TO
OUR SAINTLY AND SCHOLARLY GOVERNOR & CHANCELLOR

Sri M. A. AYYANGAR
Who has been a source of profound inspiration to me.
CULTURAL CONTOURS
OF
TRIBAL BIHAR

40 39

DR. L. P. VIDYARTHII
Head of the Dept. of Anthropology,
Ranchi University,
Ranchi.

With a foreword
By
N. K. BOSE, F.N.I.
Director, Anthropological Survey of India.
FOREWORD

I feel honoured by being invited, to write a foreword to
Dr. L. P. Vidyarthi’s Cultural Contours of Tribal Bihar. He
has been engaged in this study for several years past in
company with a number of able colleagues and students.
I am sure that a picture of tribal Bihar has thus been made
available which is different from any similar picture produced
in the past.

The topics cover a wide range. Tribal education and
welfare, economic programmes of upliftment, as well as a
diagnosis of economic ills to which tribes are subject, have
been dealt with as much as ‘academic’ subjects like ‘A genetic
study of the Oraons’, ‘culture types in tribal Bihar’ or ‘Sacred
Complex in a Maler Hill’.

We do hope that this collection of essays will be warmly
welcomed by those interested in Indian anthropology.

23 November, 1964
37A Bosepara Lane
Calcutta—3.

Nirmal Kumar Bose
INTRODUCTION

Anthropology started as a science "without portfolio" and by its competent techniques, it has forged a discipline for "the study of man and his works" at all levels of cultural development. Anthropology has provided a reorientation of the scientific study of culture and has developed the concept of "universal humanism" on the basis of systematic evaluation of races and cultures. With the study of "nation without records, of history without notable events, institutions strange in flavour and languages that have never been written" on the one hand and that of the modern culture on the other, anthropology can contribute much towards the understanding of man and his works and thus aids to the universal brotherhood, collective security and democratic world government. To-day anthropology provides a scientific basis for solving the crucial dilemma of the modern world and that is why Malinowski thinks of anthropology as "the greatest scientific Odyssey in modern humanism".

Aspects of Anthropological Survey in Bihar

In view of these facts it is the duty of the government of every state to organise a stock-taking of man's prestige and achievements. Where the social and cultural stratifications of population are diverse and many, the responsibility of the government is all the more great with a view to encourage understanding, avoid bias and prejudice, and sustain human value. Besides, it becomes essential to understand the past in the context of the present for the stabilization of the future.

The state of Bihar where scheduled castes and tribes are overwhelmingly in number and cultural strata diverse, the need of an anthropological survey is imperative. Moreover, Bihar's cultural heritage and historic past are also very glorious and we must go back even to the prehistoric time.
and try to find out archaeological evidences for reconstructing the complete cultural history of Bihar.

The Beginning

It is to the Asiatic Society of Bengal that we owe the beginning of anthropological investigation in Bihar (Bihar then was part of Bengal). Credit goes to its first President Sir William Jones who in his inaugural address of the Society in 1774 defined the scope of its researches as “the entire field comprised in words Man and Nature”. Under the inspiring leadership of this Society, a number of British administrators and Christian missionaries wrote informative papers on the tribes and castes of Bihar, as elsewhere in India. However, it is unfortunate that within the first hundred years of the establishment of the Asiatic Society of Bengal—from 1784 to 1883 out of a little over one hundred anthropological papers published in the Society’s Journal, the contribution of Indian writers did not amount to more than three short and comparatively insignificant papers. It is, however, during this period that our first definite knowledge regarding the isolated jungle tribes of Bihar began to be accumulated in the pages of the Society’s Journal through the contributions mostly by the European writers. Among these pioneering publications mention may be made of Lieutenant Tickell who, between the year 1840 and 1842 wrote about the Hos of the Singhbhum District; of Colonel Sherwell, who in 1851, wrote about the Malers or Paharias of the Rajmahal hills and of Colonel Dalton who, between the years 1865 and 1872, contributed several interesting papers about the tribes of Chota Nagpur. After 1883, in addition to the administrative officers, several missionaries including Father Dehon on the Oraon and Father Hoffmann on the Munda published very scholarly and informative papers in the issues of the Journal of Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal.

In addition to this Journal, Calcutta Review (1843) and Indian Antiquary (1872) also published a number of papers of
anthropological interest and the response of Indian scholars was now relatively encouraging.

When Bihar and Orissa were separated from Bengal, the Bihar and Orissa Research Society with its separate Journal was founded in 1915. This Society which still continues to maintain the scholarly tradition by publishing its Journal of Bihar Research Society, in the beginning, suffered for want of adequate practical support and co-operation from Indian students and scholars. And we find Sir Edward Gait, the first President and Founder of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society in his last annual Presidential Address on the 23rd December, 1920, lamenting—“It is much to be regretted that notwithstanding the ample ethnological material available in all directions, our members as a body have not yet taken much practical interest in this branch of the society’s activities” (Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society, 1920 Vol. VI pp. 469).

This Journal, however, published a number of papers on anthropological topics of Bihar but yet Bihar needed the firm and fruitful hand of Rai Bahadur S. C. Roy who started the publication of an exclusive anthropological Journal, Man in India in the year 1921, which went a long way in encouraging researches on publication of materials on the tribes of Bihar.

*Handbook on Tribes & Castes*

The other source that embodies the early efforts of anthropological studies in Bihar as elsewhere in India is a series of handbooks on tribes and castes. The Government sponsored the compilation of systematic catalogues of the castes and tribes of each province by collecting and consolidating all available information about them whether occurring in published books, reports and magazine-articles or in the unpublished official records. The comparative success that this branch of anthropological work has attained in India appears
to be due to the fact that it has been carried out at the instance and expense of Government and mostly by its own officers, and there was, therefore, no dearth either of funds or of workers. However, there are numerous defects and inaccuracies in these publications which may be due to the fact that materials were sometimes taken, without verification, from reports called for them from police darogas, school sub-inspectors and other subodinate officers or private individuals who did not possess either the necessary equipment for the investigation on the questions referred to them for enquiry or the desire or the incentive to make careful and intelligent enquiries and to appreciate the significance of all the questions put and the answers solicited.

The British Government was from the beginning alive to the administrative value of a knowledge in its officers of the economic condition, social organisation, customs, habits, and religion of the population placed under them. Thus, as early as the 7th January, 1807, we find the court of Directors of the Honourable East India Company writing to the Government of the Presidency of Bengal—"We are of opinion that a statistical survey of the country under the immediate authority of your presidency, would be attended with much utility; we therefore recommend proper steps to be taken for carrying the same into execution." The court further directed that Dr. Francis Buchanan, who had been employed by the Marquis of Wellesley in the survey of Mysore, should be appointed for the survey. Accordingly, Dr. Buchanan (afterwards Buchanon Hamilton) was appointed by the Governor General in Council with a monthly allowance of (sicca) rupees fifteen hundred exclusive of his usual pay and batta and supplied with a staff of "efficient and learned assistants, draftsmen etc." to carry through the work.

In seven years Dr. Buchanan could complete the survey of the districts of Bihar, Patna, Shahabad, Bhagalpur, Purnea (and Gorakhpur, Rangpur and Assam). The materials collec-
ted in twenty-five folio volumes were forwarded to the home authorities in London in 1816. Dr. Buchanan could collect rich data on the life and culture of the inhabitants of these districts but unfortunately, much of the ethnographic materials contained in these volumes have hitherto remained a sealed book, although three volume of selections from these valuable reports and journals were published in 1838 by Montgomery Martin under the title of "The History, Antiquities, Topography and Statistics of Eastern India comprising the districts of Bihar, Shahabad, 'Bhagalpur,' 'Purnea' etc. Later materials on Patna, Gaya were published in two volumes by Bihar and Orissa research Society.

The next attempt of this kind covering the districts of Bihar including Chotanagpur has been made in 1820 by Walter Hamilton in his ambitious work entitled, "A Geographical, Statistical, and Historical Description of Hindostan and Adjacent Countries" which was also prepared, by collecting all printed documents accessible to the public and all the manuscript records and Government Reports deposited in the archives of the India Board. However, these volumes cannot be said to be very authentic as several factual inaccuracies have been found out.

A more satisfactory attempt at preparing a general account of the people of India, based on all existing materials as well as personal observation and inquiry in several parts of India including Bihar was that of Mr. Justice Campbell of Calcutta. His essay of 152 pages on the "Ethnology of India" was published in 1866 as a supplementary number of the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. The paper was designed, as the author stated "to assist both Government officials and private persons in making classified and descriptive lists in such a uniform manner and with such a uniform nomenclature and arrangements that it may be afterwards possible to weld together the whole of the information thus obtained. Another book by Dr. R. G. Latham, then Vice-President of the
Ethnological Society of London who, in 1859 published his, "Ethnology of India" covered 375 pages. But Dr. Latham of London, unlike Campbell, had apparently not the advantage of a personal knowledge of India and her people, and made many misleading statements. In this book, we find some passing reference about the tribes and castes of Bihar. A competent study of the tribes and castes of Bihar had to wait till 1869 when the Government of Bengal selected Colonel Dalton to edit the ethnological information collected by all the Commissioners of Divisions in India. He also offered to prepare descriptive accounts of the tribes of Bengal and Assam, not only from the materials obtained from the Commissioners but also by collecting all available sources of information such as office reports, journals of learned societies, and other publications and personal interviews. He also did some field work among these tribes and published in 1872, the first authentic descriptive accounts of the tribes of Bengal and Bihar (including Chotanagpur) Orissa and Assam in his monumental book, Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal. As Colonel Dalton was stationed in Chotanagpur for quite a long period, he could present an intimate account of the life and culture of the tribes of Chotanagpur; and his work still provides an authentic base line data for the study of cultural dynamics among these tribes.

The decade that followed the publication of Dalton's, "Descriptive Ethnology" was a period of increasing Government activities in the collection of statistical and other data relating to the various provinces of India including Bihar. The Census Reports, Statistical Accounts, District Manuals and Gazetteers, Settlement Reports, Reports of the Linguistic Survey of India and even the Archaeological Survey Reports published under Government authority during this period supplied information relating to the Castes and Tribes of India.

The census committee now became more alert and in 1882 decided that "steps be taken on the basis of the statistics re-
corded in the census of 1881 towards collecting more precise information than at present exists regarding the castes and descriptions of the people of India." Accordingly, in February 1885, Sir Herbert Risley was selected by the Bengal Government to collect detailed information about the castes, tribes and sociology of the province. In four volumes, he wrote about the tribes and castes of Bengal which were published in the year 1891. He also wrote another authentic book, Peoples of India, which includes materials on the tribes of Bihar as well.

The First Indian Anthropologist

Though these British Scholar-administrators were responsible for initiating anthropological researches in Bihar as a part of their All India scheme, it was really with the devoted work of Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy that the anthropological researches in Bihar witnessed a golden and constructive period. He was an advocate by profession but in the company of the British scholars he developed immense interest in the study of the tribes of Chotanagpur. In addition to his publication of a number of articles in Journal of Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Man in India etc., he published about half dozen monographs on the tribes of Chotanagpur. His first monograph on the Munda tribe was published in the year 1912 under the title The Munda and their Country. This book deals with the origin and history of the Munda, the missionary activities among them, and then, with the customs of the Munda. Out of the four hundred pages, about 350 pages are devoted to the historical aspect of the tribe while only 150 pages are allotted to the ethnographic description.

His next book, the Oraon, was published in 1915. This book depicts, at length, the cultural life of the Oraon in full detail. There is hardly any aspect of their culture which has been left untouched by the author. His researches on the
Oraon was so thorough that he wrote another volume on Oraon Religion and Customs in the year 1928.

The other monographs on the tribes of Bihar, written by Sri S. C. Roy are: The Birhor (1925), and the Kharia in two volumes (1937). His study of the Birhor gives a good account of his zeal for field work. It was really the work of a devoted ethnographer like Roy that he completed intensive work among the nomadic and little known jungle tribe, and wrote this competent monograph. The two volumes on the Kharia are again an outstanding work which is the result of his twelve years of research work in collaboration with his son Sri R.C. Roy.

The next Indian scholar, who has done valuable anthropological work in Bihar is Dr. D. N. Majumdar. After completing his post-graduate work in Anthropology from Calcutta University, Dr. Majumdar (then Mr. Majumdar) under the inspiring guidance of Sri Roy took up the study of the Ho tribe of Singhbhum and wrote his doctoral dissertation on this tribe at Cambridge. It was essentially a study in cultural dynamics which was later (1937) published under the title, A Tribe in Transition. Professor Majumdar continued his work among this tribe and a revised and enlarged version of the book was again published under the title, The Affairs of a Tribe (1950). It was the first monograph which was published by a trained professional anthropologist and it is considered to be an outstanding pioneering work. Being inspired by Sri S. C. Roy, again, Dr. S. S. Sarkar (then Mr. Sarkar) did field work among the Maler tribe of Rajmahal hills and published a small book, The Maler of Rajmahal Hill in the year 1938.

With his death and decline of his influence, (of S. C. Roy,) anthropological studies in Bihar again witnessed a temporary setback and for sometimes anthropological studies undergone an eclipse. But with the coming of independence and with realisation of an all round developmental programmes,
Government of Bihar decided to start the teaching of Anthropology at Ranchi University and two persons were sent for advanced training in anthropology (one to London, one to Lucknow) and after the completion of their training, the Post-Graduate Department of Anthropology was started in Ranchi in the year 1953. The Government of Bihar made a statutory grant of about Rs. 20,700/- to meet the expenses. Then, the Welfare Department of Bihar Government with grant-in-aid from the Central Government started the Bihar Tribal Research Institute at Ranchi in the year 1954. Another centre for imparting training to social education organisers who worked in the tribal areas was started in 1955 under the directorship of Dr. B. S. Guha, which now has expanded into a full-fledged institution, for the training of the development officers and is recently named as Tribal Orientation and Study Centre. Along with training programmes, the centre has collected valuable ethnographic data on certain tribes especially the Oraon of Ranchi and it is hoped that in future more data will be collected.

During the last few years these institutions have done some good work on the tribal culture and have been able to create a fresh and healthy atmosphere in favour of anthropological researches in Bihar. The Department of Anthropology, Ranchi University has completed two large scale research projects under the auspices of the Planning Commission and the third project is under completion. Under these three schemes—Culture Change among the Mundas and Oraon, Urban Pattern of Ranchi and its Impact on the tribals, from Simpler Economy to Industrialisation: Techno-culture Implication of changes in Hatia—the changing social scene of tribes of Ranchi district has been exhaustively studied. In addition to these a number of research scholars have been doing work on the cultural dynamics and two outstanding doctoral works, one on the Impact of Christianity on the Oraon and the other on Tribal Interactions in Santhal Parganas, have been completed. The roles of weekly markets in the transformation of
tribal culture in Chotanagpur has been the subject for doctoral research by Prof. D. P. Sinha of this Department for doctoral dissertation of Southern Illinois University (1963).

In addition to the study of cultural dynamics, a substantive study for doctoral dissertation on murder and suicide has been successfully completed by Dr. A. B. Saran of this Department. The other members of the staff and students, in addition to their class works, every year, stay in the tribal villages for one and half months and as a result of this continuous programmes, the Department has been able to collect data on the various aspects of the tribal cultures of the Oraon, the Munda, the Ho, the Kharia, the Birhor, the Mal Paharia and the Saoria Paharia. More than a dozen tribal villages have been thoroughly studied and it is being contemplated to publish a series of monographs on the basis of these rich ethnographic data.

The Tribal Research Institute, with its sections in Social Anthropology, Sociology, Human Biology, Linguistics, Social Psychology, Statistics, History and Economics; has been mainly concerned to undertake action-oriented research and advises the Welfare Ministry in the implementation of welfare schemes in the tribal belt of Bihar. So far the Institute has been able to do some ethnographic work among the tribes of Singhbhum and Palamau and proposes to undertake other remaining districts of Tribal Bihar for ethnographic survey in due course. Its major publication is Land and the People of Tribal Bihar which gives an introductory idea about the tribal culture of Bihar. A monograph on the Life of Birsa, an adivasi fighter for freedom, by Sri S. P. Sinha has just been published.

The third organisation, Council of Social and Cultural Research, Bihar, also deserves to be mentioned here as it has provided a common platform for communication of idea among the social scientists of Ranchi in particular and India in general. This Council was organised in the year 1956 with a view to encourage an inter-disciplinary approach in social
sciences research. It has brought together specialists of different problems of major anthropological and sociological interests. It has organised more than a half dozen All India Seminars on (i) Tribes of Bihar, (ii) Culture-Analysis of Contemporary Societies: America (iii) Levelling up Tribal and Rural India, (iv) Urbanisation, Industrialisation and Social Change in India, (v) Tribal and Rural Leadership, (vi) Impact of Modern Forces on the tribes and castes in India, (vii) Cultural Factors in Economic Development and Technological change in which social scientists from different parts of India read papers which have been published in shape of the proceedings. Then, in order to encourage integrated thinking in the fields of social science, the Council in collaboration with the Department of Anthropology, Ranchi University has been publishing bi-annually Journal of Social Research for the last six years. The volumes of this Journal have been able to bring to light rich materials on social sciences of India in general and tribal Bihar in particular.

Thus, tribal studies in Bihar are on the right tract. The high scientific traditions of tribal studies established by the late S. C. Roy and the late Prof D. N. Majumdar have again been revived after three decades and it is hoped that in the light of modern development theoretically-oriented monographs will be also written on the tribes of Bihar to develop the general understanding of society and culture. In addition to the social anthropological studies, tribal Bihar provides rich fields for linguistic, prehistoric, and physical anthropological researches.

The Department of Anthropology of the Ranchi University in collaboration with the Indian Statistical Institute, Calcutta has undertaken a survey in the Physical Anthropology of the tribes of Bihar and the work has started among the Munda and the Oraon. Efforts are being made to undertake such a joint research scheme on the Prehistoric sites in Chotanagpur. Some linguistic studies of Mundari by our Department is in progress in collaboration with the University of Chicago.
(Prof. Norman Zide) and it is hoped that this scheme will be intensified when trained researchers are available after a few months. Recently, the Department is planning a large scale Anthropological expedition of the tribal belt of Middle India in collaboration with the Japanese scholars of Juntendo University, Tokyo. Thus an integrated anthropological research in tribal Bihar is in progress and is likely to yield fruitful results in the near future.

The author of this book for the last twelve years has made all humble efforts to put Bihar on the anthropological map of the world. He has published a number of theoretically-oriented monographs and essays on the tribes and castes in Bihar and has helped the development of anthropology in his own modest way.

The present book is essentially a collection of such essays which throw light on the basic ethnographic status of Bihar. All these essays, if taken together, seem to present an integrated picture of the racial, linguistic, social and cultural setting of the tribes in Bihar. The book, again, suggests a number of areas for further research and exploration in terms of theoretical and substantive study of tribal culture. Many of the essays though based upon the ethnographic materials from tribal Bihar, are of wider theoretical and methodological importance and provide satisfactory frame-work, for similar studies elsewhere.

The essays included in this book were written during the last ten years. Some of them were written in response to a specific invitation to contribute to a seminar, some to journals and some constitute part of reports etc. Some of the essays were written in India while a few of them were written at Chicago under the guidance of my teachers there.

All these selected essays on the tribes and culture of Bihar are based on fieldwork. Some are the result of the author’s individual fieldwork while a few are based on team research.

As these essays are on a wide variety of topics and are written over a period of ten years for different purposes, they
are of different quality and length, and sometimes bring out
difference in ideas as well. But in course of editing these
essays I have not tried to add or delete paragraphs in these
essays and, thus, the structural unity of the original essays
have been maintained. These essays, however, have been
arranged in somewhat meaningful manner to cover the
ethnological outline of the tribal Bihar.

Though the author is alone responsible for the conclusions
arrived at in the different essays, I am indebted to a number of
teachers, friends, informants, and institutions without whose
help and co-operation this work would have been impossible.
In writing these essays, in general, I have been benefitted by
the suggestions of my teachers, Professors Redfield, Milton
Singer, Fred Eggan, McCown, Manning Nash, Dr. McKim
Marriott in Chicago; and by Professor D. N. Majumdar,
Radhakamal Mukherjee and D. P. Mukherjee at Lucknow.
Some of my colleagues like Professors M. N. Srinivas,
N. K. Bose, S. C. Dube and Dr. Sachchidananda, Dr. Kirk and
friends like Dr. Bernard Cohn, Dr. Edward Jay, Dr. Surajit
Sinha, Dr. Charles Frantz have given me the benefit of their
suggestions in writing some of these essays and I record my
appreciation for them. Many of my students specially
Dr. K. N. Sahay, Sri S. Prasad, Sri R. B. Lal, Ramakant
Prasad, D. K. Bose, Sri B. N. Sahay, Mr. Olive Toppo,
Sri S. B. Sahay, P. N. Singh and many others have been of
special help in conducting fieldwork and in preparing some
of the essays. Professor S. P. Sinha has been also helpful in
proof-reading and I am thankful to all of them for their
co-operation.

Lastly, it is my pleasant duty to express my profound
respect for Sri M. A. Ayyangar, the Governor of Bihar and
the Chancellor of Ranchi University, who has been closely
associated with the welfare of the tribals, and with tribal
researches. Moreover he has taken deep interest in my
academic activities, and I deem it my privilege to dedicate
this book to my guide and philosopher as a token of my personal regards for him.

In the end, it gives me much pleasure to acknowledge my indebtedness to the following journals and organisations mentioned below for their kindness in permitting me to reprint the essays included in this volume: The University of Pennsylvania Press for permission to include my article on the Nomadic Birhor published in Men and Cultures; Selected Papers of the 5th International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences, the American Journal of Physical Anthropology for the Genetical study of the Oraon of the Chotanagpur Plateau, the Bulletin of the A.N. Sinha Institute of Social Studies for the Cultural-Linguistic Regions of Bihar; the Eastern Anthropologist for Anthropology, Administration and Tribal Welfare; Man in India for Education in Tribal Bihar, the Journal of Bihar Research Society for Land and Labour among the Mundas of Bihar, Folklore for the Linguistic Affinity of the Oraon and the Maler, and also for Whither Adivasi Dance in Tribal Bihar, the Journal of Ranchi University for Economic Changes in Typical Tribal Villages of Bihar and Tribal indebtedness in the Two Villages of Brambey and Benari, Asia Publishing House for Aspects of Tribal Leadership in Chotanagpur in Leadership in India, Kedarnath Ram Nath for the Sacred Complex in a Maler Hill Village in Aspect of Religion in Indian Society and our own Journal of Social Research for The Cultural Type in Tribal Bihar, Anthropology and Tribal Policy. The Resettlement Schemes among the Maler Paharia and The Changing face of Tribal Bihar. I am thankful to the Research Programmes Committee of the National Planning Commission for allowing me to use the data collected for the Urban Pattern of Ranchi Research Project.

Ranchi, 10th December, 1964.

L. P. Vidyarthi
## CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Foreword</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>vii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>CHAPTERS:</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I. The Cultural Linguistic Regions of Bihar:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Methodological Approach</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. The Cultural Types in Tribal Bihar</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III. A Genetical Study of the Oraons of the Chotanagpur Plateau (Bihar, India)</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV. The Linguistic Affinity of the Oraon and the Maler: An Application of Lexico-Statistical Dating</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V. Economic Changes in Typical Tribal villages of Bihar</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI. Urbanisation &amp; Changing Pattern of Social Life of Tribes in Ranchi</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII. The Sacred Complex in a Maler Hill Village of Bihar</td>
<td>113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII. Aspects of Tribal Leadership in Chotanagpur</td>
<td>149</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IX. Whither Adivasi Dance in Tribal Bihar</td>
<td>163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X. Anthropology, Administration and Tribal Welfare: Bihar a Case Study</td>
<td>177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XI. Education in Tribal Bihar</td>
<td>195</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XII. Land and Labour Among the Mundas of Bihar</td>
<td>204</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
XIII. Anthropology and Tribal Policy: The Re-settlement Schemes Among the Maler Paharia ... ... 216
XIV. The Nomadic Birhor: A Study in Ecology. Economy and Wandering ... ... 232
XV. Tribal Indebtedness in the Two Villages Brambey and Benari ... ... 244
XVI. The Changing Face of Tribal Bihar: Some Preliminary observations on the concept of Detribalisation ... 278

Bibliography on Tribal Bihar ... 288
The latest Census figures of the tribes in Bihar ... 295
Index ... ... ... 297

Maps, Photographs, Tables
CHAPTER I

THE CULTURAL LINGUISTIC REGIONS OF BIHAR: A METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

The present chapter raises more questions than answers to any one of them. The main problem is: Can we find out a middle range unit of analysis in India between an All India generalisation and a village-level uniqueness? How far such cultural regions can be determined on the basis of language or on the study of linguistics? Of course, these are in no way new problems but practically no work has been done on this line? In the light of the little field work and the study of available literature. I have presented a case-study from Bihar to show how far cultural region, cultural area and cultural type can be understood in context with the Ethno-linguistics traditions. Here, again the data is not complete, but the purpose is mainly to indicate a line of approach that might be explored later with adequate materials in the light of new development in the little explored field of Ethno-linguistics.

Anthropological researches in India have witnessed a phenomenal development during the last ten years. Among many theoretical problems, several foreign and native scholars have been interested in both the cultural unity and the great diversity that characterise the sub-continent of India. Unity consists on one level in a sense of Indian nationhood, on another level it consists in the socio-religious structure of Hinduism and on another level we may say that caste is the organising principle of Indian culture. But these and many other examples of the large standing unity of India are on levels of abstraction and generalisation far removed from the realities of Indian life, which whether we like it or
not point to the tremendous diversity within larger, accepted political and civilisational framework.

On the other hand, the concept of the diversity within India can be carried on to an extreme point where one might consider it impossible to make any valid generalisation at all since even one village differs significantly in many respects from all others. But this concept has obviously little practical use because of its implicit limitations. Intermediate between the All India abstraction and village-level uniqueness is the level of Cultural-Linguistic region. In a simple way with Patterson, by the term "region" I mean those geographical areas which are coterminous with the major language areas of India. This means that according to Linguistic Survey in India there are some fifteen such regions.

Now, in the determination of the cultural boundaries in India, language is certainly not the only criterion, but without much doubt, it is, perhaps, the most obvious and the most important of all. In support of this, I will not go into the roles of language in India from time to time, except making mention of the recent movements to organise political boundaries of the states on the basis of languages, of the organisation and report of the States Re-organisation Commission to these effects, and then readjustments of the States boundaries on the basis of languages. On general level, Sapir has amply demonstrated the importance of language as the most intimate "symbolic system", "the greatest force of socialisation", and "the vehicle of cultural accumulation" and "historical transmission". What Sapir calls the "Cultural stock in trade of a society" is presented in a more or less well defined forms. This is to quote Sapir again, "proverbs, standardised prayers, folk tales, standardised speeches, song texts, genealogies, are some of the most overt things from which language takes as a cultural-preserving instruments". These observations regarding the function of language on the individual-psychology, on the social, and
the cultural levels should be always kept in mind in understanding the regional complexities in India. In addition to language as the basic and the most dominant factor for regional classification, Patterson refers to the following secondary factors for consideration:

1. Geographical features.
2. Racial stocks.
3. Common historical traditions and folk heroes.
4. Common literary heritage in the regional language, folk songs, ballads, etc.
5. A distinctive set of religious cults and sects.
6. A distinctive caste system and social structure.
7. Distinguishing forms of music, drama, art, etc.
8. Distinctive diets.
9. Distinctive modes of dress and ornamentation.
10. A characteristic world view, which is very hard to define but which can be felt or inferred from the behavior.

On the basis of these primary and secondary factors, within the larger framework of the Indian nation and the top-level unity of Indian civilisation fifteen major cultural-linguistic regions (with several sub-regions in each), of course tentatively, may be distinguished. These major regions are:


These regions perhaps provide workable and fruitful units for socio-linguistic researches. However in taking a regional approach, as Redfield has indicated in his concept of “Compound Culture” the context of ‘Great Tradition’ should not be forgotten.

Taking Bihar as a case study in this regional analysis, I shall indicate its linguistic characteristics and will try to
show how on the basis of regional dialects, cultural sub-types can be carved out. My primary aim, here, will not be of a descriptive linguist but of an ethnolinguist.

Bihar is one of the earliest states of India and linguistically it falls in the Eastern Group of Indo-Aryan Family. The regional language which is spoken in Bihar and the adjacent areas has been named as Bihari, by Grierson. According to him it covers an area of 90,000 sq. miles and is spoken by 36,000,000 people. It extends from the lower ranges of the Himalayas on the north to Singbhum on the south, and from Manbhum on the south-east to Basti on the North-West.

Bihari is bounded on the north by the Tibeto-Burman languages of the Himalayas, on the east by the Bengali, on the south by Oriya and on the west by the Chhattisghahi, Bagheli and Awadhi dialects of Eastern Hindi.

Like Bengali, Oriya and Assamese, Bihari is a direct descendant of the old form of speech known as Magadhi Prakrit. Owing to this common heritage it shares similar grammatical forms with these languages. But owing to constant ethnic, historical and cultural contacts with the Uttar Pradesh in its west, it has been exposed to the influence of, what Grierson calls, Eastern Hindi. To-day with regard to phonology, grammatical forms, and vocabulary, perhaps, Bihari occupies a middle place between Bengali and Eastern Hindi.

Bihari consists of three important regional dialects and the term, Bihari, as used by Grierson can be understood to indicate a group of related dialects, sharing certain common characteristics. These three main dialects are: 1. Maithili, 2. Magahi, 3. Bhojpuri. Among each dialect again, there are local variations and Grierson on the basis of pronunciation and grammatical forms, has indicated three sub-dialects under each heading. Gumperz in a recent paper reports about dialectic difference that exists between the social group of the same village. However, without referring to these
sub-dialects’ differences or intra-village difference I will concentrate on three regional dialects and will discuss them in relation to the concept of sub-areas in a cultural or regional approach.

The three dialects are spoken in the three geographical regions of Bihar and are marked with differences from each other on the phonetic, phonemic and grammatical levels. Phonetically nothing is so characteristic as its pronunciation of the vowel ‘a’ and of the consonant ‘s’. The first is sounded like the ‘e’ in the English word ‘not’, and it is of frequent occurrence. This gives the predominating tone-colour of Maithili sentences. As we go westward the broad pronunciation is gradually lost till it entirely disappears in the most westerly dialect of Bhojpuri. As regards the ‘s’ sound, the ancient Magadhi was unable to use the sound, and substituted for it a sound approaching that of an English ‘sh’. The Maithili speaking people make special distinction between these two sounds. In general, Maithili is considered to be very sweet, womanish speech, while the Bhojpuri is said to be very coarse, ‘Police speech’ while Magadhi occupies an intermediate position in the matter of such grading.

On the grammatical level, special mention may be made of the verb substantive. The verb substantive in Maithili is usually ‘Chhai’ or ‘acchi’ he is. In Magahi, it is usually ‘hai and in Bhojpuri it is usually ‘bate’, ‘bare’ or ‘have.’ The three dialects all agree in forming the present tense definite by adding the verb substantive to the present participle. Thus Maithili ‘dekhaitacci,’ Magahi ‘dekhait-hai,’ Bhojpuri, ‘dekhait-bate,’ he is seeing. But Magahi has also a special form of the present, viz, ‘dekha-hai’ and so has Bhojpuri, ‘dekha-la’, he sees or will see. Finally the whole system of verbal conjugation is amazingly complex in Maithili and Magahi, but it is a simple and straightforward in Bhojpuri as it is in Bengali and Hindi. There are minor differences between the three dialects, but they need not detain us here. Let us come to discuss now each dialect separately.
Maithili Sub-Area:

Maithili is properly speaking the language of Mithila. According to the Mithila-Mahatmya, a Sanskrit work of considerable repute in the territory (which it describes), Mithila is the country bounded on the north by the Himalaya Mountains, on the south by the Ganges, on the west by the River Gandak and on the east by the River Koshi. It, thus, includes the present districts of Champaran, Muzaffarpur and Darbhanga, as well as the strip of the Nepal Tarai which runs between these districts and the lower ranges of the Himalayas. At the present day, it has also extended east of the river Koshi and occupies the greater part of the district of Purun, and has moreover crossed the Ganges, and is now spoken over the whole of the south-Gangetic portion of the Bhagalpur District over the Eastern portion of the south-Gangetic portion of the Monghyr District, and in the north and west of the Santhal Parganas.

Maithili is the only one of the Bihari dialects which has a literary history. For centuries the Pundits of Mithila have been famous for their learning and many of their works have been written in Sanskrit. One of the earliest writers of Maithili of whom we have any record was the celebrated Vidyapati. He was the first of the old-master-singers whose short religious poems, dealing principally with Radha and Krishna exercised such an important influence on the religious history of Eastern India. Vidyapati has many imitators in Mithila itself, among them may be mentioned Umapati, Nandipati, Ramapati, Mahapat, Jayananda etc. who wrote volumes of devotional songs and hymns. This literary tradition was further carried by a number of Maithili dramatists and poet. During the last seventy years, Maithili has witnessed a remarkable revival under the enlightened guidance and literal patronage of the Maithili Maharajas of Darbhanga. A vast bulk of literature has been written in Maithili and during the last twenty years it has got recognition as a subject for graduate teaching not only in Mithila but also outside of its
region. In Calcutta, Patna and Allahabad, for example, it is taught at University level.

Culturally, Mithila is a region of glorious traditions and rich history which it retains to the present day. The Brahmanic way of life has always dominated this area. The Maithili Brahman famous for their orthodoxy and pious way of life throughout India, have maintained their ancestral characteristics in spite of several conquests. This Brahminical domination has left ineffaceable mark upon the nature of the rest of the population. The Maithili Brahmin marry among their own caste as well as in their linguistic territory, so do the other castes. They consider it derogatory to marry outside their linguistic territory. They are proud of their heritage, their language, their mythological heroes as well as of the sacred places that fall within their territory. However they show great regard for places of pilgrimage that are recognised as sacred by the great Hindu traditions, though they are located in other parts of the country and they give frequent visit to such religious places.

Sober and polite, orthodox and fatalist, the Maithili speaking people are highly tradition and religion oriented. It might be of special interest to the supporters of Whorfian concept that in Maithili, there are no vocabularies and grammatical forms to address anybody without respect and hospitality. Even the small babies, the low untouchables, and persons who have committed some crime or sin are addressed in respectable terms. There are no words to address any body with contempts and disrespectful terms. In other two dialects, description of which will follow, the situation is different. In Magadhi, there is no word for respect, and 're' which is used to inferiority in the Bhojpuri, is very frequently used in Magadhi.

Magadhi or Magahi: Sub-area.

Magahi is originally the language of the people inhabiting the ancient kingdom of Magadha (now often called Magah)
corresponded to what is at present day, roughly speaking, the districts of Patna, together with the northern half of the district of Gaya. It contained at different times three famous capital cities. The oldest was Rajgrigha, the modern town of Rajgir and its history is enveloped in the midst of legends. Suffice it to say, according to the traditions, its most celebrated king was Jara-Sandha who ruled over the central part of India. In the middle of the sixth century B.C., it was ruled by king Bimbisara who is famous as a patron of the Buddhism. Bimbisara's son and successor founded the city of Patliputra (now known as Patna) which, later became the capital of Magadh in succession of Rajagriha. Here in the later half of the third century B.C. were the headquarters of Asoka the Great under whom Buddhism was finally adopted as the State Religion. From that date the two districts of Patna and Gaya have been in existence and Magadhi in some form or the other was used to popularise Buddhism even in distant lands since then.

Magadhi, as the native language, however, is not confined to Magadha only. It is also spoken all over the rest of Gaya and over the district of Hazaribagh, also in the west in a portion of the district of the Palamau, and on the east in the portion of the districts of Monghyr and Bhagalpur. Over the whole of this area it is practically one and the same dialect, however, there are some local variations.

Near the city of Patna it is infected with idioms belonging to the North-Western provinces by the strong Muslim elements which inhabit that town. On the eastern border, Magadhi meets Bengali. The two languages do not combine but the meeting is a bilingual one where they live side by side. Actually this marks to be the area of linguistic transition and recently, on the recommendation of the States Reorganisation Commission, the Government of India transferred a portion of it to the Bengali speaking State, West Bengal.

Magadhi has no indigenous written literature. There are
many popular songs current throughout in which the language is spoken, and strolling bards recite various long epic poems which are known more or less over the whole of North India. One of the songs of Gopi Chandra has been published by Grierson, with an English translation in the Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal. Portions of another popular folk song, known as Lorik, has been published. The missionary has published a series of Christian literature including the Bible in Magadhi. During the last ten years, a band of Magadhi scholars are making efforts to revive Magadhi. Folk songs are being collected and published, an organisation has been formed to collect the old manuscript and 'Vihan' a journal of Magadhi is published from Patna. However, in the present time, it is not considered as an effective dialect of speech as are the other two, Maithili and Bhojpuri.

Both Magadha as a seat of ancient Hindu kings, and Magadhi as their State language are well known. But their old pride and heritage appear to be lost as they were exposed to Muslim influence directly, and Magadha was subject to headquarters of the Muslim provinces. These days, Magadhi is condemned by speakers of other Indian languages as being rude and uncouth. In fact the principal difference between it and Maithili is that the latter has been under the influence of learned Brahmans for centuries while the former has been the language of the people who have been dubbed boors, low, and 'uncultured' since the Vedic times or so. Moreover, it has always been the cock-pit of foreign invasions and hence could not develop and maintain its ancient glory. To a native of India, one of its most objectionable features is its habit of winding up every question even when addressed to a person held in respect with the word 're'. In other parts of India this word is used in addressing inferior or younger people or when speaking contemptuously.

We do not have much data to demonstrate the differences-
in customs and manners of these three sub-groups. But even superficial observation gives an impression of the regional specialisation. Owing to geographical bottle-necks, linguistic differentiation and regional cultural traditions, there is seldom any case of marriage relations between the Magadhi speaking people and the Maithili. The Magadhi also practise regional endogamy. Only in the last twenty years a few incidence of inter-regional marriages have been noted.

_Bhojpuri: Sub-area._

Bhojpuri is properly speaking the language of Bhojpur, the name of a town and paragana in the north-west of the district of Shahabad. It is a place of some importance in the modern history of India. The town is the original headquarters of the Dumraon 'King' and the famous battle of Buxar was fought a few miles west to it.

The language called after this locality has spread far beyond its limits. It reaches on the north, across the Ganges, and even beyond the Nepal frontier, up to the lower ranges of the Himalayas from Champaran to Basti. On the south, it has crossed the Sone and covers the great Ranchi Plateau of Chotanagpur, where it finds itself in contact with the Bengali of Manbhum, with the Oriya of Singhbhum and the scattered tribal languages of Chotanagpur plateau.

The area covered by Bhojpuri is, in round numbers, some fifty thousand square miles. At home, it is spoken by some 20,000,000 people as compared with the 6,235,782 who speak Magahi and the 10,000,000 who speak Maithili. Therefore, as regards the number of speakers is concerned, it is much more important than the other two Bihari dialects put together.

Bhojpuri has hardly any indigenous literature. A few books have been printed in it. Grierson has published its grammar and compared it with other regional dialects. The famous epic poem, _Allha Uddal_ has also seen publish-
ed. Numerous folk-songs and tales are current over the Bhojpuri area and some of them have been collected by both foreign and Indian scholars and folklorists.

The Bhojpuri speaking country is inhabited by a people curiously different from the other two groups who speak Bihari dialects. They form the fighting or warrior groups of India. Mostly they are the Rajputs (Kshatriya), who according to the Vedic tradition are specialists in war, and giving protection to other Varna or Castes. An alert and active group, with few scruples and considerable abilities dearly loving a fight for fighting's sake they have spread all over northern Indian, each man ready to carve his fortune out of any opportunity which may present itself to him. They furnish a rich mine of recruitment to army and police, and they took a very prominent part in the First War of Indian Independence in 1857.

These people have penetrated in the big cities and towns of India and provide services as watchmen, police, protection force and army. With them they have brought their simple but virile dialect, Bhojpuri, which has become very popular among these professional groups and are spoken by them though, they may not belong to the native area of Bhojpuri. Opler, Cohn, Planalp Singh have studied villages in the Bhojpuri speaking areas and they have noticed the amount of feuds, rivalry, boldness, and virilism that characterise this area. It is left for the linguist to establish the relationship between their language and culture, it remains to be studied, how far 'code influences cognition or vice versa'.

Tribal: Sub-area.

In addition to the Bihari language in the north and south Bihar, the geographically, ethnically and linguistically distinct part of Chotanagpur is characterised by tribal languages of Mundari and Dravidian families.

Most of the tribes of Chotanagpur and Santhal Parganas speak languages of the Austric group, to which Max Muller
gave the name of Munda family of languages. At the beginning of the twentieth century, Willhelm Schmidt proved that Mon-khmer formed a link between the Munda languages of India and the languages of Indonesia, grouping the first two with Khasi and some other minor forms of languages, under the name of Austro-Asiatic languages. Though the Munda languages are many in Bihar and are spoken by the Santhal (Santhali), the Ho (Ho), the Kharia (Kharia) the Birhor (Birhori), and many other minor tribes, it is mainly the language of the Munda tribe (Mundari language). It is an ancient language and is characterised by complex types of phonetic and morphological structure. Hoffmann’s monumental work, the Encyclopaedia Mundarica, and Jagdish Trigunait’s work on the Munda folk song and folk tales show the wide range of ideas and concepts that are to be found in Mundari. The most important tribal language of the Munda group in respect of the number of speakers is Santhali. Bodding, Archer and in recent time Samir have collected numerous and rich varieties of folk literature in this language.

The other group of languages spoken in tribal Bihar is the Dravidian. There are two representatives of this group; Kurukh spoken by the Oraon of Chotanagpur and Malto spoken by the Maler of Santhal Parganas. The name Kurukh is derived from an obsolete Dravidian word meaning man and it is believed by tradition that the Oraon came from south India bringing with them a language of Dravidian stock. The Malto language of the Maler are similar to the Kurukh language of the Oraon in many ways. While the author applied the Lexico-statistical method of dating as formulated by Swadish it was certain that the two languages separated from each other about fifteen hundred years ago. Among Malto languages loan words from Santhali, Bengali and Urdu have been included while in Kurukh borrowing of Munda and Hindi words are distinct. Unfortunately from the points of view of linguistics no work has been done on Malto
language of the Maler. Only recently the present author has collected folklores and other linguistic forms which will be published separately. Some important works have been done by missionaries and Government Officials on folklores of the Oraon. Efforts are also being made through the Kurukh Katha Jatra to develop literature in Kurukh.

This linguistic population of the tribals concentrated in the districts of Chotanagpur and Santthal Pargana constitute another sub-area in the analysis of culture area in Bihar with more or less subsistence economy, animistic, tribal rituals, "crude" customs and practices along with distinct type of geographical and linguistic type, the tribal zone of Bihar forms a separate cultural sub-area.

This cultural sub-area is the subject matter of a detailed study in this volume. In the chapter that follows several cultural types have been discerned.

With this, we are now, prepared to conclude our observations. We made a case for an intermediate approach to the study of Indian civilisation as an all India approach leads us to generalisations and abstractions that are removed from "realities" and the village level diversity obviously has little practical use. Then, we examined the importance of language in making such culture area approach to the study of Indian Civilisation, which was later illustrated with a case study of Bihar, one of the fifteen culture linguistic areas. Here, we saw how Bihar with its language, Bihari is different from its neighbouring cultural linguistic areas. Later Bihar as a culture area was divided into sub-culture areas; each sub-culture area distinguished by one particular regional dialect of Bihari. In the analysis of the three areas: Mithila, Magadha and Bhojpur, with their corresponding regional dialects. Maithili, Magadhi and Bhojpuri, we noticed that the cultural set up, aspiration and ethos, perhaps, world-views of each cultural group may be distinguished from the other.
We also sketched some of the distinguishing features of their social customs, historical traditions, and written heritage. In the end a little note was added on the sub-area characterised by tribal people of Mundari linguistic group which are completely different from the three groups of Bihari speaking people: the people speaking Eastern Group of Indo-Aryan family.

FOOTNOTES

2 Patterson, M. L. P. Ibid.
3 Constitution of India, Linguistic Survey of India (Grierson).
4 Patterson, M. L. P. Ibid.
5 Grierson, G. A. Linguistic Survey of India, Vol. V. P. 11
11 Atharva Veda V. xxi 14.
13 Morris Opler, Bernard Cohn, Planalp of Cornell University and R. D. Singh of India jointly studied villages near Benaras.
14 While works of Booding at Archer are well known, Sri Doman Sahu “Samir’s work is less known as he has published in Hindi and Santhali”.
15 For detail see Chapter IV of this book.
CHAPTER II

CULTURAL TYPES IN TRIBAL BIHAR

The present chapter embodies a preliminary attempt to look at the ethnographic data that has been collected on the tribes of Bihar by the writer during the last three years. It is conventional to utilise one's ethnographic field data either to write monographs on individual tribes or to study the dynamics of culture change among some of them. After reading Steward (1955) on cultural ecology and discussing some of my data with Dr. Eggan, at Chicago the following questions came to mind: Can tribal Bihar be classified in terms of cultural types? The question appeared to be significant but to resolve it successfully, especially in a short paper, is a difficult task. The present essay should be considered preliminary to a more comprehensive analysis to follow.

Tribal Bihar:

The tribal population of Bihar, in eastern India, is concentrated in the southern part of the State which is predominantly a hilly and forested plateau. The northern half of the State lies in a heavily populated, flat alluvial plain which is essentially rural in character and has been a centre of Indian civilisation since the Vedic Period. The tribal belt of Bihar, which is geologically one continuous unit of Chotanagpur and the Rajmahal Plateau, covers the administrative districts of Ranchi, Hazaribagh, Palamau, Manbhum, Singhbhum and the Santhal Parganas. According to the 1951 census, about four million tribals inhabit these districts, which is approximately 30% of the total population of the area. In some of these districts, namely Ranchi (60%), the Santhal Parganas (44%), and Hazaribagh (36%), the tribal population is exceptionally dense. The 1941 Census Report.
enumerates forty-five tribes of various sizes that inhabit these districts of Bihar. Sporadically, they are also scattered throughout some of the other districts which may be ignored for the present. Some of the more important of these tribes are the Santhal (15,534,646), the Oraon (638,490), the Munda (519,743), the Ho (349,645), the Bhumij (152,992), the Kharia (88,777), the Saoria Paharia (68,654), the Asur (4,388) and the Birhor (2,499).

Race, Language and History:

Very little physical anthropology has been done in the area, but on the basis of present evidence the tribes may be considered to be homogenous racially. Guha (1944) classified them as "Proto-Austroloid." Almost all these tribes are distinctive linguistically. Grierson (1906) classified the languages in the area into two categories: Austro-Asiatic (locally called Munda) and Dravidian. Most of the tribal languages show their affinity to the Munda group while only Kurukh of the Oraon and the Malto of the Saoria Paharia are said to be related to Dravidian.

On the basis of their linguistic affiliations and their traditional folk-lore, Roy (1915) suggests historical connections between all the Munda-speaking peoples that came to Chotanagpur from Northern India after the Aryan invasion. On the other hand, Roy indicates that Dravidian speaking tribes such as the Oraon and the Saoria Paharia came originally from the South, possibly from the Narbada, and settled down in Chotanagpur and the Santhal Parganas.

Culture Types:

Synchronic investigations among these tribes suggest that during the course of the last thousand years or so these tribes have become economically specialised and have adapted to different geographical environments. Because of this differentiation, their linguistic and historical connections are relatively insignificant in their life. For example, in terms of
historical and linguistic connections the Birhor are related to the Munda, but owing to their respective ecological specialisation they are far apart. The Mundas live in villages, practise plough cultivation, and have an elaborate ritual and social system while, on the contrary, the Birhors wander in small migratory groups from forest to forest in quest of games. Similarly the Saoria Paharia, though historically related to the Oraon (a plains tribe like the Munda), are more similar to Hill Kharia (a hill tribe branch of the plains tribe, the Kharia of the Munda group) in respect to economic adaptation and socio-cultural adjustment. Both practise slash and-burn agriculture, live in small villages, possess poor technological implements and household belongings, and are at a low level of socio-cultural integration. These cross-cultural regularities or parallels among these two tribes and other tribes mentioned above can be explained in part, at least, through cultural ecology. With these considerations we can classify the tribes of Bihar into four culture types:

1. Forest-Hunting Type.
2. Hill-Cultivation Type.
3. Plains-Agriculture Type.
4. Simple-Artisan Type.

The terms used for classification indicate roughly the ecological environment as well as the economic occupation of each type. With each type goes a particular type of settlement pattern and socio-cultural integration that are discussed in the following pages. At this point the reader is cautioned that this discussion will stress the importance of understanding the process of adaptation to an ecological environment in the study of cultures, especially of the simple communities, and in no way should the following exposition be considered within a framework of environmental or economic determinism. With this brief clarification, an outline of the three culture types the Forest-Hunting Type, the Plains-Agriculture Type, and the Simple-Artisan Type is presented; and then a more detailed discussion of the Hill-Cultivation Type follows.
1. *Forest-Hunting Type:*

This type is illustrated by the Birhor and the Korwa who are essentially in the "stage" of hunting and food collection and who show approximately a family level of integration. Each Birhor patrilineal family wanders from forest to forest in quest of games and raw materials for rope. Their important and non-migratory game include monkeys, rabbits, squirrels and wild goats, and their chief appliances for hunting include nets, clubs, and axes. Since monkey and rabbit-hunts require more co-operative personnel than a nuclear family can provide, the migratory band of the Birhor includes in it all the sons of the father. In case this patrilineal extended family is still too small, it joins the temporary encampments of friendly or related families. In this way two or three families may combine together for collective hunting. They also name a hunt leader and usually hunt as a unit, but for certain tasks such as the collection of string for rope making, each individual works independently. Birhor women also like to be quiet and alone while collecting Mahua flowers, wild fruits, and vegetables that are available on the outskirts of the forests.

The combination of two or three small friendly families at one encampment does not create an obligation to migrate together from place to place or to organise into a single band. Families often change settlements depending on economic conditions, kinship considerations or other factors. The struggle for existence is so keen that one occasionally finds a son who has left his father's migratory group despite the prescribed obligation to remain with it until his father's death. After the death of the father, a group usually remains together under the headship of the eldest son, but economic considerations often take precedence over this rule as well.

The length of stay of a family or a group of families in one place depends mainly upon the availability of game and raw material for rope that they sell in weekly markets.
Usually the period of encampment at one place varies from five months to four years. At times they leave the locale for religious reasons. When at a temporary encampment, each married couple occupies one small, meagre conical hut that is made of leaves and branches of trees from the jungle.

Each patrilineal family has its own religious shrine consisting of a small clay pitcher and a twig of Sal tree. It is always located to the rear of the hut of the eldest member of the family. When they migrate, the eldest member carries the shrine, known as Bonga Kumba, with great solemnity and piety. In addition to Bonga Kumba, the Birhor family worships a number of forest spirits and wild animals, such as the tiger, bear, or the leader of monkeys, Hanuman. All their religious ceremonies are observed at the family level. The following table, based upon the observation of four temporary encampments of the Birhor, gives a further notion of the demographic pattern and level of socio-cultural integration:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl. No.</th>
<th>Name of temporary village</th>
<th>Number of families</th>
<th>Number of migratory groups</th>
<th>Total No. of persons</th>
<th>No. of huts</th>
<th>Distance from Bishunpur P. S. (Ranchi Dist.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Manjira</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3 miles, SE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Serka</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2 miles, SE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Chatakpur</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10 miles, NW</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Narma</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5 miles, NW</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Most of the Birhor families found in Bishunpur Police Station in the year 1956-57 have been resettled in two colonies at Jehangītua and Beti near Bishunpur and the traditional culture of the Birhor in this area is undergoing transformation. The changing pattern of the Birhor life-way remains still to be studied.

2. Plain-Agriculture Type:

The second type consists of tribes like the Santhal, Munda, Oraon, Ho and others that generally occupy the undulating
areas on the plateau and are predominantly dependent upon plough cultivation. Hunting and fishing probably were important in the past but are now of only ceremonial significance. These people live in permanent villages, which consist of about 50 to 100 household units and include a population varying from 100 to 500 each. All the tribes are patrilineal, patrilocal, and practise clan as well as village exogamy. Each village is under two leaders, one secular and the other religious, whose offices are almost hereditary. Traditionally, in each tribe there is also a regional political authority to settle inter-village or inter-tribal disputes.

Religious and social functions are observed on the village level, and for each village there is a dancing and meeting ground, shrine, burial place, and sleeping dormitories (The Santhals do not have sleeping dormitories). The village is the important social unit and in Steward’s terms socioeconomic integration is not at the folk level.

3. Simple-Artisan Type:

The third type includes a number of tribal artisans such as the Karmali (10,902), the Lohra (46,855), the Mahali (60,385) and Chikbaraik who are found scattered in the village of agriculture tribes and serve the latter’s requirements. The Karmali and the Lohra are the traditional ironsmiths who provide the villages with new implements and repair old ones. The Mahali are professional basket-makers and drummers, while the Chikbaraik are the traditional weavers of these tribal societies. From two to six families of these tribal artisans live in each agricultural village and are for all practical purposes an integral part of the village. For their livelihood they depend upon the village market which is organised on a traditional barter system. They supplement their income by means of “odd jobs”, but owing to impact of alien markets and the advent of a money economy, their professions have been adversely affected. They now must either migrate to tea gardens or cities for
employment, or else seek some sort of agricultural work in the village.

4. The Hill-Cultivation Type: A Case Study.

This category consists of three tribes—the Saoria Paharia, the Hill Kharia, and the Asur. These three tribes live in the hills of three different areas and have developed from three different historical backgrounds, as noted earlier. However, from a cultural ecological point of view they are quite similar and may be classified together.

The Hill Kharia live in the hills of Singhbhum district. They are considered to be a specialised group of the Plain Kharia who practise plough cultivation and live in organised villages. Traditionally the Hill Kharia practise slash-and-burn agriculture (shifting cultivation) on the pattern of Saoria Paharia’s to be described below. They live in groups of five to twelve families and at the family level of socio-cultural integration.

The Asur, though of the same level of socio-cultural integration as the Hill Kharia and the Saoria Paharia, and who now participate more or less in the same type of economic activities, traditionally were iron-smelters. They enjoyed a virtual monopoly in supplying iron to the tribal population of Chotanagpur. They could get iron ore from the hills on which they lived, wood for charcoal from the forest around them, and they developed simple techniques for smelting. But during the last sixty years, because of several social, economic, and administrative factors, they had to abandon their ancient profession. The decline of iron smelting among them and the consequent disturbances in their economic base brought about a maladjustment with the environment. They had no alternative but to take up hunting, food gathering, and fishing; eventually they developed techniques for simple cultivation.

The Asurs live in small impoverished villages; they no
longer observe rituals and festivals on an elaborate scale. They are always on the verge of starvation and their number is decreasing. Village and family organisation is very loose. To give one example, it has become customary to keep a woman as one's wife while postponing observance of the marriage rituals and feast that involve expenditure which they cannot afford to meet. But this postponement of marriage feasts for a few months or year, often result in postponement for ever and in the eyes of the general villagers, the man remains a bachelor. He is, however, able to carry on a "normal" family life.

The Male:r:

The Male:r or Saoria Paharia that have been selected for detailed description live on the hill tops of Raj Mahal plateau in the sub-divisions of Raj Mahal, Pakur and Godda of Santhal Parganas district. Most of the villages are from 1,500ft. to 2,000ft. above sea level, but above the neighbouring plains area, their height ranges only 300ft. to 700ft. In Barhait Bungalow, however, a number of Maler villages are located in the foot hills zone. In general, the plains-like depressions between hills in this zone are inhabited by the Santhal, an agricultural tribe with whom the Maler may be fruitfully contrasted.

The climate of the Maler area is typically tropical. The temperature varies from 110 F. in the summer to 45 F. in the winter. The annual rainfall decreases from east to west and varies between 55 to 45 inches. Owing to the humid tropical climate, the volcanic hill tracts that are rich in lava soil produce luxuriant growths of vegetation. These forests are the abode of wild animals such as tigers, bears etc., that frequently make attacks upon the domestic animals of the Maler. These forests are not rich in game. The water level in these hilly areas is naturally quite low and during the summer the streamlets and hill-fountains go dry, and then
the Maler, who depend entirely upon them for the supply of water have to face unsurmountable difficulties.

The villages of the Maler are located on undulating hill tops, and the forested hill-slopes are available to them for the slash-and-burn agriculture around which their entire economy revolves. From field investigation in the six Maler villages, selected from three areas, two other types of cultivation became known—Bhitta (horticulture) and Dhani (wetpaddy cultivation). Bhitta cultivation and Dhani cultivation require increased labour and techniques, and the Maler in general do not care for such exploitation. Their main acreage is suitable for slash-and-burn agriculture, which is locally known as Kuruwa. Each family has 5 to 10 bighas of land under Kuruwa cultivation. Kuruwa land may be leased for a year or so from another family on a partnership basis.

The nature and techniques of Kuruwa cultivation are much the same throughout the Maler area. In the months of February and March a particular patch of forest is selected and after brief rituals and sacrifices the forest is cut and the trees and plants are left to dry. Before the advent of the first Monsoon shower, in May and June, the dried wood is burnt to ashes. What remains is removed from the field and used as fuel. With the first shower a luxuriant growth of grass develops in the field. The grass is uprooted and left in the field providing a mantle of rich humus. Thus, when the field is ready with a thick covering on the rocky sub-soil the Maler husband and wife, along with their grown-up children, dig holes in the field using pointed sticks, and then they sow the seeds. The sowing period lasts for two months, July and August. After three months, when the corn-plants develop ears, the Maler make a raised platform as well as a hut in the field and stay there day and night to protect the crop from wild animals, especially from the bears. During this period half of the village population moves out to Kuruwa fields because they may be as far as five miles from the village,
The harvest is ready in December and the Maler sacrifices in the field again; this time in the name of the spirit of the field, and then he starts to reap the crop. When he brings the corn to his village hut, he again observes rituals and makes sacrifices in the name of the hearth and the hut. In all these offerings he himself officiates as priest and the ceremonies are confined to small nuclear family. This indicates that temporary migration of families takes place even in a community like that of the Maler where shifting cultivation is practised.

In general, a particular patch is cultivated twice, and thereafter it is allowed to lie fallow for at least five years. Less fertile land is cultivated only once and is set aside for a longer period. Outside Bihar, in other States like Assam (Jhum cultivation), Central Provinces (Podu cultivation), Orissa (Sahi cultivation), the hill tribes practise shifting cultivation on the same pattern, though they call it by different local names. In addition to Kuruwa for some months in the summer before the commencement of the rains, the Maler men and women cut and collect wood from the forest to sell at the weekly market on the plain. Women and children also collect seasonal wild fruits and roots to supplement the diet. All types of food are utilised including the flesh of dead cows. For this they are looked down upon by the neighbouring Hinduised tribes. But in spite of this dietary supplement they barely manage to subsist.

The struggle for existence is continuous. The environmental handicap is so immense and the technological appliances are so poor that they suffer a great deal and lead a life of misery, starvation, and ill-health. Anxiety over food and insecurity in life is reflected in their folklores, their games, dreams, and one might say in all forms of their social and cultural life.

The Maler villages are small and scattered. They include ten to twenty five nuclear families and distance between
villages is ordinarily not less than six to twelve miles. In every village there is a secular head, known as the Mahto or Pradhan or Majhia but under the present situation his office is almost functionless. Under the British regime the Mahto collected land revenue from the villagers but now this is collected directly by Governmental agencies. There is no permanent religious head among the Maler which is usefully found among the agricultural tribes. Ceremonies, with but few exceptions, are carried out on the family level and in some cases the lineage is invited for the collective ceremonies such as Bandana or Pilai, observed on the village level, the date and leaders are arranged for each occasion. The Maler do not have clanship organisation nor do they practise village exogamy. For purpose of exogamy, bilateral kindred up to three generations distance are taken into consideration.

Most of the Maler villagers cannot furnish even the names of their grandfather's brothers the latter's sons. This too is indicative of the simple nature of the Maler family which always consists of husband, wife, and unmarried children. It is noted that a man and his brother do not live on the same hill. The eldest son generally inherits the father's house after the latter's death. Frequency of divorce and remarriage is fairly high. The writer met three men who have divorced their wives five times. Few sex and food taboos are observed by the Maler. They eat all types of meat. In matters of sexual relations they do not observe restrictions to the extent of the agricultural tribes such as the Santhal and the Munda. Cases of premarital, extramarital incestual sexual relations occur without reprimand by the villagers. In ritual observances as well as, they are not especially particular about details or careful about execution. One may illustrate this point with the notion of ritual pollution. If a man has four sons who reside in different villages, and he dies in the house of the eldest, the eldest son and the inmates of the house only will be subject to a simple rule of pollution. Among the agricultural tribes the whole
clans, and in some cases the whole village, becomes polluted and elaborate rituals are observed to counteract it. In short socio-cultural integration even at the family level appears to be loose and weak. Similar is the case with the Hill Kharia and the Asur.

Not only economic and socio-cultural meeting but also attitudes have been moulded and adopted to the ecological conditions in which the Maler live. Results from questionnaires to fifty Maler's indicate that they show an overall preference for living conditions in their present habitat. They prefer to live in bamboo huts rather than mud houses; they like to drink water from the springs and not from the wells; and in all cases they show a strong preference for living on the hills, and in no circumstances on the plains. Some of them went to the extent of saying that if compelled by the Government to go down on to the plains they would prefer to face bullets and die on hills rather than live a 'comfortable' life on the plains. It is interesting to note some of the arguments that they give to justify this strong preference. Many informants felt that since the hill area was their traditional home and their spirits and gods live there, they would not like to leave the hills. The second most frequent answer given by the informants was that they did not like to leave Kuruwa cultivation and the environment of the trees and leaves that would not be available on the plains. In addition to the above common reply 60% complained of the cruel nature of the plains people, especially the Santhal, with whom they did not like to associate. 57% of the women interviewed expressed their dislike of the plains and lack of desire to live there by nothing that on the plains their children would contact diseases and die.

This brief ethnographic study of the Maler is sufficient to illustrate how they have adopted to their environment, and how once established in it, they do not want to leave it under any circumstances. The present study of the Maler will be
of additional interest if we look at the situation in historical perspective.

Little is known about the origin and migration of the tribe, but tradition, as well as philological and cultural evidence, show that the Oraon of Chotanagpur and the Maler Paharia of Raj Mahal are two divisions of what was once a single tribe (Roy: 1928). A comparison of the vocabularies of the two tribes on the basis of a Swadesh list, worked out by the researches, (Vidyarthi 1956) suggests that at one time they belonged to one linguistic unit and perhaps divided about 1,000 to 1,500 years ago, passing his opinion on their mythology and traditions, Roy (1915) believes that this split took place at Rohtas in Western Bihar where the original group practised agriculture. Though the definite cause of migration is not known, some type of Hindu invasion is suspected to be the reason of split and migration. One group went to the districts of Chotanagpur where it met with the Munda tribe which, perhaps, was not as advanced as Oraon. The other group went still further east to the Rajmahal Hills.

If this historical reconstruction is even approximately correct, it is indeed interesting, for here we have case of one section of an agricultural tribe being forced to take shelter in the midst of hills and forests and readapting to the hunting and shifting cultivation level of socio-cultural integration. If this is true, such institutions as totemic clan divisions, clan exogamy, youth dormitories, and an integrated family system, all of which are retained by the Oraons, were lost by the Maler.

Although this “reverse” of levels of socio-cultural integration is an interesting speculation, it is obvious that such an event is extremely unlikely. Roy (1951), working at a time when highly conjectural historical reconstructions were in vogue, argued for the migration and split of the Oraon and Maler on extremely slim grounds. Moreover, it is much more probable that the Oraon gained the aforesaid institutions
rather than that the Maler lost them, judging by what we know today of the general principles of cultural development and change.

Furthermore, if the social context of Maler mythology is taken into consideration, a logical alternative to this speculative reconstruction, is available. Many tribes in India claim to have "fallen" from a higher stage of culture. Roy (1928) has also described Oraon contentions that the group once possessed such important (Hindu) customs as the sacred thread worship of a single deity, vegetarianism, and so forth. The Kurukh Dharem was a religious movement formed in the 1930's on this basis. Kurukh Dharem literally means "return to the real or original religion of the Kurukhs, or Oraons." The reason for such beliefs and movements is to be found in the situation of Hindu tribal interactions. Tribal societies in many parts of India are attempting to gain status within the wider social system by claiming a right to practice Hindu ceremonies and rituals. This claim often takes the form of returning to the original, glorious day when polluting practices were unknown, when the tribe ruled over the area, and so on. Another instance of this is the Bhumij tribe (Sinha: 1955), in which the tribal people claim that they were once Kshatriyas and now wish to return to this high state.

By claiming the ritual purity of high Hindu castes, the tribal groups are attempting to gain prestige in the eyes of their neighbours, thus entering the caste system at a fairly high level or raising their status therein.

Conclusion:

The present study leads to a number of conclusions that appear to be of both theoretical and substantive importance. It establishes the applicability of the cultural ecological approach to the study of tribal groups living in the same geographic regions but having contrasting environments. This shows how the present approach provides one possible
methodological system for looking at ethnographic data from a typological point of view. This approach enables the ethnographer to classify the tribes into cultural types while also offering him a chance to look for cross-cultural regularities or parallels. Of all the attempts made to classify the tribes of Bihar, this approach appears to me as certainly the most useful. It may take into consideration the history of the adaptation of a culture at a certain technological level; and then enables us to understand certain cross-cultural regularities in their functional relationship. To give one example it gives us a chance to establish why the Hill Kharia and the Maler, though historically unrelated, linguistically far apart, and living in two different areas, are so similar in social organisation. This similarity is directly traceable to similarities in the process of ecological adaptation, resulting in the same level of socio-cultural integration.

In summary, the principal value of this study is in indicating a method whereby the tribal situation in India may be conceptualised, both in terms of levels of socio-cultural integration, and in terms of the social environment. It is hoped that this general framework and methodology will prove applicable in other parts of India, and that it will be useful with appropriate modifications, in other areas as well.

REFERENCES

Guha, B. S., Racial Element in the Indian Population. 1944 Oxford University Press.
Sinha, S., Lectures on the Bhumi tribe, given at the Indian 1956 Seminar, University of Chicago, spring.


The Maler: Nature Man Spirit Complex in a Hill tribe of Bihar. Bookland Private Ltd. According to the latest Census 29 scheduled tribes have been enlisted.

**Footnotes**

1 This paper written under the guidance of Fred Eggan was published in Anthropology To-morrow vol. II No. 1 in 1957 and was later published in Journal of Social Research Vol. I No. 1 in 1958.

2 The field work was carried on among the Birhor of Bishunpur Police Station in the year 1955, and the data refer to that period only.

3 This section of the Paharia in the Santal Pargana call themselves, the Maler (hillmen) in their language. They are, however, known to the outsiders by the term Savaria. It is erroneous to call them “Saoria”.

4 In the Malto language this type of agriculture is known as Khalle.
CHAPTER III


The Oraons are one of the most populous tribal groups in the northeastern part of India, numbering approximately 1.12 million at the 1941 census. Of these some 600,000 live in the State of Bihar, more than 500,000 of them occurring in the Ranchi district, and the remainder in the districts of Palamau, Santhal Pargana, Singhbhum, Hazaribagh in Chota Nagpur Division and in the northern districts of Champaran and Purnea. Despite their large number however, almost nothing is known of the distribution among them of the various blood group systems (other than the classical ABO blood group system) of the abnormal hemoglobins or of the more recently discovered serum protein groups including the haptoglobin, transferrin and gammaglobulin groups.

B. S. Guha (51) considers that the Oraons are related to the proto-Australoid stock, which has been variously described also as "pre-Dravidan", and "Veddoid". Guha himself prefers the term "Nisadic", the generic name given to aboriginal groups in India by the Vedic Aryans. In any case the term "proto-Australoid" seems best fitted to describe fossil finds such as those at Wadjak, Talgai, Keilor, Cohura, etc. Howells (37) discusses the affinities of the Oraons, basing his views largely on physical anthropological measurements by Risley. Howells states:

"In Chota Nagpur there live a number of tribes with Australoid physical characteristics, though they do not have these to the same degree as the people of Southern India. Principal among these (tribes) are the Oraons, an important Dravidian speaking group. These are said by tradition, formerly to have been one tribe with the Male and Malpaharia."
and to have entered Chota Nagpur from the west, pushing the Munda who occupied the plateau ahead of them. However, this may be, it is readily seen from the measurements that the present physical affinities of the Oraons are with the Mundas and not with the Male. If the Oraon once belonged with the Male something has modified the nose and stature of one of them. The Male appear to resemble the jungle tribes of the South more than any other group”.

Oraon tradition indicates that the tribe itself made a long and happy stay in Fort Ruidas (Rohtasgarh) on the bank of the River Sone in Bihar, before they moved to Chota Nagpur.

Linguistic studies of the Oraon language (known as Kurukh) are not conclusive. G. A. Grierson (05) in his “Linguistic Survey of India” characterized it as a Dravidian language, with close connections with Tamilian and Konkani of South India. However, the present Oraon language shows northern and foreign influence. There is a fondness for harsh gutturals, in sharp distinction with southern Dravidian languages, and many words are of Persian origin. Quite clearly, therefore, the Oraons pose a problem in terms of origins which merits detailed consideration.

Outline of Oraon Culture:

There are many elements in Oraon culture which are shared with other tribes in Chota Nagpur, as well as with non-Dravidian speaking people in the same areas. The brief outline provided here is intended to draw attention only to the salient features of Oraon life, providing there by a social framework for the genetical studies.

The Oraons live in villages consisting of 20 to 200 houses each. In general each village has six characteristic features. Akhra; the youth dormitory, Bathan; Sarna; Khali; and Tusa. Akhra, the village ground is the place where the youth of the village collect to dance in the evening and where important matters concerning the village are settled by the
headman and the elders of the village. Normally it is situated under a tree in the centre of the village and big stones are placed around it for the people to sit on. The youth dormitories are the houses where unmarried boys and girls retire at night to sleep. Among the Oraon there are separate houses for the boys and girls known as Jokh-Erpi and Pello-Erpi respectively. Bathan (the village Grove) is the place where all the cattle of the village are allowed to rest at noon. The place is chosen by the Ahir (milk-man) whose duty is to look after the animal of the villagers. The village groove consists of mango trees. It is also the place of rest and idle talk for the entire village-folk in summer. The Sarna (the sacred groove) consists of a few old sal to serve as a place of worship. Sarhul, the biggest festival of the Oraons is celebrated in honour of the Sarna. Khali is the threshing ground. All Oraon houses have a Khali outside the village where they thresh their corn and store the straw for their cattle. Each Oraon village has a spring or well known as “Tusa”. It is from the Tusa that drinking water is supplied to the entire village.

The Oraons live in houses built of mud walls and roofed with tiles or thatching grass. An Oraon house measures generally from 25 to 30 ft. in length and 15 to 20 ft. in width. The main door of their houses invariably opens to the south, in front of which one will find a courtyard and a shed for the cattle. Adjoining the shed stands the pig-stay. The chickens normally do not have any special shelter.

The house of an Oraon has generally three small rooms: a kitchen, a common room and a store room. The common room serves the three-fold purposes of dining room, sleeping room and room for receiving guests. In many houses the kitchen is put up in a verandah in front of the door. The family deities (Pinda) are also enshrined in the kitchen room.
Economy:

The Oraons are settled agriculturists. When they first came to Chota Nagpur they found it as an immense patch of jungle and forests. They cleared the jungles and turned them into fields known as “Tonka-Khall” and “Nal-Khall”. The “Tonka Khall” are stretches of upland fields, and where they slope down into a depression they are termed Nal Khall (low-land). The Nal Khall fields are the best paddy fields of the village. With the exception of those that retain moisture throughout the year they are regularly manures ordinarily used are old cowdung, ashes, decayed vegetables, leaves, etc. The upland fields are used for raising a variety of crops such as millets (maruwa, gurlu), pulses (rahri, masi, arasgu), cotton (kulsi), maize (jinhor) and oil seeds (mani, lotni).

The agricultural implements used by the Oraons are many and interesting. Some of the important implements are plough (ugta), harrow (pata), spade (knoholi), pitch-fork (Akhain), sickle (tantar), axe (tong’e) rice-pounder, (dhinki) and grain-measure (aurka).

The staple food of the Oraons is rice and pulse (dal). Rice-beer (Jhara) is their favourite drink. It is used by the Oraons on all festive occasions as well as in their religious ceremonies. In recent years, however, the sale of distilled liquor (purchunia) in huge quantities by the government contractors in the Oraon areas is leading to increasing drunkenness.

Society:

The Oraons are divided into a number of exogamous totemic clans of which there are 26 major clans and 44 sub-clans. From the numerical predominance of a particular clan in a village it appears that in ancient times each clan lived in a separate village which the Oraons called “Khunti.” During the last 100 years or so due to the increase in their population and the non-availability of land, different clans have come to live side by side in the same village. The Oraons do not
marry into any other tribe or caste. If by accident a boy or girl marries a member of another tribe the couple has to undergo a rigorous purificatory ceremony known as “manoli manner” (giving a feast) where both the bride and the groom are made to drink the blood of a he-goat before they are readmitted into the tribe.

The entire society of the Oraons is knit together by what is called the “Pashohar Panchait” (village panchait). The village panchait of the Oraons is an organization of elders who choose five distinguished men to look after the law and order of the village. Above the village panchait is the Parha organization. A Parha (regional council) consists of group of 5, 7, 9, 12, 21, or 22 villages. According to their functionary importance one of these villages is called the Raja Gaon (king’s village) a second the Dewan Gaon (Prime Minister’s village), a third the Sewkai Gaon (Assistant’s village a fourth the Panbhara Gaon (Herald’s village) a fifth the Kotwar Gaon (Army chief’s village) and so on. Such villages which have no such denominations are known as Praja (subjects villages). Each Parha has a distinctive symbol and flag which is proudly exhibited when there is an inter Parha celebration or regional fairs (Jatra). The village is the head village of the Parha and one of the head men of the village presides at meetings of the “Parha Panch.” The functions of the Parha are to establish and maintain law and order, to settle disputes between villages, and to put up a common defense against an external enemy.

At a higher level the Oraons had in the past another organization called “Parganait”. A Parganait consisted of 28, 56, 84, 356 or 700 villages. The Lord of the Parganait was known as Bhaiya. He was a close relative of the king (in Oraon “Belsas”) who in turn was the ruler of 1,400, 2,100 or 2,200 villages. At the present moment, however, none of these organizations of the Oraons are in existence. The Oraon kings and Bhaiyas are no longer traceable. The Parha
has ceased to function as an active organization and the traditional village council is being replaced by the government sponsored village council.

Religion:

The Oraons recognize ten different classes of supernatural powers. Their supreme being is called Dharmes, the Creator of the universe, whose visible symbol is the sun. The Dharmes is supposed to control all other deities and is able to see all the actions of both spirits and mortals. After him come the ancestors. Thirdly, there are the village deities (Chala Pachcho, Darha Deswali) who are worshipped by the village priest or Pahan at the sacred grove (Sarna) on behalf of the entire village at the time of festivals. Fourth come the spirits of war and hunt (Chandi), and then come the titular spirits of (Khunt Bhut) the families of the original settlers of the village. Sixth come the household spirits and these are followed by four other types of mysterious and powerful spirits.

The Oraon life is marked with a number of festivals of which mention may be made—of two of them—Khaddi (Sarhul) and Karam. Khaddi is celebrated in remembrance of the birth of Prince Ronya under a sal tree when his queen mother was in flight at the time of an invasion by people from the neighbouring plains. The queen attributing the safety of her child to Dharmes through the sal tree ordered a universal observance of a feast in honour of sal trees known in Oraon as Jahira or Sarna.

The feast or Karma is of later origin. It is said that after taking possession of Fort Ruidas (Rohtasgarh), the enemies wanted to capture the inmates of the queen’s apartment. But the queen with her suite had left the fort before the enemies entered it. The enemies surrounded the country in search of the royal females, but could not find them. The queen and her followers had hidden themselves in a hole
whose entrance was covered with the leaves of a Karma plant. The Oraons saw the power of Dharmes in the Karma plant, and a feast was set aside in his honour.

The Oraons in general, are a dynamic tribe and can adjust easily in new situations. From our study of the tribal groups in and around the city of Ranchi it is evident that they are ahead of many other tribes of Chotanagpur in accepting both the virtues and vices of modernism and urbanism.

Present Investigation:

The Oraon population was sampled in three places in the Ranchi district during March 1960 (figs. 1 and 2). Two of these were the neighbouring villages of Barahai Rol, 21 miles west on Ranchi-Khelari Road, and Bijupara, 20 miles west on Ranchi Gumla Road from Ranchi city, while the remaining samples were obtained from senior pupils at the school of Sosai Ashram, 17 miles west from Ranchi city. Persons were selected on the basis of belonging to the Oraon tribe, and not being closely related. Blood samples were collected into Bayer "venules" from a suitable arm vein and placed at once in iced thermos jars. The samples were flown from Ranchi to Perth in ice-cold containers. They arrived in Perth in excellent condition six days after collection.

The blood groups were determined for the ABO, MNS, Rh, Le, P, Js and Di systems, the sera and methods employed being listed in table 1. The haptoglobin and transferrin groups were determined using vertical starch-gel electrophoresis with either a borate or a discontinuous buffer system as described previously (kirk et al; 60; Lai, 61). The haptoglobins were made visible with benzidine reagent and the transferrins were stained with naphthalene black. The gammaglobulin groups were determined using the Sera as listed in table 1, according to the method outlined by Steinberg et al ('61').

Hemoglobin Solution made by hemolyzing in distilled water thrice washed cells, was examined by Dr. P. Brain for
the presence of abnormal hemoglobins using horizontal filler paper electrophoresis.

The ABO blood groups:

There have been four published studies giving the ABO blood groups for the Oraons. Malone and Lahiri ('28, '29) examined nearly 600 tribal people from Ranchi district, but did not distinguish between the Munda, Oraon and Santal in their results. Sarkar (42m 43) sampled Oraons from various places and later (Sarkar, 49) made another survey at Palamau, which is separated from Ranchi district by the Koel river. More recently Lehmann and Ikin (unpublished observations, cited by Mourant et al., 58) have carried out tests on 100 Oraons imigrant labourers on South Andaman Island. The result of these investigations, together with those for the present survey are shown in table 2.

There is close agreement between the results of the present survey and those of Malone and Lahiri and the series of Sarkar for Palamau. Lehmann and Ikin's results show a slightly higher frequency of the B gene, but the difference is not significant ($X^212=7.6$ $P=0.8$). Sarkar's 1942-1943 series, however, does differ significantly from the others, a result which is somewhat puzzling.

Malone and Lahiri and Sarkar did not test for the subgroups of A. The 25 group A and 18 AB persons tested by Lehmann and Ikin were all group A, or A, B. In the present series however 2 out of 36 group A persons were $A_2$ and 3 out of 9 AB persons were $A_2B$. These figures give a frequency for the A genes of $p_1=0.175$ and $p_2=0.025$.

The Rh blood group system:

There has been no previous study of the Rh blood group system of the Oraons, with the exception of a mixed group of 100 Oraons and 23 Karias working as labourers in the Andaman Islands and sampled there by Lehmann and Ikin in 1953, (cited by Mourant, 54). The detailed results from the
present study are given in table 3. The commonest genotype \( R_1 R_1 \) was found in just over 70% of the persons examined. \( R_1 R_2 \) was found in nearly 10% and the combination \( R_1 R_0 \) in 13.6%.

The Rh negative phenotype (cde/cde or rh) seems to be absent, a result in agreement with that found by Lehmann and Ikin for mixed Oraons and Karias in the Andamans.

### TABLE 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Antiserum</th>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Method</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>C. S. I. Melbourne</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>C. S. L. Melbourne</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A+B</td>
<td>C. S. L. Melbourne</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( A_1 )</td>
<td>Phaseola limensis-extract, W. A. Red Cross Lab.</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H</td>
<td>Ulex europaeus extract W. A. Red Cross Lab.</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>Ortho, N. J.</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>Ortho, N. J.</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S</td>
<td>New South Wales Blood Trans. Service</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s</td>
<td>Dr. J. P. O’ Riordan, Dublin</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>K. E. M. H. Laboratories, Perth</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>K. E. M. H. Laboratories, Perth</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>K. E. M. H. Laboratories, Perth</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c</td>
<td>K. E. M. H. Laboratories, Perth</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>Ortho, N. J.</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( C_w )</td>
<td>Dr. Odd Weisert, Osie</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>Dr. E. R. Giblett, Seattle</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( J_s^a )</td>
<td>Dr. E. R. Giblett, Seattle</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( L e^a )</td>
<td>Dr. G. A. Matson, Minneapolis (for O &amp; A cells)</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( D i^b )</td>
<td>Dr. M. Layrisse, Venezuela</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( p^t )</td>
<td>K. E. M. H. Perth</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gm(a)</td>
<td>Dr. R. Grubb, Lund</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gm(b)</td>
<td>Dr. A. G. Steinberg, Cleveland</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gm(x)</td>
<td>Dr. A. G. Steinberg, Cleveland</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gm(like)</td>
<td>Dr. A. G. Steinberg, Cleveland</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### TABLE 2

**The ABO blood group of the Oraons**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>No. tested.</th>
<th>Phenotype-frequency</th>
<th>Gene frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>O  A  B  AB</td>
<td>P  q  r  D/6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malone and Lahiri ('28-'29)</td>
<td>589</td>
<td>24.3 27.5 36.8 11.4</td>
<td>0.22 0.28 0.50 + 0.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mixed Munda, Oraon and Santal, near Ranchi Sarkar ('42-'43)</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Several sources Sarkar ('49)</td>
<td>155</td>
<td>47.1 12.9 34.8 5.2</td>
<td>0.09 0.22 0.68 - 0.66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palamau, Bihar Lehmann and Ikin (Mourant et al., '58)</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Andaman Islands</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>19.0 25.0 38.0 18.0</td>
<td>0.24 0.33 0.42 - 0.62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Present, near Ranchi</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>25.6 28.8 38.4 7.2</td>
<td>0.20 0.27 0.53 + 1.66</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Indeed the calculated chromosome frequencies for the present and the Andaman Island series are closely similar.

In the present series six persons gave completely negative results and one person gave a weak result against anti-D using the ficin test. Each of these samples was rechecked with two other anti-D sera using the indirect antiglobulin test, and all gave strongly positive reactions. These bloods have been classified as Du in table 3. The occurrence of six homozygous D⁺, persons gives a frequency of the D⁺ gene close to 20%, a value comparable to that found in some African populations (Mourant, '54).

**The MNS blood group system:**

Table 4 gives the results of the tests with the four antisera anti-M₁N₁S₁ and-s, together with the figures for the mixed group of Oraons and 15 R₁R₁, 1 R₀R₀ and 1 R₁R₀ amples carried the D⁺ antigen.

The MNS blood groups of the Oraons (tested with anti-M₁N₁S₁ and-s) and Karias in the Andaman Islands tested by Lehmann and Ikin using anti-M₁N₁ and-S only. The commo-
**TABLE 3**

*The Rh blood groups of the Oraons*  
(*tested with anti -C, -D, -E, -c and -e*)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phenotype</th>
<th>Most probable genotype</th>
<th>No. observed</th>
<th>Frequency observed</th>
<th>Frequency expected</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CCDe⁶</td>
<td>CDe/CDe (R₁R₁)</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>0.712</td>
<td>0.721</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CcDe</td>
<td>CDe/cDe/(R₁R₂) or cDe/CDe/(R₀R₂)</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0.096</td>
<td>0.139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CcDe⁶</td>
<td>CDe/cDe (R₁R₀)</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>0.136</td>
<td>0.104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ccDe</td>
<td>cDe/cDe (R₂R₀)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.008</td>
<td>0.010</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ccDe⁶</td>
<td>cDe/cDe (R₀R₀)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.008</td>
<td>0.004</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ccDee</td>
<td>cDe/cDe (R₂R₂)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.008</td>
<td>0.007</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CcDee</td>
<td>CDe/cDe (R₂R₂)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.016</td>
<td>0.002</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CCDee</td>
<td>CDe/CDe (R₂R₂)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.008</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CCDe</td>
<td>CDe/CDe (R₁R₁)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.008</td>
<td>0.013</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chromosome frequencies  

| ... | 125 | 1.000 | 1.000 |

| CDe (R₁) | 0.849 |
| cDe (R₀) | 0.061 |
| cDe (R₂) | 0.081 |
| CDe (R₂) | 0.009 |

nest chrome in both series is Ms, though it is slightly higher in the present study (0.459) than in that of Lehmann and Ikin (0.385), but the reverse is true for Ns chromosome (0.201 and 0.259 respectively). The difference between the two series is not significant (X² 10-2.5 P—O.9).

The Le⁺, Di⁺, V, P, and Js⁺ blood group systems.

Five other blood groups were tested with single antisera only. Further, the anti-Le⁺ serum available could be used only with group O and A cells, so that the Le⁺ results relate to 68 persons. The results of these tests are set out in table
CULTURAL CONTOURS OF TRIBAL BIHAR

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Genotype</th>
<th>Present investigation.</th>
<th>Lehmann and Ikin</th>
<th>Chromosome frequencies</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No. observed.</td>
<td>Frequency observed.</td>
<td>Frequency expected.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MMSS</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.024</td>
<td>0.025</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MMSs</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>0.128</td>
<td>0.135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MMss</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>0.200</td>
<td>0.211</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NNSS</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0.032</td>
<td>0.033</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NNSs</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0.048</td>
<td>0.074</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NNss</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0.040</td>
<td>0.040</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MNSS</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>0.088</td>
<td>0.057</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MNss</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>0.216</td>
<td>0.231</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MNss</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>0.224</td>
<td>0.185</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

125        | 1.000      | 0.991            | 1.000                |

5. No previous tests for these blood groups have been carried out on the Oraons.

The haptoglobin, transferrin and gammaglobulin group systems.

Tables 6 and 7 give results of the haptoglobin and transferrin groups and of the gammaglobulin groups for the 125 Oraons tested in the present survey. The haptoglobin groups were all readily determined and only one person was found who could not be classified and is listed as Hp O. No Hp 2-1 (mod) phenotypes were present, nor were there any other
### TABLE 5
The Le, Di*, V, P, and Js* blood groups of the Oraons.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phenotype</th>
<th>No. observed</th>
<th>Frequency observed</th>
<th>Gene frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Le*+ve</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0.132</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Le*—ve (group O&amp;A only)</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>0.868</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Di*+ve</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0.048</td>
<td>Di* = 0.024</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Di*—ve</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>0.952</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V+ve</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V—ve</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>1.000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P*1+ve</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>0.648</td>
<td>P*1 = 0.407</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D*1—ve</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>0.352</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Js*+ve</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Js* = 0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Js*—ve</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>1.000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### TABLE 6
The haptoglobin and transferrin groups of the Oraons.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Haptoglobin groups</th>
<th>Transferrin groups</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>CC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-1</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2-1</td>
<td>.256</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2-2</td>
<td>.008</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Frequency: (Hp*1 = 0.15, Hp*2 = 0.85; Tf*1 = 0.968, Tf*1 = 0.032)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gm a+</th>
<th>b-</th>
<th>x-</th>
<th>No. observed= 4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gm a+</td>
<td>b+</td>
<td>x-</td>
<td>No. observed=105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gm a+</td>
<td>b-</td>
<td>x+</td>
<td>No. observed= 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gm a+</td>
<td>b+</td>
<td>x+</td>
<td>No. observed= 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gm a-</td>
<td>b+</td>
<td>x-</td>
<td>No. observed=11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gm ?</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>= 1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

unusual characteristics. Eight persons were heterozygous for transferrin C and D₁. No homozygous D₁ D₁ persons were detected, nor were there any B transferrin variants present.

The gammaglobulin grouping was carried out in Perth and checked in Cleveland by Dr. A. G. Steinberg. One sample agglutinated the Rh coated cells alone and no Gm group could be assigned. Of the remainder 91% were Gm a+ve and an even larger proportion, 96%, were Gm b+ve. Only 3.2% were Gm x+ve. The gene frequencies for the gammaglobulin groups have not calculated since there is doubt about the number of alleles involved in the Oraon sample. The data suggests a high frequency of the compound allele Gm ab (Steinberg et al., '60) which is present among African and also in other Asian populations (Vos, Kirk and Steinberg, unpublished observations and Steinberg et al., '61).

Abnormal hemoglobins:

No abnormal hemoglobins were detected in 56 samples examined.
Discussion:

It is necessary to discuss the present data from three points of view: (1) internal consistency by comparison with similar studies on the Oraons; (2) comparison of the Oraons with other tribal groups in India and adjacent countries and (3) comparison of the Oraons with other populations in the north eastern section of the Indian sub-continent.

There is close agreement between the results of the present survey and those of Malone and Lahiri (‘28, ‘29) Sarkar (‘49) and Lehmann and Ikin (Mourant et al., ‘58) for the ABO blood groups but not of Sarkar (‘42, ‘43) for these groups, and with those of Lehmann and Ikin (Mourant, ‘54) for the Rh and MNS blood groups. No other comparisons are possible since no previous studies among the Oraons of other blood group systems, of serum groups or abnormal hemoglobins have been carried out. The correspondence of figures where comparison is possible suggested that the results presented here for a small sample of Oraons may be taken as representative of the Oraons generally.

Detailed comparison serologically with other tribal groups in India is possible on a wide scale only for the ABO blood groups. Mourant et al (‘68) have published the figures for all available surveys and Majundar (58) has discussed in detail the application of the results of ABO blood group studies to the problem of tribal relationships in India. The more limited studies for other blood group systems have been summarized by Mourant (‘54).

Within the ABO blood group system wide fluctuations are to be found among the Indian tribal populations. The Izhavans, Malayali and Maiars of Cochin have low frequencies of the A and B genes (p below 0.22 and q below 0.14). Higher frequencies of the A gene with low B are found among the Angami Naga, the Konyaks and Lushai. At the other extreme the Kotas of the Nilgiri Hills and the neighbouring Todas have a very high frequency of B with a
low A frequency. Indeed, among the Kotas only a few persons carrying an A gene have been found (Sarkar, '54).

The Oraons fall into a group with high B frequency together with a moderate A frequency. Excluding Sarkar's 1942-1943 series, the values of p range from 0.20-0.24 and q from 0.27-0.33. The map published by Majumdar ('58) shows only the Korku to lie within these limits, although Simmons et al. ('53) found similar values for the Chenchu (p=0.22, q=0.28). Majumdar points out however, the difficulty of deciding affiliations based on ABO blood group frequencies. He states that "whenever two sections of the same people have been tested by the same author, one living isolated or inbred, the other outbreeding, one living on the hill tops, the other in the plains district, divergent results have been obtained" (Majumdar, '58, 0:83). Similar conclusions for the ABO results have been reached in other parts of the world (cf. Mourant, '50).

There are few tribal populations in India with which comparison can be made for the Rh and MNS blood group systems. The paucity of available material is illustrated by table 8. It is unfortunate that one of most detailed studies that carried out by Lehmann and Cutbush among tribes of the Nilgiri Hills (Lehmann and Cutbush, '52) has been published in incomplete form. On the basis of these results, however, a few worthwhile comparisons can be made. All the four sub-population samples are characterized by a high frequency of the Rh chromosome CDe (R_1). The Rh chromosome cDE (R_2) is present at about the same frequency in four of the surveys, but is said to be absent in the Kotas and Todas, a result which has been confirmed recently in this laboratory. The Oraons seem to be unique however in having only two additional chromosomes. R_3 and R_4. They share R_4 with the Veddoid Irula and Paniyans of the Nilgiri Hills, though Simmons et al. ('53) did not find it among the Chenchu. The Chenchu on the other hand have a high
A GENETICAL STUDY OF THE ORAONS

frequency of Cde ('R) and also 7% of cde (r), both of which appear to be absent in the Oraons. It is possible that some of the R¹ chromosomes were CD⁺e, although Simmons states specifically, that tests for D⁺ were carried out. But in view of the occurrence of D⁺ both in the Nilgiris and among the Oraons, it would be valuable to re-check the Chenchus on the point.

Comparison of the Rh and MNS chromosome frequencies in some tribal populations in India.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No. tested</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>212</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R¹</td>
<td>„849</td>
<td>„692</td>
<td>„923</td>
<td>„678</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R²</td>
<td>„081</td>
<td>„073</td>
<td>„077</td>
<td>„078</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R₀</td>
<td>„061</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>„090</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R₂</td>
<td>„099</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>Present</td>
<td>Present</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>„163</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>„016</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>„072</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>„137</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When compared with other north Indian populations the Oraons are found to be similar in many respects. The values of p and q are similar to those for north Indian populations
in general where the B gene frequency lies between 0.25-0.30 and the A gene frequency is generally above 0.20. The MNS frequencies are similar also to those found for Bengalis in East Pakistan by Boyd and Boyd ('54). There is, however, a significant discrepancy between the Rh chromosome frequencies of the Oraons and those of other north Indian populations. Mourant ('54) gives the following averages for Indian populations: $r_1 = 0.60$, $R_2 = 0.08$, $R_3 = 0.04$, $R_4 = 0.01$, $R_5 = 0.02$ and $r = 0.24$. The most significant discrepancy is the absence of both $R^1$ and $r$ among the Oraons, with a compensatory increase in $R_1$. Indeed the Rh blood group frequencies are similar in many respects to those of South-Eastern Asia. Both the surveys of Simmons et al. ('50) of Southern Chinese in Malaya, and of Phansomboon et al. ('49) in Bangkok This gives values for $R_1$, $R_2$, $R_3$ and $R_4$ not significantly different from those in the Oraons.

Even more interesting, however, is the finding in the present survey of 6 Di*-ve individuals and of eight persons with the CD1 type of transferrin. Both these characters are found in south-east Asia, but have not been reported previously in any Indian population. Vos and Kirk ('61) tested several hundred persons in India (Todas, Kotas, Irulas, Kurumbas, Punjabis or Pathans) with anti-Di*; all were negative.

Similarly, Kirk and Lai ('61) found no transferrin CD1 among the Indian populations listed above except for the eight cases among the Oraons.

The gammaglobulin groups of the Oraons is also similar to that found in Chinese and Malays in having both a high Gm* frequency and a Gm* frequency approaching 100% (Vos, Kirk and Steinberg: unpublished observations). On the other hand the absence of abnormal hemoglobins among the Oraons is a significant difference in comparison with either other Indian tribal populations the frequency of Hb S may be as high as 30%,
Finally, the present study suggests some tentative conclusions to be subjected to more critical analysis when further surveys have been carried out. Genetically the Oraons are not closely related at the present time to other Pre-Dravidian stocks in India. If they had a common origin divergence has been marked for many characters. Indeed the Oraons today are clearly a population which has been influenced to some extent by populations to the east of India. It is possible to speculate that originally, before recent migrations both from the west and from the north introduced disturbing elements, the genetic picture was one of a population with relatively high A and high B, A₂ probably absent, high R₁ with about 10% R₂ and about 5% each of R₃ and a few per cent of R₄. The Rh negative gene (r) was absent. The commonest MNS chromosome was Ms, the Di⁺ positive phenotype was present, as also was the transferrin D₁. The Hp² gene was also high, together with a high frequency of the Gm ab allele. It is possible that abnormal hemoglobins have been introduced and selected in highly malarious situations in relatively recent times. Even so, the absence of Hb S in south-east Asia, together with its presence in tribal groups in India except in the Oraons is a factor which must be considered in a formulating any comprehensive theory of Oraon origins.

Despite, the genetic evidence for S. E. Asia influences among the Oraons, this influence is not borne out by anthropometric studies (Sarkar—personal, communication). However, the neighbouring Munda peoples on the basis of anthropometric, blood group and linguistic comparisons (Macfarlane and Sarkar, '41) suggest a S. E. Asian origin. It is not impossible therefore that the genetic elements characteristic of S. E. Asian populations which are present among the Oraons have been derived from extensive hybridization between the Oraons and Mundas. Clearly, a more detailed genetical study of all the tribal groups in N. E. India would yield information of great value in helping to solve some of the problems posed by the present investigation.
Acknowledgments:

We are greatly indebted to Dr. N. K. Bose and Professor S. S. Sarkar for reading the manuscript and for making many valuable suggestions. One of us (R. L. K.) is indebted to the South East Asian Treaty Organization for financial assistance which made possible the visit to Ranchi. The Australian National Health and Medical Research Council and the University of Western Australia also gave financial assistance which defrayed other costs. We are indebted also to Mr. R. B. Lal who assisted with the collection of samples in the field, and to Mrs. Dell Bos for technical assistance in Perth.

Notes:


LITERATURE CITED

Guha, B. S. 1951 "The Indian Aborigines and their Administration", Delhi.
Majumdar, D. N. 1958 “Races and Cultures of India” New Delhi, Asia, pp. 1-465.

40329
CHAPTER IV

THE LINGUISTIC AFFINITY OF THE ORAON AND THE MALER: AN APPLICATION OF LEXICO-STATISTICAL DATING.

The present paper is my preliminary attempt to look at the Comparative vocabulary of the two tribes of Bihar among which I carried on ethnographic field work, and also collected some linguistic data. These two tribes, known as the Oraon and the Saoria Paharia (the Maler) live in two geographical areas of the State of Bihar. They are also far apart from an economic as well as from socio-cultural point of view, but they are said to be two parts of the same linguistic community.

Comparative Ethnography and History:

The Oraon inhabit the undulating plain on Chota Nagpur plateau in South Bihar and practise plough cultivation. The Saoria, on the other hand, live on the hill-tops of Rajmahal Plateau in the eastern part of Bihar and carry on slash-and-burn cultivation. Again, among the former, the institutions of totemism, clan exogamy, youth dormitory, intra and inter-villager leadership are still alive, but among the latter, there is no trace of clan organisation and exogamy, and youth dormitory has become practically non-existent. The village as well as the family organisations are also very loose among the hill-tribe.

In spite of all these cultural differences, owing to some linguistic similarities and mythological and traditional beliefs, it has been suspected that originally these two tribes formed one single community and, later broke into two parts and migrated to two different areas and adapted to their respective environments in different ways. This split according to Roy (Roy: 1915: 29) took place at Rohtas in the pre-
sent district of Shahabad where the tribe was living as cultivators after its first migration from its original home in South India. Regarding the cause and date of the split and the migration several hypothetical arguments have been put forward, the discussion of which falls beyond the scope of the paper. However, it may be mentioned that according to the first view the split took place because of the Muslim invasion which may date back to the thirteenth century, while the other view suggests the split because of the Hindu invasion as early as the second or third century A.D. Some other anthropologists (Sarkar: 1938: II) have also given thought to this problem, and they, on the basis of cultural difference, do not agree with the view of Roy and consider them to be independent tribes that never came into contact with each other.

Methodology:

In the light of the controversy that surrounds these two tribes, I also became interested in collecting some linguistic data on these tribes in course of my ethnographic field investigation. The data, thus collected, include vocabularies, grammatical forms, and a few folk songs and tales. The informants interviewed included persons who knew both Hindi and the respective tribal language well. But, as at that time, I had no linguistic training, I did not apply any test list for the collection of vocabulary, but as an amateur I just prepared a list of words of general familiarity and every day use among the tribes.

When I read Swadesh's work on Lexico-Statistic Dating and discussed my vocabulary data with Dr. McQuown linguist at Chicago University, I was encouraged to look at them scientifically and examine the possibility of using them to determine the divergence time between the two languages.

Process of Comparison:

The items on my list include 91 pairs of words out of which only thirty items are on the Lexical test list of Swadesh.
Below, I propose to present these pairs of words under two lists: (1) the general list that includes all the 91 pairs of the words; (2) Test list, that includes only those words that are on Swadesh's list. In making comparison between each pair of words, semantic as well as phonetic criteria have been applied. Loan-words, though similar in both the languages have been disregarded. Normal phonetic changes as Yas-Yasu, Tatar-Tatru, have not been disregarded but they have not been entirely worked out.

**The General List:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>(Language of the Oraon)</th>
<th>(Language of the Malto)</th>
<th>Cognates</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>General—</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sun</td>
<td>Beri</td>
<td>Beru</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moon</td>
<td>Chando</td>
<td>Bilpo</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Star</td>
<td>Binko</td>
<td>Binke</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hill</td>
<td>Partta</td>
<td>'Toke</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Water</td>
<td>Amm</td>
<td>Ammu</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>River</td>
<td>Khar</td>
<td>Nadi (Hindi)</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fire</td>
<td>Chichch</td>
<td>Chichchu</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Man</td>
<td>Yalas</td>
<td>Malle</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Animal</td>
<td>Arpa</td>
<td>Januwar (Hindi)</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place</td>
<td>Adda</td>
<td>Adda</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Animals—</td>
<td>Elephant</td>
<td>Peto</td>
<td>Hanthi (Hindi)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tiger</td>
<td>Lakra</td>
<td>Tudu</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monkey</td>
<td>Tigga</td>
<td>Tigge</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buffalo</td>
<td>Man Kha</td>
<td>Man ge</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fox</td>
<td>Chicalo</td>
<td>Chigalu</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rabbit</td>
<td>Lambha</td>
<td>Muyan</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deer</td>
<td>Mak</td>
<td>Make</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lamb</td>
<td>Merho</td>
<td>Bettu</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cock</td>
<td>Kher</td>
<td>Kher</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### The Linguistic Affinity of the Oraon

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>(Language of the Oraon)</th>
<th>(Language of the Malto)</th>
<th>Cognates</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kurukh</td>
<td>Malto</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goat</td>
<td>Yeda</td>
<td>Yede</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ox</td>
<td>Addo</td>
<td>Aoyu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crow</td>
<td>Khakha</td>
<td>Kake</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Serpent</td>
<td>Jerr</td>
<td>Jerru</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tortoise</td>
<td>Yekka</td>
<td>Kanchu (Hindi)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dog</td>
<td>Alla</td>
<td>Alle</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cat</td>
<td>Berkha</td>
<td>Berre</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hog</td>
<td>Kiss</td>
<td>Kissu</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Parts of the Body—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Head</th>
<th>Kukk</th>
<th>Kukhu</th>
<th>X</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Eyes</td>
<td>Khann</td>
<td>Khunn</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ears</td>
<td>Khebdia</td>
<td>Khebdhu</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nose</td>
<td>Munee</td>
<td>Musso</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mouth</td>
<td>Baece</td>
<td>Toro</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tooth</td>
<td>Pall</td>
<td>Pallu</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tongue</td>
<td>Galle</td>
<td>Galla</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cheek</td>
<td>Khekkha</td>
<td>Pekku</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hand</td>
<td>Khedd</td>
<td>Kheddu</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Crops—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Paddy</th>
<th>Khess</th>
<th>Kessu</th>
<th>X</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rice</td>
<td>Tikhil</td>
<td>Tikalu</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pulse</td>
<td>Dali</td>
<td>Dali</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Maize</td>
<td>Jinhor</td>
<td>Toda</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Millet</td>
<td>Bodi</td>
<td>Taklo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Fruits—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Mango</th>
<th>Tatakha</th>
<th>Tatge</th>
<th>X</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kend</td>
<td>Tela</td>
<td>Telo</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dates</td>
<td>Konda</td>
<td>Kajri</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Imali</td>
<td>Thethali</td>
<td>Thethali</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bander</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lauri</td>
<td>Sonrki</td>
<td>Sunori</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jilhur</td>
<td>Jilhur</td>
<td>Jilubri</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age-Group</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>(Language of the Oraon) Kurukh</td>
<td>(Language of the Maler) Malto</td>
<td>Cognates</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>-------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Child</td>
<td>Khadd</td>
<td>Jukk</td>
<td></td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adult</td>
<td>Jokhas</td>
<td>Dhangaria</td>
<td>(Kurukh word for labourer)</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Old</td>
<td>Pachchgi</td>
<td>Pachchiya</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Young Woman</td>
<td>Pello</td>
<td>Batag Beter</td>
<td></td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Domestic objects—</th>
<th>Door</th>
<th>Grinding Stone</th>
<th>Lorha, Stone</th>
<th>Mortar</th>
<th>Sickle</th>
<th>Vessel</th>
<th>Cooked Rice</th>
<th>Vegetable</th>
<th>Cot</th>
<th>Wood</th>
<th>Reaping Sickle</th>
<th>Axe</th>
<th>Basket</th>
<th>Box</th>
<th>Plough</th>
<th>Pronouns—</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bali</td>
<td>Kas Chacha</td>
<td>Lorha</td>
<td>Okhali</td>
<td>Beroye</td>
<td>Ari</td>
<td>Mandi (Munda)</td>
<td>Amkhi</td>
<td>Khatiya (Hindi)</td>
<td>Kaka</td>
<td>Tatar</td>
<td>Tongyee</td>
<td>Dalla</td>
<td>Baksa</td>
<td>Gohla</td>
<td>Yen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bali</td>
<td>Jana Chache</td>
<td>Lora</td>
<td>Okhari</td>
<td>Taddi</td>
<td>Kalsa</td>
<td>Janu</td>
<td>Arge</td>
<td>Khatte</td>
<td>Kalu</td>
<td>Tatru (taru)</td>
<td>Kudali</td>
<td>dalla</td>
<td>Bakasa</td>
<td>Arre</td>
<td>Yenu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- X indicates cognate.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>(Language of the Oraon) Kurukh</th>
<th>(Language of the Maler) Malto</th>
<th>Cognates</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>He</td>
<td>Ya's</td>
<td>Ya su</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>We</td>
<td>Yem</td>
<td>Yemu</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thou</td>
<td>Nim</td>
<td>Nimu</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>They</td>
<td>Ya r</td>
<td>Ya be r</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Kinship terms**

| Father | Bang | Abba | —  |
| Mother | Yayang | Aiyya | —  |
| Elder brother— | Dadda | Bero Bhaiya | —  |
| Younger brother | Tungris | Iekko Bhaiya | —  |
| Uncle | Kaka | Dada | —  |
| Maternal Uncle | Mamu | Mumâ | —  |
| Aunt | Kaki | Kali | —  |
| Maternal Aunt | Tachi | Mumi | —  |
| Father’s elder brother Bara | —  |
| Father’s younger brother | Kaka | Dada | —  |
| Father-in-law | Sasur | Yar | —  |
| Mother-in-law | Sais | Yar | —  |
| Mother’s sister | Mushi | Yangko | —  |
| Mother’s Elder sister | Bari | Peni | —  |
| Elder sister | Dayi | Bai | —  |
| Younger sister Yengri | Nuni | —  |
| To go | Kald | Kale | X  |
The above comparisons between 91 pairs of words, drawn from two languages—Kurukh of the Oraon and Malto of the Maler or Saoria bring out 43 cognates which, if expressed in percentage, comes to be 46%. If we apply Swadesh’s formula to measure divergence time \( d = \log c - \log^2 \), the elapsed period, after the split comes to be approximately 1850 years. However, Swadesh formula cannot be applicable to this list which is just a collection of pair-words collected without any consideration of fundamental vocabulary, and ‘cultural’ vocabulary or other linguistic implications that are involved in the lexical list of Swadesh. Its atypicality can be best understood from one example that it includes sixteen items on kinship terms while there are only four in the Swadesh list. However, the list deserves consideration as it records cognates and loan words, that are of general interests.

The second list, given below, is strictly based on Swadesh list. Out of 100 words on this list, I could find only thirty pairs for comparison. According to the procedure of comparison followed above, the cognates can be marked out as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Kurukh</th>
<th>Malto</th>
<th>Cognates</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Animal</td>
<td>Arpa</td>
<td>Januwar (Hindi)</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Child</td>
<td>Khadda</td>
<td>Jukk</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ear</td>
<td>Khebda</td>
<td>Khedba</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eat</td>
<td>Mokhdar</td>
<td>Lape</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eye</td>
<td>Khanu</td>
<td>Khannu</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father</td>
<td>Bang</td>
<td>Abba</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fire</td>
<td>Ch i ch ch</td>
<td>Ch ch chu</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>Kurukh</td>
<td>Malto</td>
<td>Cognates</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hand</td>
<td>Khedda</td>
<td>Kheddu</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Head</td>
<td>Kukk</td>
<td>Kukku</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>He</td>
<td>Yaa</td>
<td>Ya su</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>Yen</td>
<td>Yenu</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Man</td>
<td>Yalas</td>
<td>Malle</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mountain</td>
<td>Partta</td>
<td>Toke</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mouth</td>
<td>Baece</td>
<td>Toro</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother</td>
<td>Yayang</td>
<td>Aiyya (Urdu)</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nose</td>
<td>Munee</td>
<td>Muso</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Old</td>
<td>Pachchgi</td>
<td>Pachchiya</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>River</td>
<td>Khar</td>
<td>Nadi (Hindi)</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Snake</td>
<td>Jerr</td>
<td>Jerru</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Star</td>
<td>Bimko</td>
<td>Binke</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stone</td>
<td>Lorhi</td>
<td>Lora</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sun</td>
<td>Beri</td>
<td>Beru</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>They</td>
<td>Yar</td>
<td>Yaber</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tongue</td>
<td>Galle</td>
<td>Galla</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tooth</td>
<td>Palle</td>
<td>Pallu</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Water</td>
<td>Amm</td>
<td>Ammu</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wood</td>
<td>Kaka</td>
<td>Kaku</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ye</td>
<td>Nim</td>
<td>Nimu</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dog</td>
<td>Alla</td>
<td>Alle</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This list, though incomplete (30 items out of 100) shows an agreement between Kurukh and Malto to be 66% (20 Cognates). This percentage of Cognates, if worked out on Swadesh’s Lexico-Statistic formula (Swadesh: 1952: 460), gives a time divergence of a little less than one thousand years. On this basis, it can be suggested that a period of one thousand years has elapsed before which the two tribes constituted one linguistic community.

However, both the lists, give different time divergence. According to the General list, it comes to be about 2000 years and according to the Swadesh list it comes to be 1000 years. For the present, neither of the two lists can help us
in determining the correct time divergence. The former list is unscientific as it includes 70% words that are not on Swadesh’s list. The second list, though worked out on Swadesh’s list, is incomplete as it does not include 70% of word on the latter list. Any way the data, analysed above are pointers to a number of conclusions and fruitful areas of linguistic researches in tribal Bihar that can be very useful for both ethnologists and linguists.

With this study it appears that the view that the Oraon and the Saoria are two different tribes and had no contacts, whatsoever, in the past is definitely false. The cognates that we have been able to establish cannot be explained either through borrowing, or through historical contacts or through ‘chance’. It appears, the similarities in vocabularies among the two tribes, characterize divergent forms of one and the same earlier language, that is, they point to original genetic identity. In the light of the scanty data that we have, a period of split may be tentatively indicated to be between 1000 to 1500 years ago. This is doubtlessly subject to revision in the light of data to be collected on Swadesh’s list.

Thirdly, the question can be raised: if they constituted one tribe about thousand years back, why are there so many cultural differences? This question is beyond the scope of the paper. But for the present it may be suggested that after the split the two groups were so much isolated that conditions prevented them from maintaining any effective contact with each other after the separation. Besides the break from their tradition, the ecological factors along with the regional cultural influences into which they came from the other area after the invasion, made dominant impact and each adapted to its different environment differently. All these factors brought about specialisation in each section of the tribe in response to the environment and thus kept them apart from socio-cultural point of view. This was especially true with the Saoria who took shelter in the hills and were not in a
position to maintain all the institutions suited to Plain ecology.

**Loan words and cultural diffusion:**

Studies in comparative vocabularies also indicate as to how borrowing of words from ‘alien’ cultural and linguistic groups on the part of the two tribes account for the non-correspondences. Dissimilarities among kinship terms of the two tribes are mainly because of these factors. The Oraon, for example, have kept their original words for mother (Bang) and father (Yayang) intact, while the Saoria have replaced them by Urdu words, Abba for father and Aiyya for the mother. Both of them have borrowed kinship terms from Hindi or from the dialects of Hindi to describe such relations for which they had no words in a classificatory system of kinship. To mention a few the Oraon have borrowed words like Mamu for maternal uncle, Sasur for father-in-law, Sais for mother-in-law: the Saoria have borrowed words like Bero Bhaiya for elder brother, Dada for uncle, from Hindi, and many others from the regional come across a single cognate. This also indicates the process and direction of culture change among the two tribes.

The other non-correspondences, perhaps may be also largely explained by this process. In case of the word ‘animal’, the Oraon have kept intact their own traditional term (Arpa), the Saoria have replaced it with a Hindi word (Januwar). In another case the Saoria have kept the original word intact, for example, Bilpu (Moon), the Oraon have replaced it with a regional word (Chando), borrowed for Hindi. The Saoria have also borrowed some words like Tudu (tiger) and Arre (Plough) from the plain tribes, the Santhall. I am not in a position to trace the borrowing of Munda terms by the Oraon, but I strongly suspect that the Oraon who are bilingual must have replaced a number of words with the Mundari.

In the study of linguistic borrowing among these two
tribes, it is interesting to note that both of them, in some cases, have borrowed the same words from the common source, Hindi. Such words apparently may pass as cognates and need additional caution on the part of the comparative linguist. For box and cot, the Saoria and the Oraon respectively use Khatte, Bakasa and Khatiya, Baksa. The phonetic difference between the two items of words are just dialectic. Such borrowing of words from another alien group also indicates borrowing of new concepts as well as new cultural items by the communities. In the present case, from our ethnographic studies, we know that the tribes under study did not know the use of the box and the cot. Perhaps only a few decades back, they picked up the use of these objects and even to-day the majority of them do not have either.

To conclude, the present study reveals a number of unexplored areas of linguistic research among the tribes of Bihar. An ethno-linguistic study of these tribal languages will be very helpful in understanding their cultural history and throw additional light on comparative ethnography and tribal archaeology. The application of Lexico-Statistic Dating will be of immense use in finding out the split and local specialisation of various tribal languages that are said to belong originally to the Mundari language family. It can be also applied to study the three dialects of Hindi-Magadhi, Maithil, Bhojpuri to which Grierson gives a common name, Bihari.

Bibliography:

Grierson,

Linguistic Survey of India, Vol. IV.

McQuown, Norman A.

1955, 'Indigenous Languages of Latin America' in American Anthropologist Vol. 57, No. 3 part I.

Hoijer, Harry,

1955, Linguistic History: Circulated by University of Chicago Press.
Sarkar, S. S.
Swadesh, Morris
1950, Salish Internal Relationships, ‘IJAL’.
1952, “Lexico-Statistic Dating of Pre-historic Ethnic contacts, PAPS.
Roy, S. C.
CHAPTER V

ECONOMIC CHANGES IN TYPICAL TRIBAL VILLAGES OF BIHAR*

While we talk about “village studies” or “village India” our attention is mainly drawn to the dozens of studies of rural villages, and we almost seem to forget that the “tribals” also live in Indian villages. This forgetfulness among many, reasons, is mainly due to the fact that in tribal studies, the tribe as such, and not its villages have usually been the unit of study. Such a “monographic study” of a tribe implicitly assumes a large amount of homogeneity in a tribal culture. This method of study, evidently, ignores inter-village or regional distinctiveness of a tribe’s culture, and assuming a “unity in tribe’s group,” it presents a generalised portrayal of the life and culture of the tribe as a whole. While such studies may be justified in the initial stage, the current need for studying the tribal villages on the pattern of some of the competent studies of “rural villages” (Dube, 1955, Srinivas, 1960, Lewis, 1958) cannot be ignored. Such empirical and specific studies of tribal villages of the various types, if adopted, will lead to effective comparisons of culture of villages in tribal and non-tribal areas, and will also help the applied anthropologists and administrators in identifying the problems of tribal villages of different levels of ecological, economic, technological and cultural developments against the background of concrete quantitative data.

Under the influence of this awareness, we have been trying to study a number of villages in the tribal belt of Chotanagpur and Santhal Parganas in Bihar, and I would like to present in the present paper some of the data which essentially bears upon the economic changes in these villages.

These tribal villages in terms of their ecological environ-
ment, ethnic composition, economic occupation, and levels of socio-cultural integration have been classified into three categories (Vidyarthi: 1958).

(i) Forest-hunting type.
(ii) Hill-cultivation type.
(iii) Plain-agriculture type.

Another type of specialist-tribal group living in the plain agricultural villages may be separately discussed under "Simple Artisan type" for bringing out their economic characteristics. Among the first category are the villages of the nomadic Birhor and the Korwas. In the second category, are the majority of the villages of the hill Maler Parahiya (10,134) and the Hill Kharia. In the third category are the numerous villages of the Santhal (1,92,744), the Oraon (6,38,490), the Munda, the Ho and the Kharia. The fourth economic type is represented by artisan tribal groups like Karmali, the Lohra, the Mahli and Chickbaraik who are found scattered in the villages of agricultural tribals and serve the latter’s requirements. The Karmali and Lohra are traditional ironsmiths who provide the villagers with new implements and repair old ones. The Mahli are professional basket makers and drummers while Chickbaraik are the traditional weavers of these tribal societies. From two to six families of these tribal artisans live in each agricultural village and for all practical purposes they are integral part of the third category of villages discussed above.

The process of economic change in these three types of villages, though relatively isolated, has operated for a long time. This process extended back in history may be termed "traditional process" and can easily be distinguished from the "modern process" started recently, which is essentially, "artificial" as it is a process deliberately introduced by an outside agency and not arising through the normal contacts of the Adivasi population of the area with the non-Adivasi populations (Jay, 1957-58). These outside agencies of which mention
can be made. Here are the Government, the Urban and Industrial centres, and Christianity. In many cases it is very difficult to say as to whether these agencies have operated singly or have brought about changes jointly.

In the present paper, it is intended to discuss, in the light of the modern process, some of the basic economic changes in relation to the cultural factors. Attention will be focussed only on those villages, selected from the three types, which have been thoroughly studied. As materials to be reviewed are vast, only references will be given to the data already published elsewhere.

Forest-hunting type:

Four tribal villages of this type were studied by me in the year 1955. These temporary migratory villages, known as *Tanda*, among many things, were studied from the point of view of economic occupation. The demographic details of these four *Birhor Tandas* with their cultural details have been discussed elsewhere (see chapter on Birhor).

The major change in the Birhor culture of these four *Tandas* was marked with the implementation of the “Birhor Resettlement Scheme” of the Government of Bihar according to which two colonies—Jehangutta and Beti—each consisting of 15 houses, were formed to accommodate the Birhor families of the above mentioned four *Tandas* along with the other neighbouring *Tandas*. This scheme was devised firstly, to put an end to the nomadic life of the Birhor, and secondly to convert the forest economy of the Birhor into an agricultural economy.

Under this scheme each family was persuaded to resettle in these two colonies and was usually given five acres of waste land, a mud-built house, a pair of bullocks, a cow, agricultural implements, seeds, and subsistence allowance for seven months till the family concerned may be in
a position to reclaim the land and raise the crops. In addition to this, a common provision of a school, rope-making-cum-production centre, community hall, and minor irrigation schemes and a well were also constructed for each colony. This Government scheme was initiated in the end of 1956 and in the successive years thirty families of the Birhors has been resettled.

With the adoption of sedentary life and agricultural occupation, the Birhor economy has undergone a major change. The two colonies have been exhaustively studied by the members of the Department of Anthropology, Ranchi University in the years 1957 and 1959, and one of my research scholars has thoroughly studied the economic changes of the Birhor (Malhotra: 1960). From these reports it is clear that the Birhor have not been able to develop agricultural economy, while their traditional forest economy has been greatly disorganised. The Birhor could not develop an agricultural economy due to several reasons.

Firstly, some portion of the land allotted to the Birhor was claimed by the local villagers. They did not feel happy that their land should be given to the nomadic Birhor families for settling in their neighbourhood. Some of Birhor were terrified by these persons, and were asked not to plough the land. Buddram was threatened that he would be killed if he would cultivate the land. He preferred to leave the colony instead of losing his life. The leader of the colony, Manjira Birhor was also similarly threatened. As the Government officials were at the back of the Birhor, they could cultivate the disputed land but it has aggravated the tension and a Birhor does not dare go in the nearby villages at night lest he may be killed. Secondly, the allotment of waste land (upland, Tanr) to the non-agricultural Birhor with almost no knowledge about cultivation has been an impediment. They do not feel attracted to cultivation and even now prefer to go to the forest in quest of games and raw materials instead of doing hard work in the field.
Thirdly, the inadequate and irregular supply of agricultural implements, bullocks, seeds put further impediments in the exploitation of the waste land (Malhotra: 1960).

The above factors discouraged the Birhors from undertaking cultivation seriously and they still look to the forest as the major source of subsistence.

The forest, on the other hand, has become unsuitable and inadequate to support these thirty families on a permanent basis. Secondly, the market for their finished articles have also become limited and fixed. This has brought about competition among the Birhor sellers themselves and the demand curve due to constant and large supply has gone down and consequently the price of their products has also gone down in the market. Malhotra reports (1960: 73) that the prices of wooden articles and ropes have gone down by 20% to 30%. The price of monkey has also gone down due to the emergence of middle men, who entice the Birhor by offering drinks or loan to go for monkey-hunting very frequently. Sometimes local officials of the Forest Department also come in picture now, who force the Birhor to sell the monkey through them.

Thus, while the income of the Birhor from their traditional occupation has gone down, the newly adopted occupation has not yet contributed materially. Moreover, the items of expenditure have also increased due to the changes in the housing condition. Originally, the Birhor used to live in the leaf-built hut which protected them adequately from cold in the winter and from rain in the rainy season. But the new but poorly constructed mud buildings with country tiles, and more than adequate ventilation and accommodation have created the need for blankets in the winter and repair of the house during the rainy season.

As this area falls in multipurpose tribal block, and as it is a much talked of scheme of the Government of Bihar, I have been following up this scheme to see how the phase of
transition in due course leads to either disorganisation or reorganisation of the nomadic Birhor.

**Hill Cultivation Type:**

Among the tribes which live on hills and practise slash-and-burn cultivation in Bihar, mention may be made of the Maler (58,624) the Hill Kharia, the Asur (4388), and Parahiya (10,134). The economy of these tribes as discussed elsewhere (Vidyarthi: 1958, 1960) mainly revolves round the forest. But unlike the Birhor, they are not only hunters and food gatherers or artisans but also, in general, slash-and-burn cultivators. Among these tribes, the Maler tribe of Rajmahal Hills has been very thoroughly studied by me and the result of this study has been published in shape of a book (Vidyarthi: 1963).

In this paper, I will especially use the data collected from a village Benderi, which is in Boreo multipurpose tribal block. This village located on the forested hills at a height of about 900” ft. exclusively practices slash and burn cultivation of rotational type. The two other villages, Nirbhitta and Tetuli, are medium hilly (500-200 ft.) and low hilly villages (less 200 ft.) respectively, casual reference to which will be made in this study. These two villages are not covered by any multipurpose development scheme, and also practise plough cultivation along with the slash-and-burn type of cultivation.

The Hill Maler of Benderi are economically very primitive; they are literally semi-naked and half-fed. Among the modern processes of change, Christianity has influenced only about half a dozen low hilly villages of Bowarijor P.S. of Godda sub-division. Sporadically, a few Maler Christian families not exceeding 20 were also recorded in other sub-divisions. The six Christian Maler families at Nirbhitta, were thoroughly studied. Some of the Christian Malers were the only persons having some education in the Maler villages. At Nirbhitta, one could easily distinguish
a Christian Maler family from a non-Christian Maler family looking at their relatively better dress, cleanliness, mud-built house etc. However, this agency has not gone very far among the hill tribes of Bihar including the Maler. The impact of urbanisation is also not at all felt in the Maler villages, as their villages are completely isolated owing to their hilly location.

The Government of Bihar formulated a special Paharia scheme in the year 1955 for the educational and economic developments of the Maler villages. According to this scheme, a large number of Primary Schools in the Maler hill villages were started and in two of the above mentioned villages (Benderi and Tetuli) such schools were functioning. These schools have not yet contributed in any way towards the economic betterment of the villages.

Resettlement is the major feature of the present economic welfare scheme among the Maler Paharia. It is closely connected with the economic organisation of this tribe, which again is related to forest product and agricultural conditions of the tribe. Resettlement schemes have been given priority by the Government in the Maler Paharia as well as in Hill Kharia areas.

According to this scheme, the Paharia families are to be brought down to the plains and are to be resettled in the colonies built by the Government. The Paharia families, agreeing to come down, are usually given some two areas of land with bullocks, pigs, goats, hens and a cow. Grains and stipends for their maintenance are also given till the crops are ready. The resettlement schemes were chalked out by the Government, as far as I have been able to understand, in view of (1) protection or preservation of the forests which are in a state of devastation because of the slash-and-burn cultivation by the Maler Paharia and (2) effective implementation of uplift programmes, such as education, water supply, health and sanitation schemes which cannot be effectively operated if the Paharias remain on hill tops.
ECONOMIC CHANGES IN TRIBAL VILLAGES

With these objects in view, the administration undertook the first resettlement scheme of Parerkola in 1954, which was followed by Kunda Pahar (1959), Dumarchir (1959) and Murgabani (1959) colonies. Among these colonies the first two colonies were thoroughly studied by me and the results have been published elsewhere (Vidyarthi: 1960). In general it has been noted that the Maler Paharia of high hill villages show a great deal of resistance against this type of geographical rehabilitation. They have developed strong love for a hill way of life. Their economy revolves round the forest and the efforts of the administration to better their economic lot and save the forest from their devastation by transferring the hill population to the plains do not appeal to them in the least. Hence, these efforts have been an utter failure.

Taking the "insiders' view" the views of the Adivasi to live on the hill is not at all a problem to them, but to come down and settle on the plain of course, is the most serious problem. The "outsiders' view", the view of the administration and social workers are to bring them down to the plain.

This "insiders' view" has developed owing to their unique cultural experiences. They eat all types of roots, leaves, fruits, and games available in their forests. They have seen the ravages of famines down on the plains while they have escaped them on the hills owing to the varieties of jungle products.

Secondly, their major economy revolves round the slash-and-burn cultivation, and in raising of maize. For them the maize is life itself. Their ritual calendar revolves round the khallu cultivation and the maize. Their values and moral standard are determined by them. The good man, the moral man is he who grows maize by khallu method.

Thirdly, their spirits and Gossaiyans are settled in and around the village on the hills which need to be worshipped in response to the traditions of the hill culture. These spirits receive sacrifices on various khallu operations. They are
non-vegetarian to the extent that some of them accept sacrifices of calves, cows, buffaloes, which most of the plain-dwelling tribes and castes may not allow.

Fourthly, the Paharia have developed a pattern of sexual life and a set of social customs, which they think possible to be maintained only in their forest habitat.

Fifthly, the hills, cut off from the plains, provide for them a safe place for brewing "mahua" which again, owing to the forest setting, is found in abundance.

Sixthly, owing to their historical experiences the Maler do not like to live near the Santhal villages on the plains. Their mutual relations, usually, are of animosity and aggression.

Lastly, the Maler look at any scheme of Government with suspicion. This is because of many factors: exploitation of the Paharia during the British rule, prevalence and recent increase of bribery and corruption among the local officials and imposition of schemes without consultation and cooperation of the Maler. They look at every scheme of Government with suspicion and try to avoid them as far as possible. Some of them have their own ways of looking at these schemes. The schools have been opened to take away their young ones in the war, the grain-golas have been started to entrap the Maler, the Maler are being taken down to the plains as the Government want to acquire their property on the hills; these are some of the stereotype attitudes of the Paharias which reflect as to how they have been interpreting the scheme of the Government.

To conclude, then, the Maler villagers in view of their ecological setting and many historical experiences have developed a style of life, a type of Nature-Man-Spirit complex, which they are not prepared to forego under any circumstances.

In view of these cultural considerations, in spite of all assurances and coercion, very few Maler families have come down to occupy these colonies (Vidyarthi: 1950. 28-30).
The efforts of the Government to resettle even a single typical Paharia family has been a failure and if further effective impositions are made specially on the Maler Paharias, of high hilly villages the result may be dangerous as I noted an atmosphere of psychological disturbance and anxiety on the part of the Paharia due to this scheme of the Government.

**Plain-Agriculture Type:**

After discussing the trends of economic changes in the two types of tribal villages, we come to the third type of tribal villages whose problems are different from those of the nomadic or the hilly tribal villages. The first two types of villages were inhabited by a single tribal population. The size of those villages was relatively small varying from three to ten in the first type and from fifteen to thirty in the second type. They were isolated and relatively out of way from the main stream of Indian civilisation.

The villages located on the plains or on the Plateau of Chotanagpur have been exposed to external influences, and most of the villages are heterogeneous having muti-tribes and multi-castes population. Both the traditional and modern processes have been operative in these villages and, in many cases, especially in economic life, they are not very different from the rural villages of India.

Many such villages inhabited specially by the Oraon and Mundas have been studied by the Ranchi University, Department of Anthropology under the Culture Change Evaluation Research Project sponsored by the R. P. C. of the Planning Commission, in year 1957-58. Ten predominantly Oraon and Munda villages were selected for intensive study with a view to find out changes owing to the modern agencies of Christianity, urbanisation, community development projects, and the result has been published (Sachchidananda; 1960). In another scheme on Urban Pattern of Ranchi Research
Project, sponsored by R.P.C. Planning Commission, in the year 1960-61, four villages within a radius of twenty miles from Ranchi were selected for intensive study to evaluate specially the impact of Ranchi city on these villages. In selecting these villages, care was taken to select two typical villages near the city, and two somewhat ‘away’ from it. A research scholar of my Department has made intensive study of four Christian tribal villages. The tribal villages near the Steel City of Jamshedpur have been also studied and a partial report is under publication (Sharma: 1962). In the light of these village studies, in the agricultural villages of Chotanagpur, certain changes in the economic field have been noted. While it is not possible to discuss them in detail, some of the important changes in the field of economic life observed in some of the above villages may be referred to here.

Agriculture is the major and most important occupation of these villages. As is evident from the table given in the Appendix, about 70% of the informants are engaged in agricultural or unskilled manual labour in the two isolated villages. Only at Namkum village, which is located near the city, the agricultural occupation of the villagers has undergone transformation. The occupation has become more heterogeneous: 18.4% specialised manual labour, 6.4% technical service of lower grade, 26% non-technical service of lower grade, 24% in lower profession, etc. Such a heterogeneity in occupation at Namkum can easily be explained in terms of its nearness to Ranchi city (5 miles from the main market on the route), establishment of two Research Institute—Vaccine Research Institute (1914) and the Indian Lac Research Institute (1925) and the Military Station with E. M. S. Workshops. Due to all these, the agricultural-economic base of the village has undergone a rapid transformation, and the villagers have entered into many other occupations in the village or in the city (see Appendix). It is also evident that the traditional occupations of the
Hindu castes have also changed. For example, one notes the only Brahman of the village is employed as a fitter, two Kayasthas from Uttar Pradesh are working as cooks and a number of Doms are in the military service.

The other village, Argora is also located at a distance of about 6 miles from Ranchi in the South-west-direction. As it is not connected with the city by an all-weather pucca road, and as not many urban institutions have developed in the village so far, it has not been so much influenced by the Urban contacts as the above mentioned village, Namkum. The occupational pattern of the village is changing to a set degree, though with marked regularity. The villages are looking more and more to the city for supplementing their economy. But this dependence is not yet to the extent that many deprive them entirely of their occupation in the village. The main occupation of the village, as is evident from the above discussion still remains agriculture to which they look to make their both ends meet.

In the agricultural economy, however, a change is visible. A number of cash crops and vegetables are raised in the land which originally was meant for paddy cultivation. Comparative land figures taken by us indicate that during the last ten years about 20% of the land has been converted for raising cash crops and vegetables. Similarly, in other neighbouring villages, especially Chutia near Namkum, this change is evidently more conspicuous than in Argora.

Another significant factor is the occupational mobility that was noticed at Argora. There are about 40% of the earning villagers who now largely depend on the city for earning their bread. Most of them are unskilled labourers (40%) who visit the city every day to work as coolies or labourers in the various types of construction work. Some are engaged as peons, drivers, mechanics (8.4%), or masons and rickshaw pullers (7.4%) in the city. But this dependence on the city has never made the people to migrate from the village to the
city. Not a single case of even "temporary migration" has been noted in this village, and it was evident from all enquiries that they prefer to stay in the village, and go to work daily, instead of leaving the village permanently for working in the city. The in-flow of labourers and workers from the neighbouring villages in the morning, and their out-flow from the city in the evening is a usual sight in Ranchi. According to a rough calculation, the range of difference between the day-population and night-population of Ranchi would be about 15 to 20%.

Another significant change in the economic field of the village is evident in the establishment of small grocers’ shops. There are three such shops in the village which are run by the members of the Sahu caste. In addition to other requirements of the villagers, these shops also deal in liquor illegally. The need of liquor seems to have increased in the villages due to urban contacts. It was also noted that though these villagers go to work in the city every day, they purchase their groceries in the village shops. They usually prefer this arrangement, as they get the materials on credit and make the payment at their convenience, when they get the weekly wages.

The villages that are near the emerging industrial sites of Hatia-Satragi, Latma, Dhurba for example—also reflect somewhat different trends. As their lands have been acquired for the industrial township and factories, they have become landless. Most of them have been employed as unskilled manual labour and some of them having some capital have opened small shops on the roadside of the villages or near the construction sites. It was also recorded that about 40% of the up-rooted tribal families have invested part of their compensation money in purchasing paddy lands at Padma and other places where they could get some land. More interesting results are expected from our intensive study of Hatia Industrial belt.

The villages near the industrial city of Jamshedpur, studied by Bihar Tribal Research Institute (Sharma: 1962)
are also characterised by similar economic changes. After the installation and development of the TISCO factory in the year 1911, most of the original and “migrated” villages have been converted to “suburban slums”, the villagers have become mostly industrial workers, and agriculture has become subsidiary occupation to many of them. They also go to Jamshedpur factories for work in day time, and return back to their respective villages at night.

Those villages which are away from the urban industrial centres do not show major changes in their economic activities. The two isolated villages of Kumharia and Raja Ulatu, located at a distance of 9 miles north and 12 miles south-east respectively from the city are almost completely agricultural villages. Though these are predominantly Oraon villages, a number of other castes are also inhabiting these villages, and for all of them agriculture continues to be the main occupation. These two villages fall in Kanke and Khijri Blocks respectively where development work were started about four years ago. However, the Community Development Programme does not seem to have significant influence on the agricultural processes of the villages. The Japanese methods of cultivation and the chemical fertilisers have not been accepted by the tribal or non-tribal inhabitants of the villages. Similar reports have been received from the tribal villages in Chotanagpur studied by Sachchidananda (1960: 22-26).

At both the villages, Kumharia and Raja Ulatu the pressure on land has been recorded to be heavy, and the villagers are not in a position to subsist exclusively by depending on land. In view of these situations, many of the villagers have developed subsidiary occupations.

At Kumhariya, some of the villagers with small agricultural plots (27.1%), especially the Munda (34.05%) and the Oraon (45.5%) work as unskilled labourers within the village or near the village.
Secondly, it has become a popular subsidiary occupation of the villagers to raise vegetables in their *baris* or other suitable plots. Such persons come to the city on the weekly market days (Wednesday and Saturday) to dispose of their vegetables. With the expansion of the city and the rising price of vegetables, the villagers have found this subsidiary occupation very profitable. More and more people feel attracted to this business of the supply of vegetables, and in spite of the distance, which they have to cover on foot, they come to the city at least once in a week to sell vegetables.

Thirdly, four very small shops have been started by local villagers. Out of these four shops, two are of tea and *Pakauri* etc. owned by a Rajput and an Oraon respectively, while the other two are grocery shops, owned by a member of Sahu caste and a Muslim. These shops supply the local needs of the villagers. Such shops, in the interior villages of Chotanagpur are, in general, a new introduction.

In order to improve the economic lot of the people, a Graingola was started in this village by the Welfare Department of Government of Bihar in the year 1959. It started with the stock of 580 mds. of paddy to supply 30 neighbouring villages. The Graingola, as a major economic programmes of the Government of Bihar, is supposed to distribute paddy to the farmers on loan basis, repayable at the next harvest (Leuva: 1960). More than 78 families in 1959 and 39 families in the year 1960 (before August) were benefited by this scheme.

Raja Ulathu shares the similar type of agricultural economy on the pattern of Kumharia. The agricultural fertility of this village, however, has been affected due to the shortage of irrigational water, and rocky nature of soil. These villagers all the more need subsidiary occupations to supplement their agricultural economy.

As Ranchi is beyond the walking distance of these villagers, they do not feel encouraged to raise vegetables
for weekly markets. All persons, male and female, with inadequate land, have to work as agricultural labourers in the neighbouring villages. Some of them also get casual employment in the tea-gardens located at Palandu at a distance of two miles from the village. But these subsidiary occupations, it appears, have been inadequate to maintain the ever-increasing population of the village.

In order to combat the economic situation, some members of a few families of the village have migrated to Andaman Isles to work there in the Forest Department. In more than twenty-five families, we came across such migration. While in two cases, the whole families migrated, in other cases only one or two members of each family have gone there temporarily to earn their livelihood. Thus, these migrations consist of only a few members of family and that also for a temporary period. Such migrations from the tribal villages of Chotanagpur and Santhal Parganas to tea-gardens in Assam, Bhutan and Sundarban forests are reported by many researchers and it will be very profitable to study these migrations in relations to the total economic resources of each tribal village. It is suspected that when the village resources taken together, fail to support a particular size of the population, such a migration from the village takes place.

As the paper is getting long, I will not enter into the details as to how Christianity has affected the economic life of the plain-dwelling agricultural tribals. However, I like to make a brief reference to this factor of change. The German Lutheran Mission first entered Chota Nagpur in 1845 and it was followed by Angelican and Roman Catholic Mission in the years 1863 and 1885 respectively. During the last one hundred years, Christianity of the above denominations has penetrated into the interior villages of Chota Nagpur and Santhal Parganas. According to a rough estimate indicates that about 15.7% of the population of Ranchi City, and somewhat similar proportion of the tribal popula-
tion in the villages, have been converted to Christianity during this period.

With the advent and working of Christian missions, the economic exploitation of majority of the tribals, at the hands of local landlords, seem to have dwindled and, with the spread of education and the functioning of many Christians philanthropic institutions, has been disturbed. Marked changes have been witnessed in the improvement of landlord tenant relationship, termination of Begari and forced labour and a realisation for hard work on the part of the converted male and female. Evaluating the impact of Christianity, Roy (1912) at one place remarks “......The Christian Missions have, however, brought new hopes in them, and given them a better appreciation of their rights as men and as tenants and a somewhat wider outlook on life, and have enabled them to improve socially, intellectually and economically....”.

In general, the Christian converts, as other, in the villages, are cultivators. A few of them who have got training in the mission schools in tailoring, carpentry or weaving also practise these crafts. At Silphari, a convert’s village near Chainpur F.S., four persons have taken up tailoring as their main occupation. Many of the youths of the neighbouring villages who have got education in the Mission High School at Chainpur, got jobs in the cities and towns with the help of the mission organisation or otherwise and they have left the village temporarily to accept the jobs outside.

In the villages, the converts have their granaries and banks which help them at the time of need. They have organised co-operative societies which operate on mutual basis and help each other to solve agricultural and other economic problems. Thus, though Christian conversion has not altered the major traditional occupation, it has brought about improvements in the economic life of the converts and has opened up new opportunities for other types of employment in the towns, cities and in some cases in the villages.
The net-work of church organisations couple with the training
and education of the tribal villagers has further facilitated
the employment of these youths.

To conclude, tribal villagers of Bihar, divided into three
categories in terms of their ecological, economic and
cultural development have been differently affected by the
modern processes of change. These villages have different
types of economic organisations and economic problems
which need to be considered in the light of their cultural
characteristics and age-old traditions. In many cases these
cultural traditions stand in the way of smooth economic
change. However, with the accelerating impact of urbanisa-
tion and industrialisation, agricultural economy is surely but
slowly undergoing transformation.

References

Dube, S. C. 1955: Indian village; Ithaca: Cornell University
Press.

1960: Approaches to the Tribal Problem in India

Jay, Edward J. 1959: The Anthropologist and Tribal
Welfare: Hill Maria—A case study. Journal of

Leuva, K. K. 1959: Graingolas in Bihar, in Indian Anthropo-
logy in Action edited by L. P. Vidyarthi, Ranchi
Council of Social and Cultural Research, Bihar.

Lewis, Oscar 1958: Village Life in Northern India. Urbana
University of Illinois Press.


Mehta, B. H. 1959: Tribal Welfare and Forest Economy in
Anthropology and Tribal Welfare in India edited
by L. P. Vidyarthi, Ranchi Council of Social and
Cultural Research, Bihar.
Prasad, Saileswar 1960: Where Tribes and Castes Meet in Indian Anthropology in Action edited by Dr. L. P. Vidyarthi, Ranchi Council of Social and Cultural Research, Bihar.


CHAPTER VI

URBANISATION & CHANGING PATTERN OF SOCIAL LIFE OF TRIBES

In this chapter, we have made an attempt to provide an outline of the major features of the social structure of the tribals living in the city of Ranchi and to discuss their changing social patterns under the influence of urbanisation. Further, it has been attempted to explore the special areas of strains which are causing detribalisation in the social life of the tribals.

The materials presented in this chapter have been mainly derived from the intensive study of tribal families living in three different localities, namely Karamtoli, Kathartoli and Puranki Ranchi. Formerly, these localities, were principally inhabited by the tribals, but with the increase in the population of Ranchi city, other elements of population are also found in these localities in good many number. However, these localities are among the oldest in Ranchi city, and hence we selected them for intensive study. As far as some aspects of the social structure are concerned, for example, composition of family of the households, type of families, etc., we have referred to the statistics obtained from the survey questionnaire of our research. Data on some aspects of the social structure, the functioning of certain institutions, different systems of values connected with neighbourhood, fraternity, special groups, marriage, kinship, etc. have emerged from the intensive study of the tribals living in these three localities where there is a thick concentration of tribal families. As such the emphasis here is on the presentation of qualitative data instead of statistical ones. In Puranki Ranchi and Karamtoli, are mainly inhabited the nonconverted
tribals, who go to constitute the oldest dwellers of Ranchi city. The third locality Kathartoli is a purely converted-tribals’ locality where converts have migrated to this place from the neighbouring rural areas due to the attraction of living near the church organisation and of finding out suitable jobs for their economic rehabilitation.

Our study concerns with the social life of the Oraon and Munda tribes living in this city, since only these tribals are present in this Ranchi City in an overwhelming majority. There are, however, a few other tribes, but their number is extremely insignificant. As such we have not touched them. But the generalisation applied to Oraon and Munda, becomes also nearly the same in the case of other tribes also, since they live in the same urban conditions and are subject to similar modifications in their social life.

Impact of Urbanisation on the Tribals: Causes and Extent.

It is a common place observation to note that the tribals living in the city are slowly but surely taking up a number of urban traits. The causes of this tendency are all not of recent origin but its acceleration is recent because of the urban-industrial revolution operating in this tract of Chota Nagpur. Since long, the impact of urbanisation on the tribal social life has been in evidence through different factors such as spread of education, contacts with military for which Ranchi had been a big headquarters, spread of Christianity, business and trade, market, and the administrative programmes of the government. In the past, the missionaries were first to attack the old way of life. Later on, the spread of education among the tribals, the military concentration at Ranchi and coming of administrative offices of the Bihar Government gave a further incentive to their social life being drifted towards urbanisation. But to-day the industrial revolution has accelerated the pace of urbanisation among the tribals living in this City.
The growing existence of a large agglomeration of the population in Ranchi where there had been, previously small number, has brought in its train a host of social problems for the tribals living in this city. Many of the problems are due to the fact that the tribals living in this city are being thrown into such unfamiliar situations which they are unable to combat primarily because they have no prescribed behaviour in their traditions. As a result of this there has been modifications in their social and cultural values under urban and industrial conditions. Among the tribal youth, however, there is a growing antagonism against their traditional mode of social life, which often results in dropping out or rejecting of tribal modes of behaviour. The non-converted youth are, of course, a little behind in this respect. Owing to the complexity of the situation found in an urban community, it is not surprising that the urban way of life is slowly but steadily pushing its way into the social pattern of life of the tribals and replacing their traditional way of life.

This phenomenon which has caught momentum in the recent times, lead to the process of detribalisation. The use of the term detribalisation here should be made primarily to indicate change from the tribal to urban standards of behaviour. We have to find out to what extent under urban influences the modification or partial dropping off of the traditional behaviour of the tribal community living in Ranchi, has brought about social disorganisation and maladjustment in the social life of the tribals and in what ways the tribal community life is being reorganised.

Kinship:

The urban tribals showed a tendency to classify the relationship with their relatives on the basis of intimacy of contact with the relatives and degree of knowledge about them. We have made the following classification on the basis of the replies of the tribals living in Karamtoli, Puranki Ranchi and of the converted tribals living in Kathartoli
regarding their intimacy of contact with relatives and degree of knowledge about them.

(i) *Intimate Kins* :—These are relatives with whom regular contacts are maintained and kinship obligations are fulfilled on mutual basis. Intimate kins mostly reside in this very city.

(ii) *Effective Kins* :—These are relatives with whom some contact is maintained and ceremonial visit is paid to them. Among the converted tribals exchange of Christmas presents of cards is done with the effective kins. The informants had considerable knowledge about their effective kins. Effective kins may be found in villages as well.

(iii) *Non-effective Kins* :—These are relatives about whom the informants had some knowledge but no contact is maintained.

(iv) *Unfamiliar Kins* :—These are relatives about whom the urbanite tribals virtually know nothing beyond the fact that the relatives existed. This category of relatives generally lived outside the city in far distant villages with whom the relationship of the tribals of this place has been severed long ago.

The figures presented in Table 1 would reveal that the non-converted tribals living both in Karamtoli and Puranki Ranchi, in general, do not show appreciable difference in the proportion of intimate kins, effective kins, non-effective kins and unfamiliar kins per family. It would be further observed that among the tribals of both these localities, average number of intimate kins per family is smaller than the average number of effective kins per family but higher than the average number of non-effective kins per family. The proportion of unfamiliar kins is lowest among the tribals of both localities. It leads us to assume that even in urban situation kins are considered effective but due to the pressure of work in urban situations the same degree of intimacy is not maintained.
TABLE 1

Recognition of Kin and Relationship with Kin of the Non-converted tribals and Converted tribals.
(The figures have been worked out per family)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Non-converted tribes</th>
<th>Converted tribes Kathartoli</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Karamtoli Average No. per family</td>
<td>P.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intimate Kin</td>
<td></td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Effective Kin</td>
<td></td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-effective Kin</td>
<td></td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unfamiliar Kin</td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total recognised living Kin</td>
<td></td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Recognised Kin now dead</td>
<td></td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total recognised Kin</td>
<td></td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This implies that although due to physical accessibility or because of other factors regular contacts with the kin may not be maintained, the effectiveness of the relationship with kin is not minimised. Here, the urbanite tribals confirm the norms of the tradition. The tribals of Karamtoli have a bit larger proportion of non-effective kin (24.4%) than the tribals of Puranki Ranchi (15.9%). Similarly, the proportion of unfamiliar kin is also higher among the tribals of Karamtoli (11.9%) than that of the tribals of Puranki Ranchi (9.1%). However, the difference is so small that no valid conclusion may be drawn. A probable explanation may be put that the tribal people of Karamtoli have become slightly more urbanised in comparison to the tribal people of Puranki.
Ranchi. The effectiveness of the relationship with the kin is found to be minimised mainly because of the presence of army personnel in front of this locality whose way of living has immense impact upon the tribals.

Among the converted tribals of Kathartoli, the proportion of the intimate kin is too small (13.5%). The proportion of the effective kin is also small (25%) among them. But the proportion of non-effective kin is much larger (51.9%). This makes to us clear that the customary relationship with the kin have very much declined among them. Due to conversion and a higher level of education, the converted tribals of this city show a greater degree of individualism in their social life than that of the indigenous tribal communities. The growing individualistic attitude due to greater urban impact has been responsible for the weakening of the kinship ties among both the converted tribals and non-converted tribals of this city.

A number of factors operating in combination govern the kinship relations of both the non-converted and converted tribals of this city. The important factors among them are the following:

(a) Economic ties among the Kins.
(b) Residence and Physical accessibility of the Kins.
(c) Types of genealogical relationship.
(d) Types of social and economic status of the Kins.
(e) Types of personal likes and dislikes of the Kins.

These various factors represent forces of different kinds. Economic ties and physical accessibility of kins are basically ecological factors, genealogical relationships and net-work formation are sociological factors while the rest are psychological. All these work together and simultaneously. Moreover, each factor is not independent of each other. Kins may visit each other frequently because, among other factors, they live near one another; but they may
continue to live near one another's house because among other factors they are able to use their relationships for economic needs as well. With this awareness, we may discuss the factors consequitively but no inference should be drawn that any one of these factors is more important than the other.

(i) Effects of economic relations among kin:—In the village where the agricultural economy is intact, every Oraon farmer is joined by his important kinsmen during the major agricultural operation in his field such as transplantation of the seedlings or at the time of harvesting. These major agricultural activities require the co-operation of many persons at a time. It is customary among the Oraon to extend help to their kinsmen at such times.

But here at Ranchi, in the industrial set up and urban economy kinship does not play much part in their economic and occupational co-operation. In most cases, the Oraon people do not have to depend on their kinsmen for access to some means of earning and for that matter each family is supposed to be economically self-supporting. Even those Oraon families living at Karamtoli and Puranki Ranchi who have agriculture, as their main or secondary occupation have to complete their major agricultural activities without the co-operation of their kinsmen since nearly all their kinsmen living in this city depend on wage earning and monetary economy, and thus find no time to extend their help. They have to employ agricultural labourers on regular wages.

However, there have been several instances among the non-converted tribals of Karamtoli and Puranki Ranchi and much more among the converted tribals of Kathartoli in which relatives have helped one another to find jobs. In such cases, relationships among such kins have been found to be stronger.

In the villages every Oraon visits his all important kinsmen just after the harvest is over when he becomes free-
from his agricultural operation. But in the city, the lure of earning regular wages discourages the Oraon people to pay even this ceremonial visit to their kinsmen, what to say of maintaining regular contacts. The Oraons employed either in government service or private firms as a paid employee do not get adequate leave at proper times to either help their kinsmen in their economic pursuit or to visit their kinsmen. However, specially the non-converted tribals, abstain from the work occasionally either to entertain guests or to go as guests to other kins. Such mutual visits, known as Mehmani, is still very prevalent among these tribals who are wage-earners and they abstain from work to visit or receive such kins when they receive wages. They return to the normal duty after a couple of days or so. Owing to this, the tribal labourers are considered to be undependable, as they escape without any notice to the employers.

On the examination of the Table 2 we do not find any striking difference between the non-converted tribals of the Karamtoli and Puranki Ranchi. It may be seen that among the tribals of both these localities the percentage of intimate relations and effective relations were higher among the kins living in the same locality or adjoining locality. Among the tribals of Puranki Ranchi, percentage of intimate relationship with the kins living in distant locality of the city has sharply declined to 4.55% from 22.7% of the total living recognised kins while it has reduced to nil among the tribals of Karamtoli but has again increased with the kins living in villages of Ranchi district. The fair percentage of intimate and effective relations with the kins in villages were owing to matrimonial connections and mostly these intimate and effective kins were the members of one's spouse's family. As natural the percentage of non-effective kins and unfamiliar kins was higher in the villages and outside the district respectively. Nearly the same trend is noticed among the converted tribals of Kathartoli except the fact that the percentage of non-effective kin was fairly distributed in all the four types of localities.
### TABLE 2

Type of relationship maintained with kin in relation to physical accessibility of Kin

(The figures have been worked out per family)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Non-converted tribals</th>
<th></th>
<th>Converted tribals</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Karamtodi Average No. per family</td>
<td>P.C.</td>
<td>Paranki Ranchi Average No. per family</td>
<td>P.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1) Kin living in the same locality or adjoining locality.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(i) Intimate</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>21·4</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>22·7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ii) Effective</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>21·3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>15·9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(iii) Non-effective</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4·8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4·55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(iv) Unfamiliar</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4·55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2) Kin living in more distant localities from the City.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(i) Intimate</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>11·9</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>15·9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ii) Effective</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4·8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6·8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(iv) Unfamiliar</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4·55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3) Kin living in villages but in Ranchi district.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(i) Intimate</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4·8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4·55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ii) Effective</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7·1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>11·4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(iii) Non-effective</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>11·9</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4·55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(iv) Unfamiliar</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4·8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2·3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(4) Kin living outside Ranchi district such as Assam or Jamshedpur etc.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(i) Intimate</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4·8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4·55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ii) Effective</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7·1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>11·4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(iii) Non-effective</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>11·9</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4·55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(iv) Unfamiliar</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4·8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2·3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total living recognised Kin: 42 100% 44 100% 52 100%
with a higher concentration in the distant locality of the city and places outside the States. Again percentage of effective kins has come down in the distant locality of the city while it has again gone up in the villages. The percentage of intimate relations has been the same, both in the distant locality and the villages. This leads us to infer that the converted tribals have maintained fairly good deal of relationship with the kins in the villages.

Maintenance of relationship between urban and rural sections of kins varies greatly, the difference depends sometimes but by no means always, on the length of residence in the city. In all these three tribal localities, there are large percentages of city-dwellers who have little contact with their village relatives. The urbanite tribals have forgotten their traditional customs and have learnt new ways and attitudes due to pressure of urbanisation. Accompanying this process is the use of new vocabulary by the tribals living in the city, relevant to the condition of their life and their forgetting older expressions which now have little relevance. The term chāchā and chāchī (Father’s brother and Father’s brother’s wife), Mausā and Mausī (Mother’s brother and mother’s brother’s wife), Balnoī (sister’s husband), Dādī (father’s mother), Nānī (mother’s mother) are commonly used by the tribals living in the city in place of distinctive tribal terms used formerly. Again, the converted tribals have acquired English manners and etiquette in good perfection which they extensively use to express themselves, when they meet their kins living in this city. Because of acquiring the usage of these newly learnt vocabulary for kinship terms and the English manners and etiquettes, a tribal whether converted or non-converted, living in the city finds difficulty to express his relationship with kins living in rural areas and hence the desire to evade kinship obligation is evolved.

(iii) **Type of Genealogical relations:**—On the examination of several genealogical tables, we found that most of the
families were like in range of recognition of kin. The range was very narrow when compared to range of recognised kin of families living in villages. Here at Ranchi, the range extended vertically to grand parents, although not to the siblings of grand parents and laterally to father’s brothers and their children. Within this range the informants had systematic knowledge of kins. Beyond this range their knowledge was sporadic and unsystematic. Even when informants knew something about their great grand parents, their knowledge did not extend corresponding to their third or fourth cousins.

Such narrow range of recognition of kin is probably linked to the restricted importance of kinship in economic affairs. Among the converted tribals of Kathartoli, the high immigration rate has also contributed to it. Since nearly all the converted tribal families of Kathartoli have migrated from outside Ranchi and they have lost connections with their village relatives, their knowledge of the range of kins became greatly restricted. Among the non-converted tribals of Karamtoli and Puranki Ranchi the emigration rate has contributed to the narrow range of recognition of kin. Many tribal families living in these localities have migrated to some other places which have further affected the maintenance of kinship bonds. This has resulted in knowledge of narrow range of recognised kin.

Parents, father’s brother and mother’s brother were considered intimate and effective kins. Among the conjugal kins, wife’s parents, wife’s brothers and their wife’s sisters and their husbands were considered effective kins. Although there are very clearly formulated customary rules about rights and obligation to kins, nearly all families both among the non-converted tribals and converted tribals expressed, directly or indirectly the feelings that they had stronger kinship obligation to parents, wife’s parents, father’s brother and mother’s brother, who were considered intimate kins. And
in fact, not much care is taken in fulfilling the kinship obligations beyond this narrow range of intimate kins, which of course is not true in the villages.

(iv) Similarities and differences in social status among the kins:—There were indications that status consideration did play some part though not important in maintenance of relations with kin. Particularly among the converted tribals, this has been more clearly noticed. Similarities and differences in status were estimated on the basis of occupation. If two or more kins were found to be of the same occupational status, it was observed that greater intimacy was maintained among them. In choice of effective kin, the tribal people gave slight preference to them who were in similar type of occupation as theirs. Level of education has been also found to be important consideration in the choice of intimate kin and effective kin. A well-educated converted tribal would not wish to associate himself intimately with a kin of his own who has no education.

(v) Personal likes and dislikes:—Personal likes and dislikes played a great part in the choice of maintaining contact with kin or to evade them. Personal likes and dislikes stand out clearly as a separate factor when other factors work in the opposite direction. Emotions and other psychological attitude were the chief reasons for liking or disliking a particular kin. Social status was also important reason for personal likes and dislikes.

Thus, we observe that these five factors affect most in maintaining varying degree of kinship relationship, among the tribals of this city.

While the range of contacts among kins also depend on the nature of family functions the range was found narrower in most family activities but the range of contacts on the occasions of marriage, death and birth, become wide. On ceremonial occasions the tribal people still sought the help of distant kins other than their friends and neighbours.
Particularly among the non-converted tribals, they received help from their kins during ceremonies like birth, marriages, and death. On being asked as to whose help do you get most during ceremonies, 71.7% of the total non-converted tribal families referred to their kinsmen. While among the converted tribals only 53.8% of the total families referred to their kinsmen. The percentage of informants referring to their friends for help was much higher among the converted tribals (40.4%) than the non-converted tribals (24.4%). Among both the converted and non-converted informants, a small percentage to the extent of 5.8% and 3.9% respectively pointed out that they received the help most from their tribal neighbours. Thus, it seems, that the converted families of the tribals, relatively speaking, are not in a closer interaction with the kins even on ceremonial occasions than the non-converted tribal families who are invited to participate in feasts, dances and other such performances on the ceremonial occasions.

**TABLE 3**

*Percentage showing help received during ceremonial occasions from kins and friends etc.*

(figures derived from all the families who came in our 10% sample)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>From kinsmen</th>
<th>From friends other than kinsmen</th>
<th>From neighbour other than kinsmen</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Converted tribals</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>53.8</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>40.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-converted tribals</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>71.7</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>24.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
From the foregoing description it becomes evident that the strength of kinship bond, both paternal and maternal has greatly weakened because of pressure of urbanisation. There are number of extraneous factors for the weakening of the bond of kinship. Important among them as we have seen are geographical separation of kins and the complexity of economic structure of tribal families living in the city. However, the clan name is still used as a praise name and pride in family remains. The bonds of kinship are at least seen functioning at the time of wedding or death among the kins folk. Then, they continue to exchange Mehmanti visit even risking their jobs.

Thus, though the bonds among kinsmen have weakened, the skeleton structure deriving from the tribal system has remained intact and sometimes take flesh in response to specific occasions. Contacts among the kins with different intensity continue to survive and they tend to be accelerated now and then, on the occasions of traditional festivals and family celebrations. For want of housing facilities in the city, the near kins huddle together under the same roof and in some case this necessity has increased the number of joint family among the tribals in the city, which is conspicuous by its absence in the tribal villages.

_Family:_

In the urban community the tribal family is gradually losing the extrinsic functions which it had possessed from time immemorial and which continue, though in diminishing degrees, in the rural family. The social and economic conditions prevailing in this city has been leading to the emancipation of the family members from the traditional tribal institutional controls. This tendency is observed to a very large extent among the converted tribals of Kathartoli. Among the non-converted tribals of both Karamtoli and Puranki Ranchi, this process of emancipation of the family
members from the traditional institutional control, is taking place slowly but steadily.

**Family Authority:**

Traditionally, the authority is generally delegated or assumed by the senior male, reckoned according to kinship. But in view of education, experience and rich earning by the younger ones, the old fashioned parents and elder brothers in general, are losing their importance in the family. It has been observed that an elder brother holding, in matter of authority, a subordinate position to that of a younger because of his lower education, feels difficulty in adapting himself to urban conditions or his inability to earn enough money. Though such an inversion of the role is possible among brothers, it is much less likely in the case of a father and his son especially among the non-converted families. The majority of the converted tribal families, however, is characterised by a more or less intense predominance of the adult and earning sons, and not of the old father, even when he (father) is living with his son.

In traditional culture, in which the economic and social conditions remained almost unchanged from one generation to another, age and kinship were considered to be the sole criteria for taking the authorityship of the family. Since experience accumulates with age, the older people were given the main control of the family. But in urban condition, due to rapid technological progress, experience has lost much of its value. It is adaptation to material and moral possibilities of an individual which is valued more in the changing social system. Since older people find difficulty in making adaptation to urban situation with increasing age, the father is compelled to give his authority to his son who usually has greater capabilities of adaptation.

By tradition the man is the absolute master of all that happened in his home. But the picture is fast changing now.
Women's authority in family affairs has increased in greater degree among the converted tribals. The percentage of female education among the converted tribals is more or less the same as that of male education. This factor has caused a type of family in which husband and wife consider each other as equal partners. Then, among the non-converted tribals, as well as among the converted tribal also, the family has ceased to be, to a great extent, a unit of economic production as found in rural areas. The male and female members of a family do different types of work to earn their livelihood. The lesser educated or illiterate converted tribal women too do part-time or whole time work for earning income. Among the higher educated women of both the converted and the non-converted tribals they have created a new basis of relations between husband and wife.

Economic Aspect of Family:

In the present state of urban society of the tribals, the wives, in majority of cases, are wage-earners. The majority of men, both among non-converted tribal and converted tribals, expect their wives to contribute to the maintenance of the home. Nearly every well-educated woman in a converted tribal family has been found to be employed for earning income. Among the non-converted tribals among whom the women, in a great percentage have little or no education, add to the family's income by doing the work of labourers, or by carrying on trade in a small way such as by selling milk, or vegetables produced in kitchen gardens etc. The upkeep of the house and household work are the main activities attributed to the women. Some of them, by force of habit, are still seen collecting fuels for their consumption and grass for sale in the market.

The responsibility of meeting the expenses of the family usually rests upon the husband. But the elder son or responsible wives also work hard to supplement the family
income. With new employment opportunities, all the elderly members of the family are economic assets. A lesser educated or an uneducated male, among both the converted and non-converted tribals, in addition to his main job may take up subsidiary jobs around the house or work in connection with his trade.

Marked changes in behaviour pattern within the urban tribal family is observed which has been accompanied with the loss of functions of the family. In this regard, however, no generalisation applies to all urban tribal families and to members of all generations. Conflicting conceptions in expectations and roles of husbands and wives and of parents, children have given rise to many problems. Such conflict is particularly evident among the converted tribal families. Many husbands expect their wives to be a devoted housewife, loyal like their mothers, which the wives in most cases, particularly the educated ones, greatly desist. Similarly many old parents among the non-converted tribals attempt to enforce traditional standards of behaviour upon their children who under the urban influence attempt to avoid as far as possible. Such variation in behaviour is associated with the length of urban residence, intensity of contact with urban culture, economic and educational status and then the influence of an individual member. The variation in behaviour, especially among the converted tribals, reflects the urban ideology of individual initiative and opportunity for self-expression. Among both the non-converted and converted tribals, the behaviour pattern has been modified by the increasing importance of educational attainment, position and wealth. These new factors have minimised the importance of traditional principle of seniority and relative status position of sexes. The fact that majority of the married women contribute to the family income has given a woman an economic standing which has been a major factor in raising her status. The increased freedom and individualisation of the family members (more strongly observed among the converted
tribals) and their release from the strict supervision of the traditional rural neighbourhood (more markedly found among the non-converted tribals) have given rise to family instability. There are evidences to believe that a modified form of conjugal relationship in which romantic love, democratic companionship and equal responsibility are important elements, are emerging among the tribals of Ranchi.

Parent-child relationships have undergone considerable change. These changes manifest themselves, above all, in the diminishing controls which the parents are able to exercise and the consequent independence of the adolescents. The tribal families living at Ranchi find themselves inadequately equipped to carry out the educational function which the extended family and the larger circle of kin performed effectively to educate the children with regard to institutionalised norms and traditional standard of behaviour.

Urban-bred children are sophisticated, frequently more literate and have greater mastery of the new urban environment than their parents. The parents find that the playground, the cinema and street life, in general, are the effective forces moulding the development of their children. The parents both among the converted and non-converted tribals, frankly admit their inability to deal with their children. Lack of schooling of the non-converted tribal children and lack of appropriate employment opportunities for both the converted and non-converted tribal juveniles are factors in a total situation which is producing an indisciplined and maladjusted tribal youths.

The above observation makes it clear that the tribal families living at Ranchi are being subjected to very considerable stresses in this period of transition from rural to urban environment and to increasing industrial economy. The breakdown of traditional behaviour pattern has not yet been counterbalanced by the new norms of behaviour. Since it is
in transition many conflicting and uncertain systems have been working together. Within such a situation the struggle for survival of key institutions resist successful and swift adaptation to demands of urban way of life.

_Marriage:_

The marriage rate is too high and the extent of high figure at once suggests that the custom of marriage has not fallen back owing to urban impact. Out of the total adult male population of both the converted and non-converted tribals covered in our sample (10% sample), more than fifty per cent were found to be married.¹ Similar has been the case among the women. The overall ratio of married men to married women show that the married women are slightly higher.² This clearly suggests that all the married men are living with their wives. The intensive study at the tribal localities, Kathartoli, Karamtoli and Puranki Ranchi reveals the same facts regarding the high rate of marriage. In previous days contact with Hindus and Muslims had significantly reduced the age of marriage among the tribals living in this city. Of course, this situation was not present among the converted tribals among whom the age of marriage both for the male and female remained high due to their coming in contact with the church which discouraged marriage at an earlier age. But as the age of marriage is gradually rising in other communities of the city so among the non-converted tribals too. Majority of the married females has been found to be married in 16-20 age group³. While in case of the tribal males, percentage in the age group 16-20 and 21-25 were found to be nearly uniform⁴. However, in case of converted tribals, the age of marriage of girls and boys have been found much higher than that of boys and girls of the non-converted tribals.

¹, ², ³ & ⁴ Please refer to MSS. on Urban Pattern of Ranchi with Dr. L. P. Vidyarthi.
Among the non-converted tribals, though marriage is still celebrated under tribal custom, there is a wide range of variations in the procedure. Church conducts the marriage of the converted tribal boys and girls. Civil marriage has not been recorded among the non-converted tribals. Among the converted tribals, however, a few cases of civil marriage has been recorded but it is extremely rare.

Marriage has become a costly affair for the tribals living in this city. Inclusion of more pomp and show due to urban influence by hiring of loud speaker, by taking of the bridegroom on rickshaw or taxi to bride’s house, etc.—cost them much. The bride price, in case of non-converted tribals has, however, reduced to some extent. Formerly it has been fixed up to the maximum of 12 pieces of cloth (Khand) and Rupees twenty five to Rupees thirty. But to-day, due to change in outlook because of living in urban economy, only cash is demanded and that too only up to a maximum of Rupees twenty-five to hundred.

Generally monogamy is the rule. Sororate and levirate marriages have also been recorded but the percentage of such marriage is very insignificant. Widow marriage, however, has been reported in a fair percentage. In 16.6% of the total marriage that occurred in Kathartoli, the brides were widows. Incidence of separation and divorce is relatively low in the city in comparison to the conditions in rural areas.

Inter-tribal marriages is quite uncommon among the non-converted tribals living in this city. However, three such cases have been reported among converted tribals of Kathartoli. It is interesting to note that good number of cases of marriage between tribal and non-tribal have occurred. In our investigation, we came across 53 cases of non-tribal males marrying tribal girls. Nearly all such marriages continued to be successful except in three cases where the husbands had deserted their wives and the children born by
them. These men who married tribal girls were either Hindu or Muslim. Among the tribal brides or bridegrooms, majority were converted tribals. As regards the nature of such marriage, 32·1% fell in the category of love marriage and the same percentage was in the category of elopement. Next to it, 22·6% of such marriage were arranged and only 13·2% were done legally. It is not strange that love marriage and marriage by “kept” or elopement figures most prominently in case of inter-ethnic marriage as such marriage is beyond the range of traditional practice. We never come across such marriages in the tribal villages.

Table 4

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nature of marriage among tribal and non-tribal members.</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>P.C.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(i) Love marriage</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>32·1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ii) Arranged</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>22·6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(iii) Kept or elopement</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>32·1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(iv) Legal marriage (civil)</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>13·2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As usual, greater number of such marriages amounting to 54·7% of the total such cases was socially disapproved, while 45·3% of such cases have, however, received approval. On a closer examination of the table 5, it is noted that as on the one hand, greater percentage of marriage i.e.70·6% and 88·2% of love marriages and marriages by “kept” or elopement respectively have been socially disapproved while on the other, 83·3% and 100% of arranged and legal marriages respectively have been approved. It is, thus, safe to accept that it is the nature of marriage that counts in the social approval or disapproval.

Regarding the after-reaction of the couple in such marriages, the figures given in table 6 suggest that in 69.8%, the partners were happy and in only 30.2% they felt that they
TABLE 5

Social approval or disapproval of such marriages:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nature of marriage</th>
<th>Approved</th>
<th></th>
<th>Disapproved</th>
<th></th>
<th>Total</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(i) Love marriage—</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>29.4</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>70.6</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ii) Arranged—</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>83.3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>16.7</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(iii) &quot;Kept&quot; or elopement</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11.8</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>88.2</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(iv) Legal marriage—</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total:</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>45.3</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>54.7</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

were unhappy. Here, it will be again observed that in love marriage and in marriages by kept or elopement, the percentage of unhappy marriage is greater.

TABLE 6

Couple leading happy life or unhappy life due to such marriage:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nature of marriage.</th>
<th>Happy</th>
<th></th>
<th>Unhappy</th>
<th></th>
<th>Total</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(i) Love marriage...</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>64.7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>35.3</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ii) Arranged...</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>83.3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>16.7</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(iii) Kept or elopement</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>58.8</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>41.2</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(iv) Legal marriage...</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>85.7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>14.3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total:</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>69.8</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>30.2</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The causes of such marriage has been chiefly love and intimacy of the boy and girl towards each other. 71.7% of the total such marriage has been due to this particular reason. Next, 18.9% of the total of such marriages has occurred due
to compulsion as the girl became pregnant with the man concerned and had no escape other than to marry her 47% (8 cases) of marriages in the category of marriage for kept or elopement were due to the girls becoming pregnant. There have been four cases of such marriages due to premarital connection and in one case due to non-availability of partner in one’s own community.

*Friends and Neighbours:*

In the first place it should be noted here that the choice of friends and neighbours is closely related with

TABLE 7

*Causes of marriages:*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nature of marriage</th>
<th>Love and intimation</th>
<th>Illicit connection</th>
<th>Compulsion due to girls becoming pregnant</th>
<th>Non-availability of partners</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(i) Love marriage</td>
<td>15 88.2</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>2 11.8</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>17 100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ii) Arranged</td>
<td>9 75%</td>
<td>3 25%</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>12 100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(iii) Kept or elopement</td>
<td>7 41.2</td>
<td>1 5.9</td>
<td>8 47%</td>
<td>1 5.9</td>
<td>17 100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(iv) Legal marriage</td>
<td>7 100%</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>7 100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total:</td>
<td>38 71.2</td>
<td>4 7.6</td>
<td>10 18.9</td>
<td>1 1.8</td>
<td>53 100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

place of residence. A large number of non-converted tribal informants in Karamtoli and Puranki Ranchi pointed out that most of their friends belong to the same locality. In case of the converted tribals of Kathartoli, variation to some extent was reported. This, at once suggests that the place of residence determines the choice of friends. However, this should not be considered as a uniform generalisation since under urban conditions people
tend to contract alliances at far off places other than the place of residence. Further, friendship is a matter of personal choice for the urban-bred tribals.

But in case of neighbours, nearly 82% of the desired neighbours live in the same mahalla and the rest live in other mahallas. The figures for the man's or wife's friends present the same characteristics. Both of them have their friends close by, though those of wives are very close.

Ritual or ceremonial friendship which, in traditional set up, is of great social importance has almost lost its importance among the non-converted tribals living in this city. Not many adult among male were reported to have contracted ritual or ceremonial friendship. However, ritual friendship among women has still been retained. More than 75% of the adult women both in Puranki Ranchi and Karamtoli were reported to have ‘Sahiaro' (local term, for women's ritual friends). Such ceremonial friendship among the non-converted tribals women has been also recorded in nearly 52% of adult male and female at Karamtoli and 40% adult male and female at Puranki Ranchi. But the social functions of this ritual friendship have undergone marked change in the urban environment.

It is interesting to note that mostly friends belong to the same community. Women, more than men, seem to choose their friends among the members of their own tribe and of their own respective age.

However, friendship with members of non-tribal community is also contracted and due to the existing social intercourse between these two communities such friendship has been, of late, on increase. On enquiry, it has been observed that nearly 30% of the total informants (10% sample) have friends in non-tribal community. The data presented in table 8, point out that among the converted tribals greater percentage (35.25%) of total converted tribal
informants) of informants have non-tribal friends than the non-converted tribals (29.2% of total non-converted tribal informants). The data in table 8, also point out the fact that mostly friends belong to the same community.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>N. R.</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Converted tribals</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55</td>
<td>35.25</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>60.25</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-converted tribals</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>29.1</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total:</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>32.5</td>
<td>179</td>
<td>63.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Association:**

While on the one hand traditional associations of the tribals are weakening under urban way of life, some of the urbanite tribals on the other hand, due to the influence of city life exerted on them, join with those who have similar interest to obtain their ends. While in the traditional tribal society it is generally possible to predict (on the basis of less variation in human behaviour), who will belong to what and who will associate with whom, in almost every relationship with life, in the city, the general pattern of group formation and affiliation is not so clear. The human needs and interest of the urbanite tribals is displayed in a great variety of objectives which they express through the activities of voluntary groups and other associations. An individual employed in central (such as H.E.C., H.L.C., N.C.D.C., P & T, or Railway) and Bihar Government offices, would find the workers or employees, unions devoted to his interest. If he is a rickshaw puller or labourer he would find union devoted to
his interest. Similarly, football players, hockey players etc. organise themselves into some sort of athletic associations for the pursuit of their common interest. Many tribal youths are members of such associations and show great loyalty to these associations than to their traditional social groupings.

But for the urban tribal society the organisation of such association is recent and has not developed clear cut specialised activities. In the present urban tribal community most persons are very much alike, greater percentages have very largely similar occupational and economic interest, similar leisure time interest, similar tribal background. They have, therefore, not much incentive to organise themselves into separate groups. Further the existing traditional social grouping, which, of course, is disappearing fast, divert the mind of the tribal person to organise into new voluntary type associations. One of the most important points in the development of voluntary association is the extent to which they have cut across kinship and tribal groupings and have given emergence of new loyalties and obligations. Nevertheless, there is growing sign that the situation is tending to become quite otherwise. For instance, avenues for greater variety of occupations have opened for them which would ultimately lead to divergence of occupational and economic and other interests. This had led to growing up of many mutual groupings and associations based on social, recreational, athletic, occupational, economic and political criteria which cut across tribal lines. These growing associations have not taken firm stands as yet.

In addition to these vocational and recreational associations that cut across tribal and non-tribal groupings, the tribals have some associations of their own and a few are coming up. The Adivasi students have their own associations and in order to develop their respective mother tongues, the Mundari and Kurukh—some interested persons have formed associations.
Social Intercourse with non-tribal community:

Nearly twenty years back, there had been localities in Ranchi, such as Karamtoli, Nagratoli, Kathartoli where the tribals used to live almost segregated from the non-tribal community, by virtue of difference in race, language, income and social status. With the gradual development of Ranchi into a big city, all these tribal localities have also become habitats for non-tribal communities. Rather in many such localities, the non-tribal overwhelm the tribals by a large number. As a result of such residence pattern, constant contacts between these two communities have considerably increased in recent days. Then, the city life has provided intensive and extensive opportunities for social interaction among members of these two communities. The close living together with the non-tribals in the urban milieu induces them to be integrated in the social system of the non-tribals although the process is extremely slow due to several factors.

Any way, due to close contacts many tribals feel that there has been marked change in the behaviour of the members of the non-tribal community towards them. On enquiry, nearly 20% of the tribal informants coming in our sample reported a change in behaviour of the non-tribals towards

**TABLE 9**

*Response of tribal informants regarding change in the behaviour of non-tribals towards tribals.*

(Change in behaviour)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Don't care</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>P.C.</td>
<td>P.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Converted tribals</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>P.C.</td>
<td>P.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>19.9</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>34.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-converted</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>P.C.</td>
<td>P.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tribes</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>18.9</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>38.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>19.4</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>36.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
them. However a large percentage of tribal informants did not note any change in their behaviour and then still greater percentage of tribals do not care whether there is a change in behaviour or not. This supports the fact that the process of integration of the tribals into social system of non-tribal is functioning very slow.

Regarding the nature of change in the behaviour of the non-tribals towards the tribals, many tribal informants reported that “they mix together with us freely” and “they treat us on an equal-footing.”

**Participation in Marriage:**

An appreciable percentage of tribal informants reported their social participation in the marriage ceremony of the non-tribals. The figures presented in the table 10 reveal that more than 30%, both among converted and non-converted tribals have participated in the marriages of their non-tribal friends known to them. But a large percentage, 64.6% of the total non-converted and 59.6% of the total converted tribals have not participated in any marriage of the non-tribals.

**TABLE 10**

*Figures showing social participation of tribal informants in non-tribal marriages.*

(Participation)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No</td>
<td>P.C.</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>P.C.</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>P.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Converted tribals</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>32.7</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>59.6</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>7.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-converted</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>31.5</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>64.6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tribals</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total:</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>32.2</td>
<td>175</td>
<td>61.8</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>6.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Participation in Festivals:

Data regarding of the tribals participation in the religious festivals of Hindu show marked difference in the percentages between converted and non-converted tribals. Among the non-converted tribals, 85.8% of total informant, have reported participation in the Hindu religious festivals such as Holi, Dassahara, Dewali, Janmastami, Ramnaumi, Shivaratri etc. But among the converted tribals the percentage reported participation is only 9.6% of them, while 89.7% of them did not participate at all. It leaves us with no doubt that religious grounding is much stronger among the converted tribals. The non-converted tribals though, follow their ancestral religion at the same time, they make offering to Shiva Devi at the local temples. The women worship many of the Hindu deities. A large number of tribals, on many occasions have been seen visiting Hindu temples and accompanying religious processions specially on the occasion of Ram Naumi.

Conclusion:

Any discussion on urban tribal social structure at this stage of development, necessarily takes the form of a record of variation. This is an inevitable outcome of the differing sources and conditions, that are taking place. The process of

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>N. R.</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Converted tribals—</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>9.6</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>80.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-converted</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tribals—</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>85.8</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>12.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total:</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>43.8</td>
<td>156</td>
<td>55.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
urbanisation among the tribals of this city is involving changes in several dimension. The primary change is noticed in the occupational sphere which directly induces the change in economic and technological spheres, but it is accompanied by associated changes in the field of social relations, customs, habits and of the values and beliefs. The social life of the tribal society constitutes an interrelated whole and changes in one section will have repercussion on the others. Then the changes in social pattern of life in the urban tribal society is not functioning without the occurrence of strains and tensions. There have been many sources of resentments and dissatisfaction rooted in the changing social structure.

The manifest drive of the tribals living in this city, toward the adoption of urban social form is reinforced by our National Government policy for the promotion of the educational, legal and political agencies which would facilitate such acculturation. In all, it may be summed up that social structure of both the Oraon and the Munda, living in this city is to depart from the bases of tribal institutions and approximate more closely to urban institutions found in the city. So far this process of tribal integration was slow in the city but it is likely to be accelerated owing to accelerated urbanisation due to the factor of industrialisation.
CHAPTER VII

THE SACRED COMPLEX IN A MALER HILL VILLAGE OF BIHAR

The present chapter embodies my preliminary attempt\(^1\) to examine the religious beliefs and rituals of the Maler tribe\(^9\) of Rajmahal hills in the district of Santhal Parganas of Bihar State. In the first section of this paper, an attempt has been made to describe the conception of the Maler about the spirits and supernatural powers, and in the second section of the paper the “Sacred Complex” of Benderi village has been described in terms of the three analytic concepts: sacred geography, sacred performances and sacred specialists with a view to understand the nature of the Maler religion (Vidyarthi: 1961 A).

This study, methodological in nature, suggests that the sacred complex in Benderi, considered culturally, is essentially little traditional (Redfield 1955), and structurally it is exclusively of local importance\(^8\). Secondly, the sacred complex of Benderi refers to its relationship with the local ecology, agricultural operations and above all with the local society. In other words, it casually refers to the relationship of “spirit” with the Maler economic and social life. This relationship, however, has been fully developed in the monographic study of the author on this tribe (Vidyarthi: 1963 B).

The ethnographic materials used here have been collected from the village Benderi which was visited by me with some of my Postgraduate students in the years 1956 (Feb-March) and 1959 (Sept-Oct). Besides intensive study of Benderi, another village Tetuli was also carefully studied. In addition to the intensive study of these two villages, I have made extensive study of more than fifteen villages during the last five years\(^4\).
Conception About Gossaiyan:

Gossaiyan is a household word for the Maler which every Maler village comes to know from his very childhood. This term is used to denote a cluster of spirits that are believed to guide their destiny. Every child, adult, and old; every commoner and the specialist; and every male and female have some sort of conception in their minds about the spirit and the supernatural power which they call by this common term Gossaiyan. The Maler children are instructed about the Gossaiyan from the very beginning. They are asked not to touch the family sacred centre (Jhanda Gossaiyan) located beside the hut, or go to the village sacred zone (Manjhi Than), or to pass across the village graveyard or to avoid certain trees or spots that might be haunted by the evil spirits, or to avoid certain persons who might be noted for their witchcraft and evil eyes. The author observed several situations when the parents and elder siblings forbade their creeping children from going near the above mentioned family and village sacred centres. The term Gossaiyan, thus, becomes familiar to the ears of even the creeping infants. From the statement of one of my informants, Dāsma Rāma, this process becomes very clear (Vidyarthi: 1959).

“When I was very young and innocent my father had told me repeatedly that the Paharia can live on the hills only when they will please the supernatural powers. He used to say that the Paharia are alive only on the mercy of the Gossaiyan, Bhute etc. Since then I have been keeping deep faith in the power of the supernatural beings”.

A young boy Kanho of Benderi, who is only 15 years old, in course of his biographical statement emphasises the importance of Gossaiyan in the following words: “I have deep faith in the power of Gossaiyan, the worship of Gossaiyan is as essential as the air and food for us. The failure of crops and rains, the spread of epidemic diseases and such other calamities are all the result of displeasure of the Gods and Goddesses etc”. (Vidyarthi: 1959).
Another boy Sanjori of the same village laments about the chain of bad luck that he has been facing from the childhood. He interprets all his bad events as the wrath of the Gossaiyan. He says:

“At the age of 11 years, unfortunately, my father died of smallpox. Even when I have not forgotten the death of my father, just after five months my close friend Rupa also breathed his last. In this way, I have been facing a chain of bad luck which is all due to the anger of the Gossaiyan.” (Vidyarthi: 1959).

As a Maier advances in age, and as he sees and experiences the hazards of life in the hilly villages, his belief in the Gossaiyan becomes more and more entrenched. One of my informants Jawra Paharia of Tetuli who is 35 years old states his belief in Gossaiyan in the following strong words:

“I have a deep rooted belief in the power of Gossaiyan, the disease, the famine, the scarcity of water, the low fertility of soil, the low production of crops, high incidence of death etc. all these happen only when the evil spirits (Bhuts) and Gossaiyan (Gods and Goddesses) are not worshipped properly and the sacrifices are not made timely” (Vidyarthi: 1959.)

Chamru (50) of the village Tetuli makes similar statements and further comments in the following words:

“Last year the villagers worshipped these Gossaiyans late and owing to this the whole village confronted with a dangerous and infectious disease of small pox. This disease spread all over the village. Many people including children and women died.” He further spoke with all faith that if he would like to survive on the hills he would have to please these spirits.

In a similar manner the other adult informants have emphasised the importance of the Gossaiyan: “they have been surviving on the mercy of these powers”......“The crops could not grow, if the people would not get rain,” pox would spread out in the village and the people would die.
The religious functionaries and diviners (sacred specialists) of the Maler villages share the common belief mentioned above about the existence and power of the Gossaiyan. The sacred head of the village, the Manjhiye, (for example of Tetuli and Benderi) of course, knew more about the various types of Gossaiyan and could classify them in terms of their benevolent and mischievous functions. The Gurai ts of these villages also appeared to be more alert regarding the interpretation of the nature and types of Gossaiyan and their evil and harmful activities in the surrounding villages. Besides these hereditary sacred specialists however, the trained sacred specialist, the Guru knew more about the nature of the Bhuts and other Gossaiyan.

The Guru who is a village diviner and a mendicant is supposed to be well-versed in knowledge about spirits, and supernatural powers, and he will be the subject matter of our study in a separate section on the sacred specialist.

When we further try to understand the distinction, that the Maler makes about these spirits and supernatural powers, we may safely classify them into four major groups. They are (i) Gossaiyans (benevolent spirits), (ii) Jiwe Urkkyva (ancestral spirits), (iii) Aichi (evil spirits) and (iv) Chergani (witchcraft).

(i) Gossaiyans. The Maler conceives and names all those spirits as Gossaiyan which are basically benevolent and which give life, health and properties to the Maler. They are represented by stones, bamboo, wooden frames, rivers, planets, and are worshipped regularly at the family and the village levels. When timely offerings and sacrifices are not made to the Gossaiyans, they change their roles and bring in disease, death, failure of crops, accidents and such other calamities for the family or the village concerned. Such Gossaiyans are Amte Gossaiyan, Beru Gossaiyan (Sun), Bilpu (Moon) Gossaiyan, Bindke Gossaiyan (Stars), Chal Nadu, Egopacho, Godda Jama, Jaglani Gossaiyan, Kanhaiya Nadu, Kuri
Gossaiyan, Mullu Gossaiyan, Muri Gossaiyan, Mukkukero Gossaiyan, Raksi Nadu, Singpati Nadu, Sahar Gossaiyan.

(ii) The Jiwe Urkkya is the name given to the spirit of the dead relatives who might have died a few years ago and whose spirits might be hovering round the hut or near the village or the Masani (graveyard). The Maler conceive these ancestral spirits as essentially benevolent spirits but they become harmful like the Gossaiyan if timely and befitting sacrifices are not made in their names. The ancestral spirits may appear in dreams or express themselves through the village shaman, the Demano. They communicate their desires and needs either in the dreams of their relatives or through the village Demano specially on the occasion of the Bhoje festival observed to pacify the ancestors.

(iii) The Alchi or Bhuts (evil spirits) are basically mani-volent and are evil spirits and, in all the cases, they bring in calamities in shape of disease, death, abortion and such other calamities to the Maler individuals. The Maler are very afraid of the Alchi and they strongly believe that whenever they (the Alchi) get a chance, they harm the Maler individuals. The Alchi live in and around the burial place, near a stream, on some isolated trees and on the outskirt of the village. They are, in general, invisible and are not symbolised by the Maler with any item as the Gossaiyan. Some of the Maler villagers, however, have seen these mani-volent spirits and through them the villagers have developed, a conception about the physiognomy of some of these evil spirits. At Benderi, the villagers named four Alchi: Dinde, Jame, Amn-arahh or Amki and Mari. At Tetuli, the villagers believe in the presence of seven Alchi in and around the village. They are Ampacho, Simadandi, Umble Cheno, Erbekker, Dindi and Mari. The Guru (village diviner) is supposed to drive away the Alchi when it affects any person.

(iv) The supernatural belief of the Maler is further reflected in the Chergani (witchcraft). The Malers believe that a Chergi (witch) is a malignant creature and being in league
with the evil spirits, she brings about disease, death, failure of crops and such other calamities to a Maler individual. The whole matter about the witch and the witchcraft is enveloped in secrecy and the element of fear further checks the Maler to talk about a witch and her activities. At Benderi, we could know about one middle aged woman, Rami (35 years), who was an established witch. Rami lost her husband just after her marriage and then she was married again to Gangu of the same village. She gave birth to two daughters but both of them died. Her husband Gangu and other villagers suspected her to be the cause of all these deaths in the family and declared her to be a witch. When the Guru administered Telpatta on the occasions of illness of Dharma Rama and Surja, he further confirmed that the disease was caused by Rami and he cured them by performing Jhar Phook in her name. The villagers have no clear idea as to how she underwent the training in acquiring this supernatural power. They, however, guess that she learnt witchcraft from some Santhal witch of the neighbouring village, Pathalghatta where she spent her childhood with her father who used to live there in connection with the cultivation of his paddy land. The villagers believe that on several nights she goes to the Masani (graveyard) at the dead of night, undresses herself completely and dances there for the whole night to please the Masani Alchi (the evil spirit of graveyard). She continues to do so to maintain her supernatural power. The villagers of Benderi and also of the neighbouring villages are very afraid of her and avoid her doings as any displeasure on her part may bring death for the individual concerned.

Rami, divorced by her husband has got shelter in her brother’s house, Kanhoo, and inspite of our all efforts she did not speak even a word to us. Her will power was definitely very high in comparison to the average Maler villagers. We could not know much about her as the villagers were suspicious that she may cause trouble to those who would pass any information about her.
We do not come across any witch in the other village, Tetuli. The villagers, however, believed in the evil effects of witchcraft and faintly remembered about one Surji who was a witch in the village about 60 years ago. In other villages that we visited, we found the villagers believing in the supernatural power of the witches but nobody disclosed to us except at Garhsingla about the presence of a witch in the villages.

The witches, thus, in a Maler village, wields a powerful influence owing to her supernatural power to cause disease, death and destruction of the harvest. The evil spirits, at times work through her, as she is in link with the Masani Alchi with which the Maler are most afraid of. The Maler villagers do not have clear conception about the way a witch operates her supernatural power to attack an individual or a harvest. At Benderi it was reported that when a witch wants to harm anybody, she takes a small piece of human bone, apply Sindoor (Vermilion) on it and ties it with a long tali (hair) taken out of her head. She makes certain utterances to empower them and then she stealthily covers it near the hut or under the hearth of the person whom she wants to harm. This gives result immediately and the person concerned soon feels pain in his or her body, and then falls ill. In case he fails to take help of the Guru, the village diviner, his illness may end into death. Similarly, when she wants to destroy the harvest of an individual she goes with such a piece of bone tied with her hair and buries it in the field, and the harvest is gradually ruined.

The above mentioned four types of supernatural powers, the Gossaiyan the Alchi, the Jiwe Urkkyya and the Chergani have their respective importance in the Maler villages. But it is also evident from the above brief description that the Alchi (Evil spirits or Bhute) are negative forces in the spirit world of the Maler, and are given offerings and sacrifices when they affect any individual. The Chergani (witchcraft) which works through a person of the village is also an
occasional event in the Maler village. When a particular person is bewitched, he is helped by the Guru to drive away the evil effect. Thus, both the above types of supernatural spirits are more awed than revered by the villagers, and they are taken by the Maler villagers as supernatural problems which they solve as far as possible with the help of the village diviners and the shaman. The other two types of supernatural powers—the Gossaiyan and the Jiwe Urkkya are the fountain-spring of the Maler religion. The Malers, have developed a set of rituals, a cycle of sacrifices, a series of feast and festivals which revolve round their belief in the Gossaiyan and Jiwe Urkkya. Among these two, again, their belief in Jiwe Urkkya has helped the Maler in developing a set of funeral rituals and a series of festive occasions for ancestral worship, the details of which have been discussed elsewhere (Vidyarthi: 1963). The Gossaiyan, as is evident from the extracts taken out from the biographies of the Maler informant, dominates the thinking of the Maler villagers and their belief in this form of spirit primarily regulates the religious and supernatural activities of the community.

With this background about the conception of the Maler about the Gossaiyan and their beliefs in the different forms of spirits, we come to discuss the symbolic representation, rituals and functionaries especially in relation to their belief in the Gossaiyan. Here, we will attempt to understand the function of religion as reflected in the village Benderi under the three analytic concepts—the sacred geography, the sacred performances and the sacred specialists (Vidyarthi: 1961 A).

Sacred Geography:

At the level of observation when one enters Benderi village of the Maler, he comes across certain symbols represented by bamboos, wooden framed, small huts, stones and trees which have certain vermilion and other such marks (pitcher, Arwa rice, dry flowers, dry blood-spots), that
lead one to think that they are the Maler sacred centres or shrines. These sacred centres representing the different Gossalaiyan of the villagers are located in many places in the village and in its surrounding hills and forests, and they go to constitute the sacred geography of the village.

The Sacred Centre:

The first sacred place that attracts our attention is the Manji Than which is located on the eastern outskirt of the village settlement. This sacred place, as a matter of fact is the main sacred zone of the village. This is the zone where the Jhanda-Gossalaiyan of the village is located. A very long bamboo with a piece of triangular red cloth symbolises this village deity of the Jhanda-Gossalaiyan. On its left side are two pieces of black stone which symbolise Singpate Nadu. Singpate Nadu is usually worshipped and the sacrifices are made in its name on the occasion of the Bandna festival. A little ahead to the left side (15 yards) again, is a pair of wooden pillars with holes on the upper portion which function as an altar for the sacrifice of buffaloes during the Mangarwian sacrifice (Buffalo sacrifice or Kara puja). In their back one sees an impoverished small hut (five feet wide and four feet long) covered with wild creepers, which is an integral part of the sacred zone, and it symbolises the very powerful Gossalaiyan of the village, Gram Devati. In addition to these permanent symbols, the open land in the front is considered to be sacred and is used for taking oath, worshipping such Gossalaiyan which are not permanently symbolised, and for holding the sittings of the Panchayat for deciding the cases concerning the breach of Maler customary laws and taboos in the village. This use of the sacred zone shows their divine consideration in deciding cases and taking of oath etc. Adjacent to this sacred zone, on both the sides are two huts owned by the Manjhiye who is the sacred head of the village and it is after his office, that the sacred zone of the village is also termed as Manjhiye Than. Thus the-
main Gossaiyan of the village and the main sacred specialist, the Manjhiye and the major sacred performances are observed in this part of the village which may be rightly called as the "sacred zone of Benderi".

The sacred geography of Benderi, however, does not stop only with the sacred zone located on the outskirt of the village. There are several sacred centres located outside the village on the hills and forest, and inside the village in and around the huts of the individual families living in the village.

When we proceed about 100 yards from the eastern end of the village settlement and also from the village sacred zone, we observe, on our left an extensive flat area covered with old and large trees along with wild creepers. This is the village graveyard or Masani, the abode of spirits of their dead ancestors. It begins on the southern side and continues linearly towards the north. The Masani as we have discussed earlier is an important place of ritual sacrifices and worship for the ancestors, and it may be considered another sacred zone of the village. Just on the outskirt of the Masani is a place known for the abode of a powerful Gossaiyan called Amte Gossaiyan. This Gossaiyan is worshipped so that the ancestors' spirits may live in peace and may not cause harm to the living ones. The Amte Gossaiyan is located in the centre of the western margin of the Masani and is represented by a Koto or Bel tree and scattered pieces of stones. This Gossaiyan is worshipped annually on the second day of the Bandna or Bhoje festivals by the individual families by making sacrifices of pig or hen according to the oracle of the village Demana (Shaman).

A little ahead of the Masani but far removed from it towards the southern slope of the hill (about 1 furlong from the southern end of the Masani) is an attractive and important sacred centre called Chal Nadu by the villagers. Chal Nadu is represented by a set of black basaltic stones and
snow-white quartz mineral. The pieces of these stones, about nine, in number, are arranged very artistically and in the middle of them an earthen pot has also been enshrined. The whole area covered by this sacred centre comes to be six feet in length and five feet in width. Annual sacrifices of one goat, one chicken and one calf along with the offerings of taddi (country liquor) are made to this Gossaiyan on the first day of the Bandna festival. This worship of Chal Nadu is observed on the village level and the cost of sacrifices is met by subscription from all the families of the village.

A little removed from the Chal Nadu towards the north-east (about 50 yards) is located another Maler Gossaiyan Moto-Gorai or Raksi Nadu. This sacred centre is represented by eleven cylindrical stones, arranged in one straight row. These stones are of black basaltic rock and are located in the forest grove. We noted vermilion marks and pieces of pots near this sacred centre. Raksi Nadu is worshipped annually in the month of Bhader (Bhado, August-September) when sacrifice of a fowl or a hog or a goat is made by the Gurait of the village. Before the sacrifice is done they wash the symbolic stones with water, make vermilion marks on the stones, sprinkle water and arwa rice and pour taddi on them. This sacrifice is made on the village level and is followed by drinks and dances. Raksi Nadu is also worshipped when the villagers go for collective hunting. On this occasion an egg is sacrificed by the Gurait and the first body of the hunt is offered to the Nadu.

Thus we note that the eastern and south-eastern margins of the village are abode of many Gossaiyan which are represented by stones or trees or both. If we follow the central hilly pathways of the village towards the south, as a distance of about 150 yards we come across another stone shrine of Benderi called Kanhaiya Nadu. This sacred centre is located in deep jungle about 50 yards below the village level and is on a slope. It is represented by a collection
of black basaltic boulders under two old trees of Kadam Betra and Tissokomo Betra. The Kanhaiya Nadu is also worshipped on the village level on the occasion of Bandna festival for good health, property and rich harvest. The sacrifice of fowls, goats and cows is made on the village level. The Manjhiye makes the major sacrifice of cow while the Gurait sacrifices the goat. The detailed process of worshipping Kanhaiya Nadu is similar to Raksi Nadu.

Down below in the south (about 300 yards from Kanhaiya Nadu) flows the hill stream (called Jharna by the villagers) which is a place where the ordeal of Saveli is held as it is considered sacred and is believed by the villagers that it would help in finding out the truth about the accused in the divine ordeal. This stream marks the southern boundary of the village Benderi and it is also believed that occasional worship of the Jharna would not allow the Bhut (evil spirit) to enter within the village boundary.

In the western side of the village, about 100 yards from the western end of the village is Bender Nadu. It is also called Tuddu Nadu as its worship would prevent the tiger (Tuddu) from entering the village. This sacred centre named after the village (Benderi) as well as after the tiger (Tuddu) is represented by four black basaltic boulders below an old, large and wild tree. Bender Nadu is worshipped in the month of Bhader when the Gurait of the village sacrifices a chicken or a goat. This ceremony is also observed on the village level and the sacrificed articles are shared by all present during the ceremony. The Gurait, however, is the exclusive harer of the head of the sacrificed goat, which is kept on the sacred centre (Bender Nadu).

There is another sacred centre down below the western end of the village settlement. It is called Muri Gossaiyan which is represented by a Pushre (Kusum) tree. This sacred centre is worshipped on the village level on the fourth day of Bandna. In the evening a pig is sacrificed by the village
Gurait and the Demano under Shamanistic influence goes around the village, collects puffed maize and offers them to the Muri Gossaiyan.

The last, among the permanently located sacred centres is the Mula Gossaiyan which like the Muri Gossaiyan, is represented by a Pushre (Kusum) tree on the northern side of the village at a distance of about 100 yards. A hill path running from the centre of the northern margin of the village leads to this sacred centre. Mula Gossaiyan is worshipped on the first day of Bandna in the evening when a goat is sacrificed on the village level by the Gurait. Offerings of puffed maize and Pitha (ball) of maize are also made. These articles are put by every family of the village in a bowl of sal leaf, which are collected at one place in a basket (Dili) kept in the village sacred zone (Manjhiye Than). When every family has put its offerings in the basket it is brought to the Mula Gossaiyan by the Gurait. The drum is beaten and the Demano begins his Shamanistic dance. Accompanied by the villagers, he goes to the Mula Gossaiyan. He continues his Shamanistic dance there and after some time he sits on a Machli (a ritualistic small chair) and receives the offerings of the Dili (basket).

In addition to the above sacred centres located either within the village settlement or within the village boundary, there are a few objects right in the hut of a Maler of Benderi which on sacred occasions become sacred centres for the members living in the hut. The Maler of Benderi identify Addo (hut), Gomo (Pillar) and Atto (hearth) Gossaiyans and make occasional offerings in the name of these Gossaiyans. The Addo Gossaiyan (The hut god) represented by the Bali (door) is worshipped when the yield from the field is brought to home. The Addo Gossaiyan is also worshipped when a new hut is constructed and a sacrifice of a goat or a pig is made on this occasion. Taddi is also offered. On the other occasion, however, the offerings of a fowl and a cup of Taddi are considered sufficient. The Gomo Gossaiyan (pillar of the
house) is worshipped with vermilion marks and offering of a fowl when the bunches of maize ears are hung on the pillars inside the hut. It is also believed that if the Gomo Gossaiyan may bring health and happiness to the family members by keeping away the evil effects of the evil spirits. Similarly the Atto Gossaiyan which is represented by the hearth is also worshipped with vermilion and blood of a fowl when the first corn of the harvest is cooked on it.

In addition to the above representation of Gossaiyan in the hut, the villagers also believe in another Gossaiyan known as Sahar (cow shed) Gossaiyan. The Sahar Gossaiyan is believed to live in the cattle shed and is worshipped by the head of the family to protect the cattle from being harmed by the supernatural power, wild beasts and theft. Offerings of a chicken with rice and sendur (vermilion) are made to the Sahar Gossaiyan whenever considered necessary.

Besides these common domestic sacred centres, some families may have some special sacred centres inside or near the hut. The Demano Rama of Benderi, for example, had a special sacred centre represented by a small wooden design. This sacred centre is worshipped by him with the belief that it gives him power for Shamanistic performances. Occasional offerings of fowl’s blood, Taddi, Sendur, puffed maize and arwa rice are made.

Some Gossaiyans, namely Beru (Sun), Biplo (moon), Bindke (stars) are represented by their actual symbols in the sky. Beru Gossaiyan is considered to be the supreme Gossaiyan by the Maler of the village Benderi, though no specific and special worship or sacrifices are made to it. The Biplo-Gossaiyan comes next to the Beru Gossaiyan in the hierarchy of Gossaiyan and no special worship is also ascribed to it. Bindke (stars) and other Gossaiyan have been ranked together in the hierarchy of the Gossaiyan at Benderi. All these are considered to be the most benevolent Gossaiyans of the Maler.
Temporary Representation of Sacred Centres:

The sacred geography of the Maler of Benderi is mainly reflected through the permanent sacred centres, found in the hut, in and around the village, and above the sky. There are, however, several Gossaiyans which are either temporarily represented, or are, never represented by any objects. Among those sacred centres which are temporarily enshrined, mention may be made of the Charka Gossaiyan.

When a village suffers from the epidemic of small pox, it worships this Gossaiyan after the epidemic comes to an end. The villagers make a wooden frame to represent the Charka Gossaiyan. The complex wooden frame representing Charka Gossaiyan is made with two wooden pillars approximately 20 feet high with a diameter of one feet in thickness which are joined by a horizontal pillar. The Charka Gossaiyan is worshipped on the village level and the main ritual consists of sacrificing of a cow by the Gurait (not by the Manjhiye) and of pouring of the sacrificial blood at the bottom of the two pillars.

Among these important Gossaiyans of Benderi which are not represented by any material object, mention may be made of Errek Pahari and Sima Gossaiyan. The Errek Gossaiyan is worshipped by the Guru (the village diviner) when he has cured a person of snake (Neru) or scorpion (Tele) bites. On this occasion, in addition to Errek Gossaiyan, the supreme Gossaiyan (Beru Gossaiyan) of the Maler and the Mahadeo (the Hindu god of serpent) are also worshipped. The Pahari Gossaiyan (hill god) is believed to be the protector of the life and crops on the hills. It is worshipped in the month of Aghan (October-November) by sacrificing chicken and goat or pig, with the belief that the Pahari Gossaiyan would be pleased to yield good harvest and protect them from death and diseases. The Sima devi is believed to live on the four boundaries of the village, and she is worshipped on the village level by making offerings of a chicken with rice and vermillion usually in the month of Kartik (Sept.-Oct.). Through this-
worship they try to drive away the diseases out of the boundary of the village and usually this worship is performed either on the eastern boundary or on the southern boundary near the spring.

Thus, the sacred geography of the village Benderi extends in and around the village and also above the village in the sky. The villagers are surrounded on all sides on the earth and the sky, with sacred centres, on whose will depends the life and death, happiness and misery, pleasure and pain, health and disease, prosperous harvest and starvation for the villagers. With these Gossaiyan, as has been mentioned above, the evil spirits also occupy a prominent place in the sacred geography at Benderi.

The villagers identify some of the trees, stones, streams or pond or some such other places around the village as the abode of evil spirits (Alchi or Bhute). The most prominent place for the abode of the Bhut is the Mari or Masani (Burial place) on the eastern end of the village settlement. The villagers believe that some of the dissatisfied ancestral spirits become Alchi. They live in the Masani and may attack anybody who happen to pass alone by the side of the Mari or after the darkness. The villagers, both adult and young, are afraid of this place and nobody dare enter the Masani for fear of being caught by the Alchi. The Masani of the village is a place of great awe and it wields frightening influence on the minds of the villagers.

The second set of evil spirits (Alchi or Bhut) is called Dindi which live on trees mainly on mango tree. The villagers conceive it to be a male Bhute which mainly attacks the female of the village. There were several large sized mango trees which were considered to be the abode of Dindi Bhute. When a Dindi Bhute catches a woman the Guru finds out the whereabouts of that Bhut and the sacrifices of the goat and chicken are made under that very tree to drive away the Bhute. The rituals followed here are also more or less same
as in the case of the worship of the Gossaiyan however, the utterances made by the Guru are of different meanings. "Bhute, go to your place, leave the person, we are giving you food" (goat, chicken, puffed maize and bread of maize).

The third Bhute which is identified by the villagers at Benderi is Jame Bhute who is also believed to be a male. It, however, catches both male and female, and if it catches an infant, he is sure to die immediately. This Bhute lives on stone outside the village including in the Khallu land. When somebody is caught by this Bhute, the Guru finds out the place where the Bhute has attacked the person and the sacrifices are offered to it on the same stone. In order to drive away this Bhute black chicken and black pigeon are offered with the belief that to a Bhute living on the black stone, the offerings of the black objects will be preferred.

The fourth and the last type of Bhute is, Amnarah or Amki Bhute (River Bhute) which lives on some spots of the stream. This Bhute may attack both male and female. When any person becomes ill and shivers, it is suspected by the Guru that he or she has been caught by Amki Bhute. In case the attack is mild, offerings of puffed maize and bread are considered to be adequate and in case the attack is stronger, sacrifices of a black chicken is also made. All these sacrificial materials are thrown in water where the Amki Bhute is supposed to live. The offerings are made with the following utterances by the Guru:

"Amki Bhute Errakku Labanchim pitanchiny, kherechini, Hinandeki Nehtraku" meaning thereby "Bhute" I am giving you bread and chicken etc. Do not attack the person further, leave him.

Sacred performances:

The above description of sacred geography and of the beliefs of the Maler in different types of spirits—Gossaiyan Giwe Urkkyya, Bhute and the Chergani has acquainted us with
the strong belief of the Maler in a system of religion which may be called spiritism. The pacification of the various types of spirits are reflected in a series of ritual, worship, and sacrifices which taken collectively, may be termed sacred performances. The present section will be devoted to a typological study of the types of sacred performances observed by the Maler of Benderi.

As with the study of sacred geography we noted that the Maler conception about the Gossaiyan, and other supernatural power is vague and mixed, similarly, in their sacred performances, the sacred and secular activities, the religious sacrifices and festivals, and above all the rhythm of the economic operations and many of the sacred performances are all tied up and go side by side. If a series of gossaiyans are worshipped during the Bandna and the Maler observe fast before the ancestors are given food, it is followed by equally very secular acts of dancing, drinking and free sex mating. The agricultural operation of Khallu cultivation is marked with religious rituals at regular intervals. Owing to all these, it becomes difficult to make exclusive categories of the sacred performances and the present attempt is just to give a generalised picture of the important aspects of sacred performances with a view to understand them as a part of the Maler religion.

In general, the main sacred performances of the Maler is to offer some sacrifices to the Gossaiyan or to the ancestors or to the Bhute. The sacrifice ranges from the buffalo to the eggs. If one observes the cycle of Maler rituals and festivals, he notices the sacrifices being made both on the village as well as on the family levels. The sacrifices of the expensive animals are usually done on the village levels while the sacrifices of fowls and pigeons or of small calves or pigs or goats are normally made on the family level. The expensive animals like buffalo, cow and large sized calf and pig are purchased by subscription raised from all the families of the village. Last year, for example, a buffalo worth Rs. 240/
was purchased for sacrifice in which every family contributed Rs. 5/- and while the four traditional village officers namely the Sardar, Sardar’s brother, Surja Naib, and Messa Naib contributed Rs. 6/- per head. The villagers also remember that about three years ago, a buffalo worth Rs. 400/- was sacrificed. The sacrifice of cow is similarly made at Benderi mainly in the name of Chal Nadu. At Chal Nadu and Amte Gossaiyan sacred centres, it has been observed that the individual sacrifices by the family are followed by large scale sacrifice at the village level. On many other occasions as well, the sacrifice of fowl or pigeon or goat by the head of the family are followed by the sacrifice of calf or large sized pig or cow by the village sacred specialists Manjhiye or the Gurait on the village level. The Maler in making these sacrifices on the family and village levels believe that the first type of sacrifice is essential for the welfare of the village as a whole. Some scholars (Sarkar: 1938-97) consider the Maler religion essentially individualistic and attribute the communal worship to be of later intrusion. The present data from Benderi and Tetuli reveal to us that both types of worship are equally important and in many cases they are inseparable. At Tetuli, we note that the major Pijj (worships and sacrifices) like Gangi, Khosre, and Bhoje are observed firstly collectively at the village level and then individually at the family level. On many occasions we have noted the nature of integration at the family level but on the ritualistic level the welfare of the village as a whole looms large in the mind of the Maler and the sacrifices on the community level appear to be first stage of integration at the village level.

The idea behind the sacrifice of fowls and animals among the Maler seems to be very interesting. All their spirits, good or evil, are nonvegetarian and expect sacrifices of certain life and life’s blood for their pacification. We have noted during our field enquiry that the size of animals to be sacrificed (they use the term ‘Give’) in the name of certain Gossaiyan depend upon the happiness of particular families
and then of the entire village. The happiness is to be measured in terms of the rich Khallu harvest and lack of incidence of death and disease in the families in particular and the village in general. It was seriously said by Rama Mesa that the Khallu Gossaiyan does not deserve any big sacrifice as the yield from Khallu land has been very poor. He, further, commented that last year sacrifice of buffalo on the village level and also sacrifices of several big pigs were given to the Gossaiyan as the harvest was really rich.

The Maler of Benderi believe that the blood of the sacrificial animals is sacred as it pacifies the good and evil spirits living in and around the village. The efficacy of the blood depends upon the size of the sacrificed animals. We have noted above that blood of sacrificed animals and fowls are shed on the symbols of the Gossaiyan and in case of Charka Gossaiyan the blood of sacrificed cow is collected in an earthen pitcher and is poured at the bottom of the symbolic pillars. In order to appease the Dinde bhute, again the blood of the sacrificed goat is put in an earthen vessel and is left at the sacred centre with the belief that the Dinde bhute drinks the blood. We have also noted that the head of the sacrificed animals, in most of the cases are kept by the sacrificers on the sacred centres.

Regarding the Maler cult of blood, one of their taboos deserves special mention here. The women are considered to be impure for ritualistic purposes and are not allowed to attend any sacred performances especially because they are the source of "impure blood" during the menstrual period. The menstruating wives, further, become the cause of pollution for their husbands for whom it also becomes taboo to participate in the ritualistic sacrifices of the village or of any family.

It is a very important taboo inflicted on the women according to which it is strictly prohibited for them even to touch the sacred objects that would be offered to the
Gossaiyan. Even the family Gossaiyan (Addo, Gommo, Atto) are not worshipped by them and wherever Jhanda Gossaiyan is attached to the hut (not at Benderi, but at Garshingla, Nirbhitta and Kachna Surajbera) it is tabooed for the women to go near that corner of the hut. The women never go to the sacred zone of the village and while accompanying the funeral procession they stop much before the Masani zone. They never eat the sacrificial meat which is normally cooked by the male members outside the village settlement.

They, however, may observe the major sacrifices made in village zone from a distance, and actively participate in the secular aspect of the performances i.e. in eating, drinking and dancing. All these pollutions on the part of the women are interpreted in terms of her biological quality of menstruation which is a source of impure blood.

The second important item to be offered to the spirits, good and evil, is the various forms of maize. As the Maler invariably are non-vegetarian and consider their spirits also to be non-vegetarian, similarly the Maler, next to blood and meat, consider maize to be sacred. On almost all the ritual occasions, after the sacrifices of certain fowl or animals or both, usually the offerings of taddi (preparation of beverage made usually of maize) are made. Taddi is a great sacrificial object and its offering to the spirits as well as to the guests on the occasions of feast that follow, are very essential. The next preparation of maize which is usually offered to the spirits is puffed maize. Next to it, come preparations of bread and cake (Pitha) made out of maize. The Maler consider the offerings of the preparations of maize as an inevitable item on ritual occasions as their entire economy revolves round maize. A moral man is he who produces maize and makes its offerings on suitable occasions to the various types of spirits who have been good enough to give them harvest. Maize is not only a sacred ingredient for making offerings, it becomes a symbol of worship itself when
it is ready for harvesting. The ritual performances, observed on the eve of harvesting of maize is called Gangi Pijje which literally means, the maize worship.⁹

In addition to the above offerings of blood, liquor and maize-food, the other offerings that the Maler of Benderi occasionally make are vermillion (Sindur), arwa rice, flowers and garlands. At Tetuli we noted the offerings of betel leaves and betel nuts have been also included perhaps owing to the Hindu influence.

While making the above offerings suitable utterances are also made by the sacrificers. In case of the sacred performances made by a family, the head of the family propitiates the respective Gossaiyan or ancestors and invokes their blessings and good wishes for the health, happiness and rich harvest of the family members. When the Manjhiye or the Gurait makes such a sacrifice, he also invokes and makes suitable utterances seeking the blessings and mercy of the respective Gossaiyan for prosperity, health and happiness of the village. The analysis of these utterances made on different occasions reveal that they especially invoke the Gossaiyan to save them and their villagers from death and disease, and grant them rich yield and protect them by wild animals and other natural calamities.

On some occasions the above offerings are associated with the Shamanistic performances of the “Demāno” or the “Devāssī.” The performances of the “Demāno” are indicated at Benderi by one single term, “Jhupna” which literally means the swinging of the body under the influence of the spirits. The roles of the Demāno are especially very prominent when some rituals related to the dead ancestors are to be observed. On all the four days of the “Bandna festivals,” for example, the village “Demāno.” Rama, continues to remain more or less under Shamanistic influence, and has many roles to perform under the influence of the spirits, mention of which have been made in detail elsewhere. The “Demano” on these
occasions under the Shamanistic influence transforms himself to be an ancestor and his utterances are taken to be the pious wish of the spirit on an ancestor. His oracles are seriously taken and obeyed. At Benderi, among many things we also recorded that owing to his oracle the sacred functions of the Manjhiye Rama (also Sardar), were transferred to another person Dibru on the ground that the Gossaiyan refused to accept the sacrifices made by the former and liked Dibru to make the sacrifices.

The other type of sacred performances are reflected in the administration of Telpatta⁶ (Oil-leaf) and application of Jhar Phook⁷ (spell-blow) by the Guru. Whenever, any person falls ill, the Guru administers Telpatta to know the cause of a disease. This performance is confined to the Guru who is the diviner of the village. On accepting fees varying from 0.50 N. P. to Re. 1/- the Guru makes this performance to know the cause of disease or death of a particular individual. He takes leaves of "Sal" or Bansh (Bamboo) or "Sarifa" and puts a few drops of mustard oil on a particular leaf. He moves his indicating finger very carefully on the leaf and utters spells which are inaudible to the others. He, firstly, takes the names of the different Gossaiyan, moves his finger on the leaf, utters the spells, and then stops, and closely makes a search for a black spot on the leaf. If he finds out such a black spot (which only he can see), he identifies the death or disease caused by that particular Gossaiyan. In case he does not find out the black spot after naming all the Gossaiyan, he tries with the bhutes (evil-spirit), then with the witches and lastly with the God of snake and scorpion (Neru Gossaiyan) till he associates a black spot on the leaf with a particular spirit. This process of diagnosing the cause of disease and death is known as Telpatta (oil and leaf) which is the traditional and the most popular devise to know about the disease or death.

The Maler diviner (Guru) also cures the affected person by administering Jharphook. This process involves the
invoking of the specific spirits, making sacrifices in the name of the spirits, and asking him to be pacified. While uttering spells, he sometimes, requests it, sometimes, expresses anger and sometimes, specially in the case of evil spirits or witches he also commands and directs the spirit to leave the affected person. While applying Telpatta or administering Jharphook, the Guru is left almost alone only attended by the elderly male members of the respective family. In addition to the above religious and magical performances, the diviner also gives herbs for the cure of the disease.

The other type of sacred performance, again on a restricted basis, is reflected in the divine ordeals and oath, reference to which has been made elsewhere (Vidyarthi: 1961 B). When a person is accused in the eyes of the other family members or the villagers, as the case may be, he or she is brought to the village sacred zone (Manjhiye Than) and is asked to take an oath in the name of the powerful Gossaiyan. The Maler believe that he or she who tells a lie after taking a false oath in the name of the Gossaiyan, he suffers from bad disease and may face death. In case of women the licking of salt and in case of a man, licking of red-hot iron axe are the popular ordeal prevalent at Benderi. These are the effective supernatural devices to establish guilt or innocence of a woman or man in case of especially pre-marital or extra-marital relationships. When a woman or a man refuses to accept her or his guilt, she or he is asked to undergo the ordeals. The woman is brought to the Manjhiye Than and is asked to lick salt or to accept the guilt. It is strongly believed that if she licks the salt in a false case, she would die. For the fear of death, we came across several cases of confession of the guilt. The ordeal of “Saveli” which consists of the licking of red hot iron by suspected person is held near a brook outside the village. The sacred specialists the Manjhiye, the Gurait and some other elderly persons attend to the “Sevali”. An axe (Masu) is placed in the fire of sal wood and when it is red like fire, the person is asked to remove all clothes except a
little left on the hip, and then he sits before the red axe with his knees and hands on the rocky ground. In this pose he licks the red axe five times. If the axe does not affect the tongue, he is considered innocent and he offers a hen which is sacrificed by the Gurait in the village Manjhiye Than. In case, he fails to lick the axe or his tongue is burnt, he has to pay the penalty as fixed by the village council. More than five cases of "saveli" were recorded at Benderi.

The above sacred performances9 are essentially solemn situation of worship (Erwe or Pijje) and sacrifices. They are essentially ritualistic performances which are, as a matter of fact, external expression of their beliefs. But these rituals are also followed by the lighter aspects of the Maler life which consist of feast and enjoyment, drink and dance, and then in some cases of free sexual mating. These are essentially secular aspects of the Maler festivals.

The Maler sacred performances, thus, combine in themselves sacred and secular aspects, and it is clearly reflected from the analysis of the main sacred performances of Bandna at Benderi. The Bandna lasts for four days annually and we have noted it above, while discussing sacred centres. The different Maler Gossaiyans are worshipped and suitable sacrifices with suitable rituals and offerings are made on all the four days. But on the same days, the mirth and merriment, the drink and dance, feasts and free mating mark the Maler dull and dreary life to the extent that the Maler youth always long for the days of Bandna in their own village as well as in the neighbouring villages.

The peculiar combination of the hours of tense worship and sacrifices of the spirits on the one hand, fun and feast on the other, in general, appear to be very dramatic ways of changing scene. To an outsider, however, the fun, feast, drink and dance and drums are more conspicuous than the really solemn and tense hours of worships of the spirits.

To the Maler in general, as well, Bandna is more awaited or the feast, drink and dance. The calendar for the obser-
vance of Bandna is arranged in such a cyclic order that may enable the villagers to attend the drink and dance to be performed in different villages falling within a radius of about ten miles. I had an occasion to observe the Bandna festival at Benderi in March 1956, where I noted a large assemblage of the boys and girls, adult and old persons of the neighbouring villages who came to participate in the Bandna festival of Benderi. The population of the village multiplied by more than five times and each hut was flooded with relatives coming from the neighbouring villages located within the radius of about 10 miles\textsuperscript{10}. The village put on a jubilant appearance and all the semi-naked Maler were in their best colourful dresses. The woman, specially the girls were very nicely clad and were almost covered with ornaments. The boys equally were well-dressed, put on garlands and hung wooden combs in their hair. They were all drunk and were dancing with all joy and jubilation.

They continued to dance for the whole day and then till late in the night. This is the period which is also noted for courtship and for the selection of girls for marriage. This is the period when old friends of youth dormitories meet with their heart open during or after the dance in the night. They have safe place all around the village to meet and mix freely or closely with each other.

Bandna, thus along with the sacrifices to the Gossaiyan and festivities to the relatives, also marks the days of sexual laxity, courtship and selection of spouses. The biographies of the Maler youth and adult are full with statements that indicate the anxious awaiting of the Maler youth for attending Bandna in different villages and meet the girl friends of their choice.

*The Sacred Specialists:*

As the sacred performances so the sacred specialists in the Benderi village may be considered both at the family and village levels. When a sacrifice is to be made on the family
level, the head of the family himself becomes the sacred specialist as the Gossaiyan accept any offering made by him. The head of the family has, however, to make it sure that his wife is not in the menstrual period when he is giving a sacrifice or is making an offering.

On the village level, the Manjhiye is considered to be a village priest as he combines both the sacred and the secular powers. From the religious point of views he makes all the major sacrifices and is in-charge of all the religious responsibilities. It is the duty of the Manjhiye to maintain healthy relationship between the commoners and the spirits by making timely sacrifices on behalf of the villagers. It is his responsibility to fix-up the dates for the various agricultural and social sacrifices and festivals. It is for him to decide with the help of the Gurait and other elder members, the nature of sacrifice for a particular spirit on a particular occasion. It is his responsibility to raise subscription for the purchase of a sacrificial animal and to see that all the traditions and rituals regarding the sacrifices are properly observed by the villagers. The Manjhiye of Benderi, thus, performs all the religious functions concerning the village, and is, first among the religious specialists.

He again, is the custodian to see that the traditions and customs of the villages are observed by the people. He, with the help of the Gurait and other members of the Village Council discusses the breach of the customary laws and irreligious acts of the villagers. In such cases the matters regarding pre-marital and extra-marital sexual relationship, divorce and desertion, and such other breach of traditions are mainly decided. The Manjhiye keeps all the sacrificial weapons like Tarwari (sword), Tatro (sickles), and Parsa (axe) in his own hut and protects them from the evil spirits by giving occasional offerings. On the occasions of worship and sacrifices the Manjhiye, as the religious head, has to perform many functions in addition to the actual sacrifices. When the Mangarwin (Buffalo sacrifice) is to be performed,
he accommodates all the willing secondary sacrifices in his hut so that they may not touch the body of a woman. He also provides them with sacrificial drink. On the occasions of some sacrifices, he also observes fast and undergoes ritual bath before the sacrifice is made. When a marriage is to be performed, he has also some ritualistic duties to perform.

The office of a Manjhiye in Benderi and in other Maler villages is hereditary. When a Manjhiye dies or retires owing to illness of such other reasons, his eldest son or the nearest male relative, in case when a Manjhiye dies issueless, succeeds him. The eldest son of the Manjhiye being the potential Manjhiye gets training in the religious functions from his father since his very childhood. He learns the details about the sacred centres and performances, about the nature of spirits, and types of sacrifices, and thus becomes the custodian as well as the chief transmitter of the village traditions from generation to generation.

The Manjhiye, however, is one among the common villagers in so far as his economic and social activities are concerned. He, like the other villagers, works in the Khallu land and in the forest for earning his livelihood. He freely mixes with the people and establish marriage relationship with any Maler family of the village or outside without any special consideration of his status. The only status that he enjoys may be considered in terms of his sacred and secular functions. Here also he is closely assisted by the village Gurait and other elders.

Next to Manjhiye is the village Gurait who essentially is the assistant to the Manjhiye. When a sacred performance or sacrifice is to be made, the Gurait collects the subscriptions from the villagers and makes all preparations to help the Manjhiye in performing the sacrifices. On some occasions, when minor sacrifices on village level are to be made, it is usually performed by the Gurait. The Gurait is the exclusive sacrificer for the sacred centres like the Muri and
the Mula Gossaiyan and the sacrifices and offerings are made exclusively by him. The Manjhiye does not come in picture when the sacrifices are to be made for these sacred centres. Similarly while worshipping the Bender Nadu or Tuddu Nadu the sacrifice is exclusively made by the Gurait.

On other occasions, as the assistant of the Manjhiye, the Gurait makes minor sacrifices of a fowl or a goat or a pig while the major sacrifices of a cow or a calf or a buffalo are made or initiated by the Manjhiye. On the occasion of the marriage, the sacrifice of Bandi pig (pig received in bride-price) is made by the Gurait. On the occasion of death the Gurait climbs on the roof of the hut of the deceased and beats drum with a view to break the sad news to the villagers. He also goes to the neighbouring villages to communicate the news of the death to the relatives and invites them to join the funeral procession.

At Benderi there were three Guraits to perform the above functions. On enquiry we came to know that about 50 years ago the population of the village was about four times more than the present one and the village required more than one Gurait (see biography of Rupa’s Mother). As the office of the Gurait is hereditary the three Guraits are still being succeeded though they do not have much work to do owing to the successive decrease in the number of families from 240 to 80 and now to 37 families.

In addition to the above two sacred specialists, the Dewano may be taken to be another sacred specialist of Benderi. We have noted the roles that Dewano Rama plays specially at the time of ancestors’ worship or at the time of the worship of the Gossaiyan related to the dead ancestors. On these occasions he is possessed by the spirits, makes Shamanistic performances, pronounce oracles and accepts offerings in the names of ancestors and Gossaiyans. The office of Dewano is not hereditary like that of the Manjhiye or the Gurait. When the villagers see any person possessed
by supernatural power or recognises certain support from the spirits, he is selected as a Dewano. At Benderi there are two persons, Guddu Rama and Surja who are Dewano. At Tetuli one Basu Rama is the village Dewano or Demano.

From all economic and social purposes, Guddu Rama is one among the other villagers. He is not distinguishable from the other villagers in so far as his normal behaviour is concerned. However when the sacred occasions come, he becomes completely different from the others. On some other times as well, he may be overpowered by some spirits and may communicate their wish. The villagers, in general, are quite aware of his Shamanistic activities and, they reported to me about his Shamanistic activities with smiles.

The fourth type of sacred specialist that we came across at Benderi is Guru who is said to know the details about the good and bad spirits. The Guru, as we have noted earlier, is both a diviner and a medicant. He is diviner in the sense that through the application of Telpatta, he finds out the cause of disease or death and then through his spells and suitable sacrifices he drives away the Bhute and appease the Gossaiyan. He is a medicant in the sense that he knows the names of suitable herbs and treat the ailing persons by providing these herbs to them.

A Guru has to learn about divination and medicine from some other person. One who wants to receive training, he contacts some reputed Guru of his locality, wins his confidence and thus becomes his trainee. The training period may continue even for several years. Sometimes, a trainee may get partial training either as a diviner or as a doctor. While a trainee, the person gives occasional gifts of rice, money, pigeon, goat, fowl etc. to his Guru. The Guru takes him to the forests and teaches him about the herbs. He takes him to observe his (Gurus) actual performances for the practical training.
At Benderi Sundra Guru got his long training in divination and medicine under a Santhal Guru of Pathalgatta. He is sober and serious, and generally does not mix freely with the villagers. A person of relatively long stature with slender built body and long hair, he really gives a look of a diviner and gets all respects from the villagers. Economically, however, he is not at all distinguishable from the other villagers, though he has learnt the art of making plough from a Santhal and earns some money by selling it in the Santhal villages and the local weekly market.

The other man, Javara is also considered to be a Guru of the village. He is a young man of about 30 years and he is said to know the names of herbs, and is consulted at the time of illness. He has got training from a Paharia Guru of Bhatbhang. He had to give a goat to the Guru when he started learning about the medicine.

The fifth and the last type of person who is concerned with divinity is the Alchi (or witch). The Alchi is usually noted for her malevolent supernatural power and is said to cause harm both to man and to property. She learns about this craft secretly under some trained person. The witch of Benderi, Rami is said to have got her training under a Santhal witch and she is said to have offered the life of her husband for her perfection in witchcraft. Rami as mentioned earlier is very much feared in the village, and villagers avoid her because of her power for doing evils. Her black magic is counteracted by the divination of the village Guru.

Thus the above description of the religious beliefs and practices of the Maler of Benderi brings out that religion of the village can be understood in terms of the three analytical concepts—sacred geography, sacred performances and sacred specialists. The three aspects of the Maler religion, conceived collectively might be termed "sacred complex". Considered culturally the sacred complex of Benderi is little traditional (Redfield: 1955) and structurally
it is exclusively of local importance. All the sacred centres of the village are located within the four boundaries of the village, the sacred performances are mainly observed by the villagers and the sacred specialists have their jurisdiction limited to the village.

The sacred complex of the village further reflects its relationship with the habitat, economy and society of the Maler. The sacred centres, for example, are represented by the stones, wild trees, streams or wooden frames on the earth; and the sun, the moon and the stars above on the sky. The sacred performances mark the occasion of agricultural operations or of annual ancestors worship and the offerings primarily compose of objects like meat, blood, liquor, and preparation of maize. The Gossaiyan are non-vegetarian as the Maler themselves are, and accept food that are locally available in abundance. The motives in making these performances are also simple. Some sacrifices are meant for appeasing the spirits so that they may get rid of disease and harmful effect. Some sacrifices are meant for ensuring rich harvest and for protecting them from disease and death. The sacred specialist of Maler village, is again, a specialist in a restricted sense. With his own economic activities, a Manjhiye or a Gurait or a Dewano or a Guru has some sacred work associated with him, which he performs when the occasions come. The local traditions or the possession by spirits or his own capabilities have made him acceptable to the villagers as a sacred specialists.

Then, from the above description, it is also evident that the sacred complex of a village yields a powerful influence in regulating the Man-Nature and the Man to Man relationship in folk community. The conception of the Maler about the Gossaiyan or the other spirits, their series of sacrifices to please or appease them to ensure health, happiness and harvest in the village, then to act according to the oracle or shamanistic proclamation of the Dewano or the Guru and
then their faith in oaths and ordeals bring out their influence on the socio-economic actions.

Incidentally the description of the sacred complex of the Maler village also brings out the probable influence that the plain tribe, the Santhal and the Hindus of the regions have been able to exercise on it. In general, it is evident that the Santhal have influenced the Maler sacred complex more than the Hindus. The Maler have given alternate Santhali terms for some of their sacred centres and performances (Manjhiye Than, Bandna etc.), they have learnt dances and songs from them, and some of them have got training in divination or witchcraft from them. Among the Hindu deities, the Maler Guru of Benderi offers worship also to Mahadeo if a serpent bites a Maler. The Maler villagers also go to attend the two Hindu festivals of Durgapuja and Deepawali in the plains and actively associate with the observances by dancing in groups. At Tetuli, the low hilly village, the influence of the Hindu was more marked than Benderi, as we noted that betel and betel nuts, are also included in the offerings. In general, however, the Maler in comparison to the other tribes, continue to maintain the exclusiveness of their sacred complex.

FOOTNOTES

1 The present paper is the part of a larger work of the author on the Maler hill tribe, which has been published in shape of a monograph. In this work, the author has attempted to study the Maler Culture in terms of Nature-Man-Spirit structure. This paper on the sacred complex of a Maler village is a section of the third part of his monograph, the other two parts being on Nature and Man.

2 The Maler live in small villages (15 to 30 families) mainly located on the hills of the northern portion of the Santhal Paraganas. The height of the hills varies from 900' to 1000' from the local surface. The hills are usually covered with the luxuriant growth of deciduous forests which usually provide suitable place for the slash and burn cultivation, locally known as Khallu or Kurwa cultivation. The village, Benderi
located at a height of about 800 ft. on a forested hill near Boreo Police Station in Santhal Paragana consists of 22 families. The main economic activities of the villagers revolve round the Khallu or slash and burn cultivation. The present village was chosen for intensive investigation owing to its typical characteristics.

3 The present author has formulated and used these terms "sacred complex," "sacred geography" "sacred centre," "sacred performances" and "sacred specialist" originally to describe the ethnography of the sacred city of Gaya. In the study of the "Sacred Complex" in Gaya, the author found it culturally to be "great traditional" and structurally of civilizational importance. Here the "sacred complex" of Benderi is essentially little traditional and is of local importance. They can be fruitfully compared and contrasted. (Redfield: 1955).

4 The author stayed in the Maler villages during the Puja vacation in the years 1954 and 1955 and, he camped with the Post-graduate students for one month in 1956 and six weeks in 1959. He has always been in touch with the Maler since 1955. The author also takes the opportunity of acknowledging with thanks the helps that he received in the field from his students who accompanied him to the field. Some of the data collected by Sri Sarkar De, Indra Deo Ram and Sri B. N. Sahay on the religion has been especially helpful in writing this paper.

5 At Benderi, the Jhanda Ghossaiyan represented by a bamboo was collectively located at one place. At Tetuli, Garsingla, Nirbitha etc. However, each hut was accompanied by this "Jhanda Gossaiyan."

6 Literally means "Oil and leaf." The village diviner applies oil on a Sal leaf with a view to find out the name of the spirit that has caused disease or death to any individual. For death see section on sacred performances.

7 This is a term which is used to indicate the spells and other devices that the village diviner use to relieve a Maler individual from the evil influences of the spirit. For detail see the section on the sacred performances.

8 One of the huts is owned by Rama who was the hereditary Manjhiye of the village. But owing to the Shamanistic will of the Dewano, he had been removed from this office and his cousin Dibru has been made a Manjhiye. The former Manjhiye has left this hut located near the Manjhiyethan and new lives in a different hut near his dhani land on the Seni plain.

9 The Maler observes Gangi Pijjo and Khosre Pijjo on the eve of harvesting of maize and beans respectively. In general the sacrifices are made firstly on the village level, and then it is followed by each
family of the village. The sacrifice of a hen or a goat or a pig is made by the heads of the families in their respective Khallu or Bagri lands to be harvested.

10 A rough estimate shows that last year about 400 persons from twelve villages came to attend the Taddi or Bandna festival at Benderi. The names of the villages, with the approximate distance and number of persons are given in the following table.

### Table

Approximate number of persons from other villages attending Taddi or Bandana festival at Benderi.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl. No.</th>
<th>Names of the villages</th>
<th>Distance from Benderi with direction</th>
<th>Number of persons attended the Taddi Festivals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Pandan</td>
<td>6 m. S.</td>
<td>20 persons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Kunta Pahar</td>
<td>11 m. S.</td>
<td>8 persons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Dogra</td>
<td>3 m. S.</td>
<td>150 all except the old.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Koto</td>
<td>3 m. E. N.</td>
<td>25 persons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Dalabari</td>
<td>3 m. E. N.</td>
<td>12 persons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Bhatbhangla</td>
<td>4 m. N.</td>
<td>100 (76%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Digra</td>
<td>3 m. N.</td>
<td>40 persons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Deotikri</td>
<td>6 m. N.</td>
<td>5 persons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Bedodada</td>
<td>6 m. N.</td>
<td>5 persons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Chamdi</td>
<td>6 m. N. E.</td>
<td>12 persons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Panik</td>
<td>6 m. W.</td>
<td>5 persons</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Chapal</td>
<td>7 m. W.</td>
<td>4 persons</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Maximum distance 11 miles. 386

### References


Redfield, R. 1955 The Social Organisation of traditions For Eastern quarterly Vol. VXX No. 1


—1959  Life Histories of the Maler Male and Female. Mss. with the author.


—1963  Nature-Man-Spirit Complex of the Maler Culture, Mss. with the Author.
CHAPTER VIII

ASPECTS OF TRIBAL LEADERSHIP IN CHOTANAGPUR

In the present paper, which is a very small part of a larger work on Ranchi city, completed under the auspices of the Planning Commission, I propose to summarise some of our findings regarding the transformation of the tribal leadership pattern in Ranchi and its corresponding and consequent effect on Chotanagpur. As it will be evident from the data reviewed in the paper, the contemporary trends in the tribal leadership has been reviewed in the light of historical development and the factors responsible for its present characteristics have been referred.

One of the important roles that a city plays is to provide a congregation of political intellectuals who provide leadership not only to the city but to the entire region which goes to constitute the hinterland of the city. As the city grows so also grows its importance as a political centre, and as the city expands the political activities also expands to the region or to the nation, and for that matter to the entire world. London, New York, Paris, Washington, D.C. and Delhi are not only the biggest cities of the world in terms of demographic, commercial or administrative point of views but also because they provide leadership on national and universal planes. The study of the city of Ranchi among many things throws light on the development of leadership pattern in course of its short career of 100 years. As Ranchi has been mainly a tribal town located in the midst of tribal area, the leadership has been provided mainly by tribal elites and my attention in this paper will be focussed only to the study of the tribal leadership though references to other political parties and their leaders may figure here and there casually.
Traditional leadership:

A hundred years ago Ranchi was essentially a cluster of tribal villages and the rural municipality in this town was established only in 1869. These clusters of villages had the traditional tribal leaders. These original tribal villages were Hatma, Chadri, Purani Ranchi, Hindpuri, Siram, Chutia, Loadigh, Kokar, Doranda and Hinoo, which have now become part of the urban setting of Ranchi. However, the tribal or part of the tribal villages are still in existence and among many things to some extent the traditional leadership pattern also persists. In each village there were three leaders: Pahan, Mahto and Munda. The Pahan was mainly concerned with the religious and ritualistic activities, and he used to make sacrifices and offer worships on behalf of the villagers. On the occasions of festivals he had definite ritualistic roles to perform. In every village, a Pahan used to get rent-free land which was known as Pahanauti zamin or Dalli-Katari. The Mahto and the Munda were secular heads of the village and they had to decide cases of dispute and had to collect land revenue for the zamindars. They were the leaders of their respective villages and they were respected in their own as well as in the other villages of the neighbourhood. With the emergence and expansion of the city, the secular functions of the Mahto and Munda have sustained a set-back but the Pahan in each tribal village still has positive roles to play in the religious organisation of the surviving nuclei of the traditional villages. In each village the three functionaries are still existing and they have local standing and influence in the society. Only in one village viz. in Hindpuri where the Muslims have settled down in large number, the original village has been almost completely eliminated and all the three functionaries are completely non-existent. Thus, out of the nine cores of traditional villages existing in the municipal boundaries, eight original tribal villages have the traditional village leaders, three in each village. Out of the twenty-four traditional officials, sixteen
are from Oraon tribe and eight are from the Munda tribe. These traditional leaders again are non-converted tribals and represent by and large the tradition-oriented tribal culture. The converted tribals of these villages have nothing to do with these traditional officials. They look to the Church for such local matters. Though the non-converted tribals in their respective villages have been able to maintain the village leadership especially in the field of religion, they have lost their position in terms of providing political leadership at the local and regional levels. The educated tribals who are in service and who have contacts with the officials etc. are becoming more prominent in the field of providing secular leadership. Moreover, the sons and daughters of these traditional leaders have specially taken advantage of the opportunities that urbanisation have provided to them. Many of these traditional leaders have got education and have entered in service in local court etc., the less educated have become agents for land transactions in addition to his job as agriculturists.

Till the nineteenth century some of these traditional leaders drawn from villages also provided leadership to the respective regions in Chotanagpur through the regional Panchayat known as Parha.* At the time of large scale dispute the Parha chief and his deputies used to give leadership to the people of the region (Roy: 1915, M. Roy 1957). In addition to these Parha chiefs there have been a number of traditional leaders like Birsa among the Munda, Jatra among the Oraon, Birshingh and Bhagirath among the Santhal and many such other leaders who have given lead to the tribals during the resistance movements launched by them. Such resistance movements were organised by the Munda in 1820, 1832 and 1860 (Roy 1912: 198-217) by his

* Parha is the local name for the regional council of the Munda and the Oraon. It used to be at elaborate organisation in form and function. For detail see S. C. Roy's The Oraon (1915).
Oraon in 1820, 1832 and 1890 (Roy 1915: 42-48) and the Santhal in 1855 (Dutt: 1940) and by several other tribals during the nineteenth century. In general, we can say that these resistance movements were the results of continued pressure on the tribal people by the neighbouring Hindus and Muslim for competition of land and resources. Moreover, the intervention by British officers, money lenders and the zamindars were also responsible for fomenting the series of resistance movements.

The leadership in these movements was provided by the traditional leaders who were rural-bred, charismatic and religious in their approach. They had the least education but they derived divine power through dreams or otherwise to lead the masses. Clearly the goal leadership in these movements was religious, economic, social as well as political reformation. Typically, these leaders preached abstinence from the use of intoxicating beverage, abandonment of beef-eating, and of fowl, pig, ox and buffalo sacrifice, the worship of sanskritic deities and the purging of tribal spirit and gods, non-payment of land and forest revenue and service to their own tribesmen.

On cultural level it appears that the model before these traditional tribal leaders were that of high form of Hinduism and the primary purpose of these leaders was to sanskritize the life-ways of their followers by teaching them the principles of Hindu-way of ritualistic life. Here, the following quotation of Tallents (1921: 130) about the influence of a successful traditional tribal leader, Birsa Munda may be given. "It is reported that in the Khunti, Torpa and Tamar Thanas of Ranchi district there are some six or seven hundred Mundas who worship the one God under the name of Birsa Bhagwan and observe various customs which are not those of their fellow Mundas. Outwardly they are to be known by the three-flags which they keep planted outside their houses and by the sacred thread which they wear, they still do not sacrifice goats or fowls like other Mundas, they do not eat fish or flesh nor
do they touch drugs or any intoxication drink. Generally they are drawn from the more extreme and excitable part of the Munda community”.

But the rural-bred charismatic and tradition-oriented leadership which functioned for revitalizing the tribals on the Hindu model was later disturbed owing to the devoted work of themissionaries and their continuous uplift in the tribal villages brought about new standard for choosing leadership. During the last fifty years, it appears, the leadership of the tribals has gone in the hands of the western-educated Christian tribals who are essentially rational in interpreting and tackling the political situation and, then most of them are urban-bred. The development of this type of “educated, urban-bred and rational type of leadership among the tribals can be understood firstly by referring to the history of Jharkhand Party and secondly by analysing the affiliations and other features of the contemporary tribal leaders.

The Jharkhand Party:—If we examine the historical growth of the Jharkhand party, we will note that it has passed through different phases. Though these phases may not be exclusively categorised in terms of chronological sequence, for our convenience, we can divide its course of development into three phases:—(1) Formulatory phase of Christian students’ philanthropic movements, (2) the Constructive phase of movement for socio-economic uplift and (3) the Elaborative phase of the political movement.

Formulatory Phase:—The present Jharkhand movement has its seed in the little students organisation which was shaped by its founder Mr. J. Bartholmen a young orphan from Chaibasa, who, then, was studying in the 1st year arts in St. Colombus College, Hazaribagh in the year 1910. Though this young man, lacked the parental affection, he was brought up under the divine parenthood of Angelican missionaries of Chaibasa. He tasted a real nursing and, therefore, had a warm feeling for his poor colleagues who had more or less the same plight. His own livelihood and education was-
dependent upon a little loan of Rs. 25/- p.m. received from his college. He spent Rs. 17/- each month on his maintenance etc. and saved Rs. 8/- every month for an outing during the summer or the puja holidays. His own experiences of hard life gave rise to a strong urge to help his fellow students. Hence during these outings, he organised and addressed Christian students, conferences at different places and tried to learn as to how these could solve the problems of poor students. Thus, he attended the conferences at Sirampur and Dacca etc. from where he could learn that how to help his brethren in Chotanagpur.

After attending the Dacca conference near about in the year 1911-12 he decided to form a branch of the Dacca students' Union. Here, he collected some Christian students and patrons and held series of meetings in which some professors and missionaries were asked to give religious discourse. Gradually, he proposed to raise funds to help needy Christian students. This was a challenge from a poor orphan boy which was accepted by everyone with a sense of true Christian brotherhood. In this way the fund was raised in the shape of monthly subscriptions and donations from few generous missionaries and laymen. Then, sometime in 1912, a play called "Alli Baba and Forty Thieves" was staged at S. P. G. Institute, Ranchi, by this Union. The play was very successful and they collected Rs. 90/- only. Being encouraged with all these, next day, they called a meeting of Lutheran and Anglican students in which they explained their aims and objects. Their views were accepted and subsequently handsome amounts were collected, and a new branch of this union was opened at Ranchi under the supervision of Late Mr. Peter Heward.

By this time, Mr. J. Bartholmen had completed his B.A. (1915) and got a job of assistant teacher at St. Paul's High School, Ranchi. Here, too, he was an active participant for sometime, but when his efforts were about to blossom, he was thrown out of the scene.
Chotanagpur Unnati Samaj (Society for the Uplift of Chotanagpur):

It happened that, now this students' organisation took another shape. Almost all the members were tribals and they wanted to reorganise it afresh. Consequently they decided to restrict its membership to only adivasis and its functions to improve the socio-economic status of the Adivasis of Chotanagpur. They named it as the Chotanagpur Improvement Society or the Chotanagpur Unnati Samaj. Its leading members were Theble Oraon, Bandi Oraon, Rev. Jeol Lakra, and Mr. Paul Dayal etc. Its aims and objects were as follows:

(i) To uplift the Chotanagpur from the present backward state; and

(ii) To improve social, political and economic conditions of the Adivasi.

As a matter of fact it was not unusual for Chotanagpur to face stir of socio-economic and political movements since it had witnessed a series of uprising in the nineteenth century under devoted leader like Birsa and others. But the present movement was unique of its kind. It was led by educated tribal youths and was of silent-revolutionary type in its character. Its members had burning zeal and true devotion for their people but still they lacked one who could lead them to their destined object. However, it was an experiment and they faired well. When the Simon Commission and the Cripps Commission visited India, they met them in delegation to place their grievances and to pray for their redress, and subsequently to grant separate state for Adivasis. Though their demands were not completely met, their consequences were felt sometime during the constitutional Reforms for India in the year 1955.

Kisan Sabha:—Among members of Unnati Samaj, a few thought that something was lacking in the organisation. They differed among themselves on many issues. This led to a
mild friction among the members and ultimately the dissidents left the Unnati Samaj and started another organisation called Kishan Sabha (The Conference of the Peasants). Although its aims and objects were not different, their approach was different. Its first President was Theble Oraon and the Secretary was Paul Dayal. These organisations were running fairly well on their respective paths. They also set up candidates for the general election during 1935-36, election but they failed to achieve any marked result.

Chotanagpur Catholic Sabha:—Up till now these two organisations were chiefly restricted among adivasi members mostly from Angelican Mission, Lutheran Mission and the non-Christian Adivasi but the Catholic Adivasi converts of Ranchi were looking for some better organisation of their own. They were not allowed to join any of these organisations because of certain religious consideration but the plea was that they were of revolutionary character. Therefore, the Catholic Hierarchy of Ranchi Dioces planned to give some substitute to Catholic aboriginals of Chotanagpur in general and of Ranchi district in particular. Thus the Catholic Dioces of Ranchi with the approval of the then Arch-bishop Mr. Sevrin, S. J. had found Chotanagpur Catholic Sabha, which was soon popularised throughout Chotanagpur and had its sub-units at every Parish level. Its headquarter was at Ranchi. Since the Catholic mission was a well-organised mission, it had no impediment in popularising the Chotanagpur Catholic Sabha, throughout Chotanagpur at least where the Catholic mission had its jurisdiction. Mr. Boniface Lakra was elected its first President and Mr. Ignes Beck its first general secretary. Its aims and object were purely socio-religious and economic. But sometime it also involved itself in political issues of its interest. Within a short span of time the Sabha grew up to such a stature that it put up two candidates, for general election in the year 1935, and won the contest when the candidates of Unnati Samaj and the Kishan Sabha, too, fought elections and was badly defeated. Upto
this period, there was somewhat bitter feeling among these Christian denominations of Chotanagpur.

Under these political and denominational setting at Ranchi in particular and Chotanagpur in general, Ignes Beck was representing the area and was attending the Parliament meetings (1935-40). A feeling of suspicion and contempt cropped up in his mind in respect to Congress party and other political parties which were represented at Parliament session at that time. He thought that Congress party being a party in power would not do any good to adivasis but looked after their own interest. He drew a conclusion from these meetings that if all adivasis wanted good for their people, it could only be gained through their own efforts. These were the feelings Mr. Beck said, ‘haunted at the back of my mind’. “When, on one occasion, Mohd. Ali Jinnah spoke in the Parliament session and gave vent to the similar feelings, my conviction grew strong”. When Mr. Ignes Beck was contemplating on this subject, he visualized that unless the close denominational differences among themselves were removed and stood united for common cause, the aboriginal mass will not attain salvation from social, economic and political backwardness. Hence, he thought out a plan to make these people united and form a common front but it was a difficult task.

His foremost difficulty was to convince these three different parties; the most difficult amongst them was Chotanagpur Catholic Sabha. When he had convinced this organisation, the other organisations would follow suit. Hence, he approached, the then, Archbishop of Ranchi and explained the whole situation. He was convinced and a meeting of Chotanagpur Catholic Sabha was called. Mr. Beck placed his proposal before the meeting but faced strong opposition of priests and laymen. However he was asked by the members to contact the leaders of other parties. Subsequently he approached the individual leaders and made them understand his viewpoints. All of them agreed to his proposal to meet at Catholic Ashram, the present site of
Gram Guru Office, Purulia Road. They met at the appointed place and after a long discussion all of them agreed, in principle, to form at least a temporary alliance to fight out the election in the ensuing Ranchi Municipal election. They prepared so well and gave such a tough fight that they won the election with a glorious victory. This gave such an effective impression to the people that they expressed their desire to maintain this unity for ever. The leaders met again and decided to form a permanent and stronger alliance to fight the Diku-Raj and improve the social, economic and political status of adivasis; and ultimately to win a separate state of Chotanagpur for Chotanagpuria. This alliance was called the Chotanagpur Adivasi Maha Sabha. This Sabha is still existing within Jharkhand Party.

Chotanagpur Adivasi Maha Sabha:

In the beginning of 1939 Mr. Jaipal Singh who was, then, a Minister in the Bikaner Estate, came over to Ranchi on his way to Patna. His fame was already known to the leaders of Chotanagpur Adivasi Maha Sabha and they picked up this opportunity to request him to preside over the meeting of Chotanagpur Adivasi Maha Sabha. Jaipal Singh was himself interested and keen to take active part in the improvements of Chotanagpurias. He accepted this invitation willingly. The big meeting of Chotanagpur Adivasi Maha Sabha took place between March and April, 1939 with a great tribal pomp and show near Hindpiri. In his presidential address, Jaipal Singh paid a glowing tribute to the past glories of Adivasi Aristocracy at Chotanagpur and offered his own services to his people. From onward he became a regular member of the Sabha and later on was made a Chairman of the Sabha.

Jharkhand Party: Its Formation:

Some of the members of the Adivasi Maha Sabha further realised the need for making this Adivasi Maha Sabha more
broadbased to include non-Adivasi as members as well. This brought about a new turn, the members of the Chotanagpur Adivasi Maha Sabha wanted to bring about change in the constitution as well as in the objectives of the Sabha. Some of them wanted to extend its membership to the non-tribal inhabitants of Chotanagpur. At the same time the non-Adivasi residents of Chotanagpur established a separate association at Daltonj in order to place their voice in the Parliament for a separate state of Chotanagpur. Its first president was the late Mr. Deokinandan Sinha of Daltonj. How to accommodate these non-Adivasis was the most vital point before the leaders of Chotanagpur Adivasis Maha Sabha? How to reconcile the controversy of the non-Adivasi residents over the interest of Adivasis of Chotanagpur? This was indeed a difficult question in principle but to make the demand for separate state strong, the reconciliation was very important. Hence in the Jamshedpur session of C. A. M. S., sometimes in 1949-50, it was decided that though the Sabha would not lose its identity it will extend its membership to non-Adivasi residents of Chotanagpur. In order to avoid the controversy of Adivasi and non-Adivasi interest it was named as the Jharkhand party. Since then, the party become purely a political party.

The missionary activities, during last fifty years have definitely taken a new turn. The leadership has been secularised in many ways and the present secretary of the All India Jharkhand party is a non-Adivasi with a number of other non-Adivasi members. The Jharkhand party in its many meetings has realized and resolved the needs for bringing about change in the programme to attract the increasing non-tribal and industrial population in the city. It is also being realised that the tribal leaders have not been re-elected in the last general election. The latest statement of Sri S. K. Bage also brings out the decline in the influence of Jharkhand party in Chotanagpur.

The conclusion that emerges from the history of the
Jharkhand party regarding the transformation in the tribal leadership is also substantiated by the application of questionnaire and collection of biographies of the tribal leaders of Ranchi.

The questionnaires regarding their attitude about the leaders were applied on the sampled families of Ranchi in course of our last large scale urbanisation study of Ranchi in 1960-61.

In course of application of questionnaire not a single non-converted tribal was named among the top leaders. Out of 17 persons who were named political leaders, 7 belong to converted tribal group, 9 to various castes of Hindus and 1 Muslim. Among these leaders S. K. Bage and Jaipal Singh (Say A & B) secured the first two highest response as leaders from all the sections of the inhabitants of Ranchi. The top two leaders also belong to converted tribal community and have the highest education. Both the converted and non-converted tribals have responded the preference for Adivasi converted tribal leaders. A Hindu leader Sri Ram Ratan Ram who has been accepted leader by the Hindu after these two top leaders does not get any response at all from the Adivasis.

Regarding their choice for ranking A & B reasons are mainly three: firstly, they are good persons with good behaviour, secondly they are honest leader with the sense of responsibility, and thirdly they are “their own tribal men”. Many other types of responses were given which may not be taken into consideration here.

In addition to the response that we received from 812 sample informants we also collected details about the leaders who are of some importance in political field. This list was prepared in consultation with the leaders of the different political parties. Their biographies have been also collected and this list reveals again, some important point about the leadership pattern in Ranchi. This table shows that there are 22 tribal leaders out of which
17(77.2%) are converted tribals and 5 (22.8%) are non-converted tribals. Most of these Christian tribals are highly educated, 6 are graduate, 5 are under-graduate and the rest 5 are non-matric. All of them have been educated in the Christian schools and have inculcated in them the "western model" through missionary teachers. Two of them have also been educated in foreign countries. Among the non-converted tribals out of the 5 leaders only one is graduate, who is the former president of Ranchi District Congress Committee. Regarding the place of their residence out of the 22 leaders 17 have settled in Ranchi city permanently and 5 have still their close affiliation with their respective villages. Among the 17, eleven leaders have settled down in Ranchi before 1920 and have been largely oriented to city life. Only six leaders are as a matter of fact the Adivasi elite of this region and they wield powerful influence on the political thinking of the people. It is generally accepted that Jharkhand is the political party of the Adivasi and out of these 22 leaders only eight belong to the Congress. Among these eight leaders only two are from the converted Adivasi and the rest are non-converted. This shows the indifference of the converted tribals from the Congress and other parties.

The Christian-oriented western-educated model is also breaking its exclusiveness. The organisation which essentially started for the life of the consolidation of Christian converts are fast expanding in its scope and we note that a number of Hindus have also joined the Christian sponsored Jharkhand party. There are some pleaders and businessmen who have become active members of the Jharkhand party and one of the Hindu leaders has been elected the Secretary of the Jharkhand party. Then another Hindu leader was given Jharkhand ticket to contest assembly election from the Ranchi constituency in the last general election. This among other things indicates consolidation of different types of leaders under one major regional political party. Such consolidation
always takes place on political level, when the higher objectives of the city and region become secularised and broadbased. On the one hand the dominant political party of Ranchi is trying to absorb the non-converted tribal leaders and masses by emphasizing some of the important values of the indigenous tribal culture, on the other hand they are also gaining the support of the non-tribal masses by emphasizing the needs of the region and by directing their attention to the injustices that are being done to this backward areas of Chotanagpur. In other words, a new model of leadership is emerging under the increased impact of urbanisation and growing industrialisation in Ranchi. This leadership symbolises the aspiration and needs of the local and regional people. With the increase in communication, contact and education, adventurous personalities of different caste and tribes of religion and ethnic affiliations are joining hand together and are trying to present somewhat secularised leadership before the masses of Chotanagpur.
CHAPTER IX

WHITHER ADIVASI DANCE IN TRIBAL BIHAR: SOME PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS REGARDING IMPACT OF CHRISTIANITY & CITY ON THE ORAO DANCE PATTERN

It has been rightly said that a tribe that dances cannot die. Dance it is evident to the students of tribal cultural, is an integral part of the Adivasi culture in Bihar as in other parts of India and the world. Its true magico-religious function concerns the preservation of the individual and the tribe as such. From the cradle to the grave, an Adivasi society celebrates in dance the cycles of man's life and of the seasons. In other words, the dance at least in parts, reflects the social, religious, economic and political style of life of an Adivasi culture. Correspondingly, again, the Adivasi culture is reflected in the series of its dances. Thus, the Adivasi culture and a correct and comprehensive understanding of such a culture can be had also by studying it in context with its dances.

In spite of its importance, however, anthropologists have not given due place to the study of dance. While we come across numerous full length specialised books on the folk dances of American Red Indians, we find casual reference about the Adivasi dances made by Indian anthropologists in their monographs on the respective tribes. While I was invited to write a paper for this seminar, I made a hurried survey of the materials available on the Adivasi dance of India. In the monographs of Roy (1913, 1915, 1925, 1933), Majumdar (1950), Elwin (1947, 1947), Dube (1951), Naik (1957) and some other authors, we came across a few lines or passages about the Adivasi dances of the respective tribes. Among these writings, only two accounts seem to me of some significance, one by Elwin about the dances of Muria in his
book, Muria and their Ghotul and another by Roy about the Oraon (1915). Dealing with the life of the Muria youths in the village Ghotul, Elwin deals in some details also about the technical aspects of steppings, rhythm, and then the occasions of the numerous Muria dances. Roy also brings out some details about the Oraon dances on the basis of his intimate knowledge about the tribe. He, however, fails to give the technical details about the dance and the associated music and songs.

The anthropologists who could study the other aspects of the Adivasi Culture, perhaps, did not give adequate attention to the study of dance owing two reasons; first due to the technical character of dance and second due to the lack of the theoretical insight for analysing dance as a cultural element. His training did not equip them for the scientific study of dance nor he could understand adequately the importance and analysis of dance as a part of the culture. This lack of knowledge about the technical aspect of dance could have been won over by anthropologists by collaborating with experts in dance. But it could not materialise owing to obvious organisational difficulties. It is, however, high time now, that at least some of the anthropologists should join hands with the experts in folk dance to make comprehensive study of the Adivasi dances in the light of the modern theoretical developments regarding the cultural importance of dances in anthropology.

The Adivasi dance is fast dying out and the factors of transformation are becoming so strong in the Adivasi areas, that whether we like it or not, the traditional style of dance is likely to decline and then disappear. Before us, the study of Adivasi dance possesses the problem of "now or never". There are several factors that seem to be responsible for the decline of the dances among the Adivasi. Mention among them may be made of the two major agencies of Conversion and Urbanisation. These two inevitable factors that are making inroads in the Adivasi areas, have largely affected
the traditional style of Adivasi dances. These points will be illustrated here from the data collected from the Oraon villages and from Adivasi localities in Ranchi city. The data have been collected by me with the help of my research investigators working with me under a large scale research assignment; Urban Pattern of Ranchi, Research Project sponsored by the Planning Commission, Government of India. Data collected by another research scholar working in the converted Oraon villages have been also used to bring out the relevant points.

The Adivasi singing and dancing, in their origin, can be best understood as spontaneous and collective rhythmic movements of the voice and feet under the weight of strong emotions. Such strong emotions are evidently aroused among the Adivasi owing to the picturesque landscape of their habitat and then owing to the numerous traits relating to their tribal ways of life. The village Akhra and the youth dormitory (Dhumkuria) are the major village institutions of the Oraon that go a long way in the development, maintenance and transmission of the Oraon dance Pattern (Roy 1915 Chapt. 15: 220-273). The numerous traditional festivals are inseparably linked with the series of dances and the first can be understood only in context with the other. The traditional drink of rice-beer along with the free mixing among the sexes add additional colour to singing, dancing and drumming.

Dancing, thus, is positively correlated with these institutions and customs, and any corresponding change brings about similar change in the dance pattern of the Oraon. The typical Oraon village, where the institutions of Dhumkuria and Akhra are intact, where the villagers observe the traditional cycle of festivals and where there is the least restriction in meeting of boys and girls for dancing, and in drinking the native liquor, the traditional Oraon dance is also found more or less intact. All the seasonal as well as all types of religious, social, socio-religious, socio-economic or socio-
political dances are observed in all their elaborations. For the inmates of the village youth dormitories, (both unmarried boys and girls), it is the usual daily routine for them to assemble in the Akhra (village dancing ground) in the evening after their day's toil and dance till late in the night. On the occasions of festivals, like Sarhul, Karma, Jatra, Harbori, ceremonial occasions like marriages or hunting expeditions and agricultural operations like sowing or reaping all villagers are drunk and all of them dance continuously for days and nights to their hearts content. These dances, as they call them in Sadani, are 'play', khel, which are played in normal manner by all the village youths in particular, and all the adult, and old male and female in general.

From the infancy, a child dances with his or her mother or sister tied on her back. When he (or she) grows up, he observes the dance for his recreation, and whether you believe it or not the Oraon young ones of three and four years, consciously or unconsciously move their feet while looking at the dances. When he (or she) grows a little, he (or she) is admitted to the Dhumkuria fraternity and begins to sleep and spend his leisure hours in the Dhumkuria and learn the songs and dance, or other forms of folklore with the help of the leader of the Dhumkuria and by imitating the activities of the senior inmates. Dhumkuria fraternity, thus, has been an institution for developing and transmitting songs, dance and music as art forms. Dhumkuria, however, has declined in many villages, and in some villages, as for example, around Chiri (near Lohardaga), they are completely non-existent.

The Akhra, however, is to be found in all the Oraon villages as also in some of the tribal mahallas (locally called Bastis by the Adivasi of the areas) of Ranchi city. Its importance as the dancing ground is evidently found in all the villages, though it apparently becomes a weak institution if it is not accompanied with a Dhumkuria. In the villages near Chiri where Akhra is not found associated with Dhum-
Kuria, the dancing groups in the villages are not well-organised in comparison to the villages near Mandar where the Akhra and Dhunkuria exist side by side.

The number of the unmarried and the enthusiastic youths (both boys and girls) in the population of the village is also an important factor to determine the intensity or thinness of the dance-culture of a village. These days especially during the slack agricultural seasons, the youths temporarily come to the neighbouring urban centres for some jobs. This trend makes the village deserted and the day-to-day dance in some villages have been disturbed owing to this temporarily migrations to the urban centres.

Moreover, the new type of modern education among the non-converted youths has also brought about a new way of looking at the above institutions and this has also affected the elaboration of dance pattern in the traditional tribal villages. In course of the study of culture change among the Munda and the Oraon (Sachchidananda: 1960) undertaken by this department under the auspices of the Planning Commission, it was noted that the educated youths look to the youth dormitory as the sole source of sexual immorality. An Oraon who had read up to the middle standard said:

"Akhra and Dhunkuria are no longer cultural institutions (underline portion is mine). They have ruined the purity of our society. They are not at all beneficial for us. They do immense harm to the chastity of our girls and character of our boys who become so much involved in love affairs".

Among many, this is only one statement to indicate how the values of the educated tribal youths are changing. With this change, their conception of morality is fast-undergoing transformation and under this circumstance, he looks to the Akhra or Dhunkuria as a centre of corruption instead of a centre of cultural and educational activities of the traditional
Oraon. These are some of the major points that indicate how factors and forces are operating even among the traditional Oraon villages that ultimately affect the Oraon dance pattern. However, taken generally, the cycle of festivals is intact in these villages, and with these all the traditional dances are in vogue among them.

Among the factors responsible for the decline of dances in many of the Oraon villages are the roles of Christianity and of the City.

Christianity and Oraon Dance:

The working of the Christian missions dates back to November 2, 1845 when four German missionaries sent by Father John Evangelist Gosner of Berlin reached Ranchi and started their work of conversion. At first the mission, confining its activity to purely evangelic work met with little success, and it was five years before the first conversion of four natives of the Oraon tribe was made. The missionaries later, included several items of social work and started helping the tribals against the injustices of the landlords in the courts. With all these efforts they could succeed in evangelic works in the interior villages and to-day fairly large bulk of Oraon are converted to this faith.

The other major denomination, the Roman Catholic, started its evangelic and other related work in Chotanagpur in the year 1868. With his great missionary zeal, father Lieven who came here in the beginning, did all to satisfy the natives and in a very short time, he could make numerous converts. The British administrators also extended all help to the missionaries, and owing to all these efforts, the Lutheran and the Roman Catholic denominations could convert a large number of Oraons to Christianity.

They, however, were not satisfied just with baptismation. They wanted to change their very style of life, which, of course, was not an easy task. This anxiety is reflected for
example, in a letter of Father Lieven which he wrote to Father Provincial on April 18, in year 1887:

“The new converts need institutions, but how is to be given them? We have neither the time nor the means to form the catechists. It was a work that could not be deferred, for Christian without a chapel are like a flock of sheep without a sheep-fold; they get dispersed, lose their fervour and return to paganism. It is absolutely necessary to make them meet together for daily players”.

In due course they could succeed in their objective and in almost all the Christian villages, that we surveyed, they have established a parish in each village with a priest to regulate the day-to-day activities of the converted tribals.

One of my research scholars have worked in two such converts villages one Roman Catholic village Silphari and the other Lutheran village Jadi, both near Chainpur. This study brings out very rich data about change in these villages owing to Christianity.

In both these villages, the youth dormitory has become extinct. At village Silphari, there was a youth dormitory five years ago. But it was considered as a centre of corruption, and it was abolished. The village Akhras are more or less functionless. The open lands, however, still exist and are used for the dancing purposes only very rarely.

The cycle of festivals has been completely replaced with that of the Christian one. They no longer observe Sarhul, Karma, Jatra and such other traditional festivals. These festivals have been replaced by festivals like Christmas, Easter, Swargarohan, Christ-deh-parab, and such other festivals which have some biblical significance.

Then, again, the Lutheran converts have been strictly prohibited from drinking any type of alcohol including rice-beer. The Roman converts, however, are allowed to drink in limited quantity on the occasion of the festivals.
Free mixing unlike the non-converted tribal is again discouraged as the converts think that it leads to many vices. When Catholic children attain the age of eight or nine they are sent to Parish centre where they undergo a vigorous religious training in prayers. Only after completing this training, they are allowed to take sacraments, like confession and holy communion. The Lutheran converts take the holy communion after they are confirmed.

The missionaries have also worked for the education of the tribals and many schools in the interior villages have been started to educate specially the converted tribals. In their contacts the converted tribals have also taken up modern dresses and their women have learnt to put on full dresses. In other words, slowly but surely, a large section of the Oraons have accepted the “missionaries model” and their traditional institutions have fast given way under the impact of Christianity.

All these have adversely affected the dancing pattern of the Oraons. The dance as we have seen above is an integral part of the Oraon style of life, of the Oraon culture as such, and any change in the important institutions of the indigenous culture is bound to bring about corresponding changes in the dancing pattern as well. This is very evident in the converted villages that we have studied. Owing to the death blows to the institutions of Dhumkuria and Akhra, and then to the traditional cycle of festivals, to customs of drinking and to free mixing, traditional dance correspondingly has sustained a set back.

From the Lutheran converts village, Jadi near Chainpur; Sahay (1952) reports that dancing is permitted only during the Christmas festival. On this occasion also, the dance continues only before the sun-set. Dancing by boys and girls is strictly prohibited by catechist and the Panch of the village even on the occasion of festivals other than Christmas. But it varies from the village to village. In another neighbouring village
the catechist allows the boys to dance only during the “Easter”. It was confirmed by many informants that dancing has become very formal and occasional affairs is the Lutheran converts’ village. It was also reported that the educated youths and well placed tribals show the least interest in this matter, and one of their great wealth is likely to be lost.

What little dance they perform during the Christmas or the Easter festival it is devoid of the spontaneity or the artistic skill found in the traditional villages. This deterioration is mainly due to the lack of practice by the dancers, the replacement of traditional stepping pattern with the new ones, the replacement of traditional songs with biblical songs, and then the replacement of the traditional songs with biblical songs, and then the replacement of the traditional musical instruments like mandal and nagera by a small drum, Dholki. All these have completely disintegrated the traditional and rich dance pattern of the Oraon.

The Lutheran converts instead of dances have taken Bhajan (sitting musical recitation), on a large scale. On all the festive and social occasions such Bhajans are sung collectively. These Bhajans dealing with biblical themes have been composed by educated priests for different occasions. These Bhajans have almost completely replaced dancing and with the passage of time, the dance along with the traditional themes is being forgotten on the village level. The nature of theme of such Bhajan will be evident from the following two popular songs, one is Kurukh and the other is Sadani dialects:

Yisu Yisu Ba Adar
Yisusia Po lor Beda
Girja Hun Malla Kadar
Binti Hu Malla Nandar
Yisusin Po lor Beda

(You are not finding God as you are simply taking his name; it is because you neither pray nor attend the church).
Maneba binti karu
Jaha manwa tahan prabhu yisu
Manewa binti karu, Manewa binti karu
Pahar me binti karu, Pahar me prabhu yisu
Jangle me binti karu, Jangle me prabhu yisu.

In the Roman Catholic village, Shilphari the traditional pattern of Oraon dance have definitely declined but it is not facing an extinction like the Lutheran village, Jadi. The Roman Catholic Missions have not put strict restriction on drinking, free mixing and dancing in the Oraon villages. On the occasions of festivals, the converted Oraon might continue their dance even after sun-set and they may also drink on these occasions. The Roman Catholic Mission also allows their converts to dance on the occasions of marriage celebrations.

It was also reported that the converted Oraon have adopted a new way of dancing which is a combination of the traditional and the western dances. Three types of such modified dances have been recorded. They are: Ekkaria (single line) dance, Dokharia (Double line) dance and Lujhki dance. The Ekkharia dance is more close to the traditional Jatra dance, the Dokharia dance near to the traditional Karma and Jadura dances while Lujhki dance represents an intermediate form between the Jadura and Jhumar dances of the traditional Oraon. These are the only three dances that are known to the converted Oraon and that they dance very occasionally during the festivals or during the marriage. Thus, while we have recorded twenty five types of traditional dances among the non-converted Oraon, only three dances are named by the Catholic converts. These dances, as is also evident, are not practised nor performed as day-to-day routine, but are ceremonially and formally observed for a few hours during some of the Christian festivals or marriage. Among the Roman Catholic converts, as well, Bhajan or devotional racitation have gained ground.
Oraon Dance in Ranchi City:

The impact of urbanisation on the Oraon dance could be best understood in context with the Oraon, both converted and non-converted living in the various localities of Ranchi city. Originally Ranchi was a cluster of Adivasi hamlets surrounded with agricultural fields and forests. There were important Oraon villages like Hatma (consisting of three tolas of Karamtoli, Nagratoli and Tangratoli) Chadri, Kishanpur, Puranki Ranchi and Kathartoli. In course of time mainly during the last one hundred and fifty years the agricultural, forested or such other open lands have been covered with buildings of the migrants. The various developments the establishment of the headquarters of the district, division and then of the state in the summer, the establishment of the headquarters of the missionaries and of the military (Eastern Command) and of late the development in the industrial, commercial, transportational and administrative fields are really fast changing the tribal face of Ranchi.

Though Ranchi is becoming a city, the cores of the tribal villages are still preserved in many parts of the city. For the local tribal inhabitants they are still “Bustee” in contrast to the “City and the Market”. In these Bustees of Chadri, Karamtoli and Nagratoli, for example, there are open lands known as the village Akhra. These are lands of the village, free from municipal tax and in spite of pressure on land, they cannot be sold, as they are collectively owned by the villagers. These tribal bustees, some located in the very heart of the city, have their own traditional religious head, Pahan, who look after the maintenance of the Akhra.

These Akhras, however, do not attract the dancers as is the case of the village Akhra of the interior areas and usually they give a deserted look. But on the occasion of the festivals, they become centres for dance and enjoyment for all the non-converted Adivasis of the respective Bustees. The Oraon still observe their cycle of festivals and on the occasions of the
festivals and marriages in the Bustees, the Akhra is decorated with festoons, balloons, and coloured papers. Electric lights and loud speakers are fixed up. The tribals also dress themselves in the best colourful dresses that they could afford. And with all these they dance for the whole day and night to the annoyance of their non-tribal neighbours. On these occasions, they also parade the streets of the city and go to the non-tribal families living in the jurisdiction of their respective bustees and dance there till they get some “Parri” from them.

The various traditional dances are being maintained by the Oraon living in the Bustees in the city, but the quality of stepping, singing and druming has fast deteriorated. The dance to them has become just fun and not an act of art. This deterioration is primarily because of the change in economic occupation, educational qualification and urban way of life. Dance in city even during the festivals, are not shared by the educated tribals or by those who have been absorbed in any service howsoever low it may be. During the festivals who actively participate in dancing are those tribals who are still agriculturalists or labourers or domestic helpers. The rest have become the passive observers. Moreover owing to the pressure of their masters, they also do not get sufficient leisure for dancing in the Akhra regularly.

The converted Oraon living in the city are numerically stronger than the non-converted Oraons. According to our 10% systematic random sample survey, the converted Oraon constitutes about 14% of the total population (11,380) while the non-converted Oraon constitutes only 8% (8760) of the total population of the city. These converted Oraons largely live in the neighbourhood of their church compounds. About 20% of the municipal areas constituting religious zones of the city are converted by the churches, schools, hospitals and residential mahallas of the various Christian missionaries and their converts. These areas are fairly compact. Owing to-
this predominance of religious geography, the converted Oraons seldom think of performing traditional dances even on the occasions of Christian festivals. Dance has become non-existent among them. The fairly educated, well placed and religiously conscious converts do not feel like dancing at all even on religious or ceremonial occasions. Some stray cases of modified form of dance have been recorded on the family level on the occasions of marriage. These dances are also prevalent among the non-sophisticated and low class families of the converted Oraon. The community dance among the non-converted are fast declining.

The above analysis brings out the extent of impact that Christianity and city has made on the dancing pattern of the Oraon. It has been brought out that the dance has been an integral part of the Oraon culture and it has been related to certain institutions and customs of the Oraon villages. In this survey, the decline of the dance has been brought out with sociological points of view. It remains to be a big task to evaluate the nature and extent of change in the dance pattern from the technical points of view. Then, again, dance is a set of symbols for the expression of cultural emotions and needs. Its evaluation in that context, is a crying need. With all these the paper also brings out the need for comprehensive study of the Oraon dance from the different angles and for this stupendous task, the anthropologists, artists and other experts should come together. As the traditional Oraon dance is fast vanishing, the paper also raises the question of studying it "now or never".

References:

Dube, S. C.
1951
The Kamar. The Universal Publisher Ltd., Lucknow.

Elwin, V.,
1949

Majumdar, D. N., 1950  Affairs of a Tribe. The Universal Publisher Ltd., Lucknow.


1925  The Birhors, Ranchi.
1937  The Kharias Vol. I & II, Ranchi


Sahay, K. N. 1961  Impact of Christianity on the Oraon. MSS with the author.
CHAPTER X

ANTHROPOLOGY, ADMINISTRATION AND TRIBAL WELFARE: BIHAR A CASE STUDY

To-day many speak about the tribes of primitive and backward people, many are planning for the tribes and many are engaged in the task of tribal rehabilitation in India. The aboriginal or tribal population in India numbers more than twenty five millions. The tribes are on various levels of economic development i.e. from the hunting and the collectional stage to the stages of agricultural farmers and industrial labourers and are geographically concentrated in the hilly and forested belts of the north-eastern, the central and the southern parts of India.

These tribes have been exposed to external influences for a very long time, but their contacts with outsiders were exceedingly accelerated during the British colonial administration. Since the middle of the eighteenth century, administrative officers, missionaries, social workers, and anthropologists have been keenly interested in them for one reason or the other and have tried to 'help' them in their own respective ways. But due to their different objectives and orientation, their approaches to the tribal problems have been different and a study of interactions among themselves presents an interesting line of investigation.¹

Anthropologists Approach:

The importance of knowledge of Anthropology for efficient administration was perhaps, first realised as early as 1807, when the Court of Directors of the East India Company made

¹ This is a revised version of a paper published in September issue (1957) of the Eastern Anthropologists.
a formal decision that 'such knowledge would be of great use in the future administration of the country' (Roy 1921). To this effect Dr. Francis Buchanon was appointed by the Governor General-in-Council to undertake an ethnographic survey 'to enquire into the condition of the inhabitants of Bengal and their religion' (Buchanon 1820). Since then anthropologically oriented administrative officers like Risley, Thurston, Dalton, Grigson, Gurden, (and many others) were deputed by the British Government to prepare handbooks, gazetteers, monographs etc. on the tribes and castes of India. Owing to their pioneer efforts, whatsoever may be their scientific value, a bulk of ethnographic literature was produced and perhaps, it also helped the administrators.

These early writings, however, presented only descriptions about the land and the people, about the tribes and the castes as they were. It was as late as 1931, when Dr. J. H. Hutton, came out with his views regarding evil effects of contacts on the tribes. 'The solution of the problems', according to him, 'would be to create self-governing tribal areas with free power of self-determination in regard to surrounding or adjacent unit (Hutton 1931: 504-507).

S. C. Roy made similar reports regarding the devastating effects of contacts on some of the jungle tribes of Bihar. In one of these papers, he summarizes his views in the following words (Roy 1931: 375-377).

"With the opening up of the country by roads and railway under the British rule and the gradual deforestation of the country and even the increasing restrictions on the use of forests, these forest tribes (the Birhor, and the Korwa) are slowly but surely dying out partly from famine and partly from 'loss of interest in life.'"

Under the inspiration of S. C. Roy, another Indian anthropologist, Dr. D. N. Majumdar carried on field work among the Ho and published his findings in 1937 (Majumdar: 1931). He also reported that the Ho of Kolhan had undergone much
degeneration since they were studied by the earlier investigator (Dalton: 1879).

He found the people "a degenerate race of men with weak constitution and a lower expectation of life." In another paper, (Majumdar: 1939) he opined that "a large number of tribes showed a decline or a tendency to decline." About the Korwa, whom he specially studied, he observed that the disparity in the proportion of sexes, imported diseases, loss of ambition in life, and similar factors were leading to a depopulation in their ranks. He discovered among them the mental background which led to this vital decline and considered it to be more or less common to the aboriginal tribes of India. The direct cause of apathy and decline, he detected in the changed economic and social conditions and enumerated eleven of the Tolls' of the 'discomforts.'

However, an explicit and bold anthropological view regarding the future of the tribes found expression for the first time in Dr. Verrier Elwin's monumental monograph on the Baiga of Central Provinces. In this book, he not only diagnosed the malady and the devastating effects of 'overhasty and unregulated process of uplift and civilisation', but he also suggested the remedy. 'The first necessity,' according to him, was the 'establishment of a sort of National Park in which not only the Baiga, but the thousands of simple Gond in their neighbourhood might take refuge.' 'The administration was to be so adjusted as to allow the tribesmen to live their life with utmost possible happiness and freedom.' 'The missionaries of any sort were not be be allowed to break the tribal life.' In this manner everything possible was to be done for a tribe's progress and advantage, provided that the quality of tribal life was not impaired, that the tribal culture was not destroyed and that the tribal freedom was restored and maintained. Their contact with the outside world was to be reduced to the minimum. (Elwin: 1939: 511-519).
About the end of 1941, Dr. Elwin published another book entitled "Loss of the Nerve," in which he expanded the views he had previously expressed in his book, "The Baiga," both as regards the arguments as well as their validity as applied to other tribes of Central India. In that book his tone in support of "isolationism" appeared to be stronger. I will quote one of his observations as an example to illustrate my point....."But for the aboriginal in the Central Provinces, except in certain obvious cases, liquor is not a source of degradation or disease; the real evil of liquor to the aboriginal is that it brings him into contact with and often makes him dependent on a degraded type of alien" (Elwin: 1941). Dr. Elwin published a number of other books and papers and also wrote series of popular and illustrated articles in defence of the tribal institutions and habits. In recognition of his appreciation for the tribal culture, he married two tribal women, one after the other. His idea of a 'national park' and complete isolation was taken to be the anthropological approach to the tribal problem. The anthropologists owing to all these writings were labelled as 'isolationists' 'revivalists' and 'no changer' by the social workers and the members of the Indian National Congress Party.

**Social Workers Approach:**

The social workers and politicians under the leadership of Mr. A. V. Thakkar, a close associate of Mahatma Gandhi, took the other extreme position regarding the tribal problems. In 1941, Mr. Thakkar took for his R. R. Kale Memorial lectures the theme of the Problems of Aboriginals in India. In the first half of his lecture he criticised the anthropologists for their theory of 'isolationism'. He could not understand why they aimed at keeping the aboriginals in their areas untouched by the civilisation of the plains. He could only attribute this to the academic interest of the anthropologists "......To keep these people confined to an isolated in their inaccessible hills and jungles is something like keeping them
in glass-cases of a museum for the curiosity of purely academic persons”. To him, ‘separatism’ and ‘isolationism’ seemed to be dangerous theories as they struck at the root of national solidarity.

In the second half of his lecture, Mr. Thakkar explained the second school of thought i.e. of the social workers; he objected to the term ‘interventionists’ as the social workers are characterised by some of the anthropologists. He pleaded that the policy advocated by Indian social workers and nationalist politicians was one of assimilation. In the straight manner of a social worker he analysed the tribal problems as such into: 1. poverty, 2. illiteracy, 3. lack of communication, 4. ill health, 5. defects in administration, and 6. lack of leadership. He looked at their poverty owing to the ‘proverbial laziness’ that was caused by the type of cultivation i.e. slash-and-burn cultivation practised by the tribes of Central Provinces. Taking a humanitarian approach, he advocated to eliminate all these problems from tribal areas and indicated a line of action that would be applicable to any tribal concentration. Emphasising the importance and need of contacts, he said......‘Unless the aboriginal realised through contacts with more advanced people their own backwardness in the economic, social and political field, they could not make any progress’. It is enough to bring out the two extreme positions that the anthropologists and the nationalist social workers took to the solution of the tribal problems.

All these controversies that took place in the thirties and forties of the present century had a very devastating effect on the growth of applied anthropology in India. When India became independent in 1947, and the attention of the Government to tribal welfare activities increased, the claims of the anthropologists as experts on tribal problems were not taken into consideration at all. Their stand regarding tribal problems continued to be condemned at governmental level, and they were not needed for anthropological research and advice by the Government.
The social workers, on the other hand, found the political and administrative climate very favourable for the expansion of their activities. They found their own colleagues and partymen at the helm of governmental affairs. They were already biased against the anthropological approach to the tribal problems. They sought all cooperation from the social workers in framing the tribal policies and delegated their power to them in the execution of welfare scheme among the tribal population. In this way, as a matter of fact, the social workers assumed the roles of both semi-officials and scientists. They began to make recommendations to the Government on tribal matters, they began to get substantial grants from the Government fund for ‘helping’ the tribals, and later began to hold administrative posts for tribal welfare schemes on small honoraria. They began to organise the tribal welfare conferences on an all India level. A federation of non-official agencies for doing tribal welfare work in different parts of the country, called Bharatiya Adim Jati Sevak Sangha was started in 1948 under the presidentship of Dr. Rajendra Prasad (former President of the Republic of India). Initially 18 associations were affiliated to the federation; in 1950 the number of affiliated associations rose to 50 and at present about 200 associations are affiliated to it (Majumdar 1953: 75). Their organisations began to publish newsletters, magazines, pamphlets, and books dealing with the tribal peoples, their problems and the welfare activities among them. In the administrative committees and conferences on tribal problems the social welfare workers acted as experts; they also represented the government on national and international conferences on tribal problems.

Missionaries Approach:

The Missionaries of the various denominations have been active in almost all parts of Tribal India. Though the old Christian of Malabar Coast trace their conversion to St. Apostle Thomas as early as first century A.D., its
real expansion began in South India with the arrival of St. Francis Xavier in 1541. In Chotanagpur, Lutheran Mission started its activities as early as 1845 under the guidance of Father Gossner. They were exclusively interested in preaching of the Gospel and at least their early history in Chotanagpur comprises primarily of evangelistic campaign (Swavely: 1952: 50). The Catholic Mission of Chotanagpur began about 1885-86 by Rev. C. Lievens who is said to have been pained to discover that the poor aboriginal was being exploited by Rajas and Zamindars, while they were not in a position to seek justice owing to their all round backwardness. Pinto (1957: 299) comments that it was only when Dr. Lievens, filled with the charity of Christ and a true love of justice, took up their cause, that a ray of hope was shown in the lives of these aboriginals.

Since then, the Missionaries have been active in Tribal India. Though they have been primarily interested in evangelisation, the welfare works, educational, economic, hygienic and social,—called ‘work of mercy’ invariably followed. For both the types of work, spiritual and material: the Missionaries did realise the importance of understanding their culture and language. These, they considered essential for communicating with them effectively.

This awareness on the part of the missionaries to understand their culture and learn their language for their missionary activities inspired them to write several original books on tribal language and culture.

The missionaries as Elwin comments are anxious to see the primitives civilised, their ‘inferior’ social customs and ideas eliminated, and their identity assimilated into the Christian church (Elwin: 1955). They have been active in this direction and have succeeded in many ways. But because of their feelings of cultural and religious superiority, they are responsible for disturbing their cultural integration and inculcating feeling of inferiority among the Adivasi.
Interaction Between These Approaches:

All these developments namely, the increasing interest of the government in tribal welfare, the predominant influence of the social workers on the government, the missionaries' activities and the considerable neglect of the anthropologists by both the government and the non-official agencies had varied reaction on the professional anthropologists. A smaller group of anthropologists showed its indifference to all these developments and remained satisfied with the academic interpretation of anthropology. Another group of anthropologists employed by the government in the museums and survey works just pressed for the expansion of their departments and they were satisfied with what little the government did for them. The third group consisting of most of the important anthropologists (except Dr. Elwin and Dr. B. S. Guha), came out with several papers and addresses dealing with the importance of applied anthropology in tribal welfare programmes. They made a re-evaluation of anthropological position and came out with the theory of 'planned acculturation'. In a special Tribal Welfare Number of the Eastern Anthropologist (Majumdar and Haimendorf: 1949) a number of important papers on the importance of applied anthropology, tribal planning, and welfare schemes were published. The need of the social workers was recognised, but anthropological training for welfare work was emphasised. Some of the following features of 'scientific planning were given special emphasis:

I. Study of individual tribes and tribal groups and their basic problems, needs and necessities.

II. Careful planning on the basis of specific problems and needs of individual tribes and areas.

III. Adequate specialised training for social workers in tribal areas and general and practical training for administrative officers.

IV. Active participation of the tribal elders in the planning and execution of schemes.
The papers also indicated the following aspects of tribal problems in some of the tribes that deserved immediate attention:

1. Public Health and Sanitation,
2. Economic welfare, land and labour problems including administrative reforms,
3. Socio-economic reforms,

The Indian anthropologists, thus took a different view of the tribal problems in the late forties and early fifties. They were no longer emphasising the evil effects of contacts on the tribal population, instead they made themselves prepared to give advice for the end that had been fixed by the administration. Dr. Verrier Elwin, who took an extreme position and had advocated the National Park policy for the tribes, also modified his views and began to emphasise the need of ‘careful planning’ for the uplift of the tribal population (1955).

In many areas the welfare activities are looked upon by the general tribal population with great suspicion. The tribal leaders particularly have been very critical of the social workers in whom they find political competitors. With the emergence of a new tribal consciousness and tribal political parties, the government as well as the social workers are becoming conscious of their paternal attitude towards the tribal population, and are trying, though half-heartedly still, to take the applied anthropologists and the tribal leaders into closer collaboration in the planning and implementation of tribal welfare schemes. Such a collaboration was forged in 1953, when social scientists, welfare workers, the tribal leaders of the Congress party, and Government officials met in a conference of Tribal Workers held in a tribal town, Lohardaga (Bihar) and discussed the line of action for the uplift of the tribal population.

The conference served the purpose in the sense that for the first time the applied social scientists, the social welfare
workers, the tribal elders and the administrative officers met together on one platform. The traditional sharp difference of opinion between the anthropologists and social workers e.g., on prohibition of liquor medium of instruction, etc., came for discussion and were not resolved. The value position that the anthropologists took was naturally not appreciated by the humanitarian social workers. However, it was good beginning for understanding the views of one another and realising the need for collaboration in the future. (Report: 1954).

Administrative Machinery for Tribal Welfare:

The present structure of the administrative machinery for tribal welfare has also evolved through interactions among the applied anthropologists, the social workers, and the tribal elders. Its analysis shows the extent of participation and collaboration that have come to exist among them. The President of India (who is also the president of two social welfare agencies—Bharatiya Adim Jati Sevak Sangha and Bihar Adim Jati Seva Mandal) is constitutionally given special powers to safeguard the interests of the scheduled tribes (Indian Constitution, Articles 46, 330, 331, 332, 333, 339). In this work, he is assisted by the Chief Commissioner for the Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes who reports to the President of India upon the working of the economic and educational schemes of the Government and looks after their constitutional safeguard. The Chief Commissioner on behalf of the President and with the help of the four Regional Assistant Commissioners virtually controls all the tribal welfare activities of the central level. He makes the allocation of funds to the different states and to the non-official organisations and is in charge of their disbursement. Non-officially, he is also the Vice-President of the Bharatiya Adim Jati Sevak Sangha and is essentially a social worker. He has employed two anthropologists as his personal assistants who help him in technical matters and drafting the Annual
Report. The full-fledged Department of Anthropology run by the Government of India is under the Education Department and is mainly concerned with ethnological researches.

At the State level (Bihar, for example, with about 3 million tribal population), constitutionally the Governor has been made responsible for tribal welfare and the constitutional safeguards of the rights and privileges of the Scheduled tribes. On behalf of the Governor, the Chief Minister (who incidentally is also the president of the Santhal Paharia Seva Mandal and the Chairman of the Tribal Advisory Council) and the Welfare Ministry are in charge of the special schemes to be implemented in the tribal areas. Besides the special schemes, the general development work meant for the whole state are side by side maintained in the tribal areas as well, by the different ministries—Education, Public Health, Agriculture and Irrigation. In special cases the Ministry of Welfare may be consulted by the other ministries. In general, however, there is not much of co-ordination among the various departments of the State Government.

The Welfare Ministry also makes grants to the non-official organisations, like Adim Jati Seva Mandal and Santhal Paharia Seva Mandal, to run schools, hostels, dispensaries, etc., in the tribal areas. These non-official organisations also get grants direct from central non-official organisation. They appoint teachers and workers to implement the schemes approved and financed by the Welfare Ministry or by the central non-official organisation. They also raise donations for such welfare activities from the programmes in his region.

Besides state control and supervision, the Central Government have deputed their representatives in each region to supervise the working of the schemes, specially sanctioned and financed by the Central Government. The officer, called Regional Assistant Commissioner acts as liaison between the Central and the State governments and reports to the
Commissioner for the Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes about the progress of the welfare programmes in his region.

The Welfare Ministry is advised by two other bodies—Tribal Advisory Council and the Tribal Research Institute in framing policies and programmes for tribal welfare. As provided for in the constitution, the Tribal Advisory Council is constituted with 50 members of which three-fourths belong to the scheduled tribes. Its main objective is to ensure maximum participation of the tribal leaders in advising the Government on tribal matters, (Constitution of Indian, Fifth Schedule). But up till now, it has failed to fulfil its objective as it is dominated by the administrative officials, the Chief Minister as the Chairman, the Welfare Minister as the Vice-Chairman, and the Secretary of the Welfare Department as its Secretary. Its meetings are very seldom held and the tribal leaders practically have no chance to say anything about the tribal welfare programmes.

The Tribal Research Institute under the Welfare Ministry has been started in the year 1954 with a Director, assisted by sectional officers and research assistants. Its main functions are to advise the State Government of Bihar on tribal problems, to conduct researches on the life and culture of the tribes of Bihar, and to organise an ethnographic museum. The actual programmes of the Tribal Research Institute are to be decided upon by the Control Board. The Control Board consists of nine members, one from the Department of Anthropology, Bihar University, one from the Department of Sociology, Patna University, two from non-official welfare organisations and the rest from the government. The roles of the applied anthropologists employed by the Bihar Government are still to be watched and it remains to be seen what anthropology can do in the present set up.

Tribal Welfare Activities in Bihar:

What the Government have been doing in the state of Bihar in the name of tribal welfare can be had from the
recent report issued by the Government of Bihar (Report: 1956). The large number of schemes that they launched for implementation can be broadly classified into two; the economic and the educational. The economic programmes include reclamation of lands, minor irrigation works, loans for cottage industries, distribution of spinning wheels for khadi work, opening of grain golas (centres), reservation of certain percentage of jobs etc. The educational schemes consist of opening of new schools, grants-in-aid to non-official institutions engaged in the work of tribal education. Besides these economic and educational schemes, there are special welfare measures for the specific problem of the nomadic and hilly tribes, i.e., the settlement of the nomadic families of the Hill Kharia and the Birhor, and the special welfare of the Paharia shifting cultivators. Construction of roads, digging of wells, opening and maintenance of dispensaries are important items of tribal welfare schemes. In addition to these educational and important items of tribal welfare schemes. In addition to these educational and economic schemes, there are some schemes for the improvement of hygienic and transportational conditions in tribal areas.

Most of these schemes are financed by the State Government, but they get grants-in-aid from the Central Government.

In 1952-53, the State Government alone spent a total sum of about Rs. 1,27,000 over the execution of 176 schemes, besides paying grants-in-aid to 25 medical and educational institutions. In 1953-54, the number of schemes executed

2 These tribal welfare schemes are intensively executed in scheduled areas of Bihar which, according to the constitution constitute about 21.9 P.C. (15.227 sq. miles) of the total area of the state.

3 The grants-in-aid received by the Government of Bihar from the Central Government for the tribal welfare programme has been constantly increasing. From a sum of Rs. 15,00,000 in 1951-52, it has gone to Rs. 80,45,000 in 1957-58.
came to 325 and the total expenditure incurred over them amount to Rs. 5,00,477. In addition, another sum of Rs. 44,000 was spent on grants-in-aid to medical and educational institutions. During the last three years the amount has gone up by more than 100%. The report records about many schemes in details. One or two may be referred to here.

A popular scheme of the Government of Bihar is to open a net-work of grain Gola (centre for the distribution of seeds and grains). This has been in operation for the last several years. It is directed not only to combat the evils of exploitation of the tribes at the hands of the greedy grain and money-lenders but also to help them to get good seeds in time for the agricultural operations. The government propose to open 800 grain Golas in Bihar to serve 1600 tribal villages. Till the close of the first five year, plan they have been able to open about 368 such centres in all.

The non-official agencies—Adim Jati Seva Mandal and Santhal Paharia Seva Mandal—have been receiving substantial grants for the implementation of a special scheme known as Thakkar Bapa Scheme. A total sum of Rs. 5,76,400 was provided in the budget for the execution of this scheme. Under this scheme a total of 376 schools, and 31 hostels for the tribal children were opened in Chotanagpur alone which are being managed by the Adim Jati Seva Mandal. In these schools the tribal boys and girls are given free food, clothing, books, etc. In this way every year more and more schools are being opened, more and more stipends are being given, and many schemes for ameliorating the economic conditions of the tribes are being done. The comparative statistics recorded in the report indicate that more and more money is being diverted to the tribal welfare schemes year after year.

**Parentalism and Right of Self-Determination:**

Thus the type of administrative structure that has evolved, the nature of tribal welfare work that is being done, and the
amount of money that is being spent on tribal uplift appear to be very impressive. No doubt the improvement is in the right direction. But to an objective anthropologist who has watched the affairs of the Government and social worker on the one hand and the reaction of the tribal people on the other, the situation still appears far from satisfactory. The authoritarian approach of the government and the social workers 'to civilise savage' continues, the historic bias against the applied anthropologist still exists, and the tribal culture is evidently still looked down upon. They believe in improving their surroundings, their lands and their techniques. The value position is always neglected, the right to self-determination, though provided in the Constitution of India, is perhaps always neglected, and paternalistic attitude of the government and the non-official agencies always dominate. I see a great deal of truth in the observation of Tax, when in one of his papers he comments that the advent of national political independence in India has only transferred from one group to another the power to be paternalistic (Tax: 1956: 171). The consequences of such an approach to deal with the 'uncivilised tribes' find their culmination in the 'Naga Insurrection' in the North Eastern Frontier Agency, and then in the political nativistic Jharkhand movement in Central India for a separate tribal state.

I wish to illustrate this point further with a case study, that we made among one of the hill tribes in Bihar. The government and the social workers are very keen to rehabilitate the Savaria Paharia on the plains. They want to resettle them on the plains primarily to improve their material conditions and, secondly, to protect the forests that they destroy with Kuruwa cultivation (i.e. slash and burn cultivation). The government have also resettled ten half-Paharia families on the plains. But its reaction has been very dangerous on typical Paharia. Our field work indicates that they are in no circumstances, prepared to go down to live on the plains. Some of them went to the extent of saying that
if compelled by the government to go down, they would prefer to face bullets and die on the hills with their children instead of living a ‘comfortable’ life on the plains.

The arguments that they give for their preference to live on the hills deserve special scrutiny. My application of questionnaire on 50 Paharias indicates that all of them felt that the hills were their traditional homes, and their gods and spirits lived there. The second stereotyped answer given by all the informants was that they did not like to leave Kurwa (slash and burn cultivation) and the environment of trees and leaves that would not be available on the plain. Besides this common reply, 60% complained about the cruel nature of the plain tribe, the Santal with whom they did not like to live. When asked if they are removed to other place, whether they would like to go, the answer was again in a strong negative. In reply to another question they (57%, including all the women informants) expressed their strong dislike for the plains where their children would develop diseases and die.

When such is the attitude of the people of their hilly habitat, how far is it reasonable for the government and the welfare workers to decide that the plains would be very comfortable for them. Why the socio-religious factors of any tribal group should be overlooked just for its material well-being? In India, in the name of levelling up the backward tribes, their right to self-determination is being discarded. I am repeating it again just to emphasise that in the tribal welfare planning in India, I consider it a dangerous lacuna. Cases can be given in volumes to indicate how the spirit of parentalism dominates over the right of self-determination of the tribes. It is high time that, when applied anthropology has carved out a place for itself in tribal planning, in the modern Indian situation it should orient its attitude to action (Tax: 1952).
REFERENCE

Buchanen, F.
1820

Dalton, E. T.
1872
Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal, Calcutta, Government of Bengal Press.

Elwin, V.
1939
The Baiga, London, John Murray, Albemarle Street W.
1941
The Loss of the Nerve.
1955
A Philosophy For NEFA, Shillong. North East Frontier Agency.
1955
"Do we really want to keep them in Zoo" in The Adivasi. Director, Publications Division, Delhi-8.

Hutton, J. H.
1931
Census Report of India. Vol. I Part III India
Constitution of India. New Delhi, Govt: of India Press.

Majumdar, D. N.
1937
1939
Primitive Society and its Discomfort in Indian Population Problems.

Majumdar, D. N. and Furer-Haimendorf
1949
The Eastern Anthropologist. Tribal Number Vol. III No. 1
1933

Pinto, C. B.
1957
The Church and social Welfare in Truth shall Prevail, Bombay Catholic Association of Bombay.
Report

Roy S. C.
1921 Anthropological Researches in India. Man in India Vol. I No. 1
1931 The Jungle Tribes of Bihar, Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society Vol. V No. 1

Soaras, A

Swavelly, C. H.
1952 The History of Lutheran Mission in India (ed), The Foundation of Evangelical Lutheran Church in India.

Tax, S.

Thakkar, A. V.
1955 The Aboriginal Problems in India.

Vidyarthi, L. P.
1955 Education in Tribal Bihar, Man in India, Vol. 35 No. 1 January, March.
1957 Anthropology, Authority and Tribal Welfare in India. The Eastern Anthropologist, Vol. XI No. 1
CHAPTER XI
EDUCATION IN TRIBAL BIHAR

To-day there are many specific problems before the tribal societies which are being attended to by the government and non-official organisations. Among them the place of tribal education looms large and effective measures are being adopted to establish schools of various types and grades in every nook and corner of the Adivasi areas to remove illiteracy in all the districts of Chotanagpur and Santhal Parganas. In Ranchi district alone by now there are 1,522 Primary, 90 Middle, 21 High and 24 Junior and Senior Basic Schools.

These schools are under the supervision and control of either Education Council of the Government of Bihar, or Old District Board or Adimjati Seva Mandal or under the various missionary agencies namely Roman Catholic, Lutheran etc.

To-day the Adim Jati Seva Mandal has become the most important agency for the spread of Primary education among the Adivasis of Chotanagpur and the total number of schools under this organization comes up to about 300. The following table gives an idea about the various grades of schools run by the Mandal:

**DISTRICTS OF CHOTANAGPUR**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of School</th>
<th>Ranchi</th>
<th>Hazaribagh</th>
<th>Singhbhum</th>
<th>Palamu</th>
<th>Manbhum</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Upper Primary</td>
<td>154</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>269</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>170</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>293</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
It is, however, very difficult to attract tribal children to school, especially because the schools are organized without taking the cultural and economic conditions of the community concerned into consideration. The plans for tribal education which are under implementation can, in no way, be distinguished from those of non-tribal areas. In the following paragraphs I shall try to suggest those problems one by one that need consideration for the scientific planning of tribal education.

**Introduction:**

Education in the proper sense of the term is literacy plus discipline plus a kind of appreciation of the true value of society. Among the tribes of Bihar, our field experiences confirm that educated youth in general look down upon their own norms and values, their own economic system and tribal polity, and laugh at their own customs, practices and usages. So, although the tribals learn the three R’s, yet they are uprooted from their socio-cultural milieu and conditions are rapidly formed for cultural disintegration or maladjustment. Certainly, every change is bound to cause some hardship. But it should be our purpose to bring about the change as smoothly, and with as little loss of what is truly precious in tribal life as possible. For this purpose, planners should examine the characteristics of the traditional educational system prevalent among tribes and try to absorb some of their useful traits. The system of education of the preliterate peoples has its own interesting features. In childhood education is imparted largely by parents and elders. From adolescence, formal organized bodies take up the task. For example, we may mention the Morang of the Naga, Mohsuf of the Abor, the Nokpante of the Garo, the Terang of the Mikir, the Zawlbuk of the Lushai, the Dhumkuria of the Oraon, the Gitiora of the Munda and the Birhor, and the Ghotul of the Muria and other Gond tribes.
On the basis of personal field investigation, it can be said that the traditional school is still alive in an elaborate form among the Oraons of Chotanagpur. After an elaborate ritual, once every third year, in the month of Magh, boys are admitted into the Dhumkuria. Once admitted, they have to pass through three grades, namely, novice, moderately experienced and senior. Each of the first two grades spreads over three years, and boys continue to live in the Dhumkuria in the third grade till marriage. Training is given to the beginners and also to boys of the second grade by the more experienced members of the superior grade. The Dhumkuria works under the supervision and control of the Mahto, who is assisted by the Kotwar. There is a separate dormitory known as Pel-Erpa for Oraon maidens which though organised on the model of the bachelors' dormitory is not housed in a public building.

The dormitory is the central institute of the village. The Dhumkuria boys act as a corporate body in socio-economic undertakings of a communal nature and also play an important part in cementing village alliances of friendship.

Any plan of tribal education should try to utilise such cultural ingredients. It is very reassuring to note that a tribal educationist, Sri Julius Tiga, is making an effort to modify the institution of the Dhumkuria in such a way that it can be used for imparting literacy to the youth of Oraon villages. He and his wife are also trying to impart instruction in history and geography through songs and tribal terminology in primary and secondary grades in a Dhumkuria situated in Kanke at Ranchi.

Economy versus Education:

The tribal people have to struggle hard for their existence, and children are also not spared from this struggle. In some of the villages of Khunti sub-division in Ranchi, we found that about 56% of the school-going children did not take
their admission, while the rest were admitted, but only 20% of the total school-going children continued their studies for some-time. How economic conditions in tribal areas affect the education of children can also be gathered from a comparison of the figures of students in various kinds of schools in Ranchi district in the year 1951-52 with those of 1952-53. In the years under consideration, the strength of pupils in Primary schools came down from 67099 to 61418, in Middle Schools from 14,426 to 12,667 and in High Schools from 9,674 to 7,586; although the actual number of schools increased in the same period from 1433 to 1445, 66 to 71 and 20 to 21 respectively. This alarming decrease in the strength in various grades may be due to several reasons, but the main reason is suggested to be change in session of schools from January to July. In January, after harvesting season, the economic condition of the tribal villagers is improved and they can easily think of sparing their children for admission to school. But July is a period of scarcity as well as of heavy agricultural engagements the tribal peasants and landless labourers do not find it possible to spare their children for school for they are needed in the field.

To be precise, the above economic factors and their integral relation with education lead us to infer that economic uplift should go hand in hand with educational rehabilitation. But in Bihar we find more emphasis on literacy than economic problems. From the annual reports of the Adim Jati Seva Mandal, it becomes evident that practically no amount is spent for economic amelioration of the tribal people. But the findings of the anthropologists show that economic rehabilitation should be more emphasised than education. In this connection Mr. Madan has aptly opined that “Literacy will have to be given a lower priority in an all India tribal rehabilitation scheme than social economic uplift, medicinal and hygienic facilities and improved transportation and communication”. This may not be considered cent per cent applicable to tribal Bihar for
Economically, on the whole, she is not so depressed, but at the same time there is no gain saying the fact that both the economic problems and questions of education should be considered and executed with equal seriousness and sincerity.

Secondly, a school need not give training in the three R's alone, but it should be organized in such a way that, side by side, the children get training in agriculture, craft, other vocations so that they can earn even when learning in school. For this purpose, the system of basic education appears to be well suited; but the main disadvantage of this system is that the various parts of its syllabus are not yet integrally related to the central handicrafts chosen with due regard to the environment of the child.

Professor K. P. Chattopadhyay has suggested such a syllabus upto grade IV, showing how to link agriculture and farming with school teaching in tribal area. He is strongly of the opinion that training in general and social studies, history and geography should centre round some form of manual and productive work of agricultural nature. (But little stress has been given on agriculture as a major craft by basic educationists).

If the syllabus is modified in the light of the cultural needs of the people, it will be more useful for simpler tribal societies. The question of providing food, clothing and other amenities to the poor tribal students will not arise in such an acute form, because they will be able to earn something by means of manual labour.

*Education and Seasonal Activities:*

The life and culture of the tribal people are closely associated with their seasonal occupations. After harvesting, i.e. during winter, they are well off, enjoy feasts and festivals and are in a mood to spare their children for schooling. But during the rainy season, that is, at the beginning of
sowing, they have to do odd jobs to get even one meal for the whole day. During this period they are not in a position to send their children to school. It is hoped that the Government of Bihar will make necessary adjustment in timing of primary and secondary schools to suit the agricultural pursuits of the tribal population.

Medium of Instruction and Training of Teachers:

Children can learn far better through the language spoken at home than through a foreign language. One therefore notes with grave concern that from the very elementary classes, tribal children, not only in Bihar but in several other tribal areas of India, are taught in Hindi and their mother tongues are neglected. Our suggestion is that children should be taught through the midium of the mother-tongue at least up to the primary standard and the regional language may figure as a medium of instruction afterwards. Arrangements should also be made for the training of non-tribal youths and adults, who have some working knowledge of tribal languages, so that they can be appointed as teachers.

The writer has interviewed several non-tribal teachers who have been working in tribal areas of Chotanagpur and Santal Parganas and has learnt with sorrow how little they are informed about the customs and the practices of the children whom they teach. They maintain a social distance and look down upon tribal traditions and values and consider the tribal children to be dull and unintelligent. If they undergo a short training in social anthropology and tribal culture, such prejudices are likely to disappear.

Question of Script:

As regards the script in Bihar, there is not much difficulty. Almost all the tribes of Bihar have no script of their own. Only recently, at the conference of Scheduled Tribes held in Lohardaga (1953), a Santali writer spoke about the existence of a Santali script, but it does not seem to have come into
general use. Roman script was prevalent in some tribal sectors of Bihar under the influence of missionaries, but since Devanagari is not only the script of the regional language of Bihar but also of the national language of India, the Roman script has been now given up altogether, and Devanagari has been accepted as the script of all tribal languages in Bihar.

Syllabus, Text Book and Methods of Teaching:

We have suggested above that the school should not only teach the three R's but should also serve as a community centre. Education should be centred round the basic craft of the particular tribe. The actual teaching should be imparted not only through demonstration but through activity. Dances and songs should also figure prominently in the syllabus, not only as a means of recreation, but for training in the communal traditions as well as for social education. Shri Julius Tiga of the Dhumkuria School, Kanke (Ranchi), has made an attempt in this direction and has succeeded to some extent in imparting education with the help of songs, riddles, folktales and dances.

As regards the contents of the text books, they should be in conformity with the needs of the tribal society. The books that are recommended by the Education Department, deal more with the culture contents of the more advanced group. Some of the books written by Christian missionaries are also used in some of the schools. These books partly deal with tribal culture, but present a distorted view not only of the neighbouring cultures but also of tribal life. New text books should therefore especially be written for them. They should incorporate the relevant details of tribal mythology, traditions, heroes, their games and other means of recreation. Reference to parallel traits of culture, and later, to somewhat different traits needed for acculturation, should gradually come in the text books of higher grades. In short, upto the primary stage, the text books for tribal schools should be different from those of the general schools in the
same area. In the middle stage, there should be one or two
text books exclusively dealing with tribal cultural traits and
institutions.

Conclusion:

It would be apparent from what has been said above that
the planning and execution of education for tribal areas
should be considered on a different footing from the rest.

In planning for tribal education, the mode and technique
of traditional education of different tribes, and their other
cultural characteristics should be considered and incorporated
as far as practicable.

In any tribal rehabilitation scheme, the importance of
literacy need not be overemphasized at the cost of economic
welfare, as both are closely interrelated.

Education of tribal children should centre round the basic
craft, this being generally the principal economic pursuit of
the group, and stress should be laid on learning through
activity.

At least up to the lower primary standard, the medium of
instruction should be the tribal language.

Measures should be taken to train non-tribal youths and
adults in tribal language by establishing separate schools for
this purpose. Preferably such persons should be selected as
have some working knowledge of such language.

Teachers working in schools of tribal areas should
undergo a short training in social anthropology and tribal
culture.

The script for all the tribal languages of Bihar should be
Devanagri and books should be printed in this script.

There should be a separate set of text books for primary
classes dealing with the achievements, cultural traits, and
heroes of that particular tribe. Such books should be
prepared for each tribe by a Cultural Board specially
constituted for each particular area.
The method of teaching should be as far as practicable familiar to the tribal children. They should learn through activities, stories and songs.

FOOTNOTES

1 Annual Report of District Inspector of Schools, Ranchi, 1953.
3 In view of their sad experiences in the decrease in number of students and some other administrative difficulties, session for schools has again been changed from July to January by the Government of Bihar.
4 Madan, T.N.—"Tribal Education" in Eastern Anthropologist.
5 Suggested Syllabas—'Man in India,' Vol. 33, No. 1, page 12 to 18.
CHAPTER XII

LAND AND LABOUR AMONG THE MUNDAS
OF BIHAR

Much is being done in the name of Tribal rehabilitation after India achieved independence. In Bihar, much is being done to bring these millions of people on the footing of the other advanced and modern cultural groups. Besides governmental machinery, several social agencies and missionaries are making tireless efforts to eliminate the black spot of backwardness and primitivism from the cultural canvas. It is indeed a good augury for the future of tribal Bihar.

To-day there are many specific problems before the tribal societies, which are being attended to by the government and non-official organizations. Among them, the place of tribal economy looms large. The economic problems of the different tribes of Bihar, in detail, are different; and specific studies are required for each tribe before any scheme is put forward for economic rehabilitation. Here in the present paper, I like to discuss the various implications of land and labour in relation to the Munda of Bihar.

The Munda:

The Mundas happen to be the oldest tribal population of the picturesque plateau of Chotanagpur and demographically as well they are the most numerous tribe of Chotanagpur, except the Dravidian Oraon. Census report of 1901, records their population to be 3,44,373 but in the census of 1941, it rose to 5,19,743 and it is evident, though not recorded that their population has further gone up by thousands in the last thirteen years. The Great bulk of this population is mostly concentrated in the southern, south-western and eastern part of Ranchi District.
LAND AND LABOUR AMONG THE MUNDAS

The Mundas exclusively depend upon agriculture for their livelihood, and our door to door census of some Munda villages (Perka in the Khunti sub-division; Burhadih in Bundu P.S. etc.) brings to light that about 96% of the Munda population, are directly connected with agricultural, out of which about 20% are agricultural labourers and only about 4% of their population is engaged in other occupations.

Economic setting:

Economically, they are very depressed and barring a handful of families in each village, the bulk of population lives on the verge of starvation at least for three months. The plight of agricultural labourers is all the more pitiable. Agricultural labour can provide them livelihood for three months only; they have to seek work elsewhere as coolies, porters etc. for nine months. Migration of the Munda labourers to tea gardens of Assam, Bhutan and Darjeeling is everyday increasing by leaps and bounds. From recent times a large number of Mundas also go temporarily for seeking their bread in Andaman Islands and in the villages of Bengal. And when they return from these areas, they do not find themselves only misfit in their societies, but with them they bring in deviation, disease and death in the tribal society.

The size of holding per family is another clue for understanding the poverty of the Munda. From the census of village Perka in Khunti sub-division, we found that about 45% of the families have less than 5 acres of land and only 12% of the total families have more than 25 acres of land. The acreage per family is still less in many other Munda villages studied by us and it appears that averagely speaking the size of holding per family is not more than 3 acres. With this should be considered the factors of infertility of soil as well as the inadequacy of irrigational water, and crude method of cultivation which, taken in all, reduce the agricultural income per capita to be very insufficient.
The cattle wealth of the Munda also presents very gloomy picture. The cattle of this area are very poor, underfed due to the lack of good pasture and good fodder especially for seven months. The cattle are of poor breed also. The poverty of the villages affects the food stuff of the cattle which are compulsorily tamed by the villagers to give calves and not for the purpose of milk. As regards the number of cows, bullocks and buffaloes, they are only 1.5, 1.9, and 2 per family respectively in Perka village. But we were surprised to record only 9 cows in Burhadih where the number of bullocks came to be 244 and those of male buffaloes to be 18.

The poverty of the Munda is brought out by the extent of indebtedness. Thirty to forty per cent of the Munda families show grain debts. The average amount in Munda villages varies from 2 to 4 maunds. Cash debt is also not small. In short, it may be said that the average amount of debt comes to be equivalent to one to two months of food.

Economy Versus Education:

This short resume of the Munda economy introduces to us the vast economic problems that threaten the very healthy existence of the tribe. Inspite of their least wants and poor level of aspiration, they have to struggle hard for leading even hand to mouth existence. This monster of poverty affects their all spheres of life. It especially hampers the education of the Munda children who are miserably needed by their parents for sharing their struggle for existence. Most parents want to send them to neighbouring schools and mostly temporarily do so, but their pressing need at their homes or field compel latter to abandon the schools. In some of the villages of Khunti sub-division, I found that about 56% of the school going children have not taken their admission while the rest took their admission but only 20% of the total school going children continued their studies for some time.
How economic conditions in tribal areas affect the education of children, can be also had if we compare the figures of students in various kinds of schools of Ranchi District in the year 1951-52 with those of 1952-53. In this, one year under consideration, the strength of pupils in primary schools came down by 6481, in Middle schools by 1759 and in High Schools by 2088. This alarming decrease in the strength of students in various grades may be due to some other reasons, but the main reason is suggested to be change in session of schools from January to July. In January after the harvesting season, the economic condition of the tribal villagers is very much improved and they can think of sparing their children for admission in schools. But July is the period of scarcity as well as the period of heavy agricultural engagements. During this period the tribal peasant and landless labourers do not find themselves at all economically comfortable to spare their hungry and naked children for school, when they are badly needed in the field to ensure rich harvest.

To be precise, the above economic factors and their integral relation with education lead us to infer that economic uplift should go hand in hand with educational rehabilitation. But in Bihar, we find more emphasis on literacy than economic problems. From the annual reports of the Adim Jati Seva Mandal it becomes evident that practically no amount is spent for economic amelioration of the tribal people. But the findings of the anthropologists show that, in general, economic rehabilitation should be more emphasised than education. In this connection Mr. Madan has aptly opined that “literacy will have to be given a lower priority in an all India tribal rehabilitation scheme than socio-economic uplift, medicinal and hygienic facilities and improved transportation and communication”. This may be considered to be over simplification in case of the Munda for, economically they are not so depressed but at the same time there is no gain saying the fact that both the economic
problems and question to education should be considered, and executed with equal seriousness and sincerity. But without entering into detail, little has been done except the establishment of a number of grain-golas and construction of a few tanks in the name of economic rehabilitation of the tribal Bihar. In the following paragraphs I like to suggest those problems one by one that need consideration for the scientific planning of economic rehabilitation of the Munda.

\textit{Land and Agriculture:}

From the agricultural points of view, the whole of the Munda area is undulating and can be divided into two major categories—the upland and the lowland. The upland in the local dialect is known as \textit{Tanr} or \textit{Danr} and the lowland is known as ‘\textit{Dons’.} Both the \textit{Tanr} as well as the \textit{Don} have been further divided into three types on the basis of their respective elevation, and fertility.

The elevation of the \textit{Tanr} varies from \textit{O'} to 25 ft. and can be classified into \textit{Tanr I (O'-10')}, \textit{Tanr II (10'-15')} and \textit{Tanr III (15'-25')}.

\textit{Tanr I}, locally known as \textit{Dihari} \textit{Tanr} is the nearest of the village and is regarded as the part of the village side itself. Soil of such land consists of equal proportion of sand and clay and is used as “bari” for the raising of onion, garlic, potatoes, \textit{biras} (Paddy seedling) on a small scale. In \textit{Tanr I}, a coarse type of paddy known as \textit{Gora} is also extensively cultivated. On \textit{Tanr II}, that contains gravelly soil, maize and pulses are cultivated. The produce per acre varies from 6 mds. to 4 mds. \textit{Tanr III} also contains \textit{Rugari} or gravelly soil of very inferior quality. This type of land is utterly infertile and in some suitable places only hard corns like mustard seeds, and \textit{Surguja} are raised but the yield never exceeds 4 to 5 mds. per acre.

The second type of the land, \textit{Don} is lower than the \textit{Tanr} in elevation, the depth varying from \textit{O'} to 22' from the level area. Soils of the \textit{Don} land are very suitable for raising
rich rice harvest. Don lands, have been also divided into three viz: (i) The garha loyang or the lowest Don land. (ii) The Sokra land or terraces of middle elevation and (iii) the Badi or Chowra Don land, situated further up and immediately below the Taria Tanr.

The lowest Don lands, that are from 16 ft. to 22 ft. below the general surface show good deposits of black sticky soil known as Nagra soil which is the best suited for rice cultivation. This kind of land can retain moisture for a very long period and yield rich produce of rice varying from 25 to 20 mds. per acre. The Sokra at the Dons of middle elevation (10' to 15' below the area) is characterised by a soil known as Khisi, which consists of equal proportion of sand and clay. Nagra soil is also mixed with it. This area is also suitable for raising rice and winter crops, but the yield per acre is reduced to 15 to 18 mds. The badi or Chowra, the highest among the Don land (10' to O') is characterised by little deposits of brown Nagra soil and produces winter rice crop which is usually harvested in the month of Aghan (December). The land is least fertile among the Don lands and the average yield per acre varies from 10 to 12 mds.

As regards the proportion of land, under Tann and Dons, it varies from area to area. In Burhadih village of Bundu police station, out of 761 acres of total land, there are 433 acres of arable land of which 248 acres are Don land and 185 acres are Tann land. The acreage under three types of Tann and Don in the village can be also shown in a tabular form:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Types of Tann</th>
<th>Acreage</th>
<th>Types of Don</th>
<th>Acreage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tann I</td>
<td>65 acres</td>
<td>Garha or Don I</td>
<td>56 acres</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tann II</td>
<td>45 &quot;</td>
<td>Sokra or Don II</td>
<td>87 &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tann III</td>
<td>75 &quot;</td>
<td>Don III</td>
<td>105 &quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Besides these arable lands, a large plot, covering an area of 233 acres are barren uplands, some portions of it are under natural vegetation. The rest are left as barren or
wasteland. In other Munda areas, the pattern of land utilization presents a similar picture; the difference being only in the proportion of acreage under these types of land.

Now, from the brief survey of the agricultural land forms and their utilization, it becomes clear that a large acreage of the Munda country is lying barren and ways and means should be adopted to reclaim them. It also becomes obvious that the yield of crop per acre, especially in Don III and Tanr lands is very low and needs prompt attention for its increase. These two problems of wasteland and low acreage are closely connected with the nature of soil as well as irrigational problems and it is worth while to consider these two problems in some details.

Soil and Agriculture:

The study of soil of the area clearly reveals that barring the Dons, the whole of land is mainly covered with sandy and gravelly soil. Besides the inferior quality of soil that covers the land, the area is further affected by soil erosion. Both the types of Sheet and Gully erosions are conspicuous in the Munda country. As the cultivated Tanr lands are not properly terraced with embankment, the running water removes the valuable top soil. The slopes of the field are also being eroded by the headward erosion of deep gullies and everyday ravines and bad land are increasing in the Munda areas.

Soil erosion is every day increasing in this area; some of the reasons of which are known but little attempts are being made to put a check upon them. As the Tanr and ridges are devoid of natural vegetation, sheet and gully erosions take place in such areas. This has got further fillip because of the clearance of forests and cutting of trees for domestic purposes. Deterioration of pasture because of overgrazing has further added to the pace of soil erosion. The removal of soil from the Tanr upland is further facilitated by the
ploughing of the land along the slopes. The ignorant tribals are not fully familiar with the implication of the soil erosion and they feel no hesitation in ploughing the land along the slopes rather than across them.

The soil erosion has been very adversely affecting the agricultural economy of the Munda. With the removal of top soil, the fertility of the land has been very much reduced. The soil-covering on the sloping fields has become thinner and thinner every day as a result of which the yield per acre has been reduced. The gully erosion even transforms the rich fertile land into waste land. In order to preserve the peasants' property an earnest attempt should be made for the conservation of soil. Restoration of the protective and binding vegetative cover and the controlled framing are the two main ways that should be applied for the conservation of soil in the Munda area.

There are some bushes and trees that can protect soil from erosion. Pulush and Sindnar are such bushes that can be planted to check the soil erosion in Munda area. Further more trees like palas, bari, Kusum can be also planted on the Tanr land with a view to check not only soil erosion but to rear lac insects for providing raw materials to lac cottage industries. The Munda area has its importance in commercial sphere for the production of lac. There are numerous factories of lac industry in Bundu, three at Khunti, two at Murhu, and one at Tapkara. Besides these, the Munda area provides also raw materials to the lac factories at Jhalda located in Manbhum. Besides these trees, Sawai grass, can be also planted on a large scale in such areas. Even to-day, Sawai grass is found in the Munda area here and there. Attempt can be made to tame them in such areas where soil erosion is rampant and where cultivation of crops does not appear possible. The sawai grass will be a valuable asset for developing paper industry, thereby it will create an additional scope for jobs for many. Besides these,
several fruit trees can be planted on such wasteland for profitable purposes. If this is implemented a vast tract of Tanr land can be reclaimed as forests and gardens which will provide raw materials for the development of cottage industries of lac, tussar, paper etc. This will ease the problem of landless labourers and can provide supplementary jobs to the petty farmers.

Secondly, control of cultivation is most essential in the soil conservation. It should be controlled at critical points: (1) Where denudation starts from the ridge down the slope, (2) Where the gully is formed and multiplied. Attention should be paid to the contour ploughing. Furrows in such field should never be parallel to the slope. They should be devoted to the cultivation of certain crops like Mug, Urid, Kurthi, Bodi etc.

_Agriculture and Irrigation:_

It is needless to stress the need of irrigational water supply especially in the Tanr and Don III of the Munda areas. The lower Don field do not require additional water for the cultivation of rice if the monsoon rain is favourable. But in the case of the failure of the monsoon the provision of irrigational water becomes very imperative even for these lowlands. Moreover, if irrigational facilities are provided, not only yield of cultivated land will go up but also a large tract of cultivable waste can be reclaimed.

Now question arises what are the resources that should be tapped for making provision for agricultural water supply. Of course there are a large number of rivers and rivulets in this area but they cannot be used for irrigational purposes because the construction of canal is very much expensive in view of the hilly and undulated topography of this area. Moreover, the rivers have attained their old stage, their beds are flat and they are not in a position to store and supply water when it is needed.
Tank and well-irrigation have great prospect in the Munda areas. It is remarkable to note that water table in this area passes just below the Don land. Natural wells locally known as Dari or Chiaran are available here and there on the low lands. Water of such well is specially used for drinking purposes. Artificial well can be had only by digging 5 to 10 feet in depth. Hence the problem of irrigating the lowland is not at all acute. But it is very hard task for the resource-less ignorant Mundas to manage to irrigate the uplands. The State Government of Bihar have dug a large number of tanks on such Tanr land. But these tanks become dry just after the rainy season and practically they are useless for the villagers. The project of minor irrigation in Munda area has ultimately failed and it has failed because the plans of such tanks could not take the local hydraulic condition into consideration.

It is worthwhile to make arrangement for the storage of water on the plain area itself. Some rivers can be dammed. Some reservoirs can be made in the vicinity of natural wells, and tanks etc. can be dug in relation to the water table. Water from these tanks and reservoirs can be made accessible to the tanr land with the help of pumps. Of course, it is a bit expensive to purchase pumping machines, but the government must make them available to the people by way of loan etc. to enable them to reclaim such lands. Besides this, tube wells can also be tried in this area.

It is gratifying to note that the Seventh Day Adventist Mission (American) has actually converted about 100 acres of Tanr land into fertile field by applying this system of irrigation. At one mile from Khunti on the Simdega Road, we find a very large enclosure of Tanr land under cultivation for raising not only oil seeds, vegetables, fruits, but also rice. The yield of this Tanr land has not only gone up, but double crops are raised. The secret of its increased fertility is not to be sought in the use of tractors or the application of
manuring but mainly in the supply of agricultural water with the help of pumps from the river flowing on the low land. It is actually an eye opener and challenge to those interested in the economic rehabilitation of the tribes.

**Cattle and Agriculture:**

We have made an appraisal of the cattle wealth earlier and it appears relevant here to comment that with weak and inadequate cattle wealth, the agricultural economy of the people cannot flourish. It is worthwhile to arrange for pasture for the “starving dumb friends”. Proper arrangements should be made to improve the breed of the cattle. The cattle of this area mostly suffer from mouth and leg diseases. Adequate facilities should be granted by establishing veterinary hospitals as well as breeding stations. The villagers should be enlightened on these points and breeding of cattle should be made easily available and acceptable to them.

There are various other problems connecting the land and the agriculture of the Munda. But they are of general types, like problems of manure and seed, method of cultivation and fragmentation of lands etc. These should also not escape the notice of the administrators in view of the ignorance of the tribal peoples, who are suspicious about the adoption of new things.

To conclude, poverty, misery, wants, indebtedness have become priceless property of the Mundas. A large bulk of the population live on the verge of starvation at least for a quarter of a year but inspite of such a depressing economic condition more stress is being given on tribal education than on its economic conditions. This attitude and approach need revision. It would be apparent from what has been said above that:

1. In the rehabilitational scheme of the Munda both their question of education and economic rehabilitation should be considered on equal footing and importance of
literacy need not be over emphasised at the cost of economic welfare, as both are closely interconnected.

2. Attempts should be made for a comprehensive land utilization of the Munda country and ways and means should be devised for reclaiming the cultivable waste lands and increasing the fertility of the Tann lands.

3. Bushes like putush, sinduar, grasses like sabail, trees like Palas, Bair, Kusum should be planted with a view to check-devastating soil erosion as well as to provide raw materials for such cottage industries that depend on forest products for raw materials. This will ease the problem of landless labourers and may provide supplementary jobs for the petty farmers.

4. Efforts should be made to check sheet erosion and gully erosion by propagating controlled farming and sowing of certain crops like mug, urad, kurthi and bodi etc.

5. Tanks and wells should be constructed ensuring the supply of agricultural water to the Don land at the time of failure of the monsoon.

6. The natural well known as ‘Dari’ should be further exploited for irrigational purposes.

7. Pumping system should be adopted and popularised for irrigating the Tann land. Government should make adequate arrangement for making agricultural water supply available to the poor tribal population for irrigating the suitable Tann areas for cultivation.

8. The cattle wealth of the Munda areas should be improved by ensuring rich pastures, establishing veterinary hospitals and making available breeding stations easily to the tribal peoples.

9. Adequate facilities should be granted to these tribes for using scientific manures and seeds.

10. A team of trained workers should be entrusted with the work of economic rehabilitation of the Mundas under a Special Officer.
CHAPTER XIII

ANTHROPOLOGY AND TRIBAL POLICY: RESETTLEMENT
SCHEME AMONG THE MALER PAHARIA: (SOME
PRELIMINARY THOUGHTS)

For the last few years I have been interested in studying the roles of anthropologists in Tribal Welfare Programme in India. In two of my papers Anthropologist, Authority and Tribal Welfare in India published in the Eastern Anthropologist (Vol. XI No. 1), and in Anthropology and Administration in India published in the Journal of Social Research (Vol. II No. 1-2), I have examined the different views of anthropologists, social workers, missionaries and administrators, and have analysed the tribal problems and emerging machinery of Tribal Welfare in which all the above agencies have to play their roles.

In general, it has been established that the administrators, social workers, and missionaries are primarily involved with the “end”. The tribals are backward, they are semi-fed, semi-naked, illiterate and they should be provided with all these necessaries of life. Imposition and parentalism are their working tools. In other words they do not care for the “value”, volition, and the right of self-determination of the tribal folk. On the other side are the action anthropologists who have always taken the value position into consideration, and by them “right for self-determination” has always been given priority. Persuasion, participation and not coercion or imposition are their working tools. For them “ends” and “means” are interdependent and are determined in course of enquiry. The applied anthropologists, as far as I have been able to understand, occupy more or less an intermediate position. From the “applied” point of view the anthropologist becomes as completely “expert” on the culture he is studying as to be
able to make the proper recommendations for administration on the basis of his knowledge. Of course, to some extent this must always be true. But action anthropology, as I have stated above adds another dimension to this point of view, namely, the anthropologist can never know everything about a society other than his own, no matter how closely he is associated with it. Hence any recommendation, no matter howsoever expert he is, is liable to a certain degree of error. Social science has not yet progressed to a point where the complete and accurate prediction of human behaviour is possible. Thus the anthropologist may advise a certain policy which will turn out to be detrimental or irrelevant, despite the experience and knowledge. What the anthropologist can do from the point of view of action anthropology, is to understand the needs and desires of the people which they themselves express. For example, the administration may feel that the Paharia of Rajmahal may come down to settle on the plain, for if the people do not come down, they will not be able to avail the modern amenities and continue to live in the stage of primitivism. Should the administration force them to come down? Would it not be better to wait until the people themselves feel a need for coming down? Would it not be better to create such an atmosphere when they would be ready to come down, and take up plough cultivation instead of thinking the resettlement scheme as a threat to their own traditional way of life? From the point of view of action anthropology, the people always know more than we do, no matter how well considered our opinions. For the reason the first requisite of the anthropologist cum advisor is to listen to the wish of the people he is studying. He has to understand deeply the “insiders’ view” about certain problems. These, plus the intimate observation of the original life, can then be utilised in the formulation of concrete recommendations to the Government. It is this point of view that guides the comment and suggestion about the resettlement schemes among the Maler Paharia (Tax: 1959 Jay: 1959).
The Maler:

The Maler or Savaria Paharia (for whom we will use the term Paharia here) live on the hill tops of Rajmahal plateau in the sub-divisions of Rajmahal, Pakur and Godda of Santhal Pargana district. Most of the villages are from 500 ft. to 1500 ft. above sea level. But above the neighbouring plain area, their height normally ranges from 200 ft. to 800 ft. In Barhait Bungalow, however, a number of Paharia villages are located in the foot-hills zone. In general, the plains-like depressions between hills in this zone are inhabited by the Santhali an agricultural tribe with whom the Paharia may be fruitfully contrasted.

The climate of the Paharia areas is typically tropical. The temperature varies from 100°F in the summer to 450°F in the winter. The annual rainfall decreases from east to west and varies between 55” to 45 inches. Owing to the humid tropical climate, the vegetation is fairly luxurious. These forests are the abode of wild animals such as tigers, bears, etc. that frequently make attacks upon the domestic animals of the Paharia. These forests are, however, not rich in game. The water level in these hilly areas is naturally quite low, and during the summer the streamlets and hilly fountains go dry and then the majority of Paharia who depend entirely upon them for the supply of water, have to face insurmountable difficulties.

The Maler Paharia predominantly live on the flat hill tops and usually practise slash-and-burn cultivation on the hill slopes. They have also (Bari and Dhani lands suitable for plough cultivation on the hill tops. Some of the Paharia families have the Dhani land on the plains as well. The agricultural pattern of the Paharia is of special significance in understanding the rehabilitation problems in general and resettlement schemes of the Government in particular.

With a view to understand Paharia culture and problems, I worked extensively in that area and concentrated upon the
intensive study of three typical Paharia villages—Benderi, Nirbhitta and Tetuli—located in different parts of Paharia area. Moreover, these villages are located on different heights and predominantly practise one of the three kinds of cultivation. Benderi, near Boreo inhabited exclusively by the Paharia, is located at a height of 800 ft. from the local surface. It is completely surrounded by forests and the economic life of the villagers revolve round the forests: slash-and-burn cultivation on the forest tract, wood from the forests, games from the forests and so on. It is typically a high hilly village. The other village, Tetuli near Hiranpur, is located at a height of 100 ft. from the local surface. There is conspicuous absence of forests and the economic life of the people revolve round plough cultivation of the Bhitta and Dhani land. It is essentially low hilly village. The third village Nirbhitta, near Barhet, inhabited exclusively by Paharia families, is located at a height of about 300 ft. from the local surface. It has an intermediate position in terms of its hilly location, forested setting, and agricultural economy. The people depend for their livelihood partly on hoe type of slash-and-burn cultivation and partly on plough type of Bari and Dhani cultivation. In addition to the study of these three Paharia villages, two resettlement colonies of the Paharia, the Parerkola colony between Litipara and Dumka established in 1954 and the other, Murgabani colony near Boreo started in 1959, were intensively examined.

Resettlement scheme of the Government:

Resettlement scheme is the major feature of the present welfare work done among the Paharia. Resettlement is closely connected with the economic condition of the tribes which again is related to forest product and agricultural condition of the tribe. Resettlement schemes have been given the foremost priority by the Government in the Paharia area. According to the Resettlement scheme, the Paharia
families are to be brought down on the plains and are to be resettled there in colonies built by Government. The Paharia families, agreeing to come down, are usually given some two acres of land with a pair of bullocks, pigs, goats, hens and a cow. Grains and stipends for their maintenance are also given for the periods till the first crops are ready. The resettlement schemes were chalked out by the Government, as far as I have been able to understand, in view of (i) the protection or preservation of the forests which are in a state of devastation because of the slash-and-burn cultivation of the Paharias and (ii) effective implementation of uplift programmes, such as education, water supply, health sanitation, which cannot be effectively operated if the Paharias remain on hill tops. Evidently, the welfare schemes were devised in the context to resettle the Paharias down on the plains.

With a view to save the forest and rehabilitate the Paharia the administration undertook the first resettlement scheme in 1954 at Parerkola which was followed by Kunda Pahari (1959), Dumarchir (1959) and Murgabani (1959) colonies. I will take up two resettlement colonies Parerkola and Murgabani for our reference here.

The Parerkola resettlement colony

Initially ten families of the Paharia were to be resettled at Parerkola. During the start of the colony dispute arose between the Government and the local Santhal over the Partiland which was to be reclaimed for the inmates of the colony. The Santhal and the Paharia are, as the history goes, not on good terms with each other, and none of them liked to live in the close neighbourhood of each other. However, under the influence of the local officials eight families of Mal Paharias from the village Kumarbhaja, two Kumarbhag families of Baramasia agreed for resettlement there. Not a single family of the Maler or Savaria Paharia could be persuaded to come down to settle. The investigator visited
the colony several times and he also went to study Kumarbhaja villages from where the majority of the families had come. His closer studies have revealed the following points:

(i) Kumarbhaja is a village located on an undulating plain and all the families except one had adequate Bari land suitable for settled plough cultivation. They do not practise shifting cultivation at all. They have long abandoned shifting cultivation and, as a matter of fact, there was no trace of this cultivation in the neighbourhood of the village.

(ii) Out of ten families that came to resettle at Parerkola "seven families" are the close relatives of the village chowkidar of Kumarbhaja. The village chowkidar, has himself stayed at the village and his grandfather, father, father's brother, his two brothers with their wives, his father's brother's two sons have settled in the Parerkola colony. All of them are living in separate houses and constitute seven families of the colony. These seven families, as a matter of fact, consist of one extended family which for all practical purposes are broken into two families in the village. But for the purposes of getting assistance from the government in the colony, they have re-organised themselves into eight families seven in the colony and one in the village. In the original village, the chowkidar looks after the property of his father as well as of his father's brother. There are frequent visits among the inmates of Parerkola and Kumarbhaja. Both the villages, located at a distance of 4 miles share the same common market at Parerkola. There is a frequent exchange of goods, cattle and persons between the two villages. The roots of the settlers are quite deep in the indigenous village and they look at the colony as an alternative and temporary arrangement to get the benefits from the government without losing many socio-economic ties at the village. Moreover, the leadership of the particular family is further strengthened and entrenched at both the villages as the chowkidar gets the
credit from the local officials for pursuing a few families to house the colony. The power of the chowkidar and his family has been strengthened as one of his other relatives became sardar of the Parerkola colony and naturally had the upper hand in the affairs of the colony. The misuse of his power and his autocratic roles on many occasions is also reflected in creating such a miserable situation which led a family (not related to him but of his village) to leave the colony as he did not pay him ‘illegal gratification’ on a certain occasion.

(iii) In other cases only one or two members from each family have come to live in the colony while the rest carry on agriculture in the original village.

(iv) These members came to the colony to take advantage of the government aids given in terms of stipends for the maintenance during the initial period, two bullocks, one cow, cocks and pigs. Many of them have sold the bullocks, cows and pigs; and the wooden frames of doors and windows in majority of the houses have also been removed.

(v) One of the houses have been completely deserted as the male inmates committed dacoity and are in the Jail.

(vi) One family has left the colony and has come to its original village as it could not carry on good relation with the “Sardar” of the colony who demanded “money” from the head of this family.

Murgabani resettlement scheme:

This colony has come into existence in 1959. Twenty-seven houses into two long rows have been constructed. Though most of the houses have not been occupied, they have not been able to survive even for one rainy season, and are, in a dilapidated condition. A few houses completely collapsed during the rainy season. No explanation can be accounted for these except that construction of the houses
was done in a most inefficient, careless, irresponsible, haphazard manner. One notes with deep concern that the Government have spent about Rs. 12,000 towards the construction of these houses which I found completely in ruin. It clearly reveals that the materials used were of the worst quality, the contractor engaged, had no sincerity, no zeal, no sympathy towards the Paharias as well as towards the government money, and above all the local officials did not make any effective supervision in the construction work. One is pained to see the utter waste of money on the Paharia resettlement schemes when the Paharias are not willing to occupy these houses, and moreover, which physically collapse, before any effective occupation of the houses. This is true with other two colonies as well. My information (October: 1959) goes that only 8 and 5 houses are occupied in Kunda Pahari and Dumarchir colonies, though there are 25 to 20 houses” respectively. The construction work for these colonies is also highly unsatisfactory.

The history of the Murgabani colony as in case of Parerkola is equally disappointing. While the present site for the colony at the foot-hill zone near the Santhali village was selected, the Santhal registered their protest. They claimed the land to be theirs and opposed the government. But under the influence, persuasion and coercion of the local officials, they were partially satisfied, and while I visited the village in September, 1959, dispute over some portion of land continued between the Santhal and the government. Such occupation of plain near the Santhal village adds further tension to the historic enmity between the Santhal and the Paharia.

While the building was under preparation, search for Paharia families by local influential persons and officers continued from village to village on the hills. This made the hilly people panicky. For them it was a phase which led to the intensification of crises and mental tensions as the fear for bringing them down spread out in an epidemic form.
In spite of all the techniques of the officials and social workers only six families came to resettle but later on three of them went back to their original villages after their short stay in the colony. During my visit, only three families were occupying the big colony at Murgabani. Even these families have left their many near kins at their former villages and in view of many difficulties even these “half families” were packing to go back to their own villages on the hills.

In view of all these, one might rightly think from the very beginning that the government would have imaginative and as a matter of fact approach for the effective solution of the Paharia problem. The government should deem it of utmost importance to have as much information about the area as possible before developing any specific programme for the area in question. Ideally, of course, it would be desirable to have a complete knowledge of the area and its people, specific information concerning the land use, their economic activities, their levels of living, and their social structure etc., for scientific formulation and effective operation of the developmental programmes.

On the basis of my general survey and specific study of the typical Paharia villages, my primary, feeling is that the Paharia need not indiscriminately be disturbed owing to the unimaginative schemes of the Paharia Resettlement. The Paharia, should be firstly classified in terms of their land-use and adequate evaluation be made about the loss that are incurred owing to their habit on the hills. For the purpose of rehabilitation scheme the Paharia may be classified into three groups, as indicated above (i) Those villages which have got predominantly kurwa cultivation (slash-and-burn cultivation). The kurwa land of such villages are primarily located on slopy hills (ii) Villages doing mixed type of cultivation i.e. both plough as well as kurwa cultivation. This type of villages have land mainly situated on both sloping hills and table lands. (iii) villages doing predominantly plough culti-
PLATE No. 1

A group of Maier Hunters.
Plate No. 2
A scene of the Maler village Panchayat.
PLATE NO. 3  Two Santhal peasants.
PLATE No. 4
A typical Maler Hut on the high hilly village.
vation. This type of villages have cultivable *Bhitta* and *Dhani* land located on table land.

The last type of villages, which are located on an altitude generally varying from 50 ft. to 300 ft. from the local plain level, should not be disturbed. Such villages neither destroy the forest nor are relatively inaccessible for making other welfare measures.

In the past, some acreage was under kurwa cultivation. But our present survey shows that out of the total cultivable land, about 70% and 20% are *Bhitta* and *Dhani* land respectively. Very insignificant percentage is under kurwa acreage. I am not in a position to give you the number of such villages. It needs to be determined on the basis of extensive survey. However they are quite in number (may be 30% of the total Paharia villages), and instead of resettling them on the plains, effective welfare programmes should be operated right in the villages. The present investigator found such an attempt being made in a few *Gramdani* villages of the Paharia area. Lands are being reclaimed, houses are being built, and other welfare schemes for their economic, educational, and hygienic developments are being implemented collectively right in the same villages and, in general, I found a sense of satisfaction and enthusiasm among the *Gramdani Paharias* of one village Bare near Hiranpur where some field work was done by me. On the other hand, as we have noted earlier, the government have been indiscriminately attempting to resettle even those Paharia families who are living on low altitude and are practising plough cultivation. Examples of such resettlement schemes have created an atmosphere of fear and insecurity even in those Paharia villages which do not practise shifting cultivation. It is quite likely to affect the happiness and longevity of Paharia life. It is essential to remove the sense of fear from the mind of the Paharia especially of the third type so that they do not continue to be panicky and feel insecure.
In the second set of intermediate villages where the plough and the kurwa types of cultivation are practised, in more or less equal proportion, efforts should be made by the government to reclaim more and more such lands which may be suitable for plough cultivation. Many kurwa plots may be converted into Bhitta and then into Dhani lands. Many Paharia families have done so and if subsidies are granted to the Paharia living in the intermediate villages, they may, in course of time, turn many of their kurwa plots under plough cultivation. There are quite a large number of such villages which practise mixed type of kurwa-plough cultivation. Owing to the forest policy of the government the acreage under kurwa cultivation is on decrease. At Nirbhitta, where kurwa cultivation was exclusively practised in the past, about 40% of land is now under plough cultivation. In another village of intermediate nature, Deopahar near Banjhi where one of our research scholars is working for the last two years, kurwa and plough lands are in the proportion of about 60% and 40%. About two decades ago, a vast tract of land in this village was under sabai grass which these days have turned to be a forested tract.

Now, the villages which fall in the first category are inhabited by most typical Paharia. They have a great love for hilly way of life. Their economy revolves round the kurwa cultivation which accounts for great waste of forest. Few tracts are under Bari and Dhani cultivation. The areas are relatively inaccessible and welfare schemes cannot be easily operated locally. Tuberculosis is one of the major diseases of these villages and elderly persons of eighty years of Benderi remember the outbreak of small pox in a virulent form in the village for six times. In the kurwa field, more than one hundred types of trees are burnt. At Benderi, the author recorded the names of one hundred and ten plants ready to be burnt. Important among them were (1) fruit trees, (2) rope-fibres producing trees, (3) edible roots, (4) trees of herbal importance, (5) trees producing raw materials for industry:
cotton, silk, lac etc. (6) Timber trees useful for building purpose.

**Cultural Factors:**

The real problems for the government and the social workers, as a matter of fact, are those Paharias who live on high altitude and primarily practise shifting cultivation. The resettlement schemes may be thought to be meaningful even from the "Outsider's" point of view only for this section of the Paharia tribe. But in implementing resettlement scheme among them there is a good deal of cultural resistance, which need careful consideration before implementing it. The cultural resistance is equally great among the other two sections of the Paharia.

The Paharia owing to hilly and isolated habitation have developed many unique cultural characteristics. They eat all types of roots, leaves, fruits and games available in their forests. They burn the forest to practise slash and burn cultivation and raise maize. For them maize is life itself. The maize provides most of their food. The ritual calendar revolves round kurwa and the maize. Their values and moral standard are determined by them. The good man, the moral man is he who grows maize by kurwa method. Their spirits and deities (Gossains) are settled on the hills and are always worshipped in response to the traditions of the hilly culture. They receive sacrifices on various kurwa operations. They are non-vegetarian to the extent that some of them accept calves, cows, and buffaloes, sacrificed at their altar with all cruelty which the plain-dwelling tribes and castes may not allow. In short the Paharia in view of their ecological settings and many historical experiences have developed a style of life, a type of Nature-Man-Spirit structure, which they are not prepared to forgo.

Taken the "insiders' view", the view of the natives then, they are not prepared to leave their traditional habits and come down on the plains. For them to live on the hill is
not at all a problem, to come down and settle on the plain of course, is the most serious problem. Taking the “insider’s view”, bears which destroy the maize seem the vital problem, but it is not at all a problem from the angle of an “outsiders’ view”. The “outsiders’ view”, the view of the administrators and the social workers is to bring them down with a view to avoid the destruction of the forest and to make modern amenities easily available to them on the plain.

The arguments that they give for their preference to live on the hills deserve special scrutiny. My application of questionnaire on 50 typical Hill Paharias indicates that all of them felt that the hills were their traditional homes, and their gods and spirits lived there. The second stereotyped answer given by all of the informants was that they did not like to leave kurwa (slash-and-burn cultivation) and the environment of trees and leaves, an environment which would not be available on the plain. Besides this common reply, 60% of the Paharias complained about the cruel nature of the plain tribes, the Santhal, with whom they did not like to live. When asked if they are removed to some other place, whether they would like to go, the answer again, was in a strong negative. In reply to another question they (57% including all the women) expressed their strong dislike for the plains where their children would develop diseases and might die.

Apart from these, there are several other cultural factors which inspire the Paharia to oppose vehemently the schemes of “geographical rehabilitation” a plains’s resettlement. Firstly, the hills, cut off from the plains provide for them a safe place for brewing “mahua”, which, again owing to forest setting, is found in abundance.

Secondly, the Paharia, living in forests and hills have seen the ravages of famine down on the plains. While several times, the famines took away a heavy toll of life on the plain, the Paharia could easily escape from these devastating effects owing to their forest economy. Owing to this, they are afraid of
actually facing the famine situations if they go down to live on the plains.

Thirdly, the Paharia have developed a pattern of sexual life and a set of social customs, which they think possible to be maintained only in their forest habitat.

Fourthly, the Paharia look at any scheme of the government with great suspicion. This is because of many factors: exploitation of the Paharia during the British rules, prevalence of bribery and corruptions among the local government servants, imposition of scheme without consultation and cooperation of the Paharia. They look at every scheme of the government with suspicion and try to avoid them as far as possible. Some of them have their own way of looking at these schemes. The schools have opened to take the young ones in the war, the grain-golas have been started to entrap the Paharias; the Paharia are being taken down to the plain, as the government want to take their property on the hills etc. are some of the stereotyped attitudes of the Paharias which reflect how they have been interpreting the schemes of the government.

To conclude then, the Paharia, have adopted to their environment and developed their own nature-man-spirit structure and once they have established on the hills, they do not want to leave it under any circumstances.

The efforts of the government to resettle even a typical Paharia family have been a failure and if further effective impositions are made specially on the typical Paharia, the result may be disastrous.

It is to raise the question then, that when such is the attachment of the people to their hilly habitat, how far is it desirable for the government and the welfare workers to decide that the plains would be very comfortable place for them. Why the socio-religious characteristics and value attitude system of any tribal group should be completely overlooked just for the material well-being? Why the
"insiders' view" of the problem be neglected to implement the scheme formulated on the basis of "outsiders' views"? I do not say that the tribal group should be left untouched from the point of welfare programme, but I do suggest that "uncalculated but humanitarian imposition" and "unscientific and tactless implementation of schemes" should be avoided as far as possible. In case of the Paharia, it would have been better to make extensive survey of the land use, the agricultural pattern ecological setting and the position of tribal interaction and social attitudes, before resettling a few Paharia individual on the plains, and thus creating an atmosphere of fear, suspicion and anxiety in the entire Paharia area.

As a matter of fact, ideally a scheme should emerge right from the people for whom it is meant. They should feel the necessity for change and an attempt need to be made to create likings in them for what an outsider (administrators and social workers) wants to do for their uplift. The implementation of any welfare scheme should have socio-psychological orientation. In the name of levelling up the backward tribes, their right to self determination, the respect for their traditional values should not be discarded. These unfortunately find the least attention in the tribal welfare planning in India. I consider it a dangerous lacuna. Cases can be given in volumes to indicate how the spirit of parentalism dominates over the right of self-determination of the tribes. It is high time that the administrators and social workers should become aware of the dangerous consequences which are likely to follow owing to this policy of "Parentalism", "imposition" and disregarded for the "cultural values" of the tribes. It may be also suggested in parenthesis, that the applied anthropologists, who have carved out a place in the tribal planning in India may further think over orienting themselves to the principles of action anthropology as far as possible in Indian context.
References Cited


CHAPTER XIV

THE NOMADIC BIRHOR: A STUDY IN ECOLOGY, ECONOMY & WANDERING

Of the 357 million total population of India, only 17 per cent live in the 3018 cities and towns while the remaining 83 per cent live in the 558,089 villages (1951 Census). A part of village India which consists of about 25 million population has been classified as Tribes. This tribal population is mostly concentrated in the hilly, forested, and inhospitable areas of northeastern, middle, and southern India. These tribesmen, though in various level of economic gradings, are in general economically very backward, educationally almost illiterate, and socially almost cut off from the rest of Indian society.

Of such a tribal population, the highest concentration is found in the State of Bihar (Chota Nagpur and Santhal Paraganas) which has been a great exciting laboratory for ethnographers, linguists, and prehistorians. With 45 large and small tribes, numbering about five million people, of different economic, linguistic, racial and cultural levels, Bihar is one of the most interesting states in India for anthropological researches. In the districts of Hazaribagh and Ranchi in Bihar there is a little-known nomadic tribe, the Birhor, that wanders from jungle to jungle in quest of food. Owing to their nomadic traits, they are the most primitive tribe of Bihar and present a great problem from the rehabilitation point of view. Their total population cannot be enumerated exactly; however, according to the census report of 1941, their total strength in Bihar comes to 2499, and in other states 256. Earlier travellers, administrative officers, and anthropologists of the late nineteenth century, including Dalton, Driver, and Risley, have written a very little and that very vaguely about this wander-
ing tribe. Credit goes to Roy who did extensive field work among the Birhor and wrote an authentic monograph in 1925. He threw light on the socio-economic and religious life of the Birhor and did not attempt a scientific investigation regarding the nature and extent of wandering among the tribe. However, he brought to notice that a section of the Birhor had ceased wandering and were leading a settled life. According to their mode of life the Birhor have been classified as the Uthlu Birhor (wanderers) and the Jaghi Birhor (settlers).

Last year in the months of September and October the present author visited six settlements of the Uthlu Birhor in the police station of Bishunpur in the Gumla Subdivision of Ranchi, and made extensive studies of four of them with a view to examining the nature and function of the Birhor wandering. For this investigation, he not only depended upon interview and observation, but concentrated on door-to-door census and on taking down the genealogies of all the families of the four settlements. The details of these settlements, or the temporary villages under study are tabulated below.

From the first table it is clear that the four villages are located in the two regions of Bishunpur, each in a group of two. In each region the two villages are in close proximity, while the two regions—south-east and north-west are far apart. This question of location, as examined in the following paragraphs:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Names of villages</th>
<th>Number of families, Migratory groups</th>
<th>Number of Huts.</th>
<th>Number of persons.</th>
<th>Distance from Bishunpur with direction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Manjira-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3m. SE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Serka-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Chatak Pur-</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10m. NW</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Narma-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8m. NW</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Total:           | 15                                  | 9              | 25                 | 74                                    |
presents several facts for understanding the functional implication of wanderings among the Birhor. The second interesting point that comes out from the above table is regarding the composition of the Birhor temporary villages. The villages are not homogeneous units since we find differences in the numbers of families, migratory groups, and habitation in each village. This problem deserves consideration to understand the nature of Birhor nomadism.

*Factors for the location of Birhor Settlements:*

On the basis of the analysis of our data regarding the four Birhor settlements, it appears that they take three facts into consideration before selecting a place for their temporary settlement. They are (1) close proximity to the forest, (2) accessibility to the weekly market and also to the neighbouring villages, (3) availability of drinking water.

The first factor is chosen from the point of view of the availability of food resources and other forest products. Unlike most nomadic tribes of the world, Birhor economy does not revolve round cattle or the horse but round the forests. Not only their material culture but also the spiritual culture has been very greatly influenced by the forests. Their gods and goddesses are from the forests, live in the forests, and are to be propitiated in the context of forests.

Every morning the male Birhor of the settlement go to the dense forest collectively in quest of game and other jungle products. With them they take the nets which are their chief hunting appliances. They also carry clubs for killing the trapped animals, and axes to clear the bushes and cut the woods. The Birhor are famous monkey-hunters and the monkey is one of the important features of Birhor economy. They live upon the flesh of the monkey, sell the monkey skin, and also use the bones for some magical purposes. Their other notable games are rabbits, wild goats, and squirrels
which are usually found in these forests. Next to hunting, the second economic occupation of the Birhor is rope-making. From the forest they extract *chop* strings from suitable trees and make rope out of them. Both males and females are expert in rope making, and this craft has found increased emphasis owing to local demands. The Birhor also make certain wooden objects like the frames of drums, bowls, pestles, and mortars. They also collect seasonal wild fruits from the forests. The Birhor women gather *mahua* flowers, roots and leaves from the outskirts of the forests to supplement their family diets. They also collect honey from the forests; honeycombs together with eggs make a delicious dish. The Birhor depend on the forests not only for their food but also for branches and leaves for making their poor temporary huts.

In the two areas of Bishunpur police station, i.e. in the north-western and south-eastern parts, the hilly forests are especially suited to Birhor economy. These areas are occupied by some Birhor families and they continue to live there till the resources are exhausted. On these resources depend the size and number of settlements as well as the duration of stay.

As stated earlier, the accessibility to the nearby villages and to the weekly market in order to dispose of jungle products and home-made things are also taken into consideration at the time of making a settlement. When the Birhor were exclusively in the hunting stage, or where they are still in that stage, perhaps the first factor might be the only determining one. But with the addition of rope-making and other things, the second factor has also become important. They meet the demand for ropes in their region. In the course of our field investigation we found that each Birhor settlement was near a village after which it derived its name. Moreover each group of two Birhor settlements was also near two different markets. The Birhor of Manjira and Serka villages used to go to the Bishunpur weekly market every Thursday
with their ropes and wooden goods, while the Birhor of Chatakpur and Narma villages used to go to Banari weekly market on Monday. From the respective groups of villages, Bishunpur market would be at a distance of about two or three miles while Banari would also fall within four miles from the other group of villages. On each market day each Birhor family would sell things worth Rs. 5/-, or about a dollar. This facility for sale or exchange of Birhor goods for grains and other such things has brought changes in their food stuffs and good habits. So their pure forest economy has undergone modification with the impact of markets.

The third consideration for their choice of a temporary settlement, i.e., availability of drinking water, needs no elaboration. As they cannot afford to dig wells every time where they go and that often in rocky areas, they have to depend upon natural water supply. Owing to this the Birhor explore the possibility of being near a river, a spring, or such other water sources. At times the Birhor women have to fetch water from two or three miles away, especially in the dry season.

So, on the basis of the study of the above four settlements, we note these three factors—nearness to forests, accessibility to markets, and availability of drinking water for the location of a Birhor settlement. But all these conditions are available only in a few places, and owing to this, we find the migratory groups occupying the same places at some intervals in order of availability. It is very interesting to note that in some cases a migratory group wanders from place to place in quest of food and market in a cyclical order.

Social Organization:

The next problem that needs our attention is the social organization of the Birhor settlement. The Birhor call their settlement a tanda. A number of leafhuts, varying from three to ten, occupied by one to four families, composes a tanda. From a door-to-door census in each tanda, it was
established that each hut is occupied by husband and wife, and also the children under ten years. It was also noted that boys over ten and girls over eight are not allowed to sleep in the huts of the parents. For such boys and girls of the entire tanda, two huts, separately for the boys and the girls, are constructed. The Birhor call these gitichora,10 or the sleeping dormitory. The unmarried youths live in the gitichora till they are married and construct a new house to live with their wives. In case of the Manjira tanda, they did not possess any such traditional youth dormitory as there were no boys and girls above ten years. The Chatakpur tanda had two common huts for the youths while in Narma tanda we found one family having a hut of its own for grown-up girls.

When a boy is married and brings his wife to the tanda, he begins to live with her in the newly constructed hut. But living separately does not mean, in any way, separation from his parents. They work together, cook their food together, and for all socio-economic purposes they constitute one primary unit. But in course of time, within two to five years, quarrels arise on certain domestic issues, and separation of hearth takes place. With the separation of hearth, the joint family breaks into two or more individual families. Now they work separately, cook separately, but worship the same Bonga Kumba, i.e., the spirit hut that remains located at the back of the hut of the eldest member of the joint family. This common allegiance to the same Bonga Kumba, keeps the different individual families of brothers in the tanda of their father. However, after the death of the father, the brother may either continue in the same migratory group or may join other tandas individually at their convenience, and may install their own Bonga Kumba. In some cases, after marriage and death of his father, a man may join the tanda and migratory group of his wife’s father.

Our studies in the four tandas bring to light a number of examples of such familiar unity and discord. The following
cases, from Manjira tanda may further illustrate the point. Dugal and Budhu are both sons of Genda and both live in the tanda of their father. But Dugal with his wife and children has a separate hearth, where they cook and work separately, while Budhu, who has been recently married and has no issue, continues to cook and work together. Manjira's only son Sukhram (22) has recently separated his hearth from his father's because of a quarrel between his wife and his mother.

The genealogies of Sukhdeo and Manjira show that all their sons, though married several years earlier, continue to live together in one tanda, and they move together with their fathers from place to place. The elder brother of Sukhdeo has also continued to move together, though his eldest brother Donu left them after the death of his father, Thukru. Genealogy and personal interview with Sanichar lead us to think that after his marriage he began to move with his wife's father, mainly because his mother married another man after the death of his father, and partly because his wife preferred to live with her father.

A Birhor tanda may consist of more than one totemic clan. In the case of the Manjira tanda, three clans, *Kher*, *Induar* and *Mura*, are represented. Out of these three clans, Kher and Mura are of primary importance as each is represented by three to four generations in the tanda, while Sanichar is the only member of the Induar clan. Some tandas may consist of only one totemistic clan; for example, the Sirka tanda consists of only one clan and moves together in one group. In Narma and Chatakpur tandas we recorded more than one clan and also more than one migratory group.

These families and groups stay or migrate to other places at their own convenience. It is not at all essential that all the groups living at one place should leave the place simultaneously. However, when living at one place, these families and groups constitute one community and move about as one band from jungle to jungle in search of food and raw materials for ropes. In every tanda, or two tandas, there is a chief.
or Naya. The chief is selected by the will of the spirit made known through the ghost-doctor or mati. Every tanda has a mati. The mati is neither elected nor appointed; he is such owing to his spiritual command over ghosts and diseases. The chief of both the neighbouring Manjira and Serka tandas, Manjira, lives in Serka, and, at the time of social disputes, he convenes meetings of the elderly people of the tanda and makes necessary decisions in consultation with the other members of the tanda. Chatakpur and Narma have their separate chiefs. The function of the chief, as leader of the hunting expeditions, is also on the decline.

Extent of Migration:

Regarding the extent of migration, the present investigator attempted to trace the names of places that the nine migratory groups had visited, and recorded the distance and the duration of stay at each place during the last twenty-five years. In several cases the informants did not recollect some of the past events to furnish me with the relevant data. On the basis of the data that have been collected, it appears that the duration of stay of a Birhor migratory group at one place varies from four months to five years. The distance that a wandering group covers every time also varies from four miles to sixteen miles. A comparative study also indicates that the distance covered by each group in the past, i.e., fifteen years or more, was more than that of the present time. The three migratory groups discussed below illustrate some of the points and give an idea of the pattern of nomadism among the Birhor.

The first migratory group of Manjira tanda headed by Genda (55) includes families of two sons, his younger brother, and two sons of his younger brother; the only person in the lineage to leave this migratory group was his eldest brother. He left the group after the death of his father, and now his sons and grandsons constitute a separate migratory group.
During the last thirty years this group has moved to several places, and various events of the life cycle have occurred in different places. While Genda was married at Manjira about thirty years before, his brother, Sukhdeo was married at Gilingca and his brother’s two sons were married at Banari and Manjira respectively. Similarly, births and deaths of their children took place at different places. To mention a few, the third issue of Sukhdeo died at Hesa (10 miles from Manjira), his fourth issue died at Mundar (1 mile from Manjira), the fifth one died at Jehan (2 1/2 miles from Manjira).

Now we come to describe the places they have occupied and the distances they have covered. During the last twenty years, it appears that the group has changed five places. Twenty years ago it migrated from one area to another in Simdega subdivision of Ranchi district. Then it reached the Gumla subdivision of the same district and began to wander in restricted areas of one police station to another. For the last thirteen years its movement has been further restricted to the forested villages of Bishunpur police station. So this group, from the stage of inter-subdivisional movement, came to the stage of inter-police-station movement, and now it has reached the stage of inter-village movement under the jurisdiction of the same police station. In point of duration of stay at different places, we find a gradual increase. The details may be tabulated as below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Village</th>
<th>Police station</th>
<th>Subdivision</th>
<th>App. distance from Bishunpur</th>
<th>Duration of stay</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Biru</td>
<td>Simdega</td>
<td>Simdega</td>
<td></td>
<td>3 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Nagar</td>
<td>Raidih</td>
<td>Gumla</td>
<td>40 miles</td>
<td>2 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Tendar</td>
<td>Ghaghrá</td>
<td>Gumla</td>
<td>8 miles</td>
<td>1 year</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Simdari</td>
<td>Bishunpur</td>
<td>Gumla</td>
<td>4m. W.</td>
<td>5 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Serka</td>
<td>Bishunpur</td>
<td>Gumla</td>
<td>2m. SE.</td>
<td>4 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Manjira</td>
<td>Bishunpur</td>
<td>Gumla</td>
<td>1m. SE</td>
<td>4 years</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The other migratory group that inhabits the Manjira tanda includes the members of two families, one of Manjira (55)
and his son and the other of his daughter with her husband and children. Nomadic events of this group are all the more remarkable. About thirty years ago it roamed near about Chakradharpur in the district of Singhbhum. Moving westward it entered the Simdega subdivision in Ranchi district. It continued to wander in the villages of Simdega for five years, and then it came to Chainpur police station of the same subdivision. In this area its stay was about three years, and then for the last six years it has been wandering in the forested areas of Bishunpur police station. In this way the migratory group of Manjira is an example to show how a group goes from inter-district movement to the stage of inter-subdivisional movement, then to inter-police-station movement, and then to movements in the areas of the same police station.

These two migratory groups clearly indicate how the frequency in nomadic behaviour among the Birhor is slowing down. A section of the Birhor has already passed this stage and today is leading a sedentary social life under the name of Jaghi Birhor, as mentioned earlier. But still there is a section of the Birhor among whom the frequency of wandering is fairly great and the period of stay very short. Out of the nine migratory groups studied, three can be classified under this category. Here is one such case for illustration. This migratory group of Chatakpur tanda, led by Silwar's father, was wandering in Palkot police station. When Silwar's father expired, he together with the family of his brother, migrated to Bishunpur police station and settled at Gungatoli, about half a mile from the Banari weekly market. After a four months' stay, they left Gungatoli and went to Mahuadanr in Palamau district about fifteen miles from Bishunpur. They stayed there for five months and again came back to Gungatoli where they stayed for three months during the rainy season. During this period and at this place, his elder son Baijyanath was married. Then they went to Helta, about eight miles south-east of Bishunpur; they stayed there for
six months. Then they came to Ankori about six miles from Helta and stayed there for about one and a half years. This was their longest stay at a particular place. From there they came to the Chatakpur tanda where they were living in September of last year.

Summary:

Thus, on the basis of the studies of the above settlements, we arrive at the following conclusions.

First, the location of the temporary settlements of the Birhor is mainly determined by three factors: (a) close proximity to the forest; (b) accessibility to the weekly market and some neighbouring villages; (c) availability of drinking water.

Second, with the impact of markets and adoption of rope-making craft by the Birhor, their exclusive forest economy has undergone modification, and with this their food habits, social behaviour, and nature of wandering have undergone a change.

Third, the Birhor settlement or tanda is no longer a homogeneous unit as it is composed of more than one wandering group as well as totemistic clans. Owing to this heterogeneity, economic competition and group rivalry are increasing, and the influence of the chief as the leader of the hunting expedition is fast dwindling.

Fourth, in recent times, the frequency in wanderings of the Birhor has gone down. Most of the wandering groups now cover little distance, varying from four to sixteen miles. Comparative statistics show that the distance formerly covered by them was much more than the present ones.

Fifth, the duration of stay of a wandering group at one place has also increased, and a part of them have left wandering and now lead a sedentary life.
FOOTNOTES

5 Dalton, C. Ethnology of Bengal, 1872.
7 Risley H. H., Tribes and Castes of Bengal, 1891.
8 Roy, S. C., The Birhor, 1925 (Ranchi).
9 Tanda-Birhor settlement. Some Birhor also call their settlement Tandia. Neither of the two is a Birhor word. Tanda is also used for their caravan by the nomadic Banjara of Rajasthan. The Lubana of the Punjab, once a nomadic community, also use tanda for settlement. It appears that tanda is used for a temporary settlement. It is still uncertain how and when the Birhor picked up this word.
10 In the Mundari language Giti Ora is the word for “Youth Dormitory.” Instead of Giti Ora, I found the Birhor using the term Giti Chora, “Sleeping Platform.” However, Roy has also used the word Giti Ora in his book, “The Birhor.”
CHAPTER XV

TRIBAL INDEBTEDNESS IN TWO ORAON VILLAGES:
BRAMBHEY & BENARI*

India is a land of villages. About nine-tenths of her population lives in rural areas and to every seven persons out of ten in this country, agriculture is either the primary or a subsidiary source of income. Proper agricultural planning needs proper finance. In the absence of adequate finance, villagers have to take recourse to loan.

It is only natural that it should be felt from time to time that all is not well with rural credit in India. This feeling reflects itself in the appointment of committees of enquiry on rural credit from time to time. First enquiry that comes

* The present report on the Tribal Indebtedness in two Oraon villages of Ranchi is the result of three months field work by Sri Rama Kant Prasad M.A. and Sri Dilip Kumar Das M.A. This work was sponsored by the District Welfare Officer of Ranchi on the suggestion of the Deputy Commissioner. A generous grant to employ two investigators for three months was made, and I undertook the responsibility of directing this modest and preliminary scheme which aimed to understand the nature of tribal indebtedness.

The first draft of the report was prepared by Mr. Rama Kant Prasad. The report was thoroughly revised and necessary improvements were made by me. Prof. D.P. Sinha and Prof. M. Roy, of this Department also helped me in preparing this manuscript.

I am sure that this report on the tribal indebtedness, which is first of its kind, will be helpful to the administrators and social workers in understanding the problems of indebtedness in the proper cultural context. It explores the possibility for undertaking more exhaustive investigation of this problem and suggests the probable approach for the researches in the field of tribal indebtedness.

I am thankful to the Deputy Commissioner and the District Welfare Officer for financial grant-in-aid for undertaking this research.
to mind is that of Sir Frederick Nicholson whose famous Report of 1895 led to the creation of co-operation credit societies in different parts of India. This often happens after some years of unusually low or unusually high prices. It is on the whole infrequent to recognise need of enquiry in anticipation of a change in the conditions. In February 1944, under the Reserve Bank of India a survey of Rural credit was conducted on sampling basis. Lastly in August, 1951 under the Reserve Bank of India a survey in the requisite detail, not for merely of designing but also for organising and conducting it on an all India basis was conducted. This is a short history of enquiries which have been done on rural indebtedness in India.

My enquiry on Rural indebtedness is not so exhaustive as that of the Reserve Bank of India. It is simply a survey of 130 families in two tribal villages. This survey is more or less on the same line but not quite identical. It presents a picture of credit pattern in two tribal villages of Ranchi.

Choice of Village:

In the modern time the importance of village study is growing very much in the social sciences. The anthropologists are very much interested in the study of villages. It may be argued that anthropologists have knowledge only of tiny villages or tribes but in dealing with vast countries such knowledge cannot be a reliable guide. But, then, the systematic comparison is considered to be the essence of the method of social anthropology. Methodologically we accept the villages to be the representative of the region to which they belong.

For the present investigation two villages were selected one far away from the city of Ranchi and the other relatively nearer to it. The interior village is Benari, 82 miles west from Ranchi while the other village, Brambey, is 12 miles west
from Ranchi. Both the villages are dominated by one tribe, the converted and non-converted Oraon.

**Major Objectives of Study:**

1. The nature of indebtedness among the tribe.
2. The cause and growth of indebtedness among the tribal people.
3. To know the method of repayment of the loan by the tribals.
4. To find out possible solution of the chronic problem.

**Approach to Study:**

Village structure is based on the twin principles of kinship and neighbourhood. I have attempted to find out the role of kinship and neighbourhood in indebtedness and, in turn, have tried to assess how indebtedness affects the relationship among the villagers themselves.

Besides these, I have studied the agencies sponsored by Government for solving the problem of rural credit. It helps us to know as to how far the Government has been successful in solving this problem. We have studied Dhangar system, prevalent in these villages, which is a result of indebtedness. This Dhangar system provides villagers to repay their loans and also to get help in the form of money or paddy from time to time. In the repayment, they have to work as labourers. If a family needs an extra-hand, and has sufficient resources for payment, it can employ a Dhangar, a person who will assist in its economic activities.

At first I studied the geographical setting of the village, its demographic structure and social organisation. It provided me with a background to enable me to understand the nature of indebtedness.

Secondly, I studied the sources of income and items of expenditure on the family level.

Thirdly, I probed into the agencies which forward loans or control indebtedness in these villages, in order to know the
system from the very beginning to the present time. This chapter has been totally devoted to the organisation and function of the credit-system.

The preference of villagers in taking loan from different agencies also have been shown in this chapter.

Fourthly, I have enumerated and discussed the major causes of indebtedness in the tribal area and its effects on the villagers.

In the last chapter I have come to the conclusion on the basis of above data that indebtedness is a major tribal problem and I have brought out the causes which drive the tribal folk to the clutches of moneylenders. Another point which has been dealt in this chapter is how far the Government has been successful in helping the villagers to get rid of this problem and how far the villagers try to come out of this problem. In this context some general suggestions have been indicated.

Methods of Study:

As I had to survey the tribal indebtedness in the villages, I, firstly tried to find out the indebted families which were essentially small cultivators. After rigorous enquiry, I came to record 130 such families in both the villages: 50 families in Benari and 80 families in Brambey. In isolating the indebted families, I received help through Grain Golas, Dhan Golas, and traditional panchayats, and lastly through some old influential men of the villages. In conducting the research I had to take help from the various anthropological methods which are given below.

(1) Language:—The most important thing for an investigator is to understand the language of the community. The predominant language in these two villages is Kurukh (Oraon). But they can speak Hindi and can understand it as well. Thus, conversation was made possible with the informants directly through the medium of regional language.

1 Small cultivators mean those persons and families with small land holdings whose annual income varies from 200 to 400 rupees.
(b) Observation:—It consists of the method of observing the people's activities. It helps the investigators to know the correct situations in the village. It is divided into two parts:
(a) Participation (b) Non-participation. The first was mostly used by the investigator.

(3) Interview:—The method of taking interview of one or many informants at a time for the sake of getting knowledge of some particular object was also applied by the investigator. It was divided into two parts enumerated below:

(a) Individual Interview:—The investigator had taken help of this method to know the economic basis of a family. This method was mainly applied while interviewing the head of each family.

(b) Group Interview:—Through this method more than one person was interviewed at a time with a view to know their attitude towards mutual understanding of taking and giving loan.

(4) Questionnaire:—Under this method the investigator prepared a set of questions, which were arranged systematically in such a way that relevant information on particular topic could be gathered easily. This was the main method which was applied in the field by the investigator with a view to collect quantitative data on the various aspects of indebtedness.

(5) Establishing Rapport:—Before commencing the study of the village, the investigator felt it necessary to establish friendship with the inhabitants of the village, so that he could gain the confidence of the villagers, for facilitating the general field work. For making friendship with adult male, the investigator used to greet and treat them according to their age and status in the village. The investigator, from time to time, offered tobacco and biri to adults because the villagers were very fond of these two things. It helped the investigator to establish friendship and thus enabled him to know who were debtors in village and who were creditors, and then the details about the indebtedness as such were recorded.
(6) *Choice of Informants*:—The investigator was always on the look out for experienced and energetic informants because they were able to tell about the system of indebtedness prevalent in past as well as in the present.

(7) *Written Records*:—The investigator had also taken help from the written records available in the village in respect to know some particular things which were necessary and helpful in writing the reports.

*The Village and the People:*

*Setting*: The Village Benari and Brambey fall in the district of Ranchi. Benari is 82 miles west from Ranchi whereas Brambey is 12 miles west from Ranchi. The subdivisional headquarters of the village Benari is at Gumla which is 34 miles south from this village. The village is under Bishunpur Block and Police Station. The Police Station is 6 miles east from here. The other village, Brambey, is under Mandar Block. The Police station of this village is also at Mandar. Mandar is 4 miles west from this village, and Ranchi is 12 miles east.

*Situation*: The village Benari is situated on the P.W.D. Road that runs from Ghaghra to Neterhat. It is divided into four hamlets namely (a) Goratoli, (b) Mission Hata, (c) Benari proper and (d) Gungatoli.

The village Brambey also is situated on the P.W.D. Road that runs from Ranchi to Kuru. The whole village consists of two tolas namely (a) *Uppar Tola* and (b) *Niche Tola*.

*Communication:*

*Benari*: Although Benari is situated on Ranchi Neterhat P. W. D. Road, it is not frequently communicated. Only two service buses are available to reach this village (1) Mahesh Motor Service and (2) Choudhary Motor Service (running between Gumla and Marwai). Two forest-roads start from this village area. One forest road branching off from P.W.D. Road near market place goes to Lokhar in the district of Palamau and other forest road goes to the village known as
Marwai. These forest roads are busy only from October to August being used by contractors' trucks. Bullock-carts run throughout the year. The means of transport within the village is only Bullock-cart. Railway communication can be available only at Lohardaga after going 40 miles away from here.

Brambey: In comparison to the village Benari, this village, is better placed. The buses are available from 5 A.M. to 9 P.M. All buses which run to Palamau district, Gumla-Simdega and Madhya Pradesh pass through this village. The nearest railway station of this village is Ranchi located at 12 miles from here. One unmetalled road which stems from the right side of this village leads to Naher. The village’s Grain Gola is situated at Naher.

People: The village Benari is a multi-castes and a multi-tribal village. The total population of this village is 640. The number of families are 22 only. The chart given below shows the distribution of family according to the respective castes and tribes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of the Caste/Tribe</th>
<th>No. of families</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Oraon (non-converted)</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Oraon (converted)</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Chuck Baraik</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Kunihar</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Halwai</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Lohra</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Baniyas</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Mahli</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Turi</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Muslim</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Bhuyia</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Brahmin</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Rajput</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Chamar</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Ahir</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total ... 122 families.
The village Brambey may be called a tribal village, although a few non-tribal families are living in this village. The total population of this village is 1770 (including Brambey, Leprosy Asylum, Brambey Training Institute, Public Health Department and P.W.D.) and there are 195 families inhabiting this village (the surveyed area). The chart given below will show the distribution of tribes and castes family-wise.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of the caste/tribe</th>
<th>No. of families</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Oraon (non-converted)</td>
<td>131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Oraon (converted)</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Muslim</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Baniyas</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Mahli</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Lohra</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Ahir</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Dhobi</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>195 families</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Language:—The common speech in both the villages is predominantly Oraon or Kurukh. In addition they can easily understand Sadani (local Hindi). The dialect which is common to all is known as Nagpuria. But to a great extent villagers easily understand Hindi language but they cannot speak it fluently. The other non-tribal people speak Hindi.

Religion:—On the ground of religion the population of the village may be classified in several categories. Different castes and tribes follow different religions. On this basis we
can divide them under three heads: (1) Hinduism, (2) Islam
and (3) Tribal religion. But besides Christianity is found in
both the villages. In Benari out of 122 families, 25 families
are of Christians, while in Brambey 36 families out of 195 are
of Christians.

Occupation:—There are classes of people in these two
villages which can be classified as (a) cultivators, (b) craftsmen,
(c) Traders, (d) Landless labourers and (e) religious
worshippers. But we cannot wholly separate craftsmen,
traders, religious worshippers and landless labourers from
cultivation because directly or indirectly they are attached to
agriculture. It may not be their main occupation but it is
their subsidiary occupation.

The Houses:—The houses of both the villages have no
plan at all. The houses which are almost invariably built of
mud and roofed with red tiles or thatched with grass, are
huddled together without any order or arrangements. There
is, however, a marked difference between the houses of the
aboriginal tribes and of the houses which belong to other
communities. In the latter case the homestead has neat,
comfortable appearance and all its surroundings are in good
order, while the former are unclean and ill-kept, the houses
being tiled or thatched and fences half broken.

Although small variations are sometimes seen in the
internal arrangement of the houses of different tribes and
castes, the principles of construction are generally the same.
The houses are generally one-roomed. The doors are made
of wood which do not look beautiful. But majority of the
houses have doors of Tatti and made of bamboos (curtain).
The bamboo Tatti (curtain) stands with the help of two
bamboos. This can be moved from one side to another
side. The house of an Oraon is generally big. It is long and
has courtyard but the houses of other tribes are small. Each
house has a varandah and consists of one or more rooms
TRIBAL INDEBTEDNESS IN TWO ORAON VILLAGES 253

according to means and status of the occupants. One is generally set aside as a store or granery. Sometimes when the family is large there are two courtyards with two houses; the principal house facing towards street. The kitchen in the tribal houses is inside the sleeping room. But it is not so with othe castes. Some people influenced by urban forces have white-washed the walls and have placed stone on the floor. This type of house is generally owned by the Baniyas or Sahus, Muslims and Rajputs.

Every house of the village is attached with a kitchen-garden. They keep cattle inside the house on the varandah. In the backside of every tribal house there is small pig shed.

*How the People Live*:

In this section we have attempted to find out the main source of the people's income and main items of their expenditure. In other words we have tried to evaluate the standard of living of the people. Standard of living means much more than mere subsistence level. It means not only the necessities of life, but possibility of receiving a certain amount of comfort and leisure at a regular interval.

*Income*:

The main source of income of the village Brambey and Benari is agriculture. But there are many artisans also in the village who supply the things of day to day necessities of villagers, as for example potters, basket-makers and others. These two villages are also not free from the acute problem of the landless labourers—the problem which is on the increase in rural India. The main profession of this type of people is to work as labourers throughout the year. Besides this, there are people in both the villages who have taken to small scale business just as grocery shops and lac supply.
The chart given below will show the main sources of income of families and their approximate income.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. of family</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Main occupation</th>
<th>Annual income approximate in rupees</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>121</td>
<td>93.07%</td>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>Rs. 200/- to Rs. 400/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>3.84%</td>
<td>Artisans</td>
<td>Rs. 100/- to Rs. 200/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.53%</td>
<td>Labourers</td>
<td>Rs. 50/- to Rs. 100/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Other profession</td>
<td>Rs. 50/- to below Rs. 100/-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The above table gives us a working classification of 130 surveyed families according to their mode of livelihood. 121 families i.e. 93.07% have agriculture as the main source of income. The income from the agriculture is Rs. 200/- to Rs. 400/- annually. 5 families that is 3.84% have different crafts as the main occupation. The income of these families fluctuate from Rs. 100/- to Rs. 200/-. Out of 130 families, 2 families, that is 1.53%, have labour as the main source of income. The income of these two families varies from Rs. 50/- to Rs. 100/- yearly. In other profession 2 families come into this category. By other profession we mean selling of fuel wood and such types of other odd work. The income of this category varies from Rs. 50/- to Rs. 100/-.

But the failure to get a regular income from these main occupations compels these families to take recourse to subsidiary occupations. The subsidiary occupation given below help them to some extent to meet their expenditure. But these families failed to give an estimate of income which they derive from these given subsidiary occupations:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subsidiary occupation.</th>
<th>Percentage.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Labour</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Agricultural labour</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Artisans</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Agriculture</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Others</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>26.92%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>53.84%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3.84%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3.84%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>11.53%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Though the subsidiary occupations do not provide sound economic stability, yet the people, with this additional income, somehow or other maintain themselves. Labour as a subsidiary occupation is used by people who are purely agriculturists. In the non-agricultural seasons they work as labourers. Secondly, the agriculture labour is subsidiary occupation for those who are artisans. It leads one to think that their craft is either out of date or is not flourishing smoothly. Crafts is subsidiary occupation for those whose craft is almost totally out of date, for instance, Chick Baraik (cloth weavers). At present their main source of income is agriculture rather than their crafts. Agriculture is secondary source of income for those who are of the business class. There are a few persons who, though mainly agriculturist, do other works, for instance of Chaukidar or of peon etc.

**Expenditure:**

We have used the term expenditure in the sense of consumption norms and cost of living of the villagers. Next, it will be helpful to show how they spend and what are the defects in their way of expenditure which lead them to take loan. The consumption depends upon the article produced and the general standard of living. Of these two the latter is somewhat difficult to define. As a definite standard cannot be suggested we take into consideration the earning of the people in the setting of the environment and culture.

The villagers are agriculturists and from a long time they are in contact with people of other culture. As the time passed, changes occurred in their dietary habits and also in the daily use. In their ceremonies as well, they have added some items which are not produced by them, but consumed by them.

We have surveyed 130 families of both the villages. The total number of persons in these 130 families is 795. In the
table below we are presenting the expenditures itemwise, of the 130 families and also average figure for a family of 5 persons. This shows the monthly expenditure.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Items</th>
<th>Total expenditure of 130 families with 795 members.</th>
<th>The expenditure on an average family of 5 persons.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Food</td>
<td>211 mds.</td>
<td>1 md. 14 srs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Cloth</td>
<td>Rs. 3798/-</td>
<td>Rs. 20/-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Education</td>
<td>Rs. 903.94 N.P.</td>
<td>Rs. 5.63 N.P.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Rice bear</td>
<td>Rs. 151.25 N.P.</td>
<td>Rs. 0.95 N.P.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Tobacco</td>
<td>Rs. 111.37 N.P.</td>
<td>Rs. 0.70 N.P.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Festivals</td>
<td>Rs. 202.72 N.P.</td>
<td>Rs. 1.28 N.P.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Medicine</td>
<td>Rs. 509.30 N.P.</td>
<td>Rs. 3.18 N.P.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Alcoholic drink</td>
<td>Rs. 324.60 N.P.</td>
<td>Rs. 2.25 N.P.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. On guest</td>
<td>Rs. 330/-</td>
<td>Rs. 2.75 N.P.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. On light (two lamps)</td>
<td>Rs. 187.56 N.P.</td>
<td>Rs. 1.11 N.P.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Others</td>
<td>Rs. 4.25 N.P.</td>
<td>Rs. 0.27 N.P.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total:</strong></td>
<td>Rs. 7029.24 N.P.</td>
<td>Rs. 39.47 N.P.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Food:*—Food is the primary force in the primitive culture. Food offerings are made to gods to seek their blessings. Dance is followed by feasts.

The meals of the villagers are very simple. Their staple food consists of rice and *urid dal* (a kind of pulse). *Marua, maize and gondli* are subsidiary cereals used by them especially when their stock of rice runs short. Most of the villagers have their own land where they grow their cereals and pulses. But these produces are sufficient for few months only, when this is exhausted they have to take recourse to loan. Then, only they can buy cereals from the village market.
PLATE No. 5
A village school in the Maler village on the hill.
Plate No. 6
The Munda peasants making Mora for storing grains.
PLATE NO. 7  A Maler Mother with her child
PLATE No. 8  A Maler Sacred Centre: The deity of a Hill tribe is symbolised by a series of stones locally available.
Food is not only a means to satisfy hunger. It has social significance too in tribal as well as in the life of the villager. Traditional tribal or cultural attitudes towards food are most important among the cohesive forces in the community, which unite its members to each other and differentiate them from the surrounding tribes.

Clothing:—The effect of culture contact through the weekly market of the villages has brought a gradual change in the traditional dress of the tribals which used to be supplied by the Chick Baraiks. But the mill made clothes have totally upset the market of the Chick Baraiks. Now the Baraiks have to live a hand to mouth existence and have to take regular help from friends in the village. As we have found, even Government do not take any step regarding the development of this craft. Now the villagers rush to the shops dealing with ready made clothes. Either they get clothes against cash payment or the dealers provide them on credit. So this credit increases liabilities on the villagers. The expenditure of a family consisting of 5 members is Rs. 5.63 N.P. on clothing per month which shows the lavish expenditure compared to their meagre income.

Education:—From very beginning education has been unknown to tribal areas. Due to recent activities of Christian Missions, Government and other Welfare agencies education is gradually dawning upon the tribal people. But till now, the percentage is very poor. The very expenditure chart shows the poor percentage of expenditure on education.

On Rice Beer:—It is the current problem of the tribal people. But it has been existing since the tribal people attained the stage of agriculture. The rice beer is known as “Hanria” in the tribal region. It is prepared in home and so costs less. It has its own significance in all the social and religious activities of the tribal people. Now in these villages which have

---

1 B. Malinowski—Preface to “Hunger and work in Savage Society” by A. I. Richard.

17
got liquor shops near about, the use of Hanria is gradually diminishing from day to day use. Rice-beer requires some time to prepare. But liquor is available at any time.

_On Tobacco:_—Smoking helps a villager in regaining his lost vitality. It fills up his idle hours and acts as a medium of friendship among the tribe men and others. Though manners of smoking are circumscribed by definite etiquette its frequency is limitless and the quantity of tobacco consumed each day by an individual was difficult to measure as they used it from many sources.

Girls and children generally do not smoke. But aged boys and widows and adult women generally smoke and are also in the habit of chewing tobacco. The average expenditure on tobacco of a family of five members comes to be Rs. 1.28.

_On Festival:_—The tribal festivals are usually accompanied with dancing and drinking. They prepare Hanria on a large scale. Each family has to spend Rs. 3.18 N.P. per month for the preparation of Hanria and cloth for the festivals.

_On Medicines:_—The primitive people have very little knowledge about modern medicine. They use mostly the indigenous medicines which their forefathers used. They also add the least importance to the medicines. But gradually they are becoming conscious about its utility due to the effect of medical facilities available through the Block Offices. A family consisting of 5 members spend Rs. 1.35 N.P. monthly on medicine.

_On Alcoholic Drink:_—The opening of liquor shops has greatly affected the tribal people. They are now becoming habituated to liquor purchased from shops. The minimum expenditure on this item of a family is Rs. 2.04 N.P.

_On Guest:_—A guest has significant position among the tribal people. Their hospitality is proverbial. They prepare a feast for a guest. The monthly expenditure of a family for guests is Rs. 2.07 N.P.
TRIBAL INDEBTEDNESS IN TWO ORAON VILLAGES

On lighting:—With the sunset every one returns to his home. By 7-30 P.M. to 8 P.M. most of the families finish their meals. The cattle are put in shade before dark. The housewife does not work in the night. Their day begins with the sun-rise and ends with the sun-set. The villagers do not require much lighting arrangement. They use kerosene oil in lamps (Dhibri). The monthly expenditure for this is Re. 1.11 N.P. having two lamps in home.

On other special items:—Besides the expenditure on main items, the villagers spend something on other small items such as purchasing sweets from market and giving contribution. For instance the converted Oraons give contribution to their Missions. A family in this way has to spend Rs. 4.25 N.P. monthly.

Thus, the above description gives an idea about the expenditure pattern of the adivasi families of the two villages of Brambey and Banari. It may slightly differ from village to village but the overall picture of the expenditure remains the same. Under the impact of expanding weekly markets and other external influences the needs of the tribal villagers are multiplying and they need more and more purchasing powers.

Agencies for Supplying Credit:

The supply of the rural credit, particularly the credit requirements of the poor cultivators, are provided by private money lenders (common in the tribal villages), Government (Block Centres), Grain Gola, Dhan Gola, friends, kinsmen and other agencies. Christian co-operative societies are found only in those villages where converted Christians inhabit. But besides these agencies there are some other agencies which were operating for some years, for instance the Kabuliwala and the Gosai. The existence of these agencies was found till 1951.

On the whole we can say that there are two major agencies in the village.
(a) External agencies:—These agencies run on certain rules. They require written documents. They have some enforcement power for repayment of loan. In a word these agencies have no attachment with their social life. It has only an economic significance and owing to this it is not very successful in the primary organisations of tribal societies.

(b) Internal agencies:—It includes those credit agencies such as kinsmen, Dhangola and friends which are indigenous and informal in nature have been operating from the very beginning and are very much preferred by the villagers.

The agencies which are not found at present:

At first I want to deal with those agencies which have already disappeared due to Government legislations and less rate of interest charged by the Governmental organisations.

(1) Kabuliwala:—Kabuliwalas were very common till 1952 in these two villages. With the introduction of Government schemes of providing loans to the tribals they have, however, left the villages. Here is an example of a Kabuliwala who used to give loan to the villagers of Benari. The name of Kabuliwala was Taj Mohammad. He was an inhabitant of the village Jori, near Benari. He worked in this region till 1952. Other two Kabuliwalas who worked in this village were Yar Khan and Sultan Khan. They were residing in the village Adar. They used to charge interest at the rate of two annas per rupee per month.

(2) Gossai:—They were very common in the tribal villages. They came to the villages in groups of 1 to 5 in number. They continued the business of supplying loan till 1955-56. I came to know, that a party of Gossai led by Gangabir Gossai usually used to come to Benari. Generally they came to the village between November and July. They distributed loans in between these months. The rate of interest charged by them was 4 annas or 25 N.P. for a rupee.
In this locality it is known as Majhi rate of interest. Besides this at the time of payment of loan these Gossais used to charge "Get Kholai" at the rate of one anna or 6 N.P. on a rupee. Next, at the time of repayment of the loan, the debtor had to give Nam Kutai at the rate of 1 anna or 6 N.P. on a rupee. These Gossais usually hailed from Chapra District. The prompt repayment of the capital was not usually desired by these types of moneylenders. They preferred to remain a creditor and used to receive interest. In most cases they did not receive the full amount of interests regularly. But the defaults were recorded and the liability of the poor went on increasing.

The Current Loan Giving Agencies:

(1) Government Capital:—The organisation of the Government agencies are based on the basis of NES Block. The main credit organisations are co-operative societies. The Graingola is generally organised on the village level and it is either in village or near by the village itself. The Graingola of Brambey is in Jahir village only 3 miles away.

Security:

This agency does not require any security either in cash or in kind. But it requires that the person must be an inhabitant of the locality.

Rate of interest:—

It is of three kinds:—

(1) Short term:—The rate in this case comes to 3½%. This is for the season of the agricultural operation and such loans are meant for fertilisers etc.

(2) Medium Term:—The rate is 4% and the duration is given from 3 years to 5 years.

(3) Long Terms:—The rate of interest for this is 9% and the time given is 12 years to 30 years.
The Grain Gola charges ¼th maund on per 1 maund.

Function:—

Of all the agencies giving loans the Graingola is the most active and is highly appreciated by the villagers. At Benari, all the 50 families surveyed appreciated the rates and function of Graingola. But in the village Braman out of 30 families surveyed all of them disliked the working of the graingolas because of certain deficiencies. These deficiencies are (i) distance of the graingola from the village, (ii) prevalence of bribery, (iii) frequent absence of the Thana Welfare Officer from the graingolas.

Other wings of Government such as N.E.S. and the co-operatives, which distribute loans are less appreciated by the villagers. 27 families that is 20.76% of the total families surveyed have taken loans from Government agencies and semi-government agencies namely the Graingolas and co-operatives. The total loan amount surveyed is Rs. 4243/-

Out of this total amount only Rs. 536/- have been borrowed from Governmental agencies. In respect of kind i.e. grains from Graingola, 78 maunds have been borrowed out of total 280 maunds (in kind).

(2) Kinsmen:—Of all the agencies the villagers prefer to take loan from this agency. The only cause is that it does not involve the risk of documents and other procedural complications as in Government agencies. Out of surveyed families 15.38% have taken loans from this agency. They feel at home with this traditional and long continued practice.

Security:—

Generally loans from kinsmen require no security. It is a simple call of social ties among the villagers. On the whole it is based on mutual understanding. Sometimes one family gives credit to another and the time of repayment is mutually fixed. As for example Tuma Oraon took a loan of Rs. 150/-. Rama
Oraon and Tuma Oraon gave one acre of cultivable land to Rama Oraon for one year.

*Interest:*

For the kinsmen the system of interest is a simple procedure: either a certain part of land is given for certain period or the loanee or his close relative works as a Dhangar\(^1\) for a certain period.

*Function:*

The function of this agency is simple and is based on social ties. The range of its function spreads as far as the relatives are inhabited. Out of total amount of surveyed Rs. 11.70 was taken from kinsmen and out of 280 maunds of surveyed paddy, 17 maunds was taken from kinsmen.

(3) *Friends:*—Both agencies viz. kinsmen and friends, have the same status before the tribal people. They at first try to take loans either from kinsmen or from the friends. 18.46% of families surveyed have taken loans from this agency.

*Security:*

It is found that to some extent this agency requires security, either in terms of land or in terms of oral promise.

*Interest:*

The rate of interest is the same as it is for the kinsmen.

*Function:*

It is organised mostly on the village level. Generally it functions in terms of mutual basis and long term friendship.

Now, here I am giving the full description of the two agencies, that is, kinsmen and friend jointly because on the

\(^1\) Dhangar means worker who is engaged in the economic activities.
whole they are the same. The rate of interest is the same. The only difference is that the kinsmen agency is organised on a wider area while the friends agency is largely organised on the village level.

The loan of paddy is much prevalent among the villager. It has got three rates respectively (a) Bardhi, (b) Deldhi and (c) Sawai. In the Bardhi a person has to return just the double of the quantities of paddy which he had taken. It is generally applicable for the loan which is taken for the whole year. As for instance 2 maunds of paddy has to be repaid for a loan of 1 maund. In Deldhi one and a half has to be paid, i.e. 1½ mds. for 1 maund. It is generally given on the term of 6 months. In Sawai one fourth has to be returned; i.e. 1½ for one maund. It is only on the three months term. The Grain Gola has adopted Sawai system on the yearly basis and it is the only key to its proper functioning.

There are two systems of land mortgaging. If a villager takes some amount of money from another, and mortgages his land to him, the creditor will use the debtors, land until and unless he gets back the loan with interest. This sort of relationship was found between Mahadeo Mahara of Gungatoli and Haishu Baraik of Goratoli of village Benari. In the other systems we find that the creditor keeps the land of debtor for certain period and consumes the crops of the land. This period is based on the mutual agreement between the debtor and the creditor. One of the examples is of Piska Oraon who took a loan of Rs. 300/- from Ramchandra Sahu and gave his land to him for a period of 2 years. These systems are called Bandhik or Jarpeshgi in the village.

Another type of loan system prevalent in the villages is Chhara system. This is generally applicable in the small amount of loan. Suppose if a villager takes a loan of Rs. 10/- in a month of June-July and pays it back in the month of November-December then the rate of interest will be one
paila of paddy or any other crop for each rupee of loan. This means that the debtor will have to pay 10 pailas of paddy as an interest on the loan of Rs. 10/-

In these two villages loan is more common in term of these systems in non-agricultural seasons i.e. April, May, June and July.

(4) Mahajan:—Mahajans or professional money-lenders are common in non-tribal rural areas. But they are uncommon in the tribal area. Only 2-3% families have taken loan from this agency. These moneylenders are usually business men and grocery shop-keepers.

Security:

It requires mortgaging of land against the capital lent out, but the payment of interest must be made separately. Local Banias demand land for the security of creditor.

Interest:

They charge a very high rate of interest, which is just double the lent out amount. On this basis they take possession of their land for long period. In some cases it was recorded that for borrowing Rs. 100/- from a Mahajan, an Adivasi had to pay harvest for two seasons in interest only.

Function:

The roles of Mahajan are very rarely found. They are hated by the tribal people due to high rate of interest and unnecessary harassment. Rs. 310/- has been taken from agency as loan out of surveyed total amount of Rs. 4243/-.

(5) Mission Co-operative Society:—The organisation of this agency functions on the basis of religion. The non-Christian people are not entitled to take loan from this co-operative society. It works to the jurisdiction of the particular church. It is found only in the village Benari. It provides loan both in kinds and in cash. 2-30% families out of total surveyed families were lent out loans from this society.
Rate of interest:—The rate of interest is charged 7% per annum.

Function:—The Christians also do not always want to take loan from this agency. It is due to the high rate of interest. Out of the total amount surveyed, that is Rs. 4243/-, only Rs. 240/- was given in loan through this agency. And out of total kind, 280 maunds, 1 maund had been lent out. This poor amount and kind shows that it is not much appreciated by the villagers.

(6) Dhan Gola:—The organisation of this agency is based purely on the mutual basis. Some members of a village form this organisation. At first every member has to deposit 1 maund of paddy. It was started in 1931 in village Brambey and in 1953 in the village Benari. It is organised at two levels (i) only for the Catholic Christian and (ii) for all villagers without any bar on the basis of religion. Below is given the organisation of the Dhan Gola of the village Brambey.

(A) Members of the Board (1935)

(i) Dadu Lakhara
(ii) Nikodin Kujur
(iii) Francis Tigga
(iv) Lawas Tigga
(v) Somal Tigga

for Christian.

(B) Board of Incharge members 1931

(i) Chaturu Pahan
(ii) Dhuma Mahto

for all

Rules of Dhan Gola:—All rules are common in both types of organisations. Only the rule 1 is for the “A” type of Dhan Gola.

(1) Only Catholics can be members of the “A” type of Dhan Gola.
(2) Every year the members have to deposit one paila of paddy for the Dhan Gola.

(3) Only members are entitled to take loan.

(4) The loan is given only during May and June.

(5) At the time of taking loans the members have to produce Gawahor witnesses.

(6) At first the loan is given on an interest of 50% per annum but when the capital or stock of Dhan Gola increases the rate of interest is reduced to 25% per annum.

(7) Old loan must be refunded before taking new one.

(8) If no member takes loan, then the paddy in stock will be sold and the money will be deposited in the Bank. Later on if need be members in urgency can take loan from it.

(9) From the profit; help is given to the school-boys without any rate of interest.

The extraordinary profit will be distributed among the members of the Board and ordinary members on the occasions of festivals for purchasing clothes etc.

The stock is accumulated in the house of one of the members of the Board. The written records are maintained by the Board. The Store-keeper is nominated by the members of the Board.

We have come to the end of our discussion about the agencies that provide loan to the Adivasi villagers. We have noted that some agencies active in the past have declined and many more agencies have come up during the last several decades. From the following table the relative importance of the agencies is evident.
Average Borrowing from the Different Agencies:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Government agencies</th>
<th>No. of family</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Total amount taken</th>
<th>Total in kind</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Government</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>20.76%</td>
<td>Rs. 536/-</td>
<td>78 maunds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Kinsmen</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>15.38%</td>
<td>Rs. 1170/-</td>
<td>17 maunds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Friends</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>18.46%</td>
<td>Rs. 1987/-</td>
<td>34 maunds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Mahajans</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2.30%</td>
<td>Rs. 310/-</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Mission Co-operative</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2.30%</td>
<td>Rs. 240/-</td>
<td>1 maund</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Dhan Gola</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>...</td>
<td>150 maunds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total:—</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>99.20%</td>
<td>Rs. 4243/-</td>
<td>280 maunds</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Causes of Indebtedness:

There are many causes for the indebtedness in the tribal villages. In some cases, the causes are similar to the rural areas. The major distinction, however, is the relative absence of the "ancestral debt". Similarities are found both in the tribal and non-tribal villages as instance, sub-division and fragmentation of holdings, ignorance and illiteracy of the cultivators, failure to provide deficiency extravagant and improvident borrowing, litigation and family functions. These causes operative in tribal areas may be examined under the following heads.

(1) Sub-division and Fragmentation of Holdings:

When the holdings are small, the cultivation ceases to be economical even in the best of years and the yield from land becomes insufficient for the maintenance of the farmer and his family. On account of this reason either the farmer must go in for debt or must find some other source of income. The holdings are so small and the margin of safety so narrow that any misfortune may plunge the peasant into debt from which he can never extricate himself.
(2) *Vagaries of the climatic conditions and other calamities:*

India is subject to frequent failure of rains and the resultant famines. The frequency of failure of rain damage the agriculture and shows poor results. Hence, he becomes the prey to debt. It has been found that in a cycle of 5 years one year they have good harvest. It is only in the good year that the ordinary small holder can possibly keep himself out of debt. To a farmer there is no calamity greater or more severe than the total or partial failure of crops. When the rains fail there is nothing but complete bankruptcy in store, and he will have to borrow for nearly everything he wants, for seed, for cattle, and for cultivation. Out of total surveyed, 130 families, 39 families have taken loan for agricultural purposes. This percentage shows that this is one of the main causes of the rural indebtedness in tribal area.

(3) *Ignorance and Illiteracy of cultivator:*

Illiteracy forms one of the principal obstacles to tribal progress. A tribal easily falls into the clutches of indebtedness, Prof. Wadia says having no additional sources of income ryot continues to borrow in and out of the season. As consequence the increase in rural indebtedness has been paralleled to the growing loss of economic equilibrium brought by the pressure of population on the land and decline of subsidiary occupation.

(4) *Small Income of cultivator:*

The income of the cultivator is very small. It is so small as to make it impossible for him to meet most of the necessities of life for the whole year. As for example food. Out of 130 families surveyed 9 families have taken loan for food. According to the National Income Committee, the net output per engaged person in agriculture is only Rs. 500/-, Two-thirds of the people usually get one-fourth of the minimum requirements of food grains. In tribal villages the

1. Wadia and Joshi "Wealth of India" page 279.
situation is still acute. They are under-clad, under-nourished and the majority of them live from hand to mouth.

(5) **Sickness:**

The low standard of food makes the tribal people ill-nourished. Physical deficiency throws them into the jaws of epidemic and diseases, which suck their stamina and vitality and this brings illness and weakness which compel them to borrow. We have found that 3 families have taken debt due to this cause of sickness. It means 2.30% have taken loan for sickness.

(6) **Unemployment:**

In the present day unemployment is the cause of many problems. But it is also one of the main causes of indebtedness. It is found both in rural and urban areas. We have known that the problem of landless labourers is very acute in the rural area. In non-agricultural (April, May, June & July) seasons they are totally unemployed. No source of income is available. So, ultimately, they have to take help of the creditors. Through our survey we came to know that this problem is present even now. Out of 130 families surveyed, 6 families, that is, 4.60% families have taken loan for the maintenance of their families due to unemployment.

(7) **Extravagant and Improvident Borrowing:**

The tribal spends his money in extremely unmethodical manner, the conception of family budget is unknown to them. They spend their money and grains extravagantly in unproductive consumption, social ceremonies, like name giving ceremonies, marriage ceremonies, funeral rites and ceremonies to worship the spirits of ancestors and also on festivals and many religious performances. Social and religious performances have great importance in the tribal society. They are very superstitious with regard to the performances of these ceremonies, and they are compelled to perform them in all traditional manners. Therefore they have to incur
loans. Out of 130 families 9 families have taken loan for only these purposes.

(8) Litigation:

Litigation was not common to the tribal people in the past. But now-a-days due to the culture contact they are showing inclination to this habit. Previously every thing was decided on village level in a traditional way. They did not know the court of Law. But now, they know it, and so it also becomes one of the causes of indebtedness to tribal villages as it is in non-tribal villages. Here one thing is important: the number of loanees of this category is relatively less in tribal villages than in non-tribal villages. This is evident from the figures given in A.I. Credit Report. As for instance, according to our survey out of 130 families only 3 families have taken loan for litigation that is, 2.30% of families surveyed.

(9) Other causes:

There are also some other causes for debt, As for example for education, (2 families), for rent of land (1 family), for construction of house (1 family), for business (1 family). These causes are very rarely found but the eight causes cited above are generally found in the tribal villages. Presently this cause comes to 3.84%

Purpose of Borrowing:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Purpose of Borrowing</th>
<th>No. of families</th>
<th>Percentage of family</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. For Agriculture</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>73.07%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. For Food</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>6.92%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. For social &amp; religious activities.</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>6.92%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. For sickness.</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2.30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. For litigation.</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2.30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. For unemployment.</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4.60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Other Activities.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3.84%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total:</strong></td>
<td><strong>130</strong></td>
<td><strong>99.95%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Evils resulting from Indebtedness:

The chronic state of indebtedness has affected the tribals in many undesirable ways. Much of the evils from which they suffer are caused due to the indebtedness.

1. The low standard of living, the poor income and the poverty of the cultivating classes are further accelerated owing to indebtedness.

2. The market plays an important role both in economic and social life of the tribal people. The indebtedness of the tribal peasant to the Mahajans compels him to sell his produces at a prearranged price and in a closed and isolated market lacking in competition.

3. In the tribal villages Benari and Brambey indebtedness causes a loss of property and transfer of land from debtor to creditor. This is generally found with the kinsmen and friends of the tribal people. It is because they think that they can get back their lands from the creditors at any time. But if they hand over their land to the Mahajans they think that they have lost for ever.

4. The worst social and moral effect of the indebtedness is the conditional labourers or forced labourers or the Dhangar system. This is a peculiar institution of labour found in Chotanagpur division, mostly in Ranchi district. Dhangar is a sort of labour and is a servant to the master, that is, the Dhangar is a debtor under the clutches a Master or the creditor. Generally the year runs from Magh (February) to Magh (February). This system provides villagers to repay their loans or the interest of the loan. It is common in both the villages, Benari and Brambey. The villagers do the work of Dhangars for repaying their loans. They work as Rukha Dhangar, the system is as follows:—If a village takes loan from another village, and is not in a position to pay back the money, the debtor has to pay back his loan through services to the creditor, the time being fixed by mutual agreement. As for
example in the village Benari, we found that Banua Chamar and Jital Kherwar were working in the house of Paska Oraon. Banua Chamar purchased a piece of land for house from Paska Oraon costing Rs. 300/- and was not in a position to pay back in cash. So he was working as Rukha Dhangar in the house of Paska Oraon. Indera Singh and Rama Chandra Sahu had two Dhangars, they were father and son. These Dhangars were Bhuyias of Palamau. When they came first to this village, they incurred a meagre loan of a few seers of Mahua for food from these two men. But since then they had been working under Indra Singh and Ram Chandra Sahu respectively only to pay interest of previous loans. They receive only two meals for their livelihood.

The moral integrity and probability of the tribal farmer is threatened under the growing weight of indebtedness. For the inevitability of indebtedness, from which he has not even the remotest hope of escape, turns him into a dishonest debtor, an inefficient farmer, thriftless head of the family and an irresponsible citizen.

The question of rural indebtedness is one of the most important economic problems not only of these two villages, but of the country as a whole. The prosperity of the country depends fundamentally on agriculture, for most of its inhabitants are engaged in this occupation. But agriculture is held up in its march of progress by the heavy weight of indebtedness. So an effective solution of tribal and rural indebtedness is the first step of our economic progress.

After going through the report it is clear to us that the uncertainty of agriculture is one of the main causes of indebtedness. Out of 130 families, 95 that is 73.07% families took loans due to the failure of agriculture. This burden can be removed after having proper development in the field of agriculture. This uncertainty can be lessened to a great extent by providing irrigational facilities, like deep excavations of the existing tanks, constructing dams across the
streamlets to provide irrigational facilities. Next facilities
the distribution of land in the village is very defective in the
sense, that it is owned in highly sub-divided and fragmented
condition. There are two remedies. (a) Consolidation of
holdings through co-operative societies, and (b) a piece of
legislation to prevent on the one hand a further sub-division
and fragmentation of holdings below a minimum size legally
fixed and on the other, to promote consolidation by means
of voluntary mutual exchange plots. The permanent solution
of the problem is to reduce the pressure of population on
land by diverting a part of them to subsidiary occupations and
thus lessen the number of those who share land for cultiva-
tion. Although agriculture is the core of village economy,
there are crafts which can provide sufficient income to
maintain a family. At present however, we note that the tradi-
tional crafts of tribal people do not get any attention for
encouragement by the Government.

The craft of cloth weaving was the traditional occupa-
tion of a tribe known as Chickbaraik. The craft is
rapidly vanishing. It is due to the regular competition
of this craft with the mill-made clothes. The 17 families of
Chick Baraik of Benari had left their traditional craft
and had taken to agriculture. So we can see how the
pressure of population is increasing on agriculture. To stop
this, proper step should be taken by the Government to
develop suitable types of crafts in the tribal homes. It helps
in reduction of this problem of indebtedness in the tribal
area.

Another important point which comes out of the study of
tribal indebtedness is the growing habit of litigation in the
courts of Law among the tribal people. As we know that the
traditional panchayat is gradually losing hold because of the
new type of panchayat introduced by the Govt: But as the
Govt: Panchayats are generally headed by the non-tribal
people, it fails to satisfy the tribal people and so they prefer
to go to court for a fair judgment. Cases concerning land
disputes are very common which now a days always go to the court, as for example, the case of Gandura Suka, Chapo Suka, Mangala Suka Vrs. Mahadeo Suka and Birsa Suka in the village of Brambey, Achinit Tiwary Vrs. Mangal Mahli of the village Benari, Bhia Oraon Vrs. Pano Oraon of Benari. This type of litigation takes a long time and it forces the tribal people to take loan. Even the cases concerning the social life go to the court just as the case of Lahasu Baraik Vrs. Rawana Chamar of Benari. It is a case concerning girl kidnapping and usually it ought to have been dealt in the traditional village Panchayat. It shows that the new panchayat system is not properly suited to them because of the absence of tribal people in the panchayat organisation and the interferance and predominance of the non-tribal people in the panchayat. So we suggest that the panchayat which works in the tribal area must be organised through the majority of tribal people.

The seasonal unemployment is also one of the causes which leads the tribal people to indebtedness. In the non-agricultural seasons they have to sit without any means of earning. In this crisis they have to take loan for their livelihood. It may be removed if the Government opens some crafts to train the villagers for their subsidiary income or the income which will prevent the villagers to take loan at the time of non-agricultural seasons. The Government must take into consideration the schemes to introduce suitable craft to absorb the local landless workers and to provide them opportunities to work during the slack seasons. If adequate marketing facilities are arranged, the crafts are sure to flourish. It will provide regular method of income to villagers. There is a scheme of the Block in the tribal villages, for teaching them crafts just like Cane Development centre in Benari. But the goods prepared by this craft have no proper market in the local area. Owing to this the tribal people fail to utilise this craft in the local area for the betterment of their economic life. The encouragement to the cloth-weaving
cottage industry may give regular income to the villagers, and it will also reduce the pressure of population on land. For regular employment to a craft and for regular source of income, Government should open some crafts training centre according to the materials locally available in Benari. The jungle of Bamboo near Benari, for example, may supply raw materials for hand made paper industry. Paper has got proper and regular demand in our country. It will provide the tribal people a solid income and will save them from the clutches of moneylenders.

The lavish expenditure of tribal people on the social and religious ceremonies is also one of the causes of indebtedness. It is due to absence of knowledge of income and expenditure. It can be removed only through education. A scheme for adult education should be added to give proper guidance to the tribal adults. This scheme should aim, among many things to give orientation in the art of living and family budgeting. Substitute for rice-beer i.e. tea etc. may be introduced. This will gradually reduce the frequent use of rice-beer.

Lastly, the most important point is to deal in the tribal financing by the Government agencies in the tribal areas. It cannot be same as in the non-tribal area. All things should be organised through the co-operation of tribal people. Their non-participation in the scheme creates suspicion and they feel reluctant to accept the welfare schemes. The Graingola, for example, is interpreted by the tribals as a devise of the Government to entrap the Adivasi and procure maximum profit out of their yield. Such things happen mainly because they are ignorant of the aims and objects of Graingola. It will be better to make a Committee or Board of the tribal people who may control the function of Graingola with proper guidance by Government agents. In this way the Government sponsored credit societies will be popular among them and will save the villagers from the evil consequences of indebtedness. All the credit societies of Government which are working in tribal
areas must be organised with the active co-operation and participation of the people. The long procedure of inspection, permission etc. should be curtailed to the minimum to make all Government agencies acceptable to the simple tribal people.
CHAPTER XVI

THE CHANGING FACE OF TRIBAL BIHAR:
SOME PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS ON THE CONCEPT OF DETRIBALISATION

A number of years ago a controversy raged among Indian anthropologists and others over the issue of “assimilation” vs. “isolation” in respect to adivasi population. On one side stood professor Ghurye, who wrote, The Aborigines—“So-called” and their Future in which book he characterised the Indian adivasi as “backward Hindus”, and argued that to try to isolate them from the main stream of Indian civilisation would be a meaningless gesture. On the other side of the issue stood, for example, Verrier Elwin who advocated the creation of a “national park” in order to isolate and protect at least one group of aboriginals. This argument over isolation and assimilation now seems obsolete. There is at present little doubt that every tribal group in India (except very few in Andaman Island) has been affected to some degree by certain traditions of the society around it.

On the basis of our first hand study of numerous villages in Chota-Nagpur and Santhal Parganas structurally, we note that most of the tribal villages are mixed village where a few families of Brahmin, Rajput, Teli, Lohar, Kumhar, Ahir are invariably present. The exceptions are only with a few tribes which are basically hunters, food gatherers or shifting cultivators like the Birhor, the Korwas and the Maler. But these tribals have also imbibed some of the values of neighbouring plain-dwellers owing to their constant visit to the weekly markets.

Among the tribal themselves, we identify puritan groups like Vishnu Bhagat, Tana Bhagat, Mahadeo Bhagat who seem to be largely guided by Brahminical model of the Hindus.
Without going into the historicity of these factors it may be summed up that, though the adivasi society, sometimes in the ancient past might have been free from the impact of traditional forces and might have been characterised by absolute isolation, barter-economy, smallness, homogeneous villages life etc., self-sufficient economy, and above all their distinct tribal style of life. But now if examined, in terms of their structural relationship and cultural contents, we note that there are evidences to show that gradually but surely new values and concepts from the society around have continued to penetrate the tribal villages and, thus, have distorted the tribal model of their life ways. We have noted that caste system, the installation of the Sanskritic deities in temples, the Brahminical modes of worship and above all the rules of commensality have come to exist among those tribals who have been in contact with the surrounding Hindu population. This process of change may be called a "traditional process" (Jay 1959:83) which may be distinguished from another process termed as "modern process".

The modern process of change, started during the last century, is marked with agencies like Christianity, industrialisation, increased means of communication, administration, democratic system, tribal welfare schemes, community development projects etc. Though these agencies lead to different types of change, they share many things in common. They are of the recent origin and above all they are directly or indirectly external forces which do not arise through the normal contact of the adivasi population of the area with the non-adivasi populations. Again, they are fast, induced, planned, sponsored and, thus, in many ways these are marked by elements of imposition and not of selection. Let us briefly examine some of the major agencies of modern processes in terms of their history, structural network and culture content. In view of the limitation of time, I have to be brief and so only major points are to be covered.
Historically, the first door of Christianity was opened with the conversion of four Uraon souls by Father Gossner of German Mission in the year 1850 and the next door of conversion was opened for the Mundas when two of them were converted in the year 1951. In the same year the foundation of the big church at Ranchi was laid, which was ready for use in the year 1955. After the German Mission, the Catholic Mission (1869), the Anglican Mission (1870), Seventh Day Adventist Mission (1947) pitched their tents in the innocent land of Chota Nagpur and in course of the last one century they were in a position to break the cultural homogeneity of the adivasi and many of the adivasi villages, religiously speaking, were divided into Christian and non-Christian groups. Christianity originated, developed, flourished, and was successful in introducing a "modernised" style of life in certain section of the adivasi villages.

A very exhaustive and systematic study of a few Christian Oraon village in Chainpur area by K. N. Sahay reveals that with conversion, the old faith in the Sarna religion changed and the new Christian faith was introduced. Change in religious faith had vast sociological implications and further changes in religion, the focal aspect of culture, led to corresponding changes in festivals, village organisation, rites-de-passage, economic round of life and such other aspects of the traditional culture. Such a transformation can be examined at the tribe, village, family and individual levels which indicate the processes of compromise, combination, elimination and conflict among the two types of traditions: indigenous and borrowed. While it is not possible here to refer to the pattern of institutional changes and the loss sustained by adivasi culture at the different levels, I consider it very important to make at least a passing reference to the changes that transpired owing to the Christianity at the individual level which of course, had wider consequences.

"On the individual level, we note that Christianity has been an important factor in modifying the socialisation and
training processes of the child. From the very beginning a child is oriented to the Christian customs, ideals, morals and norms and are forbidden to do what the Sarna child does. Moreover, a Christian child gets special religious training in missions, schools and parish centres. All these things lead to the emergence of a new type of personality, different in many ways from that of the Sarna Uraon, and by the time a Christian Uraon comes of age, he or she becomes more or less a finished product of the tribal Christian community" (Sahay, K. N., Doctoral Thesis-1963, unpublished).

Urbanisation, Industrialisation and Communications:

The other important factor that needs to be considered in relation to the modern processes is a complex of the discovery of mineral wealth, installation of numerous factories, coming up of several urban industrial centres and consequent development in communication. It was as early as in 1851 when the Jharia Coal field was exploited, it was in 1904 when the iron ores were first explored in the areas of Singhbhum and, then, other minerals such as mica in Hazaribagh, Bauxite in Ranchi were discovered. The discovery of a number of minerals exposed the tribals to the world outside as they were needed to work in the mines. Along with the discovery of minerals a number of industries in the district of Singhbhum, Ranchi and Hazaribagh have been established and many more are likely to be established in the near future. With the scientific exploitation of forest resources a number of industries based on forest raw materials, gradually came up. Moreover, with the increasing demand of forest goods and timber the forest economy became an attractive asset. With all these, Chota Nagpur and its people were exposed to contractors, traders, businessmen, administrators, technicians and such other outsiders who could help in the industrial exploitation of the natural resources of the region. A number of big villages owing to suitable location and favourable situations became weekly market places or small towns and
some of the towns, during the course of last few decades are becoming cities. These, naturally led to the increased means of transportation and communication, and the contacts of the adivasis with these urban-industrial centres increased, which have influenced and are influencing their style of life.

The pattern of change owing to these factors have been carefully studied in a number of tribal villages located within the city and town, at different distances from the city of Ranchi and then, around and away the Hatia factory. Though it is not possible to present here all the data to bring out the differential pattern of changes in the tribal style of life, one can easily visualise the changes that these factors have brought in their economic, social, religious and political life.

Economically, the major and most important occupation of these villagers are agriculture. It continues to be the same in the interior areas which are unaffected by urban-industrial complex. However, in the village-like-settlement in the municipal area of the city, agriculture has been replaced by other occupations. Thus in the neighbouring villages, for example in Namkum, the occupation has become more heterogenous 18.4% specialised manual labour, 6.4% technical service of lower grade, 26% non-technical service of lower grade, 25% lower profession. Such a heterogeneity in occupation in Namkum can be explained easily in terms of its nearness to Ranchi city (5 miles from the main market), establishment of two Research Institutes—Vaccine Research Institute (1912) and the Indian Lac Research Institute (1925) and the Military station with E.M.S. workshops.

The other village, Argora, located at a distance of 6 miles from Ranchi in the south-west direction indicates similar changes in occupational pattern. There are about 40% of the earning villagers who now largely depend on the city for earning their bread. Among them most of them are unskilled labourers (40%). Some of them are peons, drivers or mechanics (8.4%) or some are masons and Rikshaw-pullars
(7.4%). Those who are sticking to agriculture, show a trend that a major portion of their land is now transferred for raising cash crop for which they get ready money in the city.

The story of the changing pattern of tribal occupation near the industrial complex of Hatia, though not fully developed, has given a tremendous setback to the traditional peasant economy. These villagers who have been completely uprooted from their traditional villages, have by and large become industrial unskilled labourers. Those villagers whose villages fall within a radius of five miles also feel attracted to take up non-agricultural works and, in general, it seems that non-agricultural activities occupy the same position now, which was occupied by agricultural activities about 5 years ago.

The subsidiary industries emerging even away from the main industrial centres have also affected the agricultural economy of the tribals and they have accepted it as subsidiary occupations during the agricultural slack seasons.

My purpose here is not to examine in detail the pattern of economic changes that has been brought out in the adivasi land by these urban-industrial complex, but to suggest that with the change in their occupations, there is a corresponding change in other aspects of their traditional way of life.

With the diversion of economy from agriculture to non-agriculture, a lot of changes in the social sphere of the adivasis have been brought about. These changes are markedly found in the traditional activities, participation in the dance and other cultural activities, dresses, food habits and even in the role of the social leadership.

There is a remarkable change in their outlook, in their world view value attitude system and above all in the very philosophy of their life. A new model of modernisation and mechanisation has emerged before them and it seems, as if, the very ethos of traditional culture marked with homogeneity, simplicity co-operation, leisurely life have been abruptly shaken.
The level of aspiration and lust for material comfort seem to be increasing. Our studies also indicate that sense of individualism and lack of love for the traditional code of conduct, and social taboos are apparent among the emerging urban-industrial oriented adivasi communities.

Owing to the changed nature of work, and venue of work, they have picked up urban habits of visiting hotels for tea, breakfast, drinking distilled liquor, witnessing movies and listening to the loud speakers and radios. It is a matter of great pleasure for them to be dressed in coloured clothes, the male folk usually putting on full-pants and shirts and the women put on coloured saries and blouses and prefer to go around on the trucks in the cities and industrial belts. They seldom get leisure to observe their traditional dances except on a few occasions of festival which are also being secularised. In other words, the tribal villages near the industrial centres have witnessed revolutionary transformation and are marked by individualisation, secularisation, social disorganisation and religious disruption.

The constitution of India provides a number of privileges for the scheduled tribes and for the development of the scheduled areas. The scheduled tribes can choose their own representative for State Legislative Assemblies and for Lok Sabha for which certain seats are reserved. They receive financial assistance for their economic development and assistance for educating their children. A series of multi-purpose tribal blocks for intensive development have been also opened and efforts for an all round development have been ensured in the constitution of India. In view of all these social provisions in the constitution, a number of schemes with huge, personnel, technical officials and others have been introduced by the national and State Governments and a number of outsiders have been posted to implement these schemes in the tribal areas. Efforts are being made for the acceptance of their programme so that they may develop economically, socially and intellectually.
However, in spite of these efforts, these villages which are away from the industrial centres and where the impact of Christianity are not marked, they do not show major changes in their economic activities as well as in the social amelioration. The two villages of Kumharia and Raja Ullatu situated at a distance of 9 miles north and 12 miles south-east respectively from the city of Ranchi are almost completely traditional villages practising agriculture. The Japanese method of cultivation and the chemical fertilizer did not find acceptance by the tribals or the non-tribal inhabitants of the villages.

Similarly reports have been received from tribal villages in Chota Nagpur studied by Sachchidananda (1959). In villages like Ghaghra (9 miles from Khunti), Bhandra (3 miles east of Khunti) and Senagutu (3 miles west of Khunti), our study suggests that changes in outlook and economic activities are more influenced by urban centres and much less by Community Development Programmes. It appears that in isolated tribal Village, Community Development schemes are not accepted enthusiastically for want of adequate awareness and because of the predominance of tradition orientation of the illiterate tribal people. The isolation of the villages and the tradition orientation of the people are usually broken with the establishment of certain modern institutions run by some educated and urbanised individuals like village schools in Senagutu, Bhandra and Ghaghra; Health centre and co-operative societies in Phudi; grainola in Kumharia; Weaver Co-operative Society in Senegutu. These urban institutions, wherever present, become clearing houses of the respective villages which also serve as isolated models of urban influences in and around the villages.

The periodical elections for electing representatives for central and state legislature and village panchayat have brought forth a new awareness about power alignments and function of leadership. To the simple tribals, the hereditary leaders who worked for the conservation and implementation of the traditions of the society, were the only familiar pattern
of leadership. It was almost a dream for them to think about
sending their representatives at the central and state levels
as their village was almost an isolate and it was only for
some purposes that it was integrated at regional level (as for
example, Parha). However, after the national independence
and with the coming of democratic pattern of government,
the tribals, are usually approached by leaders of different
types, and they are exposed to their views, promises and
dreams. Whatever may be the importance of their votes and
opinions in the formation of political groups at the central
and state levels, it goes without saying, owing to the demo-
ocratic system of government the tribals are becoming more
and more aware of different ideas, ideals, needs, aspiration which
were beyond their imagination in the past.

To sum up, one notes that tribal Bihar has been passing
through a phase of transformation. The traditional process,
in the past, was originally responsible for initiating change in
the tribal societies which was further accelerated with the
modern processes. If the first process brought about the
"Hindu Model" before the adivasi, the modern processes, by
and large, put up before the adivasi, the western-urban-indus-
trial-democratic model for inducing transformation. With
the operations of these factors of change the culture of tribal
Bihar is in flux and cultural heterogeneity is reflected in all
aspects of their life: tribal, village, and individual. Taken as
a whole, the cultural heterogeneity and tradition-ridden stagna-
tion have been broken. Now, in addition to isolated commu-
nities we note numerous tribal communities which have been
affected by change. These are, for example, Christian tribal,
urban and or industrial tribal communities. There are, again,
the groups of adivasi elites of national, regional and local
leaders of professional and of those who are in white-collar
jobs.

This pattern of change may be looked at from many
angles. When we idealise the traditional adivasi culture,
we record numerous traits of adivasi style of life: simpli-
city, homogeneity, honesty, co-operation group identification, optimism etc. When we note that these values of tribal life, are being fast replaced by heterogeneity, individualisation, secularisation, competition, money economy, hypocrisy etc., one feels emotionally disturbed and terms this pattern of change negatively as detribalisation.” We have similar words as De-sanskritisisation in Indian social sciences to plot out the change from the Brahminical style of life to the more secular and western style of life. Some may look to the transformation from another angle and may emphasize the role of technology and other external forces in winning over their poverty and miseries and may term it as Revitalisation process. Terms like acculturation, assimilation or integration may also be used to indicate the pattern of change, operating in tribal Bihar, if viewed from the different angles.

Tribal Bihar, as other parts of India is passing through the accelerated phase of transformation. Taken as a whole the tribal society has been disorganised and the old arrangements have been disturbed. Whether the changes would lead to the final disintegration of the tribal society or will lead to the ultimate reorganisation is to be watched. As the situation exists to-day, the phase of transition is painful.
SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY ON THE TRIBES
OF BIHAR


" 1948 The Dove and the Leaport, London.


Biswa, P. C.: 1935 Religion, Law and Social Organisation of the Santhals, Journal of the University of Delhi, year 26

" 1957 The Santhal, Delhi, Adim Jati Sevak Sangha.


" 1942 Tradition and Institution of the Santhals, Oslo.
PLATE No. 9  A scene of the Adivasi dance with their traditional musical instruments Nagara and Mandar.
SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY ON THE TRIBES OF BIHAR


"  1948 The Dove and the Leaport, London.


"  1957 The Santhal, Delhi, Adim Jati Sevak Sangha.


"  1942 Tradition and Institution of the Santhals, Oslo.
Plate No. 9  A scene of the Adivasi dance with their traditional musical instruments Nagara and Mandar.
PLATE NO. 10  Implements of the Maler shifting cultivators.
PLATE NO. 11  A scene of plough cultivation among the Munda.


Campwell: 1916 Succession and Partition of Property among the Santhals.

Chatterjee, A. N. and T. Das.: 1928 The Hos of Saraikela, Calcutta.


Dehon, P.: 1905 Religion and Customs of the Oraons—Memoires of the A. S. B.,


Fuer Haimendorf, C. Von.: 1950 Youth Dormitories and Community houses in India, Anthropus.


Ghurey, G. S.: 1943 Aborigines so-called and their future, Poona.

Gokhle, B. K.: 1928 Survey and settlement operations in Manbhum, 1918, 25, Patna.

Hoffmann: 1930 Encyclopaedia Mundarica, Parts 1-13, Patna.


Lister, E.: 1917 Hazaribagh District Gazetteer, Patna.


Mukherjee, C. L.: 1943 The Santhals, Calcutta.


,, 1910 Singhbhum District Gazetteer, Calcutta.

,, 1926 Palamau District Gazetteer, Revised by Mr. P. G. Telents, Patna.

,, 1941 Modern India and the West—Last part in the Primitive Tribes Section.

Ray, Gautam Shankar, Das, Bhuwan Mohan:


,, 1915 The Oraons, Ranchi.

,, 1925 The Birhors, Ranchi.

,, 1928 Oraons Religion and Custom, Ranchi.

,, 1935 The Hill Bhuiyas of Orissa, Ranchi.

Roy, S. C. 

1920 The Paharias of Chotanagpur. 
J.B.O.R. S., year 6.

1921 Kinship and Marriage Organisation of the Paharias J.B.O.R.S., year 7

1931 The effect on the Aboriginal of Chotanagpur of their Contact with Western Civilisation J.B.O.R.S.

1945 The Aboriginals of Chotanagpur, M.I.I. year 26, No. 2

1946 The Munda Theory of Rent, M.I.I., Year 26, No. 3-4

Roy, S.C. & R.C. Roy: 

1937 The Kharias, Part 2, Ranchi.

Sachchidananda: 


1958 The Dhumkuria Then and Now—J.S.R. Vol. 1 No. 1


Sarkar, S.S.: 

1938 The Maler of the Raj Mahal Hills, Calcutta.

1939 The Maler and Mal Paharias of the Rajmahal Hills, Current Sciences, No. 2

Sahay, K. N., M.S.S: 


Thakkar, A.V.: 1949 Some Pressing Problems of Primitive Tribes E.A.G.E., No. 1


" 1955 Land and Labour among the Munda of Bihar, J.B.R.S., Vol. 41, No. 3


" 1958 Cultural Type in Tribal Bihar. J.S.R. Vol. 1, No. 1


## APPENDIX

### Scheduled Tribes, Bihar

*(According to Census 1961)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Bhumij</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>1,01,057</td>
<td>49,236</td>
<td>51,821</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>In districts of Ranchi, Singhbhum, Hazaribagh, Santal Parganas and Dhanbad</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Asur</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>5,819</td>
<td>2,970</td>
<td>2,849</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Baiga</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>951</td>
<td>512</td>
<td>439</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Banjara</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Bathudi</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>456</td>
<td>229</td>
<td>227</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Bedia</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>38,241</td>
<td>19,122</td>
<td>19,119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Binjhia</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>6,725</td>
<td>3,584</td>
<td>3,141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Birhor</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>2,438</td>
<td>1,214</td>
<td>1,224</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Birjia</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>4,029</td>
<td>1,956</td>
<td>2,073</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Chero</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>30,845</td>
<td>15,401</td>
<td>15,444</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Chikbaraik</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>30,770</td>
<td>15,396</td>
<td>15,374</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Gond</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>33,521</td>
<td>15,380</td>
<td>18,141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Gorait</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>4,793</td>
<td>2,735</td>
<td>2,058</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>HO</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>4,54,746</td>
<td>2,19,367</td>
<td>2,35,379</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Karmali</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>26,509</td>
<td>12,876</td>
<td>13,633</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Kharia</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>1,08,983</td>
<td>54,197</td>
<td>54,786</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Kharwar</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>1,09,357</td>
<td>54,790</td>
<td>54,567</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Khond</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>814</td>
<td>377</td>
<td>437</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Risan</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>12,011</td>
<td>5,980</td>
<td>6,031</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Kora</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>13,824</td>
<td>6,978</td>
<td>6,846</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Korwa</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>21,162</td>
<td>10,830</td>
<td>10,332</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Loharaor Lohar</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>92,609</td>
<td>47,072</td>
<td>45,537</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Mahli</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>67,979</td>
<td>34,576</td>
<td>33,403</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Mal Paharia</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>45,423</td>
<td>22,750</td>
<td>22,673</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Munda</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>6,28,931</td>
<td>3,11,600</td>
<td>3,17,331</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Oraon</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>7,35,025</td>
<td>3,61,031</td>
<td>3,73,994</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Parhaiya</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>12,268</td>
<td>6,209</td>
<td>6,059</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>Santal</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>15,41,345</td>
<td>7,75,136</td>
<td>7,66,209</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>Sauria Paharia</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>55,606</td>
<td>27,529</td>
<td>28,077</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>Savar</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>1,561</td>
<td>677</td>
<td>884</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>Unclassified</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>16,930</td>
<td>8,257</td>
<td>8,673</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total:</td>
<td></td>
<td>do</td>
<td>42,04,770</td>
<td>20,87,994</td>
<td>21,16,776</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


INDEX

Subject Index

A

ABO Blood Group, 38
Aboriginal Tribes, 252
Action Anthropologist, 217
Adivasi Aristocracy, 158
Adivasi converted leaders, 160
Adivasi Elit, 161
Adivasi Culture, 163, 280
Adivasi Society, 163
Adivasi Dances, 163, 175
  Christianity & Oraon Dance, 168 -172
  Oraon Dance in Ranchi city, 173-175
Adivasi Area, 164
Adivasi Localities, 165
Adivasi Hamlets, 173
Adivasi Village, 252
Adim Jati Seva Mandal, 190, 195, 207
Agricultural Tribes, 20, 22, 25, 27
Agriculture Implements, 34, 66, 68
  Ugta (plough)
  Pata (harrow)
  Knohsli (spade)
A Geographical, Statistical and
  Historical description of Hindustan and Adjacent countries, xi
Akhain (pitchfork)
  Tanar (sickle)
  Tonge (axe)
  Dhinkhi (Rice puder)
Agricultural village, 65, 74, 77
Agricultural Economy, 66, 75, 78, 81

Agricultural Occupation, 66
Agricultural plots, 77
Agricultural fertility, 77
Agricultural Labourers, 79, 205
Agricultural Operation, 90
Agricultural Engagements, 198
Akhra, 32, 167
Alchi, 119
All India Seminar at Ranchi, xvii
Angami Nagas, 45
Applied Anthropology in India, 181
Anglican & Roman Catholic Mission, 79
Anthropological measurement, 31
Anthropologist approach to tribal problems, 177, 182, the tribal problem, 180
Anthropological Researches, 1, 181, Archaeological survey Reports xii
Aspects of Anthropological Survey in vii, xi, xii Bihar, vii
Asiatic Society of Bengal, 9
Asur, 16, 21, 26, 69
Austric group, 13
Austric-Asiatic languages, 12
Awadhi, 4

B

Baghchi, 4
Bandana, 25
Bandhik, 265
Barter System, 20
Begari, 80
Bhojpur, 10
Bhojpuri, 4, 5, 12, 13, 62
Bhumij, 16
Bhatta, 23
Bhagirath, 15
Bharatiya Adim Jati Sevak Sangh,
Bihar Tribal Research Institute, 76
Bihar Adim Jati Seva Mandal,
186, 187
Bihar Research Society, ix
Biblical Themes, 171
Bilingual, 8
Birsingh, 151
Birs, 15, 152
Bhagwan, 152
Biri, 248
Bihar Tribal Research Institute, xv
Birhor migratory group, 239
Birhor 189 kinds, 233
Birhor, Uthlu Birhor, 233
Birhor, Jaghi Birhor, 233
Birhor temporary villages, 234
Birhor Nomadism, 234
Birhor Exogamy, 234, 235
Birhor Male, 234
Birhor, Economic description, 235
Birhor settlement, 235
Blood group system, 32
Bonga Kamba, 19, 237
Brahmanic way of life, 7
Buddhism, 8

C
Caste system, 3
Catholic Mission of Chotanagpur, 183
Catholic Ashram, 157
Catholic Christian, 266
Catholic Sabha, 156, 157
Catholic Mission, 156
Catholic Dioceses, 156
Catholic Adivasi converts, 156
Catholic Hierarchy of Ranchi
Dioceses, 156
Ceremonial friendship, 106
Changing social pattern, 83
Chattisgarhri, 4
Chikbaraik, 65, 207, 255
Chenchu, 46, 47
Chergoni, 119
Chotanagpur (Unnati Samaj (Society for the uplift of Chota-
 nagpur)), 156, 165
Chotanagpur Catholic Sabha,
156: Description 156-158
Christian Villages, 169
Christ-deh-parab, 169
Catholic Club, 170
Catholic converts, 172
Christian Festivals,
Christian literature, 9
Chhara system, 264
Chuan, 213
Chop, 238
Co-operative societies, 80
Compound culture, 3
Community Development pro-
grame, 77
Cottage Industry, 211
Council of Social and Cultural
Research in Bihar
Conception of Morality, 167
Court of Directors, X
Cross-Cultural regularities, 29
Credit system, 247
Cultural Region, 1
Cultural Area, 1, 13
Cultural factors in tribal welfare,
227-230
Cultural Unity, 1

CULTURAL TYPE, 1, 13, 15
(i) Forest hunting type, 18,
19, 65
(ii) Hill cultivation, 19, 20, 65
(iii) Plains Agricultural type,
20, 21, 65
(iv) Simple Artisan type, 21,
22, 65
Cultural Linguistic region, 2, 3
(i) Boundaries, 3
(ii) Contacts, 7
Cultural Area approach, 13
Cultural group, 13
Ecology, 15, 17; point of view
21
INDEX

Cultural diffusion, 16
Cultural Items, 62
Cultural factors, 65
Cultural consideration, 72
Cultural traditions, 31
Cultural elements, 164
Culture Change Evaluation Research Project, 73
Cultural integration, 183
disintegration and readjustment, 196
ingredients, 197
groups, 204
Cultural levels, 232
Cultural contents, 279
Cultural Homogeneity, 280
Customary relationship, 88

D
Dance culture of a village, 167
Dancing pattern of Oraon, 70
Dari, 213
Detribalisation, 178, 287
Desanskritisation, 287
Demographic pattern, 19
Demographic structure, 246
Deedhi, 265
Dhan Gola, 259, 260, 266
Dhan, 23
Dhangar, 263, 272, Rukha, 272
Dhangar System, 246
Dhibri, 259
Dhumkuria, 165, 167
Dhumkuria boys, 197
Dhumkuria School, 201
Diku Raj, 158
Diheri Tantr, 208
Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal, xii
Dons, 208, kinds of, 209, 212
(i) Gerha Loygna, 200
(ii) Sokara land, 209
(iii) Badi or Chowra Don, 209

E
Eastern Hindi, 4
Eastern Anthropologist, 216
Economic Consideration, 18
Economic rehabilitation, 214
Economic Welfare scheme, 70
basis of family, 248
Economic Activities, 77
Economic programmes of the Government of Bihar, 78
Economic Organisation, 81
Economic changes in tribal villages, 64-82
Economic problems, 81
Economic rehabilitation, 84
Economic structure of families, 96
Economic production, 98
Economic Assets, 99
Economic standing, 99
Economic equilibrium, 269
Ecological setting, 72
Ecological specialisation, 17
Ecological adaptation, 29
Ecological features, 88
Education in tribal Bihar, 195-203
Educational rehabilitation, 198
Encyclopaedia Madarica, 12
Ethnographic Data, 15; study, 26
Ethnolinguistic, 1, 4
Ethnolinguistic tradition, 1, 14
Ethnolinguistic study, 62
Ethnology of India, xi
Ethnological Society, xii
Evangelical work, 168
Exogamy, 20

F
Family organisation, 22
Folk heroes, 3
Songs, 3, 53, of Magadhi, 9, of Munda, 12
Folk Tales, 12, 53
Folk literature, 12
Forest hunting type, 165
G
Grain Gola, 78, 190, 255, 259, 262
Geographical area, 2
Geographical Feature, 3
Geographical Regions of Bihar, 5
Geographical Environment, 16
Genealogical relationship, 88
Genealogical tables, 92
Genetical Study of Orson, 31-51
German Mission, 79
German Mission, 168
Glitchora (sleeping dormitory) 237
Gond, 179
Gosai, 254, 260
Gossaiyans, 71, 114, 115; Kinds of 116; Description of 116-117
(i) Gossaiyans (benevolent spirits), 116
(ii) Jiwa Urkhyas (Ancestral spirits) 116, 117
(iii) Alchi (evil spirits), 116, 117
(iv) Chergani (witchcraft) 116, 117
Gotul, 164
Governor General in Council, x
Gram Dani Village, 225
Gram Dani Phariyas, 225
Great Traditions, 3
Gurais, 116
Guru, 116
H
Hand book on Tribes and castes, ix
Hanuman, 19
Hamra, 157, 258
Harbori, 116
Hatia Factory, 282
Hill Cultivation type, 65
Hill Kharia, 21, 26, 29, 70
Hindus, Backward, 278
Hindu leaders, 161
Hindu way of ritualistic life, 162
Hindu invasion, 27, 53
Hinduised tribes, 24
Hinduism, 1
Hindu tradition, 7
Historical Transmission, 2
Historical tradition, 3, 14
History, Antiquities, topography and statistics of Eastern India xi
I
Impact of urbanisation, 70, 84
Impact of Christianity, 80
Incestual sexual relation, 25
Indian relation level, 1
Indian life, 3
Indian Nation, 3
Indian Civilization, 3, 13, 15, 73
Indian Anthropologists, 163
Indian National Congress Party, 180
Indian Social Workers, 180
Indebted families, 247; its causes, 268: rural, 269, 273
Indigenous medicines, 258
Indo-Aryan family, 4, 14
Industrial Economy, 100
Industrial tribal communities, 186
Insiders view, 217
Irula, 46
Jaghp Birhor, 241
J
Japanese methods of cultivation, 77
Jatra (Regional fair), 35, 152, 166
Jhanda Gossaiyan, 113
Jharkhand Party, 153, 159; Descriptions of, 153, 154, 158
Jharkhand Movement, 191
Jhum cultivation, 24
Jokha Erpa, 33
INDEX

K

Kaddi, 36
Karamali, 36, 166
Karamali, 20, 65
Kabulwala, 259, 260
Kharia, 16, 65: Hill, 17, 65, 69, 189, Plain, 21
Khallu cultivation, 71
Khallu operation, 71
Khond, 102
Khut Bhut, 36
Kitchen garden, 253
Kinship, classification of, 86
factors relating to, 88
(i) Intimate kins, 86
(ii) effective kins, 86
(iii) noneffective kins, 86
(iv) unfamiliar kins, 86
Kinship obligation, 94
Kisan Sabha, 155, Description of
155-146
Korwa, 18, 65, 178, 179
Kotawar, 197
Kshatras, 28
Kurwa, 23, 24, 145f, 191, 224;
cultivation, 23, 26, 225
Kurwa, fields, 23, 226
Kurwa Acreage, 225
Kurwa plots, 226
Kurwa plough cultivation, 226
Kurukh Dham, 28
Kurukh, 247, 251
Kurumbas, 48

L

Labourers, conditional, 272
forced, 272
Lac factories, 21
Legal Marriage, 103
Leadership in Chotanagpur, 149-162
Leadership in national and uni-
versal planes, 149
Lexicostatistic Dating, 53, 62
Linguistic survey of India, 2
Linguistic characteristics, 3
Linguistic territory, 7
Linguistic transition, 8
Linguistic differentiation, 10
Linguistic forms, 13
Linguistic group of Mundari, 14
Linguistic studies, 32
Linguistic Affinity of Oraon
and Maler, 52-63
Linguistic Data, 52, 53
Linguistic Community, 52, 59
Linguistic Researches, 60, 62
Linguistic borrowing, 61
Linguistic Region, 1-14
Linguistic Survey, xvii, xviı
Lohara, 20, 65
Love marriages, 103, 104
Lutheran Mission, 183

M

Magadha, 7, 8
Magadhi Prakrit, 4
Maghi, 7, 8, 10, 13
Mahua, 72, 228
Maharani, 90, 96
Maharaja 265; Role of 265
Magico-religious function, 163
Mahto, 25
Mahali, 27, 65
Maithili Dramatists, 6
Maithili Maharajas, 6
Maithili Brahman, 7
Magahla, 25
Maithili, 4, 6, 10, 13, 62
Maithili Sentences, 5
Maithili Subarea, 7, 65
Maler Paharia, viii, 12, 13, 27, 69,
70, 73, 217, 218;
Santhal Parganas, 22, 23
Maler Village, 72; Description of,
25
Maler Area, 22, 23, Mythology, 28
Maler Christian families, 69
Maler Individual, 118
Maler Religion, 113
Maler Economic and social Life,
113
Maler Children, 114
Malto, 12, of Saoria, 16, 58
Malayali and Naiars of Cochin, 45

Manghi Than, 114
Marriages by kept or elopement, 103, 104
Masani Alchi, 118, 119
Matrimonial connection, 90
Mundari and Dravidian families, 11
Munda, xiii
Munda languages, 12
Munda folksongs, 12
Mundari linguistic group, 12
Munda, 16, 19, 27
Mundari, 61
Muslim Invasion, 53
Muria, 164
Mythological heroes, 7

P

Pashohar Panchayat (village panchayat), 35
Parha Organisation (Regional council), 35
Parha, 15
Parerkoana resettlement colony, 220-222
Pargana, 35
Paniyans, 46
Patrilineal family, 19
Patrilocal, 20
Parahiya, 69
Parahiyva families, 73
Parent-child relationship, 106
Pahan, 150, 173
Pahanauti Zamin, 150
Phariya culture, 218
Phariya villages, 219, 225
Phariya family, 220, 223, 225
Phariya problem, 224
Phariya resettlement, 224
Physical Anthropology, xvij
Pelio Erpa, 33
Pious way of life, 7
Pilai, 25
Plain Agriculture type, 65
Political boundaries, 2
Political centre, 149
Political Activities, 149
Political Parties, 149
Political leadership, 151
Political reformation, 152
Podu cultivation, 24
Proto-Austroloid, 16
Proto Austroloid stock, 31
Pradhan, 20
Process of detribalisation, 85
Primitive culture, 256
Psychological disturbance, 73
Puritan groups of Tribals, 278
(i) Vishnu Bhagat, 278
(ii) Tana Bhagat, 278
(iii) Mahadeo Bhagat, 278

N

Naga Insurrection, 191
Naga Soil, 209
Phonetic difference, 62
Nagpur, 251
Nalkhall, 34
Nature-Man-Spirit, 72
Nature-Man-Spirit Structure, 145f, 227, 229
National Park, 179
National Park Policy, 185
National Income Committee, 289
Nisadic, 31
Nomadic tribe, 232
Nomadic traits, 232
Nomadic events, 24
Nuclear families, 24

O

Occupational mobility, 75
Occupational Status, 94
Oraon, 16, 19: Salient feature of, 32
Oraons of Chotanagpur, 12
Oraons style of life, 170
INDEX

R
Racial Stocks, 3
Regional Approach, 3, 5
Regional Complexities, 3
Regional Classification, 3
Regional Language, 3, 4
Religious Poems, 6
Religious Cults, 3
Regional Dialects, 4, 5, 10, 13
Regional specialisation, 10
Religious History, 6
Religious places, 7
Religious shrine, 19
Regional Cultural tradition, 10
Regional Endogamy, 10
Regional Political Party, 161
Religious Zones of the city, 174
Regional language, 247
Religious worshipers, 252
Religious performances, 270
Religious ceremonies, 276
Research in Department of Anthropology (Ranchi University) xv
Revitalisation process, 287
Rh-Blood Group system, 38, 40
Ritual pollution, 25
Roman Catholic, 168
Roman Catholic denomination, 168
Roman Catholic Village, 168
Roman Catholic Converts, 167, 172
Roman Catholic Mission, 172
Rural villages, 64
Rural credit in India, 244
Rural Indebtedness in India, 252

S
Santhal dieties, 179
Santhali Script, 200; Writer, 200
Santhali Parganas, 6, 11, 13: Maler of 12
Santhal, 19, 20, 220
Santhali Pharia Seva Mandal, 187
Saoria Saharia, 16, 17, 21, 52, 60, 119, 220
Sabe cultivation, 24
Sacred thread, 28, 152
Sacred Complex, 113
Sacred Geography, 113, 120; description of 120, 121
Sacred specialists, 113, 116; description of 138, 143
Sacred performances, 113, 120
Description of 129, 138
Sacred Zones, 114
Sacred centre, 114:
Sacred centre, 114: Description of 121, 126: temporary representation of 127, 129
Soma, 33, 36
Sarhul, 33, 116
Sahibaro, 106
Sanskritic Dictionaries, 162
Secular heads, 150
Secular functions, 150
Secular leadership, 15
Seventh day Adventist Mission, 280
Shamans, 120
Shifting cultivation, 21, 24, 27, 221, 225, 227
Sindior, 119
Slash and burn Agriculture, 17, 21, 23, 52, 69, 71, 181, 218, 220, 224
Sleeping dormitories, 20
Socio-Religious structure, 1
Socio-Linguistic Researches, 3
Socio-cultural integration, 17, 19, 21, 26, 27, 29, 65
Socio-cultural point of view, 52, 60
Socio-religious factors, 192
Socio-religious characteristics, 229
Socio-psychological orientation, 230
Socio-economic purposes, 255
Social structure, 3
Social status, 97, 109
Social function, 20
Social worker, 71, 180, 181
Social structure of the tribals, 83
Social disorganisation, 85
Sociological factors, 88
Social importance, 106
Social welfare workers, 182
Social Attitudes, 230
Social significance, 257
Social ties, 262, 263
Social Ceremonies, 270
Social sphere, 283
Social Amelioration, 285
Sororate and levirate marriages, 102
States Reorganisation Commission, 2
Standard of living, 272,
Supernatural powers, 36, 113
Supernatural being, 114
Supernatural belief, 117
Supernatural spirit, 120
Supernatural problem, 120
Subsidiary occupations, 255
Suburban slums, 77

Tonka-Khall, 34
Totemic clans, 34, 238
  : of Birhor
    Kher, 238
    Induar, 238
    Mura, 238
Traditional folklore, 16
Traditional association, 107
Traditional culture, 19
Traditional Term, 61
Traditional Barter system, 20
Traditional home, 26
Traditional Occupation, 68, 74, 80
Traditional way of life, 85, 283
Traditional Dress, 256, 284
Traditional behaviour, 85
Traditional festivals, 96
Traditional tribal institutional control, 6, 9, 7
Traditional cultural, 97
Traditional standards of behaviour
Traditional principles of seniority, 99
Traditional behaviour pattern, 100
Traditional tribal society, 107
Traditional social group, 108
Traditional leadership, 151
Traditional Officials, 151
Traditional Songs, 171
Traditional style of Dance, 164, 165
Traditional Drinks, rice beer, 165
Traditional Cycle of festivals, 165, 170
Traditional Oraon Dance, 165
Traditional Oraon village, 168
Traditional festivals like Karma, 169
Jatra, 169
Sarhul, 169
Traditional institution, 170
Traditional Villages, 171
Traditional Stepping pattern, 171
Traditional Musical Instruments like, 171
Mandal, 171
Nagera, 171
Dholki, 171
Traditional Themes, 171
Traditional pattern of Oraon Dance, 172
Traditional Religious head, 173
Traditional Dances, 177
Traditional tribal school 196
like Morang of the Naga, 196
Mohsuf of Abor, 196
Nokpante of Garo, 196
Terang of the Mikir, 196
Dhumkuria of Oraon, 196
Gitiora of the Munda, 196
Ghotul of the Muria Gond
Traditional craft of tribal people, 274
Traditional occupation of a tribe, 277
Chick Baraik, 277
Traditional village Panchayat, 275
Traditional peasant economy, 283
Traditional ñAdibasiñ culture, 286
Tribal villages of Chotanagpur,
Tribal languages of Munda group, 12
Tribal Languages of Chotanagpur Plateau, 10, 53
Tribal Artisans, 20
Tribal community, 85, 88
Tribal Neighbours, 95
Tribal folk, 216
Tribal Juveniles, 100
Tribal youths, 100, 108
Tribal informants, 109, 110
Tribal integration, 112
Tribal Males, 101
Tribal customs, 102
Tribal boys and girls, 102
Tribal villages, 103
Tribal localities, 109
Tribal leadership pattern, 149
Tribal Institutions, 119, 180
Tribal culture, 163, 179
Tribal ways of life, 165
Tribal Rehabilitation, 177, 198
Tribal Policies, 182
Tribal population, 182
Tribal matters, 182
Tribal welfare schemes, 182
Tribal welfare work, 182
Tribal India, 182
Tribal language and culture, 183
Tribal welfare programmes, 184
Tribal consciousness, 185
Tribal political parties, 185
Tribal workers, 185
Tribal town, 185
Tribal elders, 185
Tribal folk, 247
Tribal society, 270
Tribal Advisory Council, 187, 188
Tribal Area, 187
Tribal Research Institute, 188
Tribal leaders, 188
Tribal Education, 189, 195, 196
Tribal Tradition, 200
Tribal Welfare planning in India, 192
Tribal societies, 195
Tribal progress, 269
Tribal terminology, 197
Tribal society, 287
Tribal orientation and study
Centre, xv
Type of modified Dances, 172
like Ekkaria, 172
Dukharia, 172
Hukka dance, 172
Jatra dance, 172
karma dance, 172
Jadura, 172
Jhumar, 172

U
Urban pattern of Ranchi Research
Project, 74
Urban Institutions, 75
Urban contacts, 75, 76
Urban Industrial centre, 77, 282
Urban Industrial revolution, 84
Urban community, 85, 86, 108
Urban way of life, 85, 107, 174
Urban Standards of behaviour, 85
Urban influences, 85, 99, 102
Urban situation, 86
Urban conditions, 97
Urban society, 98
Urban tribal family, 99
Urban residence, 99
Urban ideology, 99
Urban-bred children, 100
Urban environment, 100, 106
Urban impact, 101
Urban Economy, 102
Urban conditions, 105
Urban-bred tribals, 106
Urban social structure, 111
Urban social form, 112
Urban setting of Ranchi, 150
Urban centre, 167
Urban forces, 253
Urban-industrial complex, 282
Urban impact on Adivasi community, 284
Urban-bred rational type of leadership, 153
Urbanised tribals, 87, 92, 107
Urbanism, 37
Urbanisation: Pressure of 92, 96; among tribals, 112

Urbanisation due to the factor of industrialisation, 112
Urbanisation, impact of, 173

V
Veddoíd, 31, 46
Vedic hymns, 9
Vedic tradition, 11
Vedic period, 15
Vehicle of cultural accumulation, 2
Village folk, 33
Village Deities, 36
(i) chala Danchocho, 36
(ii) Darha, 36
(iii) Deswali, 36
Village studies, 64, 74, 245
Village India, 64
Village Leadership, 151
Village Structure, 246
Village Economy, 274
Village Youth dormitories
Village level diversity, 13

W
Welfare Agencies, 257
Western-educated Christian tribals, 153
World view, 3, 13

Y
Youth Dormitories, 33, 52, 165, 169
Authors' Index

A
Archer, A.H., 12

B
Boddington, P.O., 12
Bose, N.K., 50
Bose, Mrs. Dell, 50
Buchanen, Francis, 178, x

C
Campbell, Justice, x, xi
Chattopadhyay, K.P., 119
Cohn, Bernard, 11
Cutbush, M., 46

D
Dalton, E.T., 178, 179, 232, XI
Dehon, Father, viii
Driver, W.H.P., 232
Dube, S. C., 64, 163

E
Eggan, F., 15
Elwin, V., 163, 179, 183

G
Gait Edward, ix
Gandhi, Mahatma, 180
Gurden, 178
Ghurye, G.S., 278
Gopi Chandra, 4
Grierson, G.A., 4, 9, 10, 16, 32, 62, 178
Guha, B.S., 31, 184
Gumperz, J. J., 4

H
Hamilton Buchanan x
Hamilton, Walter x
Haimendorf, F., 184
Hoffmans, J., 12
Hoffmann, Father, viii
Hutton, J.H., 178
Howell, W.W., 31

I
Ikin, F. W., 38, 45

J
Jagdish, Trigunait, 12
Jay, Edward J., 65 217, 279
Jayananda, 6
Jones William viii

K
Kirk, R.L., 44, 48

L
Lahiri, M.N., 38, 45
Lai, L.Y.C., 48
Lall, R-B., 50
Latham, R. G. x, xi
Lehmann, J., 38, 45
Leuwa, K.K., 78
Lewis, Oscar, 64

M
Macfarlane, E.W.E., 49
Madan, T.N., 207
Mahapatra, 6
Majumdar, D.N., 45, 46, 163, 178, 179, 182, xiii, xiv
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Page(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Malhotra, S.P.</td>
<td>67, 68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malone, R.H.</td>
<td>38, 45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malinowski, vi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Max Muller,</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McQuown, Nirman A.</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mourtant, A.E.</td>
<td>40, 45, 46, 48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naik, T.B.</td>
<td>163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nandi, P.</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nicholson, Frederick</td>
<td>245</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Opler, Morris</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patterson, M.L.P.</td>
<td>2, 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pinto, C.B.</td>
<td>183</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prasad, Rajendra</td>
<td>182</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Redfield, R.</td>
<td>3, 113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Risley, H.</td>
<td>31, 232, xiii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roy, S.C.</td>
<td>16, 27, 28, 52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>53, 80, 151, 152, 163, 178, 233, xiii, xiv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sachchidananda</td>
<td>73, 77, 167, 285</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sahay, K.N.</td>
<td>170, 280</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samir, D.S.</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sapir, E.</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sarkar, S.S.</td>
<td>38, 45, 46, 49, 50, 53, xiii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simons, R.L.</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singh, R.D.</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sinha, S.N.</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sherwell, Colonel</td>
<td>viii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Srinivas, M.N.</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Steinhberg, G.A.</td>
<td>44, 48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Steward Julian</td>
<td>15, 20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swadesh, Morris</td>
<td>12, 53, 59, 154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swavely, C.H.</td>
<td>183</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taftents</td>
<td>152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tax, S.</td>
<td>191, 192, 217</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tigga, Julius</td>
<td>197n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tickell, Lieutenant</td>
<td>viii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thakkar, A.V.</td>
<td>180</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Umapati</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vidyarthi, L.P.</td>
<td>6, 27, 69, 71, 72, 113, 114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vos</td>
<td>44, 48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wadia</td>
<td>269</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whor</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
"A book that is shut is but a block"

CENTRAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL LIBRARY

GOVT. OF INDIA
Department of Archaeology
NEW DELHI.

Please help us to keep the book clean and moving.