is an important social obligation. In the Dharua community the father is over anxious to get his sons and daughters married early. There is no fixed age for the marriage for both the sexes, except that they should marry as early as possible. However the practice of both infant and adult marriage is found among the Dharuas, but under Hindu influence they are more inclined to adult marriage. Marriage is generally done by parental arrangement. Sindurdan and marriage to mango tree form prominent part of the ritual of this tribe and the marriage is finished with pouring water over the bride and bride-groom by a barber. The widows and widowers are allowed to marry again and no special function is held on these occasions. But feast is given to the people of their community in both the cases.

Occupation

In olden times the Dharuas were mostly agriculturists by occupation though some of them were employed in the military service maintained by the

native Rajas. But in course of time, a great change has taken place in their economic life. Now, besides being agriculturists, they are found in different wage-earning professions. They are in character, reserved, sullen and suspicious and thus put themselves into a lot of troubles in various ways. They are in different cultivators and consequently the yield from their land cannot suffice the consumption of the family. However, mighty national plans are being worked out to provide them with ample opportunities for their economic development.

Religion

Religion is the cream of every society. The cultural superstructure stands firmly on religion. The Dharuas worship the Gods associated with their clans. Their supreme Gods are known as Bar Deo and Dhulha Deo. In addition to the above Gods they also worship the Hindu Gods and Goddesses coming in close contact with neighbouring clean-caste people. They also believe in the existence of Ghosts and spirits and thus offer food to their ancestors at the time of observance of various festivals. The Dharuas do believe in the witch craft. When any member of a family is attacked with disease the people think that it is due to the anger of a God and Goddess and sacrifice fowls, etc. to propitiate the God or Goddess.

Disposal of the dead

The Dharuas burn the dead bodies. Before the dead body is taken to the funeral ground, it is anointed with oil and turmeric and is wrapped with a new cloth. The dead body is generally taken by the clan members and is burned in the funeral ground. The kith and kin of the deceased mourn and observe death pollution for a temporary period of three days after which they purify themselves by bathing. On the third day they make offerings of food to the departed soul.

Conclusion

Independence has brought new light and great hope for the entire tribal communities of India and the Dharuas, no doubt, will share the opportunities open for them. Since independence Government have been trying to make the people free from the economic and social evils. As matter of fact, it is hoped that time will come when these people will come to the same footing of the general population of the country.

D H A R U A*

*Ch. P.K. Mohapatra*¹

The Dharua or Dharua Gonds are one of the oldest tribes of Orissa and are found in different districts of the state. According to Sir H. H. Risley they are one of the several septs of the Gonds and are otherwise known as Naiks. He is of the opinion that the Dharua are the ordinary Gonds, who form an endogamous group in most districts. According to Russell the word 'Dharua' may be derived from *dhur* (dust), that is, the common people and they are inferior to Raj Gonds. On the other hand, Sir Edward A. Gait thinks that the Dharua were once the main tribe of Narsingpur State and formed a major group. At that time they were ranked high and enjoyed the services of the Brahmans, Bhandari and Dhoba, all of whose services are now denied to them and they are no longer of any political importance. They are considered a distinct community so far as physical characteristics are concerned. The Dharuas closely resemble the Negro type. They are of medium stature with well-developed chests and massive shoulders, and the nose is broad. Their hair is black, coarse and curly, and they have scant growth of beard and moustache.

The population of the Dharuas in three different census years shows that their population increased from 7210 in 1961 to 8791 in 1971. But after that their population decreased and in 1981 was recorded at 8610 and it again increased to 11,512 in 1991. The overall percentage of decrease from 1971 to 1981 was 2 percent and the overall percentage of increase between 1981 and 1991 was 33.69 percent. The sex ratio according to the 1991 Census is 808 females per 1000 males. The percentage of literacy, which was 6.1 in 1981, went up to 7.3 in 1991.

* Published in Tribes of Orissa (revised edition), SCSTRTI, Bhubaneswar 2004, pp. 121-22

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As mentioned before, in most districts the Dharua form one endogamous group. Some large septs, especially the Mika and Dharuva, are divided into a number of sub-septs within each of which marriage is prohibited. The Dharua, Durua or Dharua Gonds are divided into Soma (Moon), Surya (Sun), Jadu, Kadamb, Gangu and Garga *vansas*, which are well known Kshatriya stocks of India, and it seems that this classification of the tribe has most probably been based on the tradition of the Hindu Puranas. Each of the *vansas* is said to have a *rishi* representing the name of the clan of the family and it is interesting to note that each *rishi* is represented by an animal which is highly respected by the family. According to P. Acharya, these six *vansas* have been classified according to the number of gods, and this classification is due to the number of sons born to each of the seven sons of Parameswar at the time of creation. This classification according to Sri Acharya is as follows:

Name of family	Name of God	Name of Rishi	Name of animal
1. Ganga	Duideo	Makar	Crocodile
2. Surya	Tirideo	Vasistha	Lion
3. Kadamba	Charideo	Subesh	Falcon
4. Jadu	Pand deo	Kashyp	Tortoise
5. Garga	Chhadeo	Garga	Elephant
6. Soma	Sata deo	Nagasa	Cobra

The father acts as the head of the family and manages it. The income of the family members goes to the headman, and it is the headman's duty to fulfill the needs of the family members. Both nuclear and joint families are found among the Dharuas.

Marriage is an important social obligation. In the Dharua community the father is over-anxious to get his sons and daughters married early. There is no fixed age for the marriage of both the sexes, except that they should marry as early as possible. However, the practice of both infant and adult marriages is found among the Dharua, but under Hindu influence they are more inclined to adult marriage. Marriage is generally undertaken by parental arrangement. *Sinduradan* and marriage to a mango tree form a prominent part of the ritual of this tribe, and the marriage ends with water being poured over the bride and groom by a barber.

In olden times the Dharua were mostly agriculturists by occupation though in the past some of them were employed in the military service of the native Rajas. But in course of time, a great change took place in their economic life. Now, besides being agriculturists, they are found in different wage-earning professions. They are in character reserved, sullen and suspicious, and thus get themselves into a lot of trouble in various ways. They are indifferent cultivators and consequently the yield from their land cannot provide for the family's

consumption. However, national plans are being worked out to provide them with ample opportunities for their economic development.

Religion is the cream of every society. The cultural superstructure is based firmly on religion. The Dharua worship the gods associated with their clans. Their supreme gods are known as Bar Do and Dhulha Deo. In addition to the above gods they also worship Hindu gods and goddesses, coming into close contact with neighbouring clean-caste people. They also believe in the existence of ghosts and spirits and thus offer food to their ancestors at the time of the observance of various festivals. The Dharua strongly believe in witchcraft. When any member of a family is attacked with disease, people think that it is due to the anger of a god or goddess, and they sacrifice fowls, etc. to propitiate the god or goddess.

The Dharuas burn the dead. Before the dead body is taken to the funeral ground, it is anointed with oil and turmeric and is wrapped in a new cloth. The dead body is generally carried by the clan members to the funeral ground and disposed of there. The kith and kin of deceased mourn and observe death pollution for a temporary period of three days, after which they purify themselves by bathing. On the third day they make offerings of food to the departed soul.

DHARUA *

A. B. Ota ¹

S. C. Mohanty ²

IDENTITY

The Dharua or Dharua Gond is an endogamous section of the great Gond tribe of Central India. They are one of the oldest tribes of Odisha locally called Durua and are found in different districts of the state. The tribe is mainly concentrated in Malkangiri, Koraput, Nowrangpur districts and are sparsely distributed in Bolangir, Sambalpur, Kalahandi, Nuapara, Mayurbhanj, Baragarh and Balasore districts of the State.

Early ethnographer like Dalton (1872:267) stated "In the Singhbhum district there are many colonies of Gonds, but they are there styled Dorowas". Sir H. H. Risley (1891) has mentioned, "Dharoa, Dharua, a sub caste of Gonds, usually employed in washing gold from the sands of the rivers in Chota Nagpur". R. V. Russell and Hiralal (1916) mentioned the community as Dhur Gond. According to K. S. Singh (1994), Dharua is one among several groups of the Gond and they are referred to as Dharua in Bihar. They are also known as Naik Gond. The other names conferred on them by their neighbours are Rawanvansi which means the offshoots of Rawan - the puranic demon king of Srilanka and the opponent of Lord Rama. The tribe is also found in West Bengal, Bihar, Jharkhand, Chhatisgarh as well as former Madras Presidency and Central Provinces in India.

The term Dharua has been derived from *dhur* meaning dust for which the community is regarded as a discrete group among the *Gondid* tribes.

* Published in the Photo Handbook on Dharua, SCSTRTI, Bhubaneswar, 2016

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Etymologically, the term *dharua* has been assumed to be derived from the word *dhara* meaning to catch, as the community's traditional occupation is to catch snakes, reptiles, birds and small games from forest. Another view holds that *dharua* means one who come en-masse (*dhara*) from a distant place to take refuge in their new settlement. It corroborates Dalton's (1872) account that Dharua were military retainers of Bamanghati feudal chief Nagendra Mahapatra and during Tentaposi war, he was defeated by the then king of Mayurbhanj after which the Dharuas left their original home land and fled to Singhbhum area and settled there.

The Dharua is an endogamous tribe and divided into two groups such as *bara* and *chota* among whom the former is ranked higher and the later, lower in social order of their society and inter marriage between them is strictly prohibited as the former consider themselves of pure descent and the latter, as illegitimate off springs. The Dharua are a migratory community and have immigrated to Odisha during the past from Bastar of Madhya Pradesh (now Chhattisgarh) which they claim as their original dialect. They are well versed with the local *lingua franca*, Odia, but also speak Hindi, Telugu, Kudumali and use Odia, Hindi or Telugu scripts for intergroup communication.

In Odisha, Dharua population as per 2011 census is 18,151; out of which, male population is 8875 and female, 9276. Their literacy rate is 31.39%. Among them 40.51% of males and 22.75% of females are literates. Their sex ratio is 1045 females per 1000 males.

Personal Appearance

Their body colour varies from light brown to dark brown. They possess medium height, long and narrow shaped head with marked cheek bones, prominent chin and broad nasal septum, obliquely set small eyes, large mouths with protuberant lips, well developed chest with massive shoulders, coarse and curly black hair, scanty beards and moustache.

In older days, Dharua lived an isolated life due to communication gap and their ignorance about the changing world. In those days the Dharua males were wearing only a short piece of loincloth (*langoti*) around their waist tied to a cotton thread to conceal their genitals leaving the upper parts fully uncovered. Their females were wearing short coarse *sarees* made of *kereng* fiber or purchased from local weavers in the weekly markets, which barely covered their body up to the knee. Little children below eight years of age were fully naked.

Tattooing was regarded as a trend of beautification in old days and Dharua women loved to make beautiful tattoo emblems such as flowers, *jhoti* marks, peacock, sun, stars, creeper, ladder, dots, tiger, snake, moon etc. on their hands, chest, face and legs done by an experienced woman belonging to Ghogia

community, in exchange of food grains, in order to enhance their beauty and charms. But, now-a-days the young girls have abandoned this fashion.

At present the Dharua have been influenced by modernity and to cope up with the changing time, their dress pattern has changed, but have no exclusiveness in it as they wear very simple dresses. Male dresses constitute hand woven short *dhoti* which covers up to their knee only and a *gamcha* or towel on their shoulder. Some of them wear *lungi*, pant, shirt and banyan. Females wear coloured *saree*, and printed *saya* and blouse. Poor and aged women wear only *saree* devoid of any under garments.

Dharua women are fond of adorning themselves with varieties of ornaments in order to look beautiful and charming. For adorning themselves their women wear *jhuntia* (toe rings) on their leg fingers and *pailu*, *paijania* and *bala* on their ankle, *antadar* as their waist chain, *pailu*, *bandaria*, *katuria*, *kalturi* and *gajul* on their wrists, *khagala* and *tad* on their arms, *ganthia*, *luli*, *hirabauli* and *julupi* on their ear lobes and *nadia*, *julupi* and *jhallaka* on their on their ear helix, *dandi*, *asguna* and nose rings in their nasal septum, *khagala*, *kiprimali*, *kangan*, *dhanmali*, *nan*, *kaliyamali*, *sadhasora*, *gunjumali* and various bead necklaces on their neck. They use *khosajka* and *dimsuja* on their hair bun and *chipna* in their hair as hair clip. They also decorate their bun with wild blossoms to look attractive. Women also wear various coloured glass or plastic bangles on their wrists. Their ornaments are made of silver, brass, copper or gold. Women of well-to-do families use gold ornaments.

SETTLEMENT PATTERN AND HOUSING

Dharua habitat is located amidst the *kondakamberu* mountainous ranges of the great Eastern *Ghat* region with amazing landscapes and picturesque topography. Its climatic condition is characterized by average rainfall and mild humidity. They generally dwell near hill slopes or foot hills where the perennial hill streams provide them drinking water throughout the year and they can channel its flow to their crop fields for irrigation purposes. Their village deities- *Gramshiri*, *Gaishiri* and *Garam* are shrined at the village outskirts under the sacred grove called *garamthan* who are worshipped by their traditional priest, *Dehuri*.

Dharua settlements are exclusively homogenous. Where they reside in multiethnic settlements, they dwell in a separate ward maintaining their cultural identity and keeping distance from other ethnic groups. Individual houses are arranged in linear pattern in parallel rows in their settlement, leaving a wide space in between as the village street. Their houses are always low roofed and have no window for ventilation and are built with mud walls and thatched with *piri* grass or country tile- *naria* having wide verandahs both in the front and rear sides which are generally higher than the plinth of the house and are used as sitting place during recreational hours and are also used to provide accommodation to their

guests during night. The walls of the house are clearly polished by their females using red or white clay and the floor is polished by black clay mixed with cow dung.

Their houses consist of two rooms out of which, the bigger one is used as living room and to store their crops and the smaller one is used as kitchen. They install their household deity *istipal* in the north east corner of their kitchen. They also construct a separate small enclosure in their rear verandah which is used to provide shelter to their women during attainment of menarche. Another shed is constructed in backside of their house to accommodate their livestock.

They possess limited household assets consisting of some aluminum plates and pots, earthen wares and gourd vessels which they keep near the hearth in the kitchen. Their agricultural implements such as ploughs, levelers, hoes, yokes, sickles, pickaxes etc. are kept on their front verandah. They keep their hunting weapons i.e. bows, arrows, spears, traps and axes etc. on walls of the living room. They hang their clothes on a bamboo pole, both ends of which hang from the ceiling tied by strings. They also keep seeds of varieties of crops they raise in their crop fields in different seed storage bins specially prepared, using straws, in their living room.

LIVELIHOOD

Dharua are primarily settled agriculturists. Settled cultivation as well as shifting cultivation is the mainstay of their subsistence economy. Many among them are landless or marginal farmers, who practice share cropping. In order to supplement their income, they take up other pursuits such as wage earning, collection of minor forest produce, animal husbandry, leaf plate (*khali*) stitching, rope making, petty business, hunting, fishing and snake charming etc. During lean seasons, some of them migrate to distant places to earn wages as labourers in private sectors or to work in tea gardens of Assam.

Paddy is their major crop, which they raise in their wet lands. In their uplands they grow varieties of cereals like, *ragi, bajra, janna, suan, kosla, kangu*, maize, pulses i.e., *biri, kulthi, kandul* and oil seeds such as *alsi*, mustard and *tila* etc. Adjacent to their house, they raise small kitchen gardens where they grow varieties of seasonal vegetables like, brinjal, banana, ladies' finger, papaya, drumstick, pumpkin, gourd, water gourd, radish, melon, tomato, cauliflower, cabbages, beans, peas, etc. to meet their consumption needs and to sell the surplus for cash in the nearest market. In their upland they also cultivate lemon grass and *sabai* grass. They sell the lemon grass to traders who extract oil from it and from the dry *sabai* grass they make ropes to sell in the market for cash.

The Dharua women contribute substantially to the family income by participating in different pursuits such as cultivation, wage earning, forest

collection, *khali* stitching etc. besides their daily routine household chores. Now-a-days, they have given up hunting due to forest laws.

Food and Drinks:

The Dharua are non-vegetarians. Their staple cereal is rice and *ragi*. Besides that, they also consume minor millets such as *kangu*, *suan*, *janna*, *khetjanna*, *gurji*, maize etc. and during lean season they manage with varieties of tubers such as *ranikanda*, *pitakanda*, *langalkanda*, and gruel of bamboo shoots, mango kernels, tamarind seed powder, sago-palm powder, (*salapgund*) and seasonal fruits, flowers and green leaves collected from forest.

They relish on mutton, chicken, eggs, fish, dry fish, snail, frog lizard and pork but refrain from consuming beef as they consider it as an unclean food. They do not take milk or its products. Niger and *mohua* oil is used as cooking medium.

Both male and female are addicted to alcoholic drinks such as *mohua* liquor (*mohulipendum*), *ragi* liquor (*kusuna*), rice beer (*handia* / *pachi*) and sago palm juice (*salap*). They also use it to entertain their guests and relatives during feasts and festivals and also use it in spiritual purposes, as offering to appease their deities and spirits during observances of rituals, purchasing it from the local vendors. They smoke hand rolled cheroot, *pikka* / *bidi* and chew tobacco paste (*gurakhu*).

SOCIAL LIFE

Dharua is a discrete group of Gond which subsequently became an endogamous division and divided into two social sections such as *bada* and *chota* on the order of their descent. The former one is regarded hierarchically superior and the latter, as the illegitimate off springs of the *badadharua* and hence, ranked lower in their social hierarchy.

They are further divided into a number of lineages (*gusthi*) such as *badi*, *bhat*, *behari*, *jhingira*, *matha* etc. which are descended from various exogamous clans/septs (*gotara*) like *bagh* (tiger), *nag* (cobra) *kachima* (tortoise), *hati* (elephant), *tentuli nag* (a species of cobra) and *kahan* (fish) etc. to regulate their matrimonial alliances. Their clan totems are *sodi* (tiger), *behainsa* (buffalo), *netam* (dog), *chamchidai* (bat), *markam* (mango tree), *teakam* (teak tree), *irpachi* (*mahua* tree), *tumrachi* (*tendu* tree), *warkara* (wild cat), *nabalia* (dwarf date palm tree), *uika* (*sal* tree), *kunjan* (rat) *gajjami* (arrow), *kusadya* (*tasar* cocon), *kokkapath* (*bhilwa* fruit), *jagalya* (awakener), *sariyam* (a path), *guddam* (where the hen lays eggs), *admachi* (*dhaura* tree), *sarati* (a whip), *suibadiwa* (a porcupine), *watka* (a stone), *tumdan* (gourd), *etikumra* (goat), *akke* (river bank), *tirgam* (fire), and *paira* (pigeon) etc. Their septs are too numerous to be remembered. Since old days, classification of their clans (*gusthi*) according to number of deities they worship has been

diminished for their inconvenience due to paucity of members for which they enrolled in larger group with lineage system afterwards to strengthen their solidarity.

They protect their clan totemic objects they do not kill or hurt them but do not revere them or observe any rituals in their honour. They use *usenaik, ray, singh, babu, pandiya, pradhan* etc. after their first name, as their surname.

Family:

Family is predominantly nuclear, consisting of parents with their unmarried children. They follow the rule of patri-local residence after marriage and patrilineal rule of descent. The eldest son succeeds the social position of his father. Inheritance of ancestral property follows the rule of equigeniture in male line only. If the family has no male successor, the married daughters inherit the parental property. Issueless families may adopt a male child from their nearest patrilineage who may inherit their property and social position.

In their society kinship plays an important role to regulate their social behaviour, inheritance, succession, usages. Their kinship system is a vital network which extends both in paternal side and maternal sides. In this way a person is attached to all consanguines by descent and to all affines by marriage. Kinship strengthens their social integrity and solidarity. Joking relation prevails between grandparents and grandchildren, man and his elder brother's wife and wife's younger sister. Likewise, avoidance relation exists between mother-in-law and her son-in-law, father in law and his son's wife and a man and his younger brother's wife. Kin members help each other at the time of distress on co-operative basis especially during agricultural operations, payment of huge bride price, observance of rituals and festivals and at the time of social conflicts.

Life Cycle:

Pregnancy, Child Birth and Afterwards

Stoppage of monthly periods of a married woman is considered as the symbol of pregnancy. Dharua consider pregnancy of a woman is the blessings of the supernatural and therefore celebrate it as a joyous event in the family. They believe that some ancestor might take birth in their family. Further, they think that the arrival of a new member in the family will add an extra working hand.

The pregnant woman has to observe certain customary prohibitions regarding her food and movements for the wellbeing of herself, the foetus in her womb and for safe delivery of the baby. She is tabooed to relish the flesh of ritually sacrificed animals, to take alcoholic drinks, to cross the river, to sleep alone in night, to touch the corpse, to travel alone in forest, to visit cremation ground and to expose herself during lunar or solar eclipses etc. She continues her routine household chores till her labour pain begins.

They observe the pre-delivery ritual (*sadhabhakshan*) on the seventh month of pregnancy in which the expectant mother is provided with delicious food items according to her wishes by her paternal family first and then by her relatives and clan members.

Delivery takes place in husband's house. At the time of child birth the pregnant woman is confined in an enclosure that is used as lying in chamber. No foods are provided to her after start of her labour pain. They engage an experienced midwife (*dhaibudi / sutrani*) belonging to Ghasi or Hadi community to assist the expectant mother for easy and safe delivery of the baby and some elderly women help her. If the mother suffers from acute pain and the delivery is delayed, they call their traditional witch doctor-cum-medicine man, and he, after chanting some magical spells, administers some indigenous herbal medicines for easy delivery of the child. The midwife cuts the umbilical cord using a knife and the placenta is buried in a pit at the backyard of the house kept in an earthen pot covered by a lid to avert ill omens by evil spirits. The mother and the baby are given bath in tepid water after which the nuptial fire (*antur*) is ignited in the lying-in-room to keep the mother and the new born baby warm and safe.

Birth pollution lasts for twenty-one days. During this period the family and their consanguineal kins are tabooed to observe socio-religious rituals and festivals and participate in any communal feast.

The lactating mother is given boiled *kulthi* water for quick recovery from weakness. The post-delivery rite (*sathi*) is observed on the sixth day conducted by their traditional mid wife and the new born baby is given a name, applying grain divination method by their astrologer. After that, the *antur* is extinguished. The second purificatory rite *narta* is observed on the ninth day and the lineage members become pollution free. The final purificatory rite *ekusia* is observed on the twenty first day and the child and mother take purificatory bath anointing turmeric paste and castor oil. The house is cleaned using clay mixed with cow dung paste and the mother is allowed to resume her routine household chores including cooking food for the family. In the evening the family hosts a non-vegetarian feast with country liquor to the lineage members.

They observe the tonsure ceremony (*balutrani*) when the child attains six months of age and ear piercing (*kanbida*) and nose piercing (*nakbida*), after one year. An experienced man proficient in this work is engaged to pierce the ear lobes and nasal septum of the baby using a new needle and after piercing he applies castor oil and turmeric paste for healing of the injuries. They also observe first cereal feeding (*subhabhat*) rite after the baby attaining one year of age.

Puberty Rite

Dharua observe puberty rite for pubescent girls on attainment of their first menarche. The girl is secluded in a separate enclosure for a period of seven days.

During this period, she is attended by her mother or sister in law. At this time, she is tabooed to perform any household chores or to look or be looked at by any male members or to participate in any rituals or festivals. On the dawn of the eighth day, she takes purificatory bath in the nearest hill stream or pond, being accompanied by her girl companions and disposes of her unclean clothes there and wears new dresses presented by her family. Her maternal uncle presents her new dresses and cosmetics, when she returns home. In the night her family hosts a non-vegetarian feast to lineage members and relatives along with country liquor.

Marriage

In Dharua society, adult marriage and monogamy is the norm. Dharua consider, marriage, arranged through negotiation (*sagurbiha / gonaparha*) as the ideal and prestigious mode of acquiring a spouse. The groom's father engages a mediator to arrange a suitable match. In their society, payment of bride price (*kaniapana*) is obligatory and is settled between both the parties during marriage negotiations. It is paid both in kinds and cash. It consists of three jars of country liquor (*mohuli*), cash around three hundred to five hundred rupees, some ornaments for the bride and five sarees. If the present is accepted by the bride's family, it is considered that the marriage is settled. They consult their traditional astrologer to fix an auspicious day for marriage.

The wedding rites are held in bride's residence. On the appointed day, the groom along with his parents, kinsfolk and villagers proceed to bride's village in a marriage procession, singing marriage songs with the tune of music provided by their musicians. On the way to the bride's village, if they notice bad omens i.e. a corpse, snake or fox etc. cross the way, the marriage is postponed but if they see good omens such as paddy, bamboo or vessel filled with water, they consider it as auspicious. To counteract the effects of bad omens, the bridegroom encircles three times around a mango tree and applies vermilion marks three times on the tree and the bride is made to marry a *mohua* tree.

A man from Jhingira lineage acts as their priest and conducts their wedding rites. The bride and groom are given ceremonial bath in turmeric water, dressed with marriage apparels and wear the marriage crown made with mango twigs. The groom wears sacred thread. Then they observe the *lagandin* rite. At the advent of the auspicious moment the priest unite the hands of the couple by sprinkling sacred water uttering spells and the groom applies vermilion on the forehead of the bride (*sindurdan*). Then the couple encircles seven times round the marriage alters and the bride also encircles seven times round the groom, after which the groom puts an iron armlet on the hands of the bride.

Then they observe the *bandani* rite in which the guests, relatives present gifts to the newly wedded couple. After that they observe the *kadahandi* rite, which is regarded as a fun game and played by smearing mud to each other by those with whom they have joking relationship. There after all of them go to the nearest

hill stream and take bath. The bride's parents entertain the marriage party, lineage members and guests in a grand non vegetarian feast with country liquor.

After marriage, the groom stays for a few days in bride's home and returns to his village with the bride in an auspicious moment as prescribed by the priest. They observe the *ghardiani* rite on a convenient day for the union of the newly married couple and on that day the marriage is consummated.

The other modes of marriages are by exchange (*badal*), by intrusion (*dhuka*), by service (*gharjuan*), by capture and by elopement. Junior sororate (*salibiha*), junior levirate (*bhajrakha*) and remarriage of widow and widowers and divorcees (*sangabiha*) and cross cousin marriage are also allowed in their society.

Divorce is allowed in their society and either party can divorce his /her spouse on the grounds of maladjustment in conjugal life, misbehavior, adultery, barrenness, impotency, alcoholism, suffering from incurable diseases, cruelty etc. After divorce the husband keeps the grown-up children but the mother is allowed to keep the breast-fed child and the husband provides her some amount of money for her maintenance (*kharpouse*).

Death:

Demise of a member in the family is considered as a misfortune and the family members mourn for the beloved departed soul with deep sorrow. They generally practise cremation to dispose of their dead, but the corpse of unmarried person, pregnant women and children are buried. On occurrence of unnatural death such as by accident, suicide, by animal attack, snake bite, by murder and child birth etc. the corpse is disposed of in an isolated place in the forest as they believe that the soul of the deceased person might become an evil spirit and can cause harm to the villagers.

After death of a person the death news is communicated to all the villagers and relatives, by a special messenger and they congregate in the house of the deceased. They corpse is given a bath anointing turmeric paste. Wrapped in a new white cloth it is shifted to cremation ground for disposal by the pall bearers (*maradandia*) placed upon a bier made of *sal* poles. The dead body is placed on the pyre, keeping its head towards north and face upwards. The eldest son of the deceased puts fire on the face and if they bury the dead, he throws the first fistful of earth on the pit. After the cremation/ burial, the pall bearers and the eldest son take bath in the hill stream and return home and offer fried rice and water in a leaf cup to the deceased soul after which they eat.

They observe death pollution (*chut*) for ten days. On the second day, they wash their house and throw away their used earthen wares. The mourning family does not cook on that day and members of *Jhingira* lineage supply food to that family. The eldest son conducts the mortuary rite. On the tenth day he brings a *sal*

twig and plants it near a water source where the purificatory rite is held. Their lineage members act as barbers. The males cut the hair and moustache and females pair their nails after which they take the purificatory bath and return to the deceased's house. The bereaved family hosts a non-vegetarian feast to the lineage members and relatives along with country liquor. In the midnight *jhingira* males visit the cremation spot to collect the bones in a piece of cloth, keep it in the house of the deceased and then invite the departed soul to take its abode in that house and not the wander in forest. Then they bury it in the north east corner of house and spread rice flour over the floor. After examination of the spot if the flour is found intact, they believe that the soul has taken rebirth as an animal or bird. This rite marks the end of their death pollution. After one year they perform the annual *sradha* conducted by a low-grade Brahman priest. They do not construct any monument in honour of the dead.

RELIGIOUS BELIEFS AND PRACTICES

The Dharua profess their autonomous tribal religion of animism with admixture of few elements of Hinduism. They are polytheists and their pantheon includes a number deities associated with the natural objects like plants and animals.

They worship *istipal* as their household (ancestral) deity and *gramsiri* as their village deity. Goddess *garam* is their supreme deity, installed in the sacred grove at the village outskirts along with his consort, *dulhadeo* worshipped by their traditional priest *dehri*. Other deities they worship are, *barapahar*, *buradeo*, *bhairavburi*, *gaishiri*, *bhagatburi*, *ramkin*, *gajan*, *nangeswar*, and *dakin* etc.

Due to the impact of prolonged contact with the neighbouring castes, they have been influenced by Hindu traditions and beliefs and started to propitiate many Hindu deities and observe many Hindu rituals and festivals. Hindu deities they worship include Lord Jagannath, Laxmi, Saraswati, Mahadev, Kali, Durga, Sitala and Manasa (serpent deity) etc. on festive occasions. They also observe many Hindu festivals such as *raja*, *gambha*, *sivagajan*, *sankranthi*, *jagaran*, *makar* (on *paus*), *rathyatra*, *durga puja*, *dola*, *holi*, etc. besides their own festivals i.e., *pus punei*, *badua*, *tusu*, *karam*, *nayakhia*, (new eating of cereals after harvest) and *bandana* and *amnua* (first eating of mango during *chaita*) etc. Among the deities they propitiate some are benevolent and some are malevolent.

They believe in witchcraft and existence of ghosts and evil spirits, who cause diseases and sufferings to humans and animals. Dakin is an evil spirit. They gratify her by offering periodical oblations which includes sacrifice of animals, fowls, eggs along with country liquor (*mohuli*), rice bear (*handia*) and sago palm juice (*salap*) through their magico-religious specialist. They observe sacred thread wearing ceremony for boys on reaching adult hood or before the marriage. They also make pilgrimage to Puri, Bhubaneswar, Gupteswar and Baranasi.

Dharua possess rich oral tradition of folk songs, folk tales, riddles, proverbs and folk dances. Their folk songs include *jhumurgeet*, *darigeet*, *karamgeet*, *tusugeet*, *sarhulgeet* and *urageet* which they sing during dances performed on festive occasions. They also sing *jhumurgeet* during marriage procession and crops harvesting. Their pattern of dances is *chhau* / *chhaunatua*, *jhumur* / *jhumura*, *dhemsa*, *lathidudia* (stick dance) and *gottar* etc. They perform *lathidudia* dance on the occasion of celebration of *pus parab* and *gottar* dance during communal hunting and *dhemsa* during marriage ceremony. Dharua women are expert in wall painting.

SOCIAL CONTROL

Dharua possess, its own well-organized traditional community council, both at the village level as well as at the regional level to handle their customary matters. Their village council is called *jati panchayat* and is headed by *babu* -the secular head who is assisted by *pandiya* -the executioner, *panipatar* -the sacerdotal head, *dehri* -the village priest and the messenger - *dakua*, who hails from Dom community and appointed by nomination. He is paid for his service annually in kinds, which he has to collect from each and every household. Their regional council is headed by a chief called the *sardar* who is assisted by *babus* of all the component villages and the messenger *dakua*.

The council adjudicates cases pertaining to family disputes, theft, rape, adultery, incest, extra marital relationship, inter community marriage, divorce, partition of family property, inter and intra community rifts. It also organizes and looks after arrangement of their communal feasts and festivals.

Their traditional community council acts as the guardian of their traditional norms and customs and the office bearers are highly esteemed persons in their society. The council has powers to excommunicate a person guilty of committing heinous crime and can readmit an ostracized person into the community after his due penance. The session of the council sits annually on the day of the *pus punei* or can be convened at an emergency.

CHANGING SCENE

The Dharua is numerically a small tribe of Odisha. They usually live to inhabit isolated remote areas undisturbedly with their age-old traditional mode of living. In the post-independence era, the democratic State and its Welfare Government has launched many developmental programmes in order to uplift the socio-economic status of the backward tribes by implementing various income generating and infrastructure development schemes and building awareness to take the advantage of development programmes. With the passage of time the Dharua have acquired many cultural elements from their neighbouring communities by which noticeable progress has occurred in their material culture.

Government have established I.T.D.As in tribal pockets to provide developmental support in the field of agriculture, health and sanitation, education, communication, drinking water, irrigation, and housing etc. It has implemented many welfare programmes in various sectors for providing development support by various development agencies by way of construction of Anganwadi Centers, P.D.S Centers, housing facilities under I.A.Y and Mo Kudia Yojana, supply of electricity under Kutir Jyoti and Biju Gramya Yoti Yojana, vocational and orientation training to youth etc.

The implementation of PESA Act has helped them to take active part in village administration. Further, the introduction of mobile health units has provided them modern health care reducing their dependence on the traditional medicines practiced by their shamans, witch doctors for treatment of diseases. They are also been benefitted by the introduction of subsidy linked loan facilities at the time of need and are less dependent on private money lenders who exploit them by charging high rate of interest. Likewise, the provision of marketing facilities to sell their agriculture produce and minor forest collections helped them to sell their goods at a fair price instead of falling prey to the greedy petty traders through their traditional barter system.

The ST and SC Development Department with the support of Ministry of Tribal affairs has established a Tribal Museum in the premises of SC and ST Research and Training Institute, located at CRPF square, Bhubaneswar for preservation and display of artifacts of various tribes of the State including the Dharua, that reflect the inherent richness and creative talent in their art and crafts. This institute also organizes National Tribal Craft Mela and National Dance Festival every year as well as live demo programmes routinely to expose their splendid culture to the world.

It is noticed at present that the impact of planned change and modernization gradually has its impact on the way of life of the Dharua tribe. Consequently, their age old traditional social institutions are declining. Yet they are struggling hard to retain the time-tested elements of their pristine culture and thereby, preserve their cultural identity while trying their best to make the best of both the worlds.

DIDAYI *

*S. C. Mohanty*¹

Didayi is a small community of hill dwelling tribe of south Orissa, mostly confined to Malkangiri district. Their neighbours call them '*Didayi*' - the wild people. But, they themselves give their identity as *Gatare* - "the people". They recount the legend that they are the younger brothers of the neighbouring tribes, such as, the Bondo, the Gadaba and the Paraja.

Their population according to 2011 census is 8890 including 4175 males and 4715 females. Their sex ratio is 1129. Their literacy rate is 34.56% which is 43.85% for males and 26.62% for females.

They are found only in 42 settlements scattered over a compact patch of remote hill country in the Kondakomberu ranges of the Eastern Ghats. The area of habitation comes under the jurisdiction of Khairput and Kudumulguma Blocks of Malkangiri district. Didayi settlements have scattered houses located adjacent to hill streams. The houses are enclosed with bamboo wattle fencing. The central place inside the village where community activities like rituals, dances and meetings are organized is called *gulisung*.

Agriculture is the mainstay of Didayi subsistence supplemented by hunting and food gathering. While the hill-dwellers practise shifting cultivation, their plains-living counterparts have adopted settled plough cultivation. They rear animals like cattle, pig, dog and poultry birds. Traditionally they are skillful in making bamboo baskets for domestic use as well as for sale in the local market. The staple food of Didayi is rice and millet. Other seasonal food crops and edibles as forest produce supplement their diet. Addiction to *mohua* liquor, *salap* juice and rice beer, *landha*, is quite common to them.

* Unpublished article of 2000 updated in 2019

¹ Research Officer (2000) & Consultant (2018), SCSTRTI

The Didayi men wear the simplest loincloth and women put on colourful saris. Women love to put on various kinds of ornaments, beads etc.

They observe festivals, like, *lendipande*, *soboloyhia*, *jugulubarhia*, *dosaehia*, *gasendiahia*, *singatihia*, *ghiapande*, *bhairo puja*, *rokdia*, *hini hundi*, *golota*, *alolihia*, *gimderpande*, *sanraikhia*, etc. These festivals are associated with different phases of agricultural operations, eating of first fruit, onset of first rainfall and the like. They believe in ghosts and spirits and follow shamanistic as well as herbal medicinal practices for healing.

Five totemic clans (*bonso*), the exogamous segments, characterize the social structure of Didayi. In a clan there are agnatic lineages, *brea*.

Marriage is the most important and colourful event in Didayi life. Men and women are relatively free to choose their mates. They acquire mates by negotiation, elopement, intrusion and service. Widow remarriage, levirate and sororate are in practice. Adult marriage and monogamy is common among them. The custom of bride price is prevalent. Didayi perform elaborate mortuary rites. Mourning is observed for ten days. Purificatory rites, *dasa*, is observed on the tenth day in the company of kinsmen and fellow villagers.

Socio-political affairs in Didayi village are managed by the traditional village council called *lepar*. The traditional village priest, *Palasi*, the secular chief *Naik* and messenger *Challan* are the functionaries. Today the role of Ward Member and Sarpanch has assumed importance.

DIDAYI *

P. K. Mohapatra ¹

The Didayi are small primitive hill tribe of the district of Koraput inhabiting the 4,000 feet plateau of the Eastern Ghat range. The plateau is a continuation of the habitat of the Bonda, who are frequently referred to as notorious by the local people due to their atrocious attitude. The total number of Didayis according to 1961 census is 1,978 out of which 962 are males and 1,016 are females. The total literate figure is 54 out of which 46 are males and 8 females. At present they do not live in a compact geographical area and migration has taken place in the plains lying at the foot of the plateau on both sides. Comparatively more frequent migration has been in the direction of the valley on the eastern side of the plateau as the tract is more secluded from the general stream of population of the district. As a result of this they can be said to be divided into two groups, i.e., the hill and the plains Didayi. It is interesting to note that the people living on the hill-tops have almost social ties with the plains people who, to a considerable extent, have been influenced by the Telugu speaking people having close to them. The hill people have retained, to greater extent, the primitiveness which can be observed from their habit, dress and other activities.

The Didayi speak a dialect closely akin to the language spoken by the Gadaba and Bonda; hence, it belongs to the Mundari group. The plains people have incorporated many Telugu words into their language due to contact. The hill people are comparatively dirty with regard to their dress, habits and mostly keep long locks of hair known as 'Gunagbo'. The plains people have done away with this practice and are comparatively better off with regard to their dress habits.

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¹ Research Assistant, Tribal Research Bureau (TRB), Bhubaneswar

The Villages

There is a sharp contrast between the types of villages of the two divisions of Didayi. The hill villages are limited and their number hardly exceeds ten. The plain villages on both sides approximately are twenty in number. Approach to the villages is extremely difficult as the 4,000' plateau stand as a huge barrier. There is absolutely no road to reach these villages. The only easily accessible village is Oringi lying at a distance of three miles east of Kudumuluguma Panchayat headquarters situated on the main road from Jeypore to Balimela. From Oringi one has to climb the Kondakamberu range of the Eastern Ghat Mountains to reach the hill Didayi villages. A steep descent from the plateau makes one to reach the plain villages of Didayis and Kandhas on both the banks of river Machhkund amidst dense forests. There are other rounds about approaches to the plain Didayi villages to avoid the steep *ghat*.

The houses in hill as well as plain villages lie scattered all over and no regular street is found. The houses are built in an individualistic manner and the villagers do not share a common roof like Kandhas. The one characteristic which is marked in the hill villages is that it is inhabited by members of a single clan and in an exogamous unit. In a plain village this is not strictly the rule. They have accommodated people from other castes and tribes keeping their identity by separate hamlets.

The Didayi houses have two rooms, a front verandah (*Pleda*) and a small open space in front of the house. The entire structure is fenced all-around and is called *turrah*. There are no back-doors or windows. One entrance is used for both the rooms. The bigger one at the entrance is known as *Mannah Duan* and the small one is called *Dhan Duan* and is used as store-house for *ragi*, *sun* and other crops. The bigger is used for sleeping and cooking. The earthen platform, attached to oven (*Nukturson*), is in one of the corners and is used for keeping pots. It is known as *Batur*.

The Clan

The Didayi kinship system is based on two distinct exogamous clans known as Ghia and Nta. Ghia, Sig, Gudia, Majhi, Muduli, Surma and Sisa constitute the Ghia clan and Nta, Mleh, Gushuwa, Golpeda, Palasi and Kswa constitute the Nta clan. The groups of each clan are exogamous and can have marriage relations only with any of the groups of the next clan. The clans have their respective totems. Malabu-Bais or 'Nag' is the totem of the Nta clan and Nku-Bais or tiger is the totem of Ghia clan.

Marriage System

As the Didayi kinship system is based on two exogamous clans, mother's sister's children and father's brother's children are considered to be brothers and sisters. Preference is given to father's sister's daughter and mother's brother's daughter who are called *Marraseboi*. Generally, three forms of marriage are

prevalent in the Didayi society. They are Bihay or marriage by negotiation, Gube or marriage by capture and Posiamundi in which the girl forcibly enters the groom's house and enters into sexual-relations with him. On the event of negotiation marriage the groom's father goes to the bride's father to ask for his consent. The groom is called upon to the bride's house. It is interesting to note that the decision depends upon the girl's willingness to marry the man. When the girl gives consent, her father asks the groom's father to come to his house in each month for one year. This custom is known as Tosopangla. The groom's father visits bride's father's house bringing with him one man of rice, *salap* wine and sometimes a cock. February to April (Magh, Phagun and Chait) is the season for marriage and Tuesday and Wednesday are considered to be the two auspicious days for marriage. After completing his term of visiting the bride's father's house, groom's father asks for performing the marriage ceremony. The son's father gives one goat; ten mans of rice, one pot of *salap* wine, rupees twenty in cash and a cock to the bride's father. The bride's father then gives a feast to his villagers and asks the son's father to take away the girl after payment of bride-price, called in their language as Gneng. This constitutes a cow, one metal plate, one arrow, three plates of rice, one new cloth and one small chicken seated over a cock. After receiving this, the bride's father says to the groom's father that he is finally giving his daughter for his son. Then the girl goes to the groom's village accompanied by the *tosore* or the guests of the groom village. After reaching the groom's village, the groom and bride are brought together and the priest puts a Hadsing (chicken) on the hands of the couple which is allowed to eat rice. Then its neck is wrung and the blood is mixed with rice which is thrown over the couple. After this, turmeric water (*siandia-kigbike*) is thrown over the couple from above the groom's roof by his younger brother, and dancing and drinking take place till evening. The couple is not allowed to have sex relation for eight days from the day of the marriage.

Economic Life

The hill Didayi practices shifting cultivation whereas the plain people have adopted settled agriculture. Both the groups cultivate *rugi* and *suau* extensively which is their staple food. This is, however, exception for few villages like Konangi and Oringi lying on the plains with greater avenue for wet land cultivation. These villages cultivate paddy as their major crop.

The monthly cycle of economic activities of the hill Didayis is given below:-

Magh, Phagun- Guebar or virgin forests are cleared by felling trees.

Chait, Baisakh- The dried logs are burnt. Bamboos are fetched from the jungle and fencing of the houses are made.

Landi :- Houses are thatched with Piri, a type of jungle grass which grows on Birla or tree less hill-tops which are abandoned for few years after shifting cultivation is practiced over it. The *suau* fields are dug for broadcast of *suau*.

Asadli: -Seeds of *suan* are broadcast, the stumps and other under-growths of Guebar or virgin forests are cleared for broadcast of *ragi* and other seeds.

Bondapon: - *Seeds* of *ragi*, maize, millet, *jhudung* (bean), chilli, *jada* (oil-seeds), cucumber and *biri* (Romia) are broadcast on the patch of cleared forest.

Aosa: - Vegetable plants like tomato, brinjal and chillies are planted.

Dashera: - *Weeds* are cleared from *suan* and *ragi* fields.

Diwali, Pond, Pus: -*Suan* and *ragi* are harvested, husked and stored.

The Didayis of plains do not have sufficient virgin forest for practicing shifting cultivation; hence they depend on paddy and *ragi*. They grow cash crops like *alsi* more extensively than the hill Didayi. The hill and plain Didayis collect a variety of roots and fruits throughout the year to supplement their food economy.

The Didayi are voraciously addicted to juice of *salap* tree which is available in abundance in the forests. The wine is available almost throughout the year and is depended upon as one of the major sources of their food economy. Liquor prepared from *ragi* and *mahul* are also in use among them. It may be concluded that the hill Didayi live on subsistence level having no scope for wet land cultivation and can be said to be still on food gathering stage where the plain Didayi are economically better off having scope for wet land cultivation as well as for raising various types of cash crops like oil-seeds and pulses.

The process of shifting cultivation as practiced by the hill Didayi is that a virgin forest is cleared by felling the trees in the months of Magh and Phagun (February-March). They are allowed to dry up for a month after which fire is set. During May and June the stumps and other under growths are cleared for broadcast of seeds. The first stage of the forest is called Guebar. After one harvests the same field it is called Sasambar where only small variety of *Suan* is cultivated. After the second harvest the same plot becomes Birla for three to four years when no cultivation is made over it. After three years it becomes again Guegar and shifting cultivation is practiced. The process continues till that patch of land is finally used for cultivation of small variety of *Suan*, maize and vegetable.

A list of items collected to supplement their food economy is given below. All the Didayis, whether hill or plain, collect these forest produce in various seasons. Some of them are eaten ceremonially at different seasons of the year.

Sl. No	Name of the item	Local Oriya Name	Month in which collected
*1.	Gba	Saranda root	Phagun
2.	Tumo	Daudi Kanda	-Do-
3.	Kondela	Pitakanda	Asadh-Bandapon
*4.	Ntarla	Targai Kanda	Osa-Dashera
5.	Grasehan	A type of green	Dashera
6.	Hihi	BaunsKardi (bamboo shoots)	Asadh, BandaponOsa
7	Unguh	Kakda (crab)	Asadh, Phagun
8.	Hada	Mach (fish)	Asadh-Phagun-Chait
9.	Bodeh	Salap Kida	Asadh-Phagun
10.	Hiaung	Topenga	All through the year
11.	Treh	Kendu	Phagun to Landi
*12.	Ulih	Am (mango)	Chait to Landi
13.	Tarrah	Charkoli	Chait
14.	Kode	Jam	Landi
15.	Inhir	Amtanki (mango seeds)	Bandapon
16.	Titingchoi	Tantlimanji	Phagun
17.	Dabachoi	Batapi	Asadh
*18.	Lambo	Sialimanji	Phagun
19.	Hela	Tangnimanji	Landi
20.	Lewa	Dimiri	Landi, Asadh
21.	Shaw	Kadli Plantain	Although the year
22.	Gdikar	Keradna	Bandapon
23.	Ple	Paus	Landi
24.	Sapum	Salap (liquor)	Dashera to Baisakh

The stars indicate that those items are eaten ceremonially in their respective months. To eat those items before observance of the ceremony is a taboo, violation of which results in disasters caused to the people by the God and Goddess.

THE DIDAYI : A HILL TRIBE OF ORISSA *

Prasanta Kumar Mohapatra ¹

The Didayi are a small primitive hill tribe of the (undivided) Koraput district inhabiting the 4,000 feet plateau of the Eastern Ghat range. The plateau is a continuation of the habitat of the Bonda, who are frequently referred to as notorious by the local people due to their aggressive attitude. The Didayi numbers 18,000 approximately. At present they do not live in a compact geographical area and migration has taken place in the plains lying at the foot of the plateau on both sides. Comparatively more frequent migration has been in the direction of the valley on the eastern side of the plateau as the tract is more secluded from the general stream of the population of the district. As a result of this, they can be said to be divided into two groups i.e. the hill and the plain Didayi. It is interesting to note that the people living on the hill-tops have almost lost social ties with the plains people who, to a considerable extent, have been influenced by the Telugu speaking neighbours. The hill people have retained, to greater extent, the primitiveness which can be observed from their habit, dress and other activities.

The Didayis speak a dialect closely akin to the language of the Gadaba and Bonda; hence it belongs to the Mundari group. The plains people have incorporated many Telugu words into their language due to contact. The hill people are comparatively dirty with regard to their dress, habits and mostly keep long locks of hair known as 'Gunagbo'. The plains people have done away with this practice and are comparatively better off with regard to their dress habits.

The Villages

There is sharp contrast between the types of villages of the two divisions of Didayi. The hill villages are limited and their number hardly exceeds ten. The plain villages on both sides approximately are twenty in number. Approach to the

* Published in ADIBASI, Vol. V. No. 2, 1963-64, pp.63-66.

¹ Research Assistant, T.R.B.

villages is extremely difficult as the 4,000' plateau stand as a huge barrier. There is absolutely no road to reach these villages. The only easily accessible village is Orangi lying at distance of three miles East of Kudumulguma Panchayat headquarters situated on the main road from Jeypore to Balimela. From Orangi one has to climb the Kondakamberu range of the Eastern Ghat Mountains to reach the hill villages. A steep descent from the plateau makes one to reach the plain villages of Didayis and Kandhas on both the banks of river Machhkund amid dense forests. There are other rounds about approaches to the plain Didayi villages to avoid the steep *ghat*.

The houses in hill as well as plain villages lie scattered all over and no regular street is found. The houses are built in an individualistic manner and the villagers do not share a common roof like the Kandhas. The one characteristic which is marked in the hill villages is that it is inhabited by members of a single clan and is an exogamous unit. In a plain village this is not strictly the rule. They have accommodated people from other castes and tribes keeping their identity by separate hamlets.

The Didayi houses have two rooms, a front verandah (*pleda*) and a small open space before the house. The house is fenced all-around and called *turrah*. There are no back-doors or windows. One entrance is used for both the rooms. The bigger one at the entrance is known as 'Mannah Duan' and the small one, 'Dhan Duan' and is used as storehouse for *ragi*, *suan* and other crops. The bigger one is used for a sleeping and cooking. The earthen platform, attached to oven (*nukturson*), in one of the corners is used for keeping pots. It is known as *batur*.

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Marriage System

As the Didayi kinship system is based on two exogamous clans, mother's sister's children and father's brother's children are considered to be brothers and sisters. Preference is given to father's sister's daughter and mother's brother's daughter who are called *marraseboi*. Generally three forms of marriage are prevalent in the Didayi society. They are 'Bihay' or marriage by negotiation, 'Gube' or marriage by capture and 'Posiamundi' or marriage by intrusion in which the girl forcibly enters the groom's house and makes sexual-relations with him. On the event of negotiation marriage, the groom's father goes to the bride's father to

ask for his consent. The groom is called upon to the bride's house. It is interesting to note that decision depends upon the girl's willingness to marry the man. When the girl gives consent her father asks the groom's father to come to his house in each month for one year. This custom is known as 'Tosopangla'. The groom's father visits bride's father's house bringing with him one *mana* of rice, *salap* wine and sometimes a cock.

February to April is the season for marriage (Magha, Phagun and Chait) and Tuesday and Wednesday are considered to be the two auspicious days for marriage. After completing his term of visiting bride's father's house, the groom's father asks for performing the marriage ceremony. The son's father gives one goat; ten *manas* of rice, one pot of *salap* wine, cash of rupees twenty and a cock to bride's father. The bride's father then gives a feast to his villagers and asks the groom's father to take away the girl after payment of bride-price - 'Gneng'. It constitutes a cow, one metal plate, one arrow, three plates of rice, one new cloth and one small chicken seated over a cock. After receiving this bride's father says to the groom's father that he is finally giving his daughter for his son. Then the girl goes to the groom's village accompanied by the *tosore* or the guests of the groom's villages. After reaching the groom's village, the groom and bride are brought together and the priest puts an 'Hdasing' (chicken) on the hands of the couple which is allowed to eat rice. Then its neck is wrung and the blood is mixed with rice which is thrown over the couple. After this, turmeric water (Siandia-kigbike) is thrown over the couple from above the grooms' roof by his younger brother and dancing and drinking take place till evening. The couple is not allowed to have sexual relation for eight days from the day of the marriage.

Economy

The hill Didayis practise shifting cultivation whereas the plain Didayi have adopted settled agriculture. Both the groups cultivate *ragi* and *suan* extensively which is their staple food. There is, however, exception for few villages like Konangi and Oringi lying on the plains with greater avenue for wet land cultivation. These villages cultivate paddy as their major crop.

The monthly cycle of economic activities of the hill Didayis is given below:-

Magha, Phagun- 'Guebar' or virgin forest are cleared by felling trees.

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Asadh - Seeds of *suan* are broadcast, the stumps and other undergrowths of Guebar or virgin forests are cleared for broadcast of *ragi* and other seeds.

Bondapon- Seeds of *ragi*, maize, millet, *jhudung* (bean), chilli, *jada* (oil-seeds), cucumber and *biri* (Romia) are broadcast on the patch of cleared forest.

Aosa- Vegetable plants like tomato, brinjal and chilies are planted.

Dashera- Weeds are cleared from *suan* and *ragi* fields.

Diwali, Pond, Pus- *Suan* and *ragi* are harvested, husked and stored.

The Didayis of plains do not have sufficient virgin forest for practising shifting cultivation; hence they depend on paddy and *ragi*. They grow cash crops like *alsi* more extensively than the hill Didayi. The hill and plain Didayis both collect a variety of roots and fruits throughout the year to supplement their food economy.

The Didayis are voraciously addicted to the juice of *salap* tree which is available in abundance in the forest. The drink is available almost throughout the year and is depended upon as one of the major sources of their food. Liquor prepared from *ragi* and *mahul* are also in use among them. It may be concluded that the hill Didayi live on subsistence level having no scope for wet land cultivation and can be said to be still on collection stage where the plain Didayi are economically better off having scope for raising various types of cash crops like oil-seeds and pluses.

The process of shifting cultivation as practiced by the hill Didayi is that a virgin forest is cleared by felling the trees in the months of Magha and Phagun (February-March). They are allowed to dry up for a month after which fire is set. During May and June the stumps and other undergrowths are cleared for broadcast of seeds. The first stage of the forest is called 'Guebar'. After one harvest the same field is called 'Sasambar' where only small variety of *suan* is cultivated. After the second harvest the same plot becomes 'Birla' for three to four years when no cultivation is made over it. After three years it becomes again 'Guebar' and shifting cultivation is practised. The process continues till that patch of land is finally used for cultivation of small variety of *suan*, maize and vegetables.

The plain Didayis have undergone immense changes when one looks at the hill Didayi's way of life. It is interesting to note that a section of plain Didayi in the village of Ramguda which is going to be submerged due to Balimela Dam say that they are Matia Paroja and not Didayi, though they retain their own language and relations with other Didayis. It appears that they want to merge themselves with the major bulk of the population around them losing their link with their fellowmen. It is to be regretted that no comprehensive data about these people's life is available from any source. A detailed study should be taken up to know the present state of affairs of this small tribe.

DIDAYI : A PICTURESQUE TRIBE OF ORISSA *

*S. C. Mohanty*¹

The Didayi are a numerically small primitive hill tribe inhabiting a small forest clad hill-tract hidden inside the inaccessible 4,000' plateau of Kondakamberu range of Eastern Ghats that stretches along the South-Eastern border between Malkangiri and Koraput Sadar Subdivisions of Koraput (undivided) District. Living far away from the main-stream of civilization, this little community is almost unknown to outside and hence devoid of ethnographic attention. Dr. Verrier Elwin refers them as a 'wild tribe' in his 'Tribal Myths of Orissa' and in 'The Bondo Highlanders'. The tribesmen call themselves 'Gntre' -the people. The present name Didayi meaning the 'wild people' has been bestowed upon them by their Oriya neighbours, which they have accepted unhesitatingly.

Population

The whole tribe number, 2,164 individuals including 1,131 males and 1,033 females (1971 Census). In 1941 Census their population was 1,661 only which rose to 1978(962males and 1,016 females) in 1961.

Physical Features

The Didayi are a well-built, medium statured, brown complexioned, squarish faced, and flat nosed people possessing coarse and wavy hair, scanty bodily hairs, depressed nasal bridge, and concave nasal profile, narrow eyes sometimes exhibiting traces of Mongolian (Epicanthic) eye fold and prominent cheek. Didayi men and women are graceful and charming.

Dialect

The Didayi dialect which comes closer to those of Paroja, Gadaba, Bonda, Soura and Juang belongs to the Non-Kherwary branch of the Munda-Kollinguistic

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group under Austro-Asiatic branch of the Austric family. Hence linguistically they stand at the most ancient stratum of Austro-Asiatic group of tribes in this country.

The timid Didayi living in the immediate neighbourhood of the Paroja, Gadaba, Kondh and the aggressive Bonda maintain peaceful and cordial social ties with all of them. Dr. Elwin and Thurston consider Didayi as a part of Paroja tribe with whom they are intimately related by their mythical origin and inter marriage relationship. Mr. R. C. S. Bells in the Koraput District Gazetteer states that the Didayi are more or less similar to Gadaba than Bonda. According to Fuhrer Heimondorf, the Didayi and the 'Reddis of Bison Hills' are of a related stock and are also remnants of an ancient Asiatic culture despite their present diversities. However the Didayi Gadaba identify themselves as separate tribal group and regard all their tribal neighbours as their brethren.

Legendry Origin

The Universe, *ab initio* was filled with infinite water. Once a gourd containing two little children, a boy and a girl, fell from the heaven and started floating on the surface of water. The panicked children cried helplessly that echoed at Mahapru's ears. He sent a crow to find out the matter. The crow discovered the source and reported to Mahapru who came down to help the destitute children. He tore off a handful of stars from the sky and planted it as mother earth. Then he created trees, flowers, mountains, animals, birds, rivers, springs, lakes and ponds out of His hair, blood, teeth, eye-brow, sweat, cough, spitting and urine respectively. After creating the world, He directed the boy and the girl to travel in opposite direction. They obeyed. After a long separation they met again below a Kendu tree when they have attained their blooming youth. Irresistible carnal desire indulged them in passionate love. The children born out of their union scattered all over the earth and became Adivasis like Bonda, Gadaba, Paroja, Didayi etc. Hence all the Adivasis are believed to be their brethren and the Bondas are considered as the elder brothers of Didayi.

Settlement Pattern and Housing

Formerly the Didayi were semi-nomadic shifting cultivators preferring to dwell on the plateau amidst sylvan surroundings. Now a bulk of their population have migrated to the plains and valleys on either side of the mountain range-preferably more to the Eastern valley side in search of better livelihood and settled in 20 villages adopting low land plough cultivation. Here impact of neighbouring Oriya and Telugu speaking population is noticeable in the spheres of their social behaviour, economy, material culture, dress and dialect. Their dialect now contains a few Telugu and Oriya terms. These villages are not only bigger in size, compact and populous-often consisting as much as 118 households (village Oringi) but also socio-economically better off as compared to the smaller and uni-clan uphill settlements hardly comprising more than 10 households scattered at random. The hill Didayi because of their geographical, cultural and physical

seclusion has remained more backward than their plains living counterparts. Thus on the basis of such visible cultural disparity between both the groups, there can be made a dichotomy as the plains and the hill or highland Didayi.

The Didayi villages are characterized by isolated homesteads fenced within enclosures scattered at random implying individualistic housing pattern. In hill villages the difference between two houses may be one kilometer or so. In the large-sized plain villages families belonging to different clans and communities live in separate hamlets inter-connected by narrow foot paths. 'Gulisung' the communal place for conducting the dances, ceremonies, festivals council meetings is located at a central place in the village.

Didayi houses are rectangular in size having mud walls and floor. The grass (Piri) thatched sloping roofs are supported by centre and side poles. Each house had a long verandah (Mnah Plida) and a short verandah (Dhna Plida) in front separated by the main door entrance. The verandahs are used for sleeping by grown up children at night, and grinding and husking purposes, in day time. In hill villages, smaller verandahs are seen because nobody sleeps there under severe cold climate. The houses are divided into three parts, i.e. kitchen, living and store, which are often separated by wattle partitions. The hearth (*trusu*) is built around one corner below an over-hanging wattle container to keep provisions and dry grains during monsoons. The middle portion meant for living and sleeping is furnished with mats and gutted cot. Pots utensils, baskets, etc., are kept on a platform called 'Bakho'. The remaining few material belongings including agricultural implements are kept in the store. The remarkable feature of Didayi housing is the attic made of reeds or bamboo mating approached by a bamboo ladder. It serves as general store room especially for storing grains and food stuffs in large baskets (Hondra). Generally Didayi houses are neat and clean and have one door but without windows. Domestic animals are sheltered in separate sheds. Indeed, Didayi housing is much similar to that of neighbouring Bonda.

Economy

The traditional subsistence economy of Didayi is mainly dependent upon cultivation supplemented by hunting and food collection. The hill Didayi still continues to practise shifting cultivation. , "Bri" -the shifting cultivation sites are found on precipitous hill slopes around Didayi settlements.

Shifting Cultivation

The Didayi follow their traditional method of practising shifting cultivation. Even though, it requires the minimum and simplest kind of implements, manure and other inputs, the output is inadequate to fill their stomach for the whole year. The crops cultivated are Red-gram (Give), Jowary millet (Dahua), Black-gram (Romig), Brinjal (Koraihai), Millet, Niger (Olsi), Ragi and Suan, etc. Generally the steep hill slope with rich vegetations which is adjacent to the village is selected for shifting cultivation. The operation starts from winter

(January-February) when the patch is cleared off. The Didayis use axe and sickle to cut down trees and shrubs respectively. These are allowed to dry up for a month or so after which the time is set. Then the ashes are distributed all over the plot which is fenced with wattle. The sowing of seeds starts from June – after the onset of monsoon, followed by raking with the help of hoe and weeding after one and half months. Small iron sickles are used for reaping the corn. Threshing is done on a clean ground specially prepared for this purpose by beating with wooden sticks or treading of the animals. The grains and seeds are carefully stored in storing baskets. Alternatively the plot at one site is cultivated in cyclic rotation for three consecutive years and then abandoned for 10 to 12 years.

In the past the Didayis were enjoying unchallenged liberty to exploit the forest around them to procure all their needs. But now most of their former shifting cultivation tracts are protected under reserve forests, reducing them to a stage of starvation. Yet the hill Didayi carry on this old practice in unreserved forest areas with permission from the Forest Officials.

Plough Cultivation

The plains Didayi are socio-economically better off than their hill brethren. They have been used to settle themselves permanently taking up plough cultivation and also wet land cultivation wherever possible. The new agrarian pattern demands better implements, domestic animals, organized endeavour and skills to cover larger area effectively. The yield is definitely higher often producing surpluses. The need of money for purchasing sophisticated implements, draught animals from local markets and paying land revenue oriented the natives to the money and market economy over and above the former barter system. The noticeable enhancement of living standards and social status of prosperous cultivators have gradually tempted all but many plains Didayi families living in lower slopes, foot hills and valleys (in the villages Koningi, Oringi, Mudulipada, Purna Gumma, Kasamput, Sindhiguda) to change over to plough cultivation from shifting cultivation. The main crops grown are paddy, *jowary* millet, *ragi*, *suan*, pulses besides the recent addition of vegetables like brinjal, tomato, onion, chilies, beans, pumpkin which fetches ready cash at the local market. Thus the perceptible shift from hoe to plough brings about a socio-economic revolution precipitating far reaching implications in Didayi standard of living, despite the unsuitability of the major part of the Didayi area for plough cultivation and other related adversities.

In spite of the aforesaid agrarian revolution majority of Didayi population are poor, landless and lead a hand to mouth living. The hill dwelling shifting cultivators always look at the forest for their needs. The landless and marginal farmers either having less land or infertile land with lower yield try to make up their deficits by working as agricultural labourers under their well-to-do neighbours, forest contractors to earn wages in cash or kind. In addition to that most of them resort to food gathering and collection of minor forest produce and basket making as subsidiary vocations so as to keep their body and soul together.

Collection and gathering of the forest produce

The Didayi men, women and children go in small batches of 2 to 8 persons with digging sticks and baskets to procure wild fruits, roots and tubers in all seasons. Women and children come back home in the evening while the men camp inside the forest at night to continue their mission for a longer period. Fruits like mango (Ulih), Kendu (Trek), Dimiri (Lewa), Tangani Siali (Hiansla), Kabri, Tal (Taria), Tamarind, roots and tubers called Kirla Gha, Torla, Soreila, Tomo and leaves known as Koriha, Dhuly, Chadibade, Bhajji, Gudiali are among the principal items collected from the jungle. Mohua flowers and seeds are procured for brewing liquor and extract oils. Kendu leaves used in manufacture of Bidis are collected to get money by selling them to local contractors.

Hunting

Didayis are hunters with their bow and arrow of which they are proud of. Hunting was concomitant with their food gathering stage. Presently the paucity of animals, ban on hunting and the economic change over to plough cultivation have limited the scope but could not redeem the importance of hunting by the Didayi. The ceremonies and rituals connected with hunting are still observed. Didayi men take advantage of leisure especially during festive occasions in summer to hunt in group after propitiating forest deities. Birds and animals except the totemic animals such as snake, tiger, monkey, deer, crocodile and tortoise are killed and eaten. The kill is equally distributed among all the households of the village and guests who are present on that day. Only the real hunter, Headman—Naik and the Palasi, the priest get a slightly bigger share. The hunter receives a larger portion of hind quarters and the skin of the animals while the Palasi receives the head. Didayi use simple bow and arrow, axe (Tangi) and trained dogs in hunting.

Fishing

Fishing is a pastime of Didayis dwelling in the banks of Machkund River and perennial streams. Small hand nets and fishing baskets are mainly used for this purpose. Often they kill fish by poisoning water.

Animal domestication

The hill Didayi rear few animals like dogs, pigs and cocks. The plain Didayi keep cattle for ploughing and supply of meat. They are not used to drink milk but take eggs. Now-a-days, they are becoming interested in keeping goats, sheep for meat and better financial gain.

Basketry

Didayi men and women are very good at preparing various handy materials out of bamboo in their spare time to meet their requirements making use of plentifully available bamboo from the jungle. The bamboo products include a variety of grain storing baskets, winnowing fan, mat wattle, bolt arrow, digging stick, fishing basket, large hat, etc., which they use themselves.

Division of Labour and Mutual Cooperation

Sex wise division of labour is conspicuously marked among the Didayi regarding carrying out their regular subsistence activities. Men shoulder the harder responsibilities like cutting down trees, tilling land, constructing and thatching the house, hunting and food preparation in communal feasts which are tabooed for women. Women apart from their cooking, clearing utensils, sweeping and the household activities cooperate with men to work in the fields, clearing shifting cultivation sites, weeding, fencing, reaping and thrashing corns, harvesting, preserving grain and food materials, rearing animals, collection of food and forest produce, fishing, basket making, in all possible ways. Among the Didayi co-ordination of efforts and collective endeavor through mutual help and co-operation show significant characteristic of their social life based on peaceful co-existence that is observed particularly in hunting in group, house building, felling down trees, harvesting, marriage and mortuary rites and in all communal festivities whenever and wherever such need is felt.

Food Habits

Rice, *ragi* and millet constitute the staple food of Didayi supplemented by vegetables, fish, meat, eggs and a variety of seasonal fruits, roots and tubers collected from the jungle. Few simple items from boiled rice, *ragi* and millet and their gruels are prepared and regularly eaten. Spices like tamarind, chili, salt, turmeric are also used for making vegetarian and non-vegetarian dishes. The Didayi eat thrice daily – morning, noon and night. A large quantity of liquor, cakes and other delicacies prepared from millet and rice are taken during festive occasions. Men and women are addicted to drinking Salap (sago palm juice) and country liquor brewed by themselves from Mohul.

Material Culture

The Didayi are simple and self-sufficient. They are content with what they have at present and don't want more than their actual requirements. They fight with their immediate physical environment with the aid of the least and simplest kind of material objects, tools and artifacts most of which they design themselves. To cultivate the land the Didayi needs plough (Sinhi) with iron share (Sinlah), yoke (Rigna), hoe (Mulvai), sickle (Hoishak), axe and knife. Food collection is carried out with simple digging sticks having iron heads, collecting baskets, hoe, knife and axe. The weapons of hunting are simple bow and arrow and bolt arrow (Bitu) made of bamboo, axe and knife. The fishing implements include few variety of fishing baskets of bamboo - a conical one (Gumghur), a semi spherical one (Geera) and a tumbler type (Bhandar) besides small hand nets. The Didayi households possesses scanty material belongings such as brass, aluminium and earthen utensils, gourds to store water, grain storing baskets, winnowing fans, mat and wattle made of bamboo, ropes, poles, grinding stone, husking lever, etc.

Dress and Personal Adornments

The traditional dress of women is known -as "Kisalu", a self-made short, unstitched clothing made of natural bark fibers and thread. It was being wound around the waist to cover the lower parts of the body while the upper part left uncovered. But now the popularity of cotton *sarees* and blouses among Didayi women has replaced this 'Kisalu'. Didayi women are fond of wearing ornaments made of silver, aluminium, gold and bead necklaces, brass ear, nose, finger and toe rings, aluminium anklets (Pohari), the glass and aluminium bangles. Wearing nose rings (Tandrimu) is compulsory for all married women. Men put on a small piece of a loin cloth. Gradually they have started wearing shirts, banyans, dhoti, etc. by the influence of plain people. Use of fashionable dresses and ornaments and modern cosmetics is unknown to both the sexes.

Social Organisation

The structural organisation of Didayi society is characterised by moiety and totemism. The whole society is divided into two exogamous segments or moiety each composed of totemic group of clans. One's own moiety is his (Niramon) or group of brothers and the other one in which he can marry is his moiety. There are 5 exogamous group of clans called "Gta" or "Bongo" namely Nkhoo (tiger), Mala (cobra), Gbe (deer), Mosali (crocodile), Goi (tortoise) out of which the first one, i.e., the Nkhoo Gta constitutes one moiety and the remaining four are grouped under the other moiety as represented in the following Table:

Didayi Social Structure

DIDAYI TRIBE					
Totemic Segments	Moiety (1)	Moiety (2)			
Totemic Clans/Bonso	Nkhoo Gta (Tiger)	Mala Gta (Cobra)	Gbe Gta (Bear)	Musali Gta (Crocodile)	Got Gta (Tortoise)
Lineages	1. Gudia 2. Ghia 3. Dongar Majhi 4. Dongar Majhi Palasi. 5. Nkak 6. Muduli 7. MuduliPalasi 8. Sig	1. Ntar 2. Golpeda 3. Pujari 4. Gta 5. Palasi 6. Truk 7. Snobo 8. Angra 9. Bisoi 10. Kusuah 11. Mleh 12. Rimbi	1. Sanyasi 2. Bhoja 3. Golpeda 4. Rajpeda	Kumbai	Rachhi

Each clan (Gta) has its own tale to tell their relationship with the totemic ancestor. The Didayi rarely worship their respective totemic animals but they avoid killing or injuring them. The clans are strictly exogamous because members

of one clan consider themselves as brothers and sisters. Hence, any sexual relationship between them is regarded as incest. This rule is not strictly followed now-a-days. There are evidences of inter-marriage between Nusali Gta and Goi Gta which belong to the same moiety.

Lineage

The clan is divided into several lineage groups. Kins of patrilineally related families in a village form one lineage or "Biria"- Manang and Dhanang the eldest and the second eldest male members of Biris discharge important social functions in the matters of regulating the conduct of members and bringing the offender to book. They represent and protect interest of their lineage members in Lepar –the traditional village Panchayat. The proposal for marriage, bride price and divorce, etc., is dealt through Manang and Dhanang along with other senior members of the lineage. In these days, the lineage organisation is declining.

Family

Family, the smallest basic unit of Didayi society is patriarchal in nature. It is mostly nuclear and monogamous type, which includes the man, wife and their unmarried children. Sometimes, the membership is extended to the widowed, divorced or unmarried sister, or daughter, newly married son and daughter-in-law and dependent old parents. However, married sons leave the family of orientation to live in their own families of procreation within a year of marriage. Family members - the husband, wife and children form a close knit group to struggle against the physical environment. The role and status of each member is well defined. Within a very congenial atmosphere the children are brought up with extreme fondness and love. They help their parents when they grow up. Women exercise a dominant influence over domestic affairs and the husband as well. Succession and inheritance of property is strictly patrilineal. If a man dies leaving a daughter but no son his property goes to his brother.

Marriage

The institution of marriage is the most significant event in Didayi social life. Not only it unites two souls to enter into their newly made separate love nest and reproduce but it also confers a prestigious status of full-fledged manhood and womanhood and membership of society as well provide socio-economic and emotional security. Monogamy is the common practice although very few cases of polygyny are found. Didayi prefer adult marriage; girls are considered fit for marriage after attaining puberty, boys marry within 16 to 24 years of age. Boys and girls are free to select their mate without least parental interference. Premarital and post-marital love and sexual intimacy is present and tolerated in the society. Therefore most Didayi marriages are love marriages. Consent of the girl is badly essential in finalising such affairs. The marriage season is between January and June. Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday are considered most auspicious for the purpose. The following kinds of marriages are practised.

1. *Cross-cousin Marriage* (Marshaboyi) – It is considered to be the most ideal form of marriage. Marriage of a boy with his maternal uncle's daughter (Marshaboyi) is most welcomed. However, both boy and the girl are free to choose their beloved partner transgressing this preferential matrimony. In that case, the boy appeases his maternal uncle by paying compensation ("Managhar") before one month of his marriage and frees himself from this social bondage and obligation with the latter. Otherwise, his marriage and post-marital life will be in shambles by the curse and black magic inflicted by his aggrieved uncle.

2. *Marriage by Negotiation* (Toshu) – Toshu is the traditional form of marriage in which boy's parents negotiate matrimony with the girl's parents through "Jhora-Khatia" - the go-between. The girl's parents accept the proposal after getting the consent of their daughter. Few days before the wedding bride price is settled and paid to girl's parents after which the marriage is finalised. On the wedding day the girl comes to the boy's house in a procession with her mates and relations where she is pompously received by groom's mother and village boys and girls. Marriage rituals take place amidst dance, music and fun. The groom puts a ring on the left ring finger of the bride and takes her to his home. On the day following the wedding, parents and elderly ladies of the newlywed couple sit in a customary session to offer valuable advice regarding ideal conjugal life to the couple. It is called "Budhi Gyan Bhashangre". Then a sumptuous feast is given to the villagers. As Toshu is an expensive and elaborate affair only well-to-do persons can afford for such type of marriages.

3. *Marriage by Elopement* (Udulia) – In this type of marriage, the boy elopes with his beloved and hides her in a friend's or relative's house. Girl's parents hearing about this come to the boy with their relatives and villagers to demand bride price. Marriage ritual follows after negotiation of bride price which is less than that of Toshu wedding.

4. *Marriage by Capture* – The boy kidnaps the girl of his choice from the market place with the help of his friends when he fails to marry her otherwise. The girl is kept in the friend's house and given the best food and treatment in order to get her consent for marriage. After a week her parents and relations come to the boy to claim bride price and finalise the marriage which is always subject to the willingness of the girl.

5. *Marriage by Intrusion* (Ghasia-mandi) – The girl enters forcibly into the family of her beloved and stays there. If the boy is willing to accept her he can do so but he does not pay bride price. Otherwise, he throws a pot of water on the yard and breaks off 3 broom sticks which mean the girl may face bad consequence like the pot of water in case she urges to live with him. Such refusal is rare.

6. *Marriage by Service* (Gharjwa) – A poor boy who is unable to pay the bride price for his desired girl may in lieu of that serve her parents for a stipulated period

of time usually for 3 years. Then he is allowed to marry the girl and move to his new home with her. The boy approaches girl's parents with a gourd of *salap* wine and a goat. When he finally leaves with his bride he is presented with a cow, a goat, a gold nose ring, other brass and bead ornaments, cloth, about 10 kgs. of rice, salt, *ragi*, millet, and Rs. 30/- by his parents-in-law in the presence of relatives, village elders, Naik and Palasi who perform marriage rites.

Post Marital love affairs and re-marriage- Didayi women tend to indulge clandestine licentious relationships with men other than their husbands. If such illicit affair is caught red handed by the husband he has every right to beat the adulterer and caution him against further advances. If he wants, he can bring him before the traditional village Panchayat. In case the accused pleads guilty or his guilt is proved otherwise, he is fined and warned against repetition. If the woman wants to leave her husband and marry him, re-marriage is allowed by the Lepar after collecting a fine of Rs. 50/-, two goats and one pig which is deposited in the common village fund except the cash that is paid to the husband as compensation. When one's wife elopes with her lover the former claims compensation double the amount of bride price he has paid for the woman from the latter. In case of rape and pregnancy caused by rape or illicit relationship, the male offender is severely fined and forced to marry the victim by the Lepar that accepts the woman's words.

Widow re-marriage, Levirate and Sororate - Widow re-marriage and junior levirate is prevalent among the Didayi. A young widow may marry the younger brother of her late husband to avoid complication regarding property inheritance if she has children. Of course she is free to marry any male person of her choice other than the younger brother. In that case her new husband has to pay compensation to the younger brother of her ex-husband and to her parents-in-law. Or she may leave her ex-husband's house and stay with her parents if she so likes. Illicit relationship with one's younger brother's wife is strictly tabooed even if she is young and widow. Sororate and sororal polygyny, i.e., marrying wife's younger sister is uncommon though not prohibited.

Divorce

The cases of divorce and re-marriage due to unhappy marital life are few. Only men have the right to divorce under the following grounds; -

1. Illicit relationship of the wife with a lover.
2. Elopement with a lover.
3. Laziness and non-co-operation of the wife in domestic affairs such as cooking, child care, food gathering, etc.
4. Misbehaviour, mal-adjustment, misunderstanding and frequent quarrels between the man and wife.

Sterility or barrenness is not accepted as a reason for divorce since they believe that either of the spouses is responsible for this. The husband can take a second wife with the consent of his first wife to get children in this case. The

divorce is finalised in presence of the husband, wife's brother, the Naik, Chalan, Palasi, the lineage elders and village elders. The husband pays Rs. 10 and a saree to his departing wife. She can re-marry after few months. In that case her former husband cannot claim his share of compensatory bride price from her new husband. Though wife cannot divorce her husband she can desert him any time and stay with anybody else she loves. Thus her husband is forced to divorce her after collecting compensation from her second husband.

Kinship

The relationship and behaviour pattern of kinship in Didayi society corresponds to its classificatory terminological sub-system. Father's elder brother and mother's elder sister are called 'Baha' and are highly respected. The relationship with father's elder brother and his wife and mother's younger sister are of respect and familiarity. Father's sister, mother's brother and wife's parents are highly respected. Extreme form of joking relationship and intimacy is permissible among cross cousins who are potential mates, grandparents, grandchildren and wife's younger sister while there is strict avoidance between a man and his wife's mother and elder sister, a woman and her husband's elder brother and parents.

Life Cycle

Didayi's journey from mother's womb to the grave is a passage of seven steps. Their kinship system plays an indispensable role in these phases of an individual's life cycle. Biria women and neighbouring kins women attend the woman during her child birth. The new born infant is given a name and membership of the society in presence of the kith and kin on the day of name giving ceremony (Senujha) held on the tenth day of birth. Mother protects her child against evil eyes by putting iron bangles and father ties a black thread (Bneya) around his waist to ensure their lifelong ties. The first tonsure ceremony is performed by the father when the baby is 2 or 3 months old. His/her father facing East, buries the hair shaved from his head. A chicken is scarified, cooked with rice and eaten with *salap* wine in a feast by the family and Biria members. The child is given the soup of chicken's head and a small peg of palm wine to sip. Likewise when the first deciduous tooth of the child's lower jaw drops out it is buried in the yard. If it belongs to the upper jaw, it is thrown on the roof by the mother.

Thus the infant steps into the first phase of his life—'Chirlo' and commences his onward journey to reach his 'Gorhoyo' —the childhood and then gradually steps into adolescence the third-phase, followed by the youth-the fourth phase. The fourth stage is the best and the most romantic period of his life. No specific rites, ceremonies and taboos are associated with initiation and puberty. At this time the boys are called 'Ingire' and the girls 'Shelia' who enjoy unfettered freedom of pre-marital love and romance among themselves before they finally chose their life companion to be tied in wed lock and called as Bhendia Binghak (Man) and Diya Koye (Woman).

Death Rites

As soon as a person dies the women folk start wailing loudly. The Chalan announces the sad event inside the village and the deceased's consanguineal and affinal kins living in adjacent villages are called for. The nearest kins such as the brother and parallel cousins move the corpse to the front yard, bathe it anointing turmeric and oil, wear it a new cloth, put it on a bamboo mattress and tie it across a bamboo pole. It is carried to the cremation ground on the shoulders by the male agnatic relatives belonging to the deceased's clan excluding sons and brothers. Women and few people residing in village accompany the funeral procession wailing, weeping and beating their breasts. The corpse is kept on the pyre with its head to the east and the brother ignites the pyre after pairing the nails of the deceased and cutting off the Bneya- the black thread tied around a person's waist by his father on the day of his name giving ceremony. Some of the deceased's favorite belongings like axe, hoe, bow and arrow, knife, etc. are thrown into the pyre. After the body is burnt down the brother pours water on the ashes and the party returns taking bath *enroute*. They are fed a vegetarian meal by the deceased's Biria members. On that day, cooking in the dead man's louse and taking non-vegetarian meal or liquor is strictly prohibited.

Much similar to that of Hindu mortuary rites, the Didayi perform the purificatory ritual - 'Lykandisho' (like Hindu Dasah) on the 10th day of death and 'Gighayesha' - the Sradha on the ensuing first anniversary in order to restore status quo from the mortuary pollution and propitiate the departed soul against causing harm to the life and property of the living relatives. Palasi, the village priest conducts the 'Lykandisha' rite by offering the ghost a black chicken and rice which is cooked and taken by all the Biria members of the dead person. The 'Gighayesha' is conducted more or less in the similar manner in which the ghost is offered food at the funeral site and then all the relatives and villagers take part in a big feast accompanied by alcoholic drinks and dance. This ceremony marks the end of annual mourning when the departed soul attains the status of the dead ancestors.

This agenda of funeral observances is not followed for abnormal deaths caused by small pox, cholera and other epidemics, by accidents, such as drowning, falling down from a tree, attack of a tiger and other wild animals and also for the death of pregnant woman and small children. Such dead bodies are immediately buried and a purificatory ritual is performed by the Guniar, the witch-doctor immediately within a week of death so as to save the relatives and villagers from the fiery wrath of the angry and ferocious ghost. Only old age deaths are considered normal and natural by the Didayi.

Political Organisation

The Didayi are custom bound and peace loving people. Social control and conformity are effectively ensured in their socio-political set up. Living in geographical isolation they were in the past nevertheless politically well organized by developing traditional territorial and autonomous socio-political system at

centraland village level. The central territorial organisation was a larger union of all Didayi villages whose meetings were being regularly held at Kudmulgumma to solve inter-village and inter-tribal problems, to consider bigger issues *ultra vires* lower political level and to reinforce *esprit de corps* in their tribal life at large. The elderly persons and the traditional village officials like Naik and Chalan from component villages were attending the meeting. The regional territorial organizations were composed of few contiguous or neighbouring villages sharing more or less the same geographical environment so as to enjoy and defend their common usufructuary rights to exploit their well-defined forest territories. These local units in the pre-independence period transcended into Mustajari system as revenue units under Jeypore Zamindari resembling the Mutha organisation of the Kondh and Koya. In these days, such old traditional political institutions no longer exist except in the sweet memories of Didayi old men.

Village

Village is the only political organisation that has survived the test of time. A Didayi village (Hinhi) is the smallest basic socio-political unit that is autonomous, independent and self-sufficient having full access to its assets and resources including exclusive ownership rights to the land and forest. It is a co-operative and corporate body functioning through its own agencies and arrangements. There is a village Council - the Lepar consisting of village officials such as the Naik or the Headman, Chalan his executive assistant and Palasi - the priest. Naik is the secular chief of the village. His post is elective, but hereditary in actual practice. On vacancy it is taken over by the nearest patrilineal or patrilineal kin of the predecessor and thus remains inside the same lineage and clan. In the Didayi village Oringi the former Naik, Buda Naik relinquished his post when his old age and deafness impaired his efficiency and his brother Basu Naik succeeded him. The Naik continues in his post as long as he enjoys the confidence of the people and the Lepar of the village. His Office is most important since his normal duties and responsibilities involve administering law and order, justice, peace, good will and conformity in the village in accordance with their social norms. He also represents his village in all occasions, protects its interest, heads the village council and executes its decisions. He is assisted by the Chalan whose post is not hereditary but given to any one even a non-Didayi member of the village who volunteers his service for this. He acts as the official messenger, convener of village council meetings, organizer, fund collector and assistant to the Palasi for communal rituals and functions and host to the visiting guests and officials.

Palasi is the sacerdotal chief who usually hails from one clan or lineage for generations though his office is not hereditary. He organises and conducts communal rituals, special rituals for the success of hunting expeditions, for driving out evil spirits causing epidemics, drought or calamities harmful to the life and property of the villagers and for such occasions as birth, death, marriage, besides fixing up dates for the annual calendar of rituals and ceremonies and propitiating

gods, deities ancestral spirits regularly.

Lepar or traditional village council is a corporate body of household heads headed by the Naik. It is a well-defined powerful organisation regulating all activities in social, political, religious and economic spheres of the village. It elects and removes the office bearers, decides cases relating to theft, quarrel, incest, adultery, marriage, bride price, divorce, etc. and punishes the wrong doer sometimes by ostracism or ex-communication but more often than not in terms of fine which is proportionately shared among the aggrieved party, the village officials and the council members. Its' meetings are regularly held in an open space inside the village called—Gulisung, on specific dates and also as and when required. The village elders more specifically the elderly persons from the numerically dominant clan exercise influence over the socio-political system of the village. The Naik usually comes from the dominant clan and lineage. In the post-independent days with the radical transformation of socio-political environment and particularly with the super imposition of statutory Panchayatiraj system over Didayi political set up, a new pattern of leadership is emerging to challenge the pre-existing political set up. Evidently the ward member, the new office bearer is gaining importance in the village affairs in parallel with the traditional chief, Naik where the Naik and member are not one and the same person. In the plains Didayi village Oringi, Sanysi Angra, the present Ward Member appeared more confident and smart in respect of dealing with outsiders and visiting officials.

Today the Didayi people living in the plains come in contact with the outsiders in the weekly markets at Kudumulugumma and Onkadelli held on Thursday apart from numerous other modern agencies of acculturation. Their behavioural patterns of culture are undergoing a slow change that is overtly visible while their original core of social life remains intact. As a result, a superiority complex is developing among them with relation to their hill living counterparts whom they look down upon for unclean and undignified habits. Therefore, they do not like to make matrimonial alliances with the latter. No longer the plains Didayis are the living specimens of isolated wild people of Dr. Elwin if one observes their degree of sophistication and acquired mannerisms with the outsiders now-a-days.

DIDAYI *

*B. Chowdhury*¹

The Didayi are a small tribal group listed as one of the sixty-two Scheduled Tribes in the State of Orissa. They are a typical tribe found only in the Konda Kamberu Hill ranges of the Eastern Ghats in the Malkangiri Sub-division of Koraput District in Orissa and are described as a 'wild tribe' by Verrier Elwin (1950) and as 'the stratum of primitive semi-nomadic shifting cultivators' by C. von Furer-Haimendorf (1945).

The Didayi legend of origin tends to show that the Bondo were their elder brothers and other tribes like the Gadaba and the Paroja are their brethren. According to their legends, in the beginning the universe was full of water. Once a gourd with two children, one male and the other female, fell down from heaven and started floating on the water. Being in dire calamity, the two children cried helplessly. On hearing their lamentable cries, Mahapru, the Creator of the Universe, sent a crow to ascertain the source of the cry and the reason for it. The crow discovered the source and told Mahapru about the helplessness of the two children. Mahapru became compassionate and created the earth with trees, plants, lakes, mountains, rivers, birds and animals out of various parts of his body, asking the two children to travel in opposite directions, which they complied with. After a long separation they met once again under a *kendu* tree. Here they indulged themselves in passionate love and the girl gave birth to a number of children, who became the original settlers like the Bondo, the Gadaba, the Paroja and the Didayi in the earth. Up until today the Didayi live in the midst of these tribal communities and have many cultural similarities with the Gadaba and Bondo in particular.

The name by which the Didayi identify themselves is Gntre, meaning 'man'. The name Didayi, meaning 'wild people', has been applied to them by

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¹ Deputy Director, SCSTRTI, Bhubaneswar

outsiders. The Didayi have their own dialect, which is very similar to those of the Gadaba and the Bondo. Their dialect is classified in the non-Kherwarian branch of the Austro-Asiatic family.

The area inhabited by the Didayi is intersected by the well-known Bondo Hills, which form part of the Konda Kamberu hill ranges of the Eastern Ghats. The Machhkund River, which flows along the Ghat, forms three well-marked sub-regions. The first sub-region lying on the left bank of the river Machhkund is comparatively flat, where Didayi villages like Orapadar, Bhojaguda, Sanyasiguda, Totaguda, Jantri, Dakepada and Dabugam are located. The second sub-region lying between the Machhkund river and the Bondo Hills is characterised by rugged and mountainous terrain, where the elevation of land increases from the north-west and slopes towards the south-east. Here Hill Didayi villages like Bayapada, Suripada, Gangapada, Badkiaguda, Khajuriguda, Amblibeda, Gisingijhola and Damdarbeda are located. The third sub-region lying between the Bondo Hills and the Jeypore-Chitrakonda road is partly flat and partly hilly. Muduliguda, Oringi, Purunaguma and Chillipadar are important villages located in this sub-region.

The climate of the area is more or less like that of the Deccan Plateau, but it is milder on account of the high elevation. The area receives about 79 per cent of its annual rainfall during the monsoon season, which lasts from June to September. The annual rainfall varied from 1017.09 m.m. to 2191.04 m.m. during the period 1971-1980. The soil is rocky and red in most parts of the area. It is mostly porous having a low water-retention capacity. The surface consists of undulating laterite beds resting on rock beds. The forests of the area contain deciduous species like *sahaj*, *bije*, *simuli*, *dhaura*, *kendu*, bamboo, etc. in the hilly region, and *sal* and teak in the comparatively flat area. Here wild animals like the deer, *sambar*, bear, monkey, wild boar, leopard, wild dog and tiger are seen. Peafowls, red and grey fowls are very commonly found.

There has been marked variation in the growth rate of the Didayi population. In 1941 their population was 1661, which rose to 1978 in 1961, registering an average annual growth rate of less than 1 per cent. This increased to 2164 in 1971, showing the same average annual growth rate as against 2 per cent for the total tribal population and 2.5 per cent for the total population of the State. But in 1981 the Didayi population declines to 1978, registering a declining trend of 8.6 per cent during the period from 1971 to 1981. It increased to 5,471 in 1991 showing a growth rate of 179.59 between 1981 and 1991. They showed a very low rate of literacy in both 1961 (2.72%) and 1971 (0.78%) but in 1981 a substantial increase was noticed in the number of literates who constitute 3.2 per cent of their total population. In 1991, the level of literacy rose to 6.2 percent.

In the past the Didayi were in the habit of shifting their settlement from place to place to bring suitable patches of forest land under shifting cultivation. But now they lead a settled life both in the plains and the mountains region. In

Didayi villages, houses lie scattered; sometimes two to three houses are built facing a common courtyard. The house with the adjacent kitchen garden is always protected with a fence. The most significant common place, known as *gulisung* (an open space), is where meetings of the village panchayat are held to conduct communal ceremonies and dances and is located at the central place of the village.

The Didayi house has a rectangular ground plan 13.5 feet in length and 10.5 feet in breadth. Each house has a front verandah with a door. The houses have mud walls and two-slope roofs thatched with wild grass called *piri*. The house is divided into three parts by bamboo wattle. The hearth and the kitchen are located in one corner below an over-hanging wattle. The middle part is used for sleeping and the other part for storing grains and household belongings. They build separate sheds for cows, goats and pigs, while fowls, if any, occupy a corner of the living house. A Didayi house contains limited material belongings, such as brass and aluminium utensils, earthen vessels and gourds for storing water, baskets for storing grains, mats of wild-date palm leaves, grinding stones, husking levers, agricultural implements and weapons used in hunting.

The self-made traditional women's dress, called *kisalu*, is now replaced by long saris available in the local market. Didayi women are fond of ornaments made of silver, gold, aluminium and alloys. The use of beads is not so common as among their Bondo neighbours.

One of the characteristic features of Didayi social organization is the existence of the moiety system. Their society is divided into two exogamous segments, which may be equated with moieties, each containing totemic groups called *gta*. All members of a single moiety are consanguineal relatives and consider members of the other moiety to be affinal relatives. One moiety, namely Nkhoo (tiger), is composed of one totemic group, and the other has four totemic groups viz. Mala (cobra), Goe (bear), Musali (crocodile) and Gei (tortoise). These totemic groups are exogamous, and all members of a particular *gta* pay reverence to their totemic animal whenever they meet and abstain from killing or injuring it. The totemic clans are strictly exogamous. Some of these clans are further sub-divided into several sub-clans, the names of which are used as surnames by the members of the respective groups.

For example, the members of the Nkhoo *gta* have surnames like Gudia, Ghia, Dongar Majhi, Nkak, Dhangar Majhi, Palasi, Muduli, Muduli Palasi, and Sig. Similarly the members of the Mala *gta* use surnames like Ntar, Golpeda, Pujari, Gta, Palasi, Truk, Snobe, Angra, Bisoi, Kusuah, Mlech and Rimbi. The Goe *gta* has four, viz. Sanyasi, Bhoi, Golpeda and Raipeda. All members of the Musaii *gta* bear the surname Kumbhai and that of Goe *gta* Rachhi only.

Each clan is further sub-divided into several lineages called *biria*, formed by all the consanguineal relatives in a village under the joint leadership of the *manag* (the eldest male member of the group) and the *dhanang* (the second eldest

male member of the group), who discharge important social functions like regulating the conduct and marriage negotiations of its members and in representing and protecting the interests of the group in the traditional village panchayat.

The family, which is patrilocal and patrilineal, is mostly nuclear and monogamous, since a son has to live in his own home and hearth soon after his marriage. In few cases married sons live with their parents or two married brothers live jointly. A family is a close knit group in earning their livelihood and maintaining themselves. Succession and the inheritance of property is always in the male line. If a man dies without a son, his property is inherited by his brother.

The relationship and behaviour pattern of kinsmen in Didayi society corresponds to its classificatory terminological system. Among them the father's brother and mother's brother are highly respected. Familiarity among cross cousins, who are potential mates because of the prevalence of cross-cousin marriage system, is tolerated. There is strict avoidance between a man and his wife's parents and wife's elder sister and between a woman and her husband's elder brother and parents.

Didayi parents are fond of children and any indication of pregnancy is a matter of joy for the couple. At the time of childbirth, experienced women of the lineage group assist the pregnant woman. On the tenth day the child is given a name ceremonially. The baby is nursed for up to three years, and during this period the birth of another child is generally avoided. When the children enter adolescence, they are categorised according to sex, and at the approach of youth they are allowed to mix with their age-mates for the selection of a life companion.

Final choice in the marriage is generally made by the young couple concerned. Monogamy is the common practice but in exceptional cases polygyny is practised. Cross cousins in the mother's line are the most preferred type. Marriage by negotiation is very elaborate and expensive and is generally avoided. In the regular negotiated form of marriage, called *toso*, the bride is taken in a procession, accompanied by dancing and singing to the tune of the musical instruments, to the bride-groom's village for the marriage rite, which is celebrated with dancing, singing and feasting. Besides this negotiated form of marriage, they have other ways of acquiring mates. These are Udlia (marriage by elopement), Gaisamuddi (marriage by intrusion), Gubboi (marriage by capture) and Garijya (marriage by service). The enormous expenses involved in a negotiated marriage can be avoided in these types of marriage. Marriages by capture and elopement are common. The payment of a brideprice, which generally consists of Rs.40/- to Rs. 80/- in cash, a potful of palm wine and five measures of rice, is made to the girl's family. If a boy is unable to pay it, he goes to serve in the family of the would-be father-in-law for a stipulated period to get his hands on his beloved. Widow remarriage, junior levirate and sororate are prevalent. Divorce on grounds like adultery, laziness, lack of adjustment etc. is allowed.

When a person dies, the corpse, along with some of the favourite personal belongings like his dress, axe, knife, bow and arrow, are taken in a funeral procession to the cremation ground. The corpse is burnt and mourning is observed for ten days when the village priest ceremonially offers cooked food to the guest of the deceased. Funeral rites are concluded with communal dancing and singing.

The economic life of the Didayi at present is still at subsistence level and depends on cultivation, both settled and shifting, combined with forest collection, hunting, the domestication of animals and wage-earning. According to the Census 1971, 722 out of 726 workers were returned as cultivators and agricultural labourers. The Plains Didayi mainly depend on settled cultivation on whatever amount of wet land they possess, and on forest collection and wage-earning as subsidiary sources, while the Hill Didayi largely depends on shifting cultivation supplemented by forest collection and hunting. The survey conducted by THRTI in 1982 reveals that 25.64 per cent of 897 Didayi households carry on wet cultivation only, 34.22 per cent both shifting and wet cultivation, and 35.67 per cent only shifting cultivation. In other words nearly 70 per cent of Didayi households still depend on shifting cultivation in whole or part.

The Didayi carry on shifting cultivation, called *bri*, on the hill slopes adjacent to their respective villages with the permission of the Forest Department. The work cycle starts with the cutting of trees and bushes in the selected patches after winter. These felled trees and cleared bush are allowed to dry up until March or April, when these are set on fire. Then the ashes are spread over the patch around which fencing should have been fixed in the meantime to protect the crops from damage by wild animals. After sowing the seeds in late June or early July, when the monsoon starts, the soil is raked with the help of a hand hoe and with bullock-driven plough. They grow minor millets like *ragi*, *suan*, *jawar* and *kandula* (red gram) in the first year and *birhi* (black gram) or *niger* and brinjal in the subsequent two years. A patch is cultivated for three consecutive years and left fallow for 10 to 12 years.

In upland areas the Didayi grow a few varieties of millet, oilseeds and grams, while in the lowlands they only grow paddy. Bullock-driven ploughs are used in cultivating this type of land. In the plains, the Didayis are now anxious to take up wet cultivation on whatever land available, but they do not possess knowledge of improved methods of cultivation, and do not have capital in the shape of suitable implements or ploughbullocks with which they can obtain a higher yield.

Basketry is made primarily for their own use and occasionally for sale. The rearing of a few varieties of domestic animals like cows, pigs, fowls and goats is common.

Although the Didayi mainly depend on cultivation, the collection of forest produce like edible fruits, leaves, flowers, shoots, roots and mushrooms at

different seasons and hunting are still important and supplementary sources of livelihood. Firewood, timber, bamboo, thatching grass and fibres for ropes are also collected from the forest. Men, women and children all take part in forest collection. At the time of the collection, they consume the edible items on the spot, but bring the remaining items home. The sago palm trees in the forest provide them their favourite drink during the summer. The flour prepared by crushing the pith of dead sago-palm trees is used to prepare cake gruel. The collection and sale of *kendu* leaves, mangoes, tamarind, arrowroot, etc. bring them additional income.

Hunting, once an important activity of the Didayi, has become a thing of the past in recent times due to forest regulations. But some of them are skilled hunters who never miss any opportunity to hunt. When guarding the standing crops in the *podu* land and moving through the forest for collecting purposes, birds and animals like deer, *sambar*, *kuatra*, etc. are often hunted. In the month of Chaitra (March-April), the annual hunting ceremony called Goesendia Hia is observed, while the ceremonial hunting during the eating of first fruits ceremony called Ghia Panda is observed in Baisakh (April-May).

In spite of their dependency on cultivation and other economic pursuits, they still lead a hand-to-mouth living. In cases of crop failure, the Hill Didayi depend on forest collection and hunting, the Plains Didayis on wage earning. *Ragi* and minor millets constitute the staple food among the Hill Didayis and rice among the Plains Didayis. These are supplemented by seasonal fruits, roots and tubers collected from the forest. *Mohua* liquor and the juice of the sago palm and date palm are their favourite alcoholic drinks, consumed on festive occasions.

In the past, Didayi society had a well-organized territorial socio-political organization at different levels. The largest unit was the apex organization of the whole tribe meeting once in a year at Kudumulguma village to solve inter-village and inter-tribal problems and to consider the larger issues of tribal life. Such meetings, which were attended by the leaders and influential members of all Didayi villages, were presided over by one of the secular headmen of an important village. A group of adjacent villages having common forest territories formed a single inter-village organization to protect their rights over forest land. But both these systems have now become defunct and belong to the past.

The traditional village panchayat now exists as the most powerful socio-political organization at the village level. All village elders, under the leadership of the Naik, the secular headman, and the Palasi, the village priest, with their messenger called Chalan, constitute the village panchayat. These posts are normally hereditary in the male line. The village panchayat is a corporate body, the purpose of which is to regulate the behavior of each individual in the village and to organize corporate activities in the social, political, economic and religious spheres. The Naik represents his village to outsiders whenever occasion arises.

The religious life of the Didayi centres round the worship of Mother Earth, represented by a big stone called Brihu as the Supreme Being, although the name of Mahapru, identified as the creator, is uttered at each worship. Their pantheon includes several gods, with goddesses as their counterparts. These are Buro Bhaira and Nahnangri, Bangur and Raskurka, Gaa and Sendia, Ran and Aksia, Gaud and Suni, Thakran and Burimata, Bak and Pa. These deities are amenable and compassionate. The Didayi also believe in the existence of a number of semi-gods, who are worshipped at regular intervals to prevent diseases and calamity in their society.

Deities are regularly propitiated through a series of religious ceremonies throughout the year. The most important festival of the year is Lendi Panda, which signifies the beginning of the agricultural cycle. This is observed very elaborately in the month of Magha (January-February) in honour of Mother Earth. In the month of Chaita (March-April), the ceremonial sowing of seeds is carried out by the village priest in a ceremony called Siboloye Hia in honour of Iswar and Parvati. This is followed by the annual hunting ceremony called Goesendia Hia in the same month. Then comes another important festival known as Ghia pande in April-May which marks the first eating of new fruits like sal seeds, mangoes, *mohua* flowers, etc., followed by ceremonial hunting. Dihir Hia and Gonghir Hia, which marks the beginning of ceremonial harvesting of the main crop rice is celebrated in the month of Pond (November-December). The Pusarke Panda, the closing religious ceremony of the year, is celebrated in the month of Pus (December-January).

On the occasion of each of these ceremonies the sacrifice of animals like fowls, goats and pigs is very common. These occasions are celebrated by dancing and singing continuously for several days.

The Didayi possess a number of primitive characteristics, and the Government of India have rightly declared them to be one of the primitive tribal groups found in the state. They are a small and distinctive group depending largely on a staple form of agriculture called shifting cultivation and forest collection, have simple tools and limited material belongings, and are still governed by their customary laws, which are administered by the traditional village panchayat, led by the secular headman and the priest. In order to bring them within the ambit of intensive developmental programmes, the Government of Orissa have launched a micro-project in their area, with its headquarters at Kudumuluguma.

DIDAYI *

*K. K. Mohanti*¹

Introduction

The Didayi constitutes one of the 62 Scheduled Tribe communities living in Orissa. Their society is simple and population is small. As per Government of India norms and conditions the said S.T. community has been identified as one of the 13 Primitive Tribal Groups (PTGs) in Orissa. They inhabit the southern part of the Scheduled Area of the State, which is remote and inaccessible because of typical topographical situation. They have been inhabiting the area since time immemorial. Their culture has the tenacity to adapt themselves with the inhospitable eco-system for survival amidst all odds and challenges.

The Didayi belongs to the Proto-Australoid racial stock. They speak a language which has been included under Austro-Asiatic language family. The Didayi as a Scheduled Tribe group is confined to Orissa State only and found nowhere else in our country. They may be labeled as a humble people of the Eastern Ghats, which is famous for its varied geomorphological features amidst mountains, hills, forests, plateaus and valleys with frolicking hill streams against contrastive colourful sky blue and scenic greenery of the bountiful environment. Their small mountain settlements which are sparsely populated provide relatively isolated or secluded habitat full of pollution free, serene and calm surrounding.

The Didayi is a superimposed nomenclature on the original people, who called themselves as Gntare in the recent past.

The Didayi Identity

The Didayi is one of the Scheduled Tribe communities of Orissa occupying Serial No. 18 in the list of S.Ts. It constitutes a simple society with characteristic features, such as (i) small in scale with regard to numbers, territory and range of

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¹ Former Director, SCSTRTI, Bhubaneswar

social contacts; (ii) possesses simple technology and economy; (iii) little specialization of social functions; (iv) absence of literature and hence any systematic art, science or theology; (v) structurally so simple and culturally so homogeneous, that they can be directly observed as wholes; and otherness in their way of life, as stipulated by Professor E.E. Evans-Pritchard (1972). The Didayi is a small tribe (census, 1961), a wild tribe (Elwin, 1954), etc. As per Haimendorf (1945) they belong to the stratum of primitive, semi-nomadic shiftingcultivators, who have been subjected to the influences of an Austro-Asiatic population (cf. Guha et al, 1970:1). They called themselves Gntare, but now as Didayi.

As a discrete ethno-cultural group, the Didayi "is largely biologically self-perpetuating; shares fundamental cultural values, realized in overt unit in cultural forms; makes up a field of communication and interaction; and has a membership which identifies itself, and is identified by others, as constituting a category distinguishable from other categories of the same order" (cf. Barth, 1969:10-11). As a multidimensional concept social identity incorporates "ideology, cognition, codes of conduct observable patterns of behavior, ecology, demography, technology, economic and power distributions and more" (cf. David, 1977:450). Further, at the conceptual level, Durkheimian'collective representations' and Geertz's 'corporate sentiments of oneness' are reflected while assessing social identity. The Didayi identity is defined by themselves and also defined by others, which dichotomizes between self-identity and non-self-identity.

In a nutshell, the Didayi amidst definition and redefinition of identity and impact of the processes of socio-cultural change has been maintaining their ethno-cultural boundary and cultural distinctiveness.

Ecological Niche

The maximum population concentration of the Didayi is noticed in Malkangiri district of Orissa. The Didayi habitation is situated towards the western part of the Eastern Ghats mountain ranges. The winding course of the Machkund river drains the area. The topography and the varied landscape includes residual hills or hills of circum-denudation, undulating plateaus and Kondakamberu hill ranges and rugged surface with dense forests full of sal, teak and other wild trees. The Malkangiri plateau is characterized by hot and moist climate. Different types of bamboo and wild grass species grow in the area. The chief fauna includes tiger, bear, leopard, panther, bison, *sambar*, deer, langur and macque monkey, etc. Difficult terrains, mountainous streams and rivulets, steep hill slopes make the area inaccessible. Some of the Didayi villages in hill tops are situated at an elevation of 2000-3500 feet above sea level. The hills settlements are smaller and sparsely populated than their plains counterparts. Bayapada, a uniclans Didayi village in the hill Sub-area is situated at the highest altitude of 3500 feet above the sea level. The foot hill villages have comparatively larger population with dense and permanent settlement and people have taken up settled agriculture as their chief occupation. The mountain and hill ranges are covered

with dense mixed forests. The Didayi habitations consist of three broad sub-areas, such as the hills, plains and the cut-off areas, consequent upon the emergence of the Balimela reservoir for the hydel project.

The ecological perspective of the Didayi is to be analyzed holistically or from the point of view of anthropological ecology as humans are bio-cultural animals. The structure and functioning of an ecosystem subsumes human morphology, reproduction, population genetics, food and nutritional requirements, the ecology of health and disease, human adaptability, population processes, such as fertility, mortality, migration and population structure-the feedback between biological and cultural factors (technological, economic, organizational) in populations, spatial and economic distribution and ecological consequences of population trends. Further, such aspects as ecological perceptions, environmental cognition, language as cultural codification, ideology, creative thinking, planning and decision-making etc. are very much interrelated (cf. James N. Anderson, 1973:184). In a culture system, we notice three layers, such as techno-economic, socio-structural and ideological. The first layer acts as the basic foundation upon which the two other layers rest as superstructure. The techno-economic base or material base adapts to nature and the super structure to material base (cf. Sahlins, 1977:218).

The Didayi do not live in isolation as they come in contact with other S.T. groups, such as the Bonda, Gadaba, Paroja, etc.; S.C. group, such as the Dom and other caste groups, such as the Kamar, Gauda, Rona, etc. They maintain symbiotic relationship with their neighbours in culture contact situations. The impact of outside world is gradually increasing day by day. Their culture is perfectly in tune with their physical environment, but cultural nexus enjoys precedence over environment. In the ecological system the Didayi culture safeguards the interest of the people, acts as safety valve and accelerates adaption to changing situations with necessary coping mechanisms.

Settlement and Habitation

The Didayi settlement pattern is very much in consonance with the prevailing topographical features. The villages in plains sub-area are more or less nucleated whereas non-nucleated in hills and cut-off sub-areas. Their habitations do not follow any pattern; rather they are located in dispersed manner.

The Didayi house has rectangular plinth with an area of 13.5 feet long and 10.5 feet wide and is raised 1-2 feet above the ground level with mud platform. The outer walls are usually constructed out of mud and the inner walls may be of wattle and daub. The house is covered with thatched roof resting upon centre pillars, beams and rafters of bamboo or wood. The centre pillars are strong enough to sustain the weight of the roof. Most of the houses are one-roomed, separated into two parts; one as living room usually occupied by husband and wife and the other as store-cum-kitchen space and the outer portion in the front side of the

house has a verandah which is used by unmarried children for sleeping. There is only one door of the house for entrance and exit. The verandah has multiple use, sleeping and sitting, space for mortar and wooden grinder, installation of cradle with bed for infants, etc. The cradle with bamboo framework hangs from the roof by means of ropes for rocking. The inner portion of the room provides space for sleeping, storage of household utensils and appliances and food grains on an elevated wattle platform and a hearth for cooking.

The floor and walls of the house are plastered over with cow dung and red coloured earth from time to time. The cattle shed; pig sty and goat pens are constructed outside the house, but inside the house premises. The roof of the house which is gable-shaped is thatched by different types of grasses collected from forests. Rice divination is performed while selecting the house site and in case of ill omen and unfavorable conditions, the house site is abandoned. Appropriate rituals are performed and deities are worshipped before, during and after house construction. Currently, houses constructed by bricks, cement and concrete under the Indira Awas Yojana are found in Didayi villages.

Demographic Perspective

An analysis of the demographic perspective of any ethno-cultural group in a given ecologic niche raises a number of issues, such as

- (i) Adaption of the group to the ecologic niche (s) occupied;
- (ii) Dependence of the group of population on the exploitation of the niche (s);
- (iii) Carrying capacity of the niche (s);
- (iv) Variation in uni-ethnic and poly-ethnic situations; and
- (v) Osmotic versus non-osmotic boundary of the ethno-cultural group (cf. Barth, 1969:20-21).

With the above analytic thrust in mind, we may discuss briefly the population dynamics of the Didayi in three sub-areas inhabited by them in Malkangiri district and these sub-areas may be called, the plains, the Hills and the cut-off area. Altogether there are 39 villages covered under the Didayi Development Agency (D.D.A), a micro project establishment in August, 1986 for the all-round development of the Didayi identified and designated as a Primitive Tribal Group (P.T.G.) by Government of India. Out of 39 villages 37 are in Kudumulgumma Block and the rest 2 in Khairaput Block. The decennial population and variation in growth rate are given below:

Census Year	Population	Decade	Decennial Growth (%) Positive (+), Negative (-)
1941	1661	-	-
1951	N.A.	-	N.A.
1961	1978	-	N.A.
1971	2164	1961-71	(+) 9.40

1981	1978	1971-81	(-) 8.60
1991	5471	1981-91	(+) 176.59
2001	7371	1991-2001	(+) 34.73
2007*	6545	-	-

The population growth trend is more or less positive, except the decade 1971-81 which records negative growth. The positive growth rate in 1981-91 appears to be abnormal.

In the plains Sub-area out of total number of 6 villages, Oringi village has the highest number of Didayi households (127) consisting of 571 population (2001-02), of which there are 281 males and 290 females. In the Hills Sub-area out of total number of 18 villages, Damodarbeda village records the maximum number of 97 households comprising 464 population, of which there are 227 males and 237 females. In the cut-off sub-area out of total number of 15 villages Orapadar village has 60 households consisting of 279 persons of whom there are 139 males and 140 females. In the 3 subareas taken together, the average household per village comes to 33.67 and the average population figure is estimated at 146.85 per village.

The sex ratio of the Didayi may be considered as normal and it may be stated as follows:

Census Year	Population			Sex Ratio
	Total	Male	Female	
1961	1978	962	1016	1056
1971	2164	1131	1033	913
1981	1978	968	1010	1043
1991	5471	2694	2777	1031
2001	7371	3516	3855	1096
2007*	6545	3064	3481	1136

In the context of Literacy status of the Didayi we may compare the figures of 1961 and 2001 available with us from census. In 1961 the total illiteracy rate was 97.27 whereas it is 86.38 in 2001. In 1961 illiteracy rates for males and females were 95.22 and 99.21 respectively whereas in 2001 these were 79.77 and 94.07, respectively. The above figures show slight increasing trend in literacy. Further as per the SCSTR & TI survey in 2007 the literacy rate for the total population, male and female is estimated at 7.36, 12.34 and 2.99, respectively. However, the literacy rate is very low among them and proverbially low among the womenfolk.

The Didayi villages are, by and large, uniethnic, but polyethnic villages are found with the Dom and the Kamar people etc. in some villages. In so far as the socio-cultural boundary maintenance is concerned the Didayi is relatively non-osmotic.

Social Life

The existence of moieties/dual organization among the Didayi in the past is debatable. The present ethnographic scenario does not confirm to its existence in the true sense of the term. There exists sharp distinction between consanguineal groups or designated as brother groups and the affinal or friends group. The consanguineal clan groups are not inter marrying and they choose life partners from affinal groups of clans. The clans are totemistic. A number of clans are found under each totem.

The Anthropological Survey of India study (1970) reports five totems, such as Nkoo (tiger), Mala (cobra), Gbe (bear), Mosali (crocodile) and Goi (tortoise). The Didayi call a group of clans as *Gta*, which is associated with a totem usually an animal and neither a plant species nor any material object. They avoid doing harm to the totemic animal but do not observe any ritual for its perpetuation.

Every *gta* has its origin myth and the ancestor is not genealogically traceable. The common origin of clans makes them exogamous. Similarly fraternal clans avoid inter marriage. The fraternal clans or phratries consist of a number of clans which are exogamous. Thus each phratry is a unilineal descent group which includes two or more number of clans interrelated to each other. Each clan consists of a number of lineages (*biria*) which are corporate descent groups or consanguineal kin groups and are ancestor- oriented, whether or not genealogically traceable. The lineage is strictly exogamous and it regulates marital union among the Didayi. Each lineage is a patrilineage as descent is counted in father's line. The ancestor of the minimal lineage is usually genealogically traceable and it occupies a significant position in the Didayi social structure. Besides regulating marriage the minimal lineage plays crucial role in life-cycle ritual observations connected with child birth, puberty rites, marriage and mortuary rites. Each lineage includes a number of lineal / collateral extended families and nuclear / simple families.

The Didayi family is patriarchal /patripotestal, patrilineal, patrilocal/partivicineal and patronymic. The family is headed by the eldest male member of the group who plays the chief authoritarian role in matters of decision-making, ownership and inheritance of property and the maintenance of all internal and external affairs of the group. Soon after marriage the son usually constructs his own house and lives with his spouse forming the neolocal family of his own, away from his natal family. The Didayi family is pre-eminently monogamous although polygynous families occur rarely. The nuclear/simple families consisting of husband and wife and their unmarried children are preponderant in hills and Cut-off Sub-areas, whereas some extended families are found in plains Sub-area. The Didayi family guarantees socio-economic rights and obligations for each member. As the Didayi people are very peace-loving and generous inter-family relationship with the lineage is cordial and based on reciprocity, mutuality and cooperation.

Among the Didayi different ways of acquiring mates are followed, such as the marriage by negotiation (*toso*), marriage by ceremonial capture (*udalia*), marriage by service (*gariya*), etc. The junior leviration is admissible in their society and it is accomplished only with the consent of the woman. The ritual kinship or bond friendship (*masat*) is also come across. In so far as the kinship type is concerned the Didayi Kinship may be labeled as bifurcate collateral. The Kinship system plays important role in the maintenance of patterns of social behavior, usages, inheritance and succession and also in the socio-economic, socio-political and socio-religions nexus. Through kinship the Didayi emerges as a compact andcohesive ethno-cultural group since time immemorial.

Dress, Ornaments and Personal Adornments

In olden days, bark thread was used to prepare traditional cloth (Kisalu) to cover private parts of the body and for modesty. Currently, cotton cloths, purchases from weekly markets are used by both men and women. The Didayi women are wearing white or red coloured sarees with blouse, whereas men wear narrow strip of cloth or long cotton cloth while going out and in festive occasions. Young men are seen using trousers with full/half sleeve shirts and banians. Colourful dresses are preferred during fairs and festivals. However, types of their dress are scanty.

The Didayi women use necklace/necklets of aluminum, brass or silver along with colourful beads garlanded through strings. Other ornaments worn are aluminum anklets, brass rings in fingers and toes, brass nostril rings, nose gays, brass rings in ear helix and lower lobes, aluminum and glass bangles, etc.

The Didayi are careful about their personal adornments and cleanliness. In order to enhance their personal appearance women comb their hair and put attractive knots at the bun. Men and women pare their finger and toe nails as and when necessary. Men shave their face hair and cut their head hair from time to time. In ceremonial occasions, flowers, feathers, reed hair bands are used for beautification of the body.

Economy and Technology

The Didayi economy is precisely subsistence-Oriented. Their subsistence economy is characterizedby simple technological base, simple division of labour based on age and sex, rudimentaryinvestment of capital, small production unit, household-oriented production decision, scanty orlimited availability of cultivable plains land, etc. The socio-economic units of production, distribution,consumption and exchange are simple and fairly based on family and lineage.

The subsistence economy of the Didayi is circumstantially imposed on them and is beyond their control because ofharsh physical environment coupled with abject poverty, illiteracy, unemployment, health hazardsand the like. Considering their eco-system, traditional economy, low technology and

supernatural beliefs and practices connected with economic activities and the impacts of modernization and planned development intervention, their economy can be classified broadly into the following types:

- (i) Hunting, collecting and gathering;
- (ii) Shifting (swidden) cultivation;
- (iii) Settled agricultural and non-farm labour;
- (iv) Animal Husbandry; and
- (v) Kitchen gardening and horticultural plantation.

As majority of the Didayi people live in hills and forests, they regularly collect non-timber forest produce to earn their livelihood. However, timber is collected for house construction. They collect different types of edible roots, tubers, fruits, leaves, flowers, mushrooms, shoots, honey, etc. from forests through group endeavour with the participation of men, women and children. Hunting as apart of food gathering economy is also pursued by the Didayi. Due to the imposition of forest regulations and depletion of forests the incidence of hunting has decreased to a considerable extent.

The bow and arrow as simple implements are used by them for hunting *sambar*, goat, deer, squirrel, wild cat, hare, jungle fowl, birds etc. The Didayi also engage themselves in fishing in rivers, perennial streams and tanks. They use country boat, hand operated nets and different types of fishing traps and baskets for fishing.

The Didayi pursue *shifting (swidden) cultivation* on hill slopes which are known to them as *bri*. It is also known in the area as *podu chas*. Although shifting cultivation is pernicious for the maintenance of ecosystem and causes rainlessness, loss of soil fertility, soil erosion and is low yielding in nature they have not abandoned it, because of the absence of viable livelihood alternatives. It supplies food for about 2-3 months in a year.

The tools and implements used for felling trees, slashing of bush and shrubs, hoeing the soil and harvesting are simple which include axe, hoe, sickle, etc.

They practice multi-cropping in swidden plots and the crops include *jawar*, black gram, red gram, oil seeds, millets, brinjal, tomato, chilly etc. Shifting cultivation in hill slopes is one of the means of their subsistence economy even today. They usually cultivate the plot of land for 3-4 years, after which it is abandoned because of exhaustion of fertility of the soil. They may return to the abandoned plot again after 12-15 years. The shifting cultivation in *bri* plots adjacent to the village are preferred.

Various stages of *bri* cultivation of the Didayi are (i) selection of the *bri* plot, (ii) felling of trees and bushes, (iii) setting on fire of the felled tree branches, bush and shrubs after they are dried (iv) spreading of ashes throughout the plot,

(v) fencing of *bri* plots (vi) hoeing of the plot (vii) sowing of seeds, (viii) weeding, (ix) harvesting and (x) threshing. Bamboo or wooden sticks are usually used for threshing along with winnowing fans for separating chaff from the grain.

In settled agriculture the Didayi use plough and bullocks. The yield of crops per hectare is definitely more in plough cultivation than in shifting cultivation. The cultivation of land begins soon after the first shower of monsoon. Settled agriculture is practised in permanent low land where rice is mainly grown. Although now a days some farmers have started using chemical fertilizers, cow dung manuring is the traditional way. After ploughing wooden leveler is utilized to level the land. While ploughing and leveling they use animal power of bullocks and cows. In the months of May and June seeds are sown. The weeding is performed soon after sprouting of plants. The Didayi men plough and level the land. The weeding is done both by men and women. In the months of October and

November rice is harvested. Both cows and bullocks are used for threshing. They use winnowing fans for separating chaff from paddy grains. The common practice of rice cultivation is through broadcasting and mono-cropping.

In the recent past, only pigs and dogs were domesticated by the Didayi. Now a days, they have started domesticating cows, buffaloes, oxen, goats, sheep, fowl, etc. By and large, cows are not milked. Cattle are reared for ploughing, for payment of bride price etc., As per COATS, Koraput study (2001-02) animal husbandry contributes only 11.83% of their total annual income and the average annual income per households comes to Rs. 1250/-. The livestock raising is encouraged by the availability of grass land in hills and cut-off sub-areas. Poultry is practised in the household level for sale in markets and for sacrificial purposes in different rituals.

The Didayi have developed their interest in kitchen gardening and horticultural plantations soon after planned development programmes are implemented in their habitations. They usually grow seasonal vegetables, Papaya, banana, tobacco etc. in kitchen gardens and mango, jackfruit, tamarind in horticultural plots.

The landless labourers engage themselves in wage earning in agricultural lands and non-farm labour, such as construction of roads, culverts, bridges, houses, etc.

A concise account of their production factors, such as land, labour, capital and organization reveals that there is paucity of cultivable land in the area; labour which is inalienable does not get opportunity for full employment; capital formation is remote because of lack of surplus production; and economic organization along with production decision is household based or kinship oriented.

Although their economy has been monetized, barter system still persists and in weekly markets they exchange some commodities which are either produced or collected against essential commodities for their daily use.

A cursory look into their consumption pattern shows that *ragi* is their principal food. In addition, they consume rice, edible roots and tubers, green vegetables, bamboo shoots, green leaves, etc. Non-vegetarian items consisting of chicken, mutton, fish, etc. are used in festive occasions. They use salt to taste, chillies, other spices for preparing curries. As beverage, they drink *sago-palm* juice and wine. Now a days, young men have started drinking tea and coffee.

Political Life

The traditional political organization of the Didayi was a three-tier system, such as the (i) central organization, (ii) regional organization & (iii) village organization. The central political organization which had the headquarters at Kudumuluguma is at present defunct and has lost its vigour and vitality. Similarly, regional organizations existed with a number of contiguous neighbouring villages with common access to forests, shifting cultivation plots etc. The village political organizations were considered the most vital ones which regulated all socio-economic activities of the Didayi. Although their economy was at the subsistence level each village was more or less self-sufficient.

They had their village councils (*lepar*) which were well organized and were looking after all activities concerning social, economic and religions spheres. The village head was known as the *Naik* who was assisted by the Chalan and the Barik. All household heads were members of village council. The secular head was the Naik who in consultation with the sacerdotal chief, the Palasi and elderly persons of the village was adjudicating cases for their judicious disposal.

Consequent upon the introduction of the Panchayati Raj system and formation of 3-tier Panchayati Raj Institutions (PRIs), the traditional political system is gradually disappearing. The office bearers of the statutory PRIs are elected people's representatives, such as Ward Members, Chairman of Panchayat Samity and the Zilla Parishad, etc. The PRIs are more concerned about the planned development efforts undertaken in their villages. It is also felt by many that the traditional leaders need not be segregated totally and may be taken as coopted members in such meetings organized for the development of the community. Currently, the erstwhile traditional system and modern PRI system are no longer found to be conflicting with each other.

Supernaturalism

The supernaturalism or belief in supernatural beings and ritual practices connected find their explicit expression in the Didayi way of life. They differentiate between the sacred and profane. Both animism (concept of soul) and animatism (concept of life) are the principal components of the Didayi religion. Their religion

helps maintenance of group solidarity, maintains moral values and determines value orientations in their community and fulfills their physical as well as social needs. In order to overcome mundane miseries, distress and hurdles in their perpetual struggle for existence, they surrender themselves before the invincible supernatural powers.

Through religion they maintain social integration, rationalize their roles, enforce social control and derive mental peace for survival. The supernaturalism precisely embraces religious beliefs and practices as well as magical beliefs and practices, which are but two antithetical approaches; the former subscribing to the act of surrendering whereas the latter to compulsion. Both are the two forms of cultural responses to the unseen and unknown.

Didayi are polytheists and their theological pantheon includes a number of supernatural beings who are benevolent / malevolent/ambivalent. The Didayi religion is anthropocentric. They believe in the Mother Earth and her consort the Ant-hill. They believe in a number of gods and goddesses as their consorts. The ASI study reports as many as 8 (male) gods with their respective consorts (females) or goddesses. They are *Buro Bhairo* and Nanangri, Bangur and Raskurku, Goa and Sendia, Rau and Aksia, Gond and Suni, Thakran and Burimata, Jainimata and Rekapaidu and Bok and Pa.

Among the Didayi, Palasi acts as the sacerdotal chief. Other religious practitioners who render necessary help to the Palasi in different rituals and ceremonies are the Kitang Pujari, Doecongre, Sihdarnare, Dumbare, Gharware, Gediare, etc. (Op. Cit. 152-53).

A number of festivals are celebrated by the Didayi throughout the year for different purposes and important festivals are Lendi Pande, Ghia Pande, Siboloye Hia, Jugulubar Hia, Ciangei Hia, Doase Hia, Goesendia Hia, Singuti Hia, Raskurku Hia, Dosra Hia or Bhairo Puja, Rokdia Hia, Osarke Pande and many more (cf. Guha et al, 1990).

They worship deities and utter the name, Mapru (a corrupted term of Mahaprabhu) in almost all pujas while uttering mantra-incantations. Their puja and sacrificial ceremonies are elaborate and offerings differ from one ritual to the other.

The magic was prevalent among the Didayi in the recent past and now a days its importance is waning due to various processes of socio-cultural change. The Guniar performs magical rituals by uttering mantras. Various forms of magic prevalent among them are, the effects of evil eye, curing of snake bit, ailments and diseases, curing of sterility etc. In magical rituals offerings include rice, milk, molasses, banana, coconut, incense, flowers, etc. The chicken, goat and pig are sacrificed and blood is sprinkled on the rice to be offered and drinks are offered for propitiation of deities.

Traditionally, they also had belief in black magic, oracle, divination, etc. To sum up, the Didayi sympathetic magic follows two principles, such as homeopathic or imitative (like produces the like) and contagious (once in contact always in contact). The practical and positive aspects of magic include sorcery and witchcraft whereas the negative aspect pertains to taboo. Now a days, their ethno medicinal practices minus magical rituals are appreciated by outsiders.

The ideological sub-stratum acts as the superstructure upon the two substrata, i.e. techno economic and social structural. The Didayi manifest very delicate and clear understanding of their life situations which are full of joys and sorrows, upheavals and downfalls, etc. In their socio-religious activities they show more cooperation than conflict. The secular as well as sacerdotal chiefs and elderly persons get adequate respect of their fellow men. They surrender themselves before supernatural elements in order to get rid of all evils. Through observance of different ceremonies they make all attempts to appease deities for the perpetuation of good life and happy life.

Didayis have their own value system which is deciphered through study of their life style and culture. The value-orientations, of course, differ among age-sex groups, such as among males and females and among the young, adult and old people. The value orientations change keeping in view various processes of socio-cultural changes inside and outside the tribal community. Adherence to customary laws presupposes their desire to upkeep the prestige of their community at large, safeguarding their traditions and culture.

Cultural Fragrance:

The Didayi have repository of splendid oral literature represented through myths, folktales, folk songs, proverbs and riddles. They sing and dance with musical accompaniments in festive occasions and life-cycle rituals and express their emotions. Either men or women dance together in a group or women dance exclusively.

The song, music and dance in their community provide unique opportunities to rejoice, recreate and boost integration. The movement of limbs, posture and gesture, melodious songs, rhythmic play of musical instruments make the Didayi dance colourful, lively and attractive. Both song and dance holistically reflect their intimate relationship with nature, supernatural elements and their own tribal world.

Development Intervention and Perception

The Didayi is one of the 13 Primitive Tribal Groups (PTGs) of Orissa, who was identified as such because of stagnant or near stagnant population growth, pre-agricultural economy, low level of literacy, isolated habitation, etc. Keeping in view the above situation Government of India provides cent percent special grants for the all-round development of the S.T. communities through operationalisation of micro projects.

The Didayi Development Agency (DDA) as one of such micro projects with its headquarters at Kudumulugumma in Malkangiri district was established in August 1986 and subsequently in October 1986 it was registered under the Societies Registration Act, 1860, as an autonomous body. The planned development effort had multi-sectoral approach comprising such sectors as agriculture, horticulture, irrigation, drinking water facilities, communication, health, education, etc. The geographical area of the DDA is 250 square kilometers. The Agency includes 2 blocks, 4 gram panchayats and 37 villages / hamlets.

As per the survey conducted by the S.C. & S.T. Research and Training Institute, Bhubaneswar during 2007, the total Didayi population was 6545, consisting of 3064 males and 3481 females and the sex ratio was 1136. The total literacy during the above period was 7.36% out of which males constituted 12.34% and females 2.99%. Thus the literacy rate was low and proverbially low in case of the Didayi females. It is apt to state here that the annual funds received for development programmes during the initial year 1986-87 was Rs. 475000.00 which subsequently increased to Rs. 2400000.00 in the next year i.e. 1987-88. However, the funds allotted for development expenditure varies from year to year. Over a period of 10 years, the maximum grants received was during 1987-88, followed by Rs. 1796000.00 in 1995-96.

Regarding the status of the project during 2007-08 it may be mentioned here that funds from two sources were received i.e. (i) from SCA to TSP and (ii) under CCD (Conservation-cum-Development) plan: The expenditure incurred during 2007-08 under CCD plan was to the tune of Rs.31.38 lakh and Rs. 38.47 lakh under the SCA to TSP. The activities undertaken under the CCD plan were the construction of Educational complex and Community centre and SHG building. Under the grants from SCA to TSP the activities undertaken were the provision of drinking water facility and piped irrigation, land development and banana plantation.

The Didayi development perception is unique as is evidenced from their practice and theory. They take all efforts to preserve their traditions and culture and simultaneously take the advantage of planned development efforts undertaken for them. It is because of their cultural apparatus they have been surviving amidst ecological and geophysical hazards and socio-economic odds and backwardness. In course of time they develop appropriate coping mechanisms to eke out their living under peculiar and disadvantageous situations.

They possess indigenous knowledge about resources which are locally available and exploitable for their benefit what they require at present, is the scientific and technological know-how from various experts. Despite patriarchal situation or male dominance, the Didayi women are capable of empowering themselves as they are honest, dutiful, hardworking and sincere in all walks of life; right from domestic chores to outdoor activities.

The Didayi women earn and contribute to the common pool of the family income. Didayis are convinced that their human resource is bound to enhance through capacity building programmes in spite of low level of literacy. The Didayi has its own responses to various challenging situations faced during the planned development intervention, specially meant for their community. Basing on their development perception it is apt to point-out that they have very simple and limited aspirations and the primary focus is livelihood promotion. Their women folk have developed the propensity to save either in cash or kind and it is seen from their modest contribution and involvement in maintaining Self Help Groups (SHGs). Although they have still confidence on the ethno-medicinal practices for healing, they have shown interest for modern allopathic medicine at the time of dire need. Being aware of the pernicious effects of shifting cultivation they intend to have terrace cultivation in hill slopes as a viable alternative economic pursuit. They intend to have value addition for the non-timber forest produce along with wider marketing network. They have also developed keen interest in horticultural plantations to boost their economy.

Despite the negation of universal enrolment and retention even at the primary education stage, they are gradually showing interest to send their children to schools. They have favourable attitude towards Water Harvesting Structure (WHS), weir dam, lift irrigation, etc. which promote irrigation for agricultural activities. They are showing increasing interests for growing cash crops, cattle rearing and fishery. Majority of the villagers feel that they have been benefited through poverty alleviation programmes as well as from NREGP, but they demand more for their sustenance.

It may be remembered that our planning has not been perfectly in tune with their felt needs. The implementation of various programmes lack sincerity of efforts and dedication of development practitioners to ensure popular participation. In other words, the planned development intervention is sought to be people-friendly, eco-friendly and need-based so that the attainment of sustainability is assured in the long run. That is what our empirical research findings among the Didayi conclude.

DIDAYI & THEIR DEVELOPMENT *

*S.C. Mohanty*¹

“Didayi” means a wild person. They are a small primitive tribe almost unknown to the world outside. They inhabit the remote hill tracks inside mighty Kondakamberu ranges of the Eastern Ghats in Malkangiri subdivision of Koraput district. They speak an ancient dialect like those Bonda, Juang and Soura, that is linguistically classified under the Mundari branch of Austro-Asiatic sub-family of Austric family.

As a tribe, the Didayi is numerically very small. Their total population does not exceed 4,000 individuals. In 1941, their population was 1,661 in Orissa which rose to 1978 in 1961 registering an average annual growth rate of less than 1 per cent. It increased to 2,164 in 1971 indicating the same lower growth rate as against 2 per cent for the total tribal population of the state. In 1981 census, their population declined to 1977 only showing a negative growth rate of 8.6 per cent. This declining trend appears to be controversial because according to a survey conducted by the Tribal & Harijan Research-cum-Training Institute (THRTI), Orissa during 1982, the Didayi population is 3,994 comprising 1,982 males and 2,012 females who are confined to 42 villages in Kudumulguma and Khairput Blocks.

They have a very low rate of literacy, i.e. 2.72 per cent in 1961 and 0.78 per cent in 1971. In 1981 their literacy level rose to 3.2 per cent as against 13.96 per cent for the total tribal population of the State.

Most of the Didayi villages are found on the hill slope and the Machhkund river valley. As such their geographical isolation have helped the community to grow and preserve their traditional culture with least interference from the modern world. They derive their subsistence from *podu* cultivation, hunting and food gathering. Their hill settlements are smaller in size varying from ten to twenty-five households.

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A small section of the community have come down to the plains and settled down in larger villages adopting low land agriculture. They are a step ahead of their hill living counterparts. Their close proximity to the modern world and regular contact with the Government welfare agencies have made them socio-economically advanced by availing the benefits of development schemes and infrastructures like school, road communication, bank, medical center, weekly market, drinking water and tube-well, etc.

The Didayi villages comprise houses scattered here and there. The area around the house is enclosed within bamboo wattle fencing. This implies an individualistic housing pattern. "*Gulisung*" the communal place for conducting the dance, ceremonies and village meetings is located at a center place. Didayi houses are rectangular shaped having mud walls and floor and grass (*piri*) thatched roof. The spacious verandah in front is a unique feature as it serves many purposes like husking grains, sleeping and entertaining guests. The main house is single roomed. The interior is functionally divided into three parts-kitchen, store and living. The remarkable feature of the house is the attic made of bamboo approached by a bamboo ladder. It serves as a general store room for storing grains and food-stuff in large baskets. The pigsty and cattle shed are separately built within the campus. Each house has its own kitchen garden where, pumpkin, gourds, maize, chilies, tobacco leaves are grown. The house and its surroundings are generally kept neat and clean. The houses in plain villages are larger in size than those in hill settlements.

The Didayi earn their livelihood from agriculture, hunting and food gathering. The hill Didayi pursue shifting cultivation to grow crops such as maize, millet, *Kandul*, *Niger*, *Ragi*, black gram, beans, brinjal, tomato, chilies, etc. The plain Didayi have adopted plough cultivation. They grow paddy, *Ragi*, maize, black gram etc.

Hunting and food gathering in the forest are done in all seasons, except the busy rainy season. A variety of fruits, roots, leaves and tubers are collected for consumption. The surpluses are sold in weekly markets. Collection of "*mahul*" flower during summer season provides them a gainful pursuit. Didayi men take advantage of leisure especially during festive occasions like famous "*Chait Parab*" to hunt in groups. The weapons of hunting are simple bow and arrow, knife and axe. At present reservation of forest, deforestation and restriction on hunting have put a check on their age old hunting activities.

Didayi rear animals like cattle, pig, poultry, birds and dogs. Plains Didayi use cattle for ploughing. They do not drink cow's milks but take eggs. The pigs and fowls are sacrificed in rituals and the meat is consumed.

The bamboos available from the forest are used for housing, wattle fencing and basketry. They prepare bamboo products like various kinds of baskets, mats, winnowing fan etc. which they require for regular household use.

Rice, *Ragi* and millet constitute staple diet of the Didayi supplemented by vegetable, dry fish, meat, eggs and variety of seasonal fruits, roots, leaves and tubers either grown or collected from jungle. Few simple items from rice and *ragi* and their gruels are prepared and eaten daily. Tamarind, chilies, salt and turmeric are used for making vegetarian and non-veg dishes. Meat of pig, fowl or of the hunted animals are roasted and taken during festive occasions. The Didayi eat thrice daily-morning, noon and evening. They are addicted to *mahua* arrack and *salap* juice. A kind of rice beer called "*landha*" is also prepared and consumed by them.

There is nothing special about the dress and ornaments of the Didayi. In the past women were wearing "*Kisalu*" a self-made skirt. It is an unstitched clothing made of bark fibers and thread, like the hand woven "*ringa*" worn by Bonda women. It was being tied around the waist to cover the lower parts of the body while the upper parts remained uncovered. But now, the popularity of coloured cotton *sarees* and blouses available in weekly shops has replaced the traditional *Kisalu*. Didayi women are fond of wearing ornaments of silver, aluminum, gold, brass, and beads. Wearing of nose rings is compulsory for married women. Men usually put on a small loin cloth. Now they have started wearing, dhoti, shirt, *banions* etc. Keeping of a well-built body and a neat and clean body in their characteristic simple manner is a remarkable feature of their personal hygiene.

The structural organization of Didayi society is characterized by moiety and totemism. The whole society is divided into two exogamous segments or moieties composed of totemic groups or clans. There are 5 exogamous totemic groups or clans called "*Gta*" or "*Bonsa*" namely *Nkhoo*, *Mala*, *Giboo*, *Muali* and *Goi*. The *Nkhoo Bonsa* constitutes one moiety and the other moiety is constituted by the remaining four "*Bonsa*". Each "*Bonsa*" has its own legend to tell their relationship with the totemic ancestor. The Didayi rarely worship their totemic animals but avoid killing or injuring them. The clan or "*Bonsa*" comprises several lineage groups. Consanguinal kins of patrilineally related families in a village from one lineage ("*Brea*").

Didayi family, the smallest basic social unit, is nuclear and patriarchal, in nature. It is mostly a family of man, his wife and unmarried children. Sometimes, divorced or unmarried brothers and sisters, dependent old parents are included in their family. However, initially within a year of their marriage married sons live in their family of orientation for some time till they start their own family of procreation. Family members form a close knit group to struggle against the physical environment and earn the livelihood. Women exercise a dominant influence over household affairs, by virtue of their hefty contribution for the family. Children are born and brought up in a very congenial atmosphere. They grow up while helping their parents in all subsistence activities. Succession and inheritance of property is strictly patrilineal.

The institution of marriage is the most cherished and most significant social event in Didayi life. Adult marriage and monogamy is the common practices. It is done more by mutual choice and love between the boy and girl than by parental interference. Didayi boys and girls enjoy total freedom for selecting their mates and so; most of the marriages are love marriages. The marriage season is between February and June. Like other tribal societies the bride-price is paid by the boy's family to the girl's family. The bride comes to the groom's house for the wedding ceremony which is celebrated pompously with dancing, drinking and feasting.

Widow marriage, levirate and sororate are permitted in Didayi society. Divorce, separation and remarriage of either of the spouses are also permitted to end unhappy marital life. Only the husband has the right to divorce his wife formally. On the other hand, the wife can desert him or elope with her lover forcing her husband to divorce her.

The Didayi perform elaborate death rites. They cremate the dead body. In case of abnormal deaths caused by pregnancy, child birth, disease, accident and attack of wild animals, the dead bodies are buried immediately. The whole village observes mourning on the day a death takes place and any kind of subsistence activity is totally banned. The purificatory "*dasah*" rites are observed on the 10th day in which the villagers and the kith and kin are entertained in a grand feast.

The Diayi are custom-bound and peace loving people. They believe in peaceful coexistence and maintain well-defined cordialities with their neighbours including the aggressive "Bonda". Social control and conformity are effectively ensured in their social life. Their autonomous political system of the past have declined in these days. Village is the only political unit that has survived the test of time. The Didayi village is autonomous, independent and self-sufficient having full access to its assets and resources including exclusive ownership rights to the land and forest. It is a co-operative and corporate body functioning through its own agencies and arrangements.

It is managed by a traditional village Panchayat called "*Lopar*". The village headman "*Naik*" his assistant "*Challan*" and the village priest "*Palasi*" provide leadership to the Panchayat composed of the household heads. It sits in various occasions to settle disputes, fix up dates for communal rituals and deal with other routine and emergency issues. The *Naik* presides over the meetings.

The office of *Naik* is hereditary in practice. His functions are important because he is responsible for maintain peace and good will in the village, executing the decisions of the Panchayat and especially, communicating the grievances of his villagers to the Government officers. In these days with superimposition of Panchayatiraj system at the village level the ward member has become an important figure.

Time is changing fast. The Didayi cannot remain away from it. The process of modernization and social change is more rapid in case of plains Didayi and less

so far their hill living brethren, who are still primitive and backward. Their low level of literacy, techno-economy and physical inaccessibility have kept them barely at subsistence level. Hence, they have been declared as "Primitive Tribe" by Government of India. A Micro-project named the "Didayi Development Agency" has started functioning at Kudumulguma block headquarters since September 1986.

DIDAYIDEVELOPMENT AGENCY

This Micro-project was constituted vide Government of Orissa, Harijan & Tribal Welfare Department Resolution No. 23449, dated the 5th August 1986. With a view to adopt a flexible approach and ensure speedy implementation of time-bound development programmes for the Didayi tribe, the Micro-project was constituted as an Agency which was registered as a society on the 7th October 1986 under the Societies Registration act of 1860. The Governing body of the Agency was formed under the Chairmanship of Collector, Koraput with Project Administrator, Malkangiri ITDA as the Vice-Chairman and various District level officers, local public representatives as members in order to formulate, monitor and review the action programmes from time to time. The first meeting of the Governing Body was held on the 3rd March 1987 to decide the coverage and initiate the functioning of the Agency by formulating an integrated action-plan.

At first, Government decided to locate the headquarters of the Agency at Bayapada a remote hill-top Hill Didayi village lying at a height of 3,000' from the sea level. It is 10 kms away from the Kudumulguma block headquarters and almost inaccessible in the sense that there is no road to reach the village by climbing 5 km. of steep hill through the dense reserve forests of the mighty Kondakamberu ranges. Due to the lack of minimum infrastructures such as roads, buildings, schools, banks, postal services in this remote Hill Didayi village, the Governing Body in its first meeting proposed to change the Headquarters of the Agency from Bayapada to another Didayi village, Purunaguma located on the foot hills near Kudumulguma block headquarters. At present the office building and staff quarters are being constructed at Pununaguma and till then the Agency is temporarily functioning at Kudumulguma.

As per the survey conducted by the Tribal and Harijan Research-cum-Training Institute, Orissa, in 1982 for the purpose of preparation of the Project report for Didayi Development Agency, there are a total number of 42 Didayi villages located in a contiguous pocket under the Jurisdiction of 6 Gram Panchayats namely, *Rasbeda*, *Andrahal* and *Govindpali* of Khairput Block and Kudumulguma and Muduliguda of Kudumulguma Block in Malkangiri sub-division of Koraput district. The total Didayi population and total number of Didayi households in these 42 villages are 3,994 and 990 respectively. Four of these villages namely Patraput, Khalguda and Sindhiguda coming under Andrahal G. P. and Khalguda in Govindpali G.P. of Khairput Block have not been included under Didayi Development Agency as the first three villages have already been covered

under the neighboring Micro-Project, Bonda Development Agency and the last one is located far away from Didayi Development Agency. Thus, the remaining 38 Didayi villages i.e. 36 villages of Kudumulguma block and 2 villages of Khairput block are covered under Didayi Development Agency. The total population of these 38 villages is 3,654 (1,826 males and 1,828 females) comprising 897 households, as recorded in the Survey.

These villages are located in and around the mighty Kondakamberu range of the Eastern *ghats*. On the eastern side of the mountain range lies the plain valley of the river Machhkund at an altitude of 1,500' - 2,000'. Didayi villages namely, Mudulipada, Orapadar, Bhejaguda, Totaguda, Sanyasiguda, Jantri, Dhakadpadar, Dabuguda, etc. are scattered in this valley. After construction of Balimela reservoir, most of these villages now have become inaccessible as they lie in the cutoff area of the reservoir. Many Didayi villages are found in the mountainous region at an altitude of 3,000' to 4,000'. These villages are, Bayapada, Suripada, Gangapada, Tikarpada, Damdarbeda, Ghisingbeda, Bodkiaguda, Bataguda, Kaningi, Naringjhol, Ambilbeda, Khajuriguda etc. On the western side of mountain range lies undulating plains at an altitude of 1,000'. Some Didayi villages namely, Oringi, Muduliguda, Chilipadar and Purunaguma are found in this area. These villages are located near the Kudumulguma block headquarters and the main road connecting Jeypore town with Balimela and Malkangiri. Because of their proximity to modern infrastructure like road, school, bank, weekly market, post office etc. and exposure to the agencies of modernization, the Didayi inhabiting these four villages are relatively more advanced and modern than their hill-living counterparts. Only these four villages are approachable by jeep through fair-weather roads.

At the outset, the Micro-project lacked necessary resources such as funds, manpower and infrastructures to cover all the Didayi villages for the purpose of development. This issue was discussed in the first meeting of the Governing Body held during March, 1987. It was decided that the Didayi villages would be covered in a phased manner and in the initial phase seven villages viz, Purunaguma, Chilipadar, Muduliguda, Oringi, Bayapada, Suripada and Tikarpada would be taken up. These villages comprised of 310 Didayi households which is 30 per cent of the total Didayi households (990) of the project area. Subsequently in the 3rd Governing body meeting held on the 22nd July 1989, it was decided to covered another 10 Didayi villages in addition to the existing 7 villages. Thus a total number of 17 villages out of total 38 villages have been covered by the Micro-project within a span of four years.

The Agency is implementing various development schemes for the benefit of Didayi. Importance is being given to improve their living standard by modernizing and promoting their traditional land based subsistence economy and also by upgrading the traditional skills. For promotion of agriculture, cultivation of high yielding variety of crops such as paddy, *ragi*, black gram, maize, groundnut, soybean, wheat, mustard, turmeric, etc, have been introduced. Use of

chemical fertilizers and pesticides to boost agricultural production is slowly gaining acceptance. Utilizing the land for a second crop during winter where irrigation facilities are available is being demonstrated to them. During 1988-89 Rabi season, 12 acres of wheat and 4 acres of mustard have been successfully cultivated by motivating the Didayi farmers of Oringi village. They have got a good harvest and derived extra income by selling the produce. This has brought a demonstration effect by building awareness and motivation among those who have not participated in this scheme. 300 Didayi households have been benefited under this scheme during 1987-89. Modern agricultural implements like M. B. plough, pick-axe, spade, crow-bar, etc, have also been supplied to 300 Didayi farmers with a view to introduce modern agricultural technology. All these agriculture promotion schemes are gaining popularity among the Didayi.

Under horticulture sector, fruit bearing plants like mango, coconut, pineapple, banana and vegetable crops such as *bhindi*, beans, tomato, onion, brinjal, cucumber, pumpkin, radish, chilies are being grown in their backyards. The Didayi have soon been interested in planting fruit bearing trees. A horticulture nursery-cum-demonstration farm has been developed in a Didayi village, Purunaguma to produce seeds, seedlings, plants and conduct demonstration of vegetable crops for the Didayi farmers.

Water is the most essential input for agriculture. The project area lacks necessary irrigation facilities in spite of the fact that there are some perennial hill streams which can be harnessed to provide irrigation. As a result, the Didayi farmers get meager output from their seasonal agricultural practices confined to the *kharif* season which is solely dependent on the rainfall and agro-climatic conditions. Their lands remain uncultivated for two third of an year because there is no scope to raise a second crop after the rain season. Moreover their farm lands which lie in the uneven hill terrain need to be reclaimed and developed for the purpose of introducing modern and intensive agriculture to boost the productivity. The Micro-project within its limited manpower and limited resources is trying its best to develop the irrigation facilities and the agricultural lands in the project area. A new water harvesting structure on the perennial hill stream near the village Oringi has been constructed and an existing dilapidated check dam at Muduliguda has been renovated out of the funds given by Malkangiri I.T.D.A. Two new water harvesting structures, one at Oringi and other at Purunaguma have been constructed recently to facilitate cultivation of Rabi crops during winter. Side by side land development and input assistance schemes have been launched in the Didayi villages Viz. Purunaguma, Chilipadar, Oringi and Muduliguda. Didayi farmers have welcomed these schemes and are voluntarily coming forward to participate.

In Didayi living in hill settlement practice *Podu* cultivation for their subsistence as adequate plain lands are not available in those areas. This harmful practice causes destruction to the forest and environment. With a view to wean the tribals away from this harmful and uneconomic pursuit, conserve the precious

soil, forest and environment and at the same time to provide them with an alternative means on livelihood in a phased manner, an extensive programme of economic plantation of the drought resistant plant-cashew have been taken up by the Micro-project since June, 1988 in the deforested *Podu* lands, hill slopes and wastelands lying under the possession of 60 Didayi families. 3,344 cashew plants have been planted in the area of 48Acs. @ 70 plants per acre during 1988. The cost of plantation during the first year has been Rs. 462 per acre which is 35 per cent less than the cost estimate per acre (Rs.700) made by the soil Conservation Department. This has been achieved by ensuring district involvement and participation of the Didayi beneficiaries at every stage of operation such as raising seedlings in nursery, watch and ward, transportation of seedlings from nursery to the plantation site, diggings pits, planting the seedling, preparation of tree guards, manuring and plant protection activities. By this way they have learnt the techniques of raising plantations and at the same time they earned wage and employment.

In the beginning of Didayi were reluctant to participate in this scheme because some vested interests spread a rumor that Government would take away their *podu* lands by planting cashew. Only by the persistent efforts of the project staff the deadlock caused by misinformation and suspicion was broken and a breakthrough could be achieved as the Didayi beneficiaries came forward slowly one after another to take part in this scheme. This scheme has become popular and with each passing year, the number of beneficiaries and coverage of area under cashew plantation has been increasing.

Adequate educational facilities are not available in the project area. There are only 4 primary schools functioning in the plain Didayi villages near Kudumulguma, covering only 30 per cent of the Didyai households. There are no schools in the remaining 34 Didayi villages situated in the remote hill area and reservoir cut-off area which accounts for the appallingly low level of literacy of tribesmen. Moreover, the existing 4 schools are in a bad shape. Now two educational schemes such as the National Adult Educational Programme and Anganwadi Centers under Integrated Child Development Scheme are under operation in the project area. For several reasons these two schemes have not made any impact. On the other hand, the Micro-Project within its limited manpower and resources have taken some steps for the spread of education, under the scheme called "*Gyanamandir*". Some literate Didayi young men and young women have been picked up, trained and posted in the Didayi villages to work as motivators and volunteers. They are entrusted with the responsibilities of creating awareness and motivation among the natives about the Micro-project and its development programmes, keeping liaison between the project and the people carrying out the programmes in their respective villages and also teaching the children and adult during morning and evening hours. Reading and writing materials have been supplied by the projects for this non-formal education scheme. This scheme has been made some impact within three years. Six children of the remote hill-top

village Bayapada have been thought up to the 4th standard by a dedicated worker of the project.

A registered voluntary organization composed of enterprising Didayi young men and women have been formed in the name of *Didayi Swechhasebi Sangha* during 1988-89 with a view to involve the Didyai youth in the development programmes and ensure close inter action between the project and the target people. It functions under active guidance of the project staff. The members of the *Sangha* have taken up some social service works like keeping the villages and its surroundings clean, making minor repairs to the village approach roads, motivating the people to cultivate the hygienic habits, reporting any disease, epidemic or mishap occurring in the villages to the project authorities. They have collectively constructed a shed for *Gyanmandir* at Mudulipada.

For promotion of traditional crafts, a Vocational Training Programme in bamboo handicrafts for tribal women has been conducted during 1989. 15 Didayi women participated in this programme which ran for a period of six months. Subsequently another training programme for weaving woollen carpets has been successfully conducted by the Micro-Project with overwhelming response from Didyai women. A training- cum-production centre has been established at Kudumuluguma to carry out such Vocational Training Programmes.

Minimum health care services are not available in the project area. Didayi people suffer from a host of chronic diseases such as malaria, T.B, skin infections, stomach ailments etc. for their unclean and unhygienic habits and for the unhealthy climate of their habitat. They resort to their age-old indigenous magico-religiouscurative practices as they are not aware of the modern system of the health care and medicine. In an attempt to provide them minimum health services, the micro-Project is organizing regular health check-up and immunization camps in the interior Didayi villages with the help of the medical staff of the local Primary Health Center. Necessary medicines and diets are being supplied to the Didayi patients free of cost. By 1989, 121 Didayi beneficiaries were covered under health check-up camps, 54 children under immunization camp and 210 patients were supplied with free medicines as per Doctor's prescription. The project is maintaining health cards for each beneficiary family.

As stated earlier, lack of minimum road communication facilities have made most of the Didayi villages inaccessible and isolated. It is a herculean task to connect these interior villages by constructing roads in the mountainous tracts. However, a beginning has been made by building an all-weather road linking Kudumuluguma and Purunaguma, the proposed project headquarters and then from Purunaguma to Oringi, at a cost of Rupees 22 Lakhs. Later with availability of funds, this road can be extended from Oringi to Bayapada.

Like other Micro-Projects the Didayi Development Agency also suffer from some common handicaps and constraints. It does not have minimum technical and non-technical staff to planand execute time-bound development

programmes for promotion of agriculture, horticulture, soil conservation, irrigation, land development, vocational training etc. Government as a matter of principal have reduced the total staff strength to 7-8 employees including the Project Officer, Clerk-cum-Accountant, Jeep Driver and two class IV workers with a view to cut down establishment expenditure. As a result the Project has to seek technical assistance from concerned field agencies of other departments which is a major bottleneck timely formulation and execution of the programmes. Professional rivalry and unhealthy competition among the field agencies often retards the progress of work. It becomes very different to enlist the co-operation of concerned field agencies for various programmes.

In addition to the shortage of staff, shortage of funds limits the scope of implementation of required schemes and coverage of villages and beneficiaries. The Micro-Project is funded by the State Government out of Special Central Assistance allotted to it from time to time in shape of grant-in-aid. The total annual allotment of grant-in-aid is very small to meet the cost of establishment and development programmes. With this amount it is not at all possible to take up certain minimum infrastructure development schemes like construction or repair of village approach roads, making cross-drainage works, sinking wells and tube-wells, constructing irrigation structures, building community centers and the like which are badly needed for the remote Didayi villages. Therefore only little family oriented income generating schemes are being implemented limiting the coverage to some of the villages in a phased manner depending upon the availability of funds. Besides the amount of allotment per year is not fixed but varies from time to time and given in installments. It causes difficulty to make annual action-plan in advance and gives rise to adhocism.

There is no provision for expert advice, guidance and supervision in respect of selection, formulation and implementation of felt-need oriented action programmes. Also, there is no built-in-system of monitoring and evaluation of on-going schemes to detect and rectify the faults and fix responsibility.

Besides, the Micro-Project has no office building, go-down, garage and staff quarters since five years of its inception. Arranging rented accommodation in an interior and under development tribal area like Kudumuluguma has become a major problem which has indirectly affected smooth functioning of the Micro-Project. Now the buildings are under construction at Purunaguma and it will take at least one year to be completed.

The Micro-Project staff works in this difficult and unhealthy area risking their life, health and sacrificing their personal comforts. Proper accommodation for their family, educational facilities for their children and medical facilities are not available in this area. No special incentive other than a small amount of project compensatory allowance is provided to them, for their service in the Micro-Project to compensate for their sufferings and ensure their motivation and dedication.

These issue need due to consideration in order to make the Micro-Projects a success/ story.

Despite these constraints and problems, the Didayi Development Agency marches ahead with passage of time learning lessons from its failures and successes. It has made its presence felt among the Didayi by buildings a good rapport slowly and gradually. This has been achieved by involving the beneficiaries and their community leaders and ensuring their active participation as far as possible in the development programmes. The task has been easier because the Didayi may be timid and shy but they are simple, friendly and responsive. Gradually they are coming forward to participate in various welfare programmes. But certain major evils like illiteracy, ignorance, superstitions, alcoholism, indebtedness and exploitation by vested interests are still present in their area and social system. The planned changes introduced by the Micro-Project and other welfare agencies would come with the spread of education and communication. However, for the present the process of change has just began and one should look forward in the sense that a beginning has been made.

THE DIDAYI DEVELOPMENT PERCEPTION *

*K. K. Mohanti*¹

Introduction:

The Didayi is a numerically small ethno-cultural group inhabiting the western part of the Eastern Ghats between the Machhukund valley and the Kondakamberu mountain range, currently a part of the Malkangiri district of Orissa. Consequent upon the construction of Balimela Hydel Project, the Didayi are found in three distinctive habitats, such as (i) the foothills / plains area, (ii) hill area and (iii) the cut-off area by the side of Chitrakonda reservoir. The Didayi of the first habitat enjoy the benefit of cultural contact with the outside world more than the inhabitants in the rest two areas. They have been identified as one of the 13 Primitive Tribal Groups (PTGs) as per the criteria stipulated by the Government of India and the micro project strategy for their all-round development has been adopted since the year, 1986-87. Currently, the micro-project styled as the Didayi Development Agency (DDA) is functioning with its headquarters at Kudumulugumma, which also happens to be the block headquarters. The DDA comprises altogether 39 villages, out of which 6 villages are in the plains area, 18 in hill area and the rest 15, in the cut-off area. The Didayi of the hills and cut-off areas are relatively more backward than those inhabiting the plains because of relative isolation, inaccessibility, less exposure to modernization and less culture contact and one notices retention of their core-culture by these two groups.

The Didayi called themselves "Gntare" (Haimendorf, 1945, see Guha et al, 1970:1) earlier, but the younger generation identifies themselves as Didayi only. They speak a language that is classified under the Austro-Asiatic (Munda) family of languages. Their population in 1961 Census was 1661 only and it increased to 1978 in 1961 Census. In 1971 their population further increased to 2164 and in 1981 it decreased to 1971. As per 1991 census their population was estimated at 4460. In 2001-02 (survey by COATS, Koraput) their population subsequently increased to 5727 and the sex-ratio was 1033 females per 1000 males. The percentage of literacy was 12.56 for males, 3.36 for females and 7.89 for all persons.

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Social Life:

The Didayi is considered as an ethno-cultural / tribal group found only in Orissa State and nowhere else in the country. As reported by earlier ethnographers and researchers, the tribal community was split into two exogamous halves (equal/unequal), called moieties (cf. Guha et. al, 1970 and Chowdhury, 1990). Theoretically, moiety division speaks of the existence of a dual organization in tribal communities. As each moiety is characterized by the principle of exogamy and based on descent, it institutionalizes reciprocity and forges solidarity for the perpetuation of social identity of the tribal group as a whole. Each moiety believes to have descended from a common ancestor who is more a mythological figure rather than a genealogically traceable individual. In other words, moiety channelizes and regulates the process of selection of marriage partners.

Another salient feature of the Didayi social organization is the existence of the phratries identified and operated by totems. Each totemic group consists of a number of clans which are characteristically exogamous. Thus each phratry is a unilineal descent group consisting of two or more number of clans which are interrelated to each other. As reported by Guha et al (1970), there are five totemic groups (Gta), such as Nkoo (tiger), Mala (Cobra), Gibe (bear), Mosali (Crocodile) and Goi (tortoise). The Didayis do not cause harm to their respective totems.

Further, each clan comprises a number of lineages (*biria*), which are corporate descent groups or consanguineal kin groups and are ancestor-oriented and may or may not be genealogically traceable. The lineage as a social group is pre-eminently exogamous and regulates intra tribe marriage. The minimal lineage, in which the founder or the ancestor who is usually genealogically traced, appears to be the most effective one and occupies pivotal position in their social structure. As the descent is traced in father's line, among them, there are patrilineages or patrilineal groups, based on unilineal principle of descent. The lineage not only regulates marriage like the clan group but also plays significant roles in various life-crises rituals, like child-birth, puberty, marriage and death.

Each lineage consists of a number of extended as well as nuclear families. The Didayi family is patriarchal / patripotestal, patrilineal, patrilineal / patrivicineal and patronymic. Each male head of family plays the authoritarian role in decision-making for ownership and inheritance of property and the like. The Didayi family is usually monogamous, although polygynous unions are not entirely ruled out. The simple or nuclear families are preponderant in hills and cut-off areas whereas extended families are found in plains area. The family ensures socio-economic rights and obligations of each member. The inter-family relationship within a lineage is more cordial and cooperative.

Among the Didayi various ways of acquiring mates are found, such as marriage by negotiation (*toso*), marriage by service (*gariya*), and marriage by

ceremonial capture (*udalia*). The junior levirate is prevalent, but only through the consent of the concerned woman. The ritual kinship (*masat*) or bond friendship is prevalent. The Didayi kinship is bifurcate collateral type and plays a pivotal role in the maintenance of the patterns of behaviour, usages, inheritance, and succession and also in socio-economic, socio-political and socio-religious nexus. Further, kinship ties also promote mutual help and co-operation among kinsmen thereby the Didayi ethno-cultural group becomes cohesive and compact.

Political Life:

In the recent past, the Didayi political organization was vibrant, operative, useful and simple and efficiently handled the internal as well as external affairs of the community. Their political organization had a three-tier system, such as (i) the apex organization for all members of the tribal group, (ii) the regional organizations based on geo-cultural factors consisting of contiguous villages and (iii) the village level organizations. The headman of the apex organization was the Naik. The meeting was held annually and attended by the headmen of village level organizations or councils. Inter-village, inter-clan as well as the disputes which could not be resolved in other levels were referred to the apex organization and the decisions taken at this level were final and binding for all. Breaches or violations of customary rules were adjudicated and punishments were awarded to the culprit. But their attitude in the administration of justice was more restitutive than repressive. The apex political organization had its headquarters at Kudumulugumma. But currently it is defunct. The regional organizations and village organizations /councils (*leper*) have been eclipsed due to the introduction of the Panchayati Raj system. Under the provisions of the 73rd Constitutional Amendment Act of 1992 applicable to the 5th Schedule Areas, the *gram sasan* (*gram sabha*) has become functional in the village level with elected people's representatives. It has also envisaged a three-tier statutory system, such as the Zilla Parishad, Panchayat Samiti and Gram Panchayat.

It is interesting to note that despite functioning of the statutory Panchayats, the traditional village council leaders, such as the Naik (the secular headman), the Pujari (the sacerdotal head or priest) and the Disari (the medicine man-cum-magician) are still enjoying confidence of common men in their community. The Palli Sabha opens opportunity for the participation of the traditional leaders. Therefore, it may be construed that among the Didayi the old and the new system are more complementary than conflicting. It reveals that the Didayi people have maintained the statutory system and simultaneously retained their love for the traditional socio-political organization.

Economic Life:

The Didayi do not stay at any economic stage but possess and practise a number of economies, such as settled agriculture, shifting cultivation, domestication of animals, collection of edible as well as non-edible forest produce,

hunting, fishing, kitchen gardening and wage earning. The Didayi living in plains area cultivate low land with plough and grow paddy as the principal crop. Those who live in the hills practise slash and burn/shifting cultivation in hill slopes although this type of cultivation is low yielding and harmful for the conservation of the eco-system. The shifting cultivation method follows multi-cropping and broadcasting. If one crop fails, other crops may sustain their livelihood for some time. In low land cultivation there is mono cropping as well as transplantation and the main crop grown is paddy. In the uplands they grow millet, legumes etc. In the kitchen gardens near their homestead, they grow seasonal vegetables like chilly, gourds, tobacco, etc. Food gathering which includes collection of minor forest produce is a significant economic pursuit, but it is gradually decreasing due to depletion of forests. The Didayis collect fuel wood for their own consumption and sell them to outsiders. Their favourite drinks are prepared out of *mahua* and palm juice. The palm juice is collected and fermented to become an intoxicant. The hunting has become very occasional due to depletion of forests. The Didayi of the cut-off area near the Balimela reservoir have started fishing through country boats and nets. The Didayi domesticate several animals and bird, such as cow, buffalo, oxen, goat, sheep, fowl and hen, etc. Members of landless families engage in wage earning, both in agricultural and non-agricultural sectors. They derive the maximum annual income out of agricultural practices which forms 36.87 percent of their total income, followed by food-gathering (27.35%) and wage earning (17.24%) and the lowest income is earned through petty business (0.69%). (cf. COATS Report, 2002). The maximum expenditure incurred by them is on food (54.78%), followed by fuel (9.97%) and clothing (6.86%) and the lowest towards construction of new house (0.17%) (cf. COAT Report, 2002).

The Didayi have a subsistence economy, but some families are found below subsistence level. The number of households below poverty line is preponderant in hills area, followed by cut-off area and plains area. In brief, as high as 70 per cent of households in the entire Didayi inhabited area is below poverty line, this appears to be quite alarming. There is absence of elaborate division of labour in their community and in other words, their simple division of labour is based on age and sex. The labour is inalienable and often organized through cooperation on kinship orientation. Their concept of capital (both in shape of cash or kind) is rudimentary. All the economic pursuits are labour intensive. Their entrepreneurship is conspicuous by its absence. They drive their subsistence mainly through the exploitation of natural resources. In the interior areas, goods as well as services are directly exchanged. Their technology is by and large indigenous and simple. The monetization of economy has already made in-road into the Didayi area. Their market exchange is concentrated in nearby weekly markets. Besides economic exchange, there is prevalence of extra economic exchange in their community in the shape of gifts and presentations. There is lack of profit making endeavour among them. The production decision is taken at the household level. Ragi is the principal food of the Didayi and rice, *suani*, edible roots

and tubers; fruits, green leaves, vegetables etc. supplement their diet. Regarding the etiquette of food taking it is noticed that the housewife usually eats her food after all members of household have eaten. In all economic pursuits, Didayi women are found to be more hardworking, more responsible and more honest. Their contribution to the household economic pool is significant and substantial.

Magico-Religious Life:

The Didayi religion which speaks of their mental attitude towards the supernatural is manifested through beliefs and rituals. Thus, supernaturalism is the core of all religions. The moral and ethical values are maintained in the society through religion which binds the people in the group together. It also integrates people and rationalizes their behaviour. The Didayis are polytheists. Their supreme deity is the mother earth. They believe in a number of deities, both male and female, who are benevolent. They shower blessing on the devotees who propitiate them and organize ceremonies and festivals from time to time. The mother earth, which is the sustainer of life, is represented by ant hill. There are a number of sacerdotal officials to worship various details. The chief priest is known as the *palasi*. The *guniar* or magician performs different rituals while treating patients who suffer from various diseases and ailments. The festival, known as Lendi Pande that marks the beginning of agricultural operations, is celebrated in the month of Magha (Jan-Feb) for the honour of mother earth. In various ceremonies animals and fowls are sacrificed. The post of religious priest is hereditary. The Palasi fixes the dates of festivals and ceremonies and intimates the Naik, the secular chief for necessary arrangements with the help of villagers. Biru Bhairo is one of important deities installed in the hill slope near the village, Oringi and is worshipped regularly by the village priest. An annual festival is celebrated in the honour of the deity and Didayi people of nearby villages propitiate by offerings. The consort of Biru Bhairo is known as Nanangri who is also worshipped in the same spot. However, there is no shrine for these deities and a number of steps leads to the spot of worship.

Ethos, Ideology and World View:

The Didayi possess a rich cultural heritage and present a repository of myths, legends, folk-lore, anecdotes, riddles, folk songs, oral literature, proverbs, ethnomusicology, dance and other forms of performing art. They constitute a 'closed society with open mind'. They are simple, hospitable, humorous, honest and sober. They have high sense of tolerance and are contented with what they have. They are sympathetic towards their neighbours, fellow men, plants, animals, birds, maintaining a positive symbiosis.

In spite of their relative deprivation and limited natural resources, they have maintained their basic ideology reflected in their core-culture. They are against vengeance, treason, betrayal, usurpation etc. they feel guilty for non-payment of debts for an unreasonable period. They are not docile or timid as

reported by earlier ethnographers. With mutual love and affection they are eager to resolve conflicts in all facets of life. In spite of their relative isolation, inaccessibility and limited contact with outsiders, they have shown a very receptive attitude towards modernization, induced change or planned development intervention and the like. With the passage of time, several changes have been noticed in their total way of life, but they have retained their core-culture, which provides them with the most powerful apparatus for sustenance; and they have maintained their cultural identity with distinctiveness.

Although their oral history is shallow, their world view is rich with strong ethical considerations. They very much distinguish between the virtues and vice, right and wrong etc. and accordingly shape their behavioural pattern in the community. They consider themselves not as poor and impoverished but relatively deprived and believe to achieve something out of their hard work and honesty. They have a number of growth positive traits which could be utilized as capital for planned development intervention.

Development Intervention:

The planned development intervention among there Didayi is a post-independence experience. We come across two strategies, approaches and efforts among them, one through the block and the other through the micro project. During the Third Five Year Plan Period (1961-66) Kudumulgumma and Govindapalli (re-named as Khairaput) blocks were converted as Tribal Development (T.D.) blocks because of preponderance of vulnerable ethno-cultural groups. The block development effort was multi-sectoral and included establishment of co-operative societies, weekly markets, limited communication facility through construction of roads, sub-centers of Primary Health Centre, educational institutions, Livestock Centers, solar photovoltaic lights in limited number of villages, provision of housing facilities under Indira AwasYojana, Self Help Groups (SHGs) for women empowerment, etc. The Block Development effort still continues in a limited scale.

The micro project approach ushered in new hopes and aspirations among the Didayi people when it started during the financial year, 1986-87 with the nomenclature, Didayi Development Agency (D.D.A.) with hundred percent funding from Government of India under Special Central Assistance (S.C.A.). Although initially only 7 villages i.e. 4 in plains area and 3 in hills area were covered by the micro project, during the financial year, 1993-94 all the Didayi villages were covered. From 1986-87 to 2001-02 a sum of Rs. 24,686,000/- was received by the micro project out of which Rs. 18,512,352/-was utilized for various development programmes and the unutilized balance available was to the tune of Rs. 16,321,028/-. Important multi-sectoral development programmes implemented in the micro-project are, (1) Development of Agriculture - supply of agricultural implements, introduction of high-yielding varieties of crops and cereals, pulses, oil

seeds, ginger, turmeric, chilly and vegetables, (2) Development of Horticulture-grafted mango, pineapple, banana, coconut, citrus fruits, cashew etc. (3) Introduction of Irrigation Facilities - water harvesting structure, diversion weirs and check dams; (4) Fishing in the cut-off area near Balimela reservoir through supply of nets and boats; Animal Husbandry - supply of plough bullocks, goatery, poultry etc.(5)Provision of Potable Water through tube-wells, open wells and cisterns; (6) Communication facilities through roads, etc. (7) Health Programmes - only supply of medicines; (8) Educational Development - adult education centers total literacy campaign, post literacy programme through National Literacy Mission, I.C.D.S. Programme through Anganwadi Centers, limited vocational training etc.

Development Perception:

From the foregoing description it is evident that the development experience among the Didayi is roughly four decades old and more precisely it is only two decades old with the emergence of the micro-project efforts. But before that they were left to as humans, their culture and nature. The cultural influence as well as natural influence had direct bearing on their way of life. As humans are creators and bearers of culture and live within an ecological nexus, culture matters. In words of Sahlins, "Culture, as a design for society's continuity, stipulates its environment. By its mode of production, by the material requirements of its social structure, in its standardized perceptions, a culture assigns relevance to particular external conditions (1977:215). Sahlins further opines that there exists dialectic interchange between culture and environment. The Didayi since time immemorial lived in the bosom of nature, exploited nature for their sustenance and perpetuated their culture, amidst persistence and change. The saga of their endogenous development is, of course, little known since they constitute a simple society with simple social structure, maintaining 'mechanical solidarity' in Durkheimian dictum. Moreover, they were preliterate and their level of awareness was low. But they are aware of the maladies of deforestation, erosion and loss of top soil, conservation of natural resources, preservation fauna around them, etc. for example, while collecting edible roots and tubers from forest they do not entirely extract everything but leave some to grow during the next year. Similarly while hunting game animals; they usually do not kill pregnant animals, so that the species cannot multiply. Moreover, they are rational in their attitude towards optimum utilization of natural resources. it is evident that they do not destroy or kill the totemic animals, plants and objects and clan members are conscious about their obligations. Every culture manifests a three-layered system, which includes the techno-economic sub-system at the base, social -structural sub-system in the middle and the ideological sub-system at the top and the system operates through interrelationship among the sub-system. The techno-economic sub system interacts with the social-structural sub-system directly and both combinedly interact with the ideological sub-system. Thus ideology becomes the superstructure on the foundation of cultural order. The Didayi is no exception.

The Didayi perception of development appears to be simple with limited life aspirations in consonance with their simple techno-economic base. Therefore, they believe in the development *in situ* through adaptation in order to maximize their life chances and accordingly develop coping mechanism for sustenance. A section of them did experience the trauma of displacement consequent upon the construction of Balimela Hydel project and without adequate rehabilitation measures they themselves strived to tolerate the shock. They provided hydroelectric power for other's comforts but remained in darkness which is paradoxical. They renewed their vitality and vigour in order to adopt themselves with new environment.

Modern medicine vis-à-vis ethno medicinal practices, schooling vis-à-vis enculturation, *panchayati raj* sytem vis-à-vis traditional politico-jural set up, modern economic pursuits vis-à-vis traditional subsistence techniques, etc. appeared to be dilemmatic and deleterious to the Didayi for some time. But by virtue of their sobriety, sociability and proneness for acceptance of new life-style, they have come forward to receive them. They desire to retain their own culture and traditions and simultaneously accept the induced change for 'good life' and 'happy life'. The Didayi culture is replete with some growth-positive elements which need to be taken care of by development practitioners while implementing planned development schemes and programmed in their habitat. For example, they are prepared to go for Sloping Agriculture Land Technology (SALT) in order to eschew the ravages and degradation caused by swidden cultivation.

The Didayi women have always maintained their high status in their society. Besides their exclusive role in maintaining the household and upbringing of children, they contribute substantially to the economic pool of the family. Although the percentage of literacy is proverbially low among the Didayi women, their participation in outdoor activities, their role in household level decision making process and their endeavour in the management of economy show that they are more aware of perpetuating their ethno-cultural identity. As a measure for the empowerment of women Self Help Group (SHG) strategy has been introduced. The Didayi women have actively participated in organizing SHGs in their villages with the initiative and interests of G.Os and N.G.Os. They get incentive money to the tune of Rs. 10,000/- from D.R.D.A. to undertake business along with their own contributions. The women folk take the decision regarding the commodity or commodities to deal with in the business. In fact, SGH works as a foundation in a modest way for women empowerment. In an interview, a middle-aged Didayi woman in a plains village stated that she managed to store a handful of rice every day in order to exchange the same for money for making payment of her SHG subscription on monthly basis. Further, one notices competition among S.H.Gs when more than one SHG is functioning in the same village. With little encouragement from outside and guidance in business and marketing, they are bound to develop entrepreneurial skill and maximize their profit. It is gratifying to note that the Didayi women who are working as the head

of the SHG unit are acquainted with the maintenance of accounts, deposit and withdrawal of money from bank and business transactions. It is noticed that male members of households are not standing on their way for pursuing SHG efforts, but encouraging them and extending support.

The Didayi is a small fragment of one of the segments (folk) of great Indian civilization, living within the country, which is characterized by pluri-culturalism, multi-ethnicism and multilingualism. Their tribal economy which was more or less self-sufficient and autonomous has, during twentieth century, experienced peasantization. Further, monetization of economy, modernization of life-style and later on induced or directed social change through development efforts, etc. have posed challenges to them. In their simple comprehension, they support sustainable development and admit that it cannot be achieved without people's participation. The Didayi youths are active supporters of the Panchayati Raj system and the ongoing development process. As repository of strength and vigour of the community, the youth is to be confided to put their body and soul together to get rid of pangs of abject poverty, high incidence of illiteracy and the horror of unemployment. If human capital formation is the need, the youths are to be trained for up gradation of their skills, so that ultimately the tribal community as a whole will derive the benefit to become self-reliant and stand on their own. The youth has the ability to fight against injustice, exploitation of all kinds, and with their vulnerability they pave the path for enrichment of their quality of life vis-à-vis enhancement of the quality of environment. In course of our study among the Didayi, we have identified a number of youths who understand their plight and are prepared to shoulder responsibility as and when assigned. Keeping in view our objective of mainstreaming or integrating them with the national culture, we may suitably utilize the services of the Didayi youth to save them from socio-economic maladies, relative deprivation, exploitation and further marginalization. The youth will promote participatory development by bridging the hiatus between the development practitioner and the intended beneficiaries. Therefore, the youth should not be eclipsed further from the development niche.

An individual Didayi person may be shy in the presence of outsiders, but when we interact with a group in a friendly manner, they reciprocate and put forth their problems and possible solutions as per their life experiences and perceptions. In this connection, Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) were organized in the Didayi villages in order to elicit their own views. To illustrate some glaring issues, we may state that their propensity to save for future has increased, they are receptive to small family norm; they are prepared to accept modernization in agriculture, kitchen gardening and animal husbandry, they are prepared to eschew the practice of swidden cultivation, provided some viable economic alternative pursuits are made available to them; they are quite receptive for promotion of literacy as well as education; they are prepared to accept modern medicine along with their ethno-medical practices; they need potable drinking water round the year and are aware of water-borne diseases which are fatal, etc.

It may be concluded that the Didayi as a Primitive Tribal Group / vulnerable ethno-cultural group have internalized development intervention and still need external help, both monetary and expertise-based, in order to pave the path of development in future.

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STATUS OF DIDAYI WOMEN OF MALKANGIRI DISTRICT OF ODISHA *

*Gopinath Pradhan*¹

Abstract

Didayi is one of the Primitive Tribal Groups of Odisha. In this present paper an attempt has been made to analyze the status of Didayi women and also to identify some of the important determinants of women empowerment. Where economy is predominantly agrarian and forest dependent and majority of the population is rural and tribal, the status of women is not low. She is considered as the dominant partner. The status of women in a society is a significant reflection of the level of gender equality and social justice in that society. The data has been collected from the Didayi area of Malkangiri district. The analysis reveals that the role performance of the Didayi women is worth noting. In the economic affairs of the Didayi, we find that women really enjoy no leisure and remain busy from early morning to late evening for which they enjoy a better social status in their society.

Introduction

Tribals who are considered to be the most neglected section of the society, live in forests, hills and isolated regions. The problems of land alienation, exploitation, migration, bonded labour etc are serious issues of tribals in Odisha as well as in India. The education and health status of the tribals is very low as compared to other sections of the society. The tribals are primarily forest dwellers. Their productivity is very low which leads to poverty, unemployment, illiteracy, low standard of consumption and living. Odisha is also a less developed state where the standard and status of tribal is

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relatively low. Most of the tribal groups racially belong to Proto-Australoid racial stock while linguistically they belong to Austro-Asiatic, Dravidian and Indo-Aryan Language families.

Women occupy a central place in the organization of a family. The well-being of a family is influenced by gender issues viz. to what extent the women are on an equal footing with men or to what extent, the women are discriminated against men. Gender inequality, unfavorable to females is an important issue in the social development in India as well as in Odisha. Sex ratio in Odisha is 972 females per 1000 males as against 933 in India (2001 Census) shows discrimination against females.

Gender analysis reveals the roles and relationships of women and men in society and the inequalities in the relationships. The much-quoted UN Statistics remain true today as they were when they were formulated over a decade ago:

- Women perform two-thirds of the world's work.
- Women earn tenth of the world's income.
- Women are two-thirds of the world's illiterates.
- Women own less than one-hundredth of the world's property.

For the present study, the status of Didayi women of Malkangiri district of Odisha has been taken into consideration.

Malkangiri District

Malkangiri district is also one of the tribal dominated districts in Odisha that is situated at an elevation of 150-300 meters above the sea level. The Didayi are found only in Malkangiri district (a part of the erstwhile undivided Koraput district). Their habitat is within the Malkangiri uplands of the Saberi basin, which constitute one of the morphological units of the rolling uplands developed to the west of the Eastern Ghats. These rolling uplands are characterized by lower elevations (150-300 meters) compared to high plateaus, flat in nature and contain good soil suitable for paddy cultivation in wet areas. Physiographically the area shows undulating topographical features. The district is divided into 7 blocks. Out of seven blocks, two blocks are the abode of Didayi tribe.

Didayi: A Tribal Community of Odisha

India has the second largest tribal population in the world. Among the Indian states, Odisha has the second largest tribal population. It has the highest tribal concentration in its population which constitutes 9.7% of the total Indian tribal population. As per the 2001 census, the tribal population constitutes 22.13% of the total population in the state. As per the census data from 1981 to 2001, their decadal growth rate declined from 22.43% to 22.13%. It has also the

largest variety of ethnic groups numbering 62 Scheduled Tribes (ST). More than one third of the area of the state is declared as "Scheduled Area". As per 2001 census data, Mayurbhanja district has the second largest S.T population (57.87%) following Malkangiri 58.36%.

The Didayi live in the immediate neighborhood of another tribal community i.e. the Bondo highlanders (Guha et.al. 1970). Mr. R.C.S Bells states in the Koraput District Gazetteer that the Didayi are confined to a stretch of twenty miles in Machhkund valley between Duduma and Kondakamberu and that they are more similar to the Gadaba than to the Bondo. Dr. Verrier Elwin (1950) describes the Didayi as a 'Wild Tribe'. In the past, the Didayi were in the habit of shifting their settlements from place to place for bringing suitable patches of forestland under shifting cultivation (Choudhury, 1990:98). Now they lead a settled life in the plains in hills and the cut-off area as well.

The area inhabited by the Didayi has been categorized into three distinctive sub-areas. The first sub-area known as the plains lying between the Bondo hills and the Jeypore-Chitrakonda road is in fact partly plain and partly hilly and includes 6 Didayi villages. The inhabitants of this sub-area mostly practice settled cultivation. The second sub-area called the hill area is characterized by rugged and mountainous terrains covering about 130 sq. kms where the elevation of land varies from 3000 feet to 4000 feet and includes as many as 18 villages inhabited by the Didayi. The inhabitants of this area depend on shifting cultivation. The third sub-area consisting 15 villages lying on the left bank of the river Machhkund at an altitude ranging approximately from 1500 feet to 2000 feet is called the cut-off area. This sub area is cut-off from the main land because of the Balimela Reservoir consequent upon the construction of the Balimela Hydro-Electricity Project. These villages however have been connected by motor launch. The seclusion of these villages from the main land has tremendous impact on the socio-economic and cultural life of the inhabitants.

Social Life

The Didayi social organization consists of a number of totemic clans. Among the Didayi a simple nuclear family consists of a man, his wife (or wives) and their unmarried sons and daughters. Generally, a son has to leave his parental home after his marriage. Therefore, a Didayi family is normally nuclear and monogamous. Monogamy is the common practice among Didayi but polygamy is also not unknown. The duties and responsibilities of each member of the family are clearly defined. Certain activities like fetching of firewood and water, keeping the house clean, cooking and collecting certain roots and tubers are entrusted to women. Men plough the field, cut bamboo and go for hunting etc.

In spite of the fact that Didayis are patriarchal, the status of women is not low. They are considered as the dominant partner. Boys and girls exercise their choice in selecting their mates only with the condition that they must not choose anyone from their own clan. Various forms of marriage are prevalent among Didayi such as marriage by negotiation (*toso*), marriage by ceremonial capture (*udulia*), marriage by service (*garjya*), marriage by intrusion (*gaisamuddi*) etc. The negotiation marriage is prestigious but costly because of the payment of bride-price, observation of rituals and arrangement of feasts. The widow re-marriage and junior levirate are permitted in their community.

Political Life

The traditional the village council (*Lepar*) is the oldest and the most powerful socio-political organization at the village level. Every head of the household and in fact every adult male has the right to participate in the meetings of the Lepar. Its functions embrace all corporate activities in social, political, economic and religious spheres of the village. The head man of the village is called *Naik* who is assisted by a *Chalan* and a *Barik*. They along with the head of each family constitute the village council. It decides cases brought before it relating to such matters as theft, quarrel, divorce, offences of sex etc. It also imposes punishment according to nature of the case mostly in terms of fine.

Didayi Women and their Status

The all-round development of a country is incomplete without women who constitute nearly 50% of the population. The status of women in a society is a significant reflection of the level of social justice in that society. Women's status as often described in terms of their level of income, employment, education, health and fertility as well as the roles they play within the family, the community and society (Ghosh, 1987). A tribal woman occupies an important place in the socio-economic structure of the society. The Dhebar Commission Report (1961) mentions that the tribal woman is not a drudge or a beast of burden. She is found to be exercising a relatively free and firm hand in all aspects related to her social life unlike in non-tribal societies. The tribal women in general and in comparison, with castes, enjoy more freedom in various occupations. Traditional and customary tribal norms are comparatively more liberal to women.

A Didayi woman has her passion and emotion, love and jealousy, possessiveness and devotion to her husband and children. The Didayi community has accorded to her an elevated position and granted a good deal of freedom. Although men can only inherit ancestral property, women have liberty for mobility and enviable role in household decision-making process. A woman

can choose her husband and can change him at her will. She can go to forest alone and go to market alone. She plays major role in the management of the household.

Currently, in the changing scenario, the role performance of the Didayi women is worth noting. Besides the traditional roles, the emerging roles have resulted in making them more vibrant, dynamic and outward-looking. In this context, the participatory roles of the Didayi women which provide clues to explore their potentialities for involvement in the planned development intervention may be discussed below.

Participatory Role of Didayi Women:

1. Traditional roles.

- Husking of paddy and other cereals.
- Grinding of pulses and spices.
- Cutting of vegetables, fruits and green leaves.
- Cutting of edibles including baking.
- Cooking of edibles among family members.
- Storage of edibles for future consumption.
- Fetching of drinking water, storage of drinking water and water for other use.
- Cleaning of household utensils and appliances.

2. Management roles.

- Participation in house building.
- House cleaning and maintenance.
- Cleaning of house premises.
- Nourishing and caring of children.
- Caring of other family members and guests.
- Participation in household decision making process.
- Taking decision in choosing life partner.
- Taking decision in the dissolution of marriage and re-marriage.

3. Participation as economic partner.

- Food gathering, fuel wood and seasonal forest collections.
- Cleaning of shifting land by cutting and up-rooting small plants and grass.
- Weeding, reaping or harvesting and threshing.
- Carrying farm harvests home through head load, storage and preservation of produce and carrying food and drinks to the field.

4. Participation in domestication of animals and birds.

- Regular cleaning of animal sheds.
- Feeding of animals and birds.
- Working as wage-earner in agricultural sector and non-agricultural sector
- Participation in barter and market exchange.
- Contributing to the family income, saving for future.
- Contingencies and other income generating activities.

5. Other emerging roles:

- Participation in elections.
- Participation in Self-Help-Groups (SHGs) in entrepreneurial activities for the diversification of their existing economic base.
- Participation in the Immunization Programmes for children.

Socio-Economic Status

Women are considered as a valuable part of our society. In the social life, the tribal ladies of the rural areas enjoy relatively a more respectable life. From her early childhood, she works in her parent house and becomes an economic asset. In her husband's house, she performs all household works and extends her helping hand to her husband in agricultural field and forest collections. She along with other ladies of her age does the marketing in the nearby weekly markets. In the economic affairs of the Didayi, the women really enjoy no leisure and remain busy from early morning to late evening. Didayi women are no doubt enjoying greater freedom in social life.

In the present scenario, the status of women has been changing due to various reasons. With the spread of education and awareness, women are moving from the four walls of the house to higher levels of socio-economic activities. Enactment of a series of legislations from time to time has raised the socio-economic status of tribal women in the country.

A number of anti-poverty programmes and rural employment programmes like the JRY, EAS, IRDP, DWCRA, TRYSEM etc. have been launched by the Central Government as well as the State Government with the view to raise the socio-economic status of the poor. A number of tribal women in rural areas have been benefited in these programmes.

The Didayi is one of the Primitive Tribal Group (PTG) of the State. They are one of the most backward tribal communities in the Malkangiri District. By keeping this view, the government has established the Didayi Development Agency (DDA) in August 1986 with the main objective of all-

round development of this primitive tribe. The DDA covers two villages of Rasabeda Gram Panchayat of Khairput Block and 37 villages of Kudumulugumma Block of Malkangiri district.

Health Status

Health is an important element and determinant of well being of people in a society. Improved health is desirable to enhance the physical capacities to work and to participate in economic development. There are 635 tribal communities including 75 primitive tribal communities living in India. A majority of tribals need health care on account of malnutrition, lack of safe drinking water, poor hygiene, environmental sanitation and poverty. Several studies also reported that the health status of tribal women is low because of their illiteracy, poverty and lack of awareness etc.

In the study area, it has been found that the average quantity of food consumed by Didayi woman is inadequate either in normal case or in special condition. From the nutritional point of view, it has been seen that the status of Didayi women is very low.

Religious Status

The women are debarred to take part in rituals, but all works related to the performances of religious activities are done by them. During the festivals and ceremonies, women's role is praise worthy. On the occasion of each of the ceremonies sacrifice of animals like fowl, goat and pig is common. These are celebrated with dancing and singing continuously for several days. Dhemsas dances are performed by the young ladies.

Conclusion

From the above discussion, it is clear that the Didayi women of the study area have active participation in all activities for increasing the income of family. There are many household activities, which are unpaid and done mostly by women. They keep themselves busy from early morning to late evening. It is noteworthy that the all-round development of a country is incomplete without women who constitute nearly 50% of the population, but their status is not equal to that of men. The Indian constitution grants women equal rights with men but strong patriarchal traditions make the women subservient. It is for this reason; the state government has launched Mission Shakti for organizing and assisting women Self-Help-Groups. The problem of women development should constitute an important segment in the planning process. Our late Prime Minister, Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru rightly said " In order to awaken the people, it is the women who have to be awakened, once they are on moves, the family moves, the village moves and the nation moves".

To conclude, awareness, willingness and capacity building measures are basic factors on which the overall development of women depends. Six decades of political democracy with the introduction of Panchayati Raj Institution in the 90's has certainly raised the awareness among the rural and tribal people. Still many improvements are possible with enhancement of capacity to participate and empower all sections of the people.

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TRIBAL MEDICINE AND MEDICINEMEN: AN EXPLORATORY STUDY OF THE DIDAYI OF ORISSA ¹

SCSTRTI

(I)

INTRODUCTION

The Habitat

The Didayi, as per the legend goes, is the younger brother to the Bondo and the Gadaba and the Paroja who are none other than their brethren. They are found only in the Kondakambaru hill ranges of the Eastern Ghat. The Didayi country is located at the south west corner of the Bondo Highlands. Both the areas are separated from one another by narrow strips of valley lands and hill ranges. Though the Didayi and the Bondo habitat are influenced by the similar natural environment, the climate of the former is so other than that of the latter and it is more akin to the climatic conditions of the Deccan plateau in a milder form. Being the recipient of copious precipitation ranging from 1017mm a year at one end to 2191mm at the other; the Didayi country supports a wide variety of flora and fauna. The flora is sub-tropic and semi-evergreen to moist deciduous type. Most of these prime vegetative coverings have succumbed to the primitive agricultural practices of shifting cultivation.

The soil of the area is rocky and haematitic with little water bearing capacity at higher elevation and sticky with no sand at the valley bottoms. The laterite beds resting majestically on solid rock beds are very much visible on foot-hills and at higher gradient.

The Didayi villages are both homogenous and heterogeneous in nature. The heterogeneity is more prominent in bigger villages like Purunaguma and Chillipadar located in plainer areas. All the Didayi villages come under the jurisdiction of Kudumuluguma block and Khairput block. Both the blocks are contiguous to each other and constitute a part of Malkangiri district. The Didayi

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villages are located in a wider area bordering the hard topped road leading to Balimela at one end to the Bondo Highlands at the other. The Chitrakonda reservoir also forms a portion of boundary of the Didayi country. About a dozen villages small and almost uniethnic in character are found inside the Balimela reservoir. These 'cut-off' villages have no infrastructural facilities to enhance the quality of life of the inhabitants.

The big and multiethnic villages of the Didayi country are inhabited by the plain Didayis whereas the small and almost uniethnic villages are the abode of hill Didayis. Apart from Muduliguda, Purnaguma, and Chillipadar the other important villages of the area are Oringi and Bayapada. Though both are remote and perched on hilltops, the former is bigger in size than the latter. Both the villages are almost uniethnic in character. The latter, due to its position hilltop and at the centre of the Didayi country, was considered to be the headquarters of the Didayi Development Agency a semi Government body meant for the development of the Didayi tribe. However Purunaguma is being developed by the Government for the accommodation of the men and machinery of the agency. It is about 3kms from the main trunk road.

Demography and Economic Profile

The Didayi is a numerically small tribe. The 1981 Census enumerated the total Didayi population at 1,977. As per 1971 Census the Didayi population was 2,164. The decadal population growth shows a decreasing rate. It is estimated at the rate of 8.61 percent. The tribe had registered a decadal growth rate of 9.4 percent during the period, 1961-1971.

Literacy has made a little inroad into the Didayi country. The level of literacy was 2.72 percent in 1961. It decreased to 0.78 percent in 1971 and further increased to 3.2 percent in 1981. Increase in percentage of literacy despite the decrease in population during the decade 1971-81 indicates the acceptance of Government sponsored literacy programmes by the Didayi tribe.

Like the next door Bondo tribe the Didayi is divided into two sections namely, the hill or upper Didayi and the plain or lower Didayi. The former is dependent on shifting cultivation. Quite a variety of agricultural produce ranging from minor millets and leguminous crops to oil seeds and vegetables are grown on hill slopes under slash and burn cultivation. The lower Didayi raises paddy millets, oil-seeds and grams. Apart from the above, the Didayi through the horticultural activities raises a few varieties of fruits and vegetables. The villages of Chillipadar and Bayapada are famous for pumpkin and banana respectively.

Didayis, with the help of their dwarf-wheeled bullock carts, bring their surplus agricultural and horticultural produce to the weekly market located at Kudumulguma. They always supplement their family income with sale proceeds of the minor forest produce collected by them. The tribe living near the reservoir

and in 'cut-off' villages supplement its diet and income by fishing activities. Apart from the above the Didayi is very good at basketry. This economic activities has found a niche in its economy.

The tribe in general, does not have any income from the service sector. Of late, a few plain Didayis have adopted wage earning as the main source of living. The professionalism has not entered into health care sector. However, a few Didayi elderly males in particular, receive gifts in kinds for their services under this sector. Income derived in kinds from this sector is quite insignificant compared to the total income of these so called medicinemen. Healers of diseases, as they are called, command respect from their own community and the general public alike.

(II)

SOCIO-CULTURAL PROFILE

The Tribe

The Didayi is a small primitive hill tribe of Orissa, almost unknown to the world outside. They inhabit a small hill track of dense forested picturesque wild country hidden inside the most remote and inaccessible 4,000 high plateau of mighty Kondakamberu Ranges of Eastern Ghats stretching along the Eastern border of Malkangiri district. Living far away from the mainstream of civilization, this homogenous little community is almost isolated and hence devoid of ethnographic attention. Dr. Verrier Elwin describes them as a "Wild Tribe" in his two monumental works- Tribal Myths of Orissa' and 'The Bondo Highlanders'. Haimendorf has placed them in the stratum of primitive semi-nomadic shifting cultivators. The natives call themselves 'Gntre', the people. The present name 'Didayi' meaning 'the wild people' has been bestowed upon them by their non-tribal neighbours.

Legendary Origin

The universe, *abinitio* was filled with infinite water. Once a gourd containing two little children a boy and a girl, fell from heaven and started floating on the surface of water. The terrified children inside the gourd cried helplessly. Their cry echoed at Mahapur's ears. He sent a crow to find out the source of cry. After an adventurous soul searching the crow discovered the source and reported Mahapur who came down to help the destitute children. Wishing to settle them happily, he tore off a handful of stars from the sky and planted as the mother earth. Then he created trees, flowers, mountains, animals, birds, rivers, springs, lakes and ponds out of his hair, blood, teeth, eyebrows, sweat, coughs, spittings, and urine respectively. After creating the world he directed the boy and the girl to travel in opposite directions. They obeyed him. After a long separation, they met again below a Kendu tree. By that time they had attained their blooming youth. Irresistible carnal desire made them to fell in passionate love. The children born

out of their union were scattered all over the earth. The scattered groups were known as Bondo, Gadaba, Paraja, Didayi etc. Didayis consider Bondos as their elder brother. (Mohanty, 1982:2)

Physiognometry

Didayis are a well built, medium statured, brown complexioned, squarish faced and flat nosed people possessing coarse and wavy hair, scanty bodily hairs, depressed nasal bridge and concave nasal profile, narrow eyes sometimes exhibiting traces of Mongolian (epicanthic) eye fold and cheek prominence. Didayi men and women being endowed with clean cut bodily features radiate grace and charm in their own characteristic style. (Mohanty, 1982:1)

Cultural Profile

The Didayi dialect which comes closer to that of the Gadaba, Bondo, Saora and Juang belongs to the non Kherwari branch of the Munda group under Austro Asiatic branch of the Austric family. Hence, linguistically the tribe stands at the most ancient stratum of Austro Asiatic group of tribes in this country.

The timid Didayi living in the immediate neighbourhood of the populous Paraja, Gadaba, Kondh and the aggressive Bondo highlanders maintain peaceful and cordial social ties with all of them. Because of close interaction and cultural resemblances many similarities are marked among these tribal communities. Dr. Elwin and Thurston consider Didayi as a part of Paraja tribe with whom they are intimately related by their mythical origin. Sometimes boys and girls of both the tribe intermarry also. In the Koraput District Gazetteer, Mr. R. C. S. Bells has stated that the Didayi is more similar to the Gadaba than the Bondo. According to Furor Heimondorf, the Didayi and the 'Reddis of Bison Hills' are remnant of an ancient Asiatic culture despite their present diversities. However, Didayis have zealously preserved their genuine ethnic identity and have treated their tribal neighbours as their brethren by virtue of their 'creation myth'.

The Settlement and House Pattern

Didayi settlements are characterized by isolated homesteads scattered at random at the hilltops, hill bottoms and valleys having a natural water sources like a perennial stream nearby. The area around the house is enclosed within bamboo wattle fencing implying an individualistic housing pattern. 'Gulisung' the communal place for conducting the dances, ceremonies, village meetings is located at a central place. Didayi houses are rectangular shaped having mud walls and grass (Piri) thatched roof. The spacious verandah in front is a unique feature. It serves many purposes like husking grains, sleeping and entertaining guests. The main house is single roomed. The interior is functionally divided into three parts kitchen, store and living. The remarkable feature of the house is the attic made of bamboo that is approached by a bamboo ladder. It serves as a general store room for storing grains and foodstuffs in large baskets. The pig-sty and cattle-shed are

separately built within the campus. Each house has its own kitchen garden where pumpkin, banana, gourd, maize, chili, tobacco are grown. The house and its surroundings are generally kept neat and clean. The houses of the villages located in the plains are larger in number than those located in hill settlements. For example the village named origin located in the plains comprises of more than 100 Didayi households. (Mohanty, 1980)

The Livelihood

The Didayi earns their livelihood from agriculture, hunting and food gathering. The hill Didayi pursues shifting cultivation to grow crops such as maize, millet, *kandul*, niger, *ragi*, blackgram, bean, brinjal, tomato, chilies, etc. The plains Didayis have adopted plough cultivation and grow paddy, *ragi*, maize, black gram etc. Hunting and food gathering are done in all seasons except in the busy rainy season. A variety of fruits, roots, leaves and tubers are collected for consumption. The surplus is sold in weekly markets. Collection of 'Mahul' flower during summer provides them a gainful economic pursuit. Didayi men take advantage of leisure especially during festive occasions like famous 'Chait Parab' to hunt in groups. The weapons of hunting are bow and arrow, knife and axe. At present different forest acts and deforestation and restrictions on hunting have put a check on their age old hunting activities.

Didayis rear animals like cattle, pig, poultry birds and dogs. Plains Didayis use cattle for ploughing. They do not use cow's milk but take eggs. The pigs and fowls are sacrificed in rituals and the meat is consumed. The animals are also killed to entertain family guests with non-vegetarian food items.

The bamboo available from the forest is used for construction of house, wattle fencing and basketry. They prepare bamboo household effects like basket, mat, winnowing pan etc. both for household use and for sale.

Rice, *ragi* and millet constitute staple diet of the Didayi. It is supplemented by vegetables, dry fish, meat, egg and a variety of seasonal fruits, roots, leaves and tubers either grown or collected from jungle. Few simple items from rice and *ragi* and their gruels are prepared and eaten daily. Tamarind, chilly, salt and turmeric are used for making vegetarian and non-vegetarian dishes. Most of pig, fowl or the hunted animals are roasted and taken during festive occasions. The Didayi eat thrice daily in the morning, noon and evening. They are addicted to Mohua arrack and *salap* juice. A kind of rice-beer called *landha* is also prepared and consumed by them.

Dress and Ornaments

There is nothing special about the dress and ornaments of the Didayi. In the past the women were wearing 'Kisalu' a self-made short, unstitched clothing made of bark fibres like the hand woven 'ringa' worn by the Bondo women. It was being worn around the waist to cover the lower part of the body while the upper

part remained uncovered. But now, the coloured cotton sarees and blouses available in weekly hats have replaced the traditional Kisalu. Didayi women are fond of wearing ornaments made of silver, aluminium, gold, brass and beads. Wearing of nose rings is compulsory for married women. A Didayi man usually puts on a small loin cloth. Now-a-days the males have started wearing dhotis, shirts, banyans etc. Keeping up a well-built as well as neat and clean body is a remarkable feature of their personal hygiene. (Mohanty, 1982)

Social Organisation

The structural organization of Didayi society is characterized by clan groupings and totemism. The whole society is divided into two exogamous segments composed of totemic groups or clans. There are 5 exogamous totemic groups or clans, called 'Gta' or 'Bonso' namely Nkhoo, Mala, Gibe, Musli and Goi. Each 'Bonso' has its own legend to link their relationship with the totemic ancestors. The Didayi rarely worship their totemic animals but avoid to kill or injure them. The 'Bonso' comprises several lineage groups. Consanguinal kins of patrilineally related families in a village form one lineage (*brea*). (Mohanty, 1982)

Didayi family, the smallest basic social unit, is nuclear and patriarchal in nature. It consists of a man, his wife and unmarried children. Sometimes divorced or unmarried brothers and sisters, dependant old parents are included in the family. However, married sores leave their family of orientation to start their own family of procreation within a close knit group to struggle against the physical environment and earn the livelihood. Women exercise a dominant influence over household affairs by virtue of their significant contribution for the very survival of the family. Children are born and brought up in a very congenial atmosphere. They grow up while helping their parents in all subsistence activities. Succession and inheritance of property is strictly patrilineal.

Widow marriage, levirate and sororate are permitted in Didayi society. Divorce, separation and remarriage of either of the spouses are also permitted to end unhappy marital life. Only the husband has the right to divorce his wife. On the other hand, the wife can desert him or elope with her lover forcing her husband to divorce her.

The Didayi perform elaborate death rites. They cremate the dead. In case of abnormal deaths caused by pregnancy, child birth, disease, accident and attack of wild animals, the corpses are buried immediately. The whole village observes mourning on the day of death on which any kind of economic activity is totally banned. The purificatory 'Dasa' rites are observed on the 10th day. On that day the villagers and the kith and kin are entertained in a grand feast.

Political Organisation

Didayis are custom bound and peace loving people. They believe in peaceful coexistence and maintain well defined cordial ties with their neighbours

including the aggressive Bondo. Social control and conformity are effectively ensured in their social life. Their autonomous political system of the past has declined in these days. Villages are the only socio-political unit that has survived the test of time. The Didayi village is autonomous, independent and self-sufficient having full access to its assets and resources including exclusive ownership rights to the land and forest. It is a co-operative and corporate body functioning through its own agencies and arrangements. (Mohanty, 1982)

A Didayi village is managed by a traditional village Panchayat called 'Lepar'. The village headman 'Naik' his assistant 'Challan' and the village priest 'Palasi' provide leadership to the Panchayat composed of the household heads. It sits in various occasions to settle disputes, fix up dates for communal rituals and deal with other routine and emergency issues. The Naik presides over meetings.

The office of Naik is hereditary. His functions are important because he is responsible for maintaining peace and good will in the village, executing the decisions of the Panchayat and especially, communicating the grievances of his villagers to the Government officers. He acts as the leader and spokesman for his village. Now-a-days with imposition of Panchayatiraj, the Sarapanch and Ward Members are assuming greater importance in the village affairs.

Initiatives for Socio-Economic Development

Time is changing fast. The Didayi cannot remain away from it. The process of modernization and social change is more rapid in case of plains Didayi and less so for their hill living brethren who are still primitive and backward. Their low level of literacy, techno-economy and physical inaccessibility have kept them barely at subsistence level. Hence, they have been declared as the primitive tribe by Government of India. A Micro-Project named the 'Didayi Development Agency' has started functioning at Kudumulguma since September, 1986. (Mohanty, 1982)

The agency is implementing development schemes for the benefit of Didayis. Importance is being given to improve their earning by modernizing and promoting their traditional land-based subsistence economy and also by upgrading their traditional skills. For promotion of agriculture, cultivation of high yielding variety of crops such as paddy, *ragi*, maize, ground nut, soyabin, wheat, mustard, turmeric etc. have been introduced. Use of chemical fertilizers to boost agricultural production is slowly gaining acceptance. Utilizing the land for a second crop during winter where irrigation facilities available is being demonstrated to them. The response of the Didayi to the development programmes is quite encouraging. (Mohanty, 1982)

(III)

DISEASE, AILMENT AND DEFICIENCY

The World Health Organization has endorsed health as one of the fundamental human rights and defines it not only as mere absence of disease or infirmity but also a state of complete physical, mental and social well-being of not only an individual human being but also of the human society as a whole. A person cannot always inherit it but definitely acquire it through cultural material or otherwise. Health, thus has no biological but cultural inheritance. The absence of a perfect harmony between the internal environment of man and his external environment consisting of physical, chemical and biological surroundings cause a disease to occur. Disease has been defined as a state which limits life in its power, duration and enjoyment (Deodhar 1967:2). Ill health and disease may have the same physical but different literal meanings.

The Didayi considers ill health as a short term phenomenon and as a body condition that requires rest and food supplements greater than the usual intake and which either impairs a part of the human body or the whole body to perform its usual chores and requires the administration of medicines and fortification of mind or soul with verbal or symbolic communication with the unseen forces the spirits, Gods and Goddesses etc. The demarcation line between the ill health and disease being very thin and fragile, the Didayi sums up both as the state of body that causes the non-performance of manual work. Didayi considers ailment as a physical condition that requires rest for recoupment and deficiency as the abuse of the surrounding by the patient. The tribe does not consider deficiency as a form of disease but the curse of the abused ones. A section of Didayi mostly living in remote or cut off areas link deficiency to non-availability of sufficient food to fill the belly. Their counterparts, the so called exposed Didayis reason out deficiency as absence of certain types of food in dietary chain. However, both the sections do not know the role of vitamins and minerals in occurrence of ill health / diseases.

Didayis depend on nature and their manmade surroundings usually consisting of easily degradable as well as recyclable objects big or small. As a result the Didayi settlements are free from the menace of accumulation of wastes. It is one of the reasons for the non-occurrence of intestinal, respiratory as well as haematic disease in an epidemic form. However, absence of personal hygiene and too much attachment with the domesticated animals and the diseased ones causes the localization of certain diseases / ailments in an endemic form. These are the reasons which separate upper Didayis from the Didayis living in the plains. The latter give more importance to the personal hygiene.

The Didayi believes that the human body consists of two objects. The visible object has the upper cover that protects the body from heat, cold, attack of insects etc. and the body inside the upper cover consists of bones, flesh, blood and other delicate things. The inner body usually fall prey to the unseen and

malevolent objects. The tribe do not endorse fully the Santal view of the causes of diseases. The Santal believes that the diseases are caused by the 'Tijio' which may be large or microscopic (Basu,1994: 317). The Didayi is yet to reason out the existence of microscopic living beings that cause diseases. The lice, maggot devouring the dead muscle tissues of a septic wound or the worm coming out of the rectum channel along with the stool are the repercussion of the evil deeds of the patient. Unlike the Bondo, the Didayi at least believe that the diseases are also occurring due to the evil deeds done earlier by the sufferers. Whatever be the causes of the disease, the Didayi agrees that it is an anathema to human activity and physical as well as material development.

A Didayi usually suffers from seasonal diseases due to change in external surroundings. Common cold, cough, fever, headache as well as diarrhea are considered to be seasonal diseases. Quite a lot of Didayi people suffer from corn, roughness of skin, ringworm, crack on heel or lips, boils and septic wounds. They consider these ailments to be the companion of their daily work and never consider them as diseases or ailments. In the changed circumstances, now-a-days the elite Didayi attends to these ailments.

Deficiency of vitamins, minerals and moisture among the Didayi is very much visible in remote areas. Population belonging to younger age-group (1 to 10 years) and older age-groups (above 60 years) suffer from such deficiencies. The pregnant ladies also suffer from vitamin and mineral deficiencies. They think that such deficiencies are momentary and go away as the children advance in their age. However, the whole of Didayis agree that intake of sufficient food removes all sorts of deficiencies.

(IV)

MEDICINEMEN

The encyclopedia of social sciences defines medicine as a social institution. If that be so, then the medicineman is the prime office-bearer of that institution. In a primitive society, the medicine is not considered as something derived from the biotic or abiotic object that is administered into the body system in smaller quantities but also as a series of actions /processes that is chiefly followed by the medicinemen to muster the will power of the patient to take the medicine and obtain positive results. A medicineman, therefore, is none other than kingpin of the institution.

A medicineman, in a Didayi society, enjoys prestige and dignity. He is considered as a man of clarity, knowledge, patience, initiative, dedication and drive. A Didayi, however modernized may be, considers a medicineman an above an average person in their society and behaves appropriately in the presence of a medicineman.

Different Schools of Thought

A Didayi medicineman is also seen as a widely travelled man with larger contact with the members of other ethnic groups. The traditional medicineman practicing healing activities among the Didayi may be clubbed into two groups. Namely (a) the dormant group and (b) the active group. The members of the former are shy, do not exhibit their expertise unless asked for and have command over very little variety of the medicinal plants. They are feared more by the members of the community because they are considered to be in possession of 'Black Medicines'. The latter have free access to all sorts of people living nearby. They are also found to be literate and have knowledge about a number of medicinal plants. This section of medicineman also have healing practices which almost coincide with the local *vaidyas* and quacks. Many medicine men belonging to this section also confess that they have acquired the expertise from an Oriya speaking non-tribal emigrant who constructed a temple in the Didayi belt and tried to bring some social reforms among the Didayi tribe. From among the two groups of medicine men the former is dependent more on 'voice and action medicine' and the latter more on 'material medicine'.

The medicine men belonging to either groups bear no separate name as to their identification. The village headman the Naik, the village priest Palasi or the village messenger the Chalan, generally act as medicine man. These posts normally are hereditary in male line (Choudhury:1990:98). Thus the knowledge of medicinemanship is orally transmitted from one generation to another. Contact with other people has widened their knowledge and incorporated more medicinal plants and medical practices into their *material medica*.

Existence of malevolent spirits, evil eyes as well as the ire of the angry Gods and Goddesses, according to the Didayi medicineman, cause the diseases. Usually the Palasi handles cases supposed to be caused by the above agents. The Chalan is more at hand with material medicine. The Naik, due to his social position usually is consulted by the family members of the patient for the treatment. In such cases Naik himself advises the patient or his family members to go to the Palasi or other healing practitioner.

Gender Specification

The Didayi medicinemen are usually males. In the plains, the Didayi address their traditional healer, as GURU. However, no GURUMAI a female medicine practitioner is found in the Didayi belt. In remote villages some old Didayi women occasionally take resort to 'touch therapy' to cure headache, backache, muscle cramp and pain in joints. Oil or plant extracts (juice of leaves, barks, roots, etc.) are usually utilized. The Didayi women also give certain roots or herbs to pregnant women for smooth and easy delivery of child.

Good and Bad Medicinemen

The Didayi often distinguishes between the good and bad medicine. The Didayi usually considers a medicineman as an excellent person, free from greed and partiality. The concept of existence of bad medicineman has crept into their mind of late, when the uniethnic villages were turned multiethnic ones and when the craze for acquiring material wealth overrode their simple lifestyle. They still consider that the bad medicinemen are smaller in number and induct a disease into the body of a victim by means of black magic coupled with administration of very little quantity of 'charmed objects' into the body system covertly.

Social Status

The Didayi places a medicineman at a high level in their society. They are consulted for any maladies. The medicineman also maintains his lifestyle tuning to the respect shown by others. Generally he is affluent, well informed and quick at reasoning out the causes of diseases.

A Didayi medicineman not only caters to the need of an individual patient but also handles the epidemics particularly small-pox and cholera and tries to douse the epidemic with spiritual medicines at the village level. At times he also attends to the congregation of village medicinemen at a convenient place to eradicate maladies in the belt. This very act also causes the Palasi to emerge as a spokesman of the health condition of the village at inter village level.

It is very hard to identify a Didayi medicineman from among the common man as he hardly bears any physical identity, like keeping long lock of unkempt hair, putting on vermilion or sandalwood paste marks on the forehead etc. unlike the GURUs of the Bondo highlanders the Didayi medicinemen have clean habits and practices.

The Curing Practices

The curing practices of the Didayi medicinemen are of two types. The traditional medicinemen go for spiritual medicines namely dancing and gyrating before the patient while uttering hymns addressed to malevolent deities. By doing so they try to build will power and infuse the same into minds of the patients. This psychotherapy at times yields amazing results.

In case of seasonal diseases, the medicinemen either the psychopaths or the material medicine specialists, attribute the diseases to the unseen forces but give medicines derived from herbs, plants, abiotic foreign objects and parts and parcels of animal species. In case of accidents they prepare medicines and give the same to the patient for application but claim to ward off the evil eye which might fall the evil eye which might fall on the open wound covertly at home.

In case of diseases whose causes cannot be traced out, the medicineman creates a belief that some foreign body or a charmed object, might be embedded in

the body and is growing in size causing pain. For this also they administer the medicine following certain rituals. It is observed that in most of the cases the patients do not recover and find their way to the nearby health centers.

(V)

INDIGENOUS MEDICINES

Mani, Mantra and Aushadha, according to Brihat Samhita, are the three instruments used by the ancient Indians to treat the patients. The Indian system of medicine got a major break by the recommendations of Sushruta for Astropochara (surgery). All these four agents have their roles on the body system which go abnormal seasonally or perennially. Except the surgery all other ways of treatment have been adopted by the Didayi medicinemen. The medicineman in fact is the driving force behind the medicine -the social institution.

The indigenous medicines used by the tribal groups are almost identical, both in the preparation and administration. Some variations are, however, noticed from one biotic zone to other. The ethnic groups living in areas with no succulent undergrowth depend heavily on 'hard trees' for medicine. The leaf, seed, bark, root and fruit pulp is used as medicine. In semi-arid zones the indigenous medicines are prepared out of animals their bone, skin, blood, flesh, teeth, nail and even milk. In sub tropic deciduous forest areas the tribes find a lot of plant species ranging from 'hard trees' creepers, highly sensitive succulent under growths to parasites and fungus. The Didayi land lies in sub tropic deciduous forest areas. As a result a variety of plants have been identified by the indigenous medicinemen as having medicinal qualities. It is strange to find that very little kinds of botanical species have been incorporated into the pharmacology of the Didayi medicineman.

The Didayischool of medicine consists of the use of Mantra and Aushadha. Of late, a few medicinemen have started to advice the patients to wear fetish amulets and talisman containing ash, root and dust fortified with mantra, around forearms or neck. The male patients near urban centers are found in possession of such objects. A Didayi considers this as a preventive measure against any malady. Though the patient as well as the medicineman do not agree with it, it is evident that two types of treatments are adopted to cure a patient. From among the two, psychosomatic treatment is given to the patients where causes of diseases cannot be attributed to any visible agencies. They apply 'Mantra' to treat such patients. When a Didayi medicineman decides that a patient is suffering from the action of visible agents, he goes for somatic treatment by application of medicines either externally or internally or both.

As a Didayi has a very little knowledge regarding the existence of different kinds of diseases, he adopts very little types of treatments. This is also one of the reasons of such a little number of treatments for the diseases. By trial

and error method the tribe has prepared a pharmacopoeia based on locally available materials and latter fortifying and enlarging it with induction of thoughts and materials acquired from outside. It is also noticed that the diseases of civilized man (Frazaer 1957: p-62) are absent in Didayi country.

The Didayi indigenous medicine is simple, less expensive, less dietetic, more curative but slow in action and is confined only to heal a patient from his maladies. As a result, preventive and aftercare somatic medicines are not found in their system. The Palasi, in general, boasts of prescribing preventive and aftercare medicines which are psychic in nature.

The 'Osha' is the common word for medicine used by the enlightened traditional medicineman in the Didayi country. To its contrary is 'Bisha' which they belief restricts the normal activity of a man and ultimately leading him to death. Bisha, they consider is the inherent part of the black magic. 'Osha' has a short life span and should be administered immediately after preparation. Compound medicines, they believe, has the larger 'potency' period and can be stored for more than two applications. The medium of trapping the medicine derived from a plant is water. Of late, imitating the local *vaidyas*, they have used honey, oil and milk butter (ghee).

Preparation of Medicine

Most of the Didayi medicines are applied externally. Even for the acute stomachache plant extracts are massaged externally. The medicineman has a ready stock of dried herbs (leaves, barks, roots, seeds etc.). Afterdiagnosis, which in most cases are superficial, he gives a portion of the dried herbs and asks to make it a paste in water. He then applies it on the affected part of the body. This overt action of medicineman turns to some sort of covert activity when he goes for raw medicine. He himself collects the medicinal plants, prepares the medicine and gives it to the patient. Some of the plants are well known to the Didayi people for their medicinal qualities. In this case the efficacy of the medicine depends on the rightly quantity of medicinal ingredients in a right manner. It is the medicineman, who due to experience, excels others in this front.

Most of the medicines are prepared 'in situ' with simple apparatus available locally. The apparatus used are the knife of various sizes, grinding stone, rudimentary mortar and pestle, a few metal containers etc.

The Administration of the Medicine

The prepared medicines are applied once or twice in case of wounds and fractures. The oil based medicines are repeatedly applied till the patient feels ease to bear the effect of disease. The method of massage of the medicineman implies that he has a good knowledge about the structure of the muscles, position of the never centres and orientation of the cramps.

Apart from these epidermal applications, a Didayi medicineman applies his medicines internally into the body system through oral doses or inhalation of smoke. The respiratory disorders are done with the inhalation of the smoke emitted from the incineration of the medicinal plants or resins of 'hard trees' (sal). The 'Oral Medicines' are always taken fresh for seasonal diseases. However, in chronic cases non-aqua medicinal doses are prescribed.

Like the Bondo, the Didayi also use in certain medicines the different portions of the medicinal plants, based on touch therapy. These medicines are adored rather than absorbed.

Some of the Didayi medicines, its preparation and administration are appended in Annexure-I.

(VI)

PRESCRIPTIONS AND PROHIBITIONS

There are prescriptions and prohibitions as well in the context of the Didayi ethno-medicines. The prescriptions of a Didayi medicineman consists of antidotes-both material and spiritual, that prevents diseases. This primitive society still believes that the causes of the diseases are (a) the projection of morbid objects or substances, (b) abstraction of something from the body and (c) the action of sorcerer on some part of the body or some objects once connected with the body of a person (Paul, 1925:18).

Didayi prescription is superior to that of the Bondo because it not only deals with medicines but also with other supportive measures, like maintenance of body hygiene and alternation in usual dietetic habits. There exists little transparency and openness in their therapy which need further scientific testing. Being docile in nature and not as rigid or individualistic as the neighbouring Bondos, the Didayi medicine and its methods of use are akin more or less to the Ayurvedic system. Their prescriptions are institutionalized by higher doses of influence from the *kavirajs*, mostly the nontribal settlers.

The prescription makes it mandatory for the patient to visit the medicineman or vice-versa. This establishes a better patient medicineman relationship and gives scope to the latter to alter his medicine during the course of treatment. The gradual disappearance of medicinal plants from the natural vegetative coverage of the area has ushered in the process of localization of medical knowledge with a few persons. These persons are prescribing 'prepared medicine' rather than the raw and 'green medicine'. These prepared medicines are the secrets of the medicineman. The intake of medicines is more systematized and more repetitive in case of the Didayi school of medicine.

The food and other restrictions laid down by the Didayi medicinemen are not always supplemented by the social sanctions. As a result, the taboos / prohibitions related to the medicine are very few in number. The methods of administration of medicine are either external through massage, annointment and simply intimate contact with the body or internal intake through inhalation or oral administration. The psychological impact of the medicine is established by chanting of incantations (Mantras) addressed to both tribal as well as the Hindu Gods and Goddesses like Lord Jagannath, Shiva, Lakshmi, Parvati etc. As a Didayi medicineman is more knowledgeable than his Bondo counterpart regarding the effect of food on the digestive and the general body systems of the patient, his prescriptions also recommend consumption of certain food items and prohibition of some others. Generally fibrous and hot foods are not given to the patients suffering from stomach pain. Similarly sago-palm juice, stalerice water and fruits, like banana, custard apple are not given to patients suffering from fever, cold etc. It is strange to note that stale meat, dry-fish and the likes are not restricted to the patients suffering from intestinal disorders and the old people with poor digestive power. In case of diseases, like jaundice, small pox, cholera and ailment in respiratory track as well as pain in joints, the prescriptions given are of supernatural type. The so called 'faith healing' consisting of consumption of raw medicines usually prepared from different parts of a plant either singly or in combination, anointment of oil is followed by chanting of sacred words addressed to the Gods, Goddesses or the spirits. It also advocates, for offerings to benevolent or malevolent forces. A Didayi patient is never prescribed with preventive as well as 'after care' medicines.

The prescriptions given by a Didayi medicineman is the oral explanation to the causes of ailments and following of certain codes of conduct as well as observance of certain other restrictions. Ironically the prescriptions differ from one medicineman to another. The medicineman indeed takes into account the natural, physical as well as the social environments while prescribing an antidote to an ailment. The prescribed antidote is not always administered into the body of the patient but also to the environment both man made or natural in which the patient lives in.

Taboo

The taboos followed by the Didayi are more 'healer-oriented' than 'patient-oriented' in nature. The taboos control the actions of the medicineman. As every administration of medicine is followed by citation of the names of the Gods and Goddesses, the medicineman purify himself by taking bath. It is also a taboo to offer the promised items to the deity as soon as the patient gets cured. In case of deviation it is believed that the wrath of deities incurs diseases / ailments in a stronger norm. Another taboo still in vogue among the still in vogue among the Didayis is not to spy a medicineman on his mission to collect medicinal ingredients from the forest. It is mandatory to guard the interest of the

medicineman. The medicine prepared out of totemic objects / animals can be used by the patient but when he gets cured he is advised not to use the same even by accident. A breach in this regard may invite the wrath of the totemic objects / animals.

The prescriptions and taboos are strictly followed by the medicineman and his patients. If the medicine fails to yield proper results, the medicineman refers the case to his 'guru' and if the guru fails the patient is brought to the nearby modern health-care centre for treatment. It is seen that affluent Didayi persons and those living near multi-ethnic villages are drifting away from these prescriptions and taboos. They are depending more on different 'ready to use medical formulations available in the market. This section of Didayis also confess that medicines administered in the body through the hypodermic needles are more effective in yielding quick results. At times, they argue with the medical officers or paramedical workers to have expensive intramuscular or intravenous shots rather than swallowing equally effective oral doses. It is also observed that the so called elite Didayis are prepared to cough off a bigger amount of cash after costly and bigger oral pills and capsules rather than equally effective inexpensive smaller pills. This shows that their belief system is interwoven with the idea that bigger and expensive oral medicines are more powerful. Homoeopathic as well as Ayurvedic medicines are not in vogue in Didayi belt yet. Their indigenous medicine may play a second fiddle to the modern allopathic medicines, but the homoeopathic or the Ayurvedic medicines are yet to play a secondary role next to the tribal indigenous medicine.

(VII)

AN OVERVIEW: PERSISTENCE AND CHANGE

The world view of a tribe towards everything around them, material or non-material, gets widened with the in / out migration of both the population and information. The flexibility observed is due to the intensity of the movement and the media through which it moves. Acceptability or otherwise of the change by the people is another important factor to arrive at any inference regarding end results. The Didayis' attitude towards the disease, treatment and the medicineman is changing at a slower pace despite traditional as well as institutional resistance.

Like the neighbouring Bondo people, the Didayi falls into three groups in terms of offering resistance or accepting the changes in healing practices. The elder ones with strong belief in traditional medicines and the medicinemen do not prefer to show their ailing body to an outsider as they feel that it affects their way of living and belief system. As the aged ones consider themselves as the liability to their offspring's, they do not prefer to go for expensive treatments. This section of the Didayi population considers the diseases as the fore-runners to their old age

and opts for persistence of the traditional medicines. They also consider themselves as the children of nature and do not want to go against it. The people in extreme end to this section consists of those who are exposed to the process of acculturation. This group depends more on borrowed thoughts and life style and is in favour of adopting a changed medical system. They find it easy to get the medical facilities in exchange of hard cash obtainable from sale proceeds of Surplus Agricultural Produce (SAP) and Minor Forest Produce (MFP) as well as from accepting wage earning pursuits on either daily or monthly basis. Sandwiched between the two is that section of the Didayi population of fence sitters who has likings for traditional medicines and medical practices at the initial stage, but change over to modern medical system at the last lap. This section usually consists of those belonging to working age group and those who eke out a living from service sectors. Suspicion has crept into their minds regarding the efficacy of the traditional herbal medicines and the illiterate medicineman. Covertly, this section advocates for change in curing practices but overtly plays a supportive role for continuation of the age old practices at least at the initial stage of the disease. The tradition bound Didayis follow customs to which every member is expected to conform (Basu- 1994:317). They also believe that the fate of the individual and community depends on their relationship with unseen forces which intervene in human affairs (Ibid :317). They still believe in the natural theory of disease.

The Didayi is yet to compromise with the theory that bacteria, microbes and finer particulates (dust, pollen grain, etc.) invite diseases. They confess that visible solid particulates sand, clay, dung, hair, nail etc) if find their way into the stomach, they grow in size and hinder the usual function of the body organs. As the strong believer of blackmagic a Didayi fears to come into the contact with any magic objects. The so-called magical objects may be the poison extracted from plants, animals or minerals. The poison in small doses if administered into the body, the victim gradually fails to perform his usual work. The medicines, they think, are always curative and the drugs that constitute the medicine are none other than the boon of the appeased supernatural beings.

The medicineman rather than the medicine tries hard for the disappearance of the disease. A Didayi gives more emphasis on the medicineman who handles the patient. A good medicineman, he believes, has a good pair of hands that touch the medicine and make it foolproof. In the Didayi country the so-called good hands are not only associated with experience but also with tolerance, patience and personal cleanliness. The wind of change has not shifted their reliance from medicinemen to medicines at least in their traditional therapy.

Being the lovers of nature, a Didayi depends on 'green or fresh' medicines of simple composition prepared out of simple ingredients. They still go for fresh medicines rather than the stored medicines. Medicine if stored loses its potency. If the preying eyes gaze upon the medicines or the medicines are kept in cool and

dark places, the efficacy diminishes. This belief do not hold good for non-traditional modern medicines. Almost all Didayis belonging to different schools of thoughts have great faith on 'stored' modern medicines of other form i.e., the pills, the syrups and the intramuscular or intravenous shots. They think it is the last step to cure ailments. They also express eagerness to use 'green' or 'fresh' medicines as the emergency antidotes.

It is strange to note that the Didayi who always allow assimilating finer things of other tribes and communities into their own, has a pharmacopoeia for such a lesser kinds of diseases with the single therapy in use. The herbal therapy is based on experience and the method of administration is inhalation, massage and oral consumption followed by chanting of incantations addressed to spiritual beings.

The Change

The Didayi pharmacopoeia is slowly being affected by the winds of change. At present for storage of prepared medicines, oil of tree borne seeds is being used instead of water. The methods of preparation of medicines has been modified a bit to arrest contamination by the foreign bodies. This change, it seems, is due to change in the outlook towards health and hygiene and fascination for Ayurvedic system of medicine both by the enlightened patients and equally enlightened medicinemen. These medicinemen are gradually preparing compound medicines from different types of dry matters derived from different kinds of medicinal plants. The methods adopted for preparation of medicines at present are grinding, whipping, filtering through coarse cloths and ageing through long storage.

The treatment of a patient is no more considered mere administration of medicine. A set of restrictions have been imposed by the medicinemen on the patients to observe. As a result, the enlightened traditional Didayi medicinemen advise the patients to consume certain types of food and reject certain others. The fibrous foods, animal proteins and ripen fruits are not advised for consumption. The consumption of milk, once a taboo for the Didayis, is being encouraged. The Didayi medicinemen, now-a-days, do not hesitate to advise a patient to go for alien food supplements, like sago, barely etc. However, a traditional Didayi medicineman has no reliance on tinned cereals and milk based foods. In the recent past, a Didayi medicineman was not serious enough to prescribe 'After cure' medicaments. Imitating the non-tribal herbalists (the *vaidyas*), the Didayi medicinemen have started advising the patients to consume certain foods, perform certain physical works, abstinence from exposure to extremity of temperatures and flow of winds.

The attitudes of the patients as well as their relatives towards the medicinemen and their methods of treatment have changed. The former two give more stress on 'matters' i.e., the medicines rather than the 'words' i.e., the hymns

addressed to the benevolent / malevolent supernatural beings. A common sight observed in a Didayi area is that the medicineman is also a referral body who when fails in his mission advises, the relatives of the patients to another medicineman of higher order. If the medicineman of the higher order fails, he instead of referring the patient to a health unit, advice the patient's relatives to see a shaman. The latter is a psychopath who takes resort to perform action to appease the spirits, Gods and Goddesses. If the attempt fails at this point, the patient or his relatives turn to modern medicine.

Some aspects in the field of the indigenous medicine have persisted and some have changed due to various factors, like modernization, planned development intervention, etc. The Didayi population has been caught in the web of tradition and modernity and within therapeutic pluralism.

END NOTE:

The paper has been prepared by Shri A. K. Moharana, Research Officer, based on field work conducted by him among the Didayi of Malkangiri district. The Socio-Cultural outline in Chapter-II has been contributed by Shri S. C. Mohanty, Research Assistant. The study, an exploratory one, was conducted under the supervision of the Director.

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ANNEXURE I
Tribal Medicine at a Glance (Tribe - Didayi)

Sl. No.	Name of the Plant		Dry Matter	Properties of dry matter	Disease /Ailment	Method of		Food & other restrictions, if any	Remarks
	Botanical / English	Local				Medicine Preparation	Admini- stration		
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(11)
1	-	Jaibajali	-	Root	-	Headache	A two inch long root is washed and roasted in live amber.	Roasted root is crushed & applied on forehead in morning when the sun is well above horizon	Prescribed by both traditional and secular medicinenan
2	(a) R. Serpentina	(a) Patal-garuda	(a) Patal-garuda	(a) Root	(a) Febrifuge, Alexiphermic	Stomach pain.	Equal volumes R. Serpentina root & Swargagaruda fruit ground and made to a thick paste.	The paste is taken orally thrice a day.	Ditto
	(b)-	(b) Swarga garuda	(b) Swarga garuda	(b) Fruit	-				
3	-	-	-	-	-	Continuous cry by baby.	The dry matters collected by the healer guided by a dream	Mostly used as a surface applicant.	Prescribed by only traditional medicinenan
4	-	-	-	-	-	Loose motion & vomiting by baby child.	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto

5	(a) Hydrocotyleasiatica, Linn.	(a) Ghoda Khura.	(a) Thalkudi	(a) Root	-	Loose motion & vomiting by adults.	Both the plants' roots in the ratio of 2:1 made into a thin paste & diluted with water.	Taken orally twice a day after any light food.	Hot food, meat (both fresh & dry) and fibrous food is restricted.	Prescribed by both traditional and secular medicinemen .
	(b) Terminalia bellerica	(b) Bahada	(b) Bahada	(b) Root	(b) Digestive					
6	(a) Hydrocotyle asiaticallinn.	(a) Ghoda Khura.	(a) Thalkudi	(a) Root	-	To ward off evil spirits from body	-do-	Taken orally twice daily after any light food.	-do-	Prescribed by traditional medicinemen .
	(b) Terminalia bellerica	(b) Bahada	b) Bahada	(b) Root						
7	Phyllanthus Niruri, Linn.	Bhuinamla	Bhuinamla	Leaf	-	Blood dysentery	A handful of leaves are washed and ground to a thick paste adding a pinch of salt	Taken once orally in day time. If not effective, twice daily.	Heavy food is avoided. Advised to take complete rest.	Prescribed by both the traditional & secular medicinemen
8	-	Bhuinamla	Bhuinamla	Leaf	-	Stool with mucus.	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto
9	Bauhinia purpurea, Linn.	Barada	Barada	Leaf	-	Piles	A handful of the leaves is ground with one strand of charming feather of pea cock & little of Goruchina to a thick paste.	The paste is whipped with a lobe of jiggery & taken once. After sometime a hen's egg is cracked placed on the anus by the Dissari chanting mantra to	The patient is advised to avoid constipating food.	The Dissari attends to the patient. When the patient gets cured, he offers fowl with upright feathers.

								evoked all the deities to cure the patient. In old cases 2-3 sessions required.			
10	(a) <i>Diploclouspa</i> Imalus, linn.	(b) <i>Dimbarimal</i> (b) <i>Kusum</i>	(a) <i>Sibalingi</i> . (b) <i>Kusum</i>	(a) <i>Risom</i> (b) <i>Bark</i>	(a) - (b) -	Deep wound	Equal quantities of risom and bark are made into a thick paste	The paste applied once only on the wound & a cloth is tied around it.	No oil or water is allowed to go into the wound.	Prescribed by both the secular & traditional medicinemen	
	(b) <i>Schleicherat</i> rijuga, wild.										
11	-	-	-	-	-	Easy delivery of child	Small branches of the tree struck by lightning are collected. A garland is made out of it.	The husband collects the garland from Dissari & with him goes home & puts the garland around the woman's neck	Soon after the birth of the child the garland is removed from the neck and thrown away.	Dissari attends to the patient.	
12	-	Surti	-	Flower	-	Removal of placenta.	The flower is fixed to the ear or worn around the neck.	It is some sort of close contact between the body and the flower.	The flower is removed when the placenta comes out.	Ditto	
13	Custard apple. (<i>Annona Squamosa</i> , Linn).	Sitaphal	Sitaphal	Seed	-	Lice eradication	The seed is ground to a thick paste.	The paste is massaged on the head 3 to 4 hours before birth.	Care taken to keep the paste away from the eye.	Both secular & traditional medicinemen attend the patient.	

14	<i>Azadirachata Indica</i> , ad de Juss.	Limba	Neema	Leaf	Anthelmintic, antipruritic.	Ringworm on head.	The neem leaves made into a paste. It is whipped with fresh cow dung & urine.	The paste like thing is massaged on head by the leg of an assistant.	-	Ditto
15	<i>Azadirachata Indica</i> , Andrographis paniculata	Limba or Banamaria or Bhuin-nimba.	Neema or Banamaria or Bhuin-nimba.	Twigs Twigs Leaf	-	Scabies	The twigs or the leaves are boiled with water.	The cooled decoction is taken orally several times after food.	Both fresh or dried twigs & leaves are used. Dry fish eating is avoided.	Ditto
16	<i>Terminalia tomentosa</i> .	Piasal	Piasal	Resinous fluid.	-	Eye infection (reddening of eye)	The tree is struck with a sharp weapon to get the resinous fluid.	The fresh fluid is applied on the eye brow.	The patient is advised to remain indoors.	Secular medicinemans attends to the patient.
17	-	Godaul	-	Leaf	-	Epilepsy	A handful of the leaves are ground to a paste & made thick with little water.	The liquid is taken orally in the name of the family deity for 02 to 03 months.	-	If the medicine fails, offerings are promised to family deity.
18	<i>Calotropis gigantea</i> , Rox / <i>C. procera</i> , Rox.	Arakha	Arakha	Latex	-	Skin infection by contact with damp cloth & sweat etc. (Machala & Chamadala)	The latex of the freshly plucked leaves is collected.	The latex is applied on the affected part.	The portion of the body is kept dry.	Both Dissari & secular medicinemans attends to the patient.
19	-	Panur	-	Swollen root	-	Water infection in between the toes of	The swollen root is made into a paste with little salt.	The affected part cleaned & wiped with a cloth. Then	The patient is advised to walk on dry land & to	Ditto

							the foot.				paste is applied on it.	keep away from mud.	
20	Aeglemarmelos , Linn.	Bel	Bel	Root	Digestive		Snake-bite	A finger long root is ground and made into a paste.	The paste is taken orally & a little of it is applied on eyelid.	The patient is kept awake always.	Dissari treats the patient.		
21	Vitisquadrangularis.	Hada Bachha.	Hada Sinkula.	Root	-		Bone fracture	The branches of the creeper are converted into a paste.	The paste is applied on the wound & bandaged.	Consumption of ragi, maize etc. is advised.	Both secular & traditional medicinemen attend the patient.		
22	-	Ghunti	-	Twig	-		Impotency	The twigs are used as tooth brush.	The patient is advised to brush his teeth with the twigs routinely.	Cock, hen & sparrow are consumed by the impotent male.	Ditto		
23.	Jatropha curcas , Linn.	Dumbajada	Baigaba	Tender branches	-		Sprain	The tender branches put on live charcoal are twisted to extract the fluid.	The fluid oozing branches are pressed over the affected part of the body.	-	Both the secular and traditional medicinemen attends the patient.		
24	-	Lue	-	Resinous fluid	-		Constipation.	The tree is hit with sharp weapon to get the fluid.	The fluid is taken orally once a day.	Constipating food is avoided.	Ditto		
25	Terminalia chebula, retg.	Harida	Harida	Seed & Fruit.	Digestive		Cough	The dry fruit is roasted and the pulp is removed	The pulp is chewed & the seed is burst open to eat the soft part .	Exposure to cold and water is restricted.	Ditto		

26	Tamarindus indicus, Linn.	Tentuli	Tentuli	Pulp	-	Consump- tion of poison	The pulp is mixed with water.	The water is taken orally so that the patient vomits.	The patient is not allowed to sleep.	Ditto
27	S. Xantho- carpum	Veji- baigan	Veji- baigan	Seed	-	Toothache	The seed is burnt inside a funnel and its smoke is inhaled orally.	Sour/sweet food is avoided.	-	Ditto
28	Semecarpus sanacardium, Linn.	Valia	Bana valia	Oil	-	Hydrosil	A thin string is soaked with the oil of valia.	It is tied around the left leg.	Hard work is avoided.	Ditto

GADABA *

*S. C. Mohanty*¹

Gadaba is one of the Munda group of tribes found concentrated in Lamptaput, Similiguda, Pottangi and Khairput of Koraput and Malkangiri districts. As per 2011 census, they have a population of 84 689 including 40 953 males and 43736 females. Their sex ratio is 1068 females for 1000 males. Their literacy is 39.30%. They speak *gutab*, one of the dialects of the Austro-Asiatic language family.

In the Gadaba villages three types of houses are found. These are the *Mahad dien*, the *Dondul dien* and the *Chhendi dien*. The first two are rectangular and the third one is circular with a conical roof which is a distinguishing cultural trait of the Gadaba. A small portion of the house is set apart for the kitchen. The *Mahad dien* and the *Dandul dien* houses have verandahs in the front.

The economic life of the Gadabas mainly centers around paddy cultivation. It is supplemented by collection of forest produce, fishing and wage earning. The Gadaba extensively practised shifting cultivation in the past. A mixture of varieties of millets, pulses and *Niger* is sown in their swiddens.

The Gadaba women are fond of wearing ornaments to adorn themselves. They are made up of brass, aluminum and gold. The women wear short strip of clothes traditionally known as *kisali* tied round the waist and another piece as apron. The men wear loincloth the end flap hanging down in front.

They are divided into four broad sections, such as, *Bado Gadaba*, *Parenga*, *Olaro* and *Sano Gadaba*. Each group is again divided into a number of clans and lineages.

* Unpublished article of 2000 updated in 2019

¹ Research Officer (2000) & Consultant (2019), SCSTRTI

The Gadaba prefer adult marriage and have the custom of bride price. Monogamy is the rule although in some cases polygyny is practised. After death the corpse is taken to the burial ground located a little away from the village settlement. The family members and kinsmen accompany the corpse wailing all along. After the dead body is disposed of all of them go to a nearby stream for a wash and catch fish. They cook fish and rice in separate pots and leave them half way to the cremation ground. On the tenth day a feast is arranged in the deceased's house partaken by kins only. Every three to five years the Gadaba observe *gottar*, the secondary burial ritual at the village level in which kinsmen from far and wide participate and commemorate the dead amidst lavish food and drinks.

Naik heads the traditional council in every Gadaba village. A *Challan* and a messenger called *Barik* assist the headman. The village meeting is held at a central place called *Sadar*, a raised platform of stones under a big tree. The village priest, *Disari* performs all religious rites. He also acts as a medicine man-cum-astrologer.

Thakurani is their chief village deity. Thakurani is represented by a stone and is offered sacrifices by *Disari*. The shrine is called *Hundi*.

The Gadaba are fond of dance and music. They are famous for their characteristic *dhemsa* dance. In this dance the women wear colourful *kereng* saris. The men play musical instruments and the women dance in semicircles sidewise and forward movement of footsteps.

The important festivals of the Gadaba are *Bandapana*, *Dussera Parab*, *Pus Parab* and *Chait Parab*.

GADABA *

*Gopinath Satpathy*¹

The Gadabas are one of the most colourful and primitive tribes of Orissa. They are one of the early settlers of this country and trace their origin to the time of Ramayan. It is said that their original home was at Godavari from which they have derived their name Gadaba. According to Mr. Ram Doss they owe their name to the term 'Geda' in Telugu or 'Gada' in Oriya, which means 'brook'. Mr. Ram Doss and Dr. Mujumdar connect the Gadabas with Munda family. Dr. Mujumdar further contends that the Gadabas belong to Austro-Asiatic linguistic family. These views seem to be correct so far as the two sections like Bada and Sano Gadabas are concerned, but the other section, namely, the Ollaro falls into a different linguistic group, namely, the Dravidian.

The Gadabas are seen in adjoining mountainous tracts of Andhra, Orissa and Madhya Pradesh. In Orissa, they are distributed in seven districts as shown below:-

Sl. No.	Name of the district	Male population	Female population	Total
1.	Koraput	21,430	21,130	42,560
2.	Kalahandi	595	593	1,188
3.	Sundargarh	59	30	89
4.	Ganjam	17	28	45
5.	Sambalpur	20	04	24
6.	Mayurbhanj	07	10	17
7.	Boudh- Kandhamal	07	09	16
Total		22,135	21804	43,939

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Their total population in Orissa is 43,939 of which 43,325 constitute rural population and 614 live in urban areas. Their main concentration is in the district of Koraput on its central plateau stretched over from the borders of Madhya Pradesh to the borders of Andhra. Their population is maximum in Lamtaput, Jeypore, Nandpur, Semiliguda, Sunabeda and Pottangi areas in Korput. The Gadabas of Lamataput are Bodo Gadabas, those of Nandpur and Sunabeda are Sano Gadabas, and of Pottangi are the Ollaro Gadabas.

They have their own language known as 'Gutab' or Gadaba language. Mr. Grierson has included their language in Munda linguistic family. A few of them living near the towns and working as labourers in firms can speak Oriya. They have also adopted a certain Oriya terms into their vocabulary.

The Gadabas are not a migratory folk. They live permanently in large villages situated on inaccessible mountainous areas. Almost all the villages of Koraput subdivision have Gadaba population mixed with other tribes and castes. The villages consist of two rows of houses with a broad path between having banyan trees in the center. The headman possesses the largest house, which is generally situated at the centre of one of the rows. The houses are thatched, rectangular constructions with verandahs in front. The walls are made of bamboo, and wood plastered with mud. The more ancient structures consist of two adjacent rooms, one rectangular in plan and beyond it a circular one with conical roof. There is the dormitory house in the village. Every Gadaba village has stone monuments roughly circular in plan made of horizontal slabs with vertical ones interspersed with them. These are used as general meeting places. There are stone slabs representing their deities.

Their household stocks consist of earthenware vessels, rope, wooden stick, hound pound *kutani*, leaf containers for storing food grains, baskets, small nets, earthenware lamp, grindstone, palm leaf mats, few gourds, carrying poles, broomsticks, bamboo traps for fishing, knife, bow and arrow, combs, flute, tobacco containers. They have recently learnt to use aluminum plates, jars, umbrellas, Kerosene lamp, lantern, wooden mortar and pestle, and husking lever which one gets usually among the advanced Gadaba families. String cots are rarely seen. They have their weaving loom.

As musical instruments they use big drum, *talmulibaja*, *madals*, flute, *tamak* and *mahuri*.

As agricultural implements, they use plough, plough share, hoe, spade, sickle and digging stick.

They have bifurcated axe, bow and arrow, spear and sword.

The Gadaba male wear ordinary cloth. Their dress usually consists of loin cloth, napkin, *chaddar*. Very few use shirt and banyans. The women of the tribe always wear picturesque clothes. Round their waists they tie a fringed narrow

cloth, called a Kerang, woven by themselves on the most primitive loom, of which the wrap is the hand spun fibre of different jungle shrubs and the woof is cotton dyed at home with indigo and *morninda-citrifolia* and arranged in strips of red, blue and white; either over or under this they wear a hustle made of raw-hide laces or of strands of stout cord woven from other shrubs and tied together at the end; round the upper part of the body is another cloth similar but smaller than the waist cloth. This traditional dress is gradually going to be replaced by cotton clothes made by Gandas and Doms and coloured red. Mill-made clothes are coming to be used. They entirely cover one of their arms from wrist to elbow with a number of brass bracelets. In the ear they wear enormous coils of thick brass wire as ornaments. On their forehead is a chaplet of cowries' shells. Round their loins they wind a girdle of rope called Kuddal. The hair is dressed in to two coils, whose ends are plaited together at the back of the neck, bound round a piece of wood bent into the shape of a horse shoe, which is used as a stiffening material. Round the neck necklaces of beads are worn. To these bead necklaces a coin is sometimes attached as a pendant. They wear a number of rings on their fingers and toes. Silver or brass anklets in the leg are considered fashionable ornament. They wear a number of Khagalas of brass or alloy round their neck. Of course, these ornaments are gradually losing its ground and ornaments in the fashion of neighbouring population are replacing them.

The Gadabas are divided into a number of divisions like Bada, Sano, Ollar, Kalayi, Kapu, Kateni, Jurumu and Parenga, etc. In Orissa most of these sections are not seen. Mr. Ram Doss differentiates them on the basis of their costume and ornament. In Orissa only three divisions like Bado or Gutab, Sano, and Ollaro Gdabas are seen. This Sano is also called Parenga. Bado Gadabas are the highest in social status. They do not take water from the other classes. The other sections mix with one another freely.

Family is the simplest unit. It is nuclear in its structure. The son is separated from his father as soon as he is married. The family is partilineal, patrilocal and patripotestal.

The residents of a village are divided into a number of Phratries (Bonso). Each Bonso is known by its surname derived from the village of origin. For instance, those who are from the village Deulpada are called Deulpadia.

A number of such Bonso come under one group, known as clans of the Gadabas. These are exogamous and totemistic. Kora (Sun), Nag (Cobra), Bagh (Tiger), Kora (Parrot) and Collari (Monkey) are a few of the clans mostly prevalent among the tribe. Though these totem objects have lost much of their importance in the social and religious live, yet occasionally they are worshipped and mourned. They believe that the totem object will do them no harm.

The village is a social unit and the villagers behave as one for a number of purposes. The religious ceremonies, annual hunting, are observed in a village

jointly. Every village has a secular head known as Naek, an attendant to Naek known as Challan and a bearer called Barik. The Barik is a Dom by caste. He has to communicate the declarations meant for the villagers, and acts as a messenger to the individual families of the village. The *challan* is to entertain the outsiders, and government officials coming to the village from time to time. The headman with the other members of the village decides all the disputes and maintain order in the village. He takes up the responsibility of distributing meat at the time of Chait Parab. The day of new grains eating is to be decided by the Naek. The village has a Disari, who officiates as the priest for all worships in the village. He is consulted in matters of individual illness, and calamities of the village.

The Gadabas have the institution of boys' and girls' dormitories. For this purpose, two houses, one for the boys and the other for the girls are set apart in each village. The boy's dormitory is looked after by a young man called *bise* and similarly the girl's dormitory is under the charge of an elderly girl. The unmarried boys and girls sleep in their dormitories, since they are eight years old. They dance and sing songs in these dormitories. Gradually this institution is losing its hold and at a certain places, Kirtan *mandals* have been started, the membership of which is open to all.

The pregnant woman does not visit burial ground and does not touch the corpse. On the birth of a child, the mother is held impure for about 15 days. The name giving ceremony is observed for ten days. Usually, the Gadabas of hills name their children after the days of the week on which they are born; whereas the Gadabas of the plain consult the Disari and prefer to have low country names by selection. Hair cutting ceremony is observed after one year. The maternal uncle shaves the child and throws the hair into a water source. Ear-piercing can be done on any day according to their convenience.

Marriages take place after the attainment of puberty. The usual age at marriage is 18 to 21 years for boys and 15 to 18 years for girls. The cross-cousin marriage is usually preferred. The marriage of widow is permitted and usually the younger brothers of the deceased marry her. If she does not marry him, the second husband has to pay a sum of money called *randatonka* to him. Polygyny is also in vogue. A divorced woman can marry again. Bride price is, always paid. They adopt five forms of marriage known as 1. Arranged, 2. Udlia, 3. Paisammundi, 4. Gharjwain, 5. Widow remarriage.

Arranged Marriage- The selection of the bride is at first made by the parents with the approval of their son. A formal offer of marriage is made to the parents of the bride along with the presents of liquor, rice, fowl, etc. first through relatives and later by the parents of boy. The proposal being accepted, an auspicious day for the marriage is fixed by Disari. On that day, the bridegroom's relations go to the home of the bride with a rupee towards marriage expenses, a new cloth for girl's mother, and half a rupee for the females of the bride's village. The bride is given glass bead necklace and bangles. A feast follows. The bride is conducted to the

village of bridegroom in front of whose home a pendal has been raised. There is sal stems planted on the pendal. The bride sits on the grindstone with bridegroom sited on her thigh. The elderly women throw turmeric paste on them. They bath in turmeric water, wear new clothes, after which the Disari joins their hands in marital union. A feast with much drinking follows and the whole day is spent in dance and song. Next day, they play in mud after which they go to stream and take bath. A further feast and dance follows. Now the bride price has been raised to some hundreds. This is a more elaborate form and is expensive.

Udulia Marriage- In Udulia type, the couple fall in love with each other and elope to other village, where they have relatives. There they live as husband and wife. The bride's parents subsequently go there with his kins and induce the girl to return. They are pacified by food and drink. The bride price is paid and the marriage is solemnized even after the birth of the child. The amount of bride price is less and is paid by installments in this case.

Paisamundi marriage- In Paisamundi marriage, the woman falling allure the man, whom she likes, goes and makes an intrusion into his house. She takes some presentations. She is generally abused beaten and refused food. If she remains silent, she is accepted as the daughter in-law of the family. No ceremony is performed but a feast is given by the boy's parents to the villagers. The widow and divorced women are common in this type of marriage.

Gharjwain Marriage- Sometimes, the poor Gadaba may serve in well-to-do family with the aim of getting his sister or daughter in marriage after a stipulated period of service. After the stipulated period, the boy is married to the girl and the expenses are born by the girl's parents. After marriage he may stay with his father-in-law or may setup a new house either in his village or there.

The widow marriage does not involve any elaborate ceremony and is consummated by putting a few grains of rice coloured with turmeric on the foreheads of the pair.

Whatever may be the type, their marriage is not a private affair. The entire village takes an active part in it. The father of the bridegroom or the bride invites the villagers to meeting where purified rice and jaggery are distributed. Four persons are selected to take up the responsibility of the affair. Two remain in charge of kitchen. They are smeared with turmeric paste to be distinguished from the rest.

In recognition of their services, they are invited to a feast at the end of marriage and are given drink and meat. They thank the host and depart.

Both male and female can divorce each other. The husband pays rupees two to the divorced wife and incase of being divorced he gets some compensation from the new husband of his wife.

The Gadabas practice both burial and cremation. The well-to-do persons cremate the dead. Whereas the rest usually go for burial. The death news was sent to the relatives by Dom. all come and mourn for the dead, who is kept in a corner of the hut. It is removed outside the hut, given a bath, anointed with castor oil and vermilion and is carried to the grave. At certain places, the corpse is carried in bamboo coffin and at other places; it is taken by six persons upon their shoulders. All follow the dead. In case of burial the head is kept towards east in the case of female and to the west in case of male. The nephew or the -brothers dose the rite and in their absence, the son is compelled to do it. Persons dying of leprosy and smallpox are sure to be buried. In case of death by the attack of tiger, the corpse will be cremated at the spot after the Disari does some worship. Death pollution is observed for 10 days at certain places and five days at other localities. On the first day after disposal of the dead, they take bath in a stream, catch fish and cook the same with rice. They give it on the way to graveyard either in pot or cup. The 2nd day is spent without any rite, where pollution is observed for ten days .in places of observing pollution for days, on the 2nd day, milk and plantain are given to the dead, and the 3rd and 4th day have no activity. On the 5th day, a feast is given, and the invitees drink in excess and take beef to their heart's content. In places of observing it for 10 days, on 3rd day the clan members touch oil and vermilion; take bath, eat beef and drink *pendum* (the *ragi* beer) after offering cooked rice, fish, wine and the dead at the graveyard. On 10th day, general feast is held, where beef and *pendum* are taken in abundance.

They observe the Gottar ceremony within two or three years after the death of their father and mother. Many buffaloes and cows are sacrificed in honour of their ancestors in this occasion. They believe that unless this is observed, their dead ancestors do not attain salvation or rebirth. This is observed on a day of Magh (January-February). As many he-buffaloes as the dead spirits one wants to free, are bought and are treated decently. The females weep and express their sorrow. They are tied to pegs in a row in a field and are butchered by axe, by the drunken Gadabas. Their lives are taken out in most cruel manner and their intestines are drag. Mr. Ram Doss has given a detailed picture of this scene.

Gottar is both an individual and a communal affair. In individual form, it is done by the brothers of the dead. Communal Gottar is done by the entire village to get them free from all sins once in twenty to thirty years.

Gadabas worship a Goddess whom they call Thakurani. They pay homage to Iswar, Bhairalu, Gangadevi, etc. They believe in ancestral spirits and clan gods. The village Goddess is represented by slabs of stones and worshipped by Disari. The place is known as 'Hundi'.

They observe a few festivals. The most important of them is Chait Parab, held in month of March-April. This is a communal festival associated with hunting. All go to the forest do not return without a prey. When they hunt it is carried to the spot. The women dance and lead the men carrying the dead animal

to the village. The animals are laid down in front of the house of headman. The animals are cut and meat is distributed. The entire festival lasts for eleven days during which both boys and girls compete with each other in singing duets. They dance in circles. This is period of love making as boys and girls visit other villages.

They observe eating of new rice in Bhadrab, Dasara in Asin, Pusa Punia in Pusa, and eating of new mango in Fagun. On Dasahara, they make offerings to the arrows and bows and sacrifice a type of fish called Magara. They eat Kakudi from this day. On Pusa Punia, the boys and girls dance, steal away vegetables and other things from the houses, and offer gruel of *ragi* powder and giggle seeds to the ancestors. They arrange feasts of beer, pork on this occasion. They offer all their new fruits to ancestors and Goddess, before they use them.

The Gadabas are fond of Dance and Music. One of the most important dances of them is known as 'Dhemsā'. This is a ritual dance and is performed during communal festivals like Pusa Punia, Chait Parab, etc. Both men and women join the dance women dress themselves in Kerang sarees. The males remain in charge of orchestra with instruments like Dhol, Tamak, Mahuri etc. Mr. Shaw has described their dance as follows:-

"The Gadaba women stand in a semi-circle first holding each other with arms at each other, waist on the back side. They put the left leg forward and the right leg backward and begin their dancing with simple stepping of one and two. Then they stop, move forward and backward, showing a skill in dancing on their heels with slow movements of their body".

"They sometimes divided themselves into two groups and dance and then join together, when again the dancers move faster and run, move backward and forward bending at the knees with stepping of eight and four. Again they disjoin and form two rows. One group forms crosses with their forms crosses with their hands and passes through the first row. The dance goes all the while. The dancers shout sometimes in the middle of the performance with synchronized voice".

The Gadabas are very fond of music. They have different songs befitting to the occasion. They sing in their own dialect. Love is the main theme of the most of the Gadaba songs. The 'Kanyageeta' or bridal songs are heart touching. Natural beauties are described in most of the songs. The marriage song is simple in meaning and style.

Their dance and music have some similarity with those of Koyas.

The Gadabas practice both shifting and wet cultivation. Those who live on plain adopt some amount of shifting cultivation in a localized area. Each family divides its holding for shifting cultivation into two parts and cultivates a part, when the other remains barren. The places are alternated once in every three years. They have also little paddy cultivation. The Gadabas of hills solely depend on the shifting cultivation.

The chief agricultural practices are paddy, *ragi*, *suani*, maize, several types of grams, etc. Their staple food is *ragi*, Rice is only a supplementary food. Since their production is insufficient they resort to food collection in the jungles. Mango kernel, edible roots, etc, support them for two months. The hill Gadabas practice hunting as a means of livelihood, whereas the plain takes it as a pastime. Fishing is also carried out.

They work as labourers in different firms and with contractors. In addition to weaving, they adopt the occupation of palanquin-bearer.

Beef, pork is taken by them. Liquor like *raga* liquor (*pendum*), Handia (rice liquor), Mahua liquor, etc. are usually taken extensively.

The Gadabas are held low in the eyes of the neighbouring communities. The observance of Gotra, taking of beef, and weaving of cloth bring them down in others' estimation. They are held superior to Doms, Ghasis, but inferior to other tribal's like Bhumia, Koya, Kondh, Gond, etc.

They are gradually improving. They are becoming literate. With the expansion of communication, they are coming in contact with the neighbours and are adopting better mode of living. It is hoped that they will be economically better off and prosper in near future.

G A D A B A *

*J.P. Rout*¹

The Gadaba are one of the more primitive and colourful tribes of Orissa. They are mostly concentrated in the southern-most part of the state, in Koraput District, where they are found in large concentration in Lamataput, Similiguda, Pottangi, Nandapur and Khairput blocks.

The total population of the tribe, which was 56,911 at the 1981 Census, went up to 67,138 by 1991, establishing a growth rate of 17.97 per cent over the decade. The sex ratio according to the 1991 Census is 972 females per 1000 males. The percentage of literacy is very low for the last two Census periods, being 6.5 per cent in 1981 and 10.36 per cent in 1991. Although some of them understand Oriya well, their own language is known as Gutob.

The name 'Gadaba' seems to have been formed of 'Gada+ba' or 'Gada+va', the final syllable meaning 'pertaining to or belonging to'. The derivation seems to be true, as all the Austric tribes, of whom the Savars are the main stock, lived during the time of Dasaratha, Rama, in the northern high lands of the Vindhya mountains (Aboriginal tribes in the Ramayana, *Man in India*, Vol. V, 1925). It is but natural that these 'Gadabas', whose original home was in the north of the Vindhya Mountains, should be called by a name connected with *gada*, indicating a brook or a stream in that part of the country. They may have migrated into the hills of Vizagapatam District when all the Munda tribes were dislocated when foreign and more powerful peoples flooded the native homes of these tribes.

The Gadaba build their houses in two rows facing each other, with a broad gap left between them. The headman's house is the biggest and generally stands in

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the middle of one of the rows. In front of the headman's house, a tree, *Ficus Indica*, banyan or mango, is planted in the centre of the space between the rows of house. Round the foot of the tree a platform is made with stones. This is the seat for the leaders of the village to hold court and decide many disputes of their community. During festive occasions too everyone gathers here to drink and dance. The unmarried young men and women are not allowed to sleep with their parents at night. All the maidens sleep in one place and all the young men in another place, far removed from that of the maidens. For this purpose two houses are set apart in each village, one for the maidens and the other for the bachelors. Each forms a household in itself managed by an elderly maiden in the case of the maiden's home, while the bachelors' house is managed by the oldest of the bachelors. They do not cook food there but live there at other times of the day. They have their beds there and it is binding on every maiden or young man to keep their respective homes neat and clean. None of the maidens is permitted to go at night to the bachelors' home, nor should a bachelor go to the maidens' home.

The economic life of the Gadaba mainly centers around agriculture. This is supplemented by the collection of forest produce, hunting and fishing. The people attach more importance to agriculture than any other economic pursuit, as it is their principal source of livelihood. Subsidiary occupations, such as collecting forest produce, hunting, fishing and wage-earning, etc., are only seasonal and are practised more as a matter of habit than anything else.

Shifting cultivation, commonly known as *dongar chasa*, was extensively practised by the Gadaba formerly, but nowadays the practice has declined considerably. The hills around Gadaba villages are devoid of thick vegetation, due to its repeated destruction by the people, and because of this many of the hillocks are now barren, with their parent rock materials being exposed. A mixed crop of *ragi*, *suani*, minor millets and *niger* (oilseed) is grown in their swiddens. In the lowermost portion of the hillocks patches of plain land are available, which are best suited for paddy cultivation irrigated by the permanent hill streams. The Gadaba grow different varieties of paddy on these lands.

The agro-climatic conditions of the area are highly suitable for horticultural plantation. Among the fruit trees jackfruit and mango are plentifully found in the forest. The Gadaba sell these fruits in large quantities in the nearby markets. The people also gather firewood from the forest for their domestic use and sale. The womenfolk collect *sal* leaves in large quantities from the forest and sell these in the market.

The Gadaba domesticate local varieties of cows, buffaloes, goats, pigs and poultry. They do not breed cattle either for sale or for selling milk. The cows and buffaloes are used for ploughing. They do not milk cows, as this reduces the animal's strength.

The Gadaba use very scanty clothes for their dress. The menfolk use a piece of cloth called a *lengti* with a flap which hangs down in front. But those who have come in contact with outsiders wear a *dhoti* and shirt. The womenfolk wear a long strip of cloth commonly known as a *kerang* tied round the waist, and a second piece of cloth is worn across the breasts and fixed at the left or sometimes right shoulder with a large knot. The children up to the age of four or five either go naked or use a piece of *lengti*. Better-off people generally use more expensive cloth than the poorer section of Gadaba.

Gadaba women are fond of wearing a number of ornaments to decorate their bodies. The ornaments are generally made of brass or aluminium. The hair is neatly combed and they use hair pins. Generally it is found that the elderly married women wear a peculiar type of earring which is made out of silver, brass or aluminium. They also wear ornaments in their noses and on the fingers. They use bangles, which are made of brass. No tattooing is worn.

The Gadaba are divided into five divisions: (1) the *Bodo* Gadaba, (2) the *Parenga* Gadaba, (3) the *Sano* Gadaba, (4) the *Ollar* Gadaba and (5) the *Kapu* Gadaba. Sometimes the *Sano* are also called *Parenga*. In social status the *Bodo* Gadaba enjoy a higher position than other divisions. The Gadaba of Lamtaput block are very primitive and belong to the *Sano* Gadaba. The family is the smallest unit in their society and is mostly nuclear. After marriage sons reside neolocally. The family is patrilineal, patrilocal and patripotestal. Gadaba society is divided into a number of phratries (*bonso*). Each *bonso* has a surname of its own. A number of *bonsos* come under one group known as the clan. These are exogamous and totemistic. Gadaba clans include *kora* (Sun), *nag* (Cobra), *bag* (Tiger), *korra* (Parrot) and *collari* (Monkey). Although the totem objects have lost their importance over time, they still worship them occasionally.

After puberty, Gadaba girls obtain knowledge about menstruation and sex from their elder sisters and co-mates. Generally girls attain puberty in their early teens. When the monthly course is missed, with associated vomiting, etc., this indicates pregnancy. During this period she abstains from eating certain food items like pulses, fish, meat, chilies and sour food. She is also prohibited from undertaking hard work during this time. There are no restrictions imposed on sexual union between the couple in the early stages of pregnancy. However, it is strictly taboo in the advanced stage. The pregnant woman is also not allowed to touch a corpse nor visit the burial ground. At the birth of a child the mother is considered impure for about fifteen days. The name-giving ceremony is observed on the tenth day when child is given a name. Usually the Gadaba name their children after the days of the week in which they were born in consultation with the *disari*, the village astrologer. The infant stays at home with other brothers and sisters and receives a lot of care. After the child is able to walk it does not depend on its parents so much and gradually picks up their food habits.

Adult marriage is in vogue among the Gadaba, although child marriage is not rare. Generally girls marry at the age of 14 or 15 years after attaining puberty and the boys at 19 or 20 years. Marriage within the clan is prohibited and is hence exogamous. The boys and girls of a single clan are regarded as brothers and sisters. Monogamy is the rule, although in the exceptional cases polygyny is practised. This happens when the first wife does not give birth to a child and proves herself barren. The other grounds for such marriage are the sexual frigidity of the first wife. The different types of marriage the Gadaba follow are: (1) arranged marriage, (2) *udhia* marriage, (3) *paisamundi* marriage, (4) *gharjwain* marriage, and (5) widow remarriage. Among all these types, arranged marriages, though expensive, are held to be ideal.

In an arranged marriage the consent of the son is taken into consideration in finalising the marriage proposal. After several visits by both the parties the proposal is finalised, a process in which the groom's side plays a major role. In all the visits the groom's party takes presents to the bride's house consisting of liquor, rice, fowl, etc. After the proposal is settled the Disariis consulted to fix a date for the marriage. Marriage takes place at the bride's house amidst lavish feasting and prolonged dancing and music. The payment of a bride price is essential and varies according to the paying capacity of the parties. The elaborate marriage ritual is performed by the Disari, who is later remunerated for his dignified performance by both parties.

Divorce is permitted in Gadaba society with the approval of the caste council. Both husband and wife can divorce each other on reasonable grounds. The husband has to pay two rupees to the divorced wife, and if he is being divorced he receives some compensation from the new husband of the divorced wife.

When a person dies, the corpse is taken to the burial ground, which is located far away from the village. Family members and relatives follow the corpse amidst loud cries. If a man dies his wife must follow the corpse to the cremation ground and in case of a woman dying the reverse is done. After the dead body is disposed of, all the mourners go to a stream, wash themselves and catch some fish. These fish and some rice are cooked in separate pots and these are left on the way leading to the cremation ground. This is repeated on the third day. On the tenth day a feast is arranged in deceased's house in which the pall-bearers and kinsmen participate. For the feast, a buffalo or an old cow is slaughtered and plenty of liquor, especially prepared from fermented *ragi* flowers, is served. This marks the end of the pollution period. But every Gadaba must perform a great ceremony called Got Tar, within three or four years after the death in honour of the dead to ensure the latter's admission to the unseen world. This occasion is the cherished goal of a Gadaba, which is very expensive and entails among other things the sacrifice of large number of buffaloes. After the corpse has been disposed of, the son or brother of the dead man picks up a stone from the place where the dead body has been disposed of and preserves it carefully for the Got Tar ceremony.

The Gadabas have their own way of managing the internal affairs of the village through their traditional political organization, which plays a vital role in strengthening village solidarity and cooperation. Every village has its own traditional *panchayat* headed by the Naik, the secular headman. He is assisted by a Challan or attendant and a bearer or Batik. The Batik belongs to the Domb caste and communicates declarations to the villagers and acts as a messenger for the individual families. The function of the Challan is to assist the Naik in holding village meetings, and in entertaining guests, outsiders, government officials who visit the village from time to time. The village council holds its meetings regularly and decides intra-village disputes and such other matters as breaches of social laws, etc. The village meetings are held at a central place called *sadar*, which is located in the middle of the village under a big tree. The posts of Naik and Challan are hereditary and the rule of primogeniture regulates succession. But the Batik is selected from time to time by the village elders. The village priest or Disari officiates at all worship in the village and acts as a medicine man-cum-astrologer.

The Gadabas believe in many gods and goddesses, the chief of them being Thakurani. There are also clan gods who are worshipped on different occasions. They also believe in ghosts and spirits. Thakurani is represented by slabs of stone, which are worshipped by the Disari. The place of worship is known as Hundi. The important festivals of the Gadaba are Bandapana Parab, Dasara Parab, Push Parab and Chait Parab, which are celebrated in Oriya months of Shrabana, Aswina, Pausa and Chaitra. The Gadaba celebrate these festivals with the utmost care, sincerity, devotion and fear. None of these festivals are very expensive and only require a fowl, coconut, turmeric powder, rice, flowers and leaf cups. They are celebrated with great joy and happiness amidst drinking and dancing for days together.

The Gadaba are fond of dance and music. Among all the tribes they are very famous for their Dhemsa dance, which is performed by women wearing their famous *kerang* saris. The men folk play the musical instruments while women dance in semi-circles with steps three and four which gradually change to eight. The body is often bent forward showing skilful movements with the heels. Their musical instruments consist of large drums, *theta/mudibaja*, *mada*/, flutes, *tamak* and *mahuri*. They are also very fond of music: they compose their own songs befitting different occasions and sing these songs while dancing.

GADABA*

*A. B. Ota*¹

*T. Sahoo*²

SOCIO CULTURAL IDENTITY

Culture of the Gadaba, one of the prominent tribal communities of Orissa, presents some spectacular characteristic features. The name, Gadaba has been derived from the word 'Gada', name of a brook in the Godavari valley. The tribe has Proto-Australoid origin. The Gadaba speak Mundari language, called Gutob, belonging to Austro-Asiatic language family.

As per 2001 Census the total population of Gadaba in Orissa is 72,982 accounting 0.90 percent of the total tribal population of the State. Their sex ratio comes to 1011 females per 1000 males. Their literacy rate is 21.23 percent i.e., 33.02 percent for males and 9.64 per cent for females. Their population has registered a growth rate of 8.70 per cent during the decade (1991-2001).

Gadaba socio-cultural identity is unique and distinct with their dome shaped circular house (Chhendi Dien), women's costume, like Keranga, colorful stripped cloth, big sized rounded silver necklace, copper earrings with long circumference and colorful Dhemsas dance.

The Gadaba use very scanty clothes. Men use a piece of cloth, called *lengti* with a flap, which hangs down in front. It passes between the buttocks and fixed at the back at waist.

Womens' costumes show a distinctive feature of the tribe. They wear two pieces of cloths, each measuring about 5 ft by 1½ ft. One Keranga, a long strip of

* Published in the Photo Handbook on GADABA, SCSTRTI, Bhubaneswar, 2009

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coloured cloth, tied round the waist and it hangs down to the knees and a second piece of cloth is worn under the right arm, across the breasts and the two upper corners are fixed in a knot on the left shoulder.

The Gadaba girls/women decorate their bodies with ornaments. Women wear peculiar type of earrings, which are made out of silver or brass or aluminium. Some Gadaba wear prominent earrings made of long pieces of brass wire welded into a circle which hangs down from a hole in the ear that reaches the shoulder. Besides, they use ornaments, like rings (*mudi*) in their nose and finger and bead necklace, bangles made of brass. The hair is neatly combed and fixed at the back by hairpins.

HABITAT

The Gadaba habitat with variegated topography stretches beyond the mountains in southern district of Koraput, Orissa and it extends to the adjoining districts of Visakhapatnam(AP) and Bastar(CG).

At about 3000' above the sea level, the Gadaba habitat lies at the central belt of Koraput district and Khairput block of Malkangiri district touches the Eastern Ghats in south Orissa. The beauty of the habitat is observed through its natural forest, amazing landscapes as well as the swidden fields. Picturesque waterfalls and perennial streams are the natural gifts to the habitat of the Gadaba.

SETTLEMENT

A traditional Gadaba village builds well defined compounds marked by surrounding stone walls that separate the dwellings of its four main social groups.

At the centre of the village, stands the Sadar, the community meeting place, utilized to settle the dispute in customary mode and manage the village affairs. Close to the Sadar, one finds the dancing arena, the shrine of the Hundi and the village deity.

HOUSING

The Gadaba build their houses in two rows, between which there is a wide village street. There are three types of Gadaba houses, like Mahad Dien, Dandual Dien and Chhendi Dien. The house layout follows no definite pattern. Of the three types of houses, the Mahad Dien and Dandual Dien are rectangular in ground plan and Chendi Dein is a circular shaped house with a conical roof. Except the latter, the other two types of houses have verandah in front.

The houses are made of stone and mud walls and roofs are thatched with a type of wild grass, locally known as *piri*. Every house has a loft, made of sal poles and planks. The main and central pole, which supports the roof is auspicious one and ritually installed first before construction of the house. The bigger room is

provided with a hearth, a grain grinder, called *jaata* fixed to the ground and hole used for husking grains. A small portion of the house is set apart for the kitchen. Grains, utensils and agricultural implements are stored in it.

The village chief's house is the biggest one and centrally located in one of the rows of the street.

FOOD

Mandia *pej*, usually taken in day time, is staple food of the Gadaba. They eat boiled rice with pulses and mango and tamarind chutney in the evening. They also consume roots, soft bamboo shoots and jackfruit as vegetables. Meat, fish and chicken are consumed on the festive occasions.

Food is prepared ritually by the Sisa, the principal menu consists of rice and buffalo meat curry.

Women and children together take food in a joyous mood in the community feast arranged on the eve of Gotar Parab.

DRINKS & SMOKE

Gadaba men drink heavily and both the sexes drink in festive occasions. Landa (rice-beer) is their popular drink. They know the art of distilling *mahua* and *gur* spirit and drink them. In almost all the rituals the Gadaba women prepare traditional beverages, *pendum*, out of rice and millets and both the sexes consume and enjoy it. Gadaba men climb up the *salap* tree and collect its juice, which is also their favorite drink.

The Gadaba prepare the country cheroot out of powder of dried tobacco leaf rolled in dry *sal* leaf and *dhuanpatra*. Both men and women smoke and relax.

LIVELIHOOD

The Gadabas pursue agro-forest based activities. It is supplemented by pastoral and fishing activities. Also they do wage earning. They practice swidden cultivation and produce pulses and minor millets from the highland.

Rice cultivation in low land is the mainstay of the Gadaba. Swidden cultivation is shrinking. Under the settled cultivation land terracing and rain and spring water management are done by the Gadaba progressive farmers. The produce, like paddy, pulses from the field is mainly carried by shoulder with help of pole and slings and baskets.

Besides, in rainy season pumpkins are grown in the backyard. Jackfruit and mango trees in villages produce green effect. Vegetables and fruits are also grown during summer and these are partly consumed and partly sold.

The forests, close to villages, are the hospitable host for pastoral activities. Goats and cattle are usually reared. Minor forest produce, like roots, tubers, mushrooms and green leaves are collected from the forests for household consumption and sale. Before sale or consumption, they semi-process some of these items. Hill-broom making generates additional income to them. Depletion of forest resource pushes them to adopt fuel wood cutting and selling and that causes further wanton of forest.

Hunting is a sport of the Gadaba. The hunting expedition continues for a month amidst celebration of the Chait Parab. The useless hunters are subjected to humiliation from the women folk. So the hunters try their best to catch the games. The rivers and streams, adjoining to villages make them possible to catch fish for food, and also fishing is a death ritual compulsion.

Barter and money goes side by side. The barter system, direct exchange of goods against goods, is in vogue in villages. But there is circulation of money in the weekly market as the medium of exchange.

SOCIAL LIFE

The Gadaba has social divisions, like Bodo or Gutab Gadaba, Sano or Parenga Gadaba, Ollar Gadaba, Jurumu Gadaba, Kapu Gadaba and Kalanji Gadaba. Each section is different from the other on some customs and manners. Socially the Bodo Gadabas enjoy the highest position and the Kalanji Gadaba, the lowest. Enliven social institutions, like clan, family, and rites of passages form the social life of the Gadaba. Their society comprises different exogamous and totemistic clans, namely Khora (Sun), Nag/Hontal (Cobra), Bag/Khilllo (Tiger), Ilij/Bhalu (Bear), Gid (Vulture), Kira (Parrot), etc. They prefer nuclear family. The family is patrilineal, patrilocal and patripotestal. The Gadaba social life is full of life-cycle rituals-birth, puberty, marriage, death.

Disari, the priest, examines the 'Panji' and predicts the child delivery time. After delivery, the mother is secluded for 7 days and then the Disari, performs a *pūja* by offering goat to the god and ritually identifies the rebirth of the ancestor. From carrying to caring, the expectant/nursing mothers in particular observe food restrictions, taboos and rituals for ensuring safe motherhood and child hood.

After puberty, the Gadaba girls marry. Before marriage, they go to shrine along with the Sisa, the priest. They pray for blessings of Thakurani, the village deity for the future safety, security and smooth life.

MARRIAGE

The Gadaba follow the rule of endogamy i.e., marriage within the tribe and clan exogamy, i.e., marriage outside the sept/clan. The ways of acquiring mate, institutionalized through marriage, are of different types, such as (1) arranged marriage, (2) marriage by ceremonial capture, (3) love marriage. (4)

Gharjamai marriage and (5) marriage by service. The most prestigious and common form of marriage is through negotiation. The bride-price is paid in shape of cash and kind including animals, wines, food grains etc. The Disari officiates in the marriage ceremony. Polygyny, remarriage of widow/widower and divorce is permitted by the village council.

At times, a person in trouble marries the spirit / ghost at the outskirts of the village, which is called *bat vivha* and conducted by Sisa-the traditional priest.

Payment of bride price in cash and kind in marriage and remarriage of widows explain the status of women in the society. The groom presents cash or kinds to the bride's family. The ritual is observed amidst dance and feast.

DEATH RITUAL / MORTUARY RITES

The Gadaba mourn and treat the corpse with oil and turmeric pastes, give a ritual bath, dress it in new cloth and prepare for the funeral. They bury the corpse in case of unnatural/ premature death or cremate it in natural death. As aftermath of death they observe three rituals, like Machapani, Dasa and Gotar. The ritual of Machapani Kasapita is observed after 3 days of the death. On this ritual the Sorubhai catches small fishes from the nearby stream and cook them with rice and carry the food and personal belongings of the deceased to the cremation ground and offer there to appease and make the spirit free from lands and loans. A *kasa*, mixture of *jamun* and mango cuticles is sprinkled over the roof to ward off evils. To end the pollution period Dasa is performed on the first Wednesdays / Friday after 10th day of the death by offering food and sacrifice of chicken. The Sisa cooks food at the portico of the bereaved family and offers it to the deceased's spirit to make clan members ritually clean. On this day, a feast is arranged in deceased's house in which the pal-bearers and kinsmen participate. In case of unnatural death, the ritual ends with Machapani Kasapita.

Gotar is the final death ritual of the Gadaba that helps move the Duma, spirit of the ancestor, to the realm of salvation. It is the cherished goal of a Gadaba to observe Gotar with the sacrifice of large number of buffaloes. The Gotar is observed in the month of January-February to purify the souls of the Dumas of the families belonging to a clan collectively for the death for all persons over a period of 10-15 years. It is held at Gotar Manda/Poda Manda, a fixed place for the ritual. It continues for three days. In the 2nd day stones are added to the Sadar Manda. For each Duma a minimum of one buffalo corresponding to the age, sex, colour and vigour of the deceased is offered in the ceremony. The buffalo is tied at the Manda and a stroke is given at its stomach by an axe. Then the crowd, excluding the deceased's family members, rushes and tears away the spilling liver and intestines of the buffalo. The Disari officiates in the ritual. A memorial grand feast is hosted to all the participants. Rice, dal and meat with *pendum* is served amidst singing and dancing. The family members of Gadaba celebrating Gotar feel proud like the King of Jeypore feels for the splendour of celebrating Dashera.

RELIGIOUS LIFE

The spiritual world of the Gadaba encompasses natural as well as supernatural objects. At household level it begins with the Daran Delli, the deity enshrined at a sacred pillar near the hearth inside the inner room. It is ritually installed at the time of laying foundation of the house to protect the family from all evils and grant prosperity, happiness and good life.

They worship many Gods and Goddesses. The chief of them is called Thakurani (Jhankar). She is enshrined at the outskirts of the village to protect the entire village and the villagers against intrusion of evil spirits. The Goddess, Thakurani is represented by slabs of stone and is worshipped by the Disari. The place of worship is known as the Hundi.

Beyond the village territory reside the spirits of nature, forests, hills, streams, rains, including the god of animals, especially the Bagha Duma (tiger spirit). Besides, they worship clan Gods on different occasions. They also believe in benevolent, malevolent and ambivalent ghosts and spirits. To them, the Duma, evil spirit, causes diseases and calamities. So they have belief in magic and witchcraft and take the help of Disari/Sisa for magical treatment to cure from illness.

AESTHETIC EFFLORESCENCE

Gadabas are fond of dance and music. Their famous Dhemsha dance is performed by women wearing their Kerang clothes. The male folk play musical instruments while women dance in semicircles with steps three and four which gradually change to eight. The body is often bent forward showing skillful moves on the heels. Their musical instruments consist of big drums, *tamudibaja*, *madal*, flutes, *tamak* and *mahuri*. They are also very fond of music. They compose their own folk-songs specific to occasions and sing these songs while dancing.

The art of spinning threads, dyeing them and weaving textiles by the traditional loom is a reflection of the aesthetic life of the Gadaba. Their colourful cotton cloth used by the females is woven at home by women. These cloths are made with a fiber of a plant, locally known as *keranga*, which is found in the local forest. Gadaba men collect the *keranga* fiber from the forest. Then *keranga* fiber is dried and dyed blue and reddish-brown. The threads are made of the coloured fibre and they are so woven that broad stripes of red, blue and white come alternately to make the cloth. The border of the cloth is white. The women's garment looks nice and attractive.

FAIRS AND FESTIVALS

The Gadabas observe annual festivals, like Chait Parab, Asadhi/Gandisa Parab, Bandapana / Jamnua Parab, Dashera, Dewali and Pushya Parab. The Chait, Bandapana Parab and Pushya Parab are communal festivals. Their main festival is

Chait Parab. It continues for a month through celebrations and hunting. On this occasion, the unsuccessful hunters face humiliation from the women folk.

The Banadapana Parab is observed for a week in which fowls are sacrificed before the deity for bumper crop. The Pushya Parab is a post-harvest cultural event in which they sacrifice hen, goats on the footpath and give food to the pet animals. The Gadaba celebrate these festivals with the most care, sincerity and devotion.

All these festivals are not very expensive, requiring only fowl, coconut, turmeric powder, rice, flowers and leaf cups and these are celebrated with great joy and happiness and enjoyment of communal feasts amidst drinking and dance for days together.

All the spirits and deities are worshipped on important festivals of the Gadaba, like Bandapana Parab, Dasahara Parab, Pushya Parab and Chait Parab.

TRADITIONAL VILLAGE COUNCIL

Sadar, the sacred open air village platform, is centrally built around a big tree by the side of the main road of the village, preferably in front of the headman's house. Round the foot of the tree the platform is made with stones. The stone platform is roughly circular and made of horizontal slabs with vertical ones interspersed with them. This is the seat for the leaders of the village to hold court to settle disputes in as per customary law. During festive occasions also the Gadaba gather here to enjoy the drink and dance. All important decisions on the social, political and religious issues of the Gadaba that govern their life style are taken up here. This institution operates from here and ensures implementation of all the decisions as well.

Gadabas have their own way of managing internal affairs of the village through their traditional political organization, which plays a vital role in strengthening village solidarity and cooperation. Every village has its own traditional Panchayat headed by Naik, the secular headman. He is assisted by a Challan, the attendant and a messenger, called Barik. The Barik belongs to Domb caste who communicates all matters meant for the villagers and acts as a messenger to the individual families. The function of the Challan is to assist the Naik in holding the village meetings, besides entertaining guests, outsiders, government officials who visit the village.

The village council holds its meeting in regular intervals and decides intra-village disputes and such other matters as breach of social laws, etc. The village meeting is held at a central place called Sadar. The posts of Naik and Challan are hereditary and the rule of primogeniture regulates succession. But the Barik is selected from time to time by the village elders. The village priest Disari, officiates

in all worships in the village. Besides, he also acts as a medicine-man-cum-astrologer. And all of them are the respected members of the village council.

After the introduction of PESA Act there is co-existence of both the systems, the Sadar and PRI in the Gadaba villages. It may be stated here concisely that consequent upon the introduction of the Panchayati Raj Institutions, the traditional system is declining and elected peoples' representatives have assumed their roles with 30 per cent reservation for women. However, both the systems co-exist in cooperation rather than contradiction.

PERSISTENCE AND CHANGE

Intervention of tribal development programmes is a boon for the Gadaba. The housing colony, constructed and developed, following the traditional pattern, successfully provides shelter and safe drinking water to the houseless Gadaba people. Large scale horticulture development programmes including development of mango and other fruit bearing tree plantations in degraded forests and vegetable demonstration at the foothills through ITDA interventions has brought forth change and development in agro-horticultural activities of the Gadaba and show them a new avenue of generating income and employment.

Skill up- gradation and value addition to MFPs through the group mode efforts of Missan Shakti movement helps promote women SHGs resulting in the empowerment and self-reliance of women folk. In spite of, planned development intervention and impact of modernization the Gadaba still preserve their rich cultural heritage.

Establishment of Residential Ashram Schools and opening of girl's hostels have played a commending role in bringing educational advancement among the Gadaba. Free education to girls and boys are imparted in these schools.

Setting up of Ekalavya Model School in the area has widened the scope of higher education for the Gadaba students. The extension of vocational education at these schools would help ensure the avenue of self-employment and income generation among the students after schooling.

TOTEMIC GROUP, TITLE GROUP & OTHER SOCIAL GROUP AMONG THE GADABA*

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1.1 PREPONDERANCE OF TOTEMIC GROUP

The Lamtaput area under survey, keeping Lamtaput as the nucleus reveals that there are as many as 9 (nine) totemic groups found distributed in the Gadaba village. These totemic groups are as follows –

1. Tiger (Killo/ Khila/Killa)
2. Snake (Hantal/Ontal)
3. Sun (Khara/Kara)
4. Fish(Macha/Mach)
5. Monkey (Gollarie)
6. Kite/Vulture (Pangi)
7. Bear (Balu)
8. Cow (Sukri)
9. Cat (Girem)

Among these totemic groups, the most preponderant are, ‘the Tiger’, the ‘Snake and the ‘Sun’ groups, which are almost sizably distributed around Lamtaput within a radius of 20 Kms forming a sub-complex: the tiger groups distributed in as 11 village and the other totemic groups, such as, the Fish, Monkey, Kite/Vulture, Bear, Cow and Cat are found distributed within the sub-complex limited to a few village only.

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From the numerical preponderance and concentration of the three totemic groups, such as, the tiger, snake and the sun groups are relatively the primary settler groups whereas the other totemic groups are the secondary settlers, the centres of their respective original settlement being somewhere beyond Lamtaput.

TABLE:1
Distribution of totemic household of 8 villages

Sl. No	Village Name	Total groups and their respective households						
		Tiger	Snake	Sun	Fish	Cow	Monkey	Bear
1.	Pipalput	41	16	06	..	..	..	..
2.	Tukum	85	01	..		..	..	..
3.	Kangrapada	05	95	..	06	..	..	..
4.	Changudipaga	..	24	..	..	..	..	04
5.	Dudipadar	..	10	05	..	..	..	..
6.	Sankai	..	..	62	..	..	..	..
7.	Lugum	01	..	10	..	80	01	..
8.	Sailapada	40	20	10	..	..	..	..

Analysis: From the above table it is evident that Pipalput, Takum and Sailapada are mostly Tiger-totemic group dominated villages; Kangrapada, Changudipada and Dudipadar are the Snake-totemic group dominated villages; Sankai is the only Sun-totemic group dominated village and Lugum is the only Cow-totemic group dominated village.

Explication:

- (a) Tiger- Tukum, Pipalput, Sailapada
- (b) Snake- Kangrapada, Dudipadar, Changudipadar
- (c) Sun- Sankai
- (d) Cow-Lugum

As we know the totemic group classification is one of the fundamental factors in social structure. Each such group is identified by hereditary emblem which transmits itself through the male line to the succeeding generation. The emblem is symbolically represented through animated or inanimate objects.

The observance of the totemic group symbol among Gadabas is manifested in the following manner. Firstly, the animal symbolism is honoured through its worship. It is a grave social sin to kill an animal of the symbol. Such a killing is expiated by 'Biru Puja'. This means the sinner has to perform ritual by offering hen, rice, turmeric, egg, fruit, etc. The second type of symbolic representation is through inanimate object. A predominant such groups is 'Sun' totem group. But the sun is the Sun god who is propitiated.

1.2.ORIGIN MYTH:

The origin history of Gadaba totemic groups dates back to unknown past. As the myth goes twenty-six(26) original inhabitants of Godavari Coast migrated towards 'Kiskindhya' about 6,000 year ago. While coming across the dense forest on the way they decided to sub-group themselves. Then two groups were formed symbolised by 'Tiger' and 'Snake' totemic. These two groups cooked sacred rice (Charubhata) separately and went for hunting. On return; one person was missing. 12 person of snake group and 13 person of tiger group partook the sacredrice separately. Then that missing person came subsequently but since he did not partake the sacred rice along with the rest of the group, he became isolated and was identified as a separate group called 'Ollaro'. Each member of the individual group united with other members of the same group by partaking the sacred rice is called 'Charubhai'. Then other totemic groups were formed. It is said, coming in contact with other neighbouring groups the other totemic groups have come up.

This myth suggested that originally the Gadaba belonged to one stock and later they got divided into equal halves, but under the exigency the third group could be formed which was attributed a relatively unequal status and eventually rest other groups branched off.

1.3. MARRIAGE:

The totemic groups are exogamous, which means, the marriage is prohibited within the same totemic group. The person cannot marry the members of his own totemic group.

TABLE:2

Case of Inter-totemic group marriage in Five Gadaba village

Village Name	Ti Sn	Ti Su	Ti Fi	Ti Mo	Sn Su	Sn Ki	Sn Fi	Sn Mo	Sn Be	Sn Co	Su Ki	Su Fi	Ti Be
Pipalput	46	17	..	04	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Tukum	54	..	16	04	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Kangrapada	80	..	02	..	16	02	16	02	..	..	..	..	..
Changudipada	19	..	..	..	..	04	..	03	05	02	..	..	04
Sankai	..	24	..	..	16	..	..	..	..	..	16	05	..
Total	199	41	18	08	32	06	16	05	05	02	16	05	04

Note: Ti=Tiger, Sn=Snake, S=Sun, Fi=Fish, Mo=Monday, Ki=Kite, Be=Bear, Co=Cow

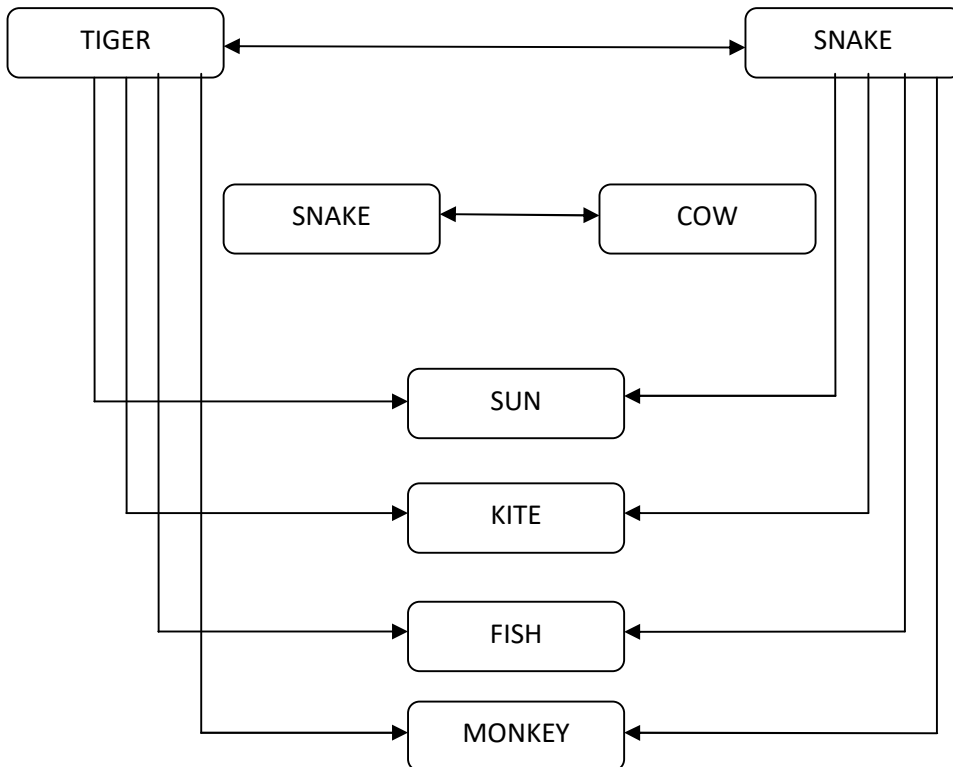
An analysis of the available data indicates that the tiger totemic group establishes its marriage relationship mostly with snake totemic group and vice-versa. Perhaps these two totemic groups consider themselves as the most original and earliest among all Gadaba Group. Although there are exceptions and deviation, the inter-marriage between members of tiger and snake totemic group is most common.

Though it cannot be conclusively established at this stage because of non-availability of further information from other village) no inter-marriage village seems to be found among the following groups.

Tiger : marrying Kite, Cow and Cat
 Snake : marrying Cat
 Sun : marrying Monkey, Bear and Cat

1.4. ELEMENTARY STRUCTURAL OPPOSITION BETWEEN TOTEMIC GROUPS:

From the survey of 5 Gadaba villages the frequent inter marrying totemic groups are posited below in structural opposition to one another and respective totemic groups have been classified according to the principle of their dwelling as follows:



BEAR	TIGER	SNAKE	COW
Land dwelling Four footer animal Ferocious Non-vegetarian in diet Walks and jumps	Land dwelling Bigger in size Ferocious Walks & Jumps Non-vegetarian in diet	Sub-Terrainian Smaller in size Venomous Crawls Non-vegetarian in diet	Land dwelling Bigger in size Mild Walks and Jumps Non-vegetarian in diet

MONKEY	SUN	KITE	FISH
Tree dwelling Walks and jumps Imitative Non-vegetarian in diet	Sky Celestial Universal Fierce rays	Sky Bipedal Smaller in size Both vegetarian & Non-vegetarian in diet	Aquatic Smaller in size

1.5. LEADERSHIP AND DOMINANCE:

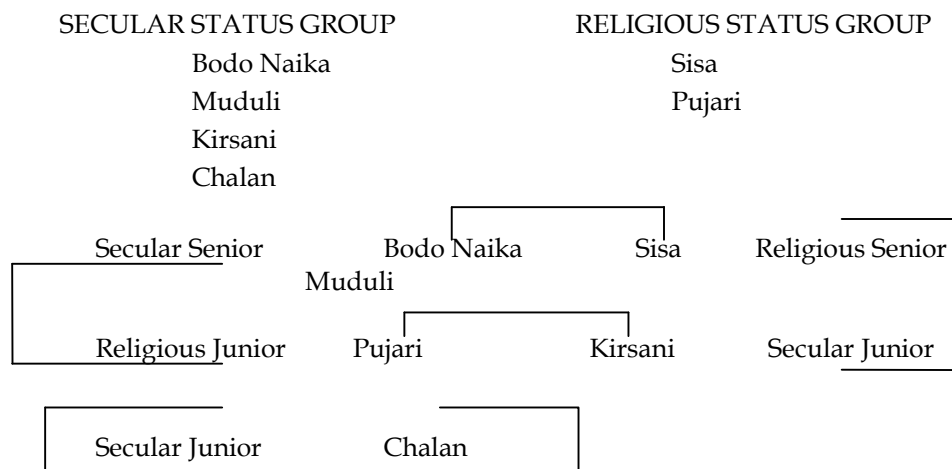
The socio-political leadership normally is held by the members of the numerically dominated totemic group who are supposed to have been the first settler, and therefore dominant. Inter-village disputes are settled within the village with the authority of the village Headman, Naik, other, whereas inter-village disputes sometimes resolved at an inter-village group level.

2.1. GROUPS:

The title groups of the Gadaba Society have social, economic and political connotation. Each title group has some status position. Gadaba formed their title groups according to their function during the reign of the king of Jeypore. The following few title groups will explain their relative status position.

BADO NAIKA	Functions as the political head of the village, hence the descendants are known under the Bado Naik status group.
KIRSANI	Assistant of Bado Naik and function as political head in Bado Naika's absence and hence the descendants of Kirsani are known as Kirsani.
SISA	Sisa is the village priest. The descendants of the village priest from the Sisa status group.
PUJARI	Assistant Sisa and prepares and cooks food on religious occasion and the descendant are known to be having Sisa social status.
MUDULI	Looks after revenue matters and the group possesses that social status.
CHALAN	Acts as the messenger and the descendant have this social status.

2.2. DUAL DISTINCTION IN HIERARCHY:



In the social status hierarchy Bodo-Naika is given an elevated as compared to the rest of the title groups (horizontally). This elevated status emanated from the grace of the rulers of Jeypore. But on account of new emerging social factors and also on account of different social outlook a few instances are also noticed where the BodoNaika does not enjoy such a superior social status. For example in the village Sankai there are three title groups found namely Bodo Naika, Muduli and Kirsani. Muduli title group has numerical strength of having 38 house-holds and Bodo Naika and Kirsani title group have 22 and 2 households respectively is occupied by the Muduli title group.

The members of one title group of the village are genealogically related. They act as a corporate group. The members form a unitary group and come together to carry out some collective action during birth, marriage or death rites, economic activities and also at times for self-defence.

3. CHORUBHAI RELATIONSHIP:

On the basis of inter linking one group (totemic group and/ title group) with another group and one village with another, especially in respect of their mutual Chorubhai relationship at the empirical level, clearly presented in the schematic form, it is generally observed that :—

- Chorubhai relationship is always confined to the same totemic group and it is within the members of the same totemic group only. In other words it is an intra-totemic group relationship.

- (b) Secondly, the Chorubhai relationship is always between two different title groups of the same totemic group. That is, it is always found at inter-title-group level.

In the cases only (out of a total collection of 27 cases of Chorubhai relationship in 29 villages), a title group of one village has Chorubhai relationship with similar title group of another village (Bodo Naika title group of Tikarpada stand in Chorubhai relationship with the same group of Panjal, similarly Bodo Naika group of Sankai has Chorubhai relationship with the same title group of Chaupada). This could not be consider as an exception rather it might be taken as a part of the regular occurrence, and further information can highlighted it better.

- (c) In almost all the cases, one title group of one village used to have Chorubhai relationship with another title of another village. Only in one case this relationship is exhibited between title groups of the same village. That is, in village Tikarapada, the Bodo Naika group has Chorubhai relationship with Muduli and Kirsani, and in turn Muduli and Kirsani are related through Chorubhai relationship.

- (d) Thus the pattern of Chorubhai relationship can be depicted as follows:

=> It is a relationship always within the same totemic group.

=> It is a relationship between two title groups of the same totemic group.

=>It is an inter-group relationship always outside the village.

Chorubhai is the most vital link in the social cohesion of Gadaba Society. It denotes the life-long association of a Gadaba Society from birth to death. The socio-religious function of a Gadaba Society cannot be performed without the presence of Chorubhai.

The presence of Chorubhai is necessary in all rituals. The Chorubhai cooks 'Chorubhata' (sacred rice). When Gadabas are polluted due to birth of a child or death of person, they partake the sacred rice and become purified. There are occasions when a member of a Chorubhai group is excommunicated by the rest of the group. When a person of the Gadaba Society marries outside his own tribe or caste then he is excommunicated. But the social rules and customs provide for re-entry of the excommunicated member through a special ceremony. In this ceremony the Chorubhai sprinkles holy water on the excommunicated member. The holy water is prepared by putting a golden ornament in the water which is the symbol of purification. The presence of Chorubhai is very important in Gotar ceremony. On the Gotar day the main buffalo is sacrificed and the Chorubhai is given the front half and Panjiabhai is given the back half which reveals that the status of Chorubhai is higher than the Panjiabhai. The relationship of Chorubhai remains constant and continues

from generation to generation. No marital link can be established with Chorubhai.

4. PANJIABHAI RELATIONSHIP:

On the basis of inter-linking one totemic group or title group with another and one village with another, especially in respect of their mutual Panjiabhai relationship at the empirical level, clearly presented in the schematic form, it is generally observed that :

- (a) Panjiabhai relationship is established in intra as well as inter-totemic group level. Out of 27 cases collected in 29 villages it is found that in 17 cases a totemic group has Panjiabhai relationship with similar totemic group of another village and only 10 cases a totemic group has established its Panjiabhai relationship with dis-similar totemic, groups of other villages.
- (b) Secondly, the Panjiabhai relationship is found both in similar and dis-similar title group level within the same totemic group. Out of 17 cases it is found that there are only 3 cases of similar title groups and 14 cases of dis-similar title group.
- (c) Thirdly, in inter-totemic group level the Panjiabhai relationship is always between two different title groups of different totemic group. In this case Panjiabhai relationship exists both in inter-title group as well as inter-totemic groups level. Only in one case a title group of one totemic group of one village has Panjiabhai relationship with similar title group of another totemic group of another village (Muduli title group of kite totemic group of Kantigarh has Panjiabhai relationship with Muduli title group of sun totemic group of Anjar).
- (d) In all or most of the cases, one title group of one village is sued to have Panjiabhai relationship with similar or dissimilar title group of another village. Thus the Panjiabhai relationship is always found in inter-village level.
- (e) Thus the pattern of Panjiabhai relationship can be depicted as follows : ‘
 - It is a relationship within the same or different totemic group.
 - Within the same totemic group or intra-totemic level it has relationship with the same or different title groups.
 - In inter-totemic group level it has relationship with different title group.
 - It is an inter-group relationship always outside the village.

PANJIABHAI RELATIONSHIP
Similar Totemic Group

Sl. No.	Totemic Group	Same Title	Different Title
1.	Tiger-Tiger (7)	Muduli-Muduli	Chalan-Bodo Naika Bodo Naika-Majhi Bodo Naika-Kirsani Bodo Naika-Pujari Kirsani-Muduli Bodo Naika-Kirsani
2.	Snake-Snake (6)	....	Kirsani-Bodo Naika Bodo Naika-Sisa Muduli-Kirsani Chalan-Bodo Naika Muduli-Chalan Kirsani-Sisa
3.	Sun-Sun (1)	Kirsani-Kirsani	...
4.	Fish-Fish (2)	Chalan-Chalan	Chalan-Kadamia
5.	Kite-Kite	....	Muduli- Kirsani

Dissimilar Totemic Group

Sl. No.	Totemic Group	Same Title	Different Title
1.	Tiger-Snake-4	....	Majhi-Chalan Muduli-Naika Killo-Pamia Muduli-Changudia
2.	Snake-Sun-3	....	Sisa-Muduli, Kirsani- Bodo Naika Muduli-Sisa Sisa-Muduli
3.	Tiger-Fish-1	....	Majhi-Mundagadhia
4.	Fish-Snake-1	....	Chalan-Koiria
5.	Kite-Kite-1	Muduli-Muduli	....

Like Chorubhai, Panjiabhai is also the most important relationship. Inter-totemic group and inter-village interaction is achieved through Panjiabhai relationship.

Panjiabhai's presence is important in all rituals of the Gadaba. But in Gotar festival the Panjiabhai play specific roles in the Gotar ceremony. After the buffaloes are sacrificed the Panjiabhai is given the highest number of buffaloes. Panjiabhai plays an important role in maintaining peace and observations of rules and regulations. In Gotar ceremony Chorubhai and Panjiabhai are the primary members to get in share of main buffalo. Panjiabhai bring four stone slabs of which two for vertical erection and two for horizontal erection. They erect two stone slabs at Pada Gotar Muda and two at 'Sadar' in honour of the dead.

On the second day of marriage the newly acquired bride assists Chorubhai in preparing Chorubhata (Sacred rice). Then food is served to all the relations. Afterwards Panjiabhai plays an important role by asking some doubtful questions regarding the bride and her family. The members try to give adequate answers. It is a tradition that unless the questions are solved nobody takes the food. When Panjiabhai stops asking questions then only all the members take their food.

The relationship Panjiabhai may break. If one group makes their Gotar and give buffaloes to their Panjiabhai and if Panjiabhai never do Gotar and do not give buffaloes then the Panjiabhai relationship is broken.

5. MAHAPRASAD RELATIONSHIP:

A Mahaprasad relationship is very vital and significant although it is not found having equal intensity of social bond with Chorubhai and Panjiabhai. This Mahaprasad relationship is as inviolate as it is with Chorubhai.

It is a relationship between two totemic groups of the different villages. The relationship continues generation after generation. People established Mahaprasad relationship by performing a ritual in which they wear new cloth, exchange coconut, clothes, hen, goat, pig, Pendum etc. and sit together and eat together.

After that ritual never they take the name of those people of that village who become their 'Mahaprasad Maitar'. They call each other as 'Maitar'.

Mahaprasad relationship is lost in antiquity and its origin is untraceable. A possible surmise may be drawn that when two warring groups of different totemic symbols of two villages reached an accord, they celebrated it by 'Mahaprasad' So as to make it endurable and inviolate.

Basing on 22 villages it is found that normally the tiger totemic groups have its Mahaprasad relationship with snake totemic group and vice-versa. Mahaprasad relationships of 22 villages are given below:

Tiger Snake	Tiger Sun	Snake Sun	Tiger Fish	Snake Fish	Snake Cat	Snake Kite	Total
8	5	5	1	1	1	1	22

- => Mahaprasad relationship is always between two different totemic groups.
- => This relationship is established always outside the village.

Mahaprasad relationship is most important link in the social aspect of Gadaba life. Their presence is very important in marriage, death and Gotar festival. When a person meets a member of his Mahaprasad village in any place he gives respect to him. The relationship is more formal. After celebration of the Gotar ceremony, the totemic group performing Gotar would be invited by the Mahaprasad village after two or three months.

6. CONCLUDING REMARKS:

From the study it is evident that the Gadaba social organisation is very complex to be comprehended within a short duration of field work limited to Lamtaput area only. Notwithstanding this and other limitations pertaining to a broad level of conceptualisation, as you might have assessed, the presentation here in the paper is in the line of structural (Lev-s Strauss) understanding of the facts of Gadaba Society specially with reference to their social organisation.

Very precisely, we have taken into consideration the most important structural groups like the totemic groups, the title groups, the Chorubhai, Panjabhai and Mahaprasad groups.

Summarily it can be stated that the totemic groups could be considered as the exogamic clan groups but from the limited analysis it seems, as it indicates that very could be interpreted either as phratries forming three divisions at the elementary level in opposition to one another and other groups being variant of one or the other.

The title groups need not necessarily be interpreted as lineage groups but rather status groups relatively vertical divisions of the horizontally understood phratry/clan groups.

Chorubhai relationship strictly is established within the same totemic group whereas Mahaprasad relationship is strictly established outside one's own totemic group. Therefore, it could be assumed that the Chorubhai and Mahaprasad form the two-extreme form of groups whereas Panjabhai relationship may be either found within the same totemic group or outside the totemic group. So far as these three types of relationship are concerned understanding each one of them in relationship to the other at an analytical plane requires further rigorous study. But one thing is very certain that by understanding these three types of relationship one can have clear understanding of their social organisation with respect to the totemic group and status group composition.

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SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF THE BODO GADABA OF KORAPUT DISTRICT*

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Demographic study reflects the variation in size and composition of a population. Demography is mainly a Social Science because it deals with the whole population of a Society rather than individuals (Houser 59, Bougue 69). In the present paper an attempt has been made to show the demographic features of the Gadaba population based on an empirical study among two Gadaba villages in Koraput District of Orissa. The study highlights the Socio-Economic conditions, Population composition, Fertility and Mortality of the Gadabas.

India has a great variety of Tribal population. The Gadaba is one of the primitive and colourful Tribes of Orissa. They are mostly found in the southernmost part of the State in the district of Koraput and particularly they are concentrated in Lamtaput Block. Broadly, there are two main types of Gadabas, one is "Bodo Gadaba" and the other is "Sana Gadaba" or "Ollar Gadaba" (Rout, 90). Two Bodo Gadaba villages have been selected for the present study.

METHODS AND MATERIALS:

The selected Bodo Gadaba villages, Kamarguda and Ridal are situated at a distance of 6 and 18 KMs, respectively towards Machhakund from Lamtaput. All the head of the households of both the villages were interviewed by canvassing three different schedules such as the household census schedule, schedule for

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fertility and the schedule for mortality. Every married female were also interviewed for the collection of fertility data. Household census schedules include several socio-economic questions on education, occupation and family income.

For the data collection Interview technique was mainly adopted along with non-participant observation. However, a few statistical parameters were effectively used to find out the economic and demographic indicators.

SOCIO-ECONOMIC FINDINGS:

In all empirical demographic studies, the finding of population composition is dealt initially.

TABLE-1
DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION BY AGE AND SEX

Age-Groups	No. of Male		No. of Female		Total		Sex Ratio
	No. of Males	%	No. of Females	%	No.	%	M/F X 1000
0-14	43	14.93	69	23.95	112	38.88	623
15-29	27	9.37	42	14.58	69	23.95	642
30-44	37	12.84	25	8.68	62	21.52	1480
45-59	17	5.90	14	4.86	31	10.76	1214
60+	5	1.73	9	3.12	14	4.86	555
Total 129	129	44.77	159	55.19	288	100.00	811

Table No.1 shows the distribution of population of the Bodo Gadaba villages according to age and sex. It is clear from the table that out of 288 persons 129 are males and 159 are females, showing a low sex ratio (811 males per 1000 females), a typical tribal distribution.

The table reveals that the proportion of young children (0-14) is nearly 39%, which indicates higher reproductive potential in the coming years. The proportion of individuals within the fecund age group (15-44) constitutes nearly 46% indicating high reproductive potentials at present. The proportion of individuals between the age-group of 45 and 59 is nearly 11%. In the higher age-group (60 and above) the distribution of individuals in the two villages is 4.86%. It is seen from the table that when we move from younger to aged groups the number of individuals gradually decreases, a natural biological phenomenon. However, the low distribution of population in the higher age-groups is the indicative of low Longevity of the Gadabas. Further, the very high female ratio in the 60 years and above suggests that the females live longer in comparison to their male counterparts.

SEX RATIO:

The sex ratio, i.e., the number of males per thousand females among the Bodo Gadaba (811) shows that there are more females in this two villages. However, the sex ratio favours males (1480 and 1214 males per 1000 females) in 30 to 44 and 45 to 59 age groups respectively. This may be due to the higher deaths during the late fecund period. The overall low sex ratio is an important indicator of the high status of women in the society.

EDUCATIONAL STANDARD:

Educational standards among the tribes of Orissa are low compared to the general population. However, tribal literacy has increased from 1% to nearly 10% during the last four decades (Mahapatra and Das 77, Dash 77 and 89, Behura 90, Mohanty 89). With such a dismal picture it would be interesting to see the educational standards of the Gadabas under study.

TABLE-2
DISTRIBUTION OF EDUCATIONAL STATUS BY AGE AND SEX

Age in Years	Sex	Illiterate	Sign only	1-3	4-5	5+	Total
5--14	M	12	0	13	1	0	26
	F	34	0	4	1	0	39
15--29	M	16	5	1	0	5	27
	F	42	0	0	0	0	42
30--44	M	32	3	0	0	2	37
	F	24	0	0	1	0	25
45--59	M	15	1	1	0	0	17
	F	14	0	0	0	0	14
60+	M	5	0	0	0	0	5
	F	9	0	0	0	0	9
Total	M	80	9	15	1	7	112
	F	123	0	4	2	0	129
%	M	71.42	8.03	13.39	0.89	6.25	100.00
	F	95.34	0	3.10	1.55	0	100.00

(Population of 0–4 are excluded)

This table shows that majority of the female population (95.34 %) are illiterate whereas there are 71.42 % illiterate males. The literate percentage (Those who can only sign) among males are 8.03 whereas in case of females, it is zero. The percentages of Upper Primary Education among females (1.55%) are higher than males (0.89). In case of the females none has been educated beyond Upper Primary Stage. Similarly, a slightly higher percentage of males (13.39%) are educated up to Primary stage. In general, the educational condition of the two Bodo Gadaba villages is far below the educational level of the State.

OCCUPATIONAL PATTERN:

With so low level of literacy it will be interesting to find out the occupational pattern of the Gadabas.

TABLE-3

**DISTRIBUTION OF PRIMARY AND SECONDARY OCCUPATION OF THE
ECONOMICALLY ACTIVE POPULATION BY SEX**

Name of Occupation	Primary				Secondary			
	Male		Female		Male		Female	
	No	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent
Cultivation	59	71.08	63	70.78	10	12.04	11	12.35
Wage labour	18	21.68	24	26.96	63	75.90	69	77.52
Others (Black-smith, Carpenter, Govt. Job)	6	7.22	2	2.24	10	12.04	9	10.11
Total	83	100.00	89	100.00	83	100.00	89	100.00

(Some younger women below 15 years who participate in cultivation are excluded from the above table)

In the Gadaba Society cultivation is the major source of livelihood. Almost all households in both the villages possess cultivated land. So majority (about 71%) of the people do give emphasis on agriculture which has become their primary occupation. About 22% male and 27% female population have accepted wage earning as their primary occupation. As large as 77% have accepted wage earning as their secondary occupation. In case of other occupations, only one individual works as a Government servant, one as a mason and two work as blacksmith and carpenter.

TABLE-4

DISTRIBUTION OF FEMALES BY MONTHLY INCOME

Income	No. of Families	Percentage
Below Rs. 500	36	52.17
Rs. 501-750	20	28.98
Rs. 751-1000	9	13.04
Rs. 1000 and Above	4	5.79
Total	69	100.00

(Average family income per month Rs.557.10 or Rs. 557.00)

Table-4 shows the monthly income of various families in the village ranges from Rs. 500 to Rs. 1,000. The maximum numbers of families (53%) earn below Rs. 500 and the next majority of families (29%) have their monthly income between Rs. 500 to Rs. 750. Only four families are able to earn Rs. 1,000 per month and nine families earn between Rs. 750 to Rs. 1,000 per month. However, the average family income is Rs. 557 per month, which is far below the poverty line.

MARITAL STATUS:

Marital status of a community indicates the vulnerability of fertility of that group. Among the Gadabas marriage is the most colourful social function. The following analysis will show the marital status of the Gadabas.

TABLE-5
DISTRIBUTION OF MARITAL STATUS BY AGE AND SEX

Age-Group	Unmarried		Married		Widow		Divorced Separated		Total	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
0-9	35	57	..	..	..	..	..	..	35	57
10--19	11	13	2	9	..	..	..	..	13	22
20--29	..	..	20	30	1	..	1	2	22	32
30--39	1	2	28	16	..	1	1	..	30	19
40--49	1	2	12	11	..	1.00	..	..	13	12
50--59	..	..	7	4	4	4	..	..	11	8
60+	..	..	2	1	3	8.00	..	..	5	9
Total	48	72	71	71	8	14	2	2	129	159
Percent	37.2	45.28	55.0	44.65	6.2	8.8	1.55	1.2	100	100

The distribution of marital status (Table 5) shows that the unmarried persons are found to be less than the married individuals in case of males and it is more or less balanced in case of females. It is quite interesting to see that among the Gadabas the widows are more in number than the widowers which indicates high mortality among the aged males. Divorce is also found in case of Gadabas, however, the percentages of female divorcees are more or less equal to that of the males in the study.

Age at marriage in a population influences the rate of fertility of that population. The age at marriage among the Gadabas is depicted in Table 6.

The table No.6 shows that the average age at marriage of Gadaba women is 15.69 and majority of the women (75%) marry between 15 and 19 years or age. Some women (23%) also marry below the age of 15 years. However, majority of males (53.08%) marry in between 20 and 24 years of age. Only 1% of male marry

below 15 years. But above 25 years it is observed that two males (2.46%) got married while no female was found to have married above 25 years. The average age at marriage of the male Gadaba is 19.61 years. Both males and females show a lower schedule or marriage age, compared to the Government declared marriage ages (18 years for females and 21 years for males).

TABLE-6
AGE AT MARRIAGE AMONG THE GADABA BY SEX

Age at Marriage	No. of Males	Percentage	No. of Females	Percentage
Below 15	1	1.23	20	22.98
15--19	35	43.20	65	74.71
20--24	43	53.08	2	2.29
25 and above	2	2.46	..	..
Total	81	100.00	87	100.00

DEMOGRAPHIC FINDINGS:

The most two important and vital finding of demography are the fertility and the mortality. Fertility speaks of the capacity of a community adding to itself by births whereas mortality refers to the death schedules of a community (Das-79).

TABLE-7
AGE SPECIFIC FERTILITY RATE (A.S.F.R)

Age- Group	No. of Women	No. of Married Women	Live Birth			A.S.F.R.	A.S.M.F.R.
			M	F	T		
15--19	10	9	1	2	3	0.3	0.33
20--24	14	13	2	3	5	0.35	0.38
25--29	18	17	2	2	4	0.22	0.23
30--34	12	11	2	1	3	0.25	0.25
35--39	7	5	..	..	..	..	..
40--44	6	6	..	..	..	..	..
45*+	23	10	..	..	..	..	..
Total	90	71	7	8	15	1.12	1.19

The total live births are 15, out of which 7 are male and 8 are female. Maximum numbers of children are born in the age-group of 20 to 24 years.

MEASUREMENT OF FERTILITY:

- (a) **Crude Birth Rate (C.B.R.)**—It is the ratio of the birth during last year and the total population of the village, the C. D. R. of the Gadaba as during the period is $(15 \times 288 \times 1000) 52.08$ or 52 per thousand population.
- (b) **General Fertility Rate (G. F. R.)**—It is the ratio of the number of live birth to the female population between the age of 15 and 54, the G. F. R. of the Gadaba is $(15/90 \times 1000) 166.66$ per thousand population.
- (c) **General Marital Fertility Rate (G. M. F. R.)**—It is the ratio of number of live birth to the currently married females of 15-44 age-group to the total female population. The G. M. F. R. is $(15 \times 61 \times 1000) 245.9$ or 245 per 1000 population.
- (d) **Age Specific Fertility Rate (A. S. F. R.)**—It is the ratio of births by age of the mother to the women in that age-group (see Table 7) and the maximum number of children born in between 20 and 24 years.
- (e) **Total Fertility Rate (T. F. R.)**—It is the sum total of age specific fertility rate multiplied by size of the class interval. The T. F. R. of the Gadaba is $(1.12 \times 5) = 5.6$.
- (f) **Total Marital Fertility Rate (T. M. F. R.)**—It is the sum of the age specific marital fertility rate multiplied by size of the class interval. It is found to be $(1.19 \times 5) = 5.9$.
- (g) **Gross Reproduction Rate (G. R. R.)**—It is the ratio of female live birth to the women. The G. R. R. of Gadaba is $(5.6 \times 8/15) = 2.98$.
- (h) **Child Women Ratio (C. W. R.):**
 - (1) No. of children (0-4)

$$\frac{\text{No. of children (0-4)}}{\text{Women of child bearing age (15-44)}} \times 1000 = 47/67 \times 1000 = 701.49 \text{ or } 702$$
 - (2) No. of children (5-9)

$$\frac{\text{No. of children (5-9)}}{\text{Women of child bearing age (19-49)}} \times 1000 = 45/63 \times 1000 = 714.28 \text{ or } 715.$$

Both the ratios indicate a high fertility schedule among the Gadabas.

MORTALITY:

Mortality like fertility is one of the fundamental determinants of population size, its composition and its future growth. Mortality influences both fertility as well as birth rate. According to the United Nations: "Mortality is the percentage of death in the population".

MEASUREMENTS OF MORTALITY:

(a) **Crude Death Rate (C.D.R.)**-It is the total registered death of the villages during the year of survey (D) to the population of those villages during the same year (P). The crude death rate of the two Gadaba villages is $(10/288 \times 1000) = 34.72$ or 35 per 1000 population.

(b) **Infant Mortality Rate (I.M.R.)**-Infant Mortality Rate is calculated by taking the number of deaths under 1 year of age which occurred among the population of the villages during the year of survey, to the total live births of the population of those villages during the same year. So the I.M.R. of the villages under study is $(4/15 \times 1000) = 266.66$ or 267 per 1000 live births.

CONCLUSION:

From the above discussion it is clear that the Gadabas have a hand to mouth economy. The low population distribution in the aged groups is an indicator of poor health conditions. The sex ratio shows that the number of women is high in the society, indicator a higher women status. The sex ratio shows that the number of women is high in the society. The educational levels of the Gadaba are very poor. The comparative low age at marriage does have an effect on increasing the fertility rates. Both high fertility and mortality with very high infant mortality rates suggest that the Gadabas of Koraput districts are still in the beginning of the demographic transition.

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ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION IN AN OLLAR-GADABA VILLAGE OF KORAPUT *

Makhan Jha ¹

The Ollar-Gadaba, a Dravidian speaking tribe of Koraput district, are settled agriculturists and main source of their livelihood is cultivation. In the following pages an attempt is being made to describe economic life of the tribe with special reference to village Gugaguda in Pottangi Tahasil of the district.

Main and Subsidiary Occupation

Agriculture being their main occupation, Ollar-Gadaba attach great importance to it. As the organization and scale of farming are within the capacity of the cultivator, income from agriculture is definitely more regular than that from seasonal labour. However, they consider the seasonal labour as their subsidiary occupation and a survey of 75 families of village Gugaguda shows the following figures as far as their main and subsidiary occupations are concerned.

Table-1

Sl. No.	Main Occupation	Families	Subsidiary occupation	Families
1	Agriculture	71	Labour	70
2	Non-agricultural occupation	4	Trade	04
	Total	75		74

From the above figures it appears that there are two types of occupations professed by the villagers; the first is agriculture which provides the main occupation for 71 Ollar-Gadaba families and second is seasonal labour which provides subsidiary occupation for 70 families.

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Land-holdings

According to the revenue records of village Gugaguda the total area of land of this village is 318.20 acres. However, the total area of cultivable land in village Gugaguda proper is only 190.87 acres. The Ollar-Gadaba tenure-holders of the village may be grouped, according to their phratry and clan wise affiliations, as follows:-

Table-II

Phratry	Clan	Area of land holdings in Acres	Total in Acres
Durka	(i) Segakor	77.68	101.06
	(ii) Saratil	11.71	
	(iii) Muriatil	7.02	
	(iv) Leya	4.65	
Ontal	(i) Guga	30.51	44.80
	(ii) Pombal	14.29	
Meen	(i) Korrekor	17.30	25.47
	(ii) Khota	8.17	
Kisavala	(i) Servatil	6.25	19.54
	(ii) Khosratil	9.24	
	(iii) Supaktil	2.94	
	(iv) Durla	1.11	
		Total	190.87

The average per family of land of this village comes to about 2.55 acres which seems to be not enough for the livelihood and that's why most of them go for roadside labour which is their secondary source of livelihood.

The Categories and Production of Commodities

As agriculture is their main source of livelihood, the Ollar Gadaba produce varieties of commodities in different seasons of the year. The different commodities, as recorded in village Gugaguda, are described below.

Table-III

Sl. No	Food grains	Pulses	Spices	Oil-seeds
1	Varsli (Paddy)	Buta	Mirial	Alsi
		Sembi	Chillies	
2	Mandi or Ragi	Bal sembi	Ada	
3	Jana	Chana		
4	Suwa	Kulthi		
5		Masur or Musril		

Besides the above types of commodities which are produced in the fields, the Ollar-Gadaba also produce crops like maize, mustard, tobacco, vegetables, etc.

in the Kitchen-gardens attached to their houses. Of course, every family does not possess kitchen gardens called *bari*. However, those who have kitchen gardens attached to their houses are in habit of maintaining the same. The *bari* is ploughed or spaded deeply and enough manure is applied there and hence *bari* land gives good yield. In Gugaguda the following are mostly produced in the *bari* land: -

Table-IV

Sl. No.	Crops	Vegetables	Fruits
1	Jonel (Maize)	Sembimul (Karaile)	Woolukul (Banana)
2	Tobacco	Betaigil (Kuroda.)	Amritgul (Papya)
3	Dire Maria (in Hindi: Andi)	Alu (Potato)	Phancil (Jackfruit)
4		Vezel (Tomato)	Karki-Marin
5	Kakashil (Brinjal)		
6	Sersendal (Louki)		
7	Sembil (seem)		
	Hal sembil		

The Ollar-Gadaba appreciate the value of *bari* land in their household economy and therefore bestow maximum interest and care upon it. Since these *bari* plots are found attached to their houses they keep constant watch over the garden.

Means and Techniques of Production:

The means and Techniques of cultivation used by the Ollar-Gadaba are much influenced by the size of holding, kind of soil and the types of crops grown. The cultivable land is of two types, viz. Kopel and Bair Vindil. Kopel types of lands are those which are found on the hills and where pulses, vegetables oil seeds, etc. are produced. Bair Vindil types of lands are those where major crops like paddy, millet, maize, etc. are produced. Kopel types of lands are not ploughed. Since these plots of lands are full of stone, it is difficult to plough and so, these plots of lands are cultivated by means of spade. The Bair Vindi types of lands are ploughed by means of oxen and buffaloes. Followings are the names of the agricultural tools and implements used by the Ollar-Gadaba:-

Table-V

SI.	Local name of implement	English equivalent	Approx price Rs.
1	Langal	Plough	5
2	Kodki	Spade	4
3	Sambal	Garden spade	3
4	Tangia	Axe	3
5	Da/Gagra	Scythe	1
6	Kole	Wooden clod pressure	0.50
	Sute	Iron clod pressure	1
7	Ankori	A big bamboo pole fitted with a scythe	1

In this connection, it must be mentioned here that the Ollar-Gadaba purchase only iron parts of their implements and wooden parts are inserted into the implements by themselves. For instance, they purchase *tangia* from the local market or from Salur and hafting is done by them at home. Similarly no body purchases full *langal* from the market, but only essential iron part of the *langal* is purchased and then wooden parts are fitted. There are few implements like Sute (iron cold pressure), Da (scythe), etc. which are made of iron and thus, require no wooden parts.

So far as the uses of agricultural implements are concerned the different implements are used on different occasions during the agricultural operations. For example, white ploughing the Bair Vindil type of lands, they use *langal* but when they cultivate Kopel types of lands they use Kodki (spade),

Sabol (garden spade), *tangia* (axe), *sute* (iron clod pressure), etc. One implement known as Ankori, is especially used at the threshing field while threshing paddy, millet, etc. Besides these uses of the implements, it was further observed in the village that a few agricultural implements like: Kole, Da, Tangia, Sambol, etc. are also used in the domestic works.

There are two methods of sowing practiced by the Ollar-Gadaba of Pottangi Tahsil and its neighbouring areas, the transplanting system and the broadcasting of seeds. In paddy cultivation they mostly use transplanting method. In such cases a small plot of fertile land is selected as the nursery, which will suffice to plant on an acre four times its own area (including the nursery itself). Before sowing the nursery land is ploughed twice or thrice and then manure like cowdung, ashes etc. is thrown there in order to have a luxuriant growth of the seedlings. The seedlings are fit for transplantation after 20 to 25 days when they are a foot high. In the meantime the cultivable land is ploughed at least twice and left for a week and the banks of the plots are repaired to hold water. The clods are broken and land surface is leveled and smoothened. The land is again ploughed after rainfall to make the surface of the land creamy. The seedlings are uprooted from the nursery and stuck into the mud by the tips of three fingers, viz. thumb, index finger and middle finger while the bundle of seedlings is kept in the left hand. The plantation of paddy by this method is locally called *Varsil Vundu Kung*. One of our informants named Mundugaria Sanyasi of village Gugaguda reported that for one acre of land 30 to 40 labourers are engaged for transplantation work. Both male and female labourers are engaged it is reported that female labourers are very quick in plantation of seedlings and hence they are in great demand. In village Gugaguda it has been recorded that the labourers engaged for transplantation work, as also in other agricultural operations, are paid mostly in kind. It is further reported that one labourer (he or she) is paid either one *mano* of paddy or one *mano* millet (*mandia* or *sunwa*).

One labourer can plant approximately 100 to 150 lots of seedlings in a day when the seedlings are uprooted on the morning hours of the same day. If the bundles of seedlings are made a day earlier, the labourer can stuck more than 150 bundles of seedlings.

The second method of broadcast sowing is also practiced by the Ollar-Gadaba. This method is mostly followed for *kopel* type of lands which are used for the production of oil seeds, pulses, *mandia*, etc. Broadcasting of seeds is done after the fields had had at least one ploughing wherever it is possible it is reported that broadcast sowing method is much cheaper than transplanting method, as the former requires less labour. Sometimes they practise broadcast sowing method to cultivate paddy also, in few plots of land, but they havereported that under this method the yield is very poor.

Live-Stock

The Ollar-Gadaba are not professional cattle breeders nor do cattle ordairy products contribute any substantial amount to their income. But since they are cultivators and agriculture is the main source of their livelihood, they use cattle only for ploughing. They use not only the ox for ploughing their fields, but also cows and buffaloes. The total strength of cattle in village Gugaguda is given below:

Table-VI

Cow	Ox	Buffalo
65	88	13

The total number of sheep in the village is 27, goat 37 and chicken 176. The importance of these live-stocks lies in the fact that these are highly needed for sacrifice during the performance of different rites and rituals.

Indebtedness:

It has been found that the Ollar-Gadaba are also in the habit of taking loans from the money lenders called the Sahukars, on different occasions to meet the expenses incurred in connection with rites and rituals, cloth, food, drink, etc. The loans are taken both in cash and in kind. An analysis of the data collected on indebtedness in village Gugaguda reveals that the total amount of loan taken in cash during 1966 was Rs. 1,290. In addition to cash loan, there were only four persons in this village who have taken loan in kind. There are only two sources of borrowing in the villages. Some Ollar-Gadaba families take loan from the well-to-do families of the village while a few of them take loans from the Sahukars of Salur (district Sirkakulam). The interest on loan taken in cash differs from Mahajan to Mahajan. However, it varies from Rs.25 per hundred per annum to Rs. 30 per hundred per annum. Sometime the rate of interest of cash money may go up if the debtor is in urgent need of money. It has also been found that sometime loan in cash is given on installments by the creditor and when money accumulates up to

certain amount which is beyond the capacity of the debtor to repay, the debtor is asked to mortgage his best piece of land. In village Gugaguda several cases of this nature were recorded by us which, if considered from sociological point of view, created tensions and brought, thereafter, jealousy and inter-family rivalry.

NOTES

(1) Field investigation among the Ollar-Gadaba was carried out for four months in 1966. The village Gugaguda in Pottangi Tahsil of district Koraput was intensively studied. In addition to this, several other villages of the Ollar-Gadaba were also visited by us and we collected a bulk of information on them. A monograph on the Ollar-Gadaba is also being published by the Anthropological Survey of India, Calcutta.

(2) The Ollar-Gadaba as well as some of the local tribes of these areas have their own way of weighing grains. According to them.

20 *manos* = 1 *putti*

30 *puttis* = 1 *garce*

1 *garce* = 38 maunds

THE ECONOMIC BACKWARDNESS OF THE GADABAS *

*B. B. Mohanty*¹

Koraput has the distinction of being the largest district of Orissa and the Scheduled Area having the highest tribal population. It is a region of every kind of elevation and depression. On its red, sandy and hilly terrain live several primitive communities representing different tribes. The Gadabas are one of them. This article is a study of the economic backwardness of those of the Gadabas who live in an obscure hamlet called Pangel which stands on the top of a hillock. Though one swallow does not make a summer, the struggle for survival of the Gadabas of that hamlet may be taken as atypical instance of the battle of existence of the entire community of the district.

Nandapur town, the ancient political headquarters of the feudatory State of Koraput, now goes by the name of Joypore Samsthanam. They say that the history of this hoary settlement of the tribals can be traced to times farther backwards than the commencement of the Christian era. Pangel, the hilly abode of the Gadabas, is ten miles away from Nandapur. The total number of mud-huts with thatched roofs found in the hamlet is forty-seven out of which only fifteen dwelling-houses belong to the Gadabas. The remaining thirty-two houses belong to the people of other castes, namely, the *Panos*, the *Doms* and the *Ghasis*. The members of the latter communities are backward like the Gadabas. But through frequent contacts with the people of the higher castes they have imbibed cunning and shrewdness through which they exploit the Gadabas in subtle ways. But the Gadabas are favourably disposed towards them.

Long ago, a dense forest surrounded the island tribes of the small hill of Pangel. Various kinds of trees and creepers, plants and shrubs, grasses and lichens, stood in an intertwined and inseparable manner. One could recognize among the floras such trees as the Big Sal (*Shorea robusta*), the Palas (*Bubtes frondosa*) the

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Mahua (*Bassia Latifolia*), the Jamu (*Engenia jambolana*), the Kusum (*Sesluchera trijagh*), the Sirisa (*Alblzzin Lebbek*), the Amba (*Phyllanthus emblica*) the Kochila (*Stoychnos vomica*), the Neem (*Melia Indica*), the Champa (*Mishelia champaka*), the Palm (*Boeasus Habellofer*), the Salpa (*Ceryota urens*), the Cane, the Sisu (*Dalbergia Sisso*), and the Sabai grass (*Ischaemuman gustifolium*). The feathered race of the forest region was represented by the wild duck, the wood cock, the peafowl, the brown pigeon, and the imperial pigeon. Of the wild animals the black buck, the barking deer, the Sambar (*Carvus unicolor*), the leopard cat, bison, the wild buffalo, the elephant, the tiger, the wild dog and the spotted deer were conspicuous.

The Gadabas eat edible fruits and roots of the forest. They hunted wild birds and animals for food. They cleared the higher slopes of the hillock and grew crops there. The lower slopes washed by perennial stream had also been brought under cultivation. The former type of land was known as *Pada* or *Dangar* (dry land), and the latter type was called *Bada* (wet land). The forest provided them with fuel and timber to which they had free access. The needs of the tribe were few and these were met with what their environment yielded. Life was somewhat happy for them, and they lived like the natural denizens of the forest region in the same way in which fishes live in water.

As needs multiplied, population increased and consumption level rose, man altered the environment more and more to meet his needs. In his efforts to satisfy increased consumption needs he eradicated numerous species of animal and plant life and almost destroyed the natural life-support system on which he depended. The increasing pressure placed on the ecosystem produced a boomerang effect. The exploitation of man by man made matters worse. In course of time the Gadabas were reduced to their present deplorable condition and faced with extinction.

Agriculture is the mainstay of the Gadabas who produce paddy crops in *Beda* lands (wet lands) and *Ragi*, *Suan* and *Alasi* in *Dangar* lands (dry lands). The handicaps of their agricultural occupation are several. Many of them do not have lands of their own. The richest man of Pangel whom the writer met has only A23-13 Cents of agricultural land and the majority of the Gadabas have nothing more than, homestead lands. So these landless people should be provided with agricultural land sufficient to enable them to eke out minimum living.

Mere gifts of land will not alone serve the purpose. The various handicaps that stand in the way of successful agriculture are to be removed as far as practicable. The region denuded of forests and the hillsides are bare of trees have had serious repercussions. Deforestation has led to decreasing rainfall and erosion of the soil, not to speak of the dearth of fuel, timber, and pasture for cattle and scarcity of fruits and roots and tuber fit for human consumption. The soil has been rendered poor through loss of much of its fertility. It is deficient in potash, lime and phosphoric acid. It lacks the capacity to retain moisture and absorb nutrients.

While the soil of the upland is full of gravels, that of the lowlands is laden with loam and clay.

The natural sylvan surroundings from which the Gadabas have been uprooted are to be restored through measures of social forestry. Along with reforestation the process of setting up of orchards in the backyard of the hut of a Gadaba should be started. Application of fertilisers of which the Gadabas are ignorant is yet to be initiated. The evil of destruction of cowdung through use as fuel and the good of applying it to lands as useful traditional fertilisers are to be brought home to their mind. The region is hilly and the climate is hot and dry. The facilities for irrigation do not exist. The only source of water necessary to feed the crops is rains. So, some measures to store rain-water, which is seasonal, and to irrigate the upper region by special device are to be adopted. Improved seeds, and implements, know-how and pesticide are also necessary for them.

Many of them work as labourers on the basis of daily wages. Though they work from dawn to dusk, they are not paid proportionately. For example half a rupee for cutting crops and a quarter of a rupee for weeding are respectively the wages of a labourer. Some of them are also the victims of the pernicious system of bonded labour. Steps are needed to see that no Gadabas is paid less than the prescribed minimum wages and that he is redeemed from bondage.

The Gadabas get into debt as an alternative to death by starvation. But in doing so they prefer to subject themselves to ever-growing oppression and impoverishment. The money lenders who loan out cash or crops to them charge very exorbitant interest which is sometimes as high as 50 per cent. The more the indebted person tries to pay up the capital and interest, the deeper he gets into the mire of indebtedness. Credit facilities provided by rural banks and co-operatives may go a long way in relieving the distress of the Gadabas in this respect.

Businessmen also exploit them. They move from door to door for purchasing *Alsi* at the time of harvest. Their motive is to buy things at the cheapest rate and resell them at a high price. Lured by ready price, compelled by the pressure to perform social rituals and goaded by their thirst for liquor, the Gadabas easily fall into the trap of the greedy tradesmen out on profiteering business. On days of fair commodities are sold and purchased through payment of cash price as well as the traditional barter system. When exchange of things for things takes place the modern weight and measure are not used. The profit that the businessmen make by exploiting the ignorance of the Gadabas may be illustrated thus. Suppose, a man buys a matchbox for ten paisa, takes out all the match sticks which it contains puts an equal number of these sticks in five different empty matchboxes, and sells each of the newly equipped match-box at ten paisa, he will be getting fifty paisa in the gross, and his net profit will be forty *paise*. Such a man will be an appropriate representative of the tradesman who carries on business with a Gadaba, and the profit that he makes is four times the buying price.

The apathetic and the unscrupulous official at times harasses or hoodwinks the simple and credulous Gadabas in order to extract more money from them than what they are under obligation to pay. Cases of such treatment are to be reported to the higher authorities along with instances of violation of the laws relating to bonded labour and rural indebtedness.

There's a Tamilian saying that a field mouse goes in for two wives when the harvest is good. If a Gadaba reaps a good harvest of the *ragi* crops he squanders the produce in preparing a kind of intoxicant called 'Pendum' and makes himself merry and entertains his friends with that kind of drink. In case he cannot prepare such drink himself he sells out his produce to buy liquor from the local vendor. Addiction to liquor leads him to extravagance and compels him to sell his land at any price to the money-lender. The Gadabas also follow blindly the old social customs and religious practices which deplete his meagre resources and drive him to bankruptcy. Practices like paying bride-price at the time of marriage and the expensive performance of the rituals of *Gotar* ceremony for the peace and satisfaction of the spirits of their departed forbears are also some of the causes of their impoverishment. The anti-dowry law should be strictly enforced among them, and the spread of education and enlightenment is likely to root out their superstitions.

Liberal funds have been provided in the Fifth Five-Year Plan for the upliftment and welfare of the tribals of the country. The area to which this study is confined comes under the Koraput I. T. D. P. which has schemes and monetary allotment for developing the area and improving the quality of life of the economically backward tribes of the region. It is hoped that the Gadabas will have their share of the benefits envisaged for the tribal communities.

FEEDING THE DEAD

RITUALS OF TRANSFORMATION

AMONG THE GADABA OF KORAPUT *

*Peter Berger*¹

Introduction : Death and comparison

Anthropological studies on death are widespread and although, perspectives and approaches towards death rituals vary to a great extent, most anthropologists feel that social action, norms and ideas surrounding the subject of death can offer the key to quintessential aspects of a specific society (e.g. Huntington and Metcalf 1979: 2).

Also in the Indian context death is a prominent subject of research. Recent examples from Orissa are the works of Roland Hardenberg (1998) on the death and the regeneration of Lord Jagannath or Piers Vitebsky's analysis of the Dialogues with the Dead, among the tribal Sora (1992). The Gadaba of the nearby Koraput District are the topic of the following article.¹ Whenever the Gadaba are mentioned in the literature it is mainly for the impressive way they give a final farewell to their dead in a ceremony called *gotr*.² Thus von Furer-Haimendorf (1943) gives a rough sketch of this ritual in his general endeavour to find traces of "megalithic cultures", while Somasundaram in the same decade is content to condemn "... this monstrous performance" (1949: 42). Izikowitz, who witnessed the *gotr* in the early 50s, provides the first professional description of "... this final feast of life" (1969: 132). A thorough analysis of the ritual structure and its implications is supplied by Pfeffer in three articles over the last seventeen years (1984, 1991, 2001), whereas Pradhan emphasizes the enhancement of group solidarity as a function of the *gotr* ceremony (1998). Only recently Das, a trained biologist, published a book on the Gadaba dedicating some space to the *gotr*. He offers considerable details and is one of the few who devotes some attention to the preceding death rituals (1999: 57-61).

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Although the *gotr* has deservedly attracted such a high degree of attention it is however strange that other stages of the death rituals prior to the *gotr* are hardly mentioned by nearly all of the above authors, even though few anthropologists today would dispute the view that in most societies death is regarded as a process. In the following I would like to close this gap rather than focusing only on the *gotr* once more. In a concise form ethnographic data on the other phases of death will be presented. Furthermore, ideas and attitudes of the Gadaba concerning their spirits of the dead (*duma*) and of the possible ways people die will be discussed. The main theme of the article centers around the transformations of the person. It will be shown how the person of the deceased, consisting of three complementary elements, is deconstructed and removed from the living in successive ritual steps only to be reconstructed in the final phase of death rituals. Sacrificial food prepared and fed by different social categories to the dead, plays the crucial role in this process of dying.

I would also like to point at comparison. This point requires some elaboration. If it is true that death rituals reveal core elements or values more than other aspects of any particular society and if one of the ultimate aims of anthropology lies in comparison, then ceremonies of death may occupy an outstanding place in the comparative endeavour of the discipline. But what do we compare and what could be the range of comparison?

Following Durkheim's sociology of knowledge the basis of many systems of classification and most "fundamental category" is the notion of the whole, the "concept of totality" (1995: 442, original emphasis), which has the "function" to encompass and "govern" other concepts. This theory has influenced many scholars and schools. Needham (1973) pointed out that by their nature categories, in contrast to rules and behaviour, are most eligible for comparison. Dumont further developed Durkheim's notion of asymmetrical relations between categories, i.e. hierarchy. Value-ideas (1986) have the capacity to represent wholes and to contain subordinate values. According to Dumont value-ideas are the objects of comparison, because they can represent a society on an ideological level. Thus, different from armchair evolutionists like Frazer or Tylor, Dumont claims not to compare out-of-context elements from all parts of the world, but relational entities which represent wholes. As far as the range of comparison is concerned the societies should be geographically or culturally related to be comparable. An example of such a comparison of four societies has been given by students of Dumont on exchange in Melanesia and eastern Indonesia (Barraud et al. 1994). Although from a different background Rubel and Rosman (1978) have much earlier undertaken a comparison of exchange structures of several Melanesian societies, i.e. within a confined geographical area.

For middle Indian tribal societies Pfeffer (e.g. 1982, 2000) has since long been engaged in comparison of tribal values and structures. He has proposed that the Koraput District of Orissa represents what might be called a "cultural

area" (Kroeber) and has coined the expression of the "Koraput Complex" (1997: 16). Irrespective of administrative category of 'ST', 'SC' & 'OBC', which is well known to the reader of Adivasi, or different languages, all communities of the Koraput Complex reveal, beside obvious differences, striking similarities in ideological structure and morphology. Thus different from the usual description of tribal groups of Koraput without any reference to other 'non-ST' Desia the interrelations of the different Desia communities should be studied and the whole set of Desia should be considered (vide Berger 2001a). Unfortunately this is mostly wishful thinking since not much ethnography can be relied on for comparison.

Thus the data on Gadaba death rituals presented below should be seen in Desia perspective. The people concerned are Gadaba and Desia and their idiosyncrasies as well as their participation in the wider societal configuration should be accounted for. Comparison of the modes and values of death rituals among Mali, Dombo, Joria, Goudo, Parenga, Didaye and others could be a valuable contribution not only to Orissan studies, but also to the discipline in general. As a small and modest step in that direction we turn now to the ideas and practices of the Gadaba regarding death.

Ideas on death, the dead and dying

Gadaba religion generally centres around ritual action, especially sacrifice, rather than dogma or philosophy. This also holds true for their death rituals and researchers hoping for coherent eschatological beliefs are going to be disappointed. If pressed to answer people might talk about the 'other world', but these ideas would be very vague and accounts would differ considerably. Most Gadaba would answer with "how do we know?" or state that it is impossible to know such things. They are much more comfortable to explain what they do and what they give to gods (*mapru*), spirits of the dead (*duma*) or principally malevolent creatures like *soni* or *rau*.

However, as already told to von Furer-Haimendorf fifty years ago (1943: 152, Fn.2), some people say that the "king of death" (*jom raja*) determines the time of death or that he is the king in the "underworld" (*patalpur* or *bitorpur*). On the other hand death is explained as a consequence of witchcraft (*pangon*, *onkar*) or the wrath of gods and spirits (vide Otten 2000). The dead go to the underworld and there do quite the same things as their living descendants, which is why they are provided with pots, hats, umbrellas and sometimes a loom to weave their clothes. After the final death ceremony on the other hand the *duma* are just said to be "gone" (*gola*) and the Gadaba do not care where they went. They have left the social world and all ties with society are now disconnected. No offerings will be given to spirits for whom *gotr* has been performed. Although the spirits are said to leave society completely they are also transformed back into living humans (*lok*). Thus, are there in fact two different types of 'spirits'?

In his account on Bonda and Gadaba "megalithic rituals" von Furer-

Haimendorf (1943) states that Bonda distinguish between two types of 'spirit', the *sairem* or "shadow" and the *siosem* or "soul". After death the latter goes to the land of the dead or to the supreme "sun-moon" deity, where he lives a life quite like that on earth. Eventually the *siosem* again dies and is reborn on earth into a child of the same clan. The shadow (*sairem*) on the other hand stays close to the living, is fed during death rituals and his family may provide him with a permanent resting place in the *gunom* ceremony (ibid.: 167f). Such a bifurcation of the person after death is however not reported for the Gadaba. With the help of death rituals performed by the living the "duma" can enter the land of the dead and further rituals only add to the wealth and comfort of the *duma* and improves their relations to the living (ibid.: 152f). Von Furer-Haimendorf does not mention the aspect of rebirth here.

In a short section of his book Parkin (1992) compares the ideas of Munda speaking tribes in relation to "reincarnation". Like the Bonda (or Remo) their immediate neighbours, the Didayi (or Gataq), also distinguish between "shade" ("*saharem*") and "soul" ("*jivon*"), the former stays near the cremation ground after death, the latter also joins the supreme god. For the Gadaba, Parkin also assumes "... two souls, one harmless, the other dangerous", although they do not have different terms for them and call both "dhumba" (ibid.: 213). "At death, the harmless soul immediately enters the deceased's SW, eventually being reborn in the ensuing generation (ibid.), while the *gotr* has to deal with the dangerous aspect. Summing up his description of the Munda speaking tribes, he finds that they generally distinguish between a "soul substance", which reincarnates and a personalized soul", which merges with the ancestors or gods (ibid.).

The Gadaba of the Lamtaput Block I lived with refer to the personalized soul as *duma* and to the impersonal life force as *jibon*, *jib* or *punda* (lit. "breath"). Therefore they would fit in the general pattern as displayed by the Bonda and Didaye. In day-to-day conversations people reported that their *jibon* was unstable in specific situations of shock or fear. With the physical death *jibon* leaves the body, "attaches" itself (*lagikori*) or enters into another person (a woman) and is reborn. The reunion of the *jibon* with a new body is thought to happen soon after death but not in any specific period of time, rebirth may follow much later. All ritual activity, however, is directed towards the *duma*, the social quality of the person. Immediately after death the *duma* is most feared and potentially dangerous. The *duma* may be employed by sorcerers (*pangonlok*) to attack people or, if angry, may possess relatives on his or her own terms, harm animals or destroy crops. After about a month when parts of the rituals already have been performed the precarious period is over. One Gadaba explained that *duma* are precisely in a position to attack humans because they have *jibon*, otherwise how could they possess the living? Thus it seems that *jibon* or *punda* stays with the personal quality of the dead for some time after death in which the *duma* is a vital force, but is reduced to personal qualities or a social person when *jibon* attaches itself to a woman to be reborn later. Mostly, though not exclusively, *jibon*

reincarnates in the alternate generation, i.e. the generation of the grandchildren and within the local line. However, there are exceptions, e.g. one boy was said to be the reincarnation of his 'FFZS'. The sex of the spirit does not matter, i.e. a male spirit may reincarnate into a female infant. Even several *jibon* may enter the womb of one woman. They then fight for the mother's milk and an infant containing two *jibon* is said to cry more than others. After birth the child is still associated with the realm of the dead, he or she is considered to "play" (*keliba*) in The "community of the dead" (*dumakul*) and is not considered to be a full living human being (*lok*) until he or she starts to eat rice around the sixth month.

There are good and bad ways to die for a Gadaba. Ideally everybody should die inside his or her house and when death is expected soon, dying persons are generally brought into their houses. Death in the house is agreeable while death outside the village is not. For fear of this type of death, which is considered to be highly dangerous and inauspicious, people frequently refrain from visiting hospitals. Especially to die on the way in-between villages is looked at with horror. Such spirits of those who "died on the way". (*bate morla* or *nindra duma*) are full of a vengeance to the living. Of similar danger are the spirits of those who fell from a tree (*mursu duma*), hanged themselves (*utshki duma*) or drowned in a river. A woman who dies while giving birth will turn into a *sunguni duma*. 'Normal' spirits are transformed into *sagbo duma* if their descendants do not perform their ritual duties properly. They are said to attack family members and drink blood from their throats. Finally, probably the most vicious spirits are those who are killed by wild animals in the forest, these are called *bag duma* ("tiger-spirit") or *orbon duma* ("forest-spirit"). Although their *gotr* is performed their *jibon* will never return to the living but stays in the forest.

After death all *dumas* stay close to their house and receive food from the family of the deceased. Generally they do not harm people, but those who have died a bad death, frequently do. They may just make sounds at night or throw some pots over, but they may also possess and kill people, domestic animals and destroy the harvest. All spirits of such bad deaths require special ritual treatment to appease their anger. They are very hungry and are in want of more blood and meat; hence more animals have to be sacrificed. Although for bad deaths the "rule" (*niom*) prescribes "twelve heads" (*baromundo*) of cattle to be sacrificed in the name of the deceased during the whole process of death rituals, nowadays it is generally agreed that two cows are sufficient, while the remaining ten are substituted by pigs or small animals like mice or lizards.

While bad deaths merely require only more sacrifices for those who died of smallpox (*bosont*) the procedure itself is different and the bodies are buried not cremated. The same holds true for cases of leprosy (*kustorogo*). The dead body is not carried out of the front door (the only door in fact) but through a hole, which is made for that purpose in the back wall of the house and is also buried and not cremated. But generally there is no difference in ritual procedure for men and

women, young or old people. Should an infant die before the name giving ceremony, he or she will be buried near the house where the umbilical cord has been disposed at the day of birth. Once a child has obtained a name it will be cremated on the cremation ground (*mosani, raisang**).

The day of death" (*morla din*)

If a person, let us take a man as example here, is about to die he is carried into the big room of the house and is placed flat on the floor. As soon as death approaches women of the house start to wail and weep heavily, beating themselves on the chest, tearing out their hair and scratching their cheeks. When death is certain the crying turns into a howl and women throw themselves onto the dead body and mutilate themselves even harder than before. Other women from the neighbourhood and the whole village approach the house in the typical way of mourning; their arms crossed behind their heads and join the women of the house. Men on the contrary are not expected to show their grievance, it is their duty to arrange the cremation. The mothers' brother³; (*mamu*) of the deceased has to be informed immediately and likewise the *tsorubai*⁴ of the deceased's local line⁵ (*kuda*). The former has to receive gifts from the family of his sister's son, the latter have to perform the crucial tasks of the death ritual. In most cases both are from a different village and messengers have to be sent soon if the proceedings are not to be delayed. The body is cremated as soon as possible but often it is necessary to wait until the next morning. Then, women will mourn the dead throughout the night, while men gather around fires in front of the house. The spirit is believed to be close and everybody is on guard.

Among the *tsorubai* one person called *morodandia*⁶ performs most ritual tasks, often assisted by the *mamu* of the deceased. The *morodandia* cuts the first branch for the funeral pyre, which is also referred to as a "house" (*gor*), then the others. If this is done the *tsorubai* build the bier (*dandia*) out of bamboo and a triangular frame (*jigri*) fastened with *siardi* -ropes to carry burning cow dung. Inside the house water is heated in a new clay pot and a small quantity of rice is cooked to be taken to the cremation ground by the *tsorubai*. Everybody who comes to the house of the deceased brings a piece of white cloth and some coins along, which will be redistributed later.

When the *mamu* has arrived and all preparations are over the wooden door of the house is taken out and placed in the centre of the yard. The situation before the body is first taken out of the house is very tense, mourners throw themselves onto the door and others have to help them up again and hold them tight to keep them under control. All emotions burst out when the body is brought out, head first and just clad the way he died and placed on the door. A crowd of men and women rush up to the body and pour turmeric water over the deceased to wash him. After all the water is spilled the body is taken back into the house. Inside the house the body is dressed up and placed like a sleeping man, i.e. he lies on a bamboo mat, the head rests on a small bench, the deceased is covered with

the white cloths all the visitors have brought and a blanket is put on top. All this is tied into a roll and some money notes are attached to the dead man's head, which are later to be taken by the *tsorubai*. Outside, the bier is placed on the door in the yard and the clay pot is broken by the *morodandia*, a piece of it put into the bamboo triangle (*jigri*) to carry the burning cow dung.

A second emotional climax is triggered when the dead body is carried out of the house the second time and put down on the bier. Generally brothers from the local line carry the dead to the cremation ground but any man could do it and in fact many just touch the bier with one hand to show their participation. Holding an axe from the deceased's house and the small clay pot of rice for the spirit the *morodandia* leads the procession to the cremation ground located just outside the village boundaries together with the *mamu* and other *tsorubai* carrying the *jigri*. They are followed by the bier, the other men and finally the wailing women. A member of the local line of the deceased throws the coins given by the visitors behind his back over the heads of those who follow him. They may be picked up by anybody or are just left behind. The bier is put down at the *bejorna*, the spiritual border of the village where *duma* are said to assemble.

On the cremation ground the pyre is once encircled in anti-clockwise direction and the bier is then put down. A piece of white cloth is spread over the logs and the body is placed on top. The bier is destroyed and afterwards burned together with the bamboo mat while the blanket and many of the white cloths are taken off to be distributed after the cremation. The *morodandia* covers the body with one layer of white cloth, tears off a piece of it and ties it as a flag (*siral*) to a branch of a nearby tree or bush to keep away spells of witchcraft. Then the thread (*ontador*, *tunuloi**) every individual wears around his or her waist since a few days after birth is cut and further branches on top and big logs at the two sides are added to the pyre.

At the head end of the pyre the *morodandia* and one other man light straw with the burning cow dung brought in the *jigri*. Holding the burning straw with their hands crossed behind their backs these two move around the pyre and set fire at both its ends. After the fire is lit the *morodandia* touches the ground with the axe and passes it over the smoking pyre to the man standing on the other side, who also touches the ground and passes it back - this is done three times. When the axe is finally handed back to the *morodandia* he smashes the small pot with rice and he, and other men offer some rice (*betisong*, *leno bong**) to the dead man's spirit. After the small clay pot has been smashed, the *morodandia* takes off the metal headpiece of the axe and rejoins it on the other side of the stick; he has "turned the axe around" (*tengiaulta koriba*). He then moves around the burning pyre and touches the ground with the axe on all four corners to spellbind the spirit. Everybody present throws a small piece of mango wood on the pyre. Those who do not enter the cremation ground, like Dombo, Goudo and other Desia, pass on a piece of wood to a Gadaba who throws it on the pyre in their name. All men salute

the dead and leave, followed by the women. After returning from a ritual bath in the river the *morodandia* sacrifices an egg on the path and all men assemble at an appropriate public place near the dead man's house. It is time to distribute cloth, money and brassware to selected groups and persons. First of all the *mamu* receives what is called *gasi* or *dudmoali*.⁷ He is given a fine piece of cloth brought by visitors on the same day, the blanket with which the dead body was covered and a brass object, a *mota* (a small pot to bathe or drink water) or *tali* ("plate") or both (*moali*). Although the *mamu* may be dissatisfied he should not complain or demand more on this occasion. Also the *tsorubai* receive cloth, money and maybe a brass item, the village officials, helpers and others only cloth and a small amount of money. After all gifts are laid out in front of each person an old member from the deceased's local line formally addresses the assembly. He salutes everybody and proclaims the day for the next step of the death proceedings, the "fish water" ritual. Before entering their houses the participants of the cremation should take a full bath and change their clothes.

Although the main work of the day is over the *tsorubai* and the *mamu* again go to the cremation ground to check that the logs burn properly and do not fall into disorder. This is called the "last" or "returned wood" (*baurakat*). In front of the deceased's house the *tsorubai* cook rice in a fragment of the clay pot, which has been broken after the bath of the dead? This rice is offered to the spirit inside the house, at the place where the body has been washed and on the path leading away from the house. For some time after death the family provides the *duma* with food every day. Since nobody is allowed to cook in the house of the deceased until three days after death, rice, millet-gruel (*pej*) and beer is provided by the villagers. This donation of *dukpej* ("gruel of sorrow") is provided reciprocally between the local lines of a village. The *dukpej* is redistributed within the local line of the deceased, i.e. his whole group participates.

Mach pani or a 'dong da'*

Ritual impurity (*sutok*) after death remains until a ritual called "fish water" (*machpani*, *a'dong da'**) is performed usually on the third day after death. The central aspect of *machpani* is again the feeding of ritual rice and *tsoru* to the dead. A place in front of the house, where the rainwater from the roof hits the ground, is called *osona* and is associated with spirits of the dead. At this spot the *tsorubai* cook rice and fish they have previously caught in the river in a new tiny clay pot. Inside the house women of the local line of the deceased, usually not the widow, also prepare rice and bamboo-sprouts. The *tsorubai* further arrange all items, which are later on taken to the cremation ground. Uncooked rice, rice water, cooked rice and fish (by the *tsorubai*) and cooked rice and bamboo-sprouts (by the women) are kept in smaller or bigger leaf plates. After the preparation is over a *tsorubai* takes all remains of the procedure (small clay pot, the stones of the fire place etc.) away from the house to drop them at the *bejorna*. When he returns the offerings for the spirit are taken to the cremation ground.

Unlike at the day of death only few people, men and women, join this small procession, approximately ten to twenty people. Just in passing some liquor, rice-beer and rice is left for other spirits at the *bejorna*. On the cremation ground the *tsorubai* and senior members of the dead man's local line sit down at the head end of the ashes and place the offerings in front of them. The *morodandia* unties the small white flag (*siral*) from the tree, which has been left there on the day of cremation and places it on a remaining piece of bone, preferably from the head. Here all the offerings are placed, first by the men, then by the women. While the spirit is being addressed, he is told what has been brought for him and asked not to harm anyone but to leave for good. Men move around the cremation ground and throw uncooked rice at different places for other spirits of the recent dead and also women sit and weep on several spots and feed the other spirits. Not on the cremation ground itself but on the road leading away from the village offerings are left for the spirits of affines. The men leave first to take a ritual bath in the river, on return the *morodandia* again sacrifices an egg on the path and leaves oil and turmeric for the *duma* behind. Then he turns around the head of the axe again, as it had been before and proceeds to the house.

There the *duma* is fed again with *tsoru* by men and women and after everybody has done *betisong* ("to out down the duty/gift") the men assemble inside the house: *tsorubai*, other agnates and affines (*mamu*) of the deceased. A ring or armlet either of the deceased or of a senior man present is placed in the centre of the house and the *mamu* is asked to do *tipali*, i.e. to pour some drops of liquor in the ring or armlet for his sister's son. The spirit is then addressed and is told that his *mamu* is present and has done *tipali* after which all men drink liquor. Every man receives one plate of rice, the *morodandia* two. From one he again offers rice to the *duma* and distributes the rest among the plates of all others: everybody participates in the spirit's food as an expression of commensality.

Bur or obdel*

On the day *machpani* is performed the period of ritual impurity which affected all agnates of the village is over, the household members of the deceased may eat fish and meat again and all other Gadaba accept cooked food in their house. Also the regulations, which concerned only the widow, are lifted after she gave *betisong* in her house. The last three days she was not allowed to wash, change clothes or cook.

If done on a small scale the *bur* may be held within a week after *machpani*, but the appropriate time for it is the month of January (*pus*). As in *machpani* the central feature of the *bur* is the feeding of the spirit with *tsoru*, but the *bur* is more elaborate and cows or oxen have to be sacrificed for the dead. Particularly, *bur* includes a feast and prestations not everybody can immediately afford. The aspect of feasting is usually treated as an epiphenomenon of 'proper' ritual activity, but for the Gadaba this aspect is exactly what makes a ritual "big" or "senior" (*boro*). For every "big work" like the *bur*, which can be performed jointly by several

households of a village, the preparations have to start way in advance. Firewood has to be cut, animals have to be bought, the auspicious days have to be fixed and the host must distribute large quantities of paddy to other households of the village in order to get it husked.

The ritual itself lasts for two or three days. In the evening before the first day, at dusk, the host performs a small ritual for the *duma* (*duma balo**) at the *osona*. He sacrifices two crabs and announces the bur of the coming day to the spirits.

On the following morning a food-storage hut is built near the host's house and a long trench is made as fireplace to serve many pots. A specialist (*dissari*) performs a small ritual at the fireplace and inside the storage-hut to ward off evil spells (*onkar*), which might affect the rice in a way that it will be insufficient for all the guests. While the rice is cooked in large quantities for the feast others construct small bamboo-hats, mats and baskets to take them later to the cremation ground.

Before the first guests arrive at the house of the host with the usual gifts of husked rice, beer, liquor and pumpkins, the *tsorubai* and *mamu* appear around noon because they perform the major ritual functions. For each dead a cow or ox is sacrificed and the deceased's *tsorubai* and *mamu* cook *tsoru* separately in front of his house. The *tsorubai* only cook a small quantity of rice, which is exclusively taken to the cremation-ground later, while the *mamu-tsoru* is consumed also by men. A ritual platform is made from water and cow dung at the *osona*, right beside the *tsoru* fireplaces. Then the cow or ox is brought, greeted with rice pressed on its forehead (*tika*) and *tsorubai*, *mamu*, household members and others invoke the spirit. He is told that his hut is being held today and that everybody has come to honour him. Especially if the spirit has caused trouble before he is strongly requested not to harm any more people but to be on good terms with them. Some hairs of the animal's tail and part of its left ear is cut and the blood is collected in a leaf plate with uncooked rice. The cow is then led away, killed by any man who volunteers and cut into pieces. If the *mamu* has received an additional chicken he performs the sacrifice at the same spot. As soon as the cutting work is over *tsorubai* and *mamu* get a share for their *tsoru* (including liver), some is cooked at the big fireplace for the feast later on and head and hip (*mundkulund*) are kept until the following day. Inside the house the women also prepare rice with bamboo-sprouts and a variety of black gram (*biri*).

In the afternoon when all guests arrive all prepared items are displayed on the veranda of the house. The three types of cooked rice (from the *tsorubai*, *mamu* and the women) are put into jackfruit leaf plates, one plate of uncooked rice with black grain and another with the blood and the cow's ear (*rokto caul*, "blood rice"). Further two small baskets with paddy, the tiny hats and mats are added. Women also take several pots of beer, glasses with liquor, tobacco and other items they think would please the spirit. The sons of the deceased or his brothers take his possessions along to the *mosani*, his plough, axe, umbrella and other things to be taken away by the *mamu*. On the way to the cremation ground he and the *tsorubai*

again lead the procession, the women follow behind and show their sorrow in the usual way. After a small stop at the *bejorna* the men sit down at the place of cremation, where the head of the dead used to be, the women gather all around the place and put down their gifts. The *morodandia* puts down the small hat (*satori*) on top of which the offerings for the spirit are placed. All men and women feed the puma with the different types of rice, beer and liquor, burn pieces of cloth and address the dead. After the men have fed the spirit and thrown uncooked rice all over the cremation ground for the other spirits they leave the wailing women behind and depart for the bath in the river. The women also leave rice on the way beside the *mosani* for the affinal spirits, those of their native villages.

Returning, from the river the men sit down halfway on the path and a formalized discussion about the *mamu*'s requests starts. Everybody knows that this is not the moment for the mama to demand things and yet he is asked for his demands. He declines all questions and stresses that he has only come to see the *bur* of his sister's son. When all sides have expressed their positions liquor is finally distributed into glasses and their contents are mixed and consumed.

At the house the men receive "house water" to wash and everything is again prepared to do *betisong* in and around the deceased's house. For this, all of the above mentioned varieties of food are placed in front of the house where the spirit has been addressed by the *mamu* and *tsorubai* before. In addition, one of the cow's stomachs, called *pota* (*titing**), is placed there. *Betisong* is given first by the *mamu* and the leading *tsorubai* on top of the cow's stomach, then inside the house, on the doorstep, the veranda and in the yard. All people follow and soon all these places are covered with jackfruit leaves (the 'plates' of the spirit) and rice.

Afterwards the women immediately clean up the floor of the house and the men assemble inside. Like on the occasion of *machpani* a ring is put down on the floor and the mama is asked to pour some drops of liquor into it (*tipali*). But he refuses, now is his time to demand *bar moali* ("bone "moali) and everybody has expected his refusal. The men speaking for the deceased's family, including the *tsorubai* put brass items, *moali*, in front of the *mamu*, mention all things he already took from the household and remind him to do his work now. But the *mamu* may still demand more things, especially when he has brought a cow or ox earlier the day for his sister's son's *bur*, as is considered to be his duty. Negotiations may go on for some time. Eventually the men are reminded by the people outside the house that the whole village is waiting for them to come to terms. Finally some arrangement is made, the *mamu* pours liquor into the ring, which is afterwards returned to his owner, and then the mama brings in the *tsoru* he has cooked in the afternoon. All men share the *mamu-tsoru* and only after they have commenced eating the rest of the village may start with the feast.

The following day centers on the exchange of living cows and oxen for raw meat parts. Cows are brought to the host's house only by affinal kins but he has to redistribute parts of meat also to several agnatic groups. How many cows

and goats a host of *abur* receives, depends on how many he or his father has given away on similar occasions. Especially the *mamu* of the deceased is expected to bring a cow and only then he has the right to demand *moali* from the house of the dead. If many cows are brought the host has to slaughter all of them in order to have enough meat for redistribution. All those who have brought a cow receive one front leg (*podia*) to take back home. Regardless of their contributions the *mamu* is given one leg, the *tsorubai* receive a neckpiece (*gala*) and the *moitr* get the chest (*buk*) or the neck. *Moitr* relations exist between villages or groups throughout the generations. Although they may be from different clans they regard each other as 'brother'. It is a most sacred and therefore highly restricted relationship beyond 'ritual utility', i.e. beside their presence the *moitr* never seem to have any function in these rituals (vide Mohanty 1973/4, Berger 2000 and Pfeffer 2001).

The day passes with endless drinking rounds since the outside guests have to cover all houses they have relations with. Thus although only one or two houses may celebrate *bur* the whole village is busy receiving and inviting guests. Equipped with their pieces of meat they start to return to their villages in the afternoon or they may stay for another day.

On the third day most guests have left the village and the only work to be done is to eat the head and hip (*mundkulund*) of the cow, which has been sacrificed for the dead on the first day. On every *bur* these parts of the sacrificial animal are kept for this purpose and either on the second or the third day all senior men of the village are called to eat *mundkulund* together. No rice is served on this occasion where the beef is eaten along with a thick gruel of meat juice and millet called *rub*.

One week after the *bur*, the spirit is again fed with rice. This is called "to return rice" or "returned rice" (*baurabat* or *andelai**), but it also connotes the "final" rite".⁸ *Tsorubai* and *mamu* may or may not be present. Several dishes of cooked rice with bamboo-sprouts, fish, dried cow meat, uncooked rice, beer and liquor are taken to the cremation ground. Only a fraction of the crowd of the actual *bur* participates on that day, mainly household members and men and women of the local line. They do not stop at the *bejorna* but otherwise the procedure is the same. All offerings are placed on the *mosani*, men leave first for the river and perform *betisong* at the house. After this the host must again feast all those present.

GOTR

As mentioned above this article intends to provide ethnographic data on the several phases of death rituals leading finally to the *gotr* ceremony, not to describe the *gotr* in detail. However, in order to understand the ritual movement and the transformations of the person in the whole process of dying the main features of the *gotr* have to be sketched.

A whole village or one of its local lines performs *gotr* about once in a generation for all those spirits who have died during that period. The ultimate aim

of *gotr* is to get rid of the spirits once and for all and in this context not the *tsorubai* but the *panjabai* play the crucial role. This is another category of clan-brothers generally of a different village (vide Pfeffer 2001). About three months before the actual *gotr* the spirits of the dead are "raised" (*utaiba*) on the cremation ground and the hosts declare the *gotr*. For each spirit one or more water buffaloes are bought and in the month of mug (February) every *duma* is converted into a 'living dead' when he or she enters the body of a buffalo. This transformation is accomplished by the feeding of sig ("first") rice to the buffalo, consisting of rice and bamboo-sprouts and/or chicken, which have been sacrificed for each buffalo. The buffaloes are then tied to newly set up branches near memorial stones of previous *gotr* celebrations inside the village, at a place referred to as *gamunda* ("village post"). Here all villagers and guests feed the buffaloes for one or several days.

The evening before the main day the groups of *panjabai* and *tsorubai* arrive in the village with rock plates, which are set up at the *gamunda* and later also at a similar place outside the village, the *gotr munda*. All buffalo takers behave in a wild and frenzied fashion, they dance all night around their buffalo-brothers and share their food and beer. After sunrise the rock plates are brought out and set up at the *gotr munda*, the buffaloes are dressed up, decorated and then led out of the village to be tied at this place. Thousands of people of the whole area have gathered to witness the final spectacle.

During the last days the *mamu* and other affines of different villages may have also bought buffaloes for their deceased sister's sons. These *purani* buffaloes have also been fed with sig rice, dressed up and are brought to the host's village on the main *gotr* day. In company of their own *tsorubai* and *panjabai* the affines approach the *gamunda* with the buffalo in their midst. They rush into the village, are greeted by the host and immediately spin around to return to the *gotr munda*. Here the buffalo is killed in a very peculiar manner, all intestines are torn out of the living buffalo by anyone who manages to come near and the antagonistic groups of buffalo takers, from the host and from the affines, aggressively try to secure their parts. Then all the other buffaloes are untied and the different groups of buffalo-takers speed away with their prey - the dead have finally left. In the weeks to come the buffaloes are killed and eaten one after the other.

On the next day the buffalo-takers return to participate in a mud game together with the host's affines and bathe together afterwards. *Tsorubai*, *panjabai*, *moitr* and affines are then seated in a row to receive gifts and to be entertained with drink and food. If the *mamu* has brought a cow or even a *purani*-buffalo he will demand valuables (*bar moali*) from his sister's son's family as on the occasion of the hut. *Panjabai* and *tsorubai* are not supposed to be greedy and *moitr* never demand anything anyway from each other. Then the feast continues.

Feasting must be reciprocated by all buffalo-takers within a couple of weeks. Thus the hosts are called to the villages of all those who have received buffaloes to be feasted. This occasion is called *panjikaiba* ("to eat *panji*").

Conclusion

As stated in the introduction, the purpose of this paper has been twofold. It provides ethnographic data, which was lacking so far and thereby opens up the possibility of a comparison between death ceremonies within the Koraput Complex and beyond. A system of ideas and values that could be compared is not articulated as such by the Gadaba but has to be constructed or rather deduced from ritual action and comments on these rituals.

Ideas concerning the composition of the person and its transformations within death rituals may be a suitable perspective for comparison. What are the elements of which a 'complete person' is constructed or deconstructed within death rituals and how does this take place? A complete person can be understood as consisting of all possible complementary parts and relations. Further, discussion of the concepts of the person make the need transparent not to focus on death rituals only, but to include all other life-cycle rituals and maybe even rituals of the yearly cycle, which may be otherwise classified as 'agricultural rites'.

Among the Gadaba a complete person consists of a life force or impersonal soul substance, which may rather considered to be an autonomous quality, the body as a physical property, and the social person or personalized soul which consists of ritual relations that are expressed in exchanges (of sisters, cows, *tsoru*, buffaloes and rock plates). While the body depends on profane food (i.e. every day or non-ritual), the social person is constructed through reciprocal feeding and commensality of *tsoru* during rituals, i.e. it depends on sacred food (Berger 2001b). A newborn child, a spirit of a recently deceased and a married man then have 'some elements in common, others not. The married man and the recently deceased both have a social person consisting of relations created by ritual action. Further, both of them have life energy, the *bon* of the man may be shattered by accidents or fear and the *duma* can possess people because it has *jibon*. Yet they are different since the *duma* has no body and further loses its vigour as soon as the *jibon* is attached to another body. At least this could be derived from the fact that the *duma* is only dangerous a short time after death and that *jibon* reincarnates within a similar period of time. Then the *duma* represents the social person only. Merely the social quality endures in contrast to the *jibon* and the body. A child is in possession of a body and of life energy, but it is no social person at all as long as it does not eat daily rice and *tsoru*. The social person is only gradually constructed by the ritual actions of the community. A married man (or women) is a complete person, i.e. combines all three aspects.

At death the complete person falls apart. Through cremation the body is destroyed, while the social person together with the life force represents a forceful and dangerous entity for some time. But the *jibon* soon finds a new host and through the *tsoru*, which is fed to the *duma* at *machpani* and *bur* the social person is step by step further removed from the living. Years later at the *gotr* the process is

reversed and the complete being is reconstructed by feeding of sig rice. The buffalo's body and life force are combined with the previously secluded social person. At this point the buffalo ceases to be an animal and may never be used for ploughing again. Similarly it may be argued that the social person ceases being a *duma*, since it will not receive sacrificial offerings (especially crabs) afterwards.

Beside the complementary aspects of the complete person itself the way these elements are ritually combined and recombined may be very different within the Desia Complex. Attention has to be paid to the modes of construction. Has ritual rice and *tsoru* the same fundamental significance in other Desia communities? As reciprocal ritual action preparation and feeding of *tsoru* must be regarded as exchange and has to be considered together with other types of exchanges and the categories of exchange. Which social categories are of significance within death rituals and related domains? Again in our example affines and several types of agnates are distinguished within the rituals (vide Pfeffer 2001): *tsorubai*, *panjabai* and *moitr*.

The mother's brother of the deceased (*mamu*) has a high status and is allowed to demand because he gives "milk" (*kir* or *dud*) and those who take his sister form marriage say, "we drank his milk" (*tar kiramekailu*). For the gift of his sister he is immediately, during the marriage procedure, compensated by a calf, which also is given "for drinking milk" (*kirkaiba pain*). But later the milk is returned anyway in form of a bride for his local line. Further the *mamu* receives brass items, *moali*, from the house of his deceased sister's son, who is the product of his milk. First he takes the *gasi* or *dud* ("mother milk") *moali* at the day of death, later *har* ("bone") *moali* at the time of *bur* and *gotr*. For this he has the duty to bring cows at the *bur* and cows or buffaloes at *gotr*.

Tsorubai are those who have the ability to connect social relations in marriage, cases of excommunication or conflict and to disconnect social ties as they do in death ceremonies. However not the *tsorubai* reconstitute the complete person in the *gotr*, but the ritual specialist (*dissari*) and/or the village brothers themselves. *Tsorubai* never exchange cows, only buffaloes for rock plates (vide Pfeffer 2001). *Panjabai* only have the capacity to detach social relations and are therefore only prominent during *gotr*. They do not feed the dead at *machpani* or *bur* but take away the recombined complete persons. Like the *tsorubai* they exchange buffaloes for rock plates. *Moitr* participate in exchanges of hospitality, deference and meat parts but they never argue. As Pfeffer points out, their behaviour contrasts with the other agnatic categories (ibid.: 113). Their presence is welcomed during all rituals but not required and generally their sacred relationship prevents them from visiting each other, because it may be a matter of "embarrassment" (*lajkota*).

What is finally the most distinguished quality of complete persons and sets them equally apart from the dead (also in their revived state) and gods is their ritual capacity, especially as sacrificers. Apart from life-cycle rituals in which *tsoru*

is prepared to transform the complementary elements of life, village agnates sacrifice for gods and participate in a commensal relationship with them. Therefore also this aspect of the ritual system has to be taken into consideration.

Notes

1. "This article is concerned with the Boro or Gutob Gadaba who live mainly in the Lamtaput Block of Koraput District where fieldwork has been carried out for twenty-one months between January 1999 and April 2001. The Boro Gadaba speak the Oriya dialect of Desia as well as the Munda language Gutob. In ritual contexts Desia is the dominant language and most indigenous expressions cited in the text are Desia. All Gutob words are marked with '*' , Ile Gutob*.

2. There are of course some exceptions. U.C. Mohanty describes "Bond-Friendship among the Gadaba" (1973/4), B.B. Mohanty writes on the "Economic Backwardness of the Gadaba" (1976) and S. Som (1993) provides demographic data of a specific village. R. Baliarsingh and P.K. Nayak (1996) have written on social organization, while P. Sabat, N.C. Das and J. Dash (1998) again present economic and demographic analysis. Further I want to mention the books on the subject, like "Ollar Gadba of Koraput" by K.N. Thusu and M. Jha (1972); R. Parkin (1992) who mentions the Gadaba off and on in his account on the Munda speaking tribes, as well as V. Subba Rao and D.R. Patnaik (1992) on the Gadaba of Andhra Pradesh and, The Gadabas. A Handbook for Development" by R.K. Nayak, B.M. Boal and N. Soreng (1996). Unfortunately much work on the Gadaba by Indian scholars is still unpublished and not easily accessible. I have been unable for example to obtain the dissertations of P.K. Mishra (1972), S. Som (1973).

3. In many cases the mother's brother of a deceased person has already died. Then usually his sons or other male members of the local line take up his position in the ritual, but every senior affine may act as *mamu* if required.

4. *Tsorubai* is a permanent and reciprocal ritual relationship between agnatic villages or local lines. The main function the *tsorubai* perform for each other is the cooking and in circumstances feeding of sacrificial food called *tsoru*. It also is a commensal relationship since *tsorubai* in these context generally eat *tsoru* together (vide Pfeffer 1991, 2000, Berger 2000, 2001b).

5. The term "local line" has been coined by Leach (1961: 57) and revived by Pfeffer (e.g. 2000: 339). Leach introduces this term in the context of affinal exchange. In fact 'local line' refers to diagrammatic representations of "local decent groups" (ibid.: 56f). The important difference with the notion of 'lineage' is that 'local descent groups' or 'local lines' depend on descent and locality. In systems where the genealogical bias of the 'African' lineage is lacking "local lines", detached from Leach's diagrammatic context, is a useful tool. Among the Desia *kuda* refers to such an agnatic group with common residence (vide Pfeffer 1997, 2000; Berger 2000, 2001 a).

6. Any senior man among the *tsorubai* can act as *morodandia*. Every time the *tsorubai* newly decide who should perform this work.

7. *Gasi* refers to a low status community associated with death and cremation grounds. *Dud* is "milk", especially mother's milk. *Mo-ali* relates to two brass items, *mota* and *tali*, the *mamu* receives. That he receives a milk item on the day of his sister's son's death, may be interpreted as a return of the milk the *mamu* has previously given, i.e. his sister.

8. Vide Gustafsson (1989). *Baurakat* is the last visit on the cremation ground on the day of death, *baura porbo* signifies the last day of the festival in April (*chait porbo*).

9 Vide Gustafsson (1989). It corresponds to the inversion of the ritual process that after the "last" or "returned rice" has been fed at the *bur*, "first" rice is fed to the buffalo during the *gotr* and thereby a new form of existence is created.

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THE COGNITIVE ASPECTS OF GOTR CEREMONY*

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According to "The Fontana Dictionary of Modern Thought" cognition system is the collection of inter related items of knowledge or belief held by an individual about a person, group, event, calve or objects or any subject either concrete or abstract. Every human individual establishes a number of such cognitive systems. The degree to which they are interrelated varies greatly. One of the characteristics of an ideology is the high degree of interconnection between the most important cognitivesystems.

According to Parsons "All cognition is couched in symbols but whereas scientific thought involves only a sample symbolic relation" that is symbol refers directly to an observable object a religious symbol double symbolic reference.

It has been assumed that the world view of the people, i.e., the way of the people see themselves in relation to the world around them gives us a lice about themselves in relation to the "Gotr Ceremony".

World view does not start from any choice of a particular life. It does not emphasize ceremony or social structure or personality or even ethos system of moral norms. It enters seriously into the possibility of devising a form of thought for general use of the real whole of the little community that awaits the insiders' total vision and conception of everything (Redfield 1971:95).

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The Gadaba and their Universe:

Gadabas broadly divide the universe into three namely 'Bhitarpur' (inner world), 'Dhartan' or earth and 'Debata Desh' or Sky. To them the earth is a round shaped flat surface and sky is hollow round shaped structure overbearing it.

This structure of the Universe as presented by the Gadabas appears to be somewhat like circular and is very similar to the structure of their traditional house known as "Chendidien". They have a strong belief that the Gods live on the sky. After one's death, his spirit lives in the underworld known as 'Bhitarpur'.

Natural Domain and Supernatural Deities:

In the Gadaba society almost every natural phenomenon is animated and presided over by supernatural spirits. They talk of a number of such spirits each of whom have a definite area of activity in nature. Gadabas worship and offer sacrifices to other deities from time to time and endeavour to keep them in good humour. These supernatural spirits are thought to play important role in their life and activities.

Gadaba Beliefs and Secondary Mortuary Rituals

In every stage of life Gadabas have some short of beliefs and practices according to their world view or according to their vision of the world around.

Belief in Soul and Supernatural Being:

Gadabas believe that death is caused due to the departure of 'Jiv' or life substance from the body. When 'Jiv' (unseen power) is present inside the human body, it is alive and after it's death the unseen power or 'Jiv' goes to the inner world or 'Bhitarpur' after which the soul undergoes salvation. They call the spirit as 'Duma' and for 3 days following the death of a person the spirit or 'Duma' moves around the deceased person.

After the 'Tigat' ceremony is completed, the spirit is permitted to move around the burial ground.

After 10 days i.e., after completion of the 'Dasa' ceremony, the spirit 'Duma' moves everywhere.

They have a strong belief that after the death of a man, his spirit roams here and there restlessly before the performance of the Gotr ceremony. After the completion of Gotr ceremony, the spirit gets salvation and can enter into the 'Bhitarpur' -the land of the dead. In the 'Bhitarpur' the spirit lives like a human being. In this world, the spirit maintains his life like a cultivator. Therefore the relatives of the deceased give some money in cash, new clothes, *pendum*, food and some ornaments in the cremation ground. They have the belief that these materials will be useful for the deceased in the 'Bhitarpur' and the Spirit may not return to the house after getting all these.

In the Gadaba society unnatural death rites are observed in a different way. Those who have met with unnatural death, their spirits cannot enter into the land of dead or 'Bhitarpur' and mix with other spirits and so they move restlessly and may cause troubles to the people until some special rituals are performed for them. So special rituals are observed for them at the burial ground as well as the place where the person died.

They treat the deceased differently at the time of ritual according to its type of death. They never set fire to the person who dies in an unnatural way because they believe in a story that the smoke from the fire may cause disease, death etc. in the village. So no cremation will be done for them. For them unnatural deaths are deaths by the attack of tiger, bear, due to diseases like small pox, leprosy etc., due to accident by falling from the tree, due to snake bite, due to earth quake or lightening etc.

They have a strong belief that though these kinds of spirits are already polluted they will never mix with the other spirits because they are controlled by the evil spirits. So elaborate purificatory ceremonies are omitted for these types of spirits. In the cremation ground 'Chorubhai' cook the *chorubhata* "sacred rice" for the deceased and before setting fire on the dead body he first purifies the dead body by giving this rice. They believe that after getting the rice, 'Duma' of the dead person is purified and he can mix with the other 'Dumas' and after the return from the burial ground, all persons take bath because after bath they can be free from the 'Dumas' contact. After returning home they wash all their clothes and clean the houses with cow-dung for purification. In the cremation ground they burn or bury all the daily use personal articles of the deceased person. Because they believe that all these materials will be used by the deceased in the underworld or the 'Bhitarpur'. In the eyes of Gadaba, soon after the death of a person his spirit lives around the Gadaba habitat and after the 'Gotr' ceremony, the spirit or 'Duma' gets salvation and the spirit can be able to go to the other world and become one of their ancestor Gods.

Pollution starts immediately soon after the death of a person which lasts for 10 days and becomes over after the 'Dasa' observance on the 10th day. The pollution period is called as 'Sandatsute' 'Sutaksanda'. Among the Bada Gadaba it is called 'Baipa'.

The Chief mourner never takes food which is cooked by others till the performance of "Dasha" ceremony. Since the clan members outside the lineage are not polluted, they are free to take food in their usual manner. During this pollution period, the deceased's family is not allowed to participate in village functions. After two days of the death of a person that is the day of the (Tigab) ceremony, Chorubhai cooks the sacred rice and sacrifices a black fowl in the name of the 'Duma'. They believe that after getting the blood, the spirit can show it as its property to the 'Gogaigo' - the king of the Dumas' to please him. This day a special

fish curry is prepared for the spirit or 'Duma'. After getting this fish, he becomes satisfied and enters into the stream to cool his body. Some portion of this food is offered to the 'Duma'. Inside the kitchen room, some offered on the path halfway to the funeral ground and some on the ashes of the funeral pyre. All the relatives follow the Chorubhai. At the cremation ground, all the relatives as well as Chorubhai offer rice, curry, liquor and one white cloth in the name of the deceased. The belief behind this is that all these materials will be the asset of the spirit in the 'Bhitarpur'. On this day a feast is arranged because they believe that after the "Tigab" ceremony or 'Pita' ceremony the spirit or 'Duma' can get freedom to move outside the funeral ground within which it has been confined. On this day, after getting the Chorubhata' (sacred rice) from the Chorubhai "Duma" is purified and gets the scope to mix with the other 'Dumas'.

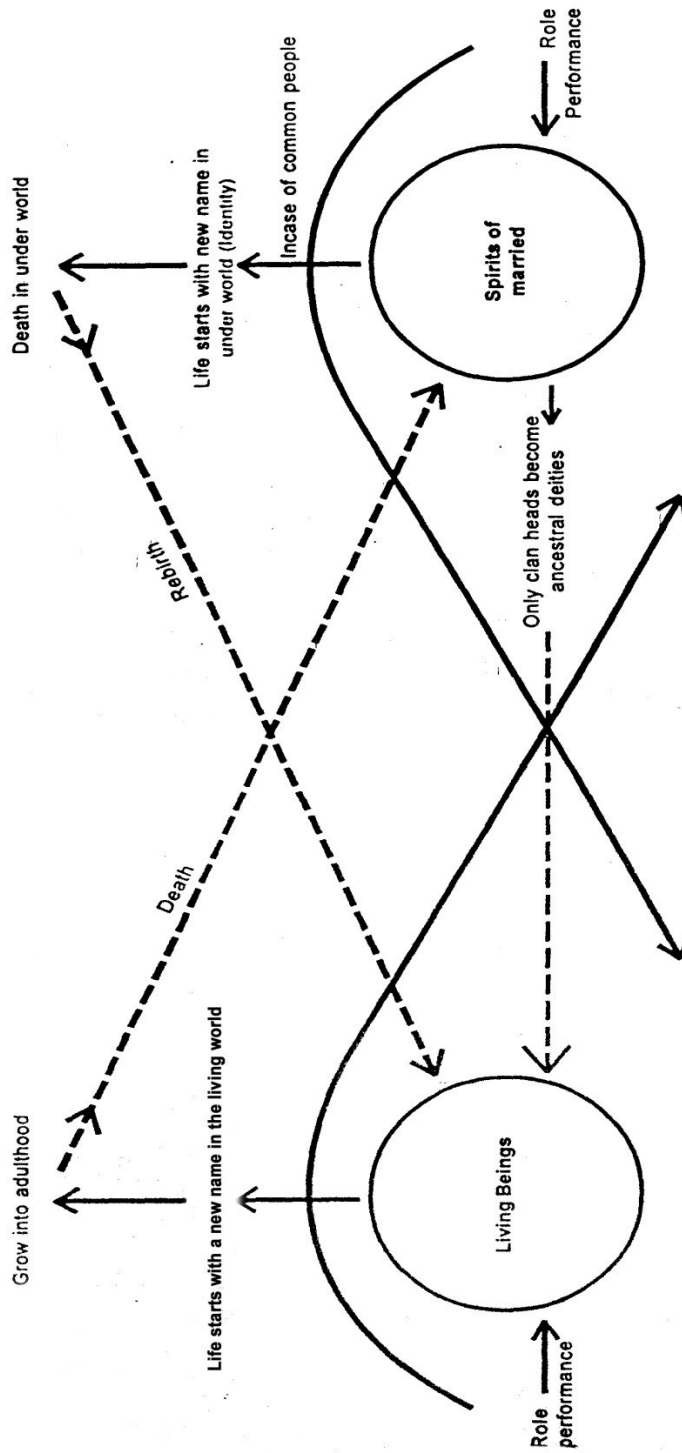
In case, a young child dies before the rise of his milk teeth this treated as unnatural death for which burial takes place instead of cremation. In case of adult persons family members and kinsfolk keep the personal articles of the deceased. His maternal uncle keeps one item with the belief that the deceased will recognize his maternal uncle in the other world. At the time of cremation both *Panjia Bhai* and *Choru Bhai* take part. They set fire to the dead body. First, the *Panjia Bhai* sets fire at the head side and then *Choru Bhai* sets fire on the opposite side. Therefore *Chorubhai* takes the leg portion and *Panjia Bhai* takes the head portion of the sacrificed buffalo at the time of Gotr ceremony. While returning from the cremation ground, *Chorubhai* takes the "Duma Tangia", an axe used during cremation and keeps it on the roof of the house with the belief that the spirit will never come to this area. (*Refer to Gadaba world view Life and Death shown in the following Diagram*)

Dasha

The second 'Tigab' ceremony is called as 'Dasa' (also in Oriya). No other ritual is performed in between the 'Pita' or 1st 'Tigab' ceremony and 'Dasha'. This second 'Tigab' ceremony is performed on the 10th day or even after one year in some rare cases. On this day 'Chorubhai' as well as 'Panjabhai' play vital role. The 'Dasa' is performed for the partial salvation of the spirit. After 'Dasa' ritual is over, they have the belief that the spirit may be free to move anywhere except to enter the other world. Both '*Chorubhai*' and other Brother (Mamu) cook their rice separately. The rice cooked by the '*Chorubhai*' is called as "*Chorubhata*" and the rice cooked by the mother's brother is called as 'Mamu Choru' and besides *there is another type of rice cooked by the relatives called as 'Mukula Bhata'*. One pig is sacrificed in the name of the "Gagi", the deity of death.

The 'Gogig' is the supreme controlling authority of the spirits or 'Duma' without whose permission no 'Duma' can move out of its area. The maternal uncle brings a cow categorized as "Muali" and it is sacrificed in the name of the deceased. This sacrifice is mainly performed by the Disari, the village priest.

GADABA WORLD VIEW OF LIFE & DEATH



Role Expectations

Cooperation from the souls and supernatural blessings from the Ancestors

Role Expectations

(Co-operation from the living for Gotr performance for good spirits and offering for evil spirits)

The liver and blood of the cow is collected by the maternal uncle who offers it to the deceased in the cremation ground. Because they believe that the 'Jiv' or soul lies inside the liver they offer the blood and liver of the cow in the name of the 'Duma' of the deceased for whom the Dasa is performed with a belief that the cow will be an asset for the deceased in the underworld or 'Bhitarpur'. This also confirms their belief in rebirth and life in the underworld. Both 'Chorubhai' and maternal uncle sacrifice fowls in the name of the ancestral spirits to allow the spirit or Duma of the deceased to enter into the spirit world or 'Duma Jagat'. On this day Chorubhai, Panjiabhai, mother's brother, paternal uncle along with other relatives go to the cremation ground and offer rice, *pendum*, different types of newly harvested crops, vegetables, small pieces of cloth and different types of dishes prepared by the relatives and themselves. The belief behind this ceremony is that the 'Duma' will take this cow and other material to plough his land and have a peaceful life. Therefore, slaughtering of one cow is a must for the ceremony. If the slaughtering cow is omitted, then the 'Duma' with utter dissatisfaction will kill the human beings and cattle. All the offerings are considered as the property of the deceased so they offer several items like plough, axe, kodki, yoke, rope, *bidi*, liquor, shoes, etc. at the "Bejarna" where Chorubhai offers one *chatodi*-bamboo cap one small paddy container made of bamboo, one earthen pot 'Patti' one piece of cloth, some *ragi*, *suan*, black gram, horsegram, *kating*, paddy, rice, some amount of money, 'bidi', tobacco etc. at the burial ground while other relatives offer different types of food grains, fruits, vegetables and different types of cooked food. All the types of food are cooked by them. At the time of offering all these items at the cremation ground, they usually face towards the direction.

Among the Bada Gadabas, 'Gotr' ceremony is a must. But among the Ollar Gadaba there are two groups. One group is known as 'Gotaria' who observe the Gotr ceremony like the Bada Gadabas. But the other groups called Kakadagodia observe this Gotr ceremony on the day of 'Dasa' or at the time of the 2nd 'Tigab' ceremony. They call it 'Sudhi Gotr' or 'Thuri Gotr' and celebrate it for 2 days. They celebrate the 'Dasa' like the Bada and Ollar Gadabas, but besides this, they also observe the 'Gotr' on this day by tying a buffalo in the name of the deceased which is later on taken by the 'Panjiabhai' from the Gotr doer on the 2nd day of Dasa. Though they do not observe it like 'Bada Gotr' they follow its major principles and procedures.

Gotr Ceremony:

Gadabas believe that after the 'Dasa' or second 'Tigab' ceremony is completed, the spirit of the deceased cannot enter into the underworld or 'Bhitarpur' and therefore, cannot get salvation. They believe that unless and until the great festival called 'Gotr' is performed one cannot move into the underworld or become an ancestral spirit. According to their beliefs and tradition they practise it in different stages. In every step they have some religious beliefs and practices which shape their style of living as well as thinking.

Dumabhariba Puja' or (Bana Bhairab)

This is the first step of 'Gotr' ceremony which comes in the month of 'Magha' (Oct-Nov). With the help of Gotaria Dishari, the Gotr doer performs the ritual at the ground, as they believe that after the 'Dasa' or 'Tigab' ceremony, the 'Duma' of the deceased wanders restlessly. This day 'Disari' invites the spirits to the village premises and controls the evil spirits and limits their movements within a specific area. Gadabas believe that though the physical body of the moon can decrease or die but the spirit never dies and it takes rebirth again. 'Disari' invites the 'Gagi' who is the supreme of all spiritual beings and takes his permission by offering the rice, *pendum*, fowl, pig, etc. Disari ties all the spirits and 'Hundi debta' (village deity). Sacrificing a pig in the name of the 'Gagi' and offers the pork to all the spirits for whom the Gotr is going to be celebrated. Chorubhai cooks the 'Chorubhata' or sacred rice and offers it to the spirits in the cremation ground to purify them so that they can participate in the 'Gotr' ceremony.

Disari first sacrifices a pig in the name of the 'Gogy' who is the supreme deity of death. After the Chorubhai cooks the 'Chorubhata' (sacred rice) Disari sacrifices a pig in the name of 'Gogy'. He offers fried blood and liver of the pig to 'Gogy' with rice by chanting spells that we are offering your desired things and you keep us in peace, bless us with wealth, and our children and no one should suffer from diseases or any type of loss during the Gotr ceremony. After that, 'Chorubhai' offers the sacred rice to 'Gogy' and then to other spirits. They believe that after receiving the 'Chorubhat', the spirits became purified and can enter into the villages. 'Disari' invites the spirits and offers Chorubhata in a jackfruit leaf plate to each one. He gives life to all these 'Dumas' (spirits) by spells (Mantras). From this day beating of drums start. The reason behind the beating of drum is that by hearing this sound, no spirit or 'Duma' can dare to do any harm to the Gadabas. From this day, every 'Gotr' doer offer cooked rice and 'pendum' to their ancestors till the end of the 'Gotr' ceremony. During this period, if any one dies or any one suffers from any kind of disease, then Disari performs another ritual by offering a fowl or goat in the name of the 'Gogy' for his satisfaction on the day of Banabhariba puja. Disari puts four flags or 'bana' in four directions of the village as a result, the 'Dumas' from village neither go out nor the other evil 'Dumas' from the outside can enter into the villages by hearing the Duma music. Before the end of the ceremony, one cannot dare to touch the flag because there is a strong belief that the person who touches it, after his/her death the spirit cannot enter into the underworld and remains impure. This 'Banabhairab puja' implies the welcome ceremony of the Dumas to the villages in order to attend the 'Gotr' ceremony.

In the month of 'Magh' (Jan-Feb) on an auspicious day, 'GotariaDisari' performs a ritual called *podakina* or purchase of buffalo by offering one hen, one fowl and one parrot in the name of 'Gogy', 'Hundi' (village deity) and 'Bhima' debata. Then the Disari can give order for the purchase of buffalo for the purpose.

The reason behind selection of buffalo as sacrificial animal for Gotr ceremony is that buffaloes are the powerful as well as useful animal of their area like the Gadabas are as humans and hence the buffaloes are the right substitute for invoking spirits or Duma in their body.

Disari first gives permission to the person of the family who proposes to tie the 'Kuti buffalo'. He gives a one rupee coin and a rope by enchanting spells with a belief that the Gotr doer can get the buffalo in a cheaper price and no evil spirit can do any harm until the rope is tied around the neck of the buffalo. After the purchase of *khati pod kuti buffalo* is over, the purchase of other buffalo for the Gotr ceremony starts. Every Gotr doer sacrifices a hen in the name of their ancestors before going to the market or to any other village for the purchase of buffaloes. They select the buffalo according to the sex, colour, structure and size of the deceased person for whom the Gotr ceremony is being organised. It shows that Gadabas compare the buffaloes somehow with the human being. They also have the belief that after death of a person, his/her sex cannot change. He/she again takes rebirth after the salvation in the underworld. After purchase of buffaloes for the ceremony is finished all the Gotr doers jointly sacrifice a fowl in front of the Hundi debta (village deity) as she looks after the welfare of the village.

After all buffaloes for the ceremony are purchased, on an auspicious day, Disari sacrifices a fowl in the name of 'Hundi' debta in order to keep peace in the village during Gotr ceremony. On the scheduled day which is selected by the Gotaria Disari, they observe a ritual called as 'Subhadia' (foundation day) few days before actual performance Gotr ceremony. With the help of 'Chorubhai and mother's brother of the 'Kuti doer' who is selected as the leader or main sacrificer among the Gotr doers proceed to village 'sadar'. With music party villagers also accompany them. 'Disari' sacrifices hen's egg in the name of 'Hundi' debta by chanting spells. Then, he offers some rice and pendum to her. After some dance is performed by the villagers 'Disari' plants a 'Simili' (silk cotton) branch in front of the Sadar in the name of the ancestors. After that two other 'Simili Mundas' are posted one at 'Ghana Gotr Munda' (Gotrdien) and another at the outskirts of the village which is known as 'Pada Gotr Munda' and 'Gotr Langbo'. These 'Simili Mundas' are posted for the memory as well as for the sitting arrangement of the ancestors, village deity and the Dumas for whom the Gotr is celebrated. The Simili Munda posted at 'Sadar' is meant for the village deity. The Simili Munda posted at Gotrdien (in front of the house) is meant for the spirit or 'Dams' for whom the Gotr is celebrated and the 'Simili' tree posted at Pada Gotr Munda or at the village outskirts is meant for the departed souls.

Gadabas have a strong belief that the departed souls are in a restless position before Gotr ceremony and they always like to sit under the 'Simili' tree. Simili branch are preferred as they grow without any care and remain as a memory for a long time. Before they cut the 'Simili' branches for the purpose, they worship the 'Riali debta' by offering a hen's egg with some raw rice. It indicates

that they take permission and pay respect to everyone before using anything for the purpose. On this day, every Gotr doers cook Chorubhata and offer it in the name of their ancestors and the spirits or Duma for whom Gotr is conducted.

Seven days before the Gotr ceremony to begin, the donor distributes unhusked rice to all the women of his village for pounding and gives 3 chickens to the priest (Sisa) who sacrifices them in the name of the God called 'Gumang'. Except this rite, Sisa has no other ritual function during the 'Gotr' ceremony. However, 'Disari' -a seer and magician plays the major role in Gotr. It indicates that, only the magician or seer can control the spirits seven days before the commencement of the ceremony. The first day of the Gotr ceremony is called 'Gatamela' or 'Jagaran' (sleepless day). As the guests from the neighboring villages assemble, those who have brought buffaloes, hand them over to the donor who ties them with his own animals to special posts put up for the purpose called 'Gatamunda' and 'Gotr Munda'. Before the guests arrive, temporary shelters are built by the villagers to accommodate them. After the relatives take food they along with the villagers gather near the 'Nggom Munda' which is the donor family's own stone place. Disari first goes to the 'Kuti Gotrdoer's 'Nggom Munda' accompanied by music party and villagers in the night because they believe that night time is the time for the Dumas. Disari sacrifices a hen and offer rice, in the name of the ancestors. Then the Chorubhai brings two big stones with the help of villagers with proper ritual performed by the village priest 'Sisa'. 'Sisa' sacrifices a chicken before taking the stone from that area in the name of 'Biren debta'.

I have seen in the village Kangarapada that while people bringing stones for the purpose, one stone fell down and broken into several pieces and Sisa has to offer another 'puja' by sacrificing one more chicken in the name of 'Biren Debta' to satisfy him. Chorubhai and Panjiabhai with the help of villagers erect two stones at the 'Nggom Munda', one placed horizontally and the other, vertically. The horizontal one is called as "Silbiren" and the vertical one is called "Sanser biren". They put these stones in front of the Simili branch which was posted earlier on the day of 'Subhadia'. These stones are posted with a belief that the spirit or 'Duma' can sit here and bless the villagers. Posting one stone vertically and the other one horizontally, the whole structure looks like a chair and is considered a respectful place for sitting. After the 'Gotr' ceremony is over, these stone may remain for the memory of the deceased persons. After the stone plantation is over, 'Disari' and a respectable old man of the village sit on the stone and take bath and take *pendum* on it. The younger people cannot sit on it because it is treated a seat for the respectable persons only. After this, the 'Panjiabhai' can sit on it which implies the 'Panjiabhai' is very closer to the ancestor or he may be a respectable person. 'Panjiabhai' can sit and take *pendum* on it. After this scene is over, all the villagers and relatives give a ceremonial bath to the 'Kuti buffalo' and hand over it to the Disari. Disari feeds the uncooked rice to the animal with chanting of *mantras* after which the Chorubhai feeds the cooked Chorubhata and then the Gotr doer families

feed the Chorubhat before feeding the donor and addressing the Duma of the person with the following words:

*'Under kopera Odemyu Sardangu Som,
Bainen pingi dutusar dagusom,
Baiburonselscr ghduka'.*

This means do not be angry with us, eat gladly, brothers have come, eat gladly be gracious to your kinsmen. During the feeding the women weep, remembering their dead relations and then men sing the following Gotr songs:-

*'Tor satrhacisi, tar Agariaisi
gigilgorilongbarbar. barorilong
barosamdi piping dutu, barabhai
piping duta, terobhai piping dutu
Kasdinmiyarengu, bubaniyarendu,
mandukaandemu, roan hanuhardemu'*

This song means-

Your enemy comes, your foe comes, hit him hard with your hand and drive him away, twelve maternal kinsmen and in-laws have come, twelve brothers (paternal kins) have come, thirteen brothers have come. Do not cry when they take you away, do not weep when they take you away, may your mind feel no pain, may there be no ill feeling in your mind.

This Gotr song indicates their belief that the spirit of the deceased in whose honour the ceremony is being conducted is represented in the form of the buffalo. So they request and prey surrounding the buffalo. They try to finish their enemies through the Duma. The neighbouring Doms cannot feed Choru to the buffalo because Gadaba treat them as inferior and untouchable caste. Entire night the drum beaters beat their drums.

In the following morning the relatives and villagers gather and make a large fence of Simili branches for tying and feeding the buffaloes dedicated to the Gotr ceremony. Besides rice and curry, which are served to them in fine leaf cups, they are also given beer to drink. The people pat the buffaloes and wail. Womenfolk scratch their cheeks with their nails so that the blood comes out, while they beat themselves on the head and weep uncontrollably. Because they have a strong belief that the buffaloes, carrying the deceased spirits of the families, that is to say, the spirits of all those who have died since the last Gotr ceremony are washed with warm water just as one does when there are important guest in the village and then they are rubbed with oil and given a bath. After that the Kuti Buffalo eat the same. In a Gadaba village there are so many Kudas or Banso such as Kishani, Muduli, Sisa etc. In every Kuda they have their own 'Nggom Munda' or 'Ghana Gotr Munda' where they tie their respective buffaloes. Similarly at the

outskirts of the village and not far from the place where the deceased are cremated they have their own stone planted which is called as 'Gotr langbo'. In this place each Kutum have a separate Gotr langbo.

The day before the 'Gotr' feast is called as 'Pakhanabuha' day in honour of the sleepless deity. On this day Panjabhais from the nearby villages come with drums, ropes, poles and Gotr stones from the places where the Disari selected stones. Before lifting the stones Sisa or the village priest worship the Biren debta by sacrificing an egg on the stone and chanting *mantras*. They carry the stones with the help of poles amidst drum beating up to the village *sadar*. They also carry two pair of stones, two Simili branches, rice, *pendum*, leaf cup and plate, *mahuli* liquor etc to the Gotr village. Mainly the male persons lead the procession. Before the village entrance the villagers welcome the *panjibhai* with continuous drumming. This is the welcome ceremony to their guests or Panjabhai. Gotr villagers jokingly beat the *panjibhai* and colour his face of the Panjibhai with mud and dust which Panjabhai reciprocates. The entire atmosphere became very pleasant amidst merry making. This strengthens their relationship. One pair of stone is planted at *sadar* for the memory of the village head and another at *pada* 'Gotr' *munda* for the sitting place and memory of the deceased by the Disari. After Disari worshipping the stone by offering rice, *pendum* and sacrificing a hen, the elder persons dig holes and younger persons erect the menhir (*silbirel*) and lay the flat stone (*sanyara biren*) in front. After that rice bear is served. Women as well as children dance together. The drinking, drumming and dancing goes on for the whole night and therefore the day is called as "No sleep day" or *jagarana*. Every 'Gotr' doer sacrifice a cow and host a feast to their guests and relatives. This day also the friends and relatives from other villages come to feed the *chroubhata* to the buffaloes.

Jurday (day of tearing into pieces) or Gotr Day

This day is considered as the climax of the function. From the very morning before sunrise at about 4 a.m. one buffalo is sacrificed in the name of Sun God (Rau Debta). So this buffalo is called as Raupada. Raupoda is sacrificed outside of the village and not far from the cremation /burial ground of the village. Then Gotaria Disari worships the Rau Debta by chanting *mantras* and handovers the buffalo to Sisa. Then village priest -Sisa, take the buffalo outside the village and sacrifices the buffalo with an axe facing towards east. Soon after the blow on the backside of the buffalo people rush towards the sacrificed buffalo and each one try to tear out the Raupoda tongue, entrails with bare hands. Some crawl over the pile of men and others tried to wedge themselves underneath. Those who get hold of a piece of flesh stock it inside their belts. The powerful persons mainly try to tear the tongue of the Raupoda and to get this they also use knife and other cutting implements. All people try to get even a small piece of the tongue of Raupoda. Because they believe that the tongue will be used as medicine for different incurable diseases and it can save them from the Dumas or evil spirits and again by holding it one can get access to everywhere. Some of them also bury it in their

agricultural lands to increase the fertility the land. The remaining Raupada is equally divided among Panjia and *chorubhai*. The rib portion of the buffalo is taken by Panjiabhai and the hind portion is taken by the Chorubhai which implies the position of Panjiabhai followed by the *chourbhai* in Gotr ceremony.

After the Raupada is sacrifice is over all take a bath, return to their houses and prepare a ceremonial food in the early morning. They bath their buffaloes with warm water applying turmeric paste and Karanja oil. Then the buffaloes are bodily decorated with Keranga saree, cloth, comb, mirror, silver, brass and silver pots, *bidi*, etc. according to their sex, age, and the choice items of the deceased in their life time. They have a strong belief that all the decorated items will be used by the Dumbain the underworld and if not given these items the Duma will be angry to cause damage the crop and diseases in the family. After this decoration, lamentation starts and *panjibahi* then proceed towards *pada* Gotr *munda* situated at the village outskirts or near the cremation ground. But among the Parengas this is slightly different because before decorating the buffaloes or last *choru* wailing all the Gotr doers go to the cremation ground with *pendum*, rice, cooked food, daily use articles like *bidi*, *khaini*, and the agricultural articles plough, yoke, rope and utensils like mud pot, mud pitcher etc.

Every Gotr doers go to the cremation ground and offer cooked and uncooked food in the name of their ancestors. After that they take bath and prepare the buffaloes for the *Pada* Gotr *munda*. Disari takes the Kuti buffalo to the *pada* Gotr *munda* after sacrificing a chicken and a chicken egg on the *neggon munda*. While taking the Kuti buffalo towards *pada* Gotr *munda* the Panjiabhais take other buffaloes and follow to the Kutipada with continuous drumming. Disari tie the Kuti buffalo at the *simili* branch which was earlier posted by the Panjiabhai. Then other buffaloes are tied in different *simili mundas* of *kutum gotrs*. Local markets and *hats* remain open on this occasion and large number of spectators comes to witness the event. So every Gotr doer sacrifice large number of cows, bulls, goats, pigs, fowls in the name of the spirits or Dumas with the belief that these animals will be the property of the Dumas in the underworld. Panjiabhai, Chorubhai and relatives dance in front of the buffalo singing Gotr songs.

Some years ago Panjiabhai was dancing front of the buffaloes by holding a sword or axe but now-a-days, they are dancing by holding only a stick due to interference of police or law. In the meantime so many *purani* or (gift buffaloes) come from different villages mainly gifted by the mother's brother, sister and daughter of the Gotr-doers. They come with their Panjiabhai holding sticks in their hands. Before reaching *pada* Gotr *munda*, both Panjiabhai of the buffalo donor and Gotr doer fight each other with their sticks to take the buffalo (*purani*). As per the tradition the gift buffalo or *purani* should be equally shared and any group can take the buffalo by overpowering the other. As it is a prestige issue, each group tries to win. Some times to fight and win some persons use knives which causes dispute between two groups.

Disari worships the Gogi debta by chanting *mantras* and sacrifice a chicken in the name of ancestors. Disari gives permission to Gotr doer and Panjibhai to take all ornaments and decorative items from the buffalo. After that the Gotr doer families start their lamentation. Then Panjiabhais lead the buffaloes towards their village without looking to the back. After Disari chants some *mantras*, Sisa or the village priest strikes the Kuti buffalo after removing its decorations. Then the mob rush to the Kuti buffalo and each one tries to tear out the animal's entrails with bare hands, take it to their fields and bury it in their agricultural land to increase the fertility. They believe that after this ritual the dangerous spirit 'Gogi' is driven away from their village. The remaining portion of the buffalo divided into two parts by the *challan* who is a Dom by caste. The front part or rib portion (Singkuru) is given to Panjiabhai whereas the back portion (*kurunda*) is given to the *chourbhai*. In the night in the Gotr village the Dhangidis with Dhangadas perform their traditional dance called Dhemsas. Next day the guests are honoured with a feast in which large number of cow goat and bulls are sacrificed. This day is called as Kadamara day because all the relatives and guests from the neighboring villages are given a mud bath by the Gotr doers and then they take bath in the worm water prepared by the unmarried girls of the village. Only those who have come with cows, bulls etc for the Gotr ceremony they can only take Part. This is done to strengthen their bond. The gifts and exchange which is take place at the time of Gotr ceremony is very significant to mark their close social relationship. The maternal uncle comes with a buffalo or cow (*muali*) whereas sister of the deceased must come with a buffalo (*purani*). The Maitar (ritual friend) never comes with empty hands. Many times Maitar brings a buffalo or a goat. Samdi may come with a cow or a goat. If any relative had taken buffaloes at the time of last Gotr done by the same Gotr doer he/she is bound to come equal number of buffaloes to reciprocate.

This 'Gotr' ceremony is a rite-de-passage indicating a transition from one stage to another stage of life. All these, ritual actions as considered as social transformer which mark the transition not only in life but from one kind of action to another kind. The final ceremony or the Gotr ceremony comes after, a very longtime. It may after ten years or even after a generation or more. As has been indicated a Gotr implies tremendous economic effort for a family and their relatives and a really impressive accumulation of wealth. The herds of buffaloes must be increased as well as everything else, and if delayed the more buffaloes and other goods are required. The lifespan is relatively short for these people, and it is not always certain that they could collect all the Gotr items during a lifetime. A Gotr is actually a sort of social measure of one's success in life. There is no doubt that it is their most expensive ritual where they lose a great part of their surplus. Thus it is rather obvious that the Gotr is connected with social prestige or at least with the respectability of the donor. On the other hand, one might say that Gotr is only a means for prestige between relatives and individuals. The stones and the two poles made from the *simili* tree planted at the time of Subhadia are also very

important. Gotr ceremony manifests people's wish to appease the dangerous spirit of the dead and keep them at the bay.

When the buffaloes are shifted from the village to the outside *poda* Gotr *munda* it implies that the evil spirits are driven away from the village. This idea behind it that the spirits of the dead reside in an animal and are later carried away is nothing but the old motive of scapegoat of which Frazer mentioned several examples among the Todas and another tribe in southern India.

The plantations of stone have so many reasons.

1. It is planted in the memory of the ancestors.
2. It represents the seat of the ancestors.
3. By seating on the stones the village council members are in a way influenced by these ancestors so that their decisions will benefit the people.

* * * * *

GANDIA*

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IDENTITY

Odisha is homeland of sixty two tribal communities and Gandia is one among them. Gandia is numerically a very small and little known tribe of Odisha. Traditionally being a Gondid community of shifting cultivators and pastoralists the Gandias are said to be a section of the Koya tribe with whom they have close socio-cultural similarities.

The Gandia who live in the southernmost part of Odisha are largely concentrated in the Malkanagiri district. They speak Dravidian Language 'Gondi' that belongs to the central Gondi dialect of the Proto-Dravidian group. They are of medium stature; their colour varies from light brown to dark brown and have stout shoulder, stubbly hair or bristles.

According to 2011 Census their population in Odisha is 1854 out of which male population is 884 and female population is 970. The sex ratio is 1097 females per 1000 males. Their level of literacy is very low i.e. 35.81 percent.

Dress and Ornaments

Men and grown up boys wear the simplest possible loin cloth hung on the waist cord in the front and passed in between the legs and hung in the cord at the back. Very few of them wear shirts and some men have brass ring around the

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wrist or arm. When the girls reach the age of nine or ten they are taught by their mothers how to wear *goladudsa*, the way in which women folk wear their clothes. Now-a-days, the women wear sarees and blouses. Men are putting on turban on their head whereas women are using brass bands around their head. The necklaces of beads are very much liked and are purchased from the local markets. Armlets made of brass and aluminum is used. The ear-lobes are completely covered with rings.

SETTLEMENT & HOUSING

The Gandia villages are more or less permanent in nature which lies in the midst of forest in patches of clearing. There is no proper road to enter into the village and most of the villages are approached by narrow footpaths. The village site with surrounding lands and forest belongs to the founder clan. Typical bamboo palisade fencing all around is a distinguishing feature of Gandia settlements. Very close to their settlements one notices stone pillars and wooden posts (menhirs) erected in memory of their dead ancestors.

Their settlement has a central place which is called 'End Bayul' or the dancing ground. This is also wide open space sometimes situated in front of the house of the village priest or headman. The village burial ground is always situated at a distance from the village to keep away the departed the souls, the ghosts and evil spirits away from village.

They have two important deities: Bijagudi, the house deity and Gudimata, the village deity. They worship goddess mother-earth as village deity. In each village there is one "House of God". This is not always situated inside the village. There are also places that are considered sacred such as a *Mahul* trees inside or near a village, where the villagers worship *Gudimata*, the village goddess. In the Gandia village, a dormitory house called 'Pikin-Kudma' is constructed for the unmarried young girls where they gather during the night for singing and gossiping. In all Gandia villages, a Chaudi (guest house) is built to accommodate their visiting guests. Among the trees that are found in their village *Mahul* and *Salap* are very common.

The House:

The number of houses in a village varies from ten to thirty or more but not exceeding 100 households. They have mud houses beautifully thatched by a type of jungle grass. Houses are rectangular in shape giving shelters to humans along with the livestock like pigs and fowls. Herds of cattle are put or tethered in front courtyard. Each house, its courtyard and adjoining kitchen garden are nicely fenced by bamboo splits.

The Gandia house is a self-contained unit. There are houses which have a length of 30 to 40 feet and a breadth of 6 to 15 feet. The houses are constructed on the basis of cooperative labour. A verandah is provided in front and in addition to

that a narrow verandah runs around the remaining three sides of the house. The house is partitioned into two rooms. The smaller room is used as kitchen and the bigger one, as the living room. The roof of the house is thatched with a type of jungle grass. Each house has a pigsty and a goat pen and a kitchen garden behind the house in which they produce different seasonal vegetables for their household consumption and tobacco to smoke and sale the surplus in weekly *hat* for cash. The roof of every Gondia house is covered with vegetable creepers.

The newly married couples often make their own small living house. They use the wide open spaces in front of each house for tying their cattle. Long ropes to posts or the trunks of nearby trees are used to tether the animals.

SOCIAL LIFE

Gandia is an endogamous community which is socially divided into several exogamous clans. Marriage within the same clan is strictly tabooed as they consider the clan members as brothers and sisters descended from a common ancestor. Therefore community endogamy and clan exogamy is the traditional norm in their community.

Gandia family is exclusively nuclear composed of parents and their unmarried children. Joint families and extended families are also seen in rare cases including the grandparents, brothers and their wives and children. As soon as the sons become adult and get married they build their own houses near the parental house to live separately with their wives but the cooking for the whole family is done in one place. If any adult son wants to live separately, then he asks his father to give him some land to cultivate. This practice has become very common nowadays.

Gandia family is predominantly monogamous but cases of polygyny are also seen where the first wife is found to be a barren or physically incapacitated. Some well-to-do husbands prefer polygyny to cultivate extra hand and get help in economic pursuits. Besides this, marrying more than one woman is a status symbol in their community.

The father is head of the family and all authority is vested in him. He directs other members to work and also works himself with them. He owns all the property of the family. He is succeeded by his eldest son. He is the man through whom descent is traced and therefore the Gandia family is patrilineal.

The mother trains the daughters and the father trains the sons to work as per the division of labour. All the members of a family work together in all kinds of economic activities along the lines of division of labour. When the father becomes old the eldest son takes up the responsibility of managing the family.

The Gandia villages comprise different clans, and therefore the people of a village do not have difficulty in finding out girls of different clans to marry. Kinship terms are both classificatory and descriptive. One classificatory term is *Mama* which is used for mother's brother, father's sister's husband and wife's father. And another classificatory term is *Poya*, which is used for mother's brother's wife and father's sister and mother-in-law. These two terms clearly show that custom of cross-cousin marriage is prevalent.

In Gandia society joking relations prevail between grandfathers and grandchildren, younger brother and elder brother's wife, a man and his younger brother. Likewise avoidance relationship prevails between a woman and her husband's elder brother and a man and his wife's elder sister. Juniors respect the seniors and seniors deal with the juniors with love and affection.

Life-Cycle

Child birth & associated Rituals

When a woman conceives, they accept it as a God's gift. A pregnant woman carries on her routine works until the expected month of delivery. When the symptoms of delivery appear, the woman is confined to a separate room to be used as a lying in chamber that is erected behind the house, where the presence of men is forbidden except the Wadde – the shaman. The Wadde does the necessary rituals to save the baby and mother from the evil spirits and facilitate smooth delivery.

They engage an experienced old lady of their own community as midwife to assist the pregnant woman for safe delivery. The old lady along with two or more ladies constitutes the team of nurses to facilitate the delivery. They cut umbilical cord of the newborn with the help of a heat treated arrowhead or a sharp piece of broken new earthen pot after tying the base of the cord and apply turmeric mixed oil on it for quick healings. The newborn and the mother are applied turmeric mixed oil twice and bathed with Luke warm water.

Name giving ceremony of the new born is a special ceremony of the Gandia and is performed after 2 to 3 months of child birth preferably when they have the means to afford to conduct the ritual. On the day of the ceremony, all the village ladies take bath and assemble in the house of the new born along with the team of elderly women present at the time of delivery. Maternal uncles and grandparents are invited to attend the function. On that day all invitees and functionaries assemble and apply little turmeric paste on the forehead of the child and place some coins on a plate. The lady who had cut the umbilical cord holds the child in her lap and starts singing song.

Until seven years of age the mother takes care of the child. Gandia boys learn, their traditional knowledge of making bows and arrows and other things early, even before they become adolescents. The boys and girls are expected to

show proper behavior toothers in their early childhood before they reach the stage of maturity.

Puberty

Attainment of first menarche of pubescent girls is known as *erata*. After a girl attains her physical maturity some of her relations go to an adjacent forest, select an isolated area and make two small huts under a tree. An old lady accompanies the girl and both of them stay in these two different huts where they sleep in the night. The old lady cooks for the girl. Then the villagers are informed about the stay of the girl in the particular forest area and for 7 days entry of males to that forest area is strictly prohibited. On the last day, she takes bath in nearby hill stream anointed with turmeric paste. The hut and the utensils used by the girl are burnt and the used water pot is broken over a road crossing. During these 7 days no ritual or festivals are observed in the village.

Unmarried Gandia girls after they reach the age of ten go to sleep with their grandmothers or with any other old woman of the village living alone. The boys above the age of ten also sleep in different places in groups or in a single group if accommodation is available.

Till the recent past, the youth dormitories of Gandia played a major role in keeping their culture and tradition afloat. The dormitories were the learning institution for unmarried youths. The Gandia girls and boys gather in the night for singing and dancing. But this age old social institution has declined in these days.

Marriage

The age for marriage is fixed at the physical maturity of both the sexes. The Gandia think a boy attains maturity when he grows moustache. Usually these things happen when a boy is aged between twelve and thirteen. Hence the marriageable age for boys starts at thirteen or fourteen. A girl becomes marriageable when she attains puberty, irrespective of her age. Therefore, in many cases it is seen that the wife is older than her husband.

Gandia marriage season begins soon after the first harvest is over and continues till the month of April. Freedom in the selection of a spouse is very limited and it is only the parents who take the initiative in marriage negotiations. The commonly practiced form of marriage is known as *Pendul*. In selection of spouse, preference is given to the cross-cousin marriage like maternal uncle's daughter or father's sister's daughter. In their society it is considered as approved form of marriage.

The proceedings of marriage ceremony continue for three days. It begins by the ceremonial fetching of the water from nearby water source by the elder brother's wife of the groom. She is accompanied by a group of women to do this. They sing songs while bringing water. On the second day the bringing of water by

the elder brother's wife continues. The groom sits on the lap of his elder brother's wife and a paste of tamarind, turmeric and ghee is smeared on his body. Water is poured over him and he wears new clothes. Then he is made to visit all other families in that village belonging to his own clan.

A group of young boys are appointed by the groom's parents, to go to the village of the bride and bring her for wedding. The next day they escort the bride to the groom's house. She comes there accompanied by her friends and relatives. The marriage ritual is conducted in groom's patrilocal residence on that day. The Gandias also perform ceremonial dance, wearing bison horns on their heads during the marriage.

Death

After the death of a person, the news is communicated to all the relatives and friends. The dead body is wrapped with a new white cloth and usually removed out of the house by making a hole in the roof. But this practice is vanishing slowly. Now-a-days, the corpse is given a bath anointed with oil and turmeric paste. Sometimes it is kept undisposed for two days waiting for the distant relatives to come. Friends and dear ones come to take part in the funeral. All those who come, weep and open the cloth over the dead body's face and pay their last tribute by just touching the face or by putting a new cloth over the dead body. Logs of wood are used for cremation of the dead body. In case of death of a child, the body is laid inside dense forest or is buried.

After the cremation, a rite is conducted in which rice with turmeric is cooked and a small flag of cloth applied with turmeric is fixed with a bamboo stick. Salt, *moong*, paddy, *til* etc. are mixed and an idol is made on the floor. Over the head of it a pot with a hole is hanged. This is closed partially with grass. All the friends and relatives put milk and water in to the pot and it drips down to the mouth of the idol. Then all of them return home after taking bath. The same day after the completion of the last rites, friends and relatives leave the home of the deceased consoling the bereaved family.

On the ninth day, an idol of a deity is made with rice and flour. All the family members and relatives put water in the mouth of the deity so prepared. If the deceased have a nephew, he holds a cloth and all friends and relatives donate money according to their wish. Then the purificatory rite ends.

LIVELIHOOD

Traditionally, the Gandia were shifting cultivators. But now-a-days, for various reasons, they have taken to settled cultivation. At the start of the rainy season, they plough their fields and sow seeds. When the plants grow to a certain height they store water in the fields and take care of the crops until the harvest. But they get a very poor yield because their method of cultivation is archaic,

adequate rainfall is uncertain and there is no assured irrigation facilities and depredations of wild animals.

Just before the harvest, the villagers go to watch their crops in the field against the depredations of wild animals and birds. The children are engaged in driving off birds. During the harvest all the families go to their respective huts raised in their crop fields, where they spend the whole day and come back to the village in the evening.

Traditionally, being pastoralists, the Gandia have large herds of cows and bullocks. In the interior areas, they do not properly maintain their livestock. No shed is constructed for them and they are exposed to weather throughout the year. The forest nearby is used for grazing and no other provision is made to feed them. The Gandia use the wide open space in front of each house for keeping their cattle. Long ropes to posts or the trunks of the nearby trees are used to tether the cattle. According to their traditional system, wealth means cattle, because a Gandia without cattle has no status in the society. No marriage can take place without cattle, which are given to the bride's father as bride price. Secondly, they exchange of cattle for procuring their household needs but now-a-days, this barter system is less common and cattle are sold for money. Thirdly, cattle are used to plough fields and cows are no exception. Fourthly, cattle are slaughtered as offerings to the deities in funerals and other festivals.

Gandia were primarily hunters and gatherers but in the later stages when their population increased and natural resources depleted they depended more on shifting cultivation and animal husbandry. Yet they still go for seasonal forest collections to supplement their livelihood. They collect edible fruits, roots, leaves and tubers from the nearby forest for domestic consumption. They also catch fish and crabs from the hill streams.

Food & Drinks

The food of Gandia is of wide variety. Paddy is husked and the rice from it is boiled to prepare gruel (*jawa*) which they mostly eat instead of cooked rice. Pulses like *Biri*, *Peshi* and *Mung* are also mixed with rice and gruel is made. Gruel is also made by boiling *Suan*, Maize and *Mandia*. The vegetables like pumpkin, gourd are eaten as curry. *Kandul* is fried with little *Mahua* oil and eaten. It is mostly eaten at the time of scarcity.

The collection of fruits, roots and tubers, from the forest substantially help the Gandia to solve their food problems. Mahua trees abound in the Gandia habitat and during the months of March and April large quantities of *mahul* are collected, dried and stored for future use as food. During the months from July to September several types of flowers, roots and tubers are collected from the jungle and eaten.

Kendu fruits are collected in large quantities when they are ripe and are stored after being dried in sun to be consumed during the lean period. The women folk collect a large variety of wild greens for eating. Fishes, crabs, snails, tortoise are eaten by preparing curry. They also store dry fish for future use. The meats of all kinds of animals and birds except tiger and bear are eaten without hesitation.

The Gandias, both males and females, are very much addicted to liquor. No marriage or religious ceremonies can be performed without liquor. The most commonly used alcoholic beverage is the *Landa* or rice beer. The *mohuli* liquor prepared from *Mahul* flower is also taken, but all the Gandia cannot afford to drink it. Sago-palm juice (*Salap*) and toddy-palm juice are also consumed by the Gandias as intoxicating drinks.

They are also habituated to smoking tobacco grown in their own kitchen garden in shape of handmade *pika* by rolling it in *Kendu* leaves and they also offer it to their guests to smoke when they visit their home.

MAGICO-RELIGIOUS BELIEFS & PRACTICES

The Gandia are animists and they profess their own tribal autonomous religion. They believe that, their world does not belong to the mortals alone but there invisible supernatural beings superior to man whose shadowy impact has a bearing in all the spheres of their mundane life. *Deud*, the Creator is their Supreme God and *Bhumata* or *Adimata* (i.e. Mother Earth) is their Supreme Goddesses. The most important God in the Gandia pantheon is the Rain God called *Bimud*. Then there territorial Gods like Sun (*Pardu*), Moon (*Nela*), lightening (*Gurugata*), thunder (*Merchit*) etc.

Their original belief system centers around two cults namely the cult of Earth Goddess and the cult of village Goddess called Gamma. The seat of Gamma lies under a Mohul or Tamarind tree inside the village. There are many deities of nature residing in hills, forests and streams like: *Lely* - the forest Goddess; *Kad*- the water deity etc. They also have the cult of ancestor worship at the family level. Ancestral spirits are called *Gandi*.

They observe various festivals in different seasons. *Bija Pandu* is a agricultural festival which is held in the month of June (*Jyesta-Asadha*). *Itt Pandu*, the tamarind festival is observed during February to March to commence collection of ripe tamarind which is an important food item for the Gandia. *Karta Pandu*, the new rice eating ceremony is held during September-October. *Sikud Pandu* or the new bean eating festival is observed in the month of February. *Marak Pandu* festival is observed in the month of June-July for the new mango eating.

In Gandia society, both magic and religion are complementary to each other. The Gandias worship their Gods to appease them and get their blessings. They believe that there are some supernatural powers among whom some are

benevolent and others are malevolent in nature and when aggrieved they can cause ill health and death to human beings and domesticated animals. So to gratify those evil spirits as and when so required they solicit the help of their traditional witch doctor-cum-religious practitioner *wadde* to perform magical rites to cure diseases, effect smooth delivery of a child and ward off the calamities and epidemic.

Music & Dance:

The Gandias are good musicians, dancers as well as good singers. They observe several festivals throughout the year. Music and dance form most important part of observance of these festivals. During the festival of *Bija Pandu*, male members of the community go for ceremonial hunting in the forest while women engage themselves in dance and music in the village. On other occasions both men and women participate in the sessions of dance music.

The Gandia dances are composed of different types of stepping. At first the dancers stand in a circle keeping the right leg forward and begin their dance. The men and women stand face to face and move forward in slanting direction with simple steps while the male drummers dance in a circular form. The rhythm of the beating of drums matches perfectly with the graceful movements of the dancers. The aesthetic value of the songs of the Gandia can be observed from the songs which they sing on ceremonial as well as other social occasions.

SOCIAL CONTROL

The Gandias have their own traditional community council both at village level as well as in regional level to deal with their customary affairs. These bodies function under the leaderships of a set of traditional leaders viz, the secular headman (Pedda), sacerdotal headman (Pujari) and magico-religious headman the (Wadde). They are assisted by a functionary called Kotwal.

The traditional community council acts as the guardian of their traditional norms and customs and the office bearers are regarded as highly esteemed persons in their society. The council is empowered to adjudicate cases pertaining to family disputes, theft, rape, molestation, adultery, incest, divorce, partition of family property and intra community rifts and to organize and look after their communal feasts and festivals. The council's decision is final and it is empowered to ostracize a person for committing serious offences.

Leadership, both political and social, revolves around the secular headman of each village. Till the recent past, he had certain economic prerogatives which made him virtually a powerful person in his village. Even in religious matters he is the first man to take the initiative to ask the priest and the villagers to perform religious ceremonies on various occasions. Usually the office of the headman is hereditary and after his death his eldest son succeeds him. If the

headman has no son to succeed him, preference is given to his brother's son. In the absence of any such kin, the priest of the village is selected as the headman who works as such in addition to his religious duties and responsibilities.

Next to the secular headman comes the village priest called *Pujari* in the authority structure of Gandia village. His office is also hereditary. If the priest dies without leaving an heir, a son of his brother may assume the post. Then the magician (Wadde) occupies an important position in the Gandia society because like the priest, he has the power to communicate with supernatural beings. The *Katwal* helps the headman in his works.

DEVELOPMENT SCENARIO

In these rapidly changing times the Gandia till now has maintained their cultural identity to a considerable extent. The Gandia's social organization, economic life, political structure and religious beliefs and practices are so varied, unique and focused on each and every aspect of their life and works that external forces of change have penetrated in to their socio-cultural life to a limited extent.

After independence, various development programmes have been implemented for them in various sectors like, education, health care, drinking water, sanitation, communication, land development, agriculture, horticulture, irrigation and animal husbandry. Some of their lands especially, those lying in the hill slopes have been brought under economic plantations.

Basing on their development perception, it is apt to point out that they have very simple and limited aspirations with the primary focus on their livelihood pattern. Now some positive changes are noticed in their way of life.

G H A R A *

*S. C. Mohanty*¹

The Ghara is a section of Gond tribe. Very little anthropological information is available about them. In Odisha they are a little known tribe numerically very small. According 2011 Census, their total population in the State is 195 only including 99 males and 96 females. The sex ratio among them is 970 and literacy rate, 71.43 percent. Their male literacy is 78.65 percent and female literacy is 63.95 percent. They are largely concentrated in Sundergarh, Koraput, Bolangir and Khurdha districts and randomly scattered in very small numbers ranging from 01 to 16 in Kandhamal (01), Jharsuguda (02), Malkangiri (03), Mayurbhanj (04), Nowrangpur (05), Sonapur (07), Ganjam (07), Keonjhar (08), Sambalpur (08), Angul (10) and Bargarh (16) districts . They speak Odia language.

Socially, the tribe is divided in to two groups such as the primitive group and the acculturated and Hinduised group. The tribe is endogamous. Hence, marriage outside the tribe is not allowed. They have exogamous totemic clan divisions. Marriage is prohibited within the same clan and between the members of brother clans. Violation of the customary rules of community endogamy and clan exogamy is treated as a grave offence resulting in serious consequences of social expulsion and accompanying penalties for restoration of socio-ritual status of the offender.

Cross-cousin marriage and marriage by negotiation are common. Marriage by service is socially permitted. Marriage is celebrated with dancing, singing and drinking. The tribe has its own tribal priest. They observe death pollution for ten days. Purificatory rites are performed on the tenth day. They erect menhirs to commemorate the dead.

* Published in the Photo Handbook on Desua Bhumij, Ghara, Mankidi & Shabar, Lodha etc. SCSTRTI, Bhubaneswar, 2021

¹ Consultant, SCSTRTI, Bhubaneswar

Ghara society is patriarchal and patrilineal in nature. Hence, inheritance and succession go along the male line. The family is mostly monogamous in form and nuclear in structure. The cases of polygene and extended families are few.

Agriculture is the mainstay of the Ghara economy. It is supplemented by wage earning, hunting, food gathering, animal husbandry and small business.

The Gharas are polytheists. While the primitive section of the tribe continues to profess their autonomous tribal religion based on animism and worships their tribal deities along with some Hindu deities, their acculturated counterparts have included a large number of Hindu deities into their pantheon. They conduct animal sacrifices to appease their tribal deities. They observe annual festivals namely Chait Parab, Dussera, Baisakhi etc.

GOND *

*S. C. Mohanty*¹

Gond is numerically the most dominant tribe of India. Their homeland covers states like Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Maharashtra, Odisha, Madhya Pradesh and Andhra Pradesh. This Gond Country was being called Gondwana in the medieval period. In this region, the Gonds had established several states and estates ruled by Gond kings, chiefs and Zamindars. Carrying a chivalrous and martial tradition, the advanced and hinduised section of the Gond have inhabited certain parts of western Odisha. Some of them were feudal lords.

Numbering 8 88 581 including 4 38 624 males and 4 49 957 females (2011 census) they constitute the second largest tribe of the State next to the Kandha. Their sex ratio is 1026. Their literacy is 59.65%. For males it is 71.64% and for the females, 48.03%. They are distributed in all the districts having the largest concentration in Nowrangpur district followed by Nuapada, Bolangir and Kalahandi districts.

Agriculture is the mainstay of the Gond economy. It is supplemented by wage earning, hunting, food gathering, animal domestication and small business.

They call themselves Gond or Koitur. Culturally the tribe is dichotomized into the primitive group and the acculturated and Hinduised group. The former inhabit parts of undivided Kalahandi and Koraput districts and have retained their distinctive dress pattern, food habits, customs and their own Dravidian tongue, *Gondi*. The latter live in Sambalpur, Sundargarh, Bolangir and parts of Kalahandi districts who have attained the status of a warrior caste. The tribe has exogamous totemic clan divisions.

* Unpublished article of 2000 updated in 2018

¹ Research Officer (2000) & Consultant (2018), SCSTRTI

Marriage is prohibited between brother clans. Cross cousin marriage and marriage by negotiation are common. Marriage by service is socially permitted. Marriage is celebrated with dancing, singing and drinking. The Hinduised Gonds get the services of Brahman priest, barber and washerman. The Primitive section has its own tribal priest.

The Hinduised section observes death pollution for 10 days. Purificatory rites are performed on the tenth day. For the primitive section it lasts for 4 days. They erect menhirs to commemorate the dead.

They have their traditional panchayats, which settles inter-tribal and intra-tribal disputes. Guilt is established either by direct eyewitnesses, divination or ordeals like putting one's hands in boiling oil or lifting a red-hot crowbar. The offences dealt by the panchayats are adultery, taking another man's daughter or wife, eating with a man of lower caste, etc. Excommunication is the severest punishment. Feasts have to be arranged for readmittance of the excommunicated person into the community.

They are polytheists. While the primitive group continues to worship their tribal deities along with some Hindu deities, their acculturated counterparts have included a large number of Hindu deities into their pantheon. The Hinduised Gonds abstain from eating beef and drinking liquor. They have attained the status of a peasant and warrior caste.

GOND *

Bhagirathi Chowdhury ¹

The Gond tribe is distributed all over India. Their main concentration is in the belt covering Western Orissa, Northern Andhra, Madhya Pradesh, Southern U.P. and Rajasthan. The Gonds of all these areas do not form a homogeneous population. Though they maintain certain common characteristics among them, they show wide cultural divergence and belong to different linguistic groups.

Historically speaking, the Gonds are the most significant tribe of India. From the beginning of the mediaeval period of Indian history up to the rise of the Maharashtra, the entire belt of central India was ruled by Gond Kings and Chiefs. The remnants of a martial and chivalrous tradition can be traced among the Hinduised Gonds even in the present time. There are legends among the Hinduised Gonds of Orissa to indicate that their ancestors came to the State as martial people and were settled on land as feudal chiefs.

The Gonds of Orissa can be divided into two entirely different groups. The Gonds of Sundargarh, Sambalpur, Bolangir and a part of Kalahandi have been highly acculturated into the Hindu society and have attained the status of a warrior caste. They know no other language except Oriya. The Gonds of Kalahandi and Koraput are a primitive ethnic group in every respect having their distinctive dress, habits and customs. They speak 'Gondi'- a dialect belonging to the Dravidian language family.

According to the 1961 census the total population of Gonds in Orissa is 4,45,705 out of which 2,21,629 are males and 2,24,067 are females. The two groups of Gonds have not been separately enumerated but a rough idea can be formed about the separate groups if their distribution over the various districts is studied. The distribution is as follows:-

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¹ Research Assistant, Tribal Research Bureau (TRB), Bhubaneswar

Sl. No.	Name of the district	Male	Female	Population
1.	Kalahandi	51,621	52,784	104,405
2.	Koraput	27,815	27,457	55,272
3.	Sambalpur	45,467	48,408	93,875
4.	Bolangir	36,116	36,173	72,289
5.	Phulbani	3,902	4,185	8,087
6.	Ganjam	48	44	92
7.	Sundargarh	18,127	16,722	34,849
8.	Dhenkanal	10,862	9,517	20,379
9.	Puri	250	312	562
10.	Keonjhar	19,042	20,190	39,232
11.	Cuttack	1	00	1
12.	Mayurbhanj	8,376	8,283	16,659
13.	Balasore	2	1	3

The Gond of Kalahandi, Koraput and Phulbani may be taken to belong to the primitive section whereas the rest can be taken to belong to the acculturated section. A further evidence of this can be obtained from the variation of literacy rates among the Gonds in different districts, which is as follows:-

Sl. No.	Name of the district	Illiterate	Literates and educated	Literates without educational level
1.	Kalahandi	97,264	7,141	6,659
2.	Koraput	53,131	2,141	2,000
3.	Sambalpur	77,926	15,949	14,016
4.	Bolangir	66,174	6,115	5,792
5.	Phulbani	6,878	1,209	1,089
6.	Ganjam	78	14	13
7.	Sundargarh	29,906	4,943	4,450
8.	Dhenkanal	16,693	3,686	3,283
9.	Puri	495	67	62
10.	Keonjhar	35,350	3,882	2,970
11.	Cuttack	00	01	00
12.	Mayurbhanj	13,790	2,896	1,990
13.	Balasore	03	00	00
Total		3,87,788	48,017	42,332

Besides the linguistic variations, the tribe (both groups) is divided into a number of totemistic clans. Each clan is exogamous. Besides this there are certain brother clans between whom marriage is prohibited.

The acculturated Gonds live in villages inhabited by other castes and tribes. They especially live along with Kandha, Bhuyan and Gour. The primitive Gonds live in homogeneous villages.

Among the acculturated Gonds considerable respect is shown to the elders. Among the primitive Gonds different age-groups have an informal organization of their own. Within this age-grade there is considerable intimacy. Among the primitive Gonds, the women giving birth to children are kept in seclusion and a number of rites are observed to keep the children safe from the evil spirits. Among the Hinduised Gonds all rites are performed according to Hindu customs but the local deities and the Gond Gods are also worshipped.

Marriage is strictly forbidden within the same clans and brother-clans. Cross-cousin marriage, marriage by service and regular marriages arranged by the parents are commonly practiced. Bride-price is always paid, and the amount is generally fixed in a meeting of both the parties. Both infant and adult marriages are popular among the Hinduised Gonds.

Marriage takes place in the bride's house. The ceremony the Hinduised Gonds is modeled after the marriage rites of lower Hindu castes. They get the services of barber and Brahmin who perform the Vedic rites as the binding portion of the marriage. Among the primitive Gonds their tribal priest performs the rite. Both men and women participate in the marriage procession. Use of alcoholic drinks and dancing has been stopped by the Hinduised Gonds while the primitive Gonds dance in a drunken state during the marriage. Marriage is one of the biggest items of expenditure in a man's life and plunges a person into debt.

Widow-marriage is practiced. Divorce on reasonable grounds are allowed by the tribal panchayats. The dead are either buried or cremated. Mortuary rites of the Hinduised Gonds show maximum Hindu influences. Pollution is observed for ten days after which there is purification and calling back of the shade. They get the services of the Brahmin, barber and washer man at the time of the purificatory rites. Among the primitive Gonds, the cause of an unnatural death is to be ascertained by magic. Mourning is observed for four days when the houses are cleaned and a menhir is erected, if the deceased' family can afford to pay money for the food and drink needed for erection of the same.

The religion of the acculturated Gonds is a system of tribal beliefs and practices mixed up with Hinduism as practiced in the villages. There are a number of Gods such as Jangadeo, Lingadeo and Buradeo, who are entirely Gond Gods in the sense that only the Gonds worship them. There are also some malevolent deities bringing considerable harm which includes disease, death, loss of cattle and other property; there are household Gods like Jhulan Devi, Gods of forests, crops, etc. If they are not properly worshipped and if no offering is made to them they cause considerable harm. In addition to worship of the tribal gods they also worship images of Jagannath, Krishna, Rama and other Hindu deities. They also read Bhagabata, Ramayan, Mahabharat and other sacred books and participate in the Hindu festivals like Raja, Holi, Makar Jatra, etc.

The primitive Gonds worship Earth Goddess, Kali, the Ghosts and the deities presiding over forest, crops. They have a number of religious observances connected with the first eating of crops and some jungle products and various religious rites connected with their agriculture and other economic pursuits. They also worship some Hindu Gods such as Mahadev, Ramachandra and Hanuman.

Dancing and singing on the occasions of marriage and other ceremonies have been stopped by the Hinduised Gonds, while the primitive Gonds have retained it.

The Hinduised Gonds living in the midst of the Hindus in Northern Orissa live in spacious houses and put on dress and ornaments as found among the lower castes of the Hindu society. The primitive Gonds use a few varieties of dresses. The men wear a piece of cloth as loin-cloth for the most of the time. They also put on turbans, and bracelets on their hands and beads of imitation coral on their necks. Women put a cloth which is also used as upper garment. They put on metal or glass bangles on the wrist, imitation corals and glass beads on a lavish scale round their neck. Combs are stuck on the hair. On the occasion of festivals when they dance they adorn their heads with paper-made flowers, peacock's plumage and coloured feathers of birds.

Their main occupation is agriculture supplemented by the collection of jungle products, hunting and shifting cultivation (only among the primitive Gonds of Koraput). They grow rice, millet, maize, mustard and few varieties of pulses. They also grow tobacco and vegetables. The Hinduised Gonds have developed a commercial sense and do petty business in the local markets.

Their staple food is rice, gruel of millet and maize. The Hinduised Gonds abstain from eating beef, pork and other unclean foods and drinking of rice-beer or wine. But the primitive Gonds drink rice-beer and other alcoholic drinks and breed a large number of domestic animals like goats, pigs, and poultry for meat. Besides these, they catch various animals from the forest, such as rabbits, lizards, rats, some kinds of snakes and eat the meat. They seldom use spices except red-pepper and turmeric.

The Hinduised Gonds who claim themselves to be Kshatriya have styled themselves as Hindus by copying many Hindu customs and practices. They get the services of the Hindu Brahmin, barber and washer-man for conducting their life cycle rituals. The Brahmin accepts water from them. But they have certain customs and practices of their aboriginal origin and for this they are treated as tribals. However, none of these customs and practices is in violent conflict with those of the Hindu society.

G O N D *

Ch. P.K. Mohapatra ¹

The Gonds are the most predominant tribal community in India and inhabit the mountainous tracts of central and southern India popularly known as Gondwanaland. The country of Gondwana includes the Satpura plateau and sections of the south and west. There is, however, no district or state in Central India that does not contain some Gonds, and it is both on account of their numbers and the fact that Gond dynasties possessed a great part of its area that the territory of the former Central Provinces was formally known as Gondwana or the country of Gonds. According to the 1971 Census the total population of Gonds in India was 4,812,164 or 12.78 per cent of the total tribal population of India. The majority (78.38 per cent) were in Madhya Pradesh, 10.38 per cent in Orissa, 6.89 per cent in Maharashtra, 3.27 per cent in Andhra Pradesh and the rest in the other states. In Orissa the population of the Gond according to 1991 Census is 7,01,139 or 9.97 per cent of the total tribal population of the state. Next to the Kondh, Gonds are numerically the largest tribal community found in the state. During the period 1981-91 they had a growth rate of 16.32 per cent. The sex ratio is 1001 females per 1000 males. The percentage of literacy has increased from 18.7 per cent in 1981 to 24 per cent in 1991.

The generic term 'Gond' encompasses several endogamous and linguistically distinct groups. The derivation of the term 'Gond' is uncertain. The Gonds are neither racially, culturally nor linguistically a homogeneous group. The cultural, material and physical differences are so great that one wonders why they should be grouped under the same tribe. They call themselves Gond or Koitur.

Professor Furer-Haimendorf considered the Koyas to be Telugu-speaking Gonds. Hence it would be appropriate to replace the generic name 'Gond' with the term 'Gondi-speaking population'. As the Gonds speak a common language, have

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¹ Former Deputy Director, SCSTRTI, Bhubaneswar

a common name and habitation, and a contiguous territory, the cultural diversity need not come in the way of considering them as belonging to a common tribe.

The term 'Raj Gond' is considered to have been derived from the princely status that the Gonds enjoyed for a long period as the rulers and chieftains of the famous Gondwana, with Chanda as the principal seat of Gond rule, and Manikgarh, Sirpur and Utnoor as vassals, where ruins today stand witness to the once flourishing Gond rule. The term 'Raj Gond' is also attributed to the racial admixture due to the impact of the Rajput rulers who sometimes entered into affinal relationships with the Gonds and migrated to these tracts between the 11th and 15th centuries.

The Gonds occupy two main tracts, one to the north of the Vindhyas and the Satpuras, and the second to the south of these major hill ranges. The first is the wide belt of broken hill and forest country and is mainly comprised of the Khindwada, Betul, Seoni and Mandla Districts, with portions of several others adjoining them. And the second is the still broader and more inaccessible mass of hill ranges extending south of the Chattisgarh plain and the south-west down to the river Godavari, which includes portions of Chattisgarh district, Bastar and Kankar States and the great part of Chanda. The Vindya range traverses nearly the whole width of peninsular India, a distance of about 100 kms, with an average elevation of 300 metres above sea level but including the valleys of the Narmada and some others to the south, and sloping gently northwards to the Ganga valley. Forming one of India's main watersheds, this mountain chain was long recognised along with the Satpura range, which is more or less parallel to it, as the dividing line between north India and the Deccan. Thus the Gond population of Bastar, Rajpur and Durg Districts in Madhya Pradesh, Yeotmal, Chandrapur and Nanded Districts in Maharashtra, Kalahandi, Koraput, Bolangir, Ganjam and Boudh Khondmal Districts of Orissa, and the entire Gond population of Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka constitute the southern Gonds of India. These Gonds differ in both language and custom from those living in the northern region.

The Gonds of Orissa can be divided into two entirely different groups. The Gonds of Sundargarh, Sambalpur, Bolangir and parts of Kalahandi have been highly acculturated under the influence of Hindu customs. They have attained the status of a warrior caste. They speak no other language except Oriya. The Gonds of Kalahandi and Koraput Districts are primitive in respect of having their distinctive dress, habits and culture. They speak 'Gondi', a dialect belonging to the Dravidian family. The acculturated Gonds live in villages inhabited by other castes and tribes. They especially live together with the Kandha, Bhuyan and Gour. The primitive Gonds live in homogeneous villages.

Among the acculturated Gonds considerable respect is shown to the elders. Among the primitive Gonds the different age-groups have informal organisations of their own. Within each age-grade there is considerable intimacy. Among the primitive Gonds the women are kept in seclusion after giving birth,

and a lot of rites are observed to keep the children safe from evil spirits. Among the Hinduised Gonds all rites are performed according to Hindu customs, but the local deities and Gonds' own gods are also worshipped.

Marriage is strictly forbidden within the same clan or a brother clan. Cross-cousin marriage, marriage by service and regular marriage, which are arranged by the parents, are commonly practised. Bride price is always paid, and the amount is generally fixed in a meeting of the parties. Both infant and adult marriages are popular among the Hinduised Gonds.

Marriage takes place in the bride's house. The ceremony of the Hinduised Gonds is modelled after the marriage rites of lower-caste Hindus. They obtain the services of a barber and Brahman, who conducts Vedic rites as the binding portion of the marriage. Among the primitive Gonds their tribal priest performs the rites. Both men and women participate in the marriage procession. Use of alcoholic drinks and dancing has been ended by the Hinduised Gonds, while the primitive Gonds dance in a drunken state during the marriage. Marriage is one of the biggest items of expenditure in a man's life and plunges a person into debt.

Widow marriage is practised. Divorce on reasonable grounds is allowed by the caste panchayat. The dead are either buried or cremated. The mortuary rituals of the Hinduised Gonds show maximum Hindu influences. Pollution is observed for ten days, after which there is purification and calling back of the shade. The services of the Brahman barber and washerman are obtained at the time of the purificatory rites. Among the primitive Gonds, the cause of an unnatural death is to be ascertained by magic. Mourning is observed for four days, when the house is cleaned and a menhir erected, if the deceased's family can afford to pay money for the food and drink needed for this ritual.

The Gond's main occupation is agriculture or agricultural labour. The Gonds of Bastar still practise the traditional method of shifting cultivation called *bewar*. In the Raigarh area of Orissa the Gonds cultivate millets for food and *niger* as a cash crop. Maize has been introduced recently and is becoming popular in Dandakaranya region. Apart from the cultivated lands, all over the southern region the Gonds grow vegetables in the gardens attached to their houses. The Gond economy is uni-sectoral with heavy dependence on agriculture and no diversification, though many agro-mineral and forest based industries like cement factory, cotton-spinning factories, paper mills, etc. have been set up in the Gond country and on its periphery.

The dietary habits of the southern Gonds of different regions are almost similar except that the cereals and pulses consumed in various places differ from one another, as these are grown according to the suitability of the soil of the regions. In Andhra Pradesh and Maharashtra, *jowar* and maize along with red gram or field beans form the staple food, while in Madhya Pradesh and Orissa *ragi*, *kodi* or Italian millet form the staple diet. Maize has been introduced in this

area recently by displaced persons from Bangladesh who have been settled in Dandakaranya. Rice is grown as a rain-fed dry crop in Madhya Pradesh and Orissa, rarely in Andhra Pradesh and Maharashtra. The usual diet consists of a gruel made from broken *jowar* called *peja* in Central India. It is consumed without any vegetables early in the morning. Smaller grains like *samai* and Italian millets are widely consumed in Madhya Pradesh and Orissa. The usual side dish is a red gram dal with much chili powder, a few onions and tamarind. Vegetables are consumed in large quantities, but only during the winter when these are extensively grown in back yards. The Gond rarely consumes oil, milk or milk products. The consumption of mutton is also very negligible. In contrast to the large consumption of wild foods like roots and tubers, or fruits and leaves by other tribals of the region, the Gonds consume mainly cultivated foods. Their cereal and pulse consumption is relatively superior to that of other tribals, and their diet is rarely deficient in protein or calories. However, their diet is deficient in minerals such as iron and calcium, and vitamin A and B complex, due to the absence of milk and milk products and fruits.

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

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

The social structure of the southern Gonds is different from the Gonds of other regions. It is based on a mythologically decreed organization into four phratries. Each of these four exogamous phratries consists of a number of clans, and members of the clans in a particular phratry are considered to be brothers and sisters. The four phratries trace their descent back to each of the four, five, six and seven mythical brothers from whom the members of the phratry are considered to have sprung, and they are called the 'four-brothers phratry' (*nalwen saga*). The Gond descent system is based on structural principles of unity and is distinct from the Indian caste system. However, structurally the Gond kinship system is part of the wider Hindu system. The Gonds see themselves as totally separate. Professor Fürer-Haimendorf observed that Gond society is conceptually a total system, and no segment of it can contract out of the basic framework of phratries and clans. Conversely the Hindu caste system has an inbuilt tendency to split up into endogamous sub-sects of varying social status. No section of Raj Gond society could function as an independent endogamous unit short of complete repudiation of all ties of tribal solidarity.

The phratry is strictly governed by two basic principles, descent and fraternal solidarity. Descent is traced through the vertical axis, following the divisions of the Gond society into four apical ancestors. This system binds the living male members together into an agnatic group, while the horizontal dimension revolves around the basic principles of fraternal solidarity between the

contemporary members of the agnatic group and their wives. The phratry regulates affinal relations and corporate activities in the social, economic and ritual relations of their life.

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

The Gonds all over India are polytheists. All deities are thought of in anthropomorphic forms. All Gonds worship a supreme being, who is called Shembu Pen in Chanda and Adilabad, and Bara Deo in Madhya Pradesh. Various other names are used for the Supreme God. Near Chanda and Adilabad, he is known as Persa Pen, in Bastar as Bara Pen, in Orissa as Badiyal Pen. It is evident from Gond traditions that in olden days Bara Deo was honoured by the sacrifice of a cow, a practice that is declining. Bara Deo is recognised as the creator and master of the universe. Dharti Mata, the earth mother, is also worshipped universally.

The cult of village guardian deities, both male and female, is also a universal phenomenon of Gond religion. Thus Aki Pen, the village guardian, and Auwal (mother), the village mother, are found in every Gond village of Adilabad and Khermai in Central India. Gods of disease such as Manai Mata, Sital Mata, the shrines of Bhimana, Jangubaj, Beani, Rajel Pen, all deities with power to influence the fate of the human beings, are also found in many villages, but their cult rests with individual families and they are known as household gods. These household gods increase or decrease as special occasion requires. If one set of gods does not work satisfactorily they are discarded and a new set introduced. Similarly field gods and cattle gods of the dead are also very common. The cult of the clan gods or deities stands foremost in the Gond's religious consciousness, except in areas where tribal culture is already in a state of disintegration. Among the southern Raj Gonds of Adilabad and Maharashtra the cult of the clan god is still very prominent and firmly anchored in Gond mythology, which is preserved as an oral tradition by the Pradhans, who are hereditary bards to Gonds. Due to growing contacts

with neighbouring Hindu populations in Madhya Pradesh old forms of ritual customs such as cow sacrifice have disappeared. The Gond religion in its original form is still very much evident among those inhabiting the hill tracts lying between the Penganga and Godavari rivers.

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

Belief in witchcraft and magic is strong among Gonds. The Gonds sacrificed cows in the recent past. It is also recorded that the Gonds used to offer human sacrifices, especially to the goddess Keli.

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

The Gonds of Bastar and Orissa have caste panchayats, which settle inter-tribal and intra-tribal disputes. The members of the panchayat are selected by mutual consent and enjoy office while of good behaviour. Inter-tribal and intra-village disputes are settled by a common sitting of the two panchayats. Guilt is established either by direct eyewitnesses, divination or ordeals like putting one's hands in boiling oil or lifting a red-hot crowbar. The offences dealt by the panchayats are adultery, taking another man's daughter or wife, being sent to jail,

eating with a man of lower caste, etc. Excommunication is the severest punishment. Feasts have to be arranged for readmittance of the excommunicated person into the community.

Gond society is also under the influence of various religious movements. In the states of Madhya Pradesh and Orissa, the Gonds, appear to be under the strong influence of religious leaders who are advocating various restrictions in terms of food, drink, etc. A similar trend is seen among the Gonds of Raigarh in Orissa. The Gonds of Adilabad, who have preserved a rich cultural tradition, are also being exposed to the alien faith and have come under the influence of the late saint Tukdoju Maharaj. His disciple, saint Surya Bhan Maharaj, who resides in the high lands of Utnoor Taluk, is also advocating vegetarianism and other taboos. In Udaipur village in Raigarh it was noticed that even the traditional social institution of the *ghotul* (youth dormitory) has come under the influence of religious movements. Gonds in this village have also learnt new patterns of *bhajans* and prayers taught them by their religious leaders or *babas*, and this is reflected in their music and dance patterns.

It can thus be seen that the religious institutions, religious beliefs and social life of Gonds are undergoing changes. As a result of this Gond society is becoming segmented between traditionalists and neo-religious practitioners.

GOND *

P. Panda ¹

T. Sahoo ²

INTRODUCTION

The 'Gond' or 'Gondi', a Scheduled Tribe of Odisha, is a peasant community. During the British India, the Gonds had challenged the British rulers in several battles sporadically. The history records them as a 'warrior community'.

The Gonds are found spread over the hill tracts of central and south India. They are numerically dominant tribal group in India. The name, *Gond* is derived from the Telugu word *Konda* meaning 'the hills'. Most of the Gond people speak Gondi dialect, closely related to the Dravidians. A few of them use Indo-Aryan dialect including Hindi and Odia. In Odisha, their dialect is getting assimilated with the dominant neighbouring Odia language as they often speak *Odia*.

CULTURAL ECOLOGY

Gond habitat may be referred to as a habitat for humanity. Their settlement extends mostly over the hill tracts of central India known as 'Gondwana' land. Important sub-divisions of the large Gond tribe are Maria Gond of Madhya Pradesh, Raj Gonds and Burve Gond of Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh and Gonds of Odisha. They are found dwelling near the hills and forest areas of Madhya Pradesh, eastern Maharashtra (Vidarbha), Chhattisgarh, northern Andhra Pradesh, and Odisha. The recent demographic history treats them as immigrants to Odisha. As a petty business community, their nativity is traced to Madhya Pradesh. In course of time, they have come over to Odisha through forest routes. They are concentrated in the state of Odisha in districts like Nabarangpur, Sundargarh, Sambalpur, Bolangir and part of Kalahandi.

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Housing

It is process of sheltering and using a culturally defined space for intimate interaction among members of the family and lineage for cohesion, sharing and caring for one another. The heritage of Gond House-craft reflects their persistence to socio-cultural tradition.

They plan and design as per the cultural necessity. In past, the Gond people used to consult their foreteller before they construct a house. Their house building materials are made up of locally available resources like loamy soil, bricks, wood, and bamboo shafts, etc. befitting their cultural needs and designs. In planning of a house, they strictly observe the socio-cultural taboos handed down to them as apart of tradition. The lineage wise house arrangements and construction of houses in linear pattern is an ethnic marker. With the increasing population and expansion of additional families, the sparse distribution of big house becomes essential. With the passage of time they started downgrading the linear type of house arrangement with kitchen garden, cattle shed and front court yard. Now they appreciate sparsely distributed houses in the village.

LIVELIHOOD

Generally, the Gonds as a peasant community work hard to earn their livelihood. Their inadequate peasant economy is supplemented by collection of forest produce, fishing, hunting, and other primary sector activities. A few forge metal items in cottage industries to add to their earning. They use bullock driven ploughs for tilling the soil. Before they till the land, some grains, fowls and pigs are sacrificed as a token of reverence to the presiding deity and ancestral spirits. Blood of the sacrificed animals is smeared and sprinkled on to the seeds which are distributed among the villagers.

They sow these propitiated and venerated seeds in their ritually purified fields for bumper crops. They mainly produce rice. Besides rice cultivation, they grow potatoes, tomatoes, brinjal, beans, leafy vegetables, wheat, maize, small millets, *ragi*, mustard, black *mung*, horse gram, etc. All crops including cereals and pulses are cultivated in rainfed fields. They consume vegetables as well as sale them for cash to meet other household needs. They are multi-crop growers.

For maintaining their livelihood, they go for group fishing. They catch fish individually and in group by using bamboo nets and traps and also sell the catch for maintaining their family. Hunting adds to their subsistence. They make their own bows and arrows as hunting implements. These implements safeguard them and their cattle wealth from wild animals. Their traditional communal hunting has become a ritual due to paucity of games and wildlife conservation laws.

Tilling soil for cultivation is done by iron ploughshare. A few of them are experts in making agricultural implements like wooden ploughs, leveling bars,

threshing poles, de-husking platform and balancing bar for cultivation of crops. They purchase sickle, crowbar, spike and spade and also seeds from local market. The village cattle are grazed and kept in field during lean season strategically to increase the fertility of land by organic manuring. A few well-to-do families use fertilizers, pesticides bought from local weekly market for better productivity.

The brooms and mats are mostly domestic crafts of the womenfolk. Some such craft items are sold in local markets. They have their own traditional inventory for preserving grains for future use as seed as well as for consumption. After harvesting different crops, they process and bask them in sunshine for a few days and then prepare grainbins with hay rope to be kept on a raised bamboo platform to preserve paddy, maize and other cereals and minor millets harvested.

They have bovines. They domesticate cows, goats and buffalos for milk and meat. They keep draught animals and duck, fowls, etc. for food and during exigencies they sale in local market.

Food and Drinks

The dietary habit of the Gonds is simple. Rice is their staple food. The Gond women de-husk paddy by hand with help pastel and mortar to get rice and then clean and cook them. They get dal by pounding pulses with the help of hand driven stone grinders.

The general food habit of the Gonds comprises of watered rice, mix-vegetable curry, *dal*, pickles and at times fish or dry fish. During festive occasions their menu is added with chicken and mutton curry. The meat of the ritually sacrificed animals is consumed by them. The meat of game animals supplements their diet also. The clan members are tabooed to consume the meat of their totems.

They take locally brewed liquor, like rice beer, *rasi*, *mahuli*, etc. Usually, their immediate neighbor, the Mundas, prepare these drinks and sell these to the Gonds for consumption, mostly during rituals and festivals. They smoke country cigarette (*bidi*) prepared by hand with locally available tobacco and tender *sal* leaf.

Ornaments and Adornments

As regards the traditional attire of the Gond community, the attires of boys and girls reveal an equal status. Both the sexes grew their long hair, fixed combs on buns, used jewelries and adorned themselves with decorations. The boys often outshine the girls in decoration. They wear beads, tusks of boars, feathers and anything colourful that was available. They decorated them with dressed hair, in which they fix combs, mirrors, balloons, and even paper fans.

In the past, the Gonds were using varieties of ornaments to decorate themselves. Traditionally, they used to wear *holi* a silver bracelet, silver chain and pendant in necklace. In these days, due to impact of modernization, the traditional adornments have given way to modern ones. Now they wear ornaments made

from gold, silver and brass. During festivities women wear a brass neckband locally called *Paduka*. They even wear the coin-necklace made of 10, 25, 50 *paise* coins. They wear brass bangles (*pahula*) in their hands and *katria* and *bandria* made of silver. The *Pahula* is hollow whereas the other two bangles are solid. Foot ring is called 'Jhuntia'. At the time of marriage women wear ear ring named as *madhujhara*, and plain rings on the helix and lobes of the ear. They wear nose-ring called *guna* and *jharadandi* in the middle lower part of nasal septum and *mullu* in foot and also anklets. Besides, they typically they decorate their bodies by tattoo marks. Tattooing is done before puberty else it is viewed as inauspicious.

Being influenced by the neighboring Hindus, now-a-days they are wearing chain *kendi mala* and *mangalasutra*. Due to the modernity boys are also wearing ear-rings. The Gonds are modern in dress and ornaments. A few decades back Gonds were using cotton and terri-cot clothes. At the time of marriage during the *mangan* they are wearing yellow Saris. In *mandap* they are wearing red colored varieties of sarees. The traditional wears like *dhoti*, *lungi* (a wrapper) and towel have been replaced by modern dress materials. Thus, the youths prefer to wear jeans, T-shirts and trousers.

INSTITUTIONALISING SELF AND OTHER KINS

Normally, the social life of Gond goes through four stages such as infancy, childhood, adulthood and old age. During these stages they observe four important life cycle rituals: birth, puberty, marriage, and death.

Their **birth ritual** starts from the special rite to acknowledge the joy of pregnancy. The expectant mother is considered to be bestowed with strength of ancestral spirits. After delivery the first ceremony, called *Narta*, is performed on the 9th day of child birth. On this day, all the polluted clothes of mother and other family members are washed and all the family members are sprinkled with water mixed with cow-dung for purification. On the 21th day, they perform the ritual named as *ekoisia*. On this day, the clothes of the lineage members are ritually purified and the houses are purified. The mother and the new born take full bath.

The mother observes touch taboo. She is restricted to touch the utensils and to enter into the cattle shed and kitchen. They refrain the mother from rituals till the baby reaches third month of his/her age.

The initiation ceremony takes place when a girl attains her **puberty**. She is escorted to the river to take bath anointed with turmeric oil or soap. She has to undergo a movement taboo. The girl is kept on one corner of the house and not allowed to touch anything. The pollution continues for a period of 7 days.

Among the Gonds, clan/sub clan exogamy is regarded as the basic principle of **marriage**. The tribe has exogamous totemic clan divisions. The principle extends to clan-cluster exogamy. Cross-cousin marriage and marriage by negotiation are common.

Marriage by service is socially permitted. Marriage is celebrated with many pomps and ceremonies. The dancing, singing and drinking add to the joy of marriage. Marriages are preferred within the close relations mostly according to Hindu rites and customs. Sometimes mock elopements are also arranged.

They prefer arranged marriage. The other forms of marriage are love marriage, widow remarriage, sorrorate and levirate. Polygamy is seldom practiced. Divorce, remarriage, widow marriage, are common. Dowry system has been a recent phenomenon among them. However traditionally, the groom has to pay bride-price to the father of the bride as a token of respect to woman.

To up keep the social prestige and status, most of the Gonds try to follow their marriage traditions and customs and observe the rituals in detail as far as possible. When a boy or a girl attains marriageable age, the parents look around for a suitable mate. On a fixed date with the help of a mediator the boy's parents and the maternal uncle go to see the girl at her home. There, if they select the girl, the messenger fixes a stick in the girl's home; this is called as *Badidara*. Then the boy's father with the female relatives comes back with the marriage gifts to fix the marriage date locally known as *Pidhani*. Then, on the day of marriage some rituals such as *Dian Mangala*, *Pathatola*, *Baradhara* etc., are performed by a group of seven women of the village. While the groom comes to alter, always younger sister of the bride bargains him for his entry to the altar. After *Kanyadan* the marriage knot is tied by the groom's younger daughter-in-law in a pandemonium. The bride groom then using right hand thumb applies vermilion on the bride's forehead. Thereafter, the bride and groom must sit and eat together which is known as *Vidala*. The bride is taken to her in-laws' house along with the groom. Jokes on pregnancy and child birth are chided to both by a few aged joke related kin.

The aged Gond is considered as inventory of knowledge and protector of traditions, customs, and practices. The existence of extended families indicates the cooperation of family members and value of parental cares in the old age among the Gonds. The Gond family bond symbolizes their obligation and duty towards caring the old parents till their death and aftermath by observing mortuary rites and rituals associated with the ancestral worship.

After the death of a person, the message is sent to kins. The relatives are immediately called upon. The entire kith and kin like daughter and sons-in-law came over to console the bereaved family. After a while, the dead body is kept outside of the house. Only the male members of the family and close kins arrange the articles for funeral at the cremation ground. Till the tenth day they observe food taboo, movement taboo and dress taboo. On the tenth day the ritual is performed at the *ghat* of the village pond. All the relatives assemble at one place and male members cut their nails and hair and shave their beards like the Hindus.

However, unlike Hindu barber who serves the bereaved family, they serve themselves. After that they come back home and their priest performs puja to

liberate the soul of the dead. On the 11th day, the ceremony to purify the kin takes place. On the 12th day, food and rice beer, some cloths and rupees are offered by the son-in-law of the dead son and elder son to the priest. In some cases the rich Gonds employ Brahmins to conduct the entire ritual.

SOCIAL TRANSACTIONS

In Gond society the family is mostly of nuclear type. It comprises of father, mother and unmarried children. The extended families are also found among them. Gond families are patriarchal and patrilineal. After marriage the bride is taken to her husband's residence. The head of household is usually a male. Authority is transmitted from the father to son following the principle of primogeniture. In case of death of husband, the wife becomes head of the household. The son after becoming major is given recognition as the head of the family to manage all the matters related to family resources. Daughter after marriage ceases her right over paternal property. At family, clan and community level, there is a clear-cut division of labor among the members based on age, sex and status. The family members help each other during the time of need. Thus, the members of family always have certain reciprocal rights and obligations towards each other. The gifts reciprocated within the family are asymmetrical and it is symmetrical when it comes to interfamily exchange.

The Gond consanguinal kin groups include family, lineage, and clan. Their kinship indicates relationship through blood and marriage. It plays important role in the regulation of behavior and formation of the social groups. It prescribes avoidance and joking relationship to regulate sex behavior between kin members. Kinship ensures solidarity, develops mutuality, and avoids conflict among the members. The kin groups maintain their socio-cultural boundaries on the basis of totem and performance of difficult activities as per village norms derived from their original habitat. Lineage members co-operate and reciprocate each other at the time of crisis, life cycle rituals and different religious festivals.

DECISION MAKING PROCESS AND SOCIAL CONTROL

The Gonds of Odisha have no formal kin based hierarchical political organization, to treat the disagreements; however, they are not without leaders. Their solidarity does not extend beyond the subsection. The Gond village community forms the basic political unit through its village council. This village level democratic organization is headed by 'Majhi' (headman). The other members of the village council are chosen by the villagers. Its officials are the village chief, priest and watchman, four or five co-opted elderly members representing the lineages inhabiting the village. All sorts of disputes are discussed and resolved by the village council. Each Gond village has its own service giving "caste groups" such as the Ahir (cowherd), Agria (blacksmith), Dhulia (Drummers) and Pradhan (Bards and Singers). In the current political situation the Gond community, despite its numerical strength, is less vocal and less powerful at the decision making

process. This is attributed to their disunity and educational and economic backwardness. Their traditional political structure has been weakening due to modern Panchayatiraj system. The social esteem of the traditional leaders is losing grounds. They are being marginalized at the rise of the politically affiliated members representing the Panchayati raj system.

MYTHS AND SUPERNATURAL POWER

According to Gond myth, Mahadeo created earth after the deluge. Next he created nature, birds, animals and finally, man. The Gonds are the first children of Mahadeo and Parvati. In the past, they were gatherers and hunters. It is believed that they are voracious eaters and hence *Mahadeo* could not provide them with sufficient food. So *Parvati* advised Siva to instruct Gonds to start cultivation of paddy. They arranged bulls, made a plough, plough-share and sent *Bhima* to *Kuvera* (the god of wealth) for demonstration of paddy cultivation. From *Madadeo*, the Gonds learnt the technique of farming. The Gonds believe that the forest and trees interact with men during day time and with spirits during night. They revere trees for they provide shade, shelter and nourishment to all. When the night falls and the day time visitors left forest, the spirits of the trees talk among themselves. They believe that trees have the ability to communicate their pains and pleasures like that of men and ancestral spirits.

They are animists. They believe that the hills, rivers, lakes and trees are the abodes of their ancestors. Sacrifice is the most important part of their religious activities. The Gonds of Odisha are Hinduised to a considerable extent. To a Gond, the mother Goddess (*Devi*) is a very important deity.

Their supreme deity is the *Jangha*. They believe that in the fight for owning the God, Hindus could take the upper portion and they got the lower portion of Lord Jagannath which they worship as *Jangha*. The clan gods and village deities are given equal importance. They worship all supernatural entities in all occasions to get rid of the diseases and pestilence, natural calamities and also to get blessings for good harvest and ample forest produce.

Each Gond clan has its guardian spirit known as Persapen. It guards clan members from external injury and evil spirits. The Persapen is essentially a benevolent spirit but can also be dangerous and violent if disturbed, dishonored and shown no reverence in festive occasions. The clan priest (*Katora*) manages and maintains the shrines and ritual objects of the Persapen. He is the custodian of the sacred spear point, often ritual tridents, and organizes annual festivals. He is the connecting link between kin and ancestors and helps the community to convey the desire of the spirits and vice versa. At the outskirts of every village there are wooden carved pillars stuck into the ground as memorials of their departed souls of past chieftains. The carvings reveal interesting life events of the ancestors and chiefs. The *Katora* is empowered to explain the meaning symbolically engraved on

such wooden poles. The Gonds believe that when a Pradhan (bard) plays his fiddle, the deity's fierce powers can be controlled. The style he eulogizes the brevity of deities is typical. They worship their village mother Goddess in all festivities who is propitiated as the village protector. They also worship their tutelary deity and guardian deity who protects cattle and cattle wealth on important social occasions. Deities, like *Shitala Mata* (the God of Smallpox), if venerated properly, help ward off the ailments. Certain deities, mostly the female ones, demand raw blood of chickens, goats and at times he-buffalos. In an interval of nine or twelve years, the Gonds offer a pig to the God-Narayan Deo in a ceremony known as *Laru Kas* meaning pig's wedding. They perform rituals as a source of healing against ailment.

FAIRS AND FESTIVALS

Usually, the Gond Festivals relate to important agricultural activities and seasonal events and human life cycle events from birth to death and aftermath. The Gonds observe two major festivals, such as *Keslapur Jathra* and *Madai*. While the celebration of 'Keslapur Jathra' is marked with worshipping the Snake deity - *Nagaba*, the *Madai* festival is celebrated to mark the occasion of meeting relatives settled in other part of the country. The Chaitra festival held in the month of March is very common for new fruit eating ceremony and as well as sowing new crops. Their festive life is always filled with animal sacrifices made by ritual head of the village- *Dehari*. During the festivities the Gond women wear colour glass bangles and necklaces made of small black beads, coins and silver.

Gusadi- is the dance performed by men with costumes decorated with peacock feathers on head along with cotton clothes around their waist and ash smeared body. It is a distinctive feature of Gonds. They enjoy the festivities with drinks, playing and dancing with the rhythm of drum beats and blowing music throughout the night. During dance performance they use musical instruments like double humdrums/ drums, harmonium, wooden bells hit by sticks, etc.

Like all the Hindu castes, the Gonds celebrate the grand festival of Mother Goddess *Durga* during Dussera with glee and gaiety. Silver jewelry and decorative turbans form an essential part of the costume of the Gond dancers.

PERSISTANCE & CULTURE CHANGE

The Gonds of plain areas are Hinduized due to acculturation. Most of them have adopted Hindu ways of life and a few began to live in Hindu multi caste villages. Yet, they maintain the cultural identity of their own. Most of the Gonds living in the rural areas of Odisha are dichotomized into the traditional group and the acculturated Hinduised groups. The Hinduised Gonds get the services of Brahmin priest, barber and washer man. The traditional section is being served by its own tribal priest. One observes the syncretism among the Gonds of plain. The Hinduised section observes death pollution for 10 days. They erect

menhirs to commemorate the dead. They are polytheists. The Hinduised Gonds abstain from eating beef and drinking liquor.

DEVELOPMENT INITIATIVES

The establishment of schools by the ST&SC Development Department and Education Department of Odisha Govt. has been a noble intervention for desired transformation of the Gonds. Similarly, by extending infrastructure facilities through development agencies and units like Anganwadi centers and, PDS centers, etc. at the village level, the Govt. of Odisha tries to create a sustainable socio-economic support system ranging from food security and safe drinking water measures to mobile health units, and empowerment of the Gond community.

Towards ensuring the livelihood enhancement and empowerment of women, the Gond women have been roped into SHGs through extension financial assistance by the ITDAs and DRDAs. Individual assistance to women for running grocery shop and petty business at villages has provided them new economic opportunity for individual, family and community development.

Providing services and rendering help to the needy are not enough. It is comparable to provide cushion to a limping being. Genesis of internal strength empowers the people. Commitment, perseverance and continuous zeal to dare to learn and learn to dare will definitely pave the way for a better tomorrow

CONSERVATION OF CULTURE

The ST and SC Development Department, Government of Odisha under the aegis of Ministry of Tribal Affairs, Government of India has established a Tribal Museum in the premises of the SC and ST Research and Training Institute, CRPF Square, Bhubaneswar for preservation and conservation of the material culture of different tribes. The ornaments, personal belongings, hunting weapons, fishing implements and musical instruments of Gond tribe have been displayed in the different showcases in the tribal Museum. Besides, the live performance of Gond dance in the Annual Adivasi Exhibition and display of the replica of Gond house in the campus of SCSTRTI, the ITDA stall in the Exhibition ground are aimed at conservation of cultural material of the Gond and acquaint the visitors about their dwelling and living.

With the passage of time due to modernisation some of their cultural traits are vanishing. The preservation of cultural items indicates their ecological adaptation.

GONDS OF SOUTHERN REGION *

*D. R. Pratap*¹

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

Introduction

The Gond is the most predominant tribal community of India inhabiting the mountainous tracts of Central and Southern India popularly known as Gondwana land. The country of Gondwana includes the Satpura plateau and a section of the Nagpur plain and Narmada valley to the South and West². There is however no district or State situated in Central India which does not contain some Gonds and it is both on account of their numbers and the fact that Gond dynasties possessed a great part of its area that the territory of the former Central Provinces was formally known as Gondwana or the country of Gonds. According to 1971 Census the total population of Gonds in India was 4,812,164 and constitutes 12.78

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¹ Director, Tribal Cultural Research-cum-Training Institute, Andhra Pradesh.

² Russell, R. V. and Hiralal; *The Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces of India*, 1916, London. Macmillan and Company Limited. P.41.

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

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

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

view that the Gonds and Khonds were originally one tribe in the South of India and that they obtained separate names and languages since they left their original homes for the North. The fact that both of them speak languages of the Dravidian family whose form is in Southern India, makes it probable that the two tribes originally belong there and migrated North into the Central province and Orissa. This hypothesis is supported by the traditions of the Gonds (Russell).

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

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

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

Southern Gonds

The Gonds occupy two main tracts-one to the North of the Viindayas and the Satpuras and the second to the South of these gigantic hilt ranges, The first is the wide belt of broken hills and forest country and is mainly comprised in the Chindwada, Betual, Seoni and Mandla districts with Portions of several other adjoining them. And the second is still wider and more inaccessible mass of hill ranges extending south of the Chattisgarh plain and the South-West down to the Godavari which includes portions of the three Chattisgarh districts, the Bastar and Kankar States and the great part of Chanda. The Vindya range traverses nearly the whole of the width of peninsular India, a distance of about 1,050 Kms. with an average elevation of 300 meters above sea level, overlooking the valleys of Narmada and some on the South, and sloping gently northwards to the Ganga

valley. Forming one of Indian main water sheds, this mountain was long recognised along with the Satpura range which is more or less parallel to it at the dividing line between north India and Deccan.³ Thus Gond population of Bastar, Raipur and Durg districts of Madhya Pradesh; Yeotmal, Chandrapur and Nanded districts of Maharashtra; Kalahandi, Koraput, Bolangir, Boud-Khondmals and Ganjam districts of Orissa; the entire Gond population of Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka, constitute the Southern Gonds of India. They number 2,009,405 as per 1971 census and constitute 41.7 per cent of the total Gond population of India. Even among this Southern group the majority (62.59 per cent) live in Madhya Pradesh; 16.03 per cent in Maharashtra, 13.45 percent in Orissa and about 8.00 per cent in Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka. These Gonds differ both in language and custom from those living in the Northern region as well as among themselves. In Madhya Pradesh three district groups, namely the Murias, the hill Marias and the Bison horn Marias are well recognised and are more akin to the Koyas of Andhra Pradesh. In Orissa State the Gonds inhabiting the Raigarh Block adjoining Bastar and Raipur districts have still retained their language though considerably influenced by Hindi and Halbani and call themselves Gond. While another section of Gonds living in the plains call themselves Gonds and consider themselves superior to other Gonds. The Gonds inhabiting the Kalahandi and Bolangir districts have completely lost their language and speak Oriya and call themselves Oriya Gonds. The Gonds inhabiting the Maharashtra and Andhra Pradesh State are identical in custom and also have historical connections, and have two main subdivisions, namely, the Raj Gond and Dhruwa Gonds. The Dhruwa or dust Gonds are considered inferior in social status to the Raj Gonds and mainly inhabit Maharashtra State. It is noteworthy that all Gonds of Andhra Pradesh consider themselves Raj Gonds whether they hail from former royal families or ordinary peasant families. This paper mainly deals with this sub-section of the Southern

Variation in Gond population since 1921:

The Gond population is recording a steady increase since 1921 as per the census figures. They numbered 2,837,577 in 1921; 3,063,753 in 1939; 3,201,004 in 1941; 3,991,767 in 1961 and 4,812,164 in 1971. The decadal percentage variation is 7.97 between 1921&1931, 4.47 during 1931& 1941, 12.47 between 1941 & 1961, and 21.31 between 1961 & 1971. The decrease in growth rate is considered to be due to under enumeration. The growth rate of Gonds is lower than that of the general population of India (24.66) as well as the Scheduled Tribe population of India i.e., 27 per cent. In regard to the State-wise growth, barring Gujarat, Karnataka and West Bengal where the population is very small, Madhya Pradesh and Maharashtra recorded 21.9 per cent and 21.7 per cent increase, while Orissa (12 per cent) and Andhra Pradesh (9.6 per cent) recorded comparatively lower rate of increase. The male population has increased faster than the females. The

³ Government of India-*A Physical Geography*; Publication Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, 1969, PP.10-11.

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

Demography:

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

The composition of male population in the Southern Region is comparatively high. As per the sample study of the Tribal Cultural Research and Training Institute, Hyderabad there are 1,144 males in Orissa and 1,047 males in Andhra Pradesh per 1,000 females. Studies of the Tribal Cultural Research and Training Institute, Hyderabad and Yadav (1970), Madhya Pradesh reveal that though polygyny is freely allowed, it is resorted only on economic grounds or for enhancing social status. Of the total marriages among Gonds, 2.5 per cent of males and 5.3 per cent of females married below 15 years of age indicating prevalence of child marriages on a very small scale even now. It was observed that the males marry between 20-24 years and the females between 15-19 years. The mean age at marriage for females is 16.76 years in Raigarh area and 15 years in Utnoor area, while the age at menarche is 14.1 years in Utnoor and 15.5 years in Raigarh. Thus the Gonds marry their daughters about a year after menarche. The crude birth rates are 44.5 and 35.8, while the crude death rates are 19.1 and 13.4 respectively in Utnoor and Raigarh areas. Thus the annual growth rate is 2.5 per cent and 2.24 per cent respectively in Utnoor and Raigarh. The overall birth rate for the Gonds of India i.e., 42.4 based on 1971, Census figures are higher than both these rates.

Physical type and Anthropometry:

Though the Raj Gonds exhibit homogeneity in language and culture there is considerable diversity in physical appearance. Prof. Haimendorf is of the opinion that it may be due to the fusion of population of different racial stocks which occurred in the distant past. Forsyth also confirms the same view and says that the mixed breed call themselves Gond-Rajputs or Raj-Gonds, and are the direct result of the alliances between the Rajput adventurer and the Gond. It appears that the Gond chiefs have freely taken wives from the Rajputs to enhance their social prestige by also paying huge amounts. Stephen Fuchs supports the

view and says that in former times the Gonds almost certainly freely admitted other tribal groups into their community. He, however, feels that the admixture with Rajputs was confined to a few chiefs and their racial stock was not perceptibly changed.

Professor Haimendorf distinguished three physical types among the Raj Gonds of Adilabad of which the most prevalent type is characterized by a broad and rather flat face, high cheek bones, a small short nose which widens rapidly from a narrow-depressed ridge, a weak and not very full mouth and a small pointed chin. Medium stature and a rather slender build are frequently associated with this type.

The second type is characterised by the more robust Gond of heavier build with a longer face and more prominent features, a large straight nose, full lips and a moderately strong chin. The cheek bones are less pronounced. The third type less frequent and reminiscent of Kolams is the type with a face of extremely coarse modeled, low receding forehead; eyes in shallow sockets, a flat massive nose, broad even at the ridge, which is very depressed at the root and ending in wide nostrils, a large mouth with fleshy slightly upturned lips which are seldom closed even in repose.

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

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

The dolichocephalic head, medium stature, wavy hair, dark brown to brown skin colour places the Gonds among the Proto-Australoid or Weddid groups of India. But the jutting malars indicate admixture with Mundari population. The dermatoglyphic studies of Tribal Cultural Research and Training Institute (1978) also confirm the above view as they have a lower pattern intensity index (13.20) like that of Vettukuruma, Oraon and Khonds who are considered as mixed Australoids. The Gonds also exhibit the highest rate of colour blindness (6%) compared to the lower rates below 2 per cent among other tribal population.

Language:

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

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

History:

The Raj Gonds are famous for their rich mythology, as flourishing rulers of the mediaeval period of Indian history. They ruled vast tract divided into four major principalities between 14th and 18th centuries. In the wake of the disintegration of the Tughlaq dynasty at Delhi, a new and independent Kingdom of Bahamani Sultans was established in the Deccan. A number of other principalities also sprang up on the ruins of the earlier Kakatiya Dynasty of Warangal. The Southern Goad principality of Sirpur/Chanda was one such Gond independent State that was thrown up by the prevailing political turmoil in the Deccan. Along with the Southern Gond Kingdom of Sirpur/Chanda the other Gond Kingdoms were believed to have almost simultaneously sprang up at (1) Garha (Northern), (2) Deogarha (Central), (3)Kharla (Near Betul). Forsyth (1871) believed that these Gond Kingdoms were actually established by the Rajputs who were pushed to these inaccessible tracts between 11th and 15th centuries by the invading Mohammedan armies. But in contrast, Temple (1882) thinks that these kingdoms were established by Gonds themselves and organised themselves into three or four principalities under local chieftains. Chatterton (1916) also lends support to this view in his monumental work.

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

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

The history of Deccan provides many glimpses into the notable role played by Gonds in the political vicissitudes of the kingdoms of Warangal, Bahamani, Kherla, etc. Fixing 1330 A.D. as the date of establishment of independent Gond kingdom of Chanda, the Gonds must have enjoyed independent status for about a little less than a century through their vassals like the Raja of the Gond area, Kheria near Betul. Warangal according to Grigson, is an original home of the ruling family of Bastar. "This Kakatiya family has probably originally feudatory to the Chalukya kings and only later ruled independently. Pratapa Rudra, the greatest and the last independent Kakatiya king of Warangal, lost his life and independence in battle with the Mohammedan invaders of the Deccan under Ahmad Shah Bahamani early in the fifteenth century and, according to Bastar tradition and folk song, his brother Annam Dec, fled across the Godavari into Bastar, which had been an outlying and loosely held group of feudal dependencies of Warangal⁴".

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

⁴ Verrier Elwin, *The Muria and their Ghotul* : 1947 Bombay, Geoffery Cumberlege, Oxford University Press, PP. 20.

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

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

The historical record of a British settlement Officer reveals the flourishing Gond life in the Chanda kingdom. "They left, if we forget the last few years, a well governed and contended kingdom adorned with admirable works of engineering skill and prosperous to a point which no after time has reached. They left their mark behind them in royal tombs, lakes and palaces. "Their love for agriculture and irrigation is indicated by their method of inducing cultivators to construct irrigation tanks by giving "to anyone who made a tank, a grant free revenue of the land lying beneath it. A large number of small irrigation tanks were constructed under this inducement in the Wainganga valley which still remain"⁵.

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

In great contrast the present day Gonds have none of the qualities and capabilities of their forefathers. How is it that such a flourishing and prosperous Gond people have retreated to the mountains and became primitives? The answer lies in the period of Maratha conquest, pillage and plundering of Gond principalities. While Marathas are credited with the stemming of Mohammedan onslaughts, they are equally discredited for laying waste and looting persistently the both resisting and surrendering territories of Gond chieftains and in the process divested the Gonds of the last vestiges of civilizations and forced them to take to highway robberies and savagery narrated by the travelers of these lands of the period. "They regularly plundered and murdered stragglers and small parties passing through the hills..., and after looting and killing the whole night retreated across country to their jungle fortresses guided by the light of a bon fire"⁶.

⁵ Russell, R.V. & Hiralal: *Tribes and Castes of Central Provinces of India*, 1916, London. P 46

⁶ Russell, R.V. & Hiralal: *Tribes and Castes of Central Provinces of India*, 1916, London. P 47

Thus the Marathas, while subjugating and extracting tribute without any thought for the establishment of regular government in the area contributing for the reduction from once princely people into a plundering bands of high way robbers. However, the advent of the British and their firm establishment in the country had once changed the Gond way of life. The situation of maladjustment was completely controlled and the ferocious Gond took a completely reverse posture by becoming meek and gullible. After the introduction of a strong and equitable system of Government, by the British, these wild murderers soon settled down and became the timid and inoffensive labourers which they now are"⁷.

Economy:

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

Gond economy is uni-sectoral with heavy dependence on agriculture without any diversification though many agro-mineral and forest-based industries like cement factory, cotton spinning factories, paper mills, etc., has come up in the Gond country and in its periphery. In Andhra Pradesh so far no Gond is employed in these industries according to tribal manpower study in tribal areas of Adilabad district (1978). Even in the forest labour Gonds are not seen much. However, the per family land holding is highest in comparison to tribal areas in

⁷ Russell, R.V.&Hiralal :*Tribes and Castes of Central Provinces of India*, London. 1916, P. 147

other districts. According to a Survey⁸ per family land holding of Gonds worked out to 13 acres. This was because of the large scale land assignment policy adopted by the then Nizams Government by excising the productive forests areas and assigning them to tribals. Consequent upon a minor Gond rising called Bobjhari uprising against alienation of tribal lands by non-tribals, each tribal family was assigned land to the extent of 15 to 25 acres, being the economic holdings, which are called 'Loani Khaos' assignments. Further, joint family predominates other types of families, the result being large sized family holdings. In the Raigarh area also it was observed that the Gonds own holdings of 10 acres and above on the average. The community exhibits a remarkable sense of attachment to land than to any other occupation. A study conducted among the Raj Gonds of Adilabad district revealed that there is no significant change in the occupational pattern. It is noticed that the shift is only within the agricultural sector. Rarely one comes across the traditional occupational groups like carpenter or blacksmith in these areas as the Gonds have their own carpenters and blacksmiths. Male members of the Gond family carve their plough, yoke and cart with the wood from forests. The iron parts like plough share axe head, etc., are bought from the weekly market fixed after moulding by the Gonds themselves.

'Lamsadi' or marriage by service, a universal custom of Gonds is one of the social institutions that have economic consequences. A Gond family having only daughters or one or two sons who could not jointly undertake agricultural operations of the large family holdings extending up to 50 to 100 acres bring a poor Gond boy on promise of marriage to the daughter after a period of service in the family agricultural lands. Many Gond families remain as either vertically or horizontally extended joint families to facilitate corporate economic activity of the kin without the need for hired farm hands which are very scarce also.

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

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

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

This, once ruling tribe which went through a period of a mal-adjustment and finally settled down to sedentary agriculture, though possessing sizable

⁸ Government of Andhra Pradesh; *Occupational Pattern and Development of Priorities among the Raj Gonds of Adilabad district*, 1972, Tribal Cultural Research & Training Institute, PP : 23.

agricultural holdings of fertile black cotton soil in which cash crops like cotton and food crops like Jowar and various grams are grown still leads a subsistence level of living. An analysis of the family budgets showed that per capita income of an average Gond worked out to Rs. 206.99.

Dietary habits:

The dietary habits of the Southern Gonds are almost similar except that the cereals and pulses consumed in various places differ on the basis of the crops grown according to the suitability of the soil. In Andhra Pradesh and Maharashtra, Jowar and Maize along with red gram or field beans form the staple food, while in Bastar, Raipur and Orissa, Ragi, Kodi or Italian millet form the staple diet. Maize has been introduced in this area recently by the displaced persons of Bangla Desh settled in Dandakaranya. Rice is grown as a rain-fed dry crop in Madhya Pradesh and Orissa, rarely in Andhra Pradesh and Maharashtra. The usual diet consists of a gruel made out of broken Jowar called 'Peja' in central India. It is consumed without any vegetables early in the morning. Smaller grains like *samai* and Italian millet are extensively consumed in Bastar and Orissa. Usual side dish is red gram dal with much chili powder, a few onions and tamarind. Vegetables are consumed in large quantities, only during the winter when they are extensively grown in their back yards. They rarely consume oil, milk or milk products. The consumption of mutton is also very negligible. In contrast to the large consumption of wild foods like roots and tubers, fruits and leaves by other tribals of the region, the Gonds consume mainly cultivated foods. Their cereal and pulse consumption is relatively superior to the other tribals and their diets are rarely deficient in proteins and calories. However, minerals such as iron and calcium, vitamins A and B complex are deficient due to absence of milk and milk products and fruits in their diets. The habit of drinking black tea without milk is becoming very popular. Among the food available in the environment *Bassia latifolia* provides the Gond with *mahua* flowers and *Buchanania latifolia* with Chiranjees, both of which are found stuffs of great value to all tribals. *Phosonia sylvestring* and *Borassus flabellifer* these two palm trees that yield *sat* (Sandi and Toddy) occur rarely. *Caryota urens*, whose palm wine is highly valued among Koyas and Bastar Gonds is unknown in Adilabad district.

The Gonds now a days, do little hunting and appear to have abandoned hunting as a sport or ritual activity. The Gonds usually look healthy but suffer from malaria, scabies, tuberculosis and digestive tract diseases whose incidence is relatively more in the inaccessible areas".⁹

Social structure

The social structure of the Southern Gonds is different from Gonds of other regions. It is based on mythologically decreed four phratry organisation.

⁹ Government of Andhra Pradesh, *Health services in Subplan areas of Andhra Pradesh*, 1978. Tribal Cultural Research and Training Institute.

Each of these four exogamous phratries consists of a number of clans and members belonging to clans of a particular phratry are considered brothers and sisters. The four phratries trace their descent to four, five, six and seven mythical brothers from whom the members of the phratry are considered to have sprung up and they are named as four brothers phratry (Nalwen Saga). The social structure of the Southern Gonds is different from the Gonds of other regions. Clan and tribe are related contextually in two different ways, in the first instance tribalness as membership of an endogamous unit and in the second instance the tribalness as distinct from the wider Indian context of casteness. The Gond descent system is based on structural principles of unity and indivisibility and that makes it categorically distinct from the Indian caste system. However, structurally Gond Kinship system is a part of wider Hindu system. The Gonds see themselves as totally separate. Prof. Haimendorf¹⁰, observed that Gond society is conceptually a total system and no segment of it can contract out of basic framework of phratries and clans. On the contrary Hindu caste system have inbuilt tendency to split up into endogamous sub-sects of varying social status and no section of Raj Gond society could function as independent endogamous unit short of complete repudiation of all ties of tribal solidarity.

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

The phratry is governed by two basic principles, i.e., descent and fraternal solidarity. Descent is vertical axis following the division of the Gond society into four phratries originating from their four epical ancestors. This system binds the living male members together which form an agnatic group while the horizontal

¹⁰ Haimendorf, C.V.F. *The Descent Group system of the Raj Gonds*, 1956. London, School of Oriental and African studies Vol. XVIII : Part-3

dimension revolves on the basic principles of fraternal solidarity between the contemporary members of the agnatic group and their wives. The phratry regulates marital relations and corporate activities in the social and economic and ritual relations of their life.

Each phratry is strictly exogamous and sub divided into a number of clans¹¹. Clan rather than phratry is the most immediately apparent motif in the Gond society. Every man or married woman or boy is identified by the clan and by its phratry. Every member of the Gond society knows by heart which clan belongs to which phratry and the relationship between two individuals persists through a classificatory model. All members of a person's own phratry stand to him or her in the relation of 'Saga', i.e., paternal kinsmen and are excluded from the ranks of potential mates. Members of other phratries are 'Soira' or potential mates and relations-in-law. The phratry system is not so strong in Bastar and Orissa as in Adilabad but even here they consider those clans as brother clans which worship the same number of clan Gods. The four phratry system does not extend to all branches of Raj Gonds, while four phratries are found in that part of Madhya Pradesh which lies South of Nagpur, only two phratries occur among Gonds of Northern Nagpur Plain and Satpura region. Many of the Gond clans are totemistic and named after animals. Generally the members of a sept do not kill or injure their totem animals.

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

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

Though the Gond woman enjoys freedom in selecting mates, divorce and dances, her status is definitely inferior to that of the males. The Gond woman cannot cook or offer any food offered to the clan Gods. An unmarried girl cannot take part in the rituals of the clan deity-*persa pen*. Though the unmarried Gond girl enjoys unrestricted freedom, the moment she is married, she is subjected to number of restrictions and has to be more faithful to her husband. In spite of working very hard in the fields, as well as cooking food for the family, tending

¹¹ Michal Yorke : *Kinship, marriage and ideology among the Raj Gonds a tribal system in the context of South India*, 1979; Vol. 13, No. 1 contribution to Indian Sociology

cattle, fetching water and doing all sorts of odds jobs, a woman cannot inherit any property from her parents or from her husband. A married woman has to observe avoidance of her son-in-law and also her husband's elder brother (Raigarh). Such restrictions make the position of Gond woman inferior to that of their men.

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

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

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

Religion:

The Gonds all over India are polytheistic. All deities are thought of in anthropomorphic terms. All Gonds worship a Supreme Being, called Shembu Pen in Chanda and Adilabad and Bara Deo in Madhya Pradesh. Various other names are used for the Supreme God. Near Chanda and Adilabad, God is known by the name Persa Pen, in Bastar as Sara Pen, in Orissa Badiyal Pen. It is evident from

Gond tradition that in olden days Bare Deo was honoured by the sacrifice of a cow, which practice is on the wane. Sara Deo is recognised as the creator and master of the universe, yet in their religious ritual, he plays a very unimportant part. Dhartri Mata, the Earth mother is also worshipped universally.

The cult of village male and female guardian deities is also a universal phenomenon of Gond religion. Thus Aki Pen, the village guardian and Auwal (mother) the village mother are found in every Gond village of Adilabad and Khermai in Central India. Gods of diseases namely Manai Mata, Sital Mata, shrines of Bhimana, Jangubai, Beari, Rajel pen, all deities with power to influence the fate of the human beings are also found in many villages, but their cult rests with the individual families and they are known as household Gods. These household Gods increase or decrease as special occasion necessitates. If a set of Gods do not work satisfactorily they are also discarded and a new set introduced. Similarly field Gods, cattle Gods and Gods of the dead are also very common. They worship Gods presiding over the village destinies, the crops and epidemics, the spirits of their forefathers and the weapons and creations. They consist of stones or mud platforms, placed at a convenient distance from the village under the shade of some appropriate tree and often having a red or white flag, made of a piece of cloth, tied to the end of a pole to indicate their positions.

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

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

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

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

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

The belief in witchcraft and magic is strong among Gonds. They in the recent past used to sacrifice cows. It was also a recorded fact that Gonds were accustomed to offer human sacrifice especially to goddess Kali and goddess Danteswari, the tutelary deities of Rajas of Bastar and Chanda districts. Mr. Hislop is of the view that human sacrifices were offered until well into the 19th century. This practice is now given up completely. However during my recent visit in October' 80 to Raigarh block of Koraput district of Orissa State the officials informed that recently i.e., 2 years before a case of human sacrifice was reported from Jalanpara village of Raigarh block. During my tours in 1949 in Kerimeri circle of Adilabad district a young Gond who was driving my cart narrated that he was himself a victim who was caught and tied to a tree in Kerimeri forest and was about to be sacrificed, but fortunately he was rescued by a team of forest officials

who happened to incidentally pass through that way. These two stray incidents appear to be remnants of the past obnoxious religious practices.

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

Development Trends

The traditional Gond political structure consisted of hierarchically organized centres of power -'Patel' (village level head), 'Mokhash' (head of group of villages), Rajah or Chieftain and finally the Gond King of Chanda. At the village level the 'Patel' used to preside over a tribal council consisting of hereditary elders including the 'Patadi' and 'Katora' the priest of the village. Marriage negotiations, family disputes, petty economic offences, social disputes like divorce and elopements, incestuous material and sexual relations, violation of principles of tribal endogamy or phratry or clan exogamy besides fixation of dates for festival celebrations and first ploughing of fields are some of the activities of the traditional councils at the level of village and tribe. 'Mokhashi' who commands the economic resources of a group of villages also settles the inter-village disputes and other disputes that could not be settled by the village council. A Rajah was similar to 'Mokhashi' but for his large area of jurisdiction and higher political and social status and command over economic resources of a large number of villages. The 'Mokhashis' and 'Rajahs' owned their allegiance to the Rajah of Chanda and paid him tribute besides helping him with men, materials and money in times of need and war.

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

The traditional power structure underwent a radical change after the down fall of Gond kingdom of Chanda in 1751. A new structure of power and authority was introduced down to the grass rooted level. The Marathas introduced the institution of Deshmukh and 'Deshpande' with 'Watan, for group of villages belonging to non-tribals. The 'Deshmukhs' were meant for collecting land revenue while the 'Deshpande' used to keep the accounts of the village revenue and land and crops records. Some of them became 'Watandar Patels' and Patwaris for some of the villages under their jurisdiction and in the process leaving out the Gond chiefs with the semi religious and social functions. Further, the successive Nizams added the feudal offices of 'Jagirdars' who used to exploit the weak and powerless Gonds. The establishment of Nizam's Rule further expanded the administrative machinery up to the village level. A hierarchy of administrative personnel has been systematically preserved and the 'Deshmukh' and 'Deshpande' were also stripped of the powers with the introduction of Panchayat Raj and Community Development. The whole of Gond concentrated area is brought under democratic decentralization set-up with the establishment of Panchayat Samitis. Thus a feudalistic society of Raj Gonds of Southern region has been transformed into a decentralized democratic society with a statutory leadership elected through adult franchise in place of hereditary succession.

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

The Gond Education Scheme, Co-operative Movement and Land Assignment constitute the vital components of the Gond Development Programme whose strategy was evolved by Prof. Haimendorf and adopted almost

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

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

The tribal development programmes implemented for the benefit of Gonds of Adilabad region have no doubt helped them to grow, yet the Gonds have not been able to avail the opportunity fully thrown at their door step. There appears to be certain inherent weaknesses of fear psychosis and barriers operating in their minds due to long impact of various forces. Their sense of pride permitted them to be lenient in their outlook. The land grabbing and aggressive immigrant fully exploited their simple nature to their advantage. The magnitude of the incursions of non-tribals becomes clear if we glance at decennial growth of population in 1971 over 1961 in Utnoor Taluk. The total population has increased from 55.09 to 93.82 thousands. The Gonds characteristically succumb to the pressures of new settlers. The similar situation was observed by Mr. Narona as early as 1944 while discussing the problems of tribes of Madhya Pradesh. I was told during my visit to Raigarh block that Gonds were not able to withstand the pressure of non-tribals.

Protective laws have been in force in all the scheduled areas of the country but these laws have proved ineffective on account of manipulative techniques and circumvention of laws by the non-tribal. In Utnoor Taluk, hardly there is any

village where Gonds have not been totally or partially ousted by the non-tribals in spite of strong protective laws promulgated to save the tribals' interest.

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

The Gonds do not appear to have realized the value of education in strengthening their socio-economic fabric. A network of educational institutions have grown in a period of 30 years yet few Gond children have succeeded in the transition from these schools to the normal Middle and High Schools. The number of matriculates is very small while the graduates can be counted on finger tips. The apathy to pursue education appears to be universal among the Gonds. Even in Madhya Pradesh position of literacy among Gonds is not better. Out of the total population of 48 lakhs only 4.42 lakhs are literates among the Gonds i.e., the percentage of literacy of Gonds to the total S. T. population of India is 1.16 per cent. The percentage of literate Gonds constitutes 9.20 to its total population (1971 census). The illiterates constitute 91.65 per cent to the total population of 37 lakhs in M.P. The matriculates are only 7,048 which work out to 0.18 per cent. The graduates and post-graduates are 288 (0.01 per cent). Among the Gonds of Andhra Pradesh the literacy percentage is only 3.3 per cent.

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

or they were so backward that they could not make themselves heard in the councils.¹²

The Gond society is also under the impact of religious movements. In the States of Madhya Pradesh and Orissa, the Gonds appear to be under the strong influence of the religious leaders who are advocating various restrictions on food, drink etc. A similar wave is also seen among the Gonds of Raigarh of Orissa State. The Gonds of Adilabad who have preserved a rich cultural tradition are also exposed to the alien faith and they are under the influence of late saint Tukdoji Maharaj.

His disciple, Saint Surya Bhan Maharaj who resides in the high lands of Utnoor Taluk is also advocating vegetarianism and other taboos. In Udaipur village of Raigarh it was noticed that even the traditional social institution 'Ghotul' (youth dormitory) is under the influence of the religious movement. Gonds in this village have also learnt new pattern of Bhajans and prayer taught by their religious leaders; 'Babas' and this is reflected in their music and dance patterns.

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

Marked changes have not taken place in the occupational structure as the agriculture continues to be the mainstay for the majority of the Gonds. Among the Gonds of Adilabad, occupational diversification has been attempted by way of developing animal husbandry sector. Consequently dairy is taken up by them and the results are yet to be seen. The Gond farmers were also motivated to adopt wet cultivation methods, but this programme was not well received by them.

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

¹² Stefen Fuchs: *The Gond and Bhumia of Eastern Mandla*: 1960; Bombay, Asia Publishing House, PP:236.

THE GONDS *

D. Hazra ¹

Geographical location and spread of the Gond:

The Gonds are the most important major tribal group of Central India. Taking into consideration all the sections and sub-sections that are labeled as and put under the generic name 'Gond', this great tribe constitutes numerically the second most dominant tribal group of the country, standing next to the Bhil group (including all its sections). The Gonds numbered, as per the **1971** Census, a little over five millions distributed over a wide tract of land that forms more or less a contiguous area and are found spread over mainly in the States of Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh and Orissa. The area of their distribution may broadly be said to lie between the Vindhian Mountains in the north and the Godavari gorges in the south and between some easternmost districts of Maharashtra in the west and a few westernmost districts of Orissa in the east. Due to the longstanding association with this great tribe, the vast area in Central India had once earned in mediaeval times the appellation "Gondwana" ascribed to the land of their habitation. Their maximum concentration lies in Madhya Pradesh where they are found distributed more or less throughout the State with the exception of the extreme northern and western parts. But their main concentration lies in the Satpura plateau in the north and the Chhattisgarh plains and the Bastar district in the south. In Maharashtra they are found spread in some of the easternmost districts mainly in Chandrapur, Yeotmal and Nanded that are adjoined to Madhya Pradesh and Andhra Pradesh. The southern extension of the tribe is mainly restricted in some of the northern most districts of Andhra, their main strongholds being Adilabad and Khammam districts. Considerable numbers of Gonds are also found in Orissa, the main concentration being in Koraput district adjoining to Madhya Pradesh.

Population and population density:

The total population of the Gonds including the Koya and other groups which are classified under this tribe was 5,154,536 according to the Census of 1971

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¹ Anthropologist, Anthropological Survey of India, Central Region, Nagpur-440004

of which Madhya Pradesh alone contained 7.3 per cent of the total Gond population. The distribution of the Gonds in different States according to 1971 census is shown below:

States	Gond Population	Percentage
Andhra Pradesh	4,42,715	8.59
Madhya Pradesh	37,69,547	73.13
Maharashtra	3,31,841	6.44
Orissa	5,59,340	10.85
Other States	51,093	0.99
	51,54,536	100.00

Since the separate district wise figures for the Gonds in different States are not available in 1971 Census, it is difficult to show the density of this tribe separately for each district where they are found in great number, of course the general density of population with percentages of the tribals in general in the important districts of Central India (excluding south India) wherethe Gonds occur as predominant tribes are shown in the following table based on 1971 Census:

States/ Districts		Total tribal population	Tribal Percent to total population	Population density per Sq. Km.
Andhra		1,657,657	3.81	157
Madhya Pradesh		8,387,403	20.14	94
Maharashtra		2,954,249	5.86	164
Orissa		5,071,937	23.11	141
Balaghat	Madhya Pradesh	109,993	11.52	106
Bastar		1,033,950	68.20	39
Betul		224,539	30.50	73
Chhindwara		348,026	35.17	83
Damoh		N. A.	N.A.	79
Durg		251,082	10.20	225
Hosangabad		57,761	7.17	80
Mandla		528,865	6.54	66
Seoni		254,577	37.49	76
Surguja		74,894	55.93	59
Chandrapur		281,402	14.18	64
Yeotmal	Maharashtra	N. A.	N.A.	102
Koraput-	Orissa	N.A.	N.A.	76

Transformation and problems of identification of the Gonds.

The Gonds are a Dravidian speaking tribe having a language of their own called Gondi which has been classified under the central Dravidian group of languages, Linguistically Gondi is said to be related more to Tamil and Kanarese than to other important languages of south India. But it is evident that Gondi as spoken in southern part of the Gond territory, particularly in south Bastar in Madhya Pradesh, Chandrapur in Maharashtra and south Koraput in Orissa with its extension in Andhra, has been much moulded due to the influence of local Telugu. The Gonds, wherever they have retained their own language and maintained their cultural identity, use the term 'Koitor' or 'Koi' as self-designatory term. On the other hand, the term 'Gond' has been in use by the outsiders to designate all the Koitor group of people. The term 'Gond' might have its origin from the name 'Khond', another central Dravidian speaking tribe of Orissa which have some linguistic and cultural affinities with the Gond. The different Sections of the Koitor (i.e., Gond) of Bastar are though designated by various terms like Maria, Muria, Dorla, etc; the name Gond still remains unfamiliar to them with the exception of the Hinduised Gond immigrants from Chhattisgarh in north Bastar.

Since a large variety of groups has been classified as the Gonds of various categories, it is rather a difficult problem to establish the true Koitor identity for a Group included under a Gond category, and at the same time to isolate a non-Koitor group (if so included) from the fold of the Gond. For obvious reasons, it is rather difficult for so large a group like the Gond spreading over so vast an area to have a homogeneous population by retaining although a uniform racial, cultural and linguistic affinity sharing it in common among all of them. Under such circumstances while dealing with the problem of identifying a group under the Gond fold, some important issues emerge out. We know the great Gondgroup in it's entirety (including various sub-groups) is but composed of a large number of endogamous groups under various labels and quite a few of them are undoubtedly of non-Gond origin. Leaving aside all the groups of doubtful Gond origin, intermarriage is not practised even among the various sub-groups of the Gond as a rule.

On account of their numerical dominance and their significant role once played in cultural and political domain, the Gond attained, at one time, a supreme position and enjoyed privileged status among the other central Indian tribes of minor importance. Also, some sort of symbiotic relationship developed between the Gonds and some other tribal groups, whereby the Gonds assumed the role of patrons and the other as beneficiaries. "As such, there were concerted attempts made on the part of some of these tribes to adopt the way of life of the Gond as a model in order to get themselves associated with this great tribe. Thus, some tribes might have succeeded in getting themselves incorporated in the Gond-fold. Also, the question of some admixture of blood between the Gonds and other ethnic groups cannot be ruled out.

On the other hand some significant changes are under process within the very Gond society itself as observed among the various sub-groups. The Gonds, in general, present some features peculiar to the group as a whole, and various sub-groups of the Gond are accordingly found in sharing such features in common among them. They have their common tongue 'Gondi'; the self-designatory common generic term is 'Koitor'. The presence of phratry system for regulation of marriage among them is another common feature of the tribe by which a group is divided into a few exogamous divisions, each incorporating a number of clans within it. Each of such phratries, unusual cases, is referred to in terms of the number of gods called *pen deve*, etc., which are supposed to be worshipped by the concerned members. Each clan under a phratry has, in its turn, a set of clan-gods, the number of which corresponds to that by which the phratry in question is designated. The Gond also practise cross-cousin marriages which are found to be of preferred types.

Though the people generally tend to adhere to their normative rules, especially to those which concern the major events of life, it is however found that their traditional way of life has been under constant process of some change. It is more discernible in an area where the impact of outside influences is apparently significant, and also in case of those who happen to live apart from the main stock. In such cases it may be found that some new concepts and ideas are being accepted in the life-way, replacing the old ones which are effected through the influences of the prevailing situation of the immediate environs. The reform activities or some induced factors like introduction and application of some State Laws of obligatory nature also play a significant role in that direction. Another aspect of change, which is worth noting among the Gonds, concerns about their traditional language Gondi. The language of a group is subject to any type of change on an easy process when compared to the social customs and religious practices of the group, because in such cases orthodoxy is maintained more rigidly. The traditional language of the Gonds, who are distributed scatteredly over a vast area, has also undergone changes in some parts of their territory, either in way of its profound transformation or by substitution of other local tongues, depending on the nature of their habitat and outside influence. Thus it is found, among the Gonds of the northern and, north-eastern extremities of Madhya Pradesh adopting the local form of Hindi in total replacement of their own tongue; likewise Chhattisgarhi has been adopted by the Gonds living in the Chhattisgarh plains and Marathi in some parts of the Nagpur plains. Even in Bastar where the Gonds form the most dominant tribal group, Halbi, one of the major languages of Bastar, has been accepted by some Gonds as their mother tongue. The influence of Telugu has been found among all the southern sections of the Gonds.

The total number of Gonds (including the Koya and all the Gond categories) was found to be 51,54,536 in 1971, whereas only 19,00,161 persons returned in the same census as Gondi speakers (including 16,88,284 Gondi and 2,11,877 Koya). That is, about 36.86 per cent of the Gonds have retained their own

language as mother-tongue and the rest. i.e., about 63.14 percent have adopted some other languages by replacing their traditional one, if we accept that Gondi being spoken exclusively by the members of their own group.

While undertaking a field investigation among the Gonds of Jabalpur region during 1977 it was found that they have forgotten their own tongue, i.e., Gondi, and have adopted the local form of Hindi. But they are aware of their forgotten tongue i.e., Gondi, which they refer to as 'Parsi-boli', which is still being in use by their fellow-members living in the neighbouring district of Mandla and elsewhere. They are also found to have assumed certain alien features which are characteristics of the Hindus. They of this region are referred to as 'Kisan'. Some of them claim themselves to be Thakur or Raj Gond; the male members put on sacred thread which they take usually at the time of marriage. They abstain from eating beef and pork and remain dissociated even from rearing chicken in their houses. They resent very much at drinking liquor within the village. The marriages with some near kins like father's sister's daughter or mother's brother's daughter have now become obsolete. Besides, their own gods and goddesses the people worship some Hindu deities. A number of Hindu festivals are being observed in right earnest. Through their traditional tribal priest Baiga (Doshi) is called for performing some of their socio-religious rites, they often take the services of Brahmins for ritual purposes on the occasion of some of the important social functions like birth, marriage and death.

The ritual services of a barber (Khobas) and washerman (Boretha) are also sought on some of these occasions. The concept of ritual pollution is found to be well developed among the people and they do not accept water or cooked food from the members of some of the ethnic groups which they consider to be inferior to them in social hierarchy. All these indicate a process of transformation which is at work among some sections of the Gonds, and as a result, they have assumed a number of features that are the characteristics of some castes within the social system of the Hindus. In this connection Grigson's comments while dealing with the Bastar tribes, are worth-noting. He says, "the difficulty is accentuated by the tendency, familiar throughout India, of local groups of primitive races which are gradually being Hinduised to regard themselves and to be accepted by their Hindu neighbours as separate Hindu castes under new names, So arise such names as Raj-Gond, Raj-Korku, Raja-Muria, Nayak-Gond....".

Historical background

On account of Dravidian characteristics present in Gondi, the traditional language of the tribe, it has been asserted by many about the probable migration of the Gonds towards the north from the Godavari valley. There are various myths, folk-songs and traditions found currently particularly in Bastar and elsewhere which are indicative of such inference. Russell states, "there is no reason however to doubt that the Gonds came from the south through Chanda and Bastar".

The political scene of central India beginning from sometime during the fifteenth century was eventful and significant in matters of rise and advent of Gond's supremacy; they continued to enjoy the status of a ruling race upto the middle of eighteenth century. A number of Gond kingdoms came into existence during this period, the important ones being Garha-Mandla (Garha remained near Jabalpur), Kherla (in Betul), Deogarh (iii Chhindwara) and Chanda (now Chandrapur). All of them are now in Madhya Pradesh except the last one which is in Maharashtra. Towards the middle of eighteenth century all the Gond kingdoms collapsed one after another on account of successive onslaughts of Muslim and Maratha armies and lack of unity and want of proper leadership among the rulers. During the time when the Gond rose to political power and Gond Kingdoms flourished, some important changes were also brought in the social field as marked in Gond society. Consequently an aristocratic class among the Gond emerged out. Besides the rulers, there were Gond feudal chiefs and zamindars. An appellation 'Raj' was added to this class of members as a mark of differentiation from the ordinary class of Gonds. As a result this people refrained from marrying freely in to the ordinary class of Gond, restricted only to hypergamy type of marriages in some cases. But in later period such term as Raj-Gond was being applied in a symbolic way on various counts, mainly as an epithet used for an acculturated group under Hindu influence.

Educational institutions and position and literacy:

The spread of education among the Gonds in Central India, particularly in Madhya Pradesh where maximum population of the Gond (73.13 percent) is found, is far below the standard. At present, facilities are provided for primary education to tribal children in almost all big villages, and in usual cases the children need not go beyond 2 or 3 Kilometers for attending the schools from their villages. On the other hand, the scope and facilities for attain of any higher study are too meager to meet the general demand, if there is any.

The literacy standard among the Gonds, taking together all the groups and sub-groups including the Koya, as available from the 1971 census, is shown in the following table:-

States	Total Gond	Total No of literates	Literacy Percentage
Andhra Pradesh	4,42,751	16,417	3.71
Bihar	48,869	6,498	13.30
Gujarat	402	87	21.64
Madhya Pradesh	37,69,547	3,24,444	8.61
Maharashtra	3,31,841	38,821	11.70
Mysore	1,776	169	9.52
Orissa	5,59,340	68,054	12.17
West Bengal	46	7	15.22
Total	51,54,536	4,54,497	8.82

Of all the major States like Andhra, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra and Orissa where the Gonds form the most important tribal group, literacy percentage is highest in Orissa, i.e., 12.17 per cent and next comes Maharashtra with 11.70 per cent. The lowest literacy of 3.71 is found among the Gonds of Andhra Pradesh.

Some observations on education may be made on the Dorla of Injiram, a village in Konta Tahasil in the district of Bastar, from the empirical data collected during the intensive field work carried out during 1958-60 among the tribe,

The village has a Primary School established by the District Janapad Sabha in 1948. The students mainly belonged to the dominant group, i.e., Dorla. A few of them were from the Lohar and the Mahar communities. The students who were found to attend the school, besides those from Injiram itself, were from 3 other neighbouring villages living within a radius of about 4 Kms. Though there were 33 students on the roll as in 1958, attendance was very poor and irregular, and hardly not more than one-third of them were found attending the school daily on an average. Sometimes it was found that not even a single student could manage to attend the school and this condition prevailed generally during peak agricultural season, when their services were being sought and utilized by their parents for some purposes. The number of female students in the school was very small; hardly one-fifth of the total strength of the roll belonged to the fair-sex.

The percentage of literacy among the villagers was too insignificant to note. According to 1971 census the total number of literates as found in Injiram was 16, among whom 12 were males. There was hardly a student who studied up to the final class of the primary level. There was not a single case whereby a student from the village had gone for higher studies beyond the primary level.

The training institutes of indigenous type called *ghotul* in its full and active form are found among the Muria Gonds of Narayanpur and Kondagaon Tahasils of Bastar. A village *ghotul* or bachelors' dormitory is meant for the unmarried youth of both sexes to spend the night over there. A *ghotul* in its rudimentary form is also found among the Hill Marias of Abujhmar which is meant only for the boys. But the institution of *ghotul* is not found among any other section of the Bastar Gonds. Though Russell mentions about the existence of *ghotul* among the Gonds of Chhattisgarh, Grigson repudiates such claim and expresses doubt about existence of any *ghotul* among the Gonds living outside Bastar. As found generally among most of the Gond groups, their growing children, in normal course of their day-to-day life, pick up and learn by a gradual process everything that pertains to their traditional mode of life by imitating their elders. Such process of socialization effects in equipping a child with the requisite qualities of becoming worthy member of the society on attaining maturity. A boy when reaches the age about twelve years, starts taking active roles in various economic pursuits as a helping hand to the elders, while a girl at the age of about eight years begins to share the domestic chores with her mother and helps her in various ways.

Occupational pattern

Agriculture forms the main core of subsistence among the Gonds. They are, at present, primarily found to be settled agriculturists everywhere with the exception of a very few limited cases, particularly in some most interior hilly and forested tract. For example, the Hill Maria people of Abujhmar in Bastar, who have been described by Grigson as the wildest section of the Gonds, still pursue shifting cultivation. This form of cultivation continues unabated mainly on account of the ecological setting like hilly condition of their habitat where it is rather difficult to adopt plough cultivation. As a policy matter the Government now discourages this type of cultivation and attempts at introducing a settled form of agriculture among the shifting cultivators, sometimes by rehabilitating them in some plain areas at the foothills, providing them with material aids, etc.

Besides agriculture, daily wage labour forms an important occupation of the people, particularly among the landless section. They are engaged as agricultural labourers mainly during an agricultural season by the landowning communities. The Forest Department sometimes employs them to work in plantation job or in the forest coups for felling trees and transporting timber. They are also employed by the Public Works Department in road building works.

Their association with forests is note-worthy, particularly in case of those living in the remote and forest areas as found in Bastar, Mandla and elsewhere. They derive from forests various items of wide range for their consumption like building materials for houses, agricultural tools and other domestic implements, and fuels for domestic use; besides, wide varieties of forest produce are also collected as food items in form of leaves, flowers, fruits, tubers, etc., to supplement their meagre food supply derived from agriculture. Grigson remarks that famine has never been a problem in Bastar on account of the people's dependency on forests in this regard. A forest is also used for grazing cattle. Hunting is practiced many Gond group individual enterprise but there are a few occasions when they go for hunting organised on communal basis. But in no way the Gonds may be called as food gatherers or hunters in the sense the term is used. Cattle rearing are found to be a very important secondary occupation among the Dorla and some Maria people of south Bastar. They are great stock-raisers, owning a good number of cattle heads, and rearing of cattle forms an important economic pursuit of the people. The people of neighbouring areas occasionally visit their villages for purchasing cattle. They also prepare ghee for sale to the local traders.

Land use and ownership pattern :

Individual right of ownership over land is recognised among almost all the Gond groups practising settled cultivation. But some sort of joint or group ownership over land is found among the Hill Marias of Abujhmar practising shifting cultivation who have a developed notion of clan territory as reported by Grigson. According to him, the village and not the individual cultivator is the unit

of production in the Abujhmar hills; but the permanent rice fields which are very few in Abujhmar are definitely the private property of the individuals.

Scope for having irrigation facilities is negligible in most part of their habitation, and the people mainly depend on natural rainfall for growing their crops. This holds good particularly for the areas where the people grow inferior type of cereals like millet of various kinds. But where extensive wet cultivation for rice is practised, arrangements are sometimes made for irrigation, provided water sources like rivers, streams or tanks are located nearby. An agricultural plot is usually utilized for raising of one crop only, but sometimes double cropping is done in a plot by raising some *rabi* crop after the harvest of the earlier one, but all depend on the fertility condition of the soil. It is found among the Dorla to leave fallow a plot of land for one year after it is being used successively for two or three years in growing millet in order to allow the field to regain its fertility; but in case of the plots utilised for growing paddy, it is not necessary to keep them fallow for any length of time.

The Dorla of Injiram in Konta Tahsil of Bastar have some system based on co-operative labour for the purpose of agricultural activities. Here it was found that the total amount of agricultural land under the possession of the villagers was 321.61 acres. Out of this, 25.24 acres were held by 9 households as individual holdings, and 296.37 acres were held by the members of five lineage groups as undivided joint property. That is, about 92.12 per cent of agricultural land was held as undivided joint holdings. In each case of such joint holdings the land in question was in the name of one person who held the right of grant (*patta*), and accordingly he was called *pattadar*. Usually a *pattadar* happened to be the seniormost of all the other members of the lineage group in question, and the *patta* passed over either to his next brother or to the eldest son on event of his death. In settlement records, a *pattadar* was mentioned as *kastkar* (cultivator) while all other co-sharers of the land were referred to as *smallkast* (associated cultivator). Though the legal right of the co-sharers over the land was recognized, yet for all practical purposes a *pattadar* appeared to be the real owner of the land; he was responsible for the necessary payment of all cesses assessed on the land under his possession and his decision in any matter regarding land, agricultural activities, etc., was supreme. It was found that in each of the five cases of joint holdings, the land in question had been transferred as ancestral property to the members of the succeeding generation without it being partitioned among the subsequent inheritors with the *patta* in the name of the eldest male member.

The amount of land under each of the five joint holdings with the number of families associated with such land is shown below:

Amount of land under joint holdings in Acres	No. of families associated with the land	Total No. of family members
78.88	9	53
66.71	5	24
56.78	6	34
56.68	3	13
37.32	5	26
Total 296.37	28	150

So the average size of holdings came to be 10.57 acres per household. Though in such cases the average holdings per household was fairly good, the total agricultural yield was found to be very low due to unfertile condition of the soil. On the other hand when considering the ratio of man-power to land, the number of workers as available from the households associated with the joint holdings, was found to be insufficient for full exploitation of the land under their possession. So to utilise the services of the available workforce from within the village, the people took recourse to a system based on co-operative labour. In such system all the workers including males formed a sort of voluntary association known as *kamtam*. A *pattadar* by virtue of being the formal holder of right over the land was recognized as the leader or *pedakam* of the concerned *kamtam* group. To form such a group, the able and adult persons from any household of the village irrespective of their sex and ethnic affiliation, might join at any number's its working members called *kamtampari*. It was not considered essential that the joint cultivation of such nature was restricted only among the members of those families, which were associated with one another in having the concerned land in common among them. Adult members of all such families were usually included as working members in their own respective *kamtam* cultivation, but it was not obligatory. It had been observed that some of the members of such families including that of a *pedikam*'s family, might join, besides their own *kamtam*, any other *kamtam*, and at the same time, in addition to it, some might have their own independent cultivation. All the members of a *kamtam* group enjoyed the same status as workers and each of them, either male or female, was entitled to get an equal share of all the crops produced by their joint labour. But a *pattadar* had some privileges and he used to get an extra share in addition to his normal share as a working member of the *kamtam* group.

Family and kinship pattern:

Simple or nuclear type of family is the usual form and it is found in preponderance over all other types as is the case among all the Gond groups. Joint families also occur in many cases whereby the married sons with their wives and children live in the family of procreation of their father. The daughters after their marriage leave for their husband's place. But in case when a man has but only one daughter, he usually likes to get his son-in-law settled in his house, and accordingly he selects and brings a boy home and have his services for three to

four years for which the daughter is given in marriage to him in exchange of the service already rendered to the father. In such cases 'the boy (*lamsena*, *illitam*) continues to live with his wife in his father-in-law's house and ultimately settles down there. Sometimes a man, even having sons, may bring a *lamsena* for his daughter if he finds difficulties in managing the affairs concerning his field activities and other related matters on account of the minor age of his sons. Thus a joint family may sometimes include, besides others, a married daughter with her husband and a few children, if she happens to bear some of them by then. The nature of a joint family continues to undergo some changes, as in course of time all the sons separate out one after another from the main body and set up their own respective families. Among the Dorla the youngest son continues to stay jointly with the parents along with his wife and children even when his other brothers got separate from the father. It is the duty of the youngest son to maintain and look after his parents in their old age and it is he who ultimately inherits the ancestral house. Among the Gonds of Mandla and Jabalpur, the eldest son inherits his father's house, while other sons get separated from the father to set up their respective establishments with the wives and children occupying some rooms constructed within the very precinct of the main hut.

A family in the Gond society is a significant corporate entity for economic, social and ritual purposes under the authority of its head. A husband is the central authority within the family. His decision is final in all important economic, social and religious matters. The wife has a distinct position in the family, being sole in charge of all the domestic matters. She also takes equal share of the hard life of struggle with her husband and works with him side by side undertaking various activities in fields in production of crops, thus she forms an important pivot in the economic life of the family.

All the relatives of a person are divided into two broad groups consanguinal and affinal. Among the Dorla, those relatives belonging to the agnatic group and having consanguinal relation amongst them are termed as *kutma*, whereas, all those who belong to the affinal groups are called *viam*. On the other hand, all the relatives, irrespective of their consanguinal or affinal relation, are called *sattam*. The kinship terminology of the Gond, particularly in Bastar is classificatory in nature. But in Jabalpur it is found that the kinship terminologies of the Gond are similar to those found among other local Hindi speaking groups. The Mandla Gonds, on the other hand, have retained some of the kinship terms in Gond; and the rest are expressed in local Hindi. The Kinship terminologies of the greater section of the Gond population are customary among them. A cross cousin is a potential mate of a person as found among most of the Gond groups. Certain categories of kins have some special role to play, particularly the mother's brother, in some of the important social functions.

Inheritance and other related institutions:

According to the normative rules of inheritance as generally found among the Gonds, the right over movable and immovable property passes through the male line from a father to his sons, each getting an equal share. Normally daughters have no right over any property as such. The father, during his life time may give a few things like a few pieces of household articles or one or two heads of cattle as present to a daughter during her marriage. An unmarried daughter, after her father's death, may stay with any of her brothers, usually where her widowed mother resides. It is the duty of the brother who maintains her to arrange for her marriage and so he is entitled to receive the bride price during her marriage. A widow having no issue is entitled to inherit all the movable property and the house, provided she does not remarry. But finally all such properties pass to the nearest lineage members of her deceased husband when she dies. In case of agricultural land, the widow never enjoys an absolute right over it; she may get some share as a co-cultivator along with her sons after her husband's death. If she has no children, the property goes to the nearest lineage member of her husband. In some places it is now found that a daughter also inherits the property of her father including agricultural land if the man has no male issues.

But the present Indian succession acts allow a daughter an equal share of the father's property with the sons. But its effect is not found everywhere. Some people are ignorant of such changes, and even if it is known the people continue to adhere to their old system without any resentment from any side.

In case of succession to an important office in the Gond society, it is a prerogative right of the male members standing in the direct line of a man holding some important office. The women have no such privileges whatsoever. The system of primogeniture is the rule in usual cases. The important offices that are found, common in a village are village-headman (called differently in different areas like Patel, Peda, Nayak, Mukaddom, etc.), priest (Pujari, Perma, Gaita, Doshi, etc), besides the office bearers of different categories who constitute the tribal council at the village or regional level.

Political institutions:

It has been noticed among the Gonds of most part of their area that in spite of vast changes in recent years they still adhere to their traditional system in having their tribal council operative as means of social control in dealing with various social offences in their society. It deals with all social breaches, particularly in matter of sex-life and in inter-village disputes on social matters. The introduction of statutory *panchayat* system among them is of recent origin; but at present its activities are found to be on the whole directed towards welfare matters. The traditional authority structure (*gaon-panchayat*), though enjoying control over the social breaches, it is gradually losing control over the matters relating to economic disputes, particularly those arising out of land issues. Criminal matters like petty thefts may also be dealt with by the traditional

panchayat if the persons involved happen to belong to their own community, but the offences of grave nature like murders are reported to the Police. Adultery and elopement though come under the criminal procedure under general State law, are still well within the purview of tribal *panchayat* because such type of cases are quite normative according to their tribal customary rules. In dealing with such cases now-a-days they have adopted certain measures as required under the general criminal law which pervades the Gond society as well.

In case of any inter-village dispute, the *gaon-panchayat* of the concerned villages sit together for taking decision. If there is no solution, the *panchayat* of few other neighbouring villages are called for a joint meeting, and the majority decision arrived at in the meeting is binding on the litigating parties. Formerly in certain areas some sort of higher body at regional level was operative to deal with such cases.

The formal composition of a traditional tribal council includes a few office bearers. The important posts of the office-bearers like village head-man, priest, etc., are of hereditary nature and succession to the office passes from a father to his son, preferably the eldest one. If the man has no son, it goes to some of his nearest lineage members. The village-council along with the elderly male members of the village constitutes the general body of the council.

Major economic potentials of the tribal region:

The tribal regions are found to be rich in forests. We may think in terms of establishing forest-based industries in such region so that it may be beneficial to the local tribal people in solving their unemployment problem. Mineral resources are also found in many of the tribal regions. For example, Bastar is very rich in iron ore and tin. Formerly tribal Lohars of south Bastar used to extract iron from its ore by their crude and indigenous method. Now, mining project at Bailadilla in the very heart of the Bison horn Maria of Dantewara in south Bastar has come up for exploitation of iron ore. The Government may also consider about establishing dairy farming and cattle breeding centres in south Bastar where the Dorla and some Maria people are found to be great stock-raisers.

Major social problems:

The present processes of detribalisation and transformation as found among the Gonds, pose some important problems. The problem of conversion of the Gonds either to Christianity or to Islam is not very significant when compared with other groups elsewhere. On the other hand, the process of absorption of the tribals under the Hindu fold by slow and gradual process is always there which is evident in various parts of the Gond country. There are evidences of some social movements among the tribals in some parts of the Gond territory. At the same time it is found that the Gonds are actively conscious about their own tribal identity. Consequently it gives rise to some conflicting situation.

Another important social problem is the integration of the tribal groups into the main stream of our national life. Our attitude towards the tribal people which is generally of contemptuous nature should require a thorough change. We should appreciate all the noble qualities of the primitive folk and should attempt for preservation of such qualities possessed by them in face of the transformation which is current among them.

Potentials and problems of development:

The area of habitation of the Gonds, when considered as a whole presents a diversified character in its geographical, ecological and cultural settings. In some cases the Gonds are found to live in isolation of some remote and inaccessible areas of forest clad hilly tracts far away from the bustling urban life, while in some other cases they happen to live under the influence of urban or semi-urban settings, sharing in common with others a life of modernity with new ideas and concepts which are alien to their culture. The high standard of integrity blended with simplicity and unassuming nature, which is peculiar to primitive folk of the remote and interior region, has undoubtedly been under great strain when such a group is exposed to the influence of some alien cultures while leading an urban life. Under such circumstances their value system undergoes changes and in most cases they lose their tribal identity gradual and slow process by way of transformation.

The different regions present different sets of problems all depending on the prevailing local conditions. Their problems are too many and it poses an upheaval task on part of the Government as well as the social workers to face and tackle them. Most of such problems are, in the main, inter-linked and the results of any remedial measure in tackling one problem may not be fully achieved if the other related problems are left unheeded.

The problems that need attention may broadly be classified by four main categories.

1. Educational
2. Economic
3. General welfare and
4. Eradication of exploitation

Education at primary level is available, at present, in most villages. But more facilities are required to be provided for higher studies. The people, particularly those living in remote areas, are not in a position to conceive the value of formal education. They fail to understand the significance of such education and assess its attributes due to the hangover of their backwardness. It requires to create a proper environ so that the people can understand the intrinsic value of education. If they conceive the aim behind such education, they are expected to show a receptive attitude. Here the role and responsibility of the teacher are very important. It is he who has to create the interest and a suitable condition among

the people in general and the students in particular. Another problem is about medium of instruction particularly in border areas of Linguistic States. For example, the Dorla of Bastar are distributed in the area in close proximity to Telugu country. They understand and speak Telugu, but the children feel many difficulties in getting instruction through Hindi; even the teacher sometimes experiences difficulties in expressing himself, if he comes from a Hindi speaking area. There are also some other problems, one important problem is the unemployment problem of the educated young men. After having some formal education, if a boy has to revert back to his traditional tribal life, such education becomes meaningless to him and he may at some stage express an attitude of divisive or alienated tendency.

All the economic problems are generally related with agriculture. The problem concerns mainly with the shifting cultivation which is still found operative in certain remote pockets. The problems of introducing settled form of cultivation among the people of these areas and that of their rehabilitation are of prime importance. Another important fact is that the people mainly depend on their traditional method of cultivation with the help of primitive type of technological aid. They should be trained in modern and should be provided with better irrigation system, high yielding variety of seed, fertilizer and pesticide.

Under general welfare scheme there are a number of problems which require immediate attention. The people in most areas suffer due to want of drinking water. Paucity of primary health centres is another problem. There are also needs of establishing veterinary dispensaries at different centres.

The exploitation of tribal people by various agencies is not a new problem. It has been reported by great many persons engaged in tribal remedies and by social workers engaged in welfare activities. We are yet to develop a fool-proof system in this regard. The most important problem is about exploitation of the tribal people by the unscrupulous money lenders, and another one is about alienation of tribal land by non-tribal cultivators who are usually bent upon depriving the tribals of their good fertile land.

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GOND LEADERSHIP *

*T. B. Naik*¹

Rajput dynasties were ruling in various parts of the Central Provinces (now Madhya Pradesh) from about the sixth to the twelfth centuries. They then disappear and there is a gap in the history of the State till the fourteenth century or later when Gond Kingdoms are found established at Kherla in Betul at Deogarh in Chhindwara, at Garha-Mandla in Jabalpur and at Chanda. It seems clear that the Hindu dynasties were subverted by the Gonds after the Mohamedan invasion of Northern India had weakened or destroyed the central power of the Hindus and prevented any assistance being afforded to the outlying settlements. There is a reason to suppose that the immigration of the Gonds into Madhya Pradesh took place after the establishment of these Hindu Kingdoms and not before as is commonly held.

There is no reason to doubt that the Gonds came from the South through Bastar and Chanda. For two or three centuries the greater part of the province was governed by Gond kings. Of their method of Government Sleeman said, under these Gond Rajas the country seems for the most part to have been distributed among feudatory chiefs bound to attend upon the prince at his capital with a stipulated number of troops to be employed wherever their services might be required, but to furnish no or little revenue in money. These chiefs were Gonds and the countries they held for the support of their families and the payment of troops and the retinue were little more than wild jungles. The Gonds seem not to have been at home in open country and as far as the 16th century; a peaceable penetration of the Hindu cultivators into the beat lands of the State assumed large dimensions and the Gonds gradually retired into the hills ranges on the borders of the plains. The head-quarter of each dynasty at Mandla, Garha, Kherla, Deogarh and Chanda seem to have been located in a position strengthened for defence either by a hill or a great river and adjacent to an especially fertile plain tract

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whose produce served for the maintenance of the ruler's household and his establishment. Often the site was on other sides bordered by dense forests which would afford a retreat to the occupants falling to an enemy. Strong and spacious forts were built with masonry tanks and wells inside to provide water.

The Hindu immigrants found Gond Government tolerant and beneficent. Under the easy eventless sway of these princes the rich country over which they ruled prospered, its flocks and herds increased and the treasury filled. We read in a 15th century Muslim historian, Firistha that the king of Kherla sumptuously entertained Bahman king and made him rich offerings among which were many diamonds, rubies and pearls. Of Rani Durgavati of Garha Mandla, Sleeman said, "Of all the sovereigns of this dynasty she lives most in the pages of history and in the grateful recollections of the people. She built the great reservoir which lies close to Jubbulpore and which is called after her, the Queen's pond; and many other highly useful works were formed about Garha". When the castle of Chouragarh was sacked by one of Akbar's generals in 1504, the booty found according to Firistha, comprised independently of jewels, images of gold and silver and other valuables, no fewer than a hundred jars of gold coins and a thousand elephants. Of the Chanda rulers, the Settlement Officer who recorded their history wrote: "They left. . . a well-governed and contented kingdom adorned with admirable works of the engineering skill and prosperous to a point which no after-time has reached. They have left their marks behind them in royal tombs, lakes and palaces but most of all in the seven miles of battle-mented stone-wall, too wide now for the shrunk city of Chanda within it.....". According to local tradition the great wall of Chanda and other buildings such as the tombs of the Gonds kings and the palace at Junone were built with the help of immigrants. Another excellent rule of the Gond kings was to give anyone who made a tank a grant of land lying beneath it. A large number of irrigation tanks were constructed under this inducement.

The Gond State had no strength for defense. The loose tribal system, so easy in time of peace, entirely failed when united action was most required and the plain country fell before the Maratha army almost without a struggle. In the strongholds, however, of the hilly ranges which hem in every part of Gondwana, the chiefs for long continued to maintain an unequal resistance and to revenge by indiscriminate rapine and slaughter. In such cases the Maratha plan was to continue pillaging and harassing the Gonds until they obtained an acknowledgement of their supremacy and the promise of an annual tribute. Under this treatment the Gonds are said to have begun looting and killing plainsmen at night and then returning to their jungle fortresses by the light of a bonfire on some commanding peak.

The Pardhan tribes sing the songs of these kings and chiefs. There are three kinds of songs of the Pardhans: Pandawani, Gondwani and Ramayana. The first and the third are Hindu legends from the great epics (generally much

mutilated). The Gondwani tales, which are still the most popular, tell about the heroics of the Gond kings, some of it real, some highly fictional but romantic giving us an idealisation of kingship.

In these songs the kings are always referred to as Kshatriyas whose genealogies are recounted on all occasions:

Listen, brother

Usar's son was Busar.

Busar's son was Kari khan.

Karikhan's son was Singhisurva.

Singhisurva's eldest son was Marakhan Chhatra

Singhisurva's youngest son was Hirakhan Chhatra.

The game of hawk hunting is also referred to. The kings are said to have beautiful horses and ride on Elephants. They do impossible things like growing oil seeds on stony ground. They also bear the weight of fine arrows in their chest. Hirakhan at one point says of himself: "I am the soldier of soldiers, jungly of the jungle, great bull of the herd, lord of the wild buffaloes."

In the Pardhan songs there are references to *darbar* -the king's court where the king sits on a high throne; *munshi*, the clerk of the court and a go-between; *chaprasi*-the attendant; the various castes like the Lodhi, Kurmi, Paba, Bairagi and the Sanyasi who surrounded the king; *kotwar*, the messenger; nine lakh Gond soldiers; marriage with enemies or strangers for balance of power and peace and invincible Gond princes like Hredeshah, who married the daughter of Aurangzeb.

The kings or the *rajas* and the *jagirdars* were also religious heads and had many ritual functions. The king of Bastar is the only one who can worship the goddess Danteshwari, the protecting Deity of the state's people, who believe in her very much and when he worships her once a year a large fair is held where all tribals gather very reverentially. The king of Bastar would ritually move out after the rainy season in a very big chariot round his city, the chariot being drawn by thousands of tribals, it being believed that this does them good and the moving out of the chariot is held out to be very sacred and beneficent. This Dussera festival is so organised that almost all the castes and tribes of the state contribute cash and kind towards the celebration and also take part in various rituals of the day, each being given a particular work to do, which is almost hereditary.

The *jagirdar* of Harrai built a temple in the name of Shiva near his village and there a fair is held every year, he being the first man to worship the god that day. There are a number of such other examples which can prove, if proof at all is necessary, of a well-known anthropological fact of the sacredness of the king that the tribal chief was also a sacred chief. I may also mention that the services of the chief were necessary for the purification of a polluted person.

Zamindars-Inconsidering land tenure in India, Baden Powell rightly says, "In the Central Provinces, the *zamindari* estates had nothing to do with revenue farming"(i.e. a manager was appointed by the British authorities to manage revenue. The official warrant ran for his life and subject to his good conduct and pleasure of the ruler). They are simply the estates of chiefs or barons of the old Gond kingdoms. When these kingdoms were conquered by the Marathas the main portions became *khalsa* or directly managed lands of the conquerors. The old baronial territories being in the hills on the outskirts of the Maratha domain were not productive of much revenue. They were, therefore, let alone the chiefs, being made to pay a moderate tribute. This position was maintained under the British Government. (Baden-Powell, B. H., *Land Revenue and Land Tenure in British India*, Oxford, 1913, Pp. 112-13).

Fifteen of the *zamindaries* were considered to be of sufficient importance to warrant their being constituted as Feudatory States. The holders of other *jagirs* and *zamindaris* in Hoshangabad, Chanda and Chhattisgarh districts assessed to a single payment at a favourable proportion of the assests and either then or subsequently, received patents declaring their estates inalienable, heritable by the rule of primogeniture. (*The Imperial Gazetteer of India*. Vol. X, Oxford, 1908, Pp. 73).

In the village of the *khalsa* something different happened. The commencement of the British rule found most of the villages of the plain country in the hands of the lessees (*patels* or *thekedars*) who held farms of the village land revenue from Government generally for short periods. They were given proprietary rights so that for all practical purposes the leasehold was converted into a freehold tenure, the proprietors of villages so created were called *malguzars*.

The *malguzari* land tenure is subject to partition according to the Hindu law; the most recent statistics in 1908 showed that the ownership of 27,575 villages was shared between 94,575 persons, giving an average of 3.4 shares of each village. One of the *malguzars* (if there are several in the village) is the executive headman of the village and is known as the *mukaddam*. This official exercises the usual duties of a village headman but has no magisterial powers.

Gonds, a Dominant Community- Let us see in brief the relations of the Gonds with other communities. The Pardhans, about 1,50,000, act as priests and minstrels of the Gonds. The name Pardhan is of Sanskrit origin and signifies a minister or agent. That it was applied to the tribe is also, shown by the fact that they were also known as Divan, which has the same meaning. There is a tradition that the Gond kings employed Pardhans as their ministers and as the Pardhans acted as Genealogists they have been more intelligent than the Gonds. The Gonds themselves look down on them and say that they are inferior and they relate that Bara Deo had seven sons who were talking together dined and they said that every caste had an inferior branch to do them homage but they had none and they therefore agreed that the youngest brother and his descendants should be inferior

to others and make obeisance to them while the others promised to treat him almost as their equal and give him a share in all the offerings to their dead. The Pardhans are the descendants of the youngest brother and they accost the Gonds with the greeting, "Good Luck, Sir!"

They have the right to visit Gond houses of the same sept as theirs and to sing and beg there. There are several kinds of gifts that the Gonds are expected to give to their Pardhan clan members. The most pleasant of these is the *sukdan* which is given when a Pardhan minstrel comes to the house. Then there is 'sonnedan' which is given by the clansman's eldest daughter. 'Bhachadan' is given when the eldest daughter has her first son. When she grows old they give 'budhan dan', an expensive gift of a cow. When a Gond dies the Pardhan may be given ornaments left on the body as well as a present; this is known as 'muardan'. He sings, accompanying himself on his fiddle known as *bana*, which is the home of his chief god, Bada Deo, the songs of the Gond kings of old.

Then there are Ojhas. It is a community of soothsayers and minstrels of the Gonds, about 10,000 in number. The Gond Ojhas served and begged from the Gonds only. They have the same clans as the Gonds and their customs resemble the dominant community. Their wives tattoo the arms of Gond (and now of Hindu) women.

The Agarias are an off-shoot of the Gond tribe. They have adopted the profession of iron smelting and form a separate caste. They are 10,000 in number. They probably take their name from 'aag' fire. Their exogamous clans have generally the same names as those of the Gonds, viz., Sonwani, Dhurva, Tekam, Markam, Uika, Purtai, Marai and others. They follow their traditional occupation of iron smelting; and also make a few agricultural implements. They are paid in traditional terms by the Gonds, in each of whose villages we may expect to find one or two of their families.

The Ahirs, about, 80,000 in population are cowherds, milk men and cattle breeders. About 4 per cent of them are domestic servants and nearly all the remaining are cultivators and labourers. They also worked for the Gonds. The village cattle are usually entrusted jointly to one or more herdsmen for grazing purposes. The grazier is paid separately for each animal entrusted to his care. When a cow or a buffalo is in milk the grazier often gets the milk one day out of four or five. The village grazier is often also expected to prepare the guest house for government officers and other visiting the village, fetch grass for their animals and clean their cooking.

Thus there seems to be an organic unity in this social organization, the Gonds being at the top and the other non-self-sufficient castes and tribes being dependent on them are to serve one or the other need of the dominant tribe.

The Panch --The Panch in the Baiga tribe in any village is not a definite body with members and a president. It is rather a group of important villagers with a quorum of five. There may be many more present to decide the culprit's fate. The village headman, the kotwar - the village watchman, the leading 'dewar' or *gunia* (magician) may not have any influence on them. A certain power of decision, a reputation for integrity, the command of some possessions or many sons, a record of tribal loyalty-these things give a man ascendancy in the council. But there is nothing fixed or definite, no rules or procedure. The real arbiter of tribal destiny is tribal opinion. (Elwin. V., *The Baiga*, London, 1939, p. 201). Among the Kamars there is no authority for the whole tribe. In the various territorial units, a number of tribal villages, close to one another, join together and form a group.

Each such group has a *panchayat* of its own. The decrees of this body are binding and final in all socio-religious matters. The proceedings of this are always held in the public and such other members of the tribe as are present are rarely debarred from expressing their opinion. All people freely express what they feel about the matter in dispute. Young people who have no children (or no grown up children) should not interfere in the proceedings, if they do so, that is regarded as impolite. Decisions are always arrived at by a majority. Although votes are never taken, the general consensus of opinion always decides the issues ultimately. (Dube, S. C., *The Kamar*, Lucknow, 1951, P. 79).

Some Kamars have a hierarchy of tribal officers. Kuria is the chief and next to him is the *sirpanch*, who is the presiding officer of the *panchayat*. The *chaparasi* runs errands. This administrative hierarchy is merely superficial. Except in his own group, the *kurha* is not invited to participate in the proceedings of *panchayats* of other groups; nor is he informed of their decisions. The *chaparasi* are not paid for their work as such they don't bother about their work. The *sirpanch* hardly wields any influence to be in a position to get his will carried out by a majority. It is always the democratic verdict of this body of elders which is supreme. No portion of fines imposed on persons who have committed breaches of tribal law and custom, goes either to the *kurha* or the *sirpanch*.

The Gonds also have *panchayats* or committees for the settlement of tribal disputes and offences. A member of the *panchayat* is selected by general consent and holds office during good behaviour. The office is not hereditary; and generally there does not appear to be a recognised head of the *panchayat*. In the Mandla district there is a separate *panchayat* for each village and every Gond male adult belongs to it, and has to be summoned to a meeting. When they assemble five leading elderly men decide the matter in disputes as representing the assembly.

In these tribals there is a high degree of integration. So shall I say that there is an extreme degree of internalization of norms of conduct? Talcott Parson says: "It is only by virtue of internalization of institutionalized values that genuine motivational integration of behaviour in the social structure takes place. It is only when this has taken place to a high degree that it is possible to say that a social

system is highly integrated and that the interests of the collectivity and the private interests of its constituents can be said to approach coincidence".

The newly set up village councils - The village councils are under a local judicial council which controls 40 villages and 8 *panchayats* in the neighbourhood. The village council is a civil body created to keep sanitation in the village,

The village council is a civil body created to keep sanitation in the village, to build and repair roads, clean wells and for other civic amenities. The local judicial council, 'nyaya panchayat', has power to decide civil and criminal cases. In criminal cases it can fine up to Rs.50 and in civil cases it can handle suits of Rs.100.

The exercise of leadership and authority is increasingly falling into the hands of the *panchayats*. The types of cases which come up before these courts in some Gond areas can be seen from the breakup of the following 79 cases: -

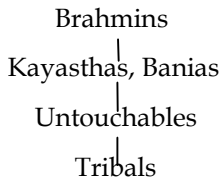
1. Marriage cases (relating to adultery abduction, breach of promise, non-payment of bride price).	48
2. Disputes over property.	11
3. Quarrels resulting in violence and serious injuries.	10
4. Accusations of witchcraft and malignant curses.	5
5. Quarrels over the conduct of rites.	3
6. Disputes over ex-communication.	2

Total	79

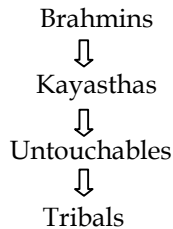
What has happened now is this -The chiefs' territories have been merged with the adjoining territories directly ruled by the State Governments and they have been given some privy purse according to their former status and income.

They have no political locus standi legally. But their leadership is deep rooted. These chiefs have a great sway over public opinion. The people specially the unsophisticated tribals love them, know them as their heads perhaps a source of security and the basis of their own social structure. In order to win over the people on their side and also to keep these still influential persons with them the national political parties embraced them in their folds. The main party among them is the Indian National Congress, which gave party tickets to a number of former chiefs who were willingly voted for by their own people. In the State legislature could be found tribal rulers, chiefs and other commoners also. (They all constitute the tribal advisory council which has to be consulted by the Government in framing any welfare or administrative policy for the tribals. A few of the tribals are in the administrative services also. Others have invested in land or in industry and thus we see them coming up as leaders in the economic field in or around their areas.

Thus the Multi-field leadership has fissioned and given place to uni-field leadership: differentiation is taking place as it were in the primitive (or simple) leadership. On the other hand, the Gonds, Agarias, Ojhas and Ahirs are increasingly coming in contact with the neighbouring social system so much so that they cannot be differentiated as two systems. It has been for a long time a fusion and there is now the political fusion also. The ideal picture would be of ordination:



But now the caste structure is restructured on party lines and the picture is as follows:



So that political parties cross cut these communities and the leadership of caste gives place to party leadership, but even here the transition from custom to contract is not so simple. The upper caste leadership still persists. The Gond leadership has to be reckoned as Gond leadership. The educated Gonds are taking up the leadership of their communities as elsewhere. The role of intelligentsia in the history of modern India has been decisive. They have to a great extent integrated the Indian people into a modern nation and organised various progressive socio-reform and religious reform movements in the country. They have been the pioneers, organizers and leaders of all political national movements. They have through educational and propaganda work which involved great self-sacrifice and suffering brought ideas of nationalism and freedom to wider and wider sections of the Indian people. "In fact the progressive intelligentsias which assimilated modern Western democratic culture and comprehended the complex problems of the incipient Indian nation are the makers of modern India." (A.R. Desai, *Social Background of Indian Nationalism*, Bombay, 1948. Pp. 179-80).

ACTION PROGRAMME ON ECONOMIC PROJECTS AMONG THE GONDS OF ORISSA*

*K. Mohapatra*¹

Introduction

The Gonds of Orissa according to the 1961 census number above 3 Lakhs. They are widely dispersed over the districts of Sundargarh, Sambalpur, Bolangir, Kalahandi and the Northern part of Koraput district.

There is a widerange of cultural difference among the Gonds. Those inhabiting the districts of Sundargarh, Sambalpur, Bolangir and northern part of Kalahandi speak Oriya. They have been integrated into the Hindu social structure and enjoy the status cultivator-cum-warrior caste. In spite of their formal integration there is a strong in-group feelingamong them and a sense of psychological maladjustment is perceptible in all their social dealings. These characteristics justify their inclusion in the list of Scheduled Tribes.

The 2ndgroup of Gonds inhabits the southern part of Kalahandi district and northern part of the Koraput district. They maintain their distinctive tribal language and culture. They speak 'Gondi', which is Dravidian language widely used by the tribals of Central India. At present they have nothing in common with the other group of Gonds except the name. An analysis of the kinship structure of both the groups, however, shows evidence of historic connection.

The present paper is based on data on the first group.

Purpose of the paper

The purpose of the paper is to equip the field workers with a set of instruction to deal with the Gonds in the course of doing welfare work among them. This paper intends to specify categories of does and don'ts for the fieldworker. The paper is divided into two parts. The first part concerns the general dealings of the fieldworkerwith the tribe. The second part discusses the mode of his dealings in connection with the welfare activities.

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PART - I

General Dealings

1. *Approaching the Tribe-*

(a) The fieldworker should remember that he is not dealing with an isolated and primitive tribe, but one group of people who have been accustomed to a high status in the society for centuries and who are very proud of their martial and feudal tradition. They should not be given the impression that they are being given special treatment because of their backwardness. Rather they should be told they that they had been suffering from injustice and now in recognition of their heroic qualities, they are being accorded special privileges.

(b) The field worker should not let the people think that any scheme is being imposed upon them. The Gonds do not like to be told that anybody understands their problems better than them. The field worker should so manipulate as to evoke suggestions from them.

(c) The tradition of the Gonds should be borne in mind to understand the leadership pattern among them. The field worker should know that it is very important to locate proper leaders among a people who are allergic to all types of authority except that determined by their own culture. Among the Gonds the elderly people and the big land owners and the ex-Gauntias (ex-Zamindars) have great prestige. The field worker should rely on these people for leadership. Gradually, as the welfare projects would attain success and consequently prestige the attitude of the people might undergo a change and it might become possible to bring about a new group of leaders.

2. *The conduct of the field worker among the Gonds-*

(a) The field worker should not ask the people to do such menial work for him as carrying his luggage, cooking for him and washing his plates and drawing water for him, etc. The Gonds feel insulted if they are asked to do domestic work for anybody even on payment of money. The field worker should carry very little luggage with him and should manage his own work. It is certain that if he can make himself popular, friendly help would be forth coming and he might get service in abundance which he could not have got for payment.

(b) There is a general impression that there is no sexual morality among the tribal people. This impression is both false and harmful. It is certain that the sexual behavior of certain tribal groups strongly differs from ours but they have their customary rules which are rigid for them when outsiders are concerned. Among the Gonds even such exotic sexual behaviour is absent. Their sexual behavior, rules of marriage and attitude towards women do not differ from ours rather they are more rigidly observed due to their martial and feudal tradition. The field worker should be exceptionally cautious about his

behaviour towards Gond women. He should not, however, shun acquaintance with them. If he can mix with the elderly women and win their affection he can get himself all the more readily accepted by the people.

(c) There are certain tribes who are very much enticed by payment of money or the promise of such payment. This is not the case with the Gonds. They, on the other hand, look down upon these who want to do things by payment of money. The field worker can be successful if he can exhibit sympathy for them and show an aptitude to understand their problems and troubles and should try to tackle them even if they do not come under his strict official jurisdiction. He may carry a chest of patent medicines and try to administer them for treating common ailments. He should try to avoid administering medicine in serious cases and should arrange proper medical treatment for them.

(3) *Certain general postulates which the field worker should bear in mind regarding welfare work among the Gonds*

(a) The field worker should try to keep himself in the background as far as possible and push into prominence those who have capacity for leadership.

For example while organizing a meeting he should not become the President or the Chief Spokesman. He should have prior discussions with the people in private and should so arrange that the proper person can become the President and the right things shall be talked about.

(b) The field worker should not try to introduce more than one scheme at a time in a village. His principle should be one scheme in one village. It would, however, be convenient for him if he introduces the same scheme in a number of contiguous villages.

(c) The field worker should always remember that no problem is important and no scheme is necessary unless the people think them to be so. He should not be guided by his own notion of importance and necessity. His first effort, therefore, should be to locate the felt needs of the people so that their maximum co-operation can be guaranteed.

(d) The Gonds are very reluctant to travel any distance outside their villages to receive any assistance or technical advice. The field worker should, therefore, make efforts to see that such assistance reaches the Gonds in his own village.

(e) The field worker should remember that the main aim of a welfare scheme is to develop the people economically and socially. Its aim is not to introduce change for the sake of change. It is never intended that the different habits, customs, beliefs and practices of people should be eradicated. On the other hand, it should be the aim of the field worker to preserve that distinctiveness of the people which is not harmful and which does not inhibit their process of integration with the national mainstream.

In order to be acceptable, no scheme should give the impression of making a sharp departure from accepted ways of life. On the other hand it is necessary to maintain the form while changing the content. For example, while introducing housing scheme the traditional pattern of Gond house may be retained and within this pattern arrangements for ventilation, sanitation and durability can be made.

PART II

Instructions regarding specific projects

(1) Colonization Scheme- The Colonization Scheme is meant for those primitive tribes who live in remote hill areas under very difficult conditions and practise shifting cultivation. The Gonds do not come under this category. They live in plain areas along with other rural people and practice settled cultivation. The field worker should not, therefore, try to introduce colonizationscheme among them.

(2) Multipurpose Co-operative Societies- Apart from agriculture the Gond has practically no other employment avenues. They do not ordinarily work as a day labourer as they think such work to be derogatory. The field worker, therefore, should try to introduce cottage industries and handicrafts among them through multipurpose co-operative societies which should supply the capital and arrange for production and sale.

Here it should be borne in mind that there are certain handicrafts such as basket-weaving which are considered derogatory by the Gonds. Such work should not be undertaken by the multipurpose co-operative societies.

(3) Grain-Gollas - Indebtedness is an acute problem for the Gonds. This is mainly due to the fact that the people are compelled to part with their produce at the peak of the harvesting season when the price is at the lowest. They are again compelled to buy or borrow at a time when the price is at its highest.

To eradicate this, the introduction of grain-golas is a dire necessity. If organised properly, they can be very effective. But the organisation of grain golas comes into conflict with the interest of the money-lenders who generally belong to the Agharia or Sundhi castes and to whom people owe more allegiance. The credit offered by grain-golas is limited and delayed by the bureaucratic process. Besides, it lacks the personal and intimate touch which the money-lender offers.

The field worker should, therefore, try to introduce this scheme in a humble manner and should not try to compete with the money-lenders at the first instance. He should try to expand its scope gradually. He should make efforts to ensure the availability of credit in time.

(4) Forest Cooperative Societies- The Gonds, though reluctant to work as day labourers elsewhere, do not object to work for contractors in the forest as this type

of work fascinates them and provides a substitute for their favourable past-time of hunting. However, they are always exploited by these forest contractors.

The introduction of forest co-operative societies can be very effective among the Gonds and the field worker should attach due importance to them. The contractors are mostly outsiders and are also quite unpopular and as such no resistance need be expected of them.

The field worker should remember that the Gonds regard the forest as their own property and are very much agitated about the forest rules. Introduction of Forest Co-operative Societies may give them the impression that they can do with the forest as they like. The field worker should guard against this from the beginning because once they take liberty with the forest it would be very difficult to check the process.

(5) Poultry Rearing- Gonds are fond of meat for which they mainly relied upon hunting in the past. The scope of hunting has been drastically curtailed at present for forest conservation laws and availability of wild meat has become very scarce. Poultry rearing to make up the deficit, therefore, has a great scope for them.

The field worker should remember that it is not possible for the Gonds to take that amount of care and provide labour and expenses required for rearing of such exotic breeds of poultry like the Leghorn and the Rhodes Islands. Therefore, he should always insist on rearing of country birds.

(6) Cottage Industries- The Gonds live in an area which is rich in such Jungle products as cane, lac, etc. Cottage industries to organise their production and to bring about finished products has a good Scope among them.

The Gonds show enthusiasm for a scheme at the initial stage but due to their indulgence in excessive drinking and their general reluctance for work they drop halfway. The field worker should, therefore, introduce a small number of these schemes and give his constant attention to them for a number of years.

(7) Training-cum-Production Centres and Poly-Technic Institutes- The duty of the field worker regarding these schemes is to induce the people to send their children for training in these institutes. He has to rely on the prosperous landowners as they are the people who have the capacity for leadership. Naturally he would expect these people to send their children to these institutes. But these sections among the Gonds are always reluctant to do so as they expect their children to remain in the village and inherit their culture.

It is, therefore, necessary for the field worker to approach the poorer section in this respect. The landless people would be more willing to send their children for such training.

(8) Pisciculture- In almost every Gond village a big tank is to be found and these can be utilised for pisciculture. But here the field worker may face a certain difficulty. These tanks are generally the property of the ex-Gauntias and the development of pisciculture can benefit only a few people. The field worker should, therefore, try his best, though not insisting upon this, to get these tanks handed over to the Fisheries Department or to some co-operative society.

(9) Rearing of Bees- This is a scheme whose capital requirements are negligible and which can enrich the otherwise deficient Gond diet. Generally the people do not take this scheme seriously.

The Gonds can be induced to adopt bee-rearing, if the field worker can successfully maintain a bee-hive in a village by his own efforts. He can make the people test the honey in order to induce them.

The poorer sections of the people are to be much benefited by this scheme but ironically enough they show no aptitude for this. The field worker, therefore, has to rely upon the well-to-do people for the success of this scheme. After it comes into practice other sections of people would gradually adopt it.

(10) Housing Scheme- Providing well planned and ventilated houses to the Gonds is one of the urgent problems which the field worker is called upon to handle; this problem has been made more acute due to imposition of restriction on procurement of jungle products for house construction.

The Gond houses are clumsy and ill-ventilated. They should be provided with well-ventilated and roomy houses. The field worker should, however see that the traditional housing pattern is maintained as far as practicable. Further, efforts should be made to locate the new houses at old sites.

(11) Minor Irrigation Projects- The planning and execution of irrigation projects are done by the Engineers but the field worker can help a lot in this. He can calculate the number of people who would be benefited by such projects. He can explain the people about the project and communicate their needs to the appropriate authorities.

It is found that, with their intimate knowledge of the area, the Gonds are often able to tell about a source of water and can give other useful information. The Engineer working under Sarva Seva Sangha in Koraput has found such information to his benefit. It is the duty of the field worker to elicit such information from the people.

(12) Supply of Guns- Guns are supplied by the Government to protect the tribal people from the wild animals. The Gond being an intolerant people with a martial tradition may sometime use the guns against their human opponents. The field worker should see that the guns are supplied only to those villages where there is

no factionalism and to those people who have no record of crime to their credit and who are free from drunkenness.

(13) Social Welfare Centres- Social Welfare Centres are established for the benefit of women. To induce Gond women to take the benefit of these centres, the field worker should procure the services of female workers. He may also, if he can induce the elderly women of a village to initiate the work.

It has been found that usually these centres adopt a set pattern of work regardless of the needs of the women of the area. The field worker should first of all assess the needs of the women of the village where the centre is to be located and then he should try to make the centre the focus of such activities as would cater to those needs.

(14) Rural Welfare Centres- It is often found that the benefit of a Rural Welfare Centre is taken only by the village where it is established. The field worker should see that the other villages also derive benefit from it. He should also arrange for the welfare guide to go to other villages to import such technical knowledge as would be felt necessary.

(15) Education-The Gonds for their superiority complex superior are sometimes reluctant to send their children to Ashram Schools where they are to eat and stay with others. The field workers should induce them by saying that, if they do not send their children to schools others would march past them and they would be left behind. If a sense of competition is announced they would not be reluctant.

Children are often sent to the Ashram Schools because they are given free boarding and lodging. The importance of training received in the school is often not realised. When the children return after completion of their education they come to be of no use.

After schooling is completed the field worker's real work begins. Always he should keep contact with them and make them interested in various welfare activities, described here. He should also try to induce them to go for higher learning and keep them informed and interested about the scope of employment.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion it can be said that the best guides for any field worker are always his common sense and experience to which he should always refer to tackle any problem. The points laid here are only guides to his conduct and should not be taken up as rigid precepts.

HO *

*S. C. Mohanty*¹

Ho is a major Orissan tribe largely concentrated in Mayurbhanj district. They are a Kolarian tribe belonging to the same stock of Munda, Kol, Kolha and Kol-Lohara.

Their total population in Odisha as per 2011 census is 80 608 including 39 977 males and 40 631 females registering the sex ratio of 1016. They have registered a high growth rate of 86.97 per cent during 2001-11. In 1961 their level of literacy was 7.10% which rose to 8.90 % in 1971, to 12.70% in 1981, to 34.75 in 1991 (a long jump of nearly three times), to 35.18 % in 2001 and to 44.79 % in 2011.

The Ho generally live in separate hamlets in multi-ethnic village settings. Large tombstones commemorating the ancestors lie at different places in the village. Other landmarks of a typical HO settlement are *Akhara*, the dancing arena at the centre of the village and *Jahira* or *Sarna* - the sacred grove for important village deities at the outskirts. Their houses with thatched or tiled roofs, coloured and decorated walls, carved doors and spacious courtyards exhibit their taste of living and workmanship. The kitchen is a sacred place where *ading*, the seat of their ancestors lies.

The traditional dress of men and women were *botio*, a coarse loincloth and *langa*, a coarse saree respectively. Now modern clothing have replaced these. Tattooing is a popular fashion among women.

The Ho are good farmers. They earn wages working as agricultural labours, contract labours, mining and industrial labours. They are recognized as very skilled earth diggers. They also have expertise in basket and rope making

* Unpublished article of 2000 updated in 2018

¹ Research Officer (2000) & Consultant (2018), SCSTRTI

They are divided into several exogamous, totemic clans called *killi*. They follow the rule of village exogamy. The types of marriage common among them are *andi* and its present variation, *dikuandi* i.e., negotiated marriages, which are quite expensive. Besides, they acquire mates by capture, elopement, and intrusion. They prefer cross cousin marriage. The Hos generally cremate the dead and bury those who meet with unnatural death. The period of pollution ends on the 21st day after performance of *Salese* or *Sradha* ritual. Bones of the deceased are buried underneath trees and flat stones are placed over them. They erect megaliths to commemorate the dead.

Sing Bonga, the son god and the creator of universe is their supreme god. Their village deity, *Dessauli* resides in the *sarna* or *jahira*, the sacred grove near the settlements. They are followers of the cult of ancestor worship. They observe seven important festivals in a year, viz. *Madhe*, *Baha*, *Damura*, *Hero*, *Jomnama*, *Kolon*, and *Batauli*. The village priest *Deuri* worships, *Dessauli* and *Sing Bonga* at *Sarna* on these occasions.

The traditional secular leaders are *Munda* and *Manki* who manage social affairs. The heads of the *Killis* and especially of the dominant *Killis* exercise decisive dominance.

They are in the forefront of change and development.

HO¹

R. K. Pradhan

The Ho forms a major group among the Orissan tribes. It is the popular epithet Kol by which the Hos are generally known to the outside world. But the Hos dislikes to be addressed as Kol, which, in Sanskrit, means pig. The word "Ho", has most probably been derived from the word "horo" which, in the language, means man and the word 'horo' might have assumed different forms like Koro, Kolo, Kol, etc., in course of time. However, many distinguished Anthropologists are of the opinion that the Hos, Kol, Kolh, etc., are the off shoots of the same origin. Kolhs or Hos are classed for linguistic purposes as Kolarian. As regards the physical characteristics, the Hos are of short stature, dark complexion with broad and float nose. The eyes are dark brown, hair black and straight or wavy. Breads and mustaches are, so to speak, absent. The chin is narrow but in some cases prognathism is also found. The Hos do not possess strong and muscular bodily features.

The distribution of Ho population in different districts of Orissa is given below in tabular form. The number of literate Hos, against each of the districts, is also given in the table.

Sl. No	District	Total population	Male	Female	Literate	
					Male	Female
1.	Kalahandi	27	15	12	05	09
2.	Koraput	62	28	34	00	00
3.	Sambalpur	74	59	15	08	00
4.	Bolangir	841	438	403	103	16
5.	Sundargarh	785	419	366	145	01
6.	Dhenkanal	2,006	983	1,023	114	02
7.	Puri	109	53	56	04	00
8.	Keonjhar	9,044	4,394	4,650	215	53
9.	Cuttack	2,113	1,162	951	112	16
10.	Mayurbhanj	27,090	13,155	13,935	1,846	218
11.	Balasore	1,172	607	565	121	82
Total		43,323	21,313	22,010	2,673	397

¹ Published in ADIBASI, Vol. V, No.3, (Special Issue), TRB, Bhubaneswar 1963-64, pp.167-70

Social organization

The Hos have no sub-tribe, but septs are numerous and the septs take their names from some animal, plant or material object. These septs or Killis appear to be totemistic. The rule of exogamy is a characteristic feature of Ho social organization and thus on no account a man belonging to a totemic sept can marry within his own sept of Killi. In the villages, where there are several Killis and are the divisions of one major Killi, marriage within the village is not allowed. Moreover, marriage outside the tribe is prohibited.

Among the Hos there are various ways of acquiring a mate the principal among them are -1. Andi, 2. Diku Andi, 3. Oportipi, 4. Rajikhusi and 5. Anadar.

In the first two types of marriage, the ceremony plays an important role. Andi is their traditional form whereas Diku Andi is borrowed from the Hindus. In these two types of marriages the selection of bride is made by the father or guardian through a middleman. In the traditional type Dehuri officiates and makes offerings to Sing-Bonga but in Diku type of marriage, Brahmin priest comes and performs the marriage ceremony like that of the Hindus.

Owing to high bride price the some Hos cannot marry. Many males and females have to remain unmarried although advanced in age. Hence they have to take resort to other types of marriage. The man who fails to marry a girl, as a result of high bride price or some other reasons, looks for chance and captures the girl he loves by the force, with the help of his friends. This type of marriage by capture is known as Oportipi. The Raji Khusi type of marriage is done by mutual consent without any ceremony or bride price whereas Ander is a marriage by intrusion. If girl and boy love each other and are willing to marry and the parents are not in favor of this marriage, the couple runs away without the knowledge of their parents and live in some other place until their parents agree to recognize their marriage. No bride price is paid nor any ceremony is held in this type of marriage.

In the Ho society both joint and nuclear families are found. Patriarchy and patriliney are the characteristic feature of the Ho family. Authoritative role is played by the father in the family. There is division of labour among the members of the family. Production of food is a corporate responsibility of the extended family but after the food is distributed among the individual families it is the duty of each family to see that the food is properly consumed without being wasted. The children belong to the individual family, but their education is looked after by the Killi. The relationship existing between family and Killi is reciprocal and the family receives help from the Killi in proportion to the assistance it renders to the wider family group or Killi.

Economic Organization

The Hos are purely agricultural people. From the setting in of rain the people of this community employ themselves busily in agricultural operations. The women folk also take part in all agricultural pursuits except ploughing. The

agricultural implements include ordinary wooden plough tipped with iron, a harrow, the *kodali* or large hoe, *tangi*, block-wheeled dray. These implements are made by the Hos themselves. The Hos use cows and oxen as draught animals. They do not take the milk of the cows. Buffalos are also preferred as plough cattle. Paddy, maize, *ragi* are the main crops they cultivate in the hill slopes. Besides these, they grow brinjals, gourds, etc., in their kitchen gardens.

Hunting and collecting of edible roots and tubers are a part and parcel of their economy. The females collect roots, tubers, green leaves, and mushrooms from the jungle. The Ho children practice archery from their childhood and kill birds and animals from the jungle for their food.

The Hos go for wage-earning to earn their livelihood. They accept their wage in kind gladly, while money wage does not satisfy them though it is more. Hence the employer always sees that the Ho labourers are paid in kind.

Money is medium of exchange in the Ho society. But barter system has not been abandoned. They exchange paddy or rice for tobacco, salt, dried fish, and also for vegetables. Earthen utensils and pottery are purchased in exchange of paddy.

The Hos do not spend money economically. They spend their hard earned money on petty toys trinkets, cheap cigarettes, soaps and scents. Much of their wage is also spent in drink which is sold at a very cheap rate and its harmful effect ruins the health of these people.

Festivals

The Hos observe seven important festivals in the year. These festivals are associated with their agricultural activities and therefore their time is determined by the needs of agriculture. The most important among these festivals are Magha Parab or Desuli Bonga. This festival is held in the month of Magh. By this time their granaries are full of grains and they have a strange notion that this is meant for sexual pleasures. Hence, people, irrespective of social position become passionate and enjoy a lot so far as sex is concerned. The parents impose no restriction on the young boys and girls during this festival. In this festival sacrifice of three fowls are made by the village priest and bread made of rice-flour is offered to their Gods and Goddesses.

The second important festival Baha Bonga is celebrated in the month of March or April when the *sal* tree is in full bloom. Offering of flower along with food is made in honour of the God associated with this festival. The other important festival known as Damuria is celebrated in May or June at the sowing of seeds. This festival is observed in honor of their ancestors, who, they believe, will guard crops against destruction. A goat is sacrificed and food is offered to the ancestors. In all these festivals music and dancing are important programmes.

Now-a-days, culture contact of the Hos with Dikus as well as with the clean-caste people of the locality has resulted with the adoption of many Hindu festivals. Thus they observe Laxmi Puja, Diwali, etc., in the manner of the Hindus.

Political organization

Every Ho village is a social as well as a political unit. The headman is the supreme controller of the village and all the powers are vested in him. The land of the village is at the disposal of the headman. There are other office bearers like Munda and Dakua, etc., who help the headman in the village administration. The Munda supervises the village forests from time to time. He possesses the powers of a head constable and is responsible for the crimes committed in his jurisdiction. During the period of outbreak of epidemics in the village he advises the people as to how to prevent the disease. The petty cases of the village are decided by him. He, with the assistance of elders of the Killi, fixes the date of the marriage ceremony and other festivals and advises the people with regard to their duties and responsibilities in those functions.

Killi also plays an important role in the political organization of the Hos. They owe strong allegiance to this organization with regard to the matter of religion and social relationship.

Youth organization

In most of the villages there stands youth dormitories, the institutions which train the boys and girls in social, economic and religious aspects. The boys, as soon as they attain a certain age, are sent to the bachelor's hut whereas the girls are sent to the hut meant for them. The bachelor's dormitory is under the charge of a responsible boy who acts as the captain and assigns several duties to the other boys, for the maintenance of the institution. So also happens in the case of girls' dormitory. The villagers contribute their mite to this institution for its maintenance. The boys and girls learn music and dancing along with economic and social activities. Now-a-days these institutions are gradually dying out and modern 'clubs' are raising their heads in their place.

Status of Women in Society

The Ho women possess good physique and beautiful appearance. Commenting the beauty and attractiveness of Ho girls Mr. Tickell writes, "Their open happy countenances, snowy white teeth and robust, upright figures remind one of Swiss peasant girls". As I have mentioned before, the Hos cannot marry in the proper age owing to high bride price. Thus the position of women in the family, after marriage, is somewhat high. Women in Ho society are true partners of their husbands in life. They discharge all the household duties of the family and help the husbands in agricultural operations and in other economic pursuits.

Maternity or motherhood is highly respected by the members of the Ho family. The expectant mother receives sympathy and affection from all the people

of the Killi. After the birth of the child both father and mother are considered unclean for a period of eight days. The husband cooks meal for his wife during this period. Then the name giving ceremony of the child is held and generally the name of the grand father is given to the first born son. The mother is not allowed to do any hard work for some months after the birth of the child.

The Ho women play very insignificant role in religious functions and they are not allowed to take any part in the political organization.

Material Culture

The Ho village is generally built on high ground and runs east to west. The average Ho houses are divided into two apartments and are generally built of mud, thatched with grass or straw. The walls are painted with some black or red colour with artistic designs. Every house has a verandah in front. The sheds for keeping bullocks and goats, etc., are built separately.

The domestic utensils include earthen cooking posts, pitchers and plates and brass or aluminum cups. The Hos keeps baskets for storing food grains.

The weapons of the Hos include bows and arrows, spears and battle axe. In addition to these they have different kinds of traps and nets to catch birds and small animals.

The dress of the Hos is very simple. The women folk put on coarse *saree* and men generally wear small *dhotis*. The females possess lovely black hair and dress it very nicely. They tie the hair in a disc-like knot at the back of the head and cover it with different kinds of jungles flowers, which add charm to their beauty. They wear ornaments like ear-rings, nose rings, necklaces made of beads, and armlets. They wear bangles in their hands. Most of the ornaments are made either of gold, silver or aluminum etc.

Religion

Sing-bonga is the supreme God of the Hos for they believe that Sing-bonga has created them. Nage-bonga or the river deity, who is regarded as the wife of the Sing-bonga is worshipped by the Hos. Nage-bonga is very fond of pigs for which the Hos sacrifice pigs before her on different festive occasions. Dessauli is another principal God who is benevolent to them and protect them from the attack of different diseases. The Hos also worship a number of Gods and Goddesses. Now, they are worshipping the Hindu Gods and Goddesses as a result of their contact with neighbouring Hindus. In all the religious functions Dehuri, the village priest officiates and makes offerings to the deities.

Disposal of the dead

The funeral ceremony of the Hos deserves a special mention, as the Hos show a great reverence to the departed soul. The dead body is carefully washed by the family members and is anointed with oil and turmeric and then it is kept in a

coffin. All the ornaments, cloths and other implements used by the deceased are kept in the coffin and the whole thing is burned. Next morning, water is thrown on the ashes and bones are carefully collected and kept in an earthen ware. The earthen ware is hung in the mourner's house till the last funeral ceremony takes place. Then it is taken to the funeral ground in a procession accompanying music and dancing. The bones are put in a hole and the hole is then covered with a big slab of stone, which serves as the monument of the deceased.

Conclusion

After the attainment of independence remarkable changes are taking place in all sections of Indian population. So also the tribal people are rising from their deep slumber and are marching ahead in progress and prosperity. Special plans and programmes are being implemented for the welfare of this section of people. Their problems are gradually brought to the notice of Government by Tribal Research Institutions and by great social scientists and social workers. The Hos are also stepping forward in harmony with other tribal folks. Their old dresses are replaced by modern fine *dhotis* and shirts, their earthen pots and other utensil are gradually replaced by beautifully designed metal utensils. The percentage of literacy among them is increasing and their educated people are being engaged in better professions.

In short, the Hos are gradually developing in all aspects of life and are coming forward to associate themselves with the national endeavour for progress and prosperity.

HO *

P. S. Daspatnaik¹

The Ho form a major group among the Orissan tribes. It is the popular epithet Kol by which the Ho are generally known to the outside world. They dislike being addressed as Kol, which in Sanskrit means 'pig'. The word Ho has most probably been derived from the word *horo*, which in their language means man, and the word might have assumed different forms like Koro, Kolo, etc. in course of time. However, many distinguished anthropologists are of the opinion that the Ho, Kol, Kolha, etc. are offshoots with a common origin.

So far as their physical characteristics are concerned, the Hos are short in stature, dark in complexion with broad and flat noses. The eyes are dark brown, and the hair, black and straight or wavy. The chin is narrow but in some cases prognathism is also found. They do not possess strong and muscular bodily features.

The Hos do not inhabit any compact area of their own, but live in villages of mixed population. But in most cases they form separate wards detached from the other population of the village. They are distributed throughout the state, but their largest concentration is found in the district of Mayurbhanj. Their population in the last two census years of 1981 and 1991 was 44,496 and 50,892 respectively. The growth rate during the period 1981-91 was 14.37 per cent. The sex ratio is 1088 females per 1000 males. The percentage of literacy, which was 12.7 in the 1981 Census had increased further to 34.7 by 1991.

The Hos narrate no tradition about their original home or migration. They admit to have been descended from the common family of the Mundas and refer to their original home as to be Chotanagpur, from where they say, they had migrated to Singhbhum, Saraikella, Kharswan, Mayurbhanj and Keonjhar. It is said that the majority of the Ho immigrants of Mayurbhanj hail from the Kolhan

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estate in Bihar. This part of the Kolhan estate was an integral part of the ex-State of the Mayurbhanj until 1837. It is for this reason that the Hos of Mayurbhanj claim to be autochthones of Mayurbhanj State.

A typical Ho village is built on high ground or a ridge in the middle of an undulating plain. In some cases the Ho inhabit the village exclusively, while in other villages they live side by side with other Scheduled Castes and Tribes. In the larger villages, they are distributed into two to three hamlets, each hamlet being separated from the other by a small valley or a clean open space. On all sides of the village, there are huge tamarind trees and luxuriant jungle shrub, which hide the houses from sight. Large flat stones firmly fixed on the ground are found near the boundary line of each village. These are considered to be gravestones where the ancestors of the clan or *killi* have been laid to rest. The *akhara* or dancing ground stands in the centre of the village. At one end of the village, at a little distance from the cluster of houses, lies the village sacred grove (*jahira*).

The Ho house is built very neatly, as a hut with a rectangular ground plan, the dimensions varying according to the economic status of the owner. The smallest hut measures 13.5 feet x 7.5 feet, and the largest, 25.5 feet x 10.5 feet. The sleeping room is usually larger than the dining room, but the latter is more important. It is the seat of the *ading*, where the family ancestors are carefully sheltered. Each hut has gables and narrow verandahs on three sides, with one slightly wider on the front. Each hut is partitioned by a wall, with one door only for both the rooms.

The houses are built of mud, thatched with grass, or roofed with tiles. The walls are painted in different colours of black and brown and show neat workmanship. The walls are also artistically decorated with drawings. Separate sheds for cows and domesticated animals are built near the bedroom. The *dhenki* or paddy husking levers are installed in a corner of the cattle shed or in a projecting wing of the hut.

The household articles are scanty. The Ho use wooden framed cots woven with thin ropes and mats made of wild date-palm leaves for sleeping purposes. Wooden furniture is found very rarely. They use earthenware or aluminium vessels for cooking and storing water. Pots and plates of bell-metal and aluminium are used for taking meals. The Hos keep baskets for storing grains.

A narrow strip of cloth called a *botoi*, fastened round the waist by a male Ho, was the traditional dress. Similarly women used to wear the *langa*, a coarse sari, in the village. But due to their frequent contact and temporary migrations to urban centres their patterns of dress have undergone change and now they wear dresses like other caste Hindus. The women ordinarily used to wear ornaments like *anduo* (anklets), *guna* or *nakafula* (nose pin), *murkhi* (earring), *hisir* (necklace), *sakom* (bangles), etc. now being replaced by cheap glass bangles, small bead necklaces, etc. Gold ornaments are seldom found, and only well-to-do families

possess tiny hair-pins and rings made of gold. Tattooing, once popular among the women, has become less important. School and college children still prefer to inscribe their initials on their forearms. Women prefer to tattoo the designs of their own clan. They are great admirers of flowers. Young girls with wreaths and floral ornaments participate in dancing and music with their boyfriends on the *akhara* (dancing ground) of the village.

Rice is their staple food. They also take gruel. Fried green leaves, vegetable curry, garlic, onion, chilli, salt and *kachada* oil extracted from mohua seeds are all that are required to constitute the side dish. They relish dried fish, red ants, termites, crabs, fish of all varieties and snails. They eat sheep, beef and pork. Those who are more Hinduized do not take beef and pork. They have a natural dislike for milk and milk products and universally drink *hili* or rice beer.

They are developed agriculturists. Those who have less or no land resort to agricultural labour. They also earn wages by becoming industrial labourers in the factories, mines and quarries. A few educated persons have been employed in different services. Both men and women work in agriculture right from the start of the rains. Other than ploughing the women take part in all agricultural pursuits. They use cows and oxen as draught animals. Paddy is mainly produced in the lowlands. Maize, *ragi*, the *gundulu* variety of paddy, black gram, etc. are produced in the upland areas. Vegetables are grown in the kitchen gardens. A short duration paddy called *ashadhan* is also grown in the uplands.

Forest collection has diminished to a greater extent due to depletion of forests. Still they go to distant forests for collection of house building materials and firewood. The women go to nearby forest patches to collect *mahua*, greens, mushrooms and flowers. After harvest, most of the villagers go to industrial areas to work as wage-earners until the rains set in when they come back again and engage themselves in cultivation. They undertake communal hunting in the month of March-April as a ceremonial event. Hunting is no longer a regular pursuit. Fishing is done in a group when the fields and meadows fill up with water during the rains.

The barter system is still in vogue in rural areas, although money has become the medium of exchange. They are experts in basketry and rope-making. They prepare ropes out of the *siali* creeper or from *sabai* grass. Some women are specialists in drawing artistic designs on the walls. They squander away money in drinks and in purchasing cheap cosmetics, etc. as an aspect of their frequent urban contacts.

The Ho are not divided into sub-tribes. Their society is divided in to several clans, and each clan bears the name of some animal, plant or material object. Certain taboos are observed regarding the totemic symbol by all the members of the clan. Each totemic clan is exogamous, that is, members of a totemic clan cannot marry within the clan. Again each *killi* or clan has several sections, and

marriage within these sections is prohibited by custom. In the villages where there are several *killis* and divisions of the major *killi*, marriage within the village is not allowed. Marriage outside the tribe is also prohibited.

The family, which is the smallest unit of Ho social organization, is patrilocal and patrilineal. Women do not inherit property. The property is inherited along the male line. However, the interest of the family finds its fulfillment in the larger interest of the *killi*. Birth, marriage, death and other festivals are apparently communal affairs, as the rites and ceremonies connected with them are performed by all the members of the *killi*. There are now changes under way, and these rites are being replaced by individual celebrations. Even the production of food was a corporate responsibility. This is not found nowadays. In spite of this all the members of a *killi* are united together by a bond of kinship.

Motherhood is much respected by the Ho, and the expectant mother receives adequate attention from other members of the *killi*. A midwife from the Ghasi community attends the mother during the birth of a child. Pollution is observed for eight days by the mother and there are certain practices from which she has to abstain. On the morning of the eighth day, the child's head is touched with a razor (*dashi*) and washed in tepid water. The father also shaves his head and beard and takes a ceremonial bath with his wife. The family and the members of the *killi* offer *hili* (wine) to all the ancestral spirits and *bongas* (deities) before they themselves partake of it. The purificatory feast is not held on the eighth day but in the latter half of the month. On this occasion the hut is cleaned and all members of the *killi* are treated to a sumptuous feast to which it is usual for the members to contribute in kind. The ceremonial naming of the child is an important event held on the 21st or 30th day.

The Ho considers pairing as essential to fecundity. Adult marriage is the rule. A man usually marries outside his *killi* and village. There are various ways of acquiring a mate, such as *andi*, *dikuandi*, *oportipi*, *rajikushi* and *anadar*. *Andi* and *dikuandi* marriages are the usual ways of seeking a wife, the other types of marriages being rare. But today *andi* is becoming less popular, as it invariably involves a heavy bride price (*gonong*).

The Duttam (negotiator) is appointed to negotiate between the families desiring the marriage. Girls do not marry before 18 to 21 years of age and boys seldom marry earlier than 24 years of age. In this type of marriage the Deuri (priest) performs the marriage rites. In the Diku form a more Hinduized fashion is adopted where a Brahman priest is called in to officiate. The average amount of bride price consists of 10 to 15 heads of cattle, Rs. 50/- and ornaments, besides 50 to 100 pots of *hili* and the cost of feeding the *killi* members.

On the day of the marriage, the bride is escorted to the groom's house. The bride comes in a procession to the accompaniment of dancing and music. There is not much of a ritual. Both bride and groom sit on wooden stool (*pidha*) facing each

other. Two small cups, one containing oil and the other, turmeric powder are placed on a mat. The bridegroom pledges the bride by pouring some liquor (*handia*) from his cup. The compliment is returned. The groom first anoints the bride with the mixture of oil and turmeric powder, and the bride then anoints the forehead of the groom with the same. This solemnizes the marriage ritual. A feast follows and all partake of it.

Among the Ho, marriage with mother's brother's daughter and father's sister's daughter is allowed. Even marriage with the mother's sister and also with the widowed maternal aunt is permissible.

Burial and cremation are both practised by the Ho. Those who die in unnatural ways, like snakebite, suicide, smallpox, leprosy or killed by the tiger spirit (*Bagia Bonga*) are buried. The string charpoys (*parkoms*) are used as a bier. Before placing the corpse on the bier, the Deuri takes some *arua* rice in his hand, and uttering a few incantations in honour of the principal *bonga*, throws it on to the floor of the hut and the courtyard. Rice and some pulses are then placed in the palm of the deceased. The funeral procession is led by the eldest son of the deceased with the pall-bearers and other mourners. Before the pyre is lit, all the usable articles like utensils, ornament, bows and arrows, clothes, etc. of the deceased are placed in the pit, and then faggots are piled up.

On the next day the women go to the cremation ground to collect bones of the deceased. Only two bones are collected, to be dried in the sun and kept in a new earthenware pot, which is kept hanging from the roof in a corner of the sleeping room. The *salesi* or *sradha* ceremony takes place on the 21st day. Restrictions on diet and movements during pollution are observed by all the members of the concerned *killi*. On the 21st day, the clan members crop their hair, have their nails pared, and take a ceremonial bath. The Deuri digs a pit in which one of the bones hung in the sleeping room is buried.

A large stone is obtained to erect the tomb. Another bone kept in the sleeping room is placed on the funeral spot above which the tombstone is placed. After this ceremony the departed soul is believed to join with the souls of other dead ancestors.

The Ho believes that natural objects exercise a beneficent influence on their life and happiness. As such, they offer periodical prayers and offerings as part of their thanksgiving service. Thus the sun, moon, river and mountain are the Ho's principal *bongas*. The chief of these is Sing Bonga or the sun god, who is the Creator of this Universe. In each village there is also a sacred grove (*jahira*) in which resides Dasauli, the guardian spirit of the village. Ancestral spirits are worshipped at home.

Like the Santal, the Ho is afraid of malignant spirits. They believe in black magic and witchcraft. Basam Thakurani, Kalimuhin and Dwarsuni are considered

to be terrible spirits who bring calamities if they are not properly appeased. All these spirits require continuous propitiation by means of animal sacrifices.

The Ho observes seven important festivals like Madhe, Baha, Damurai, Hero, Jomnama, Kolon and Batauli. These are associated with their agricultural operations, and their time and season are therefore determined by the needs of agriculture. In all the festivals, the object of worship is the village Dasauli, though prayers are offered to Sing Bonga. Most villages have a Deuri family. The post of Deuri is hereditary. He is entitled to certain considerations in kind in return for his services to the villagers.

The Hos have no community organization at present. Previously, they had their tribal and chief in the Kolhan estate in the district of Singhbhum in Bihar. Since a village was inhabited by number of *killis*, the dominant *killis* like Munda and Manki used to be recognized as the aristocrats of the village. While the *killi* was primarily a social unit, the *hatu* (village council) was a political unit. The *hatu* was presided over by the Munda, while the authority of the *killi* was vested with its elders. Originally the Mundas were the custodian of the village land. But at present it is the *killi* leaders who collect the rent. They are responsible for any crime in the village. They settle all the disputes. They fix the dates of festivals and look after the general welfare of the people. A Ho looks to his clan for all matters concerning religion, social relationship and the code of conduct of the *killi*.

However, in these days, the tribes are in a process of rapid transformation. The changing economic environment of the tribal areas has forced the tribal people to adopt a new pattern of life. The industrial economy has undermined the agricultural economy and the sedentary way of life. But the change has not helped the tribe to adjust fully to the new conditions and environment. This has created problems. Seasonal migration has undermined the stability of tribal social organization. Today, the family has become the dominant element in Ho social organization, that is, the interests of the family are regarded as of greater importance than that of the *hatu* (village) or even *killi* (clan). Yet these changes have not completely undermined discipline or social solidarity.

HO *

A. B. Ota ¹

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A. Kodamsing ³

INTRODUCTION

The 'Ho' is one of the major tribes of Odisha belonging to the Proto-Austroloid group. The name 'Ho' is derived from the word 'horo' which, in their language, means 'man'. They are the descendants of Munda family. Other neighboring communities address them by the term 'Kola'. But they identify themselves as "Ho". Some of the anthropologists are of opinion that the Ho, Kol, Kolha etc. are offshoots of a common tribal origin.

Population and Concentration

Hos are mainly inhabited Keonjhar and Mayurbhanj districts of Odisha. But they claim that Chotanagpur is their place of origin from where they migrated subsequently to Singhbhum, Saraikalla, Kharsuan, Mayurbhanj and Keonjhar.

As per the 2001 census, the total population of Hos in Odisha is 43,133. Between 1991 and 2001 census their population has registered a growth rate of - 15.29 percent. Their sex ratio is 982. (per 1000 males). Their rate of literacy is 35.18 percent i.e. 49.64 percent for males and 20.50 percent for females.

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SOCIO CULTURAL IDENTITY

The Hos are renowned for their simple, amiable, and other philanthropic qualities. In the earlier period, this tribe was known for its fighting skills and acumen. The Ho secured their dignity by winning different wars against the kings of Mayurbhanj and Chotanagpur.

Their language is known as 'Ho' that belongs to Austro-Asiatic language family akin to Santal and Mundari languages. Besides, most of them are also well conversant with 'Mundari' language and the regional language 'Odia'. In 1934, Shri Lako Bodra had developed the script for HO language known as *Warangchichi* that has some similarity with the Devanagari script. Now the Hos have appealed the government to schedule their language and script constitutionally.

So far as their physical characteristics are concerned, they are of short or medium stature, dark complexion with broad and flat nose, dark brown eyes, straight or wavy black hair, and narrow chin. However they do not possess strong and muscular body features. But, they have sharp intelligence and courage which are evident in their daily life style.

Dress and Ornaments

Their traditional dress pattern and costumes are very similar to those of Santal and Munda tribes. Ho men used to wear a narrow strip of white loin cloth (*batoi*) and women used to wear the '*lunga*', a coarse hand-woven sari. But now due to their frequent external contact and migrations to cities, their dress patterns have changed. Ho men, at present, wear modern dresses like trousers, shirts and banyans; and women wear saree with petticoat and blouse. Tattooing is a popular fashion among the Ho women who decorate their bodies with tattoo marks of their own clan. They also adorn themselves with various ornaments like anklets (*anduo*), nose ring (*guna* or *nakafula*), ear-ring (*mukhi*), necklace (*hisir*), bangles (*sakom*) etc. The women prefer to decorate their hair knot with colorful flowers and hairpins.

SETTLEMENT AND HOUSING

Most of the 'Ho' villages are surrounded by mountains and forests. The Hos usually live in multi-ethnic villages amidst other scheduled tribes and scheduled castes. In few cases, they are also found to inhabit in uniethnic villages.

Big flat (*domen*) or vertical memorial stones are found near the boundary line of each village. After the dead body is brunt, the charred bone remains are collected in an earthen pot and buried in a pit, the mouth of which is capped by a big flat stone. These are considered gravestones where the ancestors of the clan have been laid to rest. At the centre of the village the dancing ground or *akhra* is located where villagers gather for meeting and recreational activities usually in the evening. At the village outskirts, lies the sacred grove, 'Sarna' where *desauli* -the village deity resides.

Each Ho village is composed of 2 or 3 hamlets which are known as *Tola*. The houses in the village are arranged sometimes in a linear fashion but usually sparsely distributed. The Hos generally build a single house in which a partition wall separating the kitchen from the sleeping room is comparatively that is bigger than the kitchen. They keep their grain bins in a raised platform in the corner of the sleeping room. The inner side walls of the bed room are attached with a narrow verandah which is used to keep their household articles. In the kitchen room, there is an earthen seat meant for their ancestral spirits (*bura bury*) locally known as *ading*. The people of other communities are strictly prohibited to touch the *ading*. Separate sheds for cows and domesticated animals are built adjacent to the bed room. The *dhenki* or paddy husking lever is installed in one corner of the cattle shed or in a projecting wing of the house. The outer side walls of the house are surrounded by verandah.

The Hos build their houses over a rectangular ground plan with mud walls and their roofs are thatched with straw, grass or tiles. The size of the house varies from 13.5 ft x 7.5 ft. to 25.5 ft x 10.5 ft. They keep their houses very neat and clean. Floors are plastered with the paste of cow dung and mud. The outer side walls of the house are painted with various floras and animals designs. They use various natural or mineral colours like red, yellow, white, etc to make it more attractive. The designs and paintings drawn on their walls are the skillful fine art of their women folk.

Household Articles

The household material possessions of the Hos are few. Wooden framed cots woven with thin ropes (*parkambayar*) and mats made of wild date palm-leaves (*jati*) are used for sleeping purposes. Earthen wares (*chatu*) or aluminum vessels are used for cooking and storing purposes. Other important articles like broomstick (*jannah*), winnowing fan (*hatau*), pestle, digging stick, axe (*hakeh*), knife, plough (*nayal*), leveler (*kara*), yoke (*nangali*) and straw made bins (*bolah*), etc; are also used by the Ho people in their day to day activities. For the purpose of hunting they also keep bow (*aa*), arrow (*sar*), spear (*burchhi*) etc; in their house. Besides hunting implements, they also keep various types of fishing traps and nets to catch fish from nearby stream and rivulets.

LIVELIHOOD

The Hos being settled agriculturists, agriculture is the main-stay of their livelihood. Agricultural works mainly start at the advent of rainy season. Ploughing is done only by male folks and other activities like cutting bushes, manuring, weeding, rearing etc; are done by both by males and females. They mainly cultivate rice (*baba*), maize and millets (*kadeh*). In addition to this they also grow different types of vegetables like pumpkin (*kakaru*), brinjal (*benga*), pea (*simbali*), onion (*piaja*), chilli (*malchi*), green leaves (*aa*) etc in the kitchen garden

situated very close to their house known as *badi*. They organize most of their socio-economic activities on the basis of mutual help and co-operation.

Other than settled cultivation, they also depend on food gathering, seasonal forest collections, hunting and fishing to supplement their livelihood. They generally collect fuels (*sanance*), *sal* leaves (*sarajam shakam*), bamboo (*maun*), raisen (*jhuna*), wild potato (*burusanga*), mushrooms (*uduh*), green leaves (*aah*) mango (*uli*), blackberry (*kudaso*), date (*khajurijo*), sweet potato (*rauvasanga*) etc from the jungle. Some of these items like wild potato, mushrooms are used only for consumption. Other items like *sal* leaves (*sarajama sakam*), resin (*jhuna*), bamboo (*maun*) etc are sold in the local market to earn money after meeting their consumption needs.

Once upon a time hunting was their principal activity. Since childhood, they observe the parents or seniors while hunting in the forest and gradually after imitation and regular participation; they learn the techniques of hunting. At present due to denudation of forest, and imposition of forest laws, the act of hunting has been totally banned for the protection of forests as well as wild species. However, fishing has been continuing as an occasional economic pursuit. They go to nearby streams and rivulets to catch fish.

The Hos being settled agriculturists have great fascination for cattle wealth and domestications of animals. Usually they domesticate cows, bullocks, goats and raise poultry. The cows and bullocks are used for agricultural purposes. It is an exception that they do not consume the milk of cows. Chicken and goats are domesticated not only for consumption but also to be sacrificed before the deities on different rituals and festive occasions.

But now due to industrialization most of the younger generation works as daily wage labor in mining and factories. Some of them who are educated are also employed in different private and government sectors.

Food Habits

Rice (*mandi*) is their staple food. In the morning time they prefer to eat watered rice (*daa mandi*) accompanied by fried green leaves, green chillies and salt. For launch as well as in dinner, they usually take boiled rice (*raa-mandi*) with fried green leaves (*aa*), vegetable curry, garlic, onion, chillies, salt and *kachada* oil extracted from *mahua* seeds,. They also like to eat non-veg items like the curry of fish (*haku*), red ant (*hau*) and termites (*nidri*), crabs (*kattah*), meat (*jilu*) of different types of birds and animals. In past they were consuming beef and pork but now coming in contact with the Hindu neighbors, they are avoiding such foods.

During rituals and festive occasions, they also prepare curry of meat (*jilu*), different types of rice cakes and take these along with boiled rice and country liquor. Like other tribal people, the Hos are also very fond of intoxicating traditional drinks such as rice bear (*handia*), date palm juice (*tadi*) and *mahua* liquor

(*matkamjlirasi*). Such traditional liquors are offered to their ancestors and deities on different festive occasions to appease them. Tobacco leaves (*sukul*) are chewed raw or puffed through handmade cigar (*pica*) by almost all adult members. There is no gender discrimination in smoking or drinking of liquor.

SOCIAL LIFE

The Ho society is divided into different totemistic and patrilineal clans locally known as '*killi*'. Each clan (*killi*) has a totem and the totemic animal, plant or material object associated with a clan (*killi*) are considered to be sacred. Marriage within the clan is strictly tabooed. After marriage girls are initiated into their husband's clan group. A strong sense of reciprocity and co-operation exists among the clan members as they consider themselves as brothers and sisters. Some of the clans of the Ho tribe are *Chatar, Tiria, Gagarai, Saya, Pingua, Hemrum etc.*

Ho families are patrilineal, patrilocal and patriarchal. Father is the head of the family who manages all the family affairs in consultation with the grown up members. After the death of father, all the properties are inherited by the sons. The rule of primogeniture exists in their society. Grown-up boys and girls help their parents in domestic as well as outdoor works. Role of mother is also very important in all domestic activities.

In Ho community village is regarded as an important social unit. The families of different clans in the village extend mutual help and co-operation in different socio-religious and economic activities. The villagers share each other's sorrows and happiness at the time of need. Ho society maintains a specific as well as unique system of prescribed rules and regulation for the management of their customary affairs at the tribal, inter-tribal, village and clan levels.

Life Cycle

Pregnancy and Child Birth

Birth is considered as an important event in the Ho life cycle. In the Ho society, child birth irrespective of sex of the child is believed to be the outcome of blessings of their supreme deity - *Singh Bonga* (Sun God). Motherhood is much respected by the Ho and all the family members take a special care of the pregnant women. During pregnancy, a Ho woman has to follow certain taboos and prohibitions regarding her food, drink and mobility. She is prohibited to prepare '*illi*', the rice beer and to go outside of the house in the evening time alone.

The delivery of the child is assisted by a midwife who belongs to Ghasi, a Scheduled Caste community. After birth of the child the father arranges a cock fight in the honor of *Singh Bonga*. The family members observe pollution for 8 days. On the 8th day purification ceremony is organized. On this day, they prepare traditional liquor known as '*illi*' which is offered to their ancestors for the wellbeing of the child. All the kith and kin are invited to attend the ritual.

Name giving ceremony is conducted on the 21st or 30th day of the birth of the child. The name of the child is given by 'Dehuri' (Priest). A sun dried rice thrown into pot which contains purified water. Then dried rice is thrown by one by one to the water by uttering the name of their ancestors. While uttering the name of a particular ancestor if the rice touches the first rice it is believed that the same ancestor has been born and the child is given his name. Usually, the name of the first child comes from the paternal ancestors, while the name of the second child comes from maternal ancestors.

The Hos are very affectionate to their children. Early childhood socialization process is taken care of by the mother and other family members whereas peer groups play an important role in the socialization process of late childhood.

Puberty

For an adolescent girl puberty is an important landmark in her life. When the girl attains her first menarche she has to follow some taboos. She remains in seclusion in an isolated room for seven days. During that period she is tabooed to attain any ritual, to look or talk to any male persons. On the eighth day she takes a purificatory bath anointing oil and turmeric paste and wears new clothes presented by her relatives.

Marriage

Regarding their marriage they follow clan exogamy. Marriage is strictly prohibited between boys and girls of the same clan and outside their community. Child marriage is not practised. For marriage they give priority to four traditions. Firstly, the groom's side has to pay bride price to the bride's parents. Secondly, the groom puts vermilion on the forehead of the bride. Thirdly, after marriage the newly married couple should attend the ritual known as *jamsing* to appease their ancestors which is held in groom's house. At last a feast is hosted by both groom's side and bride's side respectively to the kith and kin to get social approval.

Marriage by negotiation (*dikuandi*) is common among them. However, other types of marriages like marriage by capture (*apartipi*), love marriage (*rajikhusi*), and marriage by probation (*anadar*) are practiced. Like other tribes, junior levirate and sororate are also practiced in Ho society.

Marriage by negotiation (*dikuandi*) considered to be prestigious is expensive, elaborate and time taking. Preliminary arrangements for this marriage are made by two mediators, one from the bride's side known as *liu* and another from the groom's side known as *dutamkarji*. First of all, groom's parents visit the bride's home with rice bear (*ili*) to put forth the marriage proposal. If the proposal is accepted a date is fixed by them for negotiation. In this kind of marriage the custom of the bride price (*ganansid*) is prevalent. The groom's party has to pay one cow or calf, one goat or fowl and Rs 100/- as bride price to the bride's parents.

On the wedding day, the groom with his parents and relatives reach at the bride's house in a procession. The *dehuri* (priest) conducts the wedding rites in the name of *sing bonga* by uttering rhymes for the wellbeing of the newly married couple. After that the groom moves around the bride for seven times by holding a knife and at last puts vermillion mark on the forehead of the bride. It signifies that he will protect that girl from all crises. The bride's party hosts a feast for the kith and kin. The next day the bride is led to the groom's house. The mother-in-law of the bride welcomes the newly married couple. Then the bride enters into the kitchen and seeks the blessings from *ading* (ancestors). This practice is called as *jamsing*. The groom's family also hosts a marriage feast to all kinsfolk, guests, and relatives.

Divorce

In Ho society divorce (*bagi*) is permitted under certain grounds. The wife claims divorce for the reason of maladjustment in conjugal life, cruelty, extra-marital relationship, alcoholism, poor maintenance etc. Likewise the husband can divorce the wife on the reasons of impotency or barrenness and extra-marital relationship. The dispute of divorce cases are adjudicated by the traditional village chief. He is also assisted by four to five elderly members of the village. Also the village chief of the bride is invited to attend the meeting. After divorce is sanctioned, the groom's parents have to pay back the bride price to the bride but if the wife founds to be guilty the groom has to return half of the bride price. But if the wife divorces the husband, there will be no repayment of bride price.

Death

Depending upon the nature of death, the corpse may be cremated or buried. In case of unnatural deaths due to snake bite, suicide, small pox, drowning in water or the attack of the wild animals etc., the corpses are buried but the dead bodies of persons having normal death are burnt. It is an exception that in the Ho society the women participate in carrying the corpse to the cremation ground. The wife, daughter or unmarried sister sets fire to the corpse. On next day charred bones are collected from the cremation ground which is kept hanging from the roof in a corner of the sleeping room.

The pollution period is observed by all the lineage members for 21 days. The purificatory rite or *kamini* is observed on the 21st day of death. The kith and kin are invited. All the clan members cut their hair, pair their nails and take a purificatory bath. To appease the ancestors magico-religious performances are performed by the *dehuri* (priest) who digs a pit in the graveyard and buries the bones of the deceased kept in the sleeping room. Apart from this ritual, feast and drink are also the major activities in this ritual. They also call upon the spirit of the deceased to take shelter in *adding* the seat for their ancestors in the kitchen. In all festive occasions the ancestors are worshipped for their wellbeing.

RELIGIOUS BELIEFS & PRACTICES

The Hos are polytheists. Being the worshiper of nature, believes in *sarna* religion. The word *sarna* is derived from the word *sir* which means 'arrow'. The Ho religion resembles, to a great extent to that of Santal, Oraon and Munda. *Bonga* is the generic term which is used to signify all gods / goddesses and spirits.

Sing bonga or Sun God is their supreme deity. They believe that he is the Creator of Universe. They also worship *Marangburu* or *Barubonga*- the goddess of hill for the rains. There are other deities like *Pauditurudubonga* the god of deep water, *Bagiyabonga* the god of forest who controls all the wild animals, *Ikirbonga* the deity of river, *Sangarbonga* the god of hunting, *Sana turudubonga* the god of wealth, *Jid Bonga*, *Kumubabonga*, *Bhatabonga*, *Hankarbonga*, etc. who are worshipped by the Ho people on different festive occasions and also at the time of crises.

At the village outskirts, lies their sacred grove (*saran*) where their village deity *Desauli* resides. *Desauli* protects all the villagers from different crises. Therefore, most of the community rituals are performed at *saran* (sacred grove) in the honor of the village deity.

The religious head of the Ho society is known as *Dehuri/Deuri*, who mediates between *Hor* (man) and *Bonga* (god). He officiates as a priest in all the village or community level rituals. His position is hereditary. Sometimes he is assisted by *Jamsim*.

The Hos have a strong belief in witchcraft. They believe that the continuation of any kind of disease for a longtime is due to the action of *Dian* (witch) or evil *bonga*. The *Dians* are generally elderly women of their society. Irrespective of any age group, one can learn the *dianbidya* (the technique of witchcraft). Sometime they are supposed to have intercourse with malevolent spirits to acquire the evil power to bring any type of natural calamity to their region or to harm or kill their enemies.

Whenever the Ho people suffer from any disease they usually consult the *Ojha* or *Denova* (Shaman), who acts as the traditional magico-religious healer. In trance he can detect the cause of illness, and prescribes remedies to the patient through performing magico-religious activities.

Festivals

The Hos are settled agriculturists. As such most of their festivals revolve around various agricultural activities. *Mage parab* is the principal festival of the tribe. It is celebrated in the month of *Magha* (January- February) when the granaries are full of paddy. For welfare of the villagers the Hos worship *Sing bonga* and *Desauli* along with some other *bongas* during this festival. It continues for six days. According to the nature of celebration, each day of the festival is named separately, like (i) *Gawamara* or *Gawal* (2) *Oteilli* or *Ate illi* (3) *Loya* or *Sangeilli* (4)

Marringpar or Marring Musing (5) *Basi Para or Mage Basi or Basi Musing* (6) *Hanr Mage or Hanr Bonga or Hanr Bagia*.

Baha Parab is another important festival of the Ho tribe. In Ho language, 'Ba' means flower and thus the festival is named. It is clear that this festival is related to the flower, particularly the indigenous *sal* flower. This festival is also known as *Phal Bhangani* and celebrated in the month of *Chaitra* (February-March) in honour of the village deity, *Desauli*.

Rajasala or Raja Parab is also observed by the Ho people which comes during the *Yethe-Chanda* (May-June). Dancing and singing in groups are the major events of this festival. Besides, other festivals like, *Hero Parab*, *Bantauli Parab*, *Kamnawa Parab* and *Kaka Montari or Kalam Parab*, etc; are also observed by Ho people on different occasions. But now after coming in contact with the Hindu castes, some of them also observe different Hindu festivals, like Laxmi Puja, Durga Puja, Biswakarma Puja, Ganesh Puja, Saraswati Puja and Ratha Yatra (Car Festival) etc.

DANCE AND MUSIC

Dance (*susun*) and music are the integral part of all the festivals and rituals observed by the Ho community. Besides, in their leisure time they perform various dances for entertainment. In Ho society dance is a group affair. There is a great similarity in the music, songs and dances of the Hos with other neighbouring tribes such as the Kol, the Munda, the Santal and the Birhor. The principal varieties of dances they perform are *maghesusun* on the occasion of Maghe festival, *basusun* in Ba festival, *andisusun* on the occasion of marriage and *hero susun* during the Hero festival. Each dance is accompanied by a song, which is sung by the performers. Irrespective of age and sex all can dance and invariably sing but the accompanying music is provided by only male members. For dance and music they use different type of musical instruments like *dama* (single membrane drum), *dumang* (double membrane drum), *rutu* (flute), *banam* (one stringed fiddle), *chadchadi* (single membrane drum), *ghanta* (iron bell) etc.

The rich tradition of dance and music has been developed indigenously and maintained by themselves without any external help. Now-a-days, with the aid of the government and various non-governmental organizations they perform their dance and music in different district, state and national level festivals to exhibit their artistic talents and cultural identity.

SOCIAL CONTROL

Traditionally, the Ho people had a well-organized autonomous socio-political system. Their traditional governance system was a three- tier system such as village council at the bottom, regional council in the middle, and tribal council at the top. All the household heads are the member of the village council headed

by the secular village head known as *Munda* who is nominated by the family heads of the village. He is assisted by an assistant called *Dakua*. Munda is the adjudicator of all cases in the village council.

At the regional level the confederation of some adjacent villages is called *pirh*. The head of the *pirh* is called as *Manki* who is nominated by the *Mundas* of the component villages. He presides over the *pirh* meetings where inter village disputes are resolved. Several *pirhs* constitute the apex organization called *pala*. *Bisoi* is the secular head of *pala* nominated by the *Mankis* of the constituent *pirhs*. Their customary matters which could not be resolved at the regional level and so referred to this apex body are discussed and finalized at this level.

But now it is seen that only the traditional village council is still effective. With the introduction of new *panchayatiraj* institution the traditional middle and upper level councils have lost their importance. Even now, the *Munda*, the secular head of the village handles their customary affairs and settles all the disputes regarding theft, conflicts, violation of customary rules, witchcraft and sorcery, partition of property, sale and mortgage of land, marriage, bride price, divorce, adultery and the like. Munda presides over the village council meeting, initiates discussions and take decisions in consultation with *Dakua* and other village elders.

Punishment given to the victims also varies considering the gravity of the offence. Generally the offender is asked to pay in shape of kinds or cash. Sometimes depending upon the gravity of offence the culprit is ex-communicated.

CHANGE AND DEVELOPMENT

In recent decades the Ho society is undergoing rapid change and lying in a stage of transition which is reflected in their changing life style and cultural pattern. Special developmental plans and programmes, launched by Government and non-government agencies for their economic upliftment have contributed a lot in their transformation.

Introduction of modern agriculture, provision of irrigation facility, input assistance and market support for disposal of surplus have brought visible changes in their agricultural sector. By occupational diversification now most of the younger generations are gainfully engaged in mining and industries, civil construction works as wage earners because the native place of Ho, i.e. Mayurbhanj district of Odisha is endowed with rich mineral deposits and forest resources. Some of them have also entered into institutional service as well as other service sectors.

Under various socio-economic development schemes, Self Help Groups have been formed and they have got the opportunity to avail different kinds of financial benefits to improve their living standards by adopting gainful pursuits like fishery, poultry, horticulture, etc. By developing cottage industry they also

prepare broomsticks, pickles, leaf plates and turmeric powder and sell in the local market to earn additional income.

Education is the prime input as well as indicator of development. The ST and SC Development Department of Odisha Government has been taking significant steps to spread education among the tribes including the Hos. Different categories of schools like Ekalavya Model Residential Schools, Higher Secondary Schools, High Schools, Girls High School, Ashram Schools, Sevashram Schools, Secondary Teacher Training Schools invariably with residential facilities along with the provisions of stipend, mid-day meals, free text books, reading and writing materials, school uniforms and bi-cycles are running in their areas. This endeavor has resulted in noticeable improvement in the level of literacy and education of the tribe.

Due to introduction of the reservation policy, PESA, (Panchayatraj Extension to the Scheduled Areas) Act and Forest Rights (FR) Act in their area, their traditional rights to self-governance and development and exploitation of forest resources have been recognized and these have contributed to their empowerment. Further, several protective and promotional measures provided by the constitution and subsequent legislations accompanied by a host of welfare and development plans and programmes have helped them to proceed towards their integration in the national mainstream in a footing of equality

The Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Research and Training Institute (SCSTRTI) and ST & SC Development Department have undertaken initiatives to expose and develop traditional skills of arts and crafts of different tribes including the Ho. Live Demonstrations Programmes are being organized in the premises of Tribal Museum of SCSTRTI where their arts and artifacts have been preserved and exhibited for the domestic and foreign visitors, there by opening an window to their unique cultural landmarks. Every year National Tribal Dance Festival in December and Annual State Level Tribal Fair (Adivasi Mela) are being organized at the State capital of Bhubaneswar to exhibit the colourful and diversified arts, crafts, musics, songs, dances and other non-material and material aspects of the tribal world of Odisha in which the Ho artists and artisans are participating.

However, while facing the powerful waves of modernization and development, the Hos are struggling hard to preserve the time-tested indigenous elements of their pristine culture as well as their cultural identity against letting them to be lost in antiquity.

A CEREMONIAL HUNTING OF THE HO IN SERAIKELLA*

Biman Kumar Dasgupta
Pabitra Gupta

During a brief Anthropological Survey among the Ho of Makundpur village, P.S. Seraikella, Dist- Singhbhum, Bihar in 1954, we had the chance to investigate into the ceremonial hunting of the Ho. There were 24 families in the village and all were Ho. We found them to be agriculturists in the truest sense of the term. They were not in the habit of going a-hunt with bows, arrows or with any other weapon. As a matter of fact, hunting habit was in a process of dying out amongst them. The above statement is all the more corroborated by the remarkable absence of various types of hunting weapons traceable amongst the neighbouring tribes who occasionally practiced hunting.

But this does not mean that they had developed a natural antipathy for or any strong aversion towards hunting nor does it point to the prevalence of and prohibited custom. We really found little boys rambling with tiny bows and arrows, amidst adjoining bushes and forests and aiming at birds just in a playful manner. Dr. A. N. Chatterjee and Prof. T. C. Das¹ point out that birds are killed with bows and bolts to relieve monotony of diet. What was noticed by us was that this simple aiming at birds meant only a training in hunting and the most remarkable feature was that this hunting habit received a full stop just when they attained maturity, when they remained much more inclined towards agriculture than hunting the beasts. During our field survey even in spite of our detailed enquiry we did not find even a single grown-up individual who had engaged himself in hunting as a regular part of his routine.

From an enquiry of their festivals and ceremonies it emerged out that they used to observe only one hunting festival and that was on the last day of the

* Published in ADIBASI, Vol. III, No.2, TRB, Bhubaneswar 1958, pp.33-37

¹ 'The Hos of Seraikella'; Dr. A. N. Chatterjee and T. C. Das

Bengali year. This festival was of a communal sort and was observed along with the neighbouring villages jointly. The main purpose of this festival was to make some merriment at the cost of hunting.

Dalton² writing in 1872 takes note of an annual hunt held in May and describes it as a 'great meet for sport in which people of all classes of the neighbourhood and surrounding villages take part' but due to inadequacy of description the above point cannot be compared with that of ours.

An almost similar type of hunting ceremony also prevalent among the Birhor (another member of the Mundari group), that is held in the month of 'Baisakh' (April-May) has been reported by S.C. Roy³.

Similar hunting festivals of communal sort are observed in South Manbhum on the 'Baisakhi Purnima' day in April-May, when all men young and old, participate in the annual hunt on the Ayodhya range in the village known as Ayodhya. Though in fact, the main participants are the Santals, yet members of other groups viz. Bhumij, Mahato, Kamar, Kumhar, Chatri, Birhor, Dom, Kharia, Mahali, Orang Mudi etc., also participate. The only difference is that the Santals hold their traditional court during the period while members of the other groups keep themselves engaged exclusively in hunting and rejoicings. The hunting activities are carried on in different small groups, each group traversing an area and moving in different directions. The jungle is sparse and of the preys are notable bears, leopards, different kinds of birds etc. An estimate of the local people suggests that the total strength of the crowd nears or crosses 10,000 and the situation takes such a rowdy turn that the District Magistrate, Superintendent of Police and his Deputy, along with battalions of armed forces guard the venue⁴.

Below is depicted in details how the people of Makundpur observed such a hunting festival in the year 1952-53 A.D. (1359 B.S.)

The day on which this ceremonial hunt was to take place was announced in the Seraikella *Hat*. On this fixed day, in the evening, some twenty-two persons who were willing to participate in the ceremonial hunt, assembled under a big 'aswatha' (*Ficus religiosa*) tree in the western corner of this village. This village was called 'Jaherthan'. [The 'Jaherthan' is but a bushy tree with a few slabs of stones at its foot. The stones represent their 'bongas' (deities)]. Under the tree there was a slab of stone representing the *Sangaarbonga* (the deity connected with hunting operations). The party was well equipped with arms like battle axe ('Kapi'), bow ('Arsad'), arrow ('Sur'), bolt ('Tuti'). When all of the participants amassed, the Deuri (village priest) who had reached there before, put a vermilion mark on the stone and uttered some prayer words-

² *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal* ; E. Dalton

³ *The Bihors* ; S.C. Roy

⁴ Personally, communicated by Dr. S. C. Sinha, Calcutta.

“Bari Simkum sanasan letuki mtanai
Hujuloaetc bonga Maya anti
Sinkobari bonga maya”.

The translation of the above words runs thus:-

“We are going a-hunt, if we
Succeed in it we promise that
We will give you two fowls”.

After this the party started for the ‘Silpingada’ jungle where the annual hunt was to be held. This jungle was about ten miles away from the village. The party marched on and at midnight reached Narangbera (a village near Silpingada, inhabited by Santals. Parties from other villages also reached there in the meantime. All halted in this village for the night. A Santal of the village named Kushal Manjhi represented through dancing, the whole story of Ramayana. Thus the night ended.

In the early morning, next day, all the parties, together started for the jungle. They advanced in a Semi-circular fashion. While proceeding forward they imitated the cries of different animals. This was done to terrify the animals. On their way onwards they hunted a variety of animals e.g., deer (*jibi*), wild boar (*ghusuri*), wild fowl (*sima*) etc. Hunting being over they assembled together at the outskirts of the jungle. The flesh of the hunted animals was divided party-wise. The party from Makudpur tied the hunted animals that came in their share, with rope and started for their village.

The following prey fell in the share of the party from Makundpur.

Wild fowl-5
‘Agkal’ (a bird)-1
‘Kela’ (a bird)-1
‘Ghusuri’-1
Wild deer-1

The meat was divided amongst all the families of the village. Even a family wherefrom no body participated got a share.

Next morning, all the villagers assembled at the ‘Jahethan’. The Deuri (Priest) then put four heaps of ‘atop’ (unboiled) rice in front of the stoner representing the Sangaar bonga, and took two fowls one coloured red and the other white. (The coloured one for Sangaar bonga and the white one for Sing bonga who was identified as the Sun and whose Supremacy over all other *bongas* was admitted by them). The fowls were bathed and vermilion marks were put on the forehead of the fowls. They were taken in front of the stone. The fowls were then allowed to take rice (one fowl from one mound and the other from another). The Deuri then beheaded the fowls. The white fowl was at first offered to Sing

bonga and then coloured fowl to Sangaar bonga. The two heads of fowls were put on the two heaps of rice and a pot of 'diang' (country liquor) was kept in front of the mound.

The 'Deuri' then uttered-
*"Bubu pate huntuuken bonga
 Kimadeuri Sing bonga Simkim
 Sangar bariye".*

English translation:-

"As promised we are giving you
 Two fowls- one of Sing bonga and
 The other to Sangaar bonga".

The whole ceremony ended here. The 'diang' (liquor) put before the mounds and the heads of the two fowls were taken by the Deuri'.

For this ceremony a subscription of four *annas* was realized from each family.

Total income	Total expenditure
24 families	Two fowls Rs. 3.0.0 pies
	Rice Rs. 1.0.0 pies
4 <i>annas</i> each Rs.6/- only	Diang Rs.1.8.0 pies
	Vermillion Rs. 0.2.0 pies
	Earthen pots ... Rs. 0.4.0 pies
(Balance= <i>annas</i> two)	Rs. 5.14.0 pies

The balance of *annas* two was kept with the 'Deuri' (priest)

The description of the above festival was narrated to us by Sodan (sex=male, age=45) and Mokra (sex=male, age =33) of the village Makundpur.

The above festival which is held on the 'Chait Sankranti' (13th or 14th April) day is not mentioned in any of the published monographs of the Ho. It is worthwhile to mention here that on the same day in some villages 'Shiva' is worshipped. But in the village under study on such worshipping was held in the particular year.

The nomenclature of this festival as was given by our informants was 'Chait Parab'. But Dr. D.N. Majumder ⁵ refers to 'Chait parab' as 'Dikhu' festival in which the Ho takes part. He does not mention its coincidence with the hunting

⁵ *Tribe in Transition* ; Dr. D. N. Majumdar

festival. Dr. Chatterjee and Prof. Das⁶ refer to 'Chait parab' as a festival in which the God Shiva is worshipped and in which the people of the neighbouring village take part and special dances are held. It has not been mentioned there whether the dances are held in forests as was suggested by our informants. And therefore no definite clue can be obtained whether the joint merry-makings are in any way related to the statements made above. Whatever may be the case it may be said that the ceremony depicted above is the only of its kind found among the Ho of the village Makundpur in the district of Singbhum.

However, it does not in any way, imply to the incorrectness in the observations of our previous field workers. In fact, it would be really an interesting study if we could probe into the phenomenon of 'Chait parab' in its two aspects- on the one hand the performance of 'Shiva puja' and on the other participating in communal hunting. An attempt to trace up the coinciding occurrence of these two aspects together with the relative distribution of each would reveal some of the historic processes of inter-cultural contacts operative in this area.

We acknowledge our thanks to Prof. G. S. Roy of Calcutta University, for his valuable suggestions in course of preparing this paper.

⁶ *The Ho of Saraikella* ; Dr. A. N. Chatterjee and T. C. Das

FERTILITY AND CONTRACEPTIVE PATTERNS AMONG THE "HO" IN AN INDUSTRIAL SETTING *

Jyotirmayee Kanungo ¹
Anita Kumari Pattnaik ²

India's colossal population growth is the most important threat to the National Development. So facility which is a complex process and an instrument of population increase, occupies a central position in "population study". Fertility though a biological process is influenced by social, cultural, economic and environmental factors. In the country like India fertility performance of the different population groups differ because of ecological, social-cultural, ethnic diversities and complexities. But in spite of all these diversities, actual changes in fertility are determined by the changes in the behavior as suggested in the proximate determinants model and one of which is "contraceptive use and effectiveness". India is the first country to launch "Family Planning Programme" on Government level since 1962.

In India, Orissa is a State which comprises people of various religious and ethnic groups, where modernization and industrialization are more recent and people are traditional in nature. Keeping in view the India's Population problem, the present paper purposes to highlight the fertility pattern and acceptance of contraceptives of a tribal community - the 'Ho's leading a traditional forest life but working in the industry; the 'Kalinga Iron Works' in Keonjhar district of Orissa.

The Community under study

One of the most important mineral based Industry is the 'Kalinga Iron Works', Barbil (in Keonjhar district) which is situated 320 Kms far from

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Bhubaneswar, the Capital City of Orissa. The tribal community, the 'Hos' working in this industry lives around the plant in small clusters. These clusters are called 'hattings'. The *hattings* which are included in this study are Uttam Singh Hatting, Chadhel Hatting, Dama Hatting, Tapan Hatting, Mandir Hatting, Ashram School Hatting, and Barapada Hatting in Matkambada area of Barbil Municipality.

Among the different principal tribes, Ho's are numerically large in Keonjhar district as well as in Matakambada. Unlike their counter parts living in the forest area, they earn their livelihood, mainly depending on the industry where they work as labourers. They supplement their income by casual labour (where both men and women work) as labourers and also from forest collection. There people though attend the temples and observe the Hindu festivals still have not left their traditional ways of worshipping of sprits, treating of sickness by elders using herbs and roots in the traditional way. In spite of being exposed to industrial facilities, 49.18 per cent males and 80.73 per cent females are illiterate (belonging to all age-groups during the study period January 1990 to March, 1990). But they are more modernized in their dress pattern and day to day life pattern.

Materials and Method

The study has been carried out in the seven *hattings* (as mentioned earlier) including 250 couples and at least one from each family is working in the plant. All of them work in the plant as labourers either on permanent basis or on temporary basis. The census method involving house to house survey was used and the study extended from January 1990 on March 1990.

The data collection was done using the schedule and by interviewing the respondents directly through house to house survey. The respondents were invariably the wives but sometimes the husbands were also consulted at the time of need. The demographic profile of the wives has been taken into consideration as they are the most important reproductive units. The eligible women were classified into 4 groups (belonging 15 to 45 years). Tubectomy and vasectomy have been considered together as "sterilization". After collection in of information the data was complied, tabulated and analyzed. The data was subjected to different statistical methods to assess the fertility pattern and use of contraception according to the age of the wife.

Result and Discussion

In the 250 households 249 couples were eligible for the study of reproductive performance (ever married women living with husbands and have at least one live birth). The reproductive performance of these couples according to the age of the wives has been shown in the Table No.1. In total the average conception per woman is 3.34, number of children born 3.26, but average number children survived at the time of survey was 2.97 or '3'. The average number of children died per abortion is only 0.08 which is very negligible. Fertility pattern of

the women belonging to different age groups have shown decrease in number of conceptions, live births, surviving children and reproductive wastage in the younger age groups with some deviation in the age groups '35 to 44' years and '45 years and above'. This is probably due to difference in sample size. Only 20 women belonged to the age groups 45 years and above. Highest percentage (28.11) or first children born within two years of marriage and average gap between the births vary between 2-3 years. The fertility pattern of the women depends on the age at their marriage. The average fertility rates varies as 3.67, 3.92, 3.91, 2.76, 2.37 with the increase of age at marriage as below 13 years, 13 to 24 years, 16 to 18 years, 19 to 21 years, and 22 to 24 years respectively. The birth performance to these women is not free from the influence of their educational status. Among the respondents 85.54 per cent are illiterate and have average fertility rate 3.54. The other (14.46 per cent) women who are literate have given birth to 1.6 children in average. Among the literates having Lower Primary and Upper Primary education the average fertility rate decreases with the increase of educational level as 1.62 and 1.37. It is matter of concern that no woman has middle school education.

The birth performance of the women who have already crossed 40 years can throw light on the future population growth as they have completed their reproductive span (little deviation may be found) and their children will take part in reproduction. The average fertility rate of these women is 4.2 (double of our family planning target). The net reproductive index (NRI) is 2.62 where as our national target is to attend one, by the end of this century. But counting the number of children below 5 years, the child woman ratio is found to be 1.07 indicating decrease of fertility rate within the last five years and decrease in population growth rate after few years.

Regarding the family planning acceptance (shown in table No-2) out of 249 couples only 14.06 per cent are the acceptors of any one of the methods. Out of 229 eligible couples in the age group (15-35 years) only 35 couples are acceptors and all of them undergone sterilization; 12 (34.3 per cent) with vasectomy and 23 (65.7 Per cent) with tubal ligation. The couple protection rate is only 15.3 per cent, 28.33 per cent of eligible couples under 25 years of age, 12.10 per cent of those aged 35 years or more are sterilized. This shows maximum coverage of under 25 years olds with sterilization and lowest among the highest age group. None of the couples having less than two living children accepted sterilization. It is observed that none of them have accepted spacing method. The family planning coverage in this area is based on sterilization, with significantly more acceptance of female sterilization (almost double) than the males. The sterilization is the only method accepted because of financial incentives given to both motivator and acceptors of sterilization, which is also disproportionately higher than the incentive for acceptance of I.U.D. while the other spacing methods carry no incentive.

TABLE No.-1
Reproduction history of the Women According to the Present Age of Wife

Percentage of the wife(in 4 yrs.) and No. of women (1)	Average No. of conception (2)	Average No. of children born (3)	Average No. of children dead (4)	Average No. of children surviving (5)	Reproduction wastage (6)
Below 25 (75)	1.86	1.82	0.02	1.80	0.04
25 to 34 (91)	3.18	3.12	0.09	3.03	0.06
36 to 44 (64)	5.04	4.89	0.76	4.13	0.15
45 years and above (20)	4.10	3.95	0.65	3.30	0.15
Total	3.34	3.26	0.29	2.97	0.08

TABLE No.-2
Distribution of Couples by According of Family Methods According to Present Age of Wife

Age group in years (1)	Non-acceptors in per cent (2)	Acceptors (Sterilization)		Total acceptors (5)
		Husband (3)	Wife (4)	
Below 25 years	71.62 (53)	12.16 (9)	16.22 (12)	28.38 (21)
25 to 34 years.	87.90 (80)	3.30 (03)	8.80 (08)	12.10 (11)
35 to 44 years.	96.31 (61)	...	4.69 (03)	4.69 (03)
45 years and above	100.00 (20)	...	...	....
Total	85.94 (21.4)	4.82 (12)	9.24 (13)	14.06 (35)

Conclusion

The survey, among the Hos living in Matkambeda and working in the industry highlights some changes among them than their counterparts living in the forest. These people though retain some of their traditional practices, are also very much influenced by their co-workers in the industry. Particularly in their fertility pattern though fertility rate is more than the national target, the younger groups have less children showing the increase of awareness among them through education and by leading industrial life. Average child mortality rate is less which has negative impact on fertility performance. The NRI is more than the national target, which is to be reduced. The study also reveals low family planning coverage of 14.06 per cent and the only family planning service reaching these people is "sterilization", with no spacing these people in evidence. The financial benefit for both the motivator and the acceptor is the cause of popularity of sterilization, particularly vasectomy which has not much influence in bringing

down the birth rate. Very young couples are accepting sterilization instead of spacing method, which may have the bad effect in future life.

Thus, in this area an evident need for the efforts to be increased was left for both quantitative as well as qualitative improvements in family planning performances. Special care should be taken to increase the age at marriage and the educational level of people; particularly of the women. The present trend of contraceptive practice cannot be expected to influence the birth rate since all the efforts seems to be concentrated on sterilization only. More eligible couples having 4 to 5 children are still in the risk of producing more. Excessive emphasis on terminal method of contraception which are unlikely to find favour amongst the majority of couples, diverts attention from the urgent task of limiting the family size. It is therefore necessary to lay adequate emphasis on the spacing methods by the family planning workers instead of sterilization.

This is a micro study in comparison to vast dimensions of the National Family Welfare Programme which has many targets to achieve by 2000 A.D., to promote the quality of the population by reducing the quantity. The findings may not form the basis of generalization, but the findings point to the need of giving education and employment to the tribal people to change their attitude towards different sphere of life and adequate care should be taken by the Family Planning Workers to promote the small family size norm; not by motivating for sterilization but by popularizing birth spacing methods.

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K O L *

*S. C. Mohanty*¹

The nomenclature 'KOL' is derived from the Munda word *Ko*, which means 'they are their own'. The Kol are early settlers of Kolhan region of Singbhum district of Bihar and have different appellations like Kol, Kolha, Ho, Munda, Mundari and Larka Kol. In course of time they migrated to Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra and Orissa. They are of Austro-Asiatic stock and speak Kol language belonging to Proto-Munda group.

According to 2011 census the population of the Kol in Odisha is 4058 including 2028 males and 2030 females. Their sex ratio is 1001. In 1981 their literacy was 10.50 %. It rose to 26.68 % in 1991, to 32.23 % in 2001 and to 46.26 % in 2011. They are largely distributed in the districts of Keonjhar, Mayurbhanj and Balesore.

Kol settlements are generally uniclan and homogenous. In multi ethnic villages they live in separate hamlets.

The Kol are settled cultivators and agricultural labourers. Most of them are landless and supplement their income by wage earning in farm and non-farm sectors. They are non-vegetarians. Rice, *jawar* and wheat are their staple food. They are addicted to homemade rice beer (*Handia*), country made *mohua* liquor and smoking of tobacco.

Crooke (1896) classified Kol into thirteen endogamous groups i.e. Rautiya, Rautel, Dahait, Mahtyan, Thakuria, Banaj, Paliariya, Barwar, Birm, Harwariya, Rajwariya, Hanviyanwa and Chero of which the Rautiya is considered highest in social hierarchy. These groups are again sub-divided into several exogamous clans (*kur*).

* Unpublished article of 2000 updated in 2018

¹ Research Officer (2000) & Consultant (2018), SCSTRTI

Family is mostly nuclear, patrilocal and patrilineal. It is monogamous but polygyny exists in some cases. Marriage through negotiation (*Andi*) is regarded as prestigious. The mediator *Dutum* or *Dutumwala* negotiates between both the parties. Bride price (*Gonam*) is prevalent and is paid both in cash and kind, in the form of cows and goats etc. Cross cousin marriage, junior livirate, junior sororate, remarriage of widows, widowers are permitted. The other forms of marriage are by capture (*Oportipi*) by mutual consent (*Raji Khusi*) and by intrusion (*Anadar*).

Every year they celebrate the wedding ceremony of their traditional deity *Sing Bonga* with *Deswali* before performing any type of marriage.

They observe birth pollution for a period of seven days. The mother with the newborn baby is kept in seclusion in a separate room called *Peiari Ora* for seven days. Purificatory rite is held on the eighth day with ceremonial bathing of the child and worship of *Ora Bonga*. Name giving ceremony *Liktaghar* is held after six months. Their traditional priest *Dehuri* performs the rites by worshipping *Marang Bonga* and by chanting the names of ancestors. The family hosts a feast to lineage members on this occasion.

The Kol practise burial for their dead. They observe death pollution for seven days. On the eighth day *Jangtopa*, the purificatory rites are held. The community priest *Dehuri* conducts the proceedings. The village headman fixes a day for *Sabsi* or *Shradha*. The bereaved family hosts a feast to lineage members and villagers.

Their religion is a mixture of Hinduism and animism. They observe Hindu festivals like *Ram Navami*, *Dussera*, *Rakhi*, *Holi*, *Diwali*, *Janmastami* and visit holy shrines. They have their tribal deities like *Sing Bonga*, *Nagea Bonga*, *Marang Bonga*, *Basgea Bonga*, *Borum Bonga*, *Sendra Bonga*, all of them propitiated by their traditional priest, *Dehuri*. Their major festivals are *Ba-Parab*, *Hera Parab*, *Makar Parab*, *Ba parab Gamha Parab* and *Magha Parab*.

The Kol have their own traditional community council. *Pradhan* is the village head who is assisted by village elders and a messenger (*Dakua*). The regional head is known as *Sardar*.

The Kol are quite fond of dance and music. They use their traditional musical instruments *Madal*, *Dholak*, *Tomka* and *Mazina* and dance during festive occasions. Women also tattoo their body depicting flowers, leaves, human and animal forms.

THE KOLS *

Amir Hasan ¹

The Kols along with their kindred races constitute one of the largest segments of Scheduled Tribes population in India. They are listed as a Scheduled Tribe in the State of Madhya Pradesh, Orissa and Maharashtra, and number 4, 78, 821 according to the Census of 1971. In the State of Uttar Pradesh and Tripura, they are included among the Scheduled Caste numbering 1, 36, 136. If we add up both Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe Kols, their total population comes to 6,14, 957 which is 1.6 per cent of the total tribal population of India.

The State wise population as enumerated in Census operations in as below:-

TABLE-1
Population of Kols

State	Population			
	1921	1931	1961	1971
Madhya Pradesh	2,59,593	2,91,805	3,86,009	4,77,730
Maharashtra	...	...	53	58
Orissa	...	...	46,397	1,033
Tripura	...	...	1,067	519
Uttar Pradesh	68,941	76,848	1,26,288	1,35,617
India	...	...	5,59,814	6,14,957

The Madhya Pradesh, the Kols have been scheduled under two names, the Kols whose number 1, 14, 515 and the Kol (Dahait) whose numbers is 3,63, 215 according to the Census of 1971.

The following table presents sex wise populations in Rural and Urban areas in respect of 1961 and 1971 Censuses only.

* Published in ADIBASI, Vol. XXIII, No.2, THRTI, Bhubaneswar 1983, pp.12-29

¹ Managing Director, The Tarai Scheduled Tribes Development Corporation Ltd., Lucknow, Uttar Pradesh

TABLE-2
Sex wise population in Rural/Urban areas

State	Rural/ Urban	1961			1971		
		Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
M. P	Rural	40,068	40,235	80,363	49,988	51,097	1,01,085
(a) Kols	Urban	864	794	1,658	6,836	6,594	13,430
(b) M. P Kols	Rural	1,49,965	1,46,265	2,96,230	1,76,410	1,72,214	3,48,624
(Dahait)	Urban	3,874	3,884	7,758	7,492	7,099	14,591
Maharashtra	Rural	26	27	53	8	50	58
	Urban	...	...	...	...	...	...
Orissa	Rural	23,072	23,325	46,397	427	532	959
	Urban	...	...	...	...	...	...
Tripura	Rural	538	505	1,043	237	221	458
	Urban	14	10	24	27	24	61
Uttar Pradesh	Rural	63,946	60,485	1,24,434	69,464	62,430	1,31,894
	Urban	819	1,035	1,854	2,005	1,718	3,723
India	Rural	2,77,615	2,70,902	5,48,517	2,96,534	2,86,544	5,83,078
	Urban	5,571	5,723	11,294	16,409	15,470	31,879

A study of growth of population of Kols in 1971 as compared to 1961 present the following picture: -

TABLE-2
Growth of Population

State	Percentage increase in 1971 over 1961		
	Total	Rural	Urban
Madhya Pradesh (a) Kols	39.6	25.8	710.0
(b) Kols (Dahait)	19.5	17.7	88.1
Maharashtra	9.4	9.4	...
Orissa	410.9	410.9	...
Tripura	48.6	43.9	154.1
Uttar Pradesh	7.4	6.0	100.8
India	9.8	...	...

TABLE-4
Males/females per Thousand (1971 Census)

Name of the State	Male	Female
Madhya Pradesh (a) Kols	496	504
(b) Kols (Dahait)	506	494
Maharashtra	138	862
Tripura	528	472
Uttar Pradesh	527	475
India	509	491

An analysis of these figures brings out the following facts.

The Kol population has on the whole, increased by nearly 1/10 in 1971 as compared to 1961. The increase is highest among M.P. Kols (39.6 per cent) and lowest in U. P. (7.4). The population of Kols has, however, decreased in Tripura and Orissa, much more so in Orissa where it has come down from five figures to four figures. The only possible explanation is that in 1971 Census most of the Kols have been included in another tribe. There is abnormal increase in the number of Kolahs a tribe of Kolarian group (from 2, 03, 515 in 1961 to 3, 10, 728 in 1971). It is possible that majority of Kols were returned as Kolahs. As for Kols of Tripura, their population has been halved between the two Censuses. It is said that the Kols of this State are migrants. In that event, variation in their number is quite likely.

As excepted the population of Kols in urban areas is negligible although the 1971 figures show marked increase in the number of urban Kols.

As for male/female ratio in M.P. (taking Kols and Kol Dahaits together) and U.P. the number of males exceeds that of females and this is the sex ratio obtaining in the population of this tribe as a whole.

Their Habitat

99.7 per cent of the Kols live in Madhya Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh. Thus the main habitat of the Kols is the Central Zone i.e. the area lying between the Indo-Gangetic plains on the north and river Krishna on the south commonly known as the Deccan plateau.

In Madhya Pradesh, the Kols live in the eastern half of the State on the main Deccan plateau. The main districts of their concentration are Rewa (1, 07, 908), Santa (84,276), Jabalpur (79,887), Shahdol (90,921) and Mandla (20, 160). In 17 districts of the State, the tribe Scheduled as Kols lives whereas in 7 districts, it occurs as KolDahait.

In Uttar Pradesh the districts have Kol population are Mirzapur (58,276), Allahabad (48, 390), Banda (17,140), and Varanasi (2780). They all are southern most districts of Uttar Pradesh bordering northern most Madhya Pradesh districts of Chhatarpur, Panna, Satna, Rewa and Sajguja. The Kols areas of Uttar Pradesh lie on the Vindhya Kaimur range which, as a matter of fact, constitutes the northern fringes of the Central India plateau.

In Orissa, the Kols are scattered throughout the State. They live along with other Kolarian Tribes like Santhals, Mundas, Mundaris, Kolahs etc. The districts having Kol population in 1971 Census are Keonjhar (329), Phulbani (229), Kalahandi (176), Sundargarh (61), Sambalpur (59), Dhenkanal (53), Koraput (46), Bolangir (38) and Ganjam (1). On the western side, their habitat is contiguous to the eastern portion of Madhya Pradesh, the main country of the Kols and on the north, with Chhotnagpur Plateau, its geographical contours and formations being common to both.

The few Kols found in Maharashtra, occur in the northern portion of the State bordering southern districts of Madhya Pradesh.

Thus the Kols of Madhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh, Orissa and Maharashtra live in one and the same geographical area characterized by low lying and undulating plateau, flat topped hills traversed by a net-work of ravines and rivers, sandy soil reddish in colour with bare rocks visible to the eye and containing large varieties of minerals. A long and hot summer, low rainfall and a short and mild winter, are the main characteristics of its climate.

The Kols of the tiny State of Tripura situated in the northern-eastern region of the country bordering Assam and Mizoram on the east and surrounded by Bangladesh on the remaining three sides, however, live in an entirely different geographical area. Their district-wise population according to 1971 Census is as follows:-

West Tripura	299
North Tripura	214
South Tripura	006
	519

Etymology of Kolarian, Kol

The key position of Kols among the tribes of Central Zone is demonstrated from the fact that Sir George Campbell thought it fit to coin the term Kolarian to demote Kols and kindred races². According to Wilford, the oldest name of India was Colar which owed itself to its inhabitants "Kole, Colls and Coolies"³.

According to Col. Dalton⁴, the word Kol derived from Sanskrit Kolu, meaning a 'pig', was a term of abuse, applied by the Brahmanical races to the aborigines of India who opposed their settlement in the beginning. According to Sir John-Campbell⁵ the generic name 'Coles' or Koles was applied to the aborigines of the hill country of Chhotanagpur, Mirzapur and Rewah. He also feels that the word "Coolee" as applied to a bearer of burden or labourer is the same as Cole or Kolee and that, in short, is the term generally applied by the North Indians to the aboriginal tribes most of whom they reduced to serfdom. He further supports Col. Wilford adding that there was good reason to suppose that the original word was Kola or Kolar and that Indian was best known to the ancients as Colara or Coolee land and the people as Colaurians Oppert⁶, however, has disputed these views. He has shown that although Kalaurianympe has been mentioned by Plutarch, it does not refer to an ancient name of India that has nothing to do with the Koly of

² Dr. Gustav Oppert, *The Original Inhabitants of India*

³ Ibid

⁴ Ibid

⁵ Ibid

⁶ Ibid

Chhotanagpur and that the so-called Colaria is a purely imaginary appellation based in part on a badly pronounced and distorted plural formation of the name of Kallar or on Kolarees's⁷. He also mentions that there is nothing common between the words Kol on one hand, and Kol (*Kuli*) and Kola on the other and that Kola and Kole mentioned in the Ramayana and Pauranic Sanskrit literature should not be confused with the modern Kols⁸.

Russell⁹ traces the term Kol from the Santhali 'Har' meaning a man. This word has many forms such as *Har, Hara, Ho, Horo*, current among the Munda Tribes, to denote themselves. The change of H to K and R to L, being familiar and possible, the term, in course of time, assumed different forms 'Koro' Kolo and ultimately Kol¹⁰.

Whether Dalton is right that the name Kol was thrust by the invading Aryans on the Hos of Chhota Nagpur, or not, the term Kol is still loathsome to the Hos and they refuse to be designated as such, despite the fact the term Kolhan (Kol-sthan or land of the Kols) has stuck to their habitat.¹¹

Despite the considerable divergence of views on the origin and etymon of the term Kol, there is little doubt that Kols and other races of the Kolarian group are among the most ancient races of India. Haddon¹² has placed the Kolar among the pre-Dravidian races. There are strong reasons to hold that the Mundas settled in the country of Chhota Nagpur and the Central Provinces earlier than the Dravidian tribes like Gonds, Khonds and Oraons who came later¹³.

Races of Kolarian Group

The tribes counted among the Kolarian group of races are Munda, Ho, Santhal, Bhumij.

Tamaria, Juang, LarkaKol, Kharia, Konku, Bhuiyan, Chero, Khairwar, Baiga, Bhil, Korwa, Savar, Nihal, Male (Mal), Gadaba, Bhaina and Binjhar of which all except the Mundas, Hos, Kharias, Santhals and Konkus who still retain Munda languages, have lost their own languages speaking corrupt forms of the current¹⁴. Aryan dialect drawn from Sanskrit¹⁵, it will not be advisable to include Koli and Oraon among them as some authorities have done.

⁷ Ibid

⁸ Ibid

⁹ R. V. Russell and Hiralal, *The Tribes and Castes of Central Provinces of India*.

¹⁰ W. Crooke, *Castes and Tribes of North Western Provinces*.

¹¹ D.N. Majumdar, *The Affairs of a Tribe*

¹² A.C. Haddon, *Races of Man*

¹³ D.N. Majumdar, *Op. Cit.*

¹⁴ D.N. Majumdar, *Op. Cit.*, Russell and Hiralal, *Op. Cit.*

It is now, more or less, an agreed view that the Kols have spread out from their earlier habitat, Chhota Nagpur to M.P. and Uttar Pradesh¹⁵. The same holds good for the Kols of Orissa who are stated to have migrated in the hoary past from Singhbhum, Mayurbhanj, Chhota Nagpur¹⁶. This also finds support from Sherring who stated that the Kols of Sambalpur came from the directions of Chhota Nagpur¹⁷. Most of the Kols of Madhya Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh, however, claim the erstwhile, Rewa State as their original home¹⁸. The Kols of Banda and Allahabad in Uttar Pradesh claim Chitrakut in Banda district as their habitat¹⁹.

Legend of Origin

According to legend quoted by Crooke, Yayati, the fifth king of the lunar race, divided his empire among his five sons, one of them being Tuvasu. Among his descendants were four brothers Pandaya, Korala, Chola and Kola who inherited his empire. The present Kola are descendants of Kola²⁰.

Crooke also cites the Munda legend according to which, the self-existent primeval gods Ote Boram and Sing Bonga created a boy and a girl to people the world. They were taught to prepare rice beer on taking of which their due course, they were blessed with twelve sons and twelve daughters who were paired off and set to start the world. The fate of their descendants was determined by the food each pair chose for themselves. The first and second pairs chose the flesh of bullock and buffalos and from them originated the Kols (Hos) and Bhumija (Matkum). The next took only vegetables and their descendants were the Brahmans and Chhatirs. The Sudras are descendants of the pair who chose the meat of goat and fish. One pair took shell fish and became Bhuinyas. Two pairs are pig and from them descended the Santhals. The last pair could get nothing seeing which the first pair gave them a portion from their share. Ghasias, who make living by prying on others, have sprung from this last pair²¹.

The Kols of Mirzapur have legend of Kingdom in the Gangetic valley from where they were driven southwards by the Sarvanas. The *pargana* of Kos Asla in Varanasi district still bears their name²².

The Banda Kols claim descent from Savari who, as depicted in Ramayana, served Rama during his stay at Chitrakut lying on the fringe of the Kol habitat in Banda district²³. The same legend is prevalent among the Kols of Jabalpur²⁴.

¹⁵ Russell and Hiralal, Op. Cit.

¹⁶ L.S.B. Cobdorn-Ramsay, *Bengal Gazetteers of Feudatory States of Orissa*, Part II.

¹⁷ Reva M.A. Sherring, *Hindu Tribes and Castes*, Vol. II.

¹⁸ W. Crooke, Op. Cit., Village Surveys (M.P.) Monograph No, 6 (Jaitpuri), Census of India, 1961 ; also Walter G. Griffith, *The Kol Tribe of Central India*.

¹⁹ Amir Hasan, *The Kols of Patha*.

²⁰ W. Crooke, Op. Cit.

²¹ Ibid

²² Ibid

Religion and Ritual

The Kols of Madhya Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh seem to have forgotten Sing Bonga, the Sun God of Mundas and Hinduized themselves in course of time. True in Mirzapur, the Kol bows before Suryanarian, the Sun God, while leaving his house in the morning but then this is where the Hindus, too do²⁵, and, therefore, there is no basis to connect this practice to Munda tradition.

The Kols of Jabalpur in Madhya Pradesh appear to be more Hinduized than their brethren in the North but still their religion in a quaint mixture of animism and Hinduism. Along with the worship of Hindu gods like Mahadeva or Siva, Hanuman, Rama and Krishna ²⁶, they have their own pantheon. Specially, they worship "Devi" and carry her tridents with them²⁷. In the month of Kuar and Chait, they sow barley in pots and on the ninth day consign the pots to river or tank. At that time, they jump about like mad men. This is called Bhao Chharana and a trident is given to the person so affected. He pierces his cheek with it and lets it remain there for hours. When the trident is taken out, the hole is quickly filled up²⁸. They also worship Fulmiti (Phulmati) and Raksel. The Kol of Kathotia sept worship the tiger as Baghaut Baba who is supposed to reside in every household. If a tiger is killed within the limits of his village, a Kathotia Kol will throw away earthen pots as in mourning, have his head shaved and feed a few men of his sept²⁹.

Important Gods of Kols of Mizapur are Gansam, Dulhadeo and Raj-a-Lakhan. They also worship the aggregate of the local gods (*dih*, *deohar*) through the village Baiga. Raksel and Phulmati too as mentioned in case of Jabalpur Kols are worshipped³⁰.

Important gods of Kols of Banda are Dulhadeo, Goraya, Baradeo (Probably same as Gansam) and Phulmati Jogini³¹. The Kols, like other tribals believe in a large number of spirits both benevolent and malevolent and live in their ancestor worship among them.

The Kols appear to have abandoned regular Munda festivals. They observe the usual Hindu festivals³², like Naraati, Khichri, Holi, Dewali etc.

²³ Amir Hasan, Op. Cit.

²⁴ Village Monograph No. 6, Jaitpuri, Census of India, M.P., 1961.

²⁵ W. Crooke, Op. Cit.

²⁶ Jaitpuri, Op. Cit.

²⁷ Russell and Hiralal, Op. Cit.

²⁸ District Gazetteer, Jabalpur

²⁹ Jaitpuri, Op. Cit.

³⁰ W. Crooke, Op. Cit.

³¹ Amir Hasan, Op. Cit.

³² W. Crooke, Op. Cit.

Social Structure

The Kols are divided into a number of sub caste or endogamous division. The following are the important sub-castes occurring among the Kols of Madhya Pradesh as mentioned by Russell³³.

1. *Ratuia*
2. *Rautele*- Both take their names from 'Rawat' a 'Prince'. The Rautias practice, hypergamy with the Rautels that is, they take the daughters of Rautels in marriage but do not give their daughters to the latter. They eat with the latter at the marriage feast only.
3. *Thakuri*- They are from 'Thakuria', a lord, said to be off-springs of Rajput father and Kol mother.
4. *Kagwaria*- Their name is derived from 'Kagwar', an offering made to forefathers in the month of Kuar.
5. *Desaha*- Their name originates from 'Desh' (home-land) which refers to Rewa.

According to Crooke³⁴, Dahaits (Scheduled as a separate tribe in M.P.) meaning villagers are actually Rautias. They have another off-shoot Mahtiya (Mahte, a leader) with whom they intermarry on equal terms.

Two more sub-divisions Kundaha and Gadhwaria are mentioned by Jabalpur Kols³⁵. The Gazetteer of this district mentions yet another sub-division, Rekwars and points that Rewars and Gadhwarias are territorial names, the former referring to a place in the United Provinces and the latter to carha near "Jabalpur"³⁶. Griffiths adds many more sub-divisions which, according to him are called Kurhi and occasionally *gotras* by the Kols³⁷.

Among the Kols as U.P. the main endogamous subdivisions or Kuria as they call them are: -

1. Rajwarias who according to Crooke³⁸, derive their name from the Bangal Rajwarias. They are mainly found in Mirzapur and Varanasi³⁹.
2. Ravatia (Rutia)
3. Thakuria- These two are mostly found in Banda and Allahabad⁴⁰.

³³ Russell and Hiralal, Op. Cit.

³⁴ W. Crooke, Op. Cit.

³⁵ Jaitpuri, Op. Cit.

³⁶ Ibid

³⁷ Griffiths

³⁸ W. Crooke, Op. Cit.

³⁹ Amir Hasan, Op. Cit.

4. Mawayya (Mawasis) - They are found in Banda⁴¹. The Mawasis as mentioned by Griffiths are also found in M.P.⁴².

Crooke also mentions Banaj, Barwar (Descendants of the fig tree). Bins, Harwayya (Ploughman) and Hamriyanwa (people of the "Cooking pot")⁴³.

While the Mundas have still preserved their system of totemistic septs, most of the Kols seem to have given up. Russell however, mentions Bargaiyas, Kathethias and Kathaurias as three distinct totemistic septs in Madhya Pradesh⁴⁴.

The Family

The Kol family is patrilineal and patrilocal. The Kols with 81 per cent simple households, have clearly shown their preference for a simple familyunit ⁴⁵.

A study of village Jaitpuri in M.P. showed that 81 per cent families were nuclear⁴⁶. A study of Banda Kols, too, gave the same percentage of nuclear families⁴⁷. An average Kol family in Jaitpuri consisted of 4.13 and that of Banda 4.5persons⁴⁸. It is thus clear that most of Kol families consist of parents, unmarried children and sometime one or more lineally related dependant(s)⁴⁹.

Kinship

In addition to persons descended from a common ancestor, members of the families connected by marriage are, considered relations. The relations of the wife are also held to be the relations of the husband. They remember genealogies up to the third or fourth generation and the names of women up to that of their grandmother⁵⁰.

In Banda, it was found that the Kols did not remember the names of their ancestors beyond father's father and father's mother. There were no well-known Kinship terms beyond the grand-parent's stage⁵¹

⁴⁰ Ibid

⁴¹ Ibid

⁴² Griffiths, Op. Cit.

⁴³ W. Crooke, Op. Cit.

⁴⁴ Russell and Hiralal, Op. Cit.

⁴⁵ Ibid

⁴⁶ Jaitpuri, Op. Cit.

⁴⁷ Amir Hasan, Op. Cit.

⁴⁸ Jaitpuri, Op. Cit.

⁴⁹ Amir Hasan, Op. Cit.

⁵⁰ W. Crooke, Op. Cit.

⁵¹ Amir Hasan, Op. Cit.

Marriage Regulations

As stated above, Kols do not usually marry outside their sub-castes or Kuris, although Rautias claiming a superior status, practice hypergamy with Rautels. However, totemistic septs wherever still in existence in M. P., for instance, in Mandala and Jabalpur are exogamous although, violations of the rule of exogamy are not uncommon. Outside his sept, a man has freedom to marry any woman except sisters of his mother or step-mother. 51 Where septs have been forgotten, marriage is forbidden between relations to whom sacramental cakes are distributed at a wedding⁵².

According to Crooke, the Kols of a particular Kuri do not intermarry as long as any relationship between the parties are remembered or into the families of the maternal grandfather or father's sister ⁵³.

The system of payment of bride price is prevalent throughout. The months of marriage in M. P. are Agahana, Magh and Phalgun, Magh being preferred⁵⁴. In U. P. the Kols prefer Jaith and Baisakh for marriage and Agahana for Gauna⁵⁵. According to Crooke, infant marriages are not customary except among the moreHinduized branches of the tribe⁵⁶. The age of marriage among JaitpuriKols was found to be 16 years for boys and 12 years for girls⁵⁷. In Banda, the ages of groom and bride were found to be 12 and 10 respectively⁵⁸. Thus child marriage is on the increase. Polygamy although not very common is no taboo either. There is no tradition of polyandry but Crooke mentions a modified form of polyandry imposed on the Kols of Rewa by the Raja of the State. It is said that the Raja was fond of visiting such of his subjects who had pretty daughters whom he used for his pleasure. This part time was termed *bijaikarna* (conquering). He used to give villages to a girl who pleased him. Such villages were known as *bijayagrams* (Victory Villages)⁵⁹

Separation and Remarriage

Both divorce and remarriage of widows or separated persons are permitted in Raigarh, the widow has, as a custom, to marry her deceased husband's younger brother⁶⁰

According to Crooke, the deceased's younger brother has the first claim on

⁵² Russell and Hiralal, Op. Cit.

⁵³ W. Crooke, Op. Cit.

⁵⁴ Russell and Hiralal, Op. Cit.

⁵⁵ Amir Hasan, Op. Cit.

⁵⁶ W. Crooke, Op. Cit.

⁵⁷ Jaitpuri, Op. Cit.

⁵⁸ Amir Hasan, Op. Cit.

⁵⁹ W. Crooke, Op. Cit.

⁶⁰ Russell and Hiralal, Op. Cit.

the widow. Only on his refusal, she can remarry elsewhere⁶¹.

A wife or husband can seek separation on the grounds of habitual infidelity and eating food not permitted by the tribe⁶². Other grounds for divorce are, sterility of wife, suspicion of being a witch, or of quarrelsome nature⁶³. However, divorce on these grounds is rather rare because there is considerable tolerance in the Kol Society in such matters. Separation, however becomes inevitable when a woman is seduced by a lover in which event, the lover has to pay the marriage expenses to her previous husband⁶⁴.

Attitude Towards Sex

The Kols exhibit considerable understanding and tolerance in matters of sex although it must be stated that prostitution in the tribe is unknown and married Kol women have better, character than the Hindus of the same social grade⁶⁵. The Kol husband usually overlooks occasional infidelity on the part of his wife but if she commits adultery with a stranger, she is expelled from the tribe. Concubinage outside the tribe is prohibited, but a Kol is free to cohabit with any woman of the Tribe and children from such an alliance have claim on property, Sexual intercourse with an unmarried girl is tolerated but if the girl has an intrigue with an outsider, she is outcasted⁶⁶

Tribal Organization

According to Griffiths, almost every Kol village in Central Province has a headman called Mahato, literally, a leader. He is assisted by a functionary called Chharibardar. He takes decisions on matters affecting the village community with the help of influential persons of the village⁶⁷.

The real power to decide disputes rests with the village Panchayat consisting of all the influential people of the community and possessing "Dharma and Dhan" (Piety and property). The *panches*, as the members are called, are not elected. The following are some of the matters dealt with by a Kol Panchayat⁶⁸.

- (1) Eating and drinking with other castes, if such has been forbidden.
- (2) Sexual aberration
- (3) Marriage disputes.

⁶¹ W. Crooke, Op. Cit.

⁶² Ibid

⁶³ Jaitpuri, Op. Cit.

⁶⁴ W. Crooke, Op. Cit.

⁶⁵ Ibid

⁶⁶ Ibid

⁶⁷ Griffiths, Op. Cit.

⁶⁸ Ibid

- (4) Divorce and care of children.
- (5) Failure to support the family.
- (6) Debt, drink, betting and quarrels.
- (7) Injury to or killing of sacred animals.
- (8) Defying of traditions not listed above.
- (9) Raising of funds or supplies for socio-religious observance.
- (10) Property and inheritance when in dispute.

The decisions of the panchayats are rigidly obeyed. They are not easy to violate because of the social pressure the panchayat can build against the recalcitrant. However, in matters regarding property and inheritance the aggrieved party may go to a court and sometimes even the panchayat advises so⁶⁹.

In Mandla, the head of the panchayat is called Gauntia. The office is hereditary and the incumbent always belongs to Bagaiya sept ⁷⁰.

Among the Uttar Pradesh Kols, the head of the village panchayat is called Mukhiya or Chaudhary⁷¹. Among the Banda Kols, the post is not hereditary but according to Crooke it was hereditary⁷² presumably in Mirzapur and Varanasi districts. In many villages there is no permanent membership of the panchayat. Whenever there is a dispute, the Mukhiya nominates a panel to decide it⁷³.

The Kols also have inter-village panchayats federation to consider and decide matters affecting the tribe as a whole⁷⁴. Griffiths mentions an intervillage body near Katni consisting of twenty to thirty Kol Committees⁷⁵. In Banda (U.P.), the Village Panchayats are affiliated to the grand panchayat having sway over a number of villages. The Mukhias as well as a few important Kols of the constituent village Panchayats from the Grand Panchayat which elects its chief, also called 'Mukhia' form amongst the members. No women are members of village or *gramapanchayat*⁷⁶.

The usual punishments inflicted by the panchayat on a wrong doer are cash fine, community feast or outcasting⁷⁷ for a specified or unspecified period. Generally, the outcaste is restored to the tribe on feedings the brotherhood⁷⁸.

⁶⁹ Ibid

⁷⁰ Russell and Hiralal, Op. Cit.

⁷¹ Amir Hasan, Op. Cit.

⁷² W. Crooke, Op. Cit.

⁷³ Amir Hasan, Op. Cit.

⁷⁴ Ibid

⁷⁵ Griffiths, Op. Cit.

⁷⁶ Amir Hasan, Op. Cit.

⁷⁷ Ibid

⁷⁸ W. Crooke, Op. Cit.

The Madhya Pradesh Panchayat Act. 1962 provided for special Adivasi panchayats. The special provisions, however, now stand repealed. It is not known how far the Act meets the requirements of the Kols. There is, however, no gainsaying the fact that the Kol Panchayats are in a state of decay, mainly on account of the statutory Panchayats which, at least in U.P. are more or less, a non-tribal affair and do more harm than good to the Kols.

Inheritance

As among the Mundas, the sons inherit the property among the Kols, too. If there are no sons, the property passes on to the father or brother, if any. The share of each son is equal except that the eldest son gets something in excess of others. The daughters both married and un-married have no claim on property but they are entitled for maintenance being allotted to sons. Just like livestock, the sons also share the bride price fetched in the sister's marriage. The inheritance is not decided until the youngest son comes of age⁷⁹.

The practice of adoption is prevalent. An adopted son loses his right in the property of his natural father and becomes entitled to inherit the property of the adopting parent as a natural son⁸⁰.

Kol Economy

According to Russell, prior to their contact with Hindus, the Mundas lived on fruits and roots because their language has no term for village trade and agricultural implements⁸¹. Although the Mundas and Kol separated in the forgotten past, they still share the common heritage of poverty and their main occupation of being labourers.

According to Griffiths, the Kols of Central Province were mostly day labourers. Usually payment was made in kind. In village, they were paid three pounds of wheat for a day's work. In cash, they were paid 1.5 *annas* (ten *paise*) daily each. Woman workers were paid about half of the above wages. Wages were better in urban areas where daily wages in industrial plants ranged between 4 and 5 *annas* (25 to 35 *paise*). Griffiths also found the Kol families moved from place to place in search of work and that was why they lived in crude houses made of mud walls and with a roofing of thatch⁸².

According to Crooke most of the Kols were ploughmen although a few cultivated their own land. The ploughmen was paid two seers of grain per day, besides a blanket, a leaf umbrella and a rupee and half in cash per annum as well as

⁷⁹ W. Crooke, Op. Cit., Russell and Hiralal, Op. Cit.

⁸⁰ W. Crooke, Op. Cit.

⁸¹ Russell and Hiralal, Op. Cit.

⁸² Griffiths, Op. Cit.

special food at festivals. They were also given a Bigha land free of rent this being called Kola or Koiyas. The village landlord took two days forced labour from them in a year, once for ploughing and the other for thatching his house. Many Kols also indulged in the practice of shifting cultivation, locally called *dahya*⁸³.

In Varanasi district the Kols earned their living by cutting wood and as water carriers, fisherman and agricultural labourers⁸⁴.

A study of Census figures of 1931, in respect of Central Provinces shows that 56 per cent of the Kols were employed as field laborers and 16.7 per cent in unspecified jobs whereas 16 per cent were agriculturists. Thus 71.7 per cent earned their living as labourers. Only 12.3 per cent were engaged in other occupations.

That the same occupational pattern has persisted through the ages and that there has been no significant occupational mobility would be evident from the analysis of Census figures of 1961 and 1971 as discussed in the paragraphs that follows.

Working Force

Table 5 presents the percentage of total workers among the Kols.

TABLE-5
Percentage of Workers

Sl. No.	Name of the State	1961		1971	
		Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban
1.	M. P				
	(a) Kols	60.8	69.0	49.4	43.3
	(b) Kol Dahait	62.0	48.5	49.6	40.1
2.	Maharashtra	56.6	.....	65.5	.....
3.	Orissa	48.7	....	20.5	.....
4.	Tripura	51.8	58.2	43.4	36.1
5.	U. P.	62.2	32.7	49.2	32.1

It is striking that the percentage of workers has considerably declined between 1961 and 1971. This is hard to explain because by no stretch of imagination the economy of Kols has improved. The possibility that the employment opportunities of the Kols have dwindled, however cannot be ruled out.

Let us now have a look at the ratio of males and females in the working force as given in **Table - 6**.

⁸³ W. Crooke, Op. Cit.

⁸⁴ Sherring, M.A., Op. Cit.

While the figures in **Table - 6** clearly establish that the women form a significant portion of the working force and contribute to the family's earnings, a comparison of the Census of 1961 with that of 1971 shows that the proportion of women in the work force has declined both in rural and urban areas. This may be due to three factors. Either following the footsteps of the non-tribals, the Kols too, are gradually discouraging their women to work for a living or because of deterioration of working condition, lesser number of women especially the younger ones, are coming forward to work on hire or the job opportunities have decreased.

TABLE-6
Male/Female Ratio per 1000 Workers

A. 1961 Census

Name of the State	1961		1971	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
1. M. P				
(a) Kols	515	485	628	372
(b) KolsDahait	530	470	621	379
2. Maharashtra	457	533	...	....
3. Orissa	548	452	...	...
4. Tripura	617	516	786	214
5. U. P.	544	456	677	323

B. 1961 Census

Name of the State	1961		1971	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
1. M. P				
(a) Kol	582	418	648	352
(b) Kol Dahait	577	423	722	278
2. Maharashtra	....	1,000	...	...
3. Orissa	752	248	Both Rural & Urban	
4. Tripura	628	372	909	91
5. U. P.	600	400	894	106

The following Table -7 give an idea of the occupational distribution as per Census 1961 and 1971. These tables clearly bring home the fact that the economy of rural Kols is agriculture based. But the fact requiring our attention is that majority of the Kols connected with agriculture are merely labourers having no land of their own. Among cultivators, largest percentage is in Orissa followed by Tripura, Madhya Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh in the order.

There is evidence of occupational mobility in Tripura and Maharashtra where Kols seen to have shifted from mining to agricultural labour. There is no explanation for this. In urban areas, too, agricultural labourers constitute an

appreciable percentage. In M. P. mining, quarrying etc. are an important sector where Kols are employed. As regard the occupations lumped together in Column. 6., the only observation to be made are that in Madhya Pradesh, an appreciable number of Kols in urban areas, work in other household Industries and Tripura two-third of Urban Kols are employed in construction, trade, commerce, etc.

TABLE-7
Occupational Distribution

1961 Census						
Name of the State	Rural /Urban	Cultivators	Agricultural labourers	Mining etc.	Other Categories	Total of Workers
M. P						
(a) Kol	(R)	16.4	29.4	2.9	11.88	60.58
	(U)	6.5	9.2	12.0	31.3	59.00
(b) KolDahait	(R)	10.8	43.9	2.7	4.46	61.81
	(U)	5.0	4.2	13.5	2.59	25.29
Maharashtra	(R)	....	.....	54.7	1.9	56.60
	(U)	....	....	....	...	....
Orissa	(R)	26.1	12.6	6.2	3.87	48.77
	(U)	.....	....	....	.....	.....
Tripura	(R)	18.2	5.6	17.4	10.6	51.80
	(U)	.....	....	.....	....	....
U. P.	(R)	11.5	44.8	1.5	4.4	62.2
	(U)	0.4	4.1	0.4	27.8	32.7
1971 Census						
Madhya Pradesh						
(a) Kol	(R)	8.4	36.4	1.0	3.6	49.4
	(U)	0.8	16.3	5.3	20.9	43.2
(b) KolDahait	(R)	7.7	39.8	0.3	1.80	49.6
	(U)	3.5	13.7	7.2	15.7	40.1
Maharashtra	(R)	....	65.5	....	....	65.5
	(U)	....	....	....	....	....
Orissa	(R)	10.8	6.1	4.1	5.5	26.5
	(U)	....	.....	....	.....	....
Tripura	(R)	5.0	35.6	....	1.8	43.4
	(U)	....	....	....	36.1	36.1
U. P.	(R)	5.8	41.7	0.3	1.6	49.2
	(U)	0.8	9.2	....	22.1	32.1

As the economy of Kols is predominantly agrarian, it would be worthwhile to analyses the comparative figures of 1961 and 1971 Censuses.

A study of percentages of cultivators bring to our notice the disturbing facet that the percentage have considerably decreased, as a matter of fact, reduced

to half in every State. To study the position further let us examine the actual number of agriculturists and agricultural labourers.

TABLE-8
Number of Kols engaged in jobs connected with agriculture

Name of the State	Cultivators		Agricultural Labourers		Total	
	1961	1971	1961	1971	1961	1971
Madhya Pradesh (Kols + Kols Dahait)	45,434	35,911	1.94 7.99	3.65 1.79	1.54	799 2,15,61
Maharashtra	....	38	....	....	....	38
Orissa	12,103	112	5,836	63	17,939	175
Tripura	190	23	58	42	248	65
U. P.	14,410	7,661	55,793	55,305	70,203	62,966

These figures are not only revealing but highly disturbing. Despite increase in population (23.7 per cent in M. P. and 7.4 per cent in U.P) even the total number of cultivators had dwindled. This means that many persons have been rendered landless. In case of M. P. we also have the figure of 1931 when the percentage of agriculturist was as high as 16 per cent. All this is rather unexpected in view of the programme of land allotment to Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes being religiously implemented by almost all states and legal measures taken by them to protect tribal and Harijan land. There is no doubt that the programme of land allotment has not made any impact and that the measure against land alienation have not yielded results. While in M. P. many of the agriculturists rendered landless, seem to have joined the force of agricultural labourers; in U. P. even the total number of cultivators and agricultural labourers have decreased in 1971 as compared to 1961. This is not because of persons have been thrown out of labour force.

In the course of Census of 1961, economy of Jaitpur in Jabalpur district was studied. Out of 16 Kol families in the village, 9 possessed land. Their average holding was 3.8 acres. Wood cutting however, was the principal occupation both for land-holders and the landless. An enquiry into their indebtedness showed that the Kols who formed 30.2 per cent of the village population, were indebted to the extent of only 12 per cent of the village debt⁸⁵. It must be clearly mentioned that the Kols of this village are decidedly better off than other Kols in Madhya Pradesh and therefore, no inference should be drawn about economic condition of the Kols as a whole.

⁸⁵ Jaitpuri, Op. Cit.

A study of the economics of the Banda Kols in early sixties shows that 61.3 per cent of the Kols, 67 per cent of men and 54.5 per cent of women were in the working force. 64 per cent of the surveyed families possessed land, 16 per cent were agricultural labourers while the remaining 21 per cent were employed as labourers in non-agricultural occupations. The average land holding per family worked out to be 1.80 acres only. Production per family was, only 146 Kgs annually. Thus cultivation was not the principal occupation of even the landowning families who also worked as agricultural labourers⁸⁶.

As regards wage rate, wages were Rs. 1.50 to 2.0 per day per male, Rs. 1.25 per female and 62 to 75 Paise per child. For plucking Kendu leaves which is an important season's occupation, a Kol was paid 2 paise for a bundle of 100 leaves⁸⁷.

It was found that 96 per cent of the surveyed families were indebted and that nearly 70 per cent of the borrowers had to work at the money lenders place in lieu of interest and were paid 1 to 1.5 Kgs. of coarse grain daily as subsistence wages. All these Kols were early bonded⁸⁸. There was evidence that force was all used by the money lenders. Evidence of bonded labour in Banda was also found by a team of investigators of Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of India in 1977⁸⁹. This writer, found evidence of bondage among the Kols living in Allahabad district of U. P. too⁹⁰.

In short, the Kols, by and large, continue to depend on agriculture mainly as labourers, State Governments efforts to give them more land, do not seem to have succeeded. As they are not able to make both ends meet, they have to borrow. Many of them are under the clutches of the money lenders. Private money lending seems to be still in vogue despite legislation to the contrary. There is evidence of existence of bonded labour among the Kols in certain areas.

Literacy and Education

To study literacy and spread of education among the Kols, we will make use of Census figures of 1961 and 1971. **Table 9** presents the picture of literacy among the Kols in 1961 and 1971. Except for Tripura, the figures of literacy in 1971 are an improvement over the figures of 1961. Literacy is lowest among the Kols (Dahait) of M.P and Kols of U. P. as the Kols are included among the Scheduled Castes, they were not given any special treatment in the sphere of education till recently. Now Ashram Type Schools are being set-up for them.

⁸⁶ Amir Hasan, Op. Cit.

⁸⁷ Ibid

⁸⁸ Ibid

⁸⁹ A Study of the problem of Bonded labour in Bonda district of Uttar Pradesh (Unpublished)

⁹⁰ Amir Hasan, Op. Cit.

TABLE-9
Percentage literacy

1961 Census						
State	Rural			Urban		
	M	F	T	M	F	T
Madhya Pradesh						
(a) Kols	10.4	0.8	5.6	24.5	3.4	14.4
(b) Kol Dahait	2.4	0.2	1.2	936	0.3	5.1
Maharashtra	30.7	3.7	17.0	...	...	...
Orissa	5.2	1.0	3.1	...	...	...
Tripura	19.7	1.2	10.7	28.6	10.6	20.8
Uttar Pradesh	4.0	0.2	2.1	17.2	3.2	9.4
1971 Census						
Madhya Pradesh						
(a) Kols	13.9	1.4	7.6	24.4	63.5	15.6
(b) Kol Dahait	6.3	0.4	3.4	11.4	1.6	6.6
Maharashtra	37.5	20.2	22.6	...	...	...
Orissa	11.2	3.4	6.9	10.3	2.9	6.8
Tripura	17.3	0.5	9.2	24.3	4.2	16.4
Uttar Pradesh	6.9	0.4	3.8	26.1	9.0	18.6

Let us analyse the Census data further. The following table presents the percentage of literates without and with Educational level.

TABLE-10
Percentage of literates with/without educational level
1961

State	Literates without educational level				Literates with educational level			
	Rural		Urban		Rural		Urban	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Madhya Pradesh								
(a) Kols	8.4	0.7	21.6	3.3	2.0	0.1	2.9	0.1
(b) Kol Dahait	1.9	0.1	9.3	0.3	0.2	0.1	0.3	0.0
Maharashtra	26.9	3.7	...	...	3.8	0.0	...	...
Orissa	3.9	1.0	...	....	0.7	(For total male, female)	...	...
Tripura	18.6	1.0	14.3	...	1.1	0.2	14.3	10.6
U. P.	3.5	0.2	13.3	2.6	0.5	0.0	3.9	0.6

State	Literates without educational level				Literates with educational level			
	Rural		Urban		Rural		Urban	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
M. P.								
(a)Kols	8.2	0.9	12.7	3.6	5.7	0.5	11.7	2.9
(b)Kol Dahait	3.4	0.3	5.9	0.9	2.9	0.1	5.5	0.7
Maharashtra	37.5	20.0	...	...	...	...	...	...
Orissa	2.3	0.2	10.3	2.9	8.8	3.2	(both for rural and urban)	
Tripura	13.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	4.2	0.5	24.3	4.2
U. P.	4.7	0.2	12.9	7.2	2.2	0.2	13.2	1.8

These figures clearly show that formal education has not made much headway among the Kols. It is almost negligible among the women. Despite the schemes of scholarship and re-imbursements of fee, incidence of education beyond primary school, is very low, as the following figures would show.

TABLE- 11
Education among Kols, Matriculation and beyond

Level of Education	Number of Persons			
	1961		1971	
	M	F	M	F
Matriculation and above but below graduation	62	2	1,199	39
Graduation and above	1	1	36	2

Although it is gratifying that figures of 1971 show considerable improvement over the position of 1961, the position is still far from satisfactory.

Potentials and Problems of Development

The Deccan plateau and extensions of this plateau as well as Chhota Nagpur plateau in Orissa, possess a large number of minerals. Most important among them are coal, iron and manganese, besides geological formations like bauxite, limestone, monazite, granites, silica sand, etc. These minerals have been largely exploited and consequently the area has been industrialized. Giant steel plants have come up under public sector. The tract has a great potential for development of cement, paper, chemical and glass industries besides industries based on forest produce. The area is, however, not very fertile for cultivation. The main crops are millets, pulses, rice and wheat and under the Community Development Programme there have been continuous efforts to develop agriculture with encouraging results.

Thus, there is no doubt that the Kols live in an area which has a great economic potential. But the glaring fact that there has been little occupational mobility among the Kols. The development and industrialization of the area has brought little improvement in the economic condition of the Kols. On the contrary the possibility that, the development process adversely affected the interests of the Kols, cannot be ruled out. In any case there is no doubt that their socio-economic life was disturbed in larger or smaller measure. A study of the Kols' social institutions, economic condition and expansion of education among them brings out the following points.

Social

- (1) Their traditional panchayats are gradually decaying.
The Statutory Panchayat has not been equal to their task among the Kols.
- (2) Probably as a result of non-tribal influence, the number of working Kol women is on the decrease. This will lower the status of women in the Kol society, besides jeopardizing the Kol economy.

Education

- (1) The progress of literacy and education in general is not satisfactory. It is extremely poor among the women.
- (2) Higher education including technical education is negligible among this tribe

Economic

- (1) The Kols, by and large, have remained labourers. There is no marked occupational mobility among them.
- (2) The percentage of landholders among them has decreased instead of increasing.
- (3) A large section of the Kol population is indebted.
- (4) There is evidence of bonded labour among them in certain areas.
- (5) In forest areas, they are being exploited by forest contractors.

It is evident that the most glaring problem of the Kols is their poverty which has persisted despite considerable funds invested for their economic development. The main reason for this state of affairs is the unscrupulous exploitation by farmers, contractors and money lenders, despite laws protecting the interest of the tribals. The hard truth is that the exploiters without contributing anything in tribal areas have acquired respectability enjoying considerable political and sometime official patronage. They have got themselves into Gaon sabha, Block and district levels. The result is that they manage to remain above law. Therefore, enactment of laws alone will not end exploitation. The State Government must gear up their policy and administrative machinery to deal with exploiters, land grabbers, money lenders, contractors, tormentors and prosecutors effectively and put an end to the age-old exploitation.

As for gainful employment of Kols, they would like to be settled on land having been long associated with it as labourers. This however, is not a practical solution, for it has not been possible to increase the area of land under the ownership of Kols during the past 7 years of planning. Moreover the land under their plough or that likely to be allotted to them is far from being fertile. Having been habitual wage earners, they cannot be successfully self-employed independently. The best course therefore would be to set up small factories or industrial processing units under public or co-operative sectors at a walking distance from tribal villages, where the Kols, both men and women can get jobs at reasonable wages. Such factories or industrial units should make use of only simple machinery and use as raw material such stuff as are handled by the Kols in their daily life for instance, agricultural and forest produce and minerals of the area.

Forest plays an important role in the economy of the Kols. In many areas forest contractors are directly responsible for the indebtedness, bondage and poverty of the Kols. In Banda for instance, the Kols are forced at a nominal wage to pick up *kendu* leaves. The Kols living in forest areas possess thorough knowledge of the forest and forest produce and feel at home while working in the forest. There is great scope for improvement of their economy if the contract system for gathering of forest produce and their processing is gradually abolished and the Kols directly deal with the Department and Public Undertakings.

Neither as agriculturists nor as hired wage earners, can the Kols hope to become well off. For this, their occupational mobility is a must. To achieve this, they have to be educated through sustained efforts.

It is through education in general schools and technical institutions that would ultimately help Kols to adopt more remunerative occupations.

While there is scope for improvement in the educational schemes for Kols, the draw backs should be removed and the problems of stagnation and wastage should receive our serious attention; it is the proverbial poverty of Kols that should receive the top most priority from those who are planning for their development.

Socially, we have to respect tribal institutions and take steps to preserve them. Reformist activities by socio-religious or politico-religious institutions must be discouraged. Kol women enjoy considerable freedom in personal matters and are earning members of their families. Their status of near equality with their men and their freedom must not be interfered with. The Kols should be allowed full freedom to develop according to their own genius. At the same time, the development process and intercommunication are bound to bring changes in their socio-economic life and influence their values. We have no business to prevent them from adjusting themselves to changing circumstances either.

Lastly, the Central Government may do away the anomaly of the Kols being a Scheduled Tribe in some States and a Scheduled Caste in others.

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KOLHA*

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During the pre and post-independence periods, various writers like Col. E.T. Dalton, Sir H. Risley, etc. have described the socio-cultural life and values of the Ho, Kol, Kol-Lohara, Kolha and Larka-Kol. Most often, these terms have been used to denote a single group of people inhabiting different areas. The name 'Munda' seems to have been given to these people by their ancient Hindu neighbours. The Munda call themselves Horoko (Men) and their tribe Horo (Mankind). The appellation 'Kol', generally used for the Munda, Mundari and other Kolarian tribes, is now strongly resented by them simply because it is regarded as derogatory. They like the term 'Munda', as in their own language it signifies the well-to-do secular village headman (Prof. Sachidananda, the changing Munda, page 77). However, the Census of India has identified this group as Kol, Kolha, Kol-Lohara, Munda and Mundari and brought about confusion in the proper naming of the tribe by using multiple names to denote the same community. They are identified as both Ho and Kolha in Mayurbhanj District. While they are called Kol in Bihar, they are addressed as Kolha in Orissa. It is confirmed in the report of the Linguistic Survey that Har, Horo, Ho and Koro are the words commonly used by the Munda tribes to denote themselves (Russell and Hiralal, III-1975: 501). In fact, Kol, Kol-Lohara, Munda and Mundari belong to the same ancestral stock and inhabited the Kolhan region in Singhbhum District in Bihar, from where they migrated in all directions in course of time and also to the border district of Mayurbhanj in Orissa.

The Kolha, along with kindred races, constitute one of the largest Scheduled Tribes in the states of Madhya Pradesh, Orissa and Maharashtra. When they were in the Kolhan region, the Aryans invaded northern India, and the tribal communities living there left the Gangetic plain. These communities probably

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belonged to the same ancestral stock and there was gradual differentiation and fragmentation during the course of history. Hence the present day Kolha and Munda belong to the same ancestral stock except for the fact that the Mundas are more Hinduized than the Kolha (Dalton). Of course, we do not have any recorded evidence to prove that the Kolha migrated from the Kolhan, but their migration to neighbouring districts of Mayurbhanj and Keonjhar is assumed, based on the statement of members of the community that their ancestors had migrated to Orissa from Kolhan. Even now, their marriage circle extends well into Bihar, which reinforces the argument of their possible migration.

This tribe mostly inhabits the mining and industrial belt of the Bihar-Orissa border and has been exposed to the forces of industrialization right from the beginning of the century. In Orissa the Kolha have been separately enumerated at 4,04,864 according to 1991 Census and constitute 5.75 per cent of the total tribal population in Orissa; they are scattered throughout the state. They live alongside other Kolarian tribes, like the Santal, Munda, Ho, etc. The growth of the Kolha population of the state from 1961 to 1991 is shown in the following table.

Growth rate of Kolha population

<u>Year</u>	<u>Population</u>	<u>Growth Rate</u>
1961	2,03,515	-
1971	3,09,588	52.12
1981	3,26,520	5.08
1991	4,04,864	24.00

It is evident from the table above that the rate of increase in the decade from 1961-1971 is high is compared to the growth rate from 1971-81 which is low. Again it is high compared to that in 1981-91. This may be attributed to the fact that there has been heavy immigration during the decade 1961-71. But in the next decade the Kolha migrated to other places, to industrial and mining centres to eke out their livelihood. The sex ration according to the 1991 Census is 1005 females per 1000 males. The preponderance of females over males may be due to the immigration of females by marriage and also to a higher survival rate among females in certain groups. According to the 1991 Census only 15.39 per cent of Kolha are literates.

Since the Kol or Kolha are in contact with Hindu culture, in most of their villages they live together with other castes, not in the forest, but in an open space. Kolha villages follow a linear pattern of settlement with two rows of houses facing each other along a common road or footpath. They generally build their houses in separate enclosures, each being a separate unit. Every house has its own spacious fence enclosing the house proper, cowshed, harvest ground and storage space for straw and firewood. Each Kolha village has a *jahera than* or place of the village

deity, which is usually a large *sal* grove, located preferably in the eastern part of the village. There are, generally speaking, well-defined village boundaries.

The typical Kolha house has either one multi-purpose room or two or three rooms at the most. The one-roomed house is partitioned into at least three small spaces by a temporary thin wall. One of the spaces is used as a kitchen, while the other two are used to store grains and for multipurpose uses. The multi roomed houses are partitioned to serve these three purposes. The doors are either made of wood or bamboo with most houses having no windows. The entrance of the house is ideally towards the east. The roof is thatched and mud floors are common. The walls are coated with locally available yellow or red mud.

The selection of house site is meticulous and carried out with the greatest caution, using a rice divination method for the purpose with the help of the village priest or Dehuri and elder members of the lineage. If the grains are not significantly disturbed the site is considered auspicious. Women may aid in building the house, but their work is limited to assisting in building the walls and floor of the house. For a woman to get up on the roof is taboo. When the building is complete, a dedicatory ceremony takes place to install the household god. The place near the hearth is marked with vermilion and *homo* is lit. A *tulsi* plant is planted somewhere in the courtyard.

The room of a Kolha house is littered with many bare necessities. A large sun-dried mud urn is used to store grain so that it may not be destroyed by rats and moisture. There are agricultural implements and other tools in the corners. Baskets of various sizes are heaped over the mud urn. In one corner, the view of which is generally hidden as one enters the room, is the cooking space with its stone mill and oven and a few pots for cooking purposes. The stone implements are the grindstone and the pestle. Valuables are kept in a tin box. However, the main articles in the house are those connected with food and drink. Hunting is a part of the culture of the Kolha. The observance until today of the annual communal hunting expedition in the month of Baisakh (April-May) signifies the place of hunting in their social life. Bow and arrows of various kinds hang on the inner walls of the sleeping room. Other household articles and utensils are prepared out of wood, bamboo, cane, brass, aluminium and bell-metal.

The traditional dress of the Kolha is very simple and not distinct from that of their neighbours like the Santal, Bathudi, Munda, etc. The men wear a hand-woven coarse *dhoti*, rarely coming below the knee the lower portion of which is tucked in at the back. Modern dresses like synthetic trousers, shirts, etc. are often worn by young men. Women wear a piece of coarse sari, usually with broad-coloured criss-crosses, and about 6 feet to 8 feet long. Blouses and undergarments are not uncommonly worn by women. Kolha women use a number of ornaments, including glass or silver bangles, bead or glass or silver necklaces, silver anklets, hair pins, wristlets, etc. Unlike spinsters, married women wear iron bangles (*medaskam*) and toe rings (*katapola*) to give them a special identity.

Rice is the staple food of the Kolha. Dehusked rice, which is prepared almost every day in all houses, is used. Like other Hindu neighbours, the Kolha have two meals a day, one about noon and the other late at night. Early in the morning, some of stale rice is usually eaten before going to work. Millet is frequently eaten, and fried leaves of various kinds, onion, garlic, chilies and a pinch of salt constitute the typical side dish. Sometimes they prepare rice-cakes too. They relish fish, meats of sheep, goat, hare, deer, fowl, pigeon, duck, geese, etc. are boiled and eaten with great satisfaction. Beef and pork are sometimes eaten. On ceremonial occasions rice, pulses, vegetables curry and meat are prepared. The Kolha drink milk when available and the age-old taboo on its use is gradually losing its ground. The Kolha prepare a drink of homemade rice called beer or *illi*, which is consumed by everybody irrespective of sex and age. The beer prepared from the *mahua* leaf is also a favorite drink of the Kolha. They are also addicted to toddy-palm (*tadi*) wine. No festival or ritual among the Kolha is complete without rice beer and meat of some kind or the other.

Earlier the Kolha subsisted on hunting and gathering, but their gradual contact with Hindu castes led them to practice cultivation and adopt plain-land wet agriculture. Their prolonged contact with the Mahato caste enabled them to learn the techniques of agriculture in a more sophisticated way. Most of the Kolhas depend on agriculture either as cultivators or as labourers. But these activities do not prove adequate to sustain them throughout the year and they are therefore attracted by remunerative daily wages and prefer to be engaged as day labourers in industrial areas. This sort of employment opportunity and possibility to earn cash exposes them to the evils of an urban industrial culture. Thus, agriculture has become an occupation of the old and disabled. Whatever landed property is possessed entered the clutches of moneylenders and affluent caste Hindus.

The total cultivable land is divided into three categories, namely, paddy land, orchard and homestead land. The paddy land is classed into three categories depending on levels such as high or low, and is assessed for rent accordingly. *Beda* is the low land or wet land, which has sufficient water for crops, while *dhipa* or *guda* refers to the rain fed category, which does not have any facility for irrigation. The land near the house is kitchen garden. Paddy is produced in the low land. In the summer, *dhipa* lands are used to grow vegetables, black gram (*eaha*), red gram (*rahi*) and many other local varieties, like *koda* mustard, *gundlu*, *tisi*, *ruma*, *jengjada*, etc. From the kitchen garden, they get brinjal (*bengay*), tomato (*biliti*), greens (*aya*), beans (*simili*), papaya (*bindi dura*) and many other fruits and vegetables.

The cycle of agriculture among the Kolha is no different from that of other neighbouring tribals and caste communities. It starts with the processing of the fields during the months of May-June, just before the arrival of the southwest monsoon. If the rain is timely, an early variety of paddy is sown in the months of April to May, otherwise this operation is extended to June. Ordinarily, cow dung compost manure is used. Sowing of paddy seeds usually begins on the *akshyay*

trutitya day in the month of May. Broadcasting, a practice more popular than transplantation, continues thereafter for some days. During the time of the rains, that help mature the crops, the cultivators remain busy in removing the weeds and grass from the fields. By their strenuous exertions, the cultivators go on guarding the safety of the crops. Simultaneously, they prepare their *khala* (threshing floor) in readiness for the coming harvest.

Although individuality has taken over from the spirit of traditional collectivity in the Kolha social life, communal labour still plays important role in agricultural production. Some members of a clan, including women and children of both sexes, constitute a labour group, especially during transplantation, harvest and the transfer of crops from the field to the granary. Ideally, the members of this labour group are not paid anything in cash or kind except for the midday meal offered by the landowner. The bullocks of some clan members are requisitioned at different phases of agricultural operations, and no rent is paid for the services. But this system guarantees reciprocal help at the time of need. These days, in most cases, hired labour is available for agricultural operations. While an adult man receives Rs. 8/- as daily wage, a woman receives Rs. 6/-. The payment may be in cash or kind, depending on what the labourers demand.

Nowadays hunting has become more of a ritual than a means of subsistence for the Kolha. Communal hunting, a symbol of social integrity and co-operation, is still being practised. Usually, after the *akshya trutiya* in the month of Baisakh (April-May), all the men of the village move for hunting to the forest under the leadership of the Dehuri. Natural forest is almost non-existent in the area. There are jungles far away. The villagers do not even spare the most distant forests to collect firewood and house building materials. The women collect edible fruits, roots, tubers, etc. from nearby forests. The cattle wealth of the Kolha consists of cows and bullocks. They also raise goats, sheep and fowl. Fishing is not a significant subsistence alternative for the Kolha.

Kolha society is divided into various clans or *killi*. A *killi* is strictly exogamous. Marriage within the same group is strictly prohibited. This clan exogamy is due to the fact that the members of a *killi* are believed to be descended from a common mythical ancestor and thus to be related to each other by blood ties. This belief in a blood relationship not only imposes a total ban on marital relations, but also induces a high degree of unity and intimacy between the members of a *killi*. Every *killi* is associated with a totem. The *killi* of a Kolha is easily known thanks to the common use of the clan name as his surname. While a male retains his clan identity throughout life, a female has to change her clan after marriage. But in the case of the remarriage of a widow, she belongs to her parental clan rather than the clan of her deceased husband.

The family in Kolha society is regarded as the smallest socio-economic and politico-religious unit. Most families are nuclear in composition. Among the more affluent, some families are found in the pattern of Hindu joint families. Monogamy

is a common practice, with the rare occurrence of polygynous families. Although polygyny is never encouraged in a Kolha community, it takes place in exceptional situations like the bareness or disability of the first wife. In such cases, the supremacy of the first wife is nevertheless maintained, and a second wife is only sought with her approval. The father is recognized as the head of the family and all authority relating to the overall maintenance of the family is vested in him. He officiates in all family rituals and represents the family in village functions. Interpersonal relations continue between the members of the family, which is based on cordiality, mutual love, affection and sympathy. The status of women in the Kolha community can be said to be fairly high. There is a wholesale sense of equality among the sexes upon the break-up of the family by death. The sons are generally supposed to have equal rights to the property. The female members of the family do not enjoy equal rights with the males. A girl, when married, loses her membership in her family and becomes a member of the new household. Descent among the Kolha is traced unilineally and unilaterally, meaning that the Kolha are basically a patrilineal society with descent through the male line. All the members of the society are kins to one another.

The Kolha observe birth, name-giving, marriage and death rituals elaborately and spend lavishly in entertaining their fellow villagers. A woman in pregnancy is not considered unclean and there are no particular taboos upon her. The actual delivery takes place at home. She is attended by her mother-in-law. The birth usually occurs with the mother squatting on the floor, seated on her heels and bending over a large basket. The umbilical cord (*mara*) is severed with an iron arrow or a new blade. Immediately after the birth ash is sprinkled lightly over the baby from head to feet. This, it is claimed, prevents skin trouble, a possible chill and wards off evil spirits. The baby is bathed in luke-warm water. Subsequently it is gently massaged with til oil. On the ninth day, the *marta* ceremony takes place when the stump of the umbilical cord has fallen off. On the twelfth day after the bath the mother finally resumes her daily works. The family remains ceremonially unclean for a month. After a month, if the family is affluent, a feast is offered to clan members. The new-born is named on the 21st day, called *numutupuria*. The names of the paternal or maternal grandparents are preferred.

The Kolha usually marry outside their clan. Monogamous marriage is most preferred. Preferential cross-cousin marriages are widely observed, and secondary marriages like levirate, sororate and widow remarriages are practised. Generally adult marriage takes place. Marriage by negotiation (*dikuandi*) is common, though there are other forms of marriage, such as marriage by capture (*oportipiandi*), marriage by elopement (*rajikushi*), marriage by intrusion (*anader*), marriage by adoption (*gandijamaiaandi*) and marriage by exchange (*badalandi*). Except for *dikuandi* or marriage by negotiation, all forms of marriages are arranged at the groom's residence.

A *ganang* or brideprice, which ranges from Rs. 5001- to Rs. 8001-, 3 to 4 cows and about 30 to 40 kilograms of rice, is paid by the groom's father to fix the marriage. Marriage takes place on a pandal erected in the courtyard of the groom's house. The Dehuri officiates as the priest. Vermilion is applied by the groom to the girl's forehead with a silver coin. The ends of their clothes are tied together usually by the bride's sister. They circumambulate the pandal seven times invoking Sing Bonga, the Supreme God and other goddesses. This solemnises the nuptial tie. Feasting and dancing follow throughout the night. Divorce is allowed in Kolha society but must be sanctioned by the traditional community council. In the urban context, the sexual unchastity of either spouse is the sole cause of divorce. In the rural situation divorced women are looked down upon.

The Kolha practise both cremation and burial. At present burials have become more common. After three days of cremation, a bone of the deceased is collected from the ashes and packed in a new cloth for later disposal. The *oaswi* or final purificatory ceremony takes place after ten days. *Sapsior* the funeral feast is hosted on the tenth day. In the case of females, it is observed on the ninth day. The first morsel at the funeral feast is consumed by a lower caste man. Then the departed soul (*ambal*) is offered another morsel of the special food prepared for that occasion in a new earthen pot. All *killi* members and the villagers are hosted a feast. After the ceremony, if the purse allows steps are taken to immerse the bone of the deceased in a river. They hire a Brahman priest to perform the ceremony. The ashes and bones are then cast into the river, which is called Sirana.

Life without religion is unthinkable to the Kolha. Like other Odissan tribes, the Kolha have strong faith in supernatural beings and in the departed souls. Most of their social activities are permeated by religion and magic. The gods and goddesses termed *bongas* regulate their day-to-day individual and communal existence. Every Kolha village has a permanent abode for their *bongas*, in their sacred *sal* grove (*jahira*), located a little away from the village, where the *bongas* are regularly propitiated and sacrifices are offered to them. It is also believed that the spirits of dead ancestors take shelter inside the house, where offerings are made in their honour on festive occasions. In fact, *bongas* are divided into two types, the benevolent and the malevolent, depending on their nature. Sing Bonga - the Creator is their Supreme Deity. He is a male deity, otherwise known as Dharam Debata or the Sun God who is believed to be omnipresent and therefore no definite place of worship is accorded to him. Basuki Thakurani is the Earth Goddess who is worshipped as one of the protectors of the Kolha tribe. Grama Siri is the village guardian deity; Marang Bonga - the clan deity; Buru Bonga - the forest deity. The Buddhipat is the Goddess responsible for rainfall. Dessuali Bonga is the Goddess of disease. Karam Bonga is believed to be the goddess Laxmi. Other than gods and deities, the Kolha also believe in ghosts and spirits. Churel, Danawa and Jind are dreaded spirits. Matia is the demon of the whirlwind. The evil-eye (*nazar*) exerts a powerful and dangerous influence. Among the Kolha illness and disease are often associated with the work of unfriendly spirits.

Every Kolha village has a priest known as the Dehuri, who performs all worship to different deities on behalf of the villagers. The Raulia is the medicine-man in Kolha society, and adopts the oil-water method to detect the spirits. The general tendency is towards offerings of coconut and food rather than animals at present. This is due to the influence of the Vaishnavite sect of Hinduism. Animals which make acceptable offerings include chickens, goats, pigs and sheep.

The Kolha observe four festivals communally besides domestic rituals. These festivals are a combination of socio-religious and recreational activities. These are (a) Magha Pudi, (b) Ba-Parab, (c) Hera Parab and (d) Jamna Parab. Magha Parab is observed in the month of Magha (January-February) after the harvest is over. Ba-Parab, otherwise known as Phulbhanguni, is observed for four days in the month of Chaitra (February-March) before the eating of fruits like mango, *sal* flower, jackfruit, etc. Hera Parab is related to the agricultural cycle. JamnamParab otherwise known as Nuakhia Parab is usually celebrated in the month of Aswin (October-November). Besides, the Kolha observe Maker Parab, Ashadhi Parab, Gamah Parab, etc.

The ultimate authority of the local group rests with the village Pradhan. The traditional panchayat is composed of the Pradhan and all the individual adult males of the community. The Pradhan is the head of the village judiciary and is supported by the village elders. Practically all major and minor issues affecting the life of the community were decided by the panchayat. The Dakua (messenger) has the responsibility of informing all the villagers according to the date and time of meeting. When the penalty is decided upon the panchayat sees that it is enforced. The fine in some cases amounts to Rs. 100/- to Rs. 2001-.

Besides being the secular head, the Pradhan also has some roles to play in communal and domestic rituals at the village level. The Pradhan supplied free labour (*bethi*) for the king and Sarbarakar. He looked after the all-round development of the village. The post of Chowkidar was also introduced to inform on the cases of birth, death, suicide, etc. to the state police. He was appointed by the Sardarin consultation with the village Pradhan. But with the disintegration of Kolha villages and subsequent migration to different urban centres to eke out a livelihood, the Kolha lived in villages with other ethnic groups and lost their identity. Subsequently the *panchayati raj* system was introduced and new leaders emerged, like *sarpanches* and ward members. With that, the Kolha lost their own political entity. At present, they participate in the panchayat election and hold the posts of *sarpanches* and ward members. They go by the decisions of the village panchayat where Hindu caste members predominate.

The artistic expressions of the Kolha afford an example of neat workmanship, especially on the walls of the house. The walls are artistically decorated with drawings. Some of these drawings resemble the simple sketches of children; some are crude drawings of animals and plants, and of men with bows and arrows pursuing game in the forest. Though the designs are crude, attempts

are made to make details of the arts represented on the walls, so that the pictures look realistic. The black paint is made by burning straw, the ashes of which are mixed with cow dung. The red and yellow are obtained from the red or yellow earth found on the sides of hills.

The Kolha are passionately fond of music, songs and dance. They can sing, dance and beat the drums continuously the whole night. Their rhythm of work is maintained by songs during transplantation of paddy, or while carrying loads. Playing various musical instruments like the *dholak* or *madal*, *tomkaor nagra* (kettledrums), *kartal*, *mizinaor* ordinary cymbals, they sing a number of songs like; *dadar*, *bhagat*, *bhajans*, *phagu*, etc. *Tohgri*, a type of song in which the verses are made up of two lines, is sung in honour of guests. Dance is performed during all happy occasions like births, weddings, feasts and festivals. Among the Kolha, it is only the women who dance. Dancing is invariably accompanied by singing and drumming. Kolha dances, even today, are a source of healthy recreation.

The Kolha recognize the merit of specialization in crafts. Certain families in the village have the reputation of being competent brewers and they are approached to brew liquor at the time of feasts and festivals. Basket- and rope-making from *bobai* grass are not only done by experts. Every Kolha can do it. Most Kolha will mend clothes, if necessary, and this is mostly done by men. Boys sometimes make a very inferior type of bow and arrow with which they hunt. However, Kolha society was exposed to the vagaries of modern forces of industrialization long before independence, unlike many other tribes of Orissa, and therefore changes in various aspects of life, society and culture can easily be seen. Forces of industrialization and subsequent urbanization have greatly affected the structure and function of the family among the Kolha.

The excess of bride wealth and the high percentage of spinsterhood among the Kolha still persist. Marriage by elopement (*Raji Kushi Andi*) has become a common affair due to the impact of industrialization. The rate of divorce has now gone up considerably. The change of family relationship has often influenced kinship ties and obligations. A lack of agricultural land or landlessness has forced most Kolha to become engaged as daily labourers. This has jeopardised the traditional agricultural economy of the Kolha. The traditional mechanism of exchange has been replaced with a money economy. The conventional political system which existed up to independence exists no longer. Under the impact of modernization, the Kolha are gradually losing faith in the wrath of spirits and deities. Annual festivals, mostly agriculturally based, are no longer observed with pomp. Despite the fact that their life style has changed due to the impact of modernity, they still cling to tradition and maintain their cultural identity. They still lean upon their sovereign *bongas*.

KOL/KOLHA *

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IDENTITY

Ethnographic studies reveal that Kol / Kolha, Larka-Kol and Ho, as they are called in different localities, are the names of one and the same tribe. The tribe belongs to the great Kolarian race to which many major tribes of Odisha like Bhuyan, Birhor, Juang, Kharia, Munda, Santal, etc belong. The stronghold of the tribe lies in the Kolhan division in Singbhum district of the neighbouring Jharkhand state besides which they are distributed in the adjacent areas of Bihar, Odisha, West Bengal and Chhattisgarh.

But the confusion about their separate ethnic identity is created because of the fact that Kol, Kolha and Ho have been notified as separate communities at serial numbers 33, 35 and 23 in the Scheduled Tribes list of Odisha. Similarly, in the states of Bihar and Jharkhand where the tribe's homeland lies, the Ho and Kol have also been notified as separate Scheduled Tribe communities. Besides, they have been scheduled as Kol in Chhattisgarh, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra and as Ho in West Bengal. While they are called Kol in Bihar, they are called Ho, Kol, Kolha in Odisha. They tribesmen prefer to be identified in the name of Ho rather than Kol / Kolha which they consider to be derogatory.

The Kolha, Kol, Ho constitute one of the largest Scheduled Tribes in the states of Madhya Pradesh (undivided), Odisha and Maharashtra. When they were

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living in the Kolhan region, the Aryans invaded northern India and the tribals living there left the Gangetic plains. Of course, there is hardly any recorded evidence to prove that, but their migration to neighbouring districts of Mayurbhanj and Keonjhar is based on the statement of members of the tribe. Even now, their marriage circle extends well into Jharkhand, which supports the statement of their migration from Jharkhand to Odisha.

In the pages of Indian history, the Kols are famous for their martial character. Rana Pratap fought Moghuls with the help of Kols and Bhils. Before and after independence the Kols had their brave encounter with British troops, during a series of tribal insurrections in Chhotnagpur region.

This tribe mostly inhabits the mining and industrial belt of the Bihar-Odisha border and has been exposed to the forces of industrialization since the beginning of the 20th century. In Odisha they are mainly concentrated in the Mayurbhanj, Keonjhar and Baleswar districts. As per 2011 census, the populations of Ho, Kol and Kolha in Odisha are 80 608, 4058 and 6 25 009 respectively. Thus numerically they constitute one of the major tribes of the state. The literacy rates of Ho, Kol and Kolha are 44.79%, 46.26% and 42.23% respectively. Their mother tongue is "Kol" – a Mundari language.

Racially, the tribe belongs to the Proto-Australoid stock. By their physical characteristics, they are of short or medium stature, dark complexion with broad and flat nose, dark brown eyes, straight or wavy black hair and narrow chin. But, they have intelligence and courage as evident in their daily life style.

Dress and Ornaments

Their dress is very simple and not distinct from that of their neighbours like the Santal, Bathudi, Munda, etc. Male persons use hand woven coarse loin cloth (*dhoti*) which rarely reaches below the knees. The lower portion of the *dhoti* is tucked at the back. Now-a-days Kolha youth are using trousers, shirts etc.

Kolha women use a kind of coarse saree of about 6 feet to 8 feet long. They also use blouse and other under garments. Use of glass or silver bangles, bead, glass or silver necklace, silver anklets, rings and ear-rings, hair pins, wristlets etc. are common by women. Unlike spinsters, married women wear iron bangles (*medaskam*) and toe rings (*katapola*) for marital identity. The women prefer to decorate their hair knot with colorful flowers and traditional hairpins. Use of coloured sarees and modern ornaments in these days is a sign of modernization.

HABITAT, SETTLEMENT & HOUSING

The Kols live in the geographical area having low undulating plateau, flat topped hills traversed by a network of ravines and rivers, reddish sandy soil with bare rocks and containing varieties of minerals. A long and hot summer, low rainfall and a cool and mild winter are the main characteristics of its climate.

Most of the 'Kol' villages are situated in the alluvial plains and valleys surrounded by mountains and forests. They lie very close to river and streams from which they get water easily. Traditionally, the villages were connected through foot tracks or fair weather *kutch*a roads and now most of them replaced by concrete link roads.

The Kols usually live in multi-ethnic villages amidst other tribes and castes. In few cases, they inhabit uni-ethnic villages. The settlements are constructed in tune and rhythm of nature. Generally, they have well-defined village boundaries. Big flat or vertical memorial stones of dead persons are found near the boundary line of each village. After the dead body is burnt, the charred bone remains are collected in an earthen pot and buried in a pit, the mouth of which is capped by a big flat stone. These are considered gravestones where the ancestors of the clan have been laid to rest.

At the centre of the village the dancing ground or *akhra* is located where villagers gather for meeting and recreational activities usually in the evening. At the village outskirts, especially in the eastern direction, lies the sacred grove of *sal* trees called 'Sarna' where *desauli* - the village deity resides.

Each Kol village is composed of 2 or 3 hamlets which are known as *tola*. The houses in the village are arranged sometimes in a linear fashion but usually sparsely distributed. The Kols generally build a single roomed house in which a partition wall separates the kitchen from the sleeping room which is comparatively is bigger than the kitchen. They keep their grain bins in a raised platform in the corner of the sleeping room. The inner side walls of the bed room are attached with a narrow verandah which is used to keep their household articles. In the kitchen room, there is an earthen seat meant for their ancestral spirits (*buraburi*) locally known as *ading*. The people of other communities are strictly prohibited to touch the *ading*. Separate sheds for cows and domesticated animals are built adjacent to the bed room. The *dhenki* or paddy husking lever is installed in one corner of the cattle shed or in a projecting wing of the house. The outer side walls of the house are surrounded by verandah.

The Kol houses have a rectangular ground plan with mud walls and their roofs are thatched with straw, grass or country tiles. The size of the house varies from 13.5 ft x 7.5 ft. to 25.5 ft x 10.5 ft. They keep their houses very neat and clean. Floors are plastered with the paste of cow dung and mud. The outer side walls are painted attractively with various floral and animal designs using various natural or mineral colours like red, yellow, white, etc. These wall paintings are the skillful fine art of their women folk.

To build a house a Kolha considers site selection as a major and important activity. For this they use a rice divination method performed by the village priest or Dehuri or any elder members of the lineage. Sometimes a Hindu *pandit*'s help is

sought to decide the exact location of the house before construction to have a peaceful environment and avoid the disturbance by malevolent spirits.

Women assist in building the walls and floor of the house. For a woman to get up on the roof is a taboo. When the building is complete, a ritual takes place to install the household god. The place near the hearth is marked for the purpose. A *tulsi* plant is planted somewhere in the courtyard.

Household Articles

The Kols have few household belongings. Wooden framed cots woven with thin ropes (*parkambayar*) and mats made of wild date palm-leaves (*jati*) are used as beds. Earthen wares (*chatu*) or aluminum vessels are used for cooking and storing purposes. Other important articles like broomsticks (*jannah*), winnowing fan (*hatau*), pestle, and implements like digging stick, axe (*hakeh*), knife, plough (*nayal*), leveler (*kara*), yoke (*nangali*) and straw made grain bins (*bolah*), etc. used in their day to day economic activities are kept in the house. For the purpose of hunting they keep bow (*aa*), arrow (*sar*), spear (*burchhi*) etc. Besides hunting implements, they also have various types of fishing traps and nets to catch fish from nearby stream and rivulets. These are kept in the corners of the living room.

SOCIAL LIFE

The Kol society is divided into different totemistic, patrilineal and exogamous clans called *killi*. Each *killi* has a totem and the totemic animal, plant or material object associated with it is considered to be sacred. The *killi* is identified easily as they use their clan name as surname. Marriage within the clan is strictly tabooed. After marriage girls are initiated into their husband's clan group. A strong bond of reciprocity and co-operation exists among the clan members as they consider themselves as brothers and sisters. Some of the clans of the tribe are *Chatar*, *Tiria*, *Gagarai*, *Saya*, *Pingua*, *Hemrum* etc.

Kol families are monogamous, patrilineal and patrilocal. Joint families are also seen. Father is the head of the family who manages all the family affairs in consultation with the wife and grown up members. After father's death, all the properties are inherited by the sons following the rule of primogeniture. Grown-up boys and girls help their parents in domestic and outdoor works. Role of women are also very important in all domestic and economic activities.

Life Cycle

Pregnancy & Child Birth:

Birth is considered as an important event in the Kols' life cycle. They welcome pregnancy and child birth after marriage to continue their lineage. So pregnant women are not considered unclean. They have no preference for the sex

of the child to be born. In their society, child birth irrespective of sex of the child is believed to be the blessings of their supreme deity - *Singh Bonga* (Sun God).

Motherhood is much respected by the Kol. All the family members take special care of the pregnant woman. During pregnancy, a Kol woman has to follow certain taboos and prohibitions regarding her food, drink and mobility. She is prohibited to prepare '*illi*', the rice bear and to go outside of the house in the evening time alone and come out of the house during solar and lunar eclipse.

The delivery of the child is assisted by a midwife of Ghasi caste. The mother-in-law or any experienced woman also remains present to help. After child birth the umbilical cord (*mara*) is severed with an arrow or a new blade. They apply their indigenous traditional treatment to the new born child by sprinkling ash to his/her body. It is considered to be a preventive to save the child from malevolent spirits. Luke-warm water is used to bath the new born baby after applying *till* oil gently on his/her body.

After the child birth, the child's father arranges a cock fight in honor of *Sing Bonga*. The family members observe pollution for 8 days. On the 9th day, purificatory ceremony (*marta*) is organized. They prepare traditional liquor known as *illi* which is offered to their ancestors for the wellbeing of the child. All the kith and kin are invited to attend the ritual. Usually, the mother resumes her routine household activities from the 12th day. The family is treated unclean for one month. After one month a grand feast is arranged for the clan members, friends and relatives.

Name-Giving Ceremony (*Numutupuria*)

Name giving ceremony is conducted on the 21st or 30th day of the birth of the child. The name of the child is given by '*Dehuri*' (Priest). A sun-dried rice is thrown into a pot which contains purified water. Then dried rice is thrown by one by one to the water by uttering the names of their ancestors. While uttering the name of a particular ancestor if the rice touches the first rice it is believed that the same ancestor has been born and the child is given his name. Usually, the name of the first child comes from the paternal ancestors, while the name of the second child comes from maternal ancestors.

The Kols are very affectionate to their children. Early childhood socialization process is taken care of by the mother and other family members. Peer groups play an important role in the socialization process of late childhood.

Puberty

Puberty is an important landmark in the life of an adolescent girl. When the girl attains her first menarche she has to follow some taboos. She remains in seclusion in an isolated room for seven days. During that period she is tabooed to attend any ritual, to look or talk to any male persons. On the morning of the eighth

day, she takes a purificatory bath anointing oil and turmeric paste and wears new clothes presented by her relatives.

Marriage

For marriage the Kols follow the rule of community endogamy and clan exogamy. Marriage is strictly prohibited outside their community and between boys and girls of the same clan who are treated as brothers and sisters. Child marriage is not practised. Monogamy and adult marriage is the rule. Polygene is permitted under exceptional circumstances of wife's barrenness and serious illness. With rare exceptions, their marriages tend to occur predominantly within the same generation.

Cross-cousin marriage is preferred. Marriage by negotiation (*dikuandi*) is considered ideal and prestigious. However, other types of marriages like marriage by capture (*apartipi*), love marriage (*rajikhusi*), marriage by service (*anadar*), marriage by exchange of sisters (*badalandi*), marriage by intrusion (*dhuku*), marriage by trial (*sindurkarna*) take place in few cases. Like other tribes, junior levirate and sororate are also allowed in Kol society.

Marriage ceremony occupies a place of major prominence in a Kol life. Marriage by negotiation (*dikuandi*) considered to be prestigious is expensive, elaborate and time taking. In this case the whole of the nuptial cycle mainly goes through four traditional phases like preliminary enquiries, ceremonial paying of bride price, wedding ceremony proper and post nuptial ceremony. To be specific, they mainly follow four traditions in this regard. Firstly, the groom's side has to pay bride price (*ganansid*) to the bride's parents. Secondly, the groom puts vermilion on the forehead of the bride. Thirdly, after marriage the newly married couple should attend the ritual known as *jamsing* to appease their ancestors which is held in groom's house. At last, a feast is hosted by both groom's side and bride's side respectively to the kith and kin to get social approval.

Preliminary arrangements for this marriage are made by two mediators, one from the bride's side known as *liu* and another from the groom's side known as *dutamkarji*. First of all, the groom's parents visit the bride's home with rice bear (*ili*) to put forth the marriage proposal. If the proposal is accepted a date is fixed by them for negotiation. In this kind of marriage the custom of bride price (*ganansid*) is prevalent. The groom's party has to pay one cow or calf, one goat or fowl and one hundred rupees as bride price to the bride's parents.

On the wedding day, the groom with his parents and relatives reach at the bride's house in a procession. The *dehuri* (priest) conducts the wedding rites in the name of *sing Bonga* by uttering rhymes for the wellbeing of the couple. After that the groom moves around the bride for seven times by holding a knife and at last puts vermilion mark on the bride's forehead with a silver coin. It signifies that he will protect that girl from all crises. Bride's sister ties the clothes of bride and

bridegroom together. After this they revolve around the pendal seven times by invoking their supreme deity Sing Bonga and other gods and goddesses. The bride's party hosts a feast for the kith and kin. Drinking and dancing is an inseparable part of the ceremony.

The next day the bride is led to the groom's house. The mother-in-law of the bride welcomes the newly married couple. Then the bride enters into the kitchen and seeks the blessings from *ading* (ancestors). This practice is called as *jamsing*. The groom's family also hosts a marriage feast to all kinsfolk, guests, and relatives. The norm of dwelling after marriage is patrilocal.

Divorce

In Kol society divorce (*bagi*) is permitted. Either party can divorce his/her spouse on certain grounds. The wife can claim divorce on the grounds of maladjustment in conjugal life, impotency, cruelty, extra-marital relationship, alcoholism, poor maintenance etc. Likewise, the husband can divorce the wife on the grounds of barrenness, laziness and extra-marital relationship. The divorce cases are adjudicated by the husband's traditional village council. Also the village chief of the bride's village and her relatives are invited to attend the meeting. If divorce is sanctioned for husband's fault, he has to pay back the bride price to the bride's side but if the wife is at fault he has to return half of the bride price. But if the wife divorces the husband from her side without any fault of the husband, there will be no repayment of bride price. Children of a divorced couple are the sole liability of their father.

After the divorce is socially sanctioned both the man and woman are free to remarry because Kol society permits remarriage of widows, widowers and divorcees.

Death

The Kols believe that death is inevitable. The corpses are cremated and buried depending upon the nature of death. But burial is more common than cremation. In cases of unnatural deaths due to snake bite, suicide, small pox, drowning in water or the attack of the wild animals etc, the corpses are buried but those of persons of natural death are burnt. As an exception, in the Kol society the women participate in carrying the corpse to the cremation or burial ground. The wife, daughter or unmarried sister sets fire to the corpse. On the next day charred bones are collected from the cremation ground and are kept hanging in a pot from the roof in a corner of the sleeping room.

The mortuary pollution period is observed by all the lineage members for 21 days. The purificatory rite (*kamini*) is observed on the 21st day. The kith and kin are invited. All the clan members cut their hair, pair their nails and take a purificatory bath. To appease the ancestors, magico-religious rites are performed by the *dehuri* (priest) who digs a pit in the graveyard and buries the bones of the

deceased kept in the sleeping room. Feasting and drinking are the major activities in this ritual. They also call upon the spirit of the deceased to take shelter in *adding*-the seat of their ancestors in the kitchen. In all festive occasions the ancestors are worshipped for their wellbeing.

ECONOMIC LIFE

The Kols are settled cultivators and agriculture is the main-stay of their economy. Besides, they depend on seasonal food gathering and forest collections, hunting, fishing and wage earning to supplement their livelihood. To earn wages, they also work as labourers in agriculture and local mining and industries. Some educated persons are employed in different private, government, mining and industrial sectors.

The Kolha have three categories of lands i.e. paddy land, orchard land and homestead land. Low land or wet land is termed as 'Beda' where they grow paddy. Up and dry land is termed as 'Dhipa' or 'Guda'. They grow vegetables, black gram (*raba*), red gram (*rahi*), *koda*, mustard, *gundlu*, *tisi*, *ruma*, *jamy*, *jada* etc in *dhipa* lands. In their kitchen garden (*badi*) situated very close to their house, they grow brinjal (*bengay*), tomato (*biliti*), green leaves (*aya*), beans (*smili*), papaya (*bindi dura*), pumpkin (*kakaru*), pea (*simbali*), onion (*piaja*), chili (*malchi*), green leaves (*aa*) etc. Cow dung is used as manure.

Agricultural operations mainly start by the onset of southwest monsoon. Works like ploughing and watching of crops are done only by men and other activities like cutting bushes, seeding, manuring, weeding, reaping etc. are done by both men and women. They organize most of their economic activities on the basis of mutual help and co-operation. During transplantation, harvest and transport of crops from field, communal labour is sought for.

In their seasonal forest collections, they generally collect fire woods (*sanance*), *sal* leaves (*sarajam shakam*), bamboo (*maun*), resin (*jhuna*), wild potato (*burusanga*), mushrooms (*uduh*), green leaves (*aah*) mango (*uli*), blackberry (*kudaso*), date (*khajuri*), sweet potato (*rauasanga*) etc from the jungle. Some of these items like wild potato, mushroom are used only for consumption. Other items like *sal* leaves (*sarajama sakam*), resin (*jhuna*), bamboo (*maun*) etc are sold in the local market to earn money after meeting their household consumption needs. The Kolha women take up this activity which provides them supplementary livelihood.

In the past, hunting was one of their major economic activities. Since childhood, they observe the parents or seniors while hunting in the forest and gradually by imitation and regular participation; they learn the techniques of hunting. Like communal labour they practice communal hunting. It reflects their social unity. They go for hunting after "Akshya Trutiya" festival. At present due to denudation of forest and imposition of forest laws, hunting has been totally banned for conservation of forests and the wild life. Yet, fishing has been

continuing as an occasional economic pursuit. They catch fish in the nearby streams and rivulets.

Being settled agriculturists, the Kols have great fascination for domestic animals. Usually they rear cows, bullocks, goats, sheep and poultry. The cows and bullocks are used for agricultural purposes. However, they do not consume cow's milk. Chicken and goats are domesticated not only for consumption but also to be sacrificed before the deities on different rituals and festive occasions as well as for entertaining guests and relatives. Most importantly, in their culture the cocks are reared for the most popular local sport of "cock fight".

Food Habits

The Kolhas are non-vegetarians. Rice (*mandi*) is their staple food. In the morning, they prefer to eat watered rice (*daa mandi*) with fried green leaves, green chilies and salt. For lunch and dinner, they usually take boiled rice (*raa-mandi*) with fried green leaves (*aa*), vegetable curry, garlic, onion, chilies, salt and *kachada* oil extracted from *mahua* seeds, etc. They also take pulses like *urad*, *kulthi* and *biri*. Til and *mahua* oil are their favorite oils. They eat seasonal fruits like mango, jackfruit, guava etc.

They are fond of eating non-vegetarian items like the curry of fish (*haku*), red ant (*hau*) and termites (*nidri*), crabs (*kattah*), meat (*jilu*) of different types of birds and animals whenever available. During rituals and festive occasions, they prepare curry of meat (*jilu*), different types of rice cakes and take these along with boiled rice and country liquor. In the past, they were consuming beef and pork but now coming in contact with the Hindu neighbors, they are avoiding such foods.

Like other tribes, the Kols are also very fond of intoxicating traditional drinks such as rice beer (*handia*), date palm juice (*tadi*) and *mahua* liquor (*matkamjli rasi*). Such traditional liquors are offered to their ancestors and deities on different festive occasions to appease them. Tobacco leaves (*sukul*) are chewed raw or puffed through handmade cigar (*pica*) by almost all adult members. There is no gender discrimination in smoking or drinking of liquor.

RELIGIOUS BELIEFS AND PRACTICES

The Kols are polytheists. Being the worshiper of nature, they say that they are the followers of *sarna* religion. The word *sarna* is derived from the word *sir* which means 'arrow'. The *sarna* religion is also professed by many tribes of north Odisha namely, Santal, Oraon, Birhor and Munda etc.

'Bonga' is the generic term which is used to signify all gods / goddesses and spirits. Their supreme deity is *Sing Bonga* or Sun God. He is a very benevolent God who is also called "Dharam Debta". They believe that he is the Creator of the Universe. They also worship *Marang buru* or *Baru Bonga* - the goddess of hill for the arrival of rains. There are other deities like *Basuki Thakurani* - the Earth

Goddess, *Pauditurudu Bonga* -the god of deep water, *Bagiya Bonga* -the god of forest who controls all the wild animals, *IkirBonga* -the deity of river, *Sangar Bonga* -the god of hunting, *Sana Turudu Bonga* -the god of wealth, *Karam Bonga* (Laxmi Thakurani) - the goddess of wealth and prosperity. In addition to that they have *Jid Bonga*, *Kumuba Bonga*, *Bhata Bonga*, *Hankar Bonga*, etc. All these deities are worshipped by the Kols in different festive occasions and also at the time of crises.

At the village outskirts, lies their sacred grove of *sal* trees (*sarna*) where their village deity *Desauli* resides. *Desauli* protects all the villagers from different crises. Therefore, most of the community rituals are performed at *sarna* in the honor of the village deity. *Gramsiri* is another important village deity worshipped by the Kols.

They have the 'cult of ancestor worship'. In every Kol house, in the kitchen room, there is an earthen seat called *ading* for their ancestral spirits (*buraburi*). The people of other communities are strictly prohibited to touch the *ading*. In all festive, ritual and ceremonial occasions, the ancestors are worshipped there by offering food, flowers and incense to get their blessings.

The Kols strongly believe in deities and spirits and their relationship with supernaturalism are founded on respectful fear, dependence, self-surrender and propitiation. Their spiritual union with these spirits is supposed to be accomplished concretely through supplications, rice beer offerings and animal sacrifices.

The Kols like other Kolarian tribes have a strong belief in witchcraft and evil spirits of which they are mortally afraid of. The evil spirits are called *Churel*, *Panawa*, *Jind* and *Matia*. They believe that prolongation of any kind of disease is due to the action of *Dian* (witch) or evil *Bonga*. Generally, the *Dians* are elderly Kol women. Irrespective of age, one can learn the *dianbidya* (the art of witch craft). Sometimes, the *Dians* are believed to have intercourse with malevolent spirits to acquire the evil power to bring natural calamities to their region or to harm or kill their enemies.

The sacerdotal head of the Kol village is called *Dehuri/Deuri* who mediates between *Hor* (man) and *Bonga* (god). He officiates as a priest in all the village, community and family level rituals. His post is hereditary. The Kols seek his priestly services to please and propitiate their *Bongas* for relief from sickness, crop harvesting, rearing of healthy livestock and getting good progeny. Sometimes, he is assisted by *Jamsim*.

For magico-religious remedy for sickness the Kols seek the services of their traditional healer, the *Ojha* or *Denova* (shaman). In trance he can detect the cause of illness and prescribes remedies to the patient by performing magico-religious rites. There is another traditional healer called *Raulia* who acts as the

medicine man. In these days, by the impact of development and modernization, they are availing modern health care services available in their area.

Festivals

The Kols being an agricultural community their religion centers round the relationship between festivals and annual agricultural cycle. *Mage parab* is their principal annual festival. It is celebrated in the month of *Magha* (January-February) when the granaries are full of paddy. For welfare of the villagers they worship *Sing Bonga* and *Desauli* along with some other *Bongas* during this festival. It continues for six days. According to the nature of celebration, each day of the festival is named separately, like (i) *Gawamara* or *Gawal*, (2) *Otelli* or *Ate Ili*, (3) *Loya* or *Sangeilli*, (4) *Marringpar* or *Marring Musing*, (5) *Basi Para* or *Mage Basi* or *Basi Musing* and (6) *Hanr Mage* or *Hanr Bonga* or *Hanr Bagia*.

Baha Parab also known as *Phal Bhangani* is another important festival of the tribe. In Kol language, 'Ba' means flower and thus the festival is named. Hence, this festival is related to the flower, particularly the indigenous *salflower* and is celebrated in the month of *Chaitra* (February-March) in honour of the village deity, *Desauli*.

Rajasala or *Raja Parab* is also observed by the Kols which comes during the month of *Yethe-Chanda* (May-June). Dancing and singing in groups are the major events of this festival. Besides, other festivals like *Hera Parab*, *Bantauli Parab*, *Kamnawa Parab* and *Kaka Montari* or *Kalam Parab*, *Makar Parab*, *Ashadi Parab*, *Gamha Parab* etc; are also observed by the Kols in different seasons. But now after coming in contact with the Hindu castes, some of them also observe different Hindu festivals, like *Laxmi Puja*, *Durga Puja*, *Biswakarma Puja*, *Ganesh Puja*, *Saraswati Puja* and *Ratha Yatra* (Car Festival) etc. All the festivals are associated with definite periods of the year and are celebrated accordingly. These occasions and events intensify the emotional and cultural appeal of Kol religion.

DANCE AND MUSIC

Celebrations and festivities are integrally woven in to the basics of tribal life. Undoubtedly, the Kols are fond of dance inseparably interwoven with songs and music. They compose their own music and folk-songs. Folk songs are sung on almost all occasions but the themes are occupational or connected with festival and season change. They have a wealth of folk dances and songs, folk lore and folk tales closely mingled with their life-blood which throw light on their origin and evolution.

Like all other tribes, dance (*susun*) and music are the integral part of all the festivals and rituals observed by the Kol community. Besides, in their leisure time they perform various dances for entertainment. In their society dance is a group

event. There is a great similarity in the music, songs and dances of the Kols with the neighbouring tribes like the Munda, the Santal, Kharia and the Birhor etc.

The principal varieties of dances they perform are *maghesusun* on the occasion of Maghe festival, *basusun* in Ba festival, *andisusun* on the occasion of marriage and *hero susun* during the Hero festival. Each dance is accompanied by a song, sung by the performers. Irrespective of age and sex all can dance and sing invariably but the accompanying music is provided by the male members only. For dance and music they use different types of musical instruments like *dama* (single membrane drum), *dumang* (double membrane drum), *rutu* (flute), *banam* (one stringed fiddle), *chadchadi* (single membrane drum), *ghanta* (iron bell) etc.

The rich tradition of dance and music has been developed indigenously and maintained by themselves without any external help. Now-a-days, with the help of the government and non-governmental agencies they stage their dance and music in different district, state and national level festivals to exhibit their artistic talents and cultural identity.

SOCIAL CONTROL

The Kol village is regarded as an important social unit. The families of different clans in the village extend mutual help and co-operation to each other in different socio-religious and economic activities. The villagers share each other's sorrows and happiness at the time of need. Kol society maintains a unique system of customary rules and regulations for the management of their customary affairs at the tribal, inter-tribal, village and clan levels.

Traditionally, they had a well-organized autonomous socio-political system. Their traditional governance system was a three- tier system such as village council at the bottom, regional council in the middle and tribal council at the top. All the household heads are the member of the traditional village council headed by the secular village headman known as *Munda* or *Pradhan* who is selected by the family heads of the village. He is assisted by an assistant called *Dakua*. Munda is the adjudicator of all cases in the village council. Dakua acts as the messenger. He conveys the messages regarding date and time of the council's meetings to its members.

At the regional level the confederation of some contiguous Kol villages is called *pirh*. The head of the *pirh* is called as *Manki* or *Sardar* who is nominated by the *Mundas* of the component villages. He presides over the *pirh* meetings where inter village disputes are resolved. Several *pirhs* constitute the apex tribal organization called *pala*. *Bisoi* is the secular head of *pala* nominated by the *Mankis* of the constituent *pirhs*. Their customary matters which could not be resolved at the regional level and so referred to this apex body are discussed and finalized at this level.

In these days with the introduction of new *panchayatiraj* institution, the traditional socio-political scenario has changed. Only the traditional village council is still effective. The traditional middle and upper level councils have lost their importance. Even now, the *Munda* handles their customary village affairs and settles all the disputes regarding theft, conflicts, violation of customary rules, witchcraft and sorcery, partition of property, sale and mortgage of land, marriage, bride price, divorce, adultery and the like. Munda presides over the village council meeting, initiates discussions and take decisions in consultation with *Dakua* and other village elders.

Punishment given to the offenders also varies according to the gravity of the offence. Generally, the offender is asked to pay the penalty in shape of kinds or cash. Sometimes, the culprit is ex-communicated if found guilty of serious violations of customary rules.

CHANGING WORLD

With the dawn of independence, the wind of change is blowing in the interior tribal pockets as well. The Kols are now passing through a phase of transition which is reflected in their changing life style and cultural pattern. Special developmental plans and programmes, launched by Government and non-government agencies for their socio-economic upliftment have contributed a lot in their transformation.

With the development of science and infrastructure, industrialization exerts profound impact on the various aspects of Kol society. With the spread of education, Kol young people have entered into the field of industrial economy and job market. With the change of political system the traditional roles of the functionaries have also changed.

In recent decades the Ho society is undergoing rapid change. The scenes of change in the Kol habitations can be traced in the growing welfare institutions like Government Residential Schools, Colleges, Anganwadi Centers, Public Health Centres, Veterinary Hospitals, Police Posts and Industrial Establishments etc. We also find all weather roads, tube wells, IAY houses, fire proof houses, electrified villages and irrigated green fields in the Munda settlement area. Even supply of HYV seeds, introduction of multiple cropping, input assistance, market assurance, banking linkages etc have strengthened their foothold in agriculture.

MGNREGA programme also plays a vital role in upholding their economy. Blooming execution of various individual benefit schemes and Bankable Income Generating Schemes for women Self Help Groups (SHGs) by the Government illustrate the positive angle of their development. Under various socio-economic development schemes, SHGs have been formed and they have got the opportunity to avail different kinds of financial benefits to improve their living standards by adopting gainful pursuits like fishery, poultry, horticulture, etc. By

developing cottage industry they also prepare broomsticks, pickles, leaf plates and turmeric powder and sell these in the local market to earn additional income.

Due to introduction of the reservation policy, PESA, (Panchayatraj Extension to the Scheduled Areas Act) and Forest Rights (FR) Act in their area, their traditional rights to self-governance, development and exploitation of forest resources have been recognized and these have contributed to their empowerment. Several other protective and promotional measures provided by the constitution and subsequent legislations accompanied by a host of welfare and development plans and programmes have helped them towards their integration in the national mainstream in a footing of equality

Organization of Live Demonstration Programmes of Arts and Craft of different tribes, Tribal Dance Festivals and *Adivasi Mela* by the Government and especially by SCSTRTI from time to time undoubtedly provides a polite platform for the tribals to bloom and flourish in their own way. Live Demonstrations Programmes are being organized in the premises of Tribal Museum of SCSTRTI where their arts and artifacts have been preserved and exhibited for the domestic and foreign visitors, there by opening a window to their unique cultural landmarks. Every year National Tribal Dance Festival in December and Annual State Level Tribal Fair (Adivasi Mela) are being organized at the State capital of Bhubaneswar to exhibit the colourful and diversified arts, crafts, music, songs, dances and other non-material and material aspects of the tribal world of Odisha in which the Kol artists and artisans are participating.

However, while facing the powerful waves of modernization and development, the Kols are struggling hard to preserve the time-tested indigenous elements of their pristine culture as well as their cultural identity against letting them to be lost in antiquity. Still their silent but solid grip on their core of the culture continues unabated.

HOLVA *

*S. C. Mohanty*¹

HOLVA is a numerically small tribe. They trace their community name from the term 'hal' a plough. The word *Hala* or *Holo* means plough. That means the Holva depend upon plough cultivation. They claim Bastar State of Chhatisgarh to be their original home from where they have migrated to Orissa. The tribe is also distributed in undivided Andhra Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh and Maharashtra having synonyms like Halba, Halwa and Halbi. They have their own dialect, "Halbi". Now they speak Oriya.

They are mostly distributed in the southern part of Orissa. They are found concentrated in undivided Koraput and Kalahandi districts. As per 1991 census their total population in the State is 13,662 and sex ratio is 1108. In 2011, their population has risen to 28149 and their sex ratio has decreased to 1010. In 1981 the level of literacy was 14.01 %. In 2011 it has increased to 48.90.

The Holva live in multi-ethnic villages in separate hamlets. The shrine of the village guardian deity is found at the village entrance. They build their houses at a distance from the houses of other caste groups. Their houses are arranged in a linear pattern. A typical Holva house has a rectangular plan with two sloped roofs thatched with forest grass and straw. Their houses are multi-roomed with wide verandah in front.

Agriculture is the mainstay of their economy. It is supplemented by hunting, fishing, forest collections, and wage earning. They cultivate lands as owners and also on a sharecropping basis. They produce different types of crop like rice, *ragi*, maize, pulses, etc. They also grow sugarcane and tobacco to a certain extent. They are non-vegetarians. Rice is their staple food. Unlike other tribal groups they do not eat beef, but fowl, pork, mutton are eaten as and when

* Unpublished article of 2000 updated in 2018

¹ Research Officer (2000) & Consultant (2018), SCSTRTI

available. Habitually they take country liquor, rice beer and Salap juice, and chew tobacco.

The tribe has local divisions like, Chhatisgarhia, Bastariha and Marethia. The Holva of Orissa belong to the Bastariha division as they claim to have migrated from the Bastar region of Madhya Pradesh. They form a separate endogamous group. They have several exogamous clans (*got or sans*), viz. *Manjur, Nage, Bagh, Netam, Kochum, Honu, Goriapakhi, Bhardwajpakhi* etc. They use surnames like *Majhi, Borobundia, Samarath, Nayak, Nekal, Marapalia, Rana, Siunia, Dera, Bhaia, Kaur, Bakra, Jeeram* and *Sukaloo*.

The family is nuclear and patrilineal. Extended and joint families are seen to certain extent. They practise monogamy and prefer to arrange marriages by negotiation. They also go in for cross-cousin marriage, marriage by service, exchange and capture. Their society allows junior levirate and remarriage of widow, widowers and divorcees. They cremate the dead and observe death pollution for eleven days.

They worship their own Gods and goddesses such as *Dulhadeo, Budhadeo, Kankalinmata, Sitalamata, Bhaisasur, Baghrampat*, etc. They have also incorporated some Hindu deities like *Siva, Laxmi, Kali, Ram, Hanuman, Ganesh* and *Durga* into their pantheon. The main festivals are *Amus, Siva Puja, Nuakhia, Choitparab, Chitalagi Amabasya, Dassara, Diwali* and *Holi*. Their sacred specialists designated as *Pujari* and *Dabari* who conduct worships and perform rituals

They have their traditional leader called *Jatinayak* having jurisdiction over a number of villages to deal with their customary affairs. He has powers to punish and excommunicate an offender and purify a sinner.

They have a rich tradition of folk dances and songs. They are responsive to change and development.

HOLVA *

*Gopinath Sathpathy*¹

The Holvas of Orissa are an agricultural community. They trace their caste name from the term 'hal' a plough. They claim Bastar State to be their original home from where they have migrated to Orissa. At present their population is 4,483 of which 4,432 constitute the rural population and 51 live in urban areas. Their district wise distribution is given below:-

Sl. No.	Name of the District	Male population	Female population	Total population
1.	Koraput	1,902	2,089	3,991
2.	Kalahandi	187	252	439
3.	Cuttack	10	11	21
4.	Bolangir	08	09	17
5.	Sundargarh	13	00	13
6.	Puri	02	00	02
Total		2,122	2,361	4,483

They speak Oriya with outsiders but their own dialect is peculiar to them. Dr. Grierson has described their dialect as follows:-

“Their dialect is a curious mixture of Uriya, Chhatisgarhi, and Marathi, the proportions varying according to the locality”. They say their language to be Halbi after their own caste name, and use the language in their home.

The tribe has local divisions known as Bastariha, Chhatisgarhi and Marethia, after their original home. In Orissa, the Holvas claim to belong to Bastariha division and persons of other divisions are not seen. This Bastariha Holvas form a separate sub-caste and do not have any relation with other

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divisions. This again is divided into two groups as pure and mixed which the Holvas of Orissa do not admit.

They have a number of exogamous divisions as Manjur, Nages, Bagh, etc. These are named after animals and plants which are respected by the sept members. The totemistic groups are named as Barags. They have a number of surnames like Siunia, Majhi, Naik and Bhal. Now a day's marriage is avoided by persons having the same surname as well as between those of the same Barga.

Family is nuclear. Extended and joint families are seen to certain extent. The family is partilineal, patrilocal and patripotestal.

Village acts as a socio-political unit for all practical purposes. Like other tribes they have Naik, Pujari and Barik as village officials. The Naik decides petty social affairs in the village panchayat with the help of other members of the village. Over a number of villages there is a Jatinaik, who adjudicates all grave social offences. A person is excommunicated when he commits any fault like killing a cow or is affected by *machiapatak*, or is beaten with shoe. This Jatinaik does the purification ceremony. He is the first man to eat the food and thereby takes the sin of the offender upon his own head. The jatinaik is invited on all marriage functions as an honourable guest and he remains in charge of the smooth management of the affair.

They have no dormitory. Recently Jubak Sanghas, Kirtan Mandals have been organized, the membership of which is open to all irrespective of age and caste.

It is believed that the pregnant woman's desire is the desire of the child in the womb. So she is given by her mother various kinds of rich food during her pregnancy just to satisfy her longing for the same. The pregnant wife is forbidden from crossing a river, or to eat anything with a knife. At the time of delivery she takes up a sitting posture and is attended by a woman. The naval cord is cut by a woman of their caste or of Dhakad caste and is burnt. The after birth is buried in rubbish pit outside the house. They observe *sathi* on the sixth day and relatives are given a feast. The birth pollution extends over 12 days when the mother is not allowed to touch anybody. On the sixth day, they name the child in consultation with the Brahmin. On 21st day the woman is completely purified and touches the cooking pot. The relatives are invited to a feast in this occasion. The will-to-do families also perform *Satyanarayan pala*. At the age of three, the first hair cutting ceremony is performed. Some does the function near a temple and some at home. The ears of all the children of a village between 5 to 10 years of age are perforated by a Sunari at a time. This is known as *Majhisamart*. It is held jointly. All the families taking part in the occasion contribute. The Brahmin does *homa* and all are given a feast on this occasion.

The woman under menstruation is held impure for 4 days. She sleeps on the ground and is not allowed to walk on the ploughed field. On the 5th day, she washes her head, cleanses her clothes, and then she is allowed to cook.

Marriage is preceded by a thread ceremony where the maternal uncle gives the sacred thread, which is worn throughout his life.

Girls are usually married at the age of 10 to 12 before they attend puberty. In case, they fail to arrange a bridegroom, they perform the pseudo marriage with a *mahua* tree. If a girl goes wrong with an outsider of low caste, she is out casted but in case of seducer belonging to higher caste, she is re-admitted to the community. Woman of other castes married by Holvas are admitted to the community. They prefer cross-cousin marriage. Matches are usually arranged on the initiative of the boy's father through a mutual friend, who acts as mediator and is known as *Mahalia*. The negotiation being complete, the boy's father sends a present of fixed quantities of grain to the girl and on an auspicious day, he and his relatives proceed to her village. He presents her with rupee and returns after a feast. The day for marriage is fixed by the astrologer or the caste-priest. They adopt two forms of wedding known as 'small' and 'large' the former being held at the bridegroom's place with less expenditure and is much cheaper than the latter, which is held at the bride's place. The small wedding is more popular among the Holvas. In this type, the bride accompanied by her friends arrives at the bridegroom's village in the evening, her parents following her only on 3rd day. They sing. They straight enter into the bridegroom's house and sit down where the family Gods is kept. They are then shown their apartment to rest where they are attended to. On the wedding day, the cloths of the couple are tied together and they go round the marriage post seven times, the bride following the bridegroom. They are then allowed to sit on a yoke and throw consecrated rice over each other. The husband then gives some vermilion mark on her head and covers her head with cloth. The parents of the bride come and join the function. On the following day, the friends of the couple make presents to them. After seven days, the couples go to the bride's place where they remain for 3 weeks.

After the wedding, the grown up bride lives with her husband, but in case of a child bride, she goes back to her parents until her adolescence, when the ceremony of 'going away' is performed.

Now most of the Holvas are hiring Brahmins as their priest in marriage ceremonies and are performing marriage at the bride's place in the manner of higher castes with sacred fire lit by the Brahmin.

The widow and the divorced woman can remarry by the simple procedure of marking vermilion on her head. Marriage by capture or elopement is rarely practiced. Polygyny is allowed.

The death pollution is observed for 11 days. Usually the dead is buried, salt being sprinkled over and under it. They conduct cremation in the case of the death of the head of the family. They are shaved by the barber at the river or tank on the tenth day, and join in a feast on the 11th day. At certain places, the shaving and purification ceremony are done on the 3rd day. The well-to-do persons perform annual ceremony for the dead in the month of *Bhadrab* (September).

They observe 'New mango eating' festival in *Chaitra*, 'Amus' festival in *Sraban*, 'new rice eating' ceremony in *Bhadrab*, 'Iswar and Siva' Puja in *Magh*. A few well-to-do families also observe *Laxmi Puja* in *Magusir*, *Dewali* in *Kartika*, and *Holi* in *Fagun* following their Hindu neighbours.

The Holvas live in fairly large heterogeneous villages. They construct their houses at a distance from the rest of the population. The houses are in two rows and the village street passes in between. At the entrance of the village is temple of village deity. The structure of their houses varies from place to place. At certain places the rectangular structured houses with two sloping roofs are seen. At other places particularly in the Salim Grama Panchayat, the structure of the house is typical. At its centre, is a room, raised on a circular plinth with a roof of wattles plastered with clay. This is called inner chamber, where they store their food grains. Round this, is the wide verandah, with certain doorways and walls all around. Beyond this wall there is another verandah on two sides with walls all around. The verandah is converted into several small rooms with openings. These small rooms are utilized as cooking and sleeping apartments. The roof is thatched with forest grass or straw. The walls are made of wattles plastered with mud. The walls are coloured yellow and black and are painted with designs.

The household equipments consist of stick, utensils of leaf, gourd, earthen vessels, knife, carrying poles, husking lever and *kutuni*, leaf and cloth umbrellas. The well-to-do persons have aluminium utensils, brass jars, torch light, lantern for their use. They have all agricultural implements like *ankudi*, yoke, plough share, plough, sickle, spade, *kodal*, digging stick, etc. The axe, bow and arrow are used as hunting implements.

The males simply wear *lengutior* short cloth. The napkin and the *chaddar* are mostly used. When they go to market place, they wear long mill-made or handmade cloths and shirts. The women wear white sarees with red borders. Coloured sarees are also worn by unmarried girls. They adorn themselves with silver, brass and a little of gold ornaments. Bead necklaces, silver chains round the neck, glass bangles, brass and silver *Khadus* on the arm, earrings, toe and finger rings, *Pahudas* and *Ghugurias* on leg, are some of their ornaments of daily use. The well-to-do also wear gold ornaments.

Their main occupation is agriculture. They cultivate the lands as owner and on share basis. Many of them remain as laborers with the land owning authorities. Shifting cultivation is almost given up. The main produces are paddy,

suani, *ragi*, maize, pulses and different types of grams. Sugarcane and tobacco are also cultivated to a certain extent. They collect jungle products. They take resort to hunting as a pastime. Fishing is also practiced to a certain extent. A few have accepted jobs in Government and under different firms.

They consume what they produce. It is insufficient in major cases and hence they live upon mango kernels, *mahul* flower and other forest products for a certain part of the year. They take different types of liquor like rice beer, Solapa and arrack distilled from the *mahul* tree and its barks. They do not eat beef but fowl, pork, mutton and meat are taken most eagerly.

They are Hindus. They treat the tribals like Gond, Koya, Khonds and non-tribal groups like Sundhi, Teli and Mali as inferior to them. Except from the Brahmin they do not take cooked food from anyone else. Water is taken from *Rona*, *Karan*, and *Dhakad*. Most of the tribals take water from them. They are served by barber and washer man.

They have developed and are sending their boys and girls to the schools for education. It is likely that after a short period they may be economically and educationally better off and may cease to be included in the tribal list.

HOLVA *

*S. Routray*¹

The Holvas are one of the Scheduled Tribes of Orissa. The very name of the tribe is derived from the word *holo*, meaning 'plough'. Thurston has described it as a synonym of Pentiya and the name of a section of Oriya Brahmans who plough the land. Satapathy reports (*Adibasi*, 1963-64: 161) that they are said to have migrated from Bastar State in Madhya Pradesh. They are mostly distributed in the southern part of Orissa and the northern part of Andhra Pradesh. In Orissa they are concentrated in the Koraput and Kalahandi Districts. They are found in considerable numbers in districts like Sundargarh, Keonjhar and Sambalpur, while their population is almost zero in other districts. They had a population of 13,662 according to the 1991 Census. The growth rate during 1981-91 was 53.80 per cent, which is very high given the growth rate of 18.89 per cent of the total tribal population of the state. The sex ratio was 1,108 females per 1,000 males according to the 1991 Census. The literacy rate was 14.1 per cent at the 1981 Census and 17.3 per cent in 1991. Formerly they spoke a dialect called Halbi, but now they speak Oriya fluently.

The tribe has several local divisions, such as Bastariha, Chhatisgarhia and Marethia. In Orissa, the Holva claim to belong to the Bastarha division. These Bastariha Holva form a separate sub-caste and do not have any relationship with the other divisions. They have a number of exogamous divisions, such as Monjur, Nages, Bagh, etc. These are named after animals and plants, which are respected by the kin members. These totemistic groups are called *bargas*. They have a number of surnames, like Siunia, Majhi, Naik and Bhal. Nowadays marriage is avoided between persons having the same surname as well as between those of the same *barga*.

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Most of the families are of nuclear type, extended and joint families being rare. The family is patrilineal, patrilocal and patripotestal besides being patriarchal. The father controls the family when the married sons live with him. Parents without issue may go for adoption. The adopted child enjoys all the normal privileges like inheritance of property, etc.

In the socio-political field the village acts as a corporate body, with the Naik, Pujari and Barik as its officials. The political head, the Naik, presides over and gives decisions in the council meetings, which are final and binding. Above the village level, the Jati Naik presides over a number of villages and has greater political powers to resolve social offences. A person is punished and sometimes excommunicated if he commits any fault like killing a cow, or if he develops *machia patak* in his body. The Jati Naik can also release a guilty person from his sin by eating food from his hand and thereby taking all the sins upon his own head. He is considered an honourable person and is invited to attend all the socio-religious functions. Dormitory organisations are almost non-existent among the Holva. In its place new institutions like *yubak sangh*, *kirtan mandali* and *mahila samiti* have grown up in the villages.

In most tribal societies an individual is taught from early childhood how to lead a corporate life within the norms and patterns of the society, instead of aiming at individual achievement by competition. Their behavioural patterns are greatly influenced by early socialization processes, which start from birth to adolescence.

The cessation of the monthly cycle is accompanied by allied symptoms like vomiting, morning sickness, etc. indicating that conception and the period of pregnancy is counted from that month onward. The woman communicates the news to her mother-in-law and husband in the second month of pregnancy. Sexual cohabitation is generally avoided during the later months of pregnancy. During pregnancy the woman continues to perform her normal household chores and work in the fields as usual. However, she must follow a number of pre-natal restrictions, not being allowed to go to a lonely place at night or eat the flesh of any animal. When the labour pains begin the mother-in-law calls the traditional Dhai and an elderly woman of her own tribe to assist in the delivery. Delivery takes place at one corner of the living room under the guidance of the traditional Dhai, at which time the pregnant woman sits on a wooden plank and holds a rope hung from the rafters of the roof of the house. As soon as the baby is delivered the Dhai checks its respiration by swaddling it with her hand. Then she cuts the umbilical cord with an unsterilized, sharp-edged arrow or blade. Birth pollution extends up to the twelfth day, during which the mother is not allowed to touch anybody. The first hair-cutting ceremony is observed on the sixth day of birth or any day after the stump of the naval cord drops off. Also on the sixth day, the name-giving ceremony is observed in consultation with the Brahman priest. They observe the ear-piercing ceremony when the child reaches the age of five. The

kinsmen, particularly those on the maternal side, are invited to a feast on this occasion.

Marriage is considered to be an auspicious event in the life of a Holva youth. Clan exogamy is strictly observed. Monogamy is common. Polygyny is also allowed. Child marriage is not encountered. But girls marry at an early age. According to J.K. Das, the Holva have an established marriage relationship with the Pentiya. Marriage by negotiation is the common practice, in which a mediator known as the Mahaliata takes an active part in finalising the marriage proposals. After it is fixed, the boy's father sends some fixed quantities of grains to the girls' house and visits her village along with his relations and the maternal uncle of the boy. There he is treated with a feast and pays some money to the girl. The wedding date is fixed on the same day by the caste priest. In the case of less expensive types of marriage, the bride with her friends arrives at the groom's house, where the marriage is solemnized. On the third day the bride's parents arrive at the groom's house. They sing together with the groom's relatives. Then they enter the house of the groom and sit down where the household gods are kept. On the fourth day the clothes of the couple are tied together and they move around the marriage post seven times, the bride following the bridegroom. The groom then puts vermilion on the bride's head and covers her head with a cloth. A small feast is arranged on that occasion and after seven days the couple goes to the bride's place where they remain for three weeks. This type of marriage is much preferred, as it reduces the marriage expenditure. The other type of marriage is expensive and performed at the bride's house. A widow can remarry the younger brother of her deceased husband. A divorcee can remarry with the approval of the society.

The Holva cremate their dead, but those dying of cholera or smallpox are buried. The dead bodies of those women who die during pregnancy are also buried. The dead body is anointed with oil and turmeric and wrapped with a new cloth before being taken to the funeral ground. In a burial salt is sprinkled over and under the corpse. The kith and kin of the deceased mourn and observe death pollution for eleven days. The male members are shaved by the village barber at the river on the tenth day. A feast is given on the eleventh day, attended by the villagers. During burial, the head of the deceased is pointed towards the east in the case of a female and towards the west in the case of a male. Some rich families observe the Sradhaceremony each year in the month of Bhadrab. Many buffaloes are sacrificed in honour of their ancestors on this occasion.

The Holva have incorporated a number of Hindu gods and goddesses into their pantheon, like Siva, Bishnu, Laxmi, Kali and Durga. They also fear and worship the goddess of smallpox, as is done by the local Hindu population. Smallpox is not regarded as a disease but as the appearance of Thakurani on the body, and the affected person goes to the priest, who makes offering to Thakurani for his recovery. In religious ceremonies, offerings are made to different gods and

goddesses for a good harvest and the eradication of disease and natural calamities. The Holva observe the new mango-eating ceremony in Chaitra, the Amus festival in Sraban, the new rice-eating ceremony in Bhadrab, and Iswar and Siva Puja in Magh. They participate in all the festivals of their Hindu neighbours to which they are invited.

Holva villages are heterogeneous. The houses are lineally arranged. The shrine of the village deity is situated at the entrance to the village. They build their houses at a distance from the houses of other caste groups. A typical Holva house has a rectangular plan with two sloped roofs thatched with forest grass and straw. The walls are generally constructed with mud or bamboo splits and wattles plastered with mud. Black and yellow paintings are also made on the walls. The house may have two or three rooms with a wide verandah. The rooms are used for cooking, sleeping and storing food grains. Small shelves are made inside the room using bamboo for storing grains. Before constructing the house pujas are performed and offerings made to the household deity. Household appliances consist of leaf utensils, gourds, earthenware vessels, stick knives, carrying poles, leaf and cloth umbrellas, husking pads, etc. Aluminium utensils, brass plates, jars, lanterns, clothes and torchlights are also found in some houses.

The Holva's pattern of dress and ornamentation is like that of their Hindu neighbours. The men wear a *lungi* while at home, but when they go to the market or attend any function they wear a *dhoti* and *chadar*. The women wear white saris with red borders. Unmarried girls wear printed saris of inferior quality. They put on silver ornaments mostly, gold ornaments occasionally. They adorn themselves with bead necklaces and silver chains, glass bangles, brass and silver *khadus* on the arm, earrings, toe and finger rings, *pahuda*, *ghungurias*, etc.

The Holva earn their livelihood by agriculture. They cultivate lands as owners and also on a sharecropping basis. They produce different types of crop like rice, *ragi*, maize, pulses, etc. They also grow sugarcane and tobacco to a certain extent. The main agricultural implements they use are the plough and hoe, with or without an iron point. The iron implements used in agricultural operations are purchased from the local markets. The income from land is supplemented by forest collections, hunting and fishing. A few people of this community are now in government jobs. Many of them work as daily labourers on different construction projects undertaken by the government.

Their staple food is rice. Cereals like *ragi* and *gurzi* are also eaten. They also eat curry prepared with edible leaves and vegetables along with rice. They use oil and salt in their food preparations. On festive occasions meat is a necessity along with rice, *dal* and curry. Unlike other tribal groups they do not eat beef, but fowl, pork, mutton are eaten as and when available. During days of food scarcity they live upon mango kernels and *mohua* flowers. Intake of intoxicants like rice-beer, *salap* juice and arrack distilled from the *mohua* flower are very common, and

during the observance of socio-religious functions like marriages, dances, etc. they drink without any limit.

In their society a woman is considered to be an economic asset to the family. She helps her husband in all economic pursuits. In addition to this she cooks food, fetches water, rears children and takes care of sick members. Though there is a division of labour, she shoulders the responsibilities of the family to a greater extent than other members. On the other hand she is self-sufficient and adds earnings in both kind and cash for her family. Therefore women enjoy a high status in Holva society.

The Holvas have established social relationships with neighbouring tribals like the Gond, Koya and Kondh, and non-tribal groups like the Sundhi, Teli and Mali. Other than Brahmans they do not take cooked food from others. But they take water from the Rana, Karan and Dhakad. They treat tribes like the Gond, Koya and Kondh as inferior to them. Some of them employ Brahmans to perform their ceremonies.

Since independence the government has been trying to free the people from economic and social distress. The Holvas, who are educationally better off than other tribals, are receptive to change. As a result, they accept innovation without much difficulty and are developing fast.

HOLVA *

A. B. Ota ¹

P. Patel ²

IDENTITY

The Holvas also known as Halva, Holwa and Holbi are one of the Scheduled Tribes of Odisha. The very name of the tribe is derived from the word *holo*, meaning plough. The tribe has several local divisions, such as Bastaria, Chhatisgarhia and Marethia. In Odisha, the Holva claim to belong to the Bastaria division. These Bastaria Holva form a separate sub-caste and do not have any relationship with the other divisions.

The Holvas are mostly distributed in the Southern part of Odisha and Northern part of Andhra Pradesh. In Odisha they are largely concentrated in the undivided districts of Koraput and Kalahandi. As per 2011 Census their total population is 28, 149 including 14, 006 males and 14,143 females registering a decadal growth rate of 169.06 percent between 2001 and 2011. Their sex ratio is 1010 females per 1000 males. Their total literacy rate i.e. 48.90 per cent is lower than total tribal literacy rate of the State which is 52.24 per cent.

They speak an Indo-Aryan language called Halbi and some of them are conversant with Bhatari, Chhattisgarhi, Oriya and Hindi. The Halba are short-

* Published as Photo Handbook on HOLVA, SCSTRTI, 2020

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statured with a tendency towards a round or broader head shape and have medium to long faces and a broad nose.

Dress & Ornaments

The Holva's pattern of dress and ornament is not very spectacular. It is rather like that of their caste neighbours. The men wear a *lungi* while at home, but when they go to the market or attend any function they wear a *dhoti* and *chadar*. The women wear white saris with red borders. Unmarried girls wear printed saris of inferior quality. They put on silver ornaments mostly and gold ornaments occasionally. They adorn themselves with bead necklaces and silver chains, glass bangles, brass and silver *khadus* on the arm, earrings, toe and finger rings, *pahuda*, *ghungurias*, etc. Men are not very fond of wearing ornaments.

HABITAT, SETTLEMENT & HOUSING

Holvass settlements are generally located amidst irregular topography with amazing landscapes of mountain ranges of Kondakamberu of Eastern *ghat* region situated at about three thousand feet above the sea level. These are surrounded by lush green vegetation having climatic conditions of high humidity and moderate rainfall. They establish their settlements near the perennial hill streams which provide them drinking water throughout the year. The luxuriant growth of flora containing Sal, Mohul, Asan, Mango, Jack fruit, Kendu, Sago Palm, Bamboo, varieties of creepers, edible roots, medicinal herbs and shrubs, wild berries, flowers, seasonal mushroom which are plentifully available near their habitat. Likewise the common birds and animals those reside in their forest are elephant, leopard, monkey, rabbit, deer, *sambar*, wild goat, wild pig, wild fowl, hyena, jackal, wolf, peacock, snakes and reptiles etc. The shrine of the village guardian deity is installed at the village entrance.

Holva live both in homogenous and heterogeneous villages. Their homogenous villages are unclan in structure which helps in fostering their community togetherness and social solidarity and keeps intact their cultural identity. Where they dwell in heterogeneous settlements, they always reside in separate hamlets maintaining social distance from other ethnic groups.

Holva houses in a village are arranged in two rows leaving a broad space in between as the village street like those of the Dravidian speaking tribes of that region. Their houses are multi roomed with a verandah in front.

A typical Holva house has a rectangular ground plan with a gable shaped roof thatched with forest grass, straw or *khapar* (country tiles). The walls are generally constructed with mud or bamboo splits and wattles plastered with mud. Wall paintings of black and yellow colour are made by women. The house may have two or three rooms with a wide front verandah. The rooms are used for cooking, sleeping and storing food grains. Small shelves are made inside the rooms using bamboo for storing grains. Before constructing the house prescribed rituals are performed and offerings made to the household deity.

Household Articles

Household articles of Holva consist of earthenware vessels, leaf cups and plates, gourds, knives, carrying poles, leaf and cloth umbrellas, husking levers, etc. Aluminium utensils, brass plates, jars, lanterns, clothes and torchlights are also found in some houses in these days. Various earthenware pots are supplied to them by the potters living in the plains.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Holva is an endogamous community which has several endogamous social divisions, such as Bastariha, Chhatishgadha, and Marathia. Holvas in Odisha claim themselves to be of Bastaria section. Each endogamous division further subdivided into various exogamous totemestic clans (*bargas*) namely Monjur, Kochim, Honu, Gorla pakshi, Bharadwaj pakshi, Nag and Bagh etc. which are named after animals and plants and are honoured by the concerned clan members. They have number of surnames like Siunea, Majhi, Naik, Bhal, Barobundia, Samarath, Nekal, Marapalia, Rana, Dera, Bhaia, Kuar, Bakra, Jeeram and Sukaloo. Now-a-days, marriage is avoided between persons having the same surname as well as between those of the same *barga*.

In Holva society, nuclear type of families is common and joint families are rare. The family is patriarchal, patrilineal and patrilocal. The father as the head of family controls the family. Parents without an issue may adopt a male child from the nearest patrilineage who may later on inherit the adoptive father's property. Inheritance and succession in family go along the male line.

A woman is considered to be a living economic asset to the family in Holva society. She helps her husband in all economic pursuits. In addition to this she cooks food, fetches water, rears children and takes care of sick members. Though there is a division of labour among the sexes, she shoulders the

responsibilities of the family to a greater extent than other members. She is self-sufficient and by her hard work she adds to the earnings of her family in both kind and cash. Therefore women enjoy a high status in Holva society.

LIFE CYCLE

Pregnancy

Pregnancy and childbirth are welcome events in a Holva family. A woman's pregnancy is indicated by cessation of the monthly cycle accompanied by allied symptoms like vomiting, morning sickness, etc. The woman communicates the news to her mother-in-law and husband in the second month of pregnancy. Sexual cohabitation is generally avoided during the advance stage of pregnancy. During pregnancy the woman continues to perform her normal household chores and works in the fields as usual. However, she must follow a number of pre-natal restrictions like not being allowed to go to a lonely place at night or eat the flesh of any ritually sacrificed animal.

Childbirth& afterwards

When the labour pain begins the mother-in-law calls the Dhai (traditional midwife) and an elderly woman of her own tribe to assist in the delivery. Delivery takes place at one corner of the living room under the guidance of the Dhai. At that time the pregnant woman sits on a wooden plank and holds a rope hung from the rafters of the roof of the house. As soon as the baby is delivered the Dhai checks its respiration by swaddling it with her hand. Then she cuts the umbilical cord with a sharp-edged arrow or blade.

Birth pollution is observed up to the twelfth day, during which the mother is not allowed to touch anybody. The first hair-cutting ceremony is held on the 6th day or any day after the stump of the naval cord drops off. Also on that day, the name-giving ceremony is held in consultation with the Brahman priest. They observe the ear-piercing ceremony when the child reaches the age of five. The kinsmen, particularly the maternal kins are invited to a feast on this occasion.

From their early childhood the Holva children are taught how to lead a corporate life within the norms and patterns of the society, instead of aiming at individual achievement by competition. Their behavioural patterns are greatly influenced by early socialization processes, which start from birth to adolescence.

Marriage

The marriage is considered to be an auspicious event in the life of a Holva. In their society the rule of clan exogamy is strictly observed. Monogamy is common though polygyny is also allowed. Child marriage is strictly prohibited. Girls marry at an early age.

Marriage by negotiation is common, in which a mediator known as 'Mahalia' plays an active role in finalizing the marriage proposal by interaction with the groom's side and the bride's side. After the proposal is accepted by both the sides, the boy's father sends some fixed quantities of food grains to the girl's parents and visit her village accompanied by his kins and the maternal uncle of the boy. There he and his party is entertained with delicious foods and presents some cash to the girl. The wedding date is fixed on that day by the community priest.

On the wedding day the bride accompanied by her friends and relatives arrives at the groom's house, where the marriage is solemnized. On the third day the bride's parents visit the groom's house to bless the couple. They sing together with groom's relatives and enter the groom's house. On the fourth day, wedding clothes of the couple are tied together and they move around the marriage pendal seven times, the bride following the bride groom. The groom then puts vermilion on the bride's head and covers her head with a cloth.

On that occasion the groom's family hosts the wedding feast for all villagers, friends and relatives. After a week the couple visits the house of the bride's parents and stay there for three weeks. This type of arranged marriage is much preferred, as it reduces the marriage expenditure. The other type of negotiation marriage performed at the bride's home where the groom comes with his party for wedding is expensive.

Junior levirate, junior sororate and remarriage of widows and widowers and divorcees are allowed with the approval of the society. A widow can remarry the younger brother of her deceased husband.

Death

The Holva cremate their dead. Those dying of cholera or smallpox and women who die during pregnancy or childbirth are buried. The dead body is anointed with turmeric paste and wrapped with a new cloth before it is taken to the funeral ground. In case of burial salt is sprinkled over the corpse and it is laid in the pit with its head towards the east in case of a female but towards the west in case of a male.

The kinsfolk of the deceased observe mourning and the death pollution for eleven days. During this period observances of rituals and festivals, visiting sacred shrines, relishing non vegetarian foods, use of oil and sexual intercourse in the bereaved family are strictly prohibited. The purificatory rite is performed on the tenth day in which the bereaved family members and their kinsfolk shave their hair and beards by utilizing the services of their traditional barber near a stream and take bath. On this occasion, the family of the deceased hosts a feast for their kith and kin, friends and villagers.

Like the caste Hindus, the Holvas observe annual *sradha* rite in the month of Bhadrav and host a grand non-vegetarian feast for the lineage members by sacrificing buffaloes in honour of the ancestors.

ECONOMIC LIFE

Primarily, the Holvas are cultivators. They supplement their income by allied activities such as share cropping, forest collection, basketry, hunting, fishing and mat making etc. Their economic life is based upon production, consumption, distribution and exchange simply and fairly centering on family and lineage.

As farmers, they cultivate lands as owners and also as sharecroppers. They produce a variety of crops like rice, maize, pulses etc. They also grow sugarcane and tobacco to a certain extent. The main agricultural implements they use are the plough and hoe with or without an iron point. The iron implements used in agricultural operations are purchased from the local markets.

As regards their seasonal forest collections, the forest provides them food, fuel and fodder and materials for house construction and preparation of various utility items for everyday use. For food, they collect different varieties of mushrooms, green leaves, fruits, roots, tubers, stems, flowers, seeds, mango, etc. from the forest in their respective growing seasons. In early rainy season which is apparently their lean period they eat mango kernels and bamboo shoots along with several green leaves and mushrooms.

They get from the forest different varieties of bamboos, which are used for house construction and for preparation of various utility items for their own use and sell of the surplus in market to earn extra income. They make beautiful tobacco-containers, fishing traps, baskets, mats and materials made of bamboo

splits. They also collect lac, honey, hill broom, fiber, leaves for preparation of cups and plates, the sale of which after meeting their needs fetch them some extra cash.

Fishing in local perennial streams also supplements their livelihood. A few people of this community are now in government jobs. Many of them work as daily labourers on different construction projects executed by the government.

Food Habits

The staple food of Holva is rice. Cereals like *ragi* and *gurzi* are also eaten. They also eat curry prepared with edible leaves and vegetables along with rice. They use oil and salt in their food preparations. On festive occasions meat is cooked along with rice, *dal* and curry. Unlike other tribal groups they do not eat beef, but fowl, pork, mutton are eaten as and when available. During days of food scarcity they live on mango kernels and *mohua* flowers. Intake of intoxicants like rice-beer, *salap* juice and arrack distilled from the *mohua* flower are very common, and during the observance of socio-religious functions like marriages, dances, etc. they drink without any limit.

Traditional Crafts

In Holva community, every individual is skilled in some kinds of crafts and is traditionally trained in making several utility items to meet their needs. They make bows and arrow, pellet bows, axes, adzes (a tool like axe), spears, swords, knives, harpoons, traps, nets, guns, agricultural implements, such as dibbles, pointed sticks with iron picks, hoes, spades, crowbars, ploughs, yokes, levelers, sickles etc. The musical instruments like flutes, conical drums, single membrane drums, violin, harp, trumpet, musical bows, etc. they make are further categorized according to their size, shape, modes and occasions of use. They also weave several types of baskets out of bamboo splits.

Some of the male members are very good bamboo and wood carvers and they do it as per the demand of tribesmen. A lot of utility items are made by them out of wood, bamboo, gourds, horns, leaves, stone, etc. for their own use. Among household materials mention may be made of grinding stones, husking pestle and mortar, leaf umbrella, caps etc. The personal items like smoking pipe, tobacco container of various designs and knives are significant. Although a lot of plastic and other modern items are used by them in these days, their traditional artefacts still have their socio-cultural significance. Certain craft items made and used by the Holvas are parts of their cultural identity e.g. palm leaf knitted head bands, bead necklaces and the engraved bamboo tobacco containers etc.

Their fascinating bead necklaces and excellent tobacco containers are vanishing crafts which need immediate attention for their preservation and promotion. By and large, Holva in several villages have retained their traditional materials culture as much as possible.

RELIGIOUS LIFE

Holva profess their own autonomous animistic religion which is amalgamated with few elements of Hinduism. They have incorporated a number of Hindu gods and goddesses into their pantheon, like Siva, Vishnu, Laxmi, Kali and Durga. They also believe in black magic, witchcraft and existence of evil spirits who can cause death and misfortune to humans and domestic animals and fatal diseases like Cholera and Smallpox. In order to be saved from the wrath of these evil spirits they propitiate them by offering sacrifice of fowls and offering country liquor (*mohua*). Smallpox is not regarded as a disease but as the appearance of a goddess (Thakurani) on the body and the affected person goes to the priest, who makes offerings to Thakurani for his recovery.

In religious ceremonies; offerings are made to different gods and goddesses for a good harvest and protection from disease and natural calamities. The Holva observe the new mango-eating ceremony in Chaitra, the Amas festival in Sraban, the new rice-eating ceremony in Bhadrab and Siva Puja in Magh. They participate in all festivals of their Hindu neighbours to which they are invited.

LEADERSHIP AND POLITICAL LIFE

In socio-political matters the village acts as a corporate body led by traditional officials namely Naik, Pujari and Barik. Naik - the secular head, presides over the village council meetings and takes decisions which are final and binding. At the regional level, the Jati Naik holds meetings and settles customary matters relating to a number of villages coming under his jurisdiction.

A person is punished and sometimes excommunicated by the traditional community council if he commits any grave offence like killing of cow or one develops maggots (*machiapatak*) in his body. The Jati Naik can also release a guilty person from his sin after his due penance by eating food from his hand and there by taking all the sins on his own head. He is considered as an honourable person and is invited to attend all the socio-religious functions.

DEVELOPMENT AND CHANGE

The Holvas are in a state of transition in the recent times. The socio-economic development activities initiated by the welfare government in the post independent times have brought noticeable changes in their life style. The main factors responsible for their economic transformation is the various development and welfare programmes launched by the Government and Non- Government agencies in different sectors to raise the standard of living relating to health and sanitation, education, environment, infrastructure, livelihood and income generation etc. Introduction of modern agricultural inputs, multi cropping, use of high yielding variety of seeds, market facilities etc. have brought visible changes in their life pattern. This has also broadened their world view and outlook.

The Holvas are receptive to change. So far as their development perception is concerned, they have very simple and limited aspirations with primary focus in livelihood. Their women folk have developed the propensity to save either in cash or kind and it is noticed from their modest contribution and involvement in maintaining Self Help Groups (SHGs). Although they still have confidence in their indigenous ethno-medicinal practices for healing, they have also shown interest for modern allopathic medicine at the time of dire need.

Now-a-days, young women work in road construction as daily laborers and under the private contractors. Some of them have adopted small business and trading. The modern public service institutions like public health center, schools, *anganwadi* centers, post office, weekly market, banks, LAMPs, Public Distribution centers and several others have contributed to the changing life of the Holva.

The Oil Odisha- a public sector agency under the agricultural extension programmes has been encouraging the Holva for cultivation of varieties of oil seeds. The TDCC and AMCS have been working in the area to procure their surplus and providing them daily consumer goods. The residential schools running in the Holva area attract the students to the fold of education. Moreover, the influence of mass media and their progressive non-tribal neighbours have also contributed to the change. Since development and change are inevitable, the Holva are no exception to it and they have exhibited growth positive characteristics.

ANTHROPOGENETIC STUDY OF THE PENTIA HALVAS OF KORAPUT DISTRICT *

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PART - I

INTRODUCTION

The People and the Habitat:

District Koraput in Orissa is the abode of many tribal populations who are predominantly of Proto-Australoid origin. It has a unique position geographically. It borders with Andhra Pradesh on one side and Madhya Pradesh on the other. Hilly ranges of Eastern Ghat occupy most portion and the valleys underlying are the populated areas. Rich forest is visible on the hilly sections and temperature and rainfall varies from the plain areas to the hill areas. Numerous primitive populations occupy different territories and pass for different tribes and Scheduled Castes. They maintain apparent biological and social segregation and thus provides scopes for anthropological studies. General habitational conditions, literacy, and technological efficiency are still in very primitive condition. Even to-day communication within the district is very poor. In past communication was only by foot. Naturally, the populations under same tribal nomenclature, but occupying different territories of the same district do not have social intercourse. Such is the case in the tribe under present study.

The people under present study, who call themselves as Halvas, are an agriculturist tribal community. They narrate a myth regarding their migration from neighboring district of Bastar of Madhya Pradesh. According to this myth,

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they incurred wrath of the local king by killing his elephant and fled away to an area named 'Pentkona'. As they were hiding in 'Pentkona' this section of Halvas came to be known later as Pentia. Sathpathy (Adivasi : 1964 : 161) also reports similar thing. There is another section of Halvas living in other area (Mathili Police Station area) of the same district, who do not have any social or biological communication with these people. Census of India reports them as 'Halvas' whereas the present people only as 'Pentia'. The problem of identification by name is increased in this way and only a bio-cultural approach can help solving the problem by assessing their cultural and ethnic affinity.

In absence of any multidisciplinary study on these two population groups, we have ventured a small scale study on sampling basis with limited resources at our disposal. The present study is aimed at revealing some salient features of morphological (metrical) and genetical character among the Pentia Halva.

Distribution

1961 Census report reveals presence of these people in Koraput, Mayurbhanj, Keonjhar, Phulbani (Boudh-Kondhmal), and Dhenkanal districts. Few persons have been reported from Cuttack and Puri districts also Total population in Orissa was estimated to be 9656 with sex ratio as 971 females per 1000 males. District Koraput records 42 percent of the total population followed next by Mayurbhanj as 40 percent. The table below will give a detailed occurrence of the population in different districts.

POPULATION DISTRIBUTION ACCORDING TO 1961 CENSUS

District	Total No.	Male	Female
1. Koraput	4,112	2,067	2,045
2. Mayurbhanj	3,853	1,968	1,885
3. Keonjhar	685	370	315
4. Baudh-Kondhamal (Phulbani)	551	277	274
5. Dhenkanal	369	182	187
6. Cuttack	61	16	45
7. Sambalpur	24	18	6
8. Puri	1	1	0

Total population in Orissa 9,656. Male 4,899 and Female 4,757

The data of 1971 Census is not at hand. In Koraput, the PentiaHalvas are found to live around Jeypore, Bhairabsingpur and Boriguma. In the Jeypore locality, they are found in six villages, around Bhairabsingpur in thirteen villages and around Boriguma in four villages. Data for present study were collected from 8 villages in Jeypore and Bhairabsingapur locality.

Occupation

The Pantia Halvas are mentioned in the 1901 Census Report of Madras Presidency (Part-I : 1902 : page 174) as “Oriya cultivators in Vizagapatnam Agency; also called Haluva”. They are predominantly settled agriculturist and live in the plains. They use plough for cultivation and mainly raise paddy. We have not come across any case of shifting cultivation in the locality under our survey.

The present population group practice settled agriculture, most of the population being engaged in agriculture either as cultivator or as agriculture labourer. Classification of the Pantia Halva of different workers according to 1961 Census, is as follows :-

Workers	Total	Male	Female
Cultivator	2,590	1,619	971
Agricultural labourer	1,040	530	510
Mining and Quarrying	151	144	7
Household Industry	740	385	355
Manufacturing other than household Industry	5	3	2
Construction	1	1	0
Trade and Commerce	24	9	15
Transport storage and Communication	6	6	0
Other services	627	389	238
Total No. of workers	5,184	3,086	2,098
Total No. of non-workers	4,472	1,813	2,659

Language and Educational level

The Pantia Halvas speak Oriya and do not have any language of their own. Census Reports mention that some amount of Ho and Kui language is also present in some locality.

Their educational level is very low. We have not found any literate person in our sample. Das mentions that 5 percent to 9 percent of Halvas are literate without any educational level.

Religion

Their main deity is Goddess “Adimata” or Samalei Thakurani. They appease her on all crises like breakout of epidemics and other natural distress and also on religious occasions. Jani is the priest who worships the goddess. Usually he belongs to Paroja community. Also some Hindu gods have been adopted. Disari or community astrologer helps in fixing dates of sacred occasions and festivals.

Village : Organizations

Huts - mud-built and thatched are usually arranged in rows. Divisions and breakdown of families after marriage of sons, create a complex household around

common courtyard. Male members are the head of a family. Traditional headman of a village is 'Bhat Naik'. He wields power bestowed upon him for settling matters of dispute or social problems as and when required. 'Chalan' is also a traditional post, who carries message and helps Naik.

Marriage

Previously there was preference for marriage of cross-cousins i.e. marrying mother's brother's daughter. But at present, following neighbouring caste Hindu people, this preference is lost. Only the permissibility exists. It is probable that previously levirate was also in practice, as the widow has to pay some amount to her husband's younger brother if she wants to remarry others. Polygamy is permissible, but very rarely performed.

Marriage may be negotiated or settled by the spouses themselves. In the negotiated marriage, some relative or father himself searches for a bride for his son from other 'gotra'. Like Hindus, they also observe 'gotra' exogamy. There are several gotra as 'Naga Nageswar' 'Kashyap' or 'Upria' 'Subarna' or 'Sunakeria', Khamria or monkey, 'Shila' or stone etc.

Child marriage is not practiced. Girls are more useful and perform not only household duties, but assist in agricultural work also. So brides' parents are given money as 'bride wealth'. Previously number of bullocks and ploughs were being demanded but now money is usually given.

Puberty attainment of a girl observed with some rituals is performed at the end of nine days to free her from pollution. In every month during the period, 7 to 9 days pollution is observed by keeping her segregated.

Death

They have approved both burial and cremation of dead body. It is probable that, burial was the original practice and later the effects of Hinduization have resulted in adoption of cremation practice. Similar cases are also observed in most of the local tribes and castes. In burial, they laid down the body with head towards the north and face upwards. In burning, which is a bit costly affair, they cut down wood and make a pier. The eldest son performs last rite by putting fire in the mouth of the corpse.

The Pentia Halvas of the Jeypore, Bariguma and Bhairabsingpur locality are obviously a settled agriculturist group who claim to have migrated from their counterparts in the same (Halvas or Halfis of Mathili area) and from Bastar long back and are themselves a segregated population in other districts. A cross-sectional sample has been examined on genetic and metric aspect which is presented in next chapters.

PART-II

ANTHROPOMETRIC MEASUREMENTS

Measurements of Physical character of body are very useful and basic criteria for classification of human races. All the major classifications of man are based on systematic measurements known as 'anthropometry' and developed through many scientific discourses since time of Paul Broca and Blumenbach. Later on the measurements were more standardized for comparative use and we followed the prescriptions of Martin as outlined in his book 'LEHRBUCHDER ANTHROPOLOGIE' (1927).

Apart from using the metrical features in classifying races, they are of most use in study of growth and development of individuals as also a community. They are many listed measurements out of which few were selected here for precision and utilization along with genetic characters. The measurements selected here are (1) Stature; (2) Sitting height (3) Head length; (4) Head breadth (5) Head height (6) Nose length or nasal height and (7) Nasal breadth. The technique of measurements followed the standard method outlined in Martin. Calculation of indices and classification of the results were done as in Martin and Saller (1957). Statistical reduction of data was done not only for analysis but for ready comparison with other studies as and when required.

For the purpose of having proper assessment of anthropometric features, only adult individuals were measured. The present sample of 164 adult individuals was selected randomly after segregating or stratifying the available population into adult and sub-adult units and further into not closely related individuals. And thus sample from only one stratum was drawn. The data are presented item wise in the tables No.1 to 7 which are discussed in the course of analysis below.

1. Stature or Height vertex

Table 1 contains classified data on stature of 164 PantiHalvas. Six categories of heights are made as approved by Martin.

The Pantias fall mostly in short statured group (53.66 percent) out of which 4.88 percent of individuals are very short. The lowest height measured is 147.0cm and the highest was 170.0 (table 3). People with lower medium height s found among 14.63 percent, medium height among 24.38 percent and upper medium among 4.88 percent. Tall category is reached only by 2.44 percent individuals.

Table 1
CLASSIFICATION OF STATURE (ACCORDING TO MARTIN)

Type	Range in cms	Frequency of Individuals	
		N	%
Very Short	130.0-149.9	8	4.88
Short	150.0-159.9	80	48.78
Lower Medium	160.0-163.9	24	14.63
Medium	164.0-166.9	40	24.38
Upper Medium	167.0-169.9	8	4.88
Tall	170.0-179.9	4	2.44
Total		164	99.99

We may assume that these people have mostly short stature marginal to medium i.e. 160.0cm, as displayed by the mean Stature as 158.27cm $\pm$ 0.409 Standard deviation is calculated as 5.24cm indicating great variability which is expressed by coefficient of variation (3.31) in table 3.

2. Sitting Height

Height of person is divided into two segments length of trunk and head and length of inferior extremity. Varying rate of development is marked in these two segments, from childhood to adult life. Besides age and sex variations, people are seen to vary ethnically as in case of other height measurements. Sitting height displays certain aspect of trunk development, though it is not exactly trunk height, as it includes head. It can rather be called as bust height and its growth and development are mainly achieved during and after puberty, as opposed to the lower limbs.

Table 2
CLASSIFICATION OF SITTING HEIGHT

Range (in cms)	Frequency of Individuals	
	N	%
63-67	4	2.44
68-72	12	7.31
73-77	80	48.78
78-82	52	31.71
83-87	16	9.75
Total	164	99.99

Sitting height is also used to calculate skelic index or body build index with relation to stature. Manouvrier and Giuffrida-Ruggeri both introduced two different methods of calculating the index, which are used by persons engaged in studying growth. For the present analysis, as the study has been kept limited no such attempts have been made.

Table 2 displays fivefold subdivisions of sitting height measurements. Highest frequency (48.78 percent) noticed in the group 73.77cms. Mean sitting height is 76.95cm with s.e. of 0.28 and a deviation of 3.63cms (table 3). The mean sitting height is little less than half the mean stature. This indicates an overall occurrence of brachycormic physique in Ruggeri-Valloys Scale.

Table 3
STATISTICAL VALUES OF SOME VARIABLE TRAITS

Measurement Type		Range in cms	Mean in cms	S.E. in cms	S.D. in cms	C.V.
1. Stature	..	147.0-170.0	158.27	0.409	2.24	3.31
2. Sitting Height	..	66.0-87.0	76.95	0.28	3.63	4.72
3. Head Height	..	8.6-17.0	12.16	0.22	2.85	23.38
4. Head Length	..	15.0-19.1	18.29	0.06	0.77	4.22
5. Head Breadth	..	12.5-15.0	12.73	0.05	0.66	5.21
6. Nose Length	..	4.0-5.5	4.55	0.11	1.37	3.01
7. Nose Breadth	..	3.3-4.6	4.65	0.05	0.651	13.98

3. Head Measurements

Classification of human races was mainly done on the basis of cephalic types depending on measurements. Head size and shape, has always been a head aching problem for anthropologists as evidence from the earlier literatures. Occurrence of broad headers their migration etc. has been widely studies. Now, these are used as a descriptive trait in population studies, not with reduction in value.

In the present case, only three dimensions of head length, breadth and height was measured.

In table 3 the data are presented. Head height varies in measurement from 8.6cm to 17.0cm as displayed by a high value of variance (coefficient of variation 23.38). Mean head height is found to be 12.16cm.

Table 4
CLASSIFICATION OF HEAD ACCORDING TO CEPHALIC INDEX (SALLER)

Type		Range (Male)	Frequency	
			N	%
Hyper dolichocephalic	..	X-70.9	8	4.88
Dolichocephalic	..	71.0-75.9	80	48.78
Mesocephalic	..	76.0-80.9	48	29.26
Brachycephalic	..	81.0-85.4	20	12.19
Hyper brachycephalic	..	85.5-90.9	6	3.66
Ultrabrachycephalic	..	91.0-X	2	1.22

Compared to head height, length and breadth measurements show less variability. Head length varies from 15.0cm to 19.1cm and breadth varies from 12.5cm to 15.0cm. Mean values for both the measurements are 18.29 in case of head length and 12.73 in case of breadth (Table 3).

These measurements are utilized for calculating three indices as devised by Martin and Saller. Cephalic index (i) for length-breadth ratio, (ii) for length height ratio and (iii) for breadth height ratio. These are presented in tables 4, 5 and 6.

Table 4 contains frequency of length-breadth index of head. Majority of the people are dolichocephals (53.66 percent), of which 4.88 percent are hyperdolicho and 29.26 percent are in mesocephal group. Broad headed persons occur in 17.07 percent Brachycephaly is present in all its three categories (Saller); brachycephal 12.19 percent hyperbrachycephal 3.66 percent and 1.22 percent ultrabrachycephal.

Length-height ratio (according to Saller's classification) of head presents 90.23 percent hypsicephal. Other two categories of medium and long roofed head, occur exactly in same number 4.88 percent in each case (table-5).

Table 5
LENGTH-HEIGHT INDEX OF HEAD (SALLER)

Type of head		Range of index	Frequency	
			N	%
Chamaecephalic	..	X-57.9	8	4.88
Orthocephalic	..	58.0-62.0	8	4.88
Hypsicephalic	..	63.0-X	148	90.23

Breadth-height index of head also exhibit highest frequency of Acrocephals (77.43 percent). Metriocephal comes as next high 12.80 percent and Tapeiocephal as 9.76 percent.

It is revealed from the study that the Pentia exhibit mostly long and high head, though few persons are found to possess broad and high head.

Table 6
BREADTH - HEIGHT INDEX OF HEAD (MARTIN AND SALLER)

Type of head		Range of index	Frequency	
			N	%
Tapeiocephalic	..	X-78.9	16	9.76
Metriocephalic	..	79.0-84.9	21	12.80
Acrocephalic	..	85.0-X	127	77.43

4. Nasal Measurements

Like cephalic characteristics, nasal characters are also used as racial criteria. There are several measurements and observations on nose, like length, breadth, depth, nostrilapertures, septum, bridge etc. Out of these the two essential and most important characters of metrical nature presented here (table 3).

Nose may be described as long or short or narrow or broad. These arbitrary descriptions depend much on facial length. So index calculation is widely used, which express length breadth ratio. Classification of none index, according to Martin and Saller (1957) is presented below:

Table 7
CLASSIFICATION OF NASAL INDEX (MARTIN AND SALLER)

Type of head		Range of index	Frequency	
			N	%
Leptorrhine	..	55.0-69.9	5	3.05
Mesorrhine	..	70.0-84.9	95	57.92
Chamaerrhine	..	85.0-99.9	64	39.02

Length of nose varies from 4.0cm to 5.5cm. This shows a mean value of 4.55cm and s.e. of 0.11. Nasal breadth ranges from 3.3cm to 4.6cm with a mean value of 4.6cm and s.e. of 0.05. The two mean values exhibit an interesting factor. The nasal breadth is marginally higher than the nasal length. Breadth present more variance than length (c.v. is 13.98 as against 3.01 in the latter), shown in table 3.

Length-breadth ratio of nose, of course, makes the picture moderate, as appeared from mean values of length and breadth. 57.92 percent persons are mesorrhine; but a considerable number of wide or flat nosed persons occur in the population as expressed by 39.02 percent of chamaerrhine. Long and narrow nose occur only as trace among 3.05 percent of individuals.

PART III

SOME CHARACTERS WITH GENETIC IMPLICATIONS

Some characters have been chosen for study which have known way of inheritance or whose method of inheritance is still to be found. In the first case, it has been possible to calculate the occurrence of responsible genes and to judge the position of these people. In latter cases, only the pattern of occurrence of the traits have been analysed and these have been used as characters for assessing interethnic differentiation.

Under certain unavoidable limitations, this study was to be restricted within the study of only certain traits. These are : (i) A B O blood group, (ii) Rh-factor with only anti-D serum, (iii) Taste response to PTC, (iv) Capacity of rolling

and folding tongue, (v) Occurrence of hairs on the ear pinna or hypertrichosis, (vi) Occipital hair whorl, (vii) Middle phalangeal hair occurrence, (viii) Ear lobe attachment, (ix) Hand clasping, (x) Arm folding, (xi) Handedness, (xii) Preference of eye or eye dominance, (xiii) Hand digital formula and (xiv) Toe formula.

Data

Villages were selected randomly from two areas of concentration: (1) Jeypore and (2) Bhairavsingpur within the villages only the males could be sampled. Female data were scanty and incomplete for all the traits and thus omitted from analysis. Only those persons who co-operated were considered and close relatives were avoided.

Method

1. Blood Groups : ABO blood group and Rh-factor were studied with 2 percent suspension of washed RBC obtained from finger pricks. All blood samples were studied within two hours of collection. Sera for ABO and Rh(D) were obtained from Bharat Laboratories, Bombay.

All the group A and AB blood samples were tested with extract of *Dolichosbiflorus* to determine the sub-groups A¹ and A² Rh-factor study was to be restricted only to anti-D serum as other sera were not available.

2. Taste sensitivity to PTC was tested by solution prepared and diluted as outlined by Haris and Kalmus (1949); but 'sorting technique' was modified by introducing the solution through droppers. Stock solution was prepared in distilled water but diluents were local drinking water, previously boiled.
3. Tongue rolling and folding were noted after careful observation on performance of the subject.
4. Hair growth on the ear rims were noted and recorded as 'mild' (few) and 'strong' (more than five hairs).
5. Presence of hair on the back side of the head could be observed easily, as most of the people do not keep long hair tucked up in bun, as found in other tribes of the same district. Type and number of whorls were marked.
6. Presence of hair on the dorsal side of the middle section of all the four digits (save the thumb) of hand was observed with a hand magnifying glass, after properly cleaning the portions. All the people are manual workers. So most of the affected individuals have dropped their hairs, thought the follicles are embedded in the skin. Careful observation reveals this matter.
7. Types of Ear lobe attachment was observed on both the lappets and extent of attachment in the doubtful cases were examined. The persons were noted under categories, 'free', 'attached' and 'intermediate' or partially attached.

8. Bilateral variance in dominance of limbs were observed for four characters :
1.Hand clasping; 2.Arm folding; 3.Handedness and 4.Preferring eye.

For hand clasping and arm folding, three performances were taken. In determining handedness, the subject was asked to throw stone thrice. Eye preference was found out by asking each person to look through a monocular view finder. Readings were marked and noted as 'R' or 'L' meaning right or left according to preference. No doubtful case was noticed.

9. Though there are instruments like dactylometer, one devised by S.R.Das and a modified one by I.J.S. Bansal, here a more simple but precise method was adopted for quick field study of the relative lengths of the fingers in the difficult tribal areas. This devise consists of a millimeter graph paper fitted on a plywood board. Palm is placed on such graphboard tallying with a base line and an axis. Readings of fingertip projections are precisely taken by placing a wooden block.

The readings are noted as 24, 24 and 24. Similarly, the approach of the little finger up to the last inter-phalangeal joint of the fourth finger was also taken by placing the palm in supine.

10. For studying the comparative lengths of the 1st and 2nd toes, each subject was asked to present his feet on a flat surface, and stand erect, so that all the toes are fully stretched in natural position. Observation was made and in cases where the two lengths are nearly equal, judgment was made by placing feet on the graph paper-board covered with celophen paper to prevent spoiling.

ANALYSIS

1. Blood Groups

The present study comprises of the analyses of data on A¹, A², B.O blood group and Rh-factor of 168 individuals belonging to Pentia Halva tribal community. The data are presented here (table 8.)

TABLE-8
ABO AND Rh PHENOTYPES OF THE PENTIAS AND THE GENE
REQUENCIES

Phenotypes	N	%	Gene Frequencies				
			Bernstein's		Max.Likelihood		
A ₁	.. 8	4.76	P ₁	0.04919	0.05077	±	.01178
A ₂	.. 16	9.52	P ₂	0.05220	0.05095	±	.01268
B	.. 76	45.23	q	0.29571	0.29060	±	.03204
O	.. 60	35.71	r	0.60304	0.60765	±	.03277
A ₁ B	.. 8	4.76		0.99996	0.99998		
Rh(D)	.. 168	100.00	Rh(d)	0.00			

It has been observed that group B is found in maximum number, i.e., 45.23 percent, followed next by Group O (35.71 percent) and next by A (14.28 percent). It is interesting to note that, sub group A¹ is less in occurrence than A², only 4.76 percent as compared to 9.52 percent. Usually A² is of half the occurrence AB (4.76 percent), there is not a single case A²B individual.

Gene frequencies for the alleles P(A) q(B) and r(O) were calculated using both Bernstein's improved method as well as maximum likelihood estimation. The calculated frequencies are presented in the above table (8). Both the estimates show highest occurrence of r gene followed sequentially by q, than P² and P¹.

Same number of individuals were tested with Rh (o) serum with incubation at the required temperature. All of the sampled blood showed positive reaction and thus no case of Rh-negative was detected. Complete absence of negative phenotype in a randomly sampled finite population indicates strong selection operating against recessive non-beneficial allele.

2. P.T.C. Taste Sensitivity

Tasting ability of Phenyl Thio Carbamide was studied among 172 Pentia Halvas. Solution of 1.3 grams of the crystal per litre of water was used with serial dilutions (as explained in previous pages). This crystal has got characteristic that some persons can taste it bitter and the others do not get any taste. Advantage of serial dilution is that it helps in determining threshold of tasting ability. It happens that the taster persons get slightly bitter taste in higher dilution number but their actual taste capacity is detected in one or two solutions lesser (higher concentration). This is because physiological threshold of a person may lie in between two solution numbers.

The sample of 172 contains 44 persons who could not taste even the number 1 solution, and placed under category 1 (Table 9). No person could taste solution of higher dilution than 8 (Table 9).

Table 9
TASTE THRESHOLD DISTRIBUTION OF PTC OF THE PENTIAS AND THE
GENEFREQUENCIES

	Solution Nos									
No.tested	<1	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
172	44	24	12	16	4	14	28	22	8	0
Taster ;	n		%		Mean threshold			Allelic frequency of t		
	72		41.86		6.333±.1076			0.762±.002		

Considering the demarcation of taster and non-taster to lie between solutions 4 and 5, taste phenotype and mean threshold of taster have been

calculated (Table above). Non taster frequency is very high 58.14 percent. There are 41.86 percent tasters. Range of threshold of taster varies from 5 to 8 with a mean of 6.333.

Assuming diallelic inheritance of taste character, the gene frequencies have been calculated by square root method. Frequency of recessive gene *t* is 0.762 and that of dominant gene *T* is 0.238 (Table 9).

3. Tongue : Rolling and Folding

There are certain persons who can roll their tongue longitudinally and laterally. This is also mentioned as tongue tip over folding and moving up the lateral margins. But the capacity does not always go together; that means same person may not possess both capacities. Pedigree studies have revealed that the inheritance is in the manner of PTC taste ability. So this trait can be used to measure inter population variation, as the observations are less critical.

Four categories could be made for recording the tongue movement capacity : (i) Those who can do the both (roll and fold); (ii) Who cannot roll but fold; (iii) Who can roll but fail to fold, and the (iv) Persons who are negative to both the performances.

Table 10
PHENOTYPIC DISTRIBUTION AND GENE FREQUENCIES OF TONGUE ROLLING AND FOLDING IN THE PENTIAS

No.	Roller/Folder	Roller / Non-folder	Non-roller / Folder	Non-roller /Non- folder
168..	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} n \\ \% \end{array} \right.$	32 19.05	16 9.52	28 16.66
				92 54.76
Rolling	n	Positive type	Gene frequencies :-	
	48	28.58%	R O a = 0.534 L L A=0.466	
Folding	60	45.24%	E R	

Data on tongue rolling and folding are presented in Table 10. In a sample of 168 individuals, there are four phenotypic categories of the following nature: 54.76 percent persons can neither roll up or fold their tongues; 19.05 percent persons can perform both the movements. There are 28.18 percent persons who fall in the intermediate category or can perform either of the characters. Out of this, 9.52 percent persons can roll up but not fold their tongues and 16.66 percent

can show only folding character. There are more persons with negative phenotype for both the characters; but comparatively folding character has much higher frequency than rolling. In pooled data, only 28.58 percent persons can roll their tongue whereas number of folder has gone up to 45.24 percent (Table 10).

Allelic frequencies were estimated by using square root of the negative phenotype frequency and standard error was calculated. The frequencies are presented in Table 24.

4. Hypertrichosis or Hair on the ear Pinnae

There are certain male persons who develop hair on their ears. Single or both ears may show this development. Also different areas of ear are observed to bear hair. Tommasi (1907) described such characters first and marked it as inherited trait in the male line. Since then a number of workers in human genetics have contributed valuable materials for its establishment as genetic trait. The age of onset of hair development, intensity of hair development and position of hair growth, have been critically studied in different populations. R.R. Gates (Human genetics, Vol.I, P.249) has discussed the problem and the sex-linked nature of 'holandric' inheritance. The affected gene is accepted to have locus in the Y chromosome thus keeping the trait restricted among the males.

Table 11
INCIDENCE OF HAIRY PINNAE

Number tested		Affected individuals		
		Mild	Strong	Total
156	N	32	8	40
	%	20.51	5.12	25.63

Sarkar et al (1961) proposed a detailed classification of hairiness of classification of five categories; Gates, Chakravarty and Mukherjee (1962) adopted another scale of marking hairiness. All these efforts though aimed at development of recording, create problem for other workers. To avoid all sorts of complications the present data were recorded under two distinct categories, "mild" with hair up to five and "strong" with hairs more than five. There was no case of bushy hair development.

As all the subjects were above twenty years, there was very little chance of missing the trait due to non-eruption of hair. It has been reported by other workers, that hair start developing at the age of 18 and remain black even at 80. Stern, Centerwall and Sarkar (1964) again discussed the problem on its linkage to Y chromosome.

The present Pentia Halva population exhibit 25.63 percent affected in a sample of 156 males (Table 11). Most of the trait carriers show mild degree of

hairiness (20.51 percent) and only 5.12 percent show strong development (ranging hair development from 6 to 15).

5. Occipital Hair Whorl

On the lambda region of occiput, hair forms whorl. Sometimes there are two whorls also. This occurrence of whorls has created at least two morphological categories : (i) clockwise or (ii) anti-clockwise; and the two types again in combination produce three possible types of double whorl: (i) both of similar type, i.e., clockwise or anti-clockwise), or (ii) of two different types.

Table 12
TYPES OF OCCIPITAL HAIR WHORL

Single whorl		Double whorl		Total
Clock wise	Anti-clock wise	Clock wise	Anti-clock wise	
N	112	52	4	168
%	66.66	30.95	2.38	99.99

Table 26 presents data of occipital hair whorl examined among 168 male Pentias. Only 2.38 percent of them possess double whorl in the form of clockwise-anticlockwise. The rest are single whorl. 66.66 percent of individuals show clockwise and 30.95 percent show anti-clockwise whorl.

6. Middle Phalangeal Hair (M-P-H)

Use of middle phalangeal hair as genetically controlled trait has been emphasized by many workers. The trait occurs both in the male and female irrespective of connection with sex hormone. Important contributions have been made by Bernstein and Winner, towards its possible genetic explanation. It is assumed that five sets of alleles are responsible for hair development on five fingers as A0 A1 A2 A3 A4. But these have different expressivity and also controlled by different modifier genes. So, there occurs variety of individuals with varying degree of occurrence of the trait.

Buchi studied age of onset of hair development among the Bengalee school children and found that by 18 years the affected individuals show hair development. Retention of hairs on the middle phalanges depends much on the environmental condition. Loss of hair takes place more quickly and frequently in the tribal and rural communities as these people are more engaged in rough manual work.

In the present sample 172 individuals were examined for occurrence of this trait. Out of this 96 or 55.81 percent did not show any hair on the middle phalanges.

TABLE 13
COMBINATION OF DIGITS (BILATERALLY) WITH M.P.H.

Combination		Right hand		Left hand	
		N	%	N	%
O	..	96	55.81	96	55.81
IV	..	20	11.63	12	6.99
III-IV	..	32	18.61	36	20.93
III-IV-V	..	8	4.65	8	4.65
II-III-IV-V	..	4	2.32	4	2.32
II-III-IV	..	4	2.32	4	2.32
IV-V	..	4	2.32	4	2.32
III	..	4	2.32	4	2.32

The affected individuals (44.9 percent) present an array of varying frequencies in different combinations. In the table on the previous page (table 13) data on bilateral variation in digit combination are presented. More hairy 4th digits are found on the right hand than on the left; but III digit with hairs are found more on the left hand. Middle phalangeal hairs are found to be more frequent on III-IV among all two digital combinations.

TABLE-14
SYMMETRICAL COMBINATION OF DIGITS WITH M.P.H.

Combination of identical digits of both hands		Frequency of individuals	
		N	%
O	..	96	55.81
IV	..	12	6.99
III-IV	..	32	18.61
III-IV-V	..	8	4.65
II-III-IV-V	..	4	2.32
II-III-IV	..	4	2.32
IV-V	..	4	2.32
III	..	4	2.32
Total-Symmetry		164	95.34
Total-Asymmetry		8	4.65
		172	99.99

Identical occurrence on both hands finds an important clue of tracing the range of expression of the genes involved. Presence of symmetry is as high as 95.34 % which display nature of more or less uniform bilateral expression (Table 14).

The relative proportions of affected digits show 1:0.08 : 0.31 : 0.25 ratios in the sequence of IV > III > V > II.

7. Ear Lobe attachment

Study of attachment of the ear lobe as physical characteristic was probably first emphasized by Hilden in 1922, who tried to contradict the popular belief that attached ear lobe is a sign of criminality or mental retardation. Different authors tried to establish the racial variation of 'free' ear lobe and 'adherent ear lobe'. By free ear lobe it is meant that the lobe is large and hangs distinctly free from the lateral margin of face. 'Adherent' or 'attached' ear lobe are usually small lobes or almost no lobe where the border of the ear rim slopes down to meet the face. There are, of course, several inter-gradations between these two extremities.

Wiener in 1937 and Powell and Whitney in the same year, published results of their pedigree analysis, which indicated genetic significance of the trait. Some families showed distinctly Mendelian pair with 'free' dominant over the 'attached'. Quelprud (1941) claimed that 'attached' ear lobe "after sex and age correction" is "really dominant". This observation is negative by Gates as misinterpretation by statistics. Wiener pointed out that this trait is governed by set of alleles with very 'complicated' action.

Table No.15

TYPES OF EAR LOBE ATTACHMENT IN THE PENTIA HALVAS

No. Studied			Free	Attached	Intermediate
172	..	N	120	36	16
		%	69.65	20.93	9.41

Since then the trait has been widely used to show populational variation in genetic attributes. Also extremely simple method of observation has facilitated the study. One difficulty is faced while studying people in tribal localities is that the ear lobes are in most cases of women folk and in some cases of the males also are dilated through use of heavy ear ornaments from the early age. None of the males of present study had any distorted ear lobe.

Occurrence of different types of ear lobe among the Pentias is presented in table 15. In a sample of 172 males 69.65 percent possess 'free' ear lobe while completely adherent or 'attached' type is found among 20.93 percent individuals. 'Intermediate' category contains persons whose ear lobes are partly attached and its frequency is very low (9.41 percent). Low frequency of 'intermediate' grade indicates strong dominance of the 'free' ear lobe and also segregation in the genotype level.

8. Limb Dominance :

Member of clasp hand, folding arms, instinctive preference of hand and eye, using one foot while stepping etc. manifest dominance of one limb over the other. This has got no association with muscular development. Different workers including the present workers have examined critically various aspect of

association of these traits in cross sectional as well as family studies. Persons like Pons, Freire Maia, Weiner, have indicated genetic association of hand clasping and arm folding. But no plausible explanation could yet be furnished. Still these characteristics are widely utilized as genetic traits to delineate population character. Observational methods are not very technical; only caution is taken against behavioural biasness in performing the so-accustomed practices.

A. Personal instinctive habit in clasping both the hands interlocking the fingers, has created a dichotomy in the human population. Some will keep all their fingers of right hand over the corresponding ones of the left hand, and the others will do the opposite. In such cases, the former are known as 'right' hand claspers while the rest being 'left hand claspers'.

Data on all the four categories of limb dominance study are presented in the table 16 (next page). This contains two categories of persons manifesting hand clasping, arm folding, handedness and eye dominance.

The Pentia Halva population exhibits 59.88 percent of right hand clasper and 40.11 percent left hand clasper.

Preponderance of right clasper has been marked on all the human populations surveyed all over the world.

Table No.16
PATTERN OF BILATERAL LIMB DOMINANCE

Side		Hand clasping		Handedness		Arm folding		Eye dominance	
		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Right	..	103	59.88	168	97.60	76	44.20	112	65.20
Left	..	69	40.11	4	2.40	96	55.80	60	34.80

B. *Handedness* – Handedness is a very popular term of denoting preferential use of either hand in performing major operations like eating, writing or throwing. In childhood man is free from any social teaching when they use both the hands equally for all purposes. But through process of socialization, usually the use of left hand for many important purposes is denounced. But a left hander person persists the habit of using left hand (may not be for eating). So under the cover of right handed persons there are many left hand users which are difficult to locate. There are methods of measuring differential powers of hand by dynamometer.

Here a simple method was employed to detect the left hand use, by asking each individual to pick up stones and throw, alternatively by both the hands for three times. The results were recorded as 'R' or 'L'.

Overwhelming majority of individuals of right hand users were found (97.60 percent) and presented in table 16. In agricultural practices grip of the plough is usually held by left hand. Though these people are predominantly agriculturist, they exhibit very low frequency of left handed persons, only as 2.40 percent.

C. *Arm folding*– Like hand clasping, manner of folding arms cross wise over the chest, while standing, makes an interesting behavioural study under genetic control.

Most of the populations studied so far yield a varying frequency of 'right' folder, from less than $\frac{1}{2}$ to $\frac{3}{4}$ the majority. The present data show 44.20 percent of right arm folder leaving place of majority to the 'leftists' (table 16). An inverse relation of arm folding with hand clasping was suggested. Present data also corroborate the proposition.

D. *Eye dominance* – Use of two eyes are not equal. For normal binocular vision, the distinction is not well marked. But in case of monocular vision or aiming for arrow shooting, one particular eye is utilized. The use is unintentional and an unconscious behavior. Such use or preference varies from person to person and also from parent to offspring. Though the distinct mode of transmission of this behavior is yet to be known, the trail makes an worthy survey for its probable association with other limb dominance.

Present sample contains 65.20 percent person who displayed right eye preference during the experiment. This makes a striking dissimilarity from other primitive populations of the same region.

9. Comparative lengths of the hand digits

In human hand, due to evolutionary specialization, several changes have been brought about. Here only digital length will be discussed. As the pollex minimus and the medius have unchanged order of length, they are taken as reference standard. Only the length of index and annular is vary in different hands and even in two hands of a person. This has created a three formulae classification, known as manual digital formula like $2 > 4$, $2 < 4$ and $2 = 4$. This depends on the comparative lengths of the second and the fourth digits, keeping the third digit or the medius in the centre as referential axis. This is also technically written as $d_{32} > d_{34}$, $d_{32} < d_{34}$, and $d_{32} = d_{34}$. Similarly, the varying length of ring finger has created other set of comparative measurements, that with the little finger. The extension of the top of the little finger up to the last inter-phalangeal joint of the ring finger has again created three fold classification : $4 > 5$, $4 < 5$ and $4 = 5$

The present data of 172 Pertia individuals for two sets of digital formulae are presented in table below (table 17) and 18 –

Table No.17
COMPARATIVE LENGTHS OF DIGITS OF HAND
(3-DIGITAL FORMULAE)

SIDE		2>4	2<4	2=4	Total
Right	..	N 0	164	8	172
		% 0	95.34	4.65	99.99
Left	..	N 4	152	16	172
		X 2.32	88.37	9.30	99.99
Symmetrical combination				N	160
				%	93.02

91.58% have the formula 4>2, whereas only 6.97% have 2=4. Very low occurrence of 2<4 is noticed. Taken bilaterally, all three formulas show certain amount of variation. Right hands show 95.34% of 4>2 and 4.65% of 2=4 fingers, and no 2>4. This 2>4 formula are found only on the left hand (2.32). The left hands show lesser frequency of 4>2 (88.37%) but higher frequency of 2+4 (9.30%).

In total sample, there is high degree (93.02 percent) of symmetrical occurrence of digital lengths making the symmetry as low as 6.98 percent table 17.

Table 18
APPROACH OF THE LITTLE FINGER UPTO THE LAST JOINT OF
RING FINGER

Side		5>4	5<4	5=4	Total
Right	n	52	42	78	172
	%	30.23	24.41	45.35	99.99
Left	n	64	34	74	172
	%	37.20%	19.76	45.03	99.99
Total symmetrical combination :		n 146			
		% 84.88			

There is also bilateral difference in the digit 4th -5th comparative lengths. Right hand shows 30.23% of 5>4 : 24.41% of 5<4 and 45.35% of 5=4. Left hand varies with frequencies of 37.20% for 5>4 : 19.76% for 5<4 and nearly equals in case of 5=4 with frequencies of 45.03%. This set of formula also occurs uniformly in 84.88% individuals, reducing asymmetric combination only to 15.12%.

10. Comparative lengths of toe or Toe formula (TFO)

Like manual digital projective length, pedal toe projections for 1st and 2nd toes are also very important achievement of man through evolution. The hallux or first toe is heavy and transmits partial body weight for which is diverging in varying degree, under varying conditions. The second toe also performs some important

function of load transmission, particularly in a foot with wide divergent hallux. The varying length of the second toe, again has created three categories of human foot, depending on the equality and inequality in length. Minami in 1952 conveniently designated the three types $1>2$ as 'T' or tibial; $1<2$ 'F' or fibular $1=2$ as 'O' or zero or transitional. Since then these three sets of length is popularly known as TFO formula for toe. Here also the same classification has been adopted and the classified data are given in table 19.

Table 19
COMPARATIVE LENGTHS OF THE FIRST AND SECOND TOES

		Combination						
Side		T	F	O	TT	FF	OO	TO
Right	n	144	4	24	120	4	24	24
	%	83.72	2.32	13.95	81.08	2.71	16.20	13.95
Left	n	120	4	48				
	%	69.77	2.32	27.90				

Difference of appreciable nature is noticed between left and right foot in T and O formulae. The right foot showing 83.22 percent of Tibial type whereas left foot shows 69.77 percent. Both the feet show remarkable similarity in having Fibular type. Again, left feet have exactly double the number of O type than the right feet.

On the basis of similar occurrence of same type of the pattern on both the feet, homotype and heterotypic combination have been sorted out. There is high occurrence of feet with TT or both tibial types (81.08 percent). Next comes feet with OO combination, occurring as 16.20 percent. FF combination is of very low occurrence 2.71 (percent). Heterotype combination occurs as TO type only, others are not found to occur. Altogether 13.95 percent persons could be found having T type in the left foot and O type on the right foot.

JATAPU *

*S. C. Mohanty*¹

JATAPU or Jatapu Dora with other synonyms like Khond, Samanthulu, Pandra Kula Chatriya is believed to be a reformed section of Kondhs, who speak Kondh on the hills and Telugu on the plains. The name Jatapu is said to be an abbreviated form of "Konda Jatapu Doralu" meaning the lords of the Kondh community. They claim superiority over the Kandha tribe who used to have unclean food habits and primitive life style.

Like the Kandha, their mother tongue is *Kuvi* - a Dravidian tongue. They also speak the local languages like, Telugu and Oriya.

They are numerically a small tribe of Odisha. They are distributed in the Srikakulam and Vizianagaram districts of Andhra Pradesh and the neighbouring undivided Koraput and Ganjam districts of southern Orissa. In 1991 census, their total population is 9,139 having a sex ratio 962. In 2011 their population has increased to 14890 and their sex ratio has improved to 1059. Their literacy level in 2011 is 37.76 %.

In their settlements houses are arranged in a linear pattern in a parallel row leaving a wide open street in between. The shrine of their village deity *Zankari Penu* is installed under sacred trees at the village outskirts.

The tribesmen are agriculturists who practise both settled and shifting cultivation. The landless and marginal farmers among them take up wage earning and sharecropping. In the subsidiary sector they depend upon forest collection, animal domestication, contract labour, carpentry and Siali rope making. They are

* Unpublished article of 2000 updated in 2018

¹ Research Officer (2000) & Consultant (2018), SCSTRTI

non-vegetarians. Their principal diet is rice and ragi gruel. Drinking of country liquor, and Salap juice and use of tobacco is also popular among them.

When they resided in hills, they were fully totemistic but later when they came in contact with the culture of the plains they took to many non-totemistic surnames of the plains. They make the offerings of the first produce to ancestors at harvest festivals.

The tribe is divided into several exogamous totemic septs (*vansas*) named after natural objects. They follow patrilineal rule of descent and patrilocal rule of residence. Negotiation marriages are common and cross-cousin marriage is the most preferred form. Other ways of acquiring spouses are by capture, elopement, service, and exchange. Junior levirate and sororate, divorce, remarriage of widow, widowers and divorcees are also permitted. They have no restrictions against polygyny though such instances are few. Bride Price (*Oli*) is paid in cash. Nuclear family is predominant among them though in few cases, polygynous and extended families are found.

Jatapu society accords a better status to their women folk for their significant role in social, religious and economic affairs as well as household management. A pregnant woman is subjected to certain taboos and restrictions on her food, mobility, work and sexual life. They perform the name giving and tonsure ceremonies for the child and puberty rites for the girls. Generally they cremate the dead but bury those who die of unnatural death caused by snakebite, cholera, small pox, childbirth, attack of wild animals etc. Death pollutes not only the concerned family or lineage but also the entire populace of the village. Mourning is observed for three days and mortuary rites, on the fourth day. Thereafter the annual *sradha* ceremony is performed every year.

They worship *Zakeri* or *Sakeri Penu* as their Chief deity and village shrine. They have the cult of ancestor worship. They observe all local Hindu festivals like *Pongal Ponguda*, *Bhagdi*, *Dussehra*, *Nuakhia*, *Samkranti* etc. Their sacred specialists are *Disari* (astrologer), *Jani* (priest) and *Pojuni* (Shamanin).

At the village level *Naik* or *Dora* acts as the traditional Chief. A *Barik* belonging to Domb caste assists him.

The Jatapu are trying to reform them following the Hindu castes. They maintain commensal relations with the Paroja, Kandha, Lohar, Konda Dora, Eneti Dora and other communities.

JATAPU*

*Siba Prasad Rout*¹

The Jatapus number 1,081 according to the Census of 1961 and are found mainly in Koraput district of Orissa, where their number is 10,583. In the district of Ganjam their population is 218. As viewed by Mr. C. Hayavadana Rao, "The name Jatapu is popularly believed to be an abbreviated from of Konda JatapuDoralu, or lords of the Kond caste. To this caste the old chiefs of the Palkonda Zamindari are said to have belonged". They appear to be a recent offshoot of Kondhs and are numerous in Gunupur and Rayagada on the fringe of the Telugu country. As described in the Madras Census Report, 1901, the Jatapu are "a civilized section of the Khonds, who speak Khond on the hills and Telugu on the plains, and are now practically a distinct caste. They consider themselves superior to those Khonds who still eat beef and snakes and have taken to some of the ways of the castes of the plains". Their distribution in the two districts is stated below:

Sl. No	District where the Jatapus are found	Total Population	Male	Female
1.	Koraput	10,583	5,263	5,320
2.	Ganjam	218	102	116
Total		10,801	5,365	5436

Social Organization

The Jatapus lack any elaborate village Panchayat. Nayudu is the headman of the community and each village has Nayudu of its won who functions beneficially to the community. He decides the disputes of the village and brings compromise. Nayudu is otherwise known as Samanthi, and is assisted by the Jani,

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the (tribal)community priest, in deciding quarrels and conflicts in the village. The Jani officiates on the ceremonies and summons village council meetings.

The titles of the Jatapus are Dora, Naiko, and Samanto. In the hierarchy of social status they consider themselves to be superior to the Kondhs, and are not addicted to drink intoxicants like other tribes.

The tribe is divided into a number of septs, such as:-

- (i) Thorika or Thoyika a (species of wild fowl)
- (ii) Kadrika (another species of wild fowl)
- (iii) Mamdangi (bull or cow)
- (iv) Addaku (*bauhinia racemosa*)
- (v) Konda Gorre (certain breed of sheep)
- (vi) Navalipitta (peacock)
- (vii) Arika (*paspalum crbiculatum*)
- (viii) Kolaka (arrow)
- (ix) Kutraki (wild goat)
- (x) Vinka (white ant)

The members of each sept revere their respective totems.

Marriage

Marriages are performed generally after the marrying partners become adults, but marriage in childhood is not completely absent. A man has very claim to marry his father's sister's daughter. Marriage ceremony closely resembles to the marriage of low-land Telugus. The bride price or *voli* consists of a new cloth for the bride's mother, rice, various kinds of grain and liquor. The bride is brought to the groom's house. On the following morning toe-nail-cutting ceremony (Kallagola sambramam) takes place. On that day, in an auspicious hour, the wrist-threads (Kankanam) are tied on the wrist of the marrying partners and their hands are joined together. They then take bath and a feast is held.

Other forms of marriage like- marriage by capture, marriage by service, marriage by mutual consent, and marriage by selection from Dhangada Basa are also prevalent among the Jatapus.

Remarriages are approved by the society. Divorce is permitted and the divorcees are allowed to marry again. A younger brother may claim, if he so likes, to marry the widow of his elder brother.

Death

The dead are usually buried, but those who die from snake-bite are burnt. The pollution, arising out the death cases, lasts for three days. During these days, cultivation is not carried on. Every year, an annual ceremony, in the honour of the dead, is performed by each family. A fowl or goat is slaughtered and a portion of

the day's food is collected in a plate and placed on the roof of the house. Besides, all the caste men perform a ritual in honour of the dead ancestors in every twenty years. On this occasion, all the caste men join together and sacrifice a pig or a cow in honour of the ancestors.

Religion

The caste-goddess of the Jatapus is known as Jakara Devata, who is propitiated with sacrifices of pigs, sheep and buffalos. GoddaliPandugu and AngumPandugu are the main festivals. Rituals are also performed to mark the harvest of each crop and to mark the eating of those crop. Before any new crop is eaten, it is first ceremonially offered to the deities. The Jatapus are Hindus and they consider themselves superior to the Kondhs.

The Jatapus are mainly agriculturists, but the poorer section earns their bread by wage earning or being employed as labourers. It has been stated that the Jatapus have their own script, and about 50 percent of them speak Jatapus but the script is not much developed. Regarding education they are lagging behind like many other tribes. More than 95 percent are found to be illiterate.

JATAPU *

*B. B. Mohanty*¹

The Jatapu are described in the Madras Census Report for 1901 as a 'civilized section of Kondhs, who speak Kondh on the hills and Telgu on the plains and are now practically a distinct caste. They consider themselves superior to those Kondhs who still eat beef and snakes and have taken to some of the ways of the castes of the plains' (Thurston, 1909: 45, 3). According to Mr C. Hayavadana Rao, "the name 'Jatapu' is popularly believed to be an abbreviated form of Konda Jatapu Doralu or lords of the Kond caste. To this caste the old chiefs of the Palkonda zamindari are said to have belonged." In Orissa the Jatapu are mostly found in the districts of (undivided) Koraput and Ganjam. Their main occupation in Koraput district is cultivation and wage-earning.

The population of the Jatapu, which was 10,801 at the 1961 Census, came down to 8047 at 1971 before rising again at the 1981 Census to 18,457. In 1991 it was 9,139. The percentage of literacy, which was only 4.3 during 1961, advanced to 8.9 in 1971, 10.5 in 1981 and 17.2 in 1991. They showed a record growth rate of 129.4 per cent during the decennial period 1971-81 as against 16.62 per cent for the total tribal population. It declined by 50.48 percent during 1981-91. The sex ratio was 962 females per 1000 males in the 1991 Census.

The Jatapu, who live side by side with the Kondhs in Telegu-dominated regions, speak both Kondh and Telegu fluently, although they have a language of their own which is a variant of Kondh language. In addition to these languages, the Jatapu can speak and understand Oriya well.

The tribe is divided into the following ten clans, which are totemic:

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¹ Deputy Director, SCSTRIT, Bhubaneswar

1. *Thorika* or *Thoyika* (species of wild fowl)
2. *Kadrika* (species of wild fowl)
3. *Mamdangi* (bull or cow)
4. *Addaku* (*Bauhinia racemosa*)
5. *Konda Gorre* (a certain breed of sheep)
6. *NavaliFitta*(peacock)
7. *Arika* (*paspalum scrobiculatum*)
8. *Kolaka* (arrow)
9. *Kutraki* (wild goat)
10. *Vinka* (white ant)

The titles which they suffix to their names are Dora, Naika, Samant Muduli and Jani.

In their settlements houses are arranged in a linear pattern in a parallel row leaving a wide open street in between. The shrine of their village deity *Zankari Penu* is installed under sacred trees at the village outskirts.

Most Jatapu houses are two-roomed with wide verandas and low roofs. The outside room is used as bed-cum-storeroom and the other room is used as kitchen. The walls are made of bamboo splits, wattles and mud. The walls are generally polished with coloured ochres. The doors are made of split bamboos plastered with mud and cow dung. Generally, the construction of a new house starts in January after the Pongalfestival. The village priest is consulted for this purpose.

The dress of Jatapu men is very simple and consists of a loincloth called a *gochi* wrapped around waist. Women use cheap small saris, which they wear above the knees. Various types of brass and aluminium ornaments are used by women. However, in well-to-do houses gold ornaments are used.

No restrictions are imposed on a pregnant woman in respect of her food or work. She does her normal work as usual until she feels pre-delivery pains. Generally, birth takes place in the husband's house. A portion of the backyard is used as a lying-in room. The village medicine man or Disari is consulted in the case of a difficult delivery. But nowadays these types of cases are being referred to the hospital. The assistance of the old and experienced women of the village is sought in case of normal delivery. Soon after the delivery the umbilical cord is cut with a knife by the Dai, and the placenta is buried in one corner of the backyard in a pit. Date-palm root is administered to the mother along with some other roots to avoid exposure to the cold and help in lactation. During the first three days of confinement, she is given hot gruel, which is later exchanged for a small quantity of boiled rice with *dal*. As a rule, she is not given any curry. Pollution is observed for seven days, and on the last day both the newborn baby and the mother take a purificatory bath. On the eleventh day the child is given a name. Usually the grandfather's or grandmother's name is preferred. On this occasion a feast is

arranged for the members of the family. At puberty a period of segregation is observed for ten days.

Marriages take place when boys and girls reach adulthood. But in certain cases child marriages are also conducted. Clan or *gotra* exogamy is observed. Generally, cross-cousin marriages are permitted. A man can marry the younger sister of his wife in a case of the latter's death but never the elder sister. Among the different forms of marriage, marriage by service, marriage by mutual consent and marriage by negotiation, etc. are prevalent. But the most common form of marriage is performed through negotiation. The marriage ceremony of the Jatapu closely resembles that of the neighbouring Telugus.

Marriages are finalized after two or three visits from the boy's side to the house of the bride on purely exploratory grounds. The groom does not accompany the party on any of their visits. After the selection is decided betrothal is undertaken through the presentation of some gold ornaments to the bride from the groom's side. Then the village priest fixes the date of the marriage. The payment of bride price is prevalent, and nowadays it is paid in cash. After the marriage ceremony, the party, with the bride and the groom, return to the groom's village in a procession. The next morning the toenail-cutting ceremony (*kalla gala sambranam*) takes place. The priest attaches a *kankanam* (wrist thread), tying the wrists of both the partners together. Then they take a bath in water that has been fetched by unmarried girls. Finally, a feast is arranged which is enjoyed by all.

Generally, the dead are cremated, but those dying of smallpox, cholera and snakebite are buried. The news of a death in the family is communicated to all kin members soon after it occurs so as to enable them to join the funeral procession. The eldest son lights the pyre and immediately after this leaves the cremation ground. The pollution period for a death is three days, during which all activities connected with agriculture are suspended. Every year, an annual *sradha* ceremony is observed in honour of the dead. On this occasion a fowl or a goat is killed and cooked in the house, and a little of the cooked food is collected in a plate and placed on the roof of the house in honour of the dead. A joint ceremony involving all the tribal people of the village is also performed every twenty years in honour of the ancestors.

The Jatapu's main occupation is agriculture. Those having no land have turned to working as agricultural labourers and wage-earners. The main crops they grow are paddy, *ragi*, *suan* and maize. They do not practise shifting cultivation. The women assist the men in different agricultural operations. Among the subsidiary occupations which the Jatapu resort to are carpentry and the manufacture of ropes made out of *siali* fibre. Rice and *ragi* gruel constitute the staple food of the Jatapu. Other minor millets like *suan*, *ghantia*, etc. are also eaten. During days of food scarcity they eat gruel made out of a powder consisting of dried mango kernels and tamarind seeds. Non-vegetarian food, which consists of

certain preparations of meat, fish and dried fish, are relished much more than the vegetarian food. Among the drinks, rice beer and sago-palm juice are popular.

Every village has a traditional village council, which is headed by a Nayak. Previously, the Nayak acted as an agent of the zamindars. But today, since the abolition of zamindari system, their prestige and powers have been considerably reduced. Nevertheless the Nayak continues to be the headman of the village and decides all intra-village disputes. He is assisted by the Barik, a messenger who belongs to the Domb caste. The other functionaries of the village are the Disari and the Jani. The former officiates in marriages and other social functions, and the latter worships the village deities. The supreme deity is called Jakara. Isthā Debata is the household deity. On festive and ceremonial occasions they worship Jakara and Jakeri by sacrificing pigs, goats and fowls to them. Among the festivals, Pongal or Pondugu is the most important. Another festival called Bhagadi is observed in the month of Chaitra. Nowadays, some Hindu festivals like Dasahara and Nuakhia are observed.

JATAPU *

A. B. Ota ¹

S. C. Mohanty ²

IDENTITY

They are known as Jatapu and have synonyms like Jatapu Dora and Samanthulu etc. Believed to be a civilized section of the Kandha tribe, now they are a distinct community and consider themselves socially superior to the Kandha. According to Thurston (1909), the name 'Jatapu' is popularly believed to be an abbreviated form of Konda Jatapu Doralu or lords of the Kond (Kandha).

They are live in the hill terrain and foot hills of undivided Koraput and Ganjam districts of South Odisha and adjoining Srikakulam and Vizianagaram districts of Andhra Pradesh

They speak Kuvi - a Dravidian tongue spoken by the Kandhas of Koraput and Oriya - the regional language of Odisha. The Jatapu residing in the area bordering Andhra Pradesh speak Telugu to communicate with their Telugu speaking neighbours. Their mother tongue Kuvi is a Dravidian language closely akin to the Telugu language for which they are very conversant with Telugu.

Numerically they are a minority tribal community in Odisha. In 2001 census, their total population in Odisha was 13,804 out of which 6832 were males and 6972, females registering a sex ratio of 1020 females per 1000 males. In between 1991 and 2001 census their population in the state has registered a phenomenal growth rate of +51.04% presumably indicating migration across the borders. Their level of literacy is 32.32% out of which male literacy is 46.02 % and female literacy is 19.04%.

* Published in the Photo Handbook on Jatapu, SCSTRTI, Bhubaneswar, 2013

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Dress and Ornaments

Males wear coarse loin cloth (*gochi / koupin*) leaving the entire body bare. Women wear coarse handloom *sarees* purchased from the local weavers or from the nearest weekly market. They put on the *saree* above their knees to cover the entire body which is knotted on left side of their neck. At present both males and females are using modern dresses. Particularly on festive occasions, for visiting relative's house or during market days males use pants, shirts and *banyan* and females wear mill made coloured *sarees* with petticoat and blouse etc.

Jatapu women love to adorn themselves with varieties of ornaments to make their appearance charming and attractive. They wear *pusti*, *pateli*, *tigi* on their neck, *nagul* and *bagdalu* on their earlobes and *kanish kamulu* on their nose helix, varieties of finger rings *mudi* made of old coins on their fingers, coloured glass bangles on their wrists and silver waist chain *pati*. They also wear attractive ornaments like *kami*, *gundu* and *pusapur* on festive occasions. Females anoint their body with turmeric paste and comb their hair applying castor oil. They plait with hair knob at left side beautifully and decorate it with wild blossoms.

SETTLEMENT & HOUSING

Jatapu settlements are generally uni-ethnic and uni-clan in structure. In heterogeneous villages they dwell in separate wards maintaining distance from other communities and keeping their own identity. They live near foot hills or hill slopes surrounded by forest and perennial hill streams that provide them drinking water throughout the year. In a Jatapu settlement houses are arranged in parallel rows leaving a wide-open street in between. At the village outskirts the shrine of their village deity *Zankari Penu* is installed under sacred trees.

They generally construct new houses after celebration of *Pongal* festival. Their traditional priest- the *disary* is consulted to fix an auspicious moment to start the construction work. Preferably on Wednesday the centre pole is fixed ritually at the house site. The house building materials are plain and simple consisting of timber, bamboo, mud, *siali* fiber and wild grass. Now-a-days they also use bricks.

Houses are rectangular in shape and two roomed having high plinth and wide verandahs both in front and rear sides. The houses usually face east. The doors are made of wood or split bamboos plastered with mud and the walls are cleanly polished with coloured clay.

They keep their domestic animals in a separate shed in their backyards. In their rear verandah they construct a compartment to accommodate women during their menstrual period. They keep their surroundings neat and clean.

They possess limited household assets. Their household utensils consisting of some aluminum pots, earthen wares and gourd vessels which are stored in the kitchen near their hearth.

They keep their clothes, on a bamboo pole hanging on strings from the roof. Their hunting weapons like bows, arrows, spears and axes are hung on the walls of the living room. On their front verandah they keep their agricultural implements such as hoes, ploughs, leveler, yokes etc. Near the entrance of the living room they have their wooden mortar and pestle (*paurani*) on the floor for husking the grains by the female folk. On the rear verandah they keep a stone disc to grind the condiments.

L I V E L I H O O D

Cultivation is the mainstay of their subsistence economy. They depend mainly on shifting (*podu*) cultivation carried out on the hills around their habitat and also practice low land paddy cultivation (*garavu*) near foot hills. Those having no land have turned to working as agricultural labourers and wage-earners.

Usually they produce *ragi*, *padadhan* (a type of paddy), turmeric, *zinzer*, *kangu* (millet), *kosla* (a millet), *alasi* (nizer), *janna* (a millet), *dangaranim*, *bodhei*, *kulthi* (horse gram), *biri* (black gram) and red gram etc. They have some upland near the hill slopes where they raise *kandul*, maize, chilli, *jhudung* (cow-pea) and *semi* (pea). In their kitchen garden they grow brinjal, *kumuda* (pumpkin), *kakudi* (cucumber), chilli, *lau* (gourd), and varieties of other vegetables and green-leaves.

Traditionally, they are food gatherers. They depend on forest to collect varieties of seasonal forest produce like roots and tubers such as, *karadi*, *sarenda*, *pita kanda*, *tarek kanda*, *sereng kanda*, varieties of mushrooms, green leaves, fibers, fruits, flowers and medicinal roots and herbs, timbers, fuel wood, bamboo, fodders and grasses to thatch their roofs. Among the subsidiary occupations which they resort to are animal husbandry carpentry, bamboo basketry and manufacture of ropes made out of *siali* fiber.

Females contribute substantially in the field of cultivation besides their household chores.

Food & Drinks

Rice and *ragi* gruel constitute are the staple food of the Jatapu. Other minor millets like *suan*, *ghantia*, etc. are also eaten. During the days of food scarcity, they eat gruel made out of a powder consisting of dried mango kernels and tamarind seeds. Non-vegetarian food, which consists of certain preparations of meat, fish and dried fish, are relished much more than the vegetarian food.

They consume alcoholic drinks like, rice beer, sago-palm juice and *mohuli*. Smoking of handmade cigarettes is common among men and women.

S O C I A L L I F E

Jatapu family is mostly nuclear. Adult marriage and monogamy is the norm but polygyny is also allowed. They follow patrilineal rule of descent and

patrilocal rule of residence. Descent groups are classified as *lohagond thari* / *bhagarulu* consisting of agnatic descendants having right to inherit metal knife and axe, the property of the deceased kinsman and *vamsa*.

The *vamsa* is again classified into three categories i.e. a) *tainga* (brother), b) *tone-tainga* (friend or *bandhu*), c) *samading* (son or daughter's parents) affinal lineages. Their *vamsa* or phratry organizations are exogamous, totemistic and are named after plants, animals or objects. They revere their totem objects of *vamsa* and do not do any harm to it. Members of a *vamsa* consider themselves to be descendants from a common ancestor for which marriage within them is tabooed.

There are several exogamous *vamsas* i.e. *kadraka* (fowl), *korada*, *bidika*, *kondagare* (sheep), *pagoka*, *minaka*, *puala*, *padaka*, *toyika*, *harikanga* (tortoise), *itringi* (a black bird), *puridi* (a yellow bird), *lendruka* (a tree called *neradu*), *thandangi* (plantain tree), *thorika* (wild fowl), *mamdangi* (bull or cow), *navali pitta* (peacock), *koalaka* (arrow), *kutraki* (wild goat) and *vinka* (termite), *addaku*, *arika* (a millet), *prahka*, *neehka*, *moohka*, *agrigala* (a millet) and *winka* (white ant), etc.

The pregnant woman is subjected to certain taboos for the wellbeing of herself and her baby. She is prohibited to stand or sit near doorway or sleep alone and her husband is tabooed to kill animals or take part in hunting expedition

The **child birth** usually takes place in a separate lying-in-room near the rear verandah enclosed for the purpose. They engage an experienced woman (*dai-budi*) of their own tribe or from Konda Dora tribe to assist the expectant mother for easy delivery.

The village medicine man or Disari is consulted in the case of a difficult delivery. The umbilical cord is cut using a knife and the placenta is buried in a pit at the backyard. After delivery of the baby, the mother is administered with date palm root to avoid exposure to the cold and to help in lactation. During the first three days of confinement, she is given hot gruel, which is later changed to a small quantity of boiled rice with *dal*. As a rule, she is not given any curry.

Birth pollution continues for seven days and on the seventh day the mother and the new born baby takes purificatory bath. On the eleventh day the final purificatory rite is observed conducted by their traditional priest the *Disary* and name giving and tonsure rites are observed ceremoniously. Generally, the name of the ancestors are chosen for the new born baby applying rice divination method in which they offer *arua* rice grains to a cock uttering names of the ancestors and select the name on which the fowl picks the grain. On this occasion a feast is arranged for the kith and kin.

They observe **puberty rites** for adolescent girls on their first menstruation. The girl is kept in seclusion for a period of seven days. During this time, the girl is tabooed to look at the male persons and enter into the kitchen. She takes her purificatory bath on the morning on the eighth day and her family hosts a non-

vegetarian feast to the kinsfolk in the evening during which the latter offer presentations like new dresses and cosmetics to the girl.

Marriage is a joyful incidence in Jatapu life. They consider marriage arranged through negotiation is ideal and prestigious. They prefer cross-cousin marriage like marrying one's maternal aunt's or paternal aunt's daughter.

The other forms of marriages are by elopement (*maganali*), by capture, by service (*ilarakaon*), by exchange, which are exceptions. In their society, the younger brother can marry his deceased elder brother's widow. Similarly, a man can marry the younger sister of his deceased wife. Remarriage of widow, widower and divorcees are permitted. Divorcee is allowed on the grounds adultery and maladjustment in conjugal life.

Arranged marriages are finalized after two or three visits of the boy's side to the bride's house. After the obtaining the consent of the bride's side, betrothal is undertaken observing the customs of bride price (*woli*), since payment of bride price (*woli*) is obligatory. It consists of presentation of some amounts of cash, some gold ornaments and clothes to the bride and some jars of country liquor from the groom's side. Then the village priest, *Disary* fixes the date of the marriage.

On the wedding day the groom goes to the bride's place in a procession where the marriage rites are performed. *Disary* conducts the wedding rites by locking the hands of the bride and the groom. Barik belonging to the Domb community trims nails of the bride and the groom (*kallagola sambramam*).

After the marriage ceremony, the party, with the bride and the groom, returns to the groom's village in a procession. The next morning the toenail-cutting ceremony (*Kalla gola sambranam*) takes place. The priest attaches a *kankanam* (wrist thread), tying the wrists of both the partners together. Then they take a bath in water fetched by unmarried girls. Finally, the groom's family entertains the kinsfolk, relatives and guests in with a grand feast with country liquor. They enjoy the occasion by singing, dancing and merry making.

They practice burial or cremation to dispose of their dead. The news of a **death** is sent to the kith and kin soon to enable them to join the funeral procession. The corpse is bathed with turmeric water and put on a bamboo bier. The pall bearers carry the bier to the cremation ground accompanied by all the adults of the village in a funeral procession. The eldest son ignites the pyre. They return after the cremation is over and obstruct their path of return with thorny branches to prevent the departed soul to return to village and cause harms to the villagers.

Death pollution is observed for three days. During this period economic pursuits and household chores are stopped and the villagers provide food for the bereaved family. The death rites are held on any day after the third day of death, and a female shamanin, (*Pejuni*) plays an important role in performing the rites.

The family offers annual *sradha* (*panduku*) on the honour of the dead on every *Makar Sankranti*. On this occasion a fowl or a goat is killed and cooked in the house, and a small portion of the cooked food is placed in a plate on the roof of the house in honour of the dead. A joint ceremony for commemorating the dead involving all the tribesmen of the village is also performed every twenty years.

MAGICO-RELIGIOUS BELIEFS & PRACTICES

Jatapu religion is mixture of Hinduism and animism. Their pantheon includes a number of deities. Some of them are benevolent and some are malevolent. They believe that some of the deities possess great powers to take quick action and some are less powerful. They install the powerful deities in the center of their village street or at the village outskirts under shady trees in shape of oblong stones. The less powerful deities are installed in the house of their traditional head - *Zanni*.

They believe that there are supernatural powers who control the fate of human beings. Therefore, they propitiate them with great reverence on festive occasions offering sacrifices of animals or fowls and country liquor seeking their blessings for their wellbeing.

Goddess *Zankri Penu* (*Jakara Devata*) is their principal deity. She is worshipped with the sacrifices of pigs, ship and buffaloes. After harvest of crops, it is ritually offered to her at first, before consumption. All other important community festivals are celebrated at the shrine. They also propitiate Goddess *Goddali* before the harvest of crops. *Istha Debata* is their household deity.

Their religious activities are primarily communal. *Dissari*, *Zani* and *Pejouni* maintain the relationship with the deities and supernatural beings.

Among the festivals, *Pongal* or *Pondugu* is the most important. Another festival called *Bhagadi* is observed in the month of *Chaitra*. They also observe all local Hindu festivals like *Dasara*, *Nuakhia* and *Sankranti* and worship Hindu gods and goddesses

SOCIAL CONTROL

Jatapu have their own traditional community council headed by *Nayudu* who is also called *Samanthi* or *Dora*. He is assisted by *Dissari*- the astrologer, *Zanni* - the priest and *Barik* -the messenger. The posts of *Nayudu*, *Dissari* and *Zanni* are hereditary. The *Barik* is from other community and is appointed by nomination.

During the past, the political organization of Jatapu was headed by a *muttadar* appointed by the local *zamindar*, who was responsible to collect revenue and maintain law and order.

Their traditional community council handles their customary intra-community affairs relating to family disputes, rape, theft, adultery, partition of property, divorce and other social matters according to their social norms and customs. It acts as guardian of their customary norms and traditions and the office bearers are respected. The *Nayudu* presides over the council meetings and before taking any decision, he consults with other office bearers and community elders. The offenders are imposed with penalty in cash and kinds according to gravity of their offence.

CHANGING SCENE

Since the remote past the Jatapu lived undisturbed in their remote mountainous habitat. In modern times, the rapid changes in administrative set-up and political climate of the country and their exposure to the external world have influenced their way of life.

After independence, the welfare Government has taken a very benevolent attitude towards improving the lot of the backward tribal people of this country including the Jatapus. Various protective, welfare and development measures initiated by the Government have resulted in exposing the tribesmen more and more to outside contact and pressures of ever-advancing and powerful social, economic and political forces. They have been benefited from different tribal development programmes.

The impact of change and modernization and introduction of planned development intervention by Government and Non-government agencies have brought developments in the fields of health and sanitation, education, agriculture, communication and infrastructure. During last six decades Government has initiated various welfare and development schemes to bring about socio-economic development of the Jatapu.

Besides, the Jatapu have accepted many new cultural, social and religious elements from their neighbouring castes and tribes by their culture contact. Their material culture has changed to some extent. Their traditional household articles have been replaced by many modern gadgets. Now, many well-to-do Jatapu families have acquired modern articles such as radio, watches, cycle, motor cycle, television, mobile phone, modern dresses, wooden and plastic furniture etc.

Under the circumstances, the Jatapu are struggling hard to make the best of both their worlds - old and new.

JUANG *

*S.C. Mohanty*¹

The Juang tribe is found nowhere except in the state of Odisha. They are largely concentrated in the Keonjhar district followed by the adjoining district of Angul. In fact, their habitat is a continuous belt extending from the hills in the west of Keonjhar to the hill ranges of Pallahara of Angul and its adjoining plains.

Location & Physiography

Keonjhar district is located in the northern part of the State between 21.1'N and 22.10'N latitude and 85. 11'E and 86. 22'E longitude with an area of 8330.7 Sq.Kms. The district is divided into two divisions, the upper Keonjhar consisting of the hill ranges of Gonasika, Mankadanacha, Gandhamardan and the lower Keonjhar, which is a plain area. The hills of Gonasika are the abode of the Juang. The rocky and forested surroundings guarantee the tribe an isolation in which they lead their life in their own style.

The district of Angul lies between 20. 41'N latitude and 84.16'E longitude with an area of 1082.70 sq. kms. Here the Juangs are spread over the valleys of Pallahara and the plains of Kamakhyanagar and Sadar Sub-divisions.

The area covering both districts has a large number of hills and valleys intercepted by a network of perennial streams and rivers like Boitarani and Brahmani. The soil varies from rich loam to gravelly detritus of the hill slopes except plains that are fertile.

The Juang Country

The Juang claim Keonjhar as their homeland. Their stronghold area in the district is called *Juang pirha*. It is a contiguous triangular piece of country divided into four traditional maximal territorial units like Jharkhand *pirha*, Sathkhand *pirha*, Rebena *pirha* and Kathua *pirha* with a roughly north to south alignment along a range of hills with Keonjhar at its apex and Kuanr and Basantapur at its base. In the center of the Juang country lies Gonasika, the holy birth place of the

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Juang tribe and is surrounded by other Juang villages. From this place the holy river Boitarani originates and traverses through the whole district.

The *Juang pirha* of Keonjhar district is a rugged, mountainous highland country predominantly inhabited by the **Primitive Tribal Group (PTG)**- the Juang, recently re-designated as **Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Group (PVTG)**. This picturesque territory with its undulating terrain, rolling hills, perennial hill streams and patches of lush green forests lies at an average elevation of 2000'-3000' above the sea level. This lovely highland country is dotted with hundreds of Juang villages of which 35 have been covered by the PTG Development Micro Project named **Juang Development Agency (JDA)** headquartered at Gonasika. It is situated at a distance of 35 kilometers from the district headquarters of Keonjhar town and approachable by all-weather *pucca* road.

The present study has covered 10 Juang villages of JDA spread over 5 Gram Panchayats (GPs) namely, Tala Champei, Gonasika, Kodipasa, Baragada and Kuanr under Bansapal Block of Keonjhar Sadar Subdivision and ITDA.

Flora

For abundant rainfall and variation in altitude in this region, the forests here support varieties of vegetations. The important species are *Sal* (*Shorea robusta*), *Amba* (*Mangifera Indica*), *Panasa* (*Artucarpus heperphyllus*), *Kendu* (*Diospyros melanoxylon*), *Gambhari* (*Gomelina arborea*), *Kusum* (*Schleichera trijuga*), *Karanja* (*Pongmia globra*), *Jamun* (*Eugenia Jambolana*), *Mahua* (*Bassia latifolia*). Clumps of bamboo (*Bambusa stricta*) grow in abundance in this area particularly in Pallahara area. A kind of tall grass known as *sinkunda* grows around the villages and is used as thatching grass. *Siali* creeper whose stem is used for rope making and leaves for cups and plates is also abundant.

The contribution of forest to the economic life of the Juang is very significant. In the past, the area was under thick forest cover. But now only patches of vegetations are left. The practice of shifting cultivation and destruction of forests has made the wild animals scarce in the area.

Fauna

In the yester years it was a wild country rich in its natural wealth of flora and fauna. Tigers, panthers, leopards, bears, wild dogs, jackals, elephants, porcupines, fowls, *Sambar*, deers, wild pigs, wild goats, monkeys, peacocks, pythons, cobras were roaming in its wilderness. Now the fauna is almost depleted with the forest. However, elephants, leopards, hyenas, bear, deer of various kinds, wild boars, *Sambar*, monkeys, cobras, and python are still found in the forests in small numbers. The wild birds include peacocks, wild fowls and pigeons. Tigers are rarely found now, although occasionally one hears of a stray panther or a leopard, their number and appearance by no means of any consequence. Herds of

elephants still cause some damage to the crops and march into the human habitations in search of food.

Climate

The area experiences a mild and moderate climate, with a short and mild summer, moderate monsoon and a long winter. The summer season commences by the beginning of March when temperature begins to rise rapidly. May and June are the hottest months when the temperature rises to 40°C. But in higher ridges the climate is cool and enjoyable. With the onset of monsoon, the climate becomes cool and pleasant. In October, temperature decreases further. The winter lasts from December to February. The monsoon breaks in the month of June and continues till the middle of October. During this period rains are continuous and heavy and nearly 80 per cent of the annual rainfall is received during these months. The annual average rainfall of the project area is about 1400 mm to 1550 mm.

Socio-Cultural Profile

The Juang, one of the Primitive Tribes (PTG) of Odisha, are found in the districts of Keonjhar and Angul. According to Verrier Elwin, a noted ethnographer, the meaning of the term 'Juang' is 'Man'. They claim themselves to be the first humans on the earth, originating at the sacred Gonasika hills as descendants of their legendary ancestors, the *Rusi* couple. The district of Keonjhar in general and Gonasika in particular is said to be their original homeland. The place of their mythical origin is Gonasika, which is also the place of birth of the sacred river Boitarani. In the past, they were being called *Pattoos* for wearing leaves. It is unique that this tribe is found nowhere else in India, except in Odisha State.

The Juang classify themselves into two sections i.e. the *Thaniya* (natives) and the *Bhagudia* (escapists); the former claiming superiority over the latter. The *Thaniyas*, live in their own homeland called Juang *Pirha* located in and around Gonasika hills, while the *Bhagudias* are those who have fled away from their homeland to the Pallahara area of neighbouring district. The migration had largely taken place in the past during the Bhuyan rebellion in 1861.

Linguistically, Juangs are Munda speaking people (Munda being one of the Austro-Asiatic language families) and racially they belong to Proto-Australoid stock. Now-a-days, as a result of contact with Oriya speaking people, they can speak Oriya. As per 1991 census their total population was 35 665, sex ratio was 1059 and their level of literacy was 14.46 percent. By 2001, their total population has increased to 41339 including 20524 males and 20815 females registering a growth rate of 15.91 percent. Their literacy level has improved to 25.35 percent.

The Juang inhabit a block of hills and forest clad country in south and west of Keonjhar; the hills end in plains of Pallahara to the east and the plains villages of Angul along the southern border. In Keonjhar the Juang are found in

four *Pirha* areas (maximal traditional territorial organization) namely, Jharkhand, Sathkhanda, Rebena and Kathua.

The Juang of Sathkhanda and Jharkhand *Pirhas* consider themselves superior to the Juang of the other two *Pirhas*. They state several reasons to account for their superiority. The important reasons are that they live in and around their place of origin i.e. the sacred hill of Gonasika and have retained the originality of their culture whereas the inhabitants of Kathua and Rebena *Pirhas* who are plain dwellers have diluted their originality as they live in close proximity of caste Hindus and other tribal communities.

The Juang live both in small and big villages. The typical Juang settlements in Gonasika region are scattered, hidden inside hills and forests. Some settlements are found in the plains. A unique feature of the Juang settlement pattern is their periodic change of village site in tune with the cyclic rotation of their swidden sites. Each village has a number of habitations sites and the villagers live in one site for a number of years after which they move to another site. Several reasons are attributed to the change of village site, the main reason being the shortage of *toila* (swidden) land around the site, outbreak of epidemic, attack of wild animals and occurrence of frequent death in the village, etc. Now-a-days they live in permanent villages and in the colonies made under the Indira Awas Yojana.

In each and every Juang village, there is the institution of a community center called *majang* or *mandaghar*. It is a rectangular house standing conspicuously in the center of the village serving as a dormitory house for the youth, court house for the traditional council of elders (*barabhai*), guest house for visitors, cooperative store for storage of community fund of grains, place for keeping musical instruments, a venue for communal rituals, cultural center for dance and music and a museum of Juang art and crafts. The *majang* plays a central role in the socio-political and economic life of the Juang.

Another important feature of the Juang society is their traditional youth organization and dormitory associated with the *majang*. The unmarried boys and girls become members of this institution. They are a well-organized group that carries out various community services and social and cultural activities for their community. Boys and girls together sing, dance and make merry in moonlit nights in front of *majang*. The educative role of the *majang* is very vital. Here the younger boys and girls learn from their elders the traditional customs and manners and values and norms of their society. The main objective of the youth organization is to perpetuate the tribal solidarity and promote their culture.

The typical Juang villages are compact settlements with the *majang* at the center and the houses of the individual families scattered here and there encircling it. There is no regular street passing through the houses. In front of the *majang*, there is spacious ground where the boys and girls dance with their *changus* (tambourine) and communal festivals, feasts and meetings are held.

The Juang houses are small in size barely having enough space to accommodate a couple and one or two unmarried children. The walls are made of wooden pillars plastered with mud and cow dung. The roof is thatched with wild grass. The cattle are kept in a separate shed built close to the main house. Guests and relatives are accommodated in the *majang*.

The Hill-Juang eke out subsistence pursuing shifting cultivation and collecting minor forest produce. The plains-Juang earn their livelihood by pursuing small-scale settled cultivation and wage earning.

Rice is their staple food. The plains Juang who cultivate lowland paddy fields produce more paddy for household consumption than the hill Juangs who has the least chance of getting a bumper paddy harvest from their rocky *toila* fields because, paddy cultivation on the hills always depends on the rains and is exposed to the ravages of wild animals. However, the latter produce varieties of crops like beans, pulses and millets in their swiddens, which are consumed in lieu of rice. Fruits, roots and tubers collected from the jungle, also supplement their diet. The cash crops, such as *rasi* and mustard are exchanged for paddy and *ragi*, which are eaten during the lean season. In summer jackfruits and mango begin to ripe and these are consumed in plenty for a month or two as a substitute for rice. Rainy season is the busiest season of the year for the agricultural operations and in these months the Juang like to eat well. Surplus rice is stored for rainy season. Hunting and fishing are pastimes rather than economic pursuits for them. The Juang get meat by occasional hunting. Ceremonial hunting is done during *Am-Nua* (new mango eating) and *Pus Puni* festivals. With gradual depletion of forest the sustenance derived from the forest by means of hunting and collection of minor forest produce is declining over period of time.

There is no peculiarity in the dress pattern of the Juang. The men wear *dhoti* and women put on white or coloured *saree*. The school going children wear shirts while other children wear napkins. The Juang put on the same type of dress all the year round. The Juang women take pleasure in adorning their bodies with various kinds of ornaments such as, bangles, anklets, armlets, earrings, nose and toe rings, waist chain made of brass or aluminum and different varieties of bead and coin necklaces bought readymade from the market. Tattooing is preferred by Juang women to enhance their beauty.

Family is the basic social institution of the Juang society. It is patrilineal, patrilocal and patriarchal. It is the primary unit of production, distribution and consumption. Basically the Juang have nuclear families consisting of husband, wife and unmarried children. After marriage the grown up sons build their separate houses. Transitional extended families having married couple and old parents are also found.

The most remarkable event in the life of the Juang is marriage. There are certain rules and regulations for arranging the matrimony. Firstly, marriage within

the same clan (*kili*) is not allowed since clan members are treated as brothers and sisters. Secondly, not only each clan is exogamous, but also each has a number of associated *kutum* or brother clans among which marriage is not permissible. Thirdly, marriage in either higher or lower generation is considered improper though not strictly prohibited. The fourth factor for finalizing a marriage is to forecast its future sanctity and success by reading omens. More over payment of bride price is customary in all regular types of marriages. The Juang practices the following forms of marriage.

1. Marriage by arrangement, 2. Marriages by capture, 3. Love marriage, 4. Widow Remarriage, 5. Marriage by elopement.

Other distinguishing feature of the Juang is their strong kinship organization dividing them into *kutum* (kins), and *bandhu* (affines). As most of the Juang villages have uni-clan composition, village exogamy is the rule.

The Hill-Juang villages of Gonasika area are grouped under four *pirhas* - territorially organized confederation of villages, which had received due recognition and patronage of the rulers of ex-Keonjhar State. A traditional tribal chief designated as Sardar leads each *pirha*. Each Juang village is an autonomous socio-political unit managed by a set of traditional leaders and a corporate body of village elders called *bhalabhai* or *barabhai*. The village community owns and manages all the productive and useful natural resources like swiddens, forests, grazing land, and habitation sites etc., which lie within their village boundary.

The Juang observe various festivals and rituals throughout the year to worship their deities and ancestors. Their important festivals are *Pus Puni*, *Am Nua Tirtia*, *Asadi*, *Pirha Puja*, *Dhan-Nua* etc. Among these, *Pus Puni*, marking the beginning of the agricultural cycle, is most auspicious and important and they observe it for three days with pomp and ceremony. Dance and music form an integral part of Juang's celebrations. Besides, the boys or girls of one village visit another village on dancing expeditions. Their characteristic *changu* dance continues for two or three days without break. The Juang are fond of dance and music. They have several folk songs, legends and folk tales, which depict their origin, cultural values, day-to-day activities, love and sorrow. The Juang believe that their life is controlled and guided by various deities and deified spirits who live around them in hills, forests, rivers and sky.

The Juangs are socio-economically backward. The Juang *pirha* area of Keonjhar comes under the jurisdiction of Keonjhar I.T.D.A. for the purpose of execution of various development programmers. Besides, one Micro Project named the Juang Development Agency (JDA) having its headquarters at Gonasika, has been functioning with the sole objective of bringing down all-round socio-economic development of the Juang as they have been identified as a Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Group of Odisha. The Micro Project has been implementing various income generating and infrastructure development schemes for the tribe

giving major thrust on promotion of modern agricultural practices and education, prevention of *podu* cultivation an extension of health care services. The impact of the development interventions has noticeable impact on the way of life of the Juang.

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LIFE-WAY OF THE JUANGS IN KEONJHAR *

*Ajit Ray*¹

Introduction

In the following paper an attempt has been made to describe the life-way of Juangs of Keonjhar. The Juangs form one of the most important tribes in the pre-Dravidian, central belt of Orissa. The cultural heritage of the Juang shows certain common elements which inspite of local variations, clearly indicate their historical relationship with the Mundari speaking group of central India.

The Juangs are essentially a hill people and their home is in the high valleys of the hill ranges, the slopes and spurs of the foot-hills and the narrow gorges of the river Baitarani. The Juang country is watered by streams and rivulets that flow off the slopes into the valleys below. It is an area of heavy rainfall ranging around 60" every year. The perennial streams exercise a profound influence on the life and movement of the people inhabiting these lands.

The tribe inhabits the central region of Orissa formed by the districts of Dhenkanal and Keonjhar; they are most numerous in the latter, where they preserve their unique traditions and customs till to-day. The warm and thinly populated valley inhabited by various castes forms one part of Keonjhar, while the surrounding hill-tracts are occupied by the Juangs and the Pauri Bhuiyas. Juangs form a large segment of the tribal population in Keonjhar. They claim that they are the autochthones of Keonjhar and are the direct descendants of the first human beings created by God. They consider the village of Gonasika (21' 30" lat. and 85' 37" E, long.) as the place of their origin.

In the process of development of the Juang character, the geo-physical factors must not be ignored, for they are of far-reaching importance. The natural diversity of the country has fostered diversity in customs. The hilly character of the country and its ruggedness present a barrier to the easy social intercourse.

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Population

From the census figures of the last sixty years, it seems that the Juang population has fluctuated rapidly, especially in recent decades. In order to determine the manner in which the specific biological elements that influence fertility have been, and are acting in the direction of its restriction, Government of Orissa have been carrying out a detailed study of the problem of biological growth and decay of this tribe. The census figures show that their population increased from 1891 to 1911; then there was a sudden fall in 1921 followed by period from 1931 to 1941 when the population grew again; while there seems to have been sudden decrease between 1941 and 1951 as will be relevant from the following tables.

Table I

Years	Population
1951	12,559
1941	17,032
1931	15,024
1921	10,454
1911	12,823
1901	11,159
1891	9,173

Table II

Period	Variations:Percentage (%)	
	Increase (+)	Decrease (-)
1941-1951	(-)4473	(-)26.26
1931-1941	(+) 2008	(+) 13.36
1921-1931	(+) 4570	(+) 43.61
1911-1921	(-)2369	(-)18.49
1901-1911	(+) 1664	(+) 14.91
1891-1901	(+) 1986	(+) 21.65

People and Personality

The Juangs as a whole are elusive and morose. They are shy and timid before the strangers. Very few men and women seem to be unaffected by the general unfriendly atmosphere which surrounds them; particularly since the time when shifting cultivation has been restricted severely both by official and non-official agencies. In spite of this, many young people are very amiable, gay, cheerful and light-hearted when they are met alone. Before outsiders, they frequently change their attitude and relapse into sullen moodiness. Within the sphere of his own culture, the Juang observes accurately and acts rationally. But it is only when he is confronted by an entirely different atmosphere, he acts

differently. The Juang is simple minded and easily deceived or exploited. Crime is rare among these people.

They are honest simple and very innocent. They cut a poor figure beside the shrewd traders during the barter of goods and services. Though they live in the wild, they are a very in-offensive people, and even friendly people to those who are sympathetic towards them.

The predominating physical characteristics, from the observational point of view, are these. They are medium in stature with long-heads. The cheek bones are prominent and the nose is broad, often with concave depression at the root.

The ridges over the eyebrows are moderate. The hair is black, coarse and wavy with a rich growth on the head, while it is scanty on the rest of the body. The skin colour varies from brown to light black. The shape of the face is oval or pentagonal, but square faces are also found. The eye slit is straight, but sometimes also oblique; the epicanthic fold is however absent. The body build is not so strong but well proportioned.

Dress and Ornaments

The dress of the Juangs is of the simplest kind. Juang women's dress consists only of a Sari (Sari Kate) - a small loin cloth which is woven by local weavers of the Pana caste and bought from bazaars. Women wear saris, which they wrap several times round the hip, throwing one end over the left shoulder. Young girls generally see that the folds cover the breasts, but once a woman has a child she frequently leaves her breasts uncovered, and it seems quite usual for a woman to work in the fields or in the hut with nothing but a cloth round the hips. Juang women wrap a very small piece of loin cloth, underneath the sari, as the saris they generally wear are very short and narrow. Juang men generally wear a piece of short loin cloth, but unmarried boys wear long loin cloths during dancing and other festivals. Boys and girls up to the age of ten invariably wear a thin strip of cloth between the thighs.

The custom of adorning the body with various ornaments is not uncommon among Juangs. Formerly the Juangs made necklaces (Kunti) of earthen beads manufactured by themselves but to-day Juang women adorn themselves with multi-coloured bead and brass necklaces which are purchased from the local bazaars. Young girls wear brass bangles (Thada) on the arm, a number of brass bangles (Kharu) on the wrist, nose rings (Guna), ear-rings (Phirphira) etc.

Village and Huts

The founding of a new village depends upon good water supply and suitability of cultivable land. Juangs shift their village sites from time to time when cultivable land becomes exhausted. The landscape of the Juang village is impressive and charming and has a character and distinction of its own. He

prefers a landscape consisting of rolling downs, while here and there the ground rises higher in great masses of rocks. The Juangs choose the village site so skillfully that it merges with the landscape so as to be hardly visible from a short distance away. Juangs also try to give their homes the effect of concealment more inconspicuous by surrounding the village with thick cactus hedges, while the actual entrance to it is carefully concealed from the intruder.

There is no order in a Juang village. The huts climb up and down the hillside in complete confusion and there is no arrangement of regular lanes and by-lanes. The huts face all directions according to convenience, and none of the huts is enclosed with fences, from which it appears that they do not encourage family exclusiveness and independence as among many tribes of Chotanagpur. The *darbar* or village community house is enclosed in the central portion of the village by lowly huts. The Juang village is democratic; it is very difficult to distinguish a rich man's house from one belonging to a poor man.

The hut of the Juangs was described by Dalton in 1866 in the following terms: 'The huts are amongst the smallest that human being ever deliberately constructed as dwellings'. Even to-day Dalton's observation seems to be true. The raw materials for the construction of the hut are gathered from the jungle. The form of the hut is rectangular; its breadth being about two-thirds of its length. There is only one entrance to the hut in the middle of the long wall. The roofs are low sloping bothways thatched with grass. The walls are made of posts or planks, plastered over with mud, both within and without. The plinth is often high and may be with or without a verandah in front. In many cases, two huts are joined together and the cow-shed, goat-shed etc., are also attached to the hut, but as a separate apartment. The hut is divided into three portions used for sleeping, cooking and stores. In the kitchen portion the oven is situated in one corner and the Juangs believe that the ancestor spirits have their seat in that place. The store is a raised platform where paddy, rice, millets, maize, clothes and utensils are stored. The middle portion of the hut is also used for grinding, husking grains, clearing rice and millet and also for making mats. With the transition to plough cultivation among them, domestic animals like cattle have recently gained importance and have become virtually a necessity for the Juangs. Not the least important among the Juangs' domestic animals is the fowl. In nearly all religious rites and ceremonies the sacrifice of chicken is indispensable and there is no deity to whom chickens are not acceptable. Though eggs are sometimes eaten, they are never offered to the gods. The Juang also keeps pigs and goats and they say that they prefer pork to any other meat. Pigs are not sacrificed, but goats are sometimes needed for that purpose.

Land and Cultivation

The Juangs are agricultural people, but their dependence on nature's wild produce is still very great. Food gathering occupies a very prominent place in their economy.

No private ownership in forest and land suitable for shifting cultivation is recognised by the Juangs. Amicable settlement is the keynote of the distribution of cultivable land in Juang community. The village communities communally own tracts of land, the boundaries of which are usually marked by prominent trees. The members of the community who enjoy common ownership of the tract generally live in a common settlement. In some of the villages where wet cultivation is permanent, privately owned field exists side by side with shifting cultivation and the individualistic trend seems to be on the increase with the spread of wet cultivation.

Besides ploughs, the main agricultural implements used by the Juangs are hoes, which are again of two types with or without an iron point. This is used for digging up roots and tubers.

The Juang life-way is inextricably bound up with shifting cultivation, which is carried out in a very crude manner. About the end of January when the undergrowth and creepers begin to wither and the jungle is dry and brittle, the Juangs select a hill-slope for cultivation and start felling the trees, sparing only the big trees which are used as stalks for creepers like the beans etc.

Between February and March there is practically no rainfall in the Juang country, when the felled trees which have been cut down, dry up. These are set on fire in about the second week of April. Then they deliberately kill the big trees which were left standing by heaping combustible materials round them. After the first firing, half burnt branches are collected in heaps and reduced to ashes which are raked and distributed over the soil. The preparation of the cultivable land begun in January is completed by the first week of May, but sowing has to wait until the first showers of the monsoon moisten the parched earth.

In the first year of cultivation, they sow oil seeds and pulses while in the second year, rice and millets of various kinds are sown in the same land. Juangs cultivate a field according to their needs for one, two and three successive years. When the fertility begins to fall, then they abandon the field and proceed to a new hills-lope.

The felling of the trees is men's work while the brushwood is cleared by women. Men, women and children work together in tidying up and burning the jungle.

JUANG*

*R. K. Pradhan*¹

Among the aboriginal tribes found in the state of Orissa, the Juangs form a major group in the districts of Keonjhar and Dhenkanal (undivided). The origin of the Juang is lost with passage of time. They have no written records except some oral traditions which have been handed down from generation to generation. However, they represent some cultural features similar to those of the Mundari speaking tribal groups of Central India. According to Col. Dalton the Juangs speak a Kolarian language.

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

Population

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

Sl. No.	Name of the District	Total Population	Male	Female
1.	Koraput	154	78	76
2.	Dhenkanal	11,551	5,587	5,964
3.	Keonjhar	9,768	5,028	4,740
4.	Cuttack	416	183	233
5.	Mayurbhanj	1	1	
Total		21,890	10,877	11,013

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Social-Organization

The Juangs are partilocal and patriarchal people. The Juangs society is divided into a number of clans and each clan holds as sacred a particular object or animal which is regarded as the clan totem. The totemic object is never destroyed or injured. The Juang tribe is endogamous but the clans are exogamous. The tribe is divided into two clan groups namely Bandhu clan and Kutumb clan. The Juangs can marry in the Bandhu clan, but not in the Kutumb clan. No Juang can marry outside the tribe and within his or her own clan. Monogamy is the common rule prevailing in the Juang society. Polygamy exists very rarely. Levirate and sororate types of marriages are prevalent in the Juang society. A woman may be divorced by her husband if she is found sterile. The divorced wife can remarry anywhere in her Bandhu clan, if she so liked.

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

Life cycle

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

Marriage is the most important stage in the life cycle of the Juangs. They perform rice divination on an auspicious day before starting negotiation for marriage. If the divination indicates a good sign the groom's party proceeds with the marriage proposal. Then a few persons of the boy's side go to the girl's house to propose and settle the marriage. Then bride's party comes to the groom's house and is entertained with liquor and delicious foods. If both parties are satisfied with each other, marriage is settled. The elders of the village fix an auspicious day for the marriage. On the day of marriage the bride's party brings the bride to the

groom's house. Then the marriage rite is held with recitation of mantras. At night the groom's father entertains the villagers and the bride's party with a feast.

Death is another important event in the life cycle of the Juang. When a man or woman dies the clan members observe death pollution. Some turmeric and oil are applied all over the corpse and then it is taken to the funeral ground. There the body is cremated with head to the south. The death pollution is observed by the deceased's close relatives and by the clan members for a period of eleven days. On the 10th, 11th and 12th days food is offered to the departed soul and a feast is given to the clan members. The Juangs think that death is a loss to the family.

Festivals and Amusements

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

Economic Organization

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

Shifting cultivation

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

Wet land cultivation

In most of the areas in the district of Dhenkanal the Juangs have switched over to *toila* land cultivation in the high lands and wet land cultivation in low lands. In the *toila* lands they grow groundnuts, sweet potatoes, brinjals, maize, etc. but in wet lands they grow paddy only.

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

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

Very few Juang people possess good cultivable land. Most of them are landless and earn their livelihood by earning daily wages and selling fuel and other minor forest products in the market.

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

Political Organization

In the Juang political organization- especially among the Juangs of Dhenkanal (undivided) district, the traditional regional council of the Juangs is constituted by the village heads of a particular area. In this set up the *Bada Behera* occupies the highest position and under him there is an assistant known as *Pai-Behera*. The village heads elect the above two personnel from among themselves. The elderly persons having more experience are generally elected as *Bada Behera* and *Pai-Behera*. Cases of violations of social customs, traditions and conventions are brought to the traditional council and decided there. Punishment is given to the offender in accordance with the gravity of the offence.

At the village level, there is a Panchayat in every Juang village. This organization is constituted of the village elders. The *Majang* (dormitory) acts as the court-house. Here the village elders meet and mitigate minor cases of the village.

Religion

The Juangs have firm belief in *Mahaprabhu*- their Supreme deity, whom they consider to be the Creator of the Universe. Moreover *Basumata* (Mother Earth) and *Dharma Devta* (Sun god) are conceived by them as their High Gods for they are responsible for the existence of the animal kingdom. *Thanapati* is their village god. Besides that, different clans are associated with different Gods and Goddesses and their process of worship also differs. The Juangs have belief in rebirth and they think that one who commits sin has to take his rebirth as a low animal. They believe in the existence of ghosts and spirits and consequently offer food to appease their ancestors on the festive occasions.

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

Material culture

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

Weapons

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

Agricultural implements

The main agricultural implements used by the Juangs are plough and hoe with or without iron point (*Ukhuni, Khurud*), spade, sickle etc. Out of these most of the wooden implements are made by the Juangs themselves. But as regards the iron parts they purchase them from outside.

Dress and Ornaments

The dress of the Juangs is very simple. Women wear *saris* which they wrap several times round the waist and throw one end on the shoulder. Unmarried girls take precaution in covering the breasts. No under garment is used along with the sari. Juang men generally wear a small piece of Dhoti and a napkin. Of course, a modern acculturated Juang uses half shirts and banyans on festive occasions.

The Juang women adorn their bodies with various ornaments such as *Gojikathi*, *Charumundi* on head, *Nakamachhi* and *Nuluk* on nose, *Kanapasa* in the ear and necklace of beads in the neck. Moreover they use rings on the fingers and toes and bangles on the wrist. Some male members use ear pin (*labang*) in each of the ears. These ornaments are either made of gold, silver, brass or aluminum.

Dwellings

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

Conclusion

At present it is seen that the Juang tribe is gradually becoming acculturated due to close contact with the caste people of the neighbouring areas. Now the State Government are trying for their upliftment and accordingly welfare schemes are framed to extend development assistance in various aspects. Grain-

golas and Co-operative Societies have been opened to give financial assistance to the people and to save them from exploitation of the landlords and *Sahukars*. Hospitals are opened to extend modern health care facilities to them. A large number of Sevashrams and Ashram Schools are being established to impart education to the tribal children. From all these endeavours it is evident that time may come when this tribe will develop and be integrated with the mainstream.

HAND BOOK ON THE JUANG ¹

S. P. Rout ²

FOREWORD

This is a handbook on the Hill Juangs of Keonjhar who are one of the most backward groups of the State. They have their own language and customs and practices which they retain even now despite considerable changes which have taken place in the tribal life of the country in general and the State in particular. Primarily being a group dependant on shifting cultivation the Hill Juangs of Keonjhar who claim to be autochthones of high-land of Keonjhar with Gonasika the source or river Baitarani as the most significant landmark have been seldom studied in detail. Their physical aspects and material life were studied by a few scholars in the past. In pursuance of the decision to prepare monographic handbooks of the important tribes of the State this work was assigned to Shri Siba Prasad Rout, Research Officer (then a Junior Research Officer). Shri Rout had experience of field work among the tribe and that knowledge and experience have been properly conjoined for this monograph to show the multiple aspect of Juang life. This cannot be claimed as a comprehensive study but we hope that this could provide a suitable base line for anthropologists, administrators and scholars from different walks of life to appreciate and understand the life of the Hill Juangs. We hope that this small work will be judged in its proper perspective.

Editors

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CHAPTER I

THE PEOPLE AND THEIR LAND

The people

Juang, one of the major aboriginal tribes of Orissa, are found in districts of Keonjhar and Dhenkanal. Very little is known about their history, but they have their oral tales about their origin. According to Dr.V.Elwin, the word 'Juang' in the tribal dialect means simply 'man'. An alternative term, which their neighbours use to denote the Juang is Paltua, meaning the wearer of leaf-dress though leaf-dress has long been abandoned since the time when Captain J.Johnstone forced the Juang to wear clothes. The Juang call themselves 'Juang', and fail to give the real connotation of the term. They are medium in stature with long head, prominent cheek bone, and broad nose having depression at the root. Their hair is black and coarse and the skin colour varies from brown to black. Except a few they possess fairly strong body-build. On the basis of their linguistic affinities the Juang are grouped as Mundari, and they speak a dialect known as Juang.

Early accounts on the Juang give a varied picture of the tribe. The first flash of light thrown on the Juang was by E. A. Samuellsin 1856. In the "Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal", he wrote:

"The dress of the men is ordinary one of the native peasantry, but the women wear no clothes whatsoever. Their only covering consists of two large branches of leaves (or rather of twigs with the leaves attached). It is from this original custom that the tribe has obtained from their neighbours the name of Puttoo- *the people of the leaf*..... No covering is worn on the upper part of the person; but most of the females I have seen had neck-laces of coloured earthenware beads (made by themselves they told me) Their villages are small, seldom containing more than six or eight families..... The Puttoos do not themselves own land, although they sometimes we were told, assist in its cultivation. The pursuits are chiefly those of the chase."

The next account of the Juang written by Colonel Dalton, appears in "Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal". 1872. According to him the Juang were, "In habits and customs the most primitive people" he had "met with or read of", and he considered the Juang as survival '*of the stone age in situ*'. Their huts were "amongst the smallest that human beings ever deliberately constructed as dwellings", though the dormitory was "a building of some pretensions".

W. W. Hunter's "A statistical Account of Bengal", published in 1877, describes the Juang, their dress, and their economy. "The men wore a single cotton cloth. The women had not even this, but simply a string round their waist, with a bunch of leaves before and behind. The life they love best is to wonder about the wood collecting wild products, which they barter for food".

In 1891, H. H. Risley published his "The tribes and castes of Bengal". He gave an elaborate list of the Juang clans and described the social status of the people. He describes that the Juang "are beyond the pale of Hinduism, and no member of any recognized caste will eat or drink with them. Juangs themselves will take cooked food, water and sweet meats from the Bhunjas (Bhuyans), but a Bhunja will not take even water from a Juang. In course of time no doubt they will attain a higher social position and the first step in this direction has already been taken by their partial adoption of some of the Hindu Gods".

Prof. N. K. Bose's article on "Juang Associations" was published in "Man in India". Vol IX, 1929. Mr. Bose gives an elaborate list of Juang clans and describes their dormitory life and kinship system.

Mr. Vivian Meik's book, "The people of the Leaves" published in 1931 gives a picture of the Juang which is far from truth and reality. In the words of Dr. Elwin, Meik's "worthless book would not deserve mention" which is "refreshingly free from the panderries of maps and names either of people or places".

The most exhaustive paper on the Juang written by Dr. Verrier Elwin appeared in "Man in India". Vol. XXVIII, 1948 Nos. 1 and 2. Dr. Elwin toured in Juang villages of Keonjhar and Dhenkanal and described many aspects of Juang life and culture; but the fact that he spent most his time in Dhenkanal and Pallahara and collected his data mostly from these areas and not from Keonjhar, led him to write on many things which are not typical Juang customs.

Population and Distribution

The population figures of the Juang show a great variation from time to time. At the time of E. A. Samuells, in 1857, the Juang were estimated to be 1,005 in Dhenkanal inhabiting 58 different localities, while at the time of E.T. Dalton's survey, they numbered about 3,000 in Keonjhar alone. W.W. Hunter gives their number and distribution as follows -

Places where the Juang are found		Total population
1.	Keonjhar --	4,592
2.	Dhenkanal --	4,120
3.	Pallahara --	367
4.	Hindol --	290
5.	Banki --	290
Total --		9,659

The population of the Juang, as estimated by the Census of India from time to time is stated below:-

Year of enumeration		Total population of the Juang
1891	--	9,173
1901	--	11,159
1911	--	12,823
1921	--	10,454
1931	--	15,024
1941	--	17,032
1951	--	12,559
1961	--	21,890

The above figures show sudden fall of the Juang population in 1921 and in 1951. A fall of the population from 12,823 (in 1911) to 10,454, i.e., 2,369 souls is indicated in 1921, but the fall is still more significant in 1951. The Juang population of 1941 was 17,032, but after a decade the figure came down to 12,559, showing a decrease of population by 4,473 souls. The population and distribution of the Juang as estimated by 1961 census are given in the following table.

TABLE I
Table showing the Juang population of 1961 and their distribution

Sl. No.	Name of the district	Population		
		Male	Female	Total
1.	Keonjhar	5,028	4,740	9,768
2.	Dhenkanal	5,587	5,964	11,551
3.	Cuttack	183	233	416
4.	Koraput	78	76	154
5.	Mayurbhanj	1	1	2
	Total	10,877	11,013	21,890
	Percentage	49.64	50.36	

In Keonjhar the Juang are found in four *Pirhas* (maximal territorial organization) and their figure in Dhenkanal includes those living in Pallahara. The Juang of Cuttack, Koraput and Mayurbhanj as enumerated by the 1961 Census are labourers who migrated to such place for a temporary period for construction work. Out of the total population 49.64 percent are males and 50.36 percent are females and 26 persons live in urban areas. In education they are far behind the general mass and their percentage of illiteracy is as much as 95.48 in general which is 91.36 for males and 99.56 for females.

The Juang territory covers a Block of hill and forest country in south and west of Keonjhar, on the hills and plains of Pallahara to the east and in the plains villages of Dhenkanal along the southern border. Keonjhar is viewed to be the true "matipritivi" (original home land) of the Juang, where they originated and where from they migrated to Pallahara and Dhenkanal. Keonjhar located in northern part of the State lies between 21°-1' North and 22°-10' North latitudes and 85°-11' East

and 86°-22' East longitudes and has a total area of 3,216.5 Sq. miles or 8,330.7 Sq. Kms. It is broadly divided into Upper and Lower Keonjhar, the lower area consisting of a fertile and thickly populated plain, and the hill and forest clad upper part being the abode of the Juang and PauriBhuinya. The Juang area of Keonjhar is divided into four *pirhs*, namely, Jharkhand, Sathkhand, rebena and Kathua, which are the maximal traditional territorial units. These *pirhs* have a roughly north to south alignment along a range of hills to the west and south of Keonjhar, the district headquarters. *Kathua*, *Satkhand* and *Jharkhand pirhs* from the northern spatial unit which is separated from Rebenapirh by the river Samakoi. In the centre of the Juang country lies Gonasika at the slope of Guptagangapahar, which is the source of the River Baitarani.

The Juang of Jharkhand *pirh* consider themselves superior to the Juangs of the other *pirhs*. They state two reasons for their superiority ie. the remote hill tract they inhabit and the populousness of their *pirh*. Next to *Jharkhandias* (inhabitants of *Jharkhand pirh*), the *Satkhandias* place themselves in higher status. The *Stkhandpirh* comprises of seven villages, six Juang and one Bhuinya, but the fact that they are the original Juang of the land and they live near the source of the sacred Baitarani river enhances their superiority. The Kathua and Rebena are considered lower because the Juang of these *pirhs* are mostly plains dwellers who have long since lived in close proximity to the caste-Hindus. Further more, *Rebena* and *Kathua pirhs* are inhabited mostly by Juanglabourers living in multi-clan villages.

Dhenkanal lies between 20°- 29' north and 21°- 41' north latitudes and between 84°-16' east and 86°-2' east longitude with an area of 4,226 square miles or 10,945.4 square kilometers. The Juang are found mainly in Pallahara, Kamakhyanagar and Sadar Sub-divisions of the district. They are spread over a wide area and live along with the neighbouring caste Hindu. Homogeneous Juang villages are rarely met with in Dhenkanal though their number in Pallahara can be counted on one's fingers. As a result of prolonged interaction with the Oriya people the Juang of Dhenkanal have lost most of their traditional customs, and have lost many traits which are typical of Juang culture. They are looked down by the thenighbouring caste people their customs are considered to be queer, and their dance and song nothing but open display of sex. In order to raise their social status the Juang of Dhenkanal are struggling hard to give up their traditional customs, their *changu* dance and song, and their dress and ornaments. They are rapidly taking up Oriya customs and manners and are developing an attitude of hatred for their parental way of life. They view the primitive Juang of Keonjhar and Pallahara as most backward. Unlike the Juang of Keonjhar, they do not have *pirh* organization with Sardar to settle major issues. Their political organization called "Jatiana Sabha" (lit; the caste-assembly) is more or less a blue print of the Caste Panchayat of the *Teli* (Oilmen) and through this organization they try to reform their society. Steps are being taken by them to prohibit liquor drinking, beef-eating, *Changu* dance and widow remarriage, etc. They try to assimilate themselves with the Oriya way of life so much so that they are in a phase of forgetting their

language. It is really astonishing that they have forgotten many Juang terms and have adopted Oriya words as substitutes to convey their ideas.

The Juang classified themselves into two sections, the *Thaniya* (lit; those who dwell in their original homeland) and the *Bhagudiya* (lit; those who have fled away). The *Thaniyas* live in JuangPirhasof Keonjhar and all others are *Bhagudiyas*. Keonjhar and more specifically Gonasika is viewed to be their birth place Juang. The Juang of Keonjhar claim themselves to be the autochthones of the place. It is from Keonjhar that the Juang have fled to Pallahara and Dhenkanal though true reason of such migration is not known. The Juang legends give multiple reasons for such migration. It is said that in good old days the king at Keonjhargarh used to collect infants for annual sacrifice to the Goddess Durga on the occasion of Dasara. The first-born child of each family was considered to be proper for such sacrifice and the Juang fell a prey to such whim of the king. Babies were collected from Juang villages, and the Juang could not protest for the fear of the king. To keep themselves away from such barbarism some of the Juang secretly fled to remote forests of Pallahara and Dhenkanal and settled down there for good.

It is also presumed that a good number of Juang fled to Dhenkanal and Pallahara during the Bhuinya rebellion in the year 1861. The rebellion initiated by the Bhuinya under the leadership of Dharanidhar Bhuinya, the adopted son of the then Maharani, was directed against the king. The Juang also joined their hands with the Bhuinya and many had to sacrifice their life in the struggle. This created a great havoc in the peace-loving Juang of the place and out of terror some deserted Keonjhar and travelled all the way to take shelter in Pallahara and Dhenkanal.

The factor of ostracism leading to the influx of Juang families to Dhenkanal and Pallahara is, however, considered to be most important by the Juang of Keonjhar. The Juang of Keonjhar have a tribal assembly of their own to decide their customary judicial matters. Their political organization enforces strict rules of punishment for the offenders of the society. The persons violating incest taboos are immediately driven out of the village and all their belongings are sold or thrown away. The offenders are also debarred from taking shelter in the neighbouring villages and they, thus travel long distances to settle down in far-off places. The Juang of Keonjhar hold the view that the migration of Juang families, on account of incest cases, has formed the bulk of Juang population in Pallahara and Dhenkanal. These Juangs, otherwise called *Bhagudiya* are always remembered by the Juang of Keonjhar who offer special shares of offerings to “*Na sa Bhagudi*” (lit; nine hundred *Bhagudiya*) in village rituals.

Creation of Earth and Origin of the race

The Juang have a number of legends to an account for the creation of earth and the birth of the Juang, ‘the first produced of the human race’. Some of the legends give contradictory accounts, but the most common one as has been narrated by Elwin is as follows: -

"Dharam devta (Sun God) created the earth and made the first couple name Rusi and Rusiani, who lived on Rusitangar, a small hillock near Gonasika. The rest of the earth was floating and was so flexible that it was quite unfit for human habitation. Dharam Devata wanted to make the earth solid and steady. In his meditation he came to know that the blood of the Rusi's son would make the earth solid. He went to Rusi and begged for the child. The Rusi agreed to part with his son, but his wife did not. Dharam created a tiger and sent it to catch the boy but as the boy was roaming with his bow and arrows and was very strong and stout the tiger was afraid of approaching him. Dharam came to know about it and he requested Rusi to contrive to make his son leave the bow and arrows behind while taking bath. Rusi did accordingly, and while his son was taking bath in a stream, keeping the bow and arrows aside, the tiger leapt on him and killed him. It carried the dead body around the earth and wherever the drops of blood fell on the ground it became steady".

Another story which is more or less similar to the above one depicts the glory of the past and the origin of the Juang. It tells how the Juang were born from Rusi (sage) and called themselves *Rusi Putra* (lit; son of *Rusi*).

"In good old days, Rusi lived on a hillock near Gonasika called Rusitangar (lit; hillock of rusi). One day, an Asur (demon) girl came ... and fell in love with Rusi. Rusi married her and they begot seven sons and seven daughters, the ancestors of the present Juang. Except Gonasika the rest of the earth was floating. Dharam Devta instructed Rusi to slaughter the Kapila cow and sprinkle the blood on the earth to make it steady. Rusi brought the cow to Gonasika, killed it and sprinkled the blood on the earth. The earth thus became steady and was made suitable for habitation of Rusi's sons and daughters. After killing the cow Rusi ate the beef stealthily and buried the head; but suddenly water sprang from the nostrils of the cow and gave birth to the sacred river Baitarani. It was the era of Truth and Wisdom and whatever the Juang uttered happened without fail.... There was no poverty, no vice, and the people did not tell lie. All were happy, honest and truthful. The little they produced or procured could feed them well, and the forest was rich with wild games, fruits, roots and tubers. But since the eating of beef the Juang lost the strength of their words and the power of their will. Anything they wished no more came true and however hard they worked the harvest was poor. Gradually poverty and misfortune attacked the Juang".

The Juang hold the view that they were a brother race to the Bhuinya tribe. Originally the Juang and Bhuinya were brothers, the Bhuinya being the elder and since the Juang ate beef their Bhuinya brothers began to hate them and considered them partly untouchables. However, the Juang and Bhuinya dwell in the same region and exhibit close similarity in their dress and ornaments, in songs and dance, in their social, religious, economic and political life than the neighbouring

Kols. Both the Juang and the Bhuinya have shifting cultivation as their main source of livelihood. Their dormitory life and youth organization have many common traits. Like the Juang, the Bhuinya boys and girls of two *bandhu* (non-agnatic) villages offer gifts to each other and their friendship is strengthened by exchange of frequent dancing expeditions between their villages. Changu is the most remarkable musical instrument of both the tribes and the Juang ballets like deer dance, bullock-dance, peacock-dance, etc, as described by Dr. Elwin are borrowings from the Bhuinya. The birth, marriage and death rites of the two tribes exhibit a lot of common features. Like the Juang, the Bhuinya recognize a definite number of successive age-grades through which one has to pass and the members of each age-group have well defined rites and responsibilities. The Bhuinya method of acquiring mates for marriage are just the same as those of the Juang, and in both the societies marriage by capture is the predominating type. The rites associated with birth, marriage and deaths are quite identical in both the tribes. Such similarities can be marked in their religious life and political organisation, and all these common features confirm the belief that the Juang and the Bhuinya are brother tribes. Their origin is quite at dark and it is difficult to say that both split off from a single branch, but the process of culture contact and borrowing of culture traits between the Juang and the Bhuinya can never be doubted.

The hill Juang also come in contact with the Pano (Untouchables) and the Gour (milk-men) with whom they live. In each Juang village, two or three Gour families are settled down by the Juang. They live on the land of the Juang, herd cattle and supply milk and milk-products to the Juang for village rituals. The Pano live sporadically over the JuangPirhs of Keonjhar and their number is quite insignificant in this area, but they are numerous in the plains Juang villages of Keonjhar, Pallahara and Dhenkanal. As in other tribal areas, the Pano of the Juang area are very clever and often cheat the Juang in many ways.

The fertile and thickly populated plain area of Keonjhar lying at the foot hills to the north is mainly inhabited by various caste people. Keonjhar, the headquarters of the district attracts people of various castes and communities. Karan, Khandayat, Chasa, Gour, Teli, Pano, etc., form the caste population while, Bhuinya, Gond and Bathudi constitute the strength of the tribal population. To the south of *SatkhandPirh*, lies a wide fertile plateau, which extends up to *Rebena Pirh* in the south. This area with Janghira at its heart is often known as *Hunda Pirh*. The area is mainly inhabited by caste people like the Chasa, Teli and Gour who are fairly rich person. They are the *Sahukars* (lit: moneylenders) who advance loans of money, paddy, etc., to the tribals and to the poor caste people. In Dhenkanal and Pallahara, the Juang live amidst the vast population of innumerable castes, and they are so much influenced by the Oriya culture that they hardly exhibit any distinguishing features of their own culture. The impact of Hindu culture and the response of the Juang to such changes will be described in the last chapter.

CHAPTER- II

SETTLEMENT PATTERN

The Juang, live both in small and big villages. The typical Juang villages are situated on hill tops or slopes or on valleys amidst hills and forests all around. The houses are half hidden under the overhanging branches of mango and jack fruit trees and any place with a number of these trees gives the identity of a Juang settlement or an abandoned village site.

The Juang settlements in Pallahara are a few in numbers which are situated mainly on valleys, and in Dhenkanal these are built on plains just like the neighbouring Oriya villages. The so-called plains Juang villages of Keonjhar lie on the foot of the hills thus providing both plains paddy land and podu land for the villagers. All the settlements are preferably constructed near streams or rivers to ensure supply of drinking water for the inhabitants.

The Juang have no term of their own for 'village'. It is regarded as the minimal territorial unit and may consist of one or more wards situated close to each other, or dispersed over a little distance. In Keonjhar, the village Kansa for example, has four settlements known by the same name of the main village. The village Sansailo in Dhenkanal has got a similar pattern. This village has five distinct wards situated close to each other, but has different names of their own. Thus we get Tala Sahi, Upper Sahi, Bankasalua, Nua Sahi and Bathra Sahi though all owe their identity to one village, i.e., Sansailo. The distance between the wards of a village is usually a furlong or two, but at times these are separated from each other by high hills and dense forests and are situated at distance of one to two miles.

Village in the Juang society, is the largest corporate group and it has a formally recognized territory of exploitation with well delineated land boundaries. It is as in Keonjhar, a land-holding unit having uncultivated *toila (podu)* land and virgin forest lands, the area of such land varying from village to village. A Juang is permitted to cultivate, to hunt, and to cut down trees from that part of the forest which belongs to his village. The boundaries are demarcated from the time of the Raja, but land disputes between the villages are not unknown. Thus the dispute about land between Tangarapada and Barura and between Bwitinia and Barura led to great hostility between the villages and the cases were brought to the notice of the S.D.O., Keonjhar, for decision. The picture is different in Pallahara where shifting cultivation is completely restricted, and in Dhenkanal where the land is

thoroughly surveyed and the ownership of land (mostly irrigated paddy land) has been transferred from the village into the hands of individual members.

The traditional Juang settlements are uni-clan settlements. In Keonjhar, each Juang village was traditionally inhabited by the members of a single clan, and hence in many cases the villages were named after the clan name of the villagers. Thus the villages like Barura, Gungi, Tangarpada, Rodhua, Kansa, Dumuria, Saria, etc., are so named after the clan names of their inhabitants as *Barun*, *Gungi*, *Tangarpadia*, *Rodhua*, *Kansia*, *Dumuria*, and *Saram*. Here, the land of a certain village is also referred to as the land of the people of such and such clan. In Dhenkanal and Pallahara, on the other hand, we notice a marked breakdown of the traditional village pattern from uni-clan to multi-clan ones. Due to frequent migration of *bandhu* (non-agnatic) and *kutum* (agnatic) clan families most of the Juang villages are transformed into multi-clan settlements.

The size of the Juang settlements varies from small to big ones. There are big villages like Bali and Khorba in Keonjhar and Sansailo in Dhenkanal, and on the other extreme we find small villages like Sumuta and Nulo in Keonjhar district and Gohirakhal and Kakarjharan in Dhenkanal district. The Juang villages of Pallahara are invariably small with 5 to 20 families. Settlements of average size with population of 100-150 and with 20-30 families are a common pattern.

Changing village Site

The Juang change their village sites very often and according to their traditional belief, living in a particular village for a longer period is not auspicious. In the olden days, the Juang were a semi-nomadic people who used to move from forest to forest and living primarily by collecting fruits, roots and tubers. The fact that the Juang do not have a term of their own for village, might suggest the fact that in olden days they were not living in a particular settlement for long and were changing their settlements so often that they did not invent a term for 'village'. Investigation in more than forty Juang villages in Keonjhar, and about ten villages in Pallahara and Dhenkanal shows that no Juang village, irrespective of its size, has not changed its site. Changing village site is widely prevalent in Keonjhar, but in Dhenkanal and Pallahara it is not a common occurrence, though not completely absent. Some villages change their sites more frequently than others. Some have definite sites to which the villages are shifted from time to time, but changing sites cannot be doubted at all. The village Sarkadiha or Barhagarh of Keonjhar district has three definite sites; every three year or four years it is shifted to one of these sites. Gonasika, Barura, on the other hand have not changed their sites since the last ten years. Alanga changed its site in 1961, Phulbadi and Bali in 1962, and Tangrapada in 1963. In Dhenkanal, the villages are not able to change their sites due to a number of practical difficulties, but Aluajharan changed its site to the present location only in 1962.

The reasons for changing a village site are many i.e., shortage of *toila* land near the village, frequent deaths in the village, continued disease or calamities like houses catching fire, failure of crops and cases of sorcery and witchcraft leading to quarrels and conflicts between the villagers are the main causes which lead to the shifting of a village from one place to another. To these one more reason may be added, i.e., the general boredom of living in a particular village for longer period. There are instances to show that some change their sites just for a change. Gonasika changed its site after an accidental outbreak of fire, Phulbadi for constant crop failure in the old site, Barura as a result of sorcery and witchcraft and Tangarpada just because it had lived in one place for sufficiently a long period and has not changed its site since a pretty long time.

The decision to move the village to a new site is made by the village elders, who first discuss the matter in the village council held in the dormitory house. Before selecting a site for habitation care is taken on the following points:-

- (1) The proposed site must not be too far from the agricultural fields of the villagers. In fact nearness to *toila* field is one of the important factors for selecting a new site.
- (2) There must be streams or fountains close to the proposed site so that the villagers do not have to face shortage of water supply.
- (3) Above all, the new site should be auspicious by divination and there should be little or no apprehension of future calamities caused by the evil spirits.

Tests Applied

A number of tests are applied by reading omens whether the village site would be auspicious, but of all the following are the most numerous-

- (a) The *Nagam* (ritual head of the village) clears a patch in the proposed village site and plasters it with cow dung and water. He worships the forest deities and the ancestors of the village by offering husked-rice and a chicken. The chicken is ceremonially offered to the deities when it is alive and is left there for one night tied in a big hole dug for the purpose. Next morning, the villagers come to watch and if the chicken is found alive the site is presumed to be auspicious.
- (b) The second method of reading the omen is by placing three piles of un-boiled rice-grain; each pile consisting of three grains of rice, two below and one above the two. One pile is placed for the health of the villagers in the new site and the second and the third ones stand for the health of the cattle and for future harvest. After propitiating the deities and the ancestors, these rice grains are kept in position and are covered by a brass

grain-measure (*pai*), by a basket, and by another big basket, respectively. The edge of the basket is thoroughly sealed with cow dung and water to prevent the ants and other insects entering inside and disturbing the rice grains. The rice grains, thus arranged are left for one night and next morning, these are carefully uncovered to watch if all the piles are in tact. If any pile is tilted or any grain of rice eaten away by the insects, the site is considered inauspicious and abandoned without further consideration. On the other hand, the proper and undisturbed position of the rice grains or an increase in the number of the rice grains indicates future prosperity.

- (c) Prediction by a man in trance is another method of selecting village site, but this is very rarely taken recourse to. The man is possessed by the spirits and during his trance he might suggest if the proposed site would be proper for habitation.

After a site is selected preparations are made to shift the village to the new spot. Just after the harvest in January or February the proposed site is cleared and trees and bushes are cut down. On an auspicious day, the *Nagam* sticks the sacred pillar first for his house then for the Padhan's house and then for the rest of the families. The houses for the *Nagam* and the Padhan are built first following which the other houses are built. The dormitory house (*majang*), is built preferably in the centre of the village by the joint effort of the all unmarried boys and the girls. The frame of the houses is set up by the men and women take care of plastering.

After the houses are constructed, and before the villagers move to the new village, the *Nagam* installs the sacred stone of *Gramsiri* in front of the *majang* and prays for prosperity in the new village. On an auspicious day the whole village moves to the new spot and offer cooked rice, liquor, and other delicacies to their ancestors for occupying the new house.

Juang Settlement

The typical Juang villages are compact settlements. The *majang* is situated preferably in the centre of the village, and the houses of the individual families are dispersed here and there encircling it. There is no regular road which passes between the houses, as the houses are not built in regular rows unlike that of the Kondhs. In front of the *majang*, there is specious ground or plaza where the boys and girls dance with their *changu* (circular musical drum).

In Pallahara the plan of Juang settlement is just like that of Keonjhar, but in Dhenkanal the Juang villages are made in imitation of the Oriya villages. Here, the village has a definite road and the houses are built on both sides parallel to each other.

Juang house are small in size, the size of a house varying from 15' by 8' to 30' by 10'. Houses as small as just to accommodate a married couple and one or

two children are very common in hill villages of Keonjhar, but the plains dwellers tend to build big houses of more permanent structures. The walls of the houses are made of wooden pillars stuck vertically close to each other, and these are plastered with cow-dung and mud mixed together. The roof is thatched with wild grass on the hills, and of dried paddy stalks in plains villages. Each married couple has one house of its own, the group of children sleeping in the *majang*, and the cattle are kept in a separate shed built for them close to the sleeping room. Guests and relatives take shelter in the *majang*, and after the sons are married new houses are built for them. Pigs and goats are kept in separate sheds made of wooden planks. Sometimes the goats are kept in the sleeping room, but pigs are always kept outside.

A Juang house is functionally divided into three distinct parts, each portion having a name of its own. One portion is called *daala* or the store section where a wooden platform is raised for keeping grains and cereals. The portion opposite to the *daala* is called *ukusung* (literally, hearth in Juang dialect), where a hearth is made for cooking daily meals. In between *daala* and *ukusung* is left a small portion called *kelang* where paddy is dried and husked. This portion serves two purposes, i.e. for drying and husking paddy and for affording sleeping accommodation to the members of the house. The basic plan of the house remains unchanged both in Keonjhar and Dhenkanal, except the size and the structure. In Dhenkanal the houses are much bigger in size and often have the double roof system. The space between the wooden roof and the thatched roof is used for storing grains and spare household appliances. Windows, a new introduction in Juang houses of Dhenkanal are still quite unfamiliar to Juang of Keonjhar.

Contents of a Juang house

The contents of a Juang house are few. The Juang, who live from hand to mouth, have nothing much surplus to be stored for the future. Just after the harvest and before the Juang start selling their agricultural produces for paying off the debts, one might find bundles of paddy and other grains on the store portion of the house. But this portion soon becomes empty after a month or two when the Juang start paying off their old debts. Loans are liquidated either by selling the agricultural produce like mustard and *rasi* or by paying the debt in kind. Except a few well-to-do Juangs, others do not get surplus of crops for future savings.

The household appliances of a Juang family, though of little market value, are of great use for the Juang. These consist of one or two mats, one or two wooden structures serving the purpose of pillow, a few earthen cooking pots, earthen jars and gourds for fetching water, a few brass or aluminium plates and pots, a few bamboo baskets, a pair of carrying poles with strings, about five axes of varying size, two or three sickles, a plough, a yoke, two or three hoes, one or two digging sticks for digging roots and tubers, a pestle for husking paddy, a slab of stone for grinding spices and a bow with a bunch of arrows for hunting purposes.

Fishing is insignificant to the Juang. They have no fishing implements except a few traps and the fishing rods. Mats of date palm leaves are woven by the women and girls in leisure hours. These are used as beds and the spare ones are sold in the market. Cots of wooden planks or of strings are still not so common among the Juang. Wooden head-rests are made by the men by cutting off the chiffs of wood from a log and by making a little hollow on its back to accommodate the head. Earthen cooking pots and jars are purchased from the market, but the Juang themselves make their gourd vessels. Leaf cups and plates for taking daily meals are made by women who pluck *sal* and *siali* leaves from the forest and prepare these. Baskets, iron parts for hoe, plough, digging stick, sickle and arrow are purchased from the market though the Juang of Pallaharamakes their own baskets. Wooden plough, the yoke, carrying pole and strings, bow and arrow, etc. are made by the men. The hoe is more important than plough for the hill Juang who cultivate their fields by hoes and where ploughing becomes difficult on the hill, the women and men turn the soil using the hoes. Digging sticks (*buluk*) and axes (*budia*) are of great importance for the Juang, who consider these things to be their (emblem) *santak* or *ista*. The axe is as indispensable to men as digging stick are for the women. Living primarily on gleanings economy; a Juang cannot part with his axe which is used for felling trees for shifting cultivation, for chopping firewood, and for cutting meat or vegetables. While going out a Juang would never forget to carry an axe on his shoulder just for safety. Likewise, digging wild roots and tubers, which form a main item of the diet of the hill Juang is not possible without a digging-stick. Bows and arrows are or not of much use except on communal hunting occasions, or for occasional shooting of birds and beasts. The husking lever, which is operated by the feet is not common in use except in the plains Juang villages. This may be used for husking a lot of paddy which is of no use for the hill Juang who have poor economic standard. In hill villages paddy for the family use is daily husked by the women in a hand-operated pestle. It is believed that paddy husked at dawn before the sun rise tends to multiply and can feed more stomachs.

Close kins tend to build their houses close to each other, and very often they have a common cowshed to keep their cattle. Close to the houses and on the back side lie the maize and mustard fields of the family heads. These plots are individually owned and are cultivated by the family members. A small portion of this plot may be fenced where tobacco (*bejerang*) and chilli (*dunkari*) are grown for family consumption. Close to the village, but dispersed here and there are the mango and jackfruit trees which are owned by individual families.

CHAPTER - III

LIVING CONDITIONS

Sanitary habits

As described in earlier pages the Juang settlements are situated mostly on hills and there are some plains villages also. Streams and rivers are the main sources of getting water for the Juang. There are wells in a few plains Juang villages, but these wells are so insignificant in number that only very few Juang depend on these wells. For the water of their daily use, the Juang have to depend primarily on streams and rivers. On the hills, the water of the stream is considerably pure, as most of the fountains and streams flow right from the hills and the Juang settlements are preferably built close to the source of the streams. By the time the river passes through a number of villages to reach the plains its water gets contaminated to a great extent. In village the Juang pass their excreta close to the bed of the stream and after the rains the water is thus polluted. Bathing the cows and buffalos in streams and rivers is very common in Juang area, which no doubts pollutes the water. To add to these, the funeral grounds of the Juang are situated on the bank of the streams and the rivers. After a corpse is cremated the ashes and the offerings, etc., are washed away by the water of the stream. This also pollutes the water and the villages through which the stream passes fetch such contaminated water for their daily use. The Juang, however, are quite habituated to drink such contaminated water and their resistance to stomach disease seems to be greater than the outsiders.

There are no definite pits for throwing away the rubbish and refuse. After sweeping the houses and the orchards the refuses are thrown away carelessly at the back of the house close to the mustard plots. These places are often breeding grounds for innumerable flies and other insects. Cow dung is thrown daily in the mustard plots lying close to the dwellings.

As regards other sanitary habits the Juang men are cleaner than the women. They take their bath regularly, often twice a day once in the morning before going to work on *toila* and once in the afternoon on their way back home from toilsome labour. The men take naked bath in streams. The women not having sufficient clothing cannot wash their clothes daily. Clothes are washed with soaps purchased from market or by boiling them with ashes. The plains Juang are no doubt more particular in washing their clothes than the hill Juang who never mind it much.

In dressing their head the Juang are not so particular like the Bhuinya. They comb their hair by bamboo combs made by themselves in Keonjhar, and by wooden combs purchased from market in Dhenkanal. On the hills the men have long hair and some unmarried boys allow their hair to grow to a certain length; but on the plains this fashion is out of date and is looked down upon by others. The men comb their head daily after bath, but the women comb their hair once or twice a month. The girls do it more frequently on the day of going to the market, to the fair, or while going to their *bndhu* villages on dancing expeditions. The girls make a long and cylindrical bun adding a bunch of red and yellow ribbons, and decorate their bun with a brass hair pin. They use *kusum* oil (*bangrurajan*), *rasi* oil (*ramtilaajan*), or mustard oil. Coconut oil is too dear for them to use.

The Juang above the age of eight to ten years brush their teeth every morning with *sal* tooth twigs which are collected from the jungle by the women and the girls. The women brush their teeth while taking bath in the stream. The children are not particular about the time and the place for defecation. The adults on the other hand, prefer to pass excreta near the streams in the forest.

The Juang houses are kept clean by the women. The floor of the house is plastered daily with cow dung and red-earth, but the walls are plastered once in a week or two. The courtyard and the plaza are swept very rarely. The *majangis* plastered by the unmarried girls (*selanki*) once or twice in a week on ordinary days, and positively on every ritual or festive occasion.

The housewife washed the cooking pots every day. Food is eaten in leaf cups made by the women and these are thrown away after use.

Food

Rice is esteemed to be the ideal food by the Juang. Even meat, without rice, is not considered a hearty meal. The plains Juang cultivate lowland paddy and thus produce more paddy for family consumption. On the other hand, paddy cultivation on the hills is exposed to untimely rains and to the ravages of wild animals and a Juang has least chance of getting a bumper paddy harvest from his rocky *toila* field. Hence, unlike the plains dwellers they produce varieties of crops like beans, millets and pulses which are eaten in lieu of rice. Their diet is also greatly supplemented by fruits, roots and tubers collected from the jungle. On the hills the paddy harvested by an average Juang can hardly feed him and his family for four to five months. The cash-crops such as *rasi* and mustard he produces are exchanged for paddy and rice which can be eaten for another two or three months. For the remaining three to four months the Juang have to depend on food collection from the jungle. Just after the harvest rice is eaten continuously for a month or two, but soon after this much time is spent in collecting wild tubers and roots which are plenty in this season. In summer jack fruits and mango begin to ripe and these are eaten in plenty for a month or two as a substitute for rice. Wild fruits like *kenduand* *char* are so abundant in summer that the children spend most

of their time in the jungle eating such fruits. Rainy months are the month busiest part of the year for agricultural operation and in these months the Juang like to eat well. Much rice is stored for rainy seasons. Mandia cakes, mushrooms of multiple variety and a few varieties of wild roots and greens are also very delicious food for the Juang in rainy months. There are as many as forty varieties of roots and tubers, about fifteen kinds of greens and about five kinds of mushrooms eaten by the Juang.

The Juang get meat by occasional hunting. Ceremonial hunting is inaugurated on *AmbNua* (new mango-eating) ceremony. The Juang eat the meat of all animals and birds except bear, snake, tiger and vulture. The meat of the deer (*mirig*), *smbar* (*seram*) wild goat (*kutra*) hare (*alang*) bison (*sayner*) etc. is great delicacies. Hunting is never always a guaranteed success. For getting meat readily to entertain the guests or to prepare festive meals the Juang rear pigs (*butae*), goat, (*meram*) and chickens (*senkoe*). These are also sacrificed in rituals and their meat eaten. The hill Juang still continues to eat beef and buffalo meat, but in Dhenkanal beef and buffalo meat are strictly prohibited.

Methods of food preparation and daily – diet system

The diet-pattern of the Juang is never systematic and standardized. The type of meal and the amount of food they eat vary from time to time according to the availability of food materials in different seasons. In a feast a Juang can eat rice as much as one *mana* or more, but in his house this amount of rice is cooked for four to five persons. An ordinary meal consists of a leaf cup of cooked rice and some salt. Sometimes, wild greens collected by the women are boiled with a little turmeric and mustard to serve as curry. Occasionally, *dalmay* also be cooked of the pulses which the Juang grow in their field. Vegetables like pumpkin (*boitalu*), gourd (*suku*), beans (*sima*) and *saru*, etc. cultivated by Juang, are cooked as curry.

The Juang have two terms for eating and drinking, but for eating rice they use the word 'drinking'. This is because, in the long past, when the Juang produced little rice and were spending most of their time in the jungle; they used to boil rice into gruel and used to drink such gruel as their main item of food. Rice is never washed before it is cooked, and the gruel is not thrown away. After eating rice the Juang drink the gruel (*daktaana*).

Greens and vegetables are always boiled with a little salt, a little turmeric paste and with mustard, the last two things being produced by themselves. Oil is used to cook meat. The Juang extract oil from *rasi* (*ramtila*), cultivated by them and from *kusum* (*bangrur*) seeds collected from the jungle. Meat is usually cooked by oiling and adding the rice gruel as its juice, but it may also be eaten by roasting on embers. Extra meat can be stored by smoking it or by drying it in the sun. Almost all the parts of an animal are eaten, except the horns, the hooks and the hairs. The skin, guts, stomach, brain, tongue, and hearts of the animal are considered extremely tasteful. Fish is roasted and eaten and may be stored for future use by

smoking it on the fire or by drying it in the sun. Maize (*juani*) both green and ripe, is eaten after roasting on embers, but can also be husked and boiled after it is dried. Cakes are prepared by grinding maize into powder, and liquor may also be prepared by boiling maize grains. Green jack fruit is eaten roasted or boiled but the ripe ones are liked by all. Mango is eaten both raw and ripe, but the kernel is stored for preparing cakes in rainy months. Fruits are always eaten raw. The roots and tubers are either boiled or are roasted on fire. Some kinds of wild potato tastes bitter and therefore elaborate steps are taken to make them edible and tasteful.

Cakes (*alak*) do not constitute a regular item of the Juang diet. These are prepared on festive and ceremonial occasions for eating and for distributing among the relatives. The girls prepare cakes to present as gifts to their *bandhu* boyfriends. Rice cakes are very common, but cakes made of *mandia*, maize, mango kernel, *gangeti*, and a few other crops are more tasteful than rice cakes. Cakes are prepared either by steaming them in earthen pots, or by roasting them on fire after wrapping the paste in *sal* or *siali* leaves.

The adults take two meals a day, one at noon and one at night; but the children eat thrice or four times a day. They are given more to eat as they cannot stand starvation. Besides eating their shares, the children may also eat with their parents when the parents take their meals.

The Juang are extremely addicted to liquor, but the hill Juang are more habituated to drinking than the plains Juang. In Dhenkanal, the tribal council of the Juang prohibits drinking liquor on ordinary occasions. Liquor is drunk only during marriage and festive occasions and during religious rites. In Keonjhar liquor is taken more as an intoxicant than as food. Liquor is drunk during rituals and marriage after it is offered to the ancestors. It has five uses for the Juang: -

- (1) Liquor is drunk as an intoxicant just for pleasure to forget the trials and tribulations of life and to get temporary relief.
- (2) It is used as medicine. The *mohua* liquor is believed to drive out cold and headache.
- (3) In Pallahara *khajuri* (date palm) liquor is taken three to four times daily more to satisfy hunger than to get intoxication.
- (4) Liquor is indispensable for rituals. In rituals and on festive occasions liquor is offered to the ancestors and the deities to keep them in good temper and thereby get their blessings for plenty and prosperity.
- (5) Liquor has high social value. The guests and relatives are entertained with liquor. It is pleasant to drink liquor in a group. Liquor is also used to mitigate quarrels and conflicts. When the brothers establish separate families of their own the villagers perform liquor ritual for blessing.

Liquor is purchased from the liquor shops established by the local Sundhi, but in some villages in Keonjhar the Juang prepare their own liquor. The Juang drink as many as six varieties of liquor such as: -

- (i) Mohua liquor called *arkhi*.
- (ii) Rice-beer known as *handia* or *pachhi*.
- (iii) Liquor made from maize or *juanimada*
- (iv) Liquor made from cereals like *akogang*, *kasala* and *jinjari*, etc.
- (v) Toddy or *khijirimada* extracted from date palm trees.
- (vi) *Salapmada*, extracted from sago-palm trees.

Of all varieties, liquor prepared out of cereals has the best taste, while *mohua* liquor is considered to be the most sacred and most intoxicating. Only *mohua* liquor can be used for ritual purposes. In plains villages of Keonjhar, the Juang are more addicted to rice-beer which is prepared by the Kolhas, but on hills they depend mostly on *mohua* liquor. The Juang of Dhenkanal use *mohua* liquor in rituals and on other ceremonial and festive occasions. In Pallahara, toddy is so common that it constitutes an item in the daily diet of the Juang. Juang settlements in Pallahara are built under date-palms and palmyra palms of its own. Toddy is extracted from these palms daily and both children and adults drink it three or four times a day.

Tobacco is extremely popular among the Juang which is smoked or chewed with lime. In Keonjhar and Pallahara, the Juang grow tobacco in their mustard plot and store it for the year. They smoke tobacco by rolling it with *sal* leaves. When relatives pay their visits, the Juang greets them and presents tobacco and *sal* leaves as a token of respect. In Dhenkanal, on the other hand, such kind of smoking is looked down upon. The Juang here, either smoke *bidi* purchased from the local shops and markets, or chew tobacco leaves with lime. Both men and women chew tobacco, and they have to depend on the market for this as they do not cultivate tobacco.

The sum up, it can be said that the Juang struggle hard to get their food by cultivating fields and by gleaning methods. Collection of wild greens, fruits, roots and tubers, hunting and occasional fishing are the various methods of gleaning which supplement their diet.

Health and Hygiene

The Juang are fairly strong and stout and they bear a sound physique. They vary from tall to short in stature, but most of them are of medium size. The hill Juangs are comparatively more stronger and more free from diseases than the Juang of the plains. The strong body built of the hill Juang may be accounted for their low starch and high protein diet. The hill Juang eat less rice than the Juang of the plains, and the major part of their diet consists of fruits which are eaten raw, the roots, tubers and the greens which are roasted or and meat of the birds and beasts. These provide more protein to them than rice. Whatever rice a Juang eats contains more vitamin than the rice we eat. The rice, husked by their women,

contains much of its brown coating. Rice is never washed before it is cooked, and the gruel is never thrown away after it is boiled. The gruel is highly nutritious and the Juang drink it after every meal.

Various parts of an animal, which are thrown away by us, are of great nutritive value to the Juang. The liver, brain and intestines of a goat, for example are eaten by all Juangs.

The Juang, especially those who dwell on hills, get fresh air and cool breeze. They labour hard from dawn to dusk on their field exposing their body to the heat of the scorching sun and to the ravages of rains; but they never like to sit idle. This keeps them hale and hearty and increases immunity to fight out diseases.

Diseases and their Treatment

In spite of the healthy climatic and other favourable conditions the Juang are not free from diseases. Most of the Juang villages are covered by overhanging branches of the mango and jackfruit trees and sunshine hardly touches the ground. In rainy season, such places become slumpy and breed flies and malarial mosquitos. The Juang have developed a strong resistance for such climate, but at times, they fall prey to malaria. Some chronically suffer from stomach troubles (*itipkasu*). Headache (*bakapkasu*) is occasional, but certain skin diseases like yaws and itches are all pervading in Juang areas.

The Juang give multiple reasons to account for their ailments. A few may attribute the factors of untimely bath and irregularity in taking food for bodily complaints, but most of them believe in the power of unseen forces in creating troubles. According to them some diseases are caused due to the "evil-eyes", some due to the effects of black magic by witches or sorcerers and some other are caused if the family ancestors and the spirit dwelling on the hills and forests are displeased. Persons violating social taboos are believed to suffer from acute diseases. Headache is caused by insignificant spirits and itches are due to personal uncleanness. Stomach trouble, whether temporary or chronic is believed to be brought to the body of the sufferer by his family ancestors or by malevolent spirits. If displeased, the ancestors and the spirits may also make one to suffer from fever. Sorcerers and witches may inflict serious illness and thereby causing death to the victim. They are also capable of playing their black magic on the offsprings of their enemy who die in young age.

For curing diseases the Juang hardly take the help of the physicians or believe in the efficacy of modern medicine. Illness is believed to be caused by mostly malevolent spirits and unless these spirits are properly propitiated with sacrifices and offerings one may not hope for a quick recovery. There are very few dispensaries in Juang areas as one in Gonasika to attract the Juang for the use of modern medicine. The Juang, in general, have little patience to use medicines regularly and wait for recovery. They hope to be recovered immediately after

taking one or two doses of medicine. When the medicine does not cure them in a day or two the doubt about the efficacy of modern medicine goes stronger in their mind. Another reason for their apathy towards modern medicine is due to the fact that it prescribes definite diet and puts other restrictions in the normal way of living which the Juang does not like to abide by. All these considerations prevent the Juang from going to dispensaries and force them seek the traditional methods for curing diseases.

The traditional methods of curing diseases consist of such rites like detecting the cause of the disease by divination, offering chicken and liquor to the offenders, and to blow-off the disease or the forces creating bodily complaints. Use of herbs and other oral medicines is not known to the Juang, and there is no traditional medicine-man in the Juang society. The witch diviner-*cum*-medicineman called *Raulia* is popular in Bhuinya society. A few Juangs have learnt this art from the Bhuiyan.

The most common and the widespread method of curing stomach troubles are by branding the belly. A piece of iron rod is heated in the burning flame and is branded twice or thrice around the belly which leaves indelible marks on the skin. It is believed that this cures all the stomach troubles.

Fever is caused due to the attack of some malevolent spirits or due to the displeasure of the ancestors; hence for curing fever it is necessary to propitiate the offenders properly and satisfy them by offering chickens, liquor, tobacco, etc. Before curing the disease it is first necessary to detect the offender. The *Raulia* measures three reeds of twelve fingers length. He utters the names of all the spirits one by one and measures the reeds. When the name of the spirit responsible for creating fever is uttered the length of the reeds increase and the *Raulia* detects the real evil-maker. Such test may also be applied to detect if anyone in the village played mischief to bring illness to somebody. In this case the offender, if he is found to be one of the villagers is fined a few rupees and in serious cases of witchcraft and sorcery, the offender is expelled from the village. On the other hand, if the evil maker is found to be a spirit, arrangement is made to propitiate it. The sufferer contributes one or two chickens, a *mana* of rice, tobacco and other necessities to the *Raulia* and the *Raulia* offers such things to the spirit by sacrificing the chicken. This cures the fever of the sufferer.

Some Juang suffer due to the repeated death of their children. Some witches or some evil-minded ancestors might be doing this to take revenge on the family for past quarrels or conflicts. To prevent such premature death the child is ceremonially handed over to the villagers.

CHAPTER - IV

ECONOMIC LIFE

The Daily Life of the Juang

Before going deep into the details of Juang food-gathering pursuits and other agricultural activities, it is necessary, at the outset, to give a picture of Juang daily life around their hearth and home and around their fields and forest.

The first crow of the cocks rouses the Juang from slumber and marks the beginning of their daily activities. The men come to the *majang* to get themselves warm by the *majang* fire. They smoke their country made cheroot leisurely sitting around the fire and discuss topics of daily occurrence or matters concerning village life. The women folk clean the house and the sheds and go to the stream for fetching water. Coming back from the stream they sit down to husk paddy by their hand operated husking pestle. It is commonly believed by the Juang that paddy husked before the sun-rise amounts to more quantity and can feed more members. The children gather around and start playing together or enjoy the warmth by lifting a small fire near the plaza or near their court yard.

As soon as the rays of the rising sun peep out from the distant horizon and fall on huts the men may leave to plough their fields situated not far away from the village. If they intend to go to work on their distant *toila* fields they wait till the food is prepared for them. After the men leave to plough nearby fields or to fetch firewood from the nearest jungle, the women keep themselves busy in cooking food, preparing leaf cups and plates, washing utensils and doing other tasks.

As the men return from their morning work the women give them a tooth-twig and a gourdful of water to clean their teeth. The women go to the stream and come back with pitchers-ful of water after taking their bath. Men also go for bath and return after a while. The children are fed first and the adults are given cooked rice or boiled roots and tubers as their meal. As soon as they finish eating, they light their *Kalia* (cheroots) and collect the agricultural implements to carry with them to their *toila* field. In the meanwhile, the women eat their meals, bundle up the extra food and get ready to accompany their husband for the day's toil. They work on their field for the whole day, the men ploughing or sowing seeds, and the women transplanting, turning of little clads of earth in rocky portions of the land with a hoe, weeding out grass, debushing extra and unnecessary growths of trees and bushes, reaping crops, or helping their husband in other agricultural work.

In slack seasons, when no labour is needed for agricultural work groups of men and women, with digging sticks and baskets go to the forest to search for roots, fruits and tubers. Besides digging out roots and tubers the men try to search

for honey and wild eggs or shoot some birds or beasts. The women pluck *sal* and *siali* leaves and collect tooth-twigs for family use. On their way back home they bring loads of firewood from the jungle to cook the meals at night.

As soon as the sun begins to set in the western horizon and before the darkness envelopes the earth all including the men and women, and the boys and girls return home. Those who return from *toila* field make a little time to bring a bunch of firewood or pluck some leaves. The women hurry up to the streams and bring water for cooking. The men while away their time in the *majang* discussing the events of their daily life till the meals are ready. As soon as cooking is done the housewife distributes the meal into definite shares keeping each share, in leaf cups made by her. A call from inside breaks up the group and hungry Juangs go to partake of their meals. The unmarried boys eat their food and taking their mats with them go back to the *majang* to sleep. Others soon finish taking their food and lay their bodies on the plam leaf mats to forget the toils and turmoil's of the day under the spell of the night's slumber.

The unmarried boys and girls may like to enjoy the sweetness of life by engaging themselves in *changu* dance. At times they sing and dance breaking the silence of the night till the wake of the day, but the general practice is to continue the dance till the dead of the night and then retire for sleep.

Division of Labour between the Sexes

In Juang Society the men and women work together in their struggle for existence. The women always co-operate with the men in eking out their life, but certain types of work are tabooed for women in the formal structure of the society. Likewise, men are also not expected to do a set of activities which are considered to be the work of the opposite sex. Hence, it is quite necessary to describe the division of labour between the sexes in Juang society. Instead of giving a long description, the work of the men and women can be summarized in the following table (Table-2).

Two things can be deduced from the following table (Table - 2) which indicates the position of women in the society. Firstly, it is noticed that men are entitled to do more outdoor work while most of the works concerning the home and hearth are meant for the women. The men being stronger can do work like ploughing fields, which requires greater physical strength, while the domestic work of the women are comparatively light and leisurely. The women due to their practical difficulties in carrying babies and undergoing periodical ritual pollution can not participate in all outdoor works. Secondly, certain work of the men like ploughing fields, hunting, house building, thatching roof and sowing are strictly tabooed for women, but the fact that those which are considered to be work of the women can also be performed by men under unavoidable circumstances shows that the freedom of the women is much more limited than the men.

TABLE 2
Division of Labour between the Sexes

SI No.	Nature and types of work	Sex doing the work	Remarks
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
1	Agricultural Work		
	Ploughing	Men	Tabooed for women
	Hoeing	Men and Women	Preferably by women
	Sowing	Men	Tabooed for women
	Weeding	Men and Women	More by women
	Degrassing	Women	
	Debushing	Men and Women	
	Reaping the crops	Men and Women	
	Carrying crops home	Men and Women	Men carry on shoulder and women carry on head
	Felling trees from <i>toila</i>	Men	Women occasionally help
	Harvesting	Men and Women	Men by bullocks and women by feet
	Storing the grains in straw bundles	Men	Never by women
	Mannuring fields	Men and Women	Considered to be the work of women in Keonjhar but that of men in Dhenkanal
2	Food Quest		
	Collecting roots and tubers	Men and Women	Preferably by women
	Catching birds	Men	Women cannot catch as they cannot climb up trees
	Bringing honey	Men	Ditto
	Fishing	Men and Women	Men by fishing rods, women by hand
	Hunting	Men	Tabooed for women
	Climbing trees	Men	Ditto
	Plucking leaves from the jungle	Women	Not done by men
3	Household Tasks	Women	
	House thatching	Men	Tabooed for women
	Plastering house	Women	Never done by men

	Sweeping	Women	Men may do in difficulties
	Fetching water	Women	Ditto
	Marketing	Men and Women	
	Cleaning the cowshed	Women	Men may do so in difficulties
	Preparing leaf-cups and plates	Women	Ditto
	Washing utensils	Women	Ditto
4	Food Preparation		
	Chopping firewood	Men and Women	
	Husking paddy	Women	Never done by men
	Winnowing	Women	Not done by men
	Cooking	Men and Women	Cooking is done by women but men cook on feasting occasions.
	Serving food	Men and Women	Women in the family and men in feasts
5	Rites and Rituals		
	Worshipping deities	Men	Occasionally by women who often succeed as priests after the death of their husband.
	Slaughtering and sacrificing goats and chickens	Men	Never by women
	Liquor ritual	Men and Women	Women participate only on selected occasions.
6	Entertainment		
	Dance	Men and Women	Men dance with <i>changu</i> . Women dance as per the tune of the songs and <i>changurhythms</i> of men.
	Singing	Men and Women	Only men sing in <i>changu</i> dance. Only women sing in marriage processions. Both boys and girls sing <i>doli</i> songs.

Economic Life

The economy of the Juangis in transition and it shows a wide, spread variation in Keonjhar, Dhenkanal and Pallahara. The Juang of Pallahara have been compelled to give up shifting cultivation under the restrictions imposed upon them by the Forest Department. They cultivate some *guda* and irrigated paddy land but the yield can hardly feed them for the whole year. Hence, they have taken recourse to basketry as the main source of their livelihood.

The Juang living around Dhenkanal proper and Kamaskhyanagar are plain dwellers cultivating low land paddy fields like the neighbouring Oriyas. They have left cultivating *toila* land long since and are not familiar with basketry. Their average economic standard is by no means of a high standard as their land holdings are pretty small and they are easily exploited by the clever Oriyas who instigate them to sell away their land for little money. In fact, Juangs of these areas earn their bread as labourers or daily wage earners.

In Keonjhar, the Juang lead a life least affected by the alien cultures. They still depend primarily on shifting cultivation, cultivating their land by the traditional age-old methods. Neither do they have enough permanent paddy plots, nor do they know basketry to supplement their economy. Considering the varying economy of the Juang, as described earlier, it is necessary to give a generalized picture of their economy and describe the main sources of their livelihood.

Sources of Livelihood

In old days, when the Juang had full freedom of exploiting the forest, they earned their livelihood partly from cultivating forest land and partly from hunting, fishing and food collection. After the break up of their traditional economy they have adopted an economy which is more elaborate than it was in old days. The important sources of Juang livelihood are: - (1) Agriculture, (2) Gleaning, (3) Hunting, (4) Fishing, (5) Basketry, (6) Animal Husbandry, (7) Trade and barter, and (8) Wage earning.

Agriculture

Shifting cultivation is the mainstay of Juang agriculture. Originally the Juang were primarily food gatherers collecting fruits, roots, and tubers from jungle to keep their body and soul together. The little agriculture they were practising was very crude and primitive in nature, which consisted of scratching the virgin soil with thorny branches and broadcasting some seeds. Gradually they began to till the soil with digging stick and hoe with iron blades. In course of time with the increased population pressure and the immigration of non-Juang families to Juang villages the Juang learnt the method of plough cultivation and adopted it in their *podu* land. The Juang economy beginning from food gathering through shifting cultivation by hoes to plough cultivation and settled agriculture has considerably affected their socio-cultural life too. Here it would be proper to describe the methods of shifting cultivation which is widely practised by the Juang of Keonjhar.

The shifting cultivation of the Juang is called *toila chasa*, named after the *podu* land which is called *toila*, *ekan*, *nala* and *guda* depending on the year of its cultivation. Before describing the *toila* land and the methods of shifting cultivation it is essential to state the types of land owned and cultivated by the Juang and the associated ownership pattern.

TABLE No. 3
Type of land and the Associated Ownership Pattern

No.	Type of land	Ownership	Remarks
1	<i>Toila</i> , or hilly land cleared for the first year cultivation	Individually owned as long as the person cultivates it,	As soon as the land is left for following it reverts back the village ownership.
2	<i>Ekan</i> , or the <i>podu</i> land for the second year cultivation	Ditto	Ditto
3	<i>Nala</i> , the <i>podu</i> land cultivated in the third or fourth year	Ditto	Ditto
4	<i>Guda</i> , or the open patches of fallow land cultivated for extra harvest. There are hardly any big trees or thick bushes to be cut down or cleared for cultivation.	Ditto	Ditto
5	<i>Bakadi</i> , or kitchen-garden where maize and mustard are sown	Individually owned	
6	<i>Bila</i> or <i>Jami</i> , the irrigated paddy plots constructed preferably near streams or rivers.	Ditto	
7	Virgin forest	Owned by the village	

The above table showing the land ownership system of the Juang of Keonjhar has its limitations among the Juang of Dhenkanal. The latter have given up *toila* cultivation and taken to settled agriculture. The types of land they possess are *bila* or irrigated paddy plots and *bakadi* or kitchen garden. The type of land where they grow vegetables and oil-seeds is called *toila*. The *toila* is divided into certain patches and one patch is cultivated every year on rotation for two or three years. Then it is left to follow for two to three years. Such plots however, cannot be termed as *toila* fields in the strict sense of the term as there are no big trees on such plots and felling trees, an important phase of shifting cultivation is not done on such plots. Moreover, unlike the *toila* plots of the Keonjhar Juangs, the *toila* lands in Dhenkanal are owned by individual families and not by the village. *Guda* plots are also owned individually and often *guda* and *toila* lands are synonymous terms for the Juang of Dhenkanal. The forest is the property of the Government and the Juang of this place have lost their traditional rights over the forest.

Phases of shifting cultivation

As stated earlier, the land for shifting cultivation is owned by the village and after it is distributed to individual family heads for cultivation, the ownership shifts from the village to the individuals for a period of two, three or four years.

Every year, new *toila*, plots which have completed eight to ten years rotation cycle and are considered proper for cultivation are allocated to individual families by the *Nagam* (priest) and *Ardhan* (secular-head) on the *Bhuin Bandha* day of *Pus Punei* ritual. On *Pus Punei*, the villagers assemble in front of the *Majang* and the *Nagam* sprinkles water over the villagers wishing health and happiness for the New Year. All shout as “*haribol*” and listen to the echo.

The forest lying in the direction from where the echo is heard is considered auspicious for the current year’s *toila* clearings. Next day, the villagers headed by the *Nagam* and *Ardhan* proceed on the stipulated direction and select a site for *toila* cultivation. The *Nagam* is given a plot first and then the *Ardhan*. After this, the *Prajas* (meaning the villagers) are given patches of *toila* land. Each family is given as much *toila* lands as it can cultivate and the *Nagam* puts a mark on a tree with his axe to demarcate the boundary lines.

Certain plots are also allotted to the unmarried boys (*kangerki*) and girls (*selanki*) who are members of the village youth dormitory and to the village as a whole to be cultivated on communal basis. The *kangerki* and *selanki* cultivate the *toila* allotted to them to purchase gifts for their *bandhu* friends of other villages and to feed them on their visits to their villages on dancing expeditions. The yield from the village communal plot cultivated by the villagers is used to feed the guests and relatives, to pay the annual land revenue and to meet other contingent expenses.

After the *toila* plots are allotted familywise, steps are taken to fell trees from such plots. The *Nagam* first cuts down a tree ceremonially from his *toila*, following which others begin to cut down trees and bushes from their respective plots leaving a few here and there to serve the purpose of supporters for beans and other creepers. This phase of cutting down trees from *toila* plots is called *lakadeilak*.

The next phase consists of burning the trees and bushes which is called *punjapoda*. The small branches and tree trunks are allowed to dry up in the heat of the blazing sun and as soon as they are properly dried the entire cuttings are set on fire. If anything is left unburnt, these are piled together around the standing unfelled trees and fire is set to them. The *Nagam* first sets a patch of his *toila* on fire ceremonially following whom others start the work in their own plots. Both men and women work together in burning *toila* which takes about a week or two depending on the size of the plots. Ashes are not spread over the field for the cuttings were already distributed evenly over the plot. Besides, ploughing and rains help in spreading the ashes all over the field. The bushes, trees and branches thus cut down and turned into ashes not only help in clearing the patch to let the sun light fall on the crops, but also serve as manure for the field.

The *toila* field is now ready for ploughing. The even and flat portions are ploughed with ploughs by men, but the women use a hoe to dig up soil in the rocky places where plough cannot be used. Some Juangs, who have no cattle to plough their *toila* depend solely on hoe cultivation.

The Juang do not allot separate plots for different crops; they sow a variety of grains in one plot. On *toila* they sow *rasi* (a kind of oil seed) in the first phase and dibble seeds of beans on the heaps of ashes around the standing dried trees. Sowing *rasi*, is inaugurated by the *Nagam* who performs a minor ritual in his field and broadcasts *rasi* seeds all over the *toila*.

After the first shower of rains the seeds sprout and the entire field is covered with green seedlings. The rains also help the growth of grass and other wild bushes which obstruct the growth of the crops. Steps are, therefore, undertaken to weed the unnecessary plants and cut down the overgrowth of bushes. Men, women and children take part in debushing. This completes the work on *toila* till the crop is harvested and brought home, as watching over the field before the harvest is not necessary for *rasi* crop.

The agricultural operations on *ekan*, *nala*, *guda* and *bakadi* lands may be described briefly. When the harvest on *toila* is over and the field is cultivated for the second time in the next year it is called *ekan*. Paddy is the chief crop grown on *ekan* and a variety of crops and vegetables including *kalart*, *akoyang*, *jinjari*, *kasalak*, *pumpkin*, *gourd*, *saru*, *khengra*, *juani*, and *khudu* are sown all over the field. Gourd and cucumber seeds are planted around the dried trees and the creepers rest on the dried branches. *Khudu*, *jinjari*, *akoyang* and *kasalak*, etc. are sown around the borders as hedges. Before *ekan* is cultivated, women and girls root out the grass and bushes before ploughing. After the sowing of paddy, the bushes and wild grass grow up again and prevent free growth of the useful plants. Hence these are again rooted out. Women and girls take major role in such work helped by men.

As the paddy on *ekan* begins to ripen, the Juang take much pain to watch over the crop. As the fields are mostly situated far away from the village and are often open to the ravages of wild birds and beasts, the Juang build small watching cabins in the centre of their *ekan* and sleep there at night to drive away the wild animals by shouting loudly, by throwing stones or pebbles at them or by making a fire under their *machan*. Elephants are driven out by lighted torches of soft firewood. To guard the crops from wild animals and evil spirits and with a view to get bumper harvest, Juangs worship various deities at the *Pirha Puja* ritual, but while reposing full faith in their gods the Juangs do not stop their own efforts to watch over the field and to protect the crop by setting traps. In some villages, the entire *ekan* of the village is fenced all round by wooden palisades leaving some passages to prevent the entrance of the wild animals into the field. Near such passages the Juang set live or dead fall traps to catch and kill the intruders.

Reaping and harvesting are done by both the sexes, though women play an important role in reaping the crop with sickle. The bundles or yields are carried to the threshing floor both by men and women and before the crop is brought home the Juang perform *Gundadia* ritual on their respective fields offering shares to the local deities and to their ancestors.

Cultivation on *nala*, *guda* and *bakadi* involves the processes which are almost identical with those applied on *toila* and *ekan*, but the crops harvested from each type of field are different. The following table states the types of crops harvested from each type of land.

TABLE No. 4
Types of Land and the Crops Harvested

No.	Types of land	Crops Harvested	Remarks
1	<i>Toila</i>	<i>Rasi</i> or <i>alsi</i> (niger), <i>biri</i> , or <i>kolatha</i> , and <i>senae</i> as main crops and beans sparsely.	Rarely paddy or <i>suluir</i> may be sown on <i>toila</i> in lieu of <i>rasi</i> .
2	<i>Ekan</i>	Paddy main, <i>saru</i> , <i>kalart</i> , <i>akoyang</i> , <i>Juani</i> , <i>jinhari</i> , <i>kasalak</i> , <i>pumpkin</i> , <i>gourd</i> , and <i>cucumber</i> are sown sparsely.	
3	<i>Nala</i>	Paddy or <i>rasi</i> repeated	If the land is found fertile <i>nala</i> can be cultivated for two consecutive years
4	<i>Guda</i>	Ditto	
5	<i>Bakadi</i>	Generally, maize and mustard are harvested from <i>bakadi</i> alternatively every year. At times, paddy is sown in lieu of maize. A small portion of <i>bakadi</i> is used for raising tobacco and black pepper	
6	<i>Bila</i>	Low land paddy is cultivated once in every year. In some villages, Juangs grow brinjal, tomato, and some varieties of pulses soon after the harvest of paddy.	

Of all the phases of shifting cultivation, felling trees and weeding paddy plots are the longest agricultural processes. Felling down trees requires much physical strain and the work takes about a month or more. At this stage some weii-to-do families employ parties of labourers from their own kins group to cut down trees from their field. A calendar of agricultural cycle will be given in subsequent pages to show month-wise agricultural operations.

Low land paddy Cultivation

The techniques of low land paddy cultivation are quite familiar to the Juang of Dhenkanal and are not quite unknown to the Juang of Keonjhar. The Juang living in the plains villages of Keonjhar have irrigated paddy plots and those dwelling on hills have constructed few such plots on or near the stream beds. The low land paddy plots are ploughed twice or thrice and seed is sown before rains. The hill Juang never manure their paddy plots, but in Dhenkanal they

take pain to manure the paddy fields to increase the fertility of the land. The Juang do not transplant paddy and after the paddy plants are grown up they cross-cultivate their plots and weed the grass and extra paddy seedlings. The paddy fields are much less open to the ravages of wild animals in Dhenkanal and hence the Juang of Dhenkanal do not take pains to watch their crops at night before the harvest. On the other hand the few irrigated paddy plots of the hill Juang are often situated in the heart of the Jungle which is the abode of wild animals. Unless they take pains to keep constant watch over these fields and drive away wild animals they can hardly expect to reap a good harvest. The various agricultural operations carried on different types of land are stated in the following table.

TABLE NO. 5
Months and Associated Agricultural Operations

No.	Types of land	Agricultural operations	Months when done	Remarks
1	<i>Toila</i>	Felling tree	February – March	--
		Buring	April-May	--
		Ploughing	May-June	--
		Sowing	July	--
		Debushing	August	--
		Watching	November	For pulses only
		Harvesting	December	--
2	<i>Ekan</i>	Degrassing	April	-
		Ploughing	May-June	--
		Sowing	July	--
		Debushing and weeding	September-October	--
		Watching	November-December	--
		Harvesting	November-December	--
3	<i>Nala</i>	Ploughing	May	--
		Sowing	June	--
		Watching	November	--
		Harvesting	November-December	--
4	<i>Guda</i>	Same as on nala	--	--
5	<i>Bakadi</i>	Ploughing paddy	June	--
		Sowing	July	--
		Watching	September	--
		Harvesting	September	--
		Ploughing mustard	October	--
6	<i>Bila</i>	Manuring	April	--
		Ploughing	April-May-June	--
		Sowing	June	--
		Cross-cultivation	August	--

	Weeding	August-September	--
	Watching	October-November	--
	Harvesting	December-January	--

Due to the caprices of Nature the Juang have to face constant crop failure. Untimely rain and storm affect the growth of the plants which result in poor harvest. The Juang have also no control over parasite weeds, insects and other pests, which ruin the crops. Considered from this aspect, *toila* cultivation is more susceptible to hazards of nature than the lowland paddy cultivation.

Gleaning

In good old days, the Juang were primarily food-gatherers. The old Juang informants sometimes narrate how the forest around the Juang country was once rich with roots, fruits and tubers and the Juang of that age could live days together in the midst of woods and forest eating jungle foods. The Juang of the present age have also not lost their interest for the wild fruits and roots. In fact, their food is greatly supplemented by fruits, roots and tubers collected from the jungle and food collection is still an indispensable part of Juang economic life. On hills, the poor Juang families depend on food collection for six to eight months in year and the plains Juang still continue to go to the jungle in search of roots and tubers. The following table gives a list of some of the edibles collected from jungle.

TABLE No. 6
Food materials collected from Jungle

No.	Main Item	Name of the things collected
1	Roots and Tubes	<i>Bayam, Basan, Jala Ajang, Kalu, Timang, Saidak, Jarae, Ajang</i>
2	Fruits	<i>Teren, Kundui, Jamu, Ale, Kantas, Lankan</i>
3	Greens	<i>Kuliari, Aleichin, Chakanda, Lainga</i>
4	Mushrooms	--
5	Honey	--
6	Eggs & Insects	--

The food materials collected from the forest have seasonal variation. Fruits are plenty in summer, while mushrooms are available during rainy season. Availability of roots and tubers is also purely seasonal. For example, *bayam* and *timang* are plenty in summer, while *basan* is dug only in the rainy season. It is necessary, therefore to give a table (**Table No. 7**) showing the months of the year and the kinds of wild fruits, roots and tubers collected in each month.

From the following table it is quite clear how different types of fruits, roots tubers and greens, etc. form an indispensable part of the Juang diet. As pointed out earlier, the Juang, having scanty agricultural produce in their stock, often take recourse to collection of fruits, roots tubers to keep their body and soul together. The seasonal fruits break the monotony of their diet and of all the mushrooms of

all kinds are greatly relished. The *mohua* flowers (*munun*) are boiled and eaten and these may be dried and stored for future use to distil liquor. The *mohua* fruits are crushed to extract oil for domestic use.

TABLE No. 7
Months and the types of Fruits, Roots, Tubers, etc., available in each month

Months	Things collected from the forest
Apri-May	<i>Bayam, Jal Ajang, Kalu, Timang, Saidak, Jarai, Honey.</i>
May-June	<i>Ale (Mango) Teren, Kundui, Bayam, Honey</i>
June-July	<i>Jamu, Ale, Unr (Mushrooms)</i>
July - August	<i>Kuliari Sag (greens), Aleichin Sag (greens) Kai (insect), Unr (mushrooms), Juani (maize), Khengra (cucumber)</i>
August-September	<i>Kusar, Bursuni Sag (greens), Juani (maize), Ukulum (mango kernel), Kantaa, Khengra (cucumber), Boitalu (pumpkin), Suku (gourd)</i>
September-October	<i>Kantaa, lainga sag, Lankan, Bayam, Basan, Khengra, Boitalu, Suku.</i>
October-November	<i>Basan, bayam, Soris sag (mustard greens)</i>
November-December	<i>Saris sag, Bayam, Basan, Ajang</i>
December-January	<i>Soris sag, Bayam, Ajang</i>
January-February	<i>Timang, Basan, Ajang, Soaris sag (beans)</i>
February-March	<i>Timang, Bayam, Munun (mohua flower)</i>
March - April	<i>Timang, Bayam, Jarai, Munun.</i>

Hunting

Hunting is one of the traditional occupations of the Juang. Bows and arrows are their only hunting appliances and whenever a Juang goes out he takes an axe, a bunch of arrows and a bow with him for safety. Juangs are not expert archers, but their skill in hunting was quite praiseworthy in the past when they were primarily the dwellers of the forest. At present they still continue to retain their zeal, but it has greatly been reduced due to the restrictions enforced on hunting by the Forest Department. The Juang of Dhenkanal and some Juangs of Keonjhar living in plains villages have little attraction for hunting.

Hunting is more an individual affair than a communal concern in Dhenkanal. On the other hand, those occupying the thick forest region in Keonjhar are comparatively more expert in hunting than in those living in fairly open areas. The Juang of Gudinarda and the adjoining Juang villages situated in the hearts of Kalapat reserve forest are by far the best hunters. In Gudinarda the villagers devote more time in hunting and every year they hunt deer, sambhar, boars and other wild games. Occasionally, they also do not fear to aim their arrows at dangerous animals like bisons, bears and tigers at the risk of their life. Bears and tigers are shot for sports, but the meat of the bison is greatly relished.

The last day of *Amb Nua* (New mango eating) ceremony marks the beginning of the communal hunting for the Juang. The persons desirous of joining the hunting party keep their bows and arrows in the dormitory the previous night. That night they observe continence and refrain from sleeping with their wife. Next morning all assemble in the dormitory. The *Nagam*, offers *pana* (molasses-water) to *Gram Siri* and other deities for a successful hunt, and all go for a hunt. The persons whose wives are in their monthly period are excluded from the hunting party, least the expedition proves to be a complete failure. If they fail to kill any prey for two or three consecutive days, certain rites are observed for a successful hunting. The members of the hunting party give their bows and arrows to the village women, who again hand those over to the leader of the party. The leader wishes good luck and returns back the bows and arrows to their owners. Just before the party leaves for hunting one of the Juang women lies down on the ground pretending to be a slain animal. The hunters cover her with twigs and branches and say "Here we have killed a *Seram* (*Sambar*). Today we shall have a successful hunt." Then they go to the forest in search of game.

Before starting on the hunting expedition, the hunters first select a part of the forest where they are most likely to find the game. They single out four to five persons who are reputed to be good archers and make them to sit at strategic points to shoot at the games when they pass before them. Others go in a team and beat at the bushes. They make peculiar sounds, yell at the top of their voices, and throw stones at bushes to frighten the animals. In this way the animals are driven out of the bushes and are made to pass before the persons who sit at key places to shoot. If the shot animal is wounded and it escapes the Juang take much pain to trace it out. The blood of the kill is offered to the forest deities and all return home with great joy carrying the kill on their shoulder. If a *seram* is killed the trip is considered to be the most auspicious one and the party returns home shouting merrily and whistling bamboo whistles made readily after the animal is hunted. The drummers go to welcome the party beating their drums loudly. The members of the party first go to the hunter's house remove the door of his house and place it outside. The kill is kept on it. The hunter's wife spreads a mat for them. All the village women assemble and greet the hunter and his party by washing their feet in turmeric water. The kill is then cut into pieces and the meat is distributed.

Distribution of meat is made with great care and consideration. The head of the animal is kept to be worshipped on the next day. The hunter, whose arrow killed the game, is given a part of the shoulder and a hind quarter as the hunter's share. Another share containing some meat and a portion of the animal's breast is also given to the hunter for his maternal uncle. The rest of the meat is divided into two equal shares one share for the villagers and one for the members of the hunting party. The share for the village is equally distributed to all the families of the village whether or not any of the members of a family participated in hunting. The share for the hunters is equally divided among themselves including the hunter. The hunter keeps his two shares, i.e., one share as a member of the hunting

party and one as his family share and distributes some meat from his lion share to his lineage members and to his villagers. A small share of this meat is equally distributed among all the families of the village leaving the *Kutumali* (lineage) families of the hunter to whom the hunter gives a bigger share of meat.

The hunter takes the breast portion and some more meat to his mother's brother. His mother's brother entertains him with a hearty meal and distributes the meat in the village. All the families of the maternal uncle's village contribute one or two *pai* of paddy to the hunter, but his own maternal uncle gives more paddy and an arrow to his nephew at the time of his departure. He also blesses his nephew saying-

"Take this arrow, and let God bless you so that you earn the fame of being a good hunter. Kill more animals and respect your maternal uncle by offering him meat like this."

The head of the kill is worshipped on the next day. The hunter gives one chicken and five *pai* of paddy for the ritual. His friends also contribute a chicken each. The paddy is husked and the rice grains, head-meat, and chickens are offered to *Thanapati*, *Bhima Badama*, other deities, and to the hunters of the past. The *Nagam* or the hunter officiates in this rituals and offering the shares he prays for future success in hunting. The rice grains, the head-meat of the animal and the chickens are cooked together and all the persons including the young and the old eat this food except those whose wives were undergoing their monthly menstrual cycle.

The ceremonial hunting starts from *Amb Nua* ritual and the villagers go on hunting party collectively for a month or two. Since the Forest Games Rules have restricted the freedom of hunting in Dhenkanal and in some areas of Keonjhar, the communal hunting expedition is gradually giving way to individual hunting. Besides, the ceremonial part of hunting is gradually neglected and especially in Dhenkanal, hunting is considered to be most informal and is more the concern of an individual. In Dhenkanal, a man who goes on hunting on his own accord and kills a game brings it home and eats the meat. He may give a small share to his villagers out of gratitude but may very well avoid it. But in Keonjhar, even if a person goes to the forest all by himself and brings back a kill home, he has no full right over the meat. The meat is always divided in the traditional manner as described in connection with communal hunting.

The games of the Juang range from bison to wild rats and innumerable birds and beasts. The meat of the tiger and bear are not eaten by them but the meat of the spotted deer, barking deer, *shambar*, wild pigs, bison and monkey are considered to be of great delicacy. The meat of the peacock and almost all other birds leaving a few like the vultures and crows are also very much relished by the Juang. To kill the birds and beasts the Juang use two different kinds of arrows. The sharp iron bladed arrow is used to put the kill to instant death, while a blunted

arrow with bamboo or wooden head is used to shoot at the birds to injure them and stunn them without killing.

Fishing

Fishing is another source of getting food for the Juang. The Juang are by no means good fishermen; their fishing equipments consisting of a few bamboo traps and fishing rods. Rivers and streams afford fishing ground for the Juang who occasionally engage themselves in catching fish. The fishing traps can be used only during rainy months when rain water flows from paddy fields and from stream beds. Some use fishing rods to catch fish during leisure hours. But most common method of catching fish is to damp up the water of a closed area and catch fish by hand or by using a piece of cloth. The fish caught is either eaten or is stored for future use. If the fish is to be eaten immediately, a little salt and turmeric are added to it and it is rolled in a *sal* or *siali* leaf and is fried on embers. Most of the Juang relish dried fish more than the fresh ones. They dry it in the sun or in smoke and store it for future use.

Fishing is comparatively more popular in plains Juang villages of Keonjhar, and in Dhenkanal where the rivers are wider and where there is more scope for fishing. On hills the stream beds are full of boulders and the streams are too thin and shallow to facilitate fishing. However, fishing seems to be more a fancy for the children than source of livelihood for the elders. The elderly persons engage themselves in other important economic pursuits and hardly make any time to take part in fishing. It is the young boys and girls and in some cases the women who catch fish on their way to the stream for a bath or for fetching water.

Basketry

The art of basket making is completely unknown to the Juang of Dhenkanal and Keonjhar, but in Pallahara the Juang may excel the expert basket-makers in their skill in basketry. About a generation ago the Juang of Pallahara used to work as vendors to Doms and Panos for carrying baskets. They gradually picked up the art of basketry and made their own basket. At present basketry is the main source of their livelihood. They weave baskets of varying types and of all sizes and selling those in local markets they purchase their daily requirements.

Basket making is neither a difficult art to learn, nor is it a costly affair. The forest around Pallahara is rich in bamboo growths, and the Juang are permitted to cut bamboo from the forest. The instruments required for basket making consist of a long and heavy knife, a crude needle and an axe. Men engage themselves in basket making, and the women devote their time in doing other tasks.

Bamboo is splitted into fine strips with the help of a knife and with these splits, the Juang weave various patterns. The most popular varieties of baskets are *tupa* (baskets for storing paddy and other grains) *tankae* (used for washing rice before cooking) and *uttan* (winnowing fan). They also show their skill in making

small and big bamboo boxes which fetch them a good price. Besides the above things, the Juang make huge and strong baskets which are used to store paddy and other grains in large quantity for future use. Fishing traps of various types and hats used by farmers are also remarkable for the quality of their workmanship and for their durability.

Animal Husbandry

The Juang have not yet taken to animal husbandry on an extensive scale. They do not have enough cattle for their agricultural purposes and hence many of them either borrow or hire cattle on payment of two to four *khandi* of paddy per pair. The poorer families on hills, who are unable to pay for hiring cattle, take recourse to hoe cultivation. They select a patch of land on hills and take pain to plough it by means of hoes. Leaving apart these families others have a few cows and bullocks to help in ploughing fields. Cows are never milked by the Juang. They plough field and increase the strength of the cattle wealth by giving birth to calves. Beef eating is strictly prohibited in these days, but some Juangs of Keonjhar eat beef stealthily. Cows are never slaughtered for beef and the Juang eat beef only in such cases where the cow is killed by a tiger.

Among other animals reared for meat are goats, sheep, pigs and fowls. Goats are becoming increasingly popular among the Juang and some families are found to possess as many as sixty goats. Goats supply meat to the diet of the Juang on feast and festive occasions and may be slaughtered for ritual purposes. They can also be sold in the market and thereby fetch a good sum for the Juang.

Chickens and pigs are also slaughtered for meat either on festive occasions or for ritual purposes. Buffaloes are the most prized of all animals, but only a very small minority can afford to possess buffaloes. Buffaloes are an insignia of wealth and richness. They also plough fields, give milk and can be sold for money to meet contingent expenses. The following table (**Table No. 8**) gives a list of various animals reared by the Juang and their utility.

The animals reared are neither given any fodder nor any special care is taken for their maintenance. They are taken to the forest for grazing and after they return home they are closed in shed until the next day. Goats are grazed either with the cattle or in a separate group. Buffaloes are always grazed together. Pigs wander around the village and eat rubbish. Separate sheds are made to accommodate buffaloes, cows, goats, sheep, pigs and chickens.

Of all animals the cows are considered to be sacred and every year the Juang worship their cows on *Gamha* festival. They view the cows with great reverence, since they till the soil and give them food.

TABLE No. 8
Domestic Animals of the Juang and their use

No.	Animals Reared	Purpose of Herding
1	Cows and bullocks	1. Ploughing field 2. Supplying dung for manure 3. Rarely sold for money
2	Buffaloes	1. Ploughing field 2. For milk and mil products 3. Sold for rmoney
3	Goats, pigs and sheep	1. Slaughtered for meat 2. Slaughtered for orituals 3. Sold for money
4	Chickens	1. Mainly used in ritual 2. Slaughtered for meat to entertain guests & relatives 3. May be sold for money
5	Dogs	1. Domesticated for fancy 2. Accompany hunting

Trade and Barter

The Juang are never good traders and are not especially interested in collecting forest products for sale. The Juang of Juang *Pirh* of Keonjhar collect logs and loads of firewood to sell in the Keonjhar market. The Juangs of Barura, Tangarpada, Gonasika, Rodhua, Champei, etc., cut timbers of valuable trees and take the trouble of carrying them as far as ten to fifteen miles to sell them in Keonjhargarh weekly market. A log fetches three to ten rupees depending on its size and quality and the Juang purchase tobacco, cloth and other necessities with this money. The unmarried boys spend the money for purchasing gifts for their *bandhu* girls.

The Juang of the nearby villages always bring loads of firewood to Keonjhargarh for sale. They also make charcoal by burning logs of wood into embers and sell those. The villagers of Kudiposa, for example, regularly sell fuel and charcoal. A load of firewood fetches twelve annas or a rupee, but a loan of charcoal may be sold for three to four rupess.

The Juang women earn a little money by selling mats in the markets. They weave mats of date palm leaves in their leisure hours and sell these in the market. A mat is sold for eight annas or a rupee and the money may be spent for buying parched rice, sweet potato, cloth orornaments.

In spite of their hard labour in raising various kinds of crops and in earning money by selling various things the Juang fail to lead a life of plenty and prosperity. Rice is their staple food, but the paddy they grow does not suffice for feeding them for the whole year. Hence the Juang cultivate cash crops like niger

(*rasi*) and mustard and exchange these for paddy and rice. A maund of niger or mustard can be exchanged for two maunds of paddy or for one maund of rice. The rate of exchange may fluctuate and a Juang may get the chance of getting little extra paddy or rice in exchange of their crops. Biri (*suluir*) and *arhar* (*senae*) are also exchanged for paddy at the same rate as mustard. One thing which very often restricts the Juang to earn a good profit from such exchange is the trick of the local money lenders who very often advance money or seed loans to the Juang the time of scarcity and demand crops at the time of harvest usually at high rates of interest. This leads the Juang into indebtedness and they find that their grainary is emptied soon after the year's harvest. Such circumstances often force the Juang to engage themselves as daily or annual agricultural labourers.

Wage Earning

The Juang do not like to work as daily or annual labourers for others unless they are forced to do so by sheer poverty. They prefer to work with their own tribesmen, as the latter are thought to be more considerate and sympathetic. The daily wage varies from area to area. In hill villages of Keonjhar the Juang pay daily wage of two annas in cash or two pai of paddy in kind for employing one of their own kinsmen. Besides this wage, the labourer is given cooked rice once so that he can work for the whole day. If cooked rice is not supplied to the labourer he may work for half a day till the noon and returns back home. Such however, is not the case in plains villages of Keonjhar where the daily wage for employing a tribal man is eight annas in cash or two pai of paddy or ragi. If a man is employed for a year he is given food and clothing plus one or two maunds of paddy per year. Here the servant is considered more as one of the employer's family members rather than a mere labourer and the employer arranges for his marriage.

At times, the Juang may be employed by non tribals as labourers. In this case, the daily wage varies from twelve annas to one rupee in cash or two pai of grains and cooked rice. A man engaging himself as an annual labourer to a non Juang is given fifteen *khandi* of paddy per year and one mana of paddy daily towards his food.

Some Juangs of Keonjhar and Pallahara also go to cut timber from the reserve forest and are paid fairly good wages by the contractors. They earn two to four rupees daily according to the number of trees cut by them.

This in brief, gives a picture of the economic life of the Juang. Their economy shows variations in Keonjhar, Pallahara and Dhenkanal, but the general trend is almost the same in all places. Agriculture is the main occupation for all but while the Juang of Keonjhar are primarily shifting cultivators, the Juang of Dhenkanal are settled agriculturists. Basketry, the main source of income for the Juang of Pallahara, is quite unknown to the Juang of Keonjhar and Denkanal.

CHAPTER - V

LIFE CYCLE

Before analyzing the different units of Juang social organization, it is, at the outset, necessary to study the Juang as a member of the society and to describe the various rites associated with the important crises of his life. Hence, the various observances connected with the important phases of life such as birth, puberty, marriage and death are described in this chapter. It is not possible to give a detail description of all the observances from birth till death but a few important and significant ones are described briefly for their ethnographic interest.

Birth

Birth in a Juang family is always welcome. The main purpose of “purchasing a bride” in marriage is to beget children. Barrenness in woman is socially condemned and in case the wife fails to give birth to child within four to five years of marriage, the man is socially permitted to marry again. Barren women are considered inauspicious and people avoid looking at their face when starting on important business. On the other hand, women bearing numerous children are respected. A male child is valued more than a female one, in spite of the fact that the parents have to face great economic strains for getting their sons married. The girls, on the other hand fetch paddy, cloth and other materials of bride wealth for their parents and the villagers at the time of their marriage. Considering from the economic point of view both the sons and the daughters are equally helpful for their parents in various economic pursuits. The only fact that the girls leave their parents after marriage and the sons perpetuate the family line enforces greater attachment and inclination for the sons than the daughters.

The Juang are quite familiar with the fact that conception takes place as a result of sexual intercourse between the male and the female. There is a popular saying among the Juang which means “unless the field is ploughed and the seed sown how can one expect the harvest?” Sexual intercourse continues up to the sixth or seventh month of pregnancy, after which it is advisable to observe continence till the child is born and attains its sixth or seventh month of age. The parturient woman should not eat the meat of any animal slaughtered in rituals and in Keonjhar, she is not permitted to eat anything offered in the Gonasika temple. No other restriction regarding dietary habit is observed by her. She however, should not see smoke rising from a funeral pyre, nor should she come out when she hears a peal of thunder or sees a flash of lighting. She does her daily duties in the usual manner and helps her husband in doing hard work like hoeing *toila* land, collecting and digging roots and tubers, harvesting crops, chopping firewood, and

the like till the delivery. She may abstain from doing strenuous works for ten or fifteen days before the delivery. A Juang woman rarely needs the help of a midwife for delivery. The midwife (*Sutrūnihari*), when called for takes care of the new born, bathe the baby and the mother, and cleans the apartment.

Difficult labour is ascribed to the evil-eye of the enemies or to the ill will of some malevolent spirits dwelling on hills, forests and streams. If displeased the ancestral spirits also create countless troubles in case of child birth. To counteract the evil-eye and to neutralize the effect of sins or ill temper of the ancestors a number of magical rites are performed. The ghost-finder (*Raulia*) is summoned to perform rites to expel the ghosts. He first gives a few medicinal herbs to the expectant mother to help easy delivery. If this fails the *Raulia* gets confirmed that some evil spirits are creating troubles. The *Raulia* measures three reeds to detect the spirit or the person obstructing the delivery. If the evil maker is detected to be a sorcerer the *Raulia* performs magical rites to counteract or to neutralize the evils played by the sorcerer. If the labour pain is believed due to the whim of some displeased ancestor sacrifices of chicken, tobacco, liquor, and cooked rice are made to avert his ill temper. The other spirits causing troubles are also properly propitiated to help easy delivery.

If the baby is a male one the *Sutrūnihari* shouts saying that the child is 'sengan' or firewood (meaning male child); and in case of a female child she is referred to as *alak* (literally, leaves). The midwife cuts the naval cord of the newborn, anoints turmeric paste and bathes the baby in tepid water. She cleans the mother and the apartment, and lights a fire to warm the baby and the mother. The mother is advised not to expose herself to rain or cold. The midwife is given remuneration which consists of five to ten *pai* of paddy, one chicken, and leaf cupful of cooked-rice and curry. In case a son is born she may be given an extra amount of one to two rupees and a brass bangle for her services.

The period of ritual impurity varies from one day to six days. In Keonjhar, the wife may take a bath the next day after the child is born and plaster the house. In Dhenkanal, the Hinduized Juang observe the birth pollution for six days. During the days of impurity the family members do not perform any ritual. If a birth takes place in the family of a *Kamanda* (ritual assistant) or in his lineage, he is considered ritually impure till he manages to slaughter chickens and propitiate the ancestors for ritual purification. It is only after this that he can sit with the other members while performing rituals.

The mother has to observe certain food taboos after the child birth. She avoids taking curry, meat and dal which are believed to affect the health of the child. For four to five months she takes hot rice and salt and refrains from doing hard labour. This is partly due to the fact that she has to keep constant watch over the newborn and nourish it properly. This hardly gives her time to go to work on fields or to do any other outdoor work. Moreover, she cannot carry the baby on her shoulder to the field until and unless the child is about eight months old.

Leaving aside these practical difficulties, the mother assumes all her normal household duties as soon as she takes her purificatory bath. However, after three or four months, she resumes her normal duties by helping her husband in the field, doing agricultural work and indigging roots and tubers.

Name giving ceremony (Nimincha)

A name is given to the newborn as soon as after five or six days of its birth, or it may be delayed for three to four months. The ritual called *Nimincha* aims at naming the child and blessing it for a happy future, free of diseases and calamities. The father procures two to three chickens worship the ancestors, the village and local deities, and offers them dried husked rice, milk, molasses, chicken, and liquor. He and his wife smear a little turmeric powder on the chin of the child and kiss it. The father prays.

"Oh Basumata and Dharam Devta, Boitini Pata, Gramsiri, Pitrupitaki; Today, I am performing the Nimincha ritual for my child. Let him/her lead a peaceful life free from all calamities. Let there be good harvest for the family. Let all the persons and the cattle be in good health".

In naming the child the names of the deceased ancestors are always preferred. It is believed that the dead person takes rebirth in the family. The name of the child's father's father (if dead), or father's brother are preferred in case of male child. In the case of a female child, her father's father's sister's name is preferred. At times, the *Rauli* reads omens by 'measuring' three reeds and selects a name for the child from a whole bunch of names. Giving new and fashionable names is more a fancy in Dhenkanal. But in Keonjhar the children are named after the local trees, flowers, roots and tubers and after certain birds and beasts. Thus we get names like Dunkia (a kind of tuber), Bayam (a kind of tuber), Munundae (*mohua* flower), Endra (leopard), and so on. Persons named after their physical deformity are not completely unfamiliar. Lame persons are named as Choota or Chhuti and blind persons are called *Andha*. There are also persons who are named after the name of the day of their birth. Thus, boys born on Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, Friday and Sunday are named as Sambaria, Mangala, Budhai, Guru, Sukra and Rabi, respectively. Likewise, the girls are also named as Gurubari, Sukru and Raibari. After a name is proposed the *Rauli* measures the reeds and in case the length of the reeds "increases" the name is considered auspicious and is thereby selected.

The day the child is named the mother cooks rice and the chickens slaughtered in the ritual. Shares of cooked rice and meat curry are distributed among the families of one's own lineage, and in case the family can afford to spend more, the same may be distributed among all the families of the village.

A name once selected is, however, not taken as final. It can be changed and a new name be given in case the child name cries insistently and suffers from

frequent ailments. Renaming the child does not involve any further ritual, except that the father may offer some liquor in honour of the family ancestors.

First Hair-cutting and Ear-piercing

First ear-piercing (in the case of female children only) is never associated with any ritual. The mother or any other woman of the village, who knows the job is called in. She pierces the nose and the ears with brass pins purchased from the local market. This is the practice both in Keonjhar and Dhenkanal.

In Keonjhar the first hair-cutting is never marked by any ritual, but in Dhenkanal the child's mother's brother is invited on such occasion. He shaves the head of the child and is provided with a hearty meal and liquor. Some Juangs take their children to the local temple and ritually shave their heads there.

No ritual is performed to mark the first-eating of solid food by the child. Weaning starts after the child is four or five years old, and till the child leaves up suckling on his own accord. In case, a new baby is born before the elder one is not old enough to live without the mother's milk, then both share the breasts. The babies are fed whenever they cry and are not taught the disciplines of toilet until they are seven or eight years old.

Fostering a Child

In order to avoid the premature death of a child whose elder brothers and sisters died young, the parents may ceremonially hand over the child to the *bara bhaiki* (village elders) and *mabhouniki* (village women). The Juang believe that if the child is ceremonially made over to the care of the villagers it restores health and happiness. On a particular day the father intimates his intention to the villagers, and all the elderly men and women assemble in his house. The *Rauli* reads omens and detects the agency creating troubles to the family members of the affected person. An earthen doll is made representing the evil maker and the *Nagam* (priest) makes offerings. Praying *Basumata* (Earth Goddess), *Dharam Devta* (Sun God), *Gramsiri* (village deity) and other deities, he first draws a circle on the flour with turmeric power. The doll of the trouble maker is placed inside the turmeric circle and the *Nagam* offers husked rice grains, molasses and liquor to him praying for the health of the child. Three pairs of split *sal* twigs, measuring three to four inches in length and about an inch in diameter are kept on the hands of the image and the *Nagam* tilts the image to make the split twigs fall down on the floor, while doing this he holds liquor before the image prays the image to forget anger and take back his curse. All the three pairs of the *sal* twigs are thrown from the hands of the image pair by pair until all the three pairs fall down in a definite manner which is viewed to be auspicious. Of the two split pieces of the twigs one should fall down with the flat surface down and the other one reversely in order to indicate good luck. After this the women bathe the child in turmeric water and make him to sit on their lap. They contribute one or two heads from their necklace and make a necklace for the child which is tied around his neck. They put turmeric

powder on the cheek of the child and bless for his good health. They give a new name to the child and announce him to be their son. The elderly men and women assemble together and perform a liquor ritual. They pour liquor on the ground in the name of the deities and the *pitruki* (ancestors) and sprinkle a little over the head of the child wishing him a smooth life. While performing the liquor ritual they pray “*Oh Basumata, Dharam Devta, Gramsiri, PitruPitaki* (ancestors). From today the child ceases to be the son of his father; he becomes the son of the villagers. From today we pour all our blessings over him. Let him be free from all diseases and let him lead a happy life. If anybody tries to endanger him, let that person be eaten by tiger, and let his heart burst, and let his tongue be uprooted”.

Though the child is ceremonially handed over to the villagers he still retains all his normal relations with his family members. He continues to remain with his parents, and is fed by them as usual. After he grows up, and before his marriage, his parents present about one or two *khandi* of husked rice a goat and liquor worth two to three rupees to the villagers to get back their son ritually. A feast is held and the food is distributed among all the families equally.

Puberty Rites

There are no specific puberty rites for the girls when they attend their first menstruation and for the boys when they step into adulthood. The life of the Juang boys and girls revolves around the dormitory house, called *majang*. The boys and the girls after they become youths are admitted into the dormitory as its formal members. The unmarried boys of the dormitory are called *kangerki* and the girls are known as *selanki*. The dormitory life of the *Kangerki* and *selanki* is described in Chapter Six in connection with youth organization.

Marriage

Marriage is the most remarkable event in the life of the Juang. It serves as a stepping stone to adult life. Lifelong bachelors and spinsters have little power and prestige in the Juang society. Apart from the biological aspect of marriage, i.e. the perpetuation of the race, marriage brings recognition to a Juang as a full-fledged member of his community. Considering from the economic point of view a Juang gets a lifelong partner by paying bride wealth to help him in all economic pursuits. The marriage customs of Keonjhar and Dhenkanal Juang show a wide range of variation, but leaving apart the details and the discrepancies a brief and general note on Juang marriage is given in this paper.

Fundamental Principles of marriage

No marriage can be performed without prior considerations of factors like the clan of the marrying partners, their generation and other prohibited degrees of marriage. The following five considerations are taken into account before a Juang marriage is finalized.

- (i) Both the marriage mates must not belong to one clan. The Juang tribe is divided into a number of clans. Each clan is exogamous and the clan members are treated to be brothers and sisters. Marriage within one's own clan is considered incestuous and is strictly prohibited.
- (ii) Not only each clan is exogamous, but each has a number of associated *kutum* (non-marrying) clans in which marriage is not permissible. The members of the *kutum* clans consider themselves to be brothers and sisters and marriage between them is not approved by the society. Marriage is thus permissible between the members of two *bandhu* clans.
- (iii) The marrying mates, if possible should stand in proper generation to each other. Though not strictly prohibited or tabooed, marriage in adjacent generations is considered irregular and improper. On the other hand, marriage between the members who stand in the same or alternate generation to each other is considered to be the most ideal.
- (iv) Within the own or alternate generation, the factor of kinship relation should also be noticed. The rule of marrying in one's own or alternate generation does not hold good only in one case, where the girl is related to the groom as his wife's elder sister.
- (v) The last factor for finalizing a marriage is to forecast its future sanctity and success by reading omens. The omen is tested by placing four piles of husked-rice grains; the piles representing the health of the groom, the health and happiness of their future offsprings, and for the harvest of the family concerned. Each pile contains three grains of husked rice, two below and the third one tying on the other two. The piles are properly covered with baskets and are carefully plastered all around to prevent the entrance of ants and other insects inside for disturbing the position of the grains. After eight to ten hours the baskets are removed and all watch if any rice grain is misplaced. Marriage is considered auspicious if the rice grains are found to be in the original position. In case any rice grains are found missing or misplaced the proposal for marriage is at once cancelled.

Preferential Mates

Like the factors of prohibition limiting choice in marriage there are certain points of preference shown in a Juang marriage. Any marriage fulfilling the above four criteria is considered a proper one. Neglecting the generation factor in a broad sense, any *bandhu* of proper age is a preferential mate for marriage. In many tribal societies marriage is obligatory between certain kinds thus giving rise to cross-cousin, levirate and sororate forms of marriages. In Juang society sororate and levirate marriages are not obligatory though in some cases the widowers tend to remarry the widow of their deceased elder brothers.

Marriage between own mother's brother's, daughter and father's sister's son is avoided but one can marry preferably one's classificatory mother's brother's

daughter or father's sister's son. Marriages are usually monogamous, but polygamy is not prohibited in case of the wife's barrenness.

Adult marriage is very common. Marriage is proposed after the boy is over twenty years of age and after the girl attains her puberty. Child marriages though not completely ruled out, are extremely rare and are performed by a few rich families who can spend more money and grains for such marriages. Child marriage is a recent form of marriage in corporate into Juang society from the caste Hindus. Out of 280 cases of marriage samples collected only four were found to be child marriages.

There are no definite marriage months. "Chait" (March-April) is considered to be the only inauspicious month and marriages performed during this month are believed to result in immature death of the groom. Marriages are preferably performed in summermonths after the harvest and before the rains. After the harvest the people are not only well equipped with sufficient food grains, but are free from agricultural labour too. In no case, marriage should be performed or formal marriage negotiation should start before the commencement of *Pus Puni* ritual which is observed in the month of January.

Means of Acquiring Mates

The type of marriage depends on the method by which the bride is brought for marriage. Some forms of marriages are widely practiced whereas a few others are occasionally performed. The following is a list of the various types of marriages sanctioned by the Juang.

1. *Kamandiria Kania* -

This form of marriage means marriage by arrangement or marriage by negotiation. The term *Kamandiria* means the middle men bringing up the marriage proposal, and the term *Kania* means the girl or "the bride". Hence *Kamandiria Kania* means the bride brought (for marriage) by sending middlemen. Under this type two sub-types of marriages are recognized.

- (i) *Gatang Kania* - After a girl is thought to be suitable and after the testing of omens is over the groom's father delegates a party of two to three men to the girl's village for finalizing the marriage proposal. After the marriage is settled and on an appointed day a party comprising of women, unmarried boys, and girls of the bride's village bring the bride to the groom's village for marriage. The boys accompany them with their *changu* (musical drums) and the *changu* competition is held between the groom's villagers and the bride's villagers in the former's village.
- (ii) *Tankae Oti* - This form of marriage is a variation of the above type being less expensive and less pompous. Poor parents cannot spend more in providing big feasts for the girl's villagers and hence they take recourse to

bring the bride in *Tankae Oti* form of marriage. In *Tankae Oti* marriage, only a few women of the bride's village come with the bride to the groom's villages and the groom's father does not have to spend much in providing food for the party. This type of marriage also lacks *changu* competition between the bride's party and the groom's party.

2. ***Digar Kania*** –

Digar Kania is a form of marriage by capture. The bride is captured by the groom's representatives from the dancing ground, on her dancing visit to *bandhu* village, from bathing ghat, from the jungle while plucking leaves or collecting roots and tubers, or on her way to market or fairs. Before a girl is captured for marriage the consent of the groom and the girl's villagers is never taken. What is required is that the boy's parents must have seen the girl beforehand and must be willing for their son's marriage. The girl's parents and her villagers are informed only after she is captured and after the marriage is performed in the boy's house. After the marriage is over the bridal pair, along with the boys, girls, and the elderly men pay a ceremonial visit to the bride's village. They carry money, clothes, paddy and other things for paying the bride-wealth to the girl's village.

Marriage by capture among the Juang does not involve any aggression or quarrel between the boy's and the girl's villagers. Among the Bhuniya a mock fight is fought between the girl's and the boy's parties. The latter tries to capture the girl whereas the former tries to defend. Such type of marriage by capture among the Munda leads to much quarrels and conflicts, and the groom capturing the girl is severely beaten by the girl's villagers. But among the Juang, marriage by capture is the most sporting means of getting marriages arranged without spending money and liquor in prior negotiation. The girls parents or her villagers never take a serious view of their girl being captured for marriage, as they believe that "the girls are the treasure of *bandhu* kept in their custody till marriage and the bandhus take away their wealth whenever they so desire".

3. ***Mana Mani*** –

Mana Mani is a form of love marriage. The unmarried boys and girls of different villages get ample scope to mix with each other. In case of *bandhu* boys and girls they exchange dancing trips and make gifts to each other in market places or in fairs. This opens the door for a boy and a girl to develop love and liking foreach other and this being strengthened they might like to marry each other. Such marriages may be performed in three different ways –

- (i) The boy informs and convinces his parents about the girl friend he liked and the parents might bring the desired girl for their son by arranged marriage or marriage by capture.

- (ii) The parents, in spite of the son's special liking for a certain girl might not agree to bring her as their daughter-in-law. In such case, the boy may consult with the girl and both flee away to a distant place and get themselves married. After spending a few years there, the couple might return to their own village. This type of marriage is called *Surum Kania* or marriage by elopement.
- (iii) The intense love between a boy and a girl might lead to sex indulgence and the girl gets, pregnant. In such a case the boy's and the girl's parents are fined a few rupees for providing liquor and a small feast to the girl's villagers. The boy is forced to marry the girl with whom he has indulged in sexual intrigue. This form of marriage is called *Udung Kania*.

Out of the three types of love marriages i.e. love marriage by arrangement, love marriage with elopement, and love marriage after the girl gets pregnant the second type is more common than the other two varieties.

4. *Wadi Kania* (Child marriage)

Wadi Kania is a variant form of *Gatanga Kania* and is distinct from the latter in that the marriage is performed when the girl is eight to ten years old and the boy below eighteen. This marriage is also very expensive and it brings prestige for the family performing it.

5. *Burha Kania* (Widow Re-marriage)-

In their old age the Juang widows and the widowers get themselves remarried. A young widow may marry a virgin girl if he so likes by paying more than the standard bride-wealth. On the other extreme cases most of the widow marriages are performed between the widowers and the widows. The sexual aspect of the marriage is lacking or very insignificant in such marriage. Old widows and widowers get remarried for rendering mutual help to each other in their socio-economic pursuits and for enjoying companionship in their old age. Cases of widowers and widows getting remarried at the age of 75 are also encountered in Juang society.

Levirate is a form of widow marriage, but not all widow marriage, but not all widow marriages are of leviratic type. A man may preferably marry his deceased elder brother's wife, if he so likes. He inherits all the property of his deceased elder brother including the latter's widow for whom the brother paid bride wealth. By marrying the elder brother's widow one need not pay bride-wealth to the wife's relatives.

Though a man has every right to marry his elder brother's widow it is customary to take the opinion of the widow before her marriage. The younger brother of the husband, however, has the highest claim to marry her. In case the former is unwilling the widow can be remarried to anybody of her husband's village who stands in the same or alternate generation to her deceased husband. If no such persons are available in her deceased husband's

village anybody born in the same clan of the deceased and occupying proper generation gets the privilege of marrying her. If a widow cannot get remarried to any of the above three parties she may be married to anybody who is *kutum* clan to her deceased husband and *bandhu* to her parental clan. As *kutum* clan members are viewed to be brothers to each other their widows may thus be exchanged in marriage between themselves.

In widow-marriage no special rites are performed. The *Nagam* (village priest) blesses the new couple and the man entertains the villagers with food and liquor.

6. *Daki Kania* (marriage of the separated and the divorced women)

At times a young wife might not be able to adjust with her husband and leaves him for good. Such separation may force the husband to divorce his wife and marry again. If the girl leaves her husband for no fault of the latter the husband may claim full amount of bride-wealth from the girl's parents before divorcing her. It is only after a girl is formally divorced by her husband that she is free to be remarried elsewhere. Until and unless the divorce ritual is performed by her husband's party she continues to remain legally as a woman of the latter's village and hence cannot be given in marriage to anybody else. In order to prevent a separate marrying again the husband's villagers might not like to perform the formal divorce ritual. In such case the husband continues to retain full jural power over his wife and if nay body else marries her without taking his prior permission he can claim the full amount of bride-wealth from the new husband.

7. *Ghar Jamae*

This type of marriage in which one marries the daughter of a sonless man and inherits his property is extremely rare among the Juang. The social status of an adopt son-in-law is very low in Juang society. A survey of more than twenty villages revealed only one case of *Ghar Jamae* marriage.

The following table gives a quantitative account of the various types of Juang marriages. It unfolds four interesting features in Juang marriages.

- (1) Negotiation in Juang marriage is not necessarily a strict procedure for finalizing it. Marriage by capture, marriage by elopement, and love marriages involving no negotiation are as important as arranged marriages. In fact, 56.8 per cent of the total marriages were found to be of non-arranged type as opposed to 43.2 per cent of marriages by negotiation.
- (2) Love marriages are rare among the Juang. Though the youth organization of the tribe provides ample scope for free exchange of love between the potential marriage mates, in very few cases the growing love between them leads to the extent of marrying each other. Out of the total 280 cases

- only five cases were reported to be love marriages. This shows that love marriage, though not quite unknown is not very much favoured by Juang.
- (3) Marriage by capture is most common among the Juang. Nearly 48% of the marriages are marriages by capture against the other seven forms of marriages

TABLE - 9
Type of Marriages in Juang Society

Types of marriages (in Juang dialect)	English equivalent	No. of cases	Approximate percentage
1	2	3	4
A. Arranged marriages			
1. <i>Gatang Kania</i>	Marriage by negotiation	79	28.2
2. <i>Wadi Kania</i>	Child marriage	4	1.4
3. <i>Tankae Oti</i>	Marriage by arrangement	37	13.2
4. <i>Hatua Kania</i>	Hindu type of marriage	1	0.4
	Total	121	43.2
B. Marriage without negotiation			
5. <i>Digar Kania</i>	Marriage by Capture	134	47.9
6. <i>Burha Kania</i>	Window Marriage	20	7.1
7. <i>Mana Mani</i>	Love Marriage	3	1.1
8. <i>Surum Kania</i>	Marriage by elopement	2	0.7
	Total	159	56.8
	Grand Total	280	---

The marriage samples, supplemented by the data collected by interview show a marked difference between the type of marriage preferred and the type of marriage actually performed. *Gatang Kania* of the arranged variety is considered to be the most ideal form of marriage, but since this involves high expense on the groom's parents very few people can afford it. *Digar Kania* or marriage by capture is thus widely practiced which as compared to *Gatang Kania* is relatively less complex and less expensive. No time and money are wasted prior to the marriage in sending Kamandirias (marriage-brokers) and providing them with food and liquor for arranging marriages. What is required, in this type of marriage is that the groom's parents must have had seen the girl beforehand, and as soon as things for bride-wealth and for the marriage feasts are arranged they seek an opportunity to capture the girl and perform the marriage ceremony.

Financing of Marriages

The main heads of expenses in a Juang marriage are the bride-price paid to the girl's relatives, the feast and the purchase of marriage articles. The total expenses for a marriage vary in Keonjhar and Dhenkanal and range from Rs. 100 to Rs. 300 or more. The major expenses are on feast. Since the girl is brought in

marriage to groom's family and the marriage is performed, in the groom's village, the girl's parents do not have to spend any money for marriage. This custom of Keonjhar and Pallahara does not hold good in Dhenkanal where the groom, just like the Oriyas, goes to the girl's village with party and marrying her there returns to his village. In such case the girl's father has to spend in feeding the groom's party. The bride-wealth paid by the groom's party both in Keonjhar and Pallahara consists of five to six *khandi* of paddy and rice, a chicken, five to six pieces of cloth for the girl's relatives, a few bottles of liquor, and three to four rupees in cash. All these amount to Rs. 110 but unless a man is rich enough, he cannot pay the full amount of the standard bride-wealth. The system of paying bride-wealth is no more a custom among the Juang of Dhenkanal. In their marriages, they present some ornaments to the bride, but do not pay anything to her relatives towards the bride-wealth. The overall expenses of marriage are borne by the villagers also give presents of paddy, rice, goat, pig, chicken cloth, or money. This system of helping in marriage is reciprocal.

Death Rites

To the Juang, death has always an evil association. It is always feared and is believed to be the work of the hostile spirits, black magic, witchcraft, or the wrath of gods and deities. The truth that death is unavoidable and no one can escape it in the mortal world is not unknown to the Juang, yet they cannot face the cases of death boldly. They fight tooth and nail to save a man till his last gasp by administering local medicines and by performing all sorts of magico-religious rites. Notwithstanding all their efforts, if death occurs the Juang console themselves and make arrangements for proper disposal of the dead. The funeral customs of the Juang of Keonjhar vary to a certain degree from the Juang of Dhenkanal but the basic rites are almost identical. A general account of the funeral rites observed for an adult who dies a natural death is given below: -

After a man dies his women relatives including his wife and a few others from his lineage lend the air with loud lamentation which continues till the dead body is taken to the cremation ground. Such wailing signifies the grief of the relatives for whom the parting of the deceased was extremely frustrating. If this is not done it is believed that the departed soul would not realize the depth of sorrow of his relatives and would grumble in the other world. The corpse is carried on a wooden or bamboo bier made of two long poles with a rope. The number of the small cross pieces is not definite unlike the case with the Oriyas. A piece of mat, formerly used by the deceased, is spread over the bier and the corpse is laid over it. Some tobacco and a few dried sal leaves are kept beside the corpse and a piece of cloth is spread over it. It is carried on the shoulder by four to eight persons and taken to the cremation ground by an untrodden path.

The Juang burial ground is preferably situated in the forest close by some stream. Logs of dried firewood are cut down and a pyre is made. An elderly man brings a *Jambu* twig and waves it over the deceased's face. To facilitate the release

of the soul or spirit from the dead body he brings some water from the stream in a leaf cup and put some of it in the mouth of the dead body. The body is then laid down on the pyre the head facing towards the east and then fire is set to it. The persons accompanying the funeral procession leave their axes on the path and come back home after taking a bath on their way. Just after the funeral party leaves the village, the widow of the deceased throws away the cooking pots and goes half way towards the cremation ground to offer a share of cooked rice for her husband. The house is plastered with cow dung and water and a copper coin dipped in water is kept in a broken piece of gourd or earthen pot. It is placed on door way of the deceased's house. Returning from the funeral ground all sprinkle a little of this water to purify their body.

Next day all the persons again go to the funeral ground to perform the remaining rites. Some of the possessions of the deceased including an axe, an arrow, a bow, a digging stick, one or two utensils, leaf-umbrella, a brass bangle and a few bead necklaces of his wife are taken to the funeral place along with some husked rice, turmeric powder, a leaf cup full of cooked rice, and an old earthen cooking pot. On the way to the burial ground a man throws away some paddy grains on both sides of the path with a view to drive away the evil spirits. Reaching near the pyre they wash away the ashes and the charred bones, retaining only a piece of the scapulae. An elderly person makes an earthen idol representing the deceased and laying the idol in a sleeping posture he inserts a *Jambu* twig on its chest. Praying to *Basumata* and *Dharam Devta* he makes a circle of turmeric powder facing east and offers a pile of husked rice to the deceased. He makes a hole in the bottom portion of the old earthen cooking pot and keeps it on the right side of the idol. The possession taken from the dead man's house are displayed around and all pray to the deceased "Oh you (by name). Now you have left us. We are giving you your shares. Receive those and be satisfied. Go to Heaven and tell *Yama* (Death God) that there is nobody else on earth after your passing away".

A piece of thread smeared with turmeric powder is tied seven times around the scapulae and the same is again tied to the *Jambu* branch inserted on the chest of the earthen idol. After a while the bone is thrown into the stream and all return home with their axes left in the funeral ground on the previous day. On the way, they wash their clothes and the axes and take a purificatory bath in a stream.

The deceased's mother's brother (own or classificatory) is called in to officiate as the priest in the death ritual. He cooks some rice inside the house in a piece of new broken earthen pot and kills a chicken by beating it on the floor. The cooked rice and the chicken are kept near the door step. The mother's brother holds one of the legs of a chicken in his right hand and a feather dipped in castor oil in his left hand.

The persons who return from the funeral ground touch the leg of the chicken, throw a few grains of cooked rice on the leaves spread outside the house, again touch the chicken's feather, break a little of the twig called *lalak*, and

sprinkle a few drops of copper coin water on their body. Some more water and a coin are kept in front of the house, and mother's brother slaughters another chicken. The blood of the chicken and some castor oil are poured on the floor. The persons undergoing death pollution take a dab of the chicken's blood and castor oil and a few drops of coin water to sprinkle on their body. This makes them free from all pollutions.

The unusual cases of death such as murder, suicide, persons dying of snake-bite, cholera, small pox, labour pain etc., are treated with different rites. The dead bodies of such persons are never cremated but are buried unlike those who die a natural death. It is believed that persons who are killed by tiger are transformed into tiger spirits who wander around the forest and kill human beings. Women who die during child birth turn into witches and always attack babies and inflict fever and sickness on them. In such cases the child is brought out of the womb after the mother dies and both are buried separately. In case the children and the unmarried persons die, they are just thrown away and the defiled persons sprinkle some water in which a copper coin is dipped.

The role of the mother's brother, however, cannot be ignored. Unless he is called the relatives cannot be purified. He gets a chicken and some husked rice for his food and may be given liquor worth eight *annas* or more. Only in cases of death of a *kamanda* that the mother's brother gets the bows and arrows of the deceased, his metal bowl for eating rice, and one of his axes.

The funeral feast is held as soon as the family concerned can make necessary arrangements for it. Poor persons give a small feast to the persons attending the funerary rites, but rich persons may give a feast to all the villagers, and to their relatives belonging to other villages.

Death pollution continues for two days in Keonjhar and Pallahara, but in Dhenkanal the Hinduized Juangs observe it for eleven days. During these days the dead man's lineage members in general and his own family members in particular, observe certain food taboos. They refrain from eating non-vegetarian dishes and may not anoint their body with turmeric and oil. All the families of the lineage throw away their old earthen cooking pots. In case of death in a *kamanda's* own family, or within his own lineage, he has to undergo special purificatory rites by slaughtering chickens or goats. Unless this is done he loses the right to participate in any of the rituals.

The Juang believe that the spirit of their ancestors live inside their house under the *daala* portion but do not perform any rites for calling back the shades or spirits of the deceased.

CHAPTER - VI

YOUTH ORGANIZATION

The dormitory house of the Juang is called *Majang*. The *Majang* is usually bigger in size than the ordinary houses and is situated at the center of the village. It is constructed by the unmarried boys called *Kangerki* who sleep there at night. The unmarried girls called *Selanki* plaster it in every two or three days. Inside the *Majang* are kept the drums -the Changus and food grains of the village common fund. A fire is kept burning day and night at the center of the *Majang* and the boys sleep encircling it. They sleep on mats of date palm leaves woven by girls and have a wooden structure as their pillow. While sleeping they keep their feet towards the fire and their heads to the direction of the *Majang* walls.

Factors determining the admission into youth dormitory

The factor of age determines that the members of certain specific age categories are permitted to be or are formally admitted into the dormitory as its members. Generally the dormitory is the organization of the unmarried youths and ceases to be its member after his/her marriage. The terms unmarried, as used in this context includes the persons of both young and old age, and hence the bachelors and the spinsters are also considered to be the formal members of the Juang dormitory.

Marriage, as a bar to membership, operates against both sex and age categories in dormitory organization, but the cases of the widows or the widowers are an exception to the standard norm. The widowers always sleep in the *Majang* with the unmarried boys, and one or two widows always sleep with the *Selanki*. In fact the widowers (generally old persons who have no inclination to marry again) and widows (old enough so that there is least chance of them getting remarried) are conceptually considered as *Kangerki* and *Selanki* respectively in an informal way. Besides sleeping with the unmarried youths they also co-operate and take active part in the group activities of the youths.

Sex and age are the two important factors for *Majang* organization, but these are not the only factors determining whether or not one is to be considered a formal member of the *Majang*. In this connection it may be mentioned that the membership of the *Majang* is not compulsory. A person of proper age and sex may not necessarily have to be the member of dormitory. The factor of wealth fosters the usual trend and acts as an important determinant. A person desirous of becoming a member of the *Majang* should have enough money and crops to contribute to the common fund of the *Kangerki* and should be able to afford the

cost undergoing the initiation ceremony marking his membership in the dormitory. An unmarried boy of twenty years in Phulbadi was found to be not recognized as a formal member of the *Majang* due to three reasons i.e., for his poverty in contributing money and grains to the common fund of the *Kangerki* and for undergoing the initiation ceremony to be a *Kanger*; for his incapability to beat *changu* with the *Kangerki*; and for not sleeping in the *Majang* with other unmarried boys. Since he was not considered to be a member of the *Majang* he was debarred from enjoying the powers and privileges of the formal members of the dormitory.

Admission into the Majang

Membership to the dormitory is not casual in Juang society. It is always accompanied by 'rites-de-passage'. The term *Kanger* is a general term to mean the unmarried boys of marriageable age. But to be considered as a formal member of the dormitory, i. e., to be a full-fledged *Kanger*, a boy should undergo an initiation ceremony on *Amba Nua* (first mango-eating ceremony).

Amba Nua is observed in the month of February-March when mango fruits are ceremonially offered to the village deities and ancestors before the villagers start eating mangoes. The *Kangerki* have special roles to play in this ritual. They worship their *Changu* and drums and offer share of chicken and rice piles to *changu* gods. Also on this day fresh candidates are admitted into the *Majang*. A candidate desirous of becoming a member of the *Majang* contributes some rice and a chicken for the ritual. The old members of the *Majang* cook food near the stream. The new candidates offer shares of cooked rice to the ancestors in a kneeling posture keeping one of his legs on a pole spread horizontally over two forked pillars of 4 to 5 feet high. The elderly members throw hot water at his pelvis and privates and the boy has to face the ordeal boldly without complain. A torn piece of mat is tied around his head and a bell hung at his waist. He runs around the *Majang* seven times with other members of the *Majang* accompanied by a small boy beating *change* with a stick in front. While the boys keep running around the *Majang* the older people shout loudly and throw ashes at them from inside the *Majang*. It is only after this that the boy is formally admitted into the dormitory and is known as a full-fledged *Kanger*.

The significance of tying a mat around the head of the new *Kanger* is not known, but tying bell signifies some use. It rings when the boy runs and by hearing the sound the villagers come to know about his admission into the dormitory running seven times around the dormitory house signifies that the life of the new member is formally attached to the association and the activities concerning the dormitory.

Rites-de-passage for Girls to be Selanki

Every girl, after attaining puberty is called a "Selan" but before becoming a full-fledged *Selan*, she cannot take part in some of the activities of the formal *Selanki*. For example, she cannot make a gift to *Bandhu* boys and is not given a

share of the gift which the *Bandhu Kangerki* give to the village *Selanki*. She also cannot accompany the *Selanki* when they pay formal dancing visits to their *Bandhu* villages. No big ritual is performed for a girl to step into the status of a formal *Selan*. When a girl wants to be a *Selan* she asks the elder *Selanki* and they give a share of the gift of their *Bandhu Kangerki* to her. It is after eating this, that a girl assumes the status of a formal *Selan*.

Age-grades in Juang Society

The life of a Juang has a nine fold age-grade classification. According to this the male and female population is divided into nine classes. The distinctive paraphernalia and privileges of each group will be discussed afterwards.

TABLE No. 10
Age-grades in the Juang Society

(A) Age grades for Males				
Sl. No.	Age Grades	Approximate age in years	Residence	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5
1	<i>Wadi</i> (Child)	Upto 8 years	At home with parents	--
2	<i>Sana Kanger</i>	8-15 years	At Majang, or at home	--
3	" <i>Kanger</i> " (unmarried boy)	15 years till marriage	At Majang	Not a formal Kanger.
4	<i>Kanger</i>	Ditto	Ditto	Same as above but having undergone initiation ceremony
5	<i>Kamathara Kanger</i> (married man)	After marriage till old age.	At home with wife	Continues to be a formal member of the <i>Majang</i> till he gives a chicken and some rice to <i>Kangerki</i> on <i>Amb Nua</i> and retire from the youth organization
6	<i>Burha</i> or <i>Bauntae</i> (Old man)	After 50 years	Ditto	--
7	<i>Kamanda</i>	After marriage and generally in old age.	Ditto	After being installed to an office through special ritual.
8	Widower	After the death of wife	At <i>Majang</i>	--
9	Bachelor	--	Ditto	--

(B) Age Grades for Females				
1	<i>Wadi</i> (Child)	Upto 8 years	At home with parents	--
2	<i>Tokiali Selan</i>	8 to 13 years	With girls or widows	--
3	" <i>Selan</i> "	After puberty till marriage	Ditto	Not formal <i>Selan</i>
4	<i>Selan</i>	Ditto	Ditto	Admitted as a formal member of the dormitory after certain observances
5	<i>Guruta Selan</i> (Married lady)	After marriage	At home with husband	Before start sleeping with the husband must offer cakes, tobacco and mat to the members of her village dormitory
6	<i>Burhi</i> (Old lady)	After marriage in old age	Ditto	--
7	<i>Kamandarae</i> (wife of a Kamanda)	Ditto	Ditto	After the husband becomes a Kamanda and assumes an office
8	<i>Ala bokdae</i> (widow)	After the death of the husband	In her house along or with girls	--
9	Spinster	--	Ditto	--

The difference between the biological and social age group is bridged up within the frame work of youth organization. The social norm does not allow an ordinary person to joke with anybody who stands in adjacent generation to him or her, but the *Kangerki* and *Selanki* of own, alternate, and adjacent generations can joke with each other within their own group. This is because, in a broad sense, all the *Kangerki* are considered as brothers and all the *Selanki* as sisters to each other.

Formal observance for marking the line between the unmarried & the married

After marriage, a *Kanger* automatically steps into the status of a *Kamathara Kanger* but he continues to work and co-operate with the *Kangerki* till he can afford to get himself detached from the association of the *Kangerki* through a special observance. Right after the marriage the groom does not sleep with his wife. A new house is built for him and on the consummation day of the marriage he has to take farewell from the *Kangerki* by giving them cakes, tobacco and mat.

After this formal observance the boy is permitted to sleep with his wife, but he still continues to be a regular member of the boy's dormitory and fulfills most of the obligations of his association group. When he wants to resign from the group of the *Kangerki* he gives one *paio* more rice and a chicken to the *Kangerki* on

the *Amb Nua* ritual day. It is after this only that he cases to be a working member of the youth's group.

Similar is the procedure for a girl to get herself detached from the membership of the youth organization. After her marriage and before she sleeps with her husband she visits the *Kangerki* and *Selanki* of her village to take farewell from them and offers them cakes, tobacco and a new mat.

The Role System

Every age group is entrusted with special roles and responsibilities under the purview of the dormitory and youth organization. The roles of certain specific age groups as directly concerned with the dormitory life would be discussed here. The boys and girls of the *Majang* choose a sponsor of their own known as *Tandakar* who acts as their guardian and moral adviser. The role of the *Tandakar* is also described in this connection. The following table summarizes the duties of different age groups in youth organization.

TABLE - 11
Duties of Various Age Groups in Juang Youth Organization

Sl. No	Age Groups	Various Role and Responsibilities
1	<i>Kangerki</i>	1. Bringing firewood for the <i>Majang</i> fire. 2. Thatching and repairing of the <i>Majang</i> and construction of new <i>Majang</i> in case of changing village sites. 3. Installing stone emblem for <i>Gram Siri</i> in a new village. 4. Making <i>changu</i> and drums 5. Contribution of goats, pigs, or sheep for important village rituals. 6. Cooking for <i>Kamandaki</i> on ritual days. 7. Collecting rice and other food stuffs from every house for the guest and visitors and for feeding <i>Bandhu</i> girls on their dancing visits. 8. Help cooking and fetching water in feasts & marriages. 9. Beating <i>Changu</i> overnight on ritual days 10. Obeying <i>Tandakar</i> and the village elders 11. Hired as a communal working party by <i>Tandakar</i> or by other villagers. 12. Bringing firewood to the house of the groom or bride on the occasion of marriage and for <i>Tandakar</i> and village officers on major festive occasions. 13. Helping outsiders to carry their bags and baggages to the next nearest village. 14. Storing bundles of grains in the <i>Majang</i> as a common fund of the village.

2	<i>Selanki</i>	1. Plastering <i>Majang</i> and sweeping the plaza in every three or four days and positively on ritual occasions. 2. Supplying leaf cups and plates on feasts and festivals, and for the guests and visitors, grinding spices on above occasions. 3. Husking paddy given from the common fund of the village. 4. Grinding cakes on certain village rituals. 5. Getting hired as a working party 6. Dancing overnight on ritual and festive days 7. Obeying the <i>Tandakar</i>, the widows& the village elders.
3	Widows and spinsters sleeping with the girls	1. Taking care of the girls and keeping an eye as to what they do. 2. Decide and select the village to which the girls should go on dancing visit. 3. Accompany the girls in dancing trips 4. Help in courtship between the girls & their <i>Bandhu</i> boys. 5. Carry gifts sent by the girls to their <i>Bandhu Kangerki</i> and bring the information back form the latter.
4	Widowers & bachelors	1. Keeping an eye on the activities of the <i>Kangerki</i> and helping them in co-operative works.
5	<i>Sana Kangerki & Tokiali Selanki</i>	1. Fagging for the senior members and helping them in doing mental works and running errands.
6	<i>Tandakar</i>	1. Taking care of the <i>Kangerki</i> and <i>Selanki</i> & helping them in their need by lending money, rice and other things 2. Can hire the boys and girls to work on his field 3. Should watch and see that the boy and girls do not violate any norm of the society or neglect in their duties. 4. Can punish them for neglecting in their duty 5. Must be consulted before anybody hires the boys and girls as a working party. 6. Should give cooked rice to the boys and girls on major festive occasion, and should slaughter a goat or sheep for them when he retires from the office of the <i>Tandakar</i>.

Failing to do the duty, as prescribed by the norms of the society, is considered as a deviation for which the offenders are punished by the village elders. The punishment may be of four kinds –

- (1) Expulsion from the *Majang*
- (2) Physical punishment like standing on one leg holding the ears, putting the second finger in excreta, etc., in minor offences, and beating in case of adultery and incest.

- (3) Fines of money, liquor, goat and rice.
- (4) Verbal scolding and caution not to repeat the work again.

Both the girls and the boys are punished for failing to discharge their duties properly. The boys are generally punished for not bringing firewood do the *Majang* and for not obeying the village elders. Similarly the girls are found fault with if they do not plaster the *Majang* and sweep the plaza regularly. It first attracts the attention of the village elders when the boys or girls are found guilty in neglecting their duties. They first accuse the *Tandakar* for not supervising the work of the *Kangerki* and *Selanki*. Sometimes the *Tandakar* is fined one or two rupees for the fault of the boys or the girls after which the blame falls on the actual offenders. One of the main features of the Juang youth organization is the collective responsibilities of its members. For negligence of one's duties or for the failure to carry out any assigned task in case of one member of the dormitory, all the members of the organization are liable to be punished. They are fined, the fine being rice (generally one to two *khandi*), a goat or a pig, and about two to five rupees for liquor for the village elders. They collect these things from some body on an agreement to pay it off by working on the creditor's field. The fines are used for holding a feast in the village.

Remuneration for the Different Age groups

It has been dealt in earlier pages that every age group has its power and privileges affiliated with its rights and responsibilities. In other words, each responsibility is rewarded in the formal structure of the society. Each status enforces certain duties and the rewards motivate the duties to be translated into action. The privileges and the remuneration of the various age groups associated with the dormitory organization are described briefly.

A. *Kangerki* and *Selanki* –

- (i) During marriages the *Kangerki* and *Selanki* always associate with the groom's party (no special rites are observed in bride's village since the bride is taken to the groom's village for marriage). The boys bring firewood and the *Selanki* bring leaves to the groom's house. During the marriage period they are fed by the groom's parents.
- (ii) A major portion of the bride wealth which the groom's party gives to the bride's villagers goes formally to the *Kangerki* and the *Selanki* of the bride's village, though the amount, in fact, is shared by all the villagers. Two *khandi* of paddy and two *khandi* of rice (out of the total amount of seven *khandi* paddy and six *khandi* of rice) are given for the *Kangerki* and *Selanki* as their expenses for turmeric and oil (*Kanger Selano jansasang*).
- (iii) For giving constant company to the bride and the groom in the groom's village, the *Kangerki* and *Selanki* get a special share of rice (about ten *Pai* or

a *khandi*) and a goat or a chicken. The *Kangerki* and *Selanki* cook it and distribute among themselves.

- (iv) After marriage the bride and the groom pay a visit to the bride's village with the bride-wealth. The *Kangerki* and *Selanki* accompany the couple. During their stay in the bride's village they are fed by the bride's parents.
- (v) On major ritual days the *Kangerki* and *Selanki* bring fire-wood and leaves to the *Tandakar* and they are fed by him.
- (vi) The day a new *Tandakar* is selected by the *Kangerki* and *Selanki* the former gives one share of cooked rice and meat curry to the *Kangerki* and *Selanki* of the village. Similarly when a *Tandakar* resigns from his office he provides cooked rice and meat curry to the *Kangerki* and *Selanki*.
- (vii) When a man becomes a *Kamanda* (an office by virtue of which he can take active role in rituals of the village) he gives a special share of cooked rice and meat curry to the *Kangerki* and *Selanki*.
- (viii) On every ritual occasion the *Kamandaki* gets the head meat of the slaughtered animals which no other married people except them can eat. This meat and the rice grains used in the rituals are cooked in the *Majang* by the *Kangerki*. Both the *Kamandaki* and the *Kangerki* eat this food.
- (ix) Lastly, the *Kangerki* and *Selanki*, when hired as a working party are given rice and goat which they cook and eat on any convenient day.

B. *Tandakar* –

- (i) It has already been pointed out that on major ritual or festive occasions the *Kangerki* and *Selanki* are given a meal by the *Tandakar*. On the above occasions the *Tandakar* is supplied with fire-wood and leaves by the *Kangerki* and *Selanki*.
- (ii) When the *Selanki* and the *Kangerki* of a village receive gifts from their *Bandhu Kangerki* or *Selanki* they give a share of their gift to the *Tandakar*.
- (iii) The *Tandakar* has the right to ask the *Selanki* and *Kangerki* of his village to work on his field even though he cannot pay them anything for their work

C. *The Widows and the Widowers–*

They do not get any remuneration from the village. Only those widows and widowers who associate more with the *Kanjorski* and *Séance* are given shares of the gift the latter receive from their *Badu* friends.

Organized behavior as manifested in communal and group action is a special feature in the tribal societies and is in full swing in the dormitory life of the Juang.

It is interesting and important to observe how such group activities are organized and how these are translated into action. Co-operation of the group members and their common interests find full expression in two situations, i.e., dancing visits exchanged between *Bandhu* boys and girls, and their common economic pursuits like cultivating common patches of forest land, working as hired labour parties for wages, collecting oil seeds from the jungle, etc.

Dancing Expeditions

In Juang Pirh most of the Juang villages are uni-clan villages. Marriages are strictly forbidden in one's own village and in village which are related as Kutum (agnate). Marriages are only performed between Bandhu villages. All these rules also apply to the dancing organization of the boys and the girls. Dancing visits are exchanged between Bandhu villages. If the *Kangerki* develop special love and liking for the *Selanki* of a particular village they give gifts of fried rice, ribbon for buns, combs, etc., to the girls and invite them to visit their village. In order to convey their eagerness for changu dance the boys may tie the gifts in a piece of cloth and leave the cloth with the girls telling them to return the cloth on their trip to the boy's village. Sometimes, they also appeal for the girls consent in a joking manner by saying, "if you do not come to our village, then let your own brothers marry you". While making gifts the boys and the girls try to flatter each other. The boys identify themselves as "the sons of untouchables" and address the girls as the daughters of kings. The girls also answer in a similar manner describing themselves as inferior to the boys. The girls distribute the gifts of their Bandhu *Kangerki* among them and give a small share to the *Kangerki* of their Bandhu girls they also give a small share to their village girls.

Before making a dancing trip the *Selanki* collect rice or paddy from their houses and prepare cakes to take for the Bandhu *Kangerki*. They also take tobacco and liquor with the cakes as gifts and go to the boy's village with some windows and old ladies of the village. They take shelter in any body's house but generally the house of a close relative is preferred. The girls call the Bandhu boys to this place and ask about their health and happiness. The boys always give funny replies to attract the girls saying that "some of them were sick", "some had broken their legs on their way back home from the forest", "some could not walk for crushing their feet with an axe while chopping firewood", etc. The boys also ask about the health of the girls and the girls reply in the usual funny manner. The girls give cakes, tobacco and other gifts they brought for the boys and say jokingly that the boys might not like the things brought by the "untouchable" girls.

During their stay the girls and the party are fed by the *Kangerki* and by the village elders. Both the villagers and the *Kangerki* equally share the burden of feeding the girls. The *Kangerki* provide rice, dal etc., for the meals from their common fund, if they have any stock, otherwise they collect such things from their own houses or bring in loans from others. The villagers also collect their shares in similar fashion.

Food is cooked by the villagers on the plaza outside the *Majang* at night and inside the *Majang* during the day. It is sent to the girls in leaf cups, prepared by the *Selanki* of the boys, village.

Changu dance goes on night and day, but is more free at night. At night the village elders retire from the *Majang* and go to sleep in their own houses. A strong competitive spirit develops between the boys and the girls and each party tries to defeat the other. The boys try to beat *changu* overnight and make the girls to dance. They beat *changu* in alternate groups. The girl also split up into two group and dance intermittently. If the girls try to flee away from the dancing ground to sleep the boys drag them and force them to dance. Likewise, the girls do not let the boys fall asleep and try to keep them alert by pouring water on them. It is really painful for the boys to get themselves drenched by the girls in cold.

During the dance both parties try to display fun to each other. The girls kick and step on the foot of the boys while dancing. They also throw ashes, mud water and turmeric water at the boys and the boys throw the same things back at the girls. Juang girls never sing in *changu* dance. The boys get full scope to display their joke towards the *Bandhu Selanki* during *changu* beats through songs and the girls cannot reply to it except by kicking, pulling *changu* from their hands and throwing ash and water at them. The singing competition between the boys and the girls takes place when each party sings and answers to each other on their way back home from market fairs, or while working together in the field. Each party sings in chorus to the other. They sing so sweetly and work so smoothly that they forget to go back home and eat their noon meals.

At the dead of the night when all the villagers fall asleep the boys take the girls to a secluded place for massaging. The boys tell the girls, "let us go to the forest to figurative expression of massaging". The girls reply jokingly, "we have never learnt how to search for tooth-twinges". The boys say "Come, we will teach you". On certain occasions the *Selanki* of the boys' village also induce the *Bandhu Selanki* to massage their 'brother' (meaning their own clan *Kangerki*). The boys get themselves massaged in a group seating to each other or may pair off with one girl each to different places, but in no case they sit wide apart from each other. While getting massaged a boy may fondle the breasts of the girl but the joking behaviour does not lead to actual sexual indulgence.

On the parting day the girls are entertained with a meat meal. A goat, a pig, or a sheep is slaughtered for them and shares of cooked rice and meal curry are given to the girls both for their meals and for carrying on share with them to eat on their way home. They are also given *rasi*, *saru*, *mandia*, *maize*, jackfruits and other seasonal crops. The boys go up to certain distance to see the girls off. On the way the girls massage the boys and the boys decorate their buns with wild flower.

Common Economic Pursuits:-

The members of the *majang*, i.e., the unmarried boys and the girls have to present gifts to their *Bandhu* partners and have to provide food for their friends on the occasion of the latter's visit on dancing expeditions. Such being the collective responsibility of all the members of the dormitory, they all work collectively to enrich their common stock of paddy and other things for meetings such expenses. Thus the boys and the girls cultivate one or two patches of forest every year and raise various crops like paddy and *rasi*. In the months of June and July the *Kangerki* and *Selanki* collect *bangrur* (oil seeds) from the jungle. *Rasi* and *bangrur* are either sold for money or are exchanged for paddy and rice. Money is used for buying gifts for *Bandhu* friends; and rice, dal, etc. are used for feeding them.

The *Kangerki* and *Selanki* also go to work as hired labour parties. They cut trees, weed fields, help in harvesting crops and bring wages which are used for common purposes.

Functions of the Majang: -

The *Majang* institution of the Juang has manifold services for people of all age-groups. It has its social, economic, political and magico-religious uses for the Juang. Some of these uses are described here.

- (1) The *Majang* affords sleeping accommodation for the unmarried boys, for the widowers and for the guest and relatives. Outsiders coming to anybody's house become personal guests of the person concerned and are fed by the latter. Those coming to the village become the guests of the village and it becomes the duty of the villagers to feed them. Wherever they eat, the guests and outsiders always sleep in the *Majang* at night.
- (2) *Majang* is the common meeting ground where the village elders gather for some time after the day's toil to gossip and relax before retiring to sleep. They talk and amuse sitting around the sacred fire of the *Majang* which is kept lighted day and night. Similarly, early in the morning, before the cock crows and before the sun appears in the distant horizon the Juang leave their bed. The womenfolk go to fetch water, husk paddy and do other domestic work, whereas the men come to the *Majang* to meet with each other, to talk and get warm by the *Majang* fire.

Important matters affecting the village life are always discussed in the *Majang*. For example, matters like the selection of days for village rituals, decision for changing village site, selection of traditional officers of the village, giving away brides to the *Bandhus* in marriage or proposal for bringing a bride from another village, etc., are first discussed in the *Majang* and all members are free to express their opinion.

- (3) The educative role the *Majang* plays in forming the life of the Juang youth is very significant. Each married Juang couple has one house to sleep and as soon as their children are grown up they are sent to the *Majang* to sleep and are thus kept away from witnessing the sexual act of their parents. After becoming members of the *Majang* and after associating with its senior members they are trained to direct their energy for successful adjustment with the people in social, economic, religious and other aspects of life. The process of socialization also progress through the senior-junior relationship of the *Majang* members. The junior members of the *Majang* run errands and fag for the senior members and are taught how to obey their superiors.

While sleeping together the *Kangerki* learn various *changu* rhythms and new songs from each other and from the older persons (widowers) sleeping in the *Majang*. The *Sanakangerki* practice *changu* by joining in the groups of the *Kangerki* when the latter beat *changu*. The folktales and myths of the tribal origin are also learnt while sleeping in the *Majang*.

- (4) Life in the *Majang* accords an effective economic organization for the Juang youth. The *Kangerki* and *Selanki* cultivate one or two patches of *toila* land every year and the yield is stored for common use. The boys cut down trees, plough field, sow seed and harvest crops; while the *Selanki* help in hoeing, burning the dried trees and branches, debushing, weeding and harvesting.
- (5) *Majang* serves as a court-house of the village where the quarrels and conflicts are mitigated. The villagers gather around the *Majang* fire and discuss about the quarrels and other important issues to bring out compromise. In case of major offences the culprit is fined and has to pay rice, goat and money for liquor to the village elders. Otherwise, he might be asked to give one or two rupee for liquor.

Both the intra and inter-village quarrels involving the Juang exclusively or both the Juang and thenon-Juang are also settled in the *Majang* in this manner.

- (6) *Majang* acts as a store house or “Graingolla” of the village where paddy and other crops are stored in straw bundles by the villagers for the guests and relatives. After the harvest two to five pai of paddy is collected from each family of the village and is stored in the *Majang* for feeding the outsiders. The boys and girls also store their stock of paddy and other grains in the *Majang*.
- (7) *Majang* is a sacred institution. The drums and *changus* are hung on the *Majang* walls and the god and the goddess for *changus* and drums (known as *Bhima Badama* and *Kanchuni*, respectively) are believed to reside inside the *Majang*. For this the girls are directed to plaster the *Majang* frequently. Before going out to perform any ritual the *Nagam* (village priest) and other ritual officers first come to the *Majang*. On the occasion of *Amba Nua* the *Kangerki* worship *changu* and drums invoking *Bhima Badama* and *Kanchuni*. Many other rituals are also

performed inside the *Majang* or in front of it, i.e. on the plaza. The distribution of seed for first sowing is made in the *Majang* where the *Nagam* distributes paddy to each family for the first sowing.

- (8) The genuine artistic talents of the Juang find expression in the construction of their *Majang*. *Majang* may be called the museum of Juang art and decoration. On its pillars and beams are carved figures of birds, beasts and graphic human beings. Moreover, the *majang* walls are decorated with paintings on the *Amba Nua* ritual day.
- (9) *Majang* may be used as the kitchen on feasting occasions. Meals are cooked for the visitors inside the *majang* in day time and near the plaza at night. On every ritual day the *Kamandaki* cook their food with the offered items inside *majang*.
- (10) The last but not the least function of the *Majang* is recreational. It provides fun and pleasure to the boys and the girls who are tired after the day's toil and want to enjoy the sweetness of life by beating *changu* and joining dancing. At times, they find it so enjoyable that they keep dancing and beating *changu* for days and nights.

Modern Changes in the Majang Organization

The *Majang* institution is gradually breaking down and some of the important features of this organization are gradually vanishing due to the contact of the tribals with non-tribal people. Impact of outsiders and the changing life of the people have brought about striking changes in the dormitory organization of the Juang. The Juang of the plains villages come in contact with the caste Hindus more closely than the Juang living on hills. As such they have developed a feeling of hatred towards the *changu dance*. In some villages, the youths have formed Ramlila parties. They are taught dance and songs by an Oriya teacher and exhibit their performances in the neighbouring villages for collecting money and grains. The Juang, in general, have also developed hatred towards their traditional dress and ornaments. Some literate Juangs feel that their women should not wear beads and bangles of the traditional variety.

Absence of organized labour and communal economic pursuits on co-operative basis in plains village is really shocking. The members of the dormitory are hardly associating themselves with the affairs of the *Majang*. They prefer to mind their own business than taking pains for communal efforts. As such they do not cultivate patches of forest land of their own for a common harvest or go to work in a labour party to earn wages in cash or kind which could be used for meeting the expenses relating to the dormitory organization.

CHAPTER -VII

RELIGIOUS BELIEFS AND PRACTICES

Religion is one of the broad groupings of cultural complex. It completes the adjustment of man in his society by providing security against unknown powers and forces which disturb him. It is the pivot of all human activities and is closely associated with life from conception through birth and death. It has two interrelated constituents, the religious beliefs and the religious practices. Belief is the mode of conception and ritual is the mode of action. The rituals are the starting points of major actions of a society. They throw light on social relations expressing the structural arrangements of the society.

Religion may very well be said to constitute the whole way of life of the Juang. Living amidst hills and forests the Juang believe in various deities, ghosts and spirits dwelling on hills, forests and streams and the ancestral spirits guiding every walk of their life. In order to get rid of the evil attention of these spirits, and in order to protect themselves and their scanty earthly possessions the Juang try to establish a friendly relation with the spirits through appropriate rites and rituals.

The study of the religious life of the Juang throws light on other aspects of their life; economic, social and political. *Pus Punei*, a ritual observed in the month December - January, for example, unfolds the socio-economic life of the Juang. Besides its religious aspects, it marks the beginning of the new agricultural cycle for the Juang. Until and unless this ritual is performed the Juang do not distribute land for shifting cultivation, do not start felling trees from *toila*, and do not thatch their house. The social importance of the ritual lies in the fact that the persons who are scheduled to leave their parent village are excluded from the *bona fide* villagers who visit the *Nagam* (ritual head) of the village with gifts of grains and seek his blessings. Marriages are strictly prohibited before *Pus Punei* and the parties bringing such proposals to a village before this ritual are fined. The political leaders find full scope to play their role in connection with the distribution of *toila* land in *Pus Punei*. They are the persons who allot patches of *toila* land to different families, and some of the leaders like the *Nagam* and the *Ardhan* are allotted such land first before it is distributed to other persons.

The religious rites of the Juang show traces of borrowings from the Hindus. The Juang of Keonjhar are less influenced by Hindu religious rites than those living in Dhenkanal. Some of the Hindu deities, are, however, recent borrowings and have not been completely assimilated in the Juang religious system. The core of the Juang religion unaffected by Hindu influences consists of two High Gods and number of local deities presiding over fields and forests, over hills and rocks, over villages and homes. Further, the unseen world of the Juang is

dominated by a number of named and unnamed spirits. Some of these gods and spirits may be described below in order of their dignity.

JUANG PANTHEON

High Gods – *Dharam Devta* and *Basumata* are the two supreme deities characterized by their benevolent character. *Dharam Devta* is identified with the sun God and *Basumata* with the Earth Goddess. Both are respected with high esteem and have equal hold on the earth. Otherwise known as *Basuki*, *Basukimata*, and *Dharitrimata*, *Basumata* is considered to be the wife of *Dharam Devta*.

No ritual is performed and no important matter concerning the social, economic or political life of the Juang is settled without a prayer to *Basumata* and *Dharam Devta*. All ritual start with the prayer, “*Dharam Devta* above and *Basumata* below”, the supreme deities safeguarding the life of the Juang. Offerings are made to them by lifting the gifts in the palms and looking to the sky, and by dropping some of it on the earth. In every ritual homage is paid to *Basumata* and *Dharam Devta* by sprinkling a few drops of *mohua* liquor on the earth before drinking.

Village Gods- *Gram Siri* is the patron deity of the village. She is represented by some long and pointed stone emblems installed in front of the dormitory house. She is worshipped in all the rituals and is believed to protect the village from all kinds of calamities and misfortune. In case of shifting of village to a new site the stone emblems of *Gram Siri* are brought by the unmarried boys of the village and are installed by the village priest.

Another deity, who is no less important than *Gram Siri*, is *Thanpati* (lit, the tutelary deity of the place). *Thanpati* may either be male or female and is believed to reside on some hills surrounding the village. In Barura for example, *Boitinipat* or the hill where from the sacred river Baitarani has taken its course is considered to be the *Thanpati* of the Barura village. In Phulbadi, their *Thanpati*, called *Phulamania* and *Nagadia* are believed to dwell on a hill close to the village. The great Baracha Hill of the village Kudipasa is believed to be the abode of *Barachani*, the *Thanpati* of *Kudipasa* village. The villagers claim their clan name to be *Baracha* named after the *Thanapati*. For a long time they were designated as *Baracha* clan people, but in course of time, this clan name is overshadowed by village name and Kudiposa villagers now call themselves members of *Kusiposia Bok*, rather than *Barcha Bok*.

Two more deities responsible for the big drums and *changu* of the Juang are also equally important. They are called *Kanchuni* and *Bhima Badma*, the former is the wife of the latter. Both reside in the drums kept inside the dormitory. They take care of the health of the unmarried boys and girls and are worshipped especially by the unmarried boys during the New Mango Eating (*AmbNua*) festival. The villagers have great reverence for the two deities since they have full control over the sound of the drums and *changu* and unless they are kept in good humour the instruments do not produce high sound in spite of strong beating. In

marriages, offerings of chicken and rice grains are made to them so that the villagers win in the *changu* beating competition by excelling their opponents.

Hill and River Deities- Each village has its own set of deities named after the surrounding hills and streams (*dumbak*). The mountains like Malyagiri, Gandhamardhan, Nimgiri, Ramaigiri, Barcha and Guptaganga, etc. are supposed to be the domains of some gods. The forest gods are likewise named after local forests. The term *Pat* is a general term denoting the forest gods and some such forest gods are *Gulipat*, *Rengapat*, *Kalapat*, *Buitinipat*, etc. Stream and river deities are as important as hill and forest deities, and are named after the local streams and rivers. The River Baitarani, flowing from Guptaganga Pahar in Keonjhar is considered sacred both by the Juang and the non-Juang.

The river deities are primarily harmless, but the spirits residing in streams and fountains and on hills sometimes attack human beings by bringing headache and fever to them. They are propitiated with chicken, rice grains, and other offering. In all major rituals the Juang pay homage to hill, forest, river and stream deities and pray them for protection.

Deified Heroes or Mythical Character

Rusi and *Rusiani* are always honoured by the Juang. They are believed to be the first couple living on earth at a time when God had not created other human beings. They were the first creation of God who dwelt in the thickest woods of *Guptaganga Pahar* on the *Rusi Tangar* near Gonasika. They made the first fire and collected turbers from the jungle. They used to go to the forest every day with a digging stick (*buluk*) to eke out their living. In course of time this sacred pair of the Earth gave birth to sons and daughters who were the ancestors of the present Juang. It was "the time of truth" and the Juang did not speak any falsehood. They were honest, truthful and hardworking and they had so high spiritual power that whatever they cursed bore fruit without fail. They were covering their bodies with leaves and this made them to be known as *Patuas* (leaf-wearers). Now that era is over, and the world has witnessed countless changes. The Juang have not been able to keep up their purity and sanctity by speaking the truth.

Their wants have now increased, and they have to work hard day and night to fight against the acute poverty they are confronted with. But in spite of all trials and tribulations and woes and worries, the Juang never forget the glory of their past. They take pride to call themselves the descendants of *Rusi* and *Rusiani* and feel elated and honoured for their glorious past.

Rusi and *Rusiani* are rarely worshiped by the Juang, but they occupy a pivotal position in many Juang legends.

Family Spirits

The Juang believe that their dead ancestors continue to live as spirits. They reside in the *Daala* portion of the house and keep a constant watch over the

activities of their descendants. Each house has a *Daala* where the ancestral spirits live, and they are offered shares of food on important occasions. The ancestors are called *pitruki*, and may protect or perturb the living beings in various ways. If they are dissatisfied they kill cattle, ruin crop and cause bodily ailments. They also visit their relatives in dreams and express their wishes. The Juang worship their *pitruki* out of fear for help and protection, and also have high regards for them. They offer *puja* to their *pitruki* both at communal rites and in their individual houses. Before new fruits or new cereals are consumed these are, first offered to various gods and to the ancestors. Breach of this taboo offends the *pitruki* thus resulting in serious consequences. Sometimes, the ancestors may cause illness and want liquor from the offenders. In such case the Raulia (witch-diviner-cum-curer) detects the disease and offers tobacco, liquor or chickens to satisfy the spirit.

If the ancestors are pleased they watch the fields of their descendants and look after their welfare by safeguarding them from dangers. The Juang also pray to their *pitruki* at all liquor rituals. Before liquor is drunk, the Juang pour a few drops of liquor on earth praying *Basumata*, *Dharma Devta* and the *pitruki*.

Lastly, the Juang never neglect the wish of their *pitruki* in important matters concerning the village life. Decisions regarding marriage or changing of village site are never finalized without knowing the intention of the *pitruki* through divination. They keep piles of rice grains and read omens by performing the 'punji' ritual. If the ancestors object to certain proposal they convey it by disturbing the position of the rice-grains. In such case the proposal is at once abandoned and a new proposal is sought for.

Hindu Borrowings

Now, the Juang are not quite unfamiliar with Hindu Gods. The Juang of Keonjhar are beginning to borrow Hindu traits from the Oriyas, while those of Dhenkanal have long since adopted many traits of Hindu religion in course of their contact with the neighbouring caste people. Hindu deities like *Mahadev*, *Parvati*, *Laxmi Thakurani*, *Durga*, *Rama* and *Sita* are now worshipped by the Juang. In Dhenkanal, the Juang have high regard for *Baladev* while *Siva* and *Parvati* of Gonakisa temple are considered to be the supreme deities of Keonjhar. Both the Juang and the non-Juang bring things of offerings and slaughter goat or sheep in the temple at Gonasika.

Religious Functionaries

In order to get the favour of deities and to avert the ill will of the malevolent spirits, the Juang have ritual specialists to propitiate them properly. The ritual specialists work as intermediaries between the natural and the supernatural. They offer sacrifices to the deities in various rituals and try to keep them in good temper. Such specialists have higher status in society and they enjoy special powers and privileges.

The ritual specialists are called *Kamandaki*. They are generally the elderly men of the village who undergo a series of special rites to achieve the role of *Kamanda*. The rites include such steps like slaughtering goats and chickens and offering liquor, rice and other things to all the deities and *pitruki*. All these involve heavy expenses and unless man is rich and unless he is warned by his ancestors in dreams he does not like to become a *Kamanda*. The *Kamanda* has to give feast to his villagers on certain occasions, and for every birth, marriage or death cases in his own family and in the families of his close kindred he has to get himself purified by offering goats and chickens to the deities and the ancestors. The roles and responsibilities of the ritual specialists are described below.

Nagam

Nagam is the ritual head of the village. He is called *Boita* or *Dihuri* in Dhenkanal and officiates in all village rituals. Each village has its own *Nagam*, but at times one *Nagam* may officiate in two or three villages. In Keonjhar the selection of *Nagam* is made strictly on the principles of generation. The eldest man of the senior most generation is selected as *Nagam* and his office passes laterally along agnatic kinship generation to the next senior male member. In no case, the office is transmitted from father to son, rather the brother occupying the old *Nagam's* generation get the chance to be *Nagam*. The *Nagam* being the senior most man of the village (senior both in biological and social age) exercises considerable status and authority in the village.

A new *Nagam* is formally appointed by the villagers who handover a lead-cupful of burning incense to him and declare him to be their *Nagam*. He performs all village rituals and is given special shares of grains on important occasions. Every year, the *Nagam* is given a *bheda*, i.e. free labour party, in which one member from each family of the village goes to work on the *Nagam's* field.

Ardhan

Ardhan or *Padhan* is the secular head of the village, but he always plays an important role in every ritual. He is given the charge of *Pat Khanda* (the big axe) and with this axe he slaughters the animals to be offered to various deities.

The role of the *Ardhan* in rituals is to slaughter the animals those are ritually offered to the deities. Slaughtering of animals, however, is purely men's work and since the females cannot do so, they are debarred from the privilege of assuming the role of *Ardhan*. When a *Nagam* dies his wife may shoulder his responsibilities till a successor is appointed but the widow of *Ardhan* cannot do so.

Naik, Dangua and Adhikari

Naik, *Dangua* and *Adhikari* may sit with the *Nagam* and *Ardhan* in all rituals by virtue of the special rites they have undertaken to become *Kamanda*. The *Naik* and the *Adhikari* have no specific role of play in socio-religious life, but the *Dangua*

is viewed to be an assistant of the *Nagam*. He helps the *Nagam* in carrying the offering materials to ritual spot and communicates the news and decisions to all the villagers by shouting in front of the dormitory house. No generation principle is followed for the selection of these posts and he who can afford to spend for *Kamanda* ritual can be the *Naik*, *Dangua* or *Adhikari*.

Kuba Kanger or Matha Kanger

It has ready been stated that all the unmarried boys sleeps in the dormitory and have their own associations. The eldest and the senior most of them are called *Kuba Kanger* and he performs the duty of *Nagam* in certain rituals. In *Amba Nua* (New Mango-eating) ceremony the *Kuba Kanger* worships the drums and *changu* and offers chicken and rice shares to *Bhima Badama*, *Kanchuni* and other *deities*. In certain villages he also conducts all important village rituals in the absence of *Nagam*.

Family Heads as Priests

The head of each family also acts as priest for propitiating his family ancestors. *Nagam* officiates in all communal worship, but after the communal worship is over the family-heads perform a minor ritual in their own house and offer cooked rice, chicken, liquor, etc., to their family ancestors. Rituals associated with the life cycle of the Juang are always performed by the family heads.

Religious Practices

References are made about the Juang religious practices in the early writings of Risely, Dalton and others. Dalton wrote that "the even tenor of their lives is unbroken by any obligatory religious ceremony" and "they offer fowls to the sun when in distress to the earth". Risely writes that "offerings are made at seed time and harvest, and forest gods are carefully propitiated, and offerings to the departed ancestors are also made in October". The Juang are no doubt a religious people the monotony of whose life is frequently broken by feasts and festivities and by rites and rituals of various kinds.

From the structural aspects of the Juang rituals i.e., the equipments necessary, the procedures followed and the personnel involved, it can be said that almost all the rituals are stereotyped and show little variation. The equipment's required for all rituals are almost standardized. These consist of such simple materials like turmeric powder, husked rice, vermilion, incense and wicks, milk, molasses, liquor, leaf-cups, flower, and animals for sacrifice, such as goat, sheep, pig, chicken or buffalo depending on the nature of the ritual. The axe is the only tool by which the animals are slaughtered.

The procedures in the ritual vary from complex to simple rites, but the general trend is almost standardized. The ritual procedures include such steps like - smearing the worshipping spot with cowdung and water, drawing circle mark with turmeric powder, putting vermilion dabs inside the circle and on the deity,

keeping the wicks and incense burning, washing the husked rice, adding milk to it and making piles of offerings, pouring milk and /or molasses water on each pile, and offering of liquor and cooked rice. For sacrifices the steps involved include worshipping the animal by sprinkling water over it, lifting it and making over a formal offering, making the animal to eat some of the rice grains from the piles offered to the deity, pulling some feathers or hairs from it and throwing them into the incense, slaughtering the animal and worshipping the head by putting it on the rice-piles. The final step of the rituals is to bow down and pray for the health and happiness of the people and for the future prosperity.

All these show that the rituals of the Juang lack much variation and it would be sufficient to give a list of their annual festivals. The following table gives such a list of the rituals performed by the Juang.

TABLE - 12
Annual festive Cycle of the Juang

Sl. No	Name of the Ritual	Months when performed	Significance	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5
1	<i>Pus Punei</i>	November-December	Marks the beginning of the annual agriculture cycle. Toila land distributed to individual families. Marriages cannot be performed until <i>Pus Punei</i> is observed.	Very significant in Keonjhar.
2	<i>Amb Nua</i>	February-March	To mark the beginning of eating green mangoes. Mango blossoms offered to deities and ancestral spirits. Unmarried boys worship drums and <i>changu</i> in the dormitory. The last day of <i>Amb Nua</i> is the ceremonial day for communal hunting.	Very significant in Keonjhar
3	<i>Tirtia</i> (ceremony for first sowing of paddy)	March	Paddy seed is distributed to individual family heads by the <i>Nagam</i> to observe the first sowing	Important both in Keonjhar and Dhenkanal
4	<i>Raja</i>	May-June	A day for feasting and playing on swings.	Important in Keonjhar and Dhenkanal.

				Borrowed from the Oriyas.
5	<i>Asadi</i>	June-July	Bangrurfruits are offered to the deities before these are eaten. Marks weeding and debushing of fields.	Important in Keonjhar
6	<i>Machuri Puja</i> or <i>China Nua</i>	July-August	To mark the eating of new china, greens, cucumber, maize and <i>bhendi</i> , etc.,	Not observed is Dhenkanal.
7	<i>Pirh Puja</i>	July-August	Performed on hills. Pray the forest & hill deities for protection of <i>toila</i> paddy from the wild animals.	Not observed in Dhenkanal.
8	<i>Gamha</i>	Ditto	Worship of cattle	Observed in Keonjhar and Dhenkanal. Seems to be borrowed from Oriyas.
9	<i>Guda Bua Nua</i> (eating of new <i>guda</i> rice).	August-September	New <i>guda</i> paddy is offered to the deities and to the ancestors.	Observed in Keonjhar and Dhenkanal
10	<i>Kimiyang</i> and <i>Kalart</i> <i>Aba</i> (new eating of <i>toila</i> paddy and <i>kalart</i>)	September - October	Observed in a grand scale. New <i>toila</i> paddy, <i>saru</i> and <i>kalart</i> are offered to the ancestors.	Observed only by hill-Juang of Keonjhar
11	<i>Gunda Dia</i> (offering of <i>toila</i> paddy, <i>saru</i> , <i>suluir</i> , etc., by individual families in their <i>toila</i>)	October-November	The family heads observe this ritual on their respective <i>toila</i> fields and offer shares to their own family ancestors. The ritual may also be observed for the harvest of <i>suluir</i> or <i>rasi</i>	Strictly confined, to the hill Juang of Keonjhar. The plains dwellers of Keonjhar and Dhenkanal observe the same ritual for the harvest of low-land paddy.
12	<i>Gurubar Osha</i>	Ditto	Performed in honour of Laxmi - the Hindu goddess of wealth.	Purely an Oriya ritual performed by a few Juangs of Dhenkanal.

It is evident from the above table that most of the rituals of the Juang are associated with their annual agricultural cycle. The rituals are either performed to mark the beginning of the important agricultural activities like distant agricultural activities like distribution of *toila* land, felling down trees from *toila*, ploughing, sowing, weeding, debushing and harvesting of crops and to mark the eating of new fruits and crops. The festivals like *Ganha* observed for cattle worship, *Raja* observed for feasting and merry-making and *Gurubar Osha* observed in honour of *Laxmi*, are purely Hindu rituals and have been taken up by the Juang from the caste Hindus.

The Juang have no temple or special shelters where their gods reside. It has already been described that *Dharam Devta* dwells on the sky, *Basumata* on the earth and the hill and forest deities reside in the forests and on hills. They all are worshipped near the *Gramasiri* who is represented by elongated stone emblems installed near the dormitory house. Ancestral spirits supposedly take shelter in the *daala* portion of every family house.

To conclude, it can be said that the Juang do not worship the gods and spirits from philosophical point of view or from the devotional out sprung of their heart. They are very practical in their temperament and worship the gods and spirits to get economic benefits and safety and security.

CHAPTER -VIII

LEADERSHIP PATTERN

A study of the leadership pattern of the Juang throws light on their socio-political organization. The position of the leaders in a society is very important. The leaders not only enjoy status and high prestige in the society, but they exercise considerable authority in getting things done in the most regularized manner. Their voice in deciding the quarrels and conflicts is unique.

The leaders may be classified as traditional and modern depending on the antiquity of their offices, as village leaders and *pirh* leaders on the basis of the extent of area of their operation. It is however, convenient to discuss the roles of the village leaders before switching on to the leaders of the wider organization.

Village leaders

As has been described earlier, each village is a political unit having its own set of officers. These officers are in an informal way the leaders of the village and they have more voice in the village affairs than others. The village officer cum-leaders are mainly three in number, two of whom are traditional leaders and one is a new office created by the government.

Nagam

Nagam or *Boita* or *Dihuri* is the ritual head of the village. He is, as far as possible, the eldest man of the village - the senior most by generation both in biological and social age. He being the oldest man of is highly respected. His main role is to officiate in all the communal rituals of the village but he also exercises his power in such cases like distribution of *toila* land, fixing up date for village rituals and in deciding quarrels and conflicts. However, in all matters he consults with the village elders and gives due consideration to their opinion.

Ardhan

Ardhan or *Padhanis* preferably the *Nagam's* immediate junior and the second senior most man of the village. He is the secular head of the village and his office has been created by the *Rajas* (kings) of Keonjhar and Dhenkanal. His chief function is to collect tax from all the families of the village, to allot land to each family, to settle village conflicts and to inform the important matters of the village quarrels to the Government. During the reign of the *Rajas*, the *Padhan* was very powerful and was responsible for reporting the village affairs to the *Rajas*. It is after the independence, that he has been responsible to the Government for his duty. In judicial affairs the *Ardhan* has greater role to play than the *Nagam*.

Besides his judicial powers, the *Pradhan* also plays an important role in all the village rituals. While the *Nagam* makes offerings to the deities, the *Padhan's* role is to slaughter the animals and present the head to the *Nagam* for offering.

In Dhenkanal, the *Padhan* means the richest man of the village and hence in all Juang villages they are usually rich persons. In Keonjhar, on the other hand, wealth is no criterion to be a *Padhan*. The socially second senior most man of the village is selected as *Padhan*. Unlike the *Padhan* of Dhenkanal, the *Padhans* in Keonjhar villages have to undergo distinct rites and ritual to assume their office and their office combines both ritual and political powers.

Dangua or Adhikari and Naik

Dangua, *Adhikari* and *Naika* are primarily ritual functionaries next to *Nagam* and *Ardhan*. Their role is to help the *Nagam* and *Padhan* in all village rituals. Besides that they have no other definite roles to play in the village affairs.

Member

"Member" is a new post created by the Government after the establishment of the Community Development Blocks in the district. Each village has one Ward Member to work as its representative in the statutory Panchayat. The Member is elected by his villagers in a formal meeting summoned by the V.L.W. or any other Block representative. He is directly responsible to the concerned Government agencies for reporting the important matters of the village, and to initiate development works in the village executed by the Block. During the tour of Government officers in the village, the Member has to arrange for their comfort. The Members are by far the most prompt and clever persons of the village. Since the Member has to keep contact with the Government agencies the villagers take much care in selecting the best man of the village as their Member.

The Members are also invariably rich persons of the village. The fact that the Member is elected by the villagers, he exercises some influence in the traditional system of the society, even if he holds no formal role in that system. He has full freedom in deciding the important matters of the village and it is noticed that in most villages the words of the Members weigh much in settling disputes.

Village Council

Each Juang village has a set of traditional leaders to shoulder different duties, but they have no supreme authority in all spheres. The Juangs in fact, are a democratic people and the real authority in the village is vested not with the *de facto* leaders but with the village elders-*Bara Bhaiki*. Before any matter is finalized it must first be discussed by the *Bara Bhaiki* in *themajang*. In such discussions, every elder has full freedom to express his opinion freely. It is difficult to finalise the matter unless the final decision is taken unanimously. The *Bara Bhaiki* has the right to dismiss any inefficient village official and select a suitable substitute.

The *Nagam* of the village has important roles to play in the village rituals but he has little voice in the village council. The secular chief (*Padhan*) is responsible for certain external affairs of the village and has a definite role to play in the village rituals. But he does not necessarily exercise supreme power in the internal affairs of the village. So, it is evident that the offices of the leaders confer responsibility, but no real authority. The offices also entail considerable economic burden owing to which the offices very often pass over to persons of junior generation for the unwillingness of the proper persons to assume the offices.

The issues discussed in the village council for decision include matters like inter-village quarrels, breach of minor taboos, failure to discharge the duties in case of the unmarried boys and girls, break down of joint families, inheritance cases and love cases between the boys and girls of *bandhu* clans, etc. The guilty persons are fined; the amount varying from liquor worth two to four rupees to heavy amounts consisting of a few *maunds* of rice, a goat and a few rupees for liquor. The fines are utilized to hold a feast which is shared by all the villagers and liquor is poured on the ground to mark the mitigation of quarrels and conflicts. In case of love intrigues between *bandhu* boys and girls the villagers detect the offender by asking the girl. The boy is fined in kinds of rice, goat and money for liquor and the girl is made to marry him. The cases of incestuous love affair, adultery and pre-marital pregnancy which does come under the jurisdiction of the village council are referred to the Sardar (headman of *pirh*) and to the elders of all the villages of the *pirh*, who are called to meet in a council to decide the matter.

Inter-Village Councils

Certain matters like disputes on land boundary between two villages, divorce and separation of married couples which cannot be decided at the village level are referred to the inter-village council by the elders and traditional leaders of the concerned villages for decision. The complex land disputes which can not be resolved at the village or inter-village levels are brought to the Court of Law.

The cases of divorce and separation are efficiently decided in the inter-village council. In such cases, the groom's villagers go to the bride's village and a council is held where the matter is discussed by both the parties. If the groom's family is found at fault and the woman is unwilling to go back to her husband, her relatives may claim a cow or a bullock from the groom for divorcing her. But, if the fault is with the woman, the groom's party claims the full refund of the amount of bride-wealth paid at the time of marriage. Generally, woman's side cannot refund the full amount and for compensation the groom may take one of the former's cattle in lieu of the bride-wealth paid by him. After this that the formal divorce ritual is performed by both the villagers by pouring liquor on the ground and granting the formal divorce. After the divorce, the woman is made free to be remarried. In case the groom's villagers do not like to permit the girl to be remarried elsewhere, they forego compensation for their bride-wealth and never perform the formal divorce ritual and until and unless the divorce ritual is

performed the groom's villagers continue to exercise their jural claim over the girl who remains as their daughter-in-law for all her life. In such case, she cannot be remarried elsewhere, and when she dies her husband finances for her funeral.

Pirh Organization

As discussed in the previous chapter the Juang area of Keonjhar is divided into four *pirhs* which are the maximal traditional territorial units. Each *pirh* has one *Sadar* who, before independence, was directly responsible to the *Raja*. At present he exercises his judicial powers in deciding cases like incest, premarital pregnancy, witchcraft of serious type, homicide, etc. Such cases mobilize delegations from all the villages in a *pirh*, or in some cases from the villages of two *pirhs*. In deciding all such cases, the *Sardar* however is not the supreme authority. The delegates invited from all the villages have equal voice in the council.

In minor cases, the offender is fined a few *maunds* of rice, one or two goats and a few rupees for liquor. Besides, he has to feed the delegates once. The fine realized from the offender is spent for a feast on the spot. In case of incest the guilty persons are ostracized from the village. All their belongings are either destroyed or are sold away and the money is spent for the feast arranged by the *Desa* (the delegates) people.

The post of *Sardar* is an appointed one and is not purely honorary. He gets a monthly remuneration of five rupees and a pair of dress every year in the Juang-Bhuinya *Darbar* held by the Government. The *Sardar* exercises his power in the *pirh* council but has little or no authority in the internal affairs of the villages.

Jati-Sabha of Dhenkanal Juangs

The Juang of Dhenkanal have a similar territorial organization as *pirh* organization of Keonjhar. Here the Juang area is judicially divided into a number of local units called *Desa*. Each *Desa* is composed of ten or more villages and the villagers meet once every year to discuss various incidents of the year affecting their tribal life. The council which meets every year is called *Jati Sabha* (literally, the caste assembly), and is a variant of Oriya caste assemblies, which still continue to gain popularity among the Teli (Oilmen) of that area. Each village delegates a representative from among its villagers to the *Jati Sabha*. The senior most *Behera* is called *Bad Behera* who is viewed to be the head of the council.

The council discusses and decides matters relating to illicit sex relations between the kin members, divorce, liquor-drinking (as this is severely looked down upon by the Juang of Dhenkanal and they fight tooth and nail to prohibit it), beef eating, widow-marriage, divorce, and quarrels and conflicts on major issues. This "caste Assembly" is no doubt more formal and powerful than the most informal assembly of Keonjhar Juangs, and in the latter case it is very difficult to get a thing done quickly.

CHAPTER - IX

CONCLUSION

The Juang are not an isolated people and they never live away from the forces of the outside culture. In Keonjhar they live in close proximity of the Bathudi and Bhuinya tribes. The Pano, Chasa, Teli, Gour and other caste people have made their way to Juang area and have settled with them from long past. The Juang have migrated to Dhenkanal and Pallahara due to expansion and more possibly to escape exploitation and tyranny of the then rulers of Keonjhar State. In Dhenkanal and Pallahara they are diffused over a number of villages where they live amidst the vast array of varying caste people such as the Chasa, Gour, Teli, Sundhi, etc. The forces of Hindu culture and Hindu ways of living have influenced the Juang way of life both in Keonjhar and Dhenkanal, but the changes are not so striking in Keonjhar as in Dhenkanal. In Keonjhar, the Juang of Juang *pirh* live in their original land and they have full control over the cultivated and uncultivated land of their village. The few caste people living in Juang villages of Juang *pirh* are made tenants. They have little or no independence whatsoever in exercising their powers and privileges. They must pay their annual land revenue regularly in cash or kind, contribute funds to Juangs for village rituals, and finance other contingent expenses of the village. The Gour are required to supply milk and milk products for all village rituals; sheep, goat, or chicken for important rituals and a buffalo-calf for the *Nuakhia* (New rice eating) ceremony. In general, the caste people living in these Juang villages contribute money, grains, goat, sheep, chicken and other offering materials for Juang rituals. After the year's harvest they give money and a few measures of grains for payment of annual land revenue of the village. Funds are raised from them to meet such contingent expenses like pleading cases in the Government over land disputes, and in carrying out other matters relating to the Government. If any non-Juang goes against the decision of the Juang or commits any wrong he is immediately summoned to the village council of the Juang and is fined, the fine taking the form of feast and liquor for the village elders. The non-Juang inhabiting the Juang villages observe the Juang rituals, taboos and prohibitions for the safety and security of the village and they share the belief system of the Juang. Like the Juang, they do not eat any fruit or crop before the Juang perform necessary rituals and offer the first fruit to the deities. They also believe that breach of such taboo will result in fatal calamities in the village like tiger menance, death of cattle and human beings due to snake-bite, failure of crop and so on. In this area, however, there is very little scope for the alien elements of culture being thrust upon the Juang. The Juang are no doubt influenced by their caste neighbours, but they have also been able to diffuse some of their own culture traits among the caste people.

The inter-group relation in Dhenkanal is completely different from what has been described above. Hence homogeneous Juang villages or settlements predominantly inhabited by the Juangare very rarely met with. The Juang of this place live sporadically along with the caste people over the Sadar, Kamakhyanagar and Pallahara subdivisions. They live in separate wards in the main Oriya villages or are found in small hamlets of labourers. Living with the Oriyas it is difficult for them to maintain their separate cultural identity. Their attempts to keep up the traditional culture are mocked at by the Oriyas who consider their traditional dress, ornaments, and standard of beauty to be ugly and primitive, their social customs relating to birth, marriage and death to be most uncivilized, and their songs and dance as open expression of sex feelings. The Juang of such place are frequently ridiculed, condemned, and discouraged for their tribal customs and manners and in order to raise their status in the society, the Juang find no way out except adopting the Oriya way of life. The rapid process of acculturation has thus led to the decay of traditional Juang culture in Dhenkanal and the present way of life of the Juang of Dhenkanal is a mere imitation of the Hindu way of life.

In the course of their interaction with the various caste people and their increasing association with the outside world, the Juang have witnessed a lot of changes in their traditional culture. After the establishment of Community Development Block in the Juang areas and with developed communication facilities the Juang are frequently coming in contact with the Government officers. Fairs, markets and liquor shops in the plains have attracted many Juang to come in contact with various people and thereby help culture contact. The advent of railways has thrust great change in the Juang of Dhenkanal. A wild gulf of difference exists between the Juang of Keonjhar and Dhenkanal though both are in the process of adopting Oriya way of life. The material aspect of the Juang culture has undergone a great change. The tiny huts which were "amongst the smallest that human beings ever deliberately constructed as dwellings"³ have given place to solid and strong houses. Some Juangs have constructed houses with windows and a few rich ones have houses with tile roofing. The household appliances including the husking mortar and pestles, few earthen and gourd vessels, bamboo tubes and leaf cups and plates have been replaced by more costly and durable articles. However, *suku* (gourd vessel) continues to stay in Juang villages of Keonjhar and are used for fetching water and carrying liquor and gruel to distant places. Modern umbrellas have pushed their leaf counterparts out of many homes. Hurricane lanterns and flash lights are gradually gaining popularity among them.

The dress and ornaments of the Juang have been changed to a greater extent. Bamboo combs, which were once a prized possession of the Juang girls and which the unmarried boys made with great care to make and present those to their sweet-hearts are fast disappearing and giving way to plastic and wooden combs of the market. The traditional ornaments which consisted of a whole bunch of bead

³ E. T. Dalton, Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal (Calcutta, 1872)

necklaces, a number of heavy brass bangles and a few brass and alloy rings are being discarded. The women are more attracted towards dazzling glass and plastic bangles, and in Dhenkanal rich Juangs have adorned their women with all varieties of silver and gold ornaments. The dress of the women which consisted of "a string around their waist, with a bunch of leaves before and behind,"⁴ is no more encountered now-a-days, though some old Juangs still remember about their leaf dress of the past. Shoes have gathered prestige value in the Juang society and some young people have got cheap chappals and canvas shoes. Bicycles are no more an exclusive possession of the caste people as some Juang have purchased bicycles. In the village Kudiposa, there were four bi-cycles won by the Juang.

The economic life of the Juang has been greatly influenced by their neighbouring caste people. The Juang have learnt plough cultivation from the Oriyas to increase their farm output. Moreover, the economy of the Juang exhibits three stages of development in Keonjhar, Dhenkanal and Pallahara. The Juangs of Keonjhar thrive mainly on shifting cultivation and collection of roots, fruits, greens and other edible jungle products. This is partly due to their primitive agricultural practices and partly to the rocky and hilly area they inhabit. The Dhenkanal Juangs live in plains villages like the Oriyas and they adopt low-land cultivation just as their neighbouring Oriya farmers. In Pallahara, however, the situation is entirely different. After the enforcement of forest restrictions, the Juang of this area are forbidden to cultivate *toila* land. They are neither permitted to cut trees in *toila* land, nor do they have enough plain lands to make irrigated paddy plots. Being handicapped in both ways the Juang of this place have taken up basket-making as their main source of living. Bamboo has rich growth in the forests of Malyagiri and the Juang find it profitable to cut bamboo from the forest and make baskets of different sizes. The advent of railways to Dhenkanal and construction of roads have provided ample opportunities to the Juang. The Juang find construction work profitable and they work as daily labourers in construction works.

Change in social life of the Juang is the most remarkable. The Juang of Keonjhar have developed hatred for *changu* dance and songs, and they have introduced *kirtan* and *jatra* parties as sources of their recreation. The dormitory life and the associated youth organization which continue to flourish in Keonjhar, have lost their charm in Pallahara, but in Dhenkanal these have come to a decay. Marriage rites of the Juang have been thoroughly changed and unlike the custom in Keonjhar, the Juang groom of Dhenkanal goes to the bride's house to get himself married. The girl is no more brought to the groom's village by her village women and her dormitory friends. Unlike the customs in Keonjhar and Pallahara, the Juangs of Dhenkanal have abolished the system of bride-wealth. The grooms' parents give ornaments, utensils, grains, etc. to their daughter as a token of love and affection. The *changu* competition between the groom's and the bride's villagers is gradually declining in Keonjhar, and have come to an end in

⁴ W. W. Hunter, A Statistical Account of Bengal, (London, 1877), Vol. XIX.

Dhenkanal since a pretty long time. Many of the traditional funerary rites and customs are gradually dropped off in Dhenkanal and just like the Oriyas, the Juang of Dhenkanal observe death pollution for ten days (not two to three days, as in Keonjhar) and they observe a series of taboos as observed by the caste people.

The religious life of the Juang of Keonjhar has been least affected by the caste people. Here, the Juang observe the same rites and rituals with great detail to avoid the displeasure of the local deities. In Chapter seven it has been dealt to what extent the Juang rituals are closely connected with their annual agricultural cycle. With the introduction of low land paddy cultivation a few new rituals of low land paddy have been newly adopted by the plains Juang of Keonjhar. In Dhenkanal, however, the Juang have cut short their annual festive cycle and do not observe many rituals performed by the hill Juang of Keonjhar. The Juang pantheon however, has been more elaborate. The Juang believe in their tribal deities, but feel content to get the protection of the more powerful Hindu deities. Some of them believe that the Hindu gods and goddesses are more powerful and by worshipping them most of the Oriyas have gained much wealth and power. *Mahadev, Laxmi Thakurani, Parbati, Baladev* and *Durga* of the Hindu pantheon are now worshipped by the Juang and in Dhenkanal the Juang follow the footprints of the Oriyas in their religious life.

In educational sphere, the Juang are still lagging far behind the general mass. In Dhenkanal, a few Sevashrams have been opened by the Tribal & Rural Welfare Department to spread primary education among the Juang but in the Juang areas of Keonjhar such schools are very few. There are, however, a few L. P. Schools in some of the Juang villages of Keonjhar, but most of these schools are not properly functioning. Little or no attempt is made to create interest in the Juang for school education. The teachers are non-tribals of that locality and look down upon the Juang. Neither do they encourage the Juang children to come to school nor do the Juang feel the utility of modern education. It is only in Dhenkanal that many Juangs are interested to give education to their children. They see their Oriya neighbours sending children to the school and in order to raise their social status the Juang also try to give education to their children. There are a few matriculates among the Juang in Dhenkanal. Some Juangs have been employed as teachers in schools and some have gone outside the district for services. In general, the percentage of literacy is very low among the Juang. Out of the total 21,890 Juangs only 988 persons are literate. The percentage of illiteracy is as high as 95.48 percent in general which is 91.36 percent for males and 99.56 percent for females.

The Juang are quite a friendly people. They are honest, truthful and hard working. They are highly optimistic and have little worry for their future. They like to eat and drink well whenever food is available and they hardly plan for their future. In spite of their hard labour in fields and forests the Juang have the ill luck of meeting frequent crop failures, but they unlike the Oriyas do not like to be worried for that. Just after the harvest, a Juang spends lavishly on rich food and liquor and

as a consequence his harvest of the year is exhausted within a few months. The Juang can hardly stand hunger and at the time of their need incur heavy loans. Both the Juang and Bhuinya are poverty-stricken but the Bhuinya can struggle more to fight against poverty. While most of the Juangs are sinking under heavy loans the Bhuinya stand as a contrast to the Juang in this respect. The Bhuinya are not as primitive as the Juang. They are a prolific tribe spread over a wide area and most of them live in plains villages along with the prosperous Oriyas. They are more reasonable and they enjoy a higher social status than the Juang. They are capable of thinking in a broader frame of reference like many advanced Oriya people and thus can better plan for their future. Being wiser than the Juang, they do not borrow without forethought. Unlike the Juang, they would rather tolerate starvation than run to the money lenders. The Bhuinya men are not more hard working than the Juang men, but their women are very efficient housewives. They work hard from dawn to dusk collecting greens, roots, fruits, tubers and other edibles from the Jungle to supplement their family diet. They go to market to sell loads of forest collections and bundles of firewood which fetch them a good sum. Hence, the Bhuinya are much less indebted than the Juang.

The Juang rarely want to wound the feeling of others by telling naked truth. They are more introverts in nature. They might not feel friendly with somebody, but never express their inner feelings openly unless they are heavily drunk. The Juang are a democratic people and before taking any decision they seek the opinion of all the village elders in the dormitory. If all agree unanimously, the matter is accepted, but the objection of any single person may be sufficient to reject a proposal. They have great suspicion of the outsiders, but once they become friendly they render every help to please the outsiders. They are quite hospitable. Any outsider visiting their village is accommodated in the village dormitory, and in spite of their poverty they collect foodstuffs from every family to provide a meal to their guest. Besides, any family relative visiting a Juang village is viewed as a guest of the village. He is given shelter in the dormitory, and is provided with food by the villagers. Such hospitality is remarkable of the Juang of Keonjhar, but in Dhenkanal the breakdown of dormitory organization has brought an end to such customs.

Many Juangs of Keonjhar have little idea about the outer world. To them the outer world constitutes Keonjhar, Dhenkanal, Talcher, Athgarh, Bamanda, Laida (?), Sambalpur, Cuttack, Puri and Calcutta. In their communal rituals, the Juang priest prays for the health of the Juang and of the people of the world at large-the world constituting of the above places. The Juangs of Dhenkanal are now not ignorant about the affairs of the outer world. They have seen many places besides their home district, and they have been taught in schools about various countries, their people and the varying customs and manners of the peoples of the world.

The Juang do not like to welcome outsiders who want to reside in their village permanently. Most outsiders never give them anything, nor are they

sympathetic towards them. They approach the tribals with aversion and scorn and they mock at their tribal way of life. Culture contacts with the local people have in no way helped the Juang to lead a better and healthier life. They have rather given scope for the breeding of contempt and ridicule for the Juang. The Juang have little reason to love their caste neighbours. In every contact with them the Juang are condemned, despised, and looked down upon. They are the rich people of the locality who lend money and grains to the Juang and exploit them in every possible way. They tempt the Juang to take loans at the time of their marriage, festivals and during the lean months and demand heavy interest from them at the end of the year. They charge 50 percent interest for grains and 100 percent for money loans and after the year's harvest they go to the Juang villages demanding grains at cheaper rates for their loans. As soon as the harvest is over the liquor vendors soon go to Juang villages with loads of *mohua* liquor, tempt them to drink and demand grains worth much more than the liquor the Juang actually purchased. Such scenes are quite familiar in the Juang villages of Keonjhar, and it is often pitiable to see that the grainary of the Juang is emptied within a few months of the harvest.

In the eyes of their neighbours, the Juangs occupy a very low social position and therefore they are treated as untouchables by the people of all castes (except the Pano and Ghasi). A Juang never touches a Pano, nor accepts water or cooked food from him. Likewise other castes neither touch a Juang nor do they accept water or cooked food from him though the Juang may eat in their house. The close cultural affinities of the Juang with the Bhuinya and the Bathudi hold the three to be allied tribes. They inhabit the same cultural and geographical area and in their social, economic, religious and political life they exhibit many common features. In Juang legends the Bhuinya are claimed to be their brother tribe and the Bathudi are considered to be a section of the main Bhuinya tribe. Though the three tribes are closely allied it is strange that while the Bhuinya and the Bathudi enjoy higher social status, the Juang hold a lowly position. The Juang say that they were enjoying equal social status with the Bhuinya and the Bathudi, but from the day they ate beef they were considered untouchables by the Oriyas, as well as by the Bhuinya and Bathudi. The Juang of Keonjhar are trying to raise their social status by prohibiting beef-eating, but in many interior villages they continue to relish beef as they used to do in the past. The status conscious Juang of Dhenkanal are fighting for social reforms and they have succeeded in prohibiting liquor-drinking, beef-eating and widow re-marriage through their elaborate tribal panchayat. They are rapidly taking up Hindu manners and customs. They no longer take pride in their past culture and are ashamed of the primitive Juang of Keonjhar who still lead a most uncivilized life in the remote jungles. Risely in 1891 observed the attempts made by the Juang to attain higher social status and he wrote:-

“In course of time, no doubt they will attain a higher social position, and the first step in this direction has already been taken by their partial adoption of some of the Hindu gods”.

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JUANG *

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The Juang is a tribe found only in Orissa State. The community can broadly be divided into two sections, namely the Hill Juang and Plain Juang. The Hill Juangs are confined to the hill ranges of Keonjhar and Pallahara, whereas the Plain Juangs are distributed among the plains of Dhenkanal and Keonjhar districts. The Hill Juangs are still in a primitive stage, subsisting mainly on shifting cultivation, whereas the Juang of the plains have taken to settled agriculture. In Pallahara they pursue basket-making in addition to their traditional shifting cultivation. Ethnically the Juangs are considered to be a branch of the Munda group. They are medium in stature with long heads and high cheek bones. The complexion of their skin varies from light brown to dark brown. They have their own language known as Juang. Nowadays they can speak Oriya.

The Juang claim the Juang Pirh of Keonjhar district as their homeland. Those who live in this area are known as *Thaniya* ('original settlers'), while those who have migrated to the plains of Keonjhar and Dhenkanal districts are called *Bhagudia* ('those who have fled away'). There is a popular myth about their origin. The Juang believe that they are the first human beings to be born on earth. Their ancestors were born from a *Rusi* couple (a saint and his partner) who were living in Rusi Tangar, a hillock near Gonasika in Keonjhar district. According to the 1991 Census the Juang population was 35,665 or 0.5 per cent of the total tribal population of the State. In 1981 their population was 30,876. Thus the growth rate of the Juang during the decade 1981-91 was 15.51 per cent as against 18.89 per cent and 20.06 per cent of the state's tribal and general population respectively.

The Juangs of Keonjhar mostly live in homogeneous villages located at the foothills or in the valleys surrounded by forests. Some settlements are situated in the plains. The villages present a scene of scattered houses. A unique feature of the Juang settlement pattern is their frequent change of village site. Each village has a

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number of village sites and the villagers live in one site for a number of years after which they move to another site. Many reasons are attributed to the change of village site, the main reasons being the shortage of *taila* land (land under shifting cultivation) around the village, the spread of epidemics, frequency of deaths in the village, etc. Nowadays they live in permanent villages.

At the center of the village is a dormitory house called a *majang* or *mandaghar*. This is their community house. Juang huts are small in size and are used for multifarious purposes such as bedroom, kitchen, store, and sometimes goatshed. They can accommodate only one couple and young children. Grown-up sons sleep in the *mandaghar*. Families with old parents and grown-up daughters have a separate room for them. Cowsheds are built close to the huts. The walls of the houses are made of wooden pillars plastered with mud and cow dung. Thatching is generally done with grass. The room has no ventilation except one small entrance. A verandah in front of the room provides sitting accommodation.

The household appliances of the Juangs consist of a few earthenware or gourd containers, earthenware cooking pots, some baskets, one or two headrests, a few date-palm mats, aluminium or brass plates and cups, one or two axes, sickles, a plough, hoes, digging sticks, and bows and arrows. For a Juang, a hoe is more important than a plough because it is easier to use in the hills. Digging sticks and axes are used in shifting cultivation and therefore these are of great importance.

The Juang diet is neither standardized nor systematic. During the agricultural season they eat food grains while during the off-season they satisfy their hunger with edible leaves, fruits, tubers, etc. gathered from the fields and forest. Rice is the favourite food of the Juang. But since paddy cannot be cultivated in their *taila* and wetland is in short supply they produce other crops as a substitute. The Juang are extremely addicted to liquor and drink different varieties of liquor such as *mahuli*, rice-beer, toddy and liquor made from maize and other cereals.

The dress of the Juang is nothing unusual. The men wear a *dhoti*, the women a sari. School-going children wear shirts and pants while other children use napkins. The women adorn their body with varieties of ornaments such as bangles, nose rings, earrings, toe rings, anklets, armlets made of brass or alloy and multi-coloured bead necklaces of different designs. Women like to have tattoos on their foreheads and arms. This is considered necessary to enhance their beauty. The Juang bathe and clean their teeth regularly. Clothes are also washed daily. But women do not take a bath daily due to a shortage of saris. They take little care of their hair. On market day or during any socio-religious function they comb their hair properly by applying *kusum* oil.

The routine work of the Juang centers around their economic activities. Work starts before sunrise and continues till late in the evening, when they go to bed. There is a division of labour based on age and sex. The women do domestic

work and also help their husbands in economic pursuits. Ploughing, sowing, broadcasting, thatching and tree felling are exclusively the work of men. The Juang cultivate four types of land: (1) *taila* (land under shifting cultivation), (2) *guda* (upland), (3) *badi* (kitchen garden), and (4) *bila* (wetland). *Bila* is owned by individual families whereas *taila* is the communal property of the village. Generally the hill slopes are cultivated for three to four years after which they are left fallow to recuperate. Then another hill-slope is selected for cultivation. After the patch is selected it is distributed among the households. The main crops, which are grown in the *taila*, are *mandia*, *ganegi*, *kangu*, *jali*, *dhan*, *biri*, *tila* and vegetables. Maize and tobacco are raised on the upland. In *bila* only paddy is grown.

The forests in Keonjhar are still rich with wild game and the Juang pursue hunting occasionally when they get time. They also collect fruits, roots and tubers from the forest. Fishing is a pastime rather than an economic pursuit for the Juang. The Juang of Pallahara makes various types of baskets from bamboo, a skill they have picked up from the local Scheduled Castes. Livestock rearing has not been taken up as an independent means of earning livelihood. The Juang raise cows, goats, fowls and pigs in small numbers either for agricultural or for religious purposes. The Hill Juang of Keonjhar does not like to work as labourers. In Dhenkanal most of the Juangs are agricultural labourers or sharecroppers.

Extensive poverty, sub-standard housing, poor hygienic habits and an unhealthy climate are the reasons for the widespread prevalence of various types of disease among the Juang. The Juang diet at present days has been affected adversely by various factors such as the shortage of food due to repeated clearings of the forest, inadequate forest collection and the disappearance of wild life in the area. Water for drinking is obtained from tube wells or other wells. For all other purposes they use water from the hill streams. Juang villages do not have any system for the disposal of wastage. They defecate in the open fields and spit in every odd place in the room and in the *mandaghar* where the young boys sleep. Their rooms are small, dirty and have no ventilation. They are also not aware of the environmental sanitary conditions. For all these reasons the Juang suffer frequently from malaria, skin diseases, vitaminosis, protein deficiency and a high rate of morbidity.

Diseases are attributed to the evil intentions of unseen power, evil spirits or displeased ancestors and the black magic of sorcerers and witches. Unless these unseen powers are propitiated with sacrifices and offerings, there is no hope for a quick recovery. The Juangs have their own diagnostic tools and techniques, which rely on divination. The treatment is also based on traditional methods of the propitiation of gods, exorcism, magic, use of charms and amulets and sometimes the administration of herbal medicines. Only those who live near medical centers avail themselves of modern medical facilities.

Ordinarily the Juangs have nuclear families consisting of a husband, wife and unmarried children. Grown-up sons after marriage remain separate. Extended

families consisting of a married couple and elderly parents are also not uncommon. After her marriage a girl ceases to be a member of her parental family and goes to stay with her husband. The family in the Juang society is patrilineal, patrilocal and patripotestal. The father is the head of the family under whose guidance the family functions as social and economic unit. The family in the Juang society is the primary unit of production, distribution and consumption, but the importance of the village as an economic and social unit cannot be ignored. It has a formally recognized territory of exploitation with well-defined land boundaries. A Juang is allowed to cultivate and cut down trees from that part of the forest that belongs to his village.

The most characteristic feature of the Juang social organization is their village exogamy. The village is uniclans and marriage within it is forbidden. As such village and clan exogamy go hand in hand. The clan is a unilineal descent group whose members trace their origins back to a common ancestor. The clan is called a *bok*. It is patrilineal, totemic and governed by the usual clan rules. Incest within the clan is considered a very serious offence. All the clans in the Juang society may be grouped in to two divisions known as *bandhu* clans and *kutum* clans. The members of a *kutum* clan are considered parallel cousins and as such marriage or sexual relations with members of a *kutum* clan is tabooed.

The institution of the youth dormitory, called a *majang* or *mandaghar*, is their traditional youth organization, and still exists among the Juangs of Keonjhar and Pallahara. It plays a very significant role in the socio-cultural life of the Juang. Here the unmarried youth sleep at night and elderly men chat in the morning and evening and warm themselves by the fire which is kept burning forever. The fire is considered sacred and is used to fire the clearings in the forest, which is selected for shifting cultivation. In front of the *mandaghar* is an open space where the unmarried boys and girls dance. The boys and girls above eight years of age constitute the formal members of the dormitory organization. The *mandaghar* also serves as a courthouse for the village elders, a guest house for visitors and a storehouse for communal property and their musical instruments.

Birth, puberty, marriage and death are the most important stages in the life of the Juang. Some kind of ritual is associated with each stage of their life cycle. A woman in Juang society is expected to become a mother after marriage. If a couple remains childless over a long period of years they try to overcome the trouble by divination. When a woman becomes pregnant she has to observe various taboos. At the time of delivery a midwife or elderly woman from the village is called to assist the expectant woman for easy delivery. She cuts the umbilical cord with a bamboo knife, anoints with turmeric paste and bathes the child in warm water. The mother remains secluded and is not allowed to do any household work during the period of birth pollution, which continues for up to seven days in Dhenkanal and one day in Keonjhar. On the fifth or sixth day after delivery the name-giving ceremony of the child is held. The child generally takes

the name of one of its deceased ancestors. On that day the child's father sacrifices chicken and offers the meat to the ancestors and other deities. The mother cooks rice and chicken which she distributes to the lineage members.

Marriage is the most important event in the life of an individual. It not only satisfies their biological urge but also gives them a status in society. There are several methods of acquiring mates in the Juang society. These are (1) marriage by negotiation, (2) marriage by capture, (3) love marriage, and (4) widow remarriage.

In negotiation marriage the parents of the boy select the girl for marriage. The parents perform rice divination on an auspicious day before starting negotiations for marriage. If the divination indicates a good sign the boy's party does not raise any objection to the marriage. The marriage is settled when both parties agree. The villagers fix an auspicious day for the marriage. On the fixed day the villagers of the boy pay a bride price and bring the bride. The bride's party consisting of her kith and kin comes to the bridegroom's village. A *changu* competition is held between the two parties. The marriage takes place on an altar constructed in front of the groom's house.

Marriage by capture is most common among the Juang. The bride is captured by the bridegroom's representatives from the dancing ground, bathing *ghats* or market. In this case the prior permission of the groom's parents is required, although the prior consent of the bride's father is not necessary. After marriage the bridegroom's party visits the bride's village and pays the bride price consisting of some money, paddy and cloths. Love marriages sometimes take place, which is regularized afterwards. Divorce is socially permitted in the Juang society. Divorcees and widowers can remarry if they like. A widow is expected to marry her late husband's younger brother.

Like many other tribals the Juang believe that death occurs due to the acts of supernatural powers. In order to satisfy the soul of the dead and give it rest in the other world, the Juang observe a death ceremony in different phases. The customary law of disposing of the dead is the cremation of the corpse. The nearest relatives take the corpse to the cremation ground on a bier, where it is placed on the pyre with its head pointing towards the east. One of the nearest relatives lights the pyre after certain rituals are held there. Then the mourners return home and take a purificatory bath. Death pollution is observed for two days in Keonjhar and ten days in Dhenkanal. The deceased's close relatives are the mourners who observe various restrictions in respect of food and work. On the day of purification everyone takes a bath. Food is offered to the departed soul and a feast is given to the villagers.

In every Juang village there is a village council consisting of some office-bearers and the village elders. It is responsible for the maintenance of peace and traditional norms in the village. The Pradhan is the formal headman of the council. All significant matters are brought to his notice. He decides cases like quarrels

among the villagers, breaches of minor taboos, divorce cases and the separation of property with the help of village elders. The Nagam or Dehuri, the sacerdotal chief of the village, takes an active part in some important decisions regarding the distribution of *taila* land to the villagers and fixing the date for observing different rituals. The Dangua acts as the messenger and assistant of the Nagam and the Pradhan.

The Juang Pirh in Keonjhar district is divided into six sub-pirhs, which are the maximal traditional units for judiciary functions. Each sub-pirh has a Sardar as its headman with a number of Pradhans under him. The duties of the Sardar in the past were to maintain law and order in his area and to collect land revenue from the *raiya*s on behalf of the chief of the feudatory State. At present he only exercises his judicial power in deciding cases such as incest, pre-marital pregnancy and other matters that cannot be settled at village level.

The Juang believe that their life is controlled and guided by various deities and deified spirits who live around them in the hills, forests and rivers. But at the top are Dharam Deota (the sun god) and Basumata (mother earth) who are the creators and protectors of Juang society. The next most important deity is Gramsiri or the village deity, who is represented by a pointed stone installed in front of dormitory house. She protects the villagers from all sorts of calamities and is therefore worshipped on almost all occasions.

The Juang observe various rituals throughout the year to propitiate their deities and ancestors. Their important festivals include Puspunei, Amba-Nua, Tirtia, Asadi, Pirh-Puja, Dhan-Nua, etc. On the occasion of Amba-Nua and Dhan-Nua the Juang clean their houses, throw away their old earthenware cooking pots and use new ones. They prepare a special type of food and offer it to the ancestors with *mahuli* liquor. The Juang observe Pus Punei with much pomp and ceremony, this being the beginning of the agricultural cycle. On the full moon day of Pausa (December-January) the Nagam kills a pig and sprinkles blood over the grains collected from each household, these being kept in the *mandaghar* for seed purposes. Amba-Nua is associated with offerings of mango blossoms to the village deities and ancestral spirits. The village youth worship their deities called Bhima or Kanchery in the dormitory on this occasion. There are some traces of borrowing from the Hindu pantheon and religious ceremonies. Hindu deities like Siva, Parvati and Jagannath are worshipped, and Hindu festivals such as Ratha Jatra, Raja Sankranti, Ganesh Puja and Laxmi Puja have been included in their annual festive cycle.

Dancing and music are an integral part of Juang social and religious festivals. Dances are also performed when the boys of one village go to visit another *bandhu* village on dancing expeditions. The boys and girls of one village belong to one *kutum* clan and cannot dance together. Therefore occasionally they visit *bandhu* villages where *changu* dances are held. The dance continues for two, three or more days and nights without a break. While dancing the boys sing songs

accompanied by musical instruments called *changus* and the girls dance to its tunes. The Juang are fond of singing. Their songs are also sweet and melodious. They have several folk songs, legends and folk tales, which depict their origin, cultural values, day-to-day activities, love and sorrows.

The Juangs of Orissa are no longer an isolated group. They live among Hindu castes in Dhenkanal district. In Keonjhar some Gauda, Teli and Scheduled Caste families live in Juang villages. But the Juang of these villages are the dominant groups and are less affected by Hindu ways of life than their brethren living in Dhenkanal. However, changes are found to some extent in their way of life.

Among the Juang of Keonjhar District various development programmes have been implemented for their all-round development through the Integrated Tribal Development Agency and micro-projects. Both the agencies in their respective areas have adopted a number of development programmes with an emphasis on agricultural development. The agencies provide improved varieties of seeds, fertilizers, insecticides, agricultural implements, irrigation facilities and developed land to the shifting cultivators. Raising the seedbed, transplanting seedlings, use of chemical fertilizer and control of water management through irrigation channels have modernized the agricultural practices of the Juang to some extent. The agencies have taken care to open an intensive health care center. Education is essential for the development of the Juang. The percentage of literates at present is 7.99. Agencies have established some schools and adult education centers to provide a modern education. Vocational training centers are also in operation in the Juang area and villagers are given training in *tussar*-rearing, tailoring, etc.

JUANG *

A. B. Ota ¹

A. C. Sahoo ²

INTRODUCTION

The Juang is one of the primitive tribal groups and found only in Odisha State. They speak a language of their own which comes under Austric group. In their language Juang means, "Man" and they reveal their identity through their rich cultural heritage and striking socio-cultural features. The Juangs are very sober and simple people. They are not quite free before the outsiders. They behave very politely and are quite shy in nature. They believe in broad kinship range and corporate community life. They love their habitat, people and respect the unseen supernatural powers. They enjoy life in group and share each other's sorrows and sufferings. They are proud of their culture and value based age old social practices.

HABITAT

'Juang Pirh' of Keonjhar is considered to be the original abode of the Juangs and they confirm it through prevailing myth. In due course of time, they have migrated to adjoining areas of their area of origin and now also found in Angul and Dhenkanal districts. The Juangs of 'Juang Pirh' in Keonjhar district are known as "Thaniya" which means original settlers and others who have migrated due to different reasons and subsequently taken shelter in Angul and Dhenkanal districts are called, "Bhagudia" which means those who have fled away. Juangs mainly depend on forest for their primary sustenance. However, slash and burn type of shifting cultivation in the hills is found to be most important in case of the inhabitants of Juang Pirh.

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The traditional village dormitory house of the Juang popularly known as “Mandaghar” is called “Majang” in Juang language. Lying in the center of the village it is the most significant traditional institution which is the nucleus of their socio-cultural hub.

Other ethnic groups, like the Gauda, Teli, Khandayat and Pano live either in separate settlement of their village or in a separate village adjoining a Juang village. In comparison to other castes and tribes of the locality they have retained their indigenous identity and some important socio cultural practices intact till today. Out of all the castes they have developed close intimacy with the milkmen caste people. The Paudi Bhuiyans are considered as elderly fraternal community to the Juang.

The symbiotic relationship between the Gauda and Juang deserves special mention because of the prevailing economic and socio cultural interactions between both the ethnic groups. In some places other tribal communities, such as Bhuiyans, Bathudis, Gonds and others also live in the neighborhood of the Juang. The Socio-cultural similarities between the Juangs and Paudi Bhuiyans reveal the main cause of their intimacy and justify their relation. It is believed that once upon a time, the Bhuiyans and the Juangs were considered to be the uterine brothers hence, behave with each other with a typical intimacy.

Most of the original Juang villages are located on the hills slopes and valleys having bare minimum water facility. Each Juang village is a uniclans territorial unit and may consist of hamlets. The socio-cultural and economic relation between hamlets of a village is quite intimate. Ideally all the villages were inhabited by people of one clan each but due to several reasons they have transformed into multi clan one at present. Each village has its own social boundary, traditional village council and established age old system of internal management.

The settlement pattern of a typical Juang village is dispersed by nature. In some villages, houses are located around the “Mandaghar”. In front of the “Mandaghar”, “Gramsiri”, the village deity is enshrined with the belief that it will safeguard the people from all dangers. Juangs change their traditional village site when frequent unnatural deaths occur and inhabitants are put into unavoidable peril or when forest resources are unexpectedly diminished and survival is found to be very difficult. While searching for a new settlement site, they mostly prefer a place where forest, perennial stream and land for cultivation are available nearby. The village priest “Nagam”, the secular head “Pradhan” and other influential persons of the village play vital role for taking decision in shifting of the village. They give much importance to the matters which have direct or indirect bearing on the traditional value system of the community.

By and large, all the Juangs follow their traditional pattern and architectural design for house construction. Their single room hut is multi-purposely used as bedroom, drawing room, store room and kitchen room. In its structure it is rectangular in size and wooden platforms are erected inside the house for storing various usable items. As per the prevailing tradition, husband and wife with unmarried sons and daughters usually live together in a house making a nuclear family.

For the sake of social-cultural restrictions and convenience, the cowshed and pigsty are constructed a little apart. The walls are of daub and wattle type made up of wooden poles plastered with mud. A wide verandah in front of the house is used for several socio-economic purposes. The frame of roof is made up of bamboo and bamboo splits thatched with locally available grass. Due to staunch magico-religious beliefs they do not keep windows as it gives passage to malevolent spirits. The door is very short and narrow having shutters either made up of wooden planks or bamboo splits. In front of the door or inside the house, mortar is placed for husking paddy and millets. A platform is raised opposite to the kitchen where household materials are kept for regular use. One can raise more than one platform depending on the availability of space and requirement of the house owner.

ECONOMIC ORGANISATION

Juang were known as "Patuas" earlier as they were using leaf made dress. Now-a-days, they use clothes available in the nearby weekly market and they have imitated people of their neighbouring communities in respect of dress and ornaments. The females are very much fond of ornaments. Their jewelry consists of bangles, anklets, armlets, ear, nose and toe rings, waist girdle, beautiful bead necklaces with red and yellow beads and betel leaf shaped metal pendants. The elderly women so far use the traditional jewelry items which they use to inherit from their grandmothers. But young girls have abandoned the use of traditional jewelry at present. However, they decorate their body with tattoo marks and decorate their hair style with traditional combs which are very often presented by their beloved during dance and in festive occasion when they meet each other. They usually keep tobacco containers and fire making tools at hand whenever they move out. They also keep 'Changu', a type of single membrane percussion musical instruments as most valuable personal belonging. One may also find snares, traps, cages, fishing nets and rods kept hanging from the thatched roof of the verandah.

The joint families and economically well to do Juangs possess more utensils and such associated materials. However, in general the items, included in the material possession of the Juang are very much limited. One may find a few earthenware, gourd containers, baskets made of leaf and bamboo splits, leaf made umbrella and cap, date-palm leave mats etc. other important materials, like wooden pillow, broomstick, winnowing fan, pestle, digging stick, bow and arrow,

axe, knife, plough, leveler, yoke and straw made bins are included in the material culture. Apart from all the above items, aluminium utensils, lantern, torch and trunks are also found in a Juang house.

Due to introduction of cheaper and readily available plastic appliances one can notice varieties of plastic goods used by the Juangs at present. Even their beautiful well designed combs have been replaced by plastic ones, which have restricted their ingenuity in making artistic and culturally significant traditional combs. Due to socio-cultural relevance of the traditional combs all the unmarried youths were bound to learn the technique of comb making in the past. The Juangs get up very early in the morning. The female members keep themselves busy in cooking and household chores while the male person's gossip among themselves sitting around the sacred fire burnt throughout the year at the center of 'Mandaghar'. However, all the family members usually go to the field or forest after breakfast in the morning. They carry food items for the lunch so that all over the day they can work in the field. In the evening, they come back home with sal leaves, fire wood, tubers, fruits etc.

In the evening, coming back from the field the females remain busy in cooking and male members go to 'Mandaghar' for spending their leisure hours in gossiping and warming up their body at the fire place. It is worth mentioning that fire used to burn in 'Mandaghar' day and night throughout the year. After the harvest months, the male members go for hunting and females proceed to forest for gathering varieties of seasonal fruits, tuber, green leaves, fibers and several minor forest produces usually available in their local forest. They also collect honey, eggs of wild chicken and peacocks, mushrooms and varieties of tasty fruits and berries in the jungle for consumption. In the past they were absolutely depending on forest for food, clothes and shelter but due to gradual depletion of forest and introduction of modern amenities, they are compelled to reduce their dependence on forest now a days.

There is a clear cut age and sex division of labour among the Juangs through male and female members perform many of the day to day works jointly in the field and forest. Females do all indoor works connected to house and kitchen whereas males do most of the outdoor works like ploughing, thatching the house etc. All the works which need more physical strength are usually performed by the male members where as the female do the rest. The boys help their father and girls remain attached to their mothers in their respective socio-economically prescribed activities. Even the old men and women are also found busy in one way or other in day to day minor works. They usually watch the house when all are out of home and take care of the grand children in the absence of their parents.

The Juangs were hunters and food gatherers and subsequently practiced slash and burn type of rotation cultivation and later on adopted wet land cultivation. Now-a-days some of them are very good farmers and there is good

demand of their vegetable produces in the local markets. They classify land into four types namely; 'Taila' (land for shifting cultivation), 'Guda' (plains dry land), 'Badi' (Kitchen garden) and 'Bila' (irrigated wet land for paddy cultivation). They grow *niger* (a type of oil seed) and *ragi* in 'Taila' land meant for slash and burn types of rotation cultivation are distributed annually among the household heads of the village for cultivation. Guda, the second type of land (plains dry land) are also owned by all the villagers at the community level. Taking into account the requirement at family level, plots are allotted to concerned families for cultivation. The third type of land that is 'Badi' (Kitchen garden) is located adjacent to house and owned at the family level. They grow maize, tobacco and various vegetables there. The fourth category of land which is extremely precious for them is 'Bila' which is a wet land meant for growing paddy once in every year. Now-a-days some of them are also cultivating high yielding paddy twice a year.

The slash and burn type of cultivation by rotation is the most popular among the Juang. It starts from the selection of site and distribution among the family heads of a village followed by clearing of forest, firing the dry branches, hoeing, sowing, weeding, and watching the crop till harvesting and consumption, from the month of February-March to December-January. As shifting cultivation cater to the fulfillment of most essential socio-economic needs the Juangs remain busy in one way or other in the 'Taila' land in most part of the year. They raise a variety of millets, legumes or pulses, oil seeds and vegetables in 'Taila'.

In spite of indiscriminate depletion of forest the Juangs depend on forest produces and hunting games because of unavoidable role of forest in their socio-economic life. During lean period forest supports them to provide basic needs for subsistence. They are very much fond of fish and fishing is a pastime rather than a regular economic pursuit. They domesticate animals and birds, like goat, cows, pig and poultry for multifarious socio-economic purposes. Like other neighbouring ethnic groups they sell their agricultural surplus in the nearby weekly markets as well as co-operative shops established in their respective area. The Juangs are not in favour of wage earning; however young male members now-a-days go to work for the local contractors. In order to retain their unity and integration they maintain labour cooperatives at the village level and render free service to all Juang members of the village at the time of need. Some of them have also started working in Keonjhar mines and very few are engaged in government and semi-government jobs.

They regularly take boiled rice and *ragi* gruel. They also take non vegetarian food in all festive occasions. However, due to various environmental crisis and economic reasons the diet of the Juang is neither regular nor standardized. Due to such food insecurity the quantity and quality of food usually depend on its availability. Because of its abundant availability in summer, the Juang consumes jackfruits and mangoes for months together.

Usually the Juang people eat thrice a day but in the lean period they usually take twice. They eat food by frying, boiling, baking and roasting. They drink liquor prepared out of 'Mahua' flower, maize, rice, small millets and varieties of fruits. Apart from these, sago-palm juice and date-palm today are not only meant for occasional or regular consumption but also most essential for bride price payment, festivities, life cycle rituals and several other important socio-economic activities. All over the Juang area ill health is the major problem. They do not get nutritive food items and treatment facilities for maintenance of good health.

The Juangs struggle very hard for the survival. Even today they depend on shifting cultivation and food gathering for subsistence. The availability of wet land meant for paddy cultivation is quite insufficient. The money lender and wine vendors still create unavoidable economic hazards for the economically backward Juang people. Social functions, marriage ceremony, festive occasions and ritualistic observances also make them indebted. The Juangs borrow from the local money lenders and give major part of their harvest towards the repayment of the principal and interest. In spite of concerted efforts of the government, no substantial result could have been achieved so far for their sustainable economic upliftment as well as holistic development. The domesticated animals and unawareness among the people about the sanitation keep the surrounding of the Juangs villages very dirty and unhygienic. The water they use from the nearby stream is very often contaminated because the same water source is used by both the human beings and animals.

RELIGION

The Juangs believe in supernatural power and it has a lot of bearing on their day to day life. Broadly, the spirits are malevolent and benevolent in nature. In order to appease them the Juangs offer sacrifices and ritualistic observances at regular intervals. In the Juang pantheon 'Dharmadeota' (Sun God) is regarded as the supreme deity and 'Basumatimata' (Earth-goddess) occupies the second position. According to their belief, they are the creators and protectors of the people. 'Gramsiri' the village goddess, is enshrined and symbolically represented by a wooden post and stones adjacent to 'Mandaghar'. 'Gramsiri' is usually shifted to the new settlement when the people change their village site. There are other spirits who have taken shelter inside the house, in the grove, at the stream, inside the forest and such other places. The Juangs have immense faith in their ancestral spirits and ghosts. The ancestral spirits are appeased in all important socio-religious occasions. The magico-religious head is known as 'Nagam' the post of which is hereditary. The 'Pradhan' who is the secular head also participate in several magico-religious institutions. Moreover, Naik, Dangua and Adhikari are some other important magico-religious functionaries, who perform their respective ascribed customary duties.

The Juangs celebrate a lot of feasts and festivals, which are directly or indirectly associated with hunting expedition, collection and gathering of jungle produces, eating of first harvested food crops and fruits of the season, Agricultural operation and life-cycle rituals of the Juangs are also linked with magico-religious practices. However, most of the rituals require the sacrifice of animals or birds, liquor, vermilion, turmeric powder, wicks, molasses, sun dried rice, leaf cups and plates etc. The women are strictly tabooed prohibited to take sacrificial food and attend such ritualistic functions. Apart from white magic, they also practice black magic, which is mostly used for taking revenge against enemies. Under the impact of Hinduism, they also observe some important Hindu festivals. Lord Siva has occupied special place among the Juang people now. They also celebrate 'Raja Parba' and Laxmi Puja', but to a great extent they stick to their traditional magico-religious rites and remain very much obliged to their local Gods and Goddesses.

By and large, malaria, diarrhea, scabies and fevers due to several reasons are some of the regular disease prevalent among the Juangs. Although modern allopathic medicines are now made available to them, still they are emotionally attached to their traditional herbal medicine man-cum-diviner for treatment of diseases. In the existing socio-religious practices, for curing different disease, they practice ritualistic observances and offer sacrifices to appease the spirits. Unseen powers are believed to be the mightiest, if somehow they got dissatisfied, they cause disease and maladies in the village. When a man suffers from a chronic disease, it is believed to be the act of witch or malevolent spirit and accordingly prescribed treatments are continued.

POLITICAL COUNCIL

In spite of Panchayatiraj administration throughout the country, the Juangs have yet retained their effective traditional political council. 'Pradhan' is the formal headman of the traditional political council, the post of which is not hereditary and any senior person having maneuvering capacity can be selected by the villagers. The 'Nagam' also plays a vital role in the traditional political council and his decisions are honoured with sincerity and care. 'Pradhan' is expected to offer the final decision in all secular matters. During emergency, he convenes the meeting of the political council. 'Nagam' enjoys a special status and prestige in the community. The 'Dangua' acts as an assistant to 'Pradhan'. He acts as a messenger, passes on message, and summons the villagers to the meeting. Apart from all these, some elderly people also take part in judicial matters and give decisions which are sometimes taken into greater account. However, the mechanism is so well devised that any culprit can never be escaped from prescribed punishment.

Whatever fines collected from the culprits are communally spent in feasting and drinking. Certain conflicts connected with two or more villages may be decided by calling upon inter-village-Juang council where the 'Sardar' plays a vital role and his judgement is final and unchallenged. The Juang 'Pirh' is divided

into six 'Sub Pirhs' and each 'Sub-Pirha' is headed by a 'Sardar'. On a special occasion, the ruling Chief of Keonjhar district appoints 'Sardar' for Sub-Pirha. All village level unsolved cases are meticulously decided by 'Sardar' which otherwise could not have been decided at the village level. No doubt, vibrating impact of modern Panchayatiraj system has weakened the position of the most powerful 'Sardar' now. However, in each Juang village the traditional council system and modern Panchayatiraj system still co-exist firmly without much antagonistic behavior. Of course, the ward members also play vital role in matter connected with various development programmes. Because of their frequent contact with the outsiders and Government Officials they are becoming more and more conscious and aware of facts essential for a better living. In several villages, the traditional leaders and the ward members are not pulling on well, however; the traditional political council has still retained its functions in connection with secular matters and trying its best to maintain its dignity for establishment of health and happiness of their tribesmen.

LIFE CYCLE

The life course of the Juangs is full of joys and sorrows, ups and down, and adjustment and differences. They mainly marry to procreate and propagate the Juang population in the society. After marriage a Juang woman expects a child irrespective of gender bias. Both male and female children are welcome though Juang parents prefer male child because he is to inherit paternal property and perpetuate the family life under patrilineal order. The moment it is confirmed that a woman is pregnant; she has to observe socially approved taboos with utmost devotion and sincerity. In the delivery process a traditional midwife performs all the duties like a nurse. However, difficult delivery cases are dealt by herbal medicine man-cum-diviner as he keeps direct contact with all spirits responsible for smooth delivery. Birth pollution continues up to six days during which all the lineage men follow prescribed social restrictions.

The unavoidable name giving ceremony takes place after the pollution period is over. According to necessity it may also be extended up to three and four months. As per the ongoing practice, parents offer sacrifice and arrange drinks for kith and kin as well as community people on this occasion. They usually keep the name of paternal grandfather provided the child is male. In case of the female child, paternal grand mother's name is preferred. The mother is expected to cook traditional food on this occasion for everybody.

Mother plays an important role in the process of socialization. However father and other family members also contribute a lot in this regard. One can find that parents are performing a lot of ritualistic observances for one reason or the other. But ultimate goal is to keep the child healthy and happy and to keep him in the good look of unseen power. During the late childhood, they associate him with

the youth dormitory as an important part of social organization which mostly helps in developing personality of male of youths.

The girls are inclined towards their female friends during this period. This is the time when both boys and girls learn how to live and adjust in the community as per other's expectation with due respect to social norms and values. The young ones and youths make best use of their leisure hours. They learn more about dance and songs also gain knowledge in agricultural works as well as household activities during this time. They marry usually at the age of 15 to 18 years in case of girls and 20 to 23 years in case of boys. Sometimes husband and wife are of equal age.

The Juangs are guided by certain prescribed rules and regulations of marriage. Like many other tribal communities the Juangs also demand bride price but its norms differ from one region to the other. With regard to different types of marriage, mention may be made of marriage by arrangement, marriage by capture, marriage by mutual consent and widow or widowers' marriage. In the Juang community, a girl after her marriage usually lives with her husband in his village. Although divorce cases are very few, usually the wife is divorced only in unavoidable situations. By and large, husband and wife relationship is very cordial and they lead happy life in all spheres.

At the fag end of their life, the old parents are usually looked after by their sons. According to the Juangs, death is inevitable and unavoidable. In case of natural death, the dead body is cremated whereas buried if someone died unnaturally. The lineage members undergo the process of pollution. After two days of death, purification ceremony is observed. They believe in rebirth and ancestral spirits are appeased regularly in all-important occasions.

SOCIAL LIFE

Family is the smallest social unit around which major social, economic, religious and such other activities revolve round. Nuclear type of family is common and after marriage a son is expected to stay with his wife in a separate house. The family is patrilineal, patrilocal and patriarchal. Father is the head of family and his decisions relating to socio-economic matter within the family are final.

The Juangs are famous for their clans structure and kinship organization. Each clan, locally known as Bok, has a totemic origin and members of a clan are believed to have descended from a common-mythical or totemic ancestor. All the members of a clan feel highly obliged to their totem and observe totemic taboos with reverence. The totems are usually from among the animals, birds, insects, trees, flowers, grains, mushrooms etc. Marriage between the members of same clan is strictly prohibited. All the blood relatives are 'Kutumba' members and members

with whom marriage can be possible are 'Bandhu' group of people. A woman after her marriage usually adopts her husband's clan. Joking and avoidance relationship are observed with due respect to their social values. Husband and wife cannot address each other by name. They follow social approved prescribed customary laws with utmost sincerity and devotion with topmost priority to cultural values and norms.

The most important and dynamic socio economic institution is 'Majang' which is popularly known as 'Mandaghar'. The bachelor's dormitory is the main traditional informal educational institution around which the life and culture of the people revolve. The shape, size and dimension of the dormitory house are comparatively bigger than the normal Juang house. It has walls on three sides and it opens in front with an elevated verandah. Close to this house the village 'Gramsiri' is enshrined and an open space is left at one side for the community dance.

The walls, pillars and beams of the dormitory house are beautifully decorated with culture specific traditional designs and carvings. Inside the house very big double membrane percussion musical instruments, single membrane drums, leaf umbrella, date palm mat, straw bins, wooden stools, earthen pots, gourds, etc. are systematically kept purposefully at different places inside the house. Fire is left burning throughout the year at the centre and the ritual axe is preserved with due care. The dormitory serves several purposes. It is an informal training centre, a court house, a rest house for visitors and government officials, a store room of the villagers and a sleeping place for the unmarried male youths. Since generations they have framed certain customary laws for smooth management of different activities of the dormitory in a balanced manner.

The prescribed rules and regulations, norms and values of the dormitory are seriously obeyed by its members. During the month of February-March on the occasion of the first mango eating festival, new members are given admission. Anybody who violates the traditional rules and regulations of dormitory, he is excommunicated or fined heavily as per the gravity of the case. Throughout the year the dormitory remains busy in one way or other. The entire life and culture of the Juangs revolve round their dormitory and it is considered a heaven on earth for all them. By observing whole year activities in the dormitory one can definitely conclude that life of the Juang can never be holistic and complete deleting life experiences in the 'Majang'.

The art and craft, dance and music, enjoyment and merry-making, health and happiness of the community peaceful heavenly life and creative impulses and all that are most vital in life are all possible because of the values, virtues, discipline and purpose based management system of dormitory life. The Juang youths make excellent comb which they present to their beloveds. They were beautifully decorated their tobacco containers and traditional lighters. During the

traditional dance and music they meticulously follow traditional value based functional rules and regulations. The intimacy developed during dance between two sweet hearts of opposite sex may lead to marriage provided there is no restriction of clan rules.

DEVELOPMENT AND CHANGE

Development and change are inevitable and the Juangs are no exception in this context. The Juangs, who live in complete isolation in early nineteenth century, are in transition since last three decades. Under the impact of modernization and acculturation they have brought immense change particularly in their adornment pattern, use of modern amenities and material culture. Hindu influence has also percolated deeper and their patron deities are losing their importance.

Juang youths are found engaged in small business, selling of fire wood in the nearby town, working as daily wage earners in the house of non tribals. The emerging new leaders behave and act like pseudo-politicians in the plains. The genius of the Juangs and their native wisdom are considered now-a-days out dated and of no use. Dependence syndrome is increasing day by day among the Juangs due to basic flaws in planning for cumulative and sustainable development. The dynamics of 'Mandaghar' which was once upon a time pivotal tribal socio cultural institution has lost its social identity and cultural luster. Most powerful and vibrating kinship organization, inter and intra village relationship are losing importance, and cooperation at family level and unity among the Juangs are changing in a negative direction.

Because of meager harvest in slash and burn type of rotation cultivation, the Juangs have adopted modern techniques and use of high breed seeds as well as pesticides and fertilizer. During last four decades the realistic approaches or holistic development of the Juangs through Juang.

Development agency as well as I.T.D.A. Keonjhar has brought on a lot of positive impact on development of education, agriculture, irrigation, soil conservation, housing, communication health and sanitation etc.

The Juangs are now heading for a new modern life at the cost of their traditional values and virtues. Perhaps this is what we have desired. However our endeavour is going on to preserve their unique tradition and to see them economically developed simultaneously.

DORMITORY ORGANIZATION OF THE JUANG OF KEONJHAR *

*Siba Prasad Rout*¹

Dormitory is one of the oldest institutions in Tribal Societies which exercised considerable influence in the formation of the character of tribal people. The dormitories have prolific functions of social, economic, religious, political and educative importance for their members. But unfortunately, under present circumstances this valuable institution is gradually vanishing out from various tribal societies. The impact of modern culture, the growing effect of industrialization and the influence of the missionaries have created conditions leading to the decay of the dormitory system. Such influences have brought about considerable changes in the traditional patterns of tribal life. Dormitories in many tribal societies are either vanishing out or are getting thoroughly changed. In this crucial situation it is necessary for the anthropologists to study various dormitory organizations in tribal society.

The present article on the dormitory organization of the Juang, is based on the data collected during a year's stay in two Jung villages – Baruda and Phulbadi of Keonjhar District.

Majang, the Dormitory House of the Juang

Juangs, one of the most primitive tribes of Orissa have the dormitory organization of their own. Their dormitory house is called *Majang*. The *Majang* is usually bigger in size than the ordinary houses and is situated at the centre of the village. It is constructed by the unmarried boys known as *Kangerki* who sleep here at night. The unmarried girls (called *Selanki*) plaster it in every two or three days. Inside the *Majang* are kept the drums, the *changus* and food grains of the village common fund. A fire is kept burning day and night at the centre of the *Majang* and the boys sleep encircling it.

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They sleep on mats of date-leaves woven by girls and wave a wooden structure as their pillow. While sleeping they keep their feet towards the fire and their heads to the direction of the *Majang* walls.

Factors determining the admission into the Dormitory

The factor of age determines that the members of certain specific age categories are permitted to be or are formally admitted into the dormitory as its members. Generally, the dormitory is the organization of the unmarried youths and one ceases to be its member after his / her marriage. The term unmarried, as used in this context includes the persons of both young and old age, and hence the bachelors and the spinsters are also considered to be the formal members of the Juang dormitory.

Marriage, as described earlier, militates against both sex and age categories in dormitory house, but the cases of the widows or the widowers furnish an exception to the standard norm. The widowers always sleep in the *Majang* with the unmarried boys, and one or two widows always sleep with the *Selanki*. Infact, the widowers (generally old persons who have no inclination to marry again) and the widows (old enough so that there is least chance of them getting remarried to somebody) are considered as *Kangerki* and *Selanki* respectively in an informal way. Besides sleeping with the unmarried youths, they also co-operate and take active part in the group activities of the youths.

Sex and age are the two important factors for *Majang* organization, but these are not the only factors determining whether or not one is to be considered a formal member of the *Majang*. In this connection it may be mentioned that the membership is not compulsory. A person of proper age and sex may not necessarily have to be the member of dormitory. The factor of wealth fosters the usual trend and acts as an important determinant. A person desirous of becoming a member of *Majang* should have enough money and crops to contribute to the common fund of the *Kangerki* and should be able to afford the cost for undergoing the initiation ceremony marking off his membership in the dormitory.

An unmarried boy of twenty years in Phulbadi was found to be not recognized as a formal member of the *Majang* due to three reasons, i.e., for his poverty in contributing money and grains to the common fund of the *Kangerki* and for undergoing the initiation ceremony to be a Kanger; for his incapability to beat *Changu* (circular drum) with the *Kangerki*; and for not sleeping in the *Majang* with other unmarried boys. Since he is not considered to be a member of the *Majang* he is debarred from enjoying the powers and privileges of the formal members of the dormitory.

Admission into the Majang

Membership to the dormitory is not casual in Juang society. It is always accompanied by 'rites-de-passage'. The term *Kanger* is a general term to mean the

unmarried boys of marriageable age. But to be considered as a formal member of the dormitory, i.e., to be a full-fledged *Kanger*, a boy should undergo an initiation ceremony on *Am Nua* (the ritual for first mango-eating).

Am Nua is observed in the month of February-March when mango fruits are ceremonially offered to the village deities and ancestors before the first eating by the villagers. The *Kangerki* play special roles in this ritual. They worship their *changu* and drums and offer shares of chicken and rice piles to *change* gods. On this day fresh candidates are admitted into the *Majang*. A new candidate contributes some rice and a chicken for the ritual. The old members of the *Majang* cook food near the stream. The new candidate offers shares of cooked rice to the ancestors in a kneeling posture keeping one of his legs on a pole spread horizontally over two forked pillars of 4 to 5 feet high. The elderly members throw hot water at his pelvis and private parts and the boy has to face the ordeal boldly without complain. A torn piece of mat is tied around his head and a bell hung at his waist. He runs around the *Majang* seven times with other members of the *Majang* accompanied by a small boy beating *changu* with a stick in front. While the boys keep running around the *Majang* the older people shout loudly and throw ashes at them from inside the *Majang*. After this that the boy is formally admitted into the dormitory and becomes a full-fledged *Kanger*.

The significance of tying a mat around the head of the new *Kanger* is not known, but tying bell signifies some use. It rings when the boy runs and by hearing the sound the villagers come to know about his admission into the dormitory. Running seven times around the common house signifies that his life is formally attached to the association and the activities concerning the dormitory.

Rites-de-passage for Girls to be Selanki

Every Juang girl, after attaining her puberty is called a “Selan” but before becoming a full-fledged *Selan* she cannot take part in some of the activities of the formal *Selanki*. For example, she cannot make gift to *Bandhu* boys and cannot get a share of the gift which the *Bandhu Kangerki* makes to the village *Selanki*. She also cannot accompany the *Selanki* when they pay formal dancing visits to their *Bandhu* villages. No big ritual is performed for a girl to step in to the status of a formal *Selan*. When a girl wants to be a *Selan* she asks the older *Selanki* and they give a share of the gift of their *Bandhu Kangerki* to her. It is after eating this, that a girl assumes the status of a formal *Selan*.

Age-Grades in Juang Society

The life of a Juang is based on a nine-fold age-grade classification. According to this the males and females are divided into nine classes. The distinctive paraphernalia and privileges of each group will be discussed afterwards.

Table - 1
Age Grades in Juang Society
 (A) *Age Grades for Juang Males*

Sl. No	Age Grades	Approximate Age	Residence	Remarks
1.	<i>Wadi</i> (Child)	Up to 8 years	At home with parents	...
2.	<i>Sana Kanger</i>	8 - 15 years	At <i>Majang</i> , or at home	...
3.	<i>"Kanger"</i> (unmarried boy)	15 years till marriage	At <i>Majang</i>	Not a formal <i>Kanger</i>
4.	<i>Kanger</i>	-do-	-do-	Undergone initiation ceremony
5.	<i>Kamathara Kanger</i> (married man)	After marriage till old-age	At home with wife	Continues to be a formal member of the <i>Majang</i> till he gives a chicken and rice to <i>Kangerki</i> on <i>Amb-Nua</i>
6.	<i>Burha</i> or <i>Bauntae</i> (Oldman)	After 50 Yrs	-do-	...
7.	<i>Widower</i>	After the death of wife	At <i>Majang</i>	...
9.	Bachelor	...	-do-	...

(B) *Age Grades for Juang Females*

1.	<i>Wadi</i> (Child)	Up to 8 years	At home with parents	...
2.	<i>Tokiali Selan</i> or <i>Kaniari Selan</i>	8 to 13 years	With girls or widows	...
3.	<i>"Selan"</i>	After puberty till marriage	-do-	Not a formal <i>Selan</i>
4.	<i>Selan</i>	-do-	-do-	Admitted as a formal member after certain observances.
5.	<i>Guruta Selan</i> (married lady)	After marriage	At home with husband	Before sleeping with her husband must offer cakes, tobacco, and mat to her village dormitory members
6.	<i>Burhi</i> (old lady)	After marriage in old age	-do-	...

7.	<i>Kamanda Rae</i> (wife of a Kamanda)	-do-	-do-	After the husband becomes a <i>Kamanda</i> and assumes an office
8.	<i>Alabokdae</i> (widow)	After the death of her husband	In her house alone or with girls	...
9.	Spinster	...	-do-	...

The discrepancy between the biological and social age groups is bridged up within the framework of youth organization. The social norm does not favour an ordinary person to joke with anybody who stands in adjacent generation to him or her, but the *Kangerki* and *Selanki* of own, alternate, and adjacent generations are allowed to joke with each other within their own group. This is because, in broad sense, all the *Kangerki* are considered as brothers and all *Selanki* as sisters to each other.

Formal observations for distinguishing between the unmarried and married:

After marriages, a *Kanger* automatically steps into the status of a Kamathara Kanger but he continues to work and co-operate with the *Kangerki* till he can afford to get himself detached from the *Kangerki* through a special observance. Right after the marriage the groom does not sleep with his wife. A new house is built for him and on the consummation day of the marriage he has to take farewell from the *Kangerki* by giving them cakes, tobacco, and a mat.

After this formal observance the boy is permitted to sleep with his wife, but he still continues to be a regular member of the boy's dormitory and fulfils most of the obligations of his association group. When he wants to resign from the group of the *Kangerki* he gives one *pai* or more rice and a chicken to the other *Kangerki* on the *Am Nua* ritual day. It is after this only that he ceases to be a working member of the youth's group.

Similar is the situation for a girl to get herself detached from the membership of the youth organization. After her marriage and before starting to sleep with her husband she comes to visit the *Kangerki* and *Selanki* of her village. She brings cakes, tobacco and a new mat for them.

The Role System:

Every age group is entrusted with special roles and responsibilities under the preview of the dormitory and youth organization. The roles of certain specific age groups as directly concerned with the dormitory life would be discussed here. The boys and girls of *Majang* choose a sponsor of their own known as *Tandakar* who acts as their guardian and moral advisor. The role of the *Tandakar* is also

described in this connection. The following table summarizes the duties of such age groups.

Duties of Various Age Groups in Juang Youth Organization

1.	<i>Kangerki</i>	1. Bringing firewood for the <i>Majang</i> fire 2. Thatching and repairing of <i>Majang</i> and construction of new <i>Majang</i> in case of changing village sites. 3. Installing stone emblem for <i>Gram Siri</i> in a new village. 4. Making <i>changu</i> and drums. 5. Contribution of goats, pigs, or sheep on major village rituals. 6. Cooking for <i>Kamandaki</i> on ritual days. 7. Collecting rice and other food stuffs from every house for guests and visitors and for feeding <i>Bandhu</i> girls on their dancing visits. 8. Help cooking and fetching water in feasts and marriages. 9. Beating <i>Changu</i> overnight on ritual days. 10. Obeying <i>Tandakar</i> and the village elders. 11. Getting hired as a communal working party by <i>Tandakar</i> or by other villagers. 12. Bringing firewood to the house of the groom or bride on the occasion of marriage, and for <i>Tandakar</i> and village officers on major festive occasions. 13. Helping outsiders to carry their bags and baggage to the next nearest village.
2.	<i>Selanki</i>	1. Plastering <i>Majang</i> and sweeping the plaza in every three or four days and positively on ritual occasions. 2. Supplying leaf cups and plates on feasts, and festivals, and for guests and visitors. Grinding spices on above occasions. 3. Husking paddy of the common fund of the village. 4. Grinding cakes on certain village rituals. 5. Getting hired as a working party. 6. Dancing overnight on ritual and festive days. 7. Obeying the <i>Tandakar</i>, the widows, and the village elders.
3.	<i>Widows and spinsters sleeping with the girls.</i>	1. Taking care of the girls and keeping an eye as to what they do. 2. Decide and select the village to which the girls should go on dancing visit. 3. Accompany the girls in their dancing trips. 4. Help in courtship between the girls and <i>Bandhu</i> boys

		5. Carry the gifts the girls send to their <i>Bandhu Kangerki</i> and bring the information back from the latter.
4.	<i>Widowers and bachelors</i>	1. Keeping an eye on the activities of the <i>Kangerki</i> and helping them in co-operative works.
5.	<i>SanaKangerki and Tokiali Selanki</i>	1. Fagging for the senior members and helping them in doing menial works and running errands.
6.	<i>Tandakar</i>	1. Taking care of the <i>Kangerki</i> and <i>Selanki</i> and helping them in their need by lending money, rice and other things. 2. Can hire the boys and girls to work on his field. 3. Should watch and see that the boys and girls do not violate any norm of the society or neglect in discharging their duties. 4. Can punish them for neglecting in their duty. 5. Must be consulted before anybody hires the boys and girls as a working party. 6. Should give cooked rice to the boys and girls on major festive occasions, and should slaughter a goat or sheep for them when he retires from his office of <i>Tandakar</i>.

Failing to do the duty, as prescribed by the norms of the society, is considered as a deviation for which the offenders must be punished by the village elders. The punishment may be of four kinds.

1. Expulsion from the *Majang*.
2. Physical punishment like standing on one leg, holding the ears, putting the second finger in excreta etc., in minor offences, and beating in case of adultery and incest.
3. Fines – of money, liquor, goat and rice.
4. Verbal scolding and caution not to repeat the work again.

Both the girls and the boys are punished for failing to discharge their duties properly. The boys are generally punished for not bringing firewood to the *Majang* and for not obeying the village elders. Similarly, the girls are found fault with if they do not plaster the *Majang* and sweep the plaza regularly. It first attracts the attention of the village elders when the boys or girls are found irregular in performing their duties. They first accuse the *Tandakar* for not supervising the work of the *Kangerki* and *Selanki*. Sometimes he is fined one or two rupees for the fault of the boys or girls. Then the blame falls on the actual offenders. One of the main features of the Juang youth organization is the collective responsibility of its members. Negligence of one's duties or failure to carry out any assigned task in case of one member of the dormitory results in

punishment for the whole group. Its members are fined and they have to give rice (generally one to two *khandi*), a goat or a pig and about two to five rupees for liquor to the village elders. They collect these things from their own houses or borrow from somebody to be repaid by working on the creditor's field. The stuffs collected by fines are used for holding a feast in the village.

Remuneration for the Different Age Groups

I have mentioned earlier that every age group has its powers and privileges affiliated with its rights and responsibilities. In other words, each responsibility is rewarded in the formal structure of the society. Each status enforces certain duties and the rewards motivate the duties to be translated into action. The privileges and the remuneration of the various age groups associated with the dormitory organization are described briefly.

A. *Kangerki* and *Selanki*

- (i) During marriage the *Kangerki* and *Selanki* always associate with the groom's party (no special rites are observed in bride's village since the bride is taken to the groom's village for marriage). They bring fire-wood and the *Selanki* brings leaves to the groom's house. During the marriage period they are given food to eat by the groom's parents.
- (ii) A major portion of the bride wealth which the groom's party gives to the bride's villagers goes formally to the *Kangerki* and the *Selanki* of the bride's village, though the amount, in fact, is shared by all the villagers. Two *khandi* of paddy and two *khandi* of rice (out of the total amount of seven *khandi* of paddy and six *khandi* of rice) are given for the cost of the turmeric and oil for the *Kangerki* and *Selanki* (*Kanger Selan Ojan Sasang*).
- (iii) For giving constant company to the bride and the groom in groom's village, the *Kangerki* and *Selanki* get a special share of rice (about ten *pai* or a *khandi*) and a goat or a chicken. The *Kangerki* and *Selanki* cook it and distribute among themselves.
- (iv) After marriage the bride and the groom make a ceremonial visit to the bride's village with the bride wealth. The *Kangerki* and *Selanki* of the groom's village also go with the bride and the groom. During their stay they are fed by the bride's parents.
- (v) On major ritual days the *Kangerki* and *Selanki* bring fire-wood and leaves to the *Tandakar* and they are fed by him.
- (vi) The day the *Tandakar* is selected by the *Kangerki* and *Selanki* he gives one share of cooked rice and meat curry to the *Kangerki* and *Selanki* of the village. Similarly, when a *Tandakar* resigns from his office he provides cooked rice and meat curry to the *Kangerki* and *Selanki*.

- (vii) The same is the situation when a man becomes a *Kamanda* then office by virtue of which he can take active role in rituals of the village) he gives a special share of cooked rice and meat curry to the *Kangerki* and *Selanki*.
- (viii) On every ritual occasion the *Kamandaki* get the head meat of the slaughtered animals which no other married people except them can eat. This meat and the rice grains used in the rituals are cooked in the *Majang* by the *Kangerki*. Both the *Kamandaki* and the *Kangerki* eat this food.
- (ix) Lastly, the *Kangerki* and *Selanki*, when hired as a working party by anybody are given rice and goat which they cook and eat in the field on any convenient day.

B. Tandakar

- (i). It has already been pointed out that on major ritual or festive occasions the *Kangerki* and *Selanki* are given a meal by the Tandakar. On the above occasions the Tandakar is supplied with fire-wood and leaves by the *Kangerki* and *Selanki*.
- (ii). When the *Selanki* and the *Kangerki* of a village get gifts from their *Bandhu* *Kangerki* or *Selanki* they give a share of their gift to the *Tandakar*.
- (iii). The Tandakar has the right to ask the *Selanki* and *Kangerki* of his village to work on his field even though he cannot pay them anything for their labour.

C. The Widows and the Widowers

They do not get any remuneration from the village. Only those widows and widowers who associate more with the *Kangerki* and *Selanki* are given share of the gift the latter receive from their *Bandhu* friends. The social, economic, and other group activities of the married boys and girls concerning the *Majang*, and the various functions of *Majang* are to be discussed in a subsequent paper. All these would be able to give a complete picture of the life entered around the dormitory in Juang Society.

FUNCTIONS OF JUANG DORMITORY IN KEONJHAR DISTRICT *

*Siba Prasad Rout*¹

Introduction

My previous article on "Dormitory Organization of the Juang of Keonjhar" deals with such aspect like the age-grade structure of the male and female population, factors determining admission into the dormitory, rites for becoming formal members of the dormitory, role and responsibilities of these members and rewards privileges enjoyed by each agegroup. This paper describes the functional aspect of the dormitory. Here I have discussed about the organized group activities of the dormitory members. Organized behavior as manifested in communal and group endeavour is a special feature in the tribal societies and is in full swing in the dormitory life of the Juangs. It is interesting and important to observe how such group activities are organized and how these are translated into action. Co-operation of the group members and their common interests find full expression in two situations, i.e. dancing visits exchanged between *Bandhu* boys and girls and their common economic pursuits like cultivating common patches of forest land, working as hired labour parties for wages, collecting oil-seeds from the jungle, etc.

Dancing Expeditions

In Juang *pirh*, most of the Juang villages are strictly uni-clan villages. Marriages are strictly forbidden in one's own village and invillages which are related as *Kutumb*. Marriages are only performed between *Bandhu* villages. All these rules also apply to the dancing organization of the boys and the girls. Dancing visits are exchanged only between *Bandhu* villages. If the *Kangerki* (unmarried boys) develop special love and liking for the *Selanki* (unmarried girls) of a particular *Bandhu* village, they make gifts of fried rice, ribbon for buns, combs, etc. to the girls and invite them to pay a visit to their village. Inorder to convey

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their eagerness for *changu* dance, the boys might tie the gifts in a piece of cloth and leave the cloth with the girls telling them to return the cloth on their trip to boys' village. Sometimes, they also appeal for the girls consent in a joking manner by saying- "if you do not come to our village, then let your own brothers marry you". While making gifts the boys' party and the girls' party try to flatter each other. The boys identify themselves as "the sons of untouchables" and address the girls as "the daughters of kings". The girls also answer in the similar manner describing themselves as inferior to the boys. The girls distribute the gifts of their *Bandhu Kangerki* among themselves and give a small share to the *Kangerki* of their own village. When the boys distribute the gifts of their *Bandhu* girls they also give a small share to their village girls (*Selanki*).

Before making a dancing trip, the *Selanki* collect rice or paddy from their houses and prepare cakes to take for the *Bandhu Kangerki*. They also take tobacco and liquor with the cakes as gifts and reach the boys' village with some widows and old ladies of the village. They take shelter in anybody's house but generally the house of a close relative is preferred. The girls call the *Bandhu* boys to this place and ask about their health and happiness. The boys always give funny replies to attract the girls saying that "some of them were sick". "Some had broken their legs on their way back home from the forest. Some could not walk for crushing their feet with an axe while chopping firewood" etc. The boys also ask about the health of the girls and the girls reply in the usual funny manner. The girls give cakes, tobacco and other gifts they brought for the boys and say jokingly that the boys might not like the things brought by the "untouchable girls".

During their stay in the boys' village, the girls and their party members are fed by the *Kangerki* and the village elders. Both the villagers and the *Kangerki* equally share the burden of feeding the girls party. The *Kangerki* provide rice, *dal*, etc. for the girls' meals from their common fund, if they have any stock, otherwise they collect such things from their own houses or bring on loans from the well-to-do families. The villagers also collect their share in similar fashion.

Food is cooked by the villagers on the plaza outside the *Majang* at night and inside the *Majang* under shade during the day. It is sent to the girls in leaf cups, prepared by the *Selanki* of the boys' villages.

Changu dance goes on day and night, but it is more free at night. At night the village elders retire from the *Majang* and go to sleep in their own house. A strong competitive spirit develops between the boys' and girls' parties and each party tries to defeat the other. The boys try to beat *changu* overnight and challenge the girls to dance. They beat *changu* in alternate groups. The girls also split into two groups and dance intermittently. If the girls try to flee away to sleep and the boys drag them and force them to dance. Likewise, the girls do not let the boys fall asleep and try to keep them alert by pouring water on them. It is really painful for the boys to get themselves drenched by the girls in cold winter nights.

During the dance, both parties try to display fun to each other. The girls kick and step on the foot of the boys while dancing. They also throw black dyes, mud water and turmeric water at the boys and the boys throw the same things back at the girls. Juang girls never sing in *changu* dance. The boys get full scope to display their joke towards the *Bandhu Selanki* during *changu* beats, and the girls cannot reply to it except by kicking, pulling *changu* from their hands and throwing ash and water at them. The singing competition between the boys and the girls takes place when each party sings and answers to each other on their way back home from market places, fairs, or while working together in the field. Each party sings in chorus to the other and both exchange joking answers through singing. They sing so sweetly and work so smoothly that they forget to go back home and eat their noon meals.

At the dead of the night when all the villagers fall asleep, the boys take the girls to a secluded place for massaging. The girls are coaxed and are lured to go for massaging. The boys tell the girls "Let us go to the forest to collect tooth twigs" (this is a figurative expression of massaging). The girls reply jokingly, "We do not know how to search for tooth twigs". The boys say, "Come, we will teach you". On certain occasions, the *Selanki* of the boys' village insist the *Bandhu Selanki* to massage their brothers. The boys get themselves massaged in a group seating close to each other or may pair off with one girl each to different places, but in no case they sit wide apart from each other. While getting massaged a boy may fondle the breasts of the girl but the joking behavior does not lead to actual sexual act.

On the parting day, the girls are entertained with a meat meal. A goat, a pig, or a sheep is slaughtered for them and shares of cooked rice and meat curry are given to the girls both for their meals and for carrying one share with them to eat on their way home. They are also given *rasi*, *saru*, *mandia*, maize, jackfruits and other seasonal crops. The boys' go up to certain distance to see the girls off. On the way the girls massage the boys and the boys decorate their buns with wild flowers.

Common Economic Pursuits

The formal members of the dormitory i.e. the *Kangerki* and the *Selanki* have to present gifts to their *Bandhu* partners. Besides, they have to feed their *Bandhu* friends on the occasion of the latter's visit on dancing expeditions. Such being the collective responsibilities of all the members of the dormitory, they all work collectively to enrich their common stock of paddy and other things for meeting such expenses. Thus the boys and the girls cut one or two patches of forest every year and raise various crops like paddy and *rasi*. In the months of June and July, the *Kangerki* and *Selanki* collect *bangrur* (oil-seeds) from the jungle. *Rasi* and *bangrur* are either sold for money or exchanged for paddy and rice. Money is used for buying gifts for *Bandhu* friends; and rice, *dal*, etc. are used for feeding them.

The *Kangerki* and *Selanki* also go to work as hired labour parties. They cut trees for others, weed their fields, help them in harvesting crops and bring wages which are used for common purposes.

Functions of the Majang

The *Majang* institution of the Juang has manifold functions for people of all age groups. The *Majang* has its social, economic, political and magico-religious uses for the Juang. Some of these uses are described here.

1. The *Majang* provides sleeping accommodation for the unmarried youth, for the widowers and for the guests and relatives. Outsiders coming to anybody's house become personal guests of the person concerned and are fed by the latter. Those coming to the village become the guests of the village and it becomes the duty of the villagers to feed them. Whatever they eat, the guests and outsiders always sleep in the *Majang* at night.
2. *Majang* is common meeting ground where the village elders gather for sometime after the day's toil to gossip and relax before retiring to sleep. They talk and amuse sitting around the sacred fire of the *Majang* which is kept lighted day and night. Similarly early in the morning, before the cock crows and before the sun appears in the distance horizon, the Juangs leave their bed. The women folk go to fetch water, husk paddy and do other domestic works, whereas the men come to the *Majang* to meet with each other, to talk and get warm by the *Majang* fire.

Important matters affecting the village life are also discussed in the *Majang* before any decision is carried out. For example, matters like the selection of days for village rituals, decision for changing the village site, selection for traditional offices of the village, giving away brides to the *Bandhus* in marriage or proposal for bringing abride from another village etc. are first discussed in the *Majang* and all members are free to express their opinions.

3. The educative role the *Majang* plays in forming the life of the Juang youth is very significant. Each married *Juang* couple has one house to sleep and as soon as their children are grown up they are sent to the *Majang* to sleep and are thus kept away from witnessing the sexualact of their parents. After becoming members of the *Majang* and after associating with its senior members they are trained to direct their energies for successful adjustment with other people in social, economic, religious and other spheres of life. The process of socialization also progresses through the senior-junior relationship of the *Majang* members. The junior members of the *Majang* run errands and fag for the senior members and are taught how to obey their superiors.

While sleeping together the *Kangreki* learn various *changu* rhythms and new songs from each other and from the older persons (widowers). The *Sana Kangerki* practice beating *changu* by joining in the groups of the elder *Kangerki*

when the latter beat *changu*. The folk-tales and myths of tribal origin are also learnt while sleeping in the *Majang*.

4. Life in the *Majang* provides an effective economic organization for the Juang youth. The *Kangerki* and *Selanki* cultivate one or two patches of *toila* land every year and the yield is stored for common use. The boys cut down trees, plough the field, sow seed and harvest the crops; while the *Selanki* help in hoeing, burning the dried trees and branches, debushing, weeding and cutting the harvest.
5. *Majang* serves as a court-house of the village where the quarrels and conflicts are mitigated. The villagers gather around the *Majang* fire and discuss about the quarrels and other important issues to bring out compromise. In case of major offences the culprit is fined and has to pay rice, goat and money for liquor to the village elders. Otherwise, he might be asked to give one or two rupees for liquor. The liquor is poured by the village elders to consummate the quarrels and conflicts. Both the intra and inter-village quarrels involving the Juang exclusively or both the Juang and non-Juang are also settled in the *Majang* in this manner.
6. *Majang* act as a storehouse or "Grain-golla" of the village, where paddy and other crops are kept stored by the villagers for the guests and relatives. After harvest 2 to 5 *pai* of paddy is collected from each family of the village and stored in the *Majang* for feeding the guests. The boys and girls also store their stock of paddy and other grains in the *Majang*.
7. *Majang* is a sacred institution. The drums and *changus* are hung on the *Majang* walls and the god and the goddess for *changus* and drums (known as *Bhima Badama* and *Kanchuni*, respectively) are believed to reside inside the *Majang*. For this the girls are directed to plaster the *Majang* frequently. Before going out to perform any ritual, the *Nagam* (village priest) and other rituals officers first come to the *Majang*. On the occasion of *Ama Nua* the *Kangerki* worship *changus* and drums invoking *Bhima Badama* and *Kanchuni*. Many other rituals are also performed inside the *Majang* or in front of it i.e. on the plaza. The distribution of seeds for first sowing is made in the *Majang* where the *Nagam* distributes paddy to each family for sowing.
8. The genuine artistic talents of the Juang find expression in the construction of their *Majang*. *Majang* may be called the *Museum of Juang Art and Decoration*. Its pillars and beams are carved with drawings of birds, beasts and graphic human figures. Moreover, the *Majang* walls are decorated with painting on the *Ama Nua* ritual day.
9. *Majang* may be used as the kitchen on feasting occasions. Meals are cooked for the visitors inside the *Majang* in the day time and near the plaza at night. On

every ritual day the *Kamandaki* cook their food with the offered materials inside the *Majang*.

10. The last but not the least function of the *Majang* is of recreational nature. It provides fun and pleasure to the boys and girls who are tired after the day's toil and want to enjoy the sweetness of life by beating *changu* and joining dancing. At times, they find it so enjoyable that they keep dancing and beating *changu* going on over days and nights.

Modern Changes in the Majang Organization

The important function of the *Majang* institution are breaking down and are gradually vanishing outdue to contact of the tribals with the non- tribal people. So it is important tonotice the effects of the modern culture on the *Majang* organization and the subsequent changes brought about. Juangs of the plains villages come in contact with the caste Hindus more closely than the Juang living on hills. As such they have developed a feeling of hatred towards the *changu* dance. In some villages, the youths have *Ramalila* parties. They are taught dance and songs by an Oriya teacher and exhibit their performances in the neighbouring villages for collecting money and grains.

Another form of hatred is developed towards their traditional dress and ornaments. Some literate Juangs feel that their ladies and girls should not wear beads and bangles of the traditional variety. They should on the other hand, wear light ornaments, use hair tonics and soaps and should wear fine and long saris which should be washed frequently with soap.

Absence of organized labour and communal economic pursuits on co-operative basis in plains village is really shocking. The members of the dormitory are hardly associating themselves with the affairs of the *Majang*. They prefer to mind their own business than taking pains for communal efforts. As such they do not cultivate patches of forest land of their own for a common harvest or go to work in a labour party to earn wages in cash or kind which could be used for meeting the expenses relating to the dormitory organization.

For such reasons it is now necessary for the anthropologists to study the youth organization of various tribes, so that steps may be taken to preserve the good points of such an institution.

THE JUANG YOUTH DORMITORY: AN ANTHROPOLOGICAL OUTLINE *

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Introduction

The Juang are a Primitive Tribal Group (PTG) confined only to the State of Orissa. The tribe belongs to Proto-Australoid racial stock. They can broadly be divided into two sections i.e. the Hill Juang and the Plain Juang. The Hill Juang inhabit the hill ranges of Keonjhar and Pallahara whereas, the Plain Juang are distributed in the plains of Dhenkanal (former undivided) and Keonjhar districts. The Hill Juang still practice the primitive technology of agriculture i.e. shifting cultivation. But the plains Juang have adopted settled agriculture.

They classify themselves into two groups, such as, the Thantias (Hill Juang) and the Bhagudias (Plains Juang). The Thantias are those who live in their own habitat called Juang Pirh located in Gonasika hills and the Bhagudias who have fled away from the homeland.

Elwin (1948) opines that the word 'Juang' means simply 'Man' as per the Juang dialect. Their neighbours call them as *Pattua* meaning the wearer of leaves. This dress pattern has been abandoned since long.

The Juang have a language of their own known as Juang, which forms a part of North Mundari Group. They have no script of their own, but the language

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is still alive and spoken. However, as result of contact with Oriya speaking people, they have become bilingual and speak both Oriya and their own mother tongue.

The total population of Juang was 35,665 of which 17,320 were males and 18,345 were females as per 1991 census. Among the Juang 14.46 per cent of the total population were literate. The literacy percentage among males was 25.57 % and females, only 4.13% (1991 Census).

The Juang villages are mostly homogenous, generally located at the foot of the hills or in the valleys surrounded by forests. Some settlements are also situated in the plains. Each village presents a scene of scattered houses. Frequent change of village site is a unique feature of Juang settlement pattern.

There is nothing peculiar in their dress pattern. They dress like the neighbouring castes. The women adorn their body with varieties of ornaments and multi-coloured bead necklaces. Besides, the women also practice tattooing in their foreheads and arms.

In Juang society family is mostly nuclear. Their system of clan organization seems complex. According to Elwin (1948) the Juang word for sept is *bok*. Bose (1928) writes it as *bok* and Risley (1891) as *ba*. They are divided into a number of clans, which are patrilineal and strongly totemistic. Risley (1891), who listed twenty-four clan groups have given an elaborate list of clans. Bose (1928) has given two lists of clan names, one for Pallahara area and the other for Dhenkanal area while Elwin (1948) has found four such lists.

They follow both village exogamy and clan exogamy. Formerly the Juang villages were uni-clan in nature and according to the clan names the villages were named. Due to immigration, now the compositions of villages have become multi-clan. Therefore, at present, marriage within the village is neither forbidden nor considered improper. For matrimonial purposes, the villages are divided into *Bandhu* villages and *Kutum* villages and every Juang village has few *Bandhu* villages and some *Kutum* villages.

Study Area

The field study was conducted in the Banspal Block of Keonjhar district. For this purpose six villages namely Gonasika, Guptaganga, Baitarani, Kadalibadi, Jantri and Talabali belonging to Gonasika and Barhagada G.Ps were covered. Table 1 shows distribution of Juang households, population and different clan groups in the study villages.

The following table reveals that in all the six study villages the total number of Juang households is 316 with a total population of 1451. While the villages such as Baitarani and Jantri are multi-clan in composition, the other four villages are uni-clan in nature.

Table-1
Village-wise distribution of Households, Population and Clan Groups

Sl. No	Name of the village	No of households	Population			Name of the Clan
			Male	Female	Total	
1.	Gonasika	60	146	135	281	Tambarambok
2.	Guptaganga	52	122	129	251	Barumbok
3.	Baitarani	39	74	99	173	Kalari, Gungibok, Kumbakalia.
4.	Kadalibadi	36	97	97	194	Samnabok
5.	Jantri	97	207	205	412	Barumbok, Gungibok, Saibok
6.	Talabali	32	74	66	140	Baliali
	Total	316	720	731	1451	

The Dormitory

Structure and Function

The dormitory institution of the Juang represents one of the traditional aspects of their culture and is central to all their activities relating to social, economic and cultural spheres. The institution plays a very significant role in guiding the youths to maintain social solidarity and loyalty to their customs and traditions. A brief account of the structure and function of the dormitory institution is discussed below.

The dormitory of the Juang is mono sexual and is meant for the unmarried boys only. The girls do not have their separate dormitory. Their activities are associated with bachelor's dormitory that presents an extended form dormitory system. The institution is known as *Majang*, *Darbar* or *Mandaghar*. The unmarried boys who are the members of the dormitory and sleep there at night are known by the name of *Kangerki*. The unmarried girls are called as *Selanki*. The group of *Kangerki* and *Selanki* called themselves as *Bida* or *Manda*. In the past, there was spinsters' dormitory known as *Dhangiribasa* or *Selaninja*. Today, this has been totally disintegrated. Now, they sleep on some of the widows' house in groups.

Origin

About the origin of the dormitory institution, the Juang have their own myths as described by Elwin (1948). It is linked with the Juang mythology that traces their origin from *Rusi* and *Rusiani*. The story tells that *Rusi* and his wife *Rusiani* and their twelve sons and twelve daughters were dressed in leaves. As they grew up, *Rusi* thought it indecent to sleep with the grown up children in one house. So, he built a separate house for the children. But it so happened that frequently the children came crying to their parents at late night. This disturbed the parents' sleep and to overcome this problem *Rusi* made a plan. He thought of making a musical instrument called *changu* and invented the dance. He taught the

children this new game. The children at every night started to dance till they were exhausted and then they fell asleep quietly in their dormitory house. From that day onwards, the institution of the dormitory came into existence. The above myth implies that the dormitory house was instituted to prevent grownup children from sharing the same room with their parents and to prevent them from witnessing the physical intimacy of their parents.

According to a second view, the dormitory is originated perhaps to serve the purpose of a rest house for the visitors in the village and to form the organization of the younger generation to work as village work force. Besides, as the Juang society is based on age grades, there was need for special clubs for the younger people and the unmarried boys.

Location

The dormitory house is located at the center of the village. It is the largest and the most prominent house in the village. Whenever a village is to be shifted, this house must be built first with the Guardian deity ritually installed followed by the Priest, Headman and so on. It signifies the importance of the dormitory house in the Juang social life.

Shape and Size

The dormitory house is invariably bigger in size than the ordinary Houses. It is open all along one side with a high verandah. This open side extends in the form of a slightly raised verandah with a deeply over hanging thatched roof to prevent the entry of rain water. The roof is supported by carved posts. At the central point of the house, there is an intensively carved wooden pillar, representing the deity of the community house. The wooden beams of the roof are also carved with elephants, animals, hunting and dancing scenes of male and female figures. These are now in the most of the villages replaced by simple pillars and beams. Out of the six study villages, carved beams and pillars are found only in Guptaganga. In rest of the villages, the dormitory institution is constructed either by Govt. Agencies (JDA) or by Private Agencies and the traditional structure of the dormitory house is no more in existence. The walls are mud plastered and are built on a framework of wooden posts. The interior of the house are decorated here and there with moulded and painted symbols of animals and human figures. The hunting scene symbolizes male virility and female figures indicate fertility. The wall paintings are also in the process of degeneration and only drawn on the occasion of Am Nua festival. There was a time when the dormitory was a sort of museum of their art and crafts.

In front of the dormitory house, there is an open space set aside for dancing on occasions of rituals and visits of the young people from *bandhu* villages. On one side of the open space, there is a sacred tree -*kathachampa* or temple flower tree accompanied by the village Guardian deity (Gramsiri). Several long pointed stones standing upright beside the tree represent the deity.

Construction and maintenance of the Majang is a co-operative work. Each house collects construction materials from the forest. The jobs are assigned according to age, capability and experiences on the basis of division of labour along the sex line. Young and able men bring the construction materials from the forest and do the thatching and young women prepare the mud-mixture and plaster the walls and the floor.

Interior Decoration

Near the centre of the floor of the dormitory house, the sacred fire known as *Rusi Dhuni* is kept burning all the time. There is no hearth but several smoldering logs are kept burning. This sacred fire is used to burn the felled trees and dried bushes when the burning operation starts in the swiddens. At present, the fire sometimes is allowed to go out, to be rekindled when required due to shortage of wood and restriction imposed on the use of forest.

On the walls of the dormitory house at several points are fixed stags of antlers, which are male symbolism and from these *changu* drums are hanged. These are large tambourine shaped sacred drums. Other musical instruments that are kept inside the house are *Badakatha*, *Dhola* and *Madal*. The *Badakatha* is a big wooden drum, one side of which is covered with goats' hide and the other with cows' hide stretched and tied tightly to the body with leather strips. This is so big that two persons carry it on their shoulder while the third man plays it with sticks. Both *Badakatha* and *Dhola* are used when ritual dances are performed. Of the six study villages, the *Badakatha* is found only in the dormitory house of the Guptaganga village. *Changu* is the most important musical instrument of the Juang. It is a circular wooden frame, on one side covered with goats' skin. The dormitory boys play it with fingers while the girls dance singing songs. *Changu* is regarded sacred as *Bhima* and *Kanchuni* - the husband and wife deities dwell in it.

On wooden platform across the back of the dormitory house, grain bins are stored which are of two kinds, one containing the last seasons store of seeds or millets, pulses or paddy to be shared out in the coming year for sowing and the other, a large globe shaped basket containing community fund of grains supplied by every household and the penalty grains to be spent for entertaining the village guests. The latter stocks are also used to provide loans to villagers in their time of need to be returned at the next harvest with fifty per cent interest. At present, a separate room attached to the dormitory house is constructed for storage of food grains and utensils for communal feast. In the past, the money lenders' records were kept written on the walls of the dormitory house. But now the educated youths keep the records in the form of written documents in this house.

Composition and Membership Rules

The dormitory institution is meant for all unmarried boys and widowers. When parents send their eight-year old sons to sleep in the Mandaghar, they are admitted as formal junior members. Though, they are eligible to participate in the

task required of a *Kanger*, still they remain subject to the authority of their own family heads. They are admitted to full membership of the Mandaghar only after attaining adolescence/ puberty followed by an initiation ceremony. The celebration takes place in three phases, the 1st one during the first mango eating (Am Nua) ceremony, in which the whole village and ritual heads are involved. In the second phase ritual, elders assisted by the senior young men perform worship of the *changu* drums in the Mandaghar. The final ritual involves only the young men. A feast is arranged; the young men cook rice and a goat or chicken head and serve these to the newcomers who henceforth, become the full-fledged members (*Kanger*) of Majang. A girl after attaining puberty is called *Selan*. But only after becoming a full-fledged *Selan*, she can enjoy same status with the formal *Selanki* like, she can make gift to *Bandhu* boys and get a share of the gifts which the *Bandhu Kangerki* give to the village *Selanki*. She also can accompany dance groups and visit the *Bandhu* villages. There is no specific ritual observed for a girl to become a *Selan*. When a *Selan* wants to be a full-fledged member, her friend *Selanki* offers her a share of their gifts from the *Bandhu* boys and then she becomes a member. There is a taboo for admission of a girl to the extended dormitory system where her brother is member. Similarly a boy is not allowed to be a member in case his sister is a member. However, only after one gets married and ceases to be a member, his/her sibling can be a member. A few case studies regarding dormitory membership are given below.

Case Studies

- 1 'G' Juang, son of K. Juang of village Kadalibadi is 18 years old. He is not admitted to the Majang as a formal member since his sister 'R' Juang, 21 years old is a full *Selan*.
- 2 'P' Juang daughter of 'S' Juang of Kadalibadi is 19 years old. She has not been a member of the dormitory as her brother 'M' Juang, 21 years old is a member.
- 3 'S' Juang, (25 yrs), son of 'B' Juang of Kadalibadi being a regular member of the dormitory, his two sisters 'R' (22) and 'H' (19) could not be admitted as members.

It is not customary to give dormitory names to *Kangerki* and *Selanki*; they are addressed by their original names. A divorcee/ widower is allowed to sleep in the dormitory. The *Kangerki* sleep in a circle on mats woven by the spinsters with feet pointing towards the fire.

Status of Members

The *Kangerki* enjoy certain status similar in many ways to that enjoyed by the ritual heads. For example, to eat the meat from the head of the sacrificed animals is a taboo for all other males except the ritual elders. But the *Kangreki* are exceptional as they are allowed to eat it. Moreover, after death, an unmarried

youth from the deceased persons' mothers' village is called to perform certain rites in purificatory ceremony, a practice normally carried out by the ritual heads. According to Nayak and Others (1993), "the identical treatments of the two groups attribute to the fact that neither of the two are engaged in the procreation of children where as rest of the males in the village are so engaged". Moreover according to them, "this means that, from the Juang view point, an inactive sexual life increases ones' ritual status where as an active one increases ones secular status" (ibid: 48). A young man who is not a dormitory member is neither allowed to beat the *changu* nor can he/ she take part in a dancing expedition. The girl who is not a member cannot accompany the group to market places. Moreover, among other facilities enjoyed by the formal members is that during the marriage occasion of a young boy who is not a dormitory member the Kangerki and Selanki refuse to provide necessary services like, providing leaf plates, fetching water, preparing food for the feast, making dances and accompanying the bride and the bridegroom. In fact, they boycott the marriage function and to overcome such problem the concerned young man has to pay the *jury* (penalty), which includes a goat, rice, liquor and some amount of money fixed by the elders' council to the dormitory members. Then only they participate in the marriage ceremony. A case study is given below;

Case Study:

'S' Juang, son of 'P' Juang, 28 years old belongs to village Gonasika. He is a graduate and working as a member of the Jilla Parishad. He has never been admitted to the dormitory as formal member. So at the time of his marriage, the youths of the village did not agree to participate. The meeting of the elders' council was convened and the *jury* amount was fixed at 30 Kgs of rice, a goat, two bottles of liquor and rupees one hundred. 'S' Juang paid the above amount and then only the youths' and villagers participated in his marriage ceremony.

Classification of Dormitory Members, their ascribed roles and privileges:

The Juang social life is based on age grade classification. Rout (1963-64) gives a nine fold classification of age group. Each one is entrusted with special roles and responsibilities prescribed under the purview of the Majang. Both the boys and girls select one among them known as Tandakar to be their guardian, supervisor and moral guide.

Important roles and responsibilities of some of the functionaries who are directly concerned with Majang are as follows;

1. Kangerki:

- Construction of new Majang in case of change of village site, thatching and repairing, collecting firewood for the Majang fire.
- Installing stone emblem in the new village site, making the sacred *change* and drums.

- Taking active part in important village rituals by collecting goats, pigs for cooking in the village feast.
- Collecting foodstuffs from each and every house for entertainment of guests.
- Helping in marriage ceremonies and death rites like, bringing firewood, performing customary rituals with the bride and bridegroom.
- Beating *change* throughout days and nights on ritual days and during visits of Bandhu girls.
- Assisting Tandakar and the village elders in providing hospitalities to visitors/ outsiders, storing common grains and providing service as communal working party.

2. Selanki:

- Plastering the Majang and sweeping the dancing ground on every three or four days and on ritual occasions.
- Making leaf-cups and plates for festive occasions and community feasts.
- Husking of community paddy.
- Preparing cakes on certain village rituals.
- Dancing overnight on festivals and ritual functions.
- Providing service as a communal working party.
- Obeying the Tandakar and village elders.

3. Widows and Spinsters (sleeping with girls):

- Watching the activities of the girls and taking care of them.
- Selecting the Bandhu villages for dance visits.
- Accompanying girls in dancing troops and while visiting weekly markets.
- Helping in making courtship between the girls and the boys of Bandhu Villages.
- Acting as representatives by carrying gifts sent by the girls to their Bandhu boys and bringing the information back.

4. Widowers and Bachelors:

- Keeping an eye on the activities of young boys.
- Providing leadership to youths in cooperative works.

5. Junior Kangreki and Junior Selenki:

- Assisting senior Kangerki and Selanki in running errands and in other activities whenever they need.

6. Tandakar:

- Helping the Kangerki and Selanki whenever they are in need by lending money, rice and other items.

- Keeping an eye over them that they do not violate the Juang norms or neglect their duties and punishing them for their negligence of duties.
- Taking decision on requests for rendering services by the Kangerki and Selanki on hired basis as a communal working party.
- Providing a goat for the feast when Tandakar retires from the office.

In case of disobedience to perform the prescribed duties the village elders punish the offenders. The punishment includes both physical assault and fine in cash and kind. This may include expulsion from the Majang, physical punishment like rebuke and standing in humiliating posture outside the dormitory, fines in the shape of rice, goat, liquor and money and warning. For any fault, the Kangreki or Selanki shift the responsibility to the Tandakar for his faulty supervision and sometimes he is fined first with some money and then, the real offender is punished. Until the full payment of fine followed by a formal ritual is completed, all the members are neither permitted to enter the dormitory nor enjoy the privileges. During this period, old men and women of the village opt to perform the youth's duties in the dormitory. Thus, collective responsibility is one of the main features of the Juang youth organization. For negligence in duty by anyone of the members, all the members of the organization are liable to be punished. They either collect the fine from their own houses or borrow it from somebody to repay him back by working on the creditor's field. The fine collected from them is used for holding a community feast.

Moreover, the system is so well organized that along with the responsibilities and duties assigned to the respective age groups, privileges and powers are also provided to them as remuneration for proper discharge of their duties. Each responsibility is rewarded in the formal structure of the society. A brief note on such rewards is given below;

Kangerki and Selanki:

- In lieu of their services during the marriage ceremonies the groom's villagers feed them.
- They get a portion of the bride price for their expenses towards the cost of turmeric and oil.
- They get a special share for providing company to the bride and the groom.
- During the feast organized for death rituals, the Selanki, that supply leaf-plates get special share of rice used for preparing cakes.

Dancing Groups:

As mentioned earlier, traditionally the Juang villages being uniclans, they follow the rule of village exogamy. As such marriage within one's own village is forbidden on the ground of incest. For matrimonial purposes the villages are grouped into Kutum and Bandhu villages. This kinship pattern has been

developed over centuries. From the Bandhu villages partners are chosen and these rules are also applied to the dancing groups of the dormitory boys and girls. The young people know these relationships from their very early childhood.

The youths of both sexes meet at marriage or funeral ceremonies and in market places where they talk and get acquainted with each other and exchange gifts. After such few meetings the Kangerki invite Selanki to visit their village for dance. This is known as *labab*. Sometimes, gifts like fried rice, soap, hair clips, ribbon, bead necklaces etc. tied in towels are given to the visiting Bandhu Selanki. On the other hand, the girls according to their convenience, in groups, accompanied by one or two elder widows go to the Bandhu villages. Generally, they visit the villages during the occasions of Dola Purnima and Baruni festivals or in lean agricultural season. They take cakes prepared from rice, liquor, tobacco, *bidi*, etc. as gifts for the Kangerki.

The Selanki during such visits sleep with their counterparts of the village. During the stay the Kangerki and the village elders feed the visiting party. They cooperate fully with Kangerki of their village in preparing food for the visitors. The cooking is done in the Majang with grains brought from the common fund and equal contributions from each family. The visit of dancing groups cost much for the village. The expenditure involved during such a visit is described below.

Case Study:

A group of 30 Selanki belonging to villages Panasi, Buddhakhaman, Tala Pansanasa, Masinajodi, Khajuribani came to village Talabali during the Baruni festival held in the month of April last year. They stayed there for 4 days and the expenditure incurred during this period was as follows;

Rice	3 Khandi (60 Kg approx)
Goat	2 nos. @ about Rs. 500-600 per goat
Chicken	4 nos.
Other items.	Rs. 250

In the last year, the Kangerki had collected from different sources about six Khandi (120 Kg) of rice. They met the other expenditure from their respective common funds. A group of 15 Kangreki of same Talabali village during the last years Dola festival visited Telkoi, Buddhakhaman, Panasi, Pansanasa and Khajuribani. They had spent approximately rupees fifteen hundred for purchase of gifts and other items. To arrange the amount, they have to collect Rs. 50/- per head.

Thus, the visit of dancing groups involves much cost. During such visits, *changu* dance is performed day and night continuously for three to four days. A competitive spirit develops between them and each group tries to defeat the other. The boys beat *changu* in alternative groups and the girls also split into two groups and dance intermittently amidst much fun and joking.

They follow clan exogamy strictly. If a young woman is found to be pregnant by a young man belonging to *bandhu* clan both of them are allowed to marry. But clan incest is treated as a severe social offence. Some related case studies given below.

Case Study:

'S' Juang, aged 35 years; daughter of 'J' Juang, village Kadalibadi was pregnant before marriage. The culprit was 'M' Juang 25 years old, son of 'B' Juang belonging to the same village. He is the nephew of the girl. The tribal council was convened. The council fined 'M' Juang with a goat, 30 Kgs of rice and rupees fifty. Later the girl gave birth to a male child that died soon after the delivery. Then after a long waiting 'S' Juang got married at the age of forty to a widower from the village Baitarani having two children from his first wife. It is customary in the Juang social life that a woman of such type will never get an unmarried youth for marriage. Bride price for such type of secondary marriage is also very nominal which includes one or two bottles of liquor and some money.

Leaving the Dormitory (Sanga Chhada):

The dormitory membership continues till marriage. After marriage, the membership ceases automatically. But widows and widowers are exceptions to this rule. The widowers always sleep in the dormitory with unmarried youths and widows sleep with unmarried girls. Those widowers / widows having no scope for their remarriage are fully considered as Kangerki / Selanki as the case may be in a formal way. They also take active part in the group activities of the youths.

Though after marriage, a Kangerki automatically ceases to be a member of the dormitory, he still continues to work and associate himself with the dormitory activities until he affords to perform a special ceremony. As a customary practice, immediately after the marriage groom does not sleep with his wife until a new house is built for the couple. On the consummation day of the marriage, the boy gives cakes, tobacco and a mat to his dormitory members and takes farewell from them. This occasion is known as *sanga chhada*.

This again does not mean final termination of his membership. It takes place only after the Kangerki pays some money i.e. approximately 20 rupees to 25, few *pai* of rice and chicken to other Kangreki on the day of Am Nua festival.

A similar procedure is followed for a Selan who after marriage and before sleeping with her husband visits the dormitory friends of her own village. She offers them cakes, tobacco and a new mat and takes farewell from them to enter into a full-fledged married life.

Dormitory Fund:

The dormitory youths are allotted with one or two patches of forest land by the elders' council for communal cultivation. The produce from the land are

kept in the dormitory fund. Besides, they earn additional money from collection of forest produces like *sal* seeds, *char* seeds etc., from wage earning and working as hired labour. A major portion of their earning they save communally to be utilized for purchase of gifts, entertainment of dancing groups and payment of fines. At present, they choose two or more youths from among them to remain in charge of the common fund. They keep the accounts of income and expenditure and make it known to others in a meeting. The community grains are given as loan to the villagers and the interest they get adds to their common fund.

Function:

The Majang of the Juang influences their socio cultural life in many ways. To quote Nayak and others, "The multifaceted significance of the community house in the Juang life needs to be observed, appreciated and understood, for it provides the key to all that has formed and held the Juangs together as a people down the centuries. It is similarly the means through which they continue to adapt to pressures around them with no loss of identity but rather with a wider use of their cultural gifts and an understanding of what constitutes true community life. The community house is the center of involvement for all age groups of the Juangs especially the males, in the social, economic, political, religious, educational and aesthetic areas of their life". Its functions are described below:

Socio-Religious Functions:

- The community house acts as a community center for the youths.
- It is a meeting place for the elders where they gather both in the morning and evening to discuss local affairs. It also serves as an informal leisure center for the males.
- It functions as the center for planning and co-ordination of each and every collective activities of the community.
- It acts as the court house of the village elders where feuds are settled and often justice administered informally.
- It also acts as a communication center for all messengers that bring news from the Juang villages.
- It's most important function is to provide sleeping accommodation to the youths, bachelors and widowers.
- It is used as a storehouse of the communal properties and a place for keeping common accounts.
- It is a museum of their art and craft with all its carved structures on the pillars, paintings on the walls and the musical instruments stored.
- It is the starting point for the ritual occasions, in each and every religious ceremony organized by the community like taking the sacred fire to kindle the first bush wood for shifting cultivation.
- It is a sacred center as the deities connected with the musical instruments particularly *change* are supposed to reside in the community house.
- It is also used as a rest house for the guest and visitors.

Educative Functions:

- The community house acts as the educational institution for both the sexes. It acts directly in educating the boys and indirectly the girls about fulfillment of responsibilities required by them.
- The juniors are trained by the seniors to direct their energy to adjust with the people in social, economic, religious and other aspects of life. Thus it is through the senior-junior relationship, the process of socialization goes on.
- Each and every member of the community house has to fulfill the requirement and obligations of their age set, failing which they are subjected to punishments. These obligations make them disciplined and responsible persons of the society in future.
- Further, by association with the senior members, the juniors also learn to become a part of the village economic and social system.

Thus, the community house trains the young generation to be conscious of their community and its needs before marriage and enable them to become responsible adults. These children though spend more time with their new age group mates than with the family; the two areas responsibilities never clash and are recognized by all.

Above all, in course of the dormitory life, they learn from elders about their traditional art and craft such as wood carving, painting, different types of traditional dance and song and preparation of musical instrument. They are also acquainted with their cultural heritage through folk tales, riddles, stories, myths etc. by hearing from the elders. It is no doubt that the dormitory house serves the purpose of perpetuating the culture heritage from generation to generation and helps in the process of socialization.

Other functions:

Various Non Govt. and Govt. agencies working in the area are also foundutilizing theinstitution fordifferent development works. In the Mandaghar of nine villages like Saria, Kaptadiha, Barahagada etc. *chatasalis* for the Juang children run by the JDA are functioning.

Similarly under the DPEP Programme, training to the teachers working in the Juang area are given at the Mandaghar in six villages like Talabali, Budhighar etc. as their own centers are under construction.

Moreover, Government of India, Ministry of Tribal Affairs has launched a scheme of 'Village Grain Bank' in 13 States. Under this programme, it is proposed to open such grain bank in twenty Juang villages in Bansapal block and these are to be functioned in the Mandaghar of concerned villages.

Persistence and Change:

The dormitory organization is in the process of disintegration due to the impact of both internal and external forces. Change in the attitude of younger generation to follow their own traditional customs and practices, opening of the area with more and more outside contact and development intervention by Government and NGOs etc. have induced changes in their living style. The dormitory has already disappeared in Dhenkanal and is in the process of decay in Pallahara and Keonjhar. Some of such changes are highlighted below.

The community houses are no more a museum of the Juang art and culture. In many villages, the traditional Majang houses with its wooden pillars and beams richly engraved with beautiful animal and human figures have been replaced by simple houses with cemented walls.

Customs like burning of the sacred fire day and night throughout the year in Mandaghar is not strictly followed. Now a days, it is extinguished to be rekindled whenever required.

Changu dances, one of the characteristic features of Juang aesthetic life are losing its importance. Changu dance competitions are rarely held in the villages. The youths have now started playing modern games like playing cards etc.

Now a days, the traditional songs associated with their cultural activities are not sung more often in leisure time by the maidens. Rather colloquial Oriya songs like Ramalila song, Raja Doli song and even Oriya film songs are getting popular among them.

Religion that forms the hard core of their culture seems to be undergoing changes. Many Hindu deities have entered the dormitory house.

Disciplined life which is hallmark of their dormitory life has been disturbed to a large extent. The youths have developed dislike to learn the techniques of their traditional art and craft, music, dance etc. from their elders.

Besides the above changes, in the Juang Tribal Council held at Telkoi in the year 2001, it was unanimously agreed to stop payment of bride price and the custom of marriage by capture. Further, it was decided to restrict the visit of dancing groups as it involves much cost, waste of time and work.

The Juang youth dormitory organization is now under the process of decay under the onslaught of modern civilization. Therefore, time has come now to give serious thought for revival and strengthening of this age old traditional institution for its effective utilization in the development process.

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SOCIO-ECONOMIC IMPLICATIONS OF PUS PUNI : A RITUAL OF THE HILL JUANG OF KEONJHAR *

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Introduction

The Juangs are a Mundari speaking tribe of Odisha. According to 1961 census their population is 21,890. The Juang of Dhenkanal have since long adopted settled agriculture living in plains villages along with various caste groups, but the autochthonous Juang inhabiting the hill ranges of Keonjhar constitute a backward section of the Orissan tribes. They live primarily on shifting cultivation and food gathering and retain their traditional cultural norms to a great extent. Their socio-economic life, rites and rituals, feasts and festivities and political organization are tradition-oriented. This article aims at describing *Pus Puni* festival of the Juang and analyses significance of the rites in relation to other aspects of their culture.

Preparations

Pus Puni, one of the important festivals of the Juang, is observed in the month of January (*Magh*). There is no fixed date to observe the festival in all the villages. The event is observed after the harvesting of *niger* and after the villagers pay off their old debts. Each village selects a convenient day of its own after discussion in their traditional village council (*barabhai*) and it is communicated to all by the *Dangua* (the village messenger) by shouting loudly in front of the dormitory (*Majang*) so that the house may be plastered, money and grains be arranged, new clothes be purchased, guests and relatives be invited and so on.

A day before the commencement of *Pus Puni* is called *Bara Rua* (tabooed day). On this day, religious officials of the village observe certain taboos to maintain ritual purity for the festive days. If the wife of the *Nagam* (ritual-head) or *Ardhan* (secular chief) undergoes her menstrual cycle, this prohibits her husband to participate in the ritual of *Pus Puni*. Hence, the festival may be postponed. If such situation occurs in case of other religious officials they are not allowed to take part in the ritual, but the festival is not postponed. On *Bara Rua* night, the officers must maintain strict continence and should sleep in a separate bed from their wives.

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Rites and Rituals

The festival is celebrated for three days—the day for eating rice and offering rice in honour of the ancestors, the day of animal sacrifice to propitiate the deities and eating cakes and the day of blessing the villagers. In some villages it is concluded in two days with the rites of the last two days performed in one day.

The first day of the festival is called *Taana Aba* (rice eating festival). The *Nagam* worships *Gram Siri* (Village-deity represented by stones installed near the dormitory house) and offers *arua* rice (rice husked from unboiled paddy), milk, molasses and lighted wicks and prays that the villagers would now observe *Pus Puni* and no calamity may befall on them or their cattle or agriculture. The *Nagam* and his wife and other ritual participants (*Kamandaki*) consisting of *Ardhan*, *Dangua*, *Naik*, *Adhikari*, etc., observe fasting. *Nagam's* wife plasters her house and a portion of her courtyard with cowdung. She husks paddy after bath and winnows it in a new winnowing fan. The *Nagam* takes bath and wears new clothes. He pours five *pai* (local grain measure containing two Kgs. approximately) of paddy in the courtyard and worships it by sacrificing a fowl. While pouring the paddy, if it tilts towards his house it is believed that they may expect a bumper harvest for that year, but if it tilts otherwise, it indicates a good harvest. After this ritual the *Nagam* sits on a new mat in the courtyard and the family-heads of the village come to greet him with gifts of paddy, *mandia* (*ragi*), *gangei* or any other grains. Due to economic strain some families usually leave the village in search of employment. Those families proposing to leave the village for that year are forbidden to go to *Nagam* with gifts as they are not recognized to be the *bona fide* citizens of the village. The individual family-heads pour half of the grains they bring on the courtyard, in such a manner so that the pile may tilt to their side foretelling sign of prosperity for them. After *Nagam*, the *Ardhan* pours the grains, and following *Ardhan* the *bona fide* ritual personnel do so in order of seniority. Such strict hierarchy is, however, not maintained for the commoners. The *Nagam* sacrifices two more chickens in honour of their tutelary deities and the paddy contributed by him is stored in a straw bundle and preserved to be used as ritual seed by the individual families on the occasion of first-sowing ceremony. A bundle is made of straw of the hill paddy harvested for the year and the *Nagam* is offered with tobacco to set fire to the straw bundle and light his tobacco from this first fire. Before this ritual the straw may not be used as fire-bundle. The villagers also entertain the *Nagam* with liquor and after offering liquor to the deities the elderly people join the cocktail party with the *Nagam*. The head-meat of the chickens sacrificed and the *arua* rice offered in the ritual are cooked together by the unmarried boys (*Kangerki*) and the food is eaten by the ritual officers and the *Kangerki*. The grains brought by the individual family-heads are distributed equally among four groups- the *Nagam*, his wife, the *Kangerki* (unmarried boys) and *Selanki* (unmarried girls), and the villagers – each group getting an equal share.

Prior to *Pus Puni*, *arua* rice must not be cooked. On this day *arua* rice is cooked in a new pot and with molasses, milk, and cooked-rice put in a new pot

kept on a forked branch are offered to the male and female ancestors in the village outskirts. Returning back to the village, the senior male members of the village assemble in the dormitory house and liquor is shared by all. The day is highlighted by *changu* (circular wooden musical instrument covered with hide) dance. Persons of all age participate in this dance. Girls from *bandhu* (cognate) village are also invited to make the dance more colourful. It is customary for the boys and girls to keep up *change* dance overnight.

The second day of *Pus Puni* is called *Alak Aba* (cake-eating festival). Cakes are prepared out of the grains received on the previous day and the same are eaten by the respective groups. Cakes prepared from the village share are equally distributed among all the families of the village who went with such grains to the *Nagam's* house. The cakes prepared by the *Selanki* out of the share given to the boys and girls are equally distributed among the *bona fide* members of the dormitory and among those newly married persons (*Kamathara*) who still continue to be regarded as recognized members of the boys' and girls' organization by not performing a ritual and resigning from the association of the former. If a new girl is to be admitted to the dormitory a share of such cakes is given to her and from that day she is recognized as a formal member of the girls' association and assumes the rights and responsibilities like other members.

At noon two male goats and chickens are sacrificed and offered to *Thanapati* and *Buitinipata* (the tutelary deities of the place). The ritual is performed at the outskirts of the village and all the drums of the village are taken out and beaten at the time of worship. The *Nagam* worships the deities and prays for a happy and prosperous new year. Each family contributes shares of uncooked rice (the amount depending on the number of family members). Meat of the sacrificed animals and the rice are cooked on the spot and the villagers assemble and enjoy the community feast.

The last day of *Pus Puni* is *Gaon Bandha*, observed to protect the villagers against evils and ill-luck and to strengthen the village solidarity. This ritual is performed in front of the dormitory house. The *Nagam* brings six pairs of *sal* twigs (about three inches long and half inch in diameter). Half of the twigs must be dry ones. All the villagers excluding those who would not remain permanently in the village at least for one year assemble on the plaza. The *Nagam* worships *Gram Siri* (Village goddess), *Buitinipata* and *Thanapati* praying—"Oh *Gram Siri*, *Buitinipata*, *Thanapati*! Today *Gaon Bandha* ceremony will be performed. Let the *barabhaiki* (elderly men), *ma bhouniki* (elderly women), *selanki*, *kangerki* (Unmarried girls and boys) *ualiki* (children) and *aleimeramki* (cattle and goats) be free from ill-health and calamities. Let there be bumper harvest in the forthcoming year. Let the jungle be enriched with plenty of wild roots, fruits, greens and tubers to feed us".

After the prayer he tests omen by casting the seven pairs of lots: each pair comprising of piece of splitted raw *sal* twig and a similar dried piece of twig. The first pair of twigs is cast on the ground for the health 'and happiness of the

Kamandaki (ritual officers). If one split falls down concavely and the other one convexly a good fortune is indicated. Otherwise, the lots are cast again and again till the desired position is attained. Likewise, casting is done for *barabhaiki*, *ma bhouniki*, *kangerki*, *selanki* and for *ualiki*, respectively. Then the *Nagam* walks around the villagers. After encircling them seven times with a pot full of turmeric water, he sprinkles turmeric water on them and all shout '*haribol*' and watch to know the direction from which the echo is heard. It is believed that the forest lying in the direction from which the echo is heard yields good harvest and thereby a patch of such forest may be selected for the current year's shifting cultivation.

General features and Conclusion

The above description of the *Pus Puni* ritual not only gives an account of the religious rites performed by the Juang, but it throws light on social, economic and political aspects of the tribe. This shows, as to what extent all the aspects of culture -economic, social, religious and political - are closely interrelated with each other to make it an integrated whole and a microscopic analysis of one of the aspects can tell much about the other aspects of a culture.

During *Pus Puni*, elaborate religious rites are performed to honour the ancestors by offering them cooked food of the first *arua* (unboiled paddy) rice to propitiate the patron goddess of the village as well as to a host of other gods and goddesses, ghosts and spirits dwelling in hills, forests and streams. They equally test omen for plenty and prosperity for the villagers and blessing them against disease and death, misfortunes and calamities. In *Pus Puni*, paddy contributed by the *Nagam* is considered sacred and is stored to be used as ritual seed by all the families of the village on the first day of sowing. The belief that *arua* rice and cakes made of *arua* rice may not be eaten before these are offered to the ancestors, the extent to which the *Nagam* and other ritual officers maintain purity for *Pus Puni* and the rites and rituals involved in sacrifices made to appease the deities show the religious frame work of Juang mind. Living in woods and forests devoured by wild animals and depending on the mercy of nature to subsist themselves, the Juang are afraid of various gods and goddesses, their ancestral spirits and river and tree spirits. Negligence in proper propitiation may irritate them and open way for innumerable calamities and misfortune overtaking the life of the cattle and human beings. Hence, the Juangs take proper caution to appease these supernatural powers and forces through worships and sacrifices and secure their life ensuring health and happiness, plethora and prosperity.

The salient features of the Juang political Organization and the authority structure are clearly manifested in *Pus Puni*. According to their traditional norm, age and generation determine the authority structure in a village and senior persons who are senior both in generation and age are considered leaders. The *Nagam*, therefore, happens to be the eldest man of the senior generation and next to him in status is the *Ardhan*- the secular head of the village. The *Nagam* is viewed to be the 'lord' of the village, all others being 'subjects'. On the first day of

Pus Puni, the 'subjects' revere the 'lord' by offering gifts of rice, *ragi* and other grains as token of respect and entertaining him with tobacco and liquor. No villager may prepare ropes of *toila* (hill-slope land) straw and fire it for smoking until the *Nagam* does so on the day of *Pus Puni*. Methods involved in fixing the day for *Pus Puni* by discussing in the dormitory and offering liquor in cock-tail party according to seniority also tell much about the political organization of the Juang.

Pus Puni throws light on the social organization of the Juang. Besides the ritual importance, *Pus Puni* may be considered as the biggest festive occasion for the Juang. After the year's harvest the Juang pay off their outstanding debts and before welcoming a new year want to enjoy life by eating delicacies, wearing new clothes, inviting guests and by dancing and singing to forget the trials and tribulations of life. In fact *Pus Puni* breaks the monotony of their routine life and generates new energy and zeal in them to face the hardships for the New Year.

Pus Puni is the proper occasion to study the communal feeling and the co-operative endeavour of the Juang. The religious rites are performed communally by the *Nagam* for the whole village and all the families must contribute funds for the ritual. Goats and chickens may be purchased out of the funds raised from the village. The meat of the sacrificed animals and uncooked rice contributed by individual families may be cooked on a hill-paddy plot and eaten by all. Likewise cakes prepared out of the grains distributed to the unmarried boys and girls and to the villagers are distributed among all the members of the respective group. The unmarried boys also raise contributions, purchase a goat and distribute the meat among them giving a token amount to the families having no *kanger* or *selan*.

Certain rites of *Pus Puni* also are performed to strengthen village solidarity. Following *Pus Puni* shares of cooked rice and cakes may be distributed among the families belonging to the same major and minor lineages. *Gaon Bandha* ritual further consolidates their solidarity when all the villagers assemble on the plaza and the *Nagam* encircling them seven times; bless them for health and happiness. Any outsider or the persons to leave the village elsewhere in search of employment are excluded from this group. They are not allowed to take gifts to the *Nagam's* house, to eat cakes prepared out of the grains distributed in the *Nagam's* house, to join the communal feast held on the hill-paddy plot and are not blessed by the *Nagam* on the *Gaon Bandha* ritual. Marriage, which is more a responsibility of the village than the duty of the concerned guardians may not be performed before *Pus Puni* and even negotiation for marriage may not be broken out prior to the commencement of *Pus Puni*. The organized behaviour of the unmarried boys and girls and their rights and responsibilities relating to the dormitory organization are also manifested in *Pus Puni*. As formal members of the dormitory, they are recognized as a miniature replica of the larger village unit. Like members of other age-groups, they have well defined rights and responsibilities. The boys must contribute a goat for the village feast by raising funds from among themselves, take care of the girls coming on dancing expedition to highlight *Pus Puni* and play on *changu* and dance overnight. On *Alak Aba* day of

Pus Puni a girl desirous of becoming a formal member of the girls' association may be given a share of the cakes prepared out of the grains given to them by the *Nagam* on the first day of *Pus Puni*. Dance on an ordinary day among the boys and girls of one village becomes less colourful and stereotyped but in *Pus Puni* girls from *bandhu* (marrying) villages are invited for dance and there is ample scope for the *bandhu* boys and girls to display fun and joke during the dance.

The economic implications of *Pus Puni* are of supreme importance. Commencement of *Pus Puni* marks the beginning of a new agricultural year. Before the festival is observed harvesting of Niger, hill-paddy and other crops cultivated on hill clearings must have been over and the outstanding loans must have been liquidated. There must be provisions ready in every house for feasting on the festive occasion. New clothes may be purchased, friends and relatives be invited and rations be purchased to enjoy the year's biggest festival. To keep the purse ready for *Pus Puni*, the poor families may exert extra labour and save their earning to meet contingent expenses of *Pus Puni*.

Most of the rites performed during *Pus Puni* and the taboos associated with it reveal the salient features of Juang economic organization as such rites are closely associated with their shifting cultivation and gleaning life. Some of the forest products may not be collected and a number of swidden crops cannot be eaten before *Pus Puni*. Broomsticks, wild grass for thatching house and *siari* fruits can only be collected after *Pus Puni*. Similarly before *Pus Puni* eating *arua* rice (rice husked from unboiled hill-paddy), mixing *arua* rice with *usuna* rice (rice husked from boiled paddy), eating cakes prepared from *arua* rice, grinding of *ruma* (a kind of pulse), eating hill *gangei* (a kind of cereal) and using straw of hill paddy as torch for carrying fire are tabooed to all and eating of *mandia* (*ragi*) cakes is tabooed for the religious officials. The Juang have communal ownership of the forest land and each village has its own area of exploitation, demarcated from the time of the Raja. On the *Gaonbandha* ritual, the villagers are blessed by the *Nagam*. All shout *haribol* and watch to hear the echo. It is believed that a patch of forest in the direction from which the echo of *haribol* is heard is considered auspicious and is selected for the year's cultivation. Soon after *Pus Puni* patches of such forest land are distributed to individual family heads. Ritual seed for the first sowing is contributed by the *Nagam* on the first day of *Pus Puni* and is stored in the dormitory to be distributed to family heads on the first sowing (*Tirtia*) ceremony.

The present article shows that cultural process is not a congregation of a member of isolated cultural traits. Culture, on the other hand, is an integrated whole where different aspects - economic, political, religious, social - are closely interrelated and a study of one of the aspects throws light on the other and on the culture as a whole. Thus analysis of *Pus Puni*, a religious festival of the hill-Juang reveals important traits of their social life, economic and political organization.

ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF JUANG MARRIAGE*

*Siba Prasad Rout*¹

The Hill Juang of Keonjhar are one of the backward tribes of Orissa. They inhabit the highlands of Keonjhar district with an altitude of 3,000' to 3,500'. They are mainly shifting cultivators, but practice wet cultivation according to availability of wet land. The Juang have their own language. Their cultural base has not been widened to incorporate alien traits to any great extent. Marriage no doubt is an expensive proposition for the Juang. It puts great economic strain on their meager resources, never the less, they manage to pay for the bride-price and other ancillary expenses in marriage ceremony. In this background, the economic implications of Juang marriage are analysed.

Juang Marriage in Nut-Shell

A full description of Juan marriage ceremony cannot be given here due to its long and elaborate procedures. A brief and general note is given here for throwing light on the topic of this paper.

After a bride is chosen or kept in view the groom's parents express their wish to the village elders. The *Boita* (village ritual head) tests omens in order to forecast if the future marriage would be successful. He tests four factors; the health of the groom, the health of the wife, the health and happiness of the off springs of the prospective couple, and for the future harvests of the family by placing, four piles of paddy. If the omen is found favourable the groom's parents send *Kamandirias* (marriage brokers) to the girl's village. After the proposal is accepted by the bride's parents and her villagers, a day is fixed for taking the bride. On the appointed day, the *Kamandirias* reach in the bride's village with a fixed amount of paddy called *Subhadhan* (lit, auspicious paddy) and bring the bride. Women and girls (and unmarried boys with *changu* also join the group in *Gatang Kania* marriage) to accompany the bride and take her to the groom's village. In the next

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morning the bridal pair is given a sacred bath in turmeric water. Next day, the bride goes to the stream with the village women for a bath and returns home with a potful of water on her head. Her path is obstructed by the men who stand as brother, father's, father, or son's son (own or classificatory) to the groom. A fun dance is performed between these persons and the women who stand in the groom's own or alternate generation (and joking relations to the groom and the bride). On this day the groom adorns the bride with beads and bangles and the bride gives a small share of her food to the groom. The villagers and the relatives of the groom pay visit and contribute paddy, husked rice, money, cloth, or goat, etc., towards the groom's bride-wealth. The bridal pair pays a ceremonial visit to the bride's village one or two days after their marriage. The groom's villagers accompany the bride and the groom carries the articles of bride-wealth to be paid to the girl's villagers. After paying the bride-wealth the groom's villagers return to their village with the bride and the groom. The marrying partners do not start sleeping together soon after the marriage is over. The consummation of marriage takes place after three or four months and after a new house is built the bride and the groom start sleeping together.

Expenses in a Juang Marriage

In Juang marriages the bride's parents do not have to spend anything. They are gainers in the sense that their daughter is given away to the groom's parents for marriage in exchange of money, grains and clothes (as bride-wealth) and the marriages are performed in the groom's village.

The expense of the bride's parents is so small and insignificant that it lays no strain on them and thus needs no special discussion here. Hence the expense of the groom's family is described here.

The three major items of expense are -

- (i) Money, clothes, grains and chicken for bride-wealth (*Kania Mula*).
- (ii) Marriage articles like new clothes for the bride and the groom, beads and bangles for the bride and combs and ribbons for the ladies who are joking relations to the groom and who take part in the fun dance (*Kadanata*).
- (iii) Paddy, rice, grains, goats, pigs, liquor and chickens for feasts.

The cost of the first and the second categories remains constant in all forms of marriages starting from *Gatang Kania* (marriage by arrangement) and *Digar Kania* (marriage by capture) to *Surum Kania* (marriage by elopement). In widow marriage no formal bridewealth is paid to the girl's parents; only her husband's villagers are entertained with liquor.

In *Daki Kania* (marriage of the divorcees) only a token amount is paid to the girl's former husband in form of money or a cow as compensation. The

following **Table-1** gives a list of the standard articles of bride-wealth in a Juang marriage and the price of each item.

Table-1
Standard Bride-Wealth in a Juang, Marriage

Sl. No.	Name and kind of the thing	Amount	Formal recipients	Approx.Cost
1.	<i>Subhadhan</i> (paddy)	2 <i>Khandi</i> 5 <i>Pai</i>	For the village	Rs.11.501
2.	<i>Dhangudi Bhendia Ajan Sasang</i> (paddy)	4 <i>Khandi</i>	For boys and girls	Rs.20
3.	<i>Dhangudi Bhendia Ajan Sasang</i> (husked rice)	3 <i>Khandi</i>	For boys and girls	Rs.30
4.	<i>Mula Kunsar</i> (husked rice)	5 <i>Pai</i>	For the village	Rs.2.50P.
5.	For <i>Gai Munda</i> (husked rice)	1 <i>Khandi</i>	In lieu of a cow	Rs.10
6.	Small bundles of husked rice	20 Bundles		Rs.0.00P.
		1 Bundle	For bride's father	
		1 Bundle	For bride's mother	
		1 Bundle	For bride's mother's brother	
		1 Bundle	In lieu of a cow	
		4 Bundles	For <i>Kamandaki</i> (ritual specialists)	
		4 Bundles	For <i>Bauntaeki</i> (old men)	
		2 Bundles	For <i>Sumpuli Sankol</i> (<i>bandhus</i>)	
		1 Bundle	For the Sage	
		1 Bundle	For the Stickman	
		About 4 bundles for other villagers who obstruct the path of the groom's party.		
7.	Clothes	5 Pieces	1 for bride's father	Rs.25
			1 for bride's mother	
			1 for bride's brother	
			1 for bride's father's younger brother	
			1 for the village (<i>Gaon Sari</i>)	
8.	Chicken	1	For <i>Kamandirias</i>	Rs.2

9.	Liquor	2 bottles	For <i>Kamandirias</i>	Rs.2
10.	Cakes		For the villagers	Rs.1
			For bride's mother's brother	Rs.1
11.	Money		In lieu of cow	Rs.2
			For giving small changes with rice bundles.	Rs.2
			Total	Rs.109.50P

All the people cannot pay the full amount of bride wealth due to poor economic conditions. Person who succeed in paying the full amount are greatly appreciated but relaxation is also made for the quantity of grains in case of an orphan, a widow's son, or an extremely poor person.

The cost for marriage articles does not generally exceed Rs.20 and this expense remains constant in all types of marriages. The marriage articles include clothes for the bridal couple, beads and bangles for the bride, ribbons for the village ladies and salt, dal and spices purchased from the market. The following **Table-2** gives a list of various such items and their price.

The third and the major item of expense in Juang marriage is for the feasts. The villagers of the groom and the bride look forward to marriage as a feasting and merrymaking occasion. The bride's villagers get rice from the groom towards bride-wealth which is cooked and a feast is held. Besides, the groom has to give a number of feasts to his own villagers. The exact expense for marriage feasts cannot be ascertained as it varies with economic condition of the groom.

Table 2
Marriage Articles and their Cost

Sl. No.	Items	Quantity	For whom purchased	Approx. Cost
1.	Cloth	1	For the Groom	Rs.4
2.	Sari	1	For the Bride	Rs.5
3.	Beads & bangles		For the Bride	Rs.2.50P.
4.	Combs	10 to 20	For the ladies of the groom's own or alternate generation who take part in the fun dance.	Made by Juangs.
5.	Ribbons		-do-	Rs.1
6.	Salt, dal, oil, etc.		For feasts	Rs.5
			Total	Rs.17.50 P

A person standing on a strong economic footing naturally affords to spend more rice and goats on marriage, while a man living hand to mouth tries to

minimize the expenses on feasts. A standard list, on the marriage feasts can however be prepared on the data collected on live Juang marriages.

Table -3
Items of Feast in Juang Marriage and the Total Cost

Sl. No.	Item of things	Amount	The recipients	Approx. Cost
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
1.	Husked rice	5 <i>Pai</i>	To <i>Kamandirias</i> for their meals during negotiation.	Rs.2.50P.
2.	Liquor	2 bottles	To <i>Kamandirias</i>	Rs.2
3.	Husked rice		To <i>Kamandirias</i> for feast, after marriage	Rs.5
4.	Chicken		To <i>Kamandirias</i> for feast, after marriage	Rs.2
5.	Husked rice		For feeding the ladies and the girls of the bride village coming on marriage party	Rs.20
6.	Dal		For feeding the ladies and the girls of the bride's village, escorting the bride	Rs.1
7.	Husked rice	2 <i>Khandi</i>	For the groom's major lineage people and all the villagers	Rs.20
8.	Goat		-do-	Rs.15
9.	Paddy	1 <i>Khandi</i>	For the ladies for fun dance.	Rs.5
10.	Pig	1	For the ladies for fun dance	Rs.10
11.	Husked rice	2 <i>Khandi</i>	For the villagers accompanying the bridal pair with bride wealth to the bride's village.	Rs.20
12.	Goat	1	-do-	Rs.10
13.	Husked rice	2 <i>Khandi</i>	For feeding the relatives who bring gifts of rice and other things for the groom.	Rs.20
14.	Goat	1	-do-	Rs.10
15.	Husked rice	1 <i>Khandi</i>	The boys and girls for supplying firewood and leaf cups in marriage	Rs.10

16.	Goat	1	-do-	Rs.10
17.	Rice	5 <i>Pai</i>	For feeding the boys and girls during the marriage for giving company to the bridal pair	Rs.2.50P.
18.	Husked rice	5 <i>Pai</i>	For distribution of small shares of cooled rice, on various occasions of marriage	Rs.2.50P.
19.	Liquor		For the old man of the village	Rs.10
			Total =	Rs.177.50 P

Summing up the three tables a short table is given below to show the overall expenses of marriage on various items.

Table 4
Summary Table showing Main Heads of Expenses in Juang Marriage

Sl. No.	Item of things		Amount	Approx.Cost
	(1)	(2)		(3)
1.	Paddy (<i>Bua</i>)	7 <i>Khandi</i>	5 <i>Pai</i>	Rs.36.50 P.
2.	Rice (<i>Runkup</i>)	15 <i>Khahdi</i>	10 <i>Pai</i>	Rs.155
3.	Clothes (<i>Kate</i>)	5 Pieces		Rs.34
4.	Chicken (<i>Sankoe</i>)	2		Rs.4
5.	Goats and pigs	5		Rs.55
6.	Liquor			Rs.12
7.	Misc expenses			Rs.8
			Total =	Rs.304.50 P.

All the four tables reveal the following points of interest: -

- (i) The approximate cost of a Juang marriage amount to Rs.305 approximately. Poor families minimize the expense to a certain extent by spending less money on feasts and by paying less amount of bride-wealth. The rich families, on the other hand may tend to spend more money on feasts and liquor for fame and prestige. However, the total expense fluctuates from Rs.250 to Rs.400.
- (ii) The major expense of marriage is on feasts, i.e., Rs.177.50 P. as compared to the amount (Rs.109.50P.) paid towards bride wealth and that (Rs.17.50P.) spent for buying miscellaneous marriage articles.
- (iii) Grains of paddy and rice are important items required for a Juang marriage. About half of the total expense is spent for buying paddy and rice. Out of total expenditure of Rs.304.50P. the amount spent on paddy and rice is found to be Rs.191.50P.

Conclusion:

Marriage, though not so expensive an affair for the modern people lays much economic strain on the Juang who, in most cases run into debt for getting everything arranged for marriage. It is important to know how the various expenses of marriage are met with by Juangs. In this connection it is necessary to discuss the various kinds of helps received from the relatives.

Offers of grains and money are always expected from the close kins and other relatives. From among the *Bandhus* (affinal relatives) the groom's sister's husband pays more than his mother's brother and father's sister's husband. Helps from the groom's own village include paddy, rice and money donations from the members of the groom's extended family, his minor lineage people and from other villagers. The last group helps token amount of money which is not very outstanding and the help of the first category of people is noteworthy.

However, help from the relatives is always reciprocal and reinforces the same nature of help from the recipient. In other words the donors always expect the same help from the recipients in future. Besides, all the persons who visit the groom's parents with gifts of rice, paddy and goat, etc., are provided with hearty meals. Goats or chickens are slaughtered for them and they are given meat meals.

As stated in Table-2 the people of important age grades of the village are formally rewarded with rice and meat for feasting. The unmarried boys and girls are given cooked food during all the days of marriage for giving constant company to the bridal pair and for supplying wood and leaves for marriage. The ladies of the groom's own or alternate generations are given combs, ribbons and a pig and paddy for participating in fun dance. Rice and goats are also given to the villagers and to the persons who go to the bride's village with bride-wealth after marriage.

The bride-wealth distribution in the girl's village on the other hand, is also interesting. In fact the girls in Juang society are treated more as the "property" of the village than the daughter of their parents, and the bride-wealth is likewise regarded as the possession of the village. Except the three pieces of clothes taken by the bride's father, mother, and younger brother all other items go outside the bride's family. One cloth given for the bride's father's younger brother is always given to her classificatory father's younger brother. Four *Khandi* of paddy and three *Khandi* of rice are formally offered in the name of the unmarried boys and girls of the bride's village towards the cost for their "turmeric and oil", but in fact the amount is used for making feast for all the villagers. Out of two *Khandi* and five *Pai* of *Subhadhan*, five *Pai* is taken by the man who measures the grains. The rest amount is distributed to all the families giving special shares to the bride's minor lineage families. Token amounts are also offered to the bride's mother's brother, to her village leaders and other important persons.

In spite of small helps received for bride wealth from various sources the groom's parents cannot depend primarily on these gifts in arranging the marriage. The management of the marriage is done by the villagers, but the economic burden is always shouldered by the groom's parents. Getting ready for marriage requires prolonged habit of saving paddy, rice and other things. A Juang cannot afford to arrange all the things of a marriage worth Rs.300 at once, and hence prior attempts are necessary.

When a Juang boy becomes two or three years old, careful parents start investing money on buying goats, pigs and chickens in his name. These animals multiply in course fifteen to twenty years and earn a lot for the family.

This amount is hoarded or invested otherwise for the son's marriage. Likewise, when a Juang boy attains the age of ten his mother saves some husked rice from the daily meals of the family. When this amount increases it is given in loans for others and thus invested for further increase in the amount. This amount is known as *Bhendia Punji* (savings for an unmarried boy). When the boy grows up he tries to hoard money for his marriage by selling logs of wood in the market and by cultivating special patches of jungle land putting extra labour.

The overall expenses of marriage are borne by the parents. They labour hard and try to earn more from various sources working from dawn to dusk on *toilas*. They toil hard with the stones and pebbles for getting bumper yields. Living upon fruits, roots and wild tubers they cut down their daily meals and save the paddy, rice and other products of harvest for the marriage. In spite of all possible efforts they are often forced to run to the door of money-lenders for loans in case the full amount cannot be arranged.

Marriage by service as prevalent in some tribes is quite unknown to the Juang and hence, no Juang can get rid of paying the bride wealth by serving to his prospective father-in-law. The only way of being free from paying bride-wealth is to marry a widow. As marrying a widow tells upon the prestige of an unmarried young man such cases are extremely rare in Juang society. Hence, before searching for a life-companion, i.e., a marriage mate, a Juang must try to arrange the necessary requirements through extra efforts.

ROLE OF KINSHIP IN THE SOCIAL LIFE OF JUANGS OF KEONJHAR DISTRICT, ODISHA *

*Jagannath Dash*¹

The Juangs are mainly confined to the Keonjhar and Dhenkanal districts of Odisha. Whereas in Dhenkanal district the Juangs are found to be acculturated due to constant culture contact, in the district of Keonjhar they are still found with their traditional culture. The Juangs of Keonjhar district therefore, attracts a special attention for the more conventional studies like kinship in the field of social anthropology. The aspects of kinship which has been delineated in this paper, is mostly collected in Gonasika and Janghira areas of Keonjhar district for the study of Juangs in the hills and plains areas respectively. The present paper is mainly based on the one-month field work which was conducted in the year 1975 for the partial fulfillment of the M.Sc. degree in Anthropology.

The institution of kinship is based on descent and marriage. By birth one primarily becomes a member of the family, i.e., he acquires a fixed place among his primary kins. Thus the kin relation extends to the secondary, tertiary degrees both on the paternal side as well as the maternal side. In this way one belongs to all sorts of descent groups like clan, lineage, local descent groups etc. By descent he is attached to all his consanguine or blood relatives and by marriage, he is equally related to all his affines. Within this kinship network he is tied to all his kin members by which his social life is regulated or promoted. Through the kinship tie he is related to his kinsmen surrounding him in the society. The Juang of Keonjhar are no exception to it. It is the kinship that plays a vital role in satisfying their basic needs. From the childhood days, up to the death, all members of the society, maintain their social relationships in economic, political, juridical and ritual fields as a corporate unit. Here in this context within the homogeneous society of the Juangs, as it is already discussed, kinship as a mechanism for social integrity plays many a role in different fields of their social life, which are as follows:

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(a) Kinship as a Mechanism for Stable Economic Co-operation:

Ideally each Juang village consists of the members of one clan or *khili* that forms a local descent group. Thus all the members of the village or local descent group functions as a corporate unit for satisfying their basic economic needs. Each village is confined to its traditionally demarcated territory beyond which the villagers cannot possess any land for cultivation. Now-a-days, in the changing Juang villages, however, members of different *khilis* or clans are found. Still, different clan members perfectly maintain the norms and rules of their respective local descent groups and function like a corporate-units, contradicting which, the membership is annulled.

Mainly Juangs meet their major economic needs through shifting cultivation. Shifting cultivation in the hilly areas requires a collective or co-operative labour for clearing the bushes, grasses, burning of the trees, sowing of seeds, watching the crop and harvesting, etc.

In this manner traditionally, the local descent group was a corporate land-owning group and land was given to each member by the common decision. As per the ideal pattern for each and every member, the whole descent group had to labour for clearing the jungle and preparing the land for cultivation. Then all other activities like sowing of seeds, watching the crop, harvesting, etc. were to be performed by the concerned household members. But now in the plains areas, even after owning wet-lands, they are still performing shifting cultivation as well as other agricultural works as a corporate unit as in the traditional order.

Now, after facing many changes in the socio-cultural aspects, the Juangs try to keep their economic co-operation intact with the kinship. They are allotted wet-land by the Government, which has changed their traditional way of shifting cultivation to some extent. Unlike for the shifting cultivation, they require oxen, ploughing implements, better seeds etc for such wet-land cultivation. Therefore, poor Juangs establish ritual kinship with the other castes in order to get help in agricultural works. So for all these informal requirements or relationships, a formal ritual kinship is vital according to their notion. Besides the field of ritual kinship, now-a-days becoming land owning members, Juangs also try to adopt polygyny to have more hands to work for larger production. However, with all these changes, shifting cultivation is given no less importance.

Establishment of ritual kinship is not the only source of getting help in agricultural work. One's own affines and consanguines are also given priority in such co-operation activity. When one is in need, he may get help from his affines. His father-in-laws or wife's brothers may come forward to co-operate. Generally during harvesting time, all such co-operation occurs. I have come across a number of such cases where affines, usually come to help their 'Bandhu' or son-in-laws.

In shifting cultivation as well as other agricultural works, kinship does not differentiate the members according to their sex. All females are equally co-

operative like males. When the males cut the trees or burn them, the females with sickles clean the grasses to prepare the field for cultivation. They also take part in harvesting works. During the leisure time, females supplement their family economy by preparing sitting-mats out of date-palm leaves and collecting forest products like gums, oil-seeds, *sal* leaves and fire-wood etc.

When the members of the local descent group face any disorder in the economic stability or they require to adopt something new into their traditional economic system, they solve or meet it by the common decision finalized through a conference, comprising the elders of the local descent group. The immigrants from other local descent groups are given residence and membership in their descent group by the common decision of the village in the presence of the village head or Ardhan. They are given ownership over a land for shifting cultivation from the village territory by the decision of all the members of the local descent group, and if they misuse it, they are deprived of the land in the similar process.

The Juangs, by the kinship network, are so co-operative for the fulfillment of economic needs that, they as a single endogamous unit observe certain rituals in this concern. They strictly observe 'Amba Nuakhia', 'Dhana Nuakhia' rituals. After the harvest of the paddy is completed, nobody is allowed to take new rice before 'Nuakhia' ceremony is over. They believe that if someone breaks this rule, then he will be eaten by the tiger. In case somebody breaks this rule, the village elder members decide it in the 'Majang' and he is punished to pay some rice as fine. Similarly new greens and mangoes of the year are taken after a ceremony.

In occasions like marriages when a poor person requires some economic assistance for payment of bride price or for feast, his kin members come forward (affines or consanguines) to help him. The invited affines as well as consanguines, coming to the marriage, bring with them rice, goat or hen as presentation in order to help him. Likewise in death or birth pollutions the kin members also help the concerned person by supplying rice or other types of commodities.

(b) Kinship ensures smooth observance of rituals and ceremonies for strengthening the interrelationship among the kins.

Many a rituals and ceremonies are performed by the Juangs in their life cycle. In the hilly non-irrigated areas, poor Juangs have to work hard throughout the year to meet their basic needs. Amidst all these hardship and toil of the year, they enjoy their life in their own way to the fullest extent mainly through various rituals and ceremonies observed with the help of their kins. All these ceremonies, from the birth to death as well as the seasonal festivals namely Nuakhia, Ashadhi, Pus Punei, Gamha Punei etc. are observed colorfully with ecstasy.

Birth— Birth always brings joyousness among the kin members. But at the same time it brings in pollution to the kin members of the minimal lineage group. The pollution is followed up to the seventh day of the birth. Mother's brother and father usually visit the new born-baby and in some way help the couple with rice

etc. Similarly father's sister also comes to help. Till the completion of the seventh day the concerned members do not touch other members outside their minimal lineage and are forbidden to take fish or meat etc. On the seventh day 'Mamu' (maternal uncle) comes and the members of the concerned minimal lineage replace their old earthen pots by new ones and become purified. It is called 'Uthiari'. On the same day the ancestors are offered with 'Juri' or drinks. It is also offered to 'Dharam Debta' and 'Basukimata' (the Supreme Deities).

On the twenty first day the baby is given the name which is generally given by 'Mamu' or father's sister. But now-a-days the 'Dhais' are suggesting names for the babies.

Death – Like birth, death also ensures pollution among the members of the lineage group. The dead body or 'Gaja' is taken to the burial ground with the help of the Bandhu or Kutumb members of the village. The matri-lateral kins and also father's sisters are informed after the funeral. However, the kin members of one's own local descent group come forward first to help for the funeral ceremony. There are also some restrictions regarding the carrying of a corpse by the kins.

After 'Gaja' (corpse) is burnt or buried, purificatory ceremony or 'Sudha' ritual is performed. There is no fixed day for the purificatory rite. Generally, after the death, both the lateral kins and other affines are informed and as soon as they come, the 'Sudha' ritual is performed. Thus it takes place after two or three days or five days at the maximum. Till the end of the ritual, the carriers of the 'Gaja' or corpse as well as the bereaved family members do not take non-vegetarian food or oil and usually sleep in the Majang (village community center). They do not touch other members. Purification is solely performed by the maternal uncle or 'Mamu'.

The kin members comprising the collaterals and members of the minimal lineage group help the concerned persons of the dead person's family by bringing with them rice, goat, hen etc. After the purificatory ceremony is over the members of the minimal lineage wash their clothes, wash the Majang and home with cow-dung and replace the old earthen pots by new ones.

Marriage – Marriage is nothing but an institution that establishes a kinship between two groups, one as the bride-giving group and the other as the bride-receiving group. In this way it promotes the affinal kinship relation.

In the Juang marriage ceremony, it is the groom's party, who bears all the expenses towards marriage for bride-price, ceremonial feast, etc. But bride's party is less concerned about such expenditures. All the bride's villagers accompany her to the groom's place and enjoy the feast there. Therefore the burden of duty and expenditure is more for the groom's father. Generally they invite kinsmen who come to the groom's marriage and donate him some amount of rice, goat or hen as presentations. Generally 'Mamu' brings more amount of gift. Besides all these the groom also gets help from his patrilineal kins within the lineage.

In the marriage ceremony the members of the local descent group such as Kangers and Bhendias help in *changu* (circular drum) beating and inspiring the ceremony. In the feast they equally help the groom's family to serve foods to the bride's villagers and treat them well in order to keep up their village prestige.

On the first day after the marriage ceremony 'Nagam' (village ritual head) offer 'Juri' or drink to fore-fathers. Then from among the members of the local descent group, only Kutumb members perform the 'Kadalata' ceremony according to their moiety divisions. Thus with the co-operation of all the kin members, the marriage ceremony is smoothly conducted strengthening their kinship bonds.

Other Ceremonies— Now coming to other rituals and ceremonies, Nuakhia (Greens, Paddy and Mango) is already described earlier. Pus Punei is another ritual that is performed by common contribution. On that day each adult member of the local descent group contributes one *pai* of rice to 'Nagam', the ritual head of the village. He, with mango leaves (Alearak), turmeric (Sasang), vermilion and raw rice (Aarunkup) worships the village deity. Then Nagam's contribution of paddy is kept in the Majang and in the 'Akhaya Tritiya' ritual it is distributed to all the villagers equally and they sow them in their respective fields. The rest of the paddy is then divided into three shares. First share is given to the Kamanda (Nagam and Ardhan), the second is given to the Bauntae (all the married persons) and the third is given to the Kangers and Selans (unmarried boys and girls). This paddy is invested for preparing cakes (Dalak). Lastly all the juniors of the village greet the seniors by bowing down their heads before them and they say - 'Juhar'. In the same way 'Gamha' ritual is also performed with the co-operation of the village kinsmen. Generally, the distant kins like matri-lateral kins are not invited specially in these occasions.

(c) Kinship as a device for Social Control

To meet, the individual or group interests or goals, the society or culture always consists of more or less shared rules, norms for playing the game of ordered social life. By administration of customary rules, usages and norms, social conformity is established.

The Society is nothing but an organized aggregation of individuals. The members of society (homogeneous) are rather bound together by a force of kinship that unites them, dissolving their inequalities, disturbances and establishes tranquility at large. Thus kinship functions as a device for social control.

In the homogeneous Juang society, each and every member of the society always conforms to the social norms. The moral force of kinship is always there to control their behaviours, ways of life against any violation or deviance. The general rules are implicit in their behaviour, deeply ingrained in their habit and unconscious mind.

Thus in the Juang society, there are different ways of maintaining their sexual, joking, avoidance, religious, economic behaviours, etc. and at the same

time, there are leaders holding laws and powers to maintain the deviance or violation of such behaviours as per the cultural code.

The Juangs observe incest taboo very strictly. They always try to maintain a moral or legal sexual life as per the sanctions of the society. Within their rule of endogamy, clan is strictly exogamous. Marriage within the clan is considered incestuous, because they treat their clan members as consanguines or blood-relatives who are descendants of an unknown common ancestor. Deviation to this customary rule is rare. It sets their marriage rules and regulates the marital life.

Pre-marital sexual relations among the young girls and boys of the same clan are similarly treated as incest. So to prevent it, the Kangers or unmarried boys after their initiation use to sleep in the 'Majang' or youth dormitory. They are no more allowed to sleep with the mother in the hut. Similarly Selans or unmarried girls sleep in a separate hut meant for them, guided by an old widow of the village. Brother-sister avoidance and father-daughter avoidance are also culturally patterned in order to prevent the incest or 'begudang'. After the marriage until the construction of the neolocal home for the newly wedded couple, the daughter-in-law sleeps with her mother-in-law in the hut for which the father-in-law and the married son have to sleep in the 'Majang'.

Both joking and avoidance rules in the field of kinship interaction, provide ways of controlling, and relieving pressures at the stress points of a social system, hence, are subtle but important forces of social control.

In the Juang society joking is most commonly confined to the members of one's own moiety, that is, among the persons of alternate generations. It is also found with certain affines like elder brother's wife, etc. Usually members who treat themselves as equals make jokings. In this way their interpersonal behaviours are regulated smoothly, as they take no offence to tease each other. The practice of cross-cousin marriage pertains to a sort of respectful behaviour with mother's brother. Avoidance is strictly observed between the members of the two moiety groups. Besides this, brother-sister avoidance, father-daughter avoidance, avoidance with wife's elder sister, avoidance with husband's elder brother, etc. also helps to prevent incestuous relationships. Familiarity with wife's younger sisters may give rise to sororal types of marriage and at the same time familiarity with husband's younger brother, may lead to the practice of junior levirate marriage. Thus within the web of kinship through a number of patterned behaviours and rules, Juangs control their social life smoothly.

They pronounce heavy punishments for incest. For simple illegal sexual affairs the accused may be fined or compelled to marry the girl. But in incestuous activities, though the punishment differs from one local descent group to other, yet the accused is out casted from the society very often. Nobody likes to marry him/her. For breaking the rules of Nuakhia ceremony of mango, rice and greens, they simply fine the offender.

Like that of incest, killing a cow is also taken as a serious offence in the local descent group. All his kinsmen mainly his consanguines in the lineage group isolate him, treat him like an untouchable refusing to help him. Through begging alms with a straw-rope around the neck, he is punished to collect rice for the penance. In this way he is given twelve years of time for the penance, violation of which renders him out-casted from the society. During the period of penance the affines help him in some way or other by supplying food, etc., but they do not touch him. After the rice collection though begging is completed, he has to move around the fire seven times and to shave the hair cleanly. Then he himself cooks and serves to his kin members both affines and consanguines of the local descent group, after which he gets back his previous status in his descent group.

(d) Kinship as a Mechanism for Socialization

The individual's learning of the roles of his own society or culture is commonly known as socialization. It helps a human being to fit into his social environment. The specific spheres in the training of a child include instructions to learn good manners, habits and moralities of the society, as well as training in arts and crafts and important knowledge in traditional core and rituals.

In the above perspective, it is the kinship as a mechanism, which socializes the children or youngsters of the society. A child is helpless at the time of birth. He is brought up through different stages of rearing, learning, etc. by the help of his parents. First of all, he establishes his face-to-face relationship with his family members like father, mother, brother and sister, etc. Thus from the early childhood, only his primary kins train him in different ways as per the social norms, behaviours, traditions, etc.

Within the sphere of face-to-face contact parents are greatly responsible for developing the social or cultural concepts of a child. A son is more akin to his father who trains him as a hard working and disciplined member of the local group as well as the society. Thus father trains him to be a Juang in true sense. With father he joins in agricultural works; practically and theoretically he comes to know the economic resources, family management etc. in his later life. In the same way, the son of medicine man -Raulia or traditional Sardar gets training about the respective hereditary professions which enable him to succeed to his father's position. On the other hand, when a Juang girl grows up her mother trains her in different domestic responsibilities. She learns domestic works like cooking, bringing water from the stream, cleaning the house with cow-dung and serving of food, etc. from her mother. After attaining maturity the mother trains her about essentials of the sex and future married life and teaches her the restrictions, taboos, etc. during her menstruation period. The brothers and sisters during childhood days interact with each other like playmates. During this time they imitate different types of group activities. In later life elder brother is expected to control the younger brothers and sisters as the family head. Grown up or adult brothers usually work co-operatively in the field and forest by which the younger ones

learn many things from the elders. Similarly the younger sisters learn about the sex from the elderly married sisters or other females of the family.

Outside the family, one directly mixes with his lineage members who are equal in age, generation and sex. Thus unmarried Juang boys or 'Kangerki' form a group, perform *changu* dance and in assist in rituals performances by the training of the senior lineage members. By this a sense of co-cooperativeness is inculcated into their minds. In this way kin members in various ways socialize their younger generations in order to make them true successors of the local descent group. In marriages and other rituals and ceremonies the Kangers help the elders by beating *changus* and dancing. When they become efficient enough for working, they collectively go to the forest and collect firewood and other forest products. On the other hand the Selans hold their unity in a similar manner and function as a supplementary group in different recreational activities like dance, feast, etc. While in the group, they imitate each others behaviour, mode of talking, dress pattern, easy process of performing various works, nursing younger babies, etc.

The joking members of the lineage get ample scope to meet each other in several occasions, which provides for their socialization. The grandparents, while joking with their grand children tell the mythical stories about their origin, heroic deeds by which, these legends, traditional stories pass from generation to generation and the younger generations, become conscious of their glorious past. Besides all these, the lineage elders very often tell the youths about their mistakes and try to guide them in rituals, ceremonies.

Thus it is seen that a Juang by the help of his surrounding kinsmen, gets trainings about his role to be played as a member of the Juang society in different spheres of activities like social, economic, political, religious etc.

(e) Kinship as a device for settling inter-group conflicts

Conflict always occurs universally in every society due to breaking of norms or rules that uphold the interest between two individuals or groups. But it is always subsided by the kinship relation that binds the two involved groups together. Within one endogamous group, the Juangs always give priority to their kinship relation which balances their interests and dissolves conflict.

In the family level, conflict between husband and wife is common in the Juang society. Generally it happens due to misunderstandings in common household affairs, which are afterwards, dissolved by the parents-in-laws. Similarly brother-sister and parent-children conflicts are always sub sided by the senior kinsmen in the lineage.

Coming to inter-group conflict, it is generally found that conflicts often happen in different rituals, ceremonies in which obstruction of any sort of interest between two interacting groups causes conflict. Within the maximal lineage or local descent group, different lineages may be involved in some kind of conflict, over some basic issues like land, economic and other socio-religious interests. In

these cases sitting in the Majang the elders along with the village headman decide and dissolve it by mutually establishing their common interests. Similarly in rituals and ceremonies like Nuakhia, Pusa or Gamha Punei, when one lineage violates the rule of the local group, a conflict naturally arises. When one group follows these rituals and others do not join it or create any odd situation, then it hampers the common interest, but on the other side, the basic blood relationship behind them as the descendants of a common ancestor, applies a moral force which solves the situation without much difficulty.

In marriage ceremony, conflicts may also arise due to any kind of misbehavior by any affinal group to the other or inability to pay the bride-price in full. Often the conflict between husband and wife also involves the two concerned affinal kin groups in the conflict. Within one month stay in their locality, I have come across many such conflicts. The elders of both the Bandhu villages along with their headmen decide and dissolve it.

(f) Kinship as a political unit:

As a political unit, kinship has some significance too. Even after they are attached to the modern political units, they have still preserved their own form of political organization within the boundary of the kinship organization. Each Juang village, with its local descent group has a secular head called *Padhan* or *Ardhan*, who is also considered as the head of lineage as well as the clan group. He is not a hereditary political head. There is a 'Sardar' for each 'Pirha' and he holds his supremacy over the 'Padhan's under his 'Pirha'. 'Sardar' is a hereditary post. In this case, priority and preference is given to his clan or lineage as the dominant kin group. In Baruda village, Kanhu Juang is a traditional Sardar as well as the head of the local descent group. Selection of 'Pradhan' is generally performed on the basis of age, experience, status and capacity. He decides and resolves all inter and intra family and kin group conflicts and disputes. The aged and experienced members of the concerned kin groups take part in the decision making.

Thus, in a simple or pre-industrial society like that of the Juangs, kinship as a basic institution not only defines the structure of the society, but also serves as a mechanism for regulating the behavior of the people in all respect in the local descent group. It ensures a stable economic co-operation, smooth observances of rituals and acts as an effective mechanism for social control, a device for settling inter-group conflicts and finally an able decision making body as a political unit of the society. In a simple and homogenous society, the role of kinship can be depicted as central to all other interacting institutions.

JUANG KINSHIP TERMS: AN ANALYSIS *

*Jagannath Dash*¹

“Kinship term is a linguistic tag for a role, the role has biological criteria or admitted substitutes for admission to it, and it has also cultural criteria for performance. Kinship terms are role terms.” (Bohannan, 1963). In view of such basic understandings in anthropology, kinship terms may be perceived to play a very vital as well as significant role in the social life of the people in cross-cultural perspective. Generally kinship terms bind various roles together as kin members, categorize them for specific modes of interaction or behavior and finally, as a key factor bear a testimony to all sorts of culturally patterned rights and obligations in the society. Thus, the kinship terms as guiding terms or linguistic tags, play a central role in the study of kinship. The scientific analysis of kinship terms, therefore, is an inevitable need in the discipline of anthropology.

Juangs are mainly confined to Keonjhar and Dhenkanal districts of Orissa. As one of the most backward tribes of the state, they are still found to depend mainly on the shifting cultivation and forest collections as well as hunting for the maintenance of their livelihood. According to the Census reports of India, the Juang population shows an increase from 1891 up to 1911 after which it experiences a decline in 1921. From 1921 to 1931 it again shows a significant increase of population. After a surprising fall of population in 1951, it shows a significant rise in 1971 census survey which accounts the total Juang population as 24,384 including 11,888 males and 12,496 females. The present paper is mainly based on the study of the Juang Kinship Organization in Gonasika and Janghira areas of Keonjhar district conducted in the year 1975 and also further verification undertaken recently.

The basic theoretical concepts as regards the study of kinship terms can be highlighted in three-fold manner. Thus the views of L.H. Morgan, Radcliffe-Brown and Elman R. service can be discussed for deriving a basic theoretical frame work. There is no doubt about the fact that the scientific study of kinship was first

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of all started with Morgan. With his scholastic thinking, he has affirmed that "Kinship terminologies are systems of consanguinity and affinity that they have to do with a people's recognition of their genealogical relationships and therefore describe to us the actual organization of the kinship order" (quoted in Service, 1971:98-99). He has also "argued that kinship terminologies reflected the forms of marriage and the related make-up of the family (Ibid)." Morgan's view in this way mostly refers to the genealogical organization of the social life. But Radcliffe-Brown's view; on the other hand, signifies the patterns in the conduct of interpersonal relations. Thus, to Radcliffe-Brown, "Kinship terms are like 'signposts' to interpersonal conduct or etiquette, with implications of appropriate reciprocal rights, duties, privileges, and obligations (Ibid)". Although Morgan's genealogical explanation of the kinship terms has been widely accepted, it does not explain or clarify all the essential aspects of kinship terminology. Following the ideas of Radcliffe-Brown, Service has discussed that to paraphrase him, kinship terms are used in address and reference as denotative of social positions relevant to interpersonal conduct. They are therefore, a form of status terminology (Ibid)". Service has also quoted Munroe Edmonson (1958:b), who defines a status term as "a word designating a class of individuals occupying (simultaneously or serially) a single position in the social system, with specific defining patterns of rights and duties, the fulfillment of which is legitimized and guaranteed by sanctions (Ibid, P.100)". Accepting kinship terms as status terms, Service, in his discussions on "Kinship Terminology and Evolution" has delineated four kinds of Status Terms. First of all status terms are divided into two basic subdivisions as familistic and non-familistic. According to Service, familistic type refers to family like familiar or named social positions in a group of kindred, non-familistic terms includes the names or titles related to positions like occupational specialization, political offices social classes and the like. Similarly Egocentric terms specify social positions relative to Ego and socio-centric terms refer to social positions relative to the structure of the society.

The kinship terminology among the Juangs of Keonjhar to be discussed here in the light of Service's discussion is typically an Egocentric familistic system. It is well convinced that Juang kinship terminology is of bifurcated collateral type. Lowie has defined four types of terminology which are-(1) Generation; (2) Lineal; (3) Bifurcate—Collateral and (4) Bifurcate—Merging. As the Juang recognise the bifurcate--collateral type, they mostly use three terms—one for father, one for father's brother and one for mother's brother.

A study of kinship terms may help to elucidate the idea underlying the Juangs way of recognizing and grasping of kins. The kinship terms may be enumerated group by group according to the different lines of relationship. Thus, there may be several groups of kinsmen terminologically related through each member of the basic kin group i.e., family. In this manner, kinship terminologies are traceable within the lineage, among the avunculates and other kins, covering all types of consanguineal and affinal kinsmen.

1. Kinship Terminology in the Family

Sl. No	Relationship	Terms of		
		Kinship	Address	Reference
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
1	Husband (Hu)	Gusian	No terms but 'Eh'	Gusian or by teknonymy
2	Wife (Wi)	Kubila	No terms but 'Eh'	Kubilani or by teknonymy
3	Son (So)	Kanan	E Landa or by name	Kanan
4	Daughter (Da)	Kantelani	E Landi or by name	Kanchelani
5	Father (Fa)	Ba	E ba	Ba
6	Mother (Mo)	Bui	E Bui	Buing
7	Elder Brother (elBr)	Ka	E Ka	Kakani
8	Younger Brother (yoBr)	Boko	E Boko	Bokani or by name
9	Elder Sister (elSi)	Aji	E Aji	Ajin
10	Younger Sister (yoSi)	Bakarai	E Bakarai	Bakarain or by name

2. Kinship Terminology in Father's Line

1	Fa	Ba	E Ba	Ba
2	FaFa	Aja	E Aja	Ajain
3	FaFaWi	Na	E Na	Nanain
4	FaFa Si	Aji	E Aji	Ajin
5	FaFa Br	Aja	E Aja	Ajain
6	FaFaSiHu	Bau	E Bau	Bauin
7	FaFaBrWi	Na	E Na	Nanain
8	FaFaFa	Atir	E Atir	Atirain
9	FaelBr	Atir	E Atir	Atiran
10	FaFaSiSo	Goblekon	E Goblekon	Goblekoin
11	FaMo	Na	E Na	Nanain
12	FaMoBrSo	Goblekon	E Goblekon	Goblekoin
13	FaMoelBr	Inibou	E Inibou	
14	FaMoyoBr	Sango	E Sango	
15	FayoBr	Dadi	E Dadi	
16	FayoBrWi	San Bui	E San Bui	
17	FaelBrWi	Atir	E Atir	
18	FaFaMo	Atirae	E Atirae	
19	FayoBrSo	Atirkon	E Atirkon	
20	FaMoelSi	Ajika	E Ajika	
21	FaFaSiHuelSi	Ajika	E Ajika	
22	FaMoyoSi	Salirae	E Salirae	
23	FaFaSiHuyoSi	Salirae	E Salirae	

3.Mother's Line-MoBr+MoSi				
1	Mo	Bui	E Bui	Buin
2	MoelBr	Mamu	E Mamu	Mamu
3	MoyoBr	Mamu	E Mamu	Mamu
4	MoelSi	Atirae	E Atirae	Atiraein
5	MoyoSi	Sanbui	E Sanbui	Sanbuiin
6	MoelSiHu	Atir	E Atir	Atirain
7	MoyoSiHu	Dadi	E Dadi	Dadi
8	MoBrWi	Sasu	E Sasu	Sasu
9	MoFa	Aja	E Aja	Ajain
10	MoMo	Na	E Na	Nanain
11	MoMoBr	Aja	E Aja	Ajain
12	MoMoSi	Aji	E Aji	Ajin
13	MoMoBrWi	Na	E Na	Nanain
14	MoMoSiHu	Bau	E Bau	Bau
15	MoMoMo	Atirae	E Atirae	Atiraein
16	MoMOMoHu	Atir	E Atir	Atrain
17	BoBrSo(EI)	Ka	E Ka	Kakain
18	MoBryoSo	Boko	E Boko	Bokoin
19	MoBrSoSo	Mamu	E Mamu	Mamu
20	MoBrelDa	Aji	E Aji	Ajin
21	MoBryoDa	Bakarae	E Bakarae	Bakarain
22	MoFaSi	Na	E Na	Nanain
4. Son's Line				
1	So	Kanan	E Kanan or Landa	Kananin
2	SoWi	Buirae	E Buirae	Buirain
3	SoSo	Bokolap	E Bokolap	Bokolap
4	SoSoSo	Badu	E Badu	Badu
5	SoSoDa	Atichindae	E Atichindae	Atichindain
6	SoDa	Bokosen	E Bokosen	Bokosen
7	SoSoWi	Bokorae	E Bokorae	Bokorain
8	SoSoWiyoBr	Sango	E Sango	Sangoin
9	SoDaHu	Sango	E Sango	Sangoin
10	SoWiFa	Samudi	E Samudi	Samudi
11	SoSoWielsi	Ajkar	E Ajkar	Ajkarain
12	SoSoWiyoSi	Salirae	E Salirae	Saiirain
13	SoWiMo	Samuduni	E Samuduni	Samuduni
14	SoWiBr	Aram	E Aram	Aramain
5. Daughter's Line				
1	Da	Kachelani	E Kachelani or Landi	Kanchalani
2	DaHa	Aram	E Aram	Aramain
3	DaSo	Bokolap	E Bokolap	Bokolap
4	DaDa	Bokosen	E Bokosen	Bokosen
5	DaHuFa	Samudi	E Samudi	Samudi

6	DaHuMo	Samuduni(Tiurae)	E Samuduni	Samuduni
7	DaHuSi	Buirae	E Buirae	Buirain
6. Brother's Line				
1	elBr	Ka	E Ka	Kakain
2	yoBr	Boko	E Boko	Bokoin
3	yoBrWi	Kuli	E Kuli	Kuli
4	elBrWi	Kimindae	E Kimindae	Kimindain
5	elBrSo	Kanda	E Kanda	Kandain
6	HuBrSoSoWi(w.s)	Bokorae	E Bokorae	Bokorain
7	HuyoRrWi	Bokorae	E Bokorae	Bokorain
8	HuyoBr(w.s)	Bokoger	E Bokoger	Bokoger
9	elBrDa	Konchelanda	E Konchelanda	Konchelanda
10	YoBrDa	Atichindae	E Atichindae	Atichindain
11	HuelBr(w.s)	Baukar	E Baukar	Baukar
7. Wife's Line				
1	Wi	Kubila	E Kubila	Kubilain
2	WiFa	Kuinkar	E Kuinkar	Kuinkar
3	WiFaBr	Kuinkar	E Kuinkar	Kuinkar
4	WiMo	Mami	E Mami	Mami
5	WielBr	Inibou	E Inibou	Inibou
6	Wiyobr	Sango	E Sango	Sango
7	WielSi	Ajkar	E Ajkar	Ajkar
8	WielSiSo	Kanda	E Kanda	Kandain
9	Wiyosi	Salirae	E Salirae	Salirain
10	WiSiHuel/yo	Buinar	E Buinar	Buinarain
11	WiFaFaSi	Ajkar	E Ajkar	Ajkarain
12	WiFaSiHu	Kuinkar	E Kuinkar	Kuinkar
13	WiBrDaHu	Aram	E Aram	Aram
14	WiBrSoWiBr	Aram	E Aram	Aram
15	WiBrDaHuSi	Buirae	E Buirae	Buirain
16	WiyosiDa	Kanchelanda	E Kanchelanda	Kanchelanda
8. Sister's Line				
1	elSi	Aji	E Aji	Ajin
2	yoSi	Bokorae	E Bokorae	Bokorain
3	elSiHu	Bau	E Bau	Bauin
4	yoSiHu	Sango	E Sango	Sango
5	SiSo	Goblekon	E Goblekon	Goblekon
6	SiHuFa	Kuinkar	E Kuinkar	Kuinkarain
7	SiDa	Goblesanda	E Goblesanda	Goblesanda
8	SiHuMo	Mami	E Mami	Mami
9	SiHuFaSiHu	Juinkar	E Juinkar	Kuinkar
10	elSiHuFaFa	Bau	E Bau	Bauin
11	elSiSoSo	Bau	E Bau	Bauin
12	SiHuyoSiHu	Boko	E Boko	Bokoin

13	SiHuelSiHu	Ka	E Ka	Kakain
9. Father's Sister				
1	FaSi	Sasu	E Sasu	Sasu
2	FaSiHu	Mamu	E Mamu	Mamu
3	FaSiSoSo	Mamu	E Mamu	Mamu
4	FaSiHuyoSi	Sanobui	E Sanobui	San Buin
5	FaSiSiDa	Sanobui	E Sanobui	San Buin
6	FaSiElSo	Ka	E Ka	Kakain
7	FaSiyoSo	Boko	E Boko	Boloin
8	FaSiHuelSi	Atirae	E Atirae	Atiraein
9	FaSiHuyoSi	Sanbui	E Sanbui	Sanbuin

Analytical study of Kinship Terminology

Regarding various types of applications of terminologies, a brief analysis is inevitably necessary. It may include classificatory terms, denotative terms, general rules and so on.

According to G.P. Murdock (1957:97), kinship terms are technically classified in three different ways-

As regards their mode of use, kinship terms may be employed as direct address or indirect reference. To Murdock, a term of address is one used in speaking to a relative, it is a part of the linguistic behavior characteristic of the particular interpersonal relationship and a term of reference is one used to designate a relative in speaking about him to a third person: it is thus not a part of the relationship itself, but a word denoting a person who occupies a particular kinship status (Ibid). In most of the Juang kinship terms it is found that address terms are the same as the kinship terms, except in case of 'son' and 'daughter' which in kinship terms are 'Kanan' and 'Kantelan', but they are addressed as 'Landa' and 'Landi' or by their names respectively. Similarly wife and husband never address each other by any term; they only use a vowel 'Eh'. Each address term is pronounced following a vowel 'E'. In almost all cases, the term of address and the term of reference, both are the same except for husband, wife, son, daughter and father's sister. Generally, the reference terms are suffixed by 'I' or 'in' and in case of husband, father and son, basic kinship terms are used.

Thus, terms of reference are more specific in their application than 'terms of addresses', (Ibid). They are usually more complete than terms of address. It may be customary to use only personal names in addressing certain relatives, or a taboo may prevent all conversation with them, as a result of which terms of address for such kinsmen would be completely lacking (Ibid). Among the Juangs, in case of sons or daughters, they are usually addressed by their names, as a result of which it lacks their kinship terms. But almost all the Juang's terms of address are similar with the terms of reference.

According to linguistic structure, kinship terms are distinguished as Elementary, Derivative and Descriptive (Ibid, P.98). As per the definition of Murdock, an elementary term is an irreducible word, like English 'father' or 'nephew', which cannot be analyzed into component lexical elements with kinship meanings (Ibid). Generally, Juangs use only elementary kinship terms neglecting the other two categories.

Regarding the range of application, kinship terms are differentiated as denotative and classificatory (Ibid, P.99). These two types are found in vogue in the Juang society.

Denotative

According to Murdock, a denotative term is one which applies only to relatives in a single kinship category as defined by generation, sex and genealogy (Ibid). Often for a particular speaker, it can denote only one person. To Murdock, a denotative term also applies to several persons of identical kinship link. Though the influence of classificatory terms on Juang nomenclature are well marked, it is worth noting that denotative terms become rare with secondary relatives and practically disappear with tertiary kins, giving way to classificatory terminology.

1. Father-Ba
2. Mother -Bui
3. Son-Kanan
4. Daughter-Kanchelan
5. El Br Wi-Kuli

Classificatory Kinship Terminology:

As Murdock has defined, a classificatory term is one that applies to persons of two or more kinship categories, as these are defined by generation, sex and genealogical connection (Ibid). In Juang terminology, the classificatory terms are abundant, except a few denotative terms. Their terms maintain unique systematic order, thus including two or more categories of persons into classificatory terms, perpetuating generation, sex and genealogical connection. From this point of view when we analyze their classificatory terms, it is found that in one local descent group taking Ego as the referent person, all the classificatory Kutumbs in the local descent group are related to him through alternative generations. If we take Ego's generation as an even numbered generation, then all his classificatory consanguine will belong to alternate even numbered generations. In other words, all the classificatory relatives belong to Ego's moiety group. Father's moiety group is also similarly reflected. Now if we extend the classificatory terms up to the distant kinsmen those are affines, the same order of generations is always found to be maintained. Thus the generation principle holds good here. The most essential sex principle also maintains that one kinship term always denotes to same sex. Classificatory kinsmen are grouped by mixing all the classificatory consanguines and affines with reference to the Ego; the fact may be

more intelligible if they will be ordered generation-wise. For a particular classificatory term, different generations can be taken into consideration in relation to the Ego in the following manner (**Fig-1**).

Now it is found that Ego's group bears even numbered generations and Ego's father's group bears odd-numbered generations. Therefore, as per the principle, one classificatory term may denote the persons of one such group or odd-number generations or even-number generations as given in the **table-1**.

Fig-1

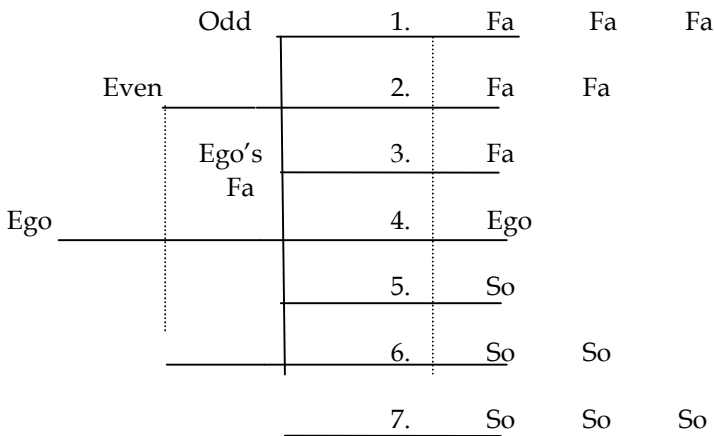


Table-1

Classifi- catory Kinship terms	FaFaFa 1	FaFa 2	Fa 3	Ego 4	So 5	SoSo 6	SoSoSo 7
Atir			FaElBr MoElSiHu				
Atirkon					YoBroSo WiYoSiSo		
Dadi			FaYoBr MoYoBr				
Kanda					ElBrSo SiElSiSo		
Aja		FaFa FaFaBr MoFaBr					
Bokolap					SoSo DaSo		
Ka			ElBr MoBrSo				

Boko			YoBr FaSiSo				
Bokesen						SoDa DaDa	
Aji		FaFaSi MoMoSi		ElSi WielBrWi MoBrDa			
Bokorae				YoSiWiYoBr Wi FaSiDa			
Ma-Mu			MoBr FaSiHu FaMoBr So		MoBrSoSo FaSiSoSo SiSo WiBrSo		
Kuinkar			WiFa SiHuFa SiHuFaSi FaFaSiDa				
Aram					DaHu SoWiBr WiBrDaHu		
Inbou	FaMoel Br	WielBr			WielBrSoSo SoSoWielBr		
Bou		elSiHuFaFa FaFaSiHu		elSiHu		ElSiSoSo	
Sango		FaMoyoBr yoSiHuFa Fa		WiyoBr yoSiHu		WiyoBrSoSo SoSoWiyoBr SoDaHu	
Buintar				WielSiHu WiyoSiHu SoWiFa DaHuFa			
Sasu			FaSi MoBrWi				
Atichind- ae					YoBrDa WiyoSiDa		
Ronchel- adae					elBr.Da WielSiDa		
Atirae			MoelSi FayoBrWi FaSiHuel Si				
Goble Sendae			FaFaSiD a FaMoBr Da				
Sano Bui			MoyoSi FayoBrWi				

			FaSiHuy oSi				
Mami			WiMo SiHuMo WiFaSi				
Na		FaMo MoMo MoFaSi FaFaBrWi					
Buirae						SoWi DaHuSi WiBrSoWi WiBrDaHaSi	
Kimindae			yoBrWi		SoSoWi		
Ajkar		WiFaFaSi FaMoelSi FaFaSiHu elSi	WiSi HuelSi (w.s.)			SoSoWielSi	
Salirae		FaMoyoSi FaFaSiHu yoSi	WiyoSi SiHuyoSi			WiBiSoDa SoSoWiyoS i	
Samuduni			SoWiMo DaHuMo				

General Rules of the Kinship Nomenclature

From the analysis of the Juang Kinship terminologies, it is quite evident that kins may be clustered into different group under distinctive kin terms. The kinship terminology of Juangs in this way is found to follow some traditional or conventional rules, which shows different categories of terms of relationship.

a) Sex Differentiation

Primarily some kinship nomenclatures show some sex differentiation through the use of suffixes in kin terms. In some kin terms for females 'dae' or 'rae' suffixed from which the sex of the kin can be easily known. For example, there are kinship terms like Kimindae, Salirae, Buirae, Atichindae, Kancheandae, Atirae etc. for female kins.

b) Generation Differentiation

In the Juangs terminology, though generation difference is not strictly present among identical kins, yet there are always classificatory persons, maybe consanguineal or both consanguineal and affinal, naturally belonging to one or alternate generations.

c) Age Differentiation

With respect to Ego or to that of the linked relatives, the age differentiation is quite obvious in the Juang kinship terminology. Generally it is seen that there

are certain terms to mark elder or younger persons. For the younger, they use 'Sano' and for the elder it is 'Kuba'. In this way a younger child of the family is known as 'Sano-wadi', eldest daughter as 'Kuba-Kanchelan' and youngest daughter as 'Sano-Kanchelan', similarly eldest son as 'Kuba-Kanan' and youngest son as 'Sano-Kanan'.

By age, an elder brother is always known as 'Ka; and a younger brother as 'Boko'. Elder sister is termed as 'Aji' and younger sister as 'Bakorae'. Likewise, mother is known as 'Bui', mother's younger sister as 'Sanobui' and mother's elder sister as 'Atirae'. Father's elder brother is known as 'Badu' or 'Atir' and younger brother is 'Dadi' or 'Kaka'. Similarly, mother's elder sister's husband is known as 'Atir' and younger sister's husband is 'Dadi'.

Conclusion

Lastly it can be concluded that Juang kinship terminology basically refers to status terms which are of Ego centric-familistic type. Besides the general observations on the kinship terms with reference to terms of address and reference, the classificatory kinship terms attract a specific attention. It primarily refers to structural division of moiety groups and significantly categorizes the classificatory kinsmen as belonging to one moiety group (of even or odd numbered generations). Thus, classificatory terms as well as the general terms in the Juang society categorizes the kin members, patterns their inter-personal relations and assigns reciprocal rights, duties, privileges and obligations to them.

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THE JUANG NON-KINSHIP ORGANISATION *

THRTI¹

Abstract

Kinship is conveniently applied to relationship by affinity as well as by consanguinity. It is universal and fundamental in nature. These kinship groups fulfill some of their social requirements. But there are certain other needs beyond the generalized needs which need to be fulfilled by the non-kinship groups in the forms of associations and sodalities. These groups are very much temporary and dismantle at the non-existence of these associations and sodalities. Though temporary, these groups contribute much in collaboration with kinship groups to bring development in their society. Both kinship and non-kinship organizations are complimentary rather than contradictory. This paper is based upon the findings of an empirical study of Jaung non-kinship organizations as compared to their traditional kinship organizations. The study has covered two Juang villages—Guptaganga (a remote village), in Gonasika G.P of Bansapal Block and Madhusudanpur, a more urbanized pocket in the Telkoi G. P. of Telkoi Block. The Juang tribe is identified as a Primitive Tribal Group (PTG) in Orissa.

Objectives of the Study

The character of the social organization is determined by the nature of its membership. When recruitment is made on the sole criterion of heredity then the organization is called a kinship organization. In pre-literate primitive communities where community oriented life style is dominant and a high degree of mutual tie and reciprocity governs, the socio-economic life, that is, based on the principle of the sink and swim together, the kinship organization undoubtedly acts as the pivot and binding force. At the same time we know that, the kith and kin of a man cannot pull him through all crises of his life and meet all his needs in a simple society. So they have developed certain organizations and institutions in collaboration with the kinship organization to look after other aspects of human

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survival in which the recruitment or membership is not based on the kinship considerations. We can call these organizations as non-kinship organization. Paul Bohannan in his book 'Social Anthropology' (pages 146, 147) writes that; "Kinship groups are limited in their scope, for all that they are fundamental and ubiquitous and they form the core social organization of all known human societies. There are obviously, non-kinship groups to be found in most societies. Non-kinship groups have all but swamped the kinship groups. Anthropology, and indeed, sociology has not been successful in dealing with these more specialized non-kinship groups, and it is instructive to enquire into some of the reasons for lack of progress at the same time that we examine the nature of the group themselves".

In these days, when the socio-economic development of these down-trodden, backward tribal communities has become a major obsession with the post-independent welfare State, and it is well understood that no development programme can deliver the goods without people's participation, a thorough study of both the kinship and non-kinship organizations shall be instrumental in channelizing the development inputs to the target communities.

The Juangs are considered a primitive and backward tribal community. The Government is making all efforts for their overall socio-economic development through implementation of various programmes. In this context, an analysis of the role played by both traditional and non-kinship organization for the maintenance and continuance of their society would help in associating these groups in the implementation of their socio-economic development programmes.

Scope of the Study:

The study of non-kinship groups in the Juang society is important because though kinship groups fulfill the basic human needs, they are simple, universal, non-specialized and their scope is limited. Therefore, the existence of non-kinship groups is necessary for creating more specialized social forms. Non-kinship groups are associations in the tribal societies which are more or less specialized. Both the groups exist by their purposes and principles of organization. They can be distinguished by comparison of their 'charter' or purpose and the mode of recruitment of members.

Kinship organization plays an indispensable role of regulating sex and marriage for the purpose of reproduction for the continuance of the family as well as the community. The membership of a kin group is automatically acquired by birth, marriage and adoption. On the other hand, the non-kinship associations are formed for different specific purpose for maintaining orderly social life in the village. The memberships of such associations are considered on the criteria of sex, age, social rank and other qualifications. However such associations or institutions do recur with considerable frequency in the Juang society.

The Juang, one of the preliterate tribes of Odisha are mostly settled in the districts of Keonjhar and Dhenkanal. As per 1981 census, their total number is 30,876. The Juang settlements are smaller in size having 10 to 20 households in each village. The Juangs who live in Keonjhar are called 'Thaniyas' or original settlers, but who migrated and lived in the plains of Dhenkanal are called 'Bhagudias' or 'groups fled away'. In spite of their different socio-cultural activities, they exhibit lot of cultural similarities.

Study of the non-kinship organization of the Juang community is very necessary because it enquires into the unstructured system of behavior in relationships in which different people are biologically and sociologically related to one another and are bound with each other by complex inter-locking system of the Juang to achieve the desired goal of continuing the social system. The study of the non-kinship organization may give us insight into the Juang culture which can guide us to know the nature and extent of co-operation among them in performing various socio-economic activities.

Youth Organization (Majang)

The Juang youth dormitory known as the Majang lies in a fairly big and rectangular-shaped house constructed at the centre of each Juang village to serve the purpose for the unmarried boys (Kangerki) and girls (Selanki) to sleep at night, in groups. It is almost like a club house adorned with indigenous musical instruments and alighted with smoldering logs day and night tended by the boys. Mats of date-palm-leaves and wooden pillows are found being stacked in a corner of the room used as bedstead of the boys at night. Shri Siba Prasad Rout in his "Hand- Book on Juang" (page 59) has stated that "The dormitory house of the Juang is called Majang. The Majang is usually bigger in size than the ordinary houses and is situated at the center of the village. It is constructed by the unmarried boys called Kangerki who sleep here at night. The unmarried girls called Selanki plaster it in every two or three days.

Generally the dormitory is the organization of the unmarried youth and one ceases to be its member after his/her marriage. The term Kanger is a general term to mean the unmarried boys of the marriageable age. But to be considered as formal member of the dormitory, that is, to be a full-fledged Kanger, a boy should undergo an initiation ceremony on the annual Amba Nua (First mango eating ceremony) festival day.

The life of a Juang is based on a nine fold age-grade classification. The discrepancy between the biological and social age groups is bridged up within the frame work of youth organization. However, this youth dormitory has multi-dimensional functions of social, economic, religious, judicial and educative importance not only for the members but also for the entire village community. It is indeed an institution that is central to the way of life of the Juang.

Admission into the Dormitory (Majang):

The recruitment of members into the dormitory is not based on kinship affiliations. As a rule, all bachelors and spinsters including widows and widowers irrespective of their clan memberships can become members of the dormitory provided they are formally admitted through appropriate rite-de-passage. In the past when a Juang village was homogenous and uni-clan, the members, that is, unmarried boys and girls were clan brothers and sisters. But now-a-days due to migration, the Juang villages have become multi-clan including both Bandhu and Kutum clans. There is no restriction for the boys and girls belonging to different clans to become the members of youth dormitory. So, as we see, any Juang boy and girl, irrespective of his or her clan affiliation can become a member of the dormitory provided he or she is an inhabitant of the village. Thus, the membership of the dormitory is determined by one's residence in the village community. The membership of a particular clan or the numerically dominant clan of the village does not stand in the way of any boy or girl of a different or minor clan getting admitted into the dormitory. In this sense, the Majang is structurally and functionally a non-kinship youth organization.

There are a lot of roles and responsibilities thrust upon the Kangerki and Selanki who are members of youth dormitory as briefed below:-

- (a) Routine repair and maintenance of the dormitory house (Majang) and its assets such as tambourines (*changu*), drums, mats etc.
- (b) Organizing and serving communal feasts on various functions & rituals.
- (c) Collection of family contributions for communal feasts and ceremonies.
- (d) Attending the guests, visiting officials staying in the village dormitory.
- (e) Entertaining Kangerki and Selanki of Bandhu villages who visit the village.
- (f) Getting hired for communal working party by the Tandakar (Man in charge of dormitory) and other village leaders.
- (g) Bringing fire wood to the groom or bride's house during marriage.
- (h) Bringing fire wood for the Majang-fire.
- (i) Cultivating commonly the patch of Toila land allotted to Kangerki and Selanki and management of the common fund derived from the produces.
- (j) Rendering free service for cultivation of Toilas, house thatching and other works for the village leaders.
- (k) Installation and worship of the village deity (Gramasiri) in absence and incapacitation of village priest (Nagam).

- (l) Supplying leaf-cups and plates, grinding of spices, preparation of cakes, husking paddy, sacrificing animals before the deities etc. for feasts and festivals and for the guests and visitors.

It is understood from the above that the members of the youth dormitory play vital roles in the conduct of communal life of the village. No communal affair can be conducted without the participation of the Kangerki and Selanki.

In organizing above activities all the members of the dormitory irrespective of their clan affiliation play an equal role to accomplish the task assigned to them. The major clan of the village may have larger members in the dormitory but they work together with minor clan members. There is no grouping monopoly or special privileges enjoyed by the members of any particular kin group in the management and operation of the activities of the dormitory. In this respect all members belonging to different clans of the same village stand on an equal footing.

Economic Activities:

(a) *Distribution of Toila land:* The Juangs are mainly shifting cultivators. They were originally food gatherers, when there was abundant forest. In course of time due to population pressure, the Juangs learnt the method of cultivation – shifting and settled.

The *toila chas* or shifting cultivation is done on Podu lands communally owned by the village community and distributed to individual family heads for cultivation at the beginning of a *podu* cycle. Thus cultivating right is transferred from the village community to the individuals for a period of two, three, or four years. This is ritually distributed by the Nagam (priest) and Ardhan (secular head) to the villagers in front of the *majang* on the last day of annual Puspune festival. The principle taken into consideration for this distribution is very much democratic, that is, land is distributed according to the need of the family and capacity to till the land. That is, each family is given as much Toila land as it can cultivate. Thus, the Toila land is distributed to all members irrespective of their clans - major or minor but no partiality is made by giving a greater chunk to members of the major clans of the village. The system of the distribution of Toila land does not function on the basis of kinship affiliation but on secular and economic consideration. All the members irrespective of clan affiliations stand on equal footing.

(b) *Hunting:* Hunting is a seasonal communal activity among the Juangs, not a regular pursuit. Now-a-days, due to large scale depletion of forest, scarcity of game animals, restrictions have been imposed by the Forest Department against hunting. So hunting is casually or ritually taken up in memory of past tradition. In the closing day of Amba-Nua festival in the month of February-March, the villagers make a hunting expedition. The male members who opt to

participate in this expedition are required to deposit their bows and arrows in the Majang before the village priest.

After games are killed by the hunting party, the distribution of meat is made in a most democratic and rational manner. The hunter who had actually shot the animal is at first rewarded with his bonus share called, the hunter's share of meat from the breast portion and the hind quarters of the animal. Rest of the meat is equally divided into two shares. The first share is equally divided among all the participants of the hunting party including the hunter himself. The remaining share is equally distributed among all the families of the village including those of the hunters and participants. Thus, the hunter gets the lion share comprising, the hunter's share, the participant's share and his family share. The participants get two shares, that is, the participant's share and the family share. The remaining non-participating families get only one share each.

Thus it is evident that, participation in the hunting party is purely optional and voluntary and there is no compulsion or monopoly based on kinship grouping. Similarly the distribution of meat of the hunted animal is made rationally over-riding kinship considerations. So in this context it can be said that the organization of hunting activities is based on non-kinship principles.

(c) *Grazing of Cattle:* The animal husbandry is not extensively practiced by the Juangs, still they rear cows and buffaloes for ploughing, goats, sheep and pigs for diet on feast and festivals and may be slaughtered for ritual purposes. Chicken is also sacrificed for ritual purposes. Of all animals the cows are considered to be sacred revered and worshiped on the occasion of Gamha festival.

The animals reared are neither given any fodder nor is any special care taken for their maintenance. The only care taken is to graze the cattle. The cattle graze in the common grazing ground of the village. No persons are appointed on payment of remuneration for the purpose, but a person of each family is engaged for the purpose on rotation basis. If the village is fairly big, i.e. at least having 40 families, then all the families are divided into two halves and two persons from each group take charge of grazing cattle on rotation. While selecting persons from each group, no kinship affiliation is taken into consideration, but purely on the basis of non-kinship groupings. This shows that non-kinship groupings play vital role in the economy of the village.

(d) *Communal Labour Co-Operation:* It is customary among the Juang to engage co-villagers as labourers for various activities such as weeding, harvesting or constructing a new house on the basis of labour exchange on co-operation. Sometimes, the services of the villagers are requisitioned by another village. No individual payment is made in this type of deal, instead, the laborers are provided lunch and given a lumpsum amount which is deposited in the dormitory fund and utilized in a feast of the village shared by all the families of the village.

The communal working party comprises persons from all clans but not only from major or original clan of the village. Hence, the question of any clan affiliation or kinship affiliation does not arise in this regard.

Social Activities:

(a)*Repair and maintenance of the path-ways connecting neighboring villages:* To facilitate inter-village communication, short-cut foot-paths connecting villages are repaired annually. An adult male member from each family of a village is selected to join the team to construct or repair the path-way connecting a number of villages. These persons offer their free labor till the path-way is completely constructed or repaired. When the path-way is completed, the workers make night halt in the dormitory of that village where they reach at the end of the path and there they are sumptuously entertained with non-vegetarian food and *manual* drink. In the next year, the host villagers reciprocate in the same way by giving their free labor in constructing or repairing path-ways. In this reciprocal behavior members of all clans in the village co-operate by taking active part.

(b)*Thenga Paka* (watch and ward): The Juangs are mainly agriculturists. Different agricultural pursuits keep them engaged throughout the year especially during harvesting of various crops. These pre-occupations do not allow the villagers to watch the village or attend the visitors or officials coming to the village. But it is customary for the Juang to accomplish both the tasks so that the village may not earn bad name.

Under the circumstances, a person from each family irrespective of the clan is selected to discharge both the duties. The secular headman (Ardhan) officially announces the name of the chosen person to take up the watch and ward duty for a day and then handovers a staff (*thenga*) to him from the village dormitory. It becomes the duty of the selected person to watch the village at night and attend to the guests or visitors to the village in the day. It is binding for all the families in the village to do the duty when their turn comes without being paid. This selection is not clan specific but made from all the clans of the village.

Religious Activities:

The Juangs have their own religious beliefs and practices. The monotony of life is frequently broken by feasts and festivities and by rites and rituals of various kinds. They observe various festivals like PushPunei, AmbaNua, Tritia, Raja, Asadi etc. round the year with much rhyme and rhythm where persons, irrespective of clan and sex and of different age-grades participate.

Further, in view of averting ill-will of malevolent spirits and wrath of supernatural powers, the ritual specialists called Kamandaki of various clans in a village undertake special rites to appease the spirits and deities. The feeling of

oneness prevails which unites them all to save the village from privation and deprivation.

In the past, villages dominated by members of a single clan were common in Juang *pirha*. But now most of the villages are of multi-clans in the changed situation. Though villages are of multi-clans, marriages are strictly forbidden in one's own village and in Bhaiali/Kutum villages. Marriages are performed only between Bandhu villages. All these rules also apply to the dancing organization of the boys and girls. Dancing visits are exchanged between Bandhu villages. In these visits, boys and girls of different clans participate, exchange gifts and dance for the whole night.

However the male and female members of the youth dormitory have to present gifts to their Bandhu partners. Besides, they have to provide food for their friends on the occasion of the latter's visit on dancing expeditions, such being the collective responsibility of all the members of dormitory, they all work collectively irrespective of clans to enrich their common stock of paddy and other things for meeting such expenses. This collective responsibility is based on a wider prospective of non-kinship organization instead of kinship principles.

Political Activities:

In Juang *pirha*, each village is a political unit having its own set of officers. These village officers or leaders are mainly three in number, two of whom are traditional leaders and one is a new office bearer created by the *panchayatraj* system called, member (ward member). Each village has one ward member to work as its representative in the Panchayat.

The Juangs are very much democratic and therefore the real authority of the village is vested not with the leaders but with the corporate group of village elders called, Bara Bhaiki. The village elders first discuss over an issue before it is finalized. In such discussion, all the elders, irrespective of any clan affiliation have full freedom to express their opinion freely. Unless the issue is unanimously agreed upon, no final decision is arrived at.

Certain matters like, dispute on land boundary between two villages, about divorce, etc. are discussed in inter-village council. Village elders from two villages have equal voice in the council.

Even while discussing matters like incest, premarital pregnancy, witchcraft of serious type etc. in the regional council of *pirha* organization, delegates invited from all villages of a *pirha* have equal voice in the council. These councils whether at the village or inter-village or *pirha* level are based on non-kinship affiliation than on kinship principle.

Modern Organizations:

Other than these traditional institutions, certain modern organizations like; Mahila Samiti and Kirtan party have emerged in the study villages where participations of the villagers are based purely on non-kinship principles.

Under the impact of change and modernization, traditional institutions of the Juang are gradually breaking down and some of the important features of these organizations are gradually vanishing due to the contact of the tribals with the non-tribal people. For example, the Juangs are gradually developing a feeling of dislike towards *changu* dance; instead, they prefer to sing Oriya songs by the appointing Oriya teachers. The members of the youth dormitory have reduced their association with the affairs of the Majang. They prefer to mind their own business than taking pains for communal activities. They are now reluctant to go to work in a labour party to earn wages.

Multi-clans that have emerged in the Juang villages have become more forceful. Kinship organization plays its important role only at the family level and binds its members to the limited extent of Bandhu and Kutum villages. Though kinship groups are fundamental, they operate in their confined domain. Breaking these limitations, non-kinship groups functioning in the Juang society can take care of matters beyond the domain of kinship and can help to bring vital socio-economic changes in their society. These non-kinship organizations are potential groups or sodalities formed as per social, economic, religious and political needs of the society. By making co-operation a reality beyond the narrow confines of the blood tie of kinship, the Juangs pave the way, in principle at least, for a wider integration.

THE ROLE OF “BARABHAI” IN DEVELOPMENT OF JUANGS *

*Niladari Bihari Mishra*¹

Abstract

The family heads of a Juang village, taken together including the traditional leaders designated as Nagam / Boita / Dehury (secular headman), Ardhan/ Pradhan/ Nayak (sacerdotal headman) and Dangua / Dakua (messenger) constitute the traditional village council called Barabhai. Barabhai plays an important and useful part in the Juang society. It was exercising the executive, financial, religious and judicial powers. Any kind of customary affair relating to the village is first discussed and then finalized in a meeting held in Majang – the village community center-cum-youth dormitory, and its decisions were being respected by all the Juangs and non-Junags and obeyed by one and all in the village. It was very democratic system governancerecognized by the kings of Keonjhar State, for centuries.

Though the political scenario has changed after independence, yet the development workers of non-Government organizations and employees of different Government departments are taking the help of Barabhai to implement the development works in the Juang villages. So this institution should be conserved and made involved for the success of developmental activities in the Juang habitation areas of Keonjhar district.

The sample study has been carried out taking two Juang inhabited villages– one homogenous and another multi-community, with a hypothesis. After analyzing the data and present situation, it is concluded in favour of conservation and promotion of this age old institution,

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Introduction:

Juang is a Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Group (PVTG) of Odisha confined to Keonjhar, Anugul and Dhenkanal districts. In Keonjhar district they are still found within their traditional culture. Therefore, they draw attention of many Sociologists and Anthropologists. The “Barabhai” or traditional village council of Juang society is a very useful and important village level institution that plays a key role in managing the socio-cultural affairs of village and maintains its unity and integrity as well.

Objectives of Study:

1. Learn about the traditional system of governance (Barabhai) of the Juang with socio-cultural values.
2. Understand the challenges and opportunities for its integration in local democratic setup for discourse of developmental activities.
3. Justify the best part of “BARABHAI” and plan out for appropriate space for decision making, planning and implementation of development programs.

Hypothesis:

The positive, beneficial, traditional and cultural institution of “Barabhai” of the Juang with ground level executive, religious, quasi-judicial powers can be associated with their development process. They have much confidence on their tradition and culture to launch any kind of planning and development project, either micro or macro or major or special. Their co-operation and acceptance is required for success of development projects. This can help to penetrate development plans in their mental state easily for contemporary changes.

Methodology:

Literature study, field visit, data collection, group discussion in Juang villages and data analysis. Personal interaction with- Pirha Sardars, villagers, development workers, N.G.O Heads, Panchayat Members, Sarapanchs, Panchayat Executive Officers, Extension Officers.

Study Villages:

For the study two sample villages were selected- KHARBA a homogenous Juang village and PANASIA a multi-community village inhabited by Juang, Munda, Mahanta and Gouda (Milkman).

Traditional System of Barabahi:

The Juang villages are generally governed by a corporate body of family heads of the village including the secular head and the ritual head elected by them. It is called “Barabhai” or traditional village council. The Juang family being

patriarchal and patrilineal in nature, the eldest male member of each Juang household acts as the family head. He is responsible for economic, social and cultural management of both his family as well as village. "Barabhai" literally means twelve brothers; it does not mean the number twelve, but used in the sense of many, because they all belong to a single clan. Any kind of affairs of the village is first discussed by the "Barabhai" in the Majang or Manda ghara – the village community center. The decision taken by them is carried out by villagers without any question. The matters like distribution of *taila (podu)* lands among families, marital alliances with the *bandhu* villages, inter and intra village conflicts, celebration of festivals, appointment and impeachment of village leaders are finalized by them. If any outsider may be a Juang or non-Juang requests to reside in the village permanently, his request is considered by the village council.

In mixed community villages where non-Juangs like Munda, Bhuyan Mahanta, Ganda, Bathudi, Milkman, Jharaetc, are residing with the Juangs in different hamlets in the same village, the role of "Barabhai" is crucial. Any kind of dispute that arises among them relating to cattle grazing, land boundary, marriage, money lending or any other issue, the non-Juang communities approach "Barabhai" to resolve the matter. In presence of both the parties, the matter is discussed vividly and then finalized by "Barabhai" in the Majang and further course of action is directed which is respected by all.

Psychology:

Juangs are more individualists when expressing their views. They are ready to listen everyone, but make their own choice. So, whether the village is a homogenous one or heterogeneous, the "Barabhai" is still considered the right forum to provide them their freedom of expression.

Functions and Decision making:

In the dawn, almost all of the "Barabhai" members gather to warm themselves around the sacred fire of the Majang and discuss about matters of the village informally. In the dusk they also gather there after their work to continue the discussion while smoking their handmade cigars. Many of the current matters discussed and examples are sought for settling the disputed matters.

Formally, the "Barabhai" meets several times in a year in the Majang in specific occasions as well as when so required. It functions in a democratic way, where all the members are free to give their opinion at the time of discussion. Though they are not answerable to any authority but they have to follow their customary law. So their decision regarding any matter of the village is final. There are certain matters like dispute on village boundaries, divorcee and separation, grazing which cannot be decided by one party. For this the council members of the concerned villages meet together to resolve the matter.

“Barabhai” is the traditional institution of social control that was recognized by the then kings of Keonjhar State for centuries. So the Juangs are very much accustomed in this socio-cultural institution.

Changing situation at present:

In Juang villages of Keonjhar they followed this system of authority but after independence government has replaced this with Panchayat system where the power lies with the Sarpanchs and Ward Members. They are also elected by the people and ultimately depend on “Barabhai” for getting votes from the village.

In the models of old and new type of local authority it is important that community development workers need to avoid party politics. At the same time they should know about the Juangs, their needs and attitudes and have to work with the new system. The development workers are interested to effect developmental changes primarily and constantly from Juangs’ point of view. The Juangs may feel insulted or suspect if outside agencies work without understanding their way of life. Development therefore means educating and helping a community to understand the changes and act accordingly while retaining their cultural identity. In this context Juang identity and culture find expression in their institution of “Barabhai”.

In the group of “Barabhai” certain member may have more influence than others by their personal qualities and experience. Such persons have the ability to motivate others. These kinds of Juangs are acting as link between development workers and villagers.

Village Level Committees:

At present the following committees are generally found in the Juang villages formed according to government guidelines and non-government organization’s procedure for village development.

1. School Management Committee- by Education Department.
2. Vigilance Committee- by I.C.D.S. of W & C.D.
3. Forest Right Committee- by Tribal Welfare Department.
4. Village Welfare Committee- by National Health Mission.
5. Vana Sangrakshyana Samiti- by Forest Department.
6. Water and Sanitation Committee- by Water Resources Department.
7. Village Development Committee- by Non-government organization.

Study Village- KHARBA:

Kharba is an interior village where only Juangs live. Situated on a hill and surrounded by jungles it comes under Pithagola Gram Panchayat of Harichandanpur Block. 531 Juangs are living in 142 families in this village having a literacy rate of about 42 percent only. There is a Primary School up to class-V standard

established in 1976 and the Anganwadi center is functioning since 1982. The nearest Bank, Post Office, Panchayat Office, High School is in Pithagola lying at a distance of six kilometers. Except government agencies, three N.G.O's named Foundation for Ecological security, KIRDTI and Srusti are working there for village development. Agriculture, goatery, animal husbandry, daily wage are their source of income. The jungles around the village are named Sapatunguru, Banjhakendu, Tunguru, Dumani, Ambadar, Pudadih, Baraguda, Madhurapani, Ramadas and Karla. The *nalas* around the village are - Samakoi, Janta & Ambadar.

Study Village- PANASIA:

Panasia village is a large settlement coming under Harichandanpur block. Besides the Juangs, the people of Munda, Mahanta and Milkman are residing in separate hamlets. 93 families of Juangs, 41 families of Mundas, 67 families of Mahantas and 41 families of Goudas (Milkmen) are found in the village. The Juangs, who are numerically dominant, are the early settlers and they have accommodated non-Juangs in course of time in this village. The school building was constructed in the beginning by the initiative of villagers. The Upper Primary School up to Class-VIII was started on 1979. There are two Anganwadi centers for preschool education of the children of the village. The average literacy of the Juangs in this village is more than 50%. The nearest Bank, High School, College, Primary Health center, Post Office are located in Janghira, at a distance of 10 kilometers. There are eight Jungles named Besarabadi, Nandubandh, Ghagi, Tagamara, Ketakijharan, Asadiakendu, Chhata Pathara, Badapada and six *nalas* named- Gendachua, Ketakijharan, Madhurapani, Chhatapathara, Besarabadi, Nandubandha found surrounding the village.

Development works within five years collected from primary sources

KHARBA

SL. No.	Name of the Agency	Work done or in Progress	Year
1.	Foundation for Ecological Security (FES)	Water Absorption Tank	2014-15
2.	- do -	Percolation Tank-1	2015
3.	- do -	Forest Protection	2014-15
4.	- do -	Drying yard-2	2015
5.	- do -	Repair of Badakatha	2016
6.	- do -	Loose bolder Check dam-16	2016-17
7.	- do -	Community Center-1	2017
8.	- do -	Agricultural Equipment	2017
9.	- do -	Renovation of Traditional <i>chua</i> -3	2015-16
10.	Sanyog	Road repairing 80 meters	2015
11.	KIRDTI	Support for natural and traditional farming	2012 Contin-

			uing
12.	Srusti	Mango Plantation- 800 Plants	2015
13.	- do -	Bore Well-1	2016
14.	- do -	Goat shed -13	2016
15.	- do -	De-worming and vaccination of Goats	2016 Contin- uing
16.	Pithagola G.P.	Concrete Road - 1 k.m.	2013-14
17.	- do -	Mandaghar area made concrete	2015
18.	- do -	Primary School building repair	2016
19.	- do -	Renovation of TariniThakurani Sala	2013-14
20.	- do -	Tube well- 1	2015
21.	- do -	Renovation of Chua	2013
22.	- do -	Pradhan Mantri Awaas Yojana- 9	2016
23.	- do -	Pradhan Mantri Awaas Yojana - 16	2016-17
24.	Tribal Welfare Department	Ticket on I.F.R.-100	2011

PANASIA

Sl. No.	Name of the Agency	Work done or in Progress	Year
1	Monojmanjari Sishu Bhavan	Health and Education worker	2012 Cont...
2	Monojmanjari Sishu Bhavan	Health worker	2014 Cont...
3	Foundation for Ecological Security (FES)	Field Bonding – 10 hec.	2016-17
4	- do -	Percolation Tank	2016
5	- do -	Loose boulder check dam- 1	2017
6	- do -	Oil Expeller	2017
7	- do -	Drying yard-2	2015-16
8	- do -	Agro Equipment -25	2017
9	FES with Horticulture Dept	Mango Plantation- 4.5 hec.	2017
10	KIRDTI	Advocacy for land restoration for 40 hec.	2016-17
11	- do -	Support for Natural & Traditional farming	2014 Cont....
12	WOSCA	Tuition Teacher-1	2017
13	WOSCA	Livelihood support-5	2016-17
14	WOSCA	Distribution of Study Materials	2016-17
15	Jamjodi G.P	Pond-1	2012-13
16	- do -	Check Dam-2	2014-15

17	- do -	Road-1	2014-15
18	- do -	Concrete Road 150 meter	2016-17
19	- do -	Concrete Road 200 meter	2016
20	- do -	Indira Awaas- 14	2015-16
21	- do -	Indira Awaas- 29	2016-17
22	Jirang G.P	Check Dam-1	2015-16
23	- do -	Rain water management check dam- 1	2015-16
24	- do -	Concrete Road from main road to School	2015-16
25	Soil Conservation Department	Cashew Plantation 12 hec. 24000 Plant	2016-17
26	Sericulture Dept.	Arjun Tree Plantation 10 hec. 17000 Plants	2016-17
27	Tribal Welfare Dept.	Ticket on I.F.R.- 79 Persons	2011

Decision making procedure at present:

The development workers belonging to NGOs and government agencies are taking the help of “Barabhai” in three stages- (i) For fixation of day, date and timing for meeting for discussion on execution of development programmes for the village. (ii) In the meetings they all stress on the opinion of village council members which is respected by all. (iii) While planning for implementation in the field they need the presence of village council members to carry out the work according to their suggestions. In both the villages “Barabhai” are working as guide for implementation of development programmes.

Conclusion:

In both the villages the role of “Barabhai” is praiseworthy, which follows the values common to the village. This democratic institution still functions with ample sagacity to meet the challenges of the changing times. They provide the scope for development agencies to avoid the faults while working through new committees in village. The members of Barabhai are also represented in various new committees and they continue to guide the process of decision making in these bodies. The Barabhai can fulfill their collective responsibilities as a whole; in a unifying and effective manner. In the above scenario the development works can be more effective and successful by involving “Barabhai” in Juang villages as a statutory rule as has been done in case of the Mundari Act in Jharkhand.

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MAABHAUNI OF JUANG : A NEW PROSPECT AS CHANGE AGENT *

Niladri Bihari Mishra¹

Abstract

Maabhauni organization is a distinct institutional arrangement in Juanga community in Keonjhar. The Maabhauni is a traditional non-kinship organization of the married Juang women through which the women folk plays a very crucial role in socio-cultural and village management affairs. It has evolved traditionally and still exists, however to a larger extent. Necessary support is required to reinforce its' institutional capacity in the present day situation.

Introduction

Juang is one of the backward and vulnerable tribes of Odisha. From their place origin in Gonasika, Keonjhar they have migrated to the neighbouring Anugul and Dhenkanal districts. They are famous for their social and cultural traditions which have attracted the attentions of many Sociologists, Anthropologists and Ethnologists. There are different village level institutions existing in Juang village where Maabhauni institution plays a very crucial role in management of village affairs.

Organization

The term Maabhauni means all mothers living in a Juang village. After marriage both husband and wife live together in a separate new house, but after delivering a child the wife is eligible to become a member of Maabhauni group.

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Ideally in Juang village women folk consist of different group- Uali-Girl (child), Selan-(adolescent and unmarried girl), Gurta Selan- (married girl) and Budhi-Old Woman. Any female member in the groups of Gurta Selan and Budhi can be a member Maabhauni group.

Origin

The journey of the Juang community from semi-migratory life to settled one is embedded with various factors such as food gathering, child care, ill health, natural calamity, stress or separation etc. which gradually led to a strong belongingness among women folk and later took the shape of MAABHAUNI with socio-cultural characteristics.

Objectives

- a) Learn about traditional Maabhauni system in Juang society with social cultural values.
- b) Understand the challenges and opportunities for empowerment of women in Juang society.
- c) Justify the importance of Maabhauni and provide adequate space towards their empowerment to be groomed as a strengthened institution for realization of various developmental goals.

Hypothesis

Ensuring the association of the beneficial traditional organization Maabhauni of Juang community in decision making in social, cultural, religious matters at the village level can effect empowerment of Juang women. It is necessary to empower the tribal women to easily face the current problems and challenges emerging in contemporary society.

Methodology

Literature study, field visit, group discussion and analysis. Personal interaction with Nagams, Ardans Barabhai, Maabhauni, Ritual elders, Family heads and Pirha² Sardar.

Study Villages

The Juang villages- Guptaganga, Talachampe, Kanheiguda and Kuajharana were covered under the study.

Psychology

Juangs are independent in spirit; they express their view according to their own choice. Especially the voice of Juang women are considered to be a

² The maximal territorial unit composed of several contiguous Juang villages headed by a traditional chief called Sardar

determining factor. The Juang Maabhaunias group has a more powerful presence in village affairs.

Traditional system of Maabhauni

Juang village are governed by corporate body of elders including traditional leaders called Barabhai but Maabhauni are consulted by them in social and cultural affairs of the village before taking any decision. During the period of kingship in review meetings of king, visit of queen and state administrative high officials they were questioning about the problems of Maabhauni group. Even Maabhauni were allowed to discuss freely about their problems with king or queen of ex-Kendujhar state.

Present day functioning of Maabhauni

Cultural Aspects: -

When the representatives of a village are returning after attending the meetings held outside on behalf of the village for example, *pirh* council meeting, inter-village council meeting, the Maabhauni group greet and welcome them with washing their feet with turmeric water, throwing turmeric mixed rice on their heads followed by loud *hulhuli*³. If a *pirh* council meeting is to be held at any village, all the delegates attending the meeting are welcomed and greeted in same manner. When a new Sardar is selected or appointed he stands on a new date palm-leaf mat and the Maabhauni welcome and greet him in the same manner. When new Nagam or New Ardan (traditional village secular headman) is coronated he is also greeted and blessed by Maabhauni group in the same manner.

In case of death of a male family head, the widow of the deceased person who is a member of Maabhauni group acts as family head who is responsible for all the economic, social and cultural management of the family. When the Nagam-the sacerdotal head of a Juang village dies his widow discharges the Nagam's social and religious duties and responsibilities till a new Nagam is appointed. At the time of coronation of a new Nagam in the Majang - the village community center, the deceased Nagam's widow is invited to greet and bless the former. In case if the new Nagam is not accepted by forefathers or gods or goddess, the Nagamdae continues as before until a new Nagam is found.

The water level of water holes (*chua*) lying in the bank of stream goes down in summer in most places and dry leaves, dust etc. are deposited at the edge. After the first rain Maabhauni go there and clean the *chua*. The Nagamdae (Nagam's wife) of the group throws turmeric water into it uttering Bandano

³ A typical sweet sound created by women by moving their tongues in a peculiar way. It is sound of greetings made during auspicious, ritual and ceremonial occasions.

(welcome) verses amidst loud *hulhuli* of other women present there. Then they start using the water of that *chua* for domestic consumption.

In rainy season when it is late for raining Juangs call the rain, which they termed as “Gima Nadaena”. On the fixed day Maabhauni go to water sources near the village. The Kangars (unmarried boys) collect a little water from each source in a small earthen vessel with loud *hulhuli* made by the Selankis (unmarried girls). The collected water is poured on the roof of Majang in presence of Maabhauni.

In a Juang family if child dies repeatedly, there is a socio-cultural tradition to prevent the mishap. They handover the child to Maabhauni and Barabhai of that village. On a fixed day mother sits on a date-palm leaf mat in front door of her house holding the child on her lap. The members of Maabhauni come and bath the child with turmeric water and dress the child with a new dress. They bless the child wishing his/her a long life with prosperity and give him/her a new name.

A Case Study

About fifty six years ago when Srimant Juang was 3 or 4 years old, his father Suratha and mother Kati handed over him in traditional process to Maabhauni of the village- Guptaganga. The Maabhauni renamed him as Puria and till today that name is used by the villagers. He is leading a healthy life and is performing as Nagam famous for ritual performances.

Social Aspects

In the third day of marriage ceremony the bride is guided by Maabhauni of the concerned village to nearby stream or river. In the bathing *ghat*, the bride is smeared with turmeric paste mixed with oil and takes bath. The Nagamdae takes oath and fills a small pitcher with water (Subha Kalasa) which she places on the bride's head. While they are returning towards village they are blocked by few villagers dressed up comically and they refuse to allow the women to pass. The Maabhauni who accompanied the bride bribe them tobacco, liquor, cigarette, tuber etc. and go ahead.

After several days of hunting when no animal could be hunted by the hunting party, in that case all Maabhauni take bath and assemble in front of Majang. The hunting party hands over their bows and arrows to them which are returned to them later. One woman falls on the ground pretending to be dead. Some men of the hunting party beat her with tree branches saying “see this is a *sambar*, we will have a successful hunt today”.

A widow normally remains in her deceased husband's house with her unmarried son and daughter and manages her husband's family and property. She becomes the guardian of her unmarried children. She is always supported by

the Maabhauni of the village while in difficulties and stress. We can take the case of Suru Juang of Talachampey village as an example.

A Case Study

Suru Juang is a widow living in Talachampey village. She was born and brought up in Kundhei and married to late Upendra Juang, son of Mania Juanga at the age of 14. Twenty three years ago her husband died leaving three sons and a daughter. At that time she owned two oxen, two cows, five goats, a single roomed hut and the landed property was undivided.

Within last 14 years two of her sons have been married and separated. Now she is living with an unmarried son and daughter. Her financial problems for health, fooding, agriculture, education, marriage of children, are being managed with the help Maabhauni. She received help in shape of rice, money and seeds etc. from Maabhauni at the time of need. The members of Maabhauni group have always supported her during the period of hardship.

For their guests the Juangs use the term “Kunia” who are of two kinds-Ghar Kunia- the guest of individual family and Gaon Kunia- the guest of village. While entertaining Ghar Kunia is the responsibility of the concerned family, looking after the Gaon Kunia is the collective responsibility of the villagers. There is a tradition in Juang society called- “Tiurae ninimki jajanana” which is acted once in a year. It is a kind of exchange visit programme between the Bandhu⁴ villagers. The aim of the visit is to have social intercourse with Bandhus. The Maabhuni visit their Bandhu village where their daughters married and they stay in their respective daughters houses as Ghar Kunia. This was observed in Kuajharan village recently.

A Case Study: -

The Maabhauni of Kanheiguda village visited the Bandhu village Kuajharan in a four day programme, fixed and intimated before. They came with sweets, cakes, rice beer, cigarettes etc. On reaching the village they went to Majang and handed over the gifts to their counterparts and then have visited their respected daughter's families. Also they visited the houses of other daughters of their village married in the same village.

During their stay the Maabhauni danced with the Barabhai of that village whenever they liked and even throughout the night in front of Majang. They also sang and joked with their Bandhus for pleasure. They

⁴ A Juang village maintains its relationship with certain other Juang villages which are grouped as Bandhu villages and Bhaiali villages. While marital relationship can be forged with Bandhu villages, for Bhaiali villages it is strictly prohibited

enjoyed delicacies of meat, rice, cake and rice beer, Mahua liquor with their Bandhus. On the last day before their departure the host villagers entertained them with a feast of rice and chicken curry which Maabhauni of both the villages enjoyed together and a meat pack was presented to them to carry home.

Mithakhiai is a pre-delivery social event performed by the Maabhauni and parents of a pregnant woman, when she is pregnant for eight months. The Maabhauni and parents go to the woman's house on a day fixed earlier and present her sweets, rice, cakes, chicken /goat, spices, split pulse, edible oil, new brass plate, new clothes and other necessities. The parent on reaching their daughter's village go round the village to invite the villagers for a feast. In the house, the pregnant daughter sits on the lap of her mother who feeds her sweets kept on a new brass plate in presence of Maabhauni. The Maabhauni also feed the pregnant daughter one by one. All the villagers eat the feast with Maabhauni. Actually, it is a recent tradition in Juang community, borrowed from the neighbouring caste Hindus.

Decision making

In the institutional frame of Juanga community Maabhauni plays an important role in decision making aspect that includes coronation of new Nagam or Ardan. fixing the date and time for any special function or festivals. If Maabhauni does not give their consent for holding the events the proposal is dropped and again after some time fresh proposal comes. Likewise in another social event-normally a mother brings her newborn baby from her living room to the front open space, for the first time for the elder's blessings and for this event also the Maabhauni play a crucial role in finalizing the date and time in consideration of the baby's safety.

Changing situation

In Juang areas of Keonjhar the traditional system of Governance is replaced by the three tier Panchayatraj system, after independence, where power lies with Gram Panchayat, Panchayat Samiti and Zilla Parishad. There is Scheduled Tribe women quota for representation in this system.

In the context of development in present times, several committees, groups in the name of Self Help Group (SHG), etc have been promoted, where women members are the key actors. The tribal women Self Help Groups have mostly limited themselves to thrift and credit activities, whereas other social and cultural issues are untouched. Hence the capacities of traditional Maabhauni group needs to be built on various emerging areas so that their representation and participation in several institutional platforms can further be realized.

Excluding village level committees there are seven types of standing committees in Panchayatraj system where women are represented and in these committee all members are women as per the provision.

Village level committees

1. Forest Right Committee –Forest dept.
2. Gan Kalayan Committee- Health dept.
3. School Management Committee- Education dept.
4. Vigilance Committee –I.C.D. Scheme
5. Water and Sanitation Committee -Water Resource
6. Mothers Committee –I.C.D. Scheme

Standing committees

1. Planning, finance, anti-poverty programmes and co-ordination
2. Agriculture, Animal Husbandry, Soil Conservation, Horticulture, Watershed Development and Fisheries.
3. Works, Irrigation, Electricity, Drinking Water Supply and Rural Sanitation.
4. Health, social welfare including women and child development.
5. Public Distribution System, welfare of weaker sections.
6. Handicrafts, cottage industry and village industries and rural housing.
7. Education, Sports and Culture.

Conclusion

In most of the Juang villages the function of Maabhauni is praise worthy, which follows common value of their society. This democratic organization need to be strengthened so that it can be able to meet the women-centric challenges and situations.

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FOLK SONGS OF THE JUANG*

*Siba Prasad Rout*¹

This article is based on the data collected during sixteen months field study in the hill-Juang villages of Keonjhar with Dr. Charles W. Mc Dougal, Fellow of Social Science Research Council in the year 1960-62.

Late Dr. Verrier Elwin, who was sometimes the Honorary Anthropologist to the Government of Orissa, had widely traversed among the backward tribal groups of the State. Elwin's painstaking itineraries, his lucid descriptions, and his captive photographs have brought several backward tribes to the forefront so much so, that many administrators and high placed persons have associated the growth of anthropological studies in this country to the efforts of Elwin. However, there is a difference between the descriptions of Elwin and the scientific approach of the professional anthropologists. The latter prefer to avoid sweeping generalizations and study the tribes from various angles to reveal the imponderabilia of their culture. Thus there may be wide divergences between the accounts of Elwin and the findings of the professional anthropologists.

Notwithstanding brief notes and reference of E. A. Samuels (1856), E. T. Dalton (1872), W. W. Hunter (1877), H. H. Risley (1891) and N. K. Bose (1929), the first exhaustive account on the Juang was published in "Man in India", in 1948, as an outcome of Dr. Elwin's study of the tribe in 1942. Dr. Elwin was no doubt impressed by the "splendor of the landscape, and the palm-girt flat lands round the lovely Malyagiri Mountain", "the red cliffs of Sunduria, and the forest covered Runjapani and Jharpani hills", and "the precipitous Changagiri", in Juang area, but was utterly dissatisfied with the people. He was so discontented with the Juang that he went to an extent to attribute that "The Juang are not easy. It is almost impossible to get about. The people do not want visitors. They reveal themselves with the utmost reluctance. There is no tradition, as in Bastar, of village

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hospitality." And they "had the disconcerting habit of turning their backs on you just when you were feeling at your friendliest."

During the sixteen months continuous stay among the hill Juang of Keonjhar and subsequent field trips to Juangs of Dhenkanal and Pallahara, Elwin has collected many contradicting data which proves most of his remarks as superficial and far from truth. In many cases his description of the rites and rituals, feasts and festivities and customs and practices of the Juang do not fit with Juang life and culture but with the caste-Hindus. A detail account of all such incongruities would be out of place here, but there is no doubt that the Juang are the most friendly, docile and innocent like many other tribes and unlike most tribes the Juang cherish hospitality as a best trait of their social life. Dormitory house (*majang*) gives shelter to visiting guests and relatives. Cognates (*bandhu*) of individual families and outsiders on their visit to a village are treated as guests of the village and are fed out of contributions raised from the individual families or from the common stock of grains stored in the dormitory to meet such necessities. In the fold of their youth organization, the unmarried boys and girls being members of the dormitory are allotted specific duties to entertain the guests, the boys chopping firewood, collecting grains, cooking food and running errands, and the girls fetching water, husking grains, grinding spices and supplying leaf cups and plates. The village women have the custom to welcome a distinguished guest by washing his feet with turmeric water and offering a new mat of date-palm leaf and some foods. Such custom still operates in Juang villages of Keonjhar as the dormitory organization which contradicts Dr. Elwin's statement on Juangs having "no tradition of village hospitality."

However, the hazards and handicaps which stood on the way of Dr. Elwin to collect a true account of the Juang life and culture may not be ignored. The first appearance of Dr. Elwin terrified the Juang of Keonjhar who suspected him to be a missionary coming to spread Christianity. So, the Juang strongly resented to communicate to him. He could however, make his way to Pallahara and Dhenkanal where the Juang lived amidst plains living castes and tribes. There he could hardly "see anything that could be called Juang life". Moreover, Elwin had to depend on the version of his interpreter who being an Oriya and not having been free from his ethnocentrism might have projected his ideas as those of the Juangs. The fact that Elwin's notes on the Juang were supplemented by enquiries made by his assistants after Elwin left the Juang area further strengthens the view that Elwin had to depend on second-hand information. As a result of all the difficulties narrated above the account of Elwin on Juang suffered from gross incongruity and misrepresentation of facts.

Regarding the Juang songs and dances Dr. Elwin has described a number of ballets like deer dance, boar dance, elephant dance, root dance, bear dance, *koel* dance, sparrow dance, peacock dance, and vulture dance, etc. and as his account states- "Every dance is accompanied by its special songs and some of these are

very beautiful. Those accompanying the animal and bird ballet are superior to the Ghumra songs of Dhenkanal. Although these are old, they are sung in a bastard Oriya rather than in Juang”.

It is necessary in this context, to note that the so called animal and bird ballets described and photographed by Elwin are original dances of the Bhuinya who are a brethren tribe living close to the Juang. As Elwin has based his account mainly on the Juang of Dhenkanal he might have observed the Juang borrowing such ballets from the Bhuinya which are different from the *thaniya* Juang.

Elwin has given a number of songs sung by the Juang in those days all of which are Oriya songs of two and half decades before. While studying the Juang, Elwin could see them wearing leaf, but he failed to record any of their traditional songs composed in Juang dialect. It is true that ordinarily the Juang sing songs in bastard Oriya composed by themselves during dance and on their way to fairs and markets to attract the girl friends and on their way to see the dancers off, but during marriage and while dancing with the *bandhu* (cognate) girls they sing songs in their own language. The men only sing during dance, but on other occasions both boys and girls exchange their heart through songs.

The present article aims at describing Juang songs and analyzing their sociological importance. On the basis of the subject matter the songs of the Juang may be classified under four main categories. Some songs are sung by the mothers to console their wailing babies. Such songs are called *naale* by Juangs. Some songs are meant for story-telling. Such songs describe the sorrows and sufferings of human beings and overcoming those by the mercy of supernatural powers and forces believed to be guiding every walk of human life. Such songs are usually sung by experienced women on the occasion of Tirtia (first paddy sowing) ceremony in a gathering with the purpose to sing the glory of the unseen powers and there by praying them to shower plenty and prosperity.

Some songs are extremely vulgar and are sung only in dance during marriage. In every marriage a fun-dance is held in the groom's village between the joking relations. Those who are related to each other as brothers, father's father and son's son (all own or classificatory) play on *changu* (the large circular tambourine) and the women who are related to them as their brother's (both younger and elder) wife, father's wife and son's son's wife join in the dance. A lot of fun is displayed between the men's and the women's parties and the men sing the vulgar songs to tease the women.

Songs of the above categories are relatively few, but most of the Juang songs are *changu* songs sung mostly by the unmarried boys while dancing with their *bandhu* girls on the latter's dancing visit to their village. Some such songs may be ballads depicting love tragedies, the daily routine of work and the scenes of village life, etc. The song "*Ku ku lo semelan*" is the most popular song telling about the intense love between the lover and the beloved going to the heart of a jungle in

search of Asoka flower, put to death by the evil spirit dwelling on the tree and in the long run getting back their life by Rusi and Rusiani (defied tribal hero and his wife) for their true love. The song starts with a couple of prayers to the Bhima and Badama, the *changu* deities regulating the dormitory life of the youths. A translation of the song may reveal the poetic genius of the composer in which the lover and the beloved express their heart to each other. The girl is eager to adorn herself with the Asoka flower which blossoms in a remote part of the jungle and begs her lover to go together to bring the flower. The boy replies that before moving the girl should take permission from her twelve brothers and the sisters-in-law. The girl says that she has done it and now they should move. The boy then asks her to arrange twelve packets of food for the twelve days journey and the girl informs that it has been done. Then the girl asks the boy to move so that she may follow him by looking at his turban and the loin of his cloth, but the boy wants the girl to lead so that he would follow her by admiring the exquisite bamboo comb fixed on her bun and her dazzling anklets. They then reach their destination and the girl helps the boy to climb on the Asoka tree. The boy plucks bunches of flower and asks the girl to decorate her buns. When the boy gets down the girl requests him to lift the basketful of flower to her head so that they may return back soon, but the boy feels sick and likes to rest a while. He lies down keeping her head on the lap of his sweet heart and the latter sings a song to entertain him. He then falls into deep slumber till the golden rays of the setting sun fall on the mountain peaks of the Malyagiri. The girl notices a flock of golden vultures on the Malyagiri and tries to awake her lover. But alas! He has been dead. The girl breaks down to tears wailing that the spirit dwelling on the Asoka tree caused death to her lover and that she had no body on earth to look after her. She then contemplates not to return to the village alone lest the boy's parents and the villagers may chide her and decides to sacrifice her life in the memory of her love. She brings out the waist chain of the boy, her earrings, and keeps those aside. She throws the body of her lover to a ravine and jumps herself down and dies. A crow carries the waist-chain and the earrings and drops those down in the village which is identified to be their belongings by their parents. They mourn for their children and perform usual death rites by slaughtering goats and giving funeral feast to the villagers.

The plot then takes a new turn. In the forest where the couple passed away, lived Rusi and Rusiani. They roast the roots and tubers collected by them and divide into two shares, but every time they distribute four equal shares emerge. This surprises the couple who, by divination come to know about the tragic end of the innocent lovers. They, take pity on them and generate new lie to them. The lover and beloved then proceed to their own village. Seeing them alive the heart of their parents is filled with joy. They plaster their house, arrange new mat and grind turmeric to greet and bless their children. On their arrival in the village they marry and lead a happy life.

The above song not only fulfils the purpose of story-telling, but its composition also exhibits superb poetic skill of the composer. Another song may

also be narrated which depicts vividly the important elements of the Juang social life relating to the association of the unmarried boys and girls of the dormitory. The song and its English rendering are stated as follows:-

1. *Sisiridak da lalae lo bangasisiridak da lalae.*
There is fire in dew drops, fire in dew drops.
2. *Lalaejalejaleatamalabdemeatamalabdeme.*
As the fire burns the heart burns, the heart burns.
3. *Sitateakaterangateakatelalaearendakasere.*
Pinched by extreme cold, the girl is sitting near the fire.
4. *Gitointemimunkechanguintemimunke; Lalaearendakasere.*
She does not appreciate my song and *changu*. So she is sitting near the fire.
5. *Bejerangmutamuinkalialakmutamuin*
Dalung gating megaymegay
You may carry a bunch of tobacco and dried *sal* leaves for me to the path leading to the stream.
6. *Itingtemidiyanralakatemunejatimderabumudina.*
Don't give this tobacco and the dried leaves on my palm as my touch may defile your status.
7. *Kakamkichari bhai bakamki di bhai; Aengtesugeibetangkein.*
I am very much afraid of your four elder brothers and two younger brothers.
8. *Jatimaana ja megataarabakarae; jatikimam jo aing.*
Do not worry if you are defiled, by my touch; I shall purify you.
9. *Bhanirasanandachhanda lo bangari; Aaukanaatita. Langa*
The song is concluded (I) looked at the back side of the house.
10. *Dadiradakaserekakaradakasere; Bejerangdindingtebetang.*
As her father's younger brother and her elder brother are sitting. The girl is afraid of giving me the gift of tobacco.

Analysis of the song reveals the following:-

1. It gives a true and vivid description of a wintry night portrayed by *changu* dance. The dew drops make the weather chilly. A fire burns near the plaza around which some of the girls rest and relax, while others dance. The fire not only keeps the dancers warm, but is used for heating *changu* and for providing illumination to the audience. (Lines 1, 2, 3 of the song).

2. The song brings out the silent features of Juang youth organization and the dealings between the *bandhu* boys and girls. If the girls make delay to come forward for dance, it is customary for the boys to tease them on the pretention that the girls might not be appreciating their songs for which they avoid to dance and thereby while away the time by sitting near the fire. By making this fact public and to attract the girls for dance the singer, therefore, makes the girls conscious of this fact in stanza 4.

Likewise, presentation of tobacco and dried leaves to the boys by the *bandhu* girls in secluded places, the fun of the boys and girls attributing themselves as persons of very low caste and addressing the others to be the members of superior caste and status and the lover's dread for his beloved's family members, etc., are described vividly in subsequent stanzas.

3. The poetic genius of the composer in depicting the love of the singer through a simile can be well imagined from the second line of the song. The delicate winter dew drops represent the tender heart of the singer and the fire symbolizes his love for his sweet heart, and like the fire near the plaza love and passion borne in the heart of the singer also sparks into flames.

Other songs aim at teasing the girls, expressing the love of the singers for the girls, their heartfelt gratitude for the girl's kind visit to their villages, the grief and sorrow of the parting day, and the like.

Conclusion:

The canvas of tribal culture is changing fast under modern circumstances. Rapid growth of industrialization, spread of Christianity, increasing culture contact with the outsiders, etc., have brought sticking *changus* in the life and culture of the tribals. Being swept away by the under currents of the modern culture, the tribals have not only acquired many new values and norms to cope with the changing pattern of the society, but have lost many fine traits of their traditional culture. Their dormitory life and the associated youth organization have been affected most, as a result of which the dormitory organization has either been abolished or has lost its importance in the society. Today, we no more find youth dormitory among such major tribes like the Kondh, Koya, Gadaba, Saora, Santal, Oraon, Munda, Paraja, etc. The Ghotul of the Gond, Gitiora of the Munda, Dhumkuria of the Oraon and Dhangri and Dhangar Basa of the Kondh have long since been abolished. Among some such tribes like the Bonda and the Didayi, the dormitory organization exists in a rudimentary form. Though among the Bhuinyas, the Mandaghar organization still continues to have its hold in Keonjhar, it is on the decaying phase in Koira area of Sundergarh and has long since been abolished in the district of Mayurbhanj.

With the decline of the dormitory organization, the traditional songs and dances of many tribes have also suffered decay. The acculturated tribals have

developed hatred and scorn for their traditional song and dance and in many societies the folk dance has lost its glamour.

Out of the 62 Scheduled Tribes of Orissa, the hill Juang only have retained their dormitory organization, least affected by the modern *changus*. The institution has been given a goodbye among the plains dwelling Juang of Dhenkanal, but it continues to flourish in Keonjhar. The Juang of Keonjhar have retained their songs and dances, but by adopting Oriya songs during dance they have already gone a step forward to be the victims of the changing circumstance of the day. The Juang songs of high poetic value are gradually slipping away from the memory of the natives, and unless these are revived a precious folk music of a primitive tribe may cease to exist after a few years. It is now necessary to create new zeal and interest in the mind of the Juang to keep up their traditional songs. The community development programme may encourage the tribals through propaganda to value their traditional songs. Instead of spending money in providing modern musical instruments for promoting the recreational habits of Juang, the Social Education Organizer of the CD Block may take interest to record Juang songs and play those on in Juang villages. This may encourage and attract the Juang to love their traditional songs and dances. Occasional rewards to the Juang composers may also encourage and generate new zeal in them to compose more songs in their own dialect.

ASPECTS OF JUANG FOLKLORE *

*K. C. Mishra*¹

Introduction

The romance and love, the horror and mental agony that once quivered the skeleton of the Juang in the remote past, being unknown, are still murmured in their stories, songs, dances – combinedly taken as folklore and exist as an invincible culture – complex against the waves of contemporary changes, drawing its inspiration from the legendary rivers, mountains and forests.

The present work is an attempt to give a fundamental picture of the folklore of the Juangs – one of the most primitive tribes of India.

Folklore today does not merely involve either collection of vast amount of data for the sake of preservation and publication of the same or emphasizing the study of the language, origin, diffusion and transmission of folklore, but on the other hand it calls for a new technique of collection of data, its preservation through proper classification, building theory upon the classified empirical data with which the modern folklorists are concerned.

The description of the Juang folklore is presented in two major thought lines –

- (1) Presentation of folklore data through a well-planned classification; and
- (2) Study of the Juang folk life from these classified data.

Definition of Folklore

The term 'Folklore' is defined by many authorities in various dimensions. Etymologically speaking, folklore is the knowledge of a group of people more or less primitive. (Folk – any ethnic group, Lore – knowledge). One of the traditional meanings of the folklore is that it is "said to be in oral tradition". This definition includes almost all the items of a non-literate society, where everything is orally transmitted. There are certain definitions which are too narrow in nature, for

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example William Bascom's "verbal art" speaks of items such as folktales, myths, legends, folk songs, ballads, epics and poems, proverbs, riddles, formula of various kinds. According to American Anthropological definition, folklore is the "art and literature orally transmitted". Samuel P. Bayard criticizes Bascom's non-inclusion of traditional belief and custom in the definition of folklore. According to him, "In broader sense, folklore, as defined by Encyclopedia Britannica is "Folklore means folk-learnings, it comprehends all knowledge that is transmitted by word of mouth and all crafts and techniques that are learned by imitation or example, as well as products of these arts. Taylor, Botkin and Herzog have gone to the extent of including language in the folklore. Botkin in the broadest sense opines "...in a purely oral culture everything is folklore".

Taking folklore in this broadest sense no proper study of folklore is made without less difficulty. In preparing this work I have adopted the itemized definitions of Moria Leach, Francis Lee Utley and Alan Dundes, which are practical and pointed towards the exact nature of folklore. All the items (which are enlisted in definitions of above authors) are examined on a statistical basis can be described under four major items. They are -

- Folk literature
- Folk art (including dance)
- Folk belief and custom, and
- Crafts and language

Out of these four major items, folk - literature and folk art are anonymous choices of all folklorists. Hence, our working definition of Juang folklore in the light of the above information will be like this: "Folklore is a complex whole (Tylor) which includes folk-literature, art and music of a 'folk' and which are capable of being transmitted from one generation to another".

Relevance of the Study

Anthropology has got a close relationship with folklore. Any ethnographic account of a tribe is incomplete if it does not include items such as folktales, legends, myths, riddles, proverbs and all other forms of folk literature, along with kinship organization, social control and economic and social organization. In the study of folklore, this tribe is unavoidable so far as it contributes a major appliance in making of the culture of the Juangs. Its importance lies in its universality in view of the fact that there is no known culture which does not include folklore. Any people irrespective of their complexities, irrespective of their technologies must employ some forms of folklore. As folklore i.e., in its tales and proverbs known to both is a bridge between literate and non-literate people. As it bears the record of the past events, it helps the ethnographers as a 'living fossil' in understanding the living pre-history. Folklore serves to sanction and validate religious, political, social and economic institutions and play an important role as an educative device in their transmission from one generation to another.

Method of Study

As the folklore data are qualitative in nature, direct observation and participation method was employed to collect data. Most of the data were gathered in Kanjipani Grampanchayat of Keonjhar district of Odisha. Thirteen villages of Kanjipani Grampanchayat namely Kanjipani, Kuawar, Astadiha, Tala Panasanasa, Kirikanjipani, Upar Panasanasa, Talpada, Raidiha, Gonasika, Guptaganga, Baruda, Phulbari and Budhighar were covered under the study.

The Juangs - a Brief Introduction

The present folklore thought centers around the Juangs, one of the most primitive tribes of India. They are a Munda-speaking tribe inhabiting the forest clad upland regions and the villages of Keonjhar district of Odisha. The complexion of their skin varies from light brown to dark brown. Many of them have wavy hairs and yellowish eyes. In general they are of medium height.

Village Organization

The Juangs mainly live in the villages or in hamlets. The houses in the villages are scattered and no definite village structure is marked. A youth dormitory- the *majang* or *mandaghar* as they call it is present inside every village. Every Juang village is headed by a 'Pradhan' (headman) who in the social and political affairs represents the village. The village also has a "Dehuri", the religious head to conduct religious activities and a 'Raulia' the village witch doctor.

There are two institutions present in all the Juang villages, viz.

1. *Majang*- (youth dormitory) is the centre of the communal as well as dancing activities of the unmarried youth. Most important decisions relating to the village and inter-village affairs are settled here by the village leaders & elders.
2. *Gramasiri*- is the religious institution of the village. The village deity is placed on a piece of stone either in front or on the left side of the *majang*.

Social Institutions

Family - Mainly nuclear and joint families are rarely found.

Marriage- Monogamy is fairly common, but polygamy though rare is still in vogue. Three common ways of acquiring mates for marriage, viz. marriage by negotiation (Kamandaria), marriage by capture (Ghichha) and love marriage (Man mani). The latter two occur rarely.

Kinship

Among Juangs kinship ties are important. The whole tribe is divided into as many as twelve exogamous clans named after totemic birds and animals. Sometimes the entire village is found to be uniclans in nature.

Language

The Juangs generally talk to the outsiders in Odia language and among themselves they communicate in a Mundari language.

CLASSIFICATION OF FOLK LORE

The definition on the basis of itemized list of the forms of folklore indicates the classification of folklore in order to represent its content. However, to complete the definition of folklore, all other items are to be equally defined. So far as my empirical data regarding folklore obtained from the Juang are concerned, they can be classified under three heads such as:-

- a) Folk Literature,
- b) Folk Art and
- c) Folk Dance.

At the first sight, it may appear as the condensation of all the items suggested by various authors. The term “folk literature” is synonym to the term “verbal art” as coined by William Bascom. Under this term he has included such items as folk-tales, myths, legends, folk songs, proverbs, riddles etc. My study is no exception to this. But there are other forms of verbal art such as traditional folk-speech, including practical jokes, blessings, curse etc., which are traditional and which pass through generations. I have included all these in ‘folk literature’. For the sake of better representation, all these items have been further classified.

Most of the authors have described primitive art as graphic and plastic art in a combining whole. In describing the Juang art I have not made any sharp distinction between the two. Graphic art includes painting and lineal drawing on a plane object, and plastic art includes statues, sculptures, engravings, carvings etc. So far the Juang art materials are concerned; they cannot be classified with such distinction. For example, there are many instances of lineal engravings present in house posts, wooden doors etc. Thus the Juang art is classified not on this basis. The classification of the Juang folklore is better expressed in the following diagrammatic representation.

(A) Folk Literature

The folk literature is the literary activities in the traditional life style of a community. It cannot be equated with the literature of our conception. The Juang literature is an oral one and it is not found in any written form. So far as language is concerned the Juang speak a Mundari language. Most of the materials of their folk literature are spoken in Odia, especially what Dr. V. Elwin has suggested as “bastard Oriya” language. The literary activities of the people are not altogether accepted as folk literature; it is rather an artistic expression of the tribal thought passing down from one generation to another.

A Juang man maintains flexibility in course of his harder life- in collection of food, in hunting and in shifting cultivation. The thought and emotions that arise out of these activities are revealed in a certain artistic frame work. Thus it is obvious to think that the composer of a poem, the narrator of a story, the expert of riddles and proverbs have little or no headache as to whether their productions maintain any theoretical ordering. We can only expect from their unrhythmical, un-artistic (not so artistic) and prosaic verbal art, the description of folk life patched with their feeling, emotion, mental agony and frustration and happy moments of the *changu* dance, the marriage dance and merrymaking at the Karama *puja*. Materials collected so far can be classified in the following manner:-

- (i) Folk-tale
- (ii) Myth
- (iii) Legend
- (iv) Folk song
- (v) Riddle
- (vi) Proverbs
- (vii) Folk speech

Again, all these items of literature can be further put under two major heads.

- A) The primitive prose
- B) The primitive poetry.

The three major items such as folktale, myth and legends are the components of the Juang prose order. Its contents are essentially stories. The basic interrogations of all languages that is, "who, what, when, where, whence and why" question of things are very well reflected in these stories explained in the simplest manner. They tell us what happened, where and when, and most of the narrations have taken place on this simple and anecdotal plan. These stories as a whole are usually less structured and less demanding, have very little "points" from the modern literary point of view. But the social significance of these stories is ample. In addition to stories mostly occurring in the prose order of the Juang, there are also folk wit and folk speech which can be conveniently placed under this head. Folk poetry includes three important forms such as folk song, riddles and proverbs. These folksongs are not given here as it is to be published in the Banaphul journal of Odisha by this author.

(i) FOLK TALES

Folktales are often confused with myths and legends and most of the authors have not given the definition of folk-tale as distinguished from the other two. Most of the authors including Ruth Benedict have defined folk-tales as myths, legends and fairy tales. However, to include myth and legend under "folktale" is not correct and there are several criteria according to which folk-tale can be

distinguished from myth and legend, though In a broader sense these three can be put under folk-tale, so far as they are regarded as stories and have the characters of a story such as plot, incident, conflict, climax, motivation and character development. Thus folk-tale, in its wider sense can include myth and legend but there is more than one reason which distinguishes it from the two.

Thus folk-tale is the story of the group of people, more or less primitive in nature and is characterized by oral transmission across generations. Folk tales have their roots in the hoary past, when man acquired the power of eloquent expression. He proudly gave out his heroic feelings in case of hunting. He used his rich imaginative faculty to express his inner feelings and emotions which took the shape of a tale. It does not entirely devote its theme in the eternal interest (as in case of myth and legend). Thus a traditional tale is likely to present the mixture of both - actuality and fantasy.

G. S. Kirk has given a preliminary definition of folk-tale. According to him, "Folk tales are the traditional tales of no firmly established form; in which supernatural elements are subsidiary, they are not primarily concerned with the serious subjects or reflections of deep problems and pre-occupations; and their first appeal lies in their narrative interests".

The Juang folk-tales can be best described in the light of this definition. It means that they can interpret the story well without knowing the title. Most Juang folk tales describe certain things. But these things or objects are not the real titles of the story. For my own purpose I have given the title to the stories mostly based on my own understanding or what the story is about. Most of the primitive folk-tales are fables. Even these fables are present in almost all the cultures. But Juang folk-tales have no fables. Although I have extracted one story titled as "the story of brother monkey" it cannot be regarded as a fable in the true sense of the term. Though it contains the fabulous character, it has no moral (which a fable must contain) and there the monkey talks with men and not with animals which are generally dumb. In this respect it has very less possibility of becoming a fable, and besides, "one swallow does not make a summer". According to the characteristic features, the Juang folk tales can be classified into two categories, such as-

- * The stories having no poetic elements
- * The stories having poetic element in the form of verses or proverbs.

Under the first category the following two stories can be included.

The Story of King Kanak's Daughter

The story of "King Kanak's Daughter" basically centers round the evil character of a princess. Here the prince, her husband marks the evil aspect of her character in the guise of a beggar. In spite of this he marries her and brings out the dark side of her character which compels her to commit suicide. The Juang people describe the story like this:

Once king was riding through forest in search of a beautiful bride for his young son. Another king named 'Kanak' was in quest of a handsome bridegroom for his daughter. Both the kings happened to meet each other on the way and decided for marriage of their children. As the bride and the bridegroom were too small to marry at that time, they postponed the wedding waiting till the right time. After sometime the would-be bridegroom's old father of died. Time passed on. His son took the throne as he attained his youth. His mother told him about the betrothal between his late father and the king Kanaka. The prince wanted to go to his would be father-in-law's house in order to see his supposed wife. His mother told him the way to king Kanak's palace. The prince, in order to test the chastity of the princess went in disguise of a beggar. Underneath the ragged clothes of a beggar, he put on a shirt of iron. He reached the palace of the king and gave his recognition as a beggar.

The king, out of compassion, provided him with a room and food. In night his room was dark. He slept on a cot of rope, wrapped in a blanket from head to foot. In the dark night he became aware of two distinct voices in his room. He could guess that the two persons were the princess and the general of the king. They were playing dice and were engaged in merry-making. After sometime they marked the presence of the beggar on the cot and so immediately put off the light, so that he might not recognize them in darkness. But as soon as the prince uncovered his face from the blanket, his golden teeth illumined the room. As a result both of them could not hide their identity from the beggar. Next day, the princess leveled a false allegation against the beggar stating that he was trying to kidnap her in that dark night. The king believed her and in his mad rage ordered his minister to kill the beggar at once and show him his blood. The Minister took him to the forest to slay. The prince cleverly bribed him and escaped. Then the Minister killed a bird and showed its blood to the king and the king was satisfied. The prince returned home. He sent a royal messenger to 'Kanak Raja' that he was eager to marry his daughter as per the wishes of his deceased father. The king immediately agreed and fixed the wedding date. The prince accompanied by his ministers and counselors arrived there in a procession. After the marriage, the bride and the groom came to the palace of the prince. At night they met. The prince told a story to the princess who listened to it with rapt attention. It was the story of the adventure of a prince who was acting as a beggar. The princess fully understood that it was the sad tale of her own sins. She could bear it no more. She woke up abruptly from her bed and in the pretext of going outside the room to answer the call of nature she went to the bamboo bush behind the house and committed suicide by means of a rope.

The Story of a Sadhab's Son

The story of Sadhab's son is another folktale of this category. It tells about a merchant's son who got back his life through the miracles of a 'Rushiiputra'. The story runs as below.

A rich merchant has a single son. Once his parents curiously enquired from a foreteller about his longevity. It was found that he would survive only for two months more. The son heard this and with a vast amount of wealth he left home. He distributed all the money among his friends on his way. At last he saw a 'Rushiputra' who was sitting on an ant-hill. Seeing him the 'Rushiputra' shouted "Oh you there, you shall die soon, Hari, Hari". The merchant's son was surprised at the omniscience of the 'Rushiputra' and appealed to save him." The 'Rushiputra' said, "Here is the paper on which your life time is recorded. He showed him the paper and said" - "Let us go to the Court of Lord Yama". Then both went to Lord "Yama". "Why have you come here?" asked 'Yama'. Behold this boy, the 'Rushiputra said. Lord Yama looked at the boy and said "His life time is already over. I have sent a messenger to his home to bring his soul". Then Yama became silent and was lost in some thought. Taking advantage of his absent-mindedness, the Rushiputra enhanced the longevity of the merchant's son by 40 years by making correction in Yamraj's record lying in front and pointed out the record to Yama. Lord Yama exclaimed - Oh I have forgotten that". Thus Yama Raja begged excuse for the untimely death of the merchant's son and released him. The merchant's son and the Rushiputra returned. But on the way, when he looked back, the Rushiputra had disappeared. The merchant's son reached home and saw his parents weeping bitterly at the loss of their son. Seeing their son's arrival, their joy knew no bounds.

THE STORY OF SECOND CATEGORY

The essence of this type of story is that it contains small poems, proverbs etc., in course of its narration. The important dialogues that are exchanged between the characters are often in the form of songs. The following two stories are good examples of this type.

The Story of Shahadabati

There was a merchant (Sadhab) who had six sons and two daughters named as Marua and Ferua. All his sons except the youngest married brides of their choice. The merchant searched for a beautiful bride for his youngest son but failed. Then the son set on a journey for the same purpose carrying rice and *dal* (pulses) in a bag with him. One day, while he was cooking under a tree, he saw a beautiful lady appearing in a Shahada tree, just by the river side. The young man returned and said to his father that he wanted to marry the Shahada tree. "But what will you do by marrying a Shahada tree?" The old man asked him in utter astonishment. He replied that he had seen a beautiful lady living in that tree. The servants of the merchant cut down the tree and the marriage took place between the young merchant and the log of Shahada tree. After marriage his elder brothers decided to observe as to how a Shahada tree would cook and serve them. For having a keen observation, one of them kept himself awake to watch the activity of the log-bride. But as he was taking a short rest he fell fast asleep. Shahadabati came out of the log. She smeared the floor of the house with cow dung, cooked the

rice and served food to all including the brother, who at that time was asleep. At last she took her own food and then went back into the log. In a like manner the other three brothers too failed in their endeavour to observe the activities of the log-bride. At last it was the elder brother's turn who unlike others did not sleep. Shahadabati thought - "Alas he is not at all sleeping. What shall I do?" At last she was compelled to come outside to do her duty. The eldest son saw her and remarked that she was rather more beautiful than any of their wives. Then the four brothers grew impatient to have a look at her. Once their king named Hatia arranged a *pala* and made it known to all. At night Shahadabati came out of the log to witness the *pala*. Taking this opportunity the other brothers burnt the log with kerosene and ultimately she became houseless. While she was sad fully looking at her burnt Shahada house she was glanced by a servant of the king Hatia. The king soon was informed of the great beauty of Shahadabati and he planned to have her very soon. He ordered all the six sons of the Sadhada to go abroad for trade and commerce. The youngest son went to his father and requested him to take the utmost care of his wife as the king had cast his evil eyes on her. He also warned his wife not to go to the river to bath and advised her to utilize the water of their well in the compound.

His request embodying the advice in the Juang language is composed in a stanza which depicts the pathos of a lover for his beloved, especially when he was compelled to leave and her safety was at stake. The stanza runs as under:

Tate kiholainbabalo, bale huanta
Bahu chinta Tara rahila, bale huanta
Badi pechhade Kualo, bale huanta
Seithi snahana kariba, bale huanta
Nai, sarobare najibu, bale huanta
Hatia Rajarasichhi, bale huanta
Haatalagaineba lo, bale hunta.

It means:

Can I request you Oh my dear father,
 To take care of my wife in my absence?
 The well is in our backyard
 There she will take her bath
 Never should she go to a river or a lake
 The servants of the king Hatia are watching
 He can take her, by playing the taut (by playing haat)

His father having heard this song advised him to go to his mother and request her to be vigilant. She advised him to go to his two sisters, who could take better care than others. And her sisters too accepted his request. The young merchant left Shahadabati and started for abroad.

As soon as they left, the king made an all-out effort to fulfill his evil desire. His servants threw some mud in the well and ultimately the polluted well became useless. Shahadabati went to Marua and Ferua and told them to accompany her to the river to take bath. They reminded her of the warning that their brother had given. But they had to go to the river as the well water was muddy and polluted. In the river they saw a *dimiri* fruit (Fig fruit) and on enquiry Shahadabati was told that the contents of the fruit were only seeds. At the nick of time a hair follicle fell into water which she brought to keep inside the fruit, lest it might be taken by cows and buffaloes. But by misfortune the fruit came to the notice of the king who was also taking bath down the stream. He found a long hair follicle kept inside. Being curious about such long hair, he came to know from his servants that it belonged to Shahadabati. While they were returning king Hatia met them and demanded fare from them. They had no money at the time; she offered to give her leg-ring. But the king refused to take that as it was meant for her legs. She went on offering all other ornaments on her body and finally she offered to give any one of the sister-in-law Maria and Ferua. But the king remained resolute. At last she said.

“Oh what shall I do?
Take me on your elephant”.

The king took her with him. Marua and Ferua reported to their parents the circumstances under which their sister-in-law had been kidnapped. Their parents consoled them to wait till return of their brothers.

The six trading brothers returned home. While the youngest son was about to present his wife with the ‘Intrimintri’ (a beautiful sari) and a *paniki* (kitchen knife), he learned about the tragic loss of his wife and bemoaned it. In his sorrow and desperation he tore off the beautiful sari into a Kantha (nap) and converted the kitchen knife into a knife, made a whip with the materials of a bowel and holding a Sarangi (harp) and went on signing-

“I made ‘Intrimintri sari’ into a nap,
The bowel into a whip,
The *paniki* into a knife,
And I became a Yogi only for Sahadabati”.

The king came to know the eloquence of his music through his servant. While he was passing the king invited him to his place. With much reluctance he went and sang the song. When the king asked him to accept the alms of rice and *dal*, he insisted that he would be very happy if it was given by the queen. He requested him to sing once again and he sang the same song. While the queen extended her hand with a handful of rice, the young merchant in the guise of a Yogi, slew him with the knife (prepared out of *paniki*) in front of the queen who was none but his beautiful Shahadabati. Hatia, the king, ordered the funeral ceremony of the dead in the cremation ground. At this moment, Shahadabati requested the king to allow her to accompany the king to the cremation ground as

she had never been at the funeral of a Yogi. The king granted her request and both went to cremation ground on an elephant. Whenever the elephant was making delay, the queen used to sing –

“Chal chal chal re hati

Yogi pada saribati”

(Go quickly elephant go, let the cremation of the Yogi be over).

At last they reached the cremation ground. While the king was unmindful the queen jumped into the funeral pyre of the Yogi. Seeing this, the king also jumped into the fire out of grief. Now the other queens were against this provocative action of the king and they uttered –

“The nun died for the Yogi,

What fault had queen Mandodari?”

Meanwhile Iswar and Parvati were passing through that way. Seeing the sorrowful situation they blessed the Yogi and Yogini (Shahadabati) with their lives.

The Story of Brother Monkey

There was an old merchant. He and his wife used to dig out Bainga and Tunga (the root) in the forest and lived on them. They had one son and so it was a contented family. One day a monkey seller came by their house. The merchant and his wife were not at home. Their son bought one of the monkeys in exchange of some rice. The merchant came home and did not find his rice. He got angry with his son as he had exchanged his hard-earned grains for a mere monkey. “Let's come to the forest”-he said to his son. And in the forest he killed his son. When he reached his home, the monkey asked –

“Where is my brother?”

“He has gone to the river side to take bath”.

“But it is too late, what is the matter?”

The monkey doubted and the merchant replied nothing. The monkey was tied with an iron chain and having broken this he released himself and went straight to the young merchant who was lying dead in the forest. He brought him back to life. They decided not to go back home. The monkey said “Brother, we will build a house in the forest”. And they made a house. Then the monkey said, “Now we have made a house in the forest. What shall we do next? Decide now”.

“Now I am going to bring a goat”, said the monkey and then he brought a goat too. After this, he brought a cow. Again he went out of the forest to fetch some more valuable commodities. He saw some cart men coming towards him with their bullock carts loaded with bags of rice. The monkey hit upon a plan. He lay in front of the bullock carts having closed his eyes and pretended as if he were dead. Out of compassion and pity, the cart-men stared at the monkey and at this time the

monkey threw a handful of dust into their eyes and they lost their vision. They left the cart there and went away. The monkey then drove the cart home and kept the bullocks in the cow-house. Thus he and his friend lived happily. One day they decided to bring a bride (for the merchant's son). There was a tree near the steps of a bathing *ghat*. The monkey climbed up the tree and from there he observed suitable brides among those who were coming to take their bath. She was the daughter of a merchant who had twelve sons and twelve daughters-in-law. As she reached the bank, she placed her ornaments on the step leading into the river. The monkey took away her "Jhumpa, Kaudi, Pirpira, Gobiya (various ornaments) and climbed up the tree. The merchant's daughter finished her bath but forgot to think about her ornaments. "Where are your ornaments?" her mother asked. She requested her mother to go and bring back her ornaments. But she refused to go. She herself went to the river again but could not find the ornament. She saw the reflection of the monkey with the ornaments in the water. Then she begged the monkey all her ornaments in these words-

*Dinging Dinging Sama Kahe,
Gobiyande dinging
Dinging Dinging Sama Kahe,
PataJumpa dinging
Dinging Dinging Sama Kahe,
Pansanatiki dinging (Kaudi)*

*Then the monkey said,
Gangaloganga Semilandai,
Gobiankegangang
Gangalo ganga Semilandai,
Pachaupatr ganging
Gangalo ganga Semilandai
BasantiKegangang.*

She begged her ornaments by saying -Give me my Gobiyanke, Patchaupati, Basanti - each for one line. Then the monkey said -"Come, come and take your ornaments one by one". The monkey then climbed down the tree and proceeded towards the merchant's daughter who also proceeded towards the monkey in order to get back the ornaments. At last the monkey caught the hands of the girl and took her into the forest in order to get her married with the merchant's son. They married and lived happily with the brother monkey.

These are called folk tales. Like other stories they possess characters, namely prince, princess, merchants and animals etc playing as hero, heroines; and like other stories it is developed, under a definite plot, reaches its climax and then meets the usual end. Except the first one, all other folk tales which I have mentioned have a happy ending. In case of the former, it has a tragic end, followed by the suicide of the princess.

(ii) MYTHS OF THE JUANGS

Meaning

Myths constitute an important part of the prose order of the Folklore. The term myth is derived from the Greek word "Muthos" just means a tale, a story or the plot of a play. Sometimes it is substituted for fable and legend. It is an invented story containing the plot of primitive faith on supernatural and imaginary characters or incidents.

The term "mythologia" was first used by Plato, who meant it as not more than telling stories. To describe the Juang myths, it is necessary to distinguish it from folk stories and legends which are often confused with the myth. Myths, legends and folk stories are similar in many respects as all of them have the same literary elements like plot, storyline, incidents, conflict, character development and climax. But myth is not legend as the former is not historically true and not folk stories as it mainly centers round mythological character i.e., gods and goddesses.

Myth is the interpretation of natural and cultural phenomenon in a possible limited manner. It is believed to be a fact, though it is not. It justifies the present. Myth is treated as religious phenomenon as it describes the doings and undoings of gods and goddesses; it is the product of intellectual thoughts of folk mind and therefore considered to be the primitive philosophy. Again, it describes the origin of natural and cosmic bodies.

The Juang myths can be best understood in the light of above description. Here I have classified various myths into two categories -

- (1) Functional myths
- (2) Cosmogenic myths

Functional myths

The functional myths are mainly concerned with everyday life of the Juangs. They justify their customs, behaviour and origin of their social activities such as food habits, dress pattern, youth dormitory and dance etc. Under this category, the following myths can be enumerated.

(1) *Myth on the use of tooth twig* - The first and foremost function a Juang performs in a day is to clean his teeth with tooth twig. The myth on the use of tooth twig goes back to Mahadev, who after making two dolls representing Juang male and female gave them life through Mahaprabhu (The Vishnu). Afterwards Parvati demanded food for the two breathing dolls. Mahadev took two twigs and put them in their mouths. This did not satisfy Parvati and she requested to give them grains. On the request of Parvati, Mahaprabhu appealed to Laxmi who created grains. But they (Juangs) still use twigs everyday morning in their mouth with a belief that they can get enough food to eat well.

(2) Myth on shifting cultivation -The major activity of the Juangs is concerned with shifting cultivation. But I could not get any myth regarding this. In the village Panasanasa, I noted something on shifting cultivation. It is rather a belief. Basudev once said to the Juangs that the male Juangs should make shifting cultivation and females should make *patia* (a type of mat prepared out of date palm leaves) in order to survive. From that day onwards they have been making shifting cultivation and females making *patias*.

(3) Myth on food of the Juangs -As per Juang tradition, they are omnivorous. The myth concerning this is a peculiar one. It is said that Apulia (Juang witch doctor) ate all the six servants who were sent by Dharma Devta (the supreme God) by the application of this witch-craft and denied when Dharma Devta made an enquiry on this. Then he asked Raulia to open his mouth and there was a hair (Jhunta) growing on his tongue, Raulia then realized his sin and sincerely requested Dharma Devta to make his tongue free of hair. Dharma Devta tried to remove the hair but it could not be removed. He gave Raulia a frog to eat but the hair remained as it was. Subsequently he was given fish, snake, crab, tiger etc to eat but the hair did not come out. Finally, he gave him a hairy caterpillar and the hair came out. Dharma Devta said-“Since you have eaten everything, you will take into your mouth anything you get”. Since then they are eating everything.

(4) Myth on Leaf Dress -Dharma Devta gave Rushi Putra (i.e. Juangs) a few clothes to wear. Once they were busy on plastering the floors with cow dung and therefore their clothes turned dirty. They put the clothes outside and wearing leaves round their waist started their work. Dharma Devta saw this and cursed them to wear leaves forever.

Again from the Dehuri (the priest) of Baruda village I came to know what happened when a man put on clothes instead of leaf-dress. He said when he went to the jungle wearing clothes; he was killed by the tiger. So they had given up the use of clothes.

(5) Myth on creation of the Juang Dance - Rushi and Rushiani lived with their children. But as the children grew older, it was inconvenient for them to sleep at night in one room. So Rushi made another room for his children. But at night the children disturbed them. Rushi taught them the art of dance. Since then the Juangs started dancing.

Cosmogenic Myths

Cosmogenic Myths of my classification explain the origin and the interpretation of the cosmic phenomenon such as the creation of the natural elements like the sun, the moon, the earth, the water, the lightning and thunder etc.

(6) *Myth on Creation of the Universe* - From the very beginning (Benusu) the earth (Mati Prithvi) was not steady. Dharma Devta made it stable by sacrificing the son of Rushi. The myth runs like this.

All the Gods went to Rushi for his son for the purpose of sacrifice and in exchange they offered him two sons. But Rushiani, the wife of Rushi was reluctant to give her son for sacrifice. Again she armed her son with an iron bow and arrow, lest he might be killed by the tiger. Once, when the boy was bathing putting off the iron bow and arrow on the bank, a tiger killed the boy. Gods came; they swung the boy round and round, blood oozed out from his body in all directions and was sprinkled everywhere to make the earth steady. From his hands and feet came the hills and from his hair grew the forest. Rushi had again twelve sons and daughters and through them, the Juangs came into the world.

(7) *Myth on creation of Water (Lalak)* - At the very beginning there was no water in the world. The Rushi Putras once felt thirsty in the jungle on their hunting expedition and as per the prior assurance of their mother; the youngest one uttering her name lifted a stone and found water underneath it.

(8) *Myth on creation of Fire (Lalai)* - Primarily there was no fire. Men ate their food raw. Rushi and Rushiani went to find fire and in the jungle when they broke a tree, fire came out of it.

(9) *Myth on creation of the Sun and the Moon (Bela & Lerang)* - Bela and Lerang (Sun and Moon respectively) were co-wives of Dharma Devta. Their relationship was not good. The Moon killed all the children of Sun and kept her own children in the platform just beneath the roof. At night she spread them over the sky as stars (Kenun Dak). The enmity between Sun and Moon made them not to meet at all and therefore Sun appears in day and Moon at night.

(10) *Myth on creation of Thunder and Lightning (Batas)* - Indra married to the Sun's daughter. His head and belly were so big that the girl ran away from him. Every now and then she looked and laughed at him. The flashing of her teeth is the lightening. Indra gets angry and beat her. The sound of his billows is thunder.

(11) *Myth on creation of falling Stars (Kenum Dak)* - This is another myth regarding the creation of falling star. The Juangs believe that when a man is hanged, his soul (Misani) goes to Mahaprabhu with a cord round its neck. But Mahaprabhu rebukes him and he falls down. Thus he is turned into a Ghost and can be seen as a falling star.

(iii) LEGENDS

Myth and Legends fall in the same category. One of the chief characteristics as distinguished from myth and folk tale is that it is believed to be historically true. Legend implies an exaggerated and colourful account of an event.

The historical importance is not its reality and we cannot make history relying upon these legends. Therefore it is generally disdained by historians. "Legend" according to many folklorists is a traditional oral narrative regarded as true by its teller and by many members of the society in which it circulates but contains remarkable or supernatural elements that follow a pattern. There is a very little difference between myth and legend. Many authors, including Richard M. Dorson have opined that myth leads into a world of reality and legends into a world of fantasy. However, this may not be true as almost all the myths are fantastic in nature. Again, legends do not entirely deal with the fantastic world. It has a greater concern with persons, places and events. Because they purport to history and fact, they must be associated in the mire of the community with some known individual, geographical land mark or particular episode. Many or all of the members of a given social group will have heard of the tradition and can recall it in brief or in an elaborate form.

Richard M. Dorson divided the legends into three kinds. The personal legend may deal with nationally famous statesmen, an obscure eccentric, a celebrated outlay or a high society wit. Again it is divided into heroic legend i.e., recounting the extraordinary feats of a superman and the anecdotal legend repeating the clever sayings and odd actions of a comical man. The second kind of legend is a sort of place, legend connected with a locality, rather than with a person. The story behind a haunted house or a haunted spot is such a legend. The third type of legend is also connected with persons and places, but their interest focuses on an action or a deed that excites the community.

Juang legends so far collected falls into these three categories such as place legend, heroic legend and anecdotal legend.

Place Legend - Regarding the question how the river Baitarani came into existence, there is a place legend. There were some Rushiputras. They used to go to the forest every day. Once they felt hungry and there was nothing to eat. They could find only a cow. They ate its flesh and buried its head. The Rushi asked them about their food. They answered that they had killed and taken the flesh of a Sambar. The Rushi came to know the about the truth. Then he said that water should come out of the nostrils of the slain cow and it immediately happened. Then the mountain from where the water flowed out was named as "Gonasika" (Go-cow, Nasika-nostrils) and the stream was known as 'Baitarani'. The Gonasika hill is a sacred place for the Juangs.

There is another legend of this category concerning the place "Gupta Ganga". It is connected with the first legend. As the mountain Gonasika became impure due to the burial of the cow, the river had to step there and again appeared at a place which is named as Gupta-Ganga. The famous Brahmeswar temple is built there.

There is another place known as Rushi Tanger near Baruda village. The legend is rather incomplete and cannot be described as in a story. This place stood as the playground of the Rushiputras in the past.

The second type of legend has been divided into two kinds, heroic legends and anecdotal legends.

Heroic legend - The legend regarding the origin of king is rather a fantastic one. While they were in search of a Raja, they saw a boar with manlike hands and legs and the face of a pig. They brought it and made him their Raja. It was a custom with the Juang that a married lady should be enjoyed by the king first, before she goes to her husband. Once the Juang demanded some presents from the king and he refused the reward. This resulted in a great humiliation among them and they planned to kill him and not supplying him water from any stream. The king came to know it soon. He was scared and thought of escaping while running away he was caught by a one-eyed person. Thus they killed their king. Then they selected an ebony tree as their king. But the tree did not talk and so they broke it into pieces and searched for a king. The prince of Mayurbhanj at that time was hunting in the forest. They stole and declared him their king.

Anecdotal Legend -The following two are the other types of legends (Anecdotal), displaying the intelligence of a person.

(i) The five fingers were five brothers. On one occasion a person had to discharge a 'Namaskar' by folding his two hands. Then there occurred a quarrel among the five fingers as to who would be the greatest of all. The thumb claimed this position, saying that at first it touches the chin of the person. The forefinger, when folded, touches the nose of the person. Therefore he claimed that he was great. Likewise, the middle finger being the tallest of all demanded his superiority. Similarly the other fingers quarreled for this position. Then they went to that person who had given *namaskar* to decide their quarrel.

-“Who is the greatest of us?” they asked.

-“Certainly the little finger”, the wise man replied.

-“How?” they enquired

He explained, “At the time of folding hands in *namaskar*, the little finger is seen first by the person who receives”.

(ii) There is also another legend concerning the intelligence of a girl. The legend is like this.

Once there was a poor man who had no son but a daughter who was very intelligent. The man had borrowed some money from a Mahajan (a money lender)

and it remained unpaid. As the Mahajan did not receive any payment, one day he came and the old man was absent. His daughter was there.

- “Where is your father?”
- “He has gone to mix soil with soil”
- “Where is your mother?”
- “She has gone to produce two out of one”
- “What are you doing?”
- “I am cooking the son by burning the mother”.

The Mahajan said, “I do not follow your answer. Please make me understand”. She explained that a man had died in their village. Her father had gone to bury his corpse. A man is a product of the earth. It gets lost in the earth again after death. Her mother had gone to grind “Harad” (a pulse). In the grinding process one hard gram is divided into two halves and so she had gone to make two out of one. Again “Harad plant” is the mother of “Harad”. She was preparing *haraddal* (son) by using the dried stem (mother) as fuel.

The Mahajan was pleased with the answers and did not ask for money.

(iv) RIDDLES

The primitive intelligence; the extent of application of man's reason in exercising intellectual activities can be best marked in the riddle. A riddle is a puzzling question. It is the obscured description of something which the hearer is asked to find out. W. H. Jansen has defined it as –“A riddle is a question, direct or indirect, complete or incomplete, in traditional form, whereby the questioner challenges a listener to recognize and identify the accuracy, the unit, the truth, in a statement that usually seems implausible or self-contradictory, but that is true in its own peculiar light”.

P. D. Beachat has described riddle as the major form of folklore and has described its logical patterns. According to her, for example, one type of folkloristic structure, simply a statement is a pattern of contradiction in which the second of a pair of elements denies a logical or natural attribute of the first. The contradictions occur because it is apparently impossible to have A without B, where B is a logical attribute of A. The Juang riddle can provide a concrete example of the riddle concerning “potter's wheel”. It is described as something which “lays eggs of 18 (eighteen) types but not a bird”. Thus the capacity of laying eggs is the logical attribute of a bird which is denied in this riddle. There are many examples of this type in the Juang society as Beachat has found in the Bantu society. But in addition to this type there is also another type which carries a chain of such propositions having a common name and justifying all. Next type of riddle, common to all culture is the obscure description of certain things.

The Juang riddles are of two types as

- Riddles of structure (dichotomies found in proportions),
- Riddles of description (often obscure in nature).

Riddles of structure - This can again be classified in two types such as riddles containing one self-contradictory propositions and riddles containing more than one self-contradictory propositions, i.e., in a chain. The following is the example of a Riddle containing one self-contradictory proposition -

*Gute selanki
menu tiniti*

Meaning - One lady with three breasts

Answer - Hearth

This is only one member of the first order of riddles. Here a woman cannot think of having three breasts. Thus the natural and logical property of a woman (in the first line) is denied by describing her with three breasts (in the second line).

The following are a few examples of Riddles containing more than one contradictory propositions -

*Aikan nai haiganati
Balada nai singh dioti
Daudi nai pade kabata
Mahazani pua chaluchhi bata*

Meaning - What is that which has two horns, but is not a bullock, it has a door to be closed, but has no rope to attach, can walk majestically, but it is not the son of a merchant.

Answer - Pilla (Snail)

Thus it contains a chain of self-contradictory propositions,

*Ken karat ken karat
Pokhari hudare karuchhi nata
Nuhen Pakhi - padai dim Atharjati*

Meaning- It sounds "ken". It dances along the margin of a pool- It is not a bird, but lays eggs of eighteen types. It always visits the ocean.

Answer - Potter's wheel

It is the potter's wheel. The eggs are referred to different types of potteries which bear water and thus are related to pool and ocean.

Riddles of description -The following are a few examples of this category.

*Ede kutimankada
Bhuinki mare chapada*

Meaning - It is a small monkey who slaps the ground.

Answer - Spade

*Chopa tana
Manja kanat*

Meaning - Its skin is hard, but the core is tender.

Answer - A grain, harder than rice

*Ei parbat sei parbat
Majhire maila machha
Sita thakurani kahi patheichhi
Kou phalati kancha*

Meaning - The first three lines convey no significant meaning in the understanding of the whole riddle. This riddle can be substituted as “which fruit is always green?

Answer - The tongue of a man

*Mala belaku chide besi
Jianta belaku nai*

Meaning - It cries more after death but never cries during the life-time.

Answer - Goat

The Changu is made of goat skin. When the *changu* is beaten it makes a high sound, so the goat's cry is compared to the musical sound of the *changu*.

*Gachha mua mem
Patar saru
Puar nama Gunthia goru*

Meaning - The tree is large, its leaves are thin. The name of the son (fruit) is Gunthiagoru (having large muscle-like structure).

Answer - Tamarind

*Gotie sapa
Duiti munda*

Meaning - One snake with two heads

Answer - Sika

It is a type of carrier of rope hung on both the sides of a pole. Luggage and goods are carried on shoulders with it.

*Edekuti chadhei
Bansamalare galipadai
Mahaparuku juhar*

Meaning - Small bird, often hides in the bamboo bush and salutes the sun by calling his name.

Answer - Hen

(v) PROVERBS

Archer Tylor says, "The definition of proverb is too difficult to repay the undertaking. According to him and B. J. Whiting, the description of proverbs as – "short, plain, common, figurative, ancient and true" which is as good as any formal definition". These authorities characterize proverb as "saying" which "summons a situation and its own inimitable way passes some sort of judgment on it or characterizes its essence". The old definition describes proverb as the wisdom of many and wit of one which is sharp and effective.

According to R. B. Browne, "To the most credulous members of society proverbs and the proverbial expressions are the accumulated knowledge of the ages, the voice of the history; they are tried and true, and as such are pragmatic unassailable wisdom".

A proverb is thus the product of a very interesting incident and therefore it is spoken in Juang language as "dhengo". A few proverbs which I have collected are given below:-

Kathara dunduru
Matir pinda,
Ghaita chhuali
Maipa dinda.

Meaning- The tree is of wood and the verandah is of soil. The husband bears children and wife remains *dinda* (unmarried).

Origin - There was an old man who used to cut trees in the forest. Once he saw some eggs of a bird. He proposed to watch them hatch. After some days, he saw some young birds hatch out of it. The father of the young ones was present only. Another day he saw the same thing and marked that their mother was always out of the nest in search of food. He marked the absence of the mother several times. It thus appeared to him to be very interesting.

Passing of the judgment on this - When the old man came back he related this interesting phenomenon to others in form of a couplet.

The occasion of use - In Juang society when a mother, on certain occasion, leaves her duty to her husband, the proverb is recited to criticize her:

Thangirita
Thangiri bhitare burusata
Burusa bhitare than girita
Thangiri bhitare burusata

Meaning - Here there are three words - Thangiri for the external cover, i.e.- the hard upper covering of an egg, Burusa for the tender body portion of the hen, Bhitare - stands for 'inside'. Thus the meaning is clear.

Origin - This is the wit of an unknown man of the Juang society. Once he broke a hen's egg. He was puzzled to think – whether the egg is for yolk or the yolk is for egg. Thus, the idea that yolk would produce chicken and when grown up it could lay eggs which would again produce similar hens.

Passing the judgment - As he understood this phenomenon he composed this proverb.

The occasion of use - This can be used by two persons who are interdependent and when their needs are complementary.

(vii) FOLK SPEECH

Folk speeches are often in the manner of a prose which has been used by a folk from the remote part as common language to express on certain occasions. It has no special form. It is the everyday spoken language of the people. These are speeches in common language, used on special occasions. Many of the folklorists have included five or six items such as tease, taunts, curse, blessings, chants, practical jokes, oaths, insults, etc., in their itemized definition of folklore. These can be very well put into the category of folk speech. In addition to these, greeting and leave-taking formula, nicknaming, gestures, symbols, prayers etc. can also be included under folk speech.

However, it is true to say; in each tribe the above mentioned forms of speech may not be present. The following forms of folk speech of the Juang can be mentioned –

1. Blessings
2. Curses or rebukes
3. Practical jokes
4. Traditional sayings on special occasions

Blessings - Blessings can be given while bride and bridegroom leave the parents of the bride. The bride offers 'olagi' to her parents at the time of leaving. They bless in the following speech:

Air kamare do
Aupadengeng do
Kam dam sekina
Dung dang jena dungura
Landidae
Diamasina

Meaning - "As you have been born a girl, you must have to leave your parent's house and live in your mother-in-law's house. You should work hard there. Your husband as destined by God may be lame, deaf, blind or one-eyed, or whatever

also, you must not come back to us. You must not allow our prestige to go down. Go and don't look back. May your life be prosperous and happy”

This is not the only kind of blessing. Blessings vary according to various situations. But all these are not traditional, one may bless according to his own will.

Curse (Rebukes)

The women are the best carrier of these traditional forms of rebuke. Rebukes are occasioned in several incidents. Generally they rebuke in this manner:

Jama isade
Kalakuta isade
Mama ghaithesu
Bagha kite jiminam
Babung kimeta gamang

Meaning -

“Let 'Yama' take you
 Let 'Kalakuta' take you
 You may die soon
 Let a tiger kill you in the forest
 Let a snake bite you.”

Practical Jokes

There are several occasions when practical jokes are used. They are enumerated below:-

- Jokes between affinal brothers-in-law at the time of marriage
- Jokes between two dancing groups (between unmarried boys and girls in course of dance).

Jokes between affinal brothers-in-law mostly occur in their activities during the marriage. They may take wine prior to marriage and all sorts of jokes are revealed in activities. Example of such jokes is throwing *haladi* and *kajal* to each other. The bridegroom says to brother-in-law.

- I will take your sister today.
- But your attempt will be futile. I can very well take your younger sister (if present).

There can be jokes between sister-in-law and the bridegroom in order to tease him, they make the opening of the *thola* (a pot prepared out of leaves) narrow while serving rice and dal etc. They throw *haladi* (turmeric) mixed with water on the bridegroom. They offer large *salua* sticks to the bridegroom as tooth-twig to clean the teeth in the morning.

The Juang dancers often make dancing trips to their Bandhu villages. They have certain jokes during their counter with them. The male dancers present them

with dried rice cakes. They say - "Please put the skin of the goat". (referring to *changu*). The girls take their presentation from their *changus*. The boys ask, "How are you?" Are you well here?" They answer, "We are living in a "Sukusuka" condition, - Oh, no, you are looking strong and healthy, taking fine rice and *dal* every day, the boys say. "But we are in a poor condition, we are very thin, eating *tunga* and *bainga* only," (two types of roots) the girls reply. "We have taken so many presentations for you. If you really like this, take it now or put it here, so that we can take these when we return", the boys say. The girls reply, "We are really fond of these things, why don't we take?"

During their dance, the male dancers play jokes with them. They can utter many joking terms to the girls. Of course the girls cannot express their replies during the dance but they usually throw ash, cow-dung, mixed with water, often put their legs on the other party.

After their dance, the boys and girls converse in the following manner:

The boys start - Let's come to jungle

- We do not know the art of massaging. Girls reply.

- Come with us, we will teach you, boys say.

They usually go to a secluded place near the village and talk with each other in the most hospitable manner. At that time they can fondle their breasts with much fun.

The boys say -

- We have given you much trouble by living here for two days. Now we are leaving you. Please don't be angry.

The girls reply -

- The village was beautiful due to your presence. Now it looks ugly. Before leaving them, the boys sing -

"Bundu jhia ku bundu pua

Lagichhi sansar,

Duloburunamesar."

"The world is really related to unmarried girls and boys. Let's take leave of one another."

There are everyday speeches which can be put under folk speech. For example the settlement of marriage in the Juang is followed by a procedure which contains certain kinds of speeches.

"Kandra" marriage is the predominant type of marriage. This marriage undergoes a definite procedure. The Kandra comes to the house of the bride with four people. The other people in the village ask them -

"Sadakagota kandi

Baanka gotang

Iten chereju?

"Whether you are going to some other place along with your straight road or you are coming here for relaxation?"

They reply -

- We are merchants; we have come here just for a journey. They are invited to sit in the *majang*, they say we have come just on a journey to a *bandhu* house. Can you show us his home? Then they go to the *bandhu's* house and the speech goes on.
- Why have you come, friends, to my house?
- We are merchants, traveling in search of a fine cucumber which (we hear) is growing in your house.
- But merchants are rich people and we are afraid of them.

Please go elsewhere

- We have not come to buy pot and dishes. We only seek the beautiful cucumber (meaning the girl) that is growing in your house. Then if the girls' parents are willing, they can start their usual talks regarding marriage.

After the marriage, the parents of the bride will say to their *bandhu* about their daughter in the following manner.

"Look *bandhu*"

The daughter was with us until now. Neither was she *olei* (foolish) nor *kangali* (greedy of food) nor a *dahani* (witch) nor a *chorani* (thief). Take her, *bandhu*. Whether she is dirty, deaf, mad or hunch-back, she is yours."

And the *bandhu* takes her and says, "Whatever she may be, she is ours".

(C) JUANG FOLK ART

Juang graphic and plastic art includes the following.

1. Carving and engraving
2. Clay modeling
3. Paintings made on paper
4. Weaving pattern in *patia* and basketry
5. Tattooing
6. Personal ornaments.

Carving & Engraving

There is a little difference between carving and engraving. These are mainly found on the wooden objects. No stone or metal working is marked in any of the villages. The Juang artists, in case of carving and engraving are more regarded as the carpenter-cum-artist.

The Juang art can be classified under the following headings:

- (i) Designs carved on pillars of the Majang
- (ii) Engravings on the roof posts
- (iii) Carding in the wooden doors
- (iv) Carving on the comb.

Carved Designs on Pillars of Majang

The front side of the *majang* is supported by various decorated pillars. The pillars of the *majang*, observed in the Panasana and Baruda villages are rich in artistic materials and worthy of mention.

The pillars are six feet high and of one foot diameter and most of the pillars are less than six inches in diameter. The various decorations of pillars show some common designs. Designs carved are mostly chevrons and zigzag lines followed by polished surface, with more than six folding. Chevrons depicted on the pillars are triangles carved one after another covering the circumference of the pillar. These are one inch long each (on its two sides) and one inch long at its base and one inch deep or one inch higher than the surface. Again these chevrons may be present on single or double line. When chevrons are carved in one line covering the circumference, this is single and when two such lines are present close to each other, it is double.

The chevron designs can be represented graphically in the following manner:

The folding is frequently marked on almost every pillar. Sometimes these are accompanied by carving of petals of lotus flower. These are polished and smooth. These can be represented in the following way.

Again the lower part of most of the pillars is carved with 'hatching', which are oblique from the left. In some cases it may be between the single and the double 'lined chevrons'. The pattern is as drawn below:

These are the common traits with which pillars are decorated.

Engravings on the beams of the house

The *majang* beams are carved and engraved with realistic pictures. The figures of man, bird, flowers are always present in the beams. The beams of the private houses are not decorated and most of the houses are without beams.

The front beams of the *majang* of Baruda village are decorated with various objects. From the left, it starts with carvings of lozenge shaped figures looking like an insect. According to the villagers, it is the figure of a crab having eight legs on four sides. It is followed by the carvings of flowers. The flower starts with four concentric circle and the last circle bears - six to nine petals which are sometimes 'U' shaped and there are also secondary 'U' shaped petals.

The figure of man is carved with double lines. The body is somewhat triangular in shape. The palm of the hand is represented by a small rhombus out of which the fingers are carved. The neck is made by a small triangle. The body in totality shows the posture of a dancing man.

The beams are carved as such in every Juang dormitory. In the case of the *majang* of Panasanasa, beams are carved with flowers only and a wooden sculpture is present to support the roof of the beam.

Engravings of wooden doors

Engraved doors are found in almost all the villages. The common and chief characteristics of these engravings are given below. The wooden doors are carved mostly with the figures of flowers, zigzag lines forming the border line and other natural figures such as elephant, bird, leaves etc.

Boundary lines

Most of the boundaries of the wooden doors are decorative. They consist of minute triangles carved in a line. Sometimes (as in case of Shahadev Juang's wooden door) there are double lines marked on every side of the door. And ultimately there are four squares on each corner of a door produced as a result of the cross section of the lines drawn from each side. These squares are again decorated (carved) in to lozenges inside it and each lozenge possesses a little square in the centre. This is represented in the following drawing:

Flower

Two kinds of flowers can be distinguished. There are flowers exactly like one engraved on the beams. These are made by carving of concentric circles on which further concentric circle or semi-concentric circles (often IT shaped) are made to symbolize the petals. Another type of flowers consists of petals surrounded by a circle. The form of petals is exactly like that of a Lilly which is carved with a secondary line over it. Again, the circles surrounding these consist of small triangles on them and leaves are carved out in between each two triangles. The following is the drawing pertaining to this design.

Natural Figures

Natural figures consist mainly of birds, elephants and fishes. These figures are symbolic, with an attempt to achieve reality rather than geometry.

Carvings on comb made of bamboo

The combs of the Juangs sustain a style from the long past. These types of combs have been mentioned by Dr. V. Elwin. These are made by three rectangular bamboo pieces. Out of these, two are alike. Another piece (the real comb) is clamped between these two, by means of thread tied all over. One end of the single bamboo piece (the comb) is carved with figures of man by means of needle and

other end has the teeth of the comb. The figures carved on these combs are often geometric.

Sculpture

In Panasanasa village, I chanced to see the work of Iswar Juang on a piece of wood. This cannot be called sculpture in the real sense. But it is different from all other forms of art in respect of its tendency to achieve a three dimensional form, and marks in the eyes and in the form of the body as a whole. It is made of a wooden plate with an approximate length, breadth and depth of one foot and six inches, ten inches and three inches respectively. The face is marked by the presence of eyes, nose and mouth. The neck is made by simply narrowing the plate below the face. It has no hands; legs are widely separated and are without feet. The nose and mouth are indicated by the carving of lines and eyes show engraving.

Clay Modeling

This is only one form that I found in Talapada village made by a widow. Its size is very small, about eight inches only. There is no palm or feet. One leg is posed on the other, though not by a deliberate attempt as revealed by the artist. The eyes, nose and mouth are indicated by means of a stick produced out of a coconut leaf. The hands are in the normal position. The whole body is fixed on the ending of the wall, extreme end nearer to the lower part of the door.

Graphic figures on paper

Sania Juang of Tala Panasanasa village is said to be a pioneer artist who has attempted to reveal his art in the pencil and paper. His art on the papers reveals the figures of birds, Jack-fruit tree with fruits hanging down, elephant and scenery depicting a stream flowing down the hill. The figures are childish because they fail to achieve reality. The mouth of the elephant and the pattern in which the feathers of a bird are painted show a high tendency towards reality. The figures of the comb are the most realistic and very well depict the pattern of tying the threads.

In respect of weaving pattern there is no change. It is followed by their tradition. The weaving pattern in *patia* is very general and this pattern is found everywhere. Each *patia* consists of parts (small *patias*) usually six or nine in number. The breadth of the *patia* is determined by the size of the leaves of 'khajuri' tree. The leaves are usually four to five inches long. The weaving pattern of the *patia* is given below.

Similarly basketry has no special artistic function, as distinguished from others which are everywhere. Its style is as given below. Thus in the technique of weaving of *patia*, making of basketry there is no special artistic value attached. They are regarded as art so far they have achieved perfection in this line.

Bodily Ornaments

Beads are the most important of their ornaments. Formerly they used to make the beads by themselves. But now they buy these in the market. The beads are of different sizes and made of clay or plastic. The beads which are made of clay are of different colours mostly red (crimson) and yellow.

No artistic skill is marked in any of their ornaments as they obtain these from market and further they are not made by themselves. Different ornaments used to decorate their nose; ear, legs, etc are made of silver and are of mostly decorative in character.

Tattooing

Tattooing is made to promote the beauty of the body. The face, including the foreheads, cheek, chin and hand (of upper extremities) are decorated with tattoo marks.

The procedure of making this involves certain amount of cruelty. Firstly minute holes are made on the skin by needle or any horn according to the size of the tattoo mark. Then a solution of black colour obtained from the black earthen vessel and castor oil are applied on the skin, where the small drops of bloods ooze out from the holes made by needle. The tattoo marks given on the forehead and two cheeks are three straight lines with a little gap in between and connected with another line from the beginning.

Tattooing is gradually disappearing as they have started realizing that it spoils the natural beauty of their faces.

FOLK-DANCE

Juang dance is intimately connected with the Juang youth dormitory. Obviously the members of dormitory in each village are the dancers. There is certain specific age which is the criterion of membership. Youth dormitories are the organizations of unmarried youths who cease to be its member after their marriage. In the unmarried lists, spinsters and bachelors are included. I have seen in Tala Raidiha village, a divorced wife, and eldest of all come to Astadiha to dance. The widows and widowers may not dance, but they are formally regarded as the members and can sleep at the '*majang*' (youth dormitory) and may watch dance. There is no specific age for dance for the dancers. A boy can be a member of the *majang* with a special rite in '*Amnua*' (at the first mango eating ceremony) and girls can be members after receiving presentation from a boy. The boy, after attaining his adulthood and a girl after attaining her maturity, and both being the members of dormitory, can participate in dance.

The old men and women including married women cannot dance. Children cannot participate in the dance. They can dance within their age-group but that is only for pleasure; they cannot have dancing trip to *bandhu* villages.

There are also some conditions which must be fulfilled in order to be the members of the dormitory and thereby to achieve the privilege of dancing. An unmarried youth becomes a member of dormitory accompanied by rites-de-passage. He must go through initiation ceremony; he must be able to contribute something for the dormitory on this occasion. Therefore a poor, uninitiated fellow cannot enjoy the privilege of dancing without being its member. I have also found other causes for which a young unmarried youth cannot participate in communal dance. In Panasanasa village Nata Sardar's sons - Purandar, his elder brother; and his daughter Saudamini did not dance with others in the village, not that they were unable to pay the initiation fees or were not initiated, nor that they could dance and sing, but that Nata Sardar did not allow them to dance, because he had an enmity with the villagers. Arjuna Juang, the son of Jayant Juang of Baruda village also did not dance as he was a student reading in class seven.

In Juang society, dance is not a one-man activity. In every Juang village, it is neither shared by only girls nor by only boys, nor by taking one from each sex. On the other hand the groups are chosen from each sex to dance. There is no fixed one-one ratio between the boys and girls to dance. I have found for several times in villages like Astadiha, Gonasika, Baruda, Panasanasa, the dance being participated between six to eight boys with two or three girls and *vice versa*. In the village level, there may be dance consisting of the boys and girls of the same village, but they cannot marry among themselves. Generally supplementary activities such as joking, communal massaging etc do not take place when the dance is limited to the same village. The Juang have several clans and each village is a uniclans and the form of marriage specially developed by dance (made by *bandhu* dancers) is strictly prohibited among them, as they belong to same *kutum* (clan).

The youths of one village can have dancing trip to their *bandhu* village to dance with the girls there. The boys take presentation for the girls and are welcomed to dance with them. They may remain in the village even for two nights, working in Tailas, cutting woods in the day time and dancing in the night. Girls can also make dancing trip to their *bandhu* village in the similar manner.

Among the Juang, there is no hard and fast rule regarding the time and place for dance. But night is considered favourable to enjoy privacy and they do not like to dance in the day time. Their dances are performed in the day time with full interest, when *bandhu* dancers (females) come to dance and when they take wine prior to the dance in some festivals i.e. *karama puja* etc. They usually dance between seven to eight P.M. after taking their evening meal. They gather in front of the *mandaghar* or *majang*. The dance is performed without special light arrangement. The only light available at that time is from the fire in the *mandaghar* which is always kept burning. And this never-extinguishing fire is used for *pika* to warm the leathery face of the *changu*.

There is no special or traditional dress for dancers during their dancing. Girls generally wear different types of heads and necklaces around their neck and breasts. Now-a-days there is a tendency marked in the young ladies to wear red sarees. I have found, out of seven dancers, four ladies put on red sarees. On the occasion of their dancing in *bandhu* village, the *bandhu* girls take special care of their beauty by wearing ornaments, ribbons, etc. At the time of dance, the girls tighten their sarees to perform the dance well. The Juang male dancers wear clothes (often white in colour), banyan and turban on their head.

The chief musical instrument used for dance is *changu*. Although there are other types of musical instruments, yet none has the universal usage in every dance like *changu*. Dance is begun by the males. At first the males gather in front of the *majang*. They may be small in number. The *changu* is beaten first in order to call the girls. About the *changu* they have a saying "by slapping the dead she-goat, you can assemble the girls." (Here the dead she-goat refers to its skin of which the *changu* is made.). A *changu* is beaten for about half an hour which declares the dance. All other males gather with their *changu*. The girls come and gather together beside the *Majang* in order to appear at the proper time. When the first term of drumming the *changu* is over they start singing.

Nare Nare Nare Nare
Nare Nare
Are, Nare Nare Nare
Nare nare

This continues at least for three or four minutes. Then they sing the following song-

Dakiana kulabhaini lagiriki
Darsan kariba jai lo Gajapatiki

They repeat it several times and continue. It is described in "folk song" in detail. Thus it must be sung at the beginning of every dance (i.e., in every song). After its recitation, they beat the *changu* and girls suddenly appear in front of them, being arranged in a line and immediately they initiate the dance. Then dances of different types start.

Dalton has described various types of Juang dances. Especially he has shown a variety of sportive dances which are "dramatic in effect". Dr. Elwin has described various dances such as deer dance, boar dance, elephant dance, bear dance, *koel* dance with appropriate songs. But during my investigation of one month I have never come across such dances nor have I received any information regarding this. Among fourteen villages of the Juang there is universal presence of only one type of dance which does not conform to any dance that Dalton and Elwin have mentioned. There is only one genuine reason to account for this difference. Elwin visited the Juang (of Keonjhar) forty years ago and Dalton did it

even before him. During these forty years, their dance pattern might have declined. According to Bidhu Juang of Astadiha village (who is about sixty years old) who had seen the vulture dance in his boy hood, such dances are performed rarely. Purander Juang of Tala Panasana village informed me about two other types of dances. In the first type of dance the males dance raising their right legs and females by bending their bodies. In the second type, the males dance while sitting in a semi-circle. But evidence to support this information is rare. He described that they dance after taking wine (which they do sometimes). Such dances are performed out of emotion. Besides, I have marked in their dance after Karama Puja, which the artists performed, being intoxicated. They danced in almost every style, being independent of each other and in the most unorganized manner. Such dances, which originate out of excitement due to liquor, and which they do not accept in their normal mood, cannot be accepted as 'types of dances'.

Again their roles in dancing must be clarified, before describing the most predominant type of dance. In the dance only males have the right to sing and to use joking terms. They also beat the *changu*. Females only dance, they cannot answer any joke during dance; they are capable of making musical sounds befitting the rhythm of dance by means of their '*chudi*' (which is natural). They can reply in song alternatively after their dance or at the time of returning from market, etc.

In the most common type of dance the girls stand in front of the boys who beat the *changu*. They usually stand in a straight line, but during the dance it becomes semi-circular. They hold each other, hand in hand chained to each other as expressed in the following graphic representation.

In course of their dance the girls of the extreme ends may release their left or right hand. Boys do not stand in such an interconnected manner. What they do is that they maintain a straight line, which is often a curve during their dance. As soon as the boys sing the song, both parties start dancing by bending their body from the waist and advance backward and forward generally with two steps. Each line of the song is repeated. In the repetition both boys and girls erect their bodies and thus come back to their normal condition. In this state their dance goes advancing backward and forward with the two steps. After one line of the song is over the boys shift their line into a new direction, generally to the right and females in their dancing state shift the line to face them. Before changing the direction, boys for a little time stand and beat the *changu*. Usually one song takes half an hour. After one song- the girls may relax breaking the line. The next song begins with their usual *nare, nare*, etc. which directs the tune of the next song. There are also proverbs and other relaxing songs that are sung at intervals. One such song comes to my notice. It is a pure Oriya song; its meaning is given below -

"I have got four villages
Out of which three are bad;
One is good.
The villagers of the good village

Made three earthen pots.
 Out of the three earthen pots
 Two were bad and one was good.
 They cooked three 'pai' (1/4th of any unit) of rice
 In the good earthen pot.
 Out of three 'Pais'
 Two 'Pais' of rice were cooked badly
 And one 'Pai' was good.
 To eat one 'Pai' of good cooked rice
 Three guests came
 Out of the three
 Two quarreled with each other
 One of the guests-was found to be well.
 He gave three bamboos
 Out of three, two were bad.
 One was good.
 Out of one bamboo
 Three bows were made
 Out of the three, two were bad.
 By the one good bow
 They decided to
 Kill three Sambaras.
 Out of three Sambars
 Two ran sway
 And one was killed."

The song is recited occasionally. Its aim is to give charm during dance. The next song starts and thus the dance goes on. Elders of the village retire from the Majang. A strong competitive spirit develops between them and each party tries to defeat the other. In case of *bandhu* girls, the boys try to beat the *changu* overnight and keep the girls dancing. In order to do it, they may be divided into two groups to dance alternatively. If a girl's party tries to flee away from the dancing ground, the boys drag them and force them to dance. Likewise the girls do not let the boys fall asleep and try to keep them awake by pouring water on them. During their dance, joking takes place. I have found from the dance in Astadiha where ladies came from Tal Raidiha village. Among them there was an elderly lady, (a divorced wife); she was the laughing stock of the boys (dancers) of the Astadiha village. They made fun of her by telling funny words to her. They often put their *changu* on her head. On the other side she advanced in her dancing so quickly that her head knocked against the *changu* of the boys. The girls do not give reply to the jokes of the boys during dance. What they can do is to kick and step on the foot of the boys. They can throw ashes, mud water, at the boys. They can also pull *changu* in order to reply their *changu* beating. They can also be divided into two groups to dance with the boys alternatively. The dance may continue the whole of the night.

Generally they end it at the dead of the night when all the villagers fall asleep. The boys take the girls to the nearest secluded place for massaging.

CONCLUSION

Study of Juang folk life through folklore

Folklore is the product of individuals which owes much of its excellence to society in which a folk lives. It is therefore obvious to think that folklore bears the inner view of the society along with the producer's own motives, thoughts and feelings. The great arts of today bear the evidence of social life and there are innumerable instances present to justify it. The ancient mythologies such as the Ramayan, the Mahabharat, the Illiad, the Odessey, and the Panchatantra etc are full of social significance; it may not be equal to the modern twentieth century literature to search for record of social life. But the social life sketched in the ancient literatures is full of supernatural imagination whereas the modern literature and art reflect the society most realistically.

The study of the folklore without folk life becomes partial. Folklore is the voice of the folk and imprint or the natural surroundings. Social life of the individuals of the Juang is greatly reflected in their folklore (in their folk literature, dance and art). But all folklore may not bear such social significance. For Instance in the styles of dance, in the decorative designs of pillars of the *majang* etc it may entirely lack. In spite of these, the Juang folklore is a great repository of social life. To start with the Juang literature, the folk stories are replete with social significance.

In the story Shahadabati, the matrimonial affairs regarding the condition of the marriage are well reflected. It is in their story that sons of the merchant marry by means of '*ghicha*' (marriage by capture). Instances of such marriages are abundant in the Juang society. For the youngest son (in the story) there was no bride to be captured-the father had to go in search of a bride. The behaviour and service, which a daughter-in-law ought to maintain in a Juang society is very well depicted in the character of Shahadabati. In her character we see a Juang house wife doing her daily chores starting with smearing the floor of the house with cow dung, then cooking food, serving the food to every member of the family and lastly taking it herself. In other literary forms, the character of the women did not get an opportunity to reveal themselves.

In other stories the ladies are characterized not from the positive point of view. The ladies as painted in stories are often disloyal, cunning and submissive to injustice, this type of characterization is not due to the personal prejudice of story tellers against women, but according to the character, behaviour and manner of the women found among the Juang. In the Shahadabati, story the youngest daughter-in-law remains silent at the time of her remarriage with king Hatia.

Again she cannot recognize her husband from his voice and appearance as he is in disguise as a yogi. She has only committed suicide after knowing this which was the only alternative for her. But she does not make any attempt to protest against the injustice done to her. In the story of King Kanak's daughter, the lady is cunning and villain every inch. She loved the general of the State, though she had been predetermined to marry the prince of another State. She was playing dice in a secluded room where the prince was sleeping in disguise as a beggar. Her evil character was revealed there. Very cunningly she overcame that and very skillfully pronounced a death sentence to the prince through her father. As a result, at the end of the story, she had to commit suicide, the only reward for a devil's life. This is neither the story teller's imagination to paint their heroines like this, nor is it my intellectual charm to deduce such a proposition from their stories. But it is the actual life of the Juang which is characterized.

I found the history of the wife of Mali Juang of Baruda village, where the girl has no fidelity to her lover as reflected in the story of King Kanak's daughter. In this case the girl (Mali Juang's wife) had developed a special love for a boy of Upar Raidiha village before her marriage. It took the form of an arranged marriage by the mutual consent of their parents. When such was the situation the girl came to dance in Baruda village and there she was captured by Mali Juang and they married (by means of *ghicha*). This is not irony of her fate, as she married him without any protest and she is quite happy with her husband, forgetting her lover. There are some other examples to justify this character as painted in their stones. A proper insight in to their way of life provides much more material to correlate the characters of the stories with those of the real life.

Again, in the Juang Society a new bride is better accompanied by her sisters-in-law than her parents-in-law, this is well reflected in the story of Shahadabati. Here both the parents-in-law refused to take care of the bride (Sahadabati) in the absence of her husband and directed him to ask his sisters who could take better care of her.

The Juang heroes, as depicted in the stories are characterized in a positive manner—perhaps for the sake of the story. But there are certain examples in their stories which reveal the Juang character. A Juang prince is kind hearted, strong, beautiful no doubt. But he bribed the Minister to escape a death punishment. Rushi, the hero of another story resorted to forgery in order to spare the life of the merchant's son. In the story of 'Brother Monkey', the monkey went on kidnapping the goat, the cow, the bullock-cart and finally the merchant's daughter. Thus the fraudulent character has found expression in this story. But for this there are positive means which could be adopted to achieve these ends. But due to lack of positive imagination and influence of the society upon the story tellers, the characters are painted so weakly.

Local colour is printed everywhere irrespective of the time, place and person. The Juang have the idea of king, but they are not conscious of what

kinship means, so far as the royal position and majestic character of a king is concerned. In most of their stories whether king or rich merchant they go on digging out *tunga* and *bainga* (two roots used as means of their livelihood), the king eats rice and *dal* as the royal dish; a king can sleep on a cot made up of rope, which is found frequently in the day-to-day life of the Juang. The names of kings are always local. The king is often named as 'Kanak' 'Hatia' etc. The prince may use golden teeth to replace the tooth which might decay on account of smoking *pika*. The dress pattern of the king is very simple, not different from that of a common Juang man. He can use turban and an iron shirt. The king's ride on an elephant only shows his distinction as a king. This has been reflected in the story Shahadabati and in the story of King Kanak's daughter. Shahadabati receives the prestige of a queen by being taken on an elephant; the king and queen go to see the cremation of the yogi on an elephant; the prince in his marriage procession rides an elephant. In their various songs the importance of elephant is marked. These are not the mere descriptions of stories, but the descriptions of the Juang social life.

Myth and legend in their main aspects give recognition to the social action of the people. They contain only frame work of the main stories to justify the situation, rather than the descriptions to contain enough social instances. But even in their small stature, possessing less description, they speak a good deal of the Juang. Now-a-days the Juang do not eat beef. But they were taking that and there is a myth present to justify their beef-eating habit. Again, there is another legend where this phenomenon is again reflected. Here the Rushiiputra had taken beef and told a lie. The Rushi cursed them on that account. The Juang social character is disclosed when these two phenomena are analyzed. Here in one myth the Juang have been sanctioned to take beef. But in another they have been cursed for doing so. This justifies the fact that, though they were beef eaters yet it was not culturally sanctioned. That is why the Rushiputras immediately denied their having taken beef and were cursed. This shows that the Juang are conscious of the fact that beef eating is a sign of low status and the persons like Rushiputras should not take beef. This inner view of the Juang is continued by receiving poor inspiration from the myth regarding beef eating. And its truth is again justified when they abruptly stop beef eating by a single knock of Cultural Revolution made by Rabi Mishra on the preexisting Juang culture. Coming to the more practical life its truth is again clarified. For example there have been so many reforms made by many authorities to abolish such customs as leaf dress, dance, drinking wine etc. But the Juang have been showing their reluctance to be reformed (as evidenced from their present existing customs). Even, there have been sharp reactions pointed against the items such as wearing of clothes instead of leaf dress, as expressed in their myth and songs. But nothing is made against the abolition of beef eating. They have accepted it with their own realization regarding social prestige.

Juang brothers and sisters do not live in their house during night; they engage themselves in dance (through not with each other). Here the myth regarding their youth dormitory justifies the social action. The apprehension that

brothers and sisters by sleeping with their parents in the same house may exhibit their inner urge in the form of sexual intercourse is originated from the thought of Rushi in their myth.

There is a good reason as to the question why the Juang are not in favour of keeping co-wives though polygamy exists (rarely) in their society. Generally they take a second wife when the first wife is proved to be barren and if the second wife bears children, then an enmity between the co-wives develop. Even if two wives have children, there is always quarrel among them due to the fact that each mother develops paying special attention towards her own children. This family quarrel and mental agony existing in the polygamous household is well reflected in their myth concerning the creation of day, night and stars, where enmity between the sun and the moon (co-wives) leads to the death of their children and the separation of one from another. They are allowed to meet at the same time neither in the day nor in the night.

The folk songs of the Juang are patched with a great deal of social significance. In many songs, the Juang house has been mentioned in relation to the natural objects. Their house is always described with Mahua tree, Jack fruit tree, cow dung hill, clouds and the moon, in many of the songs the description of the house with the night's darkness is depicted vividly. A special mention can be made regarding the personification of natural places in the songs. The river Mahanadi, Baitarani; hills like Gonasika, Malyagiri; places like Gonasikabari, Keonjhar, Banai are always personified in their songs. From the agricultural songs, we find the agricultural activities of the people. From the songs of 'love and beauty', innumerable social situations can be visualized. In these songs there is description of beautiful girls. There is the mental image of a girl whose teeth are clear, who walks gently in river Baitarani, whose ornaments are new, who stands in front of the cow dung hills looking herself, whether she looks beautiful or not. Thus the general psychology of the Juang girls has been noted. She looks beautiful in relation to the rising moon. In another song the poet has seen her in the Jungle where a Sahib hunts an elephant. He has seen her when she carries leaf cups on her head. Sometimes the beautiful girl is named as 'Nigunamali'- the esteemed lady of the dancers. They have been searching for her for about fifteen days. Her walks are charming. She has no small-pox marks on her face; she is as tender as a bean creeper. The boy, in order to present her, collects crabs from the streams, from the Suakati market, he brings *dukta* for *pika* and ornaments for her. Again the girls from Cuttack are always beautiful.

All these descriptions are original. These are the descriptions relating to the beauty of girls of their imagination which borrow most of the evidences from their real life. "In the hunting songs there is description of preparing curry with the flesh of an animal, how it is prepared and with what spices. The songs containing historical evidence are full of social exemplifications. One song expresses the disasters that befell due to the introduction of cloth and it records a clear picture of

the contemporary Juang society, that is, the Juang of today do not obey their parents, the cows and buffaloes are carried away by small-pox disease, the annual crops are damaged, the chastity of ladies is at stake.

The expeditions of the Shahibs (the British officials) are always described in the social context. The Shahibs come, pitch their tents fixing the ropes with Asan logs; make their supper with the help of the Pana and the Patras (local people); go to the jungle for hunting. Not only hunting of elephants but also cutting down of the big trees like Sal etc are always painful to the Juang. In the folk song the mental agony and sorrow are reflected. From one song it is clear that the hunting of an elephant does not cause less sorrow than the shooting of the Sial. The Shahibs return by their bus. By their orders large pieces of logs are carried to the river from where it is transported to Calcutta.

The religious recitations speak of the social attitude of the people. The tie of friendship among the Juang is very strong. When a boy leaves the *majang* after his marriage he has to go through many rituals and has to beg excuse for his departure from *changu* dance and other communal activities. Co-operation and friendship among the bachelors on occasions of dancing, shifting cultivation, making dancing trip etc is very strong and lovable. There is a song regarding Lord Shri Krishna's return to Mathura. Here Krishna is not seen-off by the ladies of the Gopapura; but by his fellow friends, whom he loves the most. The fellow friends are extremely unhappy to remain without Krishna.

The Juang social action can be exhibited in this light. In many societies or in our famous 'Bhagabat', there is the description of the parting of Sri Krishna with his foster parents, 'Radha' and other ladies of Gopapura. But Sri Krishna's leave taking from his friends is not so thoroughly depicted. The Juang uniqueness can be realized in this respect. Here Krishna is regarded more as an unmarried Juang youth who co-operates with them on every occasion, rather than as a lover of the sixteen hundred ladies of Gopapura and no Radha laments at his departure but his friends. This is nothing but strong social relationship that causes such a deviation.

There are many riddles which I have omitted due to their naked sexual implications. Further they are also of less importance. The riddles such as how vagina swallows the turmeric grinding stone; position of the couple at the time of their sexual intercourse who look like a big monster, having two heads etc are the outcome of such social actions. The Juang riddles are greatly related to their social surrounding. The description of the earthen vessels, *changu*, *mahula* tree, Potter's wheel, the shell and all other objects around which the Juang material culture centers have been intellectually versed in the riddles.

Proverbs have originated from the interesting events that occur in the society. The practical jokes played on occasions of dancing trips and other joking relationships have great social significance. The Juang boys go to another *bandhu* village to dance. Their speech bears their social behaviour. The girls always call

themselves as untouchables and boys look thin and beautiful as they are supplied with fine rice and *dal*. The marriage of brothers and sisters are universally tabooed. This is interpreted jokingly. If the girls do not come to their *bandhu* village, the boys humorously tell them that they should remain in their village and marry their own brothers. In the marriage the bridegroom always cuts joke with his young brother-in-law saying that he would marry his own sister.

In the Juang dance, especially in its style the social phenomena are less reflected. Dance has a greater significance than its functional point of view, but bears no greater social reflection. Regarding the dress of dancers, social significance is greatly marked. They have no special dress to be worn during their dance. They usually wear ordinary clothes at that time also.

The satisfaction of an artist lies not in the creation of something new but in the expression of reality. The 'schools' or 'isms' of art are simply meaningless for a Juang artist as in this respect a Juang artist's free imagination does not cross the boundaries of the society in which he lives. The Juang art does not involve any complete, definite theme, but only fragments of social phenomena. The leaves carved on the wooden doo-s show the artist's awareness of the social surrounding. The carving of the man on the wooden beam, though not realistic, shows a dancing pose. The Juang combs that I have found are pretty old; the figures carved on them are men in dancing pose. But it has no resemblance to the Juang dance, or to any activity of the Juang. One informant gave his opinion, that he had carved the figure of a man in his natural condition. The information obtained from another man is quite interesting. He said that the group of people that he carved on the comb is the dancers, and the irregularity marked in their limbs, is due to the fact that they are intoxicated. If this interpretation is regarded as true and correct, then it should be realized that the artist has observed the society keenly which he has depicted on the comb.

FUNCTIONS OF FOLKLORE

According to Alan Dundes "The aspect of function is of least concern to literary folklorists but perhaps of greater concern to anthropological folklorists". Folklore in the Juang in its various forms performs the functions in the following manner. One of the major functions that folklore performs in the Juang society, irrespective of literature, art and dance is that it provides entertainment to the minds of the people. The Juang economy is of low status and so is their way of living. Pleasure is generally scarce in this society where people have to face hard reality of life and where the struggle for existence is acute. Folklore has its function here. Listening to the intricate complexities and adventures embodied in their folk stories, myth and legends, the humour, the gestures and practical jokes in their dance accompanied by the *changu* music, *daru* and communal massaging in the night, representing their thought and artistic excellence in their walls, pillars and wooden doors provides an enjoyable escape from the hard reality of their life.

Folklore helps promoting education, not academic education. Folklore is synonym to tribal culture and their way of life. The function in this regard is performed by educating the people according to their own culture. For example, in their society the males are trained well to carry on shifting cultivation and females are made accustomed to weave *patias*. This fact of their myth prevailing among them after innumerable generations provides a strong support to their culture in this respect. There are a good number of instances to know how the manner and style of folk dance, the decorative art, etc are made by folklore. On the other hand the Juang, though in a limited number listen to the stories, myths and legends songs etc and know the meaning which educate them in providing these thoughtful materials. One of the functions which folk literature seeks to perform is to provide a media to satisfy the epistemological urge of the Juang people. Their intellectual thirst is quenched by providing a readymade interpretation to the natural and cultural phenomena that surround them.

The role of folk literature, in promoting education is more remarkable than any other forms. This happens in two ways. Firstly, it educates them to enrich knowledge and help them in learning their culture. Secondly this educational process is sustained by transmission from one generation to another. Myth and legend have special place in performing this function. They contain certain essential educational information which is believed to be true. For example one may say that to tell lie is a sin, but myth and legend show clearly how by telling lies the Rushiputras were cursed and how river Baitarani emerged from the nostrils of the cow.

Riddles are the other media through which intellect of the Juang has been displayed. It teaches as to how animals, plants and other things of nature can be intellectually interpreted. This opens up other characters, which can be metaphorically used and thus increases their sense of beauty in forming a sentence. For example in their society *changu* is conceived as a musical instrument. Through riddle it is interpreted in another way, that is 'beating of a dead goat can gather the girls'. This again helps reforming their way of talking. For example they may say "hang the goat skin on the wall", instead of saying "hang the *changu* on the wall".

There are certain forms of legend which also have educative value. The anecdotal legend relating to the quarrel among the five fingers is a very good evidence of the wisdom and intellect of their master who explained that the little finger was superior to all other fingers in spite of its small size. In another, an intelligent girl frees her father of a debt by means of her sharp intellect in interpreting the various words in her speech. Further, all these educational materials are transmitted and they function as a permanent school of learning.

In the Juang society, folk literature helps maintain conformity to cultural values and accepted patterns of behaviour. It is widely used to express their approval and disapproval through the application of social pressure and social

control imposed on them. The myths forwarded by the Juang justify reason behind almost every phenomenon. There are folk tales displaying ideal patterns. In all these items the appreciation of the people concerning every social action is exhibited. Disapproval is also marked in some of them. In this State whenever there is a question of social control there is a reaction immediately by means of all these existing beliefs and explanations.

The song regarding the use of cloth relates a truth in this regard. The British officials compelled them not to wear leaf dress which they accepted sadly and reluctantly. It is true that they did not revolt against this openly. But their sharp reaction was expressed in the song "Sunagundi Matigundi".

Not only the songs, but also various myths suggest how by using clothes a woman was killed by tiger in the forest. Folk songs are also used to criticize and rebuke. For instances British officials came and killed the elephants and cut down the big trees and this was reacted by the Juang in the words '*Gachha kata kampanikinahela marana*' (in the song '*Gajakuakat kale chaudiga*')

In order to criticize and condemn one's action going against the ideal of the society, proverbs contribute much in this respect. For instance the part of the proverb-"Ghaitachhuali, maipaeinda" (in the proverb "Katharadunduru.....") is usually expressed to criticize a woman who leaves her work to be done by her husband. Thus it acts as a strong stimulant factor to keep the duty of man and woman without interchange or any alternation.

Another function is that folklore acts as a kind of social authority. Malinowski has shown how myth provides a warrant and charter for magic, ceremony, ritual and social structure. Myths of the Juang are cited as an authority on the question of religious beliefs, ritual procedures and justify social action.

There are same important functions behind their dance. The Juang dance, as I have seen, is not a complicated one, that is, anybody and everybody in their society can dance according to this style. This is mainly due to the fact that dance is a necessary activity and not a leisurely activity like other forms of folklore. The fact that dance is "artistic performance of some" is replaced here by the fact that it is an "inartistic performance of all". This inartistic dance performed by all is due to the fact that it has got some necessary value in the Juang Society. The functions of dance are manifold. Firstly, dance establishes marriage relationship. The reason is apparent. The dancers make dancing trips to their *bandhu* villages and their relations being developed through love result in marriage settlement. There are certain rules in the dance which help maintenance of stability in their society. For example, boys and girls of one village, being brothers and sisters cannot marry; therefore there cannot be communal massaging between them and thus free talk is restricted there. Again this fact leads to the prohibition of dance between two *kutum* villages. Thus by this rule social taboo is well maintained. Further by dispatching dancing trips friendship between two *bandhu* villages is continued and

the friendship of the dancers' boys and girls develops the most cordial relationship. Thus sluggish people must dance in order to have such function.

Art has no great function except to promote artistic capability. The influence of arts, embodied in the *majang* makes others practice art. For example in the Baruda village, the *majang* was rebuilt by the Sardar, Padhan and Achhab Juang of the village. Along with these they have made certain new pillars which are more artistic than the former ones.

Thus in brief, folklore performs important functions such as promoting education, providing an enjoyable escape from the hard reality, acting as an authority to answer the disturbances arising from the existing state of pattern. Further it helps in maintaining social solidarity and is the media of reaction to maintain cultural continuity and stability.

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MYTHS OF JUANG: AN ANTHROPOLOGICAL ANALYSIS*

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1. Introduction

Religion is not removed from life of the people of a culture irrespective of the degree of sophistication it has attained at present in the process of evolution. The sum total of ideas and beliefs which we term 'cosmology' and which is manifested through the ritualistic behavior is the basis of group identity that binds its own members together and differentiates from others. Broadly, mythology which is the sum total of the myths of particular culture, is an explanatory model as to what the universe is like. Functionally, comprehension of this model tends to support the very cause of existence of the individual living in the said culture. Then he is not allowed to get lost in the bewildering array of phenomena - natural and the like, that take place around him.

Folklore is considered as the repository of such myths, along with tales, proverbs, riddles and even tongue-twister and puns and, therefore, constitutes a significant aspect of the aesthetic culture of a people. It is considered as the oral literature of a culture because it provides the vehicles for the artistic expression of the life of a people. The underlying unity of these vehicles lies in having the two common characteristics relating to their form and means of communication. These are exclusively verbal and orally transmitted from one generation to the other.

Study of myths as a part of folklore of people constitutes an important field of serious anthropological research for varied reasons. Apart from the basic necessity of rendering an insight into the form and content of the oral literature, it performs diverse functions. The spatial as well as temporal dimensions covered by the existence of a particular myth provides scope for a fruitful analysis that may cast into relief the trends of diffusion and the direction of general cultural change of a people or peoples among whom it exists. As myths are verbally transmitted from generation to generation change of character and locale in the text is likely to occur

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although the broad frameworks remain intact. But such change detected at a particular point of time help analyze the underlying motives and psychology of such people during that time. A study into the variation of the texts of a myth, therefore, is of as much importance as that of collection of a complete set of myths relating to the culture as a whole.

The present paper aims to describe a particular myth of a tribe that changes its text over a span of geographical area. The text has been collected by late Dr. Elwin from the different areas inhabited by Juang of Orissa. The narrative relates to how earth and man were created in the beginning.

2. The Text

Text No.1

Dharam Debta made two-and-a-half portions of earth, but he could not steady it, it shook to and fro. From the dirt in his armpit he made a tiger and tigress from whom was born the Bagho Risi. Soon the Risi had a little sister named Patara Sauruni. Both of them mated and gave birth to a son named Risi Putro. Dharam Debta thought - How shall I make the earth steady? Otherwise it will be hard for these folk to live. The gods said; let us get Bagho Risi's son. They went to his house and said, 'Brother give us a cock'. The old man tried to comply, but his wife told him not to give it. 'They really want our son'. The old man said to the gods, 'we have no cock'. They said, 'Give us your son, and we will make you young and give you two sons instead'. The old man agreed, but the mother told the boy to dress himself with iron knives and swords; she gave him an iron bow and arrow each twelve hands long. The gods sent the tiger to catch the boy, but the tiger failed because the boy was heavily armed. The gods laughed at the boy. "What a dirty stinking fellow you are? Why don't you bath sometimes?". The boy went to a lake held the bow and arrow with one hand and tried to bathe with the other. The tiger followed him and failed to attack him as he was with his arms. The gods laughed again and said to the boy, "How can you take bath with only one hand". This time the boy put his weapons down on a rock and began to bath with both hands. Seeing him without arms, the tiger leapt on him and killed him. The gods caught his body by the feet, swung him round and his blood flew out in all directions. Wherever it fell the earth became steady. From his hands and feet came the hills and mountains and from his hair grew the jungle. But his parents, Bagho Risi and Patra Sauruni grew young again and had twelve sons and daughters. Thus the Juang came into the world."

Text No.2

"The earth at the beginning was swaying 'LUD-LUD-LUD-LUD'. Mahapuru wondered how to make it steady and a fit home for men. From his thinking, Rusi was born in an ant-hill. He came out and began to hammer on a stone for twelve years. One day as he came out of the ant-hill and started hammering on the stone, a naked Asur girl came there. She saw Rusi, and she thought to make him her

husband. She came towards Rusi. Now in those days girls were not beautiful. They had beards and their vulva hung down like a bag between the legs. Rusi saw her coming and thought, "This girl will certainly eat me. He ran into his ant-hill. The Asuri searched everywhere for Rusi but could not find him. She sat down on the ant-hill. What is the use of going anywhere else? She stayed there for seven days and seven nights, but Rusi did not come out. The Asuri thought, I will hide and then he will come out. When she had hidden herself, Rusi came out, looked all around and thinking himself safe, hammered on his stone. The Asur girl came up from behind and caught him by the shoulders. Rusi was frightened and said, 'Let me go. Don't devour me.' Asuri assured him, 'No, no don't be afraid. I want to make you my husband'. Rusi said, 'But your brothers or sisters will devour me.' Asuri said, 'No I am all alone. There is nothing to fear.'

So Rusi and the Asuri lived together. They both were naked. When Mahapuru knew it, he thought, 'What shall I do when they have children?' He went to them and said, 'The earth is not yet ready'. They replied, 'What can we do to make it steady?' Mahapuru said, 'Find the Kapila cow and kill it, then the earth will be steady'. Rusi and his wife went to find the cow. They came to Baora Parbat and found the Kapila cow sitting there. Rusi tied a rope round its neck and pulled it along. The Asuri went behind and pushed. They took it to Gonasika and killed it there. As its blood fell on the ground the earth was made steady. Rusi and his wife ate the flesh, and ever since we have the Juangeat beef.

A somewhat similar story comes from Kajuriya in Keonjhar State.

Text No. 3

At first the earth shook DAL-DAL-DAL-DAL. But Rusi brought a black cow to Gonasika and sacrificed it there. The earth became steady and he sat down to feast on its flesh. The seven *kaniya* came hungry to the world. They said to each other, 'What is this Rusi eating? Let us beg a little and eat it'. They sent the eldest sister to the Rusi. When she saw him she fell in love with him and she sat beside him to eat beef. It got late and the second girl went to call her. She saw the eldest sister sitting beside Rusi and called her back, but she took no notice. In this way the five sisters went to call the girl, but she took no notice. At last the youngest one came, and also saw her sister eating beef with Rusi.

Rusi buried the cow's head in the ground. There was a great noise and from the cow's nose the water spurted out. Six of the *kaniyas* ran away thinking that Rusi was going to kill them. But when Rusi saw them running, he sprinkled the cow's blood on them and they turned into mountains the youngest was Malyagiri, the next youngest was Nilgiri, then Tamkogiri, Samkagiri Subedargiri and Tupargiri. When Rusi threw the blood on them, the girls were running in all directions looking back over their shoulders towards him. So, all these mountains are always looking back over their shoulders towards Malyagiri. But the eldest girl stayed with Rusi and became his wife.

Text No. 4

The Juangs of Balipal described how originally there was nothing but water. On the water floated a lotus leaf. On this grew a banyan tree and in the tree lived an ant. This ant possessed a little earth. When the Gods wanted to make the earth they did not know how to approach the ant, so, they made a doll from the dirt of their bodies and when it was ready put life into it. Thus Markand Rusi took birth. He went to the banyan tree and asked the ant for its earth. It refused to give it, and tried to bite the Rusi. But he caught it and squeezed it till it excreted earth. As the earth fell on the water from which the world came into being. Then there was only Markand Rusi was on earth. Not even the Gods were there. He was very lonely and longed for someone to serve him. He made two dolls of earth and asked Dharam Debta to put life into them. Both were boys. Markand Rusi said, "There is no girl. How can these boys people the earth?". Then he made two more dolls and again asked Dharam Debta for giving them life. Now there were two girls. There was only cloth for one girl, the other wore leaves. The elder brother married the girl who wore leaves; the younger married the one who wore cloth. When they grew up Markand Rusi made an axe and said to the boys. Go and cut the jungle, sow your seed and eat. He called the elder 'Juang' and the younger 'Bhuiya' and said 'You are both Matar, You will always be brothers'.

Text No. 5

A Pallahara version of the same story tells how Rusi and his wife had six sons and five daughters (sometimes the figure is twelve sons and eleven daughters). The children of Mahasaro were Juang. From Ganosaro were born Savara and Mallaro. From Ambasaro were born Bhuiya, Chasa and Gaur. From Dukanaiko were born Jora, Koriya and Kisan. From Guwariamundobhagiya were born Pan, Kol, Hadi and Brahmin. Greatest of all are the Juang. The Sahibs are our younger brothers.

3. Analysis

The variations in the text of the myth are illuminating as these provide clues to understanding of the following:

- i) The Juangs at different localities have a different version of their own which have been profoundly influenced by the religion of surrounding Hindu population. The degree of variation can be observed as the central theme of sacrificing a human being for steadying the earth is substituted for sacrificing a cow for the same purpose. Human sacrifice is abhorred by the Hindus and as such, the idea has been spared in subsequent texts.
- ii) Sacrifice of cow and eating beef also despised in Hindu culture. But the Juangs cannot afford to provide a substitute. On the other hand the close association with Hindu population needs to be sustained. Hence, a synthesis is to be

attempted and justification of eating beef has to be provided. The text 2 and 3 provide the justifications.

- iii) The descriptions of the text reveal the degree of incorporation of Hindu mythological characters. The more the amount of incorporation, the more is the evidence of pronounced culture change. Text 4 and Text 5 provide illustration because these are obtained from Dhenkanal and Pallahara inhabited by Juangs, who have achieved a greater degree of assimilation with the neighbouring Hindu population than that of Juang who live in Juangg *pirh* and Bhuyan *pirh* area of Keonjhar.
- iv) It has been held "Folklore also gives us clues to the hidden reactions to social sanctions that on the surface seem to be complied with willingly enough". This statement of M.J. Herskovits tries to impress that the hidden desires are manifested through distorting the customary behavior in tales and myths. The sacred characters are found to commit incest which is forbidden in the social life of any community. Examples of these abound in the tribal myths. Text. 1 describes how brother marries the sister which among the Juangs is considered incestuous. The description concerning incest is absent where the Juang are closely surrounded by Hindu caste population. A regulation of sex in Hindu culture is more rigid than that of the tribals. Hence, there is absence of such descriptions in myths collected from Dhenkanal and Pallahara areas.
- v) In text 4 and 5 we find a glaring difference concerning the creation of the first races of man. In Text 4 the Juang and Bhuyan were created first. This is indicative of the locality of the myth where first contact between the two tribes was made and the degree of isolation from the non-tribal communities is more. In Text 5 the locality of the myth is Pallahara where Juangs were created along with other tribal and non-tribal communities such as Sahibs (foreigners), Rajas (kings), Gaurs (cowherds), Hadi (sweepers), Bhuyan etc. In reality, a number of communities surrounded the Juangs of Pallahara.

As has been stated earlier, serious research into the folklore of tribal communities is apt to reveal many interesting facets of the verbal and non-verbal art forms of a society. The present paper is analyzed from a particular point of view, i.e., the spatial variations of myths, the data being collected from a secondary source. Original data collected through first hand observation is apt to facilitate analysis from structural, aesthetic, philosophical and psychological angles. The State of Orissa provides a virgin field for serious anthropological researches into the folklore of the great many tribes. It is an enriched field, the exploration of which is yet awaited.

A POETIC EVALUATION OF JUANG RIDDLES: PRESERVATION OF THE INTANGIBLE CULTURE *

*Ranjan Pradhan*¹

The folklore of the Juang tribe is very rich. The lores they recite contain serene and beautiful literature. Especially 'the riddle' of the Juang community is quite unique and most fascinating having great attraction. In this tradition we find rich literature, their own culture and the sweet experiences of their day-to-day lives. Their lyrics are both juicy and extempore. The songs are always new and lively. Always we find an element of competition, not enmity. There exists only love and friendship in their songs.

As we understand, we don't find any written document of folklore in the community. The tradition passes orally from one to another. Folklore has always played an important role in Juang folk literature. The lovesick young man (*Kanger*) and the young woman (*Selan*) express the secrets of their heart through such songs, idioms and riddles. Even though the Juang people don't have any written scripts, yet they could keep their folk literature alive across generations through oral tradition only. Their folklores and folk stories have always enriched tribal literature; besides their idioms and phrases are extremely sweet and memorable.

The tradition of the Juang riddle expresses their community intelligence. The basic purpose of a riddle is to expect answer for an esoteric question which is presented in a lyrical form. Riddles play a vital role in Juang folk literature.

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Riddles are unique manifestations of our rich cultural heritage. These have been used plentifully and it plays a special place in our oral traditions. The basic purpose of these riddles is to test intelligence, to entertain and educate children. Hence, an exclusive discussion on the riddles of the primitive tribal groups like the Juang is required.

The Juangs are one of the most ancient Tribes of Odisha. They belong to the Munda ethnic stock and found mainly in the Gonsaika hill range of Kendujhar district. Some Juangs, however have migrated to neighboring plains of undivided Dhenkanal district of Odisha during the Bhuiyan revolt in the late 19th century.

The Gonasika plateau of Kendujhar district is believed to be the place of origin of the Juangs. They are mostly concentrated in Banspal, Telkoi, Ghatagan and Harichandanpur Blocks in Kendujhar district. They claim themselves to be the autochthons of the area from where they have migrated to other parts of the state. They classify themselves into two sections, the *Thaniya* (those who dwell in their original habitation) and the *Bhagudiya* (those who have moved away to other places like Dhenkanal and Pallalahada of Anugul district). The Juangs living in the Gonasika area are accepted as the original Juangs.

The Juangs believe that in ancient times their tribe emerged from earth on the hills of Gonasika where the river Baitarani has its origin. In their language the word "Juang" means man. In other words, man emerged from the earth at the same place where the river Baitarani emerged. They have got their own dialect which has been described by Col. Dalton as Kolarian. They have acquired many Odia words by coming in contact with the Odia speaking people. Now, most of them know and speak Odia.

There are 62 Scheduled Tribes in Odisha. Those tribals who are relatively backward and vulnerable in terms of economic condition, education, health and living in the difficult terrains of mountains and forests who are specially designated as Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Group (PVTG). Previously they were called as Primitive Tribal Groups (PTGs). In the whole country, a total number of 75 tribal groups are identified as PTGs. Out of these, in Odisha 13 tribal groups have been brought under this category. Among them, the Juang is one.

Among the Juang, the village is the largest corporate group with formally recognized territory. Within the delineated land boundaries they possess their land both for settled and shifting cultivation and the forests for exploitation. They shift their village sites frequently as they consider it inauspicious to live at a particular place for a long period. This has been stopped now-a-days.

Each Juang village has a youth dormitory known as *Majang* (also called Manda Ghar) in front of which their traditional dances and songs take place. *The Majang* plays an important role in the village life of the Juangs. The traditional

village panchayat sits here. It also serves as a guest-house for the visitors to the village. It serves as the village club house for the Juang young men.

The *Pradhan* - the secular headman, the *Nagam* or *Boita* or *Dehuri* - the village priest, the *Dakua* - the village messenger and the village elders (*Barabhai*) constitute the traditional village panchayat of the tribe. A group of neighbouring villages constitute a '*pirh*' headed by a '*Sardar*' who decides inter-village disputes.

The Juang society is patrilineal and there is existence of totemistic clans which are divided into two distinct groups known as "Bandhu clans" and "Kutum clans". The totemic object is never destroyed or injured by its members. The clans are exogamous and marriage within the same clan is considered incestuous. Monogamy is commonly prevalent while polygamy is not ruled out. Levirate and sororate type of marriages are permitted in the Juang society.

A Juang husband generally worships the *Sajana* (drum stick) tree if his wife turns out to be barren and gives her a paste made of *Sajana* flowers and seeds to eat or he ties a seven fold cotton string with seven knots round his wife's neck, believing this to be a kind of talisman which will cause conception. The Juangs do not allow their pregnant women to go to the seat of village deity and also they must not tie up anything, must not weave mat or plaster a house with mud.

Their funeral rites are quite conventional. They cremate their dead. The corpse is laid on the pyre with the head facing the south. The ashes may be left on the spot of cremation, or alternatively these may be thrown into a stream.

For their livelihood they depend mainly on shifting cultivation and collection of minor forest products. There are so many rituals and traditions in Juang society and all these are reflected in their dance and songs. When the Juang girls and women collect Sal leaves and seeds from the forest, they sing many fascinating songs. The Juang life is marked by the celebration of different festivals in honour of their deities. Their supreme deities are '*Dharam Dehta*' (Sun God) and '*Basumata*' (Earth Goddess). '*Gramashiree*' (village deity) is the presiding deity of the village. There are also a number of hills, forests, rivers and springs deities in the Juang pantheon. They believe in the existence of spirits and ghosts.

The Juangs observe *Pus Puni* (*maghapodi*) festival to mark the beginning of the agricultural cycle, '*Am Nua*' for the first eating of mango fruits, *Akhani* (hunting festival), *Akhaya Trutia* for the ceremonial sowing of paddy, '*Bangur Aba*' (Asadi festival) marking the beginning of transplanting and weeding, '*Dhana Nua*' (eating of new paddy after offering it to their gods and ancestors), '*Pirh Puja*' for the protection of crops, '*Gahma Punima*' for the welfare of cattle and other auspicious days for the ceremonial eating of different seasonal crops harvested from different types of lands. All these occasions are marked by dancing and singing. They use a kind of drum known as *changu* at the time of dancing.

Their folk literature and culture is very sweet and juicy. The Juangs, in their lighter moments express their thoughts and emotions through riddles and idioms. Especially, they recite riddles during community festivals, agricultural works, marriage functions etc. During these occasions, they sing songs, dance and recite riddles. But one can notice the special artistic expressions from these riddles.

Their riddles are created by taking into account various natural forces like the sun, the moon, the sky, the springs, the rivers, the trees, fruits, vegetables, birds and animals etc. In the riddles one can trace varieties of things beginning from the sun, moon and stars to pigs, trees, oven, umbrella handle, broom, doors, bows and arrows, cocoon, grinding stone, cobweb, scissors, bell, dog's tail, insects, frogs, snakes and the Juang woman.

The riddles are expressed in simple sentences and presented directly. In many cases the riddles are also descriptive and they depict a wide and clear-cut picture. Again some riddles are highly symbolic and rhetorical.

The Juang riddles are full of variations. Some riddles are mono-metric and some are diametric. Sometimes the metrical order extends to three and four. The riddles are very much artistic and rich in terms of their form and structure.

Characteristically, the riddles of the Juang can be divided into six categories. They are as follows:

1. Relating to Celestial Bodies
2. Relating to animals and birds
3. Relating to Plants
4. Relating to Material Culture and General instruments
5. Relating to food and drinks
6. Verbal expressions

1. Relating to Celestial Bodies

Celestial objects like the planets, stars, sun, moon and galaxy occupy a special place in the religious belief and imagination of the Juang. They do have a special religious connection with the sun, moon, thunder, rain, wind, day, night, dawn and evening. These natural objects influence the Juangs to a great extent.

The life of the Juangs is closely knitted to the natural world of the forest. They worship the natural forces like the forest, trees, birds, animals, mountains, rivers, springs, the sun, the moon, the earth etc. They believe that their gods and goddesses live in the forest, the mountains, the rivers and the streams. They celebrate many festivals in a year. They get the opportunity to meet each other during these social events to make their community lives more stronger.

During the festivals, they join together in their *Majang* i.e. their village community center and celebrate the occasion by dancing and singing. Through these festivals their community life and cultural flow blooms.

The Juangs believe that their life is controlled or regulated by some unseen forces that dwell in the mountains, forests, rivers and springs. As they are the worshippers of the nature, they worship varieties of trees, timbers and rocks.

The Sun God is the supreme god of the Juangs. The Earth Goddess is also one of their premier gods. They believe that the earth is the wife of the sun. They can't begin any work without worshipping the Sun God and Earth Goddess. In every village there exists a village deity. The village deity manifests in the form of an elongated and sharp granite stone in the middle of the village or on either side of the terminal points. In general, the village deity (Gramashiri) is worshipped in front of the Majang i.e youth dormitory of the village. The village deity saves the villages from all sorts of diseases and dangers.

There is another village deity in the Juang villages known as '*Thanapati*'. The Thanapati is worshipped on the hilltop. There is no fixed idol for the deity. He is worshipped in different names in different villages. '*Bhima Badamma*' and '*Kanchuri*' are the two other village deities. They are known as '*Changu Gods*' (the gods of music) and are worshipped in the Majang. In relation, they are husband-wife. The Juangs believe that these gods exist in the *changu*, the musical instrument. During the 'mango eating festival', the unmarried young men and women worship these gods who in return take care of the health of the young men and women. They also help release of good music from the Changu. The Juangs believe that when these gods are angry, one can't get good music from the instruments. During marriage and other occasions of dance and song competitions, young men and women worship these gods so as to be successful. They worship and sacrifice chickens before '*Bhima Badamma*' and '*Kanchuri*'.

The Juangs believe that their gods and goddesses dwell in the nearby hilltop, forest, rivers and springs. They believe them to be staying on the mountains of Malyagiri, Gandhamardan, Gonasika, Bhimagiri, Guptaganga, Ramagiri etc. They have many deities named after the nearby forests and mountains. They simply add 'pata' as a suffix or prefix to the presiding deity. The deities of the river and mountains are known as *Gutipata*, *Rangapata*, *Kalapata*, *Baitaraneepata*, *Kuteisuni*, *Kendeisuni*, *Nuathakurani*, *Duarasuni*, *Baunsatalia*, *Bisnupata*, *Sarupata*, *Muchurithakurani*, *Katamudiathakurani*, *Bandirimulia* etc. They believe that the river gods always save them from danger whereas the spring deities always put them in trouble.

There are many riddles like the following.

*"Mamuaninyaramuintoalez
Mesarozmuinjena"* (in Juang language)

*"Mamu ghare gothe gai
Rati pahile mote nahin"* (in Odia)

Answer: Stars

Explanation:

It is already said that sun god is the principal deity of the Juangs. The entire universe gets light and energy from him. The plant kingdom receives light and energy from the sun god and provides food to other living beings. Animals live on the food from the plants. Because of the sun god there is rain in the world. Summer, autumn, dewy, winter, spring and rainy seasons are created by him also. Likewise the moon is the source of bright, cool and clear light. The bright light of the moon drives out the darkness of night. The moon light makes the earth and sky more attractive and beautiful. The stars vanish through the day as if they have all escaped to their maternal uncle's home from the heat of the sun. In the evening, after the emergence of darkness the stars come one after another. The scattering of the stars in the dark night gets expression in the riddles of the Juangs.

"Khuntuaadokasereterez" (Juang)

"Kuntare basichhi tiki chadei" (Odia)

Answer: Mid-Day (the sun is over head)

Explanation:

The sun is over our head at noon. It seems like a bird sitting on a pillar. At that time the Juangs collect fruits in the forest. In the mid-day they come back to their village.

*"Nuansinichaudagotaalez
Tana gokserakitirisjana"* (Juang)

*"Naanangalachauda balada
Bhataneuthiletirisjana
Khaibasila jane"* (Odia)

Answer: Solar family

Explanation:

The Juangs also sing riddles on the solar system. All the planets live encircling the sun as if for one servant there are nine pieces of plough, fourteen oxen and one person to consume it i.e. the sun.

2. Relating to Animals, Birds (Living being)

The Juangs dwell in the natural environment of mountains and forests. Even if they live among wild animals, their sense of friendship and love relationship is really great. They keep many types of domestic animals. We find riddles on the domestic animals like the cattle (*alez*), buffalo, pig (*butae*), sheep (*gadra*), goat (*merom*), dog (*selok*), fowl (*senkoe*) and the wild animals like the tiger (*kilak*), monkey (*sakoe*), lion (*jatakilak*), bear (*banae*), wolf (*sardul*), snake (*babung*), deer, wild cat (*kataksar*), cockroach (*suanli*), wasp (*usurubanga*) etc.

There are many riddles on the animals. Some of them are on domestic animals and some are on wild animals and insects which are discussed below.

"Rajaasinkudiateztetezte" (Juang)

"Rajaara mala chhindenahin" (Odia)

Answer: Ant Chain

Explanation:

A chain is lying stretched on the ground. Generally the chain is an ornament of the Juangs. Juang male and female both wear this on their necks. This enhances their beauty. This chain belongs to none but the king. The Juangs have composed a very interesting riddle observing this chain. The answer to the riddle is the Ant Chain.

*"Dakasena lo kujibudi
Aaingande sarag buli"* (Juang)

"Basithalo kuji budhi, mun jaauchhi saraga buli" (Odia)

Answer: Winged Ant (*kalei*)

Explanation:

Winged ant (*Kaleiin* Juang, *Jhadipokain* Odia) is known to be an important dish of the Juang. It also influences the Juang life. Especially in the rainy or winter season these insects constitute an important food item. When the Juangs are in the village community house (*majang*) or in the forest, they spend time by reciting riddles. One such riddle is one - the insect winged ant. When it wings and flies it creates a pride in its mind. The *Kalei*(winged ant) taunts the termites this way.

*"Alezajukeerajena
Kantangaisingjena
Keera urkedabatedabate"* (Juang)

*"Gaaeera khira nahin
Bachhurira gada nahin
Khira pie dhaindhain"* (Odia)

Answer: a snake swallowing the frog

Explanation:

The Juangs also recite riddles on frog and snake. One such riddle is on the scene when the snake is swallowing the frog.

"Inyaraasike, baerajaate" (Juang)

"Ghara achhi duara naahin" (Odia)

Answer: the structure of the cocoon

Explanation:

The structure of the cocoon is very wonderful. The silkworm creates cocoons by its saliva after eating the leaves of castor (*jada*) plant. The cocoon looks like a house that has no doors. That's why it is said that there is house but no door.

"Aagilatasini, achataalez" (Juang)

"Aagare langala pachhare gae" (Odia)

Answer: Pig (swine)

Explanation:

The face of the pig is sharp and like the plough. It collects food from mud by using this pointed face. It creates the hallucination of ploughing the land. The Juangs compare the face of the pig with a plough and its body with cattle. It is a wonderful riddle. The Juang tells the plough is on the face of pig and the cow is the huge body of pig.

"Aautauli, nieetauli, mujiainya" (Juang)

"Sepatepahada, epate pahada, shunyare ghara" (Odia)

Answer: Spider Web

Explanation:

The spider normally creates its web in between the space of two different branches of a tree. The web exists on an empty space. Seeing the scene of a spider web, the Juang women sing this riddle.

3. Relating to Plants

There are many riddles on the plants. Beginning from *sal, salap, mahul, ambada* (hogplum), black berry, jack fruit, mango etc. to mushroom, potato, sweet potato, bitter potato etc are placed in riddles. The Juangs recite many riddles where many plants and their characteristics are well explained. Some riddles of this category are given below.

"Muinto kila sathiegota mainsail" (Juang)

"Gotie kilare sathie mainsi" (Odia)

Answer: Jackfruit Tree

Explanation:

Jackfruit tree is one of the most useful trees of the Juang. The structure of this tree is unique. No one can predict on what point the fruit would come up. Fruits come up from the bottom to top of the tree and even from the root. It is like sixty buffalos knotted together to one pole.

"Raja sedakdeaakukdekukde" (Juang)

"Rajara kabata khole nahin" (Odia)

Answer: Siali Fruit

Explanation:

The *siali* fruit is one of the most favorite foods of the Juang. The structure of the fruit is such that it is very difficult to take out the kernel from the nut. The internal essence comes out after it is burnt in fire. When broken, we find the

seedinside. It is just like the Odia folk tale; the deep sea, seven layered mud, the magic box inside and within the box lays the life of old demon. This mystery takes expression in a riddle.

4. Relating to Material Culture

The Juangs use varieties of household objects, musical instruments, agricultural and hunting implements. This is called the material culture of the Juang. There are riddles on household, village, utensils, agricultural items, cloth, necklace, weapons, basket, broom etc.

The life style of the Juangs is very simple. They normally live in hilly and forest areas. They dwell in small thatched houses made of mud and wood. On the wooden and bamboo walls they put layers of mud and cow dung. The cottages don't have windows. There is only one door at the front. Their cottages are very small and single roomed. The single room cottage is normally divided into the following-

1. Store room
2. Bed room
3. Drawing room
4. Kitchen

The interesting thing is that the Juangs divide the only single and small room into four different compartments where they do everything from cooking, cutting vegetable, grinding spice, eating, sleeping and storing etc. In one side of the room, they make a shelf of bamboo or wood where they store paddy, mustard, maize, *ragi*, horse gram, black gram, pulses, til etc. This is their store room. In another corner they keep the oven and cooking utensils. This part is considered as kitchen. The middle portion is called the drawing room and bedroom. Just in front of the house or a little away they have a shed for pigs, goats, sheep and cattle. They also have sheds for hen and dog.

Let us observe the following riddle on an item of material culture

"Muintoselankinunuegota" (Juang)

"Jhia gotie, stana tinoti" (Odia)

Answer: Oven

Explanation:

The riddle on the oven is very interesting. The three pillars of the oven are compared with the three breasts of a young woman. What a wonderful use of metaphors and images! The aesthetic and literary evaluation is possible with the Juangs only.

*"Bae boandejajansun
Alungboandejajansun"* (Juang)

"Baharaku jaauchu chati chati"

Bhitaraku aasuchu chati chati" (Odia)

Answer: Broom

Explanation:

The Juang woman always keeps the house clean. How the broom cleans the dust is described in the riddle where the broom goes out licking the dust and comes in licking the dust.

*"Aalungboandebaingbaing
Baaiboandebaingbaing" (Juang)*

*"Bhitaraku jaauchu man man
Baharakua asuchu man man" (Odia)*

Answer: Door

Explanation:

It is already said that the Juang cottage has only one single piece door and no window. The sound of the door is also a source of poetry in the Juang community. Just one can see the beautiful riddle based on the closing and the opening of the door.

*"Bana boanajitibadbusure
Inyabo' dunjlatopke' (Juang)*

*"Banaku gale peta phulae
Gharaku aasile peta sukhae" (Odia)*

Answer: Bow and arrows

Explanation:

Bow and arrow (*kakak-kakam*) is the principal weapon of the Juangs. Previously it was used to hunt birds and animals. With the bow there was a quiver. They keep the arrows in the quiver. The bow is made with crescent bamboo or wood with a string. Arrows are made with thick sticks. The terminal point is attached with a sharp iron piece. Sometimes they paste some poison on the tip of the arrow. When the poisoned arrow penetrates the wild animal, it dies due to poisoning. Then the Juangs return home carrying the dead animal. But unfortunately, now a days we don't find any wild animal in the forest. Thus the use of bow and arrow has decreased. Yet the Juangs have some interesting riddles on the bow and arrows.

During hunting, the Juang youth sets the arrow on the bow and stretches it up to his ear with all his might. The bow looks swelled at that time. Once the string of the bow is released, the arrow moves with high speed and the bow again becomes flat.

*"Urkebelakke" (Juang)
"Khauchi banti karuchi" (Odia)*

Answer: Measuring Bowl of paddy (Mana, Pai)

Explanation:

The Juangs use *mana* or *pai* for the measurement of paddy, rice etc. It is normally made of wood or iron or bronze. Sometimes the *sal* trunk is used to make this measuring bowl. The tip is covered with a metallic plate. The lower part is flat whereas the upper part is crescent. Earlier the Juangs were using it to measure agricultural produce like paddy, rice, maize, *ragi*, green gram, black gram etc. But now it has become rare. Now-a-days they use modern weighing instruments. Slowly the *mana* measurement system has disappeared. But some riddles on the *mana* are still alive. It has been said in this riddle that, the *mana* is eating the paddy and then vomiting. Paddy is put inside and after measuring it is taken out. What a wonderful simile!

"Buiraguchag sere, Kanandaaabujke" (Juang)

"Maa soichhi, pua cheinchhi" (Odia)

Answer: grinding stone and slab

Explanation:

The Juangs use grinding slab (*aatar*) and stone (*kanechang*). With these household objects they grind rice, spices and other cereals. The grinding slab is called *sila* and the stone which runs over the slab for grinding is called *silapua* in Odia. The Juangs have riddles for these instruments.

The grinding slab is compared with a mother sleeping. The stone is compared with her son who is dancing on his mother's breasts. A mind-blowing simile is used here.

"Selogaatargendalang" (Juang)

"Kukura lanja banka" (Odia)

Answer: Umbrella Handle

Explanation:

This is a beautiful riddle on umbrella handle. It is compared with the tail of a dog which is always curvy.

"Banaba andejeksun, Inyabdendejeksun" (Juang)

"Banakujaae kandi kandi, Gharakuaase kandi kandi" (Odia)

Answer: Cow Bell

Explanation:

The Juangs put cow bells around the necks of their domestic animals especially on the cattle and buffalos to locate them outdoors from the sound of the bell. They also do it to drive away the wild animals like tiger, lion, bear, wolf etc. from their cattle. Normally, they leave their cattle in the forest for grazing. The sound of the bell creates a fear in the wild animals and they don't attack the cattle. The bell is made of bronze or iron.

In the Juang riddle the bell in the neck of the cow is depicted as crying. The cow bell in the cow's neck goes to the forest crying and return crying.

"Khuntuabelaiebelaie re" (Juang)

"Khuntare buluchhi belabela" (Odia)

Answer: Scissors

Explanation:

This riddle is created on the movement of scissor at the time of hair cutting.

5. Relating to Food and Drinks

Rice is the principal diet of the Juangs. They cultivate pumpkin, papaya, drumstick, maize, corns, ladyfinger, tobacco etc in their kitchen garden. In their swiddens (*taila*) they cultivate paddy (*dhana or bua*), til (*ramatila*), *dal*, maize (*juani*), horse gram (*kalat*), *ragi* (*kudu*), black gram (*sulir*), green gram (*muga*), runner beans (*ruma or kalar*), millet (*jinjari or gangei*), *jail*, *kasada*, *kathia*, grass seeds (*kangu or suaan*), *kantala*, *suture* and varieties of corns. All these crops are consumed as their food.

Besides, they take different edible items collected from the forest such as varieties of yams, wild berries, worms, insects, wild meat, wild ants, termites, mangoes and jackfruits, leaves (*saga*) of different plant like *sorisa saga* (mustard leaves), *kuilari saga*, *pitabali*, *chakunda saga*, *kurusuni saga*, *sankhua saga*, *lainga saga*, *boitalu-latak* (a type of sour leaf), *silimphula*, varieties of jungle mushrooms that includes *rutukachhatu*- a peculiar mushroom found in the Juang areas. The Juang women collect jungle fruits and plums like black berry (*jamukoli*), *chaarakoli*, *kendu*, *bangur* (*kusumkoli*), *kusai-tena* (*dudhakoli*), *lankanai*, *pudheikoli*, *jujube* (*barakoli*), *guava* (*pijuli*), *hogplum* (*ambada*) wood apple (*kaitha*) etc from the forest which add variety to their food items.

In the winter season the Juangs move in the forest with their spade, crowbar, hatchets and other digging instruments to collect different roots, yams and potatoes. They catch fish, crab etc. from rivers and springs. Their process of fish collection is very interesting. They sometimes collect the bark of a very bitter plant and after boiling the bark they throw this bitter water to the river. The bitterness of the water either makes the fish senseless or kills them. Then the Juangs collect the dead or senseless fishes from the river and eat those after either boiling or burning.

Millet is another principal diet of the Juangs. The Juangs drink the millet gruel in the morning. They relish different types of cakes prepared out of millet flour.

Oats and maize are also important food of the Juang people. They eat maize after burning or boiling. They prepare soup and gruel out of corn flour which is known as '*Juanapej*'. They eat the gruel by adding salt and green chilly. They also eat mango seeds, *salap* juice, wild roots and wild plums.

The Juangs prepare 'black gram rice' (*biribhata*) using black gram and rice. First they boil the rice and then they add black gram to it and again boil the mixture. They add salt and chilly with it and eat.

Green gram is also another important food of the Juangs. It is also prepared in the same way. Rice and green gram are put together and boiled in a container. Cake made of mango seed kernel is popular among the Juangs.

"Satapurakambaladanchere" (Juang)

"Sataparasta kambala ghodi hoichhi" (Odia)

Answer: Maize

Explanation:

Maize, *ragi*, millet, oat, wheat, grams, paddy etc. occupy important position in the formation of riddles. Maize plant normally grows tall and remains covered with its leaves. It is just like an old man covered with a blanket.

One can't think of the Juang life without liquor. The Juangs forget all their pains of hard labour after consuming country liquor in the evening. Country liquor is the principal drink of the Juangs during the festival like marriage, community functions. In the evening both young men and women drink, dance and enjoy. The Juangs prepare different types of liquor from the vegetations of their natural surroundings. These are *mahuli*, *handia*, *juani*, *jinjari*, *salap*, *palm*, *date palm* liquors etc.

Besides liquors, they use tobacco for intoxication. They cultivate tobacco and prepare tobacco pipes (*bidi*) by using *kendu* leaf or *sal* leaf. Whenever a guest comes, they treat the guest by offering some *kendu* and tobacco leaves. Both Juang men and women smoke tobacco pipes.

"Aalingaayak do lakasusur" (Juang)

"Uparebasa tale andaa" (Odia)

Answer: Mahua flower (mahulaphula)

Explanation:

One cannot think of the Juang life without the *mahul* tree, its seeds and flowers. This plant is just like god to them and they worship it. The oil extracted from its seed is used as hair oil for the Juang women. The Juang young women make their hairball with this oil through which they express their love to the young men. The liquor produced from *mahul* flowers (*mahuli mada*) is a principal

and godly drink of the Juang. In every religious and socio-cultural function, they offer *mahuli mada* to their deities and ancestors. They perform a ritual called 'juripaka' (offering of *mahuli mada* to their supernaturals) in all communal events.

6. Riddles on Verbal Expressions

Their day to day activities like sweeping, sleeping, dancing, playing, climbing tree and hills, etc. are expressed in their riddles some examples of which are given below.

"Kalia raaedoko sere, Bilimdaekizke" (Juang)

"Kali basichhi, Gori naachuchhi" (Odia)

Answer: Oven with cooking bowl

Explanation:

The black earthen cooking pot is sitting on the burning oven. It looks like a black woman (black earthen cooking pot) sitting and a fair woman (burning oven) dancing.

"Kuntuaterezdokosere" (Juang)

"Khuntare basichhi niti chadei" (Odia)

Answer: A Juang girl carrying water vessel on her head.

Explanation:

A water vessel being carried on her head by a Juang girl from the nearby spring is compared with a small bird sitting on the top of a pole.

"Raja bararauindeuinde" (Juang)

"Rajara bharado haluthaa" (Odia)

Answer: The swinging tail of a dog

Explanation:

A Juang boy carrying the marriage gifts hung from a carrying pole (*bahungi*) on his shoulders from the king's palace is lost in his imagination. The *bahungi* shivers upon the heavy weight of loads like a dog's tail.

The Literary Significance of the Juang Riddle

The language of the Juang riddles is very simple and attractive. The sentences are very witty and short. In most cases they are expressed very directly. Sometimes they invoke deep thought. The use of similes and metaphors makes the riddles more lyrical and beautiful. The form and structure of different things, their colour, taste, nature and behaviour are depicted in these riddles.

Through these riddles many rare incidents and scenarios of the Juang life is reflected. For example

"Muinto selanki, nunuegota" (Juang)

"Jhia gotie, stana tinoti" (Odia)

Answer: Oven

Through these riddles we find the depiction of day to day life, events and experiences of the Juang community. As the characters of the riddles we find the organic and inorganic elements of their environment. There is uniqueness in the application of simile, metaphor, images and symbols in the riddles. For example-

"Kalia raaedoko sere, Bilimdaekizke" (Juang)

"Kali basichhi, Gori naachuchhi" (Odia)

Answer: Oven with cooking bowl

Here the earthen vessel is compared with the black skinned girl whereas the fire is compared with a fair complexioned girl. And look the following riddle.

*"Mamuaninyaramuintoalez
Mesarozmuinjena" (Juang)*

*"Mamu ghare gothe gai
Rati phaile mote nahin: (Odia)*

Answer: Stars

The universe is compared with the cattle herd of the maternal uncle. The stars are the cows. In the morning when the cows are released from the fetter, they vanish into the grass land. Likewise the stars also vanish at the day break. The similarity between the stars and the cows is unique. But, unfortunately such a folk culture and tradition is now in danger. During marriage and social festivals the Juang men and women were singing and dancing on the beats of the *changu*. They were reciting riddles and idioms. But this is rarely evident in these days as the younger generation due to the impact of modernity is reluctant to carry forward such age old folk traditions.

Necessity of Preservation of this Intangible Folk Culture

The Juang riddles and songs are integral parts of their Intangible Cultural Heritage. Generally, tangible culture is that part of culture which is tangible or touchable, whereas intangible culture includes song, music, drama, skills, cuisine, riddle, annual festivals, crafts, and the other part of culture that can be recorded but cannot be touched and interacted with, without a vehicle for the culture. These cultural vehicles are called "Human Treasures". This intangible cultural heritage, transmitted from generation to generation, is constantly recreated by communities and groups in response to their environment, their interaction with nature and their history, and provides them with a sense of identity and continuity, thus promoting respect for cultural diversity and human creativity (UNESCO).

In the present era, the Juang riddles and folk culture are in danger. Now a days, there are few among them to recite or sing these riddles in Juang villages. Under the impact of modernism, these folk cultures are losing their glory. It is the time for to protect and preserve this dying folk culture.

Sources of Collection the Juang Riddles:

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2. Basanti Juang, At: Kadalibadi, Block: Banspal, Kendujhar
3. Kuntala Juang, At: Guptaganga, Block: Banspal, Kendujhar
4. Jaii Juang, At: Bayapandadara, Block: Banspal, Kendujhar
5. Srikant Juang, Teacher, Education Complex, Gonasika, Block: Banspal, Kendujhar
6. Ramachandra Juang, Teacher, Education Complex, Gonasika, Block: Banspal, Kendujhar
7. Shridhar Juang, Prafulla Juang, At: Barhagada, Block: Banspal, Kendujhar
8. Shridhar Juang, Kalia Juang, Sankarsana Juang, At: Tenteinali (Pakutusahi), Block: Telkoi, Kendujhar

References:

1. Juang Parbaparbani (in Odia) (Research based on exclusive field study on art, culture, rituals, traditions & festivals of Juang of Kendujhar, Odisha) by Ranjan Pradhan, Published by Creative Odisha, Kendrapara (2014)
2. Utkal Praheli O Pahali (in Odia) by Laxman Ku. Parida, 1993
3. Aitihya, Sanskruti O Paryatana; Kendujhar (Heritage, Culture and Tourism: Kendujhar) (in Odia), by Ranjan Pradhan, Published by Creative Odisha, Kendrapada (2012)

TRADITIONAL METHODS OF TREATMENT OF DISEASES AMONG THE JUANGS OF DHENKANAL*

*Bhagirathi Choudhury*¹

Every society has functionaries who specialize in the treatment of diseases and dedicate their lives to the practice of medicine. But the system of doing it may differ from society to society. Among the most primitive tribes of Orissa, there is the belief that disease is caused by hostile spirits, the ghosts of the dead or due to the violation of some taboos. Thus diseases are believed to be spiritually caused and should therefore be treated spiritually according to a traditionally recognized system of diagnosis and cure. They have their own doctors, well versed with the traditional knowledge of treatment. Much of their time and resources are directed towards attainment and maintenance of the spiritual power. The *Juangs*, as will be shown in the following few pages, are a typical example of this.

The *Juangs* having a numerical strength of 20,000 (according to 1951 Census), constitute an important tribe in Orissa so far as their primitive characteristics are concerned. Linguistically, they belong to the Mundari branch of the Austric group. They are mostly confined to the hilly areas of Dhenkanal and Keonjhar districts. The area in which the *Juangs* of Dhenkanal live is comparatively more open and developed in communication because of its greater accessibility than the area inhabited by the *Juangs* of Keonjhar. In Dhenkanal they live side by side with other clean castes such as *Brahman*, *Chasa*, *Oil-man*, *Milkman*, *Keut* and Hinduized tribes like *Sabar* and *Kondh*. They are more in contact with the outsiders than those living in Keonjhar, as a result of which their culture has undergone changes considerably. Hence the Dhenkanal *Juangs*, about whom this paper is written, are less primitive than those living in Keonjhar.

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This paper dealing with the indigenous treatment of diseases is based on a study undertaken in the village Sansailo of Dhenkanal district. It is a multi-caste village with the predominance of the *Juang* population. It is situated at a distance of seven miles south-west of Dhenkanalgarh, the district headquarters.

Causes of the Diseases

In the realm of treating physical ills, the *Juangs* are still living in the age of magic with its practitioners and the agents. In their belief system, causes of diseases and premature death are attributed mainly to malevolent deities, evil spirits, ghosts and malice of sorcerers. The *Juangs* have a pantheon of their own which consists of two high gods, benevolent in nature and a number of demi-gods with specific functions presiding over field, forest and village and innumerable spirits residing in the tree and sky. But this is not all. Their unseen world is still further populated by named and unnamed ghosts of the dead and evil spirits. A statement given below shows the diseases brought by different unseen agents.

There are also black magicians among them who by their magical performances can also cause various kinds of troubles such as stomach trouble, fever and painful urination and defecation for the victims.

Diagnosis of the Diseases

Before proper treatment is undertaken, correct diagnosis of the diseases is essential. Whenever a shaman is called upon to attend a patient, his first duty is to diagnose the source of the trouble or disease and to prescribe appropriate treatment to cure the ailment. For the diagnosis, what is known as *Chaulkhoja* or *Chhanakhaja* (examining the rice or examining the reeds), any male relative of the patient brings a handful of rice and two reeds of wild grass which the patient is made to touch. The shaman first enquires about the symptoms of the diseases and also the places which the patient had visited last. Then he takes the rice and reeds. He places two balls of rice on the ground and cuts the reeds at a length of fifteen digits. In the name of a spirit he chants the spells and then measures the reeds. If the reeds exceed the previous measurement, the spirit in whose name the magical spell was chanted, is detected to be the cause. Like this he goes till he finds out the source of the trouble and prescribes the appropriate treatment.

Name of the Deities	Place of Residence	Disease Caused by the Deities
<i>Bhuiyas</i> i.e. malevolent deities	Agricultural field	They attack a lonely person. The farmer may cut his finger while reaping, may suffer from headache and fever. If not propitiated properly, bring death finally.
<i>Mangla</i> (a female deity)	.....	Cholera, smallpox and cattle diseases.

<i>Fulchain and Kalpurusa</i>	....	Bring sterility to women
<i>Burhidei Thakurani</i> (Chief village deity)	Forest	Vomiting, headache and death, if proper offering is not made at once.
<i>Bankimundi Thakurani</i> and <i>Basindiani</i> .	At the foot of <i>Bankimundi</i> hill.	Attack men and cattle by sending wild animals.
<i>Bana Durga</i> (deity of forest)	Forest	Diarrhea.
<i>Bhutas</i> and <i>Dahani</i> -1 (Male & Female ghosts)	Burial ground	Fever, headache, vomiting etc.
<i>Chua khai</i> -2 (Female Ghost)	Forest	Brings death to children.
<i>Pitasuni</i> -3 (Female Ghost)	Forest	Brings trouble to pregnant women.
<i>Baghua Devata</i> -4 (Tiger Spirit)	Forest	Fever, headache and blood vomiting.

Treatment

The indigenous method of treatment of the diseases among the *Juangs* can be broadly divided into two categories, namely (1) magical cure and (2) medicinal cure. If a mischievous spirits or agent is found to be responsible for the disease or trouble, the magical treatment is first applied. When it fails, treatment by medicinal herbs is made. The magical treatment is conducted by the shaman (*Gunia*) or the priest (*Dehuri*) in the following ways.

(a) Treatment by Magico-Religious Rites

In case of diseases caused by the evil spirit or malevolent deity, the shaman performs the exorcism by conducting worship. The offending spirit concerned is invoked, sometimes forced and confined in an altar of rice-flour and charcoal dust through spells. Then the shaman offers blood from his own arm, thigh and tongue and sacrifices a fowl or a goat. The spirit thus propitiated, is taken away from the altar and is conducted to its own place of habitation by singing the spells in which the spirit is rebuked.

In case of epidemics like smallpox, cholera or cattle diseases, a priest from the *Sabar* community is invited to perform *Majana* and *Jantal* ceremonies for eradication of the diseases. The priest performs a *Puja* to *Burhidei Thakurani* (the chief village deity) and *Mangala* (the goddess of epidemics). When he goes into

trance being possessed by the village deity, the village elders request him to save them from the epidemic. He asks for sacrifice of animals. At once several fowls and a he-goat are killed and the priest drinks the blood of the goat.

To cure the sterility of a woman, which is believed to be caused by the evil influence of the *Kalpurusa* or *Fulchain*, the concerned family has to worship goddess *Mangala*. The *Sabar* shaman who is a specialist in this regard is invited to conduct the *puja* on a Tuesday. After performing a *puja* and sacrificing a fowl, the shaman, after being possessed by the goddess, enquires about the purpose of invoking her. The husband of the barren woman asks why his wife is unable to beget children. The priest in trance tells him that the *Kalpurusa* or *Fulchain* who has entered into her body is responsible for this. On being requested to drive this spirit away, the priest loudly calls the *Kalpurusa* or *Fulchain* as the case may be. The barren woman possessed by the *Kalpurusa* or *Fulchain* comes to the *Saora* shaman, who asks the spirit to go away. When she repeatedly refuses to go away, the priest beats her with a stick till she agrees to leave for the place and person. The priest leads her to the place which she names, makes her stand against the tree and nails a lock of her hair with it. When the ill-tempered spirit leaves her body, the woman falls down on the ground. She is then brought back to her home and then she becomes capable of conceiving. At present this ritual is very rarely performed. They, like others clean castes of the locality, prefer to make vows to the goddess *Mangala* on the occasion of annual festival in *Chait* (March-April) in the neighbouring villages. They promise for sacrifice a he-goat in future if blessed with child.

(b) Treatments by Magical Spells and Enchanted Objects

Diseases caused by the black magic of the sorcerers, stomach trouble caused by the evil eye, difficult and painful labour and eye diseases can be cured by administering enchanted objects such as salt in case of stomach trouble, water for easy delivery and dust or mustard in case of fever (caused by sorcery). The shaman utters the incantation into the object, some of which are given to eat, some to drink and some other to smear on the body of the patient. By mere chanting of spells and blowing with the mouth some diseases can be cured e.g. when there are scratches on the tongue, a shaman sings the magical spell and blows into the tongue.

Besides, the shamans and the sorcerers can also bring the lovers together, whether previously disappointed or not, by their love spells. If love-charms, which consist of enchanted objects such as turmeric, oil, dust, betel-nut, water, etc. (to be enchanted by different spells), are administered to a person, he or she is surely to fall madly in love.

(c) Treatment by Magical Herbs

Other means of warding off some disease is the herbal medicine with magical power, when brought at a particular time of a particular day after making oblations properly to the plant by the shaman. A few examples are cited below:-

- (i) As remedy for a parturient woman, who is lacking lactation, the shaman brings seven leaves of *Gopikana* plant on a Saturday evening after worshipping it with *arua* rice and milk. These leaves are kept under the bed of the mother and the baby to help lactation.
- (ii) A Banyan tree and *Tulasi* plant are worshipped and seven leaves from each of these trees are obtained. To this is added seven black peppers and these are powdered. When a woman who has been made abnormal by sorcery, is given this powder to eat, she returns to normal condition.

The shaman acting as a folk chemist and druggist in the community can prescribe for the preparation of medicines possessing curative and restorative power, if collected at a definite time. For example, a man is asked to collect some leaves of a parasite growing on a *Sahada* tree on a Saturday. If he eats those leaves, his strength would be accumulated. A leech is brought from the pond on a Sunday and is burnt into ashes. The ashes are painted on the scratches and cuts on the person's body for healing. A nest of the *Kumbhatua* bird is brought on a Saturday and is burnt into ashes on a Sunday to prepare a paste with ghee. This is marked on the forehead of a person to become influential in the society.

A shaman also possesses preventive or defensive magical knowledge to protect against the accidental harm by the supernatural or by the evil magic. The preventive measures consist of wearing the charms and amulets prepared and sold by him. Certain vegetable roots, animal bone or part of animal's body are worn as amulets to protect from evil eye and the evil attention of the mischievous spirits. To cite a few examples, (a) a *Juang* is asked to bring a root (spreading towards the east corner) of a plantain tree and to wear it in a casket with *arua* rice and milk to avoid evil eye and evil spirit ; (b) no *Bhuiya* or *Bauti* (malevolent deities) will be able to visit a person with diseases, if he or she wears a piece of bone of kite; (c) to avoid the danger from scorpion-bite, a person has to wear the head of the scorpion.

Thus, in their belief system diseases are regarded as the work of the gods, ghost and sorcerers; and these should be treated by spiritual means alone. But in practice they use modern medicine and go to hospital only after their traditional treatments, through the shaman fails. Slowly they are losing their faith in the traditional treatment in certain cases and coming to the fold of modern medicines.

SHIFTING CULTIVATION IN ORISSA WITH A CASE STUDY AMONG THE JUANG*

*B. B. Mohanty*¹

SECTION ONE

Shifting cultivation is considered to be the most ancient system of agriculture, dating back to the lower Neolithic period. Conklin (1975 P.I) define shifting cultivation, in short, as any agricultural system in which fields are cleared by firing and are cropped discontinuously. Shifting cultivation is also known as "field-forest rotation" (Pelzer, quoted by Conklin, 1954), or "Slash and burn agriculture as always involving the impermanent agricultural use of plots produced by the cutting hack and burning off of vegetative cover" (Conklin, *ibid*).

Shifting cultivation is practiced with some variations, throughout the tropical and sub-tropical regions of the world. It is a stage in the evolution of agricultural technique and precedes plough cultivation. According to Elwin it is a cultural stage in human progress. It can be assumed that almost all the races in some stage or other had resorted to this means of raising crops. Now, wherever topographic, climatic and socio-economic forces have not favored technological progress in agriculture, shifting cultivation is patch agriculture persists.

The primitive cultivators of different countries call it in different names. It is known as "farming" among the West African primitive folks and as "Sortage" in the French and Belgian Ardennes. It is named "Koholo" among the native of South-East Solomon Islands. The Veddas of Ceylon call it "Chena" and the Burmese hill tribes call it 'Taungya'. In India, shifting cultivation extensively practiced by the tribals of nine states.

The tribes like the 'Naga, the Sema Naga, the Lakher, the Mikir of the North-Eastern states practice shifting cultivation extensively where it popularly

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known as *jhum*. In Madhya Pradesh shifting cultivation is carried on over wide areas by the tribals. Among the important tribes associated with this system of cultivation are; Korkus in Betul, Melghat and the Jagira of Chhindwara and Hoshangabad, Baigas of Mandla and Balaghat, Northern Durg and Bilaspur, Kamars of South Raipur, Korwas of Bilaspur and the Maria of Chanda. Among the Baiga it is known as "Bewar". In Southern states the Reddis of Hyderabad, the Talugs of Paloncha and Yellandu in Warangal district, Kolams and Naikpods of Asifabad, Rajura and Utnur Taluks of Adilabad district practice shifting cultivation. Besides, the Koya of Gadavari valley and the Savara who chiefly inhabit the Salur, Parvatipur and Palkonda taluk of Vizagapatam district raise crops on Podu system. The Paraja who live by the side of the Bagata in the Vizagapatam hills and plains have both shifting cultivation and permanent rice field. The Dombo, a scheduled caste found in the Vizagapatam agency are mainly cultivators but they do *podu*. On the Nilgiris Plateau, the Kurichiyas and other agricultural tribes carry on shifting cultivation known as *punam* cultivation in Waypaad. Among the tribes practicing *punam* are Mulla Kurumbas, Karimpolaus, Kaders, Jen Kurumbar and Kurumbar.

Shifting Cultivation in Orissa

Since time immemorial, the tribes of Orissa practice shifting cultivation extensively and there are as many as nine tribes namely the Koya, the Paroja, the Gadaba, the Bonda, the Didayi, the Kondh, the Saora, the Juang and the Bhuyan who eke out their subsistence chiefly through shifting cultivation. It is known as *ekan*, *guda* and *nala* among the Juang of Keonjhar hills. The Bhuyan of Bonai subdivision of Sundargarh district and of Bhuyan *pirh* of Keonjhar district calls it as *kaman*, *biringa* and *guda*. Among the Saora of Ganjam and Koraput districts it is called *bagada* or *saroba*. The Dongria Kondh of Niyamgiri hills of Rayagada subdivision calls it as *haru* and as *rama* by the Desia Kondh of Rairakhol and Bamra subdivisions. It is known as *living* or *kundachas* among the Bonda and as *lankapadsenad* among the Koya of (undivided) Koraput district. The district-wise distribution of tribes who practice shifting cultivation is given below in **Table - 1**.

Broadly speaking, every 14th person among the tribals in the state is a shifting cultivator. This emphasizes not only the acuteness of the problem but also the extent to which it is resorted to. In Koraput district as many as 6 tribes practice shifting cultivation and of these 6 tribes almost all the persons belonging to the Bonda, Didayi and Koya communities depend fully on swidden cultivation. Of the rest three tribes about 70 percent each of the Kondh and the Saora still resort to shifting cultivation as against 19 percent of the Gadaba. In the district of Ganjam the Saora are the sole shifting cultivator like the Kondh of Kalahandi, Sambalpur and Pauri Bhuyan of Sundargarh. In the district of Keonjhar and Dhenkanal the Juang and the Bhuyan practice shifting cultivation, their percentage being 40.95 in Keonjhar and 27.76 in Dhenkanal districts.

TABLE -I
District-wise Distribution of Tribes Practicing Shifting Cultivation

Sl. No.	Name of the district	Name of the tribe	Total population (1971 Census)	Approximate Number Practising Shifting Cultivation	Percentage of Col.5 to Col.4
1	2	3	4	5	6
1.	Koraput	Bonda	5334	5000	93.73
		Didayi	2164	2000	92.42
		Koya	58 912	57 000	96.75
		Kondh	3 25 144	2 32 000	71.35
		Gadaba	46 237	9000	19.46
		Saora	28 359	20 000	70.52
2.	Ganjam	Saora	1 19 262	79 000	66.24
3.	Sundargarh	Pauri Bhuyan	58 822	15 000	25.50
4.	Keonjhar	Pauri Bhuyan	55 995	17 000	30.35
		Juang	12 372	11 000	88.91
5.	Phulbani	Kondh	2 23 322	1 95 000	87.31
6.	Kalahandi	Kondh	1 14 644	33 000	28.78
7.	Sambalpur	Kondh	25 612	12 002	46.86
8.	Dhenkanal	Bhuyan&Juang	15 885	4410	27.76
	Total	All Tribes	10 92 064	6 91 412	63.31

Variations in climate, soil and other geo-physical characteristics from region to region in the state is responsible in the slight variation in the technique of shifting cultivation adopted by the tribes inhabiting these regions. For example, the Bhuyan and the Juang of Northern Orissa practice ploughing in the swidden as the hill slope is very gentle and contains more earth whereas the Saora and the Kondh of Southern Orissa till the soil by means of a hoe as the hill slope is very stiff and rugged and very poor in the earth content.

The technique of shifting cultivation in Orissa evolves through 7 stages of operation such as selection of sites, tree felling, and bush cleaning, firing, hoeing or ploughing, sowing and dibbling, watching and finally harvesting. A hoe culturist of Southern Orissa owns the swidden plots individually to which he has the right to sell and mortgage, whereas in Northern Orissa the land is communally owned. Here, the decision of the community as a whole directs the operations like selection of site, selection of seed, choosing the time of sowing and harvesting. After the site is selected clearing and tree felling starts during the months from January to March. The tribes of Orissa generally cut the trees high above the ground leaving

stumps about 1 to 2 feet high. These stumps may also sprout at the second cutting. While cutting trees some important species are left out which supply flowers, fruits, leaves, etc. Also the Bhuyan and the Juang of Northern Orissa do not damage some big trees which lie on the border line of the swiddens for identifying the boundary of the plot. This practice is not followed among the Saora, and the Kondh of Southern Orissa. Unlike the tribes of Southern Orissa, the Juang and the Bhuyan of Bonai and Keonjhar keep some trees standing in the swidden but they are either girdled or severely burnt at the base, so that, they die during the course of the year resulting in a 'ghost forest' of dead trees. These trees are used to serve as bean-stalk. The women are forbidden to take part in the jungle clearing among the Juang and the Bhuyan, whereas, there is no such restriction imposed with this work among the Saora and other tribes of Southern Orissa.

When the cut material has become sufficiently dry, generally during April, the tribes set fire to it. The Juang and the Bhuyan of Keonjhar use the sacred fire from the village dormitory to ignite the swidden unlike the Saora, the Kondh and other tribal groups of Southern Orissa who use only a match stick or lighted twig for this purpose. The tribes of Northern Orissa leave the ashes in sites but their counterparts in Southern Orissa spread these ashes evenly on the swidden.

All the tribal communities of the state prepare the soil bed by using hoe or mattock. But the gentle hill slopes of Keonjhar facilitate ploughing and the tribe resorts to it. Wherever ploughing is not possible they use a hoe for digging the soil. Mixed crops of hill paddy, other cereals, minor millets and pulses are grown in swiddens. Besides a few varieties of vegetables are also planted in swidden by the Juang and the Bhuyan of Keonjhar district. The Saora of Ganjam district cultivates turmeric in the swidden. Weeding is done when the crops attain knee high and when the crops start ripening the people watch these spending nights in the field-huts, from the depredation of wild animals. The crops are then harvested in succession and generally it continues till the end of January. The harvested crops are threshed in the threshing floor already prepared in the swiddens.

A patch of land is cultivated for one to three years after which it is abandoned till the trees are sufficiently grown up to permit a second felling. This process continues until the soil is exhausted, the parent rock materials exposed and no further growth is possible except probably some thorny bushes and shrubs. The recuperative cycle is of longer duration varying from 10 to 12 years in Northern Orissa whereas it is 4 to 6 years in Southern Orissa. This shortening of recuperative cycle in Koraput and Kalahandi districts has resulted in low yield of crops, rapid denudation, severe soil degradation and erosion. Today in many parts of Koraput, specifically in the Malkangiri subdivision where the incidence of shifting cultivation is very high, completely barren hills with exposed parent rock materials are seen.

'Primitive agriculture' according to Clark Wissler "is a co-operative effort in which the community as a whole participates". It has promoted culture not

merely by providing food to the primitive but is also responsible for uniting and discipline humanity itself by bringing individuals together for observing rituals and ceremonies connected with agricultural operation. Among the Orissa tribes the ritualistic aspects of axe culture exists among the Juang and the Bhuyan of Keonjhar, the Kutia Kondh of Phulbani, the Dongria Kondh of Niyamgiri hills and to certain extent among the Koya of Koraput district. But the shifting cultivation practiced by the Lanjia Saora of Ganjam district and the Gadaba, the Bonda and the Paroja of Koraput district has no religious or mythological significance.

Area under Shifting Cultivation

The problem of shifting cultivation is, perhaps most acute in Orissa than any other State in the country. Although at present an accurate data on the areas under shifting cultivation is not available, yet some rough estimates have been made. Before 1936 when the new state of Orissa was formed, this was not a matter of much concern to the administration for the few localities where it was being practiced was in the Kandhamals, Ganjam and Koraput districts involving the tribes like the Kondh and the Savara. At that time the Koya, the Bonda and the Paroja were not included. The tracts inhabited by the Bhuyan, the Juang and the Kondh in Keonjhar, Pallahara, Bonai, Bamara, Rairakhola and Kalahandi districts were included in the State in 1948. Thus the tract affected by *podu* cultivation was only 300 sq. miles in extent prior to 1936 whereas it became nearly 12,000 sq. miles in 1948. The population of tribes engaged in this type of cultivation was about 10 lakhs. In the pre-plan periods, attempts were made to make an estimate of the area under shifting cultivation in the state. Dr. H.F. Mooney who had worked as Forest Advisor to Ex-States and subsequently as Conservator of Forests, Orissa had an experience of Orissa forests for about 25 years. He estimated that about 12,770 sq. miles or about one fifth of the total land surface in the state is affected by shifting cultivation and nearly one million tribal people depend upon this method of raising crops for their living. The **Table - 2** below shows the areas affected by shifting cultivation in various districts of Orissa as estimated by Dr. H. F. Mooney.

TABLE 2
Area under Shifting Cultivation as estimated by Dr. H. F. Mooney

Sl. No	Name of the district	Area in sq. miles	Dependant tribes
1.	Keonjhar	460	Bhuyan, Juang
2.	Sundergarh	300	Bhuyan, Erenga Kolha
3.	Dhenkanal	100	Bhuyan
4.	Sambalpur	410	Bhuyan, Kondh
5.	Kalahandi	2000	Munda, KutiaKandha, (Paharia) Kamara, Bhunjia
6.	Ganjam	4530	Kondh, Saora, Jatapu
7.	Koraput	5000	Kondh, Saora, Jatapu, Paroja, Gadaba, Koya, others
	Total		12770 Sq. miles / 817280 acres

A comparative statement relating to areas under shifting cultivation of different states and Union territories given below shows that the incidence of shifting cultivation and the population affected is maximum in Orissa as compared with other states.

TABLE 3

Area affected by Shifting Cultivation in different States of the Indian Union

Name of the State/ Territories	Number of Tribes practicing Shifting Cultivation	Number of Households	Total Tribal Population	Total Land utilized for Shifting Cultivation (in acres)
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Assam	9	194000	970000	512000
Orissa	20	200000	1000000	400000
Bihar	5	23000	115000	400
Manipur	3	36000	183000	54000
Tripura	10	19100	95500	116900

Source: Shifting Cultivation in India, 1958, ICAR, P.4-5

A comparison of the figures quoted by I. C. A. R. and Dr. Mooney shows that there is discrepancy to the extent that the latter is about double of the former.

The institutes of Francis, Pondicherry, India have prepared the vegetation maps of India from which fairly accurate information regarding the extent of land under shifting cultivation can be found. The Tribal and Harijan Research-cum-Training institute, Government of Orissa took up these exercises by measuring the patches shown in the map under shifting cultivation in different vegetation zones and found that the area under shifting cultivation to be about 2579333.534 hectares or 25793.335 sq. kms. Thus, about 17 percent of the total geographical area of the state is affected by shifting cultivation. The coverage under shifting cultivation as stated here includes not only the swidden plots but also immediate adjacent areas which are seriously affected by the practice of shifting cultivation. The hectareage under shifting cultivation in different vegetation zones is given in **Table - 4**.

The land under shifting cultivation within the Tribal Sub Plan (TSP) area is 22,22,705.028 hectares or 22,227.05 sq. kms. This means that about 32 percent of the Sub-Plan area of the State is covered under shifting cultivation. More than 90% of this coverage is in the Sub-Plan area of Southern Orissa and less than 10% in the corresponding area of Northern Orissa. Shifting cultivation is present in 7 out of 13 districts of Orissa. About 50% of total area under shifting cultivation is found in Koraput district only. The district-wise distribution of land under shifting cultivation is given below in **Table - 5**.

TABLE 4
Area under Shifting Cultivation in different Vegetational Zones

Sl. No	Vegetational Zone	Area in hectares
1.	Moist Vegetation type Shorea-Terminalia-Adina-Series	13 67 517.937
2.	Moist Vegetation type Shorea- Syzygium-Operculatum-Series	5 12 741.561
3.	Dry Vegetation type Shorea-Buchanania-Cleistanthus-Series	2 65 377.482
4.	Dry Vegetation type Terminalia-Andgeissos-Cleistanthus-Series	33 536.308
5.	Moist Vegetation type Toona-Garuga-Series	83 840.770
6.	Dry Vegetation type Tectona-Terminalia-Series	2 77 319.476
7.	Total	25 79 333.534

TABLE 5
Land under Shifting Cultivation in Sub Plan area of different districts of the State

Sl. No.	District	Area in Sq. Kms.
1	Koraput	10973.17 (49.36)
2	Phulbani	5668.94 (25.51)
3	Kalahandi	1076.82 (4.84)
4	Ganjam	2354.00 (10.59)
5	Sambalpur	12.89 (0.06)
6	Keonjhar	1296.31 (5.83)
7	Sundargarh	844.86 (3.81)
	Total	22226.99

According to the report on Erosion Assessment of Orissa (from Erts-1, Satellite Imagery,1975)prepared by State Soil Conservation Organization, the area which is subjected to very severe erosion as a result of shifting cultivation is estimated at 32,69,120 hectares or 81,72,800 acres or 12,770 sq. miles. Since, this area includes hill slopes, pediment slopes and rock outcrops, the actual land under shifting cultivation may be less. But lacking accurate data it is difficult to say correctly how much land is presently under active shifting cultivation.

Area under Shifting Cultivation in Keonjhar district

The State Soil conservation Department of Government of Orissa has assessed the area under shifting cultivation by manual interpretation of ERTS-1 (Land Sat-II) B. &W. imagery in the scale of 1250000 of MSS 5. The area included for analysis consists of hills devoid of vegetation due to shifting cultivation. In addition artificial straight regular parceling without vegetation in hilly blocks are also included as it confirms the assumption that the destruction of vegetation has been done with biotic interference for shifting cultivation. The area under shifting cultivation thus determined comes to 35,999.50 hectares in the Keonjhar district.

SECTION TWO

A Case Study of Shifting Cultivation

This case study is related to the shifting cultivation as practiced by Kalandi Juang of Kadalibadi village of Bansapal Block of Keonjhar district. In the year 1981, Kalandi Juang carried on shifting cultivation on three hills, that is, Unchadiha, Telchua and Kupurchua. The distance of these hills from his village and acreage under cultivation is furnished in **Table - 1**.

TABLE -1
Distance of the Hills and Area of Swiddens

Sl. No	Name of the Hill	Location of the Plots	No. of plots	Year of Cultivation	Approx Acreage	Distance from the village (kms)
1	Unchadiha	Hill top to bottom	1	1 st	0.50	1
2	Telchua	-do -	1	2 nd	1.00	3
3	Kupurchua	-do -	1	2 nd	0.50	2

TABLE -2
Crops grown in Unchadiha Hill with the quantity of seeds sown and yield

Sl.No	Name of the Crops	Quantity of Seeds shown in Kg./No	Yield in Kg./No.
1	Rasi	6	50
2	Boitalu	20 Nos	....
3	Tumba	20 Nos.	10

TABLE 3
Crops grown in Telchua Hill with the quantity of seeds sown and Yield

Sl.No	Name of the Crops	Quantity of Seeds shown in Kg./No	Yield in Kg./No.
1	Paddy	3.0	80
2	Ragi	0.5	40
3	Harada	1	5
4	Rooma (Pulse)	0.5	4
5	Kangu	0.5	10
6	Jali	0.5	20
7	Kathia	0.2	8

TABLE - 4
Crops grown in Kupurchua Hill with the quantity of seeds sown and yield

Sl.No	Name of the Crops	Quantity of Seeds shown in Kg./No	Yield in Kg. /No.
1	Paddy	2.5	100
2	Ragi	0.5	30
3	Harada	1	5
4	Rooma (Pulse)	0.1	5
5	Kangu	0.1	8
6	Gangei	0.5	20
7	Kakudi	20 Nos.	60 Nos.

Kalandi Juang said that in the first year they only grow Rasi in the swidden since the first year plot is not suitable for paddy cultivation. The explanation given for this is that in the first year of cultivation weeds come up in a large scale and cause harm to paddy plants. It is very difficult to check the growth of weeds in the first year. Therefore, in the second year they take up paddy cultivation extensively along with other cereals, minor millets and pulses. In case of some swidden in the third year an indigenous variety of cereal called *jalli* is grown. Then the patch of swidden is abandoned for recuperation. He told that they select their swiddens in such a way that in every year they can grow different types of crops. This means that in every year they clear a patch for first year cultivation along with two or more plots for second year cultivation.

Economics of Shifting Cultivation

Kalandi is of the opinion that the activities relating to swidden cultivation is very arduous in nature and as such either one has to employ casual labourers or work round the clock along with all the family members. His family members consist of his wife and two sons. His youngest son is now reading in class IV in the Ashram School of Gonasika.

Kalandi cleared a patch in Unchadiha hill for first year Rasi cultivation where he and his son worked for 30 days for cutting big trees. Then, both of them worked for about 90 days for clearing bushes and the site. Thereafter, he took about 15 days for sowing seeds and about 10 days for the preparation of threshing floor and harvesting of Rasi.

In Telchua hill, after the first year harvest, the wife of Kalandi took about 30 days for de-bushing and clearing of site. Thereafter Kalandi ploughed the field twice which took about 15 days. For weeding, Kalandi, his wife and his son worked for about one and half months and for harvesting these, three persons took 15 days' time.

TABLE - 5
Money Value of the Labour Input

Items of Work	No. of Man Days Engaged		Money Value (in Rs.)
Tree Felling and Forest Clearing	60	105	420
	30		
	15		
Ploughing, Hoeing and Sowing	180	217	868
	15		
	15		
	7		
Weeding	135	155	620
	20		
Harvesting	10	91	364
	45		
	36		
Total	568		2,272

In Kupurchua hill Kalandi's wife took about 15 days for bush clearing. Then Kalandi worked for about 7 days for ploughing and sowing seeds. In weeding operation, his wife worked for 20 Days. Finally the entire family harvested the crops within 12 days' time. **Table - 5** gives the money value of the labour input put to shifting cultivation by the family members of Kalandi Juang. As per the local wage rate an adult male or female gets Rs. 4 per day and a child get Rs. 2.50 per day besides some food. The price of different types of seeds shown by Kalandi Juang in shifting cultivation is given below in **Table - 6**.

TABLE - 6
Money Value of Seeds grown in Shifting Cultivation

Sl.No	Type of Seed	Quantity grown in Kg./No	Cost (in Rs.)
1	Paddy	55	35
2	Rasi	6	12
3	Mandia	1	1
4	Harada	2	4
5	Rooma	0.4	0.70
6	Kangu	0.6	1.20
7	Jali	0.5	0.50
8	Kathia	0.3	0.50
9	Gangei	0.5	0.50
10	Boitalu	20 nos.	...
11	Tunka	20 nos.	....
		Total	Rs .55.40

The expenditure on shifting cultivation thus comes to (Rs. 2,272+ Rs. 55.40) Rs. 2327.40. The money value of different crops produced in swiddens is given in **Table - 7**.

TABLE - 7
Money Value of Crops Grown in Shifting Cultivation

Sl.No	Crops	Yield Quantity in Kg. (Rs)	Harvest Price /Kg.(Rs)	Money value (Rs)
1	Paddy	180	1	180
2	Rasi	50	2	100
3	Mandia	70	1	70
4	Harada	10	2	20
5	Rooma	9	2	18
6	Kangu	18	2	36
7	Jali	20	1	20
8	Kathia	8	2	16
9	Gangei	20	1	20
10	Boitalu	...	...	...
11	Tunka	10 nos	...	...
	Total			480

From the above table it is seen that the money value of the yield of different crops grown in shifting cultivation is only Rs.480 which is very less. To get this income Kalandi Juang invested Rs. 2327.40, thus incurring a loss of Rs. 1847.40. This proves the fact that now a days shifting cultivation is not profitable. But Kalandi Juang, who argued otherwise and said that the labour component which account for 97 percent of the total investment should not be included in the expenditure side as he did not employ any labourer from outside. However, he agreed that the turn out from shifting cultivation these days is not that good as it was in the past when the climate was quite favourable and the land, fertile.

Kalandi Juang possesses three small plots of wet land measuring about Ac. 0.25. In these plots only paddy is cultivated once in a year. He cultivated high yielding paddy in two plots and local paddy in the third plot. He took seven days for ploughing the seed bed and sowing seeds. Then, after the seedlings were raised he took up ploughing which took nearly eight days. For transplantation of seedlings four persons worked for two days. In this work he employed one paid labour to assist him. He did not take up weeding in the paddy field. After the paddy crop ripened he along with his wife and son worked for ten days for harvesting and threshing the crop. The money value of the amount of labour which was put for growing paddy is given in the following **Table -8**.

TABLE - 8
Money Value of the Labour Input in Wet Cultivation

Items of Work	Number of Man Days	Money value (in Rs)
Preparation of seed bed and raising of seedlings	7	28
Ploughing	8	32
Transplantation	10	40
Harvesting and Threshing	10	40
Total	35	140

The quantity and the price of seeds used for paddy cultivation are given below:

TABLE- 9
Money Value of the amount of Seeds Grown

Variety	Quantity used in Kg.	Money Value (in Rs.)
High-yielding	5	5
Local	5	5
	10	10

The expenditure on wet cultivation thus comes to (Rs. 140+Rs. 10) Rs. 150. The yield of different varieties of paddy is given below in **Table - 10**:

TABLE 10
Yield of Paddy Grown in Wet Cultivation

Variety	Quantity used in Kg	Money value (in Rs)
High yielding	200	200
Local	50	50
	250	250

In order to draw any conclusion it is necessary to compare the shifting cultivation with wet cultivation. **Table - 11** gives the comparison on certain items.

TABLE - 11
Shifting Cultivation Vrs. Wet Cultivation

Items of comparison	Shifting cultivation	Wet cultivation
Amount of seed required per acre	30	20
Amount of labour required per acre	1136	280
Yield per acre	240	500

The above table which is self explanatory clearly reveals that in shifting cultivation the requirement of seed and labour per acre is much higher in comparison to what is required for the same amount of land in wet cultivation. But the yield per acre in shifting cultivation is much less than that of the wet cultivation. Here, in shifting cultivation Kalandi has to invest labour 4 times more than what he invested in wet cultivation to get an income which is just half of the amount he got in wet cultivation.

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THE JUANGS OF ORISSA : THEIR WORK AND FOOD INTAKE, DEMOGRAPHY AND FERTILITY*

*N. Patnaik*¹

Introduction

The Juang is one of the primitive tribes spread over the districts of Keonjhar and Dhenkanal of Orissa. The section of the tribe living in Keonjhar district carries on shifting cultivation and is in the pre-agricultural level of technology and those living in Dhenkanal district are settled cultivators and wage earners.

Broadly three features stand out as special characteristics which distinguish them from other tribal communities. These features are :

- (1) Slash and burn cultivation which goes by the name of Dahi (Firing), Kamana (Shaving) or Taila (up land) in the Keonjhar hills.
- (2) Mandaghar (Bachelors' dormitory), the largest hut in the village where unmarried young men sleep at night and spend time in dancing with the unmarried girls in accompaniment of music and play of change, a flat tambourine like drum.
- (3) Division of villages into Bandhu (cognatic) and Kutum (agnatic) villages.

Like Santal, Munda, Birhor and the Ho, the Juangs belong to the Proto-Australoid racial stock and have a language of their own which forms a branch of Proto-Central Munda group of languages. Most of the Juang men have become bilingual and speak and understand Oriya in addition to their mother tongue. But the Juang women find it difficult to understand Oriya and speak exclusively their mother tongue.

The population figures of the Juang show a great variation from one decennial census to the other. Their population as estimated by the census of India from the year 1891 to 1971 is stated below :

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¹ Director, THRTI, Bhubaneswar

Year of Enumeration	Total Population of the Juang
1891	9,173
1901	11,159
1911	12,823
1921	10,454
1931	15,024
1941	17,032
1951	12,559
1961	21,890
1971	24,379

The above figures show a fall of the Juang population in 1921 and 1951. The decrease in population by 4,473 souls between 1941 and 1951 is more significant than the decrease of 2,369 souls between 1911 and 1921. In the last 20 years there has been considerable increase in the Juang population. In a study of the carrying capacity of land under shifting cultivation among the Juangs of Keonjhar district Dr. Saradindu Bose (1967) has pointed out the consequences of increase in population among the Juangs in the following way.

1. Instead of depending on their own land the Juangs have taken to wage labour to supplement their income.
2. Some Juang families have left their native place and gone out in search of hired agricultural and manual labour.
3. The rate of consumption of food has gone down to a great extent.
4. Many Juang households have run into debt and some Juang families have changed their land-use by taking up wet cultivation in valley-bottom lands wherever such lands are available.

The land in the Juang *pirh* (Juang country) of Keonjhar district is in short supply and there is heavy pressure of population on the land. Kadalibadi, for example, a typical Juang village in Keonjhar district can support 30.7 adult units with two square meals a day, but there are 89 mouths to feed. Other Juang villages present more or less the same problem. On account of depletion of the soil resulting from the repeated cutting and burning of the vegetational cover in the hill-slopes there has been considerable decrease in yield of the crops grown in lands under shifting cultivation. The minor millets which are the staple food of the Juangs are in short supply and whatever quantity of rice is available from the Taila lands is inadequate for consumption. On the whole the quantity of different crops produced from the Swiddens leaves nothing by way of reserve. Even at its best the Juangs of Keonjhar are fed far below their total needs.

The condition of the Juangs of Dhenkanal district is somewhat better than what is seen in Keonjhar district. These Juangs carry on cultivation of paddy in the

plain lands and supplement their income from land by taking up wage earning and agricultural labour. Though both sections of the tribe, shifting cultivators of Keonjhar district and settled cultivators of Dhenkanal district are largely at the subsistence level and experience shortage of food, their life style, the types of food they eat and the quantity of intake of different types of food vary from one area to the other. It is assumed that food governs the reproductive capacity in a community. Taking this basis for investigation five villages in the Juang *pirh* of Keonjhar district were taken up for study. The survey included collection of genealogies of all the households of the selected villages to find out marriage types, birth rate, fertility, fecundity and barrenness of women. Three families on the Keonjhar side and three families on the Dhenkanal side were closely watched for seven days and the nature of works done by men, women and children and time devoted to different types of works were recorded. In these six families a food census was undertaken and the types of food taken by different members of these households including the quantity of different food items taken were also studied by directed observation method. The findings of the study are presented in the following paragraphs.

CLAN ORGANISATION AND MARRIAGE TYPES

Clan Organization

The study was undertaken in five villages of Keonjhar district and four villages of Dhenkanal district. The Table 1 gives the clan composition of the villages included in the study.

Originally, the villages were of single clan. But in course of time due to inter village migration of people many villages have become multi-clan in composition. This is more so in Dhenkanal district than in Keonjhar district. The Table 1 shows that of the five villages in Keonjhar district three were of uniclan and two were of multiple clans. But in the case of Dhenkanal district all the four villages were of multiple clans. In Kurumtanger there are as many as nine clans that are not found in the villages of Keonjhar district.

TABLE 1
Study Village and Clan Composition

District	Single Clan		Multiple Clans	
	Villages	Clans	Villages	Clans
1.Keonjhar	1.Gonasika	Tamerabak	1. Tala Raidia	1.Barumbak
	2.Guptaganga	Barumbak		2.Tamerabak
	3.Kadlibadi	Samnabak.		3.Samnabak
			2. Hatisida	4.Kainsibak
				1.Hatisidabak
				2.Barumbak
				3.Sarambak

2.Dhenkanal			1. Mahulpada	1.Banamba 2.Kalimba 3.Kelaba 4.Rangadaba
			2. Baliabandh	1.Adhnab 2.Banamba 3.Bhapur 4.Boitani 5.Hatisalav 6.Kalimba 7.Khanti 8.Manimba 9.Sindhri
			3. Govindpur	1.Banamba 2.Hatisalav 3.Kalimba 4.Kutubandhab 5.Mudiamba 6.Saramba
			4.Kurumtanger	1.Banamba 2.Barchab 3.Dumburiamba 4.Hatisalav 5.Kalimba 6.Kutubandhab 7.Mudiamba 8.Saramba

It is necessary to mention a few words about the clan names. In Keonjhar the terms used for the clans are in most cases synonymous with the names of the villages. It means that a man or a woman refers his / her clan to his / her village. For the males 'bok' is suffixed and for the females 'rai' or 'dai' is suffixed after the clan names. For example Dudei, a man of Tal Raidia village belonging to Barumbok married to Mahusi, a woman of Baragad village belonging to Nachindai clan. His son Ratana married to Rai of Dumuria village belonging to Dumuria rai clan and his daughter Shrimati of Barumdai clan married Jharia of Ganji village belonging to Ganjibok clan. Tal Raidia is a settlement which has been established by those who have migrated from Barum village and therefore the people of Tal Raidia identify themselves by the name of their former village, that is Barum which is also used for their clan name.

Other clan names compiled from the genealogies are listed below -

Males		Females
Tumudibok	..	Tumudirai
Kundibok	..	Kundirai
Dumuriabok	..	Dumuriarai
Nachimbok	..	Nachindai
Tangarpadiabok	..	Tangarpadarai
Barumbok	..	Barumdai
Samnabok	..	Samnarai
Lambabok	..	Lambarai
Hatisidabok	..	Hatisidarai
Temerabok	...	Temerera
Balingbok	..	Balingdai
Baitaranibok	..	Baitaranirai

The clan names of the Juangs of Dhenkanal do not refer to the names of their villages. Nevertheless in most cases they are village names. For example one of the clan names is Khanati which is the name of a village existing in Dhenkanal. One Chakradhar Pradhan of Baladia Bandha belongs to Khanati clan where as his wife Dhobani Pradhan of Gundichapada was born in Saraduba clan. From the clan names it is not possible to determine the sex of the person as is done in the case of the Keonjhar Juangs. In most cases the clan name ends with 'ba' irrespective of the sex of the person and in all probability the 'ba' is the reduced form of "bok" which is suffixed after the clan name by the Juangs of Keonjhar. A list of the clan names as compiled from the genealogies collected from the study villages in Dhenkanal district is given below:

Males	Females
Barachaba	Barachaba
Kelaba	...
Rangadaba	Rangadaba
Kaliamba	Kaliamba
Adhamab	Adhamab
Khanati	...
Barchana	Barchana
Hatisalav	Hatisalav
Mudingba	Mudingba
Barasabak	...
Kalimba	...
Banoimba	...

The list shows that the suffix 'ba' is common to both male and female clan names whereas the suffix 'rai' is exclusive to the females as in the case of Keonjhar Juangs. That the suffix 'ba' is the simplified form of *bok* is evident from the fact that there is a clan called Barasabok the last name on the male side in the list.

Marriage Area and Types

As mentioned above the Juang villages were formerly of single clan and as the clan is exogamous no marriage within the village was possible. Therefore the villages were grouped into two divisions – one group forming the Kutum villages and the other group, the Bandhu villages. By this arrangement people of the former group of villages avoid marriage among themselves because they are related to one another by blood. They can marry only in the villages of Bandhu category, that is, villages composed of clans other than their own with which marital relationship can be established. Now in those villages where the clan composition has been multiple, cases of marriage within the village are met with in significant number. The Table 2 gives the marriage area of the study villages.

The table shows that of the five villages in Keonjhar district three villages are of single clan and two of multi-clan in composition. All the 79 cases of marriage enumerated from the genealogies which are drawn from all the households of the three single clan villages were held outside these villages. As regards the two multi-clan villages in one case five marriages were held within the village and 61 marriages outside the village and in the other case all the 45 marriages were held outside the villages and there was not a single case of marriage within the village even though it is composed of inter marrying clans.

TABLE 2
Marriage Area of Study Villages

Study area	Villages with clan composition		No. of marriages	
	Single clan villages	Multiple clan villages	Within village	Outside village
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
1.Keonjhar	1.Gonasika	..	..	28
	2.Guptaganga	..	..	16
	3.Kadlibadi	..	..	<u>35</u>
				79
		4.Tala Raidia	5	61
		5.Hatisida	..	<u>45</u>
				106
		<i>Total</i>	5	185
1.Dhenkanal		1.Baladiabandha	3	30
		2.Kurumtager.	3	40
		3.Mahulpada	..	9
		4.Govindpur	..	28
		Total	6	107

In the case of Dhenkanal all the four villages are multi-clan in composition. In two cases out of 76 marriages as many as 70 marriages were held outside these villages and only six marriages within these villages. In the other two cases all the 37 marriages were held outside these villages.

One significant trend which emerges from these cases of marriage in multi-clan villages is that the choice for marriage in majority cases in both areas is towards outside villages.

As regards the marriage types arranged marriage in which parents play a dominant role in the selection of bridegroom or bride is considered a matter of great prestige in Dhenkanal district. But in contrast, cases of love marriage in which boys and girls enjoy considerable liberty in selecting their partners are most common among the Juangs of Keonjhar district. Preferential types of marriage which are found more in number among the Juangs of Dhenkanal are of levirate and sororate categories whereas marriage by exchange and sororate types are more popular among their counterparts in Keonjhar district.

DAILY PATTERN AND SEASONAL RHYTHM OF WORK

Pattern of Work

Except slight differences, by and large, the works carried out by the Juangs in both the districts from morning to night in different time intervals are of similar nature. In both the places women get up when the cock crows and in fact they rise earlier than men in both the areas. Household chores such as cleaning houses, fetching water, husking millets or paddy and cooking meals are commonly exclusive to women in both the areas. The daily routine of work as observed in Keonjhar and Dhenkanal districts is furnished in Annexures 1 (a) and 1 (b).

In this respect there is some difference in the works of men. As the Juangs of Keonjhar depend for their livelihood chiefly on shifting cultivation which has nothing to do with plough and animal traction, they do not have any draught animals and therefore taking care of such animals is not a part of their work. But in the case of the Juangs of Dhenkanal who maintain plough bullocks, such works as cleaning cowshed, cutting grass for the cattle and feeding and tending them are essential and the major portion of the morning hours is devoted to these works.

Another difference is noticed in the aesthetic aspect of daily life. The Juang of Keonjhar have in every village a community center (*majang*) and keep it in good repair. In the evening after the day's work is over the unmarried boys and girls gather in the open space in front of the *majang* and dance together. Such dancing by boys and girls together among the Juangs of Dhenkanal district is discouraged under the influence of the caste Hindus who look askance at such dancing.

Annual Cycle of Activities

In the case of the Juangs of the Keonjhar district the economy is based in shifting cultivation and collection of forest produce whereas in the case of their counterparts in Dhenkanal district the livelihood hinges chiefly on wage earning, agricultural labour and paddy cultivation in the plains. This difference in occupational pursuits has made all the differences in food habits and economic

activities between the Juangs of both districts. Both men and women among the Juangs of Keonjhar are engaged fully in some months and partially in other months in various agricultural operations connected with shifting cultivation. Their staple food is millet which is grown in swiddens. In every Juang village there are many jackfruit and mango trees and the Juangs live chiefly on jackfruits and mangoes in seasons and on mango kernel for sometime also. Edible roots and tubers, fruits and flowers collected from the forests supplement the millet diet in almost all seasons. Hare and deer caught or hunted in the nearby forests enrich the Juang diet, but the supply of animal protein from this source is most irregular.

Among the Juangs of Dhenkanal cultivation of rice in the plain lands and agricultural labour and wage earning are significant economic pursuits and the rice grown in the lands and received as wage forms their staple diet. As there is no forest nearby, no forest produce is available and hunting is out of question. The fruit trees like mango and jackfruit are available but not in such a great number as is present in the Juangs of Keonjhar who get a variety of green vegetables either from their own lands or from neighbouring farming communities and from markets and eat a fair quantity of them with cooked rice and pulses. Among them women do as much hard work as men do and the bulk of the hired labour is drawn from the female section of the community. The Annexure 2(a) gives the annual cycle of activities as prevalent among the Juangs of Keonjhar and Annexure 2(b) that of their counterparts of Dhenkanal.

FOOD COMPOSITION AND NUTRITION

Juang Food

The Juangs of Keonjhar depend primarily upon millet diet with addition of rice, vegetables, maize and wheat according to seasonal variations. The important types of food are millet, or *ragi* gruel, parboiled cooked rice, rice cakes, rice water, roasted maize and maize gruel, bread prepared from wheat flour, pulses cooked into *dal*, vegetable curry, green jackfruit curry, green leaves added to *ragi* or millet gruel, mango kernel made into gruel or cakes, boiled or roasted roots and tubers, mutton, chicken, egg, meat cooked with spices. Fruits such as jackfruit and mango form principal diet of the Juangs in summer season. The Juangs are also habituated to drinking liquor brewed from rice and maize.

The comparison the foods taken by the Juangs of Keonjhar, Dhenkanal districts shows some difference. Among the Juangs of Dhenkanal rice forms the staple diet and millets, *ragi* and maize are occasionally taken. Their main food is what is called Pakhal Bhat, cooked rice kept immersed under plain water over night. Whenever fresh and hot cooked rice is eaten, the *dal* prepared from pulses and curry prepared from various types of vegetables from the side dishes. Green mango and tamarind cooked together are taken for sour taste. Cakes are prepared from rice powder and *ragi* flour on special occasions and eaten without any side dishes. Mutton, chicken and eggs are also used as food whenever such food items

are available particularly during festivities. Vegetables and meat are cooked in water and oil, turmeric onion, chilly and spices are added to make the dishes tasty.

The Juangs of Dhenkanal are not so much habituated to drinking liquor as are those of Keonjhar area. But they drink the juice of powdered opium fruits boiled in water which is intoxicating and relief giving.

During the field work the daily food intake by different family members in six families – three in Keonjhar study area and three in Dhenkanal study area was observed for seven days and the quantity of different food items eaten per day by male and female adult units was estimated with the help of the standard literature on nutrition brought out by National Institution of Nutrition, Hyderabad. The constituent nutrients of different foods were found out and the extent of 13 constituents available in the daily average diet per male adult unit and female adult unit were calculated and the findings compared with the norms recommended by the Indian council of Medical Research to find out excess or deficient intake of each of these constituents. The Table 3 gives a comparative picture of excess and deficiency of these 13 nutrients in the diet of the Juangs of both areas. The data are arranged under three categories:

1. Nutrients found in excess in the diet taken by both men and women.
2. Nutrients found deficient in the diet taken by both men and women.
3. Nutrients found in excess in the diet taken by the males and deficient in the diet taken by the females.

TABLE-3
Excess and Deficiency of selected Nutrients in Juang Diet

Keonjhar	Dhenkanal
Excess intake by both men and women :	
Calcium	Phosphorus
Phosphorus	Carbohydrate
Iron	Vitamin B ₁
Vitamin A	Niacin
Deficient intake by both men and women :	
Protein	Fat
Fat	Vitamin C
Calorie	Common Salt
Vitamin C	Vitamin A
Common salt	
Excess intake by males and deficient intake by females :	
Carbohydrate	Vitamin B ₂
Vitamin B ₂	Protein
Niacin	Calorie
Vitamin B ₁	Calcium
	Iron

The table shows that nutrients like calcium, phosphorus, iron and Vitamin A are found in excess in the diet taken by the Juangs of both sexes of Keonjhar district. But excepting Phosphorus which is common to both areas certain other nutrients such as Carbohydrate, Vitamin B₁ and Niacin are found in excess in the diet of the Juangs of both sexes in the Dhenkanal area.

As regards deficiency it is found that Fat, Vit- C and common salt are deficient nutrients common to both areas. The deficient nutrients which are specific to the Keonjhar area are protein and Dhenkanal area, Vitamin A.

There are seven different nutrients which show excess intake by the males and deficient intake by the females. Of these food values Vitamin B₂ is common to both areas. Niacin and Vitamin B₁ fall to the Keonjhar side and Protein, Calorie, Calcium and Iron to the Dhenkanal side. Food value of different items of food taken daily per male adult unit and female adult unit both for Keonjhar villages and Dhenkanal villages are given in the Annexure 3 (a) and 3 (b). The composition of the average diet of the Juangs of the study areas as compared with the norms recommended by Indian Council of Medical Research is presented in Annexure 4 (a) for Keonjhar Study Area and in Annexure 4 (b) for Dhenkanal Study Area.

Juang Population and Sex Ratio

In the study area the Juang population was 470 (236 males & 234 females) in Dhenkanal and 450 (229 males and 221 females) in Keonjhar. The sex ratio comes to 992 in the former area and 965 in the latter area. The Table No.4 gives the population and sex ratio among the Juangs in the state as well as district levels for 1961 Census and 1971 Census as compared with the corresponding figures of the study areas as collected during the survey in 1984. The sex ratio for both the study areas is 979 whereas the corresponding figure for the Juangs of Dhenkanal district as a whole is 1,041 and for Keonjhar is 1,074. Except the study areas and Keonjhar district for 1961 Census the sex ratio at the State level and at the district level in both 1961 and 1971 censuses is above 1,000 varying from 1,013 to 1,074. This shows that the female population is more than the male population in the Juang society.

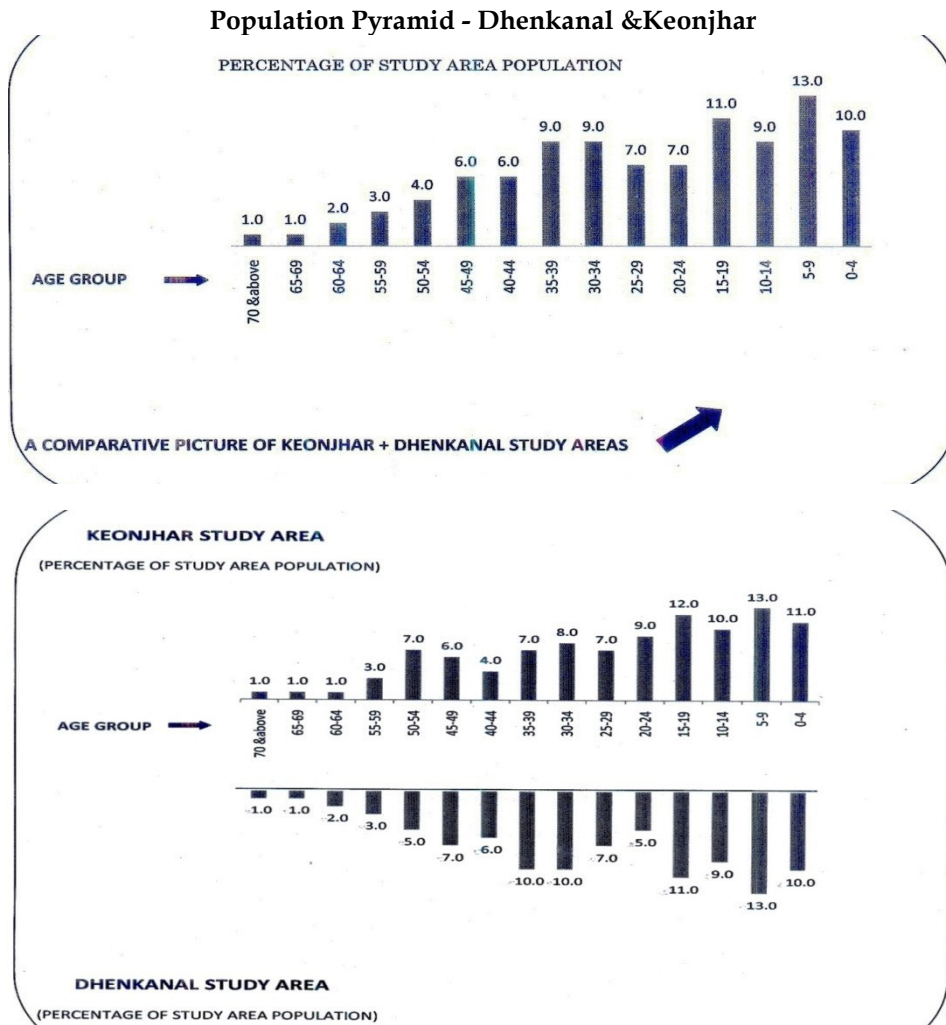
TABLE 4
Juang Population and SexRatio

Year	Area	No. of couples	Population			Sex Ratio
			Total	Males	Females	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
1961	Orissa State	...	21,890	10,877	11,013	1,013
1961	Keonjhar District	..	9,768	5,028	4,740	943
1961	Dhenkanal District	..	11,551	5,587	5,964	1,067
1971	Orissa State	..	24,384	11,888	12,496	1,051
1971	Keonjhar District	..	12,372	5,966	6,406	1,074
1971	Dhenkanal District	..	11,378	5,574	5,804	1,041

1984	Dhenkanal Study Area	97	470	236	234	992
1984	Keonjhar Study Area	105	450	229	221	965
1984	Study Area of Keonjhar& Dhenkanal	202	920	465	455	979

Distribution of Juang Population of the Study Areas by Age-Groups

The population of the Juangs in both the study areas is distributed under 14 age groups each of four year interval and the last age-group is 70 years and above. Based on the data a population pyramid has been constructed. The distribution of the population under different age-groups is given in Table 5. But the population pyramid is given below. By its side the population pyramid for Keonjhar and Dhenkanal districts is given for comparison.



The pyramid shows that there is no basic difference between the study areas in respect of the distribution of population under different age groups. The population in the four bottom age groups is almost the same in both the areas and those age-groups comprise larger population than the higher age-groups which show significant decline from the age group of 40-44 years upwards to 70 years and above. On the whole the population pyramid conforms to a broad base up to the age-group 15-19 years after which it takes a tapering trend to the top with a slight bulging in the age-group of 50-54 years in the Keonjhar side. Compared with the population pyramid for the overall population of Keonjhar and Dhenkanal districts taken together it shows that in the pyramid the tapering trend is very clear and the base is much broader than that of the study areas.

The distribution shows that the children of 0-4 and 5-9 years age-groups comprise 10.42 % and 12.76 % respectively in the entire population of the Dhenkanal study area. The corresponding figures for the Keonjhar area in the same order are 10.89 % and 12.89 %. It shows that nearly one-fourth of the population in the study areas fall to the first two lowest age-groups upto 9 years.

TABLE - 5
Age Group wise Distribution of Juang population, 1984

Sl. No.	Age-group	Dhenkanal Study area			Keonjhar Study area			Dhenkanal and Keonjhar Study areas		
		M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)
1	0-4	29	20	49(10.0)	29	20	49(11.0)	58	40	98 (10)
2	5-9	34	26	60 (13)	36	22	58 (13)	70	48	118 (13)
3	10-14	25	17	42 (9)	27	16	43 (10)	52	33	85 (9)
4	15-19	22	31	53 (11)	26	28	54 (12)	48	59	107 (11)
5	20-24	14	11	25 (5)	18	23	41 (8)	32	34	66 (7)
6	25-29	14	17	31 (7)	12	19	31 (7)	26	36	62 (7)
7	30-34	16	31	47 (10)	18	18	36 (8)	34	49	83 (9)
8	35-39	21	27	48 (10)	15	17	32 (7)	36	44	80 (9)
9	40-44	18	10	28 (6)	19	11	20 (4)	27	21	48 (6)
10	45-49	23	10	33 (7)	11	16	27 (6)	34	26	60 (6)
11	50-54	8	15	23 (5)	20	11	31 (7)	28	26	54 (6)
12	55-59	8	5	13 (3)	2	12	14 (3)	10	17	27 (3)
13	60-64	2	7	9 (2)	3	4	7 (1)	5	11	16 (2)
14	65-69	1	3	4 (1)	2	2	4 (1)	3	5	8 (1)
15	70 & above	1	4	5 (1)	1	2	3 (1)	2	6	8 (1)
16	Total	206	234	470	229	221	450	465	455	920

Marital Status of Females of different Age Groups (in percentage)

The marital status includes three components unmarried, married and currently married. The married includes married, widowed and divorced, and the currently married includes those who married last year. The information are provided in the Table.6. The data show that there is no woman above 20 years of age among the Juangs of Keonjhar who are unmarried. All the unmarried girls are confined to the first two age-groups, that is 13 girls to the age-group 10-14 years and 15 girls to the age group 15-19 years and in the remaining age-groups there is not a single case of woman of unmarried status.

In contrast a different picture is seen in the case of the Dhenkanal study area. In this case there are unmarried women not only in the first two age-groups as in the case of Keonjhar but also there are unmarried women in many older age-groups such as one unmarried woman in 25-29 year age-group, two each in 30-34year, 35-39year age groups, three each in 50-54year and 60-64 year age groups. As regard currently married women all such cases are confined to the first two age-groups. In the case of the Keonjhar study area all the three married women of 10-14 year age group were currently married. But in the next age group, that is, 14-19 years out of 19 married women of the Dhenkanal study area 11 women were currently married and out of 13 married women of the Keonjhar study area 7 women were currently married. Except these two age-groups no other age-group show any currently married cases. It means that both in Dhenkanal and Keonjhar marriages of women are held before they attain 20 years of age and late marriage after 20 years is not in vogue among the Juangs.

TABLE-6
Marital Status of Females in different Age Groups in percentage

Age-groups	Marital Status of Females in different Age Groups in percentage								
	Unmarried			Married-Married+ Widow+ Divorced			Currently married		
	DKL	KEO	DKL+ KEO	DKL	KEO	DKL+ KEO	DKL	KEO	DKL+ KEO
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
10-14	17	15 (81.25)	30 (90.91)	-	3 (18.75)	3 (9.09)	-	3 (100)	
15-19	12 (38.71)	15 (53.57)	27 (45.76)	19 (61.29)	13 (46.43)	32 (54.24)	19 (57.89)	7 (53.85)	18 (56.30)
20-24	..	(0%)	0	11 (100%)	23 (100.00)	34 (100.00)	-		
25-29	1(5.88)	0	1 (2.70)	16 (94.12)	19 (100.00)	35 (97.22)	-		
30-34	2 (6.45)	0	2 (4.08)	29 (93.55)	18 (100.00)	47 (95.92)	-		
35-39	2 (6.45)	0	2 (4.54)	25 (93.55)	17 (100.00)	42 (95.46)	-		
40-44	-(0%)	0	-	10 (100%)	11 (100.00)	21 (100.00)	-		

45-49	- (0%)	0	-	10 (100%)	16 (100.00)	26 (100.00)	-		
50-54	3 (20)	0	3 (11.54)	12 (80%)	11 (100.00)	23 (88.46)	-		
55-59	- (0%)	0	-	5 (100%)	12 (100.00)	17 (100.00)	-		
60-64	3 (42.86)	0	3 (27.27)	4 (57.14)	4 (100.00)	8 (72.73)	-		
65-69	- (0%)	0	-	3 (100%)	2 (100.00)	5 (100)	-		
70+	- (0%)	0	-	4 (100%)	2 (100.00)	6 (100)	-		
15-44	17 (18.38)	15 (12.93)	32 (13.17)	110 (86.62)	101 (87.07)	211 (86.83)	11 (9.91)	7 (6.93)	18 (8.50)
15-49	17 (12.41)	15 (11.36)	32 (11.90)	120 (97.59)	117 (88.64)	237 (88.10)	11 (9.09)	7 (5.98)	18 (7.61)

DKL = Dhenkanal KEO= Keonjhar

Percentage of Married, Widowed and Divorced Population

Data on these matters are presented in Table 7. No special feature is seen in the category of married in both the study areas except that in Keonjhar area the percentage of married among the females is low from the age-group of 50-54 years upwards. In the case of Dhenkanal area such a low percentage of married among the females is marked only in the age-group of 60-64years.

The widowhood is seen from the age-group of 30-34years upwards for both males and females in the Dhenkanal study area and its percentage is spectacularly larger from the age group of 45-49 years upwards in the case of the females. But it is not so in any age-group except that of 60-64 years in the case of the males. The Keonjhar studyarea presents a different picture. In this area the widowhood starts from early age-group of 15-19years. The males do not show widowhood in large extent from younger to older age-groups. But in the case of the females the widowhood is seen in small extent up to the age-group of 45-47 years after which the widowhood is seen to have existed in great magnitude.

The problem of divorce is of little importance among the Juangs of Dhenkanal study area whereas it is of great significance in the Keonjhar study area. The matter of divorce has occurred only in the age-group of 35-39 years to the extent of 5.56 percent on the male side in the former study area. But this problem is seen to have occurred from very early age-group of 20-24 years on both sides of males and females up to the age-group of 45-49 years beyond which there is no case of divorce in the latter study area. One of the reasons for the occurrence of divorce to a greater extent among the Juangs of Keonjhar than among their Dhenkanal counter parts is that the former have retained tribal characteristics to a great extent and are less influenced by the Hindus among whom the custom of divorce is not in vogue as it is among the tribal communities.

TABLE NO. 7
Percentage of Married, Widowed and Divorced Population in different Age-Groups (1984)

Age-group	Dhenkanal Study Area						Keonjhar Study Area					
	Married		Widowed		Divorced		Married		Widowed		Divorced	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)
10-14	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	18.75	..	..	..	..
15-19	13.64	61.29	..	..	..	..	30.77	42.86	..	3.57	..	..
20-24	64.28	100%	..	..	..	..	72.22	82.61	5.55	8.7	5.55	8.69
25-29	85.71	94.12	..	..	..	..	83.33	84.21	8.33	10.53	8.33	5.26
30-34	100	93.55	6.25	13.79	..	..	100.00	83.33	..	11.11	..	5.56
35-39	85.71	92.59	16.67	20%	5.56	..	86.66	76.47	6.67	23.53	6.67	..
40-44	88.88	100%	..	20%	..	..	88.89	81.82	11.11	18.18	..	..
45-49	100	100%	4.35	60%	..	..	100.00	81.25	..	6.25	..	12.5
50-54	75	80%	16.67	58.33	..	..	75.00	27.27	25.00	72.73	..	..
55-59	75	100%	16.67	100	..	..	100.00	33.33	..	66.67	..	..
60-64	100	57.14	50%	75%	..	..	100.00	50.00	..	50.00	..	..
65-69	100	100%	..	100%	..	..	100.00	50.00	..	50.00	..	..
70+	100	100%	..	75%	..	..	100.00	..	..	100.00	..	..
15-44	73.33	87.40	5.19	9.91	1.29	..	71.43	72.41	4.08	11.25	3.06	3.45
15-49	78.13	88.32	5.0	14.05	1%	..	74.31	73.48	3.67	10.61	2.75	4.54

Percentage of Ever Married Women with number of Children

In this section the matter relating to the number of children which the married women have ever given birth in both the study areas is analysed. Children up to 14 years of age have been counted for this purpose. The data are furnished in the Table-8.

The table shows that the women having no child are in greater proportion in Keonjhar study area (13.24 percent) than in Dhenkanal study area (9.09 percent). The percentage of women having one child is the highest in both the areas. It is 23.14 percent in the case of Dhenkanal and 22.52 percent in the case of Keonjhar study area. As the number of children increases the percentage of women bearing them steadily decreases. This pattern is largely applicable to the Dhenkanal study area. But no such clear cut pattern is noticed for the Keonjhar study area. In this case the percentage of women bearing two children is same as that of those bearing three children. After the third child there has been steep fall to 3.97 percent for women bearing four children instead of further decrease the percentage of women bearing five children has been almost doubled, that is 6.62 percent. There are no women in the Dhenkanal study area bearing more than five children. But in the Keonjhar study area such women were present, 1.96 percent of women have given birth to six children and 1.32 percent to more than six children.

TABLE -8
Percentage of Ever Married Female with No. of Children (0-14) years of age
Number of Children

Study Area	No child	One	Two	Three	Four	Five	Six	More than six
Dhenkanal ..	(9.09)	23.14	17.36	12.39	2.48	1.65	..	..
Keonjhar ..	13.24	22.52	16.56	16.56	3.97	6.62	1.99	1.32

Woman having offspring above 14 years of age are not included in counting.

Births in the last one year by Order of Birth in percentage (Study Area -1984):

Information on births during the last one year by order of birth was collected from the study area. If a woman had reported having given birth to a child during the last one year and if the total number of children ever born to her was say 4 then the last year's birth in order of birth is 4. Such a classification of birth by parity is extremely useful for a number of reasons. The data relating to this problem are presented in table 9.

The table shows that 3 births have taken place in the youngest age-group of 15-19 years. The same number of births has also taken place in the

next higher age-group of 20-24 years. The data show that even the second birth has taken place in the much older age-group of 35-39 years in the Dhenkanal study area. But there is no such instance of second birth by the older women in the Keonjhar study area. The fourth, fifth and sixth births have all taken place within the range starting from 25 years to 44 years. Even the 8th and 9th births have occurred in the age-group of 30-34 years and such larger number of births by the women of middle age-group. Even the birth of 10th in order by women of 35-39 years has occurred in Dhenkanal district. But the women of Keonjhar have no experience of giving birth to such a large number of children.

TABLE-9
Birth in the last one year by Order of Birth in percentage (1984 study area)

Sl. No.	Age-group of Mother	1 st		2 nd		3 rd	
		DKL	KEO	DKL	KEO	DKL	KEO
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
1	10-14	..	..	..	..	..	..
2	15-19	12.90	33.33	3.23	8.33	6.45	..
3	20-24	27.27	10.53	27.27	5.26	18.18	10.53
4	25-29	..	..	..	..	..	..
5	30-34	..	..	4.65	..	..	..
6	35-39	..	..	3.70	..	..	..
7	40-44	..	..	..	..	..	..
8	45-49	..	..	..	..	..	..
9	50+	..	..	..	..	..	..
10	15-49	5.11	6.18	5.11	2.06	2.92	2.06

Contd..

Sl. No.	Age-group of Mother	4 th		5 th		6 th	
		DKL	KEO	DKL	KEO	DKL	KEO
(1)	(2)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)
1	10-14	..	..	..	..	..	..
2	15-19	..	..	..	..	..	..
3	20-24	..	..	..	..	..	..
4	25-29	17.65	..	11.76	6.25	..	18.75
5	30-34	9.68	6.67	3.23	13.33	3.23	..
6	35-39	..	..	3.70	7.69	..	7.69
7	40-44	..	..	..	..	10	..
8	45-49	..	..	..	..	..	..
9	50+	..	..	2.94	..	..	..
10	15-49	4.38	1.03	3.65	4.12	1.46	4.12

Contd..

Sl. No	Age-group of Mother	7 th		8 th		9 th		10 th		Remarks
		DKL	KEO	DKL	KEO	DKL	KEO	DKL	KEO	
(1)	(2)	(15)	(16)	(17)	(18)	(19)	(20)	(21)	(22)	(23)
1	10-14	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	
2	15-19	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	
3	20-24	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	
4	25-29	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	
5	30-34	..	..	3.23	..	3.23	..	..	..	
6	35-39	..	..	..	..	..	..	3.70	..	
7	40-44	10	11.11	..	..	..	..	..	..	
8	45-49	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	
9	50+	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	
10	15-49	0.73	1.03	0.73	..	0.73	..	0.73	..	

Sex Ratio of Children (1-14 years) ever born

The number of male children and female children born to women of different age-groups varies between the two study areas. The Table 10 gives the information regarding this matter. It is seen that on the whole the proportion of female children to male children in the age-group of 1-14 years is greater in the Keonjhar study area than in the Dhenkanal study area. The sex ratio in the former area is 741.67 whereas it is 652.69 in the latter area. In five out of eight age-groups the sex ratio is greater in Keonjhar than in Dhenkanal and in one age-group the sex ratio has crossed 1000 in Dhenkanal where as it has gone up to 1400 in the age-group of 20-24 in Keonjhar.

Sex Ratio of Surviving Children (1-14 Years)

It is interesting to compare Table.9 with Table-10 which gives information about the sex ratio of surviving children (1-14 Years). It is found that 52.6 percent of male children and 50.4 percent of female children of 1-14 years born to women in their whole reproductive age range from 15 to 49 years survived in the Dhenkanal area. The corresponding figures for the Keonjhar area is 75 percent and 69.6 percent respectively. The mortality of female children has touched 50 percent mark in three age-groups of their mothers that is 20-24 years, 30-34 years, and 40-44 years, in Dhenkanal where as it has crossed only in one age-group that is 35-39 years of their mothers in Keonjhar. Nothing can be inferred from this difference except that one can doubt the influence on the Dhenkanal Juangs of the Hindu society in which female children are not taken care of properly as the male children are. It may be mentioned that in a tribal society no difference in attitude towards the male

and female children is marked. A male child is as much welcome as a female child is and therefore the latter is in no way discriminated against as her counterpart in a Hindu society suffers.

TABLE-10
Sex Ratio of Children (1-14) Ever Born

Sl. No.	Present Age of mother	Study Area								
		Dhenkanal			Keonjhar			Dhenkanal + Keonjhar		
		Males	Females	Sex ratio	Males	Females	Sex ratio	Males	Females	Sex ratio
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)
1	15-19	8	1	125	8	7	875	16	8	500
2	20-14	9	6	666.67	10	14	1400	19	20	1057.63
3	25-29	26	24	923.08	29	12	413.79	55	36	654.54
4	30-34	43	34	290.71	24	15	625	67	49	731.34
5	35-39	37	18	486.49	24	22	916.67	61	40	655.74
6	40-44	27	22	814.81	11	7	636.36	38	29	763.16
7	45-49	17	4	235.29	14	12	857.14	31	16	516.13
8	50 & above	10	10	1000	11	9	818.18	21	19	904.76
9	15-49	167	109	652.69	120	89	741.67	287	198	689.89

TABLE 11
Sex Ratio of Surviving Children

Sl No	Present age of mother	Study area								
		Males	Females	Sex ratio	Males	Females	Sex ratio	Males	Females	Sex ratio
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)
1	15-19	6	1	166.66	6	4	666.67	12	5	416.67
2	20-24	3	3	1.000	6	10	1,666.67	9	3	1,444.44
3	25-29	14	13	928.57	21	11	523.81	35	24	685.71
4	30-34	22	17	772.72	21	12	571.43	43	29	674.42
5	35-39	21	12	571.43	20	11	550.00	41	23	560.97
6	40-44	10	6	600.00	8	6	750	18	12	666.67
7	45-49	9	3	333.33	10	8	800	19	11	578.95
8	50 and above	1	4	4.000	7	6	857.14	8	10	1,250
9	15-49	85	55	647.06	92	62	673.91	177	117	661.02

Average Number of Children Ever Born per Woman

The living conditions are so different between the Dhenkanal and Keonjhar study areas that he may think of some difference in regard to the average number of children born to woman in these two areas. The Table 12 resents information about this matter. It shows that with the advance in age in the case of Dhenkanal the average number of children ever born per woman has increased up to the 35-39 years beyond which it has decreased. The same trend is also noticed in the case of Keonjhar except one difference that in this case the age group beyond which the average declined is 45-49 years. As compared with the Dhenkanal study area the average number of children ever born per woman is greater in five out of eight age-groups in the Keonjhar study

area. In this the average has been as high as five, but in the case of Dhenkanal the figure has not exceeded three in any age-group. As compared with all India average it is seen that the averages in the first three age-groups are lower in India than in the study areas taken together. But in the remaining five higher age-groups the averages are much higher. For example, the average in the age-group of 50 years and above for both the study areas is only 2 whereas the corresponding figure for the country as a whole is as high as 4.736.

Average number of Children Ever Born Alive per Woman

Average number of children ever born alive per woman in different age-groups is given in the Table 12.

TABLE-12
Average Number of Children Ever Born Alive per Woman

Area	Age-Group								
	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-41	45-49	50+	15-49
Keonjhar study area	1	1	2	2	3	2	2	1	2
Dhenkanal study area	1	2	2	3	3	5	5	2	2
Keonjhar& Dhenkanal	1	2	3	3	3	4	4	2	3
India	0.173	1.33	2.413	3.455	4.264	4.712	4.989	4.736	

Child-Woman Ratio (1984)

The child-woman ratio (CWR) is calculated as follows:

$$1. R_1 \frac{P(0-4)}{F(15-49)} \times 1000$$

Or

Proportion (P) of total living children in the age-group of 0-4 years to females (F) in the age group of 15-49 years.

$$2. R_1 \frac{P(5-9)}{F(20-54)} \times 1000$$

Proportion (P) of total living children in the age-group of 5-9 years to females (F) in the age group of 20-54 years.

The Table 13 gives the data on CWR for the study areas as compared with Orissa and India as a whole.

TABLE 13
Child-Woman Ratio (CWR) 1984

Study Area		CWR	
		R ₁	R ₂
1.	Keonjhar ..	371	504
2.	Dhenkanal ..	358	496
3.	Orissa (1981) ..	507	708
4.	India (1981) ..	546	695

It is seen that between the two study areas Dhenkanal shows a lower fertility level both in R₁ and R₂ than what is recorded for Keonjhar. The CWRs corresponding to the age-group 0-4 / 15-49 and to the age-group 5-9/20-54 for both the study areas for 1984 are much lower than what those in Orissa and India as a whole for 1981.

Age Specific Marital Fertility Rate (ASMFR)

The age specific marital fertility rate (ASMFR) is calculated to find out the average number of children born alive during the last year per married woman of a particular age-group. The Table-14 gives the ASMFR for six age-groups for the study areas. The last row of the table gives general marital fertility rate (GMFR) for 15-49 years.

The table shows that the age specific marital fertility rate for all the six age-groups is less in the case of Dhenkanal than that of Keonjhar. The general marital fertility rate (GMFR) is also lower in Dhenkanal than that of Keonjhar. Both the study areas record a lower GMFR as compared with the rural areas of India as a whole which is 143.

TABLE - 14
ASMFR

Age-groups	Study areas		
	Keonjhar	Dhenkanal	Keonjhar+Dhenkanal
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
15-19	0.42	0.16	0.29
20-24	0.26	0.09	0.18
25-29	0.25	0.18	0.22
30-34	0.20	0.10	0.15
35-39	0.15	0.04	0.10
40-44	0.11	0.2	0.16
GMFR(15-49)	206.18	108.33	157.3
Study Area			
India	..	..	143

Barren Women

Married women who have attained menopause and are above 40 years of age and have not been conceived are considered barren. The Table 15 gives the distribution of barren women in the study area.

TABLE -15
Barren Women

Age-group		Keonjhar	Dhenkanal
35-39	..	1	..
40-44	..	1	1
45-49	..	2	2
Total	..	4	3

The barren woman belonging to the age-group 35-39 is really of 39 years old and has no possibility of bearing child. There are thus four barren women among 117 married women of the age-group beyond 39 years of age in Keonjhar district. This works out 3.42 percent of barren women who have now no possibility of bearing children.

In the case of Dhenkanal there are three barren women above 40 years of age and the proportion of barren women in Dhenkanal comes to 2.5 percent. Besides these barren women there are some married women who have as yet no child born to them (either still birth or live birth) although they have been enjoying conjugal life. The Table 16 gives a distribution of such women having no experience of conception so far.

TABLE-16
Women with No Issue so far

Actual age		Study area	
		Keonjhar	Dhenkanal
25	..	..	1
27	..	..	1
31	..	1	1
32	..	1	..
34	..	..	1
35	..	..	1
Total	..	2	5

There is a general notion that the Juangs particularly the section living in the Juangpirh of Keonjhar district have a low reproductive or fertility rate. This study which was taken up in five Juang villages in the Juangpirh does not prove the public idea to be true. The Juangs of Dhenkanal are settled cultivators, agricultural labourers and wage earners. Their counterparts of the

Juangpirh are primarily shifting cultivators. It is generally believed that the Dhenkanal Juangs who are settled agriculturists and enjoy diversified economic pursuits are better fed than their Keonjhar Juangs who depend for their livelihood upon shifting cultivation which is a primitive form of economic pursuits. The low food intake and resulting mal nutrition are attributed for low fertility rate among the Keonjhar Juangs. But that is also not a fact. The section dealing with the dietary habits shows that no serious deficiency either in the quantity and food value is noticed in both sides. Rather it is found that the intake of certain foods is sufficient in both areas. There are certain other food items the intake of which is sufficient in one area and deficient in another. If such differences have attributed to the cause of low fertility in one area and high fertility in another area it is necessary to investigate the matter by taking the study on a larger coverage.

ANNEXURE 1 (a)
Works from Morning till Night
(Keonjhar Study Area)

Hours	Men	Women	Children	Remarks
4a.m.- 6a.m.	Get up and attend the call of nature.	Get up and attend the call of nature.	In bed	
6a.m.- 8a.m.	Gather at the Majang and spend time in smoking and leisurely gossiping, brushing teeth and eating the morning meal.	<i>Domestic Chores</i> -Clean the house-wash pots and utensils-fetch water from nearby streams, husking paddy and preparing food and serving meals, child care.	Older children attend the younger ones and girls assist mothers in household work. Take morning meal and prepare to go to work with parents. Small children gather to play around the village.	
8a.m.- 10a.m.	Leave home for work site	Leave home for work site	No work	
10a.m.- 12 Noon 12Noon- 2p.m. 2p.m.- 4p.m.	<i>Manual Labour</i> Agricultural work at shifting cultivation sites or other farm lands or work for wage earning. Collection of fire wood, leaves and edibles from the forest.	<i>Manual Labour</i> - (Same as those of the males).	Younger children are left at home while parents work outdoors. Older children and old persons attend younger children at home. Older children also accompany parents to the work site to render assistance.	
4p.m.- 6p.m.	Return home from work, eat the evening meal.	Return home from outdoor work. <i>Domestic Chores</i> - Fetch water-	No work Girls assist mothers in performing domestic work.	

		prepare evening meal, prepare leaf cups, serve meal, feed children, clean utensils.		
6p.m.- 8p.m.	Gather, gossip and relax at the Majang.	Go to bed after finishing domestic works. Sometimes flock together to sing and dance.	Go to bed after the evening meal. Grown up boys and girls sometimes engage in gossiping, joking and change dance or singing.	
8p.m.- 4a.m.	Some people go to the cropped field to watch the crops against the attack of wild animals. Young people sometimes enjoy the time by singing and dancing.			

ANNEXURE 1 (b)

Works from Morning till Night

(Dhenkanal Study Area)

Hours	Men	Women	Children	Remarks
4a.m.- 6a.m.	No work	Leave bed. Brushing teeth, attending to morning ablutions, cleaning house and courtyard.	No work	
6a.m.- 8a.m.	Leave bed. Brushing teeth, attending to morning ablutions, eating breakfast and taking morning meals, cutting grass, feeding cattle and cleaning cowshed.	Cleaning utensils boiling paddy, cooking and serving food. Fetching water and taking care of children.	Leave bed, brush teeth, attend the call of nature, taking tiffin or meals, playing. Adult children help parents in household chores.	
8a.m.- 10a.m. 10a.m. - 12noon	Preparation for going to field for work. Weeding, transplanting collection of fire wood, cattle grazing and gleaning.	Prepare to go to work-weeding, transplanting, road work for wage, collection of <i>sal</i> leaves and fire wood.	Watching goats while browsing, drying boiled paddy in sun and watching. Watching the house and taking care of younger children when parents are out for work. Helping the parents in work.	
12noon- 2p.m. 2p.m.-	Time for rest, taking tiffin or meals and resume work in	The same as those of the males	Eating, sleeping, playing	

4p.m.	the field.			
4p.m.- 6p.m.	Return from field and help in husking paddy. Take rest. Taking tiffin and drinking juice of boiled opium fruits. Leaf-plate making, cutting grass, attending call of nature and taking care of cattle and goats.	Return from field, paddy husking, serving food, cleaning utensils, defecation, bathing, selling leaf plates and shopping for daily necessities.	Playing, eating with parents. Grown up children help their mothers in household chores.	
6p.m.- 8p.m.	Gathering, gossiping and relaxing at the Akhada ghar (common house)	Preparing and cooking foods. Leaf plate making and household chores.	Grown up girls help their mothers in work.	
8p.m.- 4p.m.	Taking meal and sleeping	Serving food, taking meal and going to bed.	Eating and going to bed	

ANNEXURE 2 (a)
Annual Cycle of Activities
(Study Area-Keonjhar)

Name of the Months (1)	Weather (2)	Food (3)	Activities			
			Men		Women	
			Main (4)	Subsidiary (5)	Main (6)	Subsidiary (7)
January-February	Winter	Mango, Jack-fruit, Rice, Millets, Beans	Forest collection and Leisure.	Storage of grains after harvest.	Forest Collection and Leisure.	..
February-March	Spring	Mango, Jackfruit, Meat, of wild animals, Mohua flower	-Felling trees, debushing and clearing vegetations from the lands under shifting cultivation.	Collection of edibles and firewood. -Communal hunt	Help men in clearing the swidden plots.	Collection of forest produce.
March-April	Spring	Mango, Jack fruit, Kendu, Char	-Degrassing at <i>Ekan</i> for growing pulses. - House thatching and repairing.	Forest Collections -Communal hunting	-Degrassing for pulses. -Help men in house thatching & repairing	Collection of forest produce.
April-May	Summer	Mango, Jack-fruit, Kendu, Honey, Wild roots, Green leaves and tubers	Burning dried vegetations in <i>Toila</i> field. Mannuring <i>Bila</i> lands	Fire wood and forest edibles collection. -Communal hunting.	Help men in work in <i>Toila</i> lands.	Collection of forest produce.
May-June	Summer	Rice, Rice gruel, Mango, Mango kernel,	Ploughing and spreading ash in	-Collection of forest produce	-Hoeing and spreading ash in	Collection of forest

		Jackfruit seeds, Ragi cakes, Honey, Wild fruits, roots, tubers and green leaves.	<i>Toila</i> lands. Ploughing <i>Ekan</i> & <i>Nala</i> and sowing after rains. Ploughing <i>Bila</i> and <i>Bakadi</i> lands for wet (paddy) cultivation.	Hunting	<i>Toila</i> lands.	produce.
June-July	Rainy.	Rice, Rice gruel, Ragi cakes and gruel, Wheat, Mango kernel, Jack fruit seeds, Edible mushrooms, leaves, roots, tubers.	Sowing <i>Toila</i> , <i>Ekan</i> , <i>Nala</i> , <i>Bila</i> and <i>Bakadi</i> lands.	-Collection of forest produce.	-Help men in debushing and sowing operations.	
July-August	Rainy	Rice, Millet, Pumpkin, Gourd, Mushrooms, Beans, Edible greens, roots, and tubers, Papaya, Drumsticks, Mahul, Banana, Maize, Cucumber, Ants (Kai) living in mango trees.	Weeding and debushing <i>Toija</i> , <i>Ekan</i> and <i>Nala</i> lands.		-Weeding and debushing <i>Toila</i> , <i>Ekan</i> and <i>Nala</i> lands.	Collection of forest produce.
August-Sept	Autumn	Rice, Millet, Pumpkin, Cucumber, Gourd, Bens, Mushrooms Arum, Wild roots, tubers and greens, Papaya, Drumsticks, Banana, Mahul, Maize.	Weeding and debushing <i>Beda</i> , <i>Guda</i> and other low paddy lands.	..	-Weeding and debushing wet paddy lands.	Collection of forest produce.

September- October	Autumn	Millet, Ragi, Maize, Til, Mahul, Arum, Gourd, Cucumber, Pumpkin, Papaya, Banana, Drumsticks, Wild fruits, greens, roots and tubers.	- Watching crops and harvesting <i>Bakadi</i> paddy - Sowing mustard seeds in <i>Bakadi</i> - Reaping <i>Guda</i> land paddy.		Collection of forest produce.	.. Reaping <i>Guda</i> land paddy.
October- November	Hemanta	Rice, Maize, Winter vegetables, Pulses like, Biri, Koltha, Green gram, Kandula and Rasi.	- Watching crops at <i>Toila</i>, <i>Nala</i>, and <i>Bila</i> lands. - Harvesting <i>Toila</i> crops		- Collection of forest produce. - Help men in harvesting <i>Toila</i> crops.	
November- December	Hemanta	Wild fruits, roots, tubers, greens, Meat of wild animals, Rice, Pulses and Winter vegetables.	.. Harvesting <i>Toila</i>, <i>Ekan</i>, <i>Nala</i>, crops.	- Communal hunting. - Feasts & festivities.	Same as those of men	Taking part in festivities dances and visiting relatives.
December- January	Winter	Maize, Rice, Pulses, Wild fruits, roots, tubers, green leaves, Winter vegetables.	- Reaping low land paddy in <i>Bila</i> lands.		- Reaping low land paddy.	Collection of forest produce.

TABLE 2 (b)
Annual Cycle of Activities
(Study Area - Dhenkanal)

Name of the months (1)	Weather (2)	Food (3)	Activities			
			Men		Women	
			Main (4)	Subsidiary (5)	Main (6)	Subsidiary (7)
January-February	Winter	Rice, Millets, Beans, Brinjal, Dried fish.	Post harvesting activities, Wage earning	Gleaning	Wage earning Gleaning, Household chores.	Leaf-plate making
February-March	Spring	Rice, Millets, Mung, Biri, Kolatha	Wage earning, Gleaning	Leaf-plate making and selling fuel wood	Ditto	Selling fuel wood
March-April	Spring	Jack-fruit and wild fruits	Wage earning, Ploughing	Gleaning	Collection of forest produce, Household chores	Selling fuel wood & leaf-plate making
April-May	Summer	Jack-fruit, Kendu, Wild fruits, roots and tubers.	Ploughing, Manuring, Wage earning, House thatching and Repairing	Collection of forest produce	Wage earning, collection of forest produce.	Selling fuel wood and leaf-plates
May-June	Summer	Rice, Wild fruits, roots and tubers	Ploughing, Manuring, Sowing paddy seeds, Wage earning.	...	Wage earning collection of fuel wood & sal leaves	Ditto

TABLE 2 (b) contd...
(Study Area - Dhenkanal)

Name of the months	Weather	Food	Activities			
			Men		Women	
			Main (4)	Subsidiary (5)	Main (6)	Subsidiary (7)
(1)	(2)	(3)				
June-July	Rainy	Rice, Ragi, Greens, Fish	Ploughing and paddy sowing, wage earning	..	Wage earning, Collection of fuel wood and leaves.	Household chores
July-August	Rainy	Rice, Millets, Pumpkin, Greens, Chilly, Mushrooms	Weeding, Wage earning	Leaf plate making	Wage earning and weeding	Ditto
August-September	Autumn	Ditto	- Ditto	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto
September-October	Autumn	Rice, Pulses, Vegetables and Greens	Harvesting early variety of paddy	Watching cropped fields	Harvesting early variety of paddy	Ditto
October-November	Hemanta	Rice, Pulses, Greens, Vegetables, Dried fish	Wage earning, Harvesting, Watching cropped lands.	..	Helping in harvesting	Collection of forest produce and household chores
November-December	Hemanta	Ditto	- Ditto	..	Ditto	Ditto
December-January	Winter	Ditto	Harvesting, Wage earning	..	Ditto	Ditto

TABLE 3 (a)
Food Value (Nutrients Composition) of Different Items taken Daily per MALE Adult Unit
(Keonjhar Study Area)

Sl. No.	Name of the Item	Food Value (Nutrients)							
		Quantity (in kg.)	Moisture	Protein	Fat	Fibre	Carbohydrate	Calcium	Phosphorus
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
			Gm.	Gm.	Gm.	Gm.	Gm.	Gm.	Gm.
1	Rice	0.34	42.84	29	2.04	0.68	262.5	0.034	0.95
2	Wheat Bread	0.12	38.96	9.6	1.32	0.96	58.8	0.02	0.24
3	Millet	0.13	17.03	9.23	1.69	4.68	94.51	0.43	0.35
4	Mustard	0.002	0.17	0.44	0.79	0.04	0.48	0.01	0.01
5	Green Leaves (Sag)	0.111	89.29	5.66	1.11	1.48	9.8	0.45	1
6	Green papaya	0.09	82.08	0.83	0.18	0.81	5.13	0.03	0.04
7	Jack fruit seeds	0.001	0.64	0.07	0.00	0.01	0.26	0.00	0.00
8	Mohul flower	0.09	16.74	3.96	0.54	1.53	64.8	0.13	0.13
9	Turmeric	0.003	0.39	0.19	0.15	0.08	2.08	0.00	0.01
10	Green chilies	0.007	5.78	0.2	0.04	0.48	0.43	0	0.01
11	Kusum Oil	0.002	..	..	2	..	..	..	..
12	Common salt (Nacl)	0.01	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	(a) Total	0.906	304.64	58.98	9.86	10.75	498.79	1.1	2.74
	(b) Recommended Dietary allowance	..	..	55	40/60 (50)	..	..	0.4/06 (0.5)	1+
	(c) Sufficiency/Deficiency percentage	..	..	3.98(-)	40.14	..	..	0.6	..

TABLE 3 (a) contd
Food Value (Nutrients Composition) of Different Items taken Daily per MALE Adult Unit
(Keonjhar Study Area)

Sl. No.	Food Value (Nutrients)										
	Name of the Item	Quantity (in kg.)	Iron	Common Salt Nacl	Calories Energy	Vit. A Carotene (B)	Thiamine (B1)	Niacin	Riboflavin (B2)	Ascorbic Acid (c)	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)	(17)	(18)	
			Gm.	Gm.	Kgcal.	Gm.	Gm.	Mg.	Mg.	Mg.	
1	Rice	0.34	12.76	..	1,183.2	30.6	0.92	13.6	0.41	..	
2	Wheat Bread	0.12	3.6	..	1,285.6	60	0.25	1.68	0.08	..	
3	Millet	0.13	7.02	..	430.3	54.6	0.55	1.43	0.25	..	
4	Mustard	0.002	0.36	..	10.82	5.4	..	0.08	0	0	
5	Green Leaves (Sag)	0.111	12.02	..	71.78	455.1	0.03	0.8	0.13	118.03	
6	Green papaya	0.09	0.81	..	24.3	0	0.01	0.09	0.01	10.8	
7	Jack fruit seeds	0.001	0.01	..	1.33	0.1	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.11	
8	Mohul flower	0.09	13.5	..	279.9	20.7	0.03	4.68	0.8	6.3	
9	Turmeric	0.003	0.56	..	10.47	0.9	..	0.07	..	..	
10	Green chilies	0.007	0.08	..	2.87	12.25	0.01	0.03	0.02	7.77	
11	Kusum Oil	0.002	..	..	18	..	1.8				
12	Common salt (Nacl)	0.01	..	10	..	..	..	..	..	..	
	(b) Total	0.906	50.72	10	2,318.57	4735.55	1.8	22.46	1.7	1.43	
	(b)Recommended Dietary allowance		20.15	15-20 (17.5)	2800	3000	1.4	19	1.5	50	
	(c) Sufficiency/ Deficiency percentage		30.72	(-)7.5	(-)481.43	1735.55	0.4	3.46	0.2	93	

TABLE 3 (a)contd
Food Value (Nutrients composition) of Different Items taken Daily per FEMALE Adult Unit

Sl. No.	Name of the item	Food Value (Nutrients)								(Keonjhar Study Area)		
		Quantity (in kg.)	Moisture	Protein	Fat	Fibre	Carbohydrate	Calcium	Phosphorus			
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)			
1	Rice	0.29	36.54	24.65	4.71	0.58	233.88	0.03	0.81			
2	Wheat Bread	0.04	16.32	3.2	0.44	0.32	19.6	0.01	0.08			
3	Millet	0.18	23.58	12.78	2.34	6.48	130.9	0.6	0.49			
4	Mustard	0.001	0.08	0.22	0.38	0.02	0.24	0	0.01			
5	Green papaya	0.07	64.4	0.49	0.14	0.63	3.99	0.02	0.03			
6	Green Leaves (Sag)	0.103	83.6	5.25	1.03	1.37	9.09	0.42	0.93			
7	Jack fruit seeds	0.005	3.22	0.33	0.02	0.07	1.29	0.00	0.01			
8	Mohul flower	0.025	4.65	1.1	0.15	0.42	18	0.03	0.03			
9	Turmeric	0.002	0.26	0.13	0.1	0.05	1.39	0	0.01			
10	Green Chillies	0.008	6.61	0.23	0.05	0.54	0.49	0.00	0.01			
11	Kusum Oil	0.002			2							
12	Common salt	0.013										
	(a) Total	0.739	239.26	48.38	8.39	10.48	418.87	1.11	2.41			
	(b) Recommended Dietary allowances			45	(50)			(5)	1+			
				40.60				0.4	0.6			
	(c) Sufficiency / Deficiency / percentage			3.38	(-)			0.61				
				41.61								

TABLE 3 (a) contd...
Food Value (Nutrients composition) of Different Items taken Daily per FEMALE Adult Unit
(Keonjhar Study Area)

Sl. No.	Name of the item	Quantity (in kg.)	Iron	Common Salt NaCl	Calories (Energy)	Carotene	Thiamine	Niacin	Riboflavin	Ascorbic Acid
(1)	(2)	(3)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)	(17)	(18)
1	Rice	0.29	8.12		1009.2	26.1	0.78	11.6	0.35	..
2	Wheat Bread	0.04	1.2		95.2	20	0.08	0.56	0.03	..
3	Millet	0.18	9.72		595.8	75.6	0.76	1.98	0.34	..
4	Mustard	0.001	0.18		5.41	2.7	..	0.04	0	..
5	Green papaya	0.07	0.63		18.9	0	0.01	0.07	0.01	8.4
6	Green Leaves (Sag)	0.103	11.15		66.61	43.23	0.03	0.72	0.12	109.52
7	Jack Fruit Seeds	0.005	0.07		6.65	0.5	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.55
8	Mohul Flower	0.025	3.75		77.75	5.75	0.01	1.3	0.22	1.75
9	Turmeric	0.002	0.37		6.98	0.6	0	0.05	..	..
10	Green Chillies	0.008	0.1		3.28	14	0.01	0.04	0.02	8.88
11	Kusum Oil	0.002			18					
12	Common Salt	0.013		13						
	(a) Total	0.739	35.29	13	1903.78	4468.25	1.69	16.37	1.09	129.1
	(b) Recommended Dietary allowances		30	15-20 (17.5)	2200	3000	1.1	15	1.2	50
	(c) Sufficiency/Deficiency percentage		5.29	(-)4.5	(-) 296.22	1,468.25	0.59	1.37	(-)0.11	79.1

TABLE 3 (b)
Food Value (Nutrients composition) of Different Items taken Daily per MALE Adult Unit
(Dhenkanal Study Area)

Sl. No.	Foodstuff	Quantity of Food Value consumed per day per adult unit							
		Quantity in Kg.	Moisture in Gm.	Protein in Gm.	Fat in Gm.	Fibre in Gm.	Carbohydrate in Gm.	Calcium in gm.	Phosphorus in Gm.
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
1	Rice	0.645	81.27	54.82	3.87	1.29	497.94	0.06	1.81
2	Fried/Puffed Rice	0.071	10.44	5.33	0.07	0.21	52.54	0.01	0.11
3	Black gram Dal	0.009	0.98	2.16	0.13	0.08	5.43	0.02	0.03
4	Potato	0.012	8.96	0.19	0.01	0.05	2.75	0.001	0.004
5	Onion & Garlic	0.017	12.72	0.64	0.02	0.10	3.45	0.02	0.03
6	Greens	0.040	32.47	2.04	0.40	0.53	3.53	0.16	0.36
7	Ladies fingers	0.002	1.76	0.04	0.004	0.02	0.15	0.001	0.002
8	Pumpkin	0.010	9.20	0.14	0.01	0.07	0.53	0.001	0.003
9	Mushrooms	0.003	2.65	0.14	0.024	0.012	0.13	0.002	0.033
10	Fish	0.005	0.434	4.42	0.06	..	0	0.485	0.19
11	Mustard Oil	0.005	..	..	5	..	..	..	..
12	Salt	0.013	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
13	Chilies	0.004	3.30	0.12	0.02	0.81	0.24	0.001	0.007
14	Total	0.836	164.244	70.04	9.62	3.172	566.69	1.76	3.57
15	Recommended dietary allowances	..	..	70G	50G	..	440G	0.8G	1.4G.
16	Sufficiency	..	..	0.04G	..	..	126.69G.	1.68G	2.17G.
17	Deficiency	..	..	..	40.38G	..	..	..	..

TABLE – 3 (b) contd...

Sl. No.	Foodstuff	Quantity of Food Value consumed per day per adult unit (Dhenkanal Study Area)								
		Quantity in Kg.	Iron in Mg.	Common Salt Nacl in Gm.	Calories Energy in Kcal	Carotene in Mg.	Thiamine in Mg.	Niacin in Mg.	Riboflavi n in Mg.	Ascorbic Acid in Mg.
(1)	(2)	(3)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)	(17)	(18)
1	Rice	0.645	18.06	..	2244.60	68.05	1.740	25.80	0.770	..
2	Fried /Puffed Rice	0.071	4.40	..	232.17	..	0.150	2.91	0.03	..
3	Black gram Dal	0.009	0.88	..	31.50	3.42	0.04	0.18	0.03	..
4	Potato	0.012	0.08	..	11.18	2.88	0.01	0.14	0.001	2.04
5	Onion & Garlic	0.017	0.17		16.40	1.27	0.120	0.07	0.02	2.04
6	Greens	0.040	4.33	..	25.87	16.40	0.01	0.28	0.05	42.53
7	Ladies fingers	0.002	0.03	..	0.82	1.16	0.001	0.01	0.002	0.32
8	Pumpkin	0.010	0.07	..	2.80	5.0	0.006	0.05	0.004	0.20
9	Mushrooms	0.003	0.05	..	1.29	0	0.004	0.07	0.005	0.36
10	Fish	0.005	1.13	..	18.20	0	0.006	0.27	0.004	0
11	Mustard Oil	0.005	..	..	45	..	..	..	..	..
12	Salt	0.013	..	13	..	..	..	..	..	..
13	Chilies	0.004	0.05	..	3.86	7	0.008	0.02	0.010	4.44
14	Total	0.836	29.25	13	2634.39	1728.78	2.095	29.80	0.93	51.93
15	Recommended dietary allowances	..	27.7	17.5G.	2500.	3000G.	1.8	19	1.5G.	200
16	Sufficiency	..	1.55G.	..	134.39	..	1.2 G	10.80G.	..	..
17	Deficiency	..	..	4.5G.	..	1271.22	..	..	0.57Mg.	148.07

TABLE 3 (b) contd...
Food Value (Nutrients composition) of different items taken daily per FEMALE adult unit

Sl. No.	Foodstuff	Quantity of Food Value consumed per day per adult unit								(Dhenkanal Study Area)	
		Quantity in Kg.	Moisture in Gm.	Protein in Gm.	Fat in Gm.	Fibre in Gm.	Carbohydrate in Gm.	Calcium in gm.	Phosphorus in Gm.		
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)		
1	Rice	0.618	77.87	52.53	3.71	1.23	477.10	0.06	1.73		
2	Fried / Puffed Rice	0.024	3.53	1.8	0.02	0.17	17.76	0.005	0.04		
3	Dal	0.009	0.98	2.16	0.13	0.08	5.43	0.02	0.03		
4	Potato	0.016	11.95	0.26	0.02	0.06	3.66	0.002	0.005		
5	Onion & Garlic	0.016	11.97	0.6	0.02	0.10	3.25	0.02	0.03		
6	Greens	0.057	46.27	2.90	0.57	0.76	5.03	0.23	0.53		
7	Ladies fingers	0.002	1.76	0.04	0.004	0.02	0.15	0.001	0.002		
8	Pumpkin	0.010	9.26	0.14	0.01	0.07	0.53	0.001	0.003		
9	Mushrooms	0.003	2.66	0.14	0.24	0.012	0.129	0.001	0.033		
10	Fish	0.007	0.609	6.19	0.08	..	0	0.068	0.27		
11	Mustard Oil	0.005	..	..	5	..	..	..	..		
12	Salt	0.017	..	..	..	..	..	..	..		
13	Green Chilies	0.003	2.47	0.09	0.02	0.20	0.18	0.001	0.002		
14	Total	0.787	169.329	66.85	9.824	2.702	513.219	0.41	2.54		
15	Recommended dietary allowances	..	..	70	50	..	440	0.8	1.4		
16	Sufficiency	..	..	..	..	..	73.22	..	1.14		
17	Deficiency	..	..	3.15	40.18	..	..	0.39	..		

TABLE 3 (b) contd...
Food Value (Nutrients composition) of different items taken daily per FEMALE adult unit
(Dhenkanal Study Area)

Sl. No.	Foodstuff	Quantity in Kg.	Iron in Mg.	Common Salt Nacl in Gm.	Calories Energy in Kcal	Carotene in Mg.	Thiamine in Mg.	Niacin in Mg.	Riboflavin in Mg.	Ascorbic Acid in Mg.
(1)	(2)	(3)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)	(17)	(18)
1	Rice	0.618	17.30	..	2150.61	55.62	1.67	24.72	0.74	..
2	Puffed Rice	0.024	1.49	..	78.48	..	0.05	0.18	0.01	..
3	Dal	0.009	0.88	..	31.5	3.42	0.04	0.18	0.03	..
4	Potato	0.016	0.11	..	15.84	3.84	0.02	0.19	0.002	2.72
5	Onion & Garlic	0.016	0.16	..	15.44	1.2	0.11	0.06	0.02	1.92
6	Greens	0.057	4.33	..	36.87	2337	0.02	0.40	0.07	60.61
7	Ladies fingers	0.002	0.03	..	0.82	1.16	0.001	0.01	0.002	0.32
8	Pumpkin	0.010	0.07	..	2.8	5	0.006	0.05	0.004	0.2
9	Mushrooms	0.003	0.045	..	1.29	0	0.004	0.07	0.005	0.36
10	Fish	0.007	1.58	..	25.48	0	0.008	0.37	0.006	0
11	Mustard Oil	0.005	..	..	45	..	..	..	..	..
12	Salt	0.017	..	17	..	..	..	..	..	..
13	Green Chillies	0.003	0.04	..	0.23	5.25	0.006	0.02	0.01	3.33
14	Total	0.787	26.035	17	2404.36	2412.49	1.935	26.25	0.899	69.46
15	Recommended diet allowances	..	27.7	17.5	2500	3000	1.8	19	1.5	200
16	Sufficiency	..	..	..	..	..	0.14	7.25	..	..
17	Deficiency	..	1.66	5	95.64	587.51	..	..	0.61	130.54

ANNEXURE 4 (a)
Average Diet Composition of the JUANG MALE compared with Indian Council of Medical Research (ICMR)
recommended Diet.

Sl. No.	Constituents Nutrients	ICMR Recommended quantity	Average Intake of an adult Juang Male	Excess	(Keonjhar Study Area)	
					Deficiency	Percentage
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
1	Protein	70 Gm.	58.98 Gm.	..	11.02Gm.	15.74 (-)
2	Carbohydrate	440 Gm.	498.79Gm.	78.79Gm.	..	13.36(+)
3	Fat	50Gm.	9.86 Gm.	..	40.14Gm.	80.28(-)
4	Calories	2500Gm.	2318.57 Kcal	..	181.43 Gm.	7.26(-)
5	Calcium	0.8Gm.	1.1 Gm.	0.3Gm.	..	37.5(+)
6	Phosphorus	1.4Gm.	2.74 Gm.	1.34Gm.	..	95.71(+)
7	Iron	27.7Mg.	50.72 Mg.	23.02Mg.	..	83.1(+)
8	Vitamin-A (B-Carotene)	3000Mg.	4735.55 Mg.	1735.55Mg.	..	57.85(+)
9	(Thiamine) Vitamine-B1	1.8Mg.	1.8 Mg.	..	..	..
10	(RIBOFLAVIN) Vitamin-B2	1.5Mg.	1.7 Mg.	0.2Mg.	..	13.33(+)
11	Niacin	19Mg.	22.46 Mg.	3.46Mg.	..	18.2(+)
12	(Ascorbic Acid- Vitamin-C)	200Mg.	143 Mg.	..	57 Mg.	28.5(-)
13	Common Salt	17.5 Mg.(15-20)	10 Gm.	..	7.5 Gm.	42.86(-)

ANNEXURE 4 (a)contd...
Composition of the Average Diet of JUANG FEMALE compared with Indian Council of Medical Research (ICMR) recommended Diet.

Sl. No.	Constituents Nutrients	ICMR Recommended quantity	Average Intake of an Adult Juang Female	(Keonjhar Study Area)		
				Excess	Deficiency	Percentage
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
1	Protein	70Gm.	48.38 Gm.	..	21.62 Gm.	30.88 (-)
2	Carbohydrate	440Gm.	418.87 Gm.	..	21.13 Gm.	4.8(-)
3	Fat	50Gm.	8.39Gm.	..	4.61 Gm.	83.22(-)
4	Calories	2500Kcal.	1903.78 Kcal.	..	596.22Kcal	23.85(-)
5	Calcium	0.8Gm.	1.11Gm.	0.31 Gm.	..	38.75(+)
6	Phosphorus	1.4Gm.	2.41Gm.	1.01 Gm.	..	72.14(+)
7	Iron	27.7Mg.	35.29Mg.	7.59 Mg.	..	27.4(+)
8	B-Carotene Vitamin A	3000 Mg.	4468.25Mg.	1468.25 Mg.	..	48.94(+)
9	THIAMINE Vit-B1	1.8 Mg.	1.69Mg.	..	0.12 Mg.	6.67(-)
10	RIBOFLAVIN Vitamin-B2	1.5Mg.	1.09 Mg.	..	0.41 Mg.	27.33(-)
11	NIACIN	19Mg.	16.37 Mg.	..	2.63 Mg.	13.84(-)
12	ASCORBIC ACID Vitamin-C	200Mg.	129.1 Mg.	..	70.9 Mg.	35.45(-)
13	Common Salt Nacl.	17.5Mg.	13Mg.	..	4.5 Gm.	25.71(-)

ANNEXURE 4 (b)

Composition of the Average Diet of JUANG MALE compared with Indian Council of Medical Research (ICMR) recommended Diet.

Sl. No.	Constituents Nutrients	ICMR Recommended quantity	Average Intake of an Adult Juang Male	Excess	Deficiency	Percentage
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
1	Protein	70 Gm.	70.04Gm.	0.04 Gm.	..	0.06(+)
2	Carbohydrate	440Gm.	566.69 Gm.	126.69 Gm.	..	28.79(+)
3	Fat	50Gm.	9.62Gm.		40.38Gm.	80.36(-)
4	Calories	2,500 Kcal	2,634.39(Kcal)	134.39 Kcal.	..	5.37(+)
5	Calcium	0.8Gm.	1.76 Gm.	1.68 Gm.	..	210(+)
6	Phosphorus	1.4Gm.	3.57Gm.	2.17 Gm.	..	155(+)
7	Iron	27.7 Mg.	29.25Mg.	1.55 Mg.	..	5.59(+)
8	Carotene Vitamin A	300Mg.	1,728.78Gm.	..	1,271.22Mg.	42.37(-)
9	Thiamine Vitamine-B	1.8Mg.	2.09Mg.	1.29 Mg.	..	71.66(+)
10	Riboflavin Vitamin-B2	1.5Mg.	0.93Mg.	..	0.57Mg.	38(+)
11	Niacin	19Mg.	29.80Mg.	10.80 Mg.	..	56.84(+)
12	Ascorbic Acid Vitamin-C	200Mg.	51.93 Mg.	..	148.07 Mg.	74.03(-)
13	Common Salt	17.5Mg.(15-20)	13(g)	..	4.5Mg.	25.71(-)

ANNEXURE 4 (b) contd..
Composition of the Average Diet of JUANG FEMALE compared with Indian Council of Medical Research (ICMR) recommended Diet.

Sl. No.	Constituents Nutrients	ICMR Recommended quantity	Average Intake of an adult Juang Female	(Dhenkanal Study Area)		
				Excess	Deficiency	Percentage
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
1	Protein	70 Gm.	66.85Gm.	..	3.15	4.5(-)
2	Carbohydrate	440 Gm.	513.22 Gm.	33.22Gm.	..	16.64(+)
3	Fat	50Gm.	9.82Gm.	..	40.18Gm.	80.36(-)
4	Calories	2,500Kcal	2,404.36Kcal	..	95.65Gm.	3.83(-)
5	Calcium	0.8Gm.	0.41Gm.	..	0.39Gm.	48.75(-)
6	Phosphorus	1.4Gm.	2.54 Gm.	1.14Gm.	..	(+)
7	Iron	27.7Mg.	26.04 Mg.	..	1.66Mg.	5.99(-)
8	Carotene Vitamin A	3,000Mg.	2,412.49 Mg.	..	587.51Mg.	19.58(-)
9	Thiamine Vitamin B	1.8Mg.	1.94 Mg.	3.14Mg.	..	7.78(+)
10	Riboflavin Vitamin B	1.5Mg.	0.89 Mg.	..	0.61Mg.	40.67(-)
11	Niacin	19Mg.	26.25Mg.	7.25Mg.	..	38.16(+)
12	Ascorbic Acid Vitamin C	200Mg.	69.46 Mg.	..	130.54Mg.	65.27(-)
13	Common Salt	17.5Mg.	17Mg.	..	0.5Gm.	2.86(-)

HEALTH AND NUTRITIONAL STATUS OF THE JUANG CHILDREN*

*Trilochan Sahoo*¹

ABSTRACT

It is an exploratory study on the health and nutritional status of the Juang children in Gonasika area of Keonjhar district in Orissa. It deals with the present health and nutritional status of the Juang children and makes suitable recommendations for their betterment in future. The methodology of Rapid Rural Appraisal (R.R.A) has been applied in this study to identify the causes of malnutrition and health hazards, Research techniques, like observation, interview, and group discussion have been employed to ascertain the views of the Juang people on the above issue. The study findings provide information regarding agricultural practices, beliefs and taboos, food habits, extent of malnutrition and morbidity pattern, health care, supplementary feeding programme, etc. among the Juang. The assessment on health and nutritional status of the Juang children has been made on the basis of data collected from primary and secondary sources.

(I)

INTRODUCTION

This article is based on an exploratory study on health and nutritional problems of the Juang children of Keonjhar district of Orissa. It attempts to make an assessment of the health and nutritional status of the Juang children and suggests remedial measures.

Medical Anthropology surveys reveal that tribal people of Orissa living in variable eco-system face health and nutritional problems. Their diet is deficient both in quantity and quality. Most of them suffer from malnutrition which affects their health status.

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Objectives :

The aim of this study was to explore the nutritional and health status of Juang children of Keonjhar district with an anthropological perspective. The objectives for the study were to:

- (1) Identify various factors, like ecological, demographic and cultural etc, which influence the life-style of the Juangs in general and their health and nutritional status in particular.
- (2) Analyse the food habits of the Juang and work out their caloric and protein intake.
- (3) Assess the nutrition and health and morbidity status of Juang children.
- (4) Recommend for betterment of nutritional& health status of the group.

Scope of the Study:

The study was conducted in three selected Juang villages namely (1) Tangarpada, a relatively inaccessible village with no health care and nutrition feeding facility, (2) Upper Raidia an accessible village with no health care but with supplementary nutrition facility and (3) Gonasika, an accessible central village with health care as well as nutrition facility available. The purpose of studying three different categories of villages was to have a comparative picture of health care and nutritional situation of the Juang children. All the Juang households from the above villages were covered under the survey.

The diet survey was covered taking 5 sample households comprising land holder, landless and agricultural labour from each selected study villages. Hence, diet survey was made over 15 sample households from Juang community. Some Anthropometric measurements of 100 Juang children from the 0-6 years age group were taken. Almost all the Juang children of the three study villages were taken into account. The diet survey was made and anthropometric measurements were taken to assess the nutritional status of the Juang children.

Methods of Study :

The study was conducted during the year 1995-1996 by a research team of S.C. and S.T. Research and Training Institute (SCSTRTI), Bhubaneswar. The study covered all the Juang households of the above cited three Juang villages of Banspal Block in Keonjhar district. The research tools were (1) Household Schedule, (2) Village Schedule, (3) Observation, (4) Group discussion and (5) Anthropometric measurements. The techniques of Rapid Rural Appraisal (R.R.A.) were also used for the problem identification exercise.

The research team visited the study villages on foot for three to four days regularly and returned to Gonasika camp by afternoon and made night halt there.

During our visiting hours the Juang people were contacted and head of each households were interviewed with the help of household schedule, with a view to collect necessary data on demography, socio- economic status of persons and group discussions were organized for groups of ten to thirteen Juang men and women. They were interviewed for gathering information on socio-cultural aspects, prevalent practices and taboos, feeding habits etc.

Emphasis was given on talks and open-ended interviews by visiting the offices of Medical Officer, Additional P.H.C., Gonasika, L.H.B., Gonasika, Special Officer, J.D.A., Gonasika, P.A., I.T.D.A., Keonjhar for collection of data on health and morbidity pattern, supplementary nutrition programme, socio-economic and Human Resource Development programme meant for the Juangs. Moreover, the researchers had visited all the Juang households in the three study villages and the natural resources, like river stream, wells, tube-wells and the traditional socio-religious institutions, like village deity, shrine, Mandaghar (Dormitory house), the Chatasali etc. to take stock of situations through observation which helped a lot in the sketching the research contents.

Available secondary data on the land, people, area, problems, and ongoing development programmes were collected from official sources, like Additional P.H.C., Gonasika, P.A., I.T.D.A., Keonjhar and Special Officer, Juang Development Agency, as well as from the library of SCSTRTI.

Concepts:

The three basic concepts used in this paper are "health", "nutrition" and "nutriture". They are defined below.

According to World Health Organisation (WHO), "Health is a state of complete physical, mental and social wellbeing and not merely absence of disease or infirmity" (Gupta, 1996).

"Nutrition may be defined as the science of food and its relationship to health" (Gupta, 1996). "Nutriture refers to the condition of physical health and wellbeing of the body as related to the consumption and utilization of food for growth, maintenance and repair" (Fleck, 1981).

The Study Area: Physiography, Climate, Flora & Fauna:

The area is a hilly and forest, rocky terrain situated at altitude of 2909 mean sea level. The terrain is extremely undulating. The climate is subtropical monsonic type. It experiences hot summer from March to May, beating cold winter from December to February and monsoon between June to September. It is unhealthy and malarial. The atmosphere is cool. The temperature rises up to 40°C during summer and falls down to 7°C in winter. In higher reaches the summer climate is cool and enjoyable. The monsoon breaks out in early part of June and continues up to the middle of October. The annual rainfall of the area is about 1400

mm to 1550 mm. The rainfall is neither regular nor uniform. The topography of the area is very undulating.

The Juang-pirha is situated on an elevated hilly region interwoven by deep valleys and ravines. The shape of hill slopes is concave. The valley bottoms are flat. Usually the hill slopes are covered with thick forests. The forests at the hill-tops are virgin. The forests at the slopes as well as hill foot are thin and denuded due to swidden cultivation. The total forest area comprises of 34287.39 Ha. (53.45%). The vegetation in the said area is enriched with varieties of species like Asan, Arjun, Amba, Panasa, Kendu, Gambhari, Kusum, Karanja, Jamun, Mahua, Bamboo. Besides other minor species, the *sialicreepers* and a kind of tall grass (Sinkunda) are plentifully available in the area.

The fauna of the area comprises of various kinds of deers, wild boars, bears, *sambars*, monkeys, leopards and elephants and hyenas found in small numbers. The wild birds in the forests include peacocks, wild fowls and pigeons.

There is a symbiotic relationship between the Juangs and the surrounding forests. The swidden cultivation of the Juangs, their dependency and increasing population pressure on the forests have made the forests denuded and wild animals and minor forest produces scarce in the area.

The JDA Area &Population:

The Juang Development Agency (J.D.A), Gonasika covers a geographical area of 64 Sq Kms. The area comprises of 29 Revenue villages and 3 hamlets in 6 Gram Panchayats of Banspal block in Sadar sub-division of Keonjhar district.

According to 1991 Census the total population of the area was 10.424. Out of which 8,378 (80.37%) belong to STs and 373 (3.53%) to SCs. Among the STs, Juang is the dominant group. The other STs of the area are the Bhuiyan, Kolha and Munda. The Dom and Pano only are the SC communities of the area. Among the other castes the Gouda, Telli and Chasa are common.

The Juang population in the state have shown growth rate of 26.62 per cent over the decade 1971-81. The techno-economic survey (1992) conducted by SCSTRTI had estimated an annual growth rate of 1.77 per cent during the period from 1980 to 1992 in the Juang country. As per the survey the sex ratio of the Juang population in the area was 1009:1000 as against 1012 for the total Juang population of the Keonjhar district as well as of the whole state as per 1981 census. The sex ratio of the general population in the Keonjhar district and Orissa were lower, i.e. 983 and 981 respectively during this period.

The classification of the Juang population by age-group shows those 15.39 per cent (845) children returns from 0 to 4 years and about 29.00 percent (801) prospective mothers from 16 to 45 Years. This explains that 29.98 percent of the total Juang population of the area constitutes the vulnerable segment who deserves special health and nutritional care.

Socio-Cultural Profile of the Juang:

There are 62 Scheduled Tribes in Orissa including 13 are Primitive Tribal Groups (PTGs). The Juang is a PTGs. They are found nowhere else in India but in Orissa. Their main concentration is in the districts of Keonjhar and Dhenkanal. They are considered autochthones of Gonasika area in Keonjhar district.

According to Verrier Elwin, Juang means 'Man'. The Juangs believe that they are the first men born on the surface of the earth. They were earlier called as Patuas for putting on leaf dresses.

The Juangs belong to proto-Australoid racial stock. They are medium in stature with long head, high cheek bones and broad nose with depression at the root. The colour of their skin varies from brown to dark brown. Their hair is black, coarse and wavy. The shape of the face is oval. The eye-slit is straight and epicanthic eye fold is absent (THRTI, 1989).

They have a dialect of their own (Juang) that belongs to northern Mundari group. With the contact of Oriya neighbours they have become conversant in Oriya language.

The Juangs classify themselves into two sections i.e. the Thaniya and the Bhagudia. The Thanyias live in their own land called Juang *pirha* located in Gonasika hills. The Bhagudias are those who have fled away from Keonjhar to Dhenkanal during Bhuinya rebellion in 1861. Among them also there are the families and descendants of some Juangsex-communicated from the Juang *pirh*.

The Gonasika hill area in Keonjhar district is said to be the original homeland of the Juang. The district is located in the northern part of the State between 21°10'N latitude and 85°11'E and 86°22'E longitude with an area of 8330.7Kms. The district is geographically divided as Upper Keonjhar and Lower Keonjhar with the former division consisting of the hill ranges of Gonasika, Mankadanacha, and Gandhamardan. The later division is a table-land.

The Juangs of Keonjhar live in a hill country consisting of four *pirhas* (maximal territorial units) namely Jharkhand, Sathkhand, Rebena and Kathua. Gonasika lies at the center of the Juang country. It is located at the place of origin of the sacred river, Boitarani. The Juangs of Jharkhand and Sathkhand *pirhas* are hill dwellers who represent their indigenous culture. The Juangs of Rebena and Kathua *Pirhas* are dwellers on the foot hills. The hill dwelling Juangs claim social superiority over their counterparts living in other areas.

Neighbours:

The Juangs no more live in isolation for the immigration of other people to their area and improving communication facilities. Now they are living along with other Scheduled Tribes like the Bhuinyas, Bathudis and Gonds and Scheduled Castes like, the Panos and other castes, the Gaudas, Mahantas, and Sundis etc.

Their habitat has been linked with the NH-6 at Bayapandadhar by a 12 Km long black topped all weather road. Besides, link roads have been constructed from Gonasika to other adjoining Juang villages of the remote areas. Now it is seen that some Gouda, Pano and Bhuiyan who live in the same geo-physical settings have also been given some lands for the swidden cultivation.

In recent times the Juang are giving up the habit of changing their dwelling places in tune with the rotation of swidden sites and other socio-cultural reasons. Now they use to stay in settled villages. The villages are mostly situated at the foot of the hills or in the valleys where the natural resources like perennial stream and swidden fields are available.

Previously the Juang villages were homogeneous and uniclan in nature. In course of time it has turned multi clan and multi-ethnic. However, the Juangs are continuing as the numerically preponderant group in the villages. The average Juang villages comprise of 20 to 30 families with a population of about 100 to 150 in the Juang pirth area.

Social Organisation:

The Juang society is divided into a number of clans called “killi” named after plants, fruits, birds and animals. The members of a clan observe taboos relating to their totems especially in respect of killing and doing any harm to the objects. In their society usually clan and village exogamy go side by side.

Keeping the regulation of marriage in view the Juang villages are divided into two groups, the cognatic or “Bandhu” villages and the agnatic or ‘Kutum’ villages. As such maritalties are established among the ‘Bandhu’ villages but not with the ‘Kutum’ villages. The Juang society is patrilineal, patrilocal and patriarchal. They use classificatory and descriptive kinship terminology while addressing each other, but the former is common.

Family is a primary social unity of the Juang. Their major economic and social activities revolve round it. Their most common form of family is nuclear type. Joint or extended family are rarely found. Usually, though not necessarily, immediately after marriage a son separates from his father’s family and sets up a new residence of his own. The descent is always traced through male line. The property is inherited by son after the death of his father. The authority in the Juang family is exercised by the father of the senior most male member.

The Juang women also contribute to their family economy. They enjoy a better social status than the women of their neighbouring non-tribal societies. Religiously, the family is a ritual unit as ancestral spirits are worshipped here.

The Juangs believe in rebirth. Birth of a child in a family brings happiness. Barren women are disliked. On the contrary a mother of many children enjoys prestige and pride.

Among the Juangs marriage is meant to procreate progenies, to regulate sex behaviour, to bring social status and to contribute to the family economy. Various forms of marriages are in vogue among the Juangs. The most common forms are marriage by arrangement, by capture, by elopement and love marriages. The significant aspect of Juang marriage is payment of bride-price.

The Juangs bury their corpse in case of unnatural death and cremate if it is a natural one. In both the cases elaborate mortuary rites are performed failing which, it is believed the spirit of the dead person will turn hostile and cause trouble to the concerned family members.

The village youth dormitory of Juang is called 'Majang' or 'Mandaghar'. The socio-cultural life of Juang revolves round it. It functions as an institution of training for the youths, a place of meeting, a rest house for the guests and bachelors of the village, a community granary and above all a cultural center. This institution helps the Juangs to keep their tribal solidarity and cohesion and maintain the customs and traditions. Here the juniors are trained by the seniors all about the norms, traditions, customs and patterns of cultural behaviour.

The Juang *pirha* is a maximal traditional territorial unit having a socio-political organization headed a Sardar. Each Juang village under a *pirha* has a headman called as Pradhan. Previously the Sardar was in charge of maintenance of law and order and collection of land revenue under the feudatory estate. Currently he only exercises, customary judicial powers over the dispute cases of socio-economic and religious nature that occur in his territory and not solved at the villages level by the village head, the Pradhan. The traditional village council is still effective and disposing of minor cases holding meetings at Mandaghar. Serious cases like incest, thefts and murders are referred to police station. The statutory village panchayat has been operating in the area side by side.

The Juangs observe a number of festivals and ceremonies throughout the year. They are Puspunei, Amb Nua, Tirtia, Asadi, Pirh Puja, Dhan Nuaetc. Puspunei is their most important annual festival. Some of the religious festivals are linked with eating of new fruits, hunting and food gathering and agricultural operations. Their religious belief is that the life is controlled and guided by various deities and spirits and natural objects. Dharam Devta (Sun God) and Basumata (Earth Goddess) are the two supreme deities of the Juangs. The other deities they worship are Gram-Siri (village deity), Thanpati (tutelary deity), Bhim Badma and Kanchuni. Besides they also worship natural objects like hills, forests, rivers etc. and ancestors spirits for their wellbeing, protection from calamities and misfortune and for good health and good harvest.

There is no specialty in the dress pattern of the Juangs. The men folk wear dhoti, the women folk wear saree. The school-going children put on shirts and pants. The women adorn themselves with various ornaments such as anklets, armlets, bangles, ear-rings, nose and toe rings, waist chain made of brass or aluminium and different varieties of bead and coin necklaces. Women folk prefer

tattooing but its significance is declining now a days. They are not very careful about keeping their dresses clean.

The daily routine works of Juang starts early in the morning and ends at the sun-set. This shows that they are industrious. Regarding division of labour, men do all type of hard works such as ploughing, sowing, broadcasting, tree cutting and felling and house construction. Women do household chores. Women and elderly children assist the men in economic pursuits like shifting cultivation, settled agriculture, forest collections, animal husbandry and wage earning.

(II)

STUDY FINDINGS

(A) The Study Area & Villages

The Village Scenario:

The Juang study villages of Gonasika area are popular and historically famous sacred place in Keonjhar district for the place of origin of the river Baitarani and its tributaries. The three study villages namely Gonasika, Upper Raidia and Tangarpada attract the outsiders for their sylvan surroundings and unique location. The former two villages belong to Gonasika Gram Panchayat in Kanjipani Police Station and the latter one comes under Kudipasa Gram Panchayat in Keonjhar Police Station. All the three villages are located in Banspal C.D. Block of the Sadar Sub-division of the Keonjhar district.

At present one has to negotiate the area on foot due to lack of regular transport facility except the private vehicles which ply at times for the pilgrims and tourists who visit the sacred places of Gonasika, Guptaganga and the Temple of Lord Shiva. Hence, the local tribals largely negotiate the area on foot and carrying poles and slings are used for transporting their personal effects.

Communication:

The village Gonasika is linked with N.H. No.6 at Bayapandadhar by a black topped jeepable road. The village upper Raidia is linked with Gonasika by a jeepable *kutchha* road of about 3 K.Ms length. Tangarpada is an inaccessible village connected with Gonasika by a Katchha ghat road of 3 K.Ms length. Besides, the village is also approachable from the northern side to Keonjhar by a *kutchha* road. Likewise there is an jeepable *morrum kutchha* road of about 4 K.Ms from upper Raidia village to Kanjipani police station which is connected with the N.H.No.6.

Infrastructural Facilities:

Gonasika is the central village. The nearest Railway Station is 132 K.Ms away from it. There is a Sub-Post Office, one Ashram School of Tribal Welfare department, one Additional P.H.C., one Panchayat Office and one LAMPCS in the

village. The village is electrified but not the other two study villages. None of the Juang houses have been connected with power supply.

There is no educational facility at the villages Tangarpada and Upper Raidia other than the Chatasalis run by J.D.A. Anganwadi Centres are functioning at Gonasika and Upper Raidia villages, Tangarpada is yet to get I.C.D.S. facilities.

The people of the three villages mainly depend on two weekly markets, one at Gonasika and the other at Kanjipani. Besides, the people of Tangarpada also depend on Keonjhar daily market.

The village traditional cultural center that is “Mandaghar” or the youth dormitory exists in all the three study villages.

Land Use Pattern:

The total area of the study villages is 7885.39 Ha. The village forest land covers 2608.91Ha, i.e., 45.76% of the total area. The arable land of the area is 225.96 Ha (2.86%) out of which 51 Ha (22%) are wet land. The total cultivable waste land including grazing and groves is 164.77Ha (2.08%). The area covered under shifting cultivation is 2972.69 Ha (32.63%).

EthnicComposition and Households:

All the three villages are heterogeneous in ethnic composition. There are households of Scheduled Tribes (76.17%), Scheduled Castes (9.33%) and other Castes (14.5%) in these villages. There are a total of 193 households in all the three villages out of which 121(82%) are Juang. Hence the Juangs are numerically preponderant community there.

The households of other communities found in these villages are Bhuiyan (19), Munda (4), Santal (3), Pana (18), Sundi (2) and Gond (26).

Settlement Pattern:

The Juang hutments in the village Gonasika is situated at the hill top but the new rehabilitation colony of the village is at the hill slope. The other two study villages, Tangarpada and Upper Raidia are located at hill slopes. The settlement pattern of these villages is dispersed. The houses in the villages are constructed around the dormitory house - Majang. There is dancing arena and the shrine of the Gramsiri (village deity) in front of the Majang of each study villages. There are hill streams flowing adjacent to the villages. Each village has its traditionally well demarcated territorial boundary including the village forests and swidden fields.

Population:

The population structure of the three study villages are shown in the Table-1. The table shows 613 Juang persons returned from the sample survey. Of them 51.55 per cent were males and 48.45 percent females. The male, female ratio of the sample population was 1000:940. 14.68 percent of the total sample

population was children from the age group of 0 to 5 years. 28 (4.56%) infants were under one year of age. 62 (10.11%) were from the age group of 1-5 years.

TABLE - 1
Population Structure of Study Villages

Sl. No	Age group	Population			Percentage		
		Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1.	0-3 Months	1	4	5	-	-	-
2.	4-6 Months	3	4	7	-	-	-
3.	7-9 Months	13	5	8	-	-	-
4.	10-12 Months	2	6	8	-	-	-
5.	1-5 Years	31	31	62	9.81	10.44	10.11
6.	5-9 Years	50	48	98	-	-	-
7.	10-14 Years	46	31	77	-	-	-
8.	15-19 Years	21	21	42	-	-	-
9.	20-25 Years	26	13	39	-	-	-
10.	25-29 Years	18	27	45	-	-	-
11.	30-34 Years	34	33	67	-	-	-
12.	35-39 Years	23	16	39	-	-	-
13.	40-44 Years	19	19	38	-	-	-
14.	45-49 Years	19	12	31	-	-	-
15.	50-54 Years	6	6	12	-	-	-
16.	55-59 Years	6	5	11	-	-	-
17.	60+ Years	8	16	24	-	-	-
	Total:	316 (51.55)	297 (48.45)	613 (100)	-	-	-

1000 males per 940 females.

Literacy:

Education is a key input for Human Resource Development. Educationally the Juangs are considered very backward. The literacy status of the Juangs have been tabulated and presented in the Table-2.

TABLE-2
Literacy Status

Sl No	Age Group	Illiterate			Just literate			Primary			Secondary			Total		
		M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
1.	5-14	60	78	138	6	1	7	25	1	26	4	-	4	96	80	176
2.	15-24	15	33	48	16	1	17	11	-	11	5	-	5	47	34	81
3.	25-44	57	83	140	30	12	42	5	-	5	2	-	2	94	95	189
4.	45-59	25	22	47	6	1	7	-	-	-	-	-	-	31	23	54
5.	60+	6	16	22	2	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	8	16	24
	Total	163	232	395	60	15	75	41	1	42	11	-	11	275	248	523
		59.27%	93.55%	75.52%			14.34%			8.03%			2.11%			

Data on literacy of the sample population has been calculated excluding population below 5 years. Among them 75.52 percent were illiterate. Female illiteracy is 93.55 percent and male illiteracy is 59.27 percent. Further only 14.34 % were just literate, 8.03 % had primary and 2.11% had secondary education. Literacy among land holders was less (62.03%) than among the landless (81.20%).

Family Type:

The Juang families are mostly nuclear. Their family categories are shown in the Table-3. It was found that 60 percent of the sample families are nuclear. The average family size was 4.94 or say 5 members.

T A B L E-3
Family Type

Sl. No	Type of Family	Family Category		
		Total Family	Land holder	Landless
1.	Nuclear	75 (60.48%)	35	40
2.	Extended	49 (39.52%)	23	26
3.	Total	124 (100%)	58 (46.77%)	56 (53.23%)

Economic Condition:

They are primitive and mostly earn their livelihood from primitive agricultural practices (swidden cultivation), hunting and food gathering and sale of fire wood. About 50 % of the sample households are landless, 40% are marginal farmers and 10% are small farmers. According to the main source of livelihood, 13.22% households are cultivators, 37.19% depend on shifting cultivation, 18.10%, on forest collections, 29.75% on wage earning and 1.6% on cottage industry. Regarding their income from all the sources, not a single family has been reported to have crossed the poverty line. They are mostly primitive, non-literate and poor.

As regards the source of income, 51% of the income comes from settled and shifting cultivation, 25% from forest collection, 14% from wage earning, 6% from animal husbandry and 4% from other sources.

The cropping pattern is discussed in the statement below. It reveals that during Kharif they produced paddy (126 Qtls), Ragi (16Qtls), Maize (21 Qtls), Arhar (9Qtls), Kating (6Qtls), Biri (13Qtls) and vegetables (9Qtls.). During Rabi season they produced Wheat (37Qtls), Maize (14 Qtls), Biri (8Qtls), Mustard (16Qtls), Niger (22Qtls), Ground nut (7.Qtls) and Vegetables (3Qtls).

During the year 1994-95 the total production of cereals was 214Qtls. Pulses, 35Qtls., oil seeds 45 Qtls, and vegetables 12 Qtls.

The survey indicates that out of 124 households 108 households have domestic animals like cow, bullock, goat, sheep, pig and poultry birds. Cows are mainly used in ploughing. The sheep, goat, pig and poultry birds are meant for ritual and food purpose. They are also occasionally sold for cash.

In the Juang society people of all age, sex and status such as children, young and old-men work. Hard works like ploughing, sowing seeds, thatching, tree felling are done by men and cooking and household chores are done by women. Some works like weeding, transplanting, reaping and threshing are done both by men and women. Persons of either sex including grown up children, young and old go to the forest for collection of minor forest produce. Grown up children assist their parents in the works. The women are always found to be engaged in some works or the other both inside or outside the house.

Occasionally the Juang men go out for hunting wild games. Due to denudation of forests the number of wild animals has been reduced. Moreover restriction of Forest Department relating to safeguarding the wild life has discouraged the habit of hunting among the Juangs. Fishing is a pastime for the Juangs than an occupation.

The Juangs spent 81% of their income on food, 9% on dress, festival, ritual and religion, 4% on wine and tobacco, 2% on medicine, 1% on education and the rest 3% on Kerosene oil, gift and emergency expenses.

The survey findings revealed that 42.00% of the Juang families were indebted. Of them 40% families incurred loan from private money-lenders and 60% from Governmental agencies. The reasons of borrowing money are mostly for food, marriage and religious expenses.

Statement

Analysis of Cropping Pattern in Study Villages

Sl. No	Name of the Crops	Khariff		Rabi	
		Area in Acres	Crops in Quintals	Area in Acres	Crops in Quintals
A.	Cereals				
1.	Paddy	144	126	-	37
2.	Wheat	-	-	49	37
3.	Ragi	23	16	-	-
4.	Maize	39	21	26	14
B.	Pulses				
1.	Arhar	30	9	-	-
2.	Kating	16	6	-	-
3.	Biri	38	13	22	8
C.	Oil Seeds				
1.	Mustard	-	-	47	16
2.	Niger	-	-	71	32
3.	Ground-nut	-	-	10	7
D.	Vegetables	11	9	4	30

Hygiene & Sanitation:

In the Juang area clean air and pollution free atmosphere is the gift of nature. Still the Juangs are not healthy for poor intake of food, lack of awareness about the adverse effects of insanitary living conditions, malarial climate etc. The villages covered under study have no compost pits and pits for garbage disposal. There are many fruit-bearing trees inside the village. The shades of the trees keep the ground damp for most of the time. The leaves of the trees fall on the ground and remain as such till they are decomposed. The cow-dung and droppings of other animals lie on the ground till they get putrefied and the humus mixing with dung generate bad odor. All these factors make a condition congenial for the mosquitoes to breed.

The Juangs mostly live in one-roomed hut without ventilation facility. Besides, two or three wooden platforms are constructed in this room for storing articles and grains. This multipurpose small room serves as a cooking place, accommodation of men and pet animals and birds. The smoke from the oven inside the house makes troubles for the men especially the women.

Cowshed and pigsty are found close to the little hut that makes the surrounding filthy. The Juangs have a bad habit of blowing the nose on the ground and spitting here and there as a result germs of T.B. and other respiratory diseases spread. They attend the call of nature in the vicinity of the village area. This is the picture of the unhygienic environment in which the Juang live.

All the three villages are located on the hill slopes and near hill streams. They use the bank of the stream as defecation ground. They wash their clothes, take bath and bathe their cattle in the stream water. Hence water of the stream gets polluted. The Juangs mostly use the water for drinking purposes and fall easy prey to various stomach diseases.

The Juangs throw cowdung and household refuses in the backyards. Their house surrounding remain unclean and thus turn breeding ground for various insects like mosquitoes and flies which cause fatal diseases like malaria, gastro-enteritis, and warm infection.

The Juang rise very early in the morning and wash their faces with water. Then they go to excrete at the vicinity of village and wash afterwards in the stream water. They do not use shop after defecation but use leaves or clay. Then they use tooth twig to brush and clean their teeth. Men take bathe regularly but not the women. They rarely use soap and oil at the bathing time. The women keep long hair and take little care of them and their children. Mostly the children are found naked and playing on the ground. They are not so careful to wash hands before taking meals. They do not clean and trim their nails regularly. They do not use foot wear. So germs enter their body through bare foot. As such the children are affected by itches, other skin diseases and warm infections.

Water Source:

All the Juangs from Gonasika and Upper Raidia villages use stream water for drinking purpose. During summer when water becomes scarce they depend on cistern dug in the stream bed or bank. The Juang of Tangarpada village use water cistern made at the bank of the stream though out the year. There are 6 tube wells in these villages. Out of these 4 wells are defunct. Two tube wells are functioning but their water is not used for its foul smell and heavy iron contents. Even the Juangs prefer muddy water of the stream during rainy season than tube well water. They are not aware that the stream water is polluted and contaminated and carry germs to cause various water borne diseases.

Often they store the water in dirty containers and keep the same uncovered. Besides, when they work in the swidden field or jungle they drink water either from the dirty container(gourd) or from the jungle spring. Hence they are exposed to unsafe and polluted drinking water and suffer from diarrhoea, other gastro-intestinal disorders, typhoid, jaundice etc. Their children are more prone to these diseases.

(B) Health & Nutritional Status

Food and Nutrition

The basic functions of food are providing energy, maintaining growth and repair of the body and protecting the body against diseases. The Juang believe that food keep their bodies (*ini*) and souls together and enable them to work and to be healthy (*tagada*). They are omnivorous and their diet contains various seasonal foods available in the locality in addition to whatever meager amount of crops they get from their field.

"Food, their fields" yield, feed the Juang only till about March; and since harvesting thereafter starts only in November, they survive on their crops for just four months. During the remaining eight months they have to fend for themselves in other ways. May be there is some crop left over, but mostly they eat seasonal fruits, roots, flowers and leaves from the jungle. That is to say, they have since centuries fed more on what their forests provide-and less on what the fields provide." (Nayak, Boal and Soreng; 1993, 163).

The denudation of forests the forest reservation policy and the reforestation programme pursued by Government, restrictions of Forest Department on hunting and exploitation of forest resources have threatened the traditional forest based subsistence of the Juang and thus reduced the availability of forest foods, both of animal and vegetable origin. Moreover poverty and hunger have pushed some Juangs for selling the forest foods they collect and purchasing rice against the accrued money.

Besides, what they produce and collect from forests, the other factors which influence the food availability of the Juang are the Government supply of rice at subsidized rate under P.D.S. @ Rs.2/- per Kg. Rice for 20 Kgs per family per month and the supplementary nutrition under I.C.D.S. The recent infrastructure development programmes of I.T.D.A., D.R.D.A., J.D.A. and other line Departments, I.A.Y., village roads under RLEGP, Soil Conservation works, afforestation and reforestation works of forest department have been generating rural employments which enhanced the food purchasing power of the Juangs that influenced, though not significantly, their food availability.

The income-generating measures of Integrated Tribal Development Agency, Keonjhar and other departments in general and the Juang Development Agency in particular have influenced the food habit of the Juangs the most, through production of High Yielding grains and vegetables and oil seeds like rice, maize, papaya, lemon, drumstick, guava, banana, potato, sweet-potato and mustard, till, ground-nut and niger etc. By the by, the Juangs are getting acquainted with the intake of nutrition from the above vegetable food. Undoubtedly, this has considerable influence on their food availability.

Food Consumption & Variation

The Juangs are never conscious about the balance diet. Availability of food for them is quite uncertain and thus their diet is irregular and inadequate in quantity and quality. To satisfy their hunger they collect essential foods from the forests or produce rice, minor millets, maize, *ragi* and *mandia*, pulses like green grams, *jhudang*, beans and oil seeds like *niger* in their swiddens. But the quantity of the above collections and produces are scanty which hardly meet their minimum food requirements for a year. Consequently, they remain starved or semi starved for a few days during rainy season. They bear with this alarming situations by consuming dishes of less value and small quantity prepared from the powder of mango kernel mixed with (rice or *ragi*) and also jack-fruit seeds and tamarind seeds, Gruels, cakes and curry from the above food ingredients comprises their diet in acute deficit conditions especially during rainy season. Besides, varieties of mushrooms and green leaves also supplements the diet of Juang in this season. The Juang love to catch fishes in rivers and streams and take fishes occasionally. They also take dry fishes purchased from the weekly hat and made by them.

"The Juangs are also habituated to drinking liquor brewed from Mahua flowers and prepared from rice and maize" (Patnaik, 1986, 30-31). His analysis on the food value shows that nutrients like calcium, phosphorus, iron and vitamin-A are found in excess in the diet taken by the Juangs of Keonjhar district whereas the deficient nutrients in their diet are protein, fat, calorie, vitamin-C and common salt. "The diet of the Juang is neither regular nor standardized. Quantity and quality of the food depend on the availability of the food stuffs at the time and seasonal agricultural cycle and forest collection" (Patnaik, 1986, 27).

The Juangs of Keonjhar depend primarily upon millet diet with addition of rice, vegetables, maize and wheat according to seasonal availability. The important types of foods are rice or millets, *ragi* gruel, parboiled rice cooked in water, rice cakes, rice water, roasted maize and maize gruel, bread prepared from wheat flour, pulses cooked into *dal*, vegetable curry, green jack-fruit cooked to make curry, green leaves added to *ragi* or millet gruel, mango kernel made into gruel or cakes, boiled or roasted roots and tubers, mutton, chicken, egg, meat cooked with spices. Fruits such as jack-fruit and mango form the principal diet of the Juangs in summer season.

The winter months provide the Juang two square rice-meals a day after harvesting of paddy during the season. In cases of a few well to do Juangs their rice production meet their annual and (or) half yearly needs. The staple food of the Juang during this season is rice. They take curry of local pulses like *arhar*, horse gram and long beans etc. They occasionally take vegetables like cauliflower and cabbage, brinjal and potato, onion and tomato especially at the time when there are available at cheaper rate. They augment their diet with dishes of dry fishes.

The food availability of the Juang either from cultivation or forest collection has been reduced over a few years. Accordingly the pattern of food intake of Juang is limited to two meals in a day, one in the morning and another in the evening. The regular meal consists of a bowl of boiled rice (Approximate weight: 200gms.) and a little bit of salt. At times dishes such as *dal*, green leaves and some vegetables boiled with a little turmeric and salt are added to the meal. Special curry of meat and eggs add to the rice meal rarely that too in festive occasions. During the period of our stay in the field we have never come across with any Juang taking curry other than salt and roasted green *arhar* with a rice meal. We are the eye-witness of instances that most of the Juang meals consist of boiled rice and a little bit salt. Even chilly either dry or green are found to be absent in the meal. This is the meal pattern only in the post harvesting periods which prevail hardly upto January or February. The children use to take meals thrice or four times a day but their intake quantity is less. The meal pattern for men and women is equal but they always compromise with the quantity of rice in a meal when their children demand more.

When hard agricultural operations are going on they take meals thrice a day. During scarcity they take one meal and under acute scarcity, no meal at all. Some of the Juangs of Tangarpada village told us that they starved for a total of 10 days during the heavy rainy days in the last rainy season. Telling so they were pointing to the stock of kernel-less mango stones lying in front of their houses. They stated that they had taken the mango kernel and tamarind seeds as food. This is their food scenario that they are fed far below their minimum needs.

However, on festive occasions they take curry made of sacrificial meat or pork along with boiled rice. Besides, mutton, chicken and eggs etc. as per their availability are taken by them during rituals and festivals. Hunting provides them

non-veg food but the frequencies of such chances are getting less day by day. The Juangs prefer to take the meat of big red ant, deer, fowl, goat, pig, pigeon, rabbit and varieties of birds. The Juangs do not take milk or its products.

Seasonal Variations in Juang Food

Food items	Seasons / Months		
	Summer (March -June)	Rainy (July-October)	Winter (Nov-February)
1	2	3	4
1. Staple Cereals	Rice, Rice gruel, Ragi cakes.	Rice, Rice gruel, Ragi cakes and gruel, Wheat, Maize	Rice, Maize, Millet.
2. Pulses	-	-	Black gram, Green gram, Horse gram, Arhar, Ragi.
3. Root & Tubers	Wild roots & Tubers like Baingaaru, Pitaru, Mandeiaru	-	Wild roots & Tubers
4. Wild fruits, Vegetables & Green leaves	Mango, Jack-fruits, Kendu, Char, Green leaves.	Jack-fruit seeds, Mushrooms, Green leaves, Jamukoli, Pumpkin, Bean, Mahul, Papaya, Banana, Drumsticks, Cucumber, Gourd	Brinjal, Potato, Tomato, Green leaves.
5. Flesh food	Meat of wild animals and birds, insects and buffalo, fishes.	Crab, snails, fish, flying ants, chicken	Dry fish, beef, buffalo meat, pork, chicken, snails, fish & crab
6. Milk & Milk products	Mother's Milk	Mother's milk	Mother's milk
7. Oil & fats	Mustard oil	Mustard oil	Sal seed oil, Niger oil, Mustard oil, Kusum oil.
8. Miscellaneous food stuff	Honey, Bamboo tender shoots.	Mango kernel, Tamarind seed powder.	Honey, Bamboo tender shoots.
9. Supplementary feedings	Soya Corn Milk powder and oil	Soya Corn Milk power and oil	Soya Corn Milk power and oil

When meals are ready the Juang housewife offers a little of rice, *dal* or curry to her family ancestors by putting them in the hearth. Then she serves the food to the children first and then to other adult members equally and she herself takes food at the last. At times the wife manages with whatever quantity of food left out after other members of the family have eaten. Even they, as told by some Juang women, undergo semi-starvation sometimes. A house-wife may take the food leftover by her husband and children. In no case a husband takes the leavings of his wife though he may take that of his mother. Regarding distribution and serving of foods the first preference goes in favour of the Juang children. There is no discrimination in food distribution among male and female children.

According to the study the following food items constitute the Juang diet. These are *bhat* (cooked rice), *peja* (gruel) and *pitha* (cakes) prepared from rice and millet, *dal* from pulses like *arhar*, green gram, horse gram, *bargudi* or *jhudanga* (beans), roots and tubers such as *Bainga aru pitaru*, *Mandeiaru* etc., wild fruits and vegetables like jack fruit, mango, *char*, *kendu*, tamarind, *kusum*, *anla*, green leaves, mushrooms etc., fishes from the hill streams and dry fishes from the markets, meat of wild and domesticated animals and birds such as deer, *sambar*, *kutura*, monkey, crow, pigeon, peacock, jungle fowl and pig, buffalo, goat, hen, hare, sheep etc. Mahua trees play an important role by fulfilling their oil, food and liquor consumption needs. Besides, these, the Juang diet also include honey, snails, crabs, eggs, tender-shoots, banana, mango kernel, tamarind seeds, jack fruit seeds, beer from rice and *ragi*, toddy from date palm tree. Occasionally vegetables like potato, brinjal, onion, tomato, cabbage, etc., are also consumed.

Intoxicants

The Juangs are addicted to liquor. To them liquor is more a food than an intoxicant. They drink during festive occasions, rites and rituals. Besides, they use the liquor as medicine to prevent cold and headache, as offerings to the ancestors and deities, for entertaining the guests and relatives. At times they purchase and the other times they prepare liquor. They drink Mohua liquor, (*arkhi*), rice beer (*handia/pachha*) liquor made from maize (Juani Mada), toddy (date palm wine) and Salap (sago palm juice).

The Juang grow tobacco in their swidden fields or in the backyards. Tobacco is smoked and chewed with lime. The Juang men smoke tobacco by rolling it with *sal* leaves. Both men and women chew tobacco.

Food Preparation

Cooking is done by boiling or roasting over or in the fire. The Juangs do not use much spices, for it is costly and they are bothered more about eating food than its taste. The sugar and fat requirement of the body they meet from the consumption of some forest food or other items that have the fatty ingredients. Since the Juang husk their own paddy using their traditional pestles, that saves the vitamin. The rice may be strained after cooking, but the gruel is never thrown

away. It is kept aside for consumption. Food is stored after it is dried in the sun, as is done with Kendu, mango juice, fish and meat. Meat and fish are often also smoked and dried over the fire place. Mahua and Kendu after drying are stored in bundles for use in the lean season. Forest food is normally eaten fresh by roasting and steaming. They prepare cakes from rice, *ragi* and wheat flour by baking and steaming on festive and ritual occasions. They boil the pulses mixed with salt and turmeric powder to make *dal*. They clean the wild roots and tubers in stream water, boil, roast and steam and eat. They also bake the *bainga* root over the fire and eat. They cut the Pitaru into little pieces wash them thoroughly in the running waters of stream to get rid of their bitterness and boil them before consumption.

They clean the fish roughly and mix them with salt, chilies, turmeric power or paste and a little oil and boil them to make the curry. The Juangs while preparing meat removes hairs, feathers, nail and horns of any animal or bird and chop the skin, flesh, bone etc, into small pieces. They boil the meat pieces by mixing them with garlic, turmeric, mustard, oil and at times with greens to make meat curry. They put red ant, salt and turmeric powder in a leaf cup, mix them and stitch up the leaf cup and then put it into the fire and cover it with hot coals. In this way they got the ants roasted and eat them. Also they remove the wings of the flying-ants, roast them in a dry pot and eat them.

Sometimes, the Juang roast the mushrooms and eat. They also preserve the mushrooms by drying and pounding for the future use.

The Juangs first par-boil the paddy and millet, dry them in the sun and husk. Then they boil the rice with water in a pot. They take the boiled rice as well as its gruel (*peja*) in which rice float. They also make bread or cake out of pounded rice. They wet the rice in water and then grind them in a rolling stone to get the paste. The paste is spread on *siali* or *salor* other leaves and roasted in charcoal fire.

Food & Nutrition of Mother & Children

Pregnant women are prohibited from taking meat of sacrificed animal, hunted animal or meat available otherwise as well as fish and egg andso also the lactating mothers. They believe that if they break the taboo, the foetus may be aborted or the health of the baby be affected. The Juang old women said, if the lactating mothers take curry and normal adult diet, their infant would suffer from stomach trouble and diarrhea. The nursing mothers take hot-rice and salt only. Some of them take greens and fried salt along with rice. But ironically these items have no food value for them. This might have some impact on the weight of the baby at birth and thereafter. The expectant mothers observe the above food taboos for a period from conception to expiry of six months after the delivery. Thereafter they resume normal adult diets.

As regards distribution and serving of food, the children of either sex are served first, without any discrimination. Mother's milk is given to babies up to six

month after their birth. The newborn baby is fed when it cries. The colostrums feeding practice among the Juang is a very recent phenomenon. Previously they oozed out colostrums from the breasts and threw them because they believed that, the baby cannot suckle the paste-like indigestible colostrums (in first issue). However, now 60% of Juang mothers use to feed colostrums to their babies. The remaining mothers are still not practicing due to superstition.

Mother's breasts are a source of life and nourishment to the babies as for they give milk. Mother's milk is the sole food of a baby for about six months of birth. Then the baby is given rice cakes, biscuits, *sagu* etc. in addition to mother's milk. An infant continue to suckle mother's milk for about one to three years or until their next younger brother or sister is born. Often a few children love to get mother's breast milk after the age of three. Solid food is initiated when an infant attains one year of age. Thereafter adult diet is fed to him. Usually, if not otherwise, the weaning takes place at the ages between 2 to 3 years of the infants. When the case of weaning of the infant arises, the mother applies, chilly or cowdung or even mud paste on her nipples and frightens the child on their effects if he suckles the breasts. The weaning foods of Juang are *peja*, *ragi*-gruel, *mandia khiri*, soft-cooked rice, edible boiled roots and tubers, rice-cakes, eggs, flesh portions of meat and fish etc.

TABLE-4
Mean Food-Intake of Juang Children (1-6 Years)

SI. No.	Food classification according to Nutritive value	Daily mean food intake of child (1-6 Yrs) (Approx. weight in gms)	Balance diet per child (1-6 years) as per ICMR norm	Remarks % of deficit (-) surplus (+)
1	Staple grain	100	150-200	66.66 % (-33.34)
2	Pulses	10	40-50	25 % (-75)
3	Roots & Tubers	50	30-50	66.66 % (+)
4	Wild fruits, Vegetables and Green leaves.	45	50	90 % (-10)
5	Flesh food	5	30	16.67 % (-83-38)
6	Milk & Milk	N. A.	200	100 (—)
7	Sugar & Jaggery	N. A.	30-40	100 (—)
8	Oil and Fats	5	20-25	25 % (-75)
9	Miscellaneous food stuff	10	—	100 (+)
10	Supplementary feedings (SCM-65+oil-8).	53 (73*)	73	72.60 % (-27.40)

(Soya Corn Milk=SCM)*Under ICDS Norm (In Gonasika and Upper Raidia 64 children availed the SNP and at Tangarapada 26 children did not avail the facility.)

The children of pre-schooling age-group are served meals four / five times a day. Each meal is a repetition of the morning one, i.e., cold rice mixed with *peja*, the gruel and little salt. Besides, in between wild fruits, roots and tubers and the likes are given as per availability and as and when the children demand so. Also, there is no fixed timing for intake of food by the children.

The food and nutrition intake of 100 Juang children (1-6 years) from three villages were observed during the field study. It was found that, against the total requirement of food under different categories, 66.66% is met from staple grain, 25% from pulses, oil and fats, 9% from wild fruits, vegetables and green leaves, 16.67% from flesh foods. On the contrary, their consumption of roots and tubers is surplus (+66.66%) against prescribed standard. They do not consume sugar, jaggery and milk (except mother's milk).

The daily mean food intake of a Juang child constitutes 100 gms. of staple grain, 10 gms. of pulses, 50 gms. of roots and tubers, 45 gms. of wild fruits, vegetables and green leaves (45 gms.), 5 gms. of flesh food, 5 gms. of oil and fat, 10 gms. of miscellaneous food stuff and 53 gms. of Soya Corn Milk (SCM) and oil. These mean food intake of the Juang children as compared to ICMR standard is given in Table-4.

The daily food consumption of Juang child as compared to the above I. C. M. R. standard indicates less consumption of food by Juang children under all the categories except roots and tubers.,

Data regarding the daily mean nutrient composition of food consumed by the Juang children (1-6 years) as compared to ICMR norm is given in Table-5.

TABLE-5
Mean Nutrient Composition of Food by Juang Children (1-6 Years)

Sl. No.	Nutrient	Consumed (Mg.)	Nutrient recommended byICMR (Mg.)	Remarks Approximate % Deficit (-) Surplus (+)
1	Energy	701.6 (kcal)	1200-1500 (1350)	(-)48.03
2.	Protein	18.26	17.22 (19.5)	(-) 6-36
3.	Fat	0.83		
4.	Minerals	259	—	
5.	Carbohydrate	104.51		
6.	Calcium	90.94	0.4-0.5	(+) 226.35
7.	Iron	9.95	15-20	34
8.	Vitamin-A (B. Carotene)	70.8	1000-1200	(-)93
9.	Vitamin-B (Thiamine)	2.412	6-8	(-) 60

10.	Vitamin-B2 (Riboflavin)	0.60	0.7-0.8	(-) 14
11.	Niacin	3.83	—	—
12.	Vitamin-C	35.9	30.50	(+) 20

The food consumption of Juang children is not only quantitatively inadequate, but also qualitatively deficient. Our observation reveals that there is nutrient (quality) deficit in the food of Juang children. The deficiency noticed in the nutrients are energy (-48.03 %), Protein (-6.36 %), Iron (-34 %), Vitamin A (-93 %), Vitamin B-1 (-60 %) and Vitamin B-2 (-14 %). Reversely their food is enriched with excess Calcium (+226.35 %) and Vitamin C (+20 %). The calorie and protein content in their food are estimated at 701.6 (kcal) and 18.26 mg. respectively which are below the ICMR standard.

The above discussion shows that the food of the Juang children is deficient both in quantity and quality. As a result, the incidence of malnutrition is very high among them.

Nutriture

It is said that poverty, lack of awareness and intake of inadequate food are the cause of malnutrition. When balanced diet is not consumed, the body does not grow or function normally. This leads to deficiency, disease and malnutrition. One of the early signs of malnutrition is failure of the child to gain normal weight. We would notice it from the weight chart and the corresponding Table-6 placed below.

Table -6
Age & Nutrition

Sl. No	Age group (in years)	Total no. of subjects	% of Malnutrition/Average		
			Weight for Age	Height for Age	Weight for Height
1.	1 year	17	100	76.47	88.23
2.	1-2 years	12	83.33	75.00	79.16
3.	3-3 years	15	93.33	80.00	88.66
4.	3 years	44	92.22	77.16	84.59
5	3-4 years	21	85.71	85.71	85.71
6.	4-5 years	14	85.71	71.40	78.55
7.	5-6 years	21	71.42	71.42	71.42
8.	3-6 years	56	81.61	76.17	78.56
9.	6 years	100	86.91	76.66	81.62

The anthropometric measurements like, the weights and heights of 100 Juang children (0-6 years) were taken to assess their nutritional status. It is revealed that 86 % of the children were of less weight. About 92 % of the total children below 3 years of age and 81 % of the children within 3 to 6 years of age

are found with loss of weight. Thus, the incidence of malnutrition among children below 3 years of age is higher than the children in the age-group of 3-6 years. The Juang children up to 3 years of age generally and within one year particularly depend on their mothers' milk as food. Hence, loss of weight among them may be due to the poor food intake including their mothers' milk.

The height measurements of Juang children within 6 years of age shows 77 % malnutrition cases among them. Age-group wise analysis reveal that the extent of malnutrition is highest (84.61 %) in the age-group of 0-3 years as against the age-group of 3-6 years where the number of cases reported constitute 78.50%

The grades of malnutrition among 62 Juang children (0-5 years) were obtained by measuring their Mid-Upper-Arm-Circumference with the help of tricolour (MUAC) strip. The findings showed 20.98 % of severe and 40.32 % moderate malnutrition cases among them. Only 38.70 % children are reported to have normal health.

Table-7
Measurement of Mid-Upper-Arm-Circumference

Sl. No	Grades of malnutrition	No. of children (1-5 years)	Percentage	Tricolour (MUAC) Strip measurement position.
1.	Severs (Below 12.5 C.M.)	13	20.98	Red zone
2.	Moderate (12.5 C.M. - 13.5 C.M.)	25	40.32	Yellow zone
	Total (SLT + 2)	38	61.30	Red + Yellow zone
3.	Normal Above 13.5 C.M. & below 21.5 C.M.	24	38.70	Green zone
	Grand Total	62	100%	

From the height, weight and MUAC measurement analysis it is concluded that the nutritional status of the Juang children is far below the recommended standard. Such a state is conditioned by food inadequacy of the children and their mothers. Moreover, the Juang have a low economic living condition. They are primitive and mostly thrive on primitive agriculture (swidden) cultivation), food gathering and sale of fire wood. They are mostly poor and fed far below their bodily needs. The phenomenon of their food inadequacy force them to depend upon such types of food as mango kernel, tamarind seeds, *sal* seeds, tender-bamboo-shoots, *mahua* flowers and the like. Inadequate food intake results in malnutrition and other deficiency related diseases among them.

The childhood malnutrition among the Juang mostly affects their growth in later stage. Moreover a Juang girl child is not given adequate nutritious food. During pregnancy the expectant mother is underfed. Hence the prospective child, in mother's womb does not get the desired nutrients. So there is likelihood that the

child at birth may inherit malnutrition. After six months and up to two years the children are not given proper food, other than mother's milk. The existing provision of supplementary feeding programme by ICDS is hardly compensating the nutritional gap of the children.

Morbidity

Poverty is the main cause of food inadequacy which ultimately results in malnutrition among the Juang children. The other influencing factors are lack of awareness and parental care and balance diet. In addition to nutritional problem, the unhygienic condition in which they live also adversely affect their health status. Further, they believe diseases to be caused by the supernatural powers, malevolent deities, displeased ancestral spirits, evil eye, magic and witchcraft.

To know the general morbidity conditions of Gonasika area, data were collected from the Additional Public Health Centre, Gonasika. It revealed that the P.H.C registered 5906 patients for treatment during the year 1994-95. Of them 2964 (50.18%) were males, 1082 (18.32%) females and 1860 (31.50%) children. During the year 1993-94 there was a record of 9102 patients out of which 4702 (51.65%) were males, 1569 (17.25%) females and 2831 (31.10%) children (1-10 years). Only 2.45 percent of the total patients were availing of prolonged and repeated treatment.

The Juang country is highly exposed to Malaria. Due to unhygienic environment, insanitary living condition and intake of stream water, the Juang often suffer from various diseases which aggravate their health conditions. The survey of morbidity pattern among the Juang shows that malaria (68.00%) is the foremost and fatal disease among them. The other diseases found are cold, cough and fever (11.29%), eye infection (5.64%), jaundice (4.43%), allergy (3.22%), rheumatic fever (3.22%), anaemia (2.42%) and sore (1.21%). Besides, diseases like skin infection, stomach trouble and loose motion are also noticed among them.

The Hill-Juang does not view health and sickness as purely physical conditions. They believe them to have religious and social dimensions (Nayak, 1993 :107). They put forward mainly three reasons to account for their ailments of different types. These are (i) natural causes, (ii) human causes and (iii) supernatural causes (THRTI :1989:30). According to the present study, their responses regarding causes of illness are wrath of evil spirits (84%) followed by physical disorder (9%), wrath of God (4.5%), hot and cold effect (2.5%).

"Illness is believed to be caused by mostly malevolent spirits and unless these spirits are properly propitiated with sacrifices and offerings one may not hope for a quick recovery" (Rout, : 1969:22). The Juang ignore treatment of minor ailments. Only when they fall seriously ill, they seek traditional method of curing diseases which include appeasing the deities and/or use of herbal medicines. Recently the traditional practice of the Juang for treatment of diseases has changed partly. A dual method of treatment, both modern as well as traditional for curing and preventing diseases is practised among them. Free distribution of

allopathic medicines by J. D. A. and Additional P.H.C., Gonasika and health measures of line departments have brought some changes in their perceptions about causes of sickness.

Recommendations:

The following are the recommendations for improvement of health and nutritional status of the Juang.

1. In order to create awareness among the Juang there is need to display wall posters with visual effects and organise video shows. They are to be made conscious of the hygienic and sanitational aspects of their habitations and food and nutritional intake.

2. Special care is necessary for improvement of nutritional status of women, infants and pre-schoolchildren. Supplementary Feeding Programme should continue with the active participation of J.D.A., Gonasika and I.C.D.S., Banspal, in an integrated manner. New Anganwadi centres may be opened in villages where such facilities are not available, even by relaxing the norm. The workers of the centres should be recruited from among the Juang ladies of the respective villages and be given training for effective operation of the centres.

3. Supply of essential food items, like subsidized rice under P.D.S. should continue in the Juang area. As desired by the people, "The Juang Swechhasevi Sangha, Gonasika" may be appointed as the retailer for distribution of rations.

4. The long term measures to check nutritional deficiencies should include policies for sustainable development through additional income generation. The J.D.A., Gonasika, as the nodal agency should accelerate their activities so that more employment avenues are created for additional income generation. For example, construction works, such as, link roads, cross dams, diversion weirs, lift irrigation projects, water harvesting structures, ponds, land development works should be taken up to provide employment to the Juang.

5. The enhancement of production of cereals, pulses and vegetables etc. will have positive impact on their nutritional status. Along with production of vegetables attempt should be made to educate the Juang to develop their habits of eating vegetables and balanced diet.

6. The willing landless and marginal farmers among the Juang should be encouraged to take up poultry farming, goatery or piggery and other such animal husbandry programmes. It will help them to earn more and have nutritious food.

7. The J.D.A. staff should get in touch with the medical staff of the additional P.H.C., Gonasika and organise health camps regularly at central villages in the Juang area to provide health check up, immunization and other referral health service facilities. Besides, life saving medicines should be provided free of cost to the patients as per necessity. The Anganwadi Workers or the

traditional medicine-men (Raulia) should be trained and involved in all the health development programmes of the Juang. They should be treated as village health workers and be allowed to work for the J.D.A. and be paid some incentive.

8. Due to excess iron content of the tube well water the people do not like to use it. They mostly use water of *kacha* cistern or hill-stream for drinking purpose and as a result they often suffer from water borne diseases. Hence, one *pucca* cistern with platform in each village should be dug and the water be disinfected by putting lime and bleaching powder regularly.

9. Special efforts should be made to control and eradicate malaria since most of the people frequently suffer from this disease.

10. The concerned district level offices engaged in the task of eradication of Leprosy, Tuberculosis and Malaria should hold their respective camps for identification and treatment of such diseases with the help of the Medical Officer, Additional P.H.C., Gonasika, Specialists and the Special Officer, J.D.A.

11. Besides, the Special Officer, J.D.A., Gonasika should organise Exhibition-cum-Training Programmes on Health and Nutritional aspects at Gonasika with the help of C.D.P.O., Banspal Block, C.D.M.O. and Public Relations Officer.

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TRIBAL CULTURE AND ETHNOBOTANY

(A STUDY OF THE JUANG AND SOME USEFUL PLANTS) *

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ABSTRACT

This paper has three parts. The part one highlights the symbiotic relationship between the tribal communities and the forest which is being depleted at an alarming rate resulting in crisis in the life not only of the tribal communities but also of the entire population of the state. This part also gives a glimpse of the problems faced by the tribal communities resulting from their underdevelopment and their deprivation from the rights and privileges.

The second part deals with a case highlighting how the Juang community lead their life and how they have adapted to their ecosystem through their ingenuity and intelligence. This part gives an account of their present perception regarding different aspects of their society and culture and their knowledge and practices.

The third part gives a short account of vegetation of the Juang area and utilization of some specific plants in their material culture, culinary practices, oil yielding seeds and socio-economic life.

Part-I

Primitive Tribes of Orissa

Orissa is a land of tribes and one of India's most important forest States providing home to a very large forest dependent tribal population. Represented by 22.5% of the total population of the State the tribes of Orissa, which are Scheduled as 62 different ethnic groups, can broadly be classified into six socio-economic categories. These are 1. Hunters and food gatherers, 2. Pastoral tribes, 3. Artisans,

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4. Shifting cultivators, 5. Agriculturists and 6. Industrial workers. Of the 62 tribal groups numbering about 70,32,214 in population seven groups and five sub-groups have been declared as primitive tribal communities. The seven main groups are the Birhor, Bonda, Didayi, Juang, Kharia, Lodha and Mankidia, and the five sub-groups are the Dongria Kondh and Kutia Kondh of the Kondh tribe, Lanjia Saora of the Saora tribe and the Paudi Bhuinya of the Bhuinya tribe.

These primitive groups and sub-groups are all forest dwellers. From, administrative and developmental point of view they are regarded as primitive. But by the term 'primitive' it does not mean that they are poverty stricken in the sense as we understand it. It only relates to an earlier stage of economic evolution as distinct from a lower level in economic structure which is coterminous with the stage of poverty. The primitive tribes may belong to the pre-agricultural level of technology but they are not necessarily poor. They are as intelligent and skillful as those occupying the higher level of economic development strata. It has been our observation that the more primitive a community is, the more adaptive capacity the community has to master its surrounding environment for its livelihood.

Numbers of examples can be cited to substantiate the above observations. To mention a few, the Andamanese objects to introducing the outrigger canoes for killing aquatic animals. Various types of traps operated by different mechanisms including tension, gravity and other forces, for catching birds and wild animals are some of the best examples of the ingenuity and intelligence that the hunters and food gatherers are endowed with. Similarly the icons and wall paintings, engravings and wood carvings speak volumes of artistic talents and imaginative power specific to the primitive tribes.

The indigenous knowledge and practices of the forest dwelling tribal communities are unfathomable. They have a vast store of knowledge about every nook and corner of the forest with which they have a symbiotic relationship. They live in harmony with their environment, their life way incorporating all that promotes preservation of resources and sustainability.

Being the sources of their livelihood the primitive tribes draw from the forests what they need to satisfy their immediate needs. Their customs and religious belief have taught them not to abuse the nature's generosity by exploiting the plants and animals beyond the limit of what they need for their sustenance. They lead a kind of life free from pollution crisis as is the case in the life of the urban people. They collect fruits, nuts, leaves, roots and shoots from the forests which comprise their food. Similarly they hunt animals and birds and catch fish in the hill streams to supplement their diet. They are knowledgeable about which plants are sources of fiber, which are good for fuel and lighting and which have medicinal value. They are so much aware of evil consequences of over exploitation of forest resources that the conservation of the plants and animals rather than misuse and over exploitation has been a part and parcel of their culture and practices.

The forests which are the very life of the primitive tribes are on the process of decline at an alarming rate. This State's total forest area was estimated to be nearly six million hectares in 1981. By 1989, the satellite imagery indicated to 4.7 million hectares, that is, a decline by 22%. What are the reasons for shrinkage of the forest?

It is a common thing that the tribals are to be blamed for such deforestation. It is true that to some extent the practice of shifting cultivation has been one of the causes of deforestation. But the major causes are commercial logging, mining operations, expansion of commercial plantation, land speculation, population pressure, annual burning of forests, exploitation of forest for wood and fuel, indiscriminate tree felling by contractor-official-politician nexus, cattle and goat browsing, drought condition forcing people to exploit forest, land settlement projects requiring clearing of forests, encroachment on forest lands by subsistence farmers and shortening of *podu* cultivation fallow period are some of the major causes of deforestation. The insensitivity of the past National Forest Policies and disregard to the customary rights and symbiotic relationship between the tribals and forests have done more harm than good in the matters of protection, regeneration and conservation of forest wealth.

Orissa's forests are very rich in Non Timber Forest Products (NTFP) or Minor Forest Produce. There are plants / trees yielding resin, wax, gum, bark, edible fruits and oil seeds. Medicinal herbs are plentifully available. Kendu leaves, Sal leaves and seeds, Broom grass and many other types of NTFPs are great sources of income to the State. In a land of plentiful forest products of great value there is stark poverty among the tribal forest dwellers who collect such products to supplement their income from other sources. According to the National Commission on Agriculture the earning of tribal people from the MFP constitutes 30 percent to 50 percent of their total income.

There are many reasons for the tribals for not getting maximum benefit from this source. First thing is that there is no optimum collection of such products. The tribals do not get either a fair price for what they collect or are not provided with technical know-how for undertaking simple preliminary processing of the products for value addition. The LAMPs and the TDCC which have been set up for the marketing of the products are not functioning properly for multiple reasons. No serious attempts have been made to organize Co-operative Societies among the tribal people at the grass-root level and helping them to start processing and marketing of the finished products. Wherever such indigenous initiatives have surfaced these have been entangled in the politico-legal nexus resulting in troubles and discouragement.

The most important issue is in respect of intellectual property right of the indigenous and tribal communities over the natural resources of their habitat. The adoption of Agenda 21 at the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development in 1992 was aimed at supporting self-reliance of indigenous and

tribal communities through Co-operatives and other self-help organizations with the objective of promoting preservation of sustainable indigenous knowledge systems and practices particularly regarding environmental protection and natural resource management. The ILO convention 169 enjoined on the member states to enable the indigenous and tribal populations to pursue the material well being and spiritual development without any hindrance and discrimination. The convention also speaks of special measures to be adopted for safeguarding the persons.

Long ago Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru had enunciated the five fundamental principles of the State Policy for the tribal people of India. One of the principles was that tribal rights in land and forests should be respected. Later, the constitution of India enshrined several provisions for the protection and promotion of educational and economic interests of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribe and other weaker sections. In spite of these safeguards and constitutional provisions there seems to be no spectacular change in the quality of life of the tribal communities. In a small state like Mizoram the level of literacy among the females is 78.09 percent which is next to Kerala where the corresponding level records at 86.93 percent. As against this Orissa records 34.40 percent of female literacy in the general population in the TSP areas. The corresponding figure for tribal women in the same TSP areas stands at 4.76 percent. If a small primitive tribe of Arunachal Pradesh namely the Apatani of Subansiri district could achieve spectacular development in their economic condition and educational standard why the tribes of Orissa can not?

Some are of the opinion that the Sixth Schedule which apply to the North-Eastern States has helped in the development of the tribal communities of this region. In view of this, it is recommended that the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution be made applicable to the compact regions inhabited by the tribal communities in the States and Union Territories where the Fifth Schedule of the constitution is in operation at present. With the amendment of the constitution the tribal people will find ample scope for the proper exploitation of forest, management of water resources and shifting cultivation, effective implementation of local customs and customary laws, control of money-lending, unfair trading by non-tribals and land alienation and promotion of partnership in enterprises based on local natural resources.

Part-II

The Juang

The Juangs, who are considered one of the most primitive tribes of India, are exclusively distributed in the State of Orissa. Because of their unique way of life they have attracted the attention of a number of social scientists, over the past century. Few significant ethnographic studies among them have been made by ethnographers like Dalton, Elwin, Bose and Rout, besides a number of piecemeal studies. What is so notable about studying these hill dwellers, however, is the

constant change in their cultural life. Although we are also into knowing this change up-to-date, our aim in this paper is to highlight some hitherto unreported Juang perception and indigenous knowledge regarding various aspects of their life including the herbal medicine.

1. Juang Legendary Origin

Juangs consider themselves to have been born from a Rusi (saint) and Rusiani (wife of the saint) who roamed in the Jungles of Gonasika, the birth place of the Juangs. As Laxman Juang of Gupta Ganga village puts it “Jangha ru jaata jie se Juang” (Juang is born from the thighs) which has the connotation that they are born from the sexual union of Rusi and Rusiani. Interestingly, the Rusiani is described to have been a demoness and that is responsible for the Juangs being born into such a community. Although there have been a number of previous documentation of stories about Juang origin, the present one is a new perception.

2. Shifting Cultivation

Shifting cultivation or slash and burn, or *podu* cultivation, as is popularly known, is the lifeline of Juang economy. The entire year is spent cultivating the *toila* (swidden plots), which yields hardly 4 months food for them. This labourious and expensive practice, however, has not deterred the Juangs from finding out suitable and profitable alternatives, which have, time and again, been intimated and demonstrated to them, by the Government Agencies. This is because of a strong religious attachment towards the *toila* land. The Juangs believe that their creator, the Rusi, was doing *podu* cultivation, while moving from forest to forest and that he was given a Ganar (hoe) by Dharam Deota, for this purpose. Since they have adopted this practice across generations, how can they leave it now? Doing so they may invite the wrath of their ancestors (Juangs are strong practitioners of ancestor worship). More modern and practical Juangs, however, feel that lack of better and irrigated plain lands have forced them to stick to swidden cultivation.

Even practicing this cultivation, the Juangs apply common sense. The process involves main stages such as slash, burn, sow, plough and harvest.

Slash involves cutting of trees on a plot which has enough forest growth to preserve soil. Now, the rotation of a plot for cultivation has come down from 10-15 years to 3-4 years in Gonasika region, due to pressure of population on land and therefore forest growth in the *toilas* of Gonasika region, is mainly in the form of bushes; however, there are dense patches of forest on *toila* lands in villages such as Upar Bali and Upar Panasanasa, as the fallow period is still more than 8 years in these areas.

After cutting the trees, they are heaped in patches and left for some days to dry up, after which they are burnt. There are two reasons cited by the Juangs for doing so. First, burning the trees there itself would save them some energy which

would have been required to carry the trees out of the plot. Second, burning would mean mixing of ash with the soil and thus, fertilizing it.

Then ploughing is carried out in order to loosen the soil and to evenly mix ash with the soil. Ploughing is done in two ways by means of bullock-driven plough and hand-operated hoe. Plough is used only where the soil depth is more and hoe is used where the soil cover is extremely thin. While ploughing the bullocks are moved horizontally along the contour (on the hill slope *toila*) so that the bullocks can do ploughing with ease; "if moved up and down, the animals would get tired very soon", the Juangs say.

Sowing is done before the second phase of ploughing so that the seeds mix with the soil and remain within it for sprouting when the rains come on. The type of paddy and other varieties of pulses and millets selected for cultivation, suit perfectly to such conditions and will not grow healthily in any other conditions, i.e., valley bottom or irrigated plots. Seeds of millets and pulses are mixed and sown broadcast.

The women play a major role in harvesting the crops. The crops being different from one another, ripe one after another with a certain time gap. This sequential cropping needs the crops to be harvested not in one time but in a period of times. The difficulty of storing is overcome by this process of sequential harvesting and food becomes available for a longer period of time.

The Juang women carry drinking water in a gourd container(*kanchu*) whenever they visit their *toila*. Although earthen and brass pitchers are available, water is carried in a *kanchu* for the simple reason that it keeps the water cool which is the most suitable way to quench thirst.

3. Liquor

Like in all other tribal societies, liquor is central to Juang life. Handia (parched rice beer), as it is locally called, is served in a marriage occasion. It is offered to the Basuki Maa (mother earth), *Dharam Deota* and the ancestors during a settlement shift (although given up today), during a funeral, during *Pus Punei* festival marking the beginning of new agricultural year and during *Amba Nuakhia* (when the Juangs start eating mango, an important summer food for them and also when new entries are made into the youth organization the Mandaghar). Liquor is also offered to the deities to prevent occurrence of untoward incident in the village. Liquor is a must for a guest or a dance party visiting a Bandhu village. It is regarded minimum courtesy on the part of the host to offer *handia* to the guest(s). For finalizing a village dispute, the concerned parties and the village council consisting of the Dehuri (religious head), the Padhan (political head) and the Bhadarlok (respected elders) sit together at the Mandaghar and swear by liquor.

Although we have not marked or heard women taking *handia*, we do believe they take other kinds of liquor such as toddy, as once we saw the wife of Gupta Ganga Dehuri taking 3 full glasses of date-palm toddy, on their way to a Bandhu village.

So indispensable is liquor in Juang life that they can't think of their socio-cultural and religious activities without it. The amount of respect or awe they attach to liquor can be judged from the statement given by Khinjiria Juang (Dehuri of Jantari Village), who said "liquor is our Brahmin and without it our deities including ancestors cannot be propitiated".

4. Juang Comb

Like the Santal flute or Saora art, the Juangs, have their indigenous craftsmanship in comb making. Bamboo combs of various shapes and designs were an important form of cultural exchange between the boys and girls of Bandhu villages (villages having marital alliance). When the Selans (unmarried girls) of a *bandhu* village visit their *kangers* (unmarried boys) in another village, they are offered a comb each by the *kangers*. Fixing this comb on their head, the Selans dance to the beating of *changu* (circular musical instrument) by the boys. Offering a comb is also considered an expression of love for a girl. The more beautifully carved or painted a comb the more deep is considered the feeling.

However, the rationale behind making bamboo-toothed combs lies in the belief that the comb would remove dandruff from the hair and would keep the hair clean and healthy.

Part III

A Glimpse of Ethno Botany of the Juang Area

The diversified vegetable wealth of the Keonjhar district in general and of Banspal block in particular provides a congenial niche and sustenance of life for the Tribal people. Banspal block is dominated by the Juang and the Bhuinya tribal groups. The Juangs are found in great concentration in the Juangpirh of which Gonasika is the central village and the Bhuinya are found in great compactness in Bhuinyapirh of which Banspal is the central village. The areas have been taken for an Ethno botanical study.

For the sake of convenience the plants which were observed and studied in relation to the tribal groups are categorized as follows:

1. Edible plants
2. Lesser known food plants
3. Oil producing plants
4. Plants used for household materials and other articles.

The Botanical names, Juang (J), Bhuinya (B) and Oriya (O) (wherever available) of the plants and utility of such plants are listed below:

I. Edible Plants

Sl. No.	Botanical Name	Local Name	Uses
1	Artocarpus Heterophyllus	Panas (O) Anasam (J)	The unripe fruits are important sources of vegetable for the Juangs during March-April. The ripe fruits are eaten and also sold in the market for cash. The seeds are roasted, boiled and eaten. The wood of the plant is used for making different household articles.
2	Buchanania Lanzan	Chara (O) Tarap (J)	The ripe fruits are edible.
3	Diospyros Melanoxylon	Kendu (O) Teren (J)	The ripe fruits are edible. The leaves are used to make 'Biri' (country cigarettes). The timber is used for making posts, shafts and carrying poles, cot frames, walking sticks and the frame of <i>changu</i> (a type of circular drum used by Juang for performing songs and dances).
4	Mangifera Indica	Amba (O) Ale (J)	Both ripe and unripe fruits are eaten. The kernels inside the seed are sundried, boiled and eaten. Mango is used for the preparation of pickle; blossoms are the good source of nectar for the honey bees.
5	Spondias Mangifera	Amboda(O) And (J)	The unripe fruits are eaten as vegetables. The ripe fruits are also eaten.
6	Syzygium Cumini	Jamu (O) And (J)	The ripe fruits are edible and occasionally sold in the local market. The honey bees collect nectar from the flowers. The berries are eaten by different animals and birds. It gives a chance to the tribals to trap them for meat.

II. Edible Plants

Sl. No.	Botanical Name	Local Name	Uses
1	Alternan Thera sessilis	Muduranga (J)	The leaves are taken after roasting.

2	Artocarpus Lakoocha	Deuncha (J)	The ripe fruits are edible
3	Bauhinia Vahlia	Landam (J)	The kernel of the seed is roasted and eaten as nuts
4	Capparis sp.	Asadhu (J)	The fruits are edible after boiling
5	Celosia Argentea	Nahanga Sag (J)	The plant is a source of leafy vegetable
*	There are certain plants, whose products are eaten by the Juangs but not by the non-tribals because these are unknown to them. Therefore, these plants have been mentioned below under a special category as lesser known food plants. Of these sp. (<i>kantua</i>, J) <i>Solanumferox</i> and <i>Solanum</i> are not found everywhere, therefore, many people have no idea about these Lesser Known Food Plants		
6	Centella Asiatica	Dukur (J)	The leaves are used as vegetable.
7	Dioscorea sp.	Ajang (J) Mean Alu (O)	The tubers are called Ajang. There are different types of tubers obtained from the forest which are used for food.
8	Colocasia sp.	Gadira (J)	The leaf is used as vegetable
9	Ficus sp.	Pudei (J)	Ripe fruit- edible
10	Indigofera Cassioides	Silim (J)	The petals of the flowers are used as curry of which the Juangs are fond of
11	Polygonumsp.	Kansida (J)	The young leaves serve as vegetables.
12	Putranjiva Roxburghii	Anala Pacheri (B)	The ripe fruits are edible
13	Rubus Ellipticus	Sindhkoi (J)	The ripe fruits are very sweet. It can be developed as a potential fruit plant.
14	Solanum Ferox	Katabaji (J)	The ripe fruit is edible
15	Solanum sp.	Kantua (J)	The unripe fruit is used for making chutney and curry.
16	Woodfordia Fruticosa	Dhataki (O) Suijang (J)	The flowers serve as a reservoir of nectar. The children relishit greatly.

III.Oil Producing Plants

Sl. No.	Botanical Name	Local Name	Uses
1	Azadirachta Indica	Neem (O) And (J)	Young leaves and flowers are fried and eaten. The oil extracted from the seed is used to message on head and also used to cure skin diseases.

2	Madhuca Longifolia	Mohul (O) Munnum (J)	The flowers are eaten raw, boiled or roasted. It is also used for distillation of Mohua Liquor. Seeds are crushed and processed to yield edible oil.
3	Pongamia Pinnata	Karanj (O) And (J)	The seeds are collected and sold to local traders for cash. The oil is used as hair oil. Before going out on field work in rainy season the oil is messaged on head to protect the body from cold.
4	Schleichera Oleosa	Kusum (O) And (J)	Oil extracted from the seeds is used to cure skin diseases and body massage.
5	Semecarpus Anacardium	Bhalia (O)	The oil extracted from the fruit is used to cure swelling of shoulders of draught animals. The ripe fruits are also eaten.
6	Shorea Robusta	Sal (O) Sargiya (J)	It is an important source of timber, wood fuel, house building material, resin and oil. The <i>sal</i> fruits are roasted, boiled and eaten. Seeds are collected and sold to traders for cash. Oil is extracted from the seed. Leaves are used to make leaf plates.

IV.Plants used for Household Materials and Other Articles

Sl. No.	Botanical Name	Local Name	Uses
1	Bauhinia vahlii	Siali (O) Landam (J)	The stem fibre is used for making ropes and cordages.
2	Dendrocalamus Strictus	Baunsha(O) Hala (J)	The stem is used for making food grains baskets and containers, birds & animals traps,combs and walking sticks.
3	Heteropogon Contortus	Alang (J)	The grass more durable than the paddy straw is used for thatching house. Lasts for 3-5 years and the rats do not eat them
4	Holarrhena Antidysenterica	Kuluchi(O) Kiring (J)	The stem of the plant serves as backbone for the mud wall.
5	Ipomoea Sepiaria	Paninai (J)	The stem of this climber is used for tying.
6	Phoenix Acaulis	Pala (J)	The leaves are used for mat making locally known as Atia (J).

7	Shorea Robusta	Sal (O) Saragiya (J)	The wood used for making mortar for husking, beams, rafters, and poles etc. for building houses.
8	Sida Acuta	Saraka (J)	The stem of this herbaceous plant is used for making broom. This broom is used to sweep outside the house as the ground is uneven and rugged.
9	Terminalia Alata	Asan (O) Antanak (J)	The wood of this tree provides shafts, rafters, beams and other house building materials.
10	Thysanolaena Maxima	Jenak (J)	The local name of the plant is derived from the article Jenak which means broom. The inflorescence of the plant is used for broom making.
11	Xylia Xylocarpa	Kangada(O) Kathasiali (B) & Koliani (J)	The poles and shafts are made from this plant for house building. The stem is also used as handle of implements.

Conclusion:

Most of the tribal areas are rich in forest wealth which includes food and fodder plants, medicinal herbs, plants yielding fiber, oil, gum, resin, dye, perfume, paper pulp and timber and various types of grasses. This wealth is being exploited by others with little benefit to the tribal's. The knowledge regarding the use of the plants which are numberless is the intellectual property of the unlettered tribal communities. It is the tribal communities who bred and conserved many valuable medicinal and food plants and whose knowledge is being exploited without any compensation whatsoever for their contribution. The urgent need of the hour is to arrest further genetic erosion and vegetative depletion in tribal areas and conserve the indigenous knowledge and develop a legal system for intellectual property protection.

IMPACT OF DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMMES ON THE SOCIO-CULTURAL LIFE OF JUANGS: A CASE STUDY OF VILLAGE KHAJURIBANI*

*Bimbadhar Behera*¹

Introduction

The Juangs who occupy a very remarkable position among the tribal communities of Orissa draw special attention from various corners due to their primitiveness and aboriginal behavior. Nonetheless, the tribe holds a unique position as it is found only in this State and nowhere else and therefore, has certain peculiar traits of its own. Concern about them and their way of life has increased in recent times, well after the inception of planning processes in India as instrument of change and development. Their culture contact with neighboring non-tribals has not only grown deeper and intimate over the time and both official as well as non-official agencies operating in the area have tried to establish contact with them in order to introduce their respective development programmes. Consequently, the Juangs have not been spared of the process of persistence and change. Their status quo is chiefly supported by various elements provided in their age old culture. Whatever changes occurring to them can mainly be attributed to culture contact and both intended as well as unintended efforts by the development agencies. In the light of the above, the aim and scope of the present paper is confined mainly to the exploration of the magnitude of socio-cultural changes taking place among the Juangs of Keonjhar due to implementation of various programmes for their development.

Keonjhar happens to be the homeland of the Juangs, who claim themselves to be the autochthones of the highland region of the district with Gonasika, the source of river Baitarani as their place of mythical origin. Whatever changes occurred among them is due to the impact of development programmes. This is the reason why the Juangs of Keonjhar are chosen as the subjects of this

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study. Though the tribe spreads over Keonjhar and Dhenkanal, the changes among the Juangs of Dhenkanal, can mainly be attributed to other factors apart from the impact of development programmes. This view has been supported by various writings and also corroborated by tribal legends and folk tales. The plains Juang village - Khajuribani has been selected for the study for the reason that it forms a part of the erstwhile Juang *pirh* area of Keonjhar ex-feudatory State. Though most of the villages of former Juang *pirh* are now included under the Banspal Block, it is one of the few villages which comes under Harichandanpur Block, a comparatively advanced area. The area of the village touches the boundaries of three Blocks, such as Banspal, Telkoi and Harichandanpur of which only the former constitutes the remote locality of the district. The village is also interestingly located just at the foot-hill of Gonasika Mountain range and the villages enjoy the benefits of forest economy and the low land agriculture. They also come in contact with the neighbouring non-tribal population mainly belonging to "Chasa" community who greatly influence them in the field of settled agriculture and social traditions.

Against this backdrop the broad objectives of the present study are-

- (1) To evaluate the developmental programmes and their impact on the life of the Juangs;
- (2) To locate the various levels of their traditional society where changes have taken place and measure the degree by which the different spheres of the tribe have been influenced and
- (3) To identify the social, cultural and psychological barriers as well as stimulants responsible for either hindering or accelerating the change process and if possible to give necessary suggestions for improving the effectiveness of developmental programmes.

Location and Demography

The village Khajuribani is within the Hunda G.P of Harichandanpur Block in the district of Keonjhar. It is about 38 Kms. from Keonjhar District Headquarters town and moderate road communication is available up to Janghira village, where from a rough but manageable road facility of about 6 Kms. towards west is available to reach the village.

The village has three hamlets, namely Khajuribani, Palangotha and Goudasahi with about 80 households and an approximate population of 400. The communities living in the village are the Juangs and the Gopals. All the households except 20 Gopala families and the lone Mohanta family are Juangs.

Traditional Features

While examining the process of continuity and change among the Juangs of Khajuribani, it seems worthwhile to give a brief account of the traditional

features of the tribe for proper appreciation of the process of change undergoing within the community.

Traditionally, the Juangs are one of the most backward groups of the State, having their own language, customs and practices which they retain even now despite many changes which have taken place in their tribal way of life. Being a group dependent upon shifting cultivation and forestry; they prefer to settle near a spring or a ravine mainly at the top or the slope of the hills. The villages present a scene of scattered single roomed huts surrounded by jackfruit and mango trees due to their intimate relationship with forests and hills. The traditional beliefs and attitudes are shaped by unseen supernatural powers having deep influence on their socio-cultural and religious life. Their mode of community living for social, economic and other purposes centers around the institution of *Majang* which serves the purpose of both village dormitory and a community house.

Change and Development Factors and Levels

The villagers get stimulation for their development by a number of infrastructural facilities available both within and outside the village. There is one Sevashram School of the H & T.W Department of the State providing education to the Juang children up to upper primary level. A low cost hostel providing free accommodation and fooding to the tribal students is also attached with the school. For looking after the maternity and childcare, one Anganwadi Center is operating in the village. Besides, a unit of Sishu Bhavan of Keonjhar with its branch at Somagiri, looks after the health aspects of the villagers. A branch Post Office is also functioning in the village. The villagers also get development assistance from the concerned units operating in the nearby villages. The V.A.W. Center at Manipur is only 3 Kms. away from the village. Janghira lying 6 Kms, away from the village has facilities for education, banking, health care, co-operative and marketing as there is a LAMP Co-operative Society, Schools and Colleges, P.H.C., branch of S.B.I and a weekly market.

One of the most important factor which is responsible for the changing attitude and outlooks of the Juangs of Khajuribani, is perhaps the introduction of the colonization scheme in this village during the initial stages of planned change, during the sixties. The village was selected for the purpose by State Government for discouraging *podu* cultivation and the villagers were motivated by a social worker to come down to the foot-hill where they are presently residing. Under this scheme, attempts were made to provide all the basic needs of the tribal people. A water harvesting structure was constructed by the Government to provide irrigation facilities to the cultivable land of the Juangs. The personal and official influence of the social workers on a few of the leading Juang villagers might have its long standing impact on other Juangs. The village has been electrified recently.

The traditional Juang society of Khajuribani has undergone changes of different degrees in various spheres of their life and culture.

Socio- Cultural Changes

The process of change has mixed impact in the life of the villagers in as much as it has its significant effects in their housing structure, settlement pattern, folk dance, health and hygiene but in the field of education marginal changes are found. The traditional scattered settlement pattern has been replaced by linear pattern of neighbouring non-tribal people. Five Juang families have *pucca* houses with cement tile roofing and cement plastering. Most of the families have relatively big houses with earthen tile roofing. Some have windows while others have sky-lets in place of windows for ventilation. The cattle and goat sheds of some of the families have been modernized. Only few houses still retain their traditional housing structure. Modern household articles are also possessed by some of them. The *Majang* of the village consists of two big *pucca* buildings and though they still have some of the traditional musical instruments, modern articles like big brass utensils and a pair of petromax lights is kept there. The health consciousness is increased remarkable and they are now more inclined to modern allopathic treatment rather than solely depending on herbs and satisfaction of spirits. They are now unhesitatingly using the drinking water facility of tube wells, though they have not completely discarded the usefulness of the spring water. Remarkable changes have also been found in the dress style and ornaments of the villagers. It is now very difficult to distinguish them from that of other non-tribal rural population. The traditional songs and dance has also undergone changes. Being influenced by the caste Hindu culture, they are now reciting "*Bhajans*" and "*Jananas*" in their *changu* dance. Some of the Hindu festivals are also observed.

Though the villagers appreciate the value of education at their mental level, the rate of illiteracy is still as high as 85 per cent. Even the advanced families are not availing themselves of the educational facility.

Economic Changes

The changes in the sphere of economy are also significant. Though they have inclination for shifting cultivation due to shortage of *podu* land and Government restrictions, they now prefer settled cultivation which emerges as profitable venture for them. They are now using chemical fertilizers and pesticides for better yield. Though they hesitate to take loans for various reasons, significantly all the villagers are enrolled as member of the LAMP. Most of the villagers have planted fruit bearing trees like banana, coconut, *sajana*, etc. in their kitchen garden along with mango and jackfruit trees.

Political Changes

In the political arena some of the villagers are politically conscious. The rate of participation is very high. The degree of political information and

knowledge is also high. They appreciate the modern political system and there is no confrontation among the traditional and the emerging modern leadership.

Conclusion

The forces of modernization have greatly influenced the socio-cultural and political life of the Juangs of Khajuribani entered through the implementation of development programmes by various agencies. The process has gone deep into their traditional socio-cultural fabric and their traditional society has undergone multifarious changes at psychological, intellectual and social levels. The changes that have occurred at the mental level of the tribe provide the impetus for the changes in other spheres of their society.

At the psychological level, there has been fundamental shift of values, attitudes and expectations, and the present day Juangs now believe that change in nature and society is both possible and desirable. They now feel that they have the potential to bring about necessary changes in their own society and can adjust themselves to the changing environment by broadening of their loyalties and identifications from immediate primary groups like family, clan and villages to larger and more important groupings like class, nation etc.

At the intellectual level, there has been a tremendous expansion of their knowledge about their environment. The knowledge acquired by the few advanced individuals also gets diffused throughout the society without much difficulty. In spite of all these, poverty in the community still stands as a barrier and a majority of Juangs have no significant intellectual advancement. But there seems to be a sort of mental preparedness amongst most men of the community to accept new ideas unhesitatingly.

At the level of demography, marked improvement in the standard of living is noticed. Changes in their life style coupled with increase in health, consciousness and life expectancy, greater occupational and geographical mobility are also found among them.

At the social level, no significant change has occurred so far. But the community has slowly replacing their focus of individual loyalty to family and other primary groups to wider levels of the society. In the cultural sphere, the culture of the neighboring Hindus society influences them to some extent.

At the economic level, the subsistence forest economy of shifting cultivation has been replaced by modern market agriculture and the scope of their economic activity which was previously confined to the village or community, is now widened enough so as to integrate into the larger economic system.

At the political level though the Juangs have not fully abandoned their traditional political structure, are now participating in various types of democratic political activities at different levels.

Multiple factors are responsible for all these changes at various levels of the Juangs of the village under study. But the important among these are:-

1. The tribal development programmes of the Government with principal emphasis on agriculture, irrigation and income generation schemes.
2. Culture contact of the villagers with the neighbouring non-tribal population, and
3. The geographical mobility of the villagers from the top-hill to the fertile and watery valley with provision for cultivable lands and irrigation facility provided by the water harvesting structure.

The geographical mobility with adequate infrastructural facilities is responsible for the increased economic activity and occupational mobility of the Juangs of Khajuribani which has definitely accelerated the process of development in the village. But the development of the tribe or the village as a whole has not taken place. Some of the families have definitely improved their lot and the development process may spread from them to other members of the village in the long run but still here are families who are far behind in various aspects of their social and cultural life of the three spheres of relationships among the tribals, man and woman, man and nature and man and supernatural, the Juangs of the village have undergone significant changes in the man spirit relationship. But in other two fields, though minor change is noticed, major parts still remain as it was.

It is not correct to say that the few, who could get the benefit of Tribal Development Programmes, have advanced in the desired direction. Their level of education is still very low. They subject themselves to economic exploitation by the non-tribals. This suggests that mere agriculture and other productive activities, in isolation of knowledge of money, economy, marketing, banks and trade, etc. will not help right economic growth. To cope with this situation spread of the education among the tribes is badly necessary as economic development and education development are highly inter-connected and can together prove to be the better means for tribal development. In the course of the unexplored history of thousands of years Juang life the most remarkable feature is their silent suffering in the dark Jungles around the Gonasika. Prolonged predicament over the years has taught them to grow an infinite capacity to endure the endless vicissitudes of life in an unfriendly atmosphere. Yet, it has not generated the much needed spark to boost the tribal civilization. They have always preferred to live in isolation and any interference from outside world has received a cold response. The Governmental and non-Governmental agencies operating in this region have to take this tribal psychology into consideration before embarking on vigorous projects for their meaningful emancipation.

EDUCATION AND SOCIAL MOBILITY AMONG THE JUANG TRIBE OF ODISHA : A CASE STUDY *

*S. P. Pati*¹
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I. Introduction:

Education brings all round development for which free access to education is essential. It is a fact that the Indian society is basically hierarchical, yet the democratic frame work of India with its socialistic nature provides sufficient safeguards to those who are even at the lowest step of the social ladder. According to the constitutional directives, the Government offers special provisions for the protection and promotion of Scheduled Tribes, who are recognized as a weaker section of the society. The contemporary Indian society is in transition with rapid march towards modernization. Our national government as well as state government planned strategies to modernize tribals out of which Integrated Tribal Development Project (ITDP) is the best effort.

The Juang tribe has been identified as one of the Primitive Tribes of Odisha. The tribe belongs to Proto-Austroloid racial stock. It is mainly found in Keonjhar, Dhenkanal & Angul districts of Odisha.

The community can broadly be divided into two sections i.e. the Hill Juangs who live in hill tops and the plain Juangs who live in plain areas. Each type is again classified into two sub groups i.e. (i) The Thaniya (Original Settlers) and (ii) The Bhagudias (those who have fled away). Each sub-group has its own culture and tradition. Government as well as voluntary organization has taken various steps to improve and enable them to acquire an equitable and rightful place in the society. The Tribal Sub-Plan is one of such strategies, which has led to the creation of Juang Development Agency (J.D.A). The purpose is to eliminate exploitation,

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illiteracy with the introduction of different avenues for development so that Junag would perceive change in a positive direction. For this education is undoubtedly an important input. As education implies awareness, it can help them to overcome their social barriers and pave the way for social mobility.

The Juang Tribe has its own ethnic, linguistic and socio-cultural value system. Its problems vary from group to group, village to village and attempt has been made to see how social mobility has taken place among the Juang tribe in the major three villages of Keonjhar district of Odisha and the role of education as an agency for such mobility.

II. Sample Area

The study was conducted in three villages (1) Gonasika, (2) Guptaganga and (3) Jantari covered under J.D.A of Banspal block of Keonjhar district. Table -1 shows the distribution of Juang households and population in the study villages.

Table -1
Village wise distribution of Households & Population

Sl No	Name of the Village	No. of Households	Population		
			Male	Female	Total
1	Gonasika	60	146	135	281
2	Guptaganga	52	122	129	251
3	Jantari	97	207	205	412
	Total	209	475	469	944

The above table reveals that in all three villages, the total number of Juang household was 209 with total population of 944. The Juangs are found all over Keonjhar district of which in the 35 Juang villages covered by J.D.A, the total number of household was 1496 and the total population 7120 out of which 3501 were males and 3619 were females. The sex ratio was 1034 female per 1000 male. The literacy rate among the Juang tribe was 19.12% where for the males it is 31.19% and for the females, 7.43%.

For the Juangs, Gonasika is their place of mythical origin. The village had 60 households having the total population of 281 ie, 146 males and 135 females. Situated on the Gonasika hill it is 12 K.M away from National Highway No. 6. Guptaganga village comprised 52 Juang households with a population of 251 where 122 were males and 129, females. Situated in forest area it is connected with an all weather *morrum* road. Jantari is a multi-community village with 97 Juang households and population of 412 including 207 males and 205 females. The literacy rate of this village was 19.12%.

III. Tools used for Investigation:

In the present study, the data was collected through a structured schedule, which was administrated to all the household heads numbering 209 (60 from

Gonasika, 52 from Guptaganga & 97 from Jantari who have been categorized on by their education and occupation and presented in the table 2 and 3 respectively).

Table - 2
Number of respondents as per educational level in Gonasika, Guptaganga and Jantari villages

Sl No	Level of Education	Gonasika	Guptaganga	Jantati	Total
1	Illiterate	31 (51.7)	27 (51.9)	49 (50.5)	107 (51.4)
2	Up to class V	12 (20.0)	7 (13.5)	21 (21.6)	40 (18.4)
3.	Up to class VII	9 (15.0)	13 (25.0)	18 (18.6)	40 (19.5)
4.	Up to class X	6 (10.0)	4 (7.7)	7 (7.2)	17 (8.3)
5.	Above Class X	2 (3.3)	1 (1.9)	2 (2.1)	5 (2.4)
	Total	60 (100)	52 (100)	97 (100)	209 (100)

The figures in the parenthesis represent the percentages.

Table- 3
Number of respondents as per their occupation in Gonasika, Guptaganga and Jantari villages

Sl No	Occupation	Gonasika	Guptaganga	Jantati	Total
1	Agriculture	24 (40.0)	18 (34.6)	45 (46.3)	87 (40.3)
2	Service	3 (5.0)	3 (5.8)	5 (5.1)	10 (4.7)
3.	Business	1 (1.7)	2 (3.8)	4 (4.1)	9 (3.2)
4.	Collection of forest produce	18 (30.0)	14 (27.0)	21 (21.6)	53 (26.2)
5.	Household tasks	12 (20.16)	11(21.1)	14 (14.4)	37 (18.5)
6.	Animal Husbandry	2 (3.3)	4 (7.7)	8 (8.5)	15 (7.1)
	Total	60 (100)	52 (100)	97 (100)	209 (100)

The figures in the parenthesis represent the percentages.

Social mobility may take place in two directions upward and downward. It is seen that the Juang tribe have acquired upward mobility, a desirable positive trend in which education has played a greater role yet some other variables are important indicators. Data collected from the three villages for study were computed with sample frequencies and percentages. It was also interesting to see the relationship of these variables as a function of education of the respondents.

IV. Discussion on the Findings

The following are the indicators of upward mobility.

- i) Shift from traditional occupation to modern trade
- ii) Social contact with non-tribals
- iii) Change in life style
- iv) Improved family resources

- v) Aspiration for higher education of children
- vi) Apathy towards Intoxication
- vii) Declination towards debt
- viii) Declination for sale of own property

From the data collected above, the following things can be deduced which show the upward mobility of the Juang tribe.

i) Shift from Traditional Occupations to Modern Avocations

It is well known that agriculture and agriculture wage provide the principal livelihood of the Juang. A majority of Juangs (40% in Gonasika, 34.6% in Guptaganga & 40.3% in Jantari) are engaged in the field of agriculture as laborers. Some of them have shifted to the non-agricultural sectors too. It is also found that collection of forest produce is their subsidiary occupation in the study villages. Although their engagement percentage in service, business and animal husbandry is not remarkable, a positive trend can be noticed in their mobility towards service sector in all the three study villages. In Gonasika 5.0%, in Guptaganga 5.8% and in Jantari 5.1% of the respondents are service holders. Most of them are working as teachers in different schools of the area. Business as an occupation was not familiar among them. Our data reveals that 1.7% of the families of Gonasika, 3.8% families of Guptaganga and 4.1% families of Jantari are engaged in different kinds of petty trades like grocery shops, selling of leaf cup and plates and cycle repairing shop. An educated youth of Jantari village has opened a motor garage. Even though occupational mobility of the villages has not been very encouraging, yet it is higher in Jantari in comparison to Gonasika and Guptaganga. It is again found to be higher among the educated youths than the uneducated respondents.

ii) Social Contact with Non-Tribals

Social contact of the Juang with general people takes place among the villages of Guptaganga, Gonasika and Jantari although the pace of contact varies from one another. Jantari being a village with mixed population does not show much progress in their contact with non-tribals. It is observed that the educated families of the Juang tribe are more exposed to the outside world which makes it easy for them to interact with the general people. There is even one case of matrimonial relationship between the Juang and the Chasa.

iii) Changes in Life Style

Life style is a relative concept as it is different in different communities. The present study reveals that the highest number of families in Jantari have changed their pattern of dress (52.31%), a few have adopted improved toilet habit (shifted the habit of open-air toilet to the closed latrines) though Barapali latrines have been supplied by different voluntary organization and government. Although a number of changes have been noticed in respect of their dress, diet and toilet habit in Jantari village, yet the changes much lower than those are found in Gonasika and Guptaganga. Majority of families in the three study villages have

not accepted the modern health care or believe in the efficacy of modern medicine. They still believe in the existence of evil spirits and seek remedy in their traditional magico-religious-herbal medicines. For example, the most common treatment for curing stomach troubles is by branding the belly twice or thrice around the belly by a piece of heated iron rod which leaves indelible marks on the skin.

Most of the Juangs of the three study villages believe that the fever is generally caused by some malevolent spirits or due to the displeasure of the ancestors, hence for curing fever it is necessary to propitiate the offenders properly and satisfy them by offering chickens, liquor & tobacco etc.

Very few educated Juangs of the three study villages use filtered water and a quite negligible number of families in the three study villages go in for labour safety devices like LPG and pressure cookers etc. Jantari is slightly more positive than Gonasika and Guptaganga in adopting a changed pattern of life.

iv) **Improved Family Resources**

As regards the family resources, it is found that bicycle is the only item found in majority of Juang families in our study villages, yet regarding this, Jantari stands higher in comparison to Gonasika and Guptaganga. There is however a negligible difference among the three study villages in respect of the use of pump sets and diesel tractors. Similarly, a few Juang families of Gonasika village (22.85%) possess television for entertainment where as 7.46% families in Jantari and 8.23% in Guptaganga have possessed it. A few Juang families of Jantari village are having Telephone where as 3.21 % families of Gonasika and 2.34 % families of Guptaganga are having telephone facilities. More families of the three study villages possess radio as a means of their entertainment. On the whole, the Juang families of Jantari possess more resources than Gonasika and Guptaganga.

v) **Aspiration for Higher Education of Children**

The Literacy rate is very low in the villages under study. The literacy scenario of the Juang tribe in general and the villages under study in particular is not encouraging yet. Great majority of the respondents in the three villages under study (82.85% in Jantari, 71.63% in Gonasika and 73.21% in Guptaganga) expect that their children should be highly educated. Accordingly, it was found that quite a good number of their children (both boys and girls) are studying in High Schools, Ashram Schools and in Colleges. This trend is more visible in case of educated families than the uneducated ones.

vi) **Apathy towards Intoxication**

The Juangs and especially the hill Juangs are extremely addicted to liquor. The tribal council of the juangs prohibits drinking liquor. In general, the Juang drink as many as six varieties of liquor such as (1) Mahua Liquor called Arkhi (2) Rice beer known as Handia or Pachhi (3) Liquor made from maize called Juani

Mada (4) Liquor made from cereals like Akogang, Kasala and Jinajari etc (5) Toddy or Khijiri Mada (6) Salap Mada extracted from Sago-Palm trees.

A shift from this habit is regarded as a positive change in their lives. It is found that although Juangs of three study villages are not completely free from this habit, yet 72% of the respondents of Gonasika are found to be irregular drinkers whereas 68% people in Guptaganga and 67.56% in Jantari village come under this category. Only 28% in Gonasika, 32% in Guptaganga and 32.44% in Jantari are regular drinkers. Thus, change in the positive direction is more in case of Gonasika than in Guptaganga and Jantari. Yet, most of the educated youth prefer traditional drinks.

vii) Declination towards Debt

To a Juang, indebtedness means taking loan which he has to pay back in future. Less indebtedness is regarded as symbol of upward mobility of the Juang people. Although all of our respondents were not completely free from indebtedness, yet 34.28% of Gonasika, 29.35% of Guptaganga and 15.56% of Jantari report that they have not taken any loan for the last three years. But no significant relationship was found between the level of education and the gravity of indebtedness of the respondents among the Juang people.

viii) Declination for sale of own property

Sale of own property is one of the worst problems of the Juang tribe. But unlike the earlier problem of large-scale transfer of land, a great majority of our respondents of the three study villages report that they have not sold any land for the last 5 years. Only a negligible number of respondents said that they sold a small portion of their original land under some eventualities.

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PERSISTENCE AND CHANGE IN JUANG SOCIETY *

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The Juang, one of the Primitive Tribal Group (PTG) of Orissa, are found in the districts of Keonjhar and Dhenkanal. According to Verrier Elwin, a noted ethnographer, the meaning of the term 'Juang' is 'Man'. The Juang believe that they are the first men born on the earth. The district of Keonjhar in general and Gonasika in particular is said to be their original homeland. It is unique that this tribe is found nowhere else in Indian States and union Territories, except in the State of Orissa.

The Juang classify themselves into two territorial sections i.e the *Thaniya* and the *Bhagudia*. The Thaniyas live in their own land called Juang Pirha located in Gonasika hills, while the Bhagudias are those who have fled away from the homeland. The latter migrated from Keonjhar in the past during the Bhuiyan rebellion in 1861 are found in Dhenkanal district.

The Juang inhabit a block of hill and forest country in south and west of Keonjhar, the hills and plains of Pallahara to the east and the plains villages of Dhenkanal along the southern border. In Keonjhar the ThaniyaJuang are found in four Pirha areas (maximal territorial organizations) and Keonjhar is regarded to be their original homeland i.e the "Mati Prithivi", from where they originated and migrated to Pallahara and Dehenkanal.

The Juang area of Keonjhar is divided into four Pirhas namely Jharkhand, Sathkhand, Rebena and Kathua. In the center of the Juang country lies Gonasika at the slope of sacred Guptagana hills, which is the place of origin of the sacred River Boitarani.

The Juang of Satkhand and Jharkhand Pirhaof Keonjhar consider themselves superior to the Juang of the other two Pirhas. They state several reasons to account for their superiority. The important reasons are that they

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live in and around their place of origin i.e. the sacred hill of Gonasika and have retained the originality of their culture whereas the inhabitants of Kathua and Rebena Pirhas who are plains dwellers have lost their originality as they live in close proximity of caste Hindus and other tribal communities.

Socio-Cultural Changes

Change is a universal process. The Juang society even though relatively isolated from the mainstream of civilization is not totally unaffected by change. Changes in many aspects of their lifestyle are noticeable. But by and large, they are very custom bound and tradition oriented. Their way of life is permeated by the customs and traditions of their forefather's time. As such, they are ardent devotees of the cult of ancestor worship. During every family ritual, ancestors (Pitruki) are worshiped to get their blessings. It is a fine example that Juangs follow the footprints of their forefathers indicating the practice of adhering to their age-old customs and traditions.

Custom orientation of the Juang society is well established from the practice that when their traditional councils decide cases, they always refer to the precedents and a Judge or a single person of authority does not take the decision and it is done by general consensus.

As regards administration of law and justice, in modern society there are at least two parties – one complainant and one opposite party. In Juang society a serious issue involving violation of important taboos and customs thereby affecting the integrity of their community can be taken up by the community even if there is no complainant. Any infringement of established custom cannot escape the watchful eye of the community. For example, the unmarried boys (Kangerki) and girls (Selanki) of two *bandhu* (friend /relative) villages though allowed to mix freely to dance and joke, they cannot indulge in sexual intimacy. If they violate this custom and take sexual liberties with each other, the village elders condemn their conduct, punish them and warn them so that they would not dare to repeat such act in future. Following case study shall illustrate this point.

Case: - Once in the village Budhakhman a group of unmarried girls came from a Bandhu village to dance with the boys of that village. The dance competition continued for four days. In course of long hours of dancing, the boys and girls became sexually aroused and stealthily escaped to the forest to satisfy their desire. When the matter came to the notice of the elders of Budhakhman, they were angry and called an emergency meeting of their village council (Barabhai). The miscreants were severely scolded, warned and fined against their misconduct. The dance competition was stopped and as a penalty the boys and girls had to host a feast to the elders of village council.

In such cases the 'public eye', 'public opinion' and 'social ridicule' bring the offenders to book and also act as deterrents against reoccurrence of such deviant activities. Like any other society, the Juang society is regulated by certain customary rules. These rules remain in the core of 'culture building society' or 'society building culture'.

The rapidly changing circumstances of the ongoing post-independent era have affected the Juang society more or less. The Juang are no longer isolated from the national mainstream as before. They have started to feel the joy of freedom and liberty. The impact of *grampanchayat* system, democratic election system, spread of communication and education and many other development programmes implemented by Government and non-Government welfare agencies have created awareness among them and made them try to adapt to the changes. But the direction of change is more towards their very survival than towards progress.

Certain major changes noticeable in the field of social control, customs and traditions are – (1) Emergence of modern leadership and awareness and (2) improvement of decision-making and enactment of new customary rules to keep pace with the time.

(1) Emergence of Modern Leadership:

The modern leadership mainly comes from the younger generation who seriously think about bringing some changes in their way of life in order to adjust to the changing circumstances. While the old guards sing in memory of good old days of king's rule when there was strict social discipline and rule of truth and virtue, the younger Juangs believe that the old system cannot deliver the goods. They understand that the changing circumstances have created many new problems for their survival. These cannot be solved by the traditional means prescribed by their old culture. On the other hand their traditional social institutions, which are deep rooted, cannot be wiped off overnight because people still have great confidence on their efficacy and they know no viable alternatives. So there appears to be a compromise between the new and old. This compromise provides that the traditional system takes care of their conventional cultural needs and the modern leadership looks after the growing extra-cultural needs of the present day. Therefore at present traditional leaders remain unchallenged in their respective grounds and give way to the ambitious younger generation to meet the emerging needs of their people which they are unable to meet. There are areas of common interest where both of them join hands to work together. There are also some dynamic and charismatic personalities who work successfully in both the fields harmonizing the tradition and modernity.

(II) Formulation of new customary Rules:

The change has created awareness among the Juang to review their customs and tradition in the modern context so as to modify the existing ones, which have become outdated and formulate new ones to suit the present circumstances. The conscious modern leaders have been organizing conventions inviting representatives from the Juang villages of Gonasika Pirha area to discuss about the issues and take reformatory actions. Often, government officials, development agencies, modern local leaders like ward member, Sarpanch, Panchayat Samiti Chairman are invited to take part in the decision making process. This is indicative of the fact that the Juang are realizing the importance of modern leaders, agencies and institutions.

Some examples of new customary rules formulated recently by the Juang are discussed below;

1. Prohibition of Beef eating:

Juangs claim themselves to be 'Rusiputras' – the descendants of the great Rusi (Saint) and Rusiani (his wife) according to their legendary tradition. Some children of the Rusi took beef stealthily. When the Rusi knew about it he cursed the sinners to lead a wretched life. These children became Juangs while other children who had not taken beef became the Bhuiyan-a brother tribe.

Juangs realize the fact that because of this beef eating practice they are looked down upon by their clean caste and other tribal neighbours. In order to stop this practice, a grand convention was organized at Janghira hat (weekly market) in which, the Juang Sardars of all the four Pirhas and the traditional leaders from all the Juang villages participated. A resolution was passed unanimously banning the practice of beef eating. Any Juang violating this rule would be severely punished by ostracism and ex-communication.

Sometimes after this convention a Juang man of Kuajharan village was accused of beef eating. He faced so much social ridicule, and humiliation that he had to run away from his area leaving his house and personal assets behind before receiving any formal social punishment.

This new custom is a kind of positive social reform aimed at enhancement of social status of the community. It shows the determination of a primitive and backward tribal community to do away with a practice they are ashamed of.

2. Prohibition of Wearing of Beads for Women:

Juang women are fond of wearing beads which is a very old tradition. Juang people realized some disadvantages of this practice.

(1) The beads worn in different parts of the body such as neck, forearm, lower arm, ear and nose were very heavy and created inconveniences while working.

(2) Beads worn around the neck of a Juang woman barely cover her breasts. As the women worn beads, they were not interested to wear clothes in their upper parts covering their breast region because clothes may cover their beads. As a result their upper parts as well as their breasts remained uncovered.

Because of this practice, their civilized neighbors looked down upon them as uncivilized people and sometimes tried to take sexual liberties with Juang women. When the Juang community became aware of the dangers of wearing beads they tried to give up this outdated practice. Young Juang leaders persuaded the women folk to give up wearing beads and to wear sarees covering their upper parts. A meeting of village leaders and *pirha* Sardars was organized at Janghira hat to discuss about this issue and it was decided to stop this practice and encourage women to wear sarees. Juang young men came forward to help in creating awareness among women against wearing beads in their respective village areas. There was some resistance from old women while young women cooperated. Gradually, this reform gathered momentum and popularity. Now Juang women have totally given up this practice and they are wearing sarees covering their upper parts.

3. Amendment of Certain Marriage Rules:

It was felt by some young and dynamic Juang people that certain rules and practices relating to marriage have not only become old and outdated but also are creating social problems. Most important among them are marriage by capture and high rate of bride price.

Jagabandhu Juang, a charismatic young leader belonging to the village Khajuribani took initiative to organize the conscious Juang people of his neighbouring Juang villages to build a public opinion in these issues. At last he succeeded in organizing a public meeting at Talapanasanasa with the active cooperation of Nata Sardar of Jharkhand Pirha. In that meeting everyone agreed that the old rate of bride-price should be reduced and the outdated practice of marriage by bride capture should be discouraged with a view to stop it gradually with passage of time because it is not possible to stop this old practice immediately.

4. Some other important Social Reforms:

About forty years ago, the illustrious late Nata Sardar – the dynamic chief of Jharkhand Pirha convened a meeting of the Juang leaders of all

Pirhas and villages to initiate some social reforms in the age-old habits and improve the life style of the Juang people to keep pace with the changing time. The meeting was held at Jantari hat in which distinguished Juang leaders such as Nefra Sardar of Satkhand Pirha and Narsing Sardar of Kathua Pirha participated. A Sardar of neighbouring Bhuiyan Pirha was invited as the guest participant. In this meeting Nata Sardar presented the following proposals for discussion.

- (i) To change the old pattern of dress and ornaments for Juang women by adoption of the dress pattern of clean caste women.
- (ii) To cultivate good habits of neat and cleanliness and personal hygiene so that their neighbours cannot hate them for their ugly and unclean habits and their health conditions would improve.
- (iii) To reduce and finally stop consumption of liquor and other intoxicants by conscious efforts.
- (iv) To fight against the exploitation by unscrupulous local moneylenders.

Majority of the participants approved and accepted these proposals. The village leaders were entrusted with the responsibilities of communicating these messages to their people and create awareness among them in favour of these reforms. It was hoped that these reforms would be put in to practice slowly with mass awakening.

These examples show the will and determination of a small aboriginal community to meet the challenges of the changing time. They have developed the mentality and flexibility to incorporate necessary changes in their way of life to adjust to the modern age. Most of these changes are reformatory, progressive and suitable to the present time and environment and also to foster higher social aims and objectives. The movements and achievements are very slow but enduring. The consciousness and progress are not mechanical or superficial but silent and spontaneous. In spite of these change their core of culture have not been affected so much. On one hand they have accommodated certain reforms in respect of some aspects of their outdated life-style and on the other they have preserved the originality and uniqueness of their old indigenous culture and thereby their group identity counteracting the powerful blows of modernity.

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SOCIO-ECONOMIC IMPACT OF DEFORESTATION ON THE JUANG OF GONASIKA WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THEIR SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES *

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As the denizens of forest tribals satisfy their numerous needs from the forest with the help of most simple implements and without any technological aid from outside. They depend on the forest flora and fauna for their livelihood and collect various kinds of Minor Forest Produce (MFP) in different seasons. So, in the tribal economy, forests occupy a central position.

Traditionally the tribal people thrived on a subsistence economy derived out of hunting, food gathering and shifting cultivation. Being forest dwellers, they have few viable economic alternatives and employment opportunities. Naturally, they have to depend on subsistence agriculture and on the forest. The extent of this dependence needs to be studied in order to understand its ramifications in the backdrop of deforestation.

In Odisha the standard of living of tribal people is low. What is of primary relevance to our study, however, is the socio-economic condition of the tribals like the Juang as affected by deforestation given the facts that a vast majority of them who are predominantly forest dwellers are economically backward, pre-literate and underexposed to the outside world. They lived with the forest for centuries inhabiting clusters of villages mainly in the hilly areas, dependent primarily on shifting cultivation and minor forest produce (MFP) and thus built up a symbiotic link with forest in context of their social, cultural and economic life. Forest has remained an important resource base for them. Therefore, depletion of forests has not only disturbed the ecological balance but also put pressure on the forest resources as well as the Juang as forest dwellers. Now they find it extremely difficult to sustain their livelihood and to pursue their traditional occupations because their perennial source of subsistence is dwindling over period of time.

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Present Study

With this backdrop this study has been undertaken to assess the impact of deforestation among a Primitive Tribal Group (PTG) i.e., the Juang - the autochthones of Gonasika hills of Keonjhar district in northern Orissa who live in a simple society and inhabit remote forest areas in a state of semi-isolation and thrive upon a subsistence economy based on land and forest.

Study Villages

This exploratory study has covered one hundred households in 10 Juang settlements in Gonasika area of Keonjhar district of which 9 are inside the JDA micro project area and the remaining one i.e., Kuanr is outside the micro project area. These villages come under 5 gram *panchayats* inside Banspal block. In this study an attempt has been made to elicit comparative data on important aspects of the problem as they were in the past, 10-15 years back and the changes, if any, occurred at present i.e., at the time of this study. Relevant secondary data has been elicited from available references.

The Juang

Juang is one of the primitive tribal groups exclusively found in Orissa. In the past, they were being called 'Pattoa' for wearing leaves. The word 'Juang' means, "Man". They claim themselves to be the first humans on the earth, originating at the sacred Gonasika hills as descendants of their legendary ancestors, the *Rusi* couple. They firmly believe that they are the 'Thaniyas', the autochthones of Keonjhar as compared to their brethren who have fled to the neighbouring Pallahara area in the long past and distinguished as 'Bhagudias', the emigrants.

Linguistically Juangs are Mundari speaking people and racially belong to Proto-Australoid stock. As per 2001 census their total population is 41 339, sex ratio is 1014 and their level of literacy is 25.35 %.

The Hill-Juang villages of Gonasika area are grouped under four *pirhas* - territorially organized confederation of villages, named as Satkhand, Jharkhand, Kathua and Rebena which had received due recognition and patronage of the then rulers of ex-Keonjhar State. Each *pirha* is led by a traditional tribal chief designated as *Sardar*. Each Juang village is an autonomous socio-political unit managed by a set of traditional leaders and a corporate body of village elders called *bhalabhaj* or *barabhai*. The village community owns and manages all the productive and useful natural resources like swiddens, forests, grazing land, and habitation sites etc., which lie within their village boundary.

Another striking feature of the Juang society is their traditional youth organization and dormitory called *majang* or *mandaghar*. The unmarried boys and girls become members of this institution and undertake various community services and socio-cultural activities for their village. They sing, dance and make

merry in moonlit nights in front of *majang*. The *majang*, a rectangular house standing high in the center of the village serves as a community center for the village, court house for the council of elders (*barabhai*), guest house for visitors, cooperative store for storage of common grains, place for keeping musical instruments, a venue for communal rituals, and cultural center for dance and music.

Their other distinguishing features are their strong kinship organization dividing them into *kutum* (kins) and *bandhu* (affines) groups. Most of the Juang villages have uni-clan composition; hence, village exogamy is the rule.

The Hill-Juang ekes out precarious subsistence pursuing shifting cultivation and collecting minor forest produce. The plains-Juang earn their livelihood by pursuing small-scale settled cultivation and wage earning

The symbiotic link

The Juang are a forest dwelling folk. Since the hoary past, their socio-cultural life developed amidst the forest environment. They regard the forest as a permanent gift of the Basukimata – the Earth Goddess (regarded as their Supreme Deity), which they have inherited from their, forefathers. They worship a number of deities residing in the hills, forests, fields, rivers, streams namely Thanpati, Boitaranipat, Gutipat, Rangapat, Kalapat etc. In all major rituals they pay homage to these deities to seek their blessings and protection. Particularly in the *pirha puja* festival held in July-August, they pray the forest and hill deities. Their strong emotional attachment with the forest makes them quite possessive about it and they always treat it as their own property. However they understand quite well that forest resources are limited and they shall be the worst sufferer if forests are destroyed by greedy and irresponsible human beings. They have developed their own cultural norms for the management and protection of their forest resources.

Although there are no strict restrictions for a Juang against exploiting forest resources anywhere within the Juang *pirha* area, the Juang respect the territorial autonomy of neighboring villages and ordinarily collect their needs from the forests lying within their respective village territories. Only they collect as much forest produces as required for their own consumption but not for hoarding, sale or profit. Over-exploitation of forest resources by any person with selfish motives or for commercial interests is looked down upon as an antisocial act.

Activities like, climbing and cutting trees, hunting, catching birds and collecting honey are tabooed for Juang women. Felling fruit bearing trees and certain useful plants such as mango, jackfruit, *kendu*, *mohul*, *jamu*, *khajur*, etc. are tabooed for all. Certain plant and animal species, which are ritually, connected to them either as totemic object for different clans or otherwise are also left untouched. Even they spare these forbidden plants while felling trees in their *toila* sites. They believe that causing any harm to these forbidden species offends the deities and ancestral spirits resulting in disaster and human suffering.

No one dares to eat the seasonal fruits collected from the forest before offering the same to the deities and ancestral spirits. They observe a number of communal rituals and festivals round the year like Amnua, (February-March), Asadi (June-July), Manchuri Puja (July-August), Kimiyang and Kalart Aba (September-October), Gundadia (October-November) for this purpose. In the Amnua (New mango eating) festival, they offer green mangos to the deities and ancestral spirits and thereafter they eat the new fruit. Similarly in Asadi Parab, they offer *bangur* fruits to the deities before eating the same.

In the good old days, when there were vast expanses of forests crowded with wild animals in the Juang country and they had full freedom of exploitation of forest resources, regular hunting formed a part of their subsistence. Gradually the forests are depleted and the wild animals reduced considerably. In these days when hunting has been totally banned for conservation of the natural environment in general and protection of wild animals in particular, the hunting activities of the Juangs have become a pastime, perused very occasionally and with this their past skill in hunting has also diminished.

With the receding forest line, environmental problems arise and their struggle for survival becomes intense weakening their traditional economy and socio-economic existence. In this situation, it becomes imperative to understand the magnitude and direction of the impact of deforestation on their socio-economic living conditions especially with reference to their occupational position, social and cultural life, living standard and economy as a whole.

Socio-Economic Impact

The Juang economy is a typical subsistence economy founded on land and forest. Traditionally they were hunters, food gatherers and shifting cultivators. Over generations, they have been living in hills and forests deriving sustenance from the resource bases of the mountainous country in various ways to meet their small needs and making a bare minimum living. When the hills and valleys were covered with lush green vegetation, the Juang were exploiting the resources with mirth and furry. Toila cultivation was their way of life. Today, with the depletion of forest growth and the under-woods and growth of their population, swidden cultivation did not pay dividends; forest collections diminished, wild games disappeared and the Juang are struggling to make both the ends meet.

Skills & Occupational Pattern; Continuity & Mobility

In the study area, rapid depletion of forests has led to deterioration of natural environment. This has squeezed their traditional life support system i.e., their economic resource base. Their dependence on traditional livelihood sectors such as, hunting, shifting cultivation, animal husbandry and other forest based subsistence activities have declined slowly in course of time following the trail of deforestation. Gradually, they have taken up pursuits like settled cultivation to grow paddy in valleys, horticultural plantations, collection and sale of firewood

and wage labour in general. Some of them have acquired skills in weaving, rope making, mat making, comb making, masonry, carpentry, basketry and dancing which fetches them some supplementary income. The following Statements show the position in respect of the Study Households.

Total Population of Study Households		S K I L L S								
		T R A D I T I O N A L						M O D E R N		
		Comb Making	Mat Making	Rope Making	Baske- try	Wood Carving	Changu Dance	Mason	Carpe- ntry	Weav- ing
Males	280	19	-	12	7	5	23	14	13	2
Females	249	-	11	-	10	-	14	-	-	11
Total	529	19	11	12	17	5	37	14	13	13

- There are still some Juang men who possess skills in their traditional crafts such as Comb Making, Rope Making and Wood Carving. They exhibit fine workmanship in woodcarving and comb making. Mat Making is women's job. Both the sexes are skilled in Bamboo Basketry and Dancing.
- The characteristic *changu* dance of the Juang with enchanting songs and music is a folk tradition that has survived the test of time. While men beat *changu*, women dance. In all festive occasions they rejoice by performing this dance and it continues non-stop for days and nights.
- Acquisition of modern skills like masonry, carpentry, weaving etc. is a recent phenomenon brought about by their mobility and exposure to the modern world when the decline of their traditional economic base affected by deforestation and environmental degradation pushed them to look for alternatives. It is interesting to note that except weaving; only men possess these new skills.

STUDY HOUSEHOLDS (Percentages in Brackets)			MAJOR OCCUPATIONS (Engagements in Mandays) (Per Capita average in a Year given in Brackets)				
Break up	Total Popula- tion	Working Popula- tion (15-59Yrs)	Settled Cultiva- tion	Shifting Cultiva- tion	Wage & Labour	Forest Collec- tion	Total
Males	280 (100)	127 (45.36)	5 391 (43)	4 942 (39)	4 187 (33)	4 458 (35)	18 978 (149)
Females	249 (100)	123 (49.40)	4 632 (38)	4 185 (34)	4 982 (41)	3 964 (32)	17 763 (144)
Total	529 (100)	250 (47.26)	10 023 (40)	9 127 (37)	9 169 (37)	8 422 (34)	36 741 (147)

- A little less than half of the studied population (47.26 %) belonging to the 15 – 59 years age group comes under the category of Working Population.
- Corresponding to the sex ratio and marital status, in the Working Population numerically, men maintain superiority over women, but percentage wise, it is the *vice versa*.
- The average engagement of the Working Population in major economic pursuits like Settled Cultivation, Shifting Cultivation, Wage earning and Forest Collection keeps them occupied for less than half of a year. It means they remain under-employed for the remaining part of the year.
- Sector wise men spend the largest number of days in average in Settled Cultivation followed by, Shifting Cultivation and Forest Collection and the minimum in Wage & Labour. For women it is Wage & Labour –the highest, followed by Settled Cultivation, Shifting Cultivation and the lowest in Forest Collection. Thus forest based subsistence activities, in combination of Shifting Cultivation and Forest Collection, still remains their major economic pursuit in terms of the extent of engagement for their age-old dependence on forest.
- In terms of average engagement in these avocations men work little more than women in all sectors except Wage & Labour.

Agriculture

Agriculture is the mainstay of the Juang economy. Shifting cultivation – the traditional mode of their subsistence no longer remained profitable under the cumulative impact of deforestation, ecological imbalance and decline of land / man ratio due to pressure of growing population. Cultivable plain/wet land is in short supply in their area for undulating nature of the hilly terrain and population growth. Wherever they have found such type of land for settled cultivation they have developed it as paddy fields. Yet, they still have to continue with shifting cultivation to supplement their earnings from settled cultivation, forest collection, wage earning, and other economic pursuits. Mainly they grow a variety of minor millets, cereals, and pulses in their swiddens and paddy in their plain lands.

The Juang possess four kinds of farmlands – (i) Bada / Bila: the plain paddy fields for wet land settled cultivation, (ii) Guda: the up and dry land (iii) Toila / Kaman for shifting cultivation and (iv) Badi / Bakdi: the backyard kitchen garden. The Guda and Toila / Kaman are utilised for growing a variety of cereals, pulses, oilseeds and vegetables.

Cultivable Land Holding Pattern

- Cultivable lands include all kinds of agricultural and horticultural lands excluding the swiddens
- 5 % of the Study Households are landless

- Small Farmers form the majority group(41.05 %) among all categories
- Bulk of the landowning households fall under Marginal & Small Farmers category
- Average size of Landholding per Household comes to 2.39 Acs

Trend of Agricultural Production

Settled agricultural practices of the Juang mainly revolve around their Beda or Bila, which they regard to be their valuable productive asset. 83 percent of the study households possess cultivable wetlands in shape of Beda at an average of 0.95 Acres per farmer household. But Juang farmers hardly raise a second paddy crop in Beda during summer months even though they get irrigation facilities. Guda – the up and dry land is not as productive as the Beda. However, majority (95%) of the study households have pieces of Gudas in an average of 1.56 acres per household, which, they utilize for mixed cropping *viz* – Cereals like, *guda dhan*, *suturi*, *ganegi*, *ruma*, maize, *ragi*, *jana*, *kangu*, etc, pulses like *arhar*, *kulthi*, *biri*, *kathia*, *katada* etc and oil seeds like mustard, *rasi*, castor etc as they do in their swiddens (Toila)

The comparative picture of agricultural production in the past and present as emerged from the study indicates the following trends;-

- Decline of agricultural production is reported in respect of all categories of crops for both the categories of farmlands @ -20 percent over the decade.
- Production of paddy crop from the Beda in terms of total quantity has come down by -18.35 percent.
- In case of the annual yield from the Guda, the rate of decline is higher than Beda. Among all the different categories of crops grown in Guda as well as the Beda, the rate of fall is the highest (-29.49 %) for the oil seeds.

People's Response on the Situation

The Juang farmers are generally aware of the reasons for decrease of their farm output. They mainly attribute the consequences to (i) Deterioration in the Soil Quality, (ii) Uncertain Agro-Climatic Conditions manifested in erratic and inadequate rainfall. Since most of their farmlands lack assured irrigation facilities, they are bound to be dependent on the natural agro-climate to reap a good harvest. Deterioration of the natural environment over period of time has become a matter of major concern for them.

All the Juang farmers (100%) agree on the point that their farm outputs from Beda and Guda lands are shrinking for loss of soil fertility. The soil has not remained as fertile as it has been in the past. In addition to that nearly 60 percent and 30 percent of them have identified other important causative factors like soil

erosion and uncertain agro-climate such as inadequate and erratic rainfall for the diminishing returns.

Further opinions emerged on the state of affairs in the group discussion is briefed below

- In the past, when there were of lush green forests all around, the rainfall was abundant and the soil, fertile. Toila cultivation and forest collections provided enough food to feed lesser number of bellies. As these traditional sources started shrinking day-by-day, their dependency on settled cultivation and other sources has increased.
- As their population is increasing, cultivable land holdings are becoming smaller after family partitions.
- There is little scope for expansion of cultivable land area for the undulating terrain of their habitat.
- Now the reduced agricultural yields do not sustain many of them for a full year.
- One third of them know that deforestation and population growth lie at root of the present problems of survival.

Horticulture

The Juang love trees. They take care to preserve the fruit plants like date palm, mango, jackfruit, *mohul*, *kendu* etc in their villages, hills and swiddens. Besides, they raise kitchen garden called Badi or Bakdi in their backyards or in the close proximity of their houses where they grow plants like gourd, pumpkin, pea, maize, green leaves, cucumber, jackfruit, *mohul*, papaya, *saru*, drumstick, *desi alu* beans, chilies, mango, tamarind, mustard, banana, black pepper etc.

Presently, following the gradual decline in agricultural production and forest produce they are being motivated by the development agencies like the ITDA, DRDA and JDA to raise profitable horticultural crops to make up the deficit and supplement their income. Now some of them have started growing many new varieties of horticultural crops including vegetables such as brinjal, cabbage, ladies finger, onion, radish, knol-khol, pineapple, tomato, cauliflower, potato, lemon, orange, guava, garlic, zinger etc.

The study data given shows that, horticultural plantations in shape of kitchen gardens, backyard plantations owned by 98 study households now cover a total land area of 11.03 acres at an average of 0.11 acres per household.

As it is happening to agricultural production, the impact of deforestation is also noticed in gradual downslide of horticultural production (-22. 2%) particularly in their backyards and kitchen gardens where they mostly raise conventional crops.

Formerly they were producing their conventional horticultural crops—mostly cucumber, pumpkin, banana, guava etc in their Badis for their own consumption. After being motivated by the development agencies, now some Juang farmers they have started raising modern HYV of fruits and vegetables. This trend has begun since a decade.

Shifting Cultivation

Traditionally for the Juang, swidden cultivation has been devised and adopted by them as one of the main mode of subsistence. They grow a variety of crops in their swidden fields (*Toila*) using a small number of simple implements. Their methods are crude; the process is labour intensive and the productivity is low. Now the Juang have learnt in a hard way that this age-old mode of subsistence would no longer sustain their growing population. While they are trying hard to find dependable alternatives, they are yet to abandon this practice altogether.

The study reveals a picture of the cycle of shifting cultivation, coverage of area, cropping pattern, ongoing process of decline of production, people's awareness about the causative factors etc in a comparative way. It clearly depicts the declining trend of their traditional mode of subsistence locally called *toila chas*. Normally a *toila* plot is cultivated for 2-3 consecutive years and left fallow for 5-8 years for regeneration. For first year cultivation the plot is called *Toila* in which no cereal crops are grown and only pulses (*Arhar*, *Katada*, *Bargudi*, *Danka*, Beans, *Kathia*, *Jhudunga*, Black gram, Horsegram Greengram *Senae*, *Ruma*, *Jali*, etc.), oilseeds (*Til*, *Castor*, *Mustard*, etc.) and vegetables (*Pumpkin*, *Gourd*, *Cucumber*, *Kankad*, *Janhi*, *Desi Alu*, *Saru*, etc.) are cultivated.

In the 2nd year's plot called *Ekan* only cereals (*Banki dhan*, *Kangu*, *Gangei*, *Suan*, *Ragi*, *Suturi*, *Maize*, etc.), spices (*Turmeric*, *Ginger*, *Chilies*, etc.) and vegetables are grown. As its fertility reduces gradually for erosion of top soil and its nutrients, the cultivated area between the 1st and 2nd year decreases and so also the number of cultivator families. In exceptional cases, if the land retains some fertility it can be cultivated in the 3rd year to grow paddy and vegetables. This 3rd year plot is called *Nala*. The fertility depends on the soil quality, agro-climate and the regenerative fallow period. The larger the fallow period, the better is the fertility. Now these conditions are worsening day by day.

- There is gradual reduction in the cultivated area and the number of farmers from the 1st year (*toila*) to the 2nd year (*ekan*) *Toila chas*.
- Over a period of 10-15 years, the overall quantum of production has decreased by -32.40 %, the rate of decline being the maximum (-35.96%) in the 2nd year.
- Looking at the negative growth rate of yield for all the three successive years of cultivation of different categories of crops it is found that it is the highest (-36.19%) in case of Cereals closely followed by spices (-35.18%) like Turmeric,

Ginger, Chilies etc. Next in the descending order come the vegetables (-30.50%), the pulses (-26.97%), and the lowest being oilseeds (-24.74%)

- The highest rate of decline of yield is noticed in the 1st Year *Toila* (-30.14%) and 2nd year *Ekan* (-43.46%) for spices. It shows that spices, vegetables and cereals are the worst affected crops during all the two-year cycle of *Toila chas*.
- For declining fertility of *Toila*, cultivation of certain variety of crops such as *Suan*, *Suturi*, *Danka*, Green gram, Castor and *Kankad_z* has been stopped.

Peoples' Response on Causative Factors

The largest number of shifting cultivators (52%) knows that the yield from their *Toila chas* is declining with the decline of soil fertility. 40 percent of them attribute this to soil erosion; 35 percent to uncertain agro-climate with inadequate and irregular rainfall; and 33 percent, to shorter fallow period.

The regenerative fallow period varies with the subsistence need and the socio-economic status of the farmer as it determines the extent of his dependency on *Toila chas*, be it profitable or not. A poor farmer with small means of livelihood has no choice other than exploiting whatever *Toila* he possesses more frequently to survive. So he cannot afford to leave his *Toila* fallow for regeneration for a longer period. In the past the fallow period for poor Juang farmers were 5-10 years and for the well to do it was 9-12 years as the land man ratio was better for smaller population. The situation has changed over period of time. The fallow period has been coming down to 4-7 years and 6-9 years for both the categories of farmers.

Decades ago, the 3rd year cultivation (*Nala*) of cereal crops could be possible. Now the *Toila* land cannot be exploited for more than two years.

Some hill slopes are now degraded for continuous exploitation and turned unfit for *Toila chas*. The people are aware of the fact that the deteriorating ecological conditions would hardly sustain their traditional *Toila chas* but they are left with little choice.

Firewood Collection

Generally, the Juang procure firewood for their domestic consumption from their *Toila* and surroundings. In the past, vegetations existed in close proximity of their habitations. In an average they were to move within a radius of 1-2 kilometers to gather fuel for their kitchen. With gradual destruction of vegetations and degradation of their *Toila* this distance has been increasing day by day. Now it has increased to 2-3 kms for the people of the study villages. Obviously this distance increases in the summer months more than those of monsoon and winter times.

Following the gradual decline of their traditional mode of subsistence i.e., *Toila chas* and forest collection, since 2 decades, the Juang are trying to make up the deficit by selling firewood in the nearby markets and towns.

The study indicates that though both the sexes shoulder the burden of firewood collection and processing i.e., chopping, splitting and slicing the stock in order to make it ready for use, almost equally with small seasonal variations, women work little more than men in this pursuit.

With depletion of the vegetations, the quantity of annual collections and domestic consumption per study households has come down by -21 percent and -20 percent respectively within last 10 - 15 years.

Shortage in firewood is substituted by farm refuses e.g., crop residues, dry leaves etc. It is evident from the above data that after meeting their domestic consumption needs, they sale the surplus. Following the declining trend this surplus saleable quantity has also come down by -22 percent over this period affecting their family income.

The Juang are quite aware of the demand-supply gap, which may turn acute in future. They also understand that with the receding tree line and growing population the firewood is going to be scarce in future. Their womenfolk who have to keep their hearths burning are more alarmed than their men about the impending crisis.

Collection of MFP

Being denizens of forest the Juangs derive a part of their subsistence out of forest-based activities. Their consumption needs are met to a large extent from forest collections round the year. The Juang agriculture yields meager output for reasons like primitive methods and technology, unsuitable land, dependence on rain fed cultivation, agro-climatic fluctuations and ravages of wild animals. This small output hardly meets their food requirements for half of a year. Hence they depend on the forest for the remaining part of the year to get their food. Their diet is greatly supplemented by fruits, roots, tubers and leaves collected from the jungle and thus food collection still forms an indispensable part of Juang subsistence economy in Juang *pirha* areas of Keonjhar.

They collect a large variety of seasonal minor forest produce like small timber, bamboo, thatching grass, fodder, fruits, roots, seeds, tubers, mushrooms, leaves, flowers, fibers, leaves, barks, herbs, etc to supplement their diet and other requirements. Items like honey, *mohua* flowers, and edible insects, eggs are collected from the forest for domestic consumption. Surplus items are sold or bartered in the local weekly hats. Mohua flowers are eaten raw and the surplus is stored for distilling liquor. Mohua seeds are used for extracting oil. They bring head loads of firewood from the jungle regularly for their own use and some Juangs earn a part of their livelihood by selling firewood and charcoal in the nearby markets. They also get timbers, bamboo, *siali* fibre and leaves, *sal* leaves, palm leaves, *kendu* leaves, lac, resin, thatching grass etc. mostly for their own use and often at the time of need they sale these forest produces in the local markets to buy their requirements. All of them depend on MFP for a major portion of their

food and for their cattle, fodder and other needs. With depletion of forests these items are in short supply and there are also other difficulties.

The study data thus show the link between deforestation and reduced availability of MFP, additional workload and greater hardship. Because of the short supply of MFP, the forest dwellers require much more human power to collect even the minimum required for survival.

The distance between the MFP collectors and the source i.e., the forest has increased between past 10-15 years and the present for all items. About a decade ago various items of MFP were available at a distance varying between 0.5 to 3.8 kms. Now this distance has increased to 1.5 to 5.8 kms. That brings about the hardship to cover larger distance and spend more time in this activity.

Both the sexes shoulder the responsibility of collecting the MFP almost equally. In average, Juang men and women work for about 78 days each in a year for this activity. But Juang women face the hardship more than men because with the increasing distance between them and the source of MFP and dwindling natural resources they have to walk and work for an additional 3 to 4 hours a day to collect MFP and in addition to that, shoulder the burden of household works. Therefore this section of the population is more affected by deforestation.

The reduction in the procurement of MFP between past and present is visible in all categories. The highest decline is in small timber (-44.4 %), followed by resin (- 40 %) and the lowest, being in grass (- 18.7%). The rate of decline ranges between -30 percent and -35 percent for items like Broomsticks (-35.3%), Fodder (-34%), Fruits (-33.5%), Leaves (-31.3%), Lac (-30.8 %) and Mushrooms (-30.3 %). It is between -23 and -29 percent for items like Barks (29.41 %), Bamboo (-28.64 %), Roots & Tubers (-27.8 %), Flowers (-28.6 %), Plants & Creepers, (-27.3 %), Seeds (-26.7 %) and Gums (-23.8 %) and Herbs (23 %). The overall downslide comes to -30.77 percent for all the categories. As a result their average household consumption of all these items have come down proportionately by -34 percent to -8 percent and created deficits by unbalancing the equation of demand and supply. Likewise their volume of sale of the surplus MFP has shrunk from 66 percent to 14 percent for different categories causing economic hardship to them.

Majority of the respondents feel that the problem itself is the result of deforestation and the consequent lack of access to MFP. The data given above seem to endorse this. The first indication is the difference between the past and present in the collection, consumption and sale of MFP. This is attributable primarily, if not exclusively, to the shrinkage of the available forest area and the consequent difficulties in access to the dwindling resources.

Possession of Livestock

The Juangs rear animals to meet their agricultural and consumption needs. When natural vegetations were abundant there were no problems to maintain

their livestock. Now the population of these animals is decreasing with depletion of forests and decline in agricultural production. This diminishing trend is visible in the study findings.

- The data indicates that animal population has decreased by -35.62 percent with the average livestock per household shrinking from 12 to 8 animals over last 10 -15 years.
- The highest negative growth rate (-59.46 %) is recorded in case of pigs followed by buffaloes (-56.76 %), bullocks (- 45.73 %) and cows (-36.74 %), the lowest (-23.53 %) being the goats.
- The people have revealed the reasons for this situation. The largest number (87.50 %) of respondents cited about social taboos and prohibition against rearing pigs as a social mobility tactic, which is reflected in the present pig population registering the highest rate of decline among all categories of domestic animals.
- 72 percent of the respondents attribute this decline to shrinking of sources for grazing the animals and 62 percent, to drying up of water sources. Particularly, the populations of buffaloes and bullocks have been affected by these factors.
- Since the past, goat rearing has been a common traditional economic pursuit that fetches supplementary income. It has been affected for shrinkage of grazing sources and shortage of manpower for tending the stock as now the Juang children who generally are engaged for grazing goats are being persuaded to attend schools.

Indebtedness and Bondage

It is a well-known fact that the deficit caused by decline of traditional forest based subsistence activities drives the gullible tribals into the maze of indebtedness and bondage. Once a tribal incurs debt from a local *sahukar* (money lender), he is trapped in a net from which he cannot wriggle out very easily. He and his children live in debt and die in debt. Indebtedness in most cases leads to bondage and land alienation. The worst victims are the poorer and landless sections who have no other options.

When the Juang incurs debts from a private moneylender, he almost sinks under the burden of repayment. It leads to land alienation and loss of property. In the Juang area the moneylenders are mostly the non-tribals. Very often the Juang is unable to repay and free himself from the clutches of the lender. In the process he loses all the assets he owns.

This kind of situation was prevailing in the study area till the recent past. But now, thanks to the tribal and rural development programmes, the circumstances

have changed. Nationalized Banks and Self Help Groups (SHGs) have come to their rescue. Yet the dishonest private lenders are still there. It is not easy to neutralize their age old spell on the vulnerable Juangs. The silver lining is that the people's level of awareness is increasing.

Presently, the District Rural Bank i.e. Boitarani Gramya Bank has advanced fairly larger amounts of loans to the people than the local moneylenders. The position of repayment of loans by the loanees is not so good i.e., 36.6 percent only. Large inflow of institutional finance has pushed the greedy private financiers to the backstage, removing their grip over the vulnerable sections. But the application of the concept of Micro Credit through Self Help Groups has not made much headway into the Juang economy so far.

Household Income

The data on average annual household income shows that between past and present, the average income rose by 39.18 %.

The highest part of the income i.e., 40.51 percent in the past and 43.11 percent in the present comes from settled agriculture including wetland (Bila/Beda) cultivation of paddy and mixed cultivation in up and dry lands (Guda). This marginal rise in the share of income from settled agriculture may be attributed to the Juang farmers' increased dependence on this sector and popular acceptance of agricultural development schemes following decline of incomes from traditional sectors like shifting cultivation, Forest Collection, Animal Husbandry, Hunting

The second highest income is reported in the past from Forest Collection (23.36 %) and in the present from Service (18.76%). With gradual depletion of forest resources over period of time, the quantum of income from Forest Collection- the age-old perennial source has been reducing day by day down grading its position to the 3rd (15.13 %).

Like that of forest collections another important age-old forest based source of subsistence i.e., the shifting cultivation has been declining. Consequently its contribution to household income has come down from 13.21% to 7.57 % over past 10-15 years downgrading its rank from 3rd to 4th.

Following the decline of forest resources, people are looking for alternatives in other avenues like Wage Earning, Service, Trade and Barter to supplement their income and make up the deficit. Yet due to availability of limited avenues for wage labour the share of earnings from this sector has remained the same but its position has declined from 4th to 5th.

The income from backyards and kitchen garden sector have decreased from 6.60 percent to 3.68 percent reducing its position from 5th to 6th and indicating apathy of the Juang farmers towards horticulture schemes.

Moreover, deforestation and the ban on hunting have affected the incomes from allied sectors like animal husbandry, hunting and rural industry that is largely dependent on forest resources. While animal husbandry has gone down from the 6th to 8th position and the hunting, from 9th to 10th position, rural industry has retained its rank at the 11th place, but its share has gone down from 0.17 percent to 0.09 percent. In case of hunting the income has reduced to one third making it a mere ritual activity and for animal husbandry the rate of decline is about 50 percent.

Fishing has never been a significant economic activity for the Juang. Its contribution to household income is negligible. As such it holds the 10th rank in the past and the lowest rank in the present. This too has declined by 60 percent.

Thus it is found that the shares of earning from large number of economic sectors i.e., 8 out of total 12 have declined over past 10-15 years. Sectors like shifting cultivation, horticulture, animal husbandry, rural industry, hunting and fishing have shown major decline – i.e. 50 percent more or less and that out of remaining 2, wage earning has shown marginal decline and forest collections a moderate decline of about 30 percent. Conversely, significant growth of income has been reported from sectors like service (elevating its position from 7th to 2nd) and gift and exchange and marginal growth, from agriculture and trade and barter.

Household Expenditure

The data on average annual expenditure of the study households as revealed by the study shows that the quantum of expenditure has increased by 32 percent between then and now.

Among all the heads the highest average household expenditure has been made on fooding and the second highest on, house construction and maintenance and as such both have maintained their 1st and 2nd positions not only in the past but also in the present circumstances. A decade ago the total share of expenditure on both the heads accounted for 57.06 percent of the all-total average household expenditure. This has marginally reduced to 52.75 percent at present. Always it has remained over 50 percent.

The expenditure has been the lowest on payment of land revenue in the past and on rural industry in the present. Their positions have been interchanged between 17th and 18th during this period.

Expenses on majority of heads i.e., 12 out of 18 such as, Shifting Cultivation, Horticulture, Rural Industry, Dress & Ornaments, Rituals & Festivals, Entertainment of Guests, Treatment of Diseases, Education & Training, Construction & Repair of House, Litigation, Fuel & Fodder and Fooding has come down in percentage terms i.e., from 6.17 %, 0.33 %, 0.09 %, 7.75 %, 6.36 %, 2.14 %, 2.77 %, 1.85 %, 11.76 %, 0.26 %, 0.83 % and 45.30% in the past to 5.60 %, 0.17 %, 0.02

%, 6.97 %, 5.49 %, 2.08 %, 2.39 %, 1.65 %, 9.11 % 0.10 %, 0.71 and 43.64 % respectively in the present.

The share of expenditure has gone up significantly on Repayment of Loan and Purchase of Durable Assets from 2.27% and 0.73% to 6.03% and 2.83% upgrading their places from 14th to 9th and 10th to 5th respectively. It indicates peoples' interest towards modern way of life. Marginal increase is noticed in the remaining four heads such as Agriculture (5.38% to 7.21%), Drinks & Intoxicants (2.27% to 2.56%), Land Revenue (0.08% to 0.09%) and Gift & Exchange (3.16 to 3.35%).

Besides Fooding and House Construction, the only other heads, which has held its ranks at the 16th place consistently over period of time, is Litigation. However in percentage terms its share has changed from 0.26 % to 0.10 %.

The pattern of average annual household expenditure of the study households have shown some changes over the past decade. Trends of modernization are visible, in expenditure hike in acquisition of durable household assets, gift and exchange, agriculture, and repayment of loans. For agriculture and debt redemption the reason lies in acceptance of modern agricultural development schemes and liberal debt financing by local rural bank under various development schemes. Since some of the studied families have been allotted Indira Awas Houses the overall spending on house construction and maintenance has not increased much.

The annual income and expenditure data of the study households is indicative of the fact that all of them are Below the Poverty Line (BPL).

Conclusion

It is a sorry state of affairs that the receding forest line is not a good sign for sustainable development of forest and tribals like the Juang. The forests are getting depleted under the pressure of heavy demand made by population growth, housing, trade and industry. This has been instrumental in destruction of rich flora and fauna, which sustained the tribal population for ages. This has caused environmental hazards in shapes of irregular, uncertain and insufficient rainfall, degradation and erosion of fertile top soil leading to diminishing farm production and often, crop failure; draught; scarcity of food, fodder, firewood, timber, MFP and water etc.; atmospheric warming; flood for silting of rivers and reservoirs and pushing the wildlife to the edge of extinction. Hence, there emerges an urgent need to restore an optimal vegetal cover to balance the disturbed eco-system.

To the forest dependent tribals, the forest has not been a source of profit but of survival. Therefore, deforestation involved the deprival of their life support system around which they had built their socio-cultural, economic and religious life. For them it is not merely the deprival of MFP but a crisis in their life. Economically, it involved scarcity of food, fuel, fodder, medicinal herbs and small timber on which they depended for ages.

Coming to the consequences of deforestation on the tribe under study, one can find the situation deteriorating but it is not as bad as it is seen in certain other areas. The people seem to be aware of the malady. Yet it raises concern in the context of macro and micro level issues of environmental degradation, ecological imbalances, the peoples' livelihood and culture.

To check the menace of deforestation and revive the natural environment, an intensive and extensive programme of afforestation, reforestation and biomass regeneration needs to be implemented through active participation of tribals. The programme should provide ample scope for income generation for them. It can help in bringing them back to constructive dependence on the natural resources.

Though the subject of forests in general transcends the limited scope of tribals and forestry, it cannot be denied that tribal life is profoundly affected by whatever happens to forest. Hence, forest development cannot make much headway without involvement of tribals.

Forests belonged to tribals in the distant past and as such they have developed a sense of belongingness to forests. With appropriate reorientation, they can be inducted into a more constructive role vis-à-vis the forest and relied upon for its conservation and growth. By building a sound rapport between foresters and tribals the task of conservation, protection and development of forests will be easier. In fact, the forest should be regarded as truly public resource and not as a mere revenue earner for the state.

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