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CENSUS OF INDIA, 1961

VOLUME XII—PART VI—No. 6

ORISSA

Village Survey Series No. 6

A MONOGRAPH

ON

VILLAGE DAANLA

(In Sadar Subdivision of District Keonjhar)

M. AHMED, I.A.S.
Superintendent of Census Operations
Orissa

VILLAGE SURVEY SERIES No. 6

A MONOGRAPH
ON
VILLAGE DAANLA
(In Sadar Subdivision of District Keonjhar)

*With the compliments of
The Superintendent of Census Operations, Orissa*

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

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Year of Investigation—1962

PRINTED IN INDIA AT THE ORISSA GOVERNMENT PRESS, CUTTACK-3

AND

PUBLISHED BY MANAGER OF PUBLICATIONS, CIVIL LINES, DELHI

1968

Price : Rs. 3.25 P. or 7 sh. 7d. or 1 \$ 17 c

FOREWORD

APART from laying the foundations of demography in this subcontinent, a hundred years of the Indian Census has also produced 'elaborate and scholarly accounts of the variegated phenomena of Indian life—sometimes with no statistics attached, but usually with just enough statistics to give empirical underpinning to their conclusions'. In a country, largely illiterate, where statistical or numerical comprehension of even such a simple thing as age was liable to be inaccurate, an understanding of the social structure was essential. It was more necessary to attain a broad understanding of what was happening around oneself than to wrap oneself up in 'statistical ingenuity' or 'mathematical manipulation'. This explains why the Indian Census came to be interested in 'many-by-paths' and 'nearly every branch of scholarship, from anthropology and sociology to geography and religion'.

In the last few decades the Census has increasingly turned its efforts to the presentation of village statistics. This suits the temper of the times as well as our political and economic structure. For even as we have a great deal of centralization on the one hand and decentralization on the other, my colleagues thought it would be a welcome continuation of the Census tradition to try to invest the dry bones of village statistics with flesh-and-blood accounts of social structure and social change. It was accordingly decided to select a few villages in every State for special study, where personal observation would be brought to bear on the interpretation of statistics to find out how much of a village was static and yet changing and how fast the winds of change were blowing and from where.

Randomness of selection was, therefore, eschewed. There was no intention to build up a picture for the whole State in quantitative terms on the basis of villages selected statistically at random. The selection was avowedly purposive: the object being as much to find out what was happening and how fast to those villages which had fewer reasons to choose change and more to remain lodged in the past as to discover how the more 'normal' types of villages were changing. They were to be primarily type studies which, by virtue of their number and distribution, would also give the reader a 'feel' of what was going on and some kind of a map of the country.

A brief account of the tests of selection will help to explain. A minimum of thirty-five villages was to be chosen with great care to represent adequately geographical, occupational and even ethnic diversity. Of this minimum of thirty-five the distribution was to be as follows:

- (a) At least eight villages were to be so selected that each of them would contain one dominant community with one predominating occupation, e.g., fishermen, forest workers, jhum cultivators, potters, weavers, salt-makers, quarry workers, etc. A village should have a minimum population of 400, the optimum being between 500 and 700.

- (b) At least seven villages were to be of numerically prominent Scheduled Tribes of the State. Each village could represent a particular tribe. The minimum population should be 400, the optimum being between 500 and 700.
- (c) The third group of villages should each be of fair size, of an old and settled character and contain variegated occupations and be, if possible, multiethnic in composition. By fair size was meant a population of 500—700 persons or more. The village should mainly depend on agriculture and be sufficiently away from the major sources of modern communication, such as the district administrative headquarters and business centres. It should be roughly a day's journey from the above places. The villages were to be selected with an eye to variation in terms of size, proximity to city and other means of modern communication, nearness to hills, jungles and major rivers. Thus there was to be a regional distribution throughout the State of this category of villages. If, however, a particular district contained significant ecological variations within its area, more than one village in the district might be selected to study the special adjustments to them.

It is a unique feature of these village surveys that they rapidly outgrew their original terms of references, as my colleagues warmed up to their work. This proved for them an absorbing voyage of discovery and their infectious enthusiasm compelled me to enlarge the inquiry's scope again and again. It was just as well cautiously to feel one's way about at first and then venture further afield, and although it accounts to some extent for a certain unevenness in the quality and coverage of the monographs, it served to compensate the purely honorary and extramural rigours of the task. For, the Survey, along with its many ancillaries like the survey of fairs and festivals, of small and rural industry and others was an 'extra', over and above the crushing load of the 1961 Census.

It might be of interest to recount briefly the stages by which the Survey enlarged its scope. At the first Census Conference in September 1959 the Survey set itself the task of what might be called a record *in situ* of material traits, like settlement patterns of the village; house types; diet; dress; ornaments and footwear; furniture and storing vessels; common means of transport of goods and passengers; domestication of animals and birds; markets attended; worship of deities; festivals and fairs. There were to be recordings, of course, of cultural and social traits and occupational mobility. This was followed up in March 1960 by two specimen schedules, one for each household, the other for the village as a whole, which, apart from spelling out the mode of inquiry suggested in the September 1959 Conference, introduced groups of questions aimed at sensing changes in attitude and behaviour in such fields as marriage, inheritance, moveable and immovable property, industry, indebtedness, education, community life and collective activity, social disabilities, forums of appeal over disputes, village leadership, and organization of cultural life. It was now plainly the intention to provide adequate statistical support to empirical 'feel', to approach qualitative change through statistical quantities. It had been difficult to give thought to the importance of 'just enough statistics to give empirical underpinning to conclusions', at a time when my colleagues were straining themselves to the utmost for the success of the main Census operations, but once the Census Count itself was left behind in March 1961, a series of three regional seminars in Trivandrum (May 1961), Darjeeling and Srinagar (June 1961) restored their attention to this field and the importance of tracing social change through a number of well-devised statistical tables was once again recognised. This itself

presupposed a fresh survey of villages already done ; but it was worth the trouble in view of the possibilities that a close analysis of statistics offered, and also because the 'consanguinity' schedule remained to be canvassed. By November 1961, however, more was expected of these surveys than before. There was dissatisfaction on the one hand with too many general statements and a growing desire on the other to draw conclusions from statistics, to regard social and economic data as interrelated processes, and finally to examine the social and economic processes set in motion through land reforms and other laws, legislative and administrative measures, technological and cultural change. Finally, a study camp was organized in the last week of December 1961 when the whole field was carefully gone through over again and a programme worked out closely knitting the various aims of the Survey together. The Social Studies Section of the Census Commission rendered assistance to State Superintendents by way of scrutiny and technical comment on the frame of Survey and presentation of results.

This gradual unfolding of the aims of the Survey prevented my colleagues from adopting as many villages as they had originally intended to. But I believe that what may have been lost in quantity has been more than made up for in quality. This is, perhaps, for the first time that such a Survey has been conducted in any country, and that purely as a labour of love. It has succeeded in attaining what it set out to achieve : to construct a map of village India's social structure. One hopes that the volumes of this Survey will help to retain for the Indian Census its title to 'the most fruitful single source of information about the country'. Apart from other features, it will perhaps be conceded that the Survey has set up a new Census standard in pictorial and graphic documentation. The schedules finally adopted for this monograph have been printed in an Appendix.

NEW DELHI

The 24th May 1962

A. MITRA

Registrar General, India

PREFACE

This booklet deals with Daanla, a multi-ethnic village in the district of Keonjhar, fairly remote from the urban centres and typically insulated for ages because of bad communication. The village has a preponderance of Bhuiyas and Kolhas who are recorded as members of the Scheduled Tribe.

The socio-economic survey of the village undertaken by this organization in 1962 forms the basis of this report. The selection of the village for survey was motivated not as much for its tribal characteristics as for studying the socio-economic life of a multi-ethnic village as a whole with particular accent on the impact of culture-contact. Even since the survey, the village has been fast exposed to the winds of change and many socio-economic schemes are in operation in the area under the auspices of the State Government which aim at revolutionising the general living and outlook of the villagers. As the brisk programme for printing of the 1961 Census publications left little time and scope for a resurvey and assessment of recent changes in the village, an attempt has been made to introduce in the form of a post-script a brief note on the progress of economic schemes in operation in the village. No evaluation, however, could be attempted nor any critical appraisal be given.

I must confess that the monograph makes no pretence to present a comprehensive picture about the socio-economic life of the Bhuiyas, who are numerically the predominating tribe in the village. On the other hand, the customs, traditions and beliefs of members of this tribe have been presented as a part of the socio-cultural fabric of the adequate dividend for the reader except that only some broad and general features relating to the tribe may be discerned out of the whole conglomerate pattern.

With all awareness about its deficiencies and imperfections, the author hopes that the common reader interested in the village and tribal life of Orissa will find this monograph interesting.

CUTTACK

M. AHMED

The 16th May 1967

Superintendent of Census Operations, Orissa

CONTENTS

	PAGE
Chapter I : The Village	
LOCATION	1
COMMUNICATION	1
PHYSICAL FEATURES .. .	1
CLIMATE	4
FLORA AND FAUNA	4
HOUSEHOLDS	5
PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS	5
SOURCES OF WATER	5
HISTORY	5
SETTLEMENT HISTORY	6
Chapter II : The People and their material equipments	
ETHNIC COMPOSITION	7
POPULATION	9
HOUSE TYPES	9
PUBLIC HEALTH	12
HYGIENE AND MEDICAL CARE	12
DRESS	12
HAIR STYLE	14
TATTOO DESIGNS	14
ORNAMENTS	14
HOUSEHOLD EQUIPMENTS	16
FOOD AND DRINK	16
The Life Cycle :	
BIRTH	23
PUBERTY	24
MARRIAGE	24
DEATH	26
Chapter III : Economy	
ECONOMIC RESOURCES	28
LIVELIHOOD CLASSES	28
CULTIVATED AREA	29

			PAGE
OWNERSHIP OF LAND AND UTILIZATION	..	..	30
IMPLEMENTS	..	..	31
AGRICULTURAL PRACTICES	..	..	35
LIVESTOCK	..	..	37
FOREST RESOURCES	..	..	37
ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES	..	..	38
OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY	..	..	39
TRADE AND COMMERCE	..	..	40
INCOME	..	..	40
EXPENDITURE	..	..	41
INDEBTEDNESS	..	..	41
SOURCES OF LOAN	..	..	43
FACTORS INFLUENCING THE VILLAGE ECONOMY	..	..	43
Chapter IV : Social and Cultural life			
SOCIAL CUSTOMS	..	..	46
MARITAL STATUS	..	..	46
AGE AND SEX	..	..	47
SIZE AND COMPOSITION OF HOUSEHOLDS	..	..	47
LITERACY AND EDUCATION	..	..	48
STRUCTURE OF THE FAMILY-	..	..	49
INHERITANCE	..	..	50
RELIGION	..	..	50
BELIEFS AND PRACTICES	..	..	53
LEISURE AND RECREATION	..	..	54
VILLAGE ORGANIZATION	..	..	54
CASTE PANCHAYATS	..	..	54
GRAMA COMMITTEE	..	..	56
THE GRAMA PANCHAYAT	..	..	56
Chapter V : -Conclusion			
INTER-CASTE RELATIONSHIP	..	..	57
A post-script	..	..	65

TABLES

		PAGE
INSET :	1. Rainfall and temperature of Keonjhar in 1961	4
	2. Population by caste and tribe	7
	3. Caste and house types	11
	4. Materials used for walls	11
	5. Working force	28
	6. Workers and occupations by sex and broad age-groups	28
	7. Non-workers and their nature of activities by sex and broad age-groups	29
	8. Caste/ Tribewise ownership of land	30
	9. Agricultural production and consumption	36
	10. Attitude to occupational mobility	39
	11. Occupations and income-groups	40
	12. Caste and income-groups	41
	13. Caste and indebtedness	42
	14. Occupation and indebtedness	42
	15. Income-group and indebtedness	42
	16. Purpose of borrowing	43
	17. Caste and awareness of the functions of the V. L. W.	45
	18. Age-groups and marital status	46
	19. Population by sex and age-groups	47
	20. Composition of households	47
	21. Distribution of households, Caste/Tribewise	48
	22. Age-group and literacy	48
	23. Caste and literacy	49
APPENDIX :	I. Settlement history of households	61
	II. Livestock	62
	III. Occupations, income-groups and expenditure	63
	IV. Range of information	64

CHARTS AND DIAGRAMS

	PAGE
1. Caste and sexwise distribution of population	7
2. Caste composition of the village	8
3. Workers and main occupations	29
4. Ownership of land by caste	31

SKETCHES

1. Front view and ground plan of a typical house	10
2. A man and a woman (Bhuiya) in usual dress	13
3. Tattoo designs	15
4. Ornaments for neck and leg	17
5. Ornaments for nose, ear and arm	18
6. Utensils	19
7. Household articles	20
8. Furniture	21
9. Musical instruments	22
10. Agricultural implements	32
11. Hunting weapons	33
12. Miscellaneous implements	34
13. Bisri Thakurani	51
14. Matia Devta	52
15. Village Club House	52

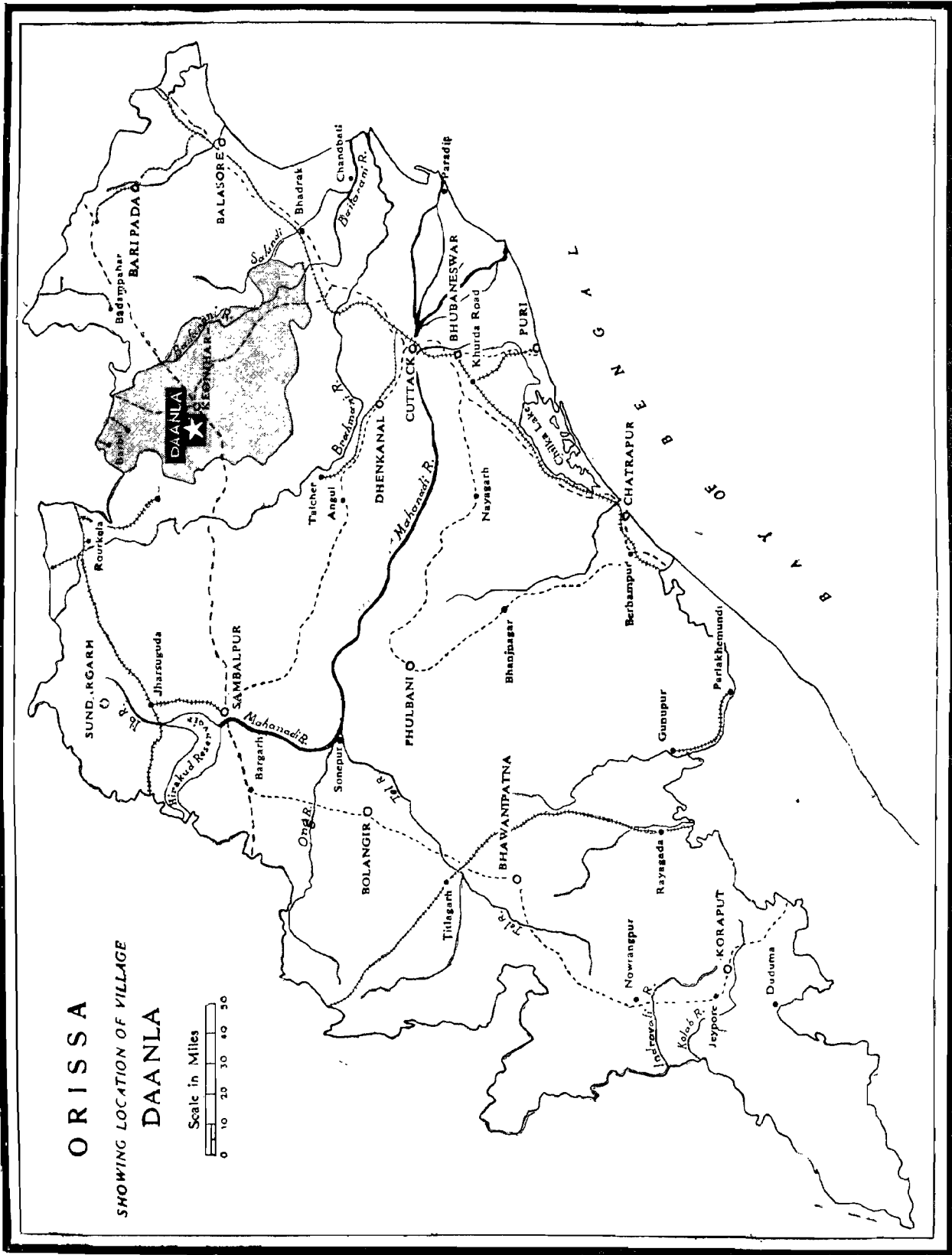
MAPS

1. Orissa showing location of village Daanla	XVII
2. Notional map of village Daanla	2
3. Physical features around village Daanla	3

PHOTOGRAPHS

1. An old Bhuiya of the village	..	XIX
2. An old woman of the village	..	XXI
3. Two villagers in their traditional dress	..	XXIII
4. Bhuiya woman—a close up study	..	XXIV
5. The Village Padhan	..	XXV
6. A Bhuiya mother with her baby	..	XXV
7. A Bhuiya youth	..	XXV
8. A view of the women attending a meeting	..	XXVI
9. Back from the bathing ghat	..	XXVI
10. The kitchen—maize cobs hanging from the roof top	..	XXVI
11. Bhuiya belle—a profile	..	XXVII
12. Bhuiya belle—front view	..	XXVII
13. A carefree Bhuiya lad	..	XXVII
14. A Bhuiya girl	..	XXVII
15. Bhuiya women—on their way from the HAT	..	XXVIII
16. Thakurani ghar	..	XXVIII
17. The Mandaghar	..	XXIX
18. A House with tiled roof	..	XXIX
19. Cleaning a waterlogged courtyard	..	XXIX
20. Maize cobs stored under ceiling in knotted bundles	..	XXX
21. A boy carrying maize corns to the HAT	..	XXXI
22. The village CHUA—the multipurpose water source	..	XXXII

XVI



XVIII



An old Bhuiya of the village



An old woman of the village



Two villagers in their traditional dress



Bhuiya woman—a close up study



The Village Pradhan



A Bhuiya mother with her baby



A Bhuiya youth



A view of the women attending a meeting



Back from the bathing ghat



The kitchen—maize cobs hanging from the roof top



Bhuiya belle- a profile



Bhuiya belle—front view



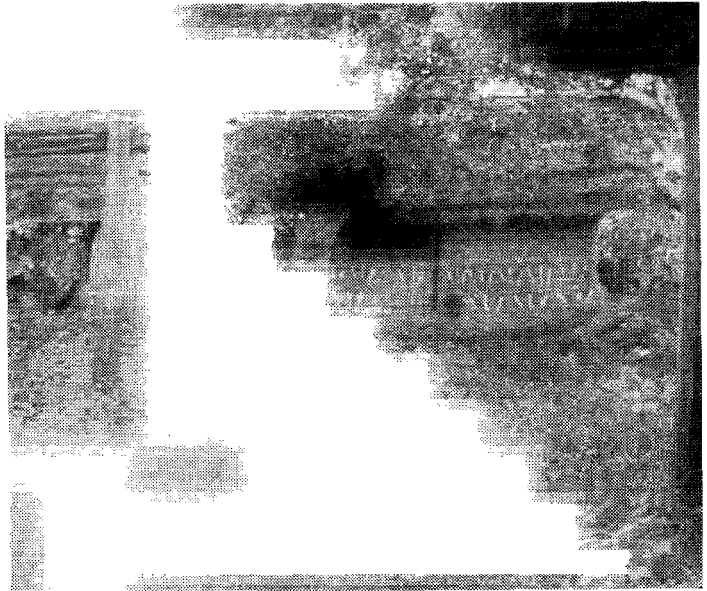
A carefree Bhuiya lad



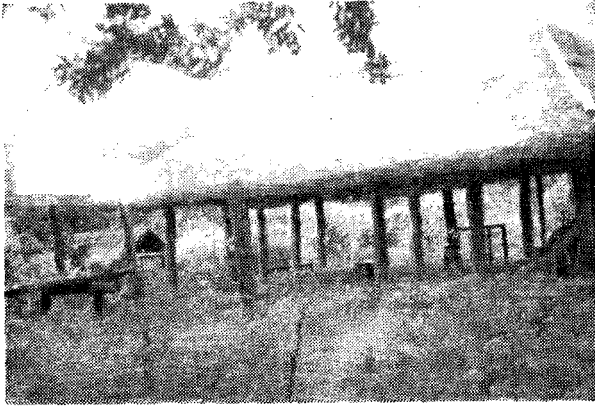
A Bhuiya girl



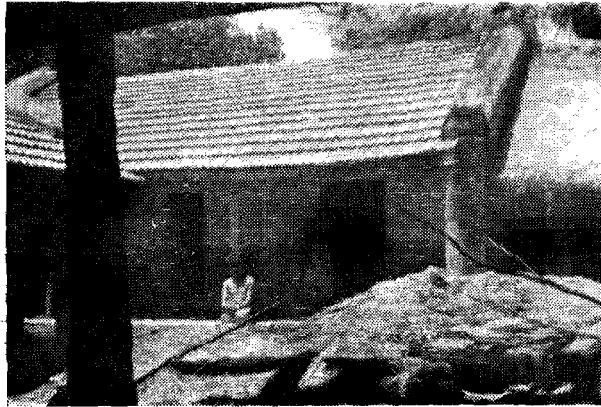
Bhuiya women—on their way from the HAT



Thakurani ghar



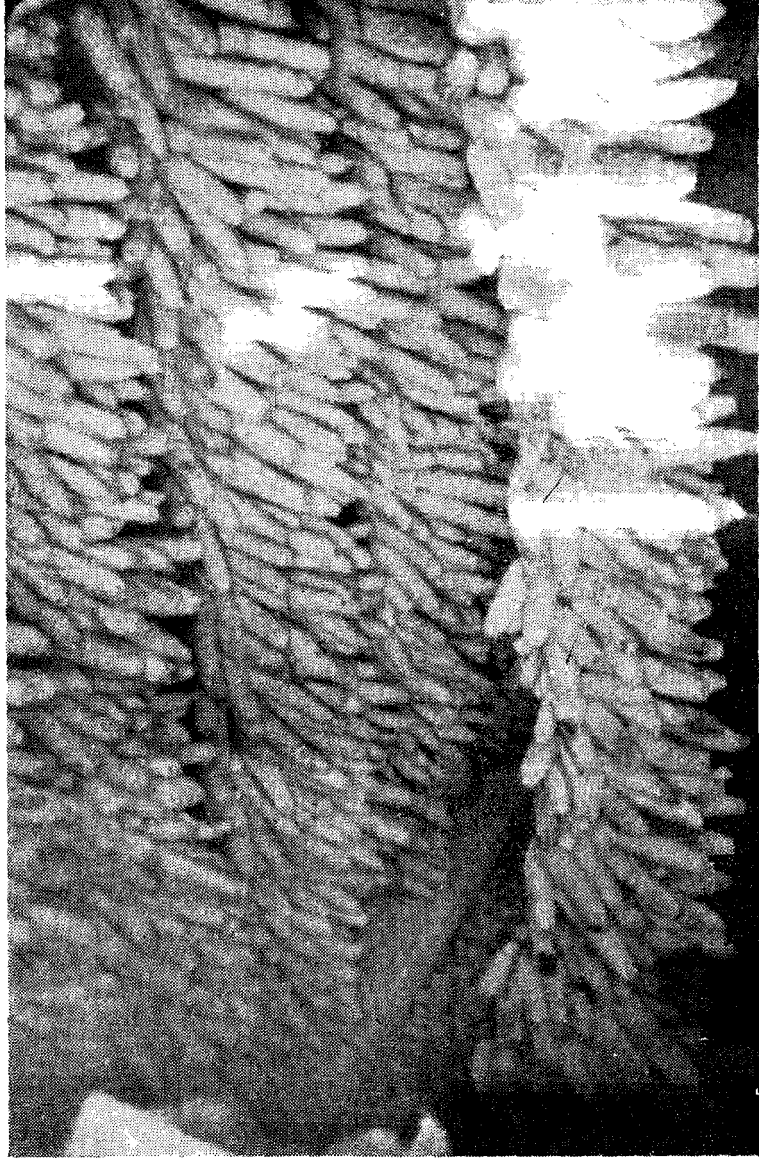
The Mandaghar



A house with tiled roof



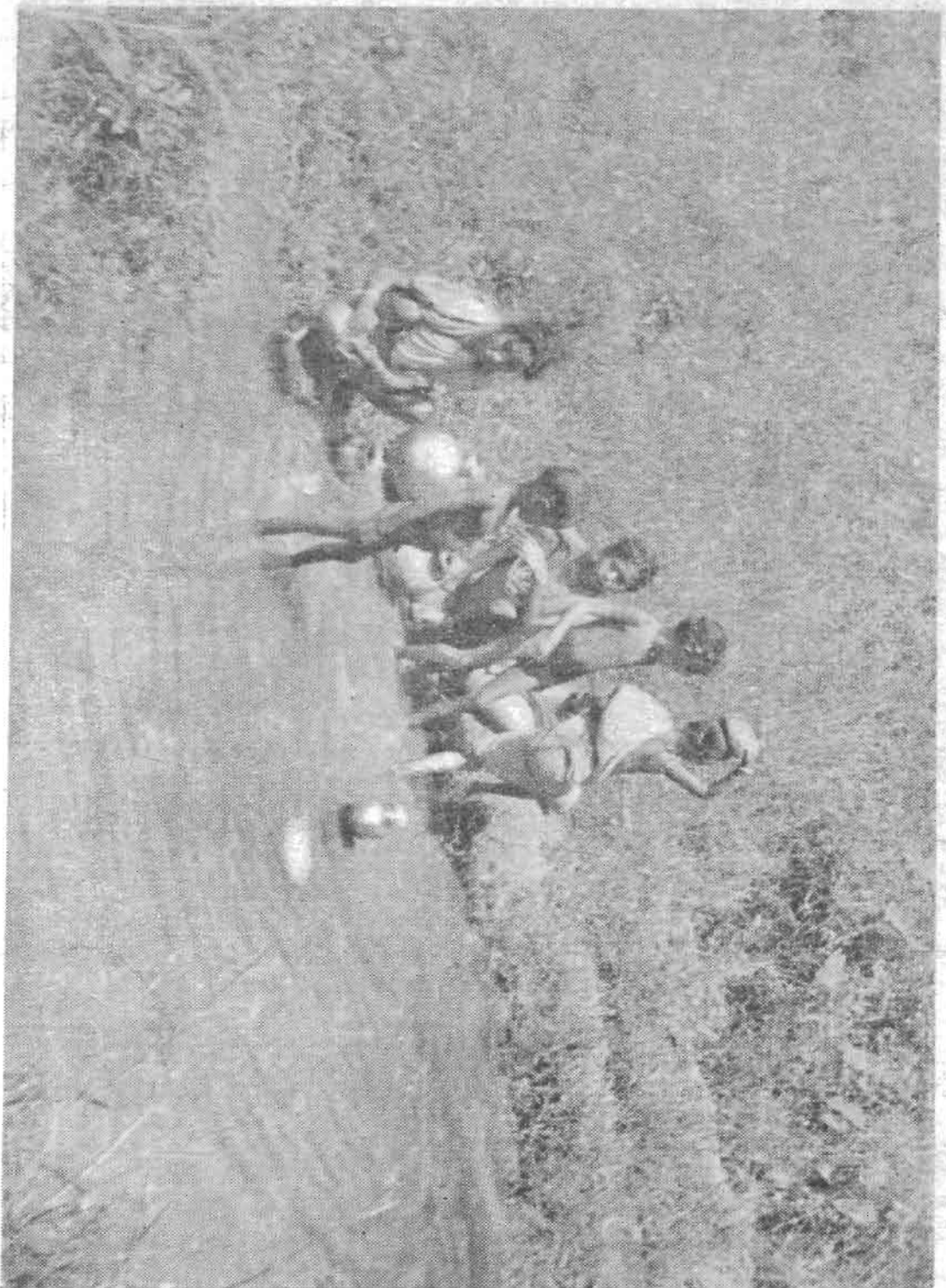
Cleaning a waterlogged courtyard



Maize cobs stored under ceiling in knotted bundles



A boy carrying maize cobs to the HAT



The village CHUA—the multipurpose water source

CHAPTER I

THE VILLAGE

Location

Daanla lies within the jurisdiction of Kanjipani police station in Sadar subdivision of Keonjhar district, Orissa. Its population of 588 is predominantly Bhuiya, a Scheduled Tribe. The village lies about 11 miles west of Keonjhar, the district headquarters and is connected with 32 mile-long Keonjhar-Pallahara fair-weather road at Suakati village, a distance of three miles, by a recently constructed kacha road which goes up to Banspal. It is one of the many Bhuiya villages in the fertile valley of Bhuiya Pirh (the land of the Bhuiyas), the popular name of the north-western part of Keonjhar district. Lofty hills surround it. on the east and on the north are the Gandhamardan hills, on the west the Pandeipir hills and on the south the Babhunibai hills. The nearest villages are Kosoda, 2 miles south-west, and Jager, 2½ miles to the north.

2. Daanla has been selected for detailed socio-economic studies because of its varied characteristics. It is fairly secluded, being away from the main administrative and business centre of the district. It is a multi-caste village with a large majority of inhabitants belonging to one Scheduled Tribe. Owing to its location in a hilly tract, the economic pursuits of its people range from collection of forest-produce to settled agriculture.

Communication

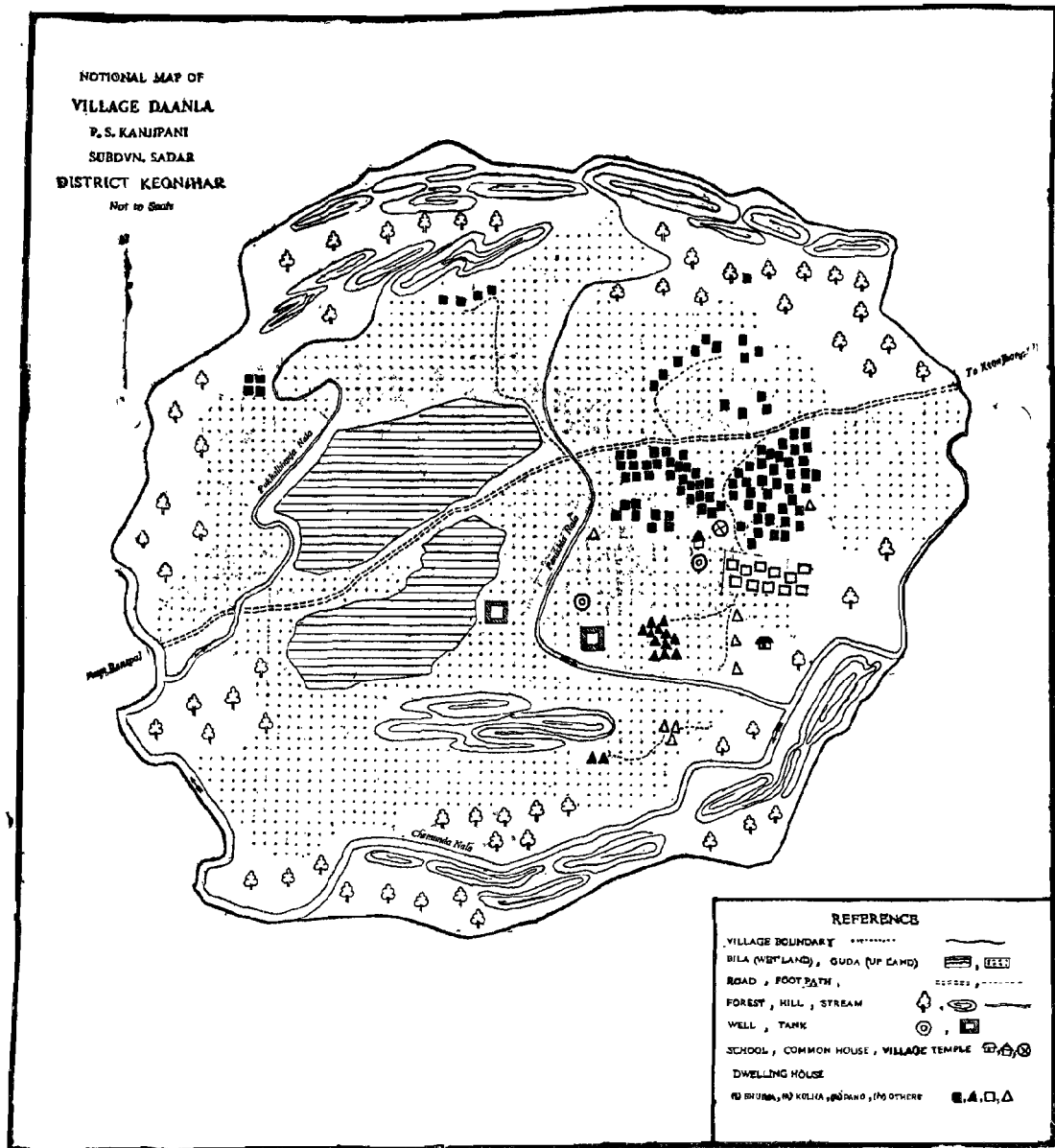
3. The nearest railway station is Jajpur-Keonjhar Road on the Howrah-Madras line, 71 miles from Keonjhar. Chakradharpur, on the Nagpur-Howrah line of South-Eastern Railway, is another Railhead 80 miles from

Keonjhar. These Railheads are connected with Keonjhar by all-weather roads on which buses belonging to the State Road Transport Organization ply regularly.

4. As the Keonjhar-Pallahara and Suakati-Daanla roads can be used only during fair-weather the village is not accessible during the rains. The hill streams near it are swollen for more than three months a year. The nearest post office is at Kosoda. Kanjipani police station is 14 miles south of the village. Suakati is the headquarters of the National Extension Service Block, the Grama Panchayat and Panchayat Samiti. An Ashram school, a Kayashram school, a Dispensary and a Gramgol: Co-operative Society also function there.

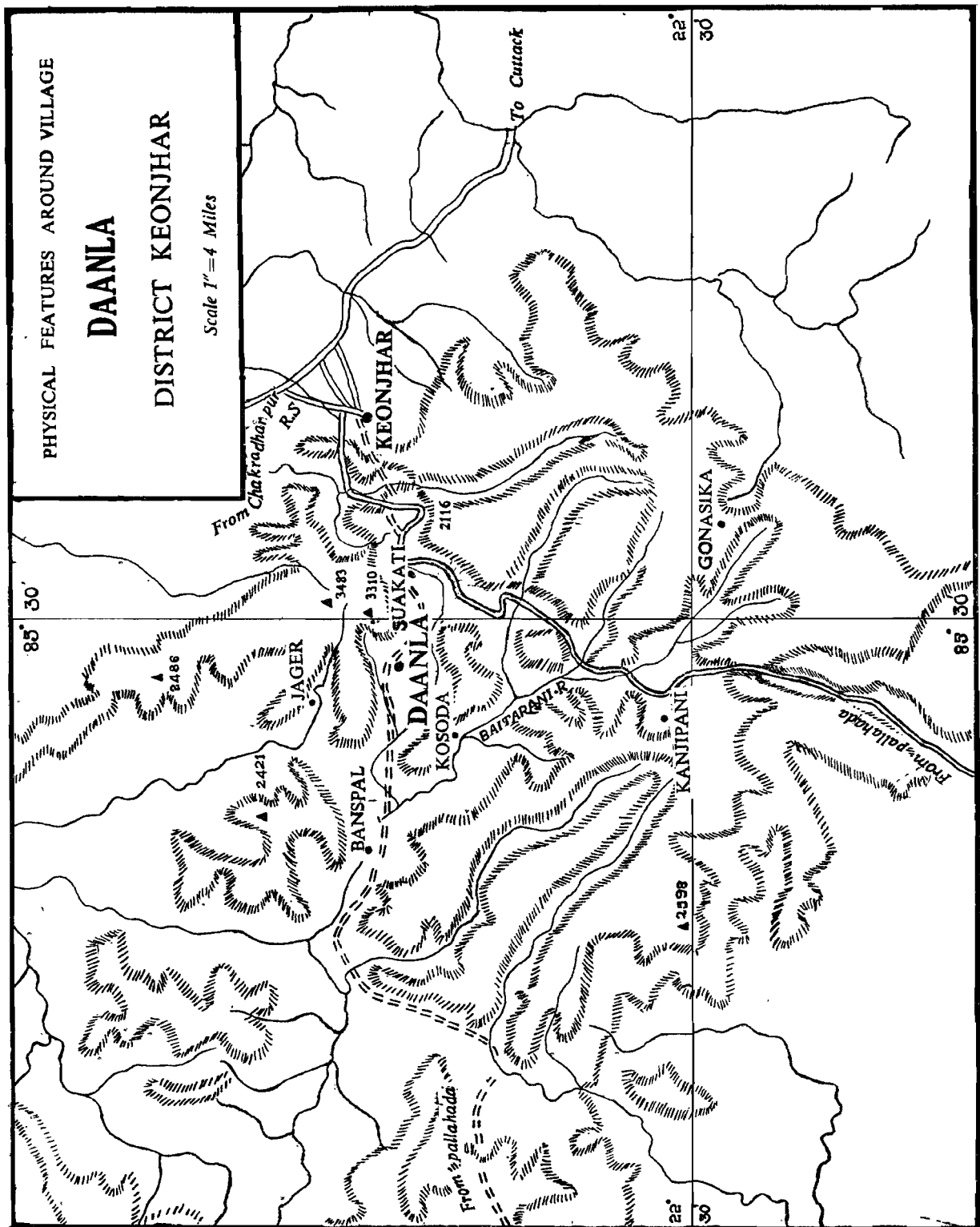
Physical features

5. Daanla is surrounded by hills rising between 3,310 and 3,483 ft. The Gandhamardan range which rises to a height of 3,477 ft forms the natural boundary of the village on the east and partly on the north. The rest of the north is bounded by the Kendupani and Ichindabati ranges, the highest point of which is 3,483 ft. On the south are the Babhunibai hills, of comparatively low altitude. On the west of the village are two streams, Panikhia nullah and Pakhalbhanja nullah, the first of which flows near the village dwellings while the second is a little farther off. Beyond Pakhalbhanja nullah is Pandeipir hill. These two hill streams join a bigger one, Chemunda nullah, running almost parallel to the Babhunibai hills and flowing in turn into the Baitarani river. During the rains the depth of the streams varies from six to eight feet, but in summer they are almost dry. The Chemunda is not navigable because its bed is rocky.



6. Sloping from north-east to south-west, the surface of the village is undulating. The area is covered with forest, of which patches of plain have been brought under cultivation. The soil is alluvial and slightly reddish but poor in quality. From the point of cultivation the area is divisible into *Bilo* (wet land) and *Guda* (dry land).

But for the annual deposit of dried and decomposed leaves washed down by the rains from the hills the cultivators give little attention to replenishing the fertility of their fields. The forests around the village also act as an inexhaustible source of supply of timber for house building, fuel and agriculture and fruits, roots and tubers.



Climat

7. The village is located in a small valley about 25,00 ft above sea level. Owing to its position it has a fairly variable climate. The temperature rises to 37.8°C in the month of May while in the month of December it comes down to 23°C. April, May and June are the hottest months while the cold season starts in November and lasts till February. The monsoon breaks out about the beginning of June and continues till the middle of October. Rainfall and temperature are not recorded in the village but the figures of Keonjhar given below provide a fair picture of the prevailing climatic conditions.

Table 1
RAINFALL AND TEMPERATURE OF KEONJHAR IN 1961

Month	Rainfall in mms	(Temperature in degrees— Centigrade)	
		Maximum	Minimum
January	8.2	25.7	12.6
February	139.3	24.4	13.9
March	0.5	34.5	20.2
April	49.7	37.2	23.2
May	73.1	37.8	25.2
June	248.0	25	24.2
July	238.0	28.1	23.1
August	257.3	29.2	23.7
September	649.7	28.8	22.8
October	110.6	28.2	20.3
November	7.2	25	14.3
December	0.4	23	9.9

8. The villagers believe that the climate of Daanla is unhealthy. Malaria is common. It is commonly said that a visitor cannot escape an attack of malaria, however short his visit to the village. The investigator himself had two attacks. But with the

introduction of the National Malaria Eradication Programme, conditions have improved a great deal.

Flora and Fauna

9. The area abounds in a variety of vegetation and animals. The dense forest all around the village contains large trees like *Shorea robusta* (*sal*), *Mangifera indica* (mango), *Artocarpus integrifolia* (jack), *Diospyros melanoxylon* (*kendu*), *Gmelina arborea* (*gambhari*), *Bassia latifolia* (*mahua*), *Schleichera trijuga* (*kusum*), *Tamarindus indica* (tamarind), *Terminalia chebula* (*harida*), *Pongia glabra* (*karanja*), *Bombax malabaricum* (*simuli*). Shrubs and grass are also found in abundance. Clumps of a poor quality of bamboo are found growing here and there in the vicinity of the village. *Sinkuda*, a type of wild grass widely used by the villagers to thatch their huts, grows in abundance around the village. This grass is also used for weaving mats.

10. *Siali* (*Bauhinia vahli*), a creeper whose stem is used for ropemaking and leaves for cups and plates, is also abundant. A number of wild plants whose roots and fruits are edible grow in plenty.

11. *Mahul*, *kusum* and *karanja* yield oil, which is used as medium of cooking. *Kendu* leaves are used to make *bidi*s and provide a sizable income to some villagers. Its fruits are edible.

12. The forest abounds in deer of various kinds. Wild boar, *sambar*, *gurandi* and monkeys are found in plenty. Elephant, leopard, hyena, bear and wild dog are also occasionally seen. The wild birds found in the area include peafowl, wild fowl, *baj*, pigeon, hawk and vulture.

13. As most of the villagers are agriculturists bullocks, buffaloes and cows are commonly reared. Dogs and cats are also kept. There is only one horse in the village. A few households keep parrots and *mynahs* as pets.

Households

14. The village dwellings extend over an area of about 20 acres and are grouped in three hamlets. The main hamlet consists of 123 houses on either side of the fair weather road leading to Banspal. Fourteen Bhuiya houses are on the right side of the road; while on the left are 76 Bhuiya houses, 11 Pano houses, 14 Kolha houses and eight of other castes: five Goudas and one each of Teli, Kamar and Dhoba. Five houses are located beyond Panikhia nullah. The second hamlet is on the right of the road and beyond Panikhia nullah. It consists of four Bhuiya houses. The third hamlet is beyond Pakhalbhanja nullah and on the right of the road to Banspal.

15. The hamlets are connected by footpaths. There are three of them, one leading to each hamlet. The houses are not arranged symmetrically, but those inhabited by a particular caste are invariably grouped together. In the main settlement Bhuiya houses are on both the sides of the road; to the left and behind are the Pano houses; and farther behind are the Kolha houses.

Public Institutions

16. There is a school in the south-eastern corner of the village behind the Pano settlement. The *mandaghar* (common house) is by the side of the well just behind the Bhuiya settlement.

17. There is no separate cemetery. Cremation or burial is done generally by the side of the streams or in the forests. Sometimes bodies are deposited in the forest.

18. There are three common places of worship. Two of them are attended by all the castes while the third is used exclusively by the Panos. The village temple by the side of the *mandaghar* is the most important place of worship. It stands in the middle of the main settlement among the Bhuiya hamlets. The other common place of worship, marked by a slab of stone, is located

under an *wrkundi* tree at the south-west corner of the village. The Pano shrine has two deities, represented by two stones, under a jack tree standing among their dwellings.

Sources of Water

19. Panikhia nullah is the main source of drinking water for humans and cattle except in the three dry months. In this period, small pits are dug in the sandy bed of the streams to extract water.

20. The two village tanks are used for bathing both by men and cattle. One tank is considered common while the other is the private property of the *sirdar*. Though there are two wells in the village they are not used. The one by the side of the tank constructed by the C. D. Block is not complete though work on it was started four years ago. There is no water in the other one, which is by the side of the *mandaghar*. This was constructed by the Revenue Department about 10 years ago. Thus drinking water still remains a problem.

History

21. Until about 1128 A. D. Keonjhar was a part of Mayurbhanj, once a powerful independent kingdom. According to the 'Feudatory States of Orissa', "In 1098 A. D. one Jai Singh, son of Man Singh, a Kachua Rajput of the Solar race and a Chief of Jaipur in Rajputana, came on a pilgrimage to Puri, where he married the daughter of the then ruling Gajapati Chief of Puri, receiving as dowry the territory of Haripur which comprised modern Mayurbhanj and Upper Keonjhar. Of this union two sons were born, the elder being called Adi Singh and the younger Jati Singh. Adi Singh early in the life showed prowess in the field subduing a troublesome petty chief called Mayurdhwaja, for which service he received the title of Bhanja from the Gajapati ruler, a surname which has remained in the two families of Keonjhar and Mayurbhanj. Their father divided his territory of Haripur among them before his death, and the first forts

erected by these two brothers were Adipur in Mayurbhanj and Jatipur in Keonjhar on opposite banks of the Baitarani. Later the younger brother moved to a more central spot, eventually settling in a place called Kendujhar which has been corrupted into Keonjhar. Kendujhar means kendu tree and jhara or spring. Keonjhar thus originally formed part of Mayurbhanj, but about 200 years ago the tribes of this part, finding great difficulty in going to Mayurbhanj to lay their grievances before their Chief, separated and installed the brother of the Mayurbhanj Raja as their chief. The Bhuiya tradition is that they stole the boy Chief from Mayurbhanj."

22. The Bhuiyas retained the privilege of installing their Chiefs at each succession to the throne of Keonjhar. They valued this privilege so much that they rebelled in 1867-68 when the Raja died childless and the Bhuiyas supported the claims of the grandson of the Raja of Mayurbhanj instead of an illegitimate son of the dead Raja of Keonjhar.

23. Having installed their own king at Keonjhar, the Bhuiyas used to come down to the plains to pay respect to their leader. It is quite possible that during this time the valley where Daanla is now situated attracted the Bhuiyas and they chose to settle there. The Bhuiyas were followed by Kolhas, Panos and Goudas.

24. No authentic information is available regarding the origin of the name of the village except two legends prevalent among the villagers. According to one version the area was covered with *dahala* trees which were uprooted at the time of settlement. Thus the place was known as Dahala which

was altered later to Daanla. According to the other legend, the name of the village has been traced to a goddess Daanla who is said to live in the Gandhamardan hills. There is no trace of the worship of this deity in these hills or anywhere near the village. But it is believed that the sword (*deshakhanda*) symbolising the goddess is installed at Godgira Parbata, near Keonjhar, and worshipped yearly at Dasahara.

Settlement History

25. There are seven caste groups settled in the village. Bhuiyas form the bulk of the population with 98 households of which three are said to go back to the original settlers who came to the village four or five generations ago. The Kolhas seem to have followed the Bhuiyas. All the Kolha families settled here about two to four generations ago. The Panos arrived a little later as did three Gouda families while two other Gouda households were established in the present generation.

26. The only one Kamar household came to the village in the last generation. The single Dhoba and Teli households arrived in the present generation, the first with the intention of settling permanently, while the second is that of the school teacher.

27. The village remained in Keonjhar state from the time of its settlement some 150 years ago till the state was merged with Orissa after independence.

28. Though members of the earliest immigrant group do not exactly remember their place of origin all of them agree that they came from the hills in the north-western part of the district.

CHAPTER II

THE PEOPLE AND THEIR MATERIAL EQUIPMENTS

Ethnic composition

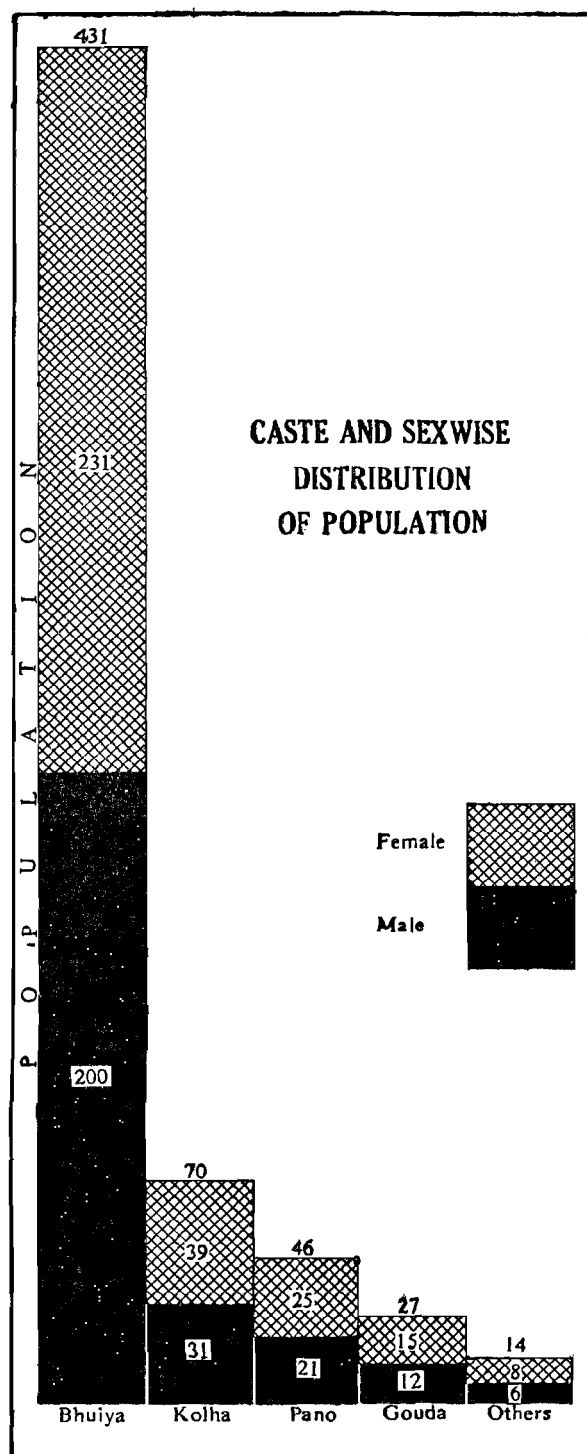
Daanla is a multi-ethnic village inhabited by Bhuiyas, Kolhas, Panos, Goudas, Telis, Kamars and Dhobas. The Table given below gives the number of households and inhabitants belonging to each community. The groups which have been declared as Scheduled Castes (S. C.) and Scheduled Tribes (S. T.) in the State under the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Lists (Modification) Order, 1956 are so indicated.

Table 2
POPULATION BY CASTE AND TRIBE

Caste/Tribe	House-holds	Males	Females	Total	Remarks
Bhuiya ..	98	200	231	431	S. T.
Kolha ..	14	31	39	70	S. T.
Pano ..	11	21	25	46	S. C
Gouda ..	5	12	15	27	
Kamar ..	1	4	3	7	
Dhcba ..	1	1	5	6	S. C.
Teli ..	1	1	..	1	
Total ..	131	270	318	588	

2. Thus there are two Scheduled Tribes, Bhuiyas and Kolhas, and two Scheduled Castes, Panos and Dhobas. The remaining three communities, Goudas, Kamars and Telis are included in the Other Backward Classes list prepared by the Ministry of Education for the purpose of awarding educational scholarships. Caste and sex-wise distribution of population has been illustrated in the diagram below.

3. Bhuiyas form 73.3 per cent of the total population and 11.91 per cent are Kolhas. So 85.21 per cent of the population consists of Scheduled Tribes. Scheduled Castes form 8.84 per cent of whom 7.82 per cent are Panos. Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes together form 94.05 per cent of the village population. The entire population



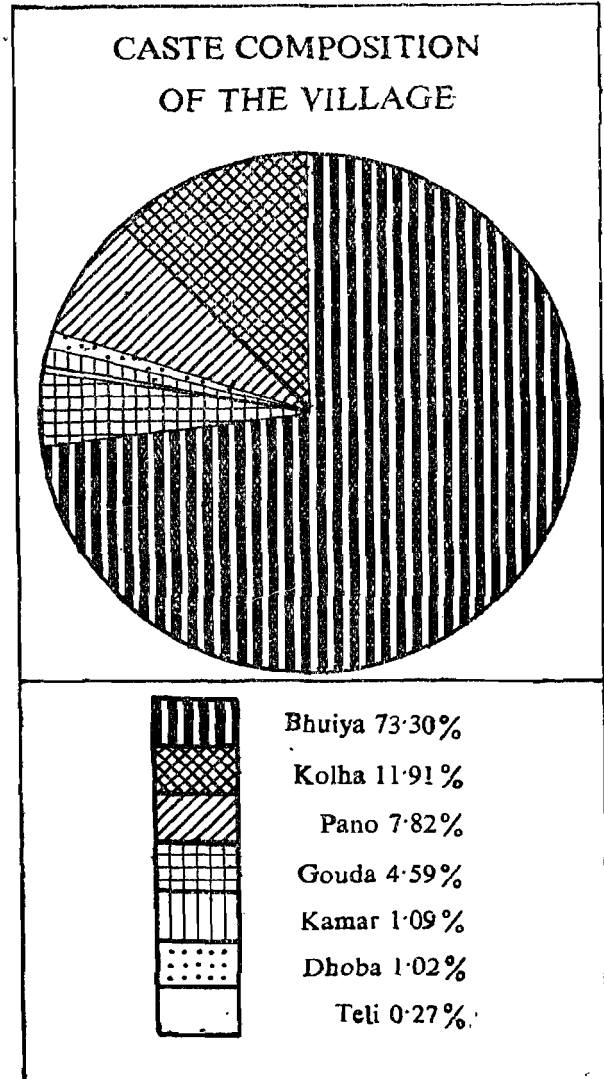
of the village belongs to the backward classes. The following diagram illustrates the caste composition of the village.

4. Bhuiya is the dominant caste in number as well as in influence. Of the 588 people living in the village 431 are Bhuiyas living in 98 households.

5. In 1872 *E. T. Dalton described the physical traits of the Keonjhar Bhuiyas as follows :

"The Keonjhar hill Bhuiyas are rather of an exaggerated Turanian type ; very large mouths, thick and somewhat projecting lips, foreheads narrow and low, but not receding, eyes dark, but well shaped, hair plentiful on the head, though rather frizzly and generally scanty on face, but to this there are notable exceptions. Short of stature, averaging about five feet two inches, round shouldered, and many of them with the lump that is produced by the displacement of muscles in carrying loads by *banghy*. The colour of the skin varies from a deep chocolate the predominating tint, to tawny, embracing the shades 42, 43 and 44 of the test plate". By and large the physical characteristics of the Bhuiyas of Daanla agree with the description of Dalton.

The Bhuiyas are divided into four endogamous groups : Desh Bhuiyas, Dand-sena, Rajkuli Bhuiyas, and Khatti Bhuiyas. **



* E. T. Dalton : Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal, Calcutta 1872, Reprint 1960, pp. 144.

* Ibid, pp. 142. (Dalton has mentioned that they are divided into four clans.)

* Risley has indicated the following sub-castes besides quoting from Dalton :

Ghatwal Bhuiyas, Tikait Bhuiyas, Rai Bhuiyas, Ber or Bhar Bhuiyas, Deswali Bhuiyas, Katras Bhuiyas, Musahar Bhuiyas Dhora Bhuiyas. (H. H. Risley : Tribes and Castes of Bengal, Vol. I.)

On the subdivisions of Bhuiyas, Roy says "Leaving aside such communities as the Saontis, the Bathudis and the Hinduised Rajwars and the depressed and lonely Musahars who are now all well on the road to recognition as separate tribes or castes the Bhuiyas proper may be classified into the following divisions : (1) the primitive Des Bhuiya represented mainly by the Pauri or Hill Bhuiya of the Hills of Keonjhar, Bonai and Pallahara states ; (2) the quasi-military Khandait Bhuiya or Paik Bhuiya the Orissa plains and the Southern parts of Chhotanagapur ; (3) the mixed Rajkuli or Rajkuli Bhuiyas of the Orissa states 4) the Praja Bhuiyas, or Rautali Bhuiya of Orissa and South-eastern Chhotanagpur who live by agriculture or in some cases agricultural labour ; and (5) the land-holding Ghatwar Bhuiya or Tikait Bhuiya or Rao Bhuiya of the Santal Parganas, Hazari bagh, Gaya, Monghyr and Bhagalpur districts, who generally wear the sacred thread and call themselves Surujban Rajputs. "(S. C. Roy: The Hill Bhuiyas of Orissa, 1935, pp. 35-36)."

6. As the names suggest, Desh Bhuiyas are those who live in the country (plains), Dandsena those who used to walk in front of kings carrying sticks, Rajkulis belong to the king's clan, and Khatti are the inferior clan.

7. The Bhuiyas of Daanla and the neighbouring villages belong to the Desh Bhuiya group. They also call themselves Pahadi Bhuiyas. Another name given to them is *desh lok*, people of the country. The four groups of Bhuiyas accept food and water from one another but do not intermarry.

8. The Bhuiyas speak a corrupt form of Oriya, but with a different intonation from that of plainmen. Many Bhuiya words are still used, an indication that they once had their own language distinct from Oriya. The Bhuiyas are mainly cultivators and agricultural labourers.

9. Kolhas, the second largest group in the village, are darker and taller than the Bhuiyas. A common facial characteristic is a flat nose.

10. Like the Bhuiyas the Kolhas are also agriculturists. There are 14 Kolha households, and their inhabitants number 70. They admit that they are inferior to the Bhuiyas in social status but claim to be superior to the other village groups from whom they will not accept food and water. The Kolhas speak a dialect of their own.

11. There are 11 Pano households with 46 inhabitants. The Panos are traditionally cloth weavers, and hence they are popularly known as Tanti Panos. But most of them have given up their traditional occupation. Only two households in the village engage in weaving, and the rest have taken to trade as a means of livelihood.

12. Goudas come next in number, with 27 persons living in five households. The

Telis, Kamars and Dhobas have one household each with one, seven and six inmates respectively.

Population

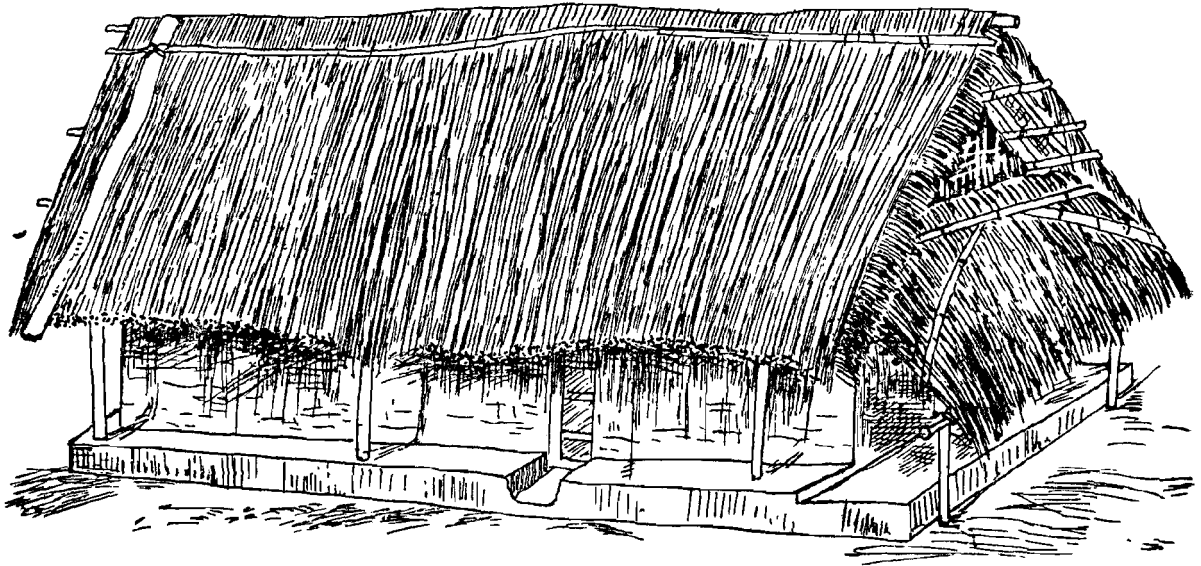
13. According to the 1961 Census, Daanla has a total population of 588 of whom 270 are males and 318 females. This population is distributed among 131 households. In 1951 the population was 410, of which 209 were males and 201 females. Thus there has been an increase of 43.4 per cent in population over 10 years. This increase is partly due to the immigration of 14 households into the village in this period.

14. Daanla has not been surveyed, but according to rough calculations its area is three square miles. The density of population is roughly 196. The density of population of the State is 292, that of Keonjhar district 231, and that of the area under Kanjipani Police Station is 91. In 1951 Daanla had 92 households while according to the 1961 Census there are 131 households. Excluding the 14 immigrant households, 25 of the additions are due to the split up of existing ones.

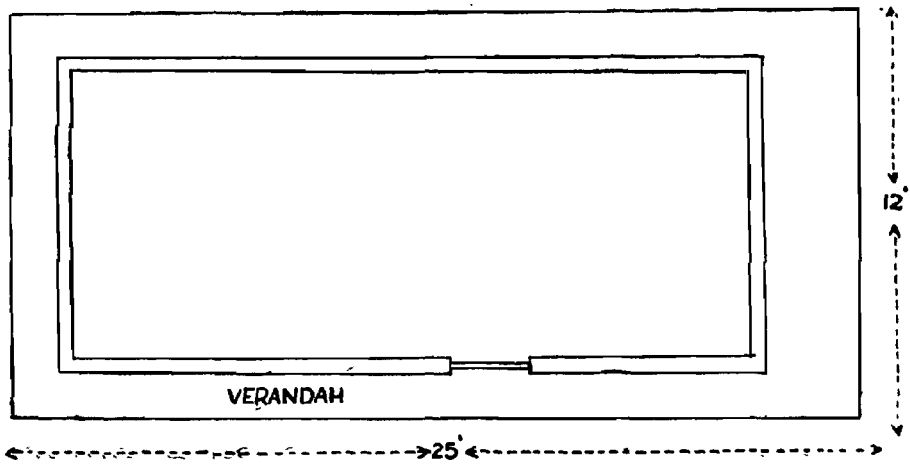
House Types

15. A typical village house is a grass thatched rectangular structure with a door in the front and a narrow verandah on all sides. A cowshed is attached to a side of the hut. The following sketch illustrates the structure as well as ground plan of a typical house.

16. The houses are not very spacious, an average size one-roomed dwelling being 25 ft by 12 ft and usually occupied by four persons. Of the 131 houses in the village 110 have one room, 17 are two-roomed and 4 are three-roomed. The Table given below indicates the types of houses occupied by the different castes :



FRONT VIEW



GROUND PLAN
Scale 1" = 5' 7"

FRONT VIEW AND GROUND PLAN OF A TYPICAL HOUSE

Table 3-
CASTE AND HOUSE TYPES
(Number of occupants given in brackets)

Caste/Tribe	Household	One-roomed	Two-roomed	Three-roomed
Bhuiya	.. 98	82	12	4
Kolha	.. 14	11	3	..
Pano	.. 11	9	2	..
Gouda	.. 5	5	..	..
Teli	.. 1	1	..	..
Kamar	.. 1	1	..	..
Dhoba	.. 1	1	..	..
Total	.. 131 (588)	110 (461)	17 (97)	4(30)

17. The houses are dingy and have no proper ventilation. On an average 3.8 persons share a room.

18. Houses are constructed at previously chosen sites. A new site is selected by the Head of the household, and no priest is consulted. A day before starting construction the Head places three balls of cooked rice on leaf plates and covers them with earthen pots or leaf cups. Next morning, if the rice balls are undisturbed, the site is considered auspicious for building a dwelling. It is popularly believed that if a place is haunted by spirits the balls will be displaced by them.

19. Construction begins with the erection of the main *Sal* pole on an auspicious day. Mondays, Thursdays and Fridays are considered suitable for the purpose.

20. The walls of the house are constructed first by planting wooden poles close together and plastering them with well-kneaded clay, which is then coated with cowdung paste. Three types of walls are used in house building. They are pure mud, poles

plastered with mud, and brick. The Table below shows houses graded according to the material used by different castes :

Table 4
MATERIALS USED FOR WALLS

Caste/Tribe	Mud	Poles plastered with mud	Brick
Bhuiya	.. 36	61	1
Kolha	.. 2	12	..
Pano	.. 5	6	..
Gouda	.. 1	4	..
Teli	.. ..	1	..
Kamar	.. ..	1	..
Dhoba	.. ..	1	..
Total	.. 44	86	1

21. Beams and rafters are laid on top of the walls and fastened with rope. Poles of bamboo as well as of other woods are also used in house construction. Thatching for roofs is made from a *sinkuda* grass. A house usually has no plinth, but verandah of raised earth is built round it. The floors and the verandah are plastered with clay, over which a coating of cowdung is applied.

22. Door frames and panes are made of wood and the average measurement of the aperture is 4½ ft by 3 ft. A house usually has only one door.

23. House construction is mainly the duty of the menfolk. They bring wood, branches of trees, bamboo and grass from the forest. The house owner takes the help of his neighbours in the work of construction. Women and children help in whatever way they can.

24. The approximate cost of a single room unit of 25 ft by 12 ft is Rs. 100.

25. *Pratishtha* (house warming) is performed on an auspicious day and is presided over by a Brahmin. He performs *homa* (libation) in the new house and two Brahmins are fed. Well-to-do villagers invite their neighbours and relatives to a feast on this occasion.

26. There is one three-roomed brick house in the village, and it belongs to a Bhuiya. It was constructed three years ago and has a plinth two feet high and a foundation filled with rubbles. The walls are made of burnt brick plastered with clay. Country-made tiles (pantiles) are used for roofing.

Public Health

27. Common village diseases are malaria, yaws, scabies, diarrhoea and dysentery. Venereal disease is also reported.

28. Sanitary conditions are not satisfactory. The streets and house surroundings are used as rubbish dumps. Little care is taken to keep dwellings neat and clean. Clothes are not washed regularly. Mounds of cowdung are piled up in various parts of the village and rain water accumulates in puddles, making breeding places for mosquitoes and flies. The forests round the village are also breeding grounds of malarial mosquitoes.

29. A tolerably clear supply of drinking water is not available in the village and this lack may, to a large extent, be accountable for the diseases prevalent in the village.

30. There are no proper statistics to show the incidence of various diseases. But some data about malaria was obtained from the surveillance worker of the National Malaria Eradication Programme. According to his records, 21 persons suffered from malaria in 1960 and 18 between January and May 1961. Nivaquine and Kamaquine tablets were given to the sick.

Hygiene and Medical Care

31. The medical facilities available to villagers do not seem to be properly utilized, though lately there has been some change in their attitude. There is a dispensary at Suakati, three miles from the village, and a well-equipped hospital at Keonjhar, hardly 10 miles away. The villagers complain that on many occasions they found no doctor in attendance at the dispensary at Suakati, when they went there for treatment. As the place has a bad climate, the doctors posted to Suakati do not remain there long. No doctor or nurse has visited the village, but the vaccinator and surveillance worker of the National Malaria Eradication Programme visit it occasionally.

32. Very few villagers go to the dispensary. They take complicated cases to Keonjhar for treatment, and for minor ailments they frequently resort to home remedies. Statistics for 1961 show that 131 villagers had been vaccinated; 29 sought treatment in the hospital or dispensary, one consulted a private allopath; four ayurvedic physicians. In one case of child-birth the mother was admitted to Keonjhar hospital.

33. Home remedies include the powdered roots of a shrub named *banasudi* for malaria, cuts and wounds; water weeds, date palm leaves and jaggery made into a paste for bruises; *kusum* oil for itch, boils and scabies, and a paste prepared from *satabari* roots for headache.

Dress

34. Males and females of all communities dress according to the fashion in the region. Their dress usually consists of white handloom or mill cloth, but the current preference is the second type apparently because of its cheapness.

35. Men wear a piece of white cloth measuring 3 ft by 2 ft round their waists. This is folded lengthwise and dangles from



A MAN AND A WOMAN (Bhuiya) IN USUAL DRESS

the shoulder or is tied round the loins or head while working. Kolha males often wear *ghusis*, a spare cloth of 18" by 6" covering only the public region. This is the normal men's dress at work.

36. Shirts and banians are considered a luxury, and only 20 men in the village possess them. These garments are worn only on festive occasions or on journeys out of the village for marketing or other purposes. Clean clothes are worn at festivals.

37. Women's dress consists of a white cloth measuring 15 ft by 4 ft one end of which is wrapped round the loins while the other is taken over the left shoulder to cover the bosom and then tucked in at the waist. Occasionally a few well-to-do women, irrespective of caste, wear coloured silk or cotton sarees, in the manner described above. Women do not veil their faces. Girls up to the age of seven wear *ghusis* while boys of the same age go naked.

38. The same type of dress is worn all the year round. On chilly days and in the rainy season people keep themselves warm by kindling fires in their houses. A few households have cotton sheets, while only three possess woollen blankets.

39. The single Dhoba family washes clothes for the other castes except the Kolha and Pano families. The Kolhas, though a Scheduled Tribe, are treated as impure, while the Panos are considered untouchables.

Hair Style

40. Modern cosmetics have not yet reached the village, and few young men and women occasionally use soap for bathing. But generally oil from *kusum* and *mahua* seed is rubbed on the body and the head before a bath. A few villagers use plastic combs, but the common type of comb is made of bamboo. Both boys and

girls comb their hair, which is parted in the middle. The women knot their hair behind but tilt a little to the right behind the right ear. Girls prefer to keep the knot equidistant from their ears and at times decorate it with coloured ribbons. On festive occasions, women colour their feet with a red dye called *alata* and blacken their eyes.

Tattoo Designs

41. Tattooing used to be obligatory, and girls get their arms tattooed extensively. This was considered necessary to enhance their attractiveness. Plants, flowers and birds are the usual tattoos on the hands. Lately there has been a tendency among the village girls to avoid tattooing. Tattooing is done by professionals, who charge 25 to 38 paise.

Ornaments

42. The women of Daanla take pleasure in adorning their bodies with various kinds of ornaments. These are either bought readymade in the market or thread, beads and coins are bought and fashioned into ornaments at home. Ornaments are worn on the hands, feet, neck, nose and ears. The menfolk do not wear ornaments of any kind.

43. Brass anklets called *pahudas* were widely worn at one time, but they are now regarded as old-fashioned, and worn only by elderly women. A *pahuda* is round and hollow and has dome-shaped knobs. It has an inverted curve in its middle to fit the shape of the ankle. *Bolas*, brass and aluminium bangles of different shapes and designs, are worn by women of all castes. Both these types of ornaments are bought readymade.

44. The women of Daanla wear a variety of neck ornaments. They include beaded necklaces, *poholamalis*, necklaces of black cotton thread strung with coins, *padakas*



TATTOO DESIGNS

and *tankamalas*, or hollow hemispherical metal pieces called *bataphalas*. Strands of thread are wound together to form a cord, one end of which is made into a button and the other into a buttonhole. Before the button end is prepared coins or pieces of hemispherical metal are strung along the cord. For beaded necklaces the thread is used in its original form and the ends are knotted.

45. *Ganthias* or *nolis*, are used as ear ornaments while those used in the nose are known as *gunas*. Both gold and brass are used in their manufacture. Nickel coins are used as *mundras* (rings) on toes and fingers.

46. Leather footwear is not common in the village. Only five persons possess leather slippers, which they use rarely. In the rainy season most adults use slippers (*Kathaus*), made by themselves. These slippers are made of pieces of wood and rope. Umbrellas made of sticks, bamboo splints and *siali* leaves are used by the villagers to protect themselves from sun and rain. They are cheap, durable and strong.

Household Equipments

47. Earthen pots are widely used as receptacles and cooking vessels. Except on festive occasions and social functions, when large metal *handas* are used, the common cooking vessels are earthen. Earthen vessels are also widely used to store grain and water. A few households use earthen plates and dishes to serve food, but the majority have brass and aluminium *kansas* (bowls), *ginas* (cups) and *thalis* (plates). Metal jugs and tumblers are found in a good number of households.

48. *Lau tumbas* made of hollowed gourds are common utensils, especially among the Bhuiyas. They are for carrying food and water to workers in the fields.

49. Another common household implement is the *dhenki*, a wooden device for husking paddy. Rice being the staple food of the people, *dhenkis* are indispensable household articles. There are two types of *dhenkis*. The one operated with the foot is found only in a few households. The simple type called *tuku* is common.

50. Domestic receptacles are many and varied. A few families have steel trunks to store their clothing, money and other valuables, while many use home-made bamboo boxes called *baunsa pedi*. Some families own neither and use bamboo pipes to store their valuables.

51. Straw containers are utilised to stock grain for consumption while grain for sowing is kept in *siali* leaf containers.

52. Furniture is not very common. Only 19 households own stringed cots, while one household has a table and a wooden shelf. Invariably mats of date palm leaves are used for sitting and sleeping.

53. Fifty-one households possess lanterns while the others use *dibris* (locally made tin lamps) for lighting. Ten villagers possess torchlights and two possess bicycles.

54. A variety of musical instruments are used. They include *nagaras*, *madals* and *mrudangs* which produce rhythm during songs and dances. The *khanjani* gives a jingling note and is a very common instrument in the village. The *jhanja* is a pair of metal plates with string handles played as an accompaniment for other instruments.

Food and Drink

...

55. Paddy is the principal crop of the village and rice its staple food. Other kinds of cereals commonly used are *jalli*, maize, *kango* and *ragi*. *Jalli*, *kango* and maize are cooked almost in the same way as rice and eaten with curry, if available. Whole *ragi* is cooked differently or *ragi*



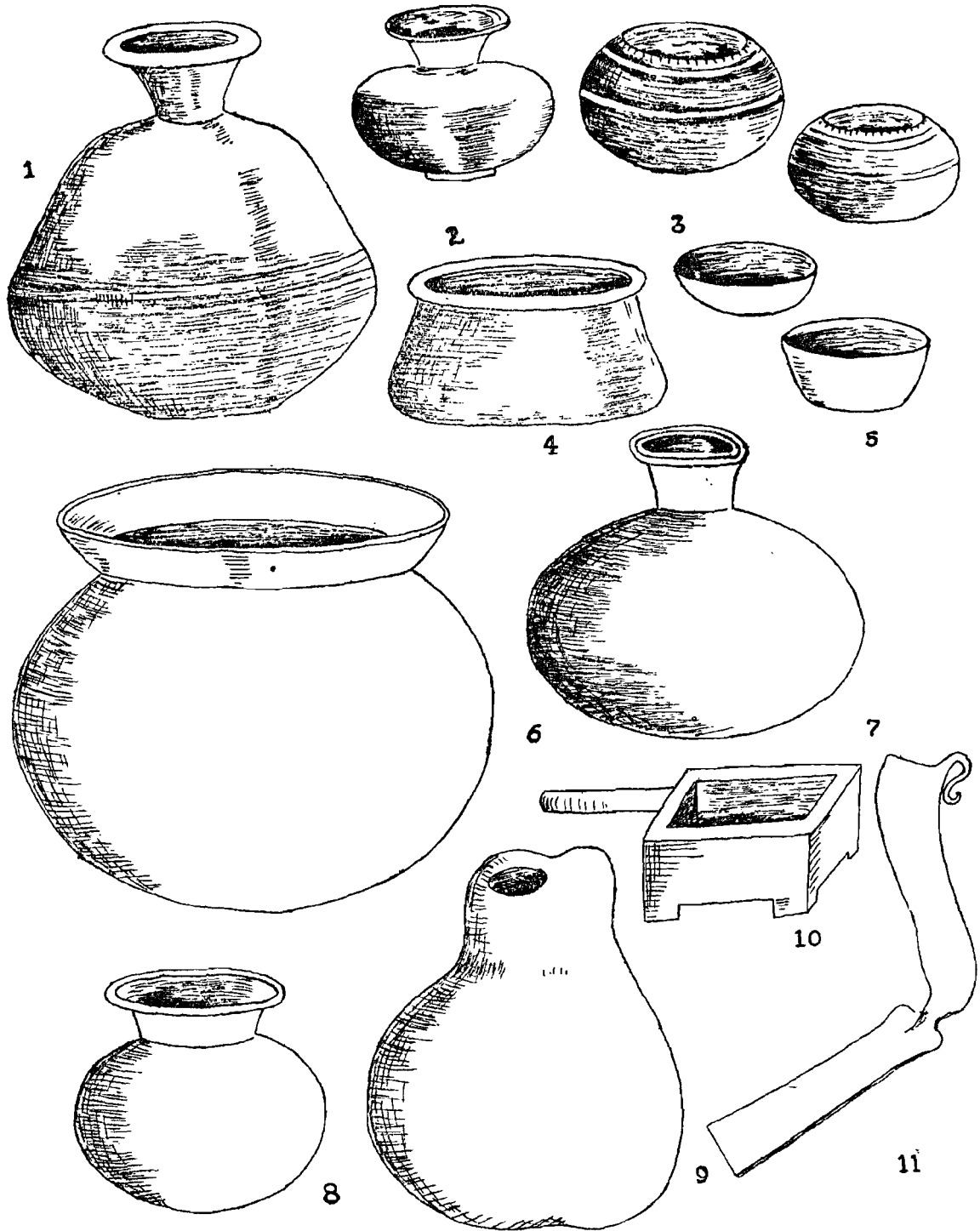
ORNAMENTS FOR NECK AND LEG

1. Padaka,
2. Tankamala,
3. Pohlamali,
4. Pahuda



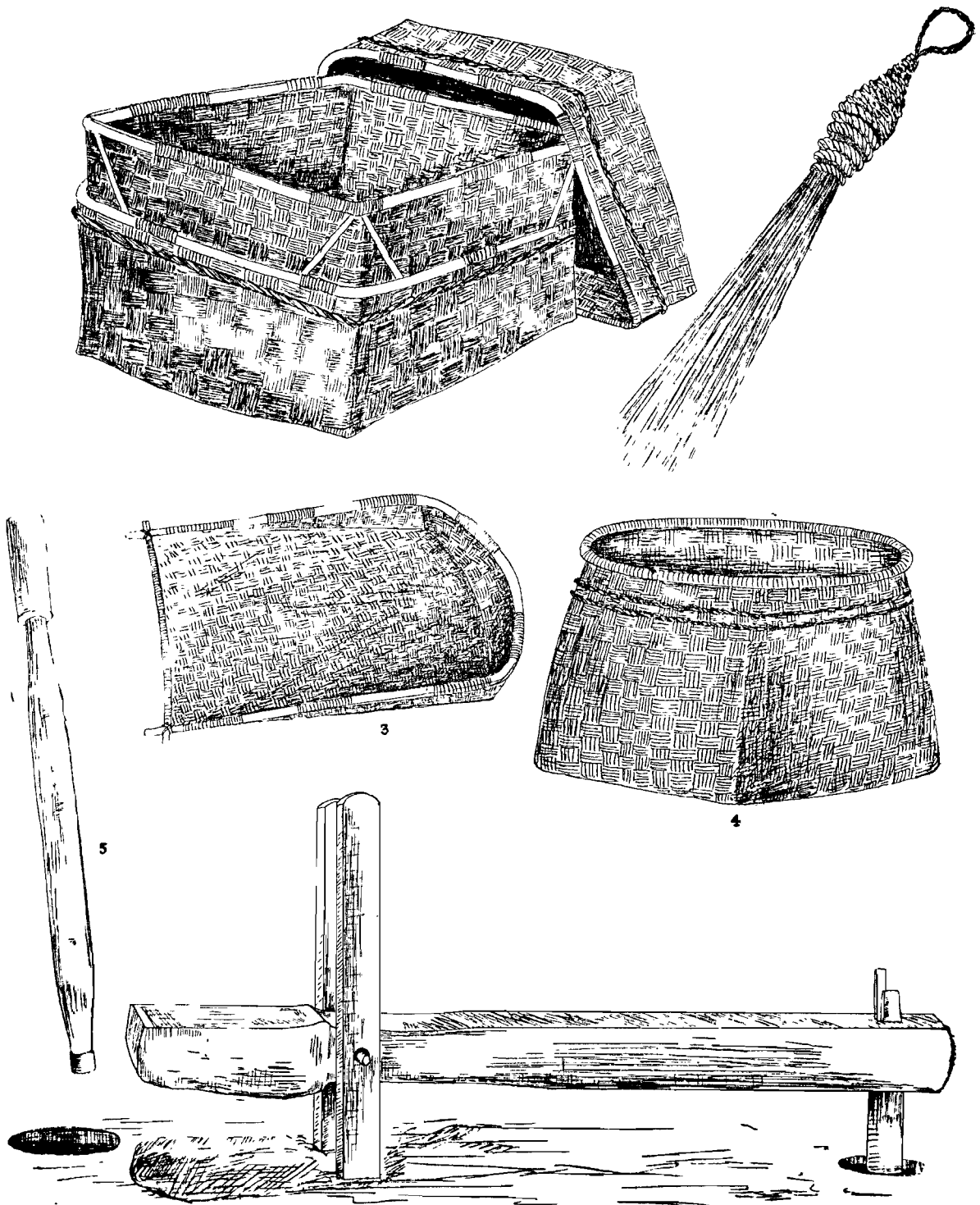
ORNAMENTS FOR NOSE, EAR AND ARM

1. Guna, 2. Penjan, 3. Mundtra, 4. Adakanji, 5. Mudi, 6. Bataphala, 7. Fala



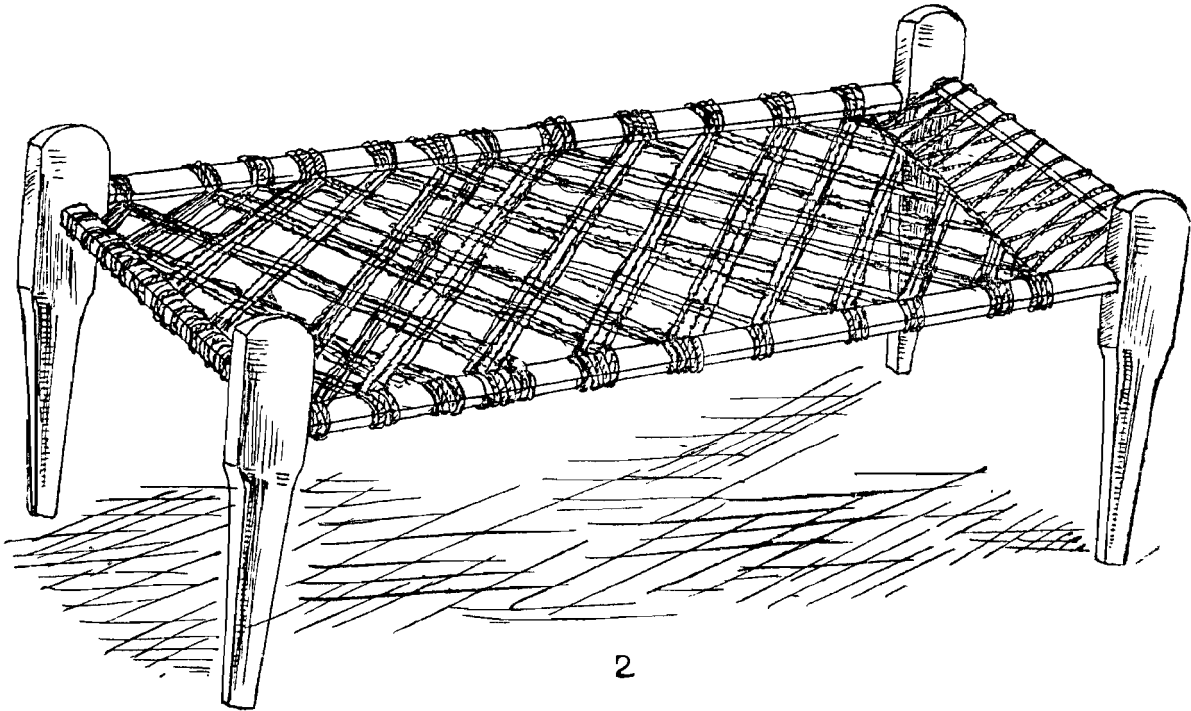
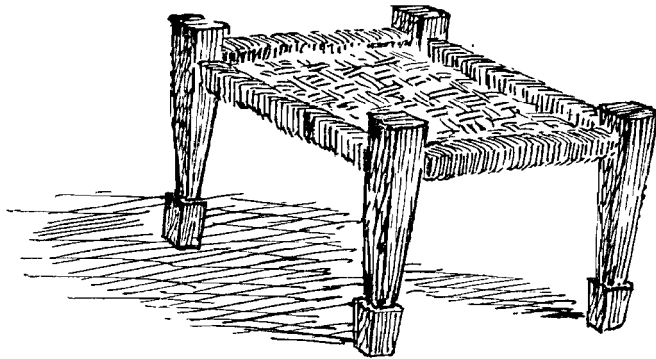
UTENSILS

1. Garia, 2. Luta, 3. Mana, 4. Bela, 5. Tãtia, 6. Handĩ, 7. Kalasa, 8. Mathia, 9. Tumba, 10. Lunakathua, 11. Pãniki.



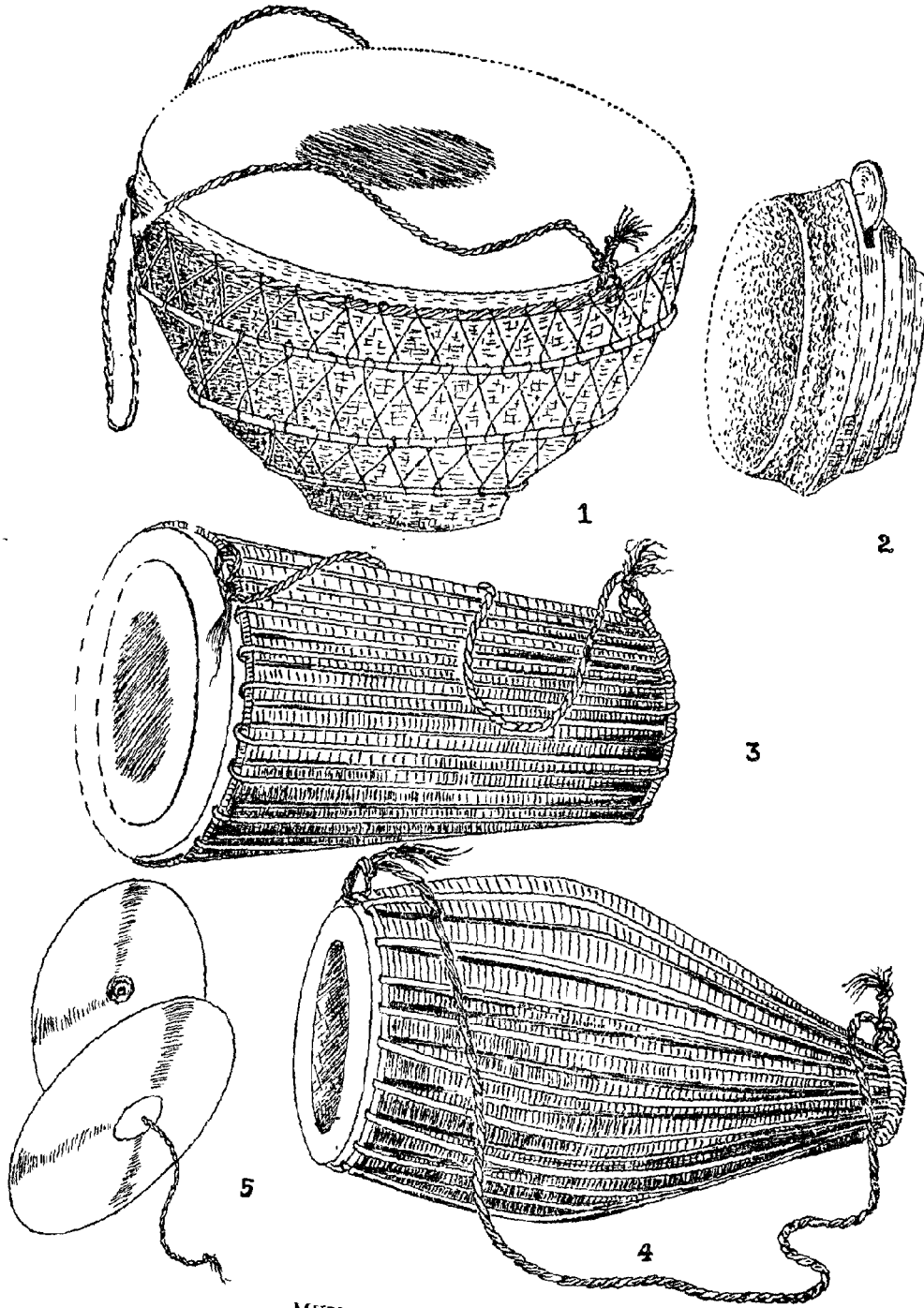
HOUSEHOLD ARTICLES

1. Bautsa pedi, 2. Badhuni, 3. Kula, 4. Bojha, 5. Tuku, 6. Dhenki



FURNITURE

1. Khatuli, 2. Khata



MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS
1. Nagara, 2. Khanjani, 3. Madal, 4. Mrudanga, 5. Jhanja

flour is prepared with other dishes. Rice is eaten throughout the year, while maize and *kangoo* are eaten from September to November and *jalli* from December to March.

56. The villagers eat meat, obtained from domesticated animals or from the forests around. Poultry, pigs, sheep and goats are reared, and with the exception of pork their meat is eaten by all the castes in the village. But the Kolhas eat pork as well as beef. The forests around contain plenty of game, the commonest of which are deer, *Sambhur*, wild boar and hare, and their flesh is greatly relished by the villagers. Fish is a delicacy, and the villagers spend their leisure time in fishing in streams and ponds. Besides, dried fish is purchased from the market and taken boiled or fried. With the exception of Goudas and Telis the other castes relish fried red ants and termites.

57. The principal food is supplemented with, and sometimes the poorer village families substitute for it, a variety of leaves, fruits and roots collected from the forest. The forest abounds with fruits, such as, mango, jack, *kendu*, *podhai* and roots, such as, *pitai kanda*, *bainga*, *saiga* and edible green leaves called *koliarisag* and *bengulisag*. Edible roots and leaves are prepared in place of vegetables and taken with the staple or principal food. These roots and leaves are also dried and preserved in leaf cups for use whenever required. Mahua flowers are collected and preserved throughout the year to be cooked and eaten with other food.

58. On festive days special foods, such as, cakes, *khiri* and mutton curry are served to guests by the well-to-do families. They are considered indispensable items on such occasions.

59. The medium of cooking is *mahua*, *kusum* or gingelly oil. Spices are rarely used; Coriander (*dhania*) and cummin seeds (*jira*) are the common spices. Turmeric powder and chillies are essential for curries.

60. Meals are eaten twice a day, one at noon and the other in the evening. In addition some families eat in the morning whatever boiled rice is left over the previous night. The rice is soaked in water over night. Rice and vegetable curry or green vegetables form the noon meal while in the evening dal is also added to these dishes.

61. Tea and coffee drinking is not common. But there appears to be no restriction on drinking liquor, irrespective of sex and age. *Handia* (rice beer) is the favourite drink, and is prepared at home. Besides, the sago palm and date palm trees around the village are tapped, and their toddy is relished very much.

THE LIFE CYCLE

Birth

62. By and large, the customs connected with birth are similar among all castes in the village. Stoppage of menstruation continuously for two months is considered a sign of pregnancy. A pregnant woman is not treated differently from others. Diet and normal duties remain the same. But certain taboos are observed to ward off the possible influence of bad spirits or in accordance with social custom. For example, the pregnant woman and her husband are not allowed to go near a corpse. She is forbidden to observe the functions connected with eclipses. She is also not allowed to touch the levelling board. Her husband may not cut his hair or shave his beard till the delivery. Now-a-days, however, the last mentioned taboo is not very strictly adhered to.

63. Delivery takes place in the extra room, if there is one, in the house or in a hut specially constructed for this purpose. The husband generally helps the wife in the delivery room and only in case of some difficulty is a woman from outside the household called into help. After delivery the umbilical cord is cut with a knife or an

arrowhead by the mother with the help of her husband. Among the Panos and the Goudas the cord is severed by an old woman belonging to the same caste. The cord is placed in a leaf cup and buried in a pit dug in the backyard very close to the house. Soon after the delivery the mother has a warm water bath after massaging her body with *kusum* or gingelly oil and turmeric paste. The newborn baby is washed in tepid water after being smeared with turmeric paste by its father.

64. After 12 hours of delivery the mother is served with boiled rice and fried salt. If there is no other female in the household the husband cooks for the next 21 days. The mother is served with freshly cooked food twice a day.

65. The purification ceremony is held on the seventh day by all castes except the Panos and the Goudas, who perform it on the 12th day. The ceremony consists of offering 10 drops of cow's urine in which is dipped a copper piece, *tulsi* and *bel* leaves by the younger brother or cousin of the husband. This is repeated seven times. Before this the village barber shaves the beard of the husband and both husband and wife bathe. The polluted clothes are washed by the *dhoba*. The old earthen cooking vessels are thrown away and replaced by new ones.

66. The name-giving ceremony is performed on the 21st day. On that day the house is cleaned with cowdung and a fowl is sacrificed in the kitchen to the child's ancestors and a feast held for the relatives in whose presence a name is selected. The name generally selected is that of some ancestor. For this purpose a small earthen pot filled with water is placed over a handful of rice. The paternal uncle of the child utters ancestral names while dropping grains of rice one at a time into the pot. If a grain floats the child is named after the ancestor for whom it was dropped.

67. The mother is allowed to enter the kitchen and cook food from the 21st day. From then she attends to her normal duties including work in the fields. The child may also be taken outside the house. Lactation continues for two or three years. No special ceremony is performed during teething.

Puberty

68. Customs connected with puberty are similar among all the castes. A girl is segregated in a separate room of the house when she attains maidenhood. She remains there for 10 days, and she is not permitted to attend to any work or touch the cattle or buffaloes during this period. She may wash her body twice a day, but may not have full bath. On the tenth day she bathes after applying oil and turmeric paste on her body. After this purificatory bath she is allowed to mix freely with other members of the household and outsiders and attend to her normal duties.

Marriage

69. Marriage is an important social function not only to the family and caste or tribe concerned but to the whole village. To take a partner outside one's caste is not permissible, and there is not a single recorded instance of such a marriage. There is little difference in the marriage customs of the various castes and tribes.

70. Village exogamy is the norm among the Bhuiyas as the males and females belonging to the same group in the village are considered brothers and sisters. But instances of marriages where both partners are from the same village are also reported.

71. Negotiations for marriage are initiated by the prospective bridegroom. His father makes a proposal to the father of the girl whose hand is sought. The approach is made through a mediator known as the *dharma*. The girl's father discusses the

proposal with four elderly villagers of his own caste whom he invites to his house. Unless the parties arrive at certain tentative agreements regarding the amount of bride price and other details the boy's party does not accept food from their host.

72. After a short interval the boy's father and two or three *dharmas* of his village visit the girl's father and present him with rice, *dal* and wine. Further discussions are held between the parties and the date for marriage and the exact amount of bride price to be paid are finalized. Bride price generally consists of 2½ maunds of rice, a pair of bullocks, a piece of cloth each for the father, mother and maternal uncle of the girl and Re. 1 in cash. The payment may be made either before or after the wedding as decided by the two parties. Ordinarily bride price is paid in full before the wedding.

73. Four days before the appointed wedding day the father of the groom deputed two *dharmas* to call on the bride's father to confirm the arrangement. The bride's father does not reply at once but sends two of his *dharmas* two days later to the groom's father to invite his *dharmas* to fix the date. This, according to Bhuiya custom, is an indication that the day for the wedding should be finally fixed by the groom's party and that there will be no change of date. On this invitation two *dharmas* from the groom's village visit the bride's father with about five seers of rice, a bottle of liquor, a goat, a seer of flattened rice and vegetables. The goat is killed and a feast held in the house of the bride's father at which all the important people in the village are entertained.

74. On the evening of the wedding day the bride goes on foot to the groom's village accompanied by her relatives. As soon as the bride's party reaches the outskirts of the village the mother of the bridegroom and other women of the household receive them. The mother of the bride-

groom presents ornaments, generally a necklace of gold or silver, to the bride. Then they are led to the marriage pandal erected in the courtyard of the bridegroom's home.

75. On the day of the marriage the couple take their seats under the pandal in the presence of all the guests. A Brahmin conducts the ritual. The couple take several handfuls of rice each and toss them at one another. Then they go round the marriage booth seven times. The next morning they are escorted to the village tank by boys and girls for a bath. The groom's party conceals an earthen jug under water in the tank, and this has to be traced by the bride's party. This is repeated seven times. Next the bridal party hides the jug for the groom's party to seek. After the bath both parties return to the village, the bride carrying a jug full of water on her head and the groom following her closely. On the way the groom shoots an arrow at the jug seven times. The bow and arrow are then broken and thrown away. The wedding ends with a feast. On the second day the younger brothers and sisters of the bridegroom take the couple to the room meant for them and give them each a cake, to be eaten by them later. From then the couple live as man and wife. The function is called *Chauthi* although it is held on the second day instead of on the fourth as among other Hindus.

76. Besides conventional marriages of this type there are instances of marriage by force (*Jhika bibaha*) and marriage by mutual consent (*Makalo bibaha*).

77. Forcible marriage is resorted to when a young man feels that his parents cannot afford to pay the bride price. But no physical force is actually involved in such marriages. Different methods are adopted by the boy or his parents or relatives to get the girl of his affections to visit them at home. For example, when the girl visits another village or the weekly market she

is invited by the boy or his relatives to their house. If she agrees the mother of the boy pours water on her feet, at which the girl knows that she is being invited to become the woman's daughter-in-law. If the proposal is agreeable to the girl she stays on and the boy's parents inform her parents accordingly. On getting this information the girl's people visit the boy's home and discuss the matter. In some instances the girl's parents demand the bride price, and the boy's parents agree if they can afford to pay. But in most instances payment is refused or deferred to a later date, which in effect means that it is not paid. The marriage is solemnised in the usual manner at the boy's home.

78. In Makalo Bibaha, when a boy and a girl agree to live as husband and wife, they leave their parents' homes and shelter in the forest or in a neighbouring village. But they leave some clue of their whereabouts so that their parents may trace them. The parents find them and accuse them of flouting custom, but they generally end by consenting to their marriage. In such cases no bride price is paid, but all the usual rituals are observed.

79. Widow remarriage is permitted in the tribe, and preference goes to the younger brothers and then the cousins of the dead man. Divorce is freely allowed by the caste panchayat. An aggrieved husband or wife may lay a complaint before the panchayat and seek a remedy in divorce. The panchayat hears the parties and approves the divorce after enforcing a penalty of Re. 1 on the husband whether he is the guilty party or not. By custom this money goes to the woman. After divorce the woman may marry again. A Bhuiya male is also permitted to wed his dead wife's sister.

80. Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays are considered auspicious for marriage. The usual marriage months are Chaitra, Vaisakha and Jaistha. The bride price is retained by the bride's parents but it is

customary for them to give some presents to the girl. These gifts generally include rice, domestic utensils, cows and bullocks.

81. The customs of the Kolhas are very similar to those of the Bhuiyas. The bride price includes a pig, goat, two cows and about 15 seers of rice. But the weddings are solemnised at the bride's residence. The ceremony is not performed by the Brahmin priest but by an elderly member of the caste. The ceremony ends with bridegroom applying vermilion on the bride's forehead in the marriage pavilion. Marriage by force is very common among the Kolhas as among the Bhuiyas, divorce and re-marriage, for divorcees as well as for widows are permitted.

82. Although there is very little difference between the marriage customs of the Bhuiyas and the Panos the bride price among the second group consists of a maund of rice, two goats and Rs. 12. The wedding takes place at the house of the bride. A maternal uncle's daughter is preferred to others.

Death

83. There is not much difference between the funeral customs of the different village communities.

84. As soon as a Bhuiya dies the information is conveyed to the dead person's relatives in the village and outside. On the arrival of the nearest kin the body is bathed and anointed with oil and turmeric paste, after which it is placed on a bamboo or wooden bier and covered with new cloth. All ornaments are removed from the corpse, which is then carried to the burial place by the relatives.

85. The dead are either buried or burnt, but burial is more common. The dead body of an infant is buried under a *mahua* tree. In deaths due to cholera or smallpox the corpse is left on the banks of Chemunda nullah or in the forest.

86. For burial a pit 6 ft by 4 ft by 3 ft is dug and the corpse is placed in it after it has been shaken seven times to make sure there is no more life in it. The head is always placed pointing towards the west. Before covering the grave, the son, or in his absence the nearest relative, burns a piece of wood and moves it over the face of the corpse and finally leaves it beside the face. The pit is now filled and the whole gathering bathe in the nearby stream before going home.

87. No cooking is done in the house of the dead person and the neighbours feed the members of the household. On the second day after death the house is cleaned with cowdung and mud. Mourning is observed for 10 days, and on the tenth the old earthen cooking vessels are replaced with new ones. On this day the males of the household and their relatives are shaved by the village barber in the courtyard of the dead person's house. A bath in the stream follows. The polluted clothes of the household are washed by the village washerman. After the ceremonial bath the relatives give about a seer of paddy to the Head of the household in a new earthen pot to be preserved carefully and later sown in the next season. It is believed that the dead person takes away the fortunes of the family, and so the relatives of the surviving members share a portion of their fortune with the deceased's family in the form of grains for sowing. With this the members of the family are supposed to have been purified from the pollution of death. Later in the day a feast is held in the house of the deceased and all the village folk of the same caste and the relatives of the deceased from elsewhere are entertained. The guests contribute to the funeral ceremony in cash or in rice, fowls, dal or other eatables according to their status and relationship with the deceased.

88. When death occurs because of cholera or smallpox the period of mourning is six

months and the funeral ceremony is held on the end of that period. Till then the members of the deceased's family are considered polluted.

89. The death of a pregnant woman is considered very inauspicious. The woman's husband is temporarily outcast for six months. Other members of the household are also regarded as polluted till the funeral ceremony is over. But they are not subjected to such strict taboos as the husband. He has to prepare the bier and carry the corpse to the cremation ground by himself. If he cannot do so he must draw it on a cart. Nobody else is allowed to touch the corpse. But at the burial ground the husband is helped to dig a grave. The husband places the body in the grave, cuts open its belly and fills the pit with earth.

90. The husband is barred from entering even his own home for six months, nor is he permitted to touch his bullocks or plough the fields during this period. But he may attend to other kinds of work. He and his household may not eat meat and fish during the period of pollution. At the end of it, the husband is purified and taken back into the caste.

91. The Kolhas burn their dead in the forest, and at times in their backyards. On the second day after cremation the charred bones are collected from the ashes in an earthen pot, which is shut with a lid and buried under a tree. Mourning continues for 10 days. On the tenth day the members of the household and their relatives shave themselves and perform a purification ceremony.

92. The Panos too burn their dead and mourn for 10 days. On the eleventh day all the cooking vessels are replaced. Meat and fish are cooked on this day and served to those who have been purified.

CHAPTER III

ECONOMY

Economic resources

Agriculture is the basis of living of the villagers and cultivated fields, both wet and dry, constitute the main source of their income. Next in order is the forest wealth round the village which supplements their living. Household industries, trade and service do help but in a very limited way. Cattle rearing and poultry keeping are some of the auxiliary occupations of importance.

Livelihood classes

2. The majority (74.05 per cent) of the families have taken to agriculture either as

cultivators or as agricultural labourers. Some families (about 14.5 per cent) depend mainly on forest resources and some others (about 11 per cent) are engaged in household industries, business or service. In the latter category are included 2 families of weavers and one each of blacksmith and carpenter. Among those in business, 5 deal in cattle and cloth, one in oil-seeds and vegetables and two are petty grocers.

3. The Table below on the analysis of working force in the village will show that the majority of the population are workers.

Table 5
WORKING FORCE

Age-group	Total population			Workers			Non-workers		
	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F
All ages	588	270	318	352	165	187	236	105	131
0-14	260	119	141	41	19	22	219	100	119
14 and above	328	151	177	311	146	165	17	5	12

4. Women peculiarly predominate both among workers and non-workers. About 53 per cent of the workers and 55.5 per cent of the non-workers are women.

5. Cultivation and agricultural labour constitute the main occupation of the workers. The Table below gives the workers and their occupation broken up by sex and broad age-groups.

Table 6
WORKERS AND OCCUPATIONS BY SEX AND BROAD AGE-GROUPS

Age-group	Cultivation			- Agricultural labour			Forestry			Household Industry			Trade			Other services		
	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F
	1	2a	2b	2c	3a	3b	3c	4a	4b	4c	5a	5b	5c	6a	6b	6c	7a	7b	7c
All ages	192	90	102	103	41	62	35	17	18	6	4	2	9	7	2	7	6	1
0-14	19	11	8	13	2	11	8	5	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	..
14 and above	173	79	94	90	39	51	27	12	15	6	4	2	9	7	2	6	5	1

6. Interpreting in terms of percentage, the above categories of workers form 83.8 per cent for cultivation and agricultural labour, about 10 per cent for collection of forest produce, 2.5 per cent for trade, 2.1 per cent for other services and 1.7 per cent for household industries. The diagram below is illustrative of this break up.

7. Of the 236 non-workers, the majority comprising 92.8 per cent come under the age-group of 0—14. The remaining population above 14 includes 3 women engaged only in household industries.

8. It is further learnt that 83 per cent of the non-workers are dependants. Of the rest, the majority are students and only a few are engaged in household duties.

The Table below gives the classified break-up of the non-workers according to age-groups and nature of activities.

Cultivated area

9. No accurate assessment of the cultivated area in the village is possible in absence of survey operations. The area as arrived at on the basis of information collected from the villagers is 190 acres.

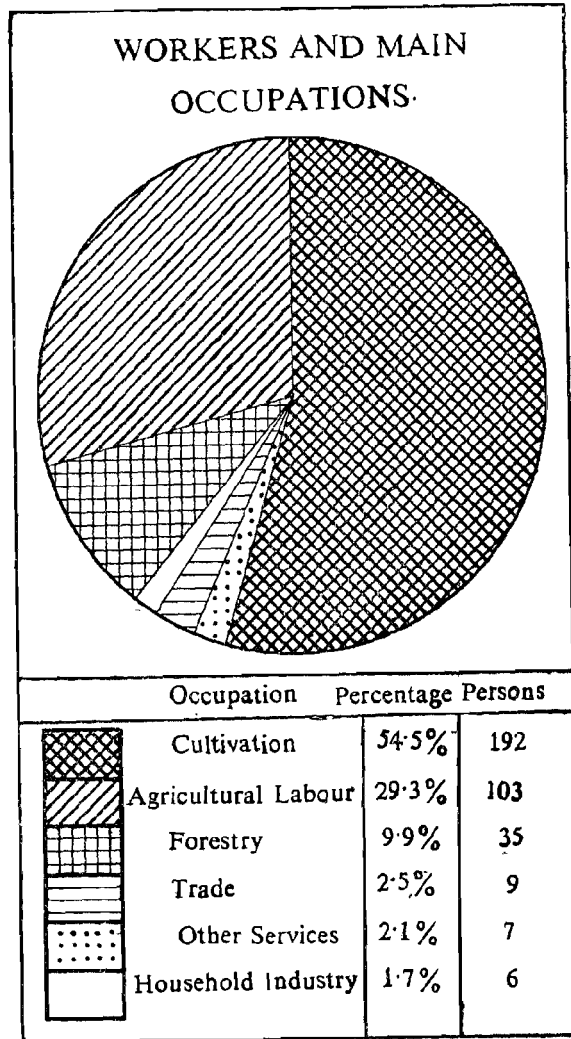


Table 7

NON-WORKERS AND THEIR NATURE OF ACTIVITIES BY SEX AND BROAD AGE-GROUPS

Age-group	Total non-workers			Full-time students or children attending school			Persons engaged only in household duties			Dependants, infants and children not attending schools and persons permanently disabled		
	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F
	All ages	236	105	131	37	32	5	3	..	3	196	73	123
0—14	219	100	119	37	32	5	..	..	..	182	68	114
14 and above	17	5	12	..	..	..	3	..	3	14	5	9

Ownership of land and utilization

10. Of the 131 households, 121 households (92.4 per cent) possess land. The nature of interest may be stated as land held direct from Government under a tenure less substantial than ownership. Of the 10 landless families, 8 are those of the Bhuiyas and

one each of Gouda and Teli. The Head of the Teli household is the teacher in the village school.

11. The Table below gives the pattern of distribution of land among the castes/tribes in the village.

Table 8
CASTER/TRIBEWISE OWNERSHIP OF LAND

Name of Caste/Tribe	Total No. of households	House-holds without land	No. of households owning land									
			5 cents and below	5—9 cents	10—19 cents	20—49 cents	50—99 cents	1—2.49 acres	2.5—4.99 acres	5—9 acres	10 acres and above	
Bhuiya	98	8	..	..	5	8	24	41	10	1	1
Kolha	14	..	..	..	..	4	3	7	..	..	..
Pano	11	..	..	..	..	..	8	2	1	..	..
Gouda	5	1	..	..	..	2	..	..	1	1	..
Teli	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Kamar	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..
Dhoba	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..
Total	131	10	..	..	5	16	35	50	12	2	1

12. But for five Bhuiya households possessing land between 10 to 19 cents, all others have more than 20 cents of land. Majority of the land-owners owning more than an acre of land belong to Bhuiya and Kolha tribes. None except 2 Bhuiyas and one Gouda possesses more than 5 acres of land. The acreage per household works out to 1.50 acres. The diagram below illustrates the caste and tribewise distribution of the ownership of land.

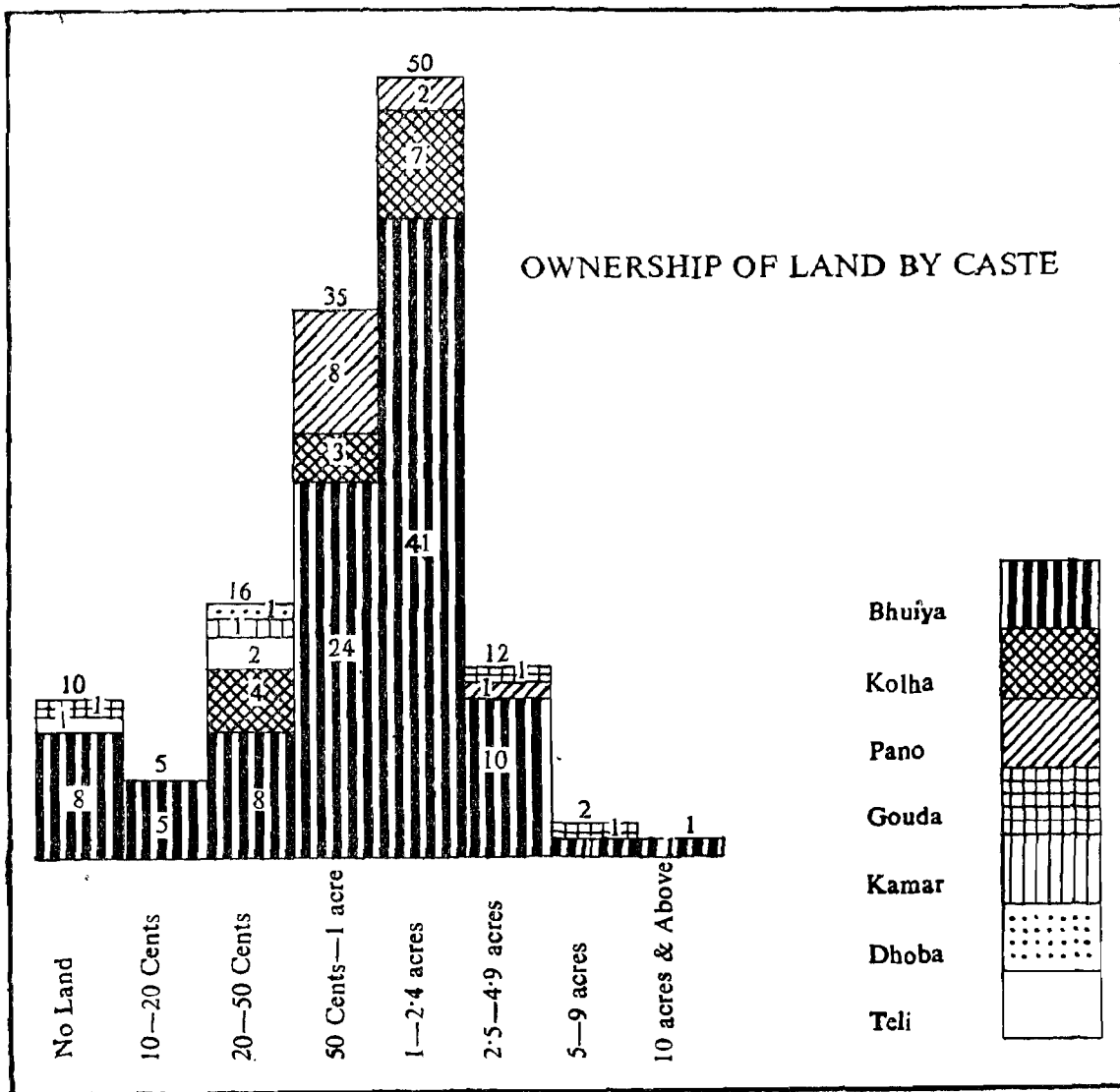
13. The land-owners cultivate their own land. No case of absentee ownership, lease, etc., of agricultural land is reported. The pattern of ownership remained steady in 1962-63 as no case of transfer of land in any form was reported for the period.

14. The land in the village is broadly divided into two classes, viz., *Bilo* or wet land and *Guda* or dry land. The *Guda* land is further subdivided into *Bari* or dry land adjacent to the dwelling houses and situated

within the village site and *Taila* or dry land away from the village site.

15. *Bilo* or wet land which is rain-fed is utilized mainly for paddy cultivation. Both the late and early varieties of paddy are generally grown. *Guda* or dry land are uplands where cultivation is usually taken recourse to after clearing the forest-growth. The land so cleared is cultivated for 3 years consecutively and is then left fallow for a stretch of 3 to 4 years to help recover its lost fertility in the natural way. Dry lands are seldom manured and the crops grown are early varieties of paddy, pulses and oil-seeds.

16. The backyards of the houses called *Bari* along with other lands lying near the village are regularly manured with cow-dung. Here usually maize, beans and some cereals (other than paddy) are grown. *Taila* lands lie on the hill-slopes and by their very nature are undulating and the soil is



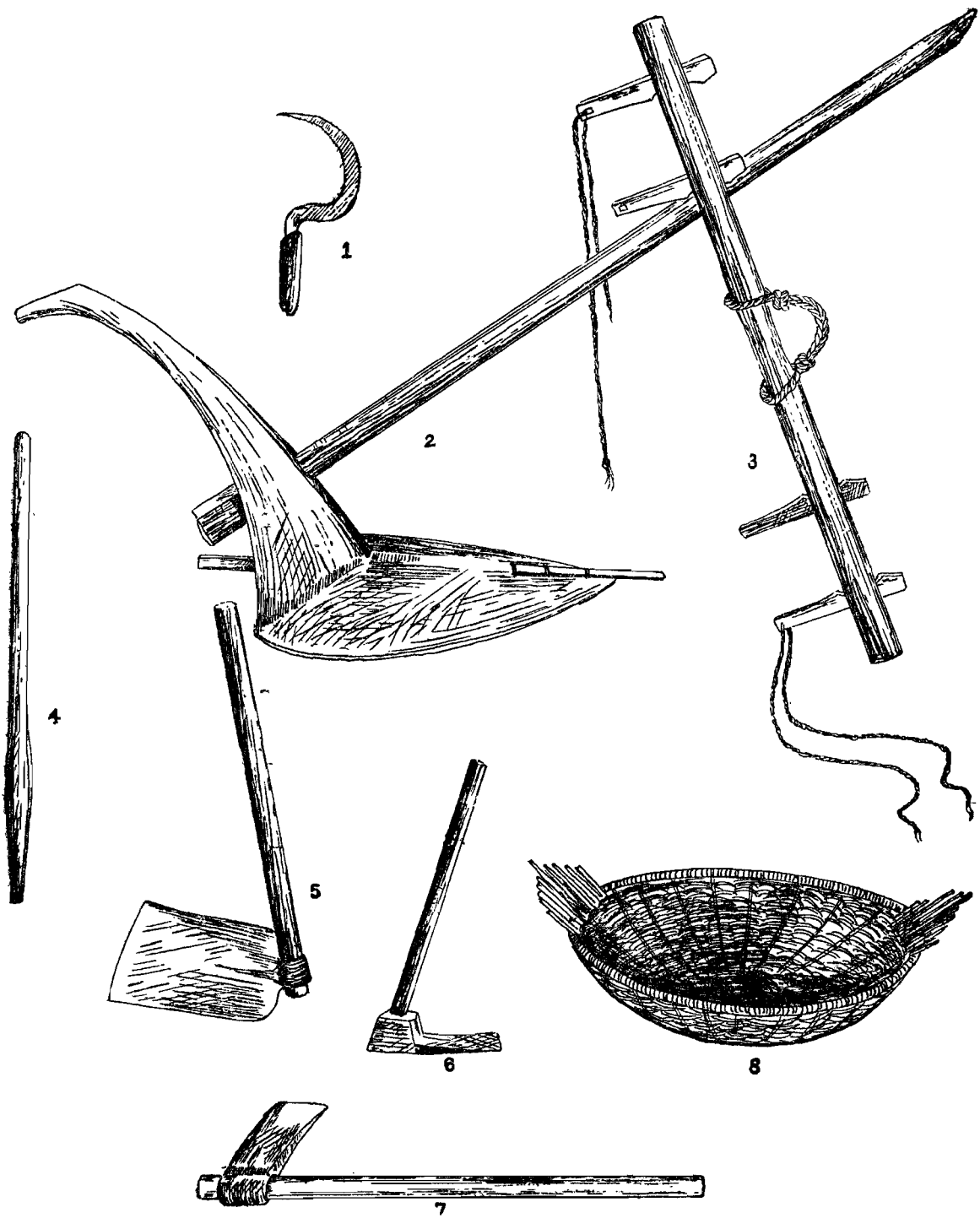
not capable of retaining moisture for a long time. The practice resorted to is not one of shifting and the land is cultivated year to year. The crops grown are early varieties of paddy, *bajra* and ragi. The major acreage of land owned and cultivated in the village relates to this *taila* category.

Implements

17. Agricultural implements occupy an important place in the list of material equipments of an agriculturist. The list includes

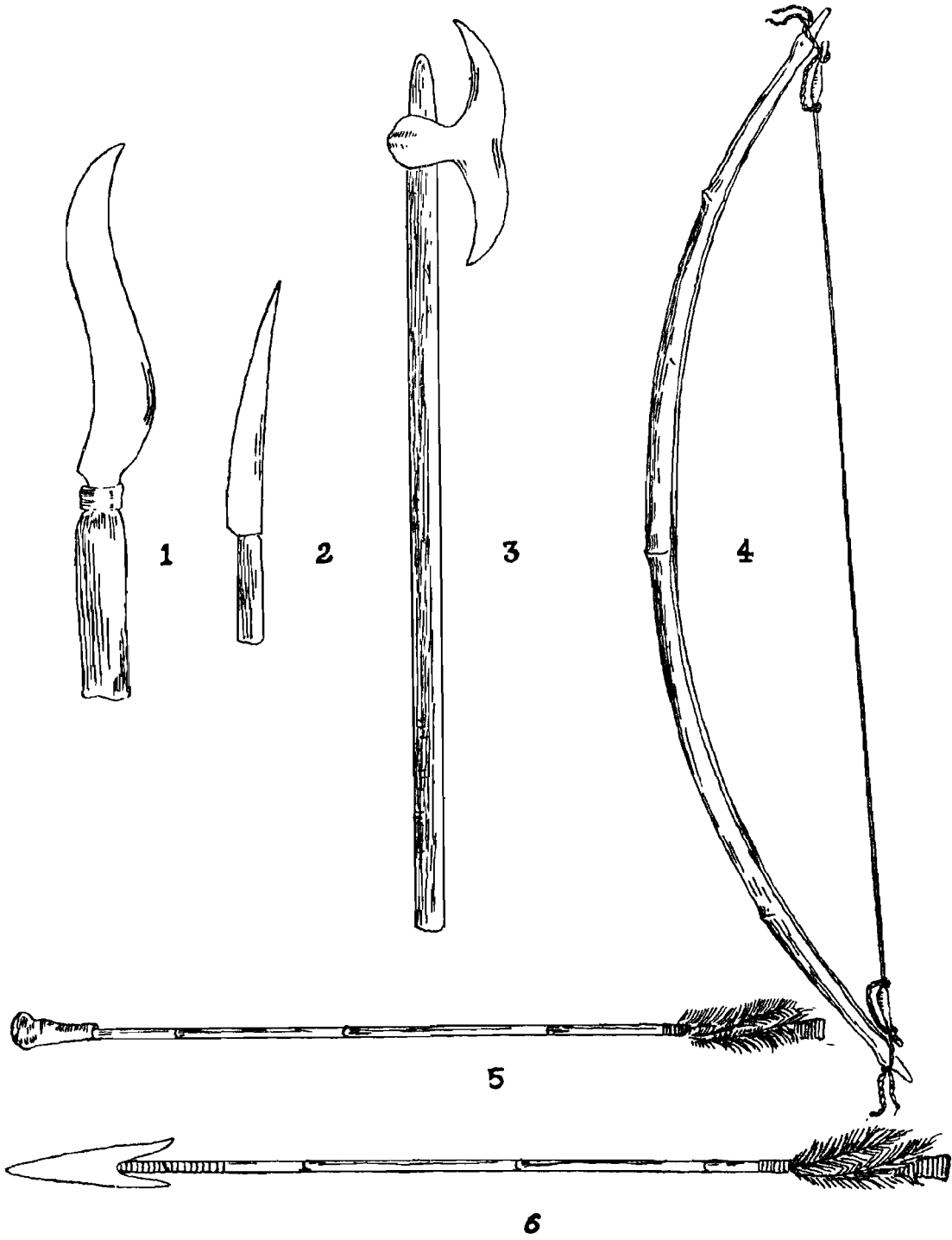
plough and yoke, axe, adze, sickle, spade, crowbar and bamboo baskets. The wooden handles of these implements are shaped by the villagers themselves while the metallic part is either purchased from the market or got prepared through a local blacksmith.

18. Bows and arrows, the latter of both sharp and blunt ends, axes, knives, etc., are among the main equipments for hunting. Many in the village own these equipments and use them occasionally too.



AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS

1. Daa, 2. Langa'a, 3. Juali, 4. Sabala, 5. Kodali, 6. Barisi, 7. Tangia, 8. Gandua.

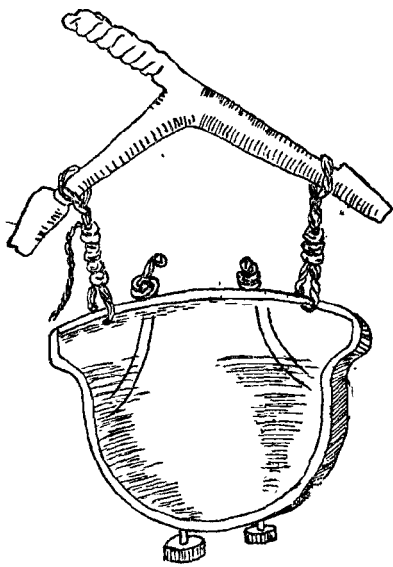
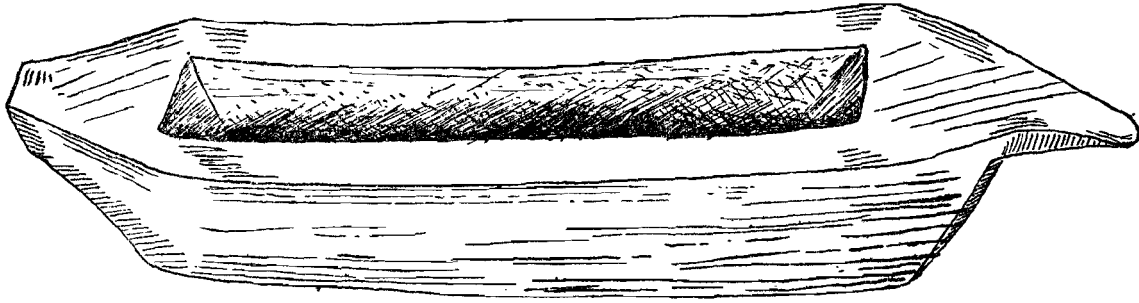


HUNTING WEAPONS

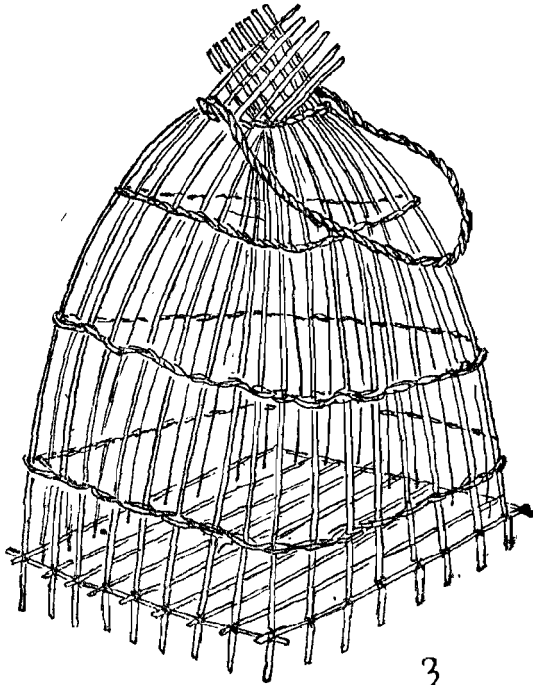
1. Katuri, 2. Chhuri, 3. Bala, 4. Dhanu, 5. Thulibita, 6. Kandasara

19. A boat-shaped wooden vessel (danga) for serving cattle feed is used by many

households. A 'D' shaped wooden bell locally called *Thadaka* is securely tied to

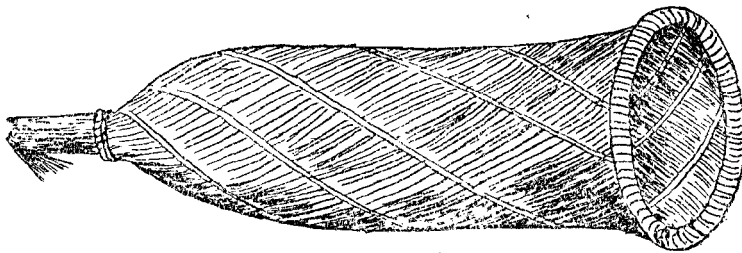


1



2

3



4

MISCELLANEOUS IMPLEMENTS

1. Danga, 2. Thadaka, 3. Gharidi, 4. Konja

both the ends of a forked wooden piece. This is loosely hung round the neck of wayward cattle. Two iron rods with knobs attached to the bell act as its tongues. The rhythmic sound of the bell helps to locate the missing cattle even in deep woods.

Agricultural Practices

20. Among the principal crops cultivated in the village are paddy, gingelly, mustard, maize, *jalli* and ragi. The methods of cultivation are traditional and use of improved seeds, fertilisers, modern implements and adoption of other modern agricultural practices are yet to be popular. With the recent establishment of a Community Development Block, only a few families have taken to improved seeds and have allowed part of their land to be utilized for demonstration purposes.

There is no source of irrigation in the village and therefore the hazards of monsoon often bring uncertain luck for the cultivators.

The paragraphs below attempt to give a short account of the operations associated with cultivation of major cereals and pulses.

21. *Paddy*—After a shower of rain in the month of *Magha* (January-February), the land meant for paddy crop is ploughed for two rounds and is allowed to dry through the summer. The land is ploughed once again in the beginning of the monsoon after a couple of showers in the month of *Jaishtha-Ashadh* (June). After this paddy seeds are broadcast. About 18 standard seers of paddy are required for broadcast in an acre of land. Early in *Sravan* (July-August), *Beusana* (Weeding) is done by running the plough through the plants, up-rooting many while leaving the rest in the field. This operation destroys grass and other weeds and is supposed to hasten the growth of the crop. Weeds surviving the operation are sorted out carefully for removal by hand in *Bhadrab* (August-September) when the

main crop is about two feet high. The paddy crop is ripe in *Kartik* (October-November) and the harvesting becomes due in *Margasira* (November-December). Members of both the sex participate in this operation. The paddy plants after the harvest are bundled and carried on head or on slings to the thrashing floors. The floors are located either in the backyards or in the fields adjacent to the houses. Paddy grains after thrashing are exposed to the sun for a few days and then stored.

22. The economics of paddy cultivation is far from encouraging. The average yield of paddy from one acre of land is about 8 maunds. Basing on the local price of paddy during the survey (1963), the cultivator gets about Rs. 80 per acre in the average.

23. Two families in the village have adopted Japanese method of paddy cultivation and the results are encouraging. The impact of its success in general on other cultivators is considerable.

24. Cultivation of gingelly, unlike paddy, requires much less labour. The crop is raised on dry land. The seeds are sown in the month of *Bhadrab* (August-September) after the field is ploughed two rounds. The crop is harvested in the months of *Poush and Magh* (December-February). The average yield of gingelly per acre is 1½ maunds and the local price of a maund is Rs. 20.

25. *Jalli*—Jalli seeds are broadcast in the months of *Jaishtha-Ashadh* (June) after two rounds of ploughing the land. The crop is raised on dry land. Harvesting takes place in the months of *Kartika* and *Margasira* (October-December). The average yield per acre is 5 maunds and the local price is Rs. 5 per maund.

26. *Maize*—The land for raising maize is either in the *bari*, the backyard or some vacant land near about the habitation. The seeds are broadcast in the month of *Jaishtha*

(May-June) after ploughing the field for two rounds. Cowdung is used as manure and weeding out is done in the month of *Asadha* (June-July) when the plants grow to a height of about a foot. The crop is harvested in the month of *Bhadra* (August-September). The average yield per acre is about 3 maunds and the local price as ascertained during enquiry is Rs. 20 per maund.

27. In paddy cultivation, sowing operation starts only after *Laxmi Pachchota* is celebrated in the bright fortnight of *Baisakha* (April-May). In this, any two married women of the village, on a Wednesday, go to the forest with a new earthen pot containing 6 to 7 seers of paddy seeds. The seed is collected from among the villagers. They place the pot under an *Aanla* tree and then return. The succeeding (Thursday) morning, all the villagers—men, women and children go in a procession to fetch the pot which is kept beside the *Mandaghar*, the village common house, and *Dehuri*, the village priest worships *Bisri Thakurani*, the presiding deity through offerings and sacrifices. This usually includes two goats, whose cost is met by the villagers.

28. After the immolations are over, the paddy in the new pot is distributed among the cultivators. With this they start the sowing operation of their paddy crop. The meat of the sacrificed goats is similarly distributed among the villagers. The festival which marks the advent of their principal agricultural operations is one of enormous significance in their social life and this is also amply borne out from the massive participation it secures.

29. *Asadha Puja* or *Basuki Puja* yet another ceremony that is performed on a Wednesday in *Asadha* (June-July) precedes the weeding operations. The *Dehuri* fasts during the *puja*. The villagers gather the succeeding Thursday at the outskirts of the village and offer two goats as sacrifice to *Basukimata*, the goddess earth. In a community feast after the oblations, meat and rice are served to all present. Weeding operation in paddy fields is forbidden before this worship and one detected violating this custom is punished by the society.

30. Certain omens are usually associated with the harvest. Profuse date palm crops in any year presages the advent of a bumper crop. Similarly partial blossoms in mango trees is portentous of a failure of paddy crop and profuse *sal* blossoms bring forebodings of a famine.

31. Most of the villagers possessing land appear self-dependent in matters of agricultural operation though occasional instances of mutual help and co-operation is also met with. Borrowing agricultural implements, and help through manual labour in sowing or harvesting operations are a few of such instances reported during the survey.

32. But for a few items, the village produces more food than it can consume. The surplus under each column in the Table below is by and large adequate to meet the needs of non-producers. The picture emerging from the Table in any case is approximate as in the present day economy the village and its productive capacity cannot be judged in isolation.

Table 9
AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION AND CONSUMPTION
(In Maunds)

Name of product	Paddy	Ragi	Pulses	Vegetables	Oil-seeds	Fruits	Chillies	Other crops	Tobacco
Annual qty. produced	720.40	10.84	28.21	49.14	149.16	953.60	0.60	283.85	0.12
Total qty. consumed by the producers	644.40	10.84	11.93	46.06	30.07	743.60	0.57	225.76	0.12
Balance, if any	76.00	..	16.28	3.08	118.19	210.00	0.03	58.09	..

Livestock

34. Bullocks, cows, he and she-buffaloes, goats, sheep, pig and poultry form the livestock wealth of the village. Bullocks, cows and buffaloes serve as draught-animals; cows and she-buffaloes besides serving the same purpose, provide milk; goats, sheep, pigs and poultry provide meat and are sold in times of need.

35. The Table No. II in the Appendix shows the livestock population of the village classified tribewise and according to the purpose served by them.

36. Of 292 heads of cattle in the village, 151 are used as draught animals and only 22 are used for milching. This small number is an indicator of the low milk yield and consequent low consumption also. Of 121 households having agricultural land, only 73 constituting 60.3 per cent have draught animals. The rest procure draught animals on hire during agricultural operations by paying 2 to 4 maunds of paddy per year per pair, depending on the efficiency of the animals hired.

37. Twentytwo milch animals are possessed by 8 households; 5 of them are Bhuiyas and 3 Goudas. None of the other castes or tribes owned milch animals during survey. Except the two Teli and Kamar households, all the castes and tribes owned goats and sheep, but some taboo appeared to exist in the matter of rearing of pigs. Pigs are reared only by those who take pork. In this village, only the Kolhas eat pork and as such, of the 14 Kolha households in the village, 3 of them own pigs one in each household. Fowls are reared by majority of the households and no taboo seems to be attached to its rearing by any of the castes inhabiting the village. Dogs, cats and parrots are other pet animals domesticated in most of the households.

38. Cattle feed pose no problem for the villagers as there is abundant pasture round the forest lands. Two cowherds in the village collect cattle from the house-

holds and drive them back home in evening after the day's grazing. The draught and milch animals receive special attention from their owners. Straw, mahua flowers, husk and salt are purchased regularly as part of their food. The cattle wealth of the village are by and large healthy though the breed is indigenous.

39. Cowdung is collected with all care for use as manure though its preparation is far from scientific. All the cowdung collected is dumped in the open thus allowing a good part of its manurial value to be lost. Use of green manure is not practised in the village.

Forest resources

40. The village lying in the lap of a valley and surrounded on all sides by forest provide enough wealth for the villagers to exploit. Many villagers, in their leisure, go for hunting and game supplements their food to some extent. The streams flowing nearby provide scope for fishing. Fish forms a part of the diet of many families. The catch is supplemented by purchasing dried fish from the nearby markets.

41. The natural flora of the forest, as mentioned earlier, is varied and substantial and the villagers seem to make maximum use of it. Timber, edible fruits and seeds, leaves, flowers and roots are the main items. Sal and other varieties of timber and bamboo are used for construction of houses, for agricultural purposes and as fuel. Jack, mango, fig and *kendu* fruits are collected in plenty and mostly consumed, although at times, the surpuls is sold in the neighbouring markets. *Urkali Kanda* and *Pitalu Kanda* are the local names of two important tubers collected by the villagers round the year and are either consumed or sold when in surplus. *Kendu* leaves are collected for sale and this seems to be the main occupation of a few persons. The contractors who take the lease of the forest-range procure the *kendu* leaves against payment.

Mahua flowers collected from the forest are both consumed and sold. Cakes made out of these flowers are a delicacy greatly relished by the local folk. The flowers go to make the brewing of country liquor which is perhaps its most important use. Besides, the flowers serve as cattle feed mostly of the draught animals. Oil extracted out of *mahua* and *kusum* seeds provide the principal medium of cooking. This oil is also used for anointing on the body. Mushrooms, particularly the edible varieties sprouting immediately after rains, are collected from the forest to provide yet another item of food. Sal leaves are collected in plenty for stitching to form leaf cups and plates. These are mostly for local consumption and some for sale. Pure honey and *tussar* cocoons are also collected and sold in the market.

42. Only 18 families with 35 persons of all age-groups in the village were recorded during survey as those mainly engaged in collection of forest-produce though local enquiries revealed that every family in the village, except the Teli, made use of the forest wealth in some form or the other.

Economic activities

43. The classification of workers in the village under six occupation groups is based on their principal sources of livelihood. Except three persons—one teacher and two peons of the village school no one can be taken as devoting solely to any single occupation. A cultivator takes to agricultural labour as a seasonal employment. In his spare time, he also collects forest-produce both for his own consumption and for sale in the market. Similarly many of those who are engaged primarily in household industries or business also work as agricultural labourers or collect forest-produce; as the circumstances demand.

44. The village has no special craft or household industry to its credit. Of the six persons engaged in household industries,

one is a carpenter, four are weavers and one, a blacksmith. The blacksmith is considered as a village servant who prepares axes, sickles, plough-shares, knives, etc., for the agriculturists of the village. He also undertakes odd repairing jobs of these agricultural implements. Each household owning draught animals pays six seers of paddy annually per pair of bullocks to the blacksmith in lieu of the services rendered by him. The carpenter prepares agricultural implements for the villagers and helps them in the construction of their houses. The weavers weave coarse cloth and cater to the need of the villagers.

45. There are 9 traders, of whom two own groceries in the village. Of the rest, two are vegetable sellers and five cloth sellers, who sell their commodities in the village and in the neighbouring weekly markets. They also go about peddling their commodities in the neighbouring villages.

46. There is only a single washerman in the village who is also considered as a village servant. He serves all castes except Panos and Kolhas. During death and birth rituals, he washes their polluted clothes and his service is deemed essential on marriage and festive occasions. Apart from payments from time to time in cash and kind, he is paid the quota of 6 seers of paddy by each household after the harvest. On occasions of funeral and birth, he gets 2 seers of rice and 25 paise for each wash.

47. Two cowherds who tend the cattle of occupation groups, there are in the village, maize per head of cattle per year. Besides, they collect from each household, whose cattle they tend, a handful of rice or *Jalli* everyday during the period they take the cattle for grazing.

48. Besides persons of the above occupation groups, there are in the village, two peons and a teacher of the village school. All of them depend mostly on their monthly salary. Both the peons supplement their needs by collecting occasionally some forest produce.

49. Many men and women in the village know the art of making baskets, winnowing fans and such other receptacles from bamboo. The Kolhas particularly well utilise their spare time in preparing these receptacles and in selling them in the market at Keonjhar.

50. The labour force of the village consisting of 192 cultivators and agricultural labourers, both males and females, make the village self-sufficient in a way that it does not look out for labour in the neighbouring villages. The wage rate is as follows: A labourer who works for half a day from early morning to noon is paid 31 paise besides one meal irrespective of sex, during the period of agricultural operations. A male labourer working in the development works at Suakati or around the village gets Re. 1 and a woman 75 paise per day. No food is given and the duration of labour extends for the whole day with an hour's recess intervening.

51. It may not be out of place to reiterate that the participation rate of females in

economic activities is decidedly higher. Against 102 female workers, there are only 90 male workers engaged in cultivation and similarly against 62 women classified as agricultural labourers, there are 41 men. In the matter of collection of forest-produce also, there are 18 female workers against 17 males. Besides, in all sorts of outdoor economic activities, men are assisted by women to supplement their income. Of course in other minor economic pursuits, though women participate, they do not exceed the men.

Occupational mobility

52. Occupational mobility is a rare phenomenon. Leaving apart only a few households who have now shifted to trades from agriculture, the villagers stick to their own traditional occupations. The Table below built up on the basis of a survey reflects the attitude in general of the villagers to change in occupation even in the coming up generation.

Table 10

ATTITUDE TO OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY

Present occupation	Number of persons interviewed	Number of persons who want their sons to be :			
		in the same occupation	in service	in business	in cultivation
1	2	3	4	5	6
Cultivation ..	57	53	1	1	..
Agricultural labour ..	40	..	..	1	39
Forest produce collection ..	18	..	..	..	13
Household industry ..	4	1	..	..	3
Trades ..	8	7	..	1	..
Other services ..	4	1	1	.	2

53. A glimpse of the above Table will show that while the attitude of those in cultivation is somewhat inert and static, the

agricultural labourers aspire for a change in rather a big way though they would like a change to an allied occupation, i.e.,

cultivation. The motivating factor seems to be the uncertainties inherent in their own occupation and a general desire for security and stability in the strife for sustenance. The same analysis holds good for those engaged in collection of forest-produce. The traders seem satisfied in their own lot but the malleable attitude of those in household industry and other services is worthy of mention.

Trade and Commerce

54. During harvest petty traders visit the village to purchase grains. Those who have surplus grains or those who are in need of money part with their commodities. Often the grains are parted with towards repayment of loan already incurred during lean months either for sustenance of the family or for agricultural operations.

55. There is only one grocery in the village that is run by a Bhuiya. This along with other such shops in the surrounding villages of Suakati, Kosoda and Kanjipani besides those in Keonjhar meet the needs of the people in the village. The products of the blacksmith like knives, ploughshare, etc., and of the Kolhas like bamboo baskets, fishing traps, date-palm mats, etc., found in surplus after meeting the needs of local consumption are either sold in the villages around or in the Keonjhar market.

Income

56. The Table below presents the overall picture of the monthly income of the villagers arranged according to their occupations.

Table 11
OCCUPATIONS AND INCOME-GROUPS

Sl. No.	Occupation	Total Number of households	Number of households in the monthly income-groups of :				
			Rs. 0—25	Rs. 26—50	Rs. 51—75	Rs. 76—100	Rs. 101 and above
1	Cultivation ..	57	39	16	1	1	..
2	Agricultural labour ..	40	38	2	..	..	..
3	Collection of forest produce ..	8	16	2	..	..	..
4	Household industry ..	4	2	2	..	..	..
5	Trade .	8	4	3	1	..	..
6	Other services ..	4	1	3	..	..	..
	Total	131	100	28	2	1	..

57. A rough analysis of the Table shows that 100 of the total of 131 households, that is, 76.3 per cent in the village earn less than Rs. 25 a month. Majority of them obviously belong to the occupation groups of cultivation and agricultural labour. Whereas none earns more than Rs. 100 a month, only one in trade and two households in cultivation earn more than Rs. 50 a month.

58. The following picture emerges when the income-groups are arranged castewise. It will appear that the percentage of households in the income group of Rs. 26—50 is higher in case of Panos, Goudas and Telis than in Bhuiyas and Kolhas. In an overall picture of poverty, the 3 families earning more than Rs. 50 a month are equally distributed among the Bhuiya, Kolha and Gouda castes.

Table 12

CASTE AND INCOME-GROUPS

Sl. No.	Caste/Tribe	Total Number of households	Monthly Income-groups in Rs.				
			0—25	26—50	51—75	76—100	101 and above
1	Bhuiya	98	79	18	..	1	..
2	Kolha	14	11	2	1	..	..
3	Pano	11	6	5	..	..	..
4	Gouda	5	2	2	1	..	..
5	Teli	1	..	1	..	..	..
6	Dhoba	1	1	..	..	..	..
7	Kamar	1	1	..	..	..	..
	Total	131	100	28	2	1	..

Expenditure

59. Some data were collected on the expenditure pattern of the villagers. These have been arranged according to occupation and income groups in the Table No. III in the Appendix.

60. It was difficult to ascertain the accurate figures of expenditure on different items because the villagers keep no account of the same. Nonetheless an assessment has been attempted on the basis of the data to calculate the approximate consumption and other incidental expenses of the villagers. The expenditure is the average for the group. The whole expenditure has been divided into two parts, viz., expenditure on food and expenditure on others. 'Others' include money spent in acquiring clothes, expenditure on spices, salt, oil, bidi, tobacco, expenditure on children over their education, etc.

61. Income and size of the family are factors to determine the extent and pattern

of expenditure of a household. It is a fact though redundant in a way that with the increase in income, the average expenditure not only on food but on all other items proportionately increases. It is further a fact that the average expenditure of a Bhuiya household on 'other items of expenditure' is far in excess when compared to the expenditure on this score of other castes or tribes.

Indebtedness

62. Indebtedness as an economic phenomenon is all too rampant in the village. The purpose of borrowing is varied but the same is generally for non-productive purposes. None of the occupational groups are exempted from this evil of borrowing as all have taken loans at some time or the other.

63. Of the 131 families in the village, 40 continued to be in debt at the time survey. They are Bhuiyas, Kolhas, Panos and Teli as is shown in the Table below.

Table 13
CASTE AND INDEBTEDNESS

Sl. No.	Caste/Tribe	Total no. of families	No. of families indebted
1	Bhuiya ..	98	30
2	Kolha ..	14	1
3	Pano ..	11	8
4	Gouda ..	5	..
5	Kamar ..	1	..
6	Dhoba ..	1	..
7	Teli ..	1	1
Total		131	40

64. Majority of the Panos appear indebted and a large number of the Bhuiyas too. Among the least affected are the Kolhas, Goudas, Kamars and Dhobas at the time of survey.

65. Analysed according to the occupations they follow, the cultivators and traders appear to be the worst affected. Those in agricultural labour are refreshingly free from the evil whereas families engaged in household industry or collection of forest-produce are victims of the scourge. But the comparative low indebtedness of those in

agricultural labour is attributed to their lack of credit-worthiness contrasted to the cultivators and traders who get loan against their land and property. The following Table speaks for itself as to the extent of indebtedness among the different occupational groups.

Table 14
OCCUPATION AND INDEBTEDNESS

Sl. No.	Occupation	Total no. of families engaged	No. of families in debt
1	Cultivation ..	57	20
2	Agricultural labour ..	40	3
3	Collection of forest produce ..	18	8
4	Engaged in household industry ..	4	3
5	Trade ..	8	5
6	Other services ..	4	1
Total		131	40

66. The following Table presents indebtedness according to the income groups.

Table 15
INCOME-GROUP AND INDEBTEDNESS

Sl. No.	Income group in rupees	Total no. of families in the group	No. of families in debt	Percentage of Col. 3 to Col. 2	Average amount of debt in rupees
1	0-25 ..	100	27	27	15.04
2	26-50 ..	28	12	43	59.83
3	51-75 ..	2	1	50	68.00
4	76-100 ..	1	..	..	..
5	101 and above ..	..	..	..	..
Total ..		131	40		

67. It will appear that though in numerical strength, those in the lowest income group far outnumber those in other income groups added together, the extent and amount of indebtedness grows with the growth of income.

68. As mentioned earlier, the purposes for which loans are incurred vary greatly and from family to family but in most cases the same is for unproductive purposes as will appear from the following Table. The burden of the needs to sustain the family within meagre economic resources compels them to borrow. Besides this as first priority among purposes of borrowing, loan is also taken for cultivation and funerals and other purposes.

Table 16
PURPOSE OF BORROWING

Sl. No.	Reasons for taking loan	Number of families taken loan	Total amount Rs. P.
1	Purchase of land	1	100.00
2	Marriage	1	50.00
3	Funerals	3	128.00
4	To fulfil ordinary wants	26	495.00
5	Cultivation	8	450.00
6	For trade	1	8.00
	Tot 1	40	1,231.00

Sources of loan

69. Loans are taken either in cash or in kind. The sources for the loans in kind are private lenders of Gouda and Teli castes of the neighbouring villages, the grain store of Mahadev temple and the Graingola Credit Co-operative Society at Suakati. A few of the villagers themselves give surplus grains on credit to their co-villagers. As regards cash loans, the help is mostly mutual among the villagers themselves. In

former days, they used to get loans from the money-lenders of Keonjhar by pledging their land. The rate of interest, however, for both cash and kind loans varies with the time of the year and the source of credit. No uniform rate exists. The grain store of the temple and the Graingola Co-operative Society at Suakati charge 25 per cent while the usurious rate of interest on cash loans varies from 25 to 50 per cent when loan is taken either on pledging moveable property or on execution of promissory notes. But no interest is usually charged on the loan for which agricultural land is furnished as a security. No litigation in the village on delayed or deferred repayment of loans were reported although in some cases repayment had been delayed for considerable periods. In one case, a person had mortgaged his 50 cents of land in 1952 for 1 maund and 10 seers of rice which he took for consumption. The loan has neither been repaid nor the land redeemed since then. A few more cases were reported where the loanees have failed to repay their debts which were incurred for unproductive purposes. In many cases indebtedness takes the vicious circle when the fresh debts are incurred no sooner than the old debts are repaid particularly after harvest when the stock gets exhausted and the fresh debt far exceeds in amount the debt repaid. The practice of incurring debts with the lower income groups was reported to have grown to be menacingly a regular feature as families of these groups find it hard to contain themselves within their income limits.

Factors influencing the village economy

70. Discussion with the informations revealed that some change was noticeable in the economy of the village during the last few years. Many factors, some historical, seem to have contributed to this change.

71. As mentioned elsewhere, Daanla had been under the administrative control of Keonjhar state till the latter was merged-mutual among the villagers themselves. In

the tenants were to pay a total rent of Rs. 147-14 annas annually to the Ruler. The village Pradhan was responsible for its collection for which he received Rs. 4-10 annas towards his commission. He used to remit the entire amount to the State Treasury before 15th of every February. Over the Pradhan, who was responsible for the collection of tax from the village, there used to be a *Sardar* who was in charge of a group of villages known as '*Pirh*'. He used to get a commission of one anna per rupee of revenue collected from his *Pirh*. Daanla village comes under the *Charigaon Pirh*. The last settlement of revenue was done in 1937 and a *Patta* was issued by the ex-State Administration in favour of the village Pradhan.

72. The taxes previously were being collected under different heads. The rates varied between the Bhuiyas and the non-Bhuiyas as well the agriculturists and non-agriculturists as detailed in the following paragraphs.

73. An agriculturist Bhuiya had to pay Rs. 1-5-0 per plough as plough tax for the number of ploughs possessed by him irrespective of the land owned by him, while a non-Bhuiya agriculturist paid Rs. 2-5-0. Besides, both Bhuiya and non-Bhuiya agriculturists paid house tax, commutation cess and education cess at the rates of 11 annas, 3 annas and 2 annas respectively.

74. The non-agriculturist resident was required to pay house tax at the rate of 11 annas, if he was a Bhuiya, and Rs. 1-3-0, if he was non-Bhuiya. But no discrimination existed between Bhuiyas and others in payment of commutation cess and education cess which was Re. 0-1-6 and Re. 0-2-0 respectively.

75. In addition to the plough tax, an agriculturist, irrespective of caste, was required to give 5 *manos* (about 250 totals) of oil-seeds to the village Pradhan. The Pradhan used to collect the total demand of oil-seeds

which varied from year to year and after deducting 20 per cent of the collection towards his commission, delivered the rest as deposit in the store of the temple of Lord Jagannath at Keonjhar.

76. Till the merger in 1948, the Pradhan wielded considerable power and authority within the village. He used to settle newly reclaimed lands with tenants and ejected a tenant who ceased enjoying his favour.

77. It is reported that commutation cess was levied on each household in lieu of *bethi* and *beggari* (forced and bond forms of labour). But in practice, the villagers, besides payment of the commutation cess, were required to contribute in kind and also supply labour for certain festivals held at Keonjhar. They were also required to supply labour and fuel to the State officials and members of the Royal family during the latter's visit to the village. It was also the custom that the Pradhan of the village would supply two goats for Dasahara festival observed in the palace of the former Ruler.

78. With the merger of Keonjhar State with Orissa in 1948, certain improvements have been brought about in the system of tenancy and collection of revenue. A major relief to the tenants is the protection of their right in ownership of land though they continue to pay land revenue and other taxes at the old rates. The rate of contribution of oil-seeds for the Jagannath temple, fixed under the ex-State law has been reduced to 2 *manos* or 100 tolas per year per household. The powers of the Pradhan stand greatly incised, but he continues to wield considerable influence and authority. The Pradhan is no more required to supply two goats to the ex-Ruler during Dasahara. Instead, the villagers contribute for purchase of a goat to be sacrificed to goddess 'Daanla' during Dasahara every year. The villagers supply one wooden pole and some ropes for the cart of Lord Jagannath and four persons are deputed from the village every year to work as labourers for the construction of the Chariot. They do this gratis. They are further required to provide free labour for

the *Aghira Purnima*. The supply of materials and free labour as stated above are in accordance with the ex-State laws.

79. Improvement of communication facilities to the village has, no doubt, contributed greatly towards the over-all development of the village. The surplus produce of the village now finds easy way to Keonjhar for disposal and brings better returns. A greater degree of contact with the outside world brings with it a general change in outlook and an urge for better living. But for the rainy season, when the road is closed, the villagers have access to the district headquarters all the year round.

80. The recent opening of the National Extension Service Block temporarily located at Suakati, and of the Graingolla Co-operative Society has contributed in some degree to the prosperity of the village.

81. A village level worker, an employee of the National Extension Service Block pays regular visits to the village and attempts to assess the felt needs of the villagers. The data presented below in the form of a Table highlights increasing over-all awareness of the people in development activities. Though many of them failed to explain the basic duties of the Village Level Worker, there seems to exist a general awareness that the Village Level Worker is a personality to reckon with in the community development.

Table 17

CASTE AND AWARENESS OF THE FUNCTIONS OF THE V. L. W.

Caste or tribe	Total Number of households	Number of households aware of the functions of the V.L.W.
Bhuiya	98	52
Kolha	14	1
Pano	11	11
Gouda	5	2
Teli	1	1
Kamar	1	1
Dhoba	1	1

82. A number of households have, meanwhile, availed of the facilities offered by the National Extension Service Block and more are on their way. Of the 131 families, 124 have participated in development activities by contributing labour, cash or material. 30 families have availed of the scheme of laying out demonstration plots for agricultural extension. Japanese type of cultivation is being practised by two families with supervision and guidance from the Block authorities. One family sought help from the Block in spraying pesticides in his fields. 25 families (19 Bhuiyas, 1 Kolha, 4 Panos and 1 Gouda) have received improved varieties of seeds from the Block for their lands.

83. The Graingolla Co-operative Society at Suakati was generally reported to be working satisfactorily. It caters to the needs of the surrounding villages including Daanla. 41 persons in the village under survey have enrolled themselves as members of the society. Of this, 22 are Bhuiyas, 3 Kolhas, 12 Panos, 2 Goudas and one each, Kamar and Dhoba. The society established in 1957 has 580 members on its roll. The fees for membership is 5 seers of paddy and Rs. 1.25 paise per member. The Co-operative Society is trying to provide its members with credit facilities in form of cash and grains. Cash loan is advanced for purchase of bullocks or improvement of land, and loan in kind is given in form of seeds and fertilizers. The total assets of the society was Rs. 7,705.37 paise according to the audit report of 1961 and it earned a profit of Rs. 52.97 paise Rs. 3,628.00.

84. Data with regard to savings of the villagers during the last ten years either in form of property and cash or investment in any other form were collected. 19 families in the village had acquired property, four families had saved money in cash and one family had invested money in the business. The total amount involved works out to Rs. 3,628.00.

CHAPTER IV

SOCIAL AND CULTURAL LIFE

Social customs

The general attitude of the villagers to the traditional rules of social and cultural life is one of great rigidity and very seldom one is found contravening the established customs and manners. The fear of punishment by the society in case of violation of traditionally established norms acts of course as a great deterrent. To cite some instances, in the matter of marriage the collected statistics show that not a single case of intercaste marriage took place in the village in living memory. To an enquiry whether intercaste marriage is feasible,

all but 5 Bhuiyas replied in the negative. These 5 Bhuiyas are literate and seemed sophisticated. According to them, marriage with the Goudas will not amount to an infringement of the traditional customs.

Marital status

2. In the village, all the people of the marriageable age, except 4 males and 1 female, are married. Not a single person in the age-group 0—14 years is found married. The Table presents a detailed picture of the marital status of the villagers classified according to their age-groups.

Table 18

AGE-GROUPS AND MARITAL STATUS

Age-group	Total population			Never married			Married			Widowed			Divorced or Separated		
	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F
0—14	260	119	141	260	119	141	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
15—24	95	45	50	42	25	17	52	20	32	1	..	1	..	..	..
25—59	212	99	113	5	4	1	162	86	76	43	9	34	2	..	2
60 and over	21	7	14				8	5	3	13	2	11	..	..	..
Total	588	270	318	307	48	159	222	111	111	57	11	46	2	..	2

3. The data indicate that child marriage is not practised by any caste in the village, although child marriage among the Bhuiyas is reported to have been prevalent a couple of decades ago. In the age-group of 15 to 24 years, many males and a good number of females are returned as unmarried. Of the 45 males and 50 females in this age-group, only 20 males and 32 females are married. This supports the view of the informants that the marriageable age of the girls is

above 18 and that of the boys, above 22. The maximum number of married persons are in the 25 to 59 age-group. Of the 222 married persons, 162 (72.9 per cent) come under this age-group and of this, 53.1 per cent are males and 46.9 per cent females. All the persons in the age-group of 60 years and above are married but most of them are widowed.

4. There is one female in the 15—24 years age-group who is widowed. The largest

number of widowed persons are in 25—59 years age-group. Of the total number of 57 widowed persons in the village, 43 come within this group and of this 9 are males and 34, females

Age and Sex

5. The Table below shows the population of the village by sex and age-groups.

Table 19

POPULATION BY SEX AND AGE-GROUPS

Persons	Males	Females	0—14			15—24			25—59			60 and over		
			P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F
582	270	318	260	119	41	95	45	50	212	99	113	21	7	14

6. Children in the age-group of 0—14 form the single major bulk of the population (44.2 per cent) in the village; next comes persons in the age-group of 25—59 who constitute 36 per cent, those in the age-group of 15—24 make 16.2 per cent and those under the 60 years and above age-group make only 3.6 per cent.

7. The sex-ratio in the village is 1,178 females to every 1,000 males. The ratio appears pretty high when compared to that of the State and the district. The figures respectively are 1,001 females to every 1,000 males in the State and 982 females to 1,000 males in the district of Keonjhar. Another significant feature is that in all age-groups and in all castes, women far outnumber men.

Size and composition of households

8. There are 131 households with the same number of houses in the village. It will

appear from the lay-out map of the village that the houses belonging to the communities lie in separate clusters. The Bhuiyas live in five groups. Except for one group in whose habitation a Gouda has been allowed, members of no other community live along with the Bhuiyas. The Kolhas inhabit three groups of houses and the Panos live in a group of houses away from others. Two Goudas, one Kamar and one Dhoba live in a group of houses separate from others but the houses are located wide apart from one another. Two Goudas live in yet another group. It has been mentioned earlier that the houses lying in clusters are without any scheme of arrangement. The arrangement by and large reflects the social distance among various communities of the village.

9. The Table below gives the composition of the households in the village.

Table 20

COMPOSITION OF HOUSEHOLDS

Total No. of H. H.	Single member			2—3 members			4—6 members			7—9 members			10 members & above		
	No. of H. H.	M	F	No. of H. H.	M	F	No. of H. H.	M	F	No. of H. H.	M	F	No. of H. H.	M	F
131	5	3	2	37	46	58	73	160	196	15	57	56	1	4	6

10. Out of the 5 single-member households, 4 (2 males and 2 females) are Bhuiyas. One of the males, aged 32 years is still unmarried and yet another, 30 years old, is a widower for 3 years. The two females, 50 and 55 years old, are widows and are without any male issues. Another one-member household is of a Teli who is a newcomer to the village as a school teacher. The 2 to 3 member households include 30 Bhuiyas, 1 Kolha, 4 Panos and 2 Goudas ; 4 to 6 member group of house-

holds have 54 Bhuiyas, 11 Kolhas, 6 Panos, 1 Gouda and 1 Dhoba. There are 15 households with 7 to 9 members out of which 9 households are of Bhuiyas, 2 of Kolhas, 1 of a Pano, 2 of Goudas and 1 of a Kamar. The single household with 10 members belongs to a Bhuiya. The average size of a household is 4.5 members. The Table below gives an idea of the caste/tribewise distribution of households according to the number of members.

Table 21

DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSEHOLDS, CASTE/TRIBEWISE

Caste/Tribe	Total households	Single member households	2-3 members	4-6 members	7-9 members	10 and above
Bhuiya	98	4	30	54	9	1
Kolha	14	..	1	11	2	..
Pano	11	..	4	6	1	..
Gouda	5	..	..	1	2	..
Tallg	1	1	..	..	..	..
Kamar	1	..	..	..	1	..
Dhoba	1	..	..	1	..	..
Total	131	5	37	73	15	1

Literacy and Education

11. Daanla with a total population of 588 has 76 literates, of which 72 are males and 4 females. The percentage of literacy works out to about 13 per cent. This is woefully low when compared to the corresponding figure for the rural areas of the State which is 21.14 per cent and to that of the district which is 17.07 per cent. Of the 76 literates, 73 are literate without any educational quali-

fication, while 3 only have passed the primary or basic standard. The literates are preponderant in the age-group of 0-14 years. In the next higher age-group of 15-24 years, there are 14 literates, while in the 25-59 years age-group there are 23 such persons. In the 60 years and above age-group, not a single soul is returned as literate. The picture of literacy according to the sex, standard of education and age-group is presented below.

Table 22

AGE-GROUP AND LITERACY

Age-group	Total population			Illiterate			Literate without educational standard			Primary or Basic			Matric or above		
	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F
0-14	260	119	141	221	84	137	37	33	4	2	2	..	..	..	..
15-24	95	45	50	81	31	50	13	13	..	1	1	..	..	..	..
25-59	212	99	113	189	76	113	23	23	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
60 and above	21	7	14	21	7	14	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Total	588	270	318	512	198	314	73	69	4	3	3	..	..	..	..

12. Female education has yet to gain popularity in the village, though literacy and education have covered some ground among men. Of the total population of 588 in the village, only 4 females, that too of the 10—14 years age-group, are literate. Though most of them belong to the school-going age,

only 4 attend the school. None in the village has gone beyond the primary or junior basic level.

13. The castewise distribution of the literates is as follows :

Table 23

CASTE AND LITERACY

Sl. No.	Caste/Tribe	Total population			Literate			Literacy per cent of the total of the caste	
		P	M	F	P	M	F		
1	Bhuiya	..	431	200	231	56	52	4	13.0
2	Kolha	..	70	31	39	..	..	..	0
3	Pano	..	46	21	25	10	10	..	21.7
4	Gouda	..	27	12	15	7	7	..	26.0
5	Teli	..	1	1	..	1	1	..	100
6	Kamar	..	7	4	3	1	1	..	14.3
7	Dhoba	..	6	1	5	1	1	..	16.6
Total		..	588	270	318	76	72	4	

The only person of the Teli caste is the teacher of the school and for all practical purposes, he is an outsider. Of all other castes in the village, the Goudas record the highest percentage of literacy. Then come Panos, Bhuiyas, Dhoba and Kamar in descending order. Not a single Kolha is literate, which indirectly shows the extent of interest the Kolhas take in educating their children. Literacy among women is confined solely to the Bhuiya caste.

14. The village has a Basic School established in 1950. Not much attention seems to have been paid towards literacy and education of the villagers prior to merger of the Keonjhar State with Orissa. The villagers also were probably blissfully oblivious of the benefit of education. At present there are 50 students on the rolls of the school but the average daily attendance is approximately 11.

Structure of the family

15. The families in the village are classified according to their characteristics, as (i) simple, (ii) intermediate and (iii) joint. By simple family is meant a family with the husband and wife and unmarried children. An intermediate type of family consists of husband, wife, unmarried brothers and sisters and one of the parents. The joint family comprises the husband and wife, married sons and daughters or married brothers and sisters. As per the above classification there are 59 simple, 22 intermediate, 8 joint and 42 unclassified families in the village.

16. A new family comes into existence when a male member of the family marries. This is followed by partition of the family property. There are quite a few exceptions to this as instances of families living in

separate mess for a long period, yet holding their property jointly are frequently met with. Even after separation, cordial relationship and co-operation are usually maintained between families separated.

Inheritance

17. The information collected from the village shows that the statutory laws regarding adoption and inheritance of property have not been brought home to the villagers. They, without any exception, practise the age-old customary laws of adoption and inheritance, which is ratified by the village society.

18. According to the practice prevalent among the castes the sons inherit property while the daughters are not entitled to a share of it. All the sons get equal shares except the eldest who gets 1/16th share extra. Old parents in their old age are supposed to be looked after by them in rotation or one of them gets an extra share of the property to meet the cost of the maintenance. Though they do not get any share of the property, daughters are maintained by the father and are given on marriage. At the marriage, she is usually given some gifts.

19. In absence of a son, the property is inherited by the daughter or daughters. In absence of both, the wife can acquire life-interest in the property provided she does not marry again. Partition of the property is effected in presence of the village *Pradhan* and some important elderly people of the village.

20. The opinion survey regarding inheritance of property revealed the following facts :

- (i) None of the villagers is aware of the fact that there is a statutory provision for inheritance of property by daughters along with sons.

- (ii) All the members of different communities are of the view that the sons alone are entitled to inherit property.

- (iii) None is agreed to accept the proposition that daughters also should inherit equally with the sons.

- (iv) All are of the view that daughters should inherit property only in absence of sons.

- (v) All agree that a large share of the property should be given to the eldest son.

- (vi) All the villagers agree that the wife should only acquire life-interest in the property when there is no issue, provided she does not marry again.

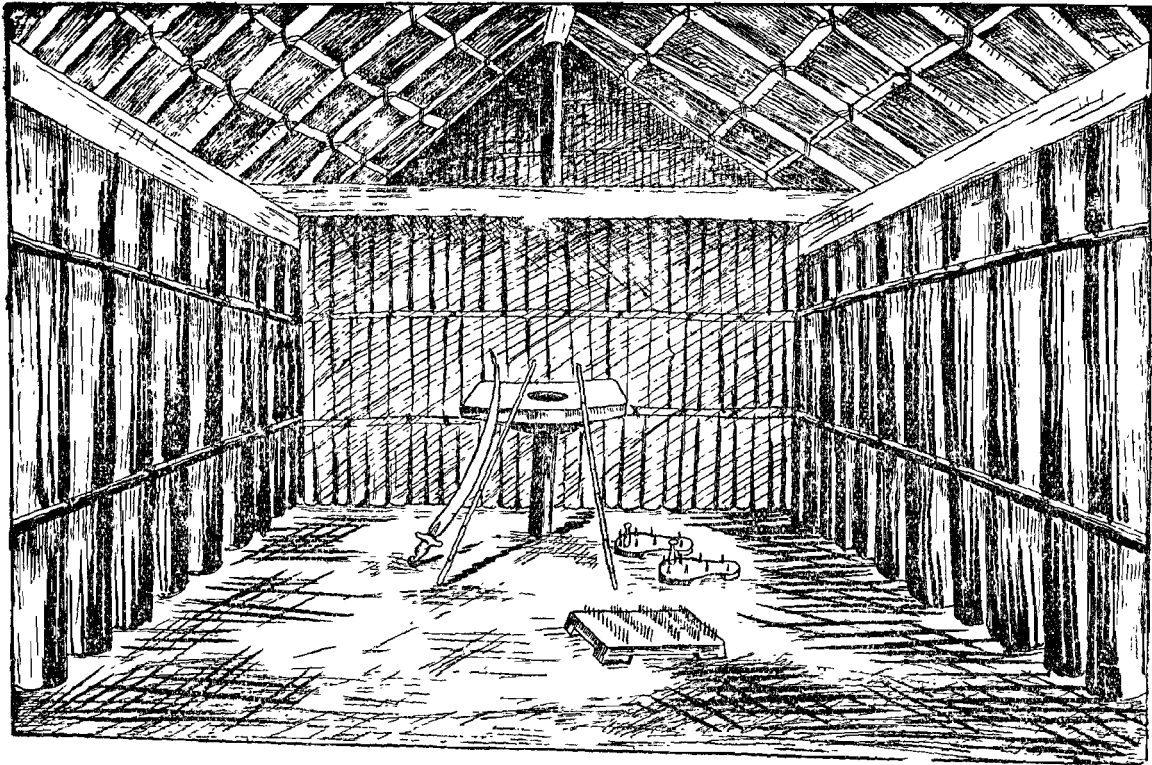
Religion

21. There are three common places of worship in the village, two of them being revered by all the communities of the village and one by the Panos only.

22. The village temple just beside the common house (Manda Ghar) and a well is the most important of common places of worship. It is a thatched hut of 10' x 15' size right at the centre of the main habitation and lies in between the Bhuiya hamlets.

23. The presiding deity of the shrine is goddess *Bisri* who is represented by a wooden pole fixed on the floor at one corner of which is fixed horizontally a rectangular wooden plank. On the floor and against the wooden pole are kept a sword and a couple of cane sticks. In front of the pole are kept a pair of wooden slippers called *kathau* and a low wooden stool both with pointed iron nails embedded on them.

24. The goddess *Bisri* is worshipped every year in the month of *Margasira* for the general welfare of the villagers. It is performed on a Thursday in the bright fortnight.



BISRI THAKURANI

25. Before the festival, a terracotta idol of the deity is presented by a potter from Kumbhargaoon, a neighbouring village, which is installed over the wooden plank. For eight days from the date of installation, the goddess is propitiated with offering of rice, clarified butter, molasses, plantains, etc. On the last day, goats and fowls are sacrificed before the deity. Later in the day, the villagers carry the idol in a procession and immerse it in the nearby stream. *Dehuri*, the Bhuiya priest, gets possessed by the deity, wears the wooden slippers with nails and sits on the stool with pointed nails projecting on it, holding the cane sticks. It is believed that the priest is not hurt by the pointed nails as the man is in a trance and he is then the embodiment of the goddess. Members of all the communities in the village partake in the celebrations. The expenditure for the celebrations is met by contribution at the rate of 25 paise per household.

26. *Gram Devi* or the presiding goddess of the village, symbolized by a slab of stone, is located under a *Urkundi* tree at the southwest corner of the village. This goddess is worshipped once a year during the month of *Bhadrab*. A goat is sacrificed on this occasion. New grains are consumed only after propitiating this goddess. It is believed that this goddess protects the villagers and their cattle from wild animals and ensures good crop. The goddess also guards the village from external danger and safeguards the prosperity of the inhabitants. The *Dehuri* worships the deity on behalf of the inhabitants

27. *Matia Devta*, which literally means the Earth god, is worshipped exclusively by the members of the Pano caste. The two deities, one male and the other female, are represented by two stones under a jack tree situated in the Pano street. Both the



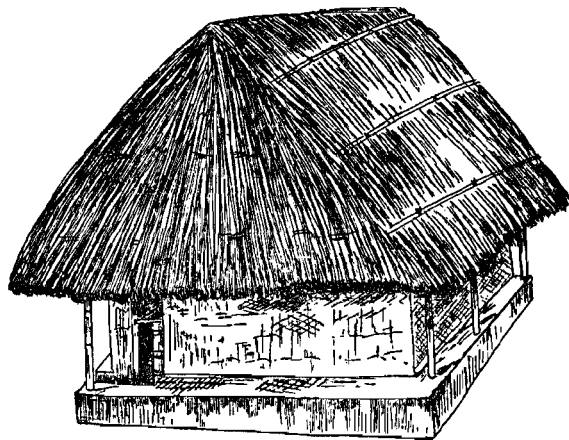
MATIA DEVTA

deities are worshipped on a Thursday in the month of *Magha*. A goat and 3 fowls are offered to these deities by the Panos for their welfare and prosperity.

28. Apart from the regular propitiation of the village and community deities and the ritualistic observances made in connection with agricultural operations, a number of festivals are celebrated by the villagers all the year round. A brief account of each of these festivals is given below.

29. *Raja Parba*—The festival is observed for 3 days from the day of *Sankranti* in the month of *Asadha*. During the period, the village folk, more especially the young girls, put on new clothes and spend their time in feasting and dancing in merriment. Ploughing land is forbidden for all these three days and people assemble in groups to partake in the group-dances and songs. The young boys and girls spend time by swinging and singing on swings fastened to the tree-branches.

30. *Sravan Purnami*—The festival is celebrated on the full-moon day in the month of *Sravan*. Ploughing is also forbidden on this day. The village cow-herd is felicitated and presents are offered to him at the village *Mandaghar*. For the Kolhas, it is a day of ancestor-worship. They feast and drink on this day as also members of other communities of the village.



VILLAGE CLUB HOUSE

31. *Nuakhia*—It is after this festival, the new grains are eaten. It is observed on a Thursday in the month of *Bhadrab*. In the morning, a handful of new paddy is collected from each household except that of the Kolhas. The rice prepared out of this grain is used for preparing porridge which is then offered to the *Gram Devti*. Goats are also sacrificed before this deity and a feast is held in the village for which each household contributes. On the following day (Friday) new paddy grains are again collected from each household except from the Kolhas and the same is kept at the *Mandaghar*. This paddy is distributed to the villagers with pieces of gourds. The sanctified paddy is pound and mixed with the rice to be cooked for the day.

32. The Kolhas do not partake in this common festival but they celebrate it in a different manner. They, on this day, cook new rice in a new pot, prepare fowl curry,

brew rice beer and offer it all to their *Dharam Bonga* or Sun god on one leaf and to their ancestors on another. This is done by men alone.

33. *Bodam*—*Bodam* is celebrated by all communities before eating new fruits of the season. On a Thursday in the bright fortnight of *Pousha*, some new fruits and flowers are collected. The *Dehuri* prepares porridge in a new pot and offers the same along with curd, milk, new fruits and flowers to the goddess of the village. All the villagers take part in the festival, but 8 to 10 persons, beside the *Dehuri*, fast for the whole day. Every household contributes for the festival.

34. *Karama Puja*—In this village, *Karama* festival is celebrated by the *Bhuiyas* and *Panos* separately. *Kolhas* and *Goudas* do not join them. The festival commences on a Thursday in the month of *Margasira*, and is celebrated for eight days. The festival culminates with offerings to the presiding deity, while the preceding seven days are spent in preparation.

35. On the first day, two unmarried young boys collect new pulses like green gram, black gram, mustard, gingelly, horse gram, etc., almost a handful from each household and keep the collected pulses on the bank of the stream in a bamboo basket. These two young men cook their food themselves and eat it untouched by others till the end of the festival. Every day they sprinkle water on these pulses after the bath in the stream. On the eighth day, they plant two branches of *Karama* tree in front of the *Mandaghar*. The grains by now germinated are brought and placed beside the branches of the *Karama* tree. The youngsters of the village then dance around the *Karama* twigs. Next day two fowls are sacrificed here and both the baskets containing grains along with the branches are carried in a procession to the nearby *Chemunda Nala* and are immersed there.

36. *Magha Parba*—Also called as *Diga-puja*, it is observed in the village on the Thursday after *Makar-Sankranti* in the month of *Magha*. The villagers collect 7 logs of *sal* wood and some bundles of hay on the southern corner of the village and set fire to it early in the morning before sunrise. The *Dehuri* of the village performs puja on the spot with a handful of rice, a cock, one egg, jaggery, milk, ghee and a fowl. He puts all these items on the logs of wood and sets fire to it all. The assembled villagers, mostly drunk, sing and dance around the bonfire. Apart from the villagers, who assemble here, their relatives from far and near are at times invited to join the festival.

Beliefs and practices

37. Like any other village community, the villagers of *Daanla* believe in spirits, magics and good and bad omens. Before undertaking a journey for finalising a marriage negotiation or while setting out on any other auspicious occasion, such as laying the foundation of a house, the villagers find out the auspicious day and time for the same. The small hours of the night when cocks begin to crow, are considered the most auspicious time for starting out on a journey. The sight of a fox on the right side on the way, a potfull of water, a tiger, a corpse, washerman carrying washed clothes and a peacock are considered auspicious. A journey is usually undertaken on a Monday, Thursday or a Friday of the week as these days are believed to be auspicious.

38. A cock crowing at midnight is killed at once and is thrown out as the same is deemed as a very bad omen for the household. Almost for the same reasons, a goat climbing on to the roof of a house is killed.

39. They believe in the existence of malevolent and benevolent spirits. The malevolent spirits are supposed to be the causes of death and disease, and as such are

appeased by offering of fowls and goats. If a person is supposed to be possessed by some evil spirit, *Raulia*, the exoriest is called to expel it from the body. The *Raulia* of this village is believed to be an expert in the job and is invited both by the villagers and outsiders.

40. The *modus operandi* of the *Raulia* in expelling spirits is interesting. He drops grains of rice into a pot-full of water to test the presence of a spirit. If the grains float on the water, the presumption is in favour of the presence of a spirit and necessary appeasements are done to drive it away. The *Raulia* once again drops grains of rice into the water all the while enquiring if the spirit would choose a flower, jaggery or fruit. If the floating of the rice and the uttering of the *mantra* synchronises, the same is adopted. Now a leaf cup is taken and a flower, jaggery or some fruit, is the choice of the spirit is placed in it with a little vermilion smeared on to it. The leaf cup is then touched to the body of the possessed and is left at the outskirts of the village. The *Raulia* charges Rs. 2 to Rs. 4, depending on the nature of the spirit, apart from a new cloth that he receives for his services.

Leisure and Recreation

41. The festivals and other social functions provide the only basic source of enjoying recreation. During these occasions, the drab daily routine of work is done away with and both men and women merge themselves into the mirth and gaiety of these festivals. Dances and songs form the chief items of enjoyment. The most remarkable feature of these occasions is the overwhelming extent of community participation. The songs and dances are enjoyed with a dose of spontaneity and is taken to whenever they desire. Of late, an aversion for group dance of boys and girls is evinced particularly among the Bhuiyas who look down upon the institution as indecent.

42. Hunting and fishing provide yet another opportunity for recreation. The

Bhuiyas and the Kolhas particularly are interested in hunting. Organised hunting expeditions are arranged in the months of February and March, and games bagged supplement their otherwise dull menu.

Village organization

43. The *Pradhan* is the Officer stationed at the village level. He is appointed by a *Parwana* or order of appointment by the Ruler. The post is hereditary. His main duty is to collect the tax and cess and credit the same into the State Treasury. A *Sirdar* is in charge of a *Pirh* (a group of villages) to supervise the collection work under him. He was liable to the State authorities for any shortfall in collection and before merger, he was making good the short-fall himself. The *Sirdar* is also responsible for the timely remittance of the collection in the treasury by the *Pradhans*. The *Pradhan* and the *Sirdar* used to receive commission for their collection, and the *Sirdar* in addition received Rs.60 per year as his remuneration. The *Pradhan* was responsible to the police for supply of crime intelligence and crime detection for maintenance of law and order in the village.

Caste Panchayats

44. The larger communities of the village have their own caste assemblies, and that of the Bhuiyas is deemed as the most powerful. The caste assemblies decide all social and religious issues pertaining to the community and wield considerable control and authority on its members by inflicting punishments. The inter-community problems are dealt with by the Village Committee.

45. The office bearers of the Bhuiva caste assembly are called *Jati Behera*. They are elected by members of the caste. The posts are honorary and are held by persons for a long time unless one resigns or is removed from the post due to despotism or misconduct. The village *Pradhan*, *Sirdar* and some

elderly members of the Bhuiya caste constitute the *Panchayat* or caste assembly of Bhuiyas in Daanla.

46. A few instances illustrating the extent of authority exercised by the Caste Panchayat of Bhuiyas is narrated below.

About a year ago (in 1962) while one Deba Puhana was dragging a log of wood with the help of a pair of bullocks, one of them died on the way. Causing the death of a bullock is considered as a great sin and the Caste Pañchayat decided to outcast the culprit. The verdict was so severe and so rigorous that he was neither allowed entry into his own house nor to have social intercourse with the members of his own family. Thus segregated utterly from his near and dear ones, he lived in a hut outside the village for about 4 months. After the stipulated period as prescribed by the caste assembly a day was fixed for the purification of his sin. The *Jati Behera* including the *Pradhan* and *Sirdar* of the village assembled at the banks of *Chemunda Nala*. Some elderly Bhuiyas of Suakati, Kosoda and Khajurimundi were also invited on the occasion. Beneath the *Jari* tree, the head of Deba Puhana was shaved by the village barber, while drops of water allowed to trickle down on his head through the small orifice of a pot kept hanging from a tree. The ceremonial shaving was repeated seven times and every time he had to take bath in the stream. The washerman of the village washed the sinner's clothes the same day. A *homa* was performed by the village-priest and for the same, he was given Rs. 10 and a new cloth costing about Rs. 4. The village barber was paid Rs. 10 and a new cloth costing Rs. 3. The village washerman was paid 4 *manos* of rice, Rs. 5 in cash and an old cloth for the services rendered by him. The *Jati Behera* collected some water himself with which all castemen present washed their feet. In a brass bowl, he prepared a mixture of the urine of a bullock, ghee, butter, milk, honey, jaggery, copper coins, cowdung and *Duba* (dog grass) which

was sprinkled over the castemen with the help of *Bael* leaves. A bit of this was given to the sinner who drank it seven times. Clad with new clothes, he then fed four boys and the cattle of the village with seven *manos* of rice cooked by him. After all this, the sinner was accepted as thoroughly purified. Later in the day, Deba Puhana entertained the invitees to a feast in which he spent a maund of rice and a goat. He thus incurred an expenditure of Rs. 80 on his purification.

47. Another case in point was when Dhaniya Naik returned from Keonjhar hospital after treatment for fever. It was alleged against him that in the hospital he had accepted food cooked by persons of different castes. Dhaniya Naik was readmitted into the caste-fold after a purification ceremony. In the feast, a few persons mostly members of the Caste Panchayat were invited. Dhaniya Naik had to spend for 10 *manos* of rice and a fowl utilised in the feast.

48. Another case was reported when a Bhuiya was outcast because of having been convicted and sentenced to imprisonment in a criminal case. He was readmitted into the caste after completing the required purification ceremonies.

49. A thaw seems to have set in in the way of increased tolerance and liberalization in outlook. The following instances which occurred prior to the survey will bear it out:

A villager who was convicted in a criminal case, on his release and return to the village was not outcasted. A pregnant woman of the village died very recently but the husband was readmitted into the caste-fold within a few days of his ex-communication. This was against the norms of traditional law. A villager who developed maggots in his wound was readmitted into the caste-fold as soon as the wound healed up. There was no waiting for him for the conventional period of 6 months.

Other numerically large communities like Kolhas and Panos have their own caste assemblies.

Grama Committee

50. Besides the caste assemblies of each of the castes in the village whose jurisdiction extends to the affairs of their respective caste, the village has a non-statutory Grama Committee devised to look after the affairs of the village as a whole. Its members are drawn from all the castes of the village. The *Pradhan*, the *Sirdar*, the member of the statutory Grama Panchayat, and all the elderly men of the village are generally invited to attend the deliberations of the committee. The most important objects of the 'Grama Committee' is to maintain order and enforce standard codes of social conduct in the village. The Committee is also responsible for the regulation of the village festivals. It decides petty disputes relating to property and cattle trespass, domestic quarrels, etc. Deliberations of the Committee take place in the *Manda ghar*, the community hall, which is located at the centre of the village. Visiting officials to the village are also entertained in this hall which is maintained and retained by the Village Committee. Every household contributes thatching grass and manual labour for the annual repair of the *ghar*.

The Grama Panchayat

51. Beside such informal organization as the Caste Panchayats and Grama Committee, this village comes under the Grama Panchayat constituted under the Orissa Grama

Panchayat Act, 1948. The headquarters of this Grama Panchayat is at Suakati. It was formed in 1955 with 28 villages covering an area of about 65 square miles. There are 25 elected ward members in the Panchayat out of which 21 are Bhuiyas, 2 are Juangs and the remaining 2 are Goudas. Daanla is represented in the Grama Panchayat by a Bhuiya member of the village.

52. The income of the Panchayat is precious little and as such it is not in a position to take up development activities from out of its own resources. In 1961-62, the Panchayat received only Rs. 26 from the State Government towards the *Kendu* leaves grant. The Panchayat collected during the year cycle tax for 12 cycles, at the rate of Rs. 1.25 paise per cycle.

53. This Panchayat falls under the Banspal Panchayat Samiti, the headquarters of which is temporarily located at Suakati. The Panchayat Samiti which includes all the Grama Panchayats within the Block area was established in 1961. A Bhuiya of village Daanla has been elected as a member of the Panchayat Samiti.

54. Though the villagers do not have any comprehensive idea about the hierarchy, administrative control and functions of the statutory Panchayat, they are alive of its existence. Of all household-heads, who were interviewed, only 21 could say of at least one function of the Panchayat, viz., settlement of village disputes. This too, seemed to be in the analogy of and borrowed from the functionary of the Caste Panchayat.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

Here is a village away from the urban centres and far from the Block and Panchayat headquarters which lay insulated for ages by bad communication. Even today it is inaccessible for part of the year, though the state of communication has greatly improved bringing the village and its inhabitants in touch with the changing times and resulting in greater social and economic interdependence among the villages around and with the urban centres.

2. Daanla depends on Suakati in more ways than one. The Block headquarters at Suakati is the source of all developmental benefits. Those interested in the development programmes seek help from the Block. The Grama Panchayat headquarters is also located at Suakati. These institutions though recent are the pivots of developmental administration in the rural areas and its workers are required to maintain intimate and personal contact with the villagers. Besides these instances, Suakati provides marketing facilities for the people of Daanla, as a weekly market sits here. The Graingolla Co-operative Society is another institution which attracts the villagers.

3. The next place of importance is Keonjhar which provides, besides marketing facilities, a good hospital, courts and police station and over and above all, a place for reverence and rejoicing. In case of serious ailments, the villagers run to the hospital at Keonjhar. Other important villages in the neighbourhood of Daanla, of any importance for the socio-economic life are Kumbhargaoon, from where the earthen idol of Bisri made by the potter is brought for the village festival and Kosoda and Khajurimundi from where the caste people are invited to caste assemblies convened for readmission of persons into the caste-fold.

Inter-caste relationship

4. That amity and conspicuous lack of hostility characterise the inter-community relationship of the village is borne out from the facts of the survey. Under the *Jajmani* relationship, the village washerman, the village blacksmith and the village barber have to lend their services to all castes except those to whom their services are traditionally denied. Most of the communities are represented in the Village Committee constituted to regulate the social, religious and other issues of importance to the villagers. Though informal, this Committee holds great authority and its decisions are respected. Whenever there is a village festival, this Committee decides the details and strives to ensure its success. The village committee sits on arbitration in disputes relating to property. Its role in the life of the village therefore is of considerable importance.

5. Though each community has its own caste and clan deities, many festivals are celebrated in common by the villagers to propitiate their common deities. On such occasions, members of all the castes join with equal enthusiasm. The village priest of the Bhuiya caste presides over the ceremony and sees through the rituals.

6. Simultaneously also all the traditional rules and customs of each caste are observed rigidly by their respective caste members. Bhuiyas are held as securing the top position in the social hierarchy and as such they do not accept food from the Kolhas, the Panos, the Dhobas and the Kamars. The Goudas occupy the next important place in the social hierarchy followed by Teli, Kamar, Dhoba, Kolha and Pano. Thus Kolhas and Panos placed lowest are denied access to the common places of worship.

7. Dehuri the village priest is a Bhuiya and he propitiates the village deity on behalf of all the communities of the village. The barber, the washerman and the priest not only serve the villagers in their own way during all the rituals connected with the stages of life cycle like birth, marriage and death, they also have to play important roles in rituals relating to readmission of an outcast person.

8. In spite of low literacy, the villagers appear fairly well informed of the world around them. This is attributed largely to the communication facilities, opening of the school and the contact with such institutions like the Block, Panchayat, Grain Golla Co-operative Society, etc. The survey has revealed that most of the Heads of households know the Panchayat headquarters, Police Station, Tahsil and Taluk headquarters, District headquarters and the important rivers and mountains nearby.

9. The foregoing data as collected during survey and presented in the report also indicate signs of visible change in the outlook of the people both in matters of social interest and economic development. In the realm of social laws, relaxation in the enforcement of rules relating to ex-communication and reinstatement are perceptible. A greater awareness of their social status prevents them from encouraging adult boys and girls to sing or dance together.

10. New economic schemes in operation in the area under the auspices of the State Government are opening up new avenues for better living. More and more number of persons are looking forward to help, guidance and subsidy from the development agencies and it is only a more critical and probing enquiry that will reveal if their march to prosperity is on correct lines.

APPENDIX

TABLE I

Settlement history of households

Caste/Community	Total number of households	Number of households settled				
		Earlier than 5 generations	Between 5-4 generations	Between 3-2 generations	One generation ago	Present generation
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Bhuiya	98	..	3	63	2	10
Kolha	14	..	..	14	..	..
Pano	11	..	..	11	..	..
Gouda	5	..	..	3	..	2
Teli	1	..	..	..	..	..
Kamar	1	..	..	..	1	..
Dhoba	1	..	..	..	..	1

TABLE II

Livestock.

Caste/Tribe	Total Number of households	Number of bullocks, cows and buffaloes		Used as draught animals		Used for milching	
		Number of households	Number of animals	Number of households	Number of animals	Number of households	Number of animals
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
B huiya	98	71	229	57	122	5	13
Kolha	14	12	24	5	8	..	..
Pano	11	7	11	5	8	..	..
Gouda	5	4	25	4	11	3	9
Teli	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
Kamar	1	1	2	1	1	..	..
Dhoba	1	1	1	1	1	..	..
Total	131	96	292	73	151	8	22

Goats and sheep		Pigs		Fowls		Others	
Number of households	Number of animals	Number of households	Number of animals	Number of households	Number of animals	Number of households	Number of animals
(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)	(15)	(16)
32	85	..	..	65	122	..	..
6	9	3	3	11	15	..	..
4	2	..	..	9	14	..	..
1	3	..	..	1	1	..	..
..
..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..
1	1	..	..	1	2	..	..
41	100	3	3	88	155	..	..

TABLE IV

Range of Information

Caste/ Community	Total number of Households	Number of households of the Heads which know the name of :					Name of principal rivers of the district	Remarks
		Panchayat headquarters	Thana headquarters	Tahasil head- quarters Taluk head- quarters	District headquarters			
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	
Bhuiya ..	98	97	97	97	97	97		
Kolha .	14	14	14	14	14	14		
Pano ..	11	10	10	10	10	10		
Gouda ..	5	5	5	5	5	5		
Teli ..	1	1	1	1	1	1		
Kamar ...	1	1	1	1	1	1		
Dhoba ..	1	1	1	1	1	1		

A POST-SCRIPT

Of the many schemes in operation in the district of Keonjhar aiming at the economic and educational progress of the tribals, the one noteworthy is the Purchase, Sale and Fair Price Shop Scheme of the Tribal and Rural Welfare Department of the State Government. The object of the scheme is the welfare of the tribals in general and ameliorating their economic standard through weaning them away from the hands of the exploiters in particular. In Daanla, the village under survey, the scheme was introduced much after the survey operations. As the scheme is said to be one very vital to the interest of the tribals in the area, it was deemed desirable to include a short note on the general aspects of the scheme and its overall effect on the villagers. In absence of any objective prevaluation, this post-script drew upon facts included in a note from the Administrative Officer in charge of the scheme.

The data relating to the scheme with particular reference to the village under survey is so inadequate that the general aspects of the scheme have received in this note a more elaborate deal than they deserve. This also in a way proved inescapable in appreciation of the overall objectives of the scheme which, in the event of its success, may cover new grounds and contribute substantially to the general prosperity of the tribals in the area. Whatever be the size and bulk of the present monograph, the claim of the scheme to the well-being of the people in the area is apparently so convincing that a report on the survey of the village would have been perhaps incomplete but for a short and brief glimpse of the operation of the scheme.

The scheme was initially taken up in 1963-64 through the Regional Marketing Co-operative Society, Keonjhar and its 9 affiliated Grain Gola Co-operative Societies. The area of operation was limited to 6 Grama Panchayats of Banspal, Telkoi Grama Panchayat of Telkoi, and Janghira and Boxibarigaon Grama Panchayats of Harichandapur Tribal Development Blocks. The scheme was reported to be limping when it was taken over by the Collector of the district who under his direct control and through an Administrative Officer directly in charge of the scheme lent his guidance for a speedier achievement of the objectives of the scheme.

The scheme aims at procurement of oil-seeds from the tribals at a fair price and supply of consumer goods to them at fair price too in Government shops conveniently dispersed in the area. The basic objective was to free the tribals from the clutches of private traders who lent them money during the lean months at usurious rates of interest and on condition of sale of oil-seeds after harvest at very cheap rates. The scheme envisaged advancement of interest-free loan to the tribals in their needy hours with a view to ending this exploitation. There was accent in the scheme on the programme of agricultural development in the area. The undulating hilly and jungle terrains yield little paddy; mainly mustard, niger, til, maize and different pulses are grown. Improved varieties of mustard and niger seeds were loaned out to the tribals for higher production of oil-seeds.

Administrative structure

An Administrative Officer is exclusively in charge of the scheme who works under the

control and guidance of the Collector of the district. One Assistant District Welfare Officer and some ministerial staff assist the Administrative Officer. There are 11 Purchase, Sale and Fair Price Shop Scheme units dispersed in the region each in charge of one Rural Welfare Inspector. A salesman, weighman-cum-helper and a part-time night watchman have been posted to each fair price shop to work under the control of the Rural Welfare Inspector.

Operation and achievement

A central store is located at Keonjhar which serves the purpose of storage both for the commodities procured from the tribals through the fair price shops for sale in open market and for the commodities purchased from outside market for supply to the fair price shops for sale to the Adivasis. Besides, a building has been constructed at each unit to house the fair price shop and for storage of oil-seeds and other commodities.

An idea about the progress of the scheme can be obtained from the following figures relating to the procurement of oil-seeds from the Adivasis. The procurement relates to the period from December, 1966 to March, 1967.

Niger	...	2,997 quintals
Mustard	...	2,692 quintals
Biri	...	205 quintals

Maize	...	192 quintals
Til	...	107 quintals
Harada	...	29 quintals

The total cost of procurement of these commodities work out to about 8.5 lakh rupees. Oil-seeds procured under the scheme have been delivered to the Orissa Small Industries Corporation and Oil-men's Co-operative Societies from whom advances had been received earlier for the purpose.

Adivasis sell their oil-seeds in exchange of paddy and rice. Considerable quantities of these cereals had, therefore, to be procured prior to harvesting of the oil-seeds for barter in the scheme area. It is a fact that the rate of barter is greatly convenient to the Adivasis compared to the corresponding rates of the private traders.

As a part of the Agricultural Development Programme it has been programmed to saturate the entire oil-seed area with B-85 mustard seeds during 1967 so as to increase the average yield per acre by at least 50 per cent. Fertilizer and subsidies in other forms are also being provided to the cultivators to help in better production. Efforts are being made for proper co-ordination and integration of the scheme with the Community Development programme in operation in the area.