

CHAPTER III

PEOPLE

35. Population

(i) The population of the district of Koraput according to the Census of 1961 is 1,561,051 of which 784,278 are male and 776,773 female. The district comprises five subdivisions and 38 police-stations and the subdivision and police-stationwise distribution of population has been furnished in Chapter I.

The following table indicates the distribution of male and female population in respect of each subdivision of the district :

Sl. No.	Subdivisions	Area in square miles	Population 1961 Census	Males	Females
1	2	3	4	5	6
1	Koraput ..	2,060.00	305,327	154,835	150,492
2	Nowrangpur ..	3,223.95	710,298	357,668	352,630
3	Malkangiri ..	2,288.00	141,955	71,041	70,914
4	Rayagada ..	1,278.00	192,135	95,686	96,449
5	Gunupur ..	1,649.00	211,336	105,048	106,288

(ii) Growth of population

The population of the area* comprising the district was 690,303 in the year 1891. In 1901, the population of the district came to 693,187 and in 1911 it increased to 833,328. During the decade 1901 to 1911 there was an increase in the population by 20.2 per cent. But in 1921 the population decreased to 805,583, i.e., by 3.3 per cent owing to the influenza epidemic of 1918-19 which affected the district severely. The next ten years, however, showed an increase as the population was recorded at 949,652 in 1931, which is an increase by 17.9 per cent. The growth in population was more marked in Jeypore tahsil

*There was some change in the extent of the district with the inclusion in 1962 of Kashipur tahsil. As population data for Kashipur tahsil prior to 1951 Census are not readily available the growth of population of the district is discussed without taking into account the inclusion of Kashipur tahsil.

and Nowrangpur and Malkangiri subdivisions due to extension of cultivation and return of emigrants from Rangoon as a result of anti-Indian riots in that city in 1930. During the decade 1931-41 the population increased to 1,127,862, a rise of 18·8 per cent. The district prospered during this decade due to opening of the Railway line through it from Raipur to Vizianagaram in 1932 and construction of roads from Kolab to Padwa and Kolab to Malkangiri in 1933-34 and from Koraput to Rayagada in 1938. In the Census of 1951 the population of the district rose to 1,269,534 which is an increase by 12·6 per cent. The increase is specially marked in Koraput and Nowrangpur subdivisions, while in Rayagada subdivision the increase was comparatively poor.

In Koraput subdivision the density of population per square mile increased by 21·1 per cent over the 1941 figure and in Nowrangpur subdivision the increase was 16·7 per cent. Rayagada subdivision recorded an increase of only 1·9 per cent in density as compared with 1941. Among the police-stations, Jeypore and Borigumma police-station areas were the most thickly populated, Jeypore having density of 320·4 per square mile in 1951 and Borigumma 319·97. Padwa police-station area in the Koraput subdivision showed appreciable increase from 213·36 per square mile in 1941 to 248·49 in 1951, primarily owing to the establishment of the Machkund Hydro-electric Scheme, which led to the influx of people from the plains to Machkund. On the other hand, Malkangiri subdivision had a density of only 47 persons per square mile. The whole district had a density of population of 129 persons per square mile according to 1951 Census.

The population of the district (excluding Kashipur) in 1961 came to 1,498,271. So these ten years recorded an increase in the population by 18 per cent. The whole district has a density of population of 151 per square mile according to 1961 Census as against 129 persons per square mile in 1951.

The growth of population of this district during the past four decades is far in excess of the average of the State of Orissa during the said period. This remarkable rise is partly due to the excess of births over deaths. But unfortunately figures are not available to make a proper estimate of the role that immigration played in the growth of population. Similarly data are also not available to estimate the natural increase in the population. However, variation in population during sixty years from 1901 has been given below in Appendix A.

(iii) Immigration and Emigration

After launching of the Dandakaranya Project, East Bengal refugees started coming to the district by batches. By February 1963, 6,507 families comprising 28,399 persons had arrived in the project area and out of them 5,504 families were moved to village sites.

Besides the Dandakaranya Project area, there are other settlements for the displaced persons from East Pakistan at Sunabeda, Tiruveli and Padwa. The number of families and persons in these three settlements in 1965 is as given below :

	Number of families	Number of persons
Sunabeda ..	962	4,159
Tiruveli ..	220	996
Padwa ..	296	1,205

The tribal people living on the borders of the district are in the habit of immigrating periodically. This feature is more prominent among the tribes bordering the Andhra Pradesh area. The material culture of these people is simple and their technology so primitive that immigration poses a very small problem for them.

Before 1952-53 labourers for the tea gardens in Assam were being sent from this district in large numbers. Availability of cheap labour in these Agency tracts was detected and recruitment of labour for Assam tea gardens was undertaken in 1923 for the first time. Since then recruitment was regularly carried on by the Tea District Labour Association with the co-operation of the District Collector and considerable number of labourers were annually despatched from the recruiting depot at Koraput. The annual average emigration during the period from 1936-37 to 1951-52 was 3,522. The year 1941-42 recorded the lowest figure, 908 and 1950-51 recorded the highest figure of 7,713. Because of slump in the tea markets, the recruitment of labour for the tea gardens in Assam has been stopped since 1952-53.

(iv) **Distribution of population between urban and rural areas**

There is no city in the district. According to 1961 Census there are seven towns, namely, Koraput, Machkund, Rayagada, Gunupur, Kotpad, Nowrangpur and Jeypore. Out of these seven towns, Rayagada, Machkund and Nowrangpur were reported for the first time as towns in the 1951 Census, whereas Koraput and Kotpad have been declared as towns in 1961 Census. The Koraput town has a population of 7,461, Machkund 2,754, Rayagada 14,537, Gunupur 10,180, Kotpad 6,368, Nowrangpur 10,380 and Jeypore 25,291 according to 1961 Census.

About 95.1 per cent of the total population live in villages and only 4.9 per cent constitutes the urban population of the district.

According to the Census of 1961, 3,599 villages of the district have less than 200 persons in each. There are 1,590 villages having population between 200 to 499 each, and 572 villages having population from 500 to 999 each. The rest of the rural population are found in 21 villages which have population of 2,000 to 4,999 in each.

(v) Drift towards towns and villages

Towns having population above five thousand are mostly inhabited by non-tribal people, mainly caste Hindus. The tribal people come temporarily to the towns in search of employment, mainly as day-labourers. Such movement is, however, confined to those tribes who have been exposed to the influence of civilisation for a pretty long period. A very small percentage of them choose to stay permanently in the towns mainly for two reasons. Firstly, in the course of taking casual employment some of them find scope for more stable employment and choose not to return to their uncertain economy. Secondly, while in the town some tribal people, specially women, find scope in immoral relationship. This so much estranges them from their social core that it does not become possible on their part to return to the fold of their society.

Among the tribals found in the towns the main bulk consists of Parojas, Gadabas and Khonds. It has been found in the 1951 Census that out of the total urban population of 54,658 of the district only 718 speak a tribal dialect and that too the Koya dialect. Koyas like the Bondas are among the most isolated and primitive tribes of the State with whom outside contact is very meagre. As such, they constitute the smallest percentage of urban tribal people and are in the habit of reporting themselves as 'Oriya' which in the urban environment appears to them not as a linguistic category but as a sort of status higher than that of the tribal.

Compared to the low rate of rural to urban movement, there is a very high rate of movement within the rural areas and a still higher rate of movement within the tribal areas.

In the remote areas of the district, the villages are still mere tribal settlements of perhaps not more than half a dozen houses with no pretensions to permanence. The tribes like Khonds or Koyas, after a few years of occupation, sometimes abandon the site and move elsewhere to make another clearing in the jungle which becomes their home for a short period. This periodic shifting of habitation should not be taken to mean that the hillmen are nomadic or that they have no aptitude for cultivation. They not only practise cultivation, both shifting and stable, but also have elaborate codes of conduct regarding possession and inheritance of landed property. Evidence for this can be drawn from the ethnographic data concerning them. Cases of money-lenders fraudulently taking away the landed property of a tribal and the latter moving from court to court as a defendant are very common. The mass agitation launched in 1951-52 by the Savaras of Gunupur

subdivision to get back their lands from the non-tribal is a pointer to their hunger for land. It is only the tribes such as Dongria Khonds and Bondas who live on hilltops, abandon their old settlements in search of new ones. But they also locate their new settlements not beyond their area of habitation and as such, cannot be strictly called nomadic. Evidences of abandonment of villages by tribals of the plains and hill-sides are sometimes found. There are a number of reasons for this. When the village site is infested by wild animals or by endemic diseases, when the crop fails for years together or when other calamities befall the villagers guided by their religious heads and sorcerers abandon their old site and go in search of a new one. The settlement they choose is sometimes a deserted village and sometimes an altogether new place. Now due to pressure of population it is not so easy to hit upon a new and suitable settlement. For this reason and due to legislation protecting tribal property and measures taken to provide the tribals with land and credit, such movements are decreasing except in isolated areas.

(vi) Displaced persons

According to 1951 Census, there were only 132 displaced persons from East Bengal in the district out of which 74 were males and 58 females. With the inauguration of the Dandakaranya Project, their number has considerably increased. An account of the progress of reclamation and rehabilitation work in Dandakaranya area is given in Supplement I.

36. Languages*

(i) In the 1961 Census the total number of languages spoken in the district has been enumerated as 28. Out of these eleven are Modern Indian Languages. In order of numerical strength these are (1) Oriya, (2) Telugu, (3) Hindi, (4) Bengali, (5) Urdu, (6) Tamil, (7) Gujrati, (8) Punjabi, (9) Kanada, (10) Malayalam, and (11) Marathi. English and Nepali are the two non-Indian languages spoken in the district. Laria is the local dialect of the Chhatisgarh area of Madhya Pradesh. The rest fourteen are tribal languages. Whether the term 'Language' can be applied to the speaking media of expression of the tribes is a controversial point. One view is that the tribal people originally belonged to one or other major linguistic groups and have developed peculiar dialects through a long process of isolated evolution. The other view is that the tribes being the original inhabitants of the land the tongue which they speak must have independently originated and developed in their own society. In this connection two facts may be observed. Firstly, on the basis of their structure, the tribal languages can be broadly divided into two groups, the Dravidian group to which belong the languages of the Khonds and the Gonds, and the Austric in which the languages of the Gadabas and Savaras can be included.

* Census figures under this head exclude those of Kashipur tahsil

The second point is that if people speaking a major language can understand without any special effort another minor language which structurally belongs to its group and such understanding is reciprocated by the speakers of the minor language, then the minor language may be regarded as a dialect of the major. But this should be done with caution after taking due consideration of the history of both the people and their contiguity. A study of the chart given at Appendix B to this Chapter may throw some light in this matter.

Oriya, the principal language of the district is spoken by 908,766 persons who constitute about 66 per cent of the total population. Figures in respect of other languages spoken in the district have been given in Appendix C.

(ii) **Regional distribution of population on the basis of mother-tongue**

Mother-tongue has been defined in the 1951 Census as "The language spoken from the Cradle". In the said Census the smallest unit for which mother-tongue data were calculated was a "Census Tract" which invariably consisted of a number of police-stations and sometimes more than one administrative subdivision. The National Register of Citizens which was maintained for each and every village in this State does not also contain any data regarding mother-tongue.

Appendix D shows tahsil and police-stationwise distribution of population on the basis of mother-tongue according to 1961 Census.

(iii) **Bilingualism**

In the Census of 1961 out of the total population 1,498,271 of the district only 264,685 are shown to be speaking a language subsidiary to their mother-tongue. Out of this, 49,955 Oriya-speaking persons can speak one or more languages in addition to their mother-tongue ; 28,763 Telugu-speaking persons and 1,061 Bengali-speaking persons speak one or more languages besides their own. The following table shows the number of persons who speak one or more languages subsidiary to their mother-tongue noted against each :

Kui	..	48,725
Savara	..	27,209
Khond/Kondh	..	25,638
Gadaba	..	23,869
Parji	..	19,530
Koya	..	19,526
Gondi	..	13,167
Jharia	..	1,737
Halabi	..	1,389
Konda	..	1,106
Laria	..	277
Pengu	..	118
Santali	..	2

A very low percentage of women, from all linguistic groups, can understand and a still lower percentage can speak a language other than their mother-tongue.

A detailed statement showing number of subsidiary languages spoken by persons with different mother-tongues has been given at Appendix B of this Chapter.

37. Difference of dialects within the same linguistic group

(i) Oriya

The Oriya spoken in the district is not much different from the language as it is spoken in the neighbouring Ganjam district. It is somewhat different in intonation and structure of sentences from the standard Oriya spoken in the coastal districts. Some verbs and adjectives are used with a different meaning. There are certain words which are not at all used in the coastal districts and some of them are quite unintelligible to Oriya-speaking people of other parts of Orissa. The emphasis on the last consonant of the word is a characteristic of Oriya pronunciation but this feature is absent in the Oriya of the district and the last consonant is pronounced rapidly. There is also difference between the language of the higher castes and the lower castes and that of the educated differs slightly in intonation from standard Oriya but maintains the form of the latter.

(ii) Telugu

Telugu is spoken by the settlers from the neighbouring Andhra Pradesh. Naturally more and more of Telugu is heard as one approaches the border of Andhra. Tribes like the Konda-Doras and castes like the Madiga speak Telugu with an abundant mixture of Kuvi. Telugu businessmen and money-lenders have settled among the Oriyas and the Adivasis in Rayagada and its neighbourhood. They are found more or less in all important places like Gunupur, Bamini, Kukumba and Chalkumba of Gunupur subdivision; Jemidipeta, Kotapeta, Kalyansingpur, Sikarpai, Bissamcuttack and Muniguda of Rayagada subdivision; Padwa, Pottangi, Semiliguda, Narayanpatna and Alamanda in Koraput subdivision and also in the Jeypore town itself where there are Telugu mill-owners, lawyers and businessmen. At places here and there in the district are found the Sisti-Karans or Bambali-Karans, originally Oriyas from the Karan caste who were settlers of the soil for long generations. These people adopted Telugu language when the southern areas were lost to Orissa and spoke a peculiar dialect which is an admixture of Oriya and Telugu.

38. Tribal dialects

No proper survey has ever been made of the aboriginal languages which are spoken by a third of the population. Grierson's survey did not extend to this district. But attempts have been made by different individuals to make a study of the various tribal languages, although the scope of such linguistic survey is not extensive.*

(i) Kuvi

Language of the Khonds of this district is known by the name Kuvi. It is a specific dialect of the Kui language. The main difference is that Kui has been more exposed to outside contact and has been much influenced by it whereas Kuvi maintains relative purity.

This language has several dialects spoken in different areas. They mainly differ by their association with and due to influence of other languages. Perhaps there are some half a dozen different dialects including the language of the Konda-Doras which is greatly influenced by Telugu. It is reported that the Khonds of Kalyansingpur maintain that they cannot understand the language of the Khonds of the neighbouring tahsil of Bissamcuttack.

The language as it is spoken in different parts has the following local variations:

(1) Comparatively pure Kuvi is spoken in the Koraput subdivision by Khonds of Dasmantapur, Lakshmipur and Narayanpatna police-stations.

(2) A closer approach to the above is the language spoken by the Khonds of Kalyansingpur and Bissamcuttack police-stations including the Dongria Khonds. A resemblance to this speech can be heard in Baliguda Agency of Baudh-Khondmals district. It is only this ancient Kuvi which has preserved the old hymns and ballads.

(3) Kutia Khonds of the Chandrapur, Budabeli areas of Gudari police-station as well as in the tract between Gudari and Durgi speak the Kutia dialect which is the same as that of the Katagarh area in the adjoining Ganjam Agency. Kutia dialect has an admixture of Savara and Kui.

*Sri Gopinath Mahanti who knows fairly well the life of the tribal people of this district has depicted it in his novels and has worked on Kuvi (Kondha) with its dialects Bhutia and Dongia, variations within Kuvi, Gadaba (Gutab), Jhodia, Paroja and variations within Paroja dialects. The Tea District Labour Association (now defunct) has published a work on Gondi (Koya). An elementary collection of Kuvi words was also attempted by Sri Bhagirathi Nayak. Rev. Dr. Sulze attempted a study of Kuvi which is, however, imperfect and at places incorrect. All the same it was an early attempt to study the Kuvi language which partly failed because this scholar, a German, could not distinguish between Telugu and Kuvi when he attempted to collect Kuvi from the language spoken by the Konda-Doras, which is a mixture of Kuvi and Telugu.

(4) Khonds of Rayagada speak Kuvi with stray mixtures of Telugu. The Rayagada dialect has *asi* ending for the *eun* ending of the Koraput Khonds. The Jatak-Doras or Jatak-Khonds also speak this language.

The Konda-Doras and Maning-Doras speak at places a mixture of Kuvi and Telugu and sometimes pure Telugu. The Enoti-Doras call themselves 'Budha-Khonds' or old Khonds which means that they belong to ancient Khond stock and have in course of time forgotten their language and adopted Telugu. The Jatapus speak Kuvi.

The Bhatras speak Oriya with an admixture of the Paroja dialect. The Dombs generally speak Oriya, but the Dombs of Koraput have also their own peculiar dialect. This speech is now rarely heard.

(ii) Gondi and Koya

The Gonds of Umarnot tahsil who are known to have come to this district from Bastar area speak a language called Gondi, which is Dravidian in origin. The Koya, the language of the tribe of that name of Malkangiri subdivision, is said to be a dialect of Gondi. Gonds and Koyas belong to the great Gond family and it is natural that their tongues preserve many resemblances.

(iii) Savara and Gadaba

The two principal languages of the Mundari group which are spoken in this district are Savara and Gadaba.

The Gadaba or the Gutab language which also contains some Savara words is spoken by all tribes of the Gadabas, by the Parengas and the Bondas and has also influenced the language of some Paroja tribes*.

The principal features of the Munda language are the existence of semi-consonant, which are imperfectly articulated and indistinct, the copious use of prefixes, infixes and suffixes, and the use of the dual case in addition to the singular and plural.

The Savara language, as spoken in the Paralakimedi Maliahs, has been studied by various authors†.

Each Khond or Paroja is practically an original poet. Songs are composed and sung by them, whenever they choose and specially when trekking, courting and on festive occasions. In the towns one sometimes sees wandering minstrels singing in tribal language and begging.

*Austrine Meillet in *les langues du Monde* classes the Munda dialects among the Austric languages. It is maintained there that the speakers of these languages were forced to immigrate southwards from the north-east of India by the pressure of Aryan immigrants.

†Professor G. V. Ramamurti Pantul of Paralakimedi, his son Mr. G. V. Sitapati and Miss A. M. C. Mundre of the Canadian Baptist Mission. The first named has produced Savara-English and English-Savara Dictionaries.

39. Scripts used

This district has remained for decades as a very backward district in the State with little or no contact with cultural centres. The tribal people with different languages had no script of their own nor had they adopted any script in the past. The scripts of the plain have many deficiencies in recording the peculiar pronunciation of the tribal speech*.

For other Indian and foreign languages the standard scripts are used.

Almost all the Oriya-speaking people, who finished their education before the district was merged with Orissa, had their education through the Telugu script. They learnt the Oriya script at a very advanced age.

40. General structure of caste

About the castes, classes and tribes of the district the following general observations may be made:

(a) The number of caste-groups are increasing due to assimilation of groups which were formerly not within the Hindu caste structure.

(b) Certain castes demand a higher status and deem themselves to be equivalent to certain castes and superior to some others. They also try to mould their behaviour accordingly.

(c) The place of the Brahmin at the ritual apex of the society is recognised throughout. However, within the Brahmin caste itself sections contend with one another to have a higher status.

(d) The place of those who are regarded as untouchables is fixed at the lower strata of the society. Due to extensive welfare measures adopted for them and due to wide propaganda against untouchability some humiliating prohibitions against them have disappeared but they have not gone up in the caste hierarchy. Within the group itself there are several castes with unequal status.

(e) The status of the intermediate castes is very flexible. Various castes within this group demand higher status than others. Social recognition regarding the status of any group is not rigidly fixed.

(f) There are certain castes in the intermediate and the lowest group, the counterparts of which are not to be found in other districts, though functionally equivalent groups can be located.

*G. V. Ramamurti Pantulu, who has studied the Savara language and has written Savara-English and English-Savara Dictionaries invented a script for the Savaras but the same was not popular. Another gentleman, Sri S. P. Mangayya, who has produced some dramas and songs in Savara language for social upliftment, has similarly invented another script for Savaras with 36 letters.

(g) The district shows many of the features of a settler's frontier, the settlers being the castes standing high in the hierarchy of the Hindu society. The best land belongs to them and they maintain a language and a pattern of customs and practices different from the original inhabitants. They also live, almost always, in separate villages.

The above discussion gives a picture of the general structure of the castes. It may now be discussed how particular castes fit into this structure.

(i) **Accuvaru**

These were recorded in Madras Census Report, 1901, as "Oriya-speaking carriers of grain, etc., on pack-bullocks. Treated as sub-division of Gaudo". It has been observed that they are not Oriya people and are attached to Devanga weavers. It seems the Oriya counterparts have been merged with their parent caste.

(ii) **Agaru**

Known as a small caste of Telugu cultivators of Visakhapatnam and Ganjam, who are also sellers of betel leaves.

(iii) **Badhei**

The carpenters and blacksmiths (Kamara) are not separate castes and the two sections both inter-dine and intermarry. Socially they occupy the same position as the agricultural classes. The hereditary headman is called Maharana.

(iv) **Bagata**

The Bagatas are a class of Telugu fresh-water fishermen who are said to be expert in catching fish in fresh water. Though they sometimes ask Oriya Brahmins to officiate in their marriage they have no relationship with the Oriya fishermen.

(v) **Bariki**

It is the name for village watchman in some places whose duty it is to guide the travellers on their march from place to place.

(vi) **Bauri**

The Bauris of the district were described as "One of the worst criminal tribes of India. They not only commit robberies, burglaries and thefts, but also practise the art of manufacturing and passing counterfeit coin*". This only refers to the Telugu-speaking Bauris. The Oriya Bauris have also undergone a complete change and are now working as rural agriculturists.

*M. P. R. Naidu, *The Criminal Tribes of India*, No. III

[70 B. of R.—12]

(vii) **Bavuri**

"The Bavuris or Bauris are a low class of Oriya basket-makers, and more familiarly known as Khondala. They are a polluting caste living in separate quarters, and occupy a position lower than Kandaras, Dandasis and Haddis. They claim that palanquin bearing is their traditional occupation and consequently call themselves Bhoi"* . This description has now proved to be erroneous. The Bavuri and the Bauris are now considered as higher than the Kandaras, Dandasis and much higher than the Haddis.

(viii) **Bhandari (Barber)**

"The name Bhandari is derived from *Bhandar* or treasure. The zamindars delivered over the guarding of the treasure to the professional barber who became a more important person in this capacity than his original office of shaver in ordinary to His Highness"†. The Bhandaris occupy a higher position than the Telugu barbers. Though shaving is an act after which one is to be purified with bath, the touch of the Bhandari at other times is not considered as polluting.

(ix) **Brahmin**

The Oriya Brahmins of Koraput according to Thurston ‡ belong to the Utkala section of the Pancha Gaudas. Between them and the Pancha Dravidas to which the Telugu and Tamil Brahmins belong there is a considerable difference. Differentiating them from the Telugu Brahmins he observes that water touched by Dravida Brahmins is considered by the Brahmins of the other groups as polluted. They call the Dravidas 'Komma' (a corruption of Karma) Brahmins. They are divided into the following twelve sections :

1. Santo (Samanta, a chief)
2. Danua (gift receiver)
3. Padhiya (one who learns Vedas)
4. Sarua (dealers in *Saru*, tuber of *Arum*, *colocasis antiquotrum*)
5. Halua (those who work on 'hala', plough)
6. Bhodri (Bhadriya, an agraharam on the Ganges)
7. Barua (after a small sea-port-town)
8. Deulia (one who serves in temple)
9. Katakiya (Kataka, Palace, those who live in palaces as servants of zamindars).
10. Sahu (Creditor)
11. Jhadua (Jhad, Jungle)
12. Sodeibalya (those who follow an ungodly life)

* *Thurston*, Vol. II, p. 175

† *Occasional Essays on Native South Indian Life*

‡ *Thurston*, Vol. II, pp. 386-87

It is recorded* that the Santos regard themselves as superior to the others and do not perform Purohit's work for them though they do for zamindars. The Danuas live much by begging especially at the funerals of wealthy persons but both they and the Padhiyas (Padhi) know the Vedas and are priests to the zamindars and the higher castes of Sudras. The Saruas cultivate the 'Arum' (*colocasis*) and the Haluas go a step further and engage in ordinary cultivation. A few of the Saruas are qualified to act as Purohits, but the Haluas hardly ever are and they were shown† to be the most illiterate of all the Brahmins. Regarding the sixth class, the Bhodris, a curious legend is related. Bhodri means a barber, and the ancestor of the subdivision is said to have been the son of a barber who was brought up at Puri with some Santo boys. Consequently they were adopted as Brahmins but other Brahmins, even Karans, Gaudas and Mohantis decline to accept water from them. The Baruas are the only class who do Purohit's work for other castes. Except the Sodeibalyas, all others perform the *Sandhya* and *Tarpan*. The Deulias are *pujaris* and menials in zamindars' houses. The Katakias are household servants to zamindars. The Sahus trade in silk clothes, grain, etc. and are money-lenders. The Sodeibalyas are menial servants to the zamindars and work for daily wages. The Brahmins occupy a dominant place in the economic and social affairs, their number is small compared to other castes. They are mainly concentrated in and around Jeypore, Nowrangpur and Gunupur.

(x) **Chandala**

In the Census of 1901 more than a thousand individuals were recorded as Chandala, which is defined as a generic term, meaning one who pollutes. According to Manu's Code the origin of the lowest caste of all (the Chandala) may be ascribed to the intercourse of a Sudra man and Brahmin woman.

(xi) **Chitra-ghasi**

The Chitra-ghasis are a class of artisans, whose name meaning "Ghasis who make artistic things", bears reference to their occupation. They are employed in the manufacture of brass and bell-metal jewellery which is largely worn by the tribes inhabiting the district and are generally found attached to the Khond and Savara villages. They are a polluting class. These people are no longer regarded as untouchables and have no connection with the Ghasis by whom they are regarded as superior. They have been tabulated in the category of Other Backward Classes.

(xii) **Dandasi**

The word Dandasi is derived from the Sanskrit "Dandapasika" meaning a police officer. But the people of this caste were formerly noted for their criminal habits. They were said to be professional

* *Madras Census Report, 1901*

† *Ibid, 1891*

thieves. There is a legend that they adopted this occupation as their profession because their ancestors assisted the Pandavas to escape from the lac fort which was constructed by the Kurus with a view to killing them. Due to rehabilitation measures and even long before that they had largely given up their criminal habits. They have been tabulated as a Scheduled Caste.

(xiii) **Dhakkodo**

A small mixed class of Oriya cultivators, concerning whom there is a proverb that Dhakkodo does not know his father. They are described in the Census Report, 1891, as a caste of cultivators found in the Jeypore agency tracts. They are said to be the offspring of a Brahmin and Sudra girl and, though living on the hills, they are not an uncivilised hill tribe. Some prepare and sell the sacred thread while others are confectioners.

(xiv) **Dhobi (Dhoba)**

Dhobi is the name by which the washerman caste of Orissa is known. They are common throughout the State. In Koraput they are quite distinct from the Telugu washermen.

(xv) **Dhuliya**

It is a small class of Oriya cultivators, some of whom wear the sacred thread, and employ Vaishnavas as their priests. The name is said to be derived from 'Dhuli', i.e., dust, with which those who work in the fields are concerned.

(xvi) **Domb**

The name Domb or Domba is said to be derived from the word *Dumba* meaning devil, in reference to the thieving propensities of the tribe. The Dombs are a Dravidian caste of weavers and menials, found in the hill tracts of Visakhapatnam. This caste appears to have spread over Bengal, Bihar and Madhya Pradesh. The Dombs weave the cloth worn by the hill people, but they also work as labourers, scavengers, etc. Some of them are extensively engaged in trade and have more knowledge of the world than the ryots who despise them. In the Census Report of 1871, it was noted that in many villages the Dombs carry on the occupation of weaving, but in and around Jeypore they are employed as horse-keepers, tom-tom beaters, scavengers and in other menial duties. These people are called Paidi by Telugus, Domba by Savaras and Pana by Khonds. They are the weavers, traders, money-lenders of the hill tribes being very useful as middlemen between the Khonds, Savaras, Gadabas and other hill people on the one hand and the traders of the plains on the other. They have been recognised as a Scheduled Caste.

(xvii) Gauda (Cowherd)

Like those of all the cowherd classes, its members say that they are descended from the Yadava tribe in which Krishna was born. The majority of the Gaudas are now cultivators, but there is evidence that the keeping and breeding of cattle is their traditional occupation. There are the following subdivisions—Apoto, Behera, Bolodiya, Dongayat, Dumalo, Gopopuria, Kolata, Komiriya, Kusilya, Ladia, Madhurpuria, Magatho, Pattilia and Sollo Khondia. In the Census Report of 1871, it is noted that there are many Gaudas of high social standing, who have acquired much wealth through tending of cattle. These men own, in many instances, large herds of buffaloes which being reared in the boundless pastures of the hills are much prized by cartmen of the low country for draught purposes.

(xviii) Golla

The Gollas are the pastoral caste of the Telugu people. The tradition of the caste attributes its descent from Krishna. The hereditary occupation of the Gollas is tending sheep and cattle, and selling milk, but many of them have now acquired lands and are engaged in farming. Some of them are also in Government service. The people of this caste are quite inoffensive and comparatively honest. They have been tabulated among the Other Backward Castes.

(xix) Gudiya

The Gudiyas are the professional sweetmeat-sellers. They rank high in the social scale and the sweetmeats prepared by them are purchased by all castes including Brahmins. The caste is divided into two sections one of which is engaged in selling sweetmeats and crude sugar and the other in agriculture. The former are called Gudiyas and the latter Kolata, Haladia or Balasi Gudiyas in different localities.

(xx) Haddi

The Haddis are a low class of Oriyas, corresponding to the Telugu Malas and Madigas, and the Tamil Paraiyans. It has been suggested that the name is derived from Haddi, a latrine, or Hada, bones, as members of the caste collect all sorts of bones and trade in them. They play drums for all Oriya castes, except Kandaras, Tiyoros, Tulabhinās and Sanris. The Haddis may be divided into Haddis proper, Rellis and Chachadis.

(xxi) Jaggali

The Jaggalis are leather workers. But now they are engaged in cultivation and miscellaneous labour. Its members speak both Oriya and Telugu. They admit outcastes from other communities to their ranks on payment of a small fee.

(xxii) Kalingi

They are regarded as a subdivision of Kumati who were inhabitants of the ancient Kalinga country. They are considered inferior to the other subdivisions on account of their eating meat. They are mainly traders and shop-keepers. There is also a caste of Paikas or fighting men of that name in Jeypore.

(xxiii) Keuta

This is a fisherman caste, its members sometimes call themselves as 'Kaivarta', a Sanskrit term. Besides fishing in rivers, they ply boats and catamarans, and some are also traders. Though they are low in the social scale they are not regarded as untouchable. Preparation of fried rice is their second occupation.

(xxiv) Kandara

This is a fishing caste who fish in ponds, lakes, rivers and backwaters, but are never engaged in sea-fishing. The Kandaras rank very low in the social scale and even the Haddis refuse to beat drums for them and do not accept boiled rice which they touch. In some places the members call themselves Dasa-Dhibara.

(xxv) Kansari

They derive their name from *Kansa*, a bell-metal dish. They manufacture household utensils. Their status is little higher than the agricultural castes.

(xxvi) Karan

The origin of the Karans is not clearly known. According to some scholars they are Kayasthas of Northern India, who are of Kshatriya origin. According to Manu, the Karans belong to the Vratya Kshatriyas who do not perform the Vedic rites. Yajnavalkya describes the Karan as the offspring of a Vaishya man and a Sudra woman, and he is supported by the lexicographer Amara Simha. But the relation between the present Karans and those of the time of Yajnavalkya or Amara Simha cannot be established. In the present social scale the Karans stand next to the Brahmins. This caste is very flexible. Many non-Brahmin castes claim to be Karans when they attain education and wealth.

(xxvii) Kshatriya

The family chronicles ascribe a very ancient origin to the line of Jeypore zamindars. Beginning with Kanaksena of Solar race, a general and feudatory of the king of Kashmir, they trace the pedigree through thirty-two generations down to Vinayaka Deo, a younger son, who left Kashmir not agreeing to hold a subordinate position, went to Benaras, did penance to Kasi Visvesvarasvami there, and was told by the god in a dream to go to the kingdom of Nandapur. The Kshatriyas of Koraput are said to be his descendants. The present Jeypore according to Thurston was a place of the Kshatriya class. Their social status is equivalent to that of the Karans though between themselves they contest the relative position.

(xxviii) Kumhara

The potters are called Kumara in Telugu, Kumbhara in Oriya and Kumbaro in Canarese, all these names being corrupted forms of the Sanskrit word Kumbhakara, pot-maker. In social position they are considered to be a superior class of Sudras. The Telugu Kumaras were cooks under the ancient kings, and many of them still work in that capacity in Sudra houses. Most of them follow the traditional occupation.

(xxix) Boipari

The Boiparis are a carrier caste whose profession is to carry goods for trade on the back of bullocks. Their bullocks are always picturesquely dressed. Throughout the year they are on the move, only halting during rains. They have been tabulated among the Other Backward Classes.

(xxx) Lohara

The Loharas, Luhuras or Luharas are an Oriya caste of iron workers, whose name is derived from *loha* (iron). It may be mentioned here that the Loharas have no connection with Kamaras (blacksmith) and Badhei (carpenters). They have been tabulated among the Other Backward Classes whereas the other two are not.

(xxxi) Madiga

The Madigas are a leather working caste whose language is Telugu. They are emigrants from the Bellary district of Mysore State. Socially they are considered to be in the lowest rung of the society. They differ considerably from the 'Mochis' and are regarded as a separate caste. They have been included in the list of the Scheduled Castes.

(xxxii) Mala

The Malas have been listed as a Scheduled Caste. Their main profession is weaving and cultivation. Previously they had much *inam* land, which, in course of time, has been taken away by others. As a result of this, most of them have taken day-labour as their profession.

(xxxiii) Mali

The Malis are now mostly cultivators, but their traditional occupation (from which the caste name is derived) is making of garlands, and providing flowers for the service of the Hindu temples. They are especially clever in growing vegetables. Their mother-tongue is Oriya. Their status is equivalent to those of the agricultural castes. They have been listed among the Other Backward Classes. The Malis maintain that their ancestors lived originally in Benaras, wherefrom they emigrated to serve the Raja of Jeypore.

(xxxiv) Omanatya

The Omanatya or Omaidis are an Oriya cultivating caste. According to a tradition the ancestor of this caste was one Amatya, a minister of Sri Rama at Ayodhya. The caste title is usually Nayak, but the more prosperous take the title Patro.

(xxxv) Paidi

The Paidis are a class of agricultural labourers and weavers, found in the Visakhapatnam district. Some of them are employed as servants and village watchmen. They are closely akin to the Panas and Dumas of the hills. In the interior of Jeypore Agency tracts the Dombs and Paidis both repudiate the suggestion that they are connected with each other. The Paidis, in some places, claim to belong to the Valmiki Kula and to be descended from Valmiki, the author of the Ramayana. They have been included in the list of Scheduled Caste as a separate caste.

(xxxvi) Paika

In the Madras Census Report, 1891, Paika is defined as an occupational rather than a caste name. It means a foot-soldier and is used to denote the retainers of the Oriya chiefs of Ganjam and Visakhapatnam. These men were granted lands on feudal tenure and belonged to various castes. They are now ordinary agriculturists. Some are employed in the Police Department. They have been included in the list of the Other Backward Classes.

(xxxvii) Pinda

Thurston maintains that Pinda is a synonym for Paidi. The Pindas have been listed among the Scheduled Castes as a separate caste.

(xxxviii) Rona

The Ronas are a class of Oriya-speaking hill cultivators, who are said to hold a position superior in social scale to the Parojas, from whom by compulsion and cajolery, they have acquired lands for themselves. They are not of very long standing in Jeypore. The Ronas are supposed to be the descendants of Ronjit, a great warrior of Orissa. In social status they are said to be a little inferior to the so-called Kshatriyas. Some of them serve as armed retainers and soldiers of the native chiefs, and some are engaged in trade and cultivation. These people have been included in the list of the Other Backward Classes.

(xxxix) Sapari

Thurston holds the view that they are a sub-group within the Haddi caste. They have been enlisted among the Other Backward Classes as a separate caste.

(xl) Sundi

The Sundis are summed up in the Madras Census Report, 1901, as an Oriya toddy-selling caste. They do not draw toddy themselves but buy it and sell it. In addition to this business they have now adopted money-lending. They have been included in the list of Other Backward Classes.

(xli) Sankhari

The Sankharis are a small class of Oriya lac-bangle (Sankha) makers, who should not be confused with the Telugu Sunkaris. The men are engaged in agriculture, and the women manufacture the bangles. They have been enumerated among the Other Backward Classes.

(xlii) Telli

The Tellis are an oil-pressing caste. They are divided into three sections, namely, Haladia, Baladia and Khadi. The Haladias were originally dealers in turmeric. The Baladias receive their name from the fact that they carry goods on pack-bullocks. The Khadis are mainly engaged in extracting oils in oil-mills. The Tellis have been placed in the list of Other Backward Classes.

(xliii) Tanti

The hereditary occupation of the Tantis is weaving. Their number is very small in the district. They have been included in the list of the Other Backward Classes.

(xliv) Valmiki

Thurston observes that Valmiki is a name assumed by the Boyas and Paridis who claim to be descended from Valmiki, the author of the Ramayana. This caste has been placed in the list of the Scheduled Castes.

41. General structure of tribes

The tribes of Koraput can be divided into the following three broad divisions :

(1) Real primitive tribes

These tribes are isolated from the non-tribal people and in some cases also from other tribes. They maintain a language of their own and have manners, customs and practices, dresses and appearance which are specifically distinctive of them. They mostly have an unstable economy, such as the shifting cultivation and are largely dependent on the forest. They do not stay in one village for generations together but when the adjoining areas are no longer suitable to derive a living they desert the place and settle in another place. Most of them speak a Dravidian tongue.

[70 B. of R.—13]

(2) Tribes in transition

These tribes come nearer civilisation and have adapted themselves to the civilised society in different degrees. They readily adopt the economic system of the civilised society, but their social organisation is less responsive to change. They speak their own tribal language while talking among themselves but they talk either in Oriya or Telugu with outsiders.

(3) Assimilated tribes

These tribes have been completely assimilated by the Hindu society and their status becomes equivalent to one or other of the established castes. They speak either Oriya or Telugu even when they talk among themselves. They have adopted the dress and ornaments of the Hindus and also practise the Hindu religion though in most cases they have their local gods.

Against this background the general structure of the tribes is discussed below with reference to important tribes of the district:

(i) Bagata

About the Bagatas Thurston writes that Bagatas, Bhaktas or Baktas are a class of Telugu fresh-water fishermen who are said to be expert at catching fish with a long spear. Some of the Bagatas are hill cultivators in the Agency tracts of Visakhapatnam. They account for their name by the tradition that they served with great devotion (*bhakti*) the former rulers of Golconda and Madgol, who made grants of land to them in Mokhasa tenure. Some of them are heads of villages. The Bagatas have been enlisted as a Scheduled Tribe.

(ii) Bhottada

The Bhottadas are a class of Oriya cultivators and labourers speaking Muria or Lucia otherwise known as Basturia, a dialect of Oriya. Taylor says that the caste is the same as Muria, which is shown separately in the tables, and in H. G. Turner's notes in the Census Report of 1891. But whether identical or distinct, it seems clear that both are subdivisions of the great Gond tribe. There is a current tradition that the Bhottadas originally dwelt at Barthagada and emigrated to Visakhapatnam long ago. It is vaguely mentioned that Barthagada was situated towards and beyond Bastar, near which there are still to be found people of this caste, with whom those living in the Visakhapatnam district intermarry.

(iii) Bonda Poraja

The Bondas known among themselves as Remo (men) are a small tribe of the type now often called Austro-Asiatic, which at the time of the 1941 Census numbered only 2,565 persons. Their country is the wild and mountainous region north-west of Machkund river, and here they have preserved themselves comparatively unaffected by the march

of civilisation. Indeed, by plainsmen and officials, the Bondas are regarded as entirely savage, almost as the classic savage type. The strange dress and appearance of their women, their violent homicidal ways, their unfamiliar tongue—they speak a different Austro-Asiatic language—the inaccessibility of their abode separate them from other tribes of the district.

Earlier writers tended to regard the Bondas as an offshoot of the Gadabas, a neighbouring but much larger tribe of similar racial and cultural affiliations. Thus, Henderson describes the Bondas as one of the three tribes into which the Gadabas are divided.

The Gadabas are clearly divided into three classes—Bonda Poraja, Bonda Gadaba and the Parenga Gadaba.

Thurston, who bases his account of the Bondas on the reports of May and Henderson, classified them as Paroja, but describes them as a section of the Gadabas, calling themselves the Bonda Gadaba and speaking dialect of Gadaba, but a little later he says that this connection is strongly denied by the Bondas themselves. Ramdas, in an article on the Parojas of Orissa, says that although the Bondas are usually counted as the fifth class of Paroja, their habits and dress show that they are quite distinct. They appear to be more akin to the Maris of Bastar. Further, Heimendorf points out that the languages of the Bondas and Gadabas, though of the same family, are so different that they are not mutually understandable. Both the tribes, however, recognise a fundamental relationship, partake of each other's food, and on rare occasions even intermarry. In spite of the many divergences in material possessions, social customs and individual religious beliefs and a certain difference in appearance accentuated by dress and ornaments, there seems to persist among Gadabas and Bondas a similar cultural atmosphere and one can hardly doubt that they are both representatives of ancient Austro-Asiatic culture.

The origin and affiliations of the Bondas are obscure. But one may accept the possibility that they are members of a group of Austro-Asiatic tribes which at some remote date took shelter in the wild Jeypore hills. Whence they came, there is no evidence to say, although most of their affinities are with the north-east, nor can one tell how they fared during the centuries they lived in their present home. There are no records, no remains, and even the Bondas' own legends seem to be of comparatively recent date. But there is every reason to suppose that the Bondas have changed very little during their long history and in them one can have a chance of studying a type of character and its material expression that may be millennia old*. The Bondas have been enlisted as a Scheduled Tribe.

* Varrier Elwin, *Bondo Highlander*, 1950

(iv) Didayis

Thurston holds the view that the Didayis are part of the Paroja tribe. Dr. Elwin quoting a Bonda myth says, "The eldest brother was a Bhoi Gadaba, the next an Asur Gadaba and the remaining ten Kondo, Bondo, Didayi, etc."*. The relationship of the Didayi with the Bonda, Paroja and the Gadaba is very intimate and matrimonial relationships between the Didayi and others, though clandestine in nature, are not found wanting. In spite of all these they maintain their distinctive identity and cannot be regarded as a part of any tribe. They have been enlisted as a Scheduled Tribe.

(v) Gadaba

The Gadabas are a primitive tribe classified as Mundari or Kolarian on linguistic grounds. The word Gadaba, Mitchell states, signifies a person who carries loads on his shoulders. The tribe call themselves Guthan. They speak a Mundari dialect, called Gadaba, after their tribal name, and are one of the two Mundari tribes found so far south as Visakhapatnam. Their tribal organisation is not very strict and a Bhatra, a Paroja, a Muria or a member of any superior caste may become a Gadaba at an expenditure of 2 or 3 rupees. The Gadabas are a tribe of agriculturists, coolies and hunters. The Gadabas are also employed as bearers in the hills and carry palanquins. There is a tradition that the tribe owes its name to the fact that its ancestors emigrated from the banks of Godavari river and settled in Nandapur, the former capital of the Rajas of Jeypore. The Gadabas have a language of their own, of which a vocabulary is given in the Vizagapatam Manual. This language is included by G. A. Grierson† in the Munda linguistic family. In Chipurapalli and Bobbili taluks are found small villages of the Gadabas which apparently are colonies established by those that migrated into these places in ancient times. The Gadabas living in such villages in the vicinity of the more civilised people forgot their native tongue, dress and custom and took up those of the civilised man. It is now very hard to identify the tribe of such men unless they themselves tell us what their tribe is. Consequently it is difficult to acquire an uniform account of these people who form a branch of the Munda tribe. It is but natural that those 'Gadabas' whose original home was in the north of the Vindhya mountains should be called by a name connected with 'Gada' by which a brook or stream is indicated in that part of the country. They might have immigrated into the hills of Koraput district when all the Munda tribes were dislocated by more powerful people.

* Elwin, *Bondo Highlander*, p. 2

† *Linguistic Survey of India*, IV, 1906

(vi) Gond

The Gonds constitute the principal tribe of the Dravidian family and perhaps the most important of the non-Aryan or forest tribes in India.

In the districts of Sundargarh, Sambalpur and Bolangir they speak Oriya and there is no trace to show that they spoke any other language even in the remote past. In Koraput district they speak a Dravidian tongue which has been named Gondi after them. In Koraput district they maintain their separate identity as a tribe whereas in other districts they have been integrated into the Hindu society as a rather high ranking caste.

The derivation of the word Gond is uncertain. It is the name given to the tribe by the Hindus or Mohammedans, as their own name for themselves is Koitur or Koi. This evidence seems to establish a probability that the Gonds and Khonds were originally one tribe in the south of India and that they obtained separate names and languages since they left their original home for the north. The fact that both of them speak languages of the Dravidian family, whose home is in Southern India, makes it probable that the two tribes originally belonged to the south and migrated northwards into the Central Provinces and Orissa. This hypothesis is supported by the tradition of the Gonds. The history of the Gonds as depicted by Russel shows that in distant past they were rulers of many principalities in the former Central Provinces and Orissa. Their kingdoms were overthrown by the Marathas. The British, however, recognised Gond zamindars in Orissa and Central Provinces. These zamindars continued until they were abolished under the Scheme of Abolition of Estates. They have been enlisted as a Scheduled Tribe.

(vii) Jatapu

The Jatapus are described, in the Madras Census Report, 1901, as a civilised section of the Khonds, who speak Khond on the hills and Telugu on the plains, and are now practically a distinct caste. They consider themselves superior to those Khonds who still eat beef and snakes and have taken to some of the ways of the castes of the plains. They have been enlisted as a Scheduled Tribe.

(viii) Khond, Kond or Kandha

The main concentration of the Khonds is in Gunupur subdivision. Khonds are to be found throughout Orissa and mostly in the districts of Ganjam, Baudh-Khondmals, Kalahandi and parts of Bolangir and Sambalpur districts. Much has been written about this tribe.

It is noted in the Madras Census Report, 1891, that the Khonds inhabit the hill tracts of Ganjam and parts of Vizagapatam. They call themselves Kui, a name identical with the Koi or Koya of the Godavari Agency and the south of Koraput district. The Telugu people call themselves Kotuvandlu. The origin of the name Khond is doubtful but Mac Pherson is probably right in deriving it from Telugu Konda, a hill. All these names are derivatives of the root Ko or Ku, a mountain. There are 58 subdivisions of the Khonds. The list includes many names of other castes, a fact which must be in part ascribed to the impossibility of distinguishing the true Khonds from persons returned as Khondavandhu, Kondalu, Kotuvandlu, etc., terms which mean simply highlanders, and are applicable to all the hill tribes. The Khonds have a sturdy physical constitution to undergo the severest exertions and to endure every form of privation. Their height is about the average standard of the persons of the Peninsula. Their forms are characterised by strength and symmetry. The muscles of the limbs and body are clear and glossy, its colour ranging from light bamboo to a deep copper shade, the heel is in a line with back of the leg. As regards their character, the Khonds possess a great love for liberty. They are faithful to their friends. Their worst vice is drunkenness. They can be divided into three major economic classes which are as follows : (1) owner-cultivators or non-owning cultivators of the plains, (2) dependent upon shifting cultivation, (3) having occupation other than cultivation. The Khonds are the biggest Scheduled Tribe of Orissa.

(ix) Konda-Dora

The Konda-Doras are hill cultivators. They are also known as Kondo-Doras, Konda-Kapus and Ojas. From what has been ascertained of their languages, it seems certain that in spite of the differences found in them because of the influence of Oriya and Telugu, they are substantially of the same origin as the Paroja language and the Khond language. But the people themselves seem to have entirely lost all those rights to the soil, which are now characteristics of the more northern tribes. They have been enlisted as a Scheduled Tribe.

(x) Koya

The Koyas are a tribe inhabiting the hills in the north of the Godavari district and are also found in the Malkangiri subdivision of Koraput district. They are said to belong to the great Gond family. The Koyas have a tradition that about two hundred years ago they were driven from the plateau in the Bastar country by famine and disputes, and this relationship is acknowledged by the Gutta Kois, i.e., the Hill Kois, who live on the highlands of Bastar. The Koyas are a Scheduled Tribe.

(xi) **Pentiya**

The Pentiya also call themselves Holuva. In the Madras Census Report, 1901, they are called Pantia, as well as Pentiya and are described as Oriya betel leaf sellers. Their occupation in the Jeypore tract is that of cultivators. Numbers of them migrated thither from Bastar. Their language is Holuva, which is easily understood by those who speak Oriya. The Pentiya have been enlisted as a Scheduled Tribe.

(xii) **Paroja**

The Porajas or Parojas are hill cultivators found in the districts of Ganjam and Koraput. It is noted in the Madras Census Report, 1871, that there are seven classes of these Parojas, which differ from each other in points of language, customs and traditions. The Parojas seem to have been inhabiting this country from about the second century of the Christian era. The servitude into which the Paroja has been reduced and the cruel treatment given to him by his master made him faithless and dishonest. The Parojas are divided into 12 tribes and each tribe is called after the region in which it lives. They have been enlisted as a Scheduled Tribe.

(xiii) **Saora, Savar, Saura or Sahara**

Since a close linguistic affinity is found between the Savaras and the Mundas and both of their dialects have been grouped in Austro-Asiatic linguistic family, Savara is regarded as of Munda family. The name of the tribe has been well known for nearly two thousand years. Pliny makes mention of Suari, and Ptolemy of Sabarai. Ptolemy particularises his description by saying that the tribe dwelt to the south-west of the Gangetic Delta and at a short distance from the sea-coast thus making identification with the Savaras of Orissa almost certain. Nowadays the indigenous Savara is found in the hills of the Ramagiri and Parla-kimedi regions of Ganjam and the Gunupur tahsil of Koraput being unaffected by Hindu influence.

The Savaras of this district practise Terrace cultivation. They terrace the hill-sides for rice cultivation. The upper terraces are often only a few feet in width and are supported by stone revetments, sometimes fifteen feet deep. They are not satisfied with wet cultivation alone and almost every family has its patch of Podu cultivation on the hill-slopes.

There are two categories of Savaras, such as Lambalanjiya (Long-tailed) Savaras and the Kapu Savaras. The former category put on round their loins cloth with coloured tasselled ends hanging down in front and behind, on account of which they are sometimes called Lambalanjiya. The Kapu Savaras are low-land cultivators. They also wear a coloured cloth on the head, with frequently a bunch of feathers stuck in the hair and a number of brass and bead necklaces round the neck.

There are no exogamous divisions among the Savaras. But it is considered improper for a man to take a bride from his own village. Marriage by capture is practised among them.

Savaras also practise cremation and believe in immortality of the soul. Their pantheon consists of deities and spirits represented in the form of trees and stones.

The Savaras do not practise human sacrifice or female infanticide nowadays. The low-land Savaras speak Oriya mixed with Telugu outside their home because of Telugu influence.

42. Religious-beliefs

The religious belief of the district can be broadly divided into two :
(a) the great religions like Hinduism, Christianity, Islam, etc. and
(b) tribal religions.

The majority of the non-tribal people profess Hinduism, the characteristics of which are common throughout India. The Hindus of this district mostly worship 'Siva', 'Vishnu' and 'Sakti'. They also pay respect to tribal gods and goddesses peculiar to the district. According to 1961 Census Report* there are 1,463,177 Hindus, 164 Sikhs, 91 Jains, 29 Buddhists, 31,155 Christians and 3,655 Mohammedans in the district. These figures indicate that the bulk of tribal population has been included under Hindu religion although there have been conversions into Christianity.

The religious belief of the Christians has a duality. Almost all the Christians of the district are converted tribals. They follow many of the formalities of Christianity such as Church-going and observance of important festivals. They can also be differentiated, in some respects, from other tribals who do not profess Christianity. But the tribal Christians observe certain customs and beliefs, which in their religious implication are not only different but also contradictory to Christianity. The Mohammedans of the district can be divided into two groups. One group has come to the district recently and is engaged in trade, commerce and other urban activities. They have a tendency to differentiate themselves sharply from others, specially Hindus. They elaborately observe the Mohammedan religious practices. The other group, whose migration occurred in some obscure past, may be regarded as altogether a different community having practically little relationship with the other.

The tribal religions are specific to each tribe, at least in nomenclature. But in substance they do not differ much and are marked by such common features as totemism, polytheism, magic, non-recognition of supreme being, etc. However, no sharp line can be drawn between the local functioning of the Hindu and the tribal religions and both have been sharing each other's features.

* This excludes Kashipur tahsil.

An account of the religious beliefs of different castes, tribes and communities of the district is presented below :

(i) **Bagatas**

The Bagatas are both Vaishnavas and Saivas and the former get themselves branded on the arm by a Vaishnava Guru.

(ii) **Barik**

People of this caste sometimes officiate as priests of the village deities. Their service is required during the sowing ceremony which takes place in the month of *Baisakha*.

(iii) **Bauri**

They keep with them a small quantity of wheat and sandal paste in a small tin or brass case, which they call 'Devakadana' or God's grain and a tuft of peacock's feathers, all in a bundle. They are very superstitious, and do not embark upon any enterprise without first ascertaining by omen whether it would be attended by success or not. They do this by taking at random a small quantity of grains out of their Devakadana and counting the number of grains, the omen being considered good or bad according as the number of seeds is odd or even.

(iv) **Bavuri**

The Bavuris do not worship Jagannath or other higher deities but show reverence to their ancestors and the village goddesses or Thakuranis.

(v) **Dandasi**

The Dandasis worship various Thakuranis (village deities) like Sankaithuni, Kuladankuni, Khambesari and Kalimuki. The goddesses are either represented temporarily by brass vessels or permanently by three masses of clay into each of which a small bit of gold is thrust. When Bassia (*Mohua*) buds or mangoes are first eaten in their season, a sacrifice is made, and a goat and fowl are killed at the time of first eating ceremony.

(vi) **Dhobi**

They are Vaishnavas but some of them also worship Kali or Durga. They employ the Bafragis and occasionally the Brahmins as their priests.

(vii) **Domb**

Their chief god, probably an ancestral spirit, is called the Kaluga. There is one in each village, in the headman's house. The deity is represented by a Pice (copper coin) placed in or over a new earthen pot smeared with rice or turmeric powder. During worship, a silk cloth, a new cloth or a wet cloth may be worn, but one must not dress in leaves. Before the mangoes are eaten, the first fruits are offered to the moon at the full-moon of the month of *Chaitra*.

[70 B. of R.—14]

The Dumas (evil spirits) are represented as souls of the deceased, which roam about without a home, so as to cause to mankind all possible harm. At the birth of a child the Duma must be invited in a friendly manner to provide the child with a soul, and protect it against evil. For this purpose, a fowl is killed on the ninth day, a bone detached and pressed into the hand of the infant. The relations are seated in solemn silence, and utter the formula: "When grandfather, grandmother, father or brother comes, throw away the bone, and we will truly believe it". No sooner does the sprawling and excited infant drop the bone than the Dumas come, and boisterous glee prevails. The Dumas occasionally give vent to their ghostly sounds, and cause no little consternation among the inmates of a house who hide from fear. Cunning thieves know how to rob the superstitious by employing instruments with a subdued tone or emitting deep sounds from the chest. The yearly sacrifice to a Duma consists of a black fowl and strong liquor. The Duma is not regarded only as an evil spirit, but also as tutelary deity. He protects one against the treacherous attacks of witches. A place is prepared for him in the door hinge, or a fishing net, wherein he lives, is placed over the door. The witches must count all the knots of the net before they can enter. Devil worship is closely connected with that of the Duma. The Devil's priests, and in rare cases the priestesses, effect communication between the people and the Dumas by a sort of possession, which the spirit entering into them is said to give rise to. This condition which is produced by intoxicating drink and the fumes of burning incense gives rise to revolting cramp like contortions and muscular quiverings. In this state they want to communicate what sacrifices the spirits require. On special occasions they fall into a frenzied state, in which they cut their flesh with sharp instruments or pass long thin iron bars through the tongue and cheeks during which operation no blood must flow.

Children are supposed to be born without souls and to be afterwards chosen as an abode by the soul of an ancestor.

(viii) Golla

By religion the Gollas are both Vaishnavas and Saivas between whom marriage is permissible. They belong to the group of castes who take part in the worship of Ankamma. A special feature of their worship is that they place in a bamboo or rattan box three or four whip-like ropes made of cotton or *Agave* fibre along with swords, sandals and idols. The ropes are called Virathadu or heroes' ropes. The contents of the box are set beneath a booth made of split bamboo (*palavilli*) and decorated with mango leaves and flowers. When not required for the purpose of worship, the idols are hung up in a room, which may not be entered by any one under pollution.

(ix) Haddi

The Haddis are worshippers of various Thakuranis (village deities) like Kalimuki, Satbaruni and Baidaro.

(x) Jatapu

The caste goddess is Jakar Devata, who is propitiated with sacrifices of pigs, sheep and buffaloes. When the crop is gathered in, the first fruits are offered to her.

(xi) Konda-Dora

They call themselves Hindus, and worship the Pandavas and a goddess called Talupulamma. Another section of them profess to be both Saivite and Vaishnavite and occasionally employ Brahmin priests at their funerals, and yet they worship the Pandavas, the spirits of the hills (or as they call them the sons of Racha). Their ancestors include women who have died before their husbands and the deity Muthyalamma and his brother Poturaja, Saralamma and Unammalamma. The last three are found in every village. Other deities are Doddiganga who is the protector of cattle and is worshipped when the herds are driven into the forests to graze, Desaganga (or Paraganga) who takes the place of the Maridamma of the plains and Muthyalamma of the Koyas as the goddess of cholera and smallpox.

(xii) Khond

The Khond pantheon consists of eighty-four gods, of whom Dharni Deota, the earth goddess, is the chief. In former times the earth goddess was apparently female and was known as Tari Pennu. To her were offered the terrible human sacrifices. The earth goddess is usually accompanied by Bhatbursi Deota, the god of hunting. Dharni Deota is represented by a rectangular peg of wood driven into the ground and Bhatbursi has a place at her feet in the shape of a piece of conglomerate stone covered with circular granules. Once in four or five years a buffalo is offered to the earth goddess, in lieu of the human sacrifice which was formerly in vogue. The animal is predestined for sacrifice from its birth and is allowed to wander loose and graze on the crops at its will. The stone representing Bhatbursi is examined periodically and when the granules on it appear to have increased, it is decided that the time has come for the sacrifice. In Kalahandi a lamb is sacrificed every year, and strips of its flesh distributed to all the villagers, who bury it in their fields as a divine agent of fertilisation, in the same way as the flesh of the human victim was formerly buried. The Khond worships his bow and arrows before he goes out hunting, and believes that every hill and valley has its separate deity, who must be propitiated with the promise of a sacrifice, before his territory is entered, or he will hide the animals within it from the hunter and enable them to escape when wounded. These deities are closely related to each other, and

it is important when arranging for an expedition to know the connection between them all ; this information can be obtained from any one on whom the divine afflatus from time to time descends.

Human sacrifice among the Khonds has received wide publicity ; and elaborate details of it are to be found in the literature on the Khonds. The practice, however, has been given up since long.

(xiii) **Mali**

Devi is the principal deity of the Malis. Weddings are celebrated before her temple and large numbers of goats are sacrificed to propitiate the goddess at her festival in the month of *Magha*. Many of the Malis are Kabirpanthis and wear the necklace of that sect.

(xiv) **Omanatya**

The Omanatyas worship Thakurani and Chamaria Devata and a member of the caste officiates as priest. An annual festival is held in the month of *Chaitra*.

(xv) **Paidi**

The Paidis are Vaishnavite and sing songs in praise of Rama during the month of *Kartika* (November-December). Each family feeds a few of the castemen at least once during that month. They worship the Thakuranis (village deities) and sacrifice goats and sheep at local temples. As they are a polluting caste, they stand at a distance opposite the entrance to the temple, and before they retire, take a pinch or two of earth.

(xvi) **Pana**

The Panas pay reverence to ancestors. When death occurs in a family, food is offered to the departed soul. Some Panas have adopted the worship of Thakuranis to whom rice and turmeric are offered by placing them before the image in the form of figure of eight. A fowl is sacrificed, and its blood allowed to flow on to one loop of the figure. In some places Dharma Devati and Gangasuni are worshipped.

(xvii) **Pentiya**

The Pentiyaas are said to distribute rice and other things to the Brahmins once a year on the new-moon day in the month of *Bhadrapada* (September-October) and to worship a female deity named Kamilli on Saturdays. A Pentiya would take anything from a house where she is worshipped with the belief that the goddess should accompany him, and require him to become her devotee.

(xviii) **Paroja**

The Ghodia, Pengu and Kondhi divisions worship Bhumi Devati (earth goddess) who is also known as Jakar Devati. Once in three years, each village offers a cow, goat, pig or pigeon to her as a sacrifice.

She is represented by a stone under a tree outside the village. A caste-man acts as Pujari (priest) and all the villagers including the Jammi and Mudili are present at the festival, which winds up with a feast and drink.

(xix) Rona

The Ronas worship the deity Thakurani. They wear the sacred thread, and are said to have bought the right to do so from a former Raja of Jeypore. They also wear a necklace of Tulsi beads.

(xx) Telli

Most of the Tellis are *Paramarthas* and follow the Chaitanya cult but some are *Smarthas*, although all worship Thakuranis (village deities).

(xxi) Saora, Savar, Saura or Sahara

Dr. Verrier Elwin* has described and analysed the religion of these people in great detail, relevant extracts of which are given below :

Saora eschatology is confused and its doctrines vary from place to place, but it is possible to define certain broad principles, that are generally accepted. Man has two 'souls'—the Sudapuradan or big soul and the Sannapuradan or little soul, which is also called the Belongpuradan or Rup-puradan. The underworld is like this world, but it is always moonlight there. The tutelaries are the officials and the ancestors are the peasants of the land. Since there is so little light the ancestors cannot get about very much. But when they do find a path, they come to this world and cause a lot of trouble. The life of the ancestors in the underworld is not unlike that of living, but it is dwarfed and frustrated. The Saoras, however, insist that there is no real reincarnation, there is not a rebirth of the person, but only of the name. But the name itself has a kind of real existence and the ancestor or tutelary who gives a name to a human child does in some way live in it, even though he continues another life in the underworld.

The Saora pantheon—The gods are great tourists, and one of the things that makes a Shaman's business so complicated is that he never knows where a particular god is to be found at a given moment. Among the Saoras the process of god-making never ceases. As we have seen, every ancestor on entering the underworld becomes an Idaisum, one of the Sonumanjis or deities. The Saora world picture presents us with Kittung as the creator of the earth and of mankind and the originator of many human institutions.

Priests and Shamans—The Buya is a village official who performs the office of priest. For practical purposes the Kuranmaran, the Shaman, is the most important religious figure in a Saora village. He has the

* *The Religion of an Indian Tribe*

power not only to diagnose the source of trouble and disease, but to cure it. He is doctor as well as priest, psychologist as well as magician, the repository of tradition, the source of sacred knowledge. The work of Idaimaran is entirely concerned with the funerary rituals. At these he acts as an assistant or acolyte to the Shaman.

The apparatus and technique of ritual—The Sadru shrines are of the simplest construction. These are furnished with images and offerings. At the public shrines, offerings are made by the whole village, which unites to subscribe for the purpose. For the private shrines each family is responsible. The Saoras make four different kinds of altar of stone, wood, grain and patterned on the ground. Stone images of the gods are made and near them wooden pillars erected for the dead. Wooden altars consist of small flat planks mounted on a single support. But the most important of Saora altars is the temporary altar (usually of grain) made at the time of sacrifice. On the whole, images are only rarely found in the Saora hills. There is a vague notion that images are Hindu rather than Saora.

Religious drinking is made heavier by the convenient belief that the gods who gave wine to the world are as fond of it as men are. When a Shaman in trance is possessed by a spirit, he becomes the spirit and if the spirit is to drink he can only do so through the Shaman's mouth.

Ultimately all blood is human blood. This is the sanction behind animal sacrifice. The blood of the sacrificed animal is used in various ways. It may be sprinkled from the body of the still living creature. It may be mixed with palm wine and drunk. It may be scattered over an altar. Fish and crab are also used in a number of sacrifices.

(xxii) Bonda

Dr. Verrier Elwin in his "*Bondo Highlander*" describes their religion as follows :

Bonda religion today presents a pattern familiar to all students of tribal faiths of Peninsular India, a symbiosis of very old indigenous beliefs and practices with the traditions of modern sub-puranic village Hinduism. The Supreme Being, or president of the Immortals, is usually called Mahaprabhu by the Bondas. High in a great banyan at the centre of the grove above Mundalipada (a place name) an ancient sword is hidden. Today the sword has become the symbol of an important local deity Pat Khanda Mahaprabhu.

At first there reigned alone, in direct correspondence of the subjects, the bright and dazzling Singi Arke Mahaprabhu, to whom we may apply the title "God of Gods and Lord of Lords". Those were the days of peace and happiness for mankind, before religion was invented,

before priests and Shamans came in, before shot and omens were made to humble and discipline mankind. Prominent among the demigods is Bursung or Hundi who is none other than Mother Earth herself.

(xxiii) Gonds

Gond religious practices show a strong tendency towards totemism. But totemism in its pure and primitive form no longer exists among the Gonds. As an organised system it disappeared in the distant past, leaving a few traces of its existence here and there. To the Gonds in general, totems are now nothing but clan names. Some of the clans have adopted either eponymous, territorial or titular names giving up their original totemic ones. The majority of the totemic clans are ignorant of totemic taboos and of the rest very few observe them with as scrupulous care as they are observed by the other tribes retaining totemism in its more or less totemic form. Totemism among the Gonds has decayed to such an extent that many of them do not realise the significance of their totems. In its social aspect, however, totemism still predominates among them and their social system based on exogamous totemism still survives. We find two kinds of totems recognised by them. They are (i) the clan totem, and (ii) the Pharatic or class totem. The clan totem is common to the whole clan and passes by inheritance from generation to generation and binds the whole clan into a kind of blood relationship. The pharatic totem is common to all the clans included in a particular phratry or class and is an object of reverence and adoration to the members of these clans.

(xxiv) Muslims

Many traders living in towns especially in Jeypore and Nowrangpur are Muslims. Near Nandapur there are some village settlements of Muslims who claim to be descendants of Muslim invaders from Golconda. It appears they settled there being married to Paroja women. They have still retained their customs and the observance of the Muharram. In the rural areas are to be found groups whose origin is Muslim. They migrated to the district centuries back in very small groups. Their size made them to mix freely with local people and marry among them and adopt many of their religious customs. Their present religion is marked by the observance of important festivals like Muharram and also worship of local deities.

(xxv) Christians

The Christians are practically all converts of the Schleswig-Holstein Evangelical Lutheran Mission. The Mission began work in 1882, when its pioneers, Reverend H. Bothmann and Reverend E. Pohl, started to build a Mission house at Koraput, but suffered so severely from fever that they abandoned the place in favour of Salur.

Koraput was again selected in 1885 and in the next five years, beginnings were successfully made at Jeypore, Kotpad, Nowrangpur and Gunupur. Mission houses were subsequently built at Rayagada, Bissamcuttack, Nandapur, Lakshmipur and Doliamba. In the absence of the German Missionaries during and after the first Great War work was carried on by the American Lutheran Mission. The German Missionaries returned in 1925. The district is divided into two mission fields. The area comprised in the Rayagada and Gunupur subdivisions being called the East Jeypore Mission is under the administration of the Danish Church. There are now only a few European Missionaries working in the district.

43. Customs and practices

(i) Practices connected with child-birth

The Dombs believe that the children are born without souls and they are afterwards chosen as an abode by the soul of an ancestor. The coming of the ancestor is signalled by the child dropping a chicken bone which has been thrust into his hand and much rejoicing follows among the assembled relations. Among the Gollas when a woman feels the first pains of labour, she is turned out of the village into a little leaf or mat hut about two hundred yards away. In this hut she must bring forth her offspring unaided, unless a midwife can be called in to be with her before the child is born. For ninety days the woman lives in the hut by herself. If any one touches her, he or she is made, like the woman, outcaste, and turned out of the village for three months. The woman's husband generally makes a little hut about fifty yards from her and watches over her. On the ninetieth day the headman of the village calls the woman to come out of the hut. She puts on clean clothes and the headman takes her to the temple of their tutelary deity Junjappa. The Chenchus have a very interesting way of naming their children. If a child is born when an official or person of some distinction happens to be near their encampment, it is named after him. Thus such names as Collector, Tahsildar, Superintendent are met with. Sometimes children are named after a town or village, either because they were born there, or in their performance of a vow to some place of pilgrimage. Among the Parojas, after child-birth, the mother is unclean for some days. The time is reckoned by the dropping of the navel string and is taken as eight to sixteen days. During that period, the woman is not allowed to cook, or even touch her meals. Among the Khonds the woman is attended in her confinement by an elderly Khond midwife who shampoos her abdomen with castor oil. The umbilical cord is cut by the mother of the infant. For this purpose the right thigh of the baby is flexed towards the abdomen, and a piece of charcoal placed on his right knee. The cord is placed on the charcoal and divided with the sharp edge of an arrow. The placenta is buried close to the house near a wall. After the cord has

been severed, the mother dumps the region of the infant's navel with her saliva over which she smears castor oil. She then warms her hands at a fire and applies them to the infant's body. When the umbilical cord has sloughed off, a spider is burnt to ashes over a fire, placed in a cocoanut shell, mixed with castor oil, and applied by means of a fowl's feather to the navel. The infant's head is shaved. Its body is smeared all over daily with castor oil and turmeric paste until it is a month old. The mother then goes with her baby and husband to her brother's house, where the infant is presented with a fowl, which is taken home and eaten by her husband.

The Koi women are very hardy and careless about themselves. After the birth of a child, they do not indulge in the luxury of a cot, but according to their usual custom, continue to lie upon the ground, bathe in cold water and eat their accustomed food. As soon as child is born, it is placed upon a cot, and the mother resumes her ordinary day-to-day work. On the seventh day the child is well washed and all the neighbours and near relatives assemble together to name the child. Having placed the child on a cot, they put leaf of the *Mohua* tree in the child's hand and pronounce a name which they think suitable. If the child closes its hand over the leaf, it is regarded as a sign of acquiescence, but if the child rejects the leaf or cries, they take it as a sign that they must choose another name, and so they throw away the leaf, and substitute another leaf and another name, until the child shows its approbation. This ceremony is followed by a night of dancing and singing, and then next day the father gives a feast to his neighbours and friends, or if too poor for that, meets the male friends with liquor.

Among the Gonds pregnant woman must not go near a horse or elephant, as they think that either of these animals would be excited by her condition and would assault her. In cases where labour is prolonged they give the woman water to drink from a swift flowing stream, or they take pieces of wood from a tree struck by lightning and make a necklace of them and hang it round her neck. In these instances the swiftness of the running water, or of the lightning is held to be communicated to the woman, and thereby she will obtain a quick delivery.

The Bonda mother continues with her ordinary work almost to the very moment of delivery and resumes much of it immediately afterwards. She has very few privileges during the months of pregnancy. She should not go out of a house during an eclipse and she is supposed to observe some simple rules of diet, she should avoid mango, the jack-fruit which might make the child dribble later on, the brinjal which will give it itch, a spotted fowl which will infect it with its spots, and any kind of carrier. The father is not permitted to eat the head or feet of anything sacrificed or killed in ceremonial hunt. The process

of child-birth is taken equally simply and is unencumbered by the usual apparatus of magic tricks and charms to get the child out of the womb. When the pains begin the other women who must be exclusively Bonda take the mother into a corner of the ordinary living room of the house. Sometimes they tie rope to the roof for her to cling to. They make her sit on her knees. Two women hold her and persuade her to cough violently. After child-birth an elderly woman makes ligature round the cord and cuts it with an arrow if it is a girl, with a sickle if it is a boy. The women make a small pit inside the house for the excess blood during birth but bury the placenta and cord, wrapped in a large leaf, in a pit under the caves behind the house. It is regarded as particularly fortunate if the child is born facing the earth.

Among the Saoras, there are few restrictions on pregnant woman, except that during later months sexual intercourse is forbidden. During an eclipse she should keep indoors. She should not go fishing, for her presence will cause much water to flow in the stream and this will help the fish to escape. A Shaman may continue her work of divination and sacrifice right up to her confinement, though after her child is born it is tabooed for her to perform any rite for about three months.

(ii) Mortuary customs

Among the Bauris the dead are either burnt or buried. The corpse is borne in the hands, or on a bier, by four men. Soon after the village boundary is crossed, the widow of the deceased throws rice over the eyes of the corpse, and also a little fire, after taking it three times round. If an elderly woman dies these rites are performed by her daughter-in-law. When the grave has been filled in the figures of a man and women drawn over it, and all throw earth over it saying "You were living with us, now you are dead. Do not trouble our people". When the mourners return home cow-dung water is sprinkled about the house and toddy is partaken of. On the tenth day, the Dhiyami (priest) offers food and new cloth to the deceased.

Among the Bhandaris the dead are cremated. When a person is on the point of death a little Jagannath Prasad, i.e., rice from the Puri temple, is placed in his mouth. The corpse is washed, anointed with turmeric and wrapped in a new cloth. The funeral pyre is generally prepared by an Oriya washerman. In the course of cremation, each mourner throws a log on the pyre. On the tenth day, the relatives and friends of the deceased are shaved. The rites are performed by the eldest son of the deceased, under the guidance of a Brahmin priest. If an important elder of the community dies, a ceremony called *Jala-Jala handi* (pot drilled with holes) is performed on the night of the tenth day. Fine sand is spread over the floor on which a burning lamp is placed and covered with a cooking pot. Another pot suspended over a pole is carried to the

street by two men. After their return everybody present crowd into the room where the lamp was placed and examine the sand for the marks of footprints of a bull, cat or man, the trail of cart-track, ladder, etc., which are believed to be left by the dead person when he goes to the other world.

Among the Bhumias the dead are burnt and pollution lasts for nine days. On the tenth day a ceremonial bath is taken and a feast with copious supplies of liquor is held. The Chenchus bury their dead, lying on left side. On the second day, food is offered to the crows and Brahmani kites. On the eleventh day a mat is spread on the floor of the hut and covered with a clean sheet. On the floor food is placed. The dead person is invoked by name, the various people deposit the food offering.

The Bhottadas burn their dead and observe pollution for ten days during which no agricultural work is done and no food is cooked in the *Vamsa* of the deceased which is fed by some relatives. On the tenth day on which bath is taken some fried rice and a new pot are carried to the burning ground and left there. The mortuary rites of the Brahmins have been described in detail by Thurston. It is not necessary to go into them as most of them are common throughout India. Certain local peculiarities should, however, be noted. When a Brahmin is on the point of death, he is removed from his bed and laid on the floor. If there is any fear of the day being inauspicious then the dying man is taken out of the house and placed on the courtyard. Some prayers are offered and cow is gifted away. These are intended to render the passage of life through the various parts of the body as easy as possible. The spirit is supposed to escape through one of the nine orifices of the body according to the character of the individual concerned. That of a good man leaves the body through the *Brahmarandhra* (top of the skull) and that of the bad man through the anus. The disembodied spirit is supposed to be naked after the body has been cremated. To clothe it, offerings of water with bowls of cooked rice are made and a cloth, lamp and money are given to Brahmin. Pollution is observed from ten to fourteen days.

Among the Chitra-Ghasis the dead are burnt and death pollution is observed for three days during which the caste occupation is not carried on. On the third day the ashes are collected together and a fowl is killed. The ashes are then buried or thrown into running water. The corpses of the more prosperous Dombs are usually cremated. The son or husband of a deceased person has his head, moustache and arm-pits shaved on the tenth day. The corpse among the Gollas, after being washed, is made to rest on a mortar, and two pestles are placed by its side along with a lighted lamp. Among the Haddis cremation is more common than burial. Food is offered to the deceased on the day after death, and also on the tenth and eleventh days. Some Haddis

proceed on the ninth day to the place where the corpse was cremated and after making an effigy, offer food. Towards night they proceed to some distance from the house and place food and fruits on a cloth spread on the ground. They then call the dead man by his name and eagerly wait till some insect falls on the cloth. As soon as this happens, the cloth is folded, carried home, and shaken over the floor, close to the spot where the household god are kept, so that the insect falls on sand spread on the floors, and covered with a new pot. After sometime, the pot is removed and the sand examined for any marks which may be left on it.

Among the Jatapus the dead are usually buried, but those who die from snake-bite are burnt. Death pollution lasts for three days, during which the caste occupation of cultivation is not carried on. An annual ceremony is performed by each family in honour of the dead. A fowl or goat is killed, a portion of the day's food collected in a plate on the roof of the house. Once in twenty years or so, all the castemen join together, and buy a pig or cow, which is sacrificed in honour of the ancestors.

Among the Kalingis the dead are, cremated. On the day after death, food made bitter by the addition of margosa (*Melia azadirachta*) leaves is offered. A piece of bone is carried away from the burning ground, and buried under a Peepal (*Ficus religiosa*) tree. Daily until the tenth day, water is poured seven times over the spot where the bone is buried.

About the death ceremonies among the Khonds the following account is given in the Manual of the Ganjam district: "Immediately after death, a cloth is wrapped round the corpse, but no clothes or valuables are removed. A portion of paddy (unhusked rice) and all the cooking utensils of the deceased are given to the village Sitra. (The Sitras manufacture the brass rings and bangles worn by the Khonds.) The body is then burnt. Three days after the death the *modda* ceremony is performed. An effigy of the deceased is prepared of straw, which is stuck up in front of or on the roof of the house and the friends and relations assemble, lament and eat at the expense of the people of the deceased's house. Each person brings a present of some kind. The death of a man in a village requires a purification which is made by the sacrifice of a buffalo on the seventh day after death. If a man is killed by a tiger, the purification is made by the sacrifice of a pig, the head of which cut off with a *tangi* (axe) by a Pano is passed between the legs of the men in the village, who stand in a line astraddle".

Among the Kondaras the dead are cremated and the corpses of both men and women are placed face downwards. Among the Mattiyas, the dead are burnt, and the spot where cremation takes place is

marked by setting up on the ground a bamboo pole to which one of the dead man's rags is attached. The domestic pots, which were used during his last illness, are broken there. Death pollution is observed for eight days. On the ninth day, the ashes mixed with water are cleared up, and milk is poured over the spot. Over it a small butt-like structure is raised. The dead, among the Omanatyas, are burnt. Pollution lasts for seven days during which caste occupation is not carried out, and the mourners are fed by people of another sept. On the eleventh day a feast is held at which liquor is forbidden.

Among the Paidis, on the day after death, the funeral pyre is extinguished, and the ashes are thrown on to a tree or an ant-hill. As they are being borne thither, the priest asks the man who carries them what has become of the dead person and he is expected to reply that he has gone to Kasi or Puri. A cloth is spread on the spot where the corpse was burnt and offerings of food are placed on it. On the fourth day a pig is killed and cooked. Before being cooked, one of the legs is hung up near the spot where the deceased breathed his last. Death pollution is got rid of by touching oil and turmeric, and the ceremonies conclude with a feast.

Among the Pentiya the dead are burnt, and death pollution is observed for ten days, during which the relatives of the deceased are fed by members of another sept. On the tenth day a caste feast takes place. Among the Parojas the ashes are subsequently buried in a pit a few feet deep, near the burning ground and the grave is marked by a heap of stones. A pole is set up in this heap and water is poured on it for twelve days. On the fourth day cooked rice and fish are set on the way leading to the spot where the corpse was burnt. The ceremony concludes with bath, feast and drink. Among the Sountis the dead are burnt and death pollution lasts for ten days. On the eleventh day those under pollution bathe and the sacred fire is raised by a Brahmin. Towards midnight a new pot is brought and holes are bored in it. A lighted lamp and food are placed in it, and it is taken towards the burning ground and placed on the ground. The dead man's name is then called out three times. He is informed that food is ready and asked to come.

The Bondas bury women dying in pregnancy or child-birth and the victims of cholera or smallpox but they burn all others. For adults a pyre is built, but babies are often placed inside a small cover of stones. After cremation the ashes are regarded as important evidence for the cause of death, an oval ring of stones is made round them, and they are covered with a lightly thatched shed with double roof. The treatment of the corpse is usually casual and there is no expenditure on it, no clean cloth and very little turmeric. The huddling of the human frame into a bundle in an old and tattered mat seemed to be most pathetic. The cremation ceremony is equally casual and marked by

the strongly economical habits of the tribe. Everything worth saving must be preserved even the little strip of cloth over the genitals should be removed.

The Saora death is an embarrassment, as every death in a family adds a new danger from the other world. But it is not a separation. The shades of ancestors are always at hand, there is not a festival or ceremony which they do not attend, they are there affectionate and aggressive by turns. How far this close and continued communion with the dead robs the death of some of its sorrow it is hard to say. Except in cases of smallpox and cholera, the Saoras nowadays cremate their dead. At one time, it is said, they used simply to throw the bodies away and leave them to be eaten by the wild beasts. Later they buried the dead standing upright with the head above the ground. People used to remove the skulls and use them as hearths for cooking. After death the corpse is laid on its back across the mortar in the central room of the house and is covered with a cloth. Women carry the corpse out of the house and lay it on a plank of wood in the street outside. They remove most of the ornaments, bathe the body and comb the hair. Sometimes the corpse is carried by hands and feet, sometimes a man may take it on his back. Before the corpse is taken away the relatives pile every bit of the deceased's cloth over it. During or after the ceremonies the Shamans busy themselves with attempt to divine the cause of death.

When a Koya dies, a cow or bullock is slaughtered, and the tail is cut off and put in the dead man's hand. The liver is said to be put in his mouth. His widow's *tali* (marriage badge) is always placed there, and when a married woman dies her *tali* is put in her mouth. Children are buried far away from the home of their parents. It is customary among the more prosperous families to put a few rupees into the mouth of a corpse before the funeral pyre is lighted. The money is made to represent the value of the animal sacrificed.

Among the Gadabas males, as a rule, are burnt but if a person dies in the night or on a rainy day, the corpse is sometimes buried. Women and children are usually buried presumably because they are not thought worth the fuel necessary for cremation. Only relations are permitted to touch a corpse. Death pollution is observed for three days, during which the caste occupations must not be engaged in. Stone slabs are erected to the memory of the dead, and sacrifices are offered to them now and again.

(iii) Esoteric practices

Among the esoteric practices, the human sacrifice or *Mariah*, as it is called among the Khonds, has received wide publicity. The last recorded *Mariah* sacrifice occurred in 1852. Investigations have revealed

that the practice was in vogue a couple of decades back, though on a very small scale. These sacrifices were then no longer public ceremonies but held in deep forest at the dead of night. The *Jani* (priest) and two or three others only knew the location. At present, however, the practice is completely extinct but exactly the same ceremonies are gone through in the present Mariah sacrifice, a buffalo taking the place of the human victim.

It is stated in the Manual of Vizagapatam district that female infanticide used to be very common all over the Jeypore country, and the Raja is said to have made money out of it in one large taluk. The custom was to consult the Desari, when a child was born as to its fate. If it was to be killed the parents had to pay the Amin of the taluk a fee for the privilege of killing it, and the Amin used to pay the Raja three hundred rupees a year for renting the privilege of giving the licence. The Sun god, in contemplating the deplorable effects produced by the creation of feminine nature, charged men to bring up only as many females as they could restrain from producing evil to the society. Again the Khonds believe that souls almost invariably return to animate human forms in the families in which they have been first born and received. But, the reception of the soul of an infant into a family is complete only on the performance of the ceremony of naming upon the seventh day after its birth. The death of a female infant, therefore, before that ceremonial reception, is believed to exclude its soul from the circle of family spirits.

Among the Dombs the Devil's priests and in rare cases priestesses effect communion between the people and the Dumas by a sort of possession, which the spirit, entering into them, is said to give rise to. This condition which is produced by intoxicating drink and the fumes of burning incense gives rise to revolting cramp-like contortions, and muscular quiverings. In this state, they are believed to communicate what sacrifices the spirits require. On special occasions, they fall into a frenzied state, in which they cut their flesh with sharp instruments, or pass long iron bars through the tongue and cheeks, during which operation no blood must flow. For this purpose the instruments are rubbed all over with some blood concealing material or sap. They also affect sitting on a sacred swing armed with long iron nails.

The Gadabas have a devil dance, which they are willing to perform before strangers in return for small present. Again if a member of the caste is supposed to be possessed of a devil, he or she is abused and beaten by other members of the caste until the devil is cast out. In some parts the superstition is that a piece of wild buffalo horn buried in the ground of the village will avert or cure cattle disease. There is rather a curious custom in connection with a village goddess. Close

to her shrine a swing is kept. On this swing once a year at the great village festival, thorns are placed, and the village priest or priestess sits on them without harm.

Among the Gonds the detection of a witch by the agency of the corpse, when the death is believed to have been caused by witchcraft, is practised. In other cases a lamp is held to indicate the witch. Two leaves are thrown on the outstretched hand of suspected person, and if the leaf representing her or him falls above the other, suspicion is deepened. A witch is beaten with rods of the tamarind, which is supposed to be of peculiar efficacy in such cases ; her head is shaved crosswise from one ear to the other over the head and down to the neck; her teeth are sometimes knocked out perhaps to prevent her from doing mischief if she would assume the form of a tiger or other wild animal. She is usually obliged to leave the village and even sometimes murdered.

44. Customs and practices regarding occupations and economic activities

It is observed by F. Fawcett in 1902 that until recently the Khonds would not engage in any ordinary labour. But there has come a change during the last few years and they have taken to work of common type. In recent years the Khonds have been emigrating to Assam to work in the tea gardens. This emigration is now stopped. Shifting or Podu cultivation is widely practised among them. Efforts to wean them away from this practice have been made as early as 1908. These efforts have been intensified during the post-Independence period but it has not been possible to make much headway. Turmeric is perhaps the most valuable crop which the Khonds raise. It is the most laborious cultivation in consideration of the long time it takes to mature. Tobacco is generally grown in back-yards and a good deal of care is taken for its cultivation, as the Khonds are inveterate smokers. Among the products of the jungles may be included myrobalan, tassar, silk cocoons and dammar all of which are bartered to Dombs in small quantities, generally for salt. Honey is also collected by them. The Khonds are very keen in the pursuit of game for which the hot weather is the suitable time, and during this period, a Sambar or bison has but little chance of escape if once wounded by an arrow.

Among the Dombs when a house has to be built the first thing is to select a favourable spot to which few evil spirits resort. At this spot they put in several places three grains of rice arranged in such a way that the two lower grains support the upper one. To protect the grains they pile up stones round them, and the whole is lightly covered with earth. When after sometime they find on inspection that the upper grain has fallen off, the spot is regarded as unlucky. If the position of grains remains unchanged, the site is regarded as auspicious.

The Haddis proper never do sweeping or scavenging work, which are in some places done by the Rellis. The Relli scavengers are often called the Bhatta or Karuva Haddis. Sometimes the Haddis especially the Karuva Haddis sell human hair for the purpose of female toilet.

Shifting cultivation by cutting down and burning the forests is indifferently practised by the Koyas.

The Bauris claim that palanquin-bearing is their traditional occupation.

The Chenchus are engaged in collecting bamboos, and selling after straightening them by heating in the fire. Before the bamboos are placed in carts for conveyance to the settlements, a goat and fowls are sacrificed.

The Bhottadas have the reputation of being the best cultivators in Jeypore Agency, and they take a high position in the social rank.

Among the Gonds a leather rope is sometimes tied to a plough and harrow, and the boys and girls pull against one another on the rope in a tug-of-war. If the girls win they think that rain will come, but if the boys win that it will not. In order to stop excessive rain a naked bachelor collects water from the caves in a new earthen pot, covers the pot with a lid or with mud and buries it beneath the earth, or the pot may be filled with salt. Here it is believed that as the water dries up in the pot or the salt gets dry the rain stops and the world becomes dry.

At present owing to spread of education and development of commercial activities and decay of feudal pattern, many of the primitive customs and practices are being gradually given up. Practices involving crime are disapproved by Government and those which are unhygienic are also not being tolerated. Thus many of the primitive customs are being modified and only those which are conducive to genuine mirth and joy are retained in form and character.

45. Intercaste relationship

Relationship among the castes within the Hindu social structure is based on the Jajmani system. One caste caters to the needs of the others both ritual and economic. Thus the Brahmin serves as the priest, the Tanti as supplier of cloth, the Bhandari shaves the people and the washerman washes the clothes. There are certain castes who have some prescribed duties like beating drums, removing dead cattle, etc., but in return they do not get any services from other castes. The barber does not shave them, the washerman does not wash their clothes, even on payment.

[70 B. of R.—16]

Payment is made in kind. Every village has to pay a fixed quota of paddy or other agricultural products to the barber and the washerman at the time of harvest. On special occasions like marriage payments both in cash and kind are made according to the status of the household.

Each caste maintains its separate identity and functions as an endogamous unit. Inter caste marriages are strictly forbidden. There are, however, certain castes like the Karan and the Khandayat among whom marriages occur. These marriages are regarded to impair the prestige of the parties (specially those who claim to be higher in the social hierarchy) but no social stigma is attached to it. In cases of irregular marriages between completely different castes, the parties become liable to social boycott. There are, however, conventionally fixed rules to determine the status of the offsprings of these marriages.

The tribes also maintain their separate identity but the similarities in language, dress and certain customs tend to foster closer relationship between two tribes if they live in close proximity. Even marriages between members of the two tribes though not socially approved are yet tolerated to a very large degree and are regarded as regular after observance of certain ceremonies. Thus a relationship has developed between the Bondas and the Gadabas by which marital relationships between the two tribes are regulated.

Due to their isolation, most of the tribes were dependent upon some group or other to maintain contact with the outer world. At present no tribe lives in complete isolation but due to their social tradition they continue to rely on a certain group for outside contact. The relation of the Dombs (or Panas) with the Khonds may be cited as an instance in this respect. The Khonds sell their produce through them and take their advice on all problems not concerned with the internal matters of their society.

The social relationship of the tribal Christians are confined within their own group and this is also the case with the Christian converts from the Dombs and other Scheduled Castes. Among the tribals the Christian converts do not cease to be participants in the social life of the tribe and continue to take part even in rituals. Thus in the Kedu festival among the Khonds the Christian Khonds contribute their subscription though they remain absent from the festival itself. They also allow parts of buffalo flesh to be buried in their fields and believe that it increases the fertility of the soil. If a tribal is asked as to the group to which he belongs, he mentions his tribe and not whether he is a Christian or not.

In such Hindu festivals, like Dashara which are occasions for public rejoicing, the tribals both Christians and non-Christians participate. The Mohammedans also take part on such occasions. The Hindus, however, do not participate in festivals like the Kedu or the Muharram.

The intercaste relationship within the Hindu social structure is undergoing radical change due to the impact of the industrial civilization. Thus the relationship based on the Jajmani system is giving place to commercial relationship. The Brahmins have largely taken to Government and private services, commerce and other secular occupations. Very few professional priests are to be found among them. The Brahmins do not conduct even their own rituals and take the help of professional priests. The professional castes like the Dhoba, Bhandari, etc., now insist upon cash payment.

Parts of some occupations of certain castes are now regarded as humiliating by those castes and those are not only being given up but also there are organized movements for their abolition. Thus, the barber now refuses to wash the feet of the guests in marriage feasts. The Gaudas (milkmen) consider it humiliating to carry the palanquin. The Doms can no longer be forced to remove dead cattle.

46. New religious movements

Christianity continues to spread among the tribal people. More and more tribals now claim to be Hindus. They no longer count their tribal religions as distinct and return in the Census as Hindu. Attempts are being made by them to place their deities within the Hindu pantheon. They also try to find out legends concerning the origin of their tribal societies in Hindu Puranas and are reforming their festivals, rituals, etc., through the introduction of Hindu customs and employment of Brahmins as priests. The educated and politically conscious tribals are leaders of these movements.

Within the Hindu society untouchability is gradually being given up. Men are no longer asked about their caste in the hotels and tea shops of the towns. In the rural areas pollution by touch is not rigidly observed and is confined to the old and the orthodox. In this respect leadership is being taken by the educated members of the Scheduled Castes and also by the Dalita Jati Sevak Sangha. Some enlightened members of other castes have also taken leadership in these activities.

47. Property and inheritance

The peculiarities of Saora family is described by Verrier Elwin in the following words : "The most remarkable thing about the organisation of Saora society is its lack of organisation. The one essential

unit is the extended family descended from a common male ancestor. The Saora attitude to property is marked by mutual hospitality, co-operation, the mutual exchange of gifts and a very strong sense of tribal solidarity." Whatever remains out of the scanty Saora property, after these practices, is left to the extended family.

Joint family system is prevalent to a very limited degree among the tribals. After marriage the girls are inevitably sent to their husband's houses. The married sons live in separate households but they are subjected to the control of the parents, especially the father, as long as they live. Cooking is done in common and the food is distributed by the mother.

Among almost all the tribes, especially among the Kondhs, Saoras, Koyas, Gadabas and the Bondas, boys and girls after they attain a certain age go to spend most of their times in the dormitories. Separate dormitories are provided for the boys and the girls. They sleep and squat and spend most of their time there. They only come to their homes to take their meals. The boys and girls start going to their dormitories when they attain the age of seven or eight.

Among the Hindu castes joint family system is the rule though exceptions to this rule are becoming frequent. When the sons of a family work and stay outside, the joint family does not function properly and when brothers have unequal income, quarrels result and end in the breaking of the joint family.

When a joint family breaks the property is equally divided among the brothers and the father also gets an equal share. Things which are regarded as individual property are not divided. Such division, however, is considered as tentative and fresh division takes place after the father's death. If the mother survives the father, she does not get a share but has the right to be maintained. She is maintained by all the sons in turn. Sometimes she chooses to stay with her favourite son,

Matriarchy is the system in which all property belongs to the women and is inherited only by them. Such a system is not prevalent among any tribe or caste in the district. The maternal uncle, however, has a considerable authority over her sister's children in almost all the tribal societies. Property continues to be disposed of according to patriarchal system both among the tribes and castes.

In the tribal society property is transferred according to the rules of inheritance prevalent in the respective tribes. They seem to be least affected by the civil laws. They rarely come to court.

Among the Hindu castes also the traditional methods of inheritance prevail and transfer of property through wills is extremely rare. Only when a father is not on good terms with his sons he feels the necessity

of making a will. It is not thought necessary to provide daughters by means of wills as they are given whatever should be given to them in the form of dowry.

48. Marriage and morals

(i) Monogamy, polygamy and polyandry

Among the Saoras, polygamy is fairly common. In Dokirpanga Elwin found every married man with at least two wives. Fawcett has some interesting remarks about the condition in his days. Men usually marry their wives' sisters, as this was less expensive. In some places all the wives are said to live together peacefully. It is not the custom in the Kohalkot villages. Knowing that the wives would fight, if together, domestic peace is maintained by keeping up different establishments. A man's wives may visit one another in the daytime, but one wife would never spend the night in the house of another.

Polyandry is not prevalent anywhere in the district. The maternal uncle's daughters are regarded as potential mates and some sort of freedom is allowed with them which ranges between joking and extreme licence. This has been mistakenly described by many as polyandry. Polygamy is prevalent among the Gonds, Gadabas, Koyas and Bondas. In these societies, though permitted, it is not widely practised and monogamous marriages far outnumber the polygamous. Among the Parojas and the Kondhs, polygamy is not seriously objected to by the first wife. When the wife is old or unable to work she sometimes asks her husband to take a second wife. In such cases it is possible for the co-wives to live peacefully. Mostly the wives are kept in separate establishments to avoid conflict. Among the Bondas, marriage with a second wife almost invariably ends in a divorce with the first. In every case the first wife is given a higher status and formally she has some control over others.

Keeping of concubines is not prevalent among the tribes, but it is prevalent among the Hindu castes. Concubines are mostly women belonging to a caste lower than that of the man. If they are kept in the household their status is not higher than a maid servant's though sometimes a concubine might be crafty enough to have stronger influence. Mostly the concubines are kept in separate establishments and in separate villages.

Polygamy was prevalent, though slightly, among the Hindu castes. At present, no fresh polygamous marriage takes place as it has been banned by law.

Polygamy is widely practised by the rural Mohammedans.

Among the Christians polygamy is strictly prohibited. Some relaxation of this universal rule of Christianity is to be found in the district. If a man has more than one wife before he is converted, he is allowed to continue in that state.

Among the Saoras the endogamous divisions are vague and often disregarded and in sharp contrast to all the neighbouring tribes, they have no exogamous totemic clans, no phratries, no moieties. The one essential unit is the extended family descended from a common male ancestor, but there are also divisions into aristocracy and proletariat in villages. Saora aristocracy consists of families of the chiefs and where they exist of the Buyya priests. Members of those large families form Saora aristocracy. Below them are members of a large number of families who are called by the general term Paraja or Rayat, which simply means peasant. Marriage between the aristocratic and proletarian families is admitted only in a typically aristocratic way. The chiefs will accept girls from the proletarian families but will not give girls to them. Generally, however, the chiefs prefer their sons to marry girls from the families of other chiefs. Neither the village nor the quarter is an exogamous unit. There are no real territorial exogamy among the Saoras.

Among the Koyas and Kondhs, marriage with the maternal uncle's daughter is prevalent and is preferred to marriage with others. This is the general custom with the tribes of the district. However, among the Bondas this custom is absent. Marriage with the maternal uncle is not prevalent among any tribe.

Every tribe is divided into exogamous clans. Marriage within the clan is strictly prohibited and is considered as incest. There are also certain brother clans, marriage between whom is prohibited. Marriage does not occur generally within the same village.

The Hindu castes are governed by Gotra exogamy though it is not strict outside the Brahman caste. Marriage with maternal uncle's daughter is prevalent, though not widely practised, among certain castes including the Brahmans. This is due to South Indian influence. Marriage within the same village, though not prohibited, is not favoured.

(ii) Marriage customs and rituals

The Saora marriage is "unusually secular in character, a business contract rather than a religious union. Its function is the stabilising of society round the institution of the family and the canalization of sex into the fruitful field of child production. The marriage and its preliminaries are simple and economic. The betrothal is effected by a series of visits from the bridegroom's family to the girl's house ; on the first visit the suitors take an arrow and a bangle and put them in the roof or where the central pillar of the house has breasts carved on it, in the groove between them. Gifts of palm wine are made and bride-price is paid. The betrothal is important and should it not end in marriage, compensation must be paid, by the family of the girl if

she is at fault, proportionate to the gifts that have been received. The actual ceremony is marked by a feast and a dance. The bride visits all the relations of her own village to bid farewell, and is then escorted by a party of friends and relations, with drums and trumpets, to her new home. There she is welcomed and taken into her husband's house. A priest or Shaman makes offerings to the ancestors. There is plenty of eating and drinking and a lot of noise. But there are none of the usual marriage rites observed by other tribes. The Saoras have the custom of engaging a suitable youth to serve for a period of years for a girl. This is usually done when there is no son in the household, or when the parents are particularly attached to a daughter and don't want her to leave them for another home. Marriage by capture seems to have been fairly common at one time but now only occurs sporadically". (Verrier Elwin, *Religion of an Indian Tribe*, pp. 55-56)

Among the Khonds a mock ceremony of capturing the bride is observed. Previous to the ceremony the bridegroom's party comes to the bride's parents and settles the terms of dowry. This is accompanied by drinking. After this, on an appointed day the bride is taken away by the bridegroom's party. The bride's party follows them to their village and affects mock anger. This is pacified by drinking and feasting. Such ceremonies are also observed among the Parojas. Among the Gadabas and Bondas, marriages are performed by giving presents to the bride's party. Each tribal marriage is accompanied by a lot of feasting and dancing. These are done in the bridegroom's house and at his cost. The system of dowry is not prevalent among the tribals.

Among the Hindu castes, both the systems of bride-price and dowry are prevalent. When the bridegroom is young and well-to-do he demands a dowry. If he is old he has to pay something to the bride's family.

(iii) Loosening of the hold of old ideas about marriage

Marriages between the Saora and other tribes like the Paroja and the Gadaba do occur but they do not signify any change in the old ideas nor are they socially approved. Among the tribes child marriage has been given up wherever it was prevalent. Among the Hindu castes marriage restrictions between the groups within the caste are no longer observed strictly. Intercaste marriages, however, are extremely rare and considered as irregular. The number of civil marriages is very small and occurs when marriages are performed without the consent of the family or in an intercaste marriage. Marriage of a girl belonging to a higher caste to a man of lower caste is considered more irregular than that of a lower caste girl with a higher caste man.

The Christians, specially the tribal converts, are allowed and sometimes encouraged by the missionaries to marry non-Christians. After marriage the non-Christian spouse is converted into Christianity.

(iv) Marital age

Marriage among the Saoras takes place rather early at sixteen or seventeen for the boy and fifteen or sixteen for the girl. The Koyas marry at a fair age and infant marriages are unknown among them. A Khond boy marries when he is between eighteen or twenty but often he marries up to the age of twenty-five. The Kondh girl is married between sixteen and eighteen years. Gadabas marry approximately at the same age. The Bondas marry early and sometimes the girl is elder than the boy by one or two years. Previously the Gonds were marrying at very early ages but now adult marriage is prevalent among them.

Among the Hindu castes child marriage was widely prevalent and it occurs among Brahmins even now. The other castes, however, have adopted adult marriage. The Christians and Mohammedans are very strict regarding adult marriage.

(v) Marriage of widows and divorce

Among the Saoras a widow is expected to marry her husband's younger brother or one of her elder brother's sons. If she marries some one else compensation must be paid to the husband's brother. Among them divorce is simple, though emphatically disapproved. There is no ceremony, it is effected by payment of compensation for no woman leaves her husband except for another man.

Among Bondas there does not seem to be any formal ceremony of divorce, separation is effected when a wife definitely leaves her husband's house, if he forcibly turns her out, or if she attaches herself to another man. The parents of the girl come and argue with him. If the man is determined to divorce the woman he gives them a rupee and sends them away. But now they have a right to shoot a pig. It may be any pig they see. If it is the husband's pig, it does not matter but if it belongs to some one else the husband has to pay compensation to the owner. After this the woman is free. (Elwin, *Bondo Highlander*) Marriage of widows is prevalent among the Bondas.

Among the Khonds divorce is very easy. Both men and women take initiative in effecting a divorce. The husband or wife may say that they would not live together and then they separate. The wife returns the ornaments and the wife's family returns the presents taken from the husband. Widows generally marry husband's brother.

Among the Koyas elopements are more frequent than divorce. In these cases serious disputes arise and fines are imposed by the headman. Widow marriage is done exactly like ordinary marriage. The widow ordinarily chooses one of the husband's brothers.

Among the Gadabas the remarriage of widows is permitted and younger brother may marry the widow of the elder brother. If she does not marry him then the second husband has to pay a sum of money called 'Randa Tanka' to him. When a man divorces his wife her relations are summoned, and he pays her two rupees before sending her away.

Divorce is strictly prohibited among the Brahmins. A Brahmin wife may be separated from her husband if she commits adultery or suffers from such diseases as leprosy or venereal disease. A Brahmin widow can never be remarried and has to spend her life as a celibate.

Among the Dombs and other castes, considered as low, both divorce and widow marriage are widely prevalent. Among the Dombs divorces are results of elopements.

(vi) Economic dependence of women and their place in society

Among the Saoras economic activities are mostly confined to men. Ploughing, selling of products, etc., are entirely done by men. The women work in the fields and do everything except ploughing. Thus they can have a small income of their own. But on the whole they are dependent upon men. Their status in the society is, however, very high. Women are allowed to work as Shamans and the prestige of a female Shaman is not lower than that of the male one. In course of their practice as Shamans the women earn something. The domestic relations of a female Shaman are quite normal. The women are free to divorce and do it frequently in case of ill behaviour.

The Bonda men are lazy and all the work is done by women. The women-folk do all the domestic work and a good deal of out door work. For this they do not acquire any prestige—rather their industriousness helps to perpetuate the supremacy of the male in their society.

Among the Gadabas, Koyas and Parojas the women are dependent on men for their maintenance, though they work hard and have independent earnings.

In all these societies the women have the security of looking towards their brothers if they are deserted by their husbands. It is not simply a moral duty on the part of the brothers to maintain their deserted sisters, it is binding on them by tribal custom, as they enjoy the presents obtained in exchange of their sisters. If the sister is deserted for her own fault she forfeits her right of maintenance but usually they are not cast away. Women, among the Bondas, Koyas, Gadabas and the Saoras are allowed a degree of freedom not to be found in the Hindu society. They dance and sing among groups of males. Before marriage love affairs and even intimate relationships are permitted and widely practised. These affairs do not inhibit the later marriage life. Even after marriage on some festive

occasions a complete licence is allowed. In the tribal societies there are no restrictions on women as such. Restrictions are imposed through the kinship regulations and is guided by the fear of incest rather than the chastity of women.

The Domb woman is comparatively free and has altogether an equal status with the man. Among other castes, specially among Brahmins women are completely dependent upon men and in case of desertion have nothing to fall back upon except other people's charity or lust. Both in the theory and practice the women are considered inferior to men. They cannot inherit property and cannot perform any rituals. The law giving the women right over the property of their husbands and fathers is not effective except in a few exceptional cases.

(vii) Prostitution, traffic in women, drinking, gambling, etc.

"Prostitution is unknown among the hill Saoras. Incest is taboo and is regarded as dangerous as well as reprehensible. Sodomy and bestiality are not even a joke. The Saora attitude to sex is frank and simple. They have few repressions or inhibitions. Their open and natural delight in the beauty of the human form, the absence of futile and tedious taboos, the freedom of their speech, a certain lightness of touch helps them to approach this beautiful thing without shame or guilt, it enables them to fulfil their lives with happiness." (Elwin—*Religion of an Indian Tribe*, p. 567)

Drunkenness is very much prevalent among the Bondas and all sorts of crimes are committed under its influence. During a festival the Bonda gets excessively drunk.

In every tribe are found women who subject themselves to prostitution. They are considered as outcaste and have no place in their societies. Those tribal women, who are suddenly exposed to the civilised influence and are deserted by their husbands, take to this profession; They, however, do not practise this as ordinary prostitutes. They are available to remain as concubines for short periods and often change their companions.

The Domb women are notorious for their amorous practices and in many cases this is not objected to by their husbands and instances are not rare of a form of semi-prostitution practised with the connivance of the husbands.

Prostitutes were to be found in towns like Jeypore. Thurston reports about a section of prostitutes as follows : "Guni is the name of Oriya dancing girls and prostitutes. It is derived from the Sanskrit Guna, meaning qualifications or skill, in reference to their possession of qualification for and skill acquired by training when young in enchanting by

music, dancing, etc." There were other dancing girls whose apparent function was to dance in the temples but whose actual practice was prostitution. After the abolition of estates these classes are becoming extinct.

49. Home life

(i) Types of dwellings

"A Saora village is a matter of streets; long rows of houses, each built on to its neighbour with a common verandah running right along, are arranged in every conceivable relation to each other. Often the rows are face to face with a broad street between, sometimes one row turns its back on the other and opens on to a separate street, sometimes the houses stand a square, or the streets may be built one above another up a hillside; and the houses all face the same way towards the view. This is a development of the terracing principle and indeed some villages are built on old terraces, for in fact the Saoras love to be on a slope. The Saora house is a dark rectangular box, raised well above the ground, and divided inside into two sections, with a verandah in front and often when there is a second door, at the back also. The buildings are solidly constructed, the walls are built of stone or rubble or of upright pieces of wood and covered with a thick plaster of mud. Built into the verandah there are often pig styes though this may be located in the back verandah instead. Every Saora house is in a sense a temple, for nearly every sacrifice begins indoors, the ancestors use it as a hostelry on their visits to earth." (Elwin, *Religion of an Indian Tribe*, pp. 39-40)

"The Bondo house is a self-contained unit in a strongly communal and democratic setting, nearly every house has some sort of fence round it. The walls are of mud with a number of wooden pillars supporting the roof which is thatched with grass. The verandah is fenced in with an unplastered bamboo wall."

The houses of the Koyas are made of bamboo, with a thatch of grass or palmyra.

The Kondh houses are more substantial structures with walls of mud, raised plinth and verandahs. Their doors are longer and rooms more spacious.

The houses of Hindu castes show southern influence. These houses are marked by the paucity of furniture and well-planned arrangements for living within a very narrow space. Bright looking brass utensils are very conspicuous in these houses.

(ii) Furnitures and decorations

Among the Saoras the door opens on to small room which may have another door immediately opposite. In the middle of this is wooden mortar let into the floor, and the children sleep there, the boys on one

side of the mortar, the girls on the other. The rest of the building is filled with a loft, a platform about four feet high which supports the grainbins and other possessions. Under this platform, the women have to crawl for the important task of cooking, for the hearth is always placed in the far corner below it. From the room hangs a great variety of objects—baskets, gourds, bundles of cloth, umbrellas, spears, bows and arrows, pots. The walls may be decorated with icons in honour of the gods or ancestors, in front of them are hung dedicated gourds and pots, and sometimes baskets in which the special clothes of the dead or tutelaries are carefully preserved. Outside the verandah there may be a small wooden pillar for a god, as the menhirs stand on guard outside the village, so pillars and pots keep watch before the home. (Elwin, *Religion of an Indian Tribe*, pp. 40-41)

Among the Saoras, Koyas and Gadabas the houses are decorated with various icon figures. The Khonds decorate their houses by coloured plastering of earth.

Among the rural Hindu people the houses are also decorated with various icon figures in different colours and paintings of gods hung in frames.

(iii) Dress and ornaments

The real clothing of the Saoras is “the eternally dressed nakedness of their brown skin”, which adorns them with beauty and dignity. The traditional cloth for both sexes is woven for them by Dombs, from yarn hand-spun by the Saoras themselves, it is woven very well and is artistically most attractive. The women wear a simple skirt with a brown border top and bottom, it is wound round the waist and tucked in at the front. The traditional dress of men is the loin cloth, which may be a plain white strip or it may be gay with coloured patterns and tassels of red cotton. It is passed between the legs, covers the genitals in a sort of bag, and hangs down in a flap. The Saoras are not good at ornaments. They tend to attach to their bodies or hang from them anything they can get hold of, indifferent to whether it looks well or not. Saora men use a piece of loin cloth as a turban while going out. For a woman the ear is the most important ornamental zone, where she must endure a painful operation and discomfort lasting for years. While she is still a little girl, holes are made in the lobes, and these are gradually enlarged first by insertion of bits of straw and reed, and then by wooden plugs of tamarind or the spadix of the sago-palm. When the plugs are removed, their place is taken by ordinary brass spiral springs from the bazar. A Saora woman decorates her beautiful throat with a number of necklaces which add little to its grace though she uses fewer than is customary among people who are topless. In the nose a woman wears three little rings. On the legs she wears bronze or aluminium anklets and rings on the toes. Saora men put cheap bazar ornaments in the ears, nose and round their waist.

A striking thing about the 'naked' Bondas is the impression of dressiness they give. Strings of necklace worn by women cover their tops and hang down to the navel. Clothes are scanty enough, yet it is remarkable how much it conceals. Men and boys wear the simplest possible loin cloth. It has been suggested that the dress and appearance of the Bonda woman is a survival of what was formerly the common practice of all the tribes of this area. The narrow skirt (of the women's) is held in place round the loins by a waistband, to which it is attached in front but not behind, where it slips down low over the bottom. Round her shaven head she wears a number of bands—simple palmyra strips or woven and plaited fillets. Into these bands the younger girls put flowers. The Bonda woman wears no nose ornaments and does not seem specially concerned about ears. A few aluminium rings, with chain or pendant in the heli or brass button in the lobe, are deemed sufficient. On both wrists, however, a woman wears a great many broad brass bangles. It is on the ornamentation of her neck and bosom that a Bonda woman lavishes her greatest care and takes her chief pride. She puts on a mass of brass and lead work, so heavy that she does not usually carry herself very well. There are heavy brass collars of several different patterns. Tattooing is not prevalent among the Bondas. The Saora women tattoo a vertical line on their forehead and dots on the cheeks.

The Koya women dress like the Bonda but their loin cloth is larger and covers them from the waist to the knees completely. They are topless though covered by a profusion of necklaces and when they go out to the market or appear before outsiders they cover themselves with a piece of loin cloth on the waists. They wear a great number of bangles, ear-rings and nose-rings. Tattooing is very common among them. They wear a very thin narrow brass plate about half a foot long over their head. It is bended to look like a crude crown and bound with a thread behind.

The Koya men wear a bison-horn turban while dancing. This turban is a very prized possession among them.

The Desia Kondhs wear sarees woven by Dombs. These sarees are generally of deep red or yellow colour with beautiful borders. On the hands they wear bangles. The Kutia Khond women wear only a loin cloth. The most remarkable of the Khond ornaments are those worn on the nose. Heavy and big nose ornaments are so worn on the nose that they cover half of the face. The Khond women tattoo their faces profusely. Long and deep lines in black are drawn over their faces and look like furrows on a field.

The dress of Gadaba women is marked by the picturesque 'Kerang' sarees. The sarees are marked by the broad stripes of red, green and yellow. A Kerang saree lasts almost a lifetime. Another conspicuous

thing about them is their ear-rings. These rings are about six inches in diameter and touch the shoulders when worn in the middle of the ear.

It is a practice among the tribal Christians not to wear anything on their noses and not to tattoo their bodies. They wear blouses and larger pieces of sarees.

The Hindu caste women show a marked Telugu influence and wear ornaments and sarees used by the Telugus. Thus they can be differentiated from the women of other districts.

A tendency to wear handloom sarees has developed among women of the upper castes, the well-to-do and the educated. The tribal people and lower castes who come into contact with civilization are wearing cheap mill-made cloth.

In recent years, there has been a growing tendency for men of all castes and tribes to cover the upper portion of the body, when not actually at work, with shirts and vests. The cultivator in the fields protects himself from the rain with a combined hat and umbrella made of palm-leaves or woven bamboo strips and a shield of stitched leaves worn over the shoulder. During the winter they cover their bodies with pieces of coarse sheets woven by the Panas. Blankets are coming to use in many places.

(iv) Food and drink

Among the Saoras in the early morning and sunset, the men go out to the palm-trees for their wine, a nourishing as well as stimulating drink, and they usually bring some home for the women and children. They often take a little gruel at the same time, and they prepare tasty snacks with titbits of crab and chilli, special scraps of meat which are dried and preserved for the purpose after certain sacrifice. They also make Chutneys of various kinds. At midday the Saoras have a substantial meal. They have another just before it gets dark, and at night, before going to bed they have a bit of supper. The basis of their food is rice, millet and pulses. They have no idea of frying. Their great love is for meat. This they usually boil with rice or millet. Crabs are boiled or roasted between leaves. Fish are boiled. Roots are boiled separately. Bamboo shoots are very popular. Field rats are roasted on a skewer. Red ants are tied up with mushrooms in a leaf bundle which is put in embers to roast.

For food the Bondas depend mainly on agriculture. Mango, tamarind, jack-fruit and other fruits are eagerly collected, during the hot weather. Roots and tubers are useful addition to the diet, but they are not, as among the Khonds, its main feature. Wild vegetables, bamboo shoots and mushrooms are collected and eaten. The Bondas

are fond of red ants and even more fond of date-palm grub. The Bondas keep cattle, goats, pigs and poultry, eat beef and almost every animal or bird is dedicated to some ceremonial purpose, a fact that makes it difficult for the traveller to buy local supplies. The Bondas eat carrion with avidity.

The Koyas and Gadabas do not differ much in their food habits from the Bondas.

The Hindu caste's food is not much different from those in other districts. The Oriya Brahmins are markedly different in this respect from Telugu Brahmins, as the former take fish and meat which are prohibited for Telugu Brahmins.

The favourite drink of the people is the arrack distilled from *Mohua* flower. Except in Malkangiri, where the palmyra palms are plentiful, toddy is obtained from the sago-palms or *Solap* tree (*Caryota urens*). A rough ladder consisting of the stem of a bamboo with branches on either side of it, cut short so as to make steps, is lashed to the tree and left there permanently, and the owner climbs up whenever a drink is required. Beer is distilled from rice, *sama* (the millet, *panicum miliare*) and *Mandia* or ragi. The grain is mashed in the ordinary manner, some more water added and a small quantity of the ferment mixed with it.

50. Communal life

(i) Most of the Saora festivals have two motives, religious and utilitarian. There are a number of festivals connected with the rites of fertility, rites of dead and numerous other rites.

The Bondas spend a great deal of time on their religion and its feasts and holidays are an important part of Bonda life which can hardly be understood apart from them. Certain features are common to every festival. The religious occasions are real festivals and holidays; dancing accompanies each festival and there are some relaxation of rules which forbid men and women of the same village to dance together. At every festival there is a routine worship or placation of every demigod and demon in the calendar.

The chief festival among the Kondh is the Kedu festival which was once associated with human sacrifice. At present a buffalo is sacrificed in place of the human victim.

Hunting is one of the people's favourite recreations. In the hot season and especially in the month of *Chaitra*, when all the world makes holiday, organized beats are held in which all the men and boys of the village take part, armed with bows and arrows, axes or spears and occasionally with matchlocks and slay any live thing, irrespective of age or sex, which they may meet in the forest. Such expeditions, as a matter of course, culminate in a feast and carouse in the village.

All the tribes adopt music as one of their chief items of amusement and during a peak festival season it becomes their main occupation. Tribes like Bondas, Gadabas, Kondhs and Koyas have their own distinctive music and musical instruments. The preparation and manipulation of some of these instruments are done with such skill that, extremely simple though they are, it becomes almost impossible to emulate them. In each tribe different types of music are prescribed for different seasons and different occasions.

In communal life of the Saoras endogamous divisions are absent, though they are common among other tribes. Communal solidarity is nowhere so strong as among the Saoras. There is very little scope for the Saora to live the life of an isolated individual ; even at home the communal sense haunts him. This communal solidarity is not only formal but marked by lavish give and take activities. Tribal cohesion is maintained through love and co-operation. Punitive measures are almost non-existent.

On the whole, the Bondas keep their own rules fairly well. They observe the taboos on incest or adultery and their religious obligations with such fidelity that the few exceptions are long remembered. Their one great trouble is their bad temper. A Bonda village is an arena of continuous quarrels and disputes. There are family feuds and village feuds. The Bondas are extreme individualists and do not tolerate authority either secular or religious. (Elwin, *Bondo Highlander*)

The communal life of the Khond or the Gadaba is comparable at large to that of the Saora. Only the hold of religion is less upon these tribes. The Koya communal life is very disciplined under the leadership of the headman called "Pedda".

Church plays a part in the life of the tribal Christians but does not regulate it and they continue to form a part of their respective tribal communities.

Hindu communal life is varied and confined largely to their respective castes in the villages though different castes come to participate in common festivals occasionally.

(ii) Communal dances

Nearly all hill people are fond of music, and a variety of crude instruments, stringed, wind and percussive, are in use. Women sing in chorus when working in the fields, and men and boys while away in the lonely hours of watching cattle by warbling to themselves plaintive melodies on bamboo flutes, or twanging a two-stringed mandolin provided with a dried gourd for a sounding-board.

Dancing is, however, the diversion of which all men and women alike are most passionately fond. In time of festivals dancing parties begin at nightfall, last whole night and continue even through the following day. Each tribe has its own particular dance. The best efforts of the Kondhs and Savaras are clumsy beside those of some of the other tribes. The Koyas have an interesting dance in which the men tie buffalo or bison horns on their heads and engage in mimic fight ; their women also dance prettily in a ring with their hands on each other's shoulders. But undoubtedly the most skilled performers are the Jodia Parojas and the Gadabas from the neighbourhood of Koraput and Nandapur.

“At a Paroja dance all the girls and the younger married women of the village form themselves into a chain, each maiden passing her right hand behind the next girl's back and grasping the left elbow of the third. The girls arrange themselves carefully according to size, the youngest, who are generally nine and ten years old, at one end and at other the leader of the *corps de ballet* who carries a baton of peacock's feathers in her right hand to mark the time. Three or four young men take their stand in the middle of the dancing floor and strike up song which they accompany on their mandolins while the long chain of girls linked together and moving in perfect time, follow the leader with her, swaying baton, through an intricate series of sinuous lines, curvest spirals, figures-of-eight and then unravel themselves back into line again. They wind in and out like some brightly coloured snake, never halting for a moment, now backwards, now forwards, first slowly and decorously, then faster and with more and more abandon, until suddenly some one gets out of step and the chain snaps amid peals of breathless laughter. All the while the young men in the centre continue to sing, improvising the words as they go along and frequently sending the dancers into bursts of merriment by their personal allusions, subtle and poetic. The leader of the troupe varies the step in half a dozen different ways and the dancers now sway to the music with their bodies, now clink their heavy German silver bangles together in time. The chain of comely young maidens dressed in their hair neatly oiled and decked with flowers and all in the height of good humour is a picturesque and pleasing sight.” (R. C. S. Bell, *Orissa District Gazetteers—Koraput*)

The dances of the Gadabas are simpler but no less spirited. The chain of girls, all dressed exactly alike in their red, white and blue striped sarees reaching barely half way to the knee, and with their feet loaded with heavy chased brass anklets which they clink together in time, swings round in a circle to the accompaniment of muffled drums. The girls chant together in unison as they go round, and the time gets ever quicker and quicker, their steps longer and longer, but still perfect step is kept until the chain breaks or the leader is exhausted.

[70 E. of R.—18]

51. Festival

(i) Bali Jatra

This festival begins five days before the *Bhadrapada* full-moon and ends five days after it. The beginning of the festival is identified with the Nuakhia feast on which new rice is first eaten. Bali Jatra is an occasion of great rejoicing and men of all classes put on fancy dress and dance and sing. The festival takes its name from the ceremonial planting of various grains in wet sand brought from a nearby stream and placed in a structure called Bali Ghara or sand house. But it is an occasion for many other celebrations. In Bissamcuttack tahsil a swing is set up with its seat studded with sharp nails, and on this a Bejju (witch doctor) is swung, goats, pigeons are sacrificed. The Bejju then walks upon burning charcoal. He spends most of the three nights before this day in dancing wildly in a state of excitement, during which he prophesies both good and evil and pretends to grant boons to devotees.

(ii) Chaitra Parba (Pangal)

Chaitra Parba is also called Pangal, a word which comes from South India. It lasts for the whole month of *Chaitra*. All the tribes go gay. Men and boys go out into the forest for hunting. If they come back without anything, they cannot show their face to the women. Therefore no animal escapes the hunters. If they get nothing else they even kill a jackal. Women dance and sing whole day in the streets and in village commons. All motor vehicles are stopped several times on the road by streams of girls who dance and sing across the road. It is only when a few paise are paid that the vehicles are allowed to move. Two paise used to be ample. With the rise in prices this levy may have risen to twenty-five paise. A car going to Koraput from the plains may be stopped a dozen times before reaching Koraput. To witness a tribal dance for a few paise is a very cheap entertainment.

(iii) Festivities and public games

The 'Sume-Gelirak' festival held among the Bondas is unique in character. All the year round young men look forward to the Sume-Gelirak. Even middle-aged women, they say, look pretty then. It is a moral holiday, a week off from inhibitions, a relaxation from the tedious round of agricultural operations, break in the dietic monotony of everyday. The normal restraints that check the relationship of boys and girls in a village are largely forgotten. Members of the same *Bamsa* or Kuda relatives in the forbidden degree find every freedom to flirt, excite themselves with obscene horse play and very occasionally even retire together to the woods. In a dance a girl may steal a youth's cloth and wear it; this gives him the right, later on, to drag

her away into the darkness and she must not object. The Sume-Gelirak begins on Sunday and lasts for ten days. Beginning with routine propitiations of demigods and demons, it precedes to series of heavy meals, one of which is first eating of new beers. The dramatic castigation ceremonies follow, boys and girls make dancing expeditions to neighbouring villages, Bursung is worshipped, and finally the Sisa (priest) goes to the forest and performs a token cutting of grass and Kerang branches. Dancing begins on the fourth day and continues till the end. But the most serious and dramatic incident of the festival is the castigation. Here we have the same notion already noticed for the marriage by capture. There was a substitute for the thrills of kidnapping and rape under socially approved conditions; here is a surrogate for a violent quarrel and mutual assault in an atmosphere of vinous friendliness. The castigation begins with little boys. Some one takes the *Kinding sagar*, the sacred drum, from the Sisa's house and begins to beat it on the Sindibor. Other drummers join him and the people assemble. Small boys arm themselves with long switches—sago-palm branches stripped off their leaves—and two by two stand up before the Sindibor and hit each other as hard as they can. It is no pretence, soon the backs are covered with weals and the little fellows bite their lips and go at each other with all the strength they have, while the drums chatter and the crowd applauds. When a couple has had enough, they salute each other and embrace, and another pair takes their place. Mothers hover round with oil which they smear on the wounded limbs and backs. When all the boys have completed this piquant exercise, the Sisa gives them 'Kirimtor' cakes 'to stop' all their quarrels and delivers a little lecture of friendship and good behaviours. The following evening the castigation is repeated and now it is a little more serious, for it is the youths and men, even old men, who beat each other. The Sisa and his assistant begin, they bow to each other with folded hands, dance round and round, and then with all their strength hit one another with their switches. Blood soon flows from their wounds and when they have had enough the two men touch each other's feet and warmly embrace, each hugging and lifting the other in the air. (Elwin Bondo *Highlander*, pp. 174-78)

Among the Kondhs, Koyas and Gadabas communal dances are observed on the occasion of marriage and religious festivals. There are no public games among these people where adults participate. Hunting affords an exciting sport for them. Among other rural people such country games like Dodo, Bouchori, etc., are prevalent.

The greatest festival of the district is Dashara feast observed at Jeypore. This festival is held in honour of Kanaka Durga (Golden Durga) whose temple is situated within the palace. This festival lasts for sixteen days

and a series of ceremonies are held throughout the period. The legend of human sacrifice is associated with this festival but since long only animals like the goats and the sheep are offered for sacrifice. Curiously enough the flowers which adorn these animals are described as "Mariah Puspā" as a reminiscent of human sacrifice. On the sixteenth day buffaloes are also sacrificed.

Sivaratri, Holi and the Ratha Jatra are among the other chief festivals of the Hindus. On Sivaratri people gather in large number at the Gupteswar caves in the Jeypore tahsil and at the Devagiri hill near Kalyansingpur. During the Holi or the Swing festival imitation flowers of paper or pith are tied in bunches to bamboo poles 20 feet or more in length, called *dhandas*. On the night before full-moon these *dhandas* are carried in procession with music and dancing to a bonfire which is lighted in the north of the town and are thrown into flames. The god Vishnu is carried thrice round the fire. On the next day, the day of the full-moon, the image of the god is placed upon a swing hung for the occasion and is swung upon it. Swings are set up in many households and men and women swing on them till late hours in the night singing songs. On the following day everybody, irrespective of age and sex, throws coloured water and coloured powder on each other. At the Ratha Jatra idols of Jagannath are placed on cars (Ratha) and are taken out in procession at Jeypore, Gunupur and other important centres.

52. Impact of abolition of zamindari system on social life

No assessment regarding the impact of the abolition of the zamindari on the social life of the people has yet been made. The removal of the intermediary has enabled the people to come into direct contact of the Government. The pomp and festivities associated with the feudal chief are things of the past and religious festivals are at present marked by simple and austere observances. In social life the old habits and practices are in a process of change and the Adivasi people are gradually getting accustomed to the modern way of life. The district is undergoing rapid transformation due to various development works resulting in the steady rise of the living standard of the general population. The Gothi system is perceptibly on the wane and people are becoming more and more self-reliant.

APPENDIX A

Variation in population during sixty years*

Year	Persons	Vari- ation	Net varia- tion	Males	Vari- ation	Females	Variation
1901—1961							
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1901 ..	693,187	..	..	352,832	..	340,355	..
1911 ..	833,328	+ 140,141	..	417,201	+ 64,369	416,127	+ 75,772
1921 ..	805,583	— 27,745	..	403,116	— 14,085	402,467	— 13,660
1931 ..	949,652	+ 144,069	..	474,300	+ 71,184	475,352	+ 72,885
1941 ..	1,127,862	+ 178,210	..	565,527	+ 91,227	562,335	+ 86,983
1951 ..	1,269,534	+ 141,672	+ 576,347	637,903	+ 72,376	631,631	+ 69,296
1961 ..	1,561,051	+ 291,517	..	784,278	+ 146,375	776,773	+ 145,142

* Kashipur tahsil excluded

APPENDIX B

Bilingualism and mother-tongue (1961)*

Name of languages	Total speakers (Mother-tongue)	Total number of persons returned as speaking language subsidiary to mother-tongue	Subsidiary language
Bengali ..	5,951	1,061	Oriya (M 310, F 214), Hindi (M 256, F 53), English (M 203, F 25).
Gadaba ..	31,891	23,869	Oriya (M 12,264, F 11,389), Telugu (M 120, F 96).
Gondi ..	18,098	13,167	Oriya (M 4,347, F 7,623), Telugu (M 111, F 86).
Halabi ..	1,886	1,389	English (M 2, F 0), Hindi (M 0, F 6), Oriya (M 639, F 742).
Hindi ..	12,199	1,366	English (M 646, F 13), Oriya (M 512, F 119), Telugu (M 30, F 3), Bengali (M 32), Kui (M 7, F 3), Sanskrit (M 1).
Jharia ..	2,032	1,737	English (M 2), Oriya (M 789, F 946).
Konda ..	10,930	1,106	Oriya (M 258, F 410), Telugu (M 238, F 200).
Khond/Kondh	79,034	25,638	Oriya (M 13,286, F 7,667), Telugu (M 1,702, F 2,979), English (M 1, F 3)

*Kashipur tahsil excluded

Name of languages	Total speakers (Mother-tongue)	Total number of persons returned as speaking language subsidiary to mother-tongue	Subsidiary language
Koya ..	31,052	19,526	Telugu (M 5,260, F 6,151), Oriya (M 4,118, F 3,997).
Kui ..	162,518	48,725	Oriya (M 20,183, F 14,830), Telugu (M 1,604, F 1,493), Khond/Kondh (M 189, F 157), Hindi (M 63, F 191), English (M 15, F 1).
Laria ..	539	277	Oriya (M 83, F 94), Hindi (M 41, F 22), Telugu (M 37).
Oriya ..	908,766	49,955	Telugu (M 14,903, F 18,891), English (M 6,013, F 596), Kui (M 2,316, F 2,186), Hindi (M 2,145, F 571), Khond/Kondh (M 993, F 217), Parji (M 397, F 47), Bengali (M 213, F 98), Savara (M 185, F 27), Gadaba (M 152), Sanskrit (M 5).
Parji ..	83,914	19,530	Oriya (M 6,125, F 7 637), Kui (M 2,124, F 1,090), Telugu (M 1,444) English (M 54).
Parenga ..	767	..	..
Pengu ..	1,254	118	Oriya (M 84, F 31), Telugu (M 3).

Name of languages	Total speakers (Mother-tongue)	Total number of persons returned as speaking language subsidiary to mother-tongue	Subsidiary language
Santali ..	7	2	Oriya (F 2)
Savara ..	55,418	27,209	Oriya (M 8,323, F 7,765), Telugu (M 5,551, F 5,570).
Telugu ..	86,097	28,763	Oriya (M 13,709, F 10,834), English (M 2,283, F 178), Hindi (M 751, F 128), Kui (M 415, F 295), Khond (M 114, F 27), Gadaba (F 15), Tamil (M 7), Malayalam (M 1, F 3) Bengali (M 3).
Urdu ..	3,971	1,447	Oriya (M 478, F 605), Hindi (M 102, F 50), Telugu (M 70, F 46), English (M 74, F 22).

APPENDIX C

Population According to Language (1961 Census)*

Languages		Male	Female	Total
Bengali	..	2,965	2,986	
English	..	3	5	
Gadaba	..	15,839	15,952	31,891
Gondi	..	9,006	9,092	
Gujrati	..	401	101	
Halabi	..	931	955	
Hindi	..	6,758	5,441	
Jharia	..	980	1,052	2,032
Kanada	..	58	12	
Khond/Kondh	..	39,875	39,159	79,034
Konda	..	5,211	5,719	
Koya	..	15,570	15,422	
Kui	..	83,053	79,465	162,518
Laria	..	252	287	
Malayalam	..	36	21	
Marathi	..	35	36	
Marwari	..	52	32	
Nepali	..	18	1	
Oriya	..	456,377	452,389	908,766
Parenga	..	417	350	
Parji	..	41,823	42,091	
Pengu	..	602	652	
Punjabi	..	161	68	
Santali	..	5	2	
Savara	..	27,382	28,036	
Tamil	..	771	236	
Telugu	..	42,703	43,394	
Urdu	..	2,114	1,857	

*Kashipur tahsil excluded

Population according to

Subdivisions/ * Tahsils Police-stations	Bengali	English	Gadaba	Gondi	Gujrati
1	2	3	4	5	6
1. KORAPUT SUBDIVISION	23	..	10,631	..	16
2. KORAPUT TAHSIL ..	21	..	858	..	16
3. Koraput Police-station ..	1	..	738	..	..
4. Dasmantapur P.-S. ..	..	..	..	..	..
5. Lakshmpur P.-S. ..	..	..	..	..	16
6. Narayanpatna P.-S. ..	20	..	120	..	..
7. NANDAPUR TAHSIL ..	2	..	9,773	..	..
8. Semiliguda P.-S. ..	..	..	1,091	..	..
9. Pottangi P.-S. ..	..	..	2,267	..	..
10. Nandapur P.-S. ..	2	..	2,304	..	..
11. Padwa P.-S. ..	..	..	..	..	..
12. Machkund P.-S. ..	..	..	4,111	..	..
13. NOWRANGPUR SUB-DIVISION.	5,629	2	20,863	9,418	30
14. NOWRANGPUR TAHSIL ..	..	..	..	..	..
15. Nowrangpur P.-S. ..	..	..	..	..	..
16. Papadahandi P.-S. ..	..	..	..	..	..
17. Tentulikhunti P.-S. ..	..	..	..	..	..
18. JEYPORE TAHSIL ..	81	..	..	5	5
19. Jeypore P.-S. ..	..	1	..	..	..
20. Boipariguda P.-S. ..	8	..	..	..	5
21. Kundra P.-S. ..	..	..	..	..	..
22. BORIGUMMA TAHSIL ..	7	..	20,863	..	4
23. Borigumma P.-S. ..	2	..	..	..	4
24. Kotpad P.-S. ..	3	..	10,443	..	..
25. Kodinga P.-S. ..	1	..	10,420	..	..
26. Bhairaba singpur P.-S. ..	1	..	..	..	..

*Tahsils and P.-S. as in 1961

DIX D

the mother-tongue, 1961

Halabi	Hindi	Jharia	Kana- rise	Khond/ Kondh	Konda	Koya	Kui	Laria
7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
78	2,012	500	3	423	1,500	10,846	51,731	..
78	1,004	500	..	189	1,500	10,846	37,760	..
78	..	500	..	189	800	..	6	..
..	..	..	..	..	..	3,040	907	..
..	703	..	..	..	700	4,235	10,006	..
..	301	..	..	..	..	3,571	26,841	..
..	1,008	..	3	234	..	..	13,971	..
..	401	..	..	..	..	..	3,120	..
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	9,981	..
..	..	..	..	197	..	..	868	..
..	607	..	..	37	..	..	2	..
..	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	..
1,806	6,797	1,010	50	1,555	7,002	12,003	50,409	522
..	1	..	..	..	..	..	3,164	..
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	201	..
..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1,432	..
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1,531	..
..	8	503	..	80	..	12,003	991	..
..	6	..	..	23	..	..	..	..
..	2	503	..	57	..	12,003	..	..
..	..	..	..	..	..	791	..	..
..	1,177	507	..	78	7,002	..	1,460	..
..	6	..	..	..	..	..	520	..
..	61	507	..	78	7,002	..	2	..
..	1,110	..	..	..	..	..	938	..
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

APPEN

Population according to

Subdivisions/ *Tahsil/ Police-stations	Mala- yalam	Marathi	Marwari	Nepali	Oriya
1	16	17	18	19	20
1. KORAPUT SUBDIVISION	51	19	..	5	171,293
2. KORAPUT TAHSIL ..	50	19	..	5	64,031
3. Koraput Police-station	50	19	..	..	20,632
4. Dasmantapur P.-S. ..	..	..	..	..	17,341
5. Lakshmipur P.-S. ..	..	..	..	5	9,997
6. Narayanpatna P.-S. ..	..	..	..	..	16,061
7. NANDAPUR TAHSIL ..	1	..	..	..	107,262
8. Semiliguda P.-S. ..	..	..	..	..	15,936
9. Pottangi P.-S. ..	..	..	..	..	12,406
10. Nandapur P.-S. ..	..	..	..	..	32,380
11. Padwa P.-S. ..	..	..	..	..	27,349
12. Machkund P.-S. ..	1	..	..	..	19,191
13. NOWRANGPUR SUBDIVISION. ..	6	24	43	1	628,372
14. NOWRANGPUR TAHSIL ..	..	..	43	..	113,064
15. Nowrangpur P.-S. ..	..	..	43	..	42,558
16. Papadahandi P.-S. ..	..	..	..	..	40,605
17. Tentulikhunti P.-S. ..	..	..	..	..	29,901
18. JEYPORE TAHSIL ..	2	24	..	..	96,691
19. Jeypore P.-S. ..	..	..	..	..	38,073
20. Boipariguda P.-S. ..	2	24	..	..	32,710
21. Kundra P.-S. ..	..	..	..	..	25,908
22. BORIGUMMA TAHSIL ..	..	..	..	..	190,719
23. Borigumma P.-S. ..	..	..	..	..	35,986
24. Kotpad P.-S. ..	..	..	..	..	57,429
25. Kodinga P.-S. ..	..	..	..	..	57,114
26. B'airabasingpur P.-S. ..	..	..	..	..	40,190

*Tahsils and P.-S. as in 1961

DIX D—*contd.*

the mother-tongue, 1961

Parji	Parenga	Pengu	Punjabi	Santali	Savara	Tamil	Telugu	Urdu
21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29
30,984	761	840	..	..	336	380	12,238	442
19,103	..	..	..	..	295	19	2,087	15
11,300	..	..	..	..	175	..	55	9
6,008	..	..	..	..	120	..	..	..
1,199	..	..	..	..	..	17	220	2
596	..	..	..	..	..	2	1,812	4
11,881	761	840	..	..	41	361	10,151	427
5,000	..	840	..	..	..	..	701	..
2,000	..	..	..	..	..	..	8,250	..
4,638	761	..	..	..	..	3	336	337
213	..	..	..	..	41	13	107	18
..	..	..	..	..	..	345	757	72
50,277	..	402	72	7	3,415	42	14,386	1,071
13,207	..	402	..	7	3,415	..	2,059	562
..	..	402	..	..	..	..	1,280	17
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	565	3
13,207	..	..	..	7	3,415	..	214	542
..	..	..	..	..	..	2	4,429	50
..	..	..	..	..	..	1	39	7
..	..	..	..	..	..	1	4,205	6
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	185	37
13,018	..	..	..	..	..	10	1,081	106
13,018	..	..	..	..	..	7	501	53
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	83	39
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	109	10
..	..	..	..	..	..	3	388	4

APPEN
Population according to

Subdivisions/ *Tahsils Police-stations	Bengali	English	Gadaba	Gondi	Gujrati
1	2	3	4	5	6
27. UMARKOT TAHSIL ..	5,227	..	..	9,418	20
28. Umarkot P.-S. ..	5,218	..	..	9,418	6
29. Dabugan P.-S. ..	9	..	..	..	..
30. Jharigan P.-S. ..	..	..	..	..	14
31. MALKANGIRI TAHSIL ..	387	1	..	..	1
32. Malkangiri P.-S. ..	355	..	..	..	..
33. Motu P.-S. ..	..	..	..	..	..
34. Venkatapalam P.-S. ..	7	..	..	..	..
35. Mathili P.-S. ..	25	1	..	..	1
36. RAYAGADA SUBDIVISION	52	..	160	8,640	43
37. RAYAGADA TAHSIL ..	17	..	144	..	22
38. Rayagada P.-S. ..	7	..	..	..	..
39. Kashipur P.-S. ..	15	..	..	..	..
40. Kalyansingpur P.-S. ..	10	..	144	..	7
41. BISSAMCUTTACK TAHSIL	34	..	..	4,162	21
42. Bissamcuttack P.-S. ..	..	..	..	..	..
43. Ambadola P.-S. ..	34	..	..	4,162	21
44. GUNUPUR TAHSIL ..	1	..	16	4,478	..
45. Gunupur P.-S. ..	..	..	..	..	..
46. Gudari P.-S. ..	1	..	16	..	..
47. Padmapur P.-S. ..	..	..	..	4,478	..
48. Puttasingi P.-S. ..	..	..	..	..	..
49. Urban ..	247	6	137	40	413

*Tahsils and P.-S. as in 1961

DIX D—*contd.*

the mother-tongue, 1961

Halabi	Hindi	Jharia	Kana- rise	Khond Kondh	Konda	Koya	Kui	Laria
7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
..	2,419	..	..	..	..	..	769	522
..	2,389	..	..	..	..	..	110	576
..	3	..	..	..	..	..	250	..
..	27	..	..	..	..	..	409	46
1,806	3,192	..	50	1,397	..	..	44,225	..
..	1,421	..	..	..	..	..	11,808	..
..	67	..	..	76	..	..	11,746	..
..	67	..	50	..	..	..	16,617	..
1,806	1,626	..	..	1,321	..	..	4,054	..
..	2,128	502	..	76,298	2,400	8,030	60,160	17
..	1,439	..	..	23,853	2,400	4,030	54,133	2
..	1,037	..	..	8,615	2,400	4,030	48,935	..
..	43	..	1 (Kol)	2,168	..	..	7,578	2,006
							(Mundari 3 Munda 2)	
..	402	..	..	15,238	..	..	5,198	2
..	466	502	..	38,380	..	..	2,477	15
..	..	502	..	3,682	..	..	208	15
..	466	..	..	1,559	..	..	2,269	..
..	223	..	..	14,065	..	4,000	3,550	..
..	..	..	..	3,166	..	4,000	2,816	..
..	222	..	..	10,899	..	..	..	..
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	565	..
..	1	..	..	..	..	..	169	..
2	1,262	20	17	758	28	173	218	..

Population according to

Subdivisions/ *Tahsils/ Police-stations		Mala- yalam	Marathi	Marwari	Nepali	Oriya
1		16	17	18	19	20
27. UMARKOT TAHSIL	..	4	..	..	..	138,615
28. Umarkot P.-S.	..	4	..	..	..	51,649
29. Dabugan P.-S.	..	..	..	..	..	46,570
30. Jharigan P.-S.	..	..	..	..	..	40,396
31. MALKANGIRI TAHSIL	..	..	..	..	1	84,283
32. Malkangiri P.-S.	..	..	..	..	..	47,746
33. Motu P.-S.	..	..	..	..	..	363
34. Venkatapalam P.-S.	..	..	..	..	..	1,635
35. Mathili P.-S.	..	..	..	..	1	35,539
36. RAYAGADA SUBDIVISION			12	34	11	72,681
37. RAYAGADA TAHSIL	..	..	..	..	11	15,886
38. Rayagada P.-S.	..	..	..	..	11	7,562
39. Kashipur P.-S.	..	..	..	..	8	50,314
40. Kalyansingpur P.-S.	..	..	..	..	..	8,324
41. BISSAMCUTTACK TAHSIL	..	..	12	34	..	28,722
42. Bissamcuttack P.-S.	..	..	12	..	..	16,235
43. Ambadola P.-S.	..	..	..	34	..	12,487
44. GUNUPUR TAHSIL	..	..	..	..	..	28,073
45. Gunupur P.-S.	..	..	..	..	..	9,083
46. Gudari P.-S.	..	..	..	..	..	9,543
47. Padmapur P.-S.	..	..	..	..	..	7,408
48. Puttasingi P.-S.	..	..	..	..	..	2,039
49. Urban	..	..	16	7	2	41,420

*Tahsils and P.-S. as in 1961

DIX D—concl'd.

the mother-tongue, 1961

Parji	Parenga	Pengu	Punjabi	Santali	Savara	Tamil	Telugu	Urdu
21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29
24,052	..	..	72	..	..	27	338	223
14,083	..	..	71	..	..	18	226	108
..	..	..	..	..	..	9	79	22
9,969	..	..	1	..	..	..	33	93
..	..	..	..	..	..	3	6,479	130
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2,128	..
..	..	..	..	..	..	3	1,024	39
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3,112	44
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	215	47
2,062	..	..	34	..	50,947	29	31,561	173
5	..	..	3	..	..	19	12,834	20
3	..	..	3	..	..	15	9,571	20
..	..	..	..	..	..	10	626	6
2	..	..	..	..	..	4	3,243	..
2,057	..	..	31	..	4,203	8	3,769	110
2,050	..	..	10	..	4,203	..	1,638	101
7	..	..	21	..	..	8	2,131	9
..	..	..	..	..	46,744	2	14,958	43
..	..	..	..	..	19,043	2	9,043	..
..	..	..	..	..	10,963	..	4,493	43
..	..	..	..	..	4,005	..	1,291	..
..	..	..	..	..	12,733	..	131	..
591	6	12	123	..	720	556	27,912	285

[70 B. of R.—20]

APPENDIX E

Population according to religion (1961 Census)*

Religions		Total		Rural		Urban	
		M	F	M	F	M	F
Buddhists	..	21	8	14	4	7	4
Christians	..	14,773	16,382	13,837	13,820	936	2,562
Hindus	..	736,653	726,524	698,812	693,114	37,841	33,410
Jains	..	55	36	51	36	4	..
Muslims	..	1,823	1,832	873	667	950	1,165
Sikhs	..	73	91	51	21	22	70
Scheduled Castes.		93,123	93,315	87,343	88,283	5,780	5,032
Scheduled Tribes.		455,972	456,371	450,174	451,081	5,798	5,290

*Kashipur tahsil excluded