

CHAPTER III PEOPLE

27. Population

According to provisional population figures recored by 1971 Census, Dhenkanal district has a total population of 1,294,126 consisting of 653,881 males and 640,245 females. This is 5.90 per cent of Orissa's total population of 21,934,827 as recorded on the 1st April, 1971. But in 1961 Census, the population of Dhenkanal district was 1,028,935 out of which 516,843 were males and 512,092 were females. It has the largest number of subdivisions which are seven in number and is divided into 23 police-stations.

(i) Break-up of population subdivision-wise

Subdivision-wise and sex-wise population have been furnished in the table given below according to 1961 Census *:

Subdivisions	Persons	Males	Females
Dhenkanal Sadar ..	227,708	114,953	112,755
Kamakhyanagar ..	216,403	107,597	108,806
Angul ..	230,538	116,199	114,339
Talcher ..	116,485	59,345	57,140
Athmallik ..	100,326	50,529	49,797
Hindol ..	84,791	41,809	42,982
Pal Lahara ..	52,684	26,411	26,273

The Dhenkanal subdivision has shown a substantial increase of 40,997 persons between 1951—61, while the other subdivisions, namely Kamakhyanagar, Talcher, Pal Lahara, Athmallik, Hindol, and Angul have recorded increase of 29,840, 23,715, 11,885, 16,286, 16,865 and 40,106 persons respectively. The growth of population in the Dhenkanal subdivision is largely due to the establishment of small-scale industries, educational institutions, Government offices and many development works which attracted a large number of immigrants. According to 1961 Census, the subdivision of Angul is the most densely populated area. It contains 22.4 per cent of the population of the district. Next in importance comes the subdivision of Dhenkanal, Kamakhyanagar, Talcher, Athmallik, Hindol, and Pal Lahara. It is noticed from the Table that females outnumbered the males in Kamakhyanagar and Hindol subdivisions.

* District Census Hand Book, Dhenkanal, 1961, pp. 62-63.

The comparative population figures of different Police-stations in the Dhenkanal district for 1941 * 1951 * and 1961 ** are given below :

Police-stations	Population		
	1961	1951	1941
1	2	3	4
1. Dhenkanal Sadar ..	115,960	94,223	82,365
2. Gondia ..	75,362	61,409	54,816
3. Motanga ..	36,386	31,079	28,112
4. Bhuban ..	47,132	38,864	34,204
5. Kamakhyanagar ..	97,777	77,509	69,867
6. Parjang ..	71,494	60,190	54,848
7. Talcher ..	46,263	37,178	35,600
8. Colliery ..	27,852	22,200	20,253
9. Kanhia ..	42,370	33,392	30,579
10. Pal Lahara ..	30,022	23,440	20,354
11. Khamar ..	22,662	17,359	13,776
12. Athmallik ..	34,661	30,461	29,691
13. Thakurgarh ..	19,734	15,918	12,710
14. Handapa ..	20,447	16,533	14,264
15. Kishorenagar ..	25,484	21,128	16,100
16. Hindol ..	19,087	14,565	12,287
17. Rasol ..	35,554	27,692	23,514
18. Balimi ..	30,150	25,669	22,704
19. Angul ..	98,854	83,637	73,042
20. Chhendipada ..	48,989	39,263	33,872
21. Jarpara ..	35,620	29,260	25,075
22. Purunakot ..	13,732	11,290	10,058
23. Bantala ..	33,343	26,982	23,809

* Census of India, 1951, Vol. XI, Orissa, Part—II-A, pp. 66—69.

** Census of India, 1961, Vol. XII, Orissa, Part—II-A, pp. 48-49.

(ii) Growth of population

The decennial growth of population of the district from 1901 to 1961 * is given below :

Year	Population	Decade variation	Percentage decade variation
1	2	3	4
1901	.. 572,075	..	..
1911	.. 590,895	+18,820	+3.3
1921	.. 515,176	- 75,719	- 12.8
1931	.. 635,628	+120,452	+23.4
1941	.. 741,900	+106,272	+16.7
1951	.. 839,241	+97,341	+13.1
1961	.. 1,028,935	+189,694	+22.6
1971**	.. 1,294,126	+265,191	+26.0
1901 to 1961	.. ..	+456,860	+79.8

The population of the areas comprising the present Dhenkanal district was 572,075 in 1901. In 1961 it increased to 1,028,935 recording a rise of 79.9 per cent during the last 60 years. During the 1901-1911 decade, the population showed no significant increase except in Dhenkanal State where population was reduced by 1.3 per cent due to famine,

* District Census Hand Book, 1961, Dhenkanal, p. 10.

** Census of India, 1971, Paper 1 of 1971, Provisional Population totals.

high mortality from cholera and other epidemics. Owing to low harvest and scarcity of foodgrains the population of Angul subdivision also diminished by 1.9 per cent. The remaining subdivisions of Dhenkanal district contributed substantially to the growth. Athmallik subdivision alone had recorded an increase of 31.9 per cent over the previous decade's population on account of easy availability of cultivable land, improvement in road communication, high emigration from other parts of the district due to scarcity of foodgrains. All these factors contributed nominal growth of 3.3 per cent in the Census of 1911.

During ten years between 1911—1921, the district suffered from a series of calamities like failure of crops and epidemics in different parts. Epidemics like cholera, smallpox and influenza following the first World War of 1914—1918 effectively reduced the population. Consequently, the population of the district decreased by 12.8 per cent in 1921.

The decade 1921—1931 recorded a speedy recovery by an increase of 23.38 per cent bring the population to 635,628 in 1931. Rapid growth of population during the decade may be attributed to favourable agricultural conditions, improved road communications and industrial developments. Out of seven subdivisions, the growth of population in Talcher subdivision was higher due to the railway line and colliery which attracted immigrants. The population of Pal Lahara subdivision also increased by immigration of Hos from Singhbhum district.

The next decade 1931—1941 has registered large growth of population. There was plenty of rain, good harvests and good public health, but the district was not completely free from epidemics. Angul subdivision could not contribute much to increase of population due to high incidence of death from malaria. In spite of all these there was a further increase of 16.2 per cent bringing the population to 741,900 in 1941.

During the decade 1941—1951, slightly lower growth of population was noticed. Although rainfall was not sufficient the weather was favourable for agricultural purposes. Consequently, output of crop was good in most of the years. The people maintained good health but outbreaks of fever hampered growth of population. The population, however, increased by 97,341 or 13.1 per cent.

The decade 1951—1961 witnessed substantial rise in the population. Many development works were executed during this decade, important among which were completion of minor irrigation works, supply of drinking water to rural areas, and establishment of educational institutions. The major parts of the district were brought under Community Development and National Extension Service Blocks during this

period. Due to general improvement in medical and public health services, decline in death rate was noticed. The decade was free from natural calamities and witnessed good harvests. All these factors contributed to the steady and progressive increase in population which rose as high as 22.6 per cent during the decennium 1951-1961, higher than the State average of 19.8 per cent.

(iii) Density

The density of population, according to the 1961 Census, is 243 persons per square mile (Urban 2,852 and Rural 233). The density is much below the State average of 297. Among subdivisions, density is the highest in Dhenkanal subdivision (381) which includes the old town, but it is lowest in Pal Lahara (114). The police-station of Motanga with 595 persons per square mile is the most densely inhabited area whereas Purunakot police-station is the most sparsely inhabited area with 55 persons per square mile.

(iv) Rural Population

There are 3,140 villages (2,512 inhabited and 628 uninhabited) in the district. The total rural population of the district is 981,847 * giving an average of 391 persons per inhabited village, as against 354 in the State as a whole. Out of the 2,512 inhabited villages, 1,148 villages have population less than 200 persons. There are 744 villages having population between 200 to 499, 400 with 500 to 999 inhabitants and 178 villages have a population between 1,000 to 1,999. Further, it has been stated in the 1961 Census that 41 villages have population between 2,000 to 4,999 and only one village, i. e., Kamarachasisahi (Parjang P.S.) in Kamakhyanagar subdivision has population varying between 5,000 to 9,999.

(v) Urban Population

The total urban population in 1961 was 47,088 living in 4 towns, namely, Dhenkanal, Bhuban, Talcher, and Angul. The average population per town in 1961 was 11,772 as compared to 17,898 in the State. Bhuban town which acquired the urban status in 1901 tops the list with 15,534 persons per square mile and occupies the third highest density position in the State. Out of 4 towns in the district, there are two Class IV and two Class V towns. Of the total urban population, 62.6 per cent reside in Class IV towns and 37.4 per cent in Class V.

The table at page 86 shows the distribution of population according to towns with variation since 1941.

* District Census Hand Book, Dhenkanal, 1961, pp. 68-69

Towns classified by population in 1961 with variation since 1941

Name of Town	Status of Town	Year	Persons	Decade variation	Percentage decade variation	Males	Females
	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
		All Classes (4 towns)					
		1941	21,655	..	..	11,171	10,484
		1951	27,456	+5,801	+26.79	14,279	13,177
		1961	47,088	+19,632	+71.50	25,963	21,125
		Class IV (10,000—19,999) 2 towns					
Angul	..	1941	15,738	..	..	9,094	6,644
		7.32 Square miles					
		18.96 Square kilometres					
Dhenkanal	..	1941	8,422	..	..	4,565	3,857
		1951	10,352	+1,930	+22.92	5,757	4,595
		1961	13,727	+3,375	+32.60	7,742	5,985
		Class V (5,000—9,999)—2 towns					
Bhuban	..	1941	7,231	..	..	3,480	3,751
		1951	7,915	+684	+9.46	3,819	4,096
		1961	9,476	+1,561	+19.72	4,792	4,684
Talcher	..	1941	6,002	..	..	3,126	2,876
		1951	9,189	+3,187	+53.10	4,703	4,486
		1961	8,147	-1,042	-11.34	4,335	3,812
		6.82 Square miles					
		17.66 Square kilometres					

SOURCE—District Census Hand Book, Dhenkanal, 1961. p. 70.

The number of towns has increased from 2 with a population of 12,397 in 1901 to 4 with a population of 47,088 in 1961, an increase of 279·8 per cent in six decades. The growth of urban population from decade to decade is given below *—

Year	Persons	Decade variation	Percentage decade variation	Males	Females
1	2	3	4	5	6
1901	12,397	..	..	6,191	6,206
1911	12,520	+123	+0·99	6,257	6,263
1921	11,463	—1,057	—8·44	5,629	5,834
1931	14,043	+2,580	+22·51	6,994	7,049
1941	21,655	+7,612	+54·20	11,171	10,484
1951	27,456	+5,801	+26·79	14,279	13,177
1961	47,088	+19,632	+71·50	25,963	21,125

Dhenkanal and Bhuban acquired urban status in 1901. The census has recorded a nominal growth of 0·99 per cent during the decade 1901—1911. The next decade 1911—1921 witnessed sharp decline in population by 8·44 per cent due to epidemics. However, quick recovery is noticed in the decade ending 1931 when the urban population increased by 22·51 per cent. The decade 1931—1941 recorded a spectacular increase of 54·20 per cent urban population owing to the addition of Talcher town in 1941. Good health, favourable agricultural conditions and no change in urban area in 1951 have brought about a satisfactory growth of 26·79 per cent. The decade 1951—1961 registered the highest growth of 71·50 per cent owing to addition of Angul town in 1961.

*District Census Hand Book, Dhenkanal, 1961, p. 12

28. Displaced [persons]

The number of displaced persons from East Pakistan in the district was 61. They were rehabilitated in three subdivisions, viz., Talcher, Angul, and Dhenkanal.

(i) Talcher

Of the 61 displaced persons in the district, 11 (5 males and 6 females) have been rehabilitated in Talcher Colliery urban area. They have come to this district in June, 1951 from Amarda Relief Camp. These persons were given business loan in the years 1951 and 1952.

(ii) Angul

Among the displaced persons, 35 (14 males and 21 females) came from East Pakistan in 1951 and have been rehabilitated in Angul town. Housing and shopping facilities were provided to them.

(iii) Dhenkanal

The rest, numbering 15 (8 males and 7 females), came from Charbatia camp in 1959. They were rehabilitated in Dhenkanal town. The Government of Orissa have extended various facilities to rehabilitate them by giving quarters and loans for business.

29. Language

According to the 1961 Census 30 languages are spoken in this district. Out of these 30 languages, Oriya is predominant and is spoken as mother-tongue by 9,98, 659 persons or 97.64 per cent of the total population. Speakers of other important languages are arranged in the following manner: Juang (6,234), Ho (5,923), Hindi (5,045), Kui (2,159), Urdu (1,997), Bengali (1,480), Laria (1,167), Mundari (1,150), Santali (1,017), Telugu (973), Kisan (780), Kol (513), Tamil (469), Kora (303), Punjabi (239), Matya (236), and Gujarati (223). The number of speakers of other mother-tongues is insignificant. Among the non-tribal languages Hindi speakers constitute the largest number next to Oriya. According to the proportion of speakers, the two tribal languages, namely, Juang and Ho occupy the second and third position, respectively. Speakers of tribal languages included Juang, Ho, Kui, Santali, Laria, Kisan, Mundari, Kora, Kol, Matya, Kharia, Khond, Mirdha-Kharia, Savar, and Bhuiya. The total number of persons speaking these languages is 19,670, i. e., 1.91 per cent.

The table below shows the sex-wise distribution of different languages spoken in the district according to 1961 Census * :—

Sl. No.	Name of Mother-tongue	Persons	Males	Females
1	2	3	4	5
	All Languages	1,028,935	516,843	512,092
1	Bengali	1,480	751	729
2	Bhuiya/Bhuyan-Oriya	2	2	..
3	English	8	6	2
4	Gujarati	223	140	83
5	Hindi	5,045	2,482	2,563
6	Ho	5,923	3,052	2,871
7	Juang	6,234	3,129	3,105
8	Kannada	4	3	1
9	Kharia	75	34	41
10	Khond/Kondh	51	31	20
11	Kisan	780	387	393
12	Koda/Kora	303	150	153
13	Kol	513	229	284
14	Kui	2,159	1,212	947
15	Laria	1,167	599	568
16	Malayalam	67	41	26
17	Marathi	19	15	4
18	Marwari	71	41	30
19	Matya	236	125	111
20	Mirdha-Kharia	27	10	17
21	Mundari	1,150	645	505
22	Nepali	10	7	3
23	Oriya	998,659	501,023	497,636
24	Persian	1	1	..
25	Punjabi	239	224	15
26	Santali	1,017	452	565
27	Savara	33	15	18
28	Tamil	469	253	216
29	Telugu	973	595	378
30	Urdu	1,997	1,189	808

(f) Bilingualism

The 1961 Census shows that 19,176 persons or 1.86 per cent of the total population use another language in their everyday life in addition to their mother-tongues. As many as 8 languages are spoken as subsidiary languages. The most important among these are English (9,128), Oriya (5,903), Hindi (3,671), Bengali (349) and Telugu (78). Among the modern Indian languages, Oriya claims the highest number of bilingual speakers, i. e., 12,440 of which 8,476 persons prefer to speak in English, 3,523 persons Hindi, 316 persons Bengali and 78 persons Telugu. The rest occasionally use Sanskrit, Oraon, and French as subsidiary language in their daily life.

*District Census Hand Book, Dhenkanal, 1961, p. 215

The distribution of subsidiary languages and mother-tongues according to 1961 Census * are given in the following table :

Name of the Mother-tongue	Total Speakers	Total number of persons returned as speaking language subsidiary to the Mother-tongue	Subsidiary language
1	2	3	4
Bengali ..	1,480	621	English (M-288 F-24), Oriya (M-188 F-74), Hindi (M-34, F-13).
Hindi ..	5,045	557	Oriya (M-256, F-64) English (M-207, F-5) Bengali (M-16, F-9)
Ho ..	5,923	1,968	Oriya (M-1, 445, F-505), Hindi (M-17, F-1).
Kharia ..	75	74	Oriya (M-34, F-40)
Khond/Kondh ..	51	..	..
Kisan ..	780	361	Oriya (M-288, F-73)
Kol ..	513	240	Oriya (M-176, F-64)
Kui ..	2,159	643	Oriya (M-413, F-230)
Laria ..	1,167	335	Oriya (M-305, F-30)
Mundari ..	1,150	408	Oriya (M-108, F-300)
Oriya ..	998,659	12,440	English (M-8,297, F-179,) Hindi (M-3,172, F-351) Bengali (M-244, F-72) Telugu (M-42, F-36) Sanskrit (M-36, F-1) Kurukh/ Oraon (M-0, F-9).
Santali ..	1,017	541	French (M-1, F-0) Oriya (M-101, F-440)
Savara ..	33	10	Oriya (M-6, F-4)
Telugu ..	973	269	Oriya (M-125, F-59) English (M-65, F-1) Hindi (M-17, F-2)
Urdu ..	1,997	709	Oriya (M-441, F-134) Hindi (M-59, F-5) English (M-59, F-3) Bengali (M-8, F-0)

*Census of India, 1961, Vol. XII, Orissa, Part IIC, Cultural & Migration Tables, pp. 126-132.

It is apparent from the table that Oriya is the most important subsidiary language for those whose mother-tongue is not Oriya. In this district, standard Oriya is spoken round the town of Dhenkanal about ten to twelve miles in all directions of the town. The language that is spoken in Kamakhyanagar and in Parjang which are parts of the ex-State of Dhenkanal is different from the standard speech. In Hindol, Talcher, and Angul a type of Oriya is spoken which is very different from standard Oriya. In Athmallik, a kind of dialect is used which has affinity more with the language of Western Orissa. In the absence of proper linguistic study of dialectal distribution in different parts of Dhenkanal district it may be said in a nutshell that in most part of the district dialectal Oriya is spoken while standard Oriya is spoken as said before in the town of Dhenkanal and places surrounding it. The coastal people find a sort of peculiarity in the intonation pattern of the standard speech of Dhenkanal.

(ii) Scripts Used

Oriya is the only script used by the Oriya speaking population of the district. The tribal people inhabiting the district have no script of their own. Those who speak a tribal language at home, also use the Oriya script. People speaking other Indian languages use their respective scripts.

30. Migration

The movement of population within the district or from one district to another within the State or beyond the State, is generally necessitated by economic conditions and social ties. 'Place of birth' indicates the extent of migration, as will be evident from the figures given at the table* below. The percentages have been given in brackets below the absolute figures. The letter 'N' has been mentioned where the percentage is very negligible:

Place of birth	Males	Females	Persons
1. Born at place of enumeration ..	456,709 (88.4%)	268,212 (52.4%)	724,921 (70.4%)
2. Born else where in the district ..	45,605 (8.8%)	221,443 (43.2%)	267,048 (26.0%)
3. Born in other districts of the State.	11,553 (2.2%)	20,287 (4.0%)	31,840 (3.1%)
4. Born in other States of India ..	2,391 (0.5%)	1,814 (0.4%)	4,205 (0.4%)
5. Born in countries outside India	225 (N%)	81 (N%)	336 (N%)
6. Unclassifiable ..	330 (0.1%)	255 (N%)	505 (0.1%)
Total ..	516,843	512,092	1,028,935

*District Census Hand Book, Dhenkanal, 1961, p. 15

At the time of the 1961 Census, the total migrants to the district constituted 3.6 per cent of the total population, out of which 0.5 per cent were born outside the State.

Sex-wise distribution of the migrants shows that 45,605 males and 221,443 females were born in the district and 11,553 males and 20,287 females were born in other districts of the State. Among the immigrants 21,284 males and 133,287 females had lived for more than 10 years in the district. Out of them 15,758 males and 122,145 females were born within the district. 8,214 males and 39,624 females have stayed for periods varying between 6 to 10 years of whom the majority in both sexes were born in the district. 19,420 males and 51,526 females had resided for periods varying between 1 to 5 years of whom the majority in both sexes belongs to the district. The large number of female immigration with permanent nature of settlement were due to marriage.

The 1961 Census also recorded that among the immigrants from the other States of India the highest number, i. e., 2,165 persons (1,127 males and 1,038 females) hailed from the State of Bihar. In descending order 534 persons (257 males and 277 females) came from Madhya Pradesh, 367 persons (264 males and 103 females) from West Bengal, 280 persons (224 males and 56 females) from Punjab and 239 persons (90 males and 149 females) from Madras. The immigrants from remaining States contributed 308 persons (149 males and 109 females). Out of the 336 immigrants from outside India as many as 238 persons (177 males and 61 females) hailed from Pakistan, 97 persons (78 males and 19 females) from Nepal and 1 person came from Ceylon. Further it has been stated that among the immigrants from outside the State 997 males and 810 females stayed for more than 10 years in the district. 369 males and 320 females settled in the district for more than 6 years. 472 males and 380 females resided for more than 1 year in the district. It is apparent that males in large number might have come in search of livelihood.

Very few emigrants are found in other States, namely, Andhra (4 males, 13 females), Assam (27 males, 7 females), Bihar (197 males, 51 females) and Punjab (2 males, 2 females). Detailed information regarding number of emigrants from this district to other States are not available in the 1961 Census. Hence it is difficult to estimate the net migration.

31. Religion

The distribution of population by religion is given below according to 1961 Census*:

Religion	Rural/ Urban	Males	Females
Hindus	.. Rural	489,983	490,379
	Urban	25,146	20,653
Muslims	.. Rural	613	463
	Urban	681	322
Christians	.. Rural	112	74
	Urban	119	150
Sikhs	.. Rural	163	48
	Urban	9	..
Jains	.. Rural	5	..
	Urban	5	..
Buddhists	.. Rural	4	3
	Urban	3	..

It is noticed from the table that the majority of the Sikhs in the rural areas reside in the Talcher subdivision and are mostly engaged in various types of trade and commerce. The major religions of the urban areas of Dhenkanal are Hinduism, Islam, and Christianity. Out of the total urban population of 47,088 in Dhenkanal district, Hindus constitute 97.26 per cent, their absolute number being 45,799 (25,146 males and 20,653 females). Similarly, Muslims and Christians constitute 2.13 per cent and 0.57 per cent with total absolute population of 1,003 (681 males and 322 females) and 269 (119 males and 150 females) respectively. The remaining three religions, namely, Buddhists, Jains, and Sikhs, constitute very small percentage in the urban area.

* District Census Hand book, Dhenkanal, 1961, p. 217.

32. Castes

The district is inhabited by a number of castes, out of which Chasa, Khandayat, Karan, Brahmin, Gouda, Paika, and Kumbhar are important. Nothing has been mentioned regarding the relative numerical strength of various individual caste groups in the Censuses of 1951 and 1961. Caste-wise enumeration was dropped in the census records to discourage caste consciousness, but caste also shows occupation and caste-wise figures are essential for several administrative, academic and sociological purposes. Owing to urbanisation and industrialisation some of the caste groups have changed their traditional occupations, age old practices, and customs. In the last three general elections it has been noticed that caste-consciousness has helped to create groupism and as a result caste plays an important role in Indian politics today. A brief account on principal castes is given below.

(i) Bhandari

The Bhandari or Napita or Barika is the barber caste. Various clean caste people bathe after being shaved by a Bhandari as they regard the touch as polluting. The chief occupation of this caste is hair-cutting, nail trimming, and shaving and performing services under the higher caste people. On ceremonial occasions, the feet-washing of the guests, carrying of articles required for worship and ornaments and clothes to be worn by the bridal couple on the wedding day, are done by the Bhandaris. There are three types of Bhandaris in the district, i. e., (i) Lamahata, (ii) Kanamuthia, (iii) Chamamuthia. Inter-marriages among these three classes are prohibited.

Lamahata is the corrupt form of the Sanskrit word 'Lambahasta' which conveys the meaning of a long hand. This class carries lamps (masal) at the marriage procession and ordinarily they do not take to the profession of shavings, while the chief occupation of the other two classes is shaving.

Kanamuthia class of Bhandaris carry their shaving apparatus wrapped in a piece of cloth. (Kana means cloth and Muthi, the collection of shavings apparatus).

A Chamamuthia carries his shaving apparatus in a small bag made of leather (Chama). This class of barbers are placed below the Kanamuthia type according to their social status. The Bhandaris of all classes are included under the category of "Other Backward Classes".

(ii) Brahman

The Brahmans of Dhenkanal district are of two classes, i. e., (i) Srotriya and (ii) Asrotriya or Sevaka Brahman. Srotriya Brahmans have the right to study Vedas and hence are known as Vedic Brahmans or Namaskaraniya. The Srotriya Brahmans are sub-divided into two sub-classes, i. e., (a) Dakshinatya, the Brahmans who have come from

the Sasans nearby Puri and (b) Jajpuri, the sub-class which has come from Jajpur area. These two sub-classes are eligible to perform Vedic rites and they do not inter-marry. The Asrotriya section of Brahmans are divided into five sub-sections, namely :—

- (i) Debalaka (Deulia), whose chief occupation is the service of Gods and Goddesses.
- (ii) Panchadesi (Jhadua), who are also known as Aranyaka.
- (iii) Athagadia, those who have come from Athagarh area.
- (iv) Paniyari (Panda), engaged in business and trade of agricultural produce.
- (v) Balaramgotri (Halua), those who work on plough (Hala)

Inter-marriages among these four sections were traditionally prohibited but at present the prohibition is not rigidly followed.

In this district Brahmans occupy a dominant place in socio-economic field and as such are at the apex of the caste-hierarchy.

No inter-dining is allowed in case of Brahmans with any other caste. Cooked rice is not accepted by them from any other caste. They do not accept water from any lower castes except Chasa, Bhandari, Gudia, and Gauda. Before the merger of States there was caste assembly for Brahmans, and minor cases or cases arising out of incest, socio-religious and socio-political causes were adjudicated therein. Now-a-days the influence of such caste assembly has greatly declined.

(iii) Gauda (Cowherd)

The Gaudas are the chief pastoral caste of Orissa. The chief occupation of the Gaudas of the district is tending of cows and bullocks, agriculture being their subsidiary economic occupation. There are three types of Gaudas in the district namely, (a) Gopapuria, (b) Mathurapuria and (c) Magadha. Like other cowherd classes in India, the Gaudas claim that they are the descendants of Yadava tribe in which Lord Krishna was born in the Dwapar Yuga. The Gopapurias and the Mathurapurias are superior to the Magadha class. The water touched by the caste is acceptable by the higher castes and is used in the temples. Now-a-days inter-marriages among these three sections is not prohibited by their social sanction. In this district they are known by the titles of Bhutia, Das, Palai, etc.

(iv) Paika (Padatika)

There are great number of Paikas in the district. The word Paika is the abridged form of the word Padatika or infantry. Paikas were recruited in the past from various castes, such as, Gond, Bhandari, and Pana. The Khandayats form the majority of the Paikas. At present some of them claim to be Kshyatriyas and some are even known as

Karans, the writer caste of Orissa. Most of the Paikas wear sacred thread at the time of marriage. Except a few well-to-do families most of the Paikas allow widow marriage.

(v) Chasa

Among the castes in this district, the Chasas are the largest in number. They are found in all the subdivisions. O' Malley, mentioned in Angul District Gazetteer, 1908, that there were 40,337 Chasas in Angul subdivision. In 1908, Cobden Ramsay, wrote in the Feudatory States of Orissa that the population of Chasas was 8,000 in Athmallik, 51,116 in Dhenkanal, 11,000 in Hindol, 5,000 in Pal Lahara and 17,000 in Talcher. They are divided into various sub-classes, namely, (a) Pandarsagharia, (b) Kaltua, (c) Oda, (d) Khandayats, and (e) Tinsagharia. The Khandayats wear sacred thread at the time of marriage and claim to be superior to all other groups. Other sub-classes of the caste do not wear the sacred thread. The Chasas are thrifty and industrious cultivators. Cultivation is their hereditary occupation. The Chasas do not marry within the same family but a man may take a wife from his mother's family. The dead are usually buried if unmarried and burnt if married.

(vi) Karan

The Karan or Mohanti is the indigenous writer caste of Orissa. It is stated that the Karans fulfil the same functions in Orissa as the Kayasthas in Bengal, and Bihar. In the hierarchical arrangement of castes they stand next to the Brahmins in the district. Many persons of non-Brahmin castes who have achieved certain social status or education and wealth claim to be Karans. Gopal Chandra Praharaj in his Bhasakosha (Vol. II, page 1348) has referred to a judgement of the Patna High Court which gives a considered origin of Karans. They do not themselves perform religious rites. A Brahmin officiates at their religious functions. Marriage in the caste is regulated according to the table of prohibited degrees in vogue among higher castes. The caste has no exogamous divisions but has totemistic *gotras*.

(vii) Khandaits

The Khandaits are the military castes of Orissa, the name being derived from the word Khanda, meaning a sword. They are found in great number in this district. They are like the Paikas, a caste formed by military service. The best Khandaits now aspire to Rajput rank. Their principal occupation is cultivation. They wear sacred thread at the time of marriage. Widow remarriage and divorce are permitted. Polygamy though looked down upon is not prohibited. It is however, now illegal.

(viii) Kamara

They are the caste of iron-workers and black-smiths. They are also known as Luharas. They are included among the "Other Backward Classes".

(ix) Kumbhara

The name of the caste is derived from the Sanskrit word 'Kumbha', meaning a water-pot. They prepare earthen pots and earthen wares. Some of them are also engaged in agriculture.

(x) Gurja

The caste-name is derived from 'Gur', meaning unrefined sugar. They make sweet-meats which are accepted by all other castes. They being regarded as clean castes all other castes accept water from them. Widow marriage and divorce are allowed among them. They are included among the "Other Backward Classes".

(xi) Kansari

Kansaris are mainly found in Bhuban. They derive their name from Kansa (bell-metal). About 200 Kansari families, having bell-metal work as their main occupation, reside at Bhuban. In premerger period they had a flourishing business in bell-metal products. But due to large-scale production of aluminium goods, their business has declined resulting in a serious economic set-back. The Kansaris of Bhuban follow the primitive method in production of bell-metal materials which involves hard labour. The woman folk are of orthodox nature and their main activity is confined to household work.

33. Scheduled Castes

According to 1961 Census*, the population of Scheduled Castes in the district was 1,87,156 (93,113 males and 94,043 females) forming 18.2 per cent of the total population. There were 51 Scheduled castes of which the most numerous were Pana (1,10,485), Tanla (16,279), Dhoba (14,504), Hadi (11,380), Ghasi (6,046), Bariki (3,978), Chamar (3,451), Ganda (3,422), Dom (2,475), Siyal (2,212), Tiar (1,694), Godra (1,667), Bhoi (1,296), Pantanti (1,173), and Dewar (1,004). The above 15 Scheduled Castes constituted 96.7 per cent of the total Scheduled Castes population of the district.

In Dhenkanal the Scheduled Castes are confined to the Subdivisions of Angul, Kamakhyanagar, Dhenkanal, and Talcher. Their population in Angul Subdivision is 47,307 (23,535 males and 23,772 females), the highest in the district. They are mainly concentrated in the Angul¹ (20,399), Dhenkanal Sadar (20,203), Kamakhyanagar (16,197), Parjang (13,081), Chhendipada (9,786), Gondia (9,755), and Kaniha (9,580) Police Stations**.

*District Census Hand book, Dhenkanal, 1961, p. 240

** *Ibid.* p. 231

(f) Pana

The predominant Scheduled Caste in Dhenkanal district is Pana having 110,485 persons or 59.09 per cent of the Scheduled Caste population of the district. Analysing rural and urban population, it is found that 98.24 per cent of the Panas live in rural areas and 1.76 per cent in urban areas. They are mostly found in the Angul Subdivision.

The origin of the name Pana is difficult to ascertain. It is commonly believed that the caste owes its name to an oppressor called Pundrika. In course of time the name Pundrika is corrupted to Panika and Pana. Another legend is that it is derived from Pauna (wealth) or Panata (the lower end of a Sari). The person whose profession is to cut off the Pananta which serves as a purse is known as Panantakata. Hence, the term is abbreviated to Pauna and Pana.

It is also possible that Pana might have been derived from Sanskrit word Panabika (ପାନବିକା) which means drummer. Panaba (ପାନବା) means drum. (vide-Purnna Chandra Ordia Bhashakosha, Vol. IV).

Regarding different sub-castes, occupation, and social life of the Panas, O' Malley in Angul District Gazetteer, published in 1908, states :

"The caste is subdivided into six sub-castes, viz., Buna, Ganda, Patra, Sonai, Samal and Jena. Each claims to rank higher than the others ; they do not inter-marry, and members of one sub-caste will not eat with members of another. The first two weave coarse cloth ; Patras make brooms and ropes ; and the last three work as grooms and drummers. some are even palki-bearers in Calcutta. The Pans claim to be Hindus, but are considered one of the most degraded castes in the Garhjats, ranking even lower than the Doms. They eat dead cows, buffaloes and goats and are practically regarded as unclean pariahs. No one will touch a Pan, receive anything from his hand, or place a foot on his threshold. A Hindu of good caste will plaster his floor and throw away all his cooked food, drinking water and earthen vessels, if a Pan enters his house. According to their own belief, they suffer from a curse uttered by Krishna, viz., *Se hoiba dhanurdhara, bramhbandara bhitare hoiba bara chora*, i. e., "a mighty, archer he will be, in the world the greatest thief, and of all the thieves the chief." They say that in former times, when there was any fighting between two chiefs, they always marched in front of the *paik* militia and commenced the attack on the opposing force ; and being often employed to make depredations and raids on neighbouring tribes, they became habituated to theft. Even at the present day when they make predatory incursions into other states they are surprised when they are captured, as they consider that it is not unlawful for them to commit crime beyond the limits of their

own country. They do not hesitate to say they are thieves and the sons of thieves ; and a youth cannot procure a wife, unless he can prove he is skilled in house-breaking”.

Referring to inter-caste relations O' Malley has given the following account of Panas in the Angul District Gazetteer, published in 1908.

“In the Khondmals, the Pans were the serfs of the Khonds. They worked on their farms and wove cloth for them, in return for which they obtained a small area of land, grain for food, and all their marriage expenses ; they used also to procure victims for the Meriah sacrifices. Their serfdom was so well recognized that if a Pan left his master and worked for another, it caused serious dissensions among the Khond community. To this day there is a settlement of Pans—a kind of Ghetto—attached to every large Khond village, where they weave the cloth the Khonds require and work as farm-labourers.”

Panas are criminals. Referring to their criminal activities the Angul District Gazetteer published in 1908 says :

“In 1899-1900 when there was a failure of crops and the Khonds were not able to support the Pans, they turned them adrift ; but as they were not accustomed to hard labour, they would not go to the relief works until they were forced, and in the following year some of them took to highway robbery and dacoity, making themselves a terror to the people. Most of the *Chaukidars* in this district and in the Garhjats are Pans. As they are by birth and breeding thieves, this seems an unsuitable employment, but it is difficult to see what other caste could replace them. No one of good caste in the Garhjats will enter a Pan hamlet for fear of pollution or venture to tackle a Pan ; and considering all things, they have on the whole done very well. Comparatively few have been found to take part in crime ; they obtain clues, bring to light offences, recover stolen property, chase dacoits, surround them in the jungle, and capture them. They will give evidence against their nearest relatives without hesitation, and will even give up a brother who has committed a murder and quietly claim the reward. Cartmen prefer to employ Pans to guard their goods, because there is “honour among thieves,” and they will not steal from each other. They are also employed as postal runners, carrying the mail through dense forest and along unsafe roads, and no case has been known of its being stolen.”

In Dhenkanal and neighbouring districts people having a quarrel, threaten their adversaries by saying “I will put Pana in your house” by which they mean that a thief will ransack their house.

Although the Pana of Dhenkanal district is a confirmed criminal he was never notified under the Criminal Tribes Act of 1924. Perhaps the reason was that the Salvation Army having been put to look after the Panas the British Government did not want the Salvation Army to clash with the police in their guardianship over the Panas.

Before the Salvation Army started their work at Angul in 1915, the Panas were worse than criminals and the then Government could not control them easily, hence the Government called the Salvation Army, a world wide organisation to take up reclamation work of the Panas. At that time lock-houses were introduced by the Government in every village and all male members of the Pana families were locked up in those lock-houses till morning under the custody of police.

In 1915, the Salvation Army started their work at Angul, to reclaim the character and bad habits of the Panas. By the endeavour of the Salvation Army land was given to the Panas at a minimum rental basis and loans were granted to reclaim the land through the Salvation Army. To improve the economic condition of the Panas weaving was also introduced with fly shuttle looms. A training centre for such weaving was opened in the Salvation Army compound. In order to impart training, the organisation appointed workers with headquarters at Angul, Banarpal, Jarpara, Purunagarh and Gurang. Those workers visited surrounding villages and gave advice to each family regarding improvement of their agriculture, industries, education, sanitation and moral character.

The headquarters of Salvation Army is at Calcutta which is named as North-Eastern India Territory and governed by the Territorial Commander. The local organisation at Angul has no source of income, is managed by funds supplied by the Territorial headquarters at Calcutta. Previously Government granted some financial help to the Salvation Army for the reclamation work among the Panas but since 1950, it has stopped for which the reclamation work has suffered to a great extent. The present socio-economic condition of the Panas is the result of the work of the Salvation Army.

In 1961 Census, the economic activities of the Panas have been classified according to workers in different occupation groups. Out of the total population of 110,485 persons, 20,305 males and 39,032 females were non-workers. The remaining 34,182 males and 16,966 females were workers. The workers constituted 53.7 per cent of the total popu-

lation. The following table* shows distribution of the workers according to sex and occupation :

Occupation Group	Persons	Males	Females
1	2	3	4
1. Cultivator ..	23,505	17,173	6,332
2. Agricultural labour ..	13,992	7,960	6,032
3. Mining, quarrying, livestock, etc.	337	315	22
4. Household industry ..	3,351	1,937	1,414
5. Manufacture other than household industries.	21	20	1
6. Construction ..	4	4	..
7. Trade and Commerce ..	127	61	66
8. Transport, Storage and Communication.	49	49	..
9. Other services ..	9,762	6,663	3,099
10. Tanning and curing of hides and skins.	1	1	..

As noted in the table, it was found that cultivation and agricultural labour were the main occupation of the Panas. Apart from these two occupations house-hold industry and other services were also popular among them.

As regards their education, it was found that 96,638 persons, i.e., 87.47 per cent of the total population were illiterate. The following table ** shows the level of education of the Panas :

Level of education	Persons	Males	Females
1	2	3	4
Illiterate ..	96,638	41,717	54,921
Literate without educational level ..	12,766	11,732	1,034
Primary or Junior Basic ..	1,048	1,005	43
Matriculation and above ..	33	33	..

As may be observed from the table above, out of the total population of 110,485 Panas, 12,766 persons or 11.55 per cent were literates without educational level, whereas 1,048 persons or 0.95 per cent Panas had primary education and 33 persons, i.e., 0.03 per cent of the total were matriculates. No information is available of a Pana having attained a higher educational standard.

Census of India, 1961, Vol. XII, Orissa, Part V-A, pp. 58-59 and 98-99.

** *Ibid*, pp. 208 and 227.

(ii) Tanla

The population of Tanla was 16,279 (8,148 males and 8,131 females) in 1961 Census⁴. They are mostly found in Dhenkanal, Hindol and Talcher Subdivisions.

Cobden Ramsay, mentions about them as follows :

“The Tanlas appear to be a low occupational caste of mixed origin, but derived principally from the Khond tribe. Formerly their profession was military service, and it is probable that like the Khandaits and Paiks they formed the levies of some of the Oriya Rajas and gradually became a caste”².

At the time of 1961 Census³, the occupational classification of the Tanlas was as follows :

8,345 persons were workers and 7,934 persons were non-workers. Out of the 8,345 workers, 1,950 persons were engaged in cultivation, 3,676 as agricultural labourers, 605 in household industries, 59 in mining, quarrying, livestock, forestry, fishing and hunting, etc. Other occupations like trade and commerce, transport and storage, construction, manufacturer of other household industries and tanning gave employment to 26, 10, 17, 13 and 3 persons, respectively. In the other services category 1,988 persons were engaged.

Literacy, in 1961 Census⁴, was confined to 9.74 per cent or 1,587 persons of whom 1,476 were males and 111 females. The percentage of literacy among the males was 18.1 and for the female 1.3. Among the literates 1,376 males and 95 females had no educational standard. Only 99 males and 16 females had passed primary examination and there were only 1 male matriculate in the district. There was none with college education.

(iii) Dhoba

Dhobas (Washermen) belong to Hindu communities of the district. They numbered 14,504 (7,504 males and 7,000 females) in 1961 Census⁵.

They do not wash clothes of the tribes and other lower castes. There is a graduated scale of caste superiority and inferiority in the eyes of the Dhoba. When a person is ex-communicated for some social offence, the services of the Dhoba are denied to him and they would again be made available to him, only if and when he is re-admitted to the caste. They discharge their services on Jajmani system in almost all parts of the district. Their services are indispensable on ceremonial occasions. The incidence of education among the Dhobas is poor. According to

1. District Census Handbook, Dhenkanal, 1961, p. 240
2. L. E. B. Cobden Ramsay,—Bengal Gazetteers, Feudatory States of Orissa (1908). Reprinted 1950, p. 68.
3. Census of India, 1961, Vol. XII, Orissa, Part V-A, pp. 58-59 and 98-99.
4. *Ibid*, pp. 208 and 227
5. *Ibid*, p. 160

1961 Census ¹, there were 2,081 (1,905 males and 176 females) literates of whom 212 (200 males and 12 females) were of primary standard and 6 males had read up to matriculation.

(iv) **Hadis**

The Haris or Hadis are mostly found in the Dhenkanal and Angul subdivisions. At the time of 1961 Census, they were 11,380 (5,806 males and 5,574 females).

O' Malley refers to the Haris as a degraded class having no idea of the great gods of Hinduism, but worshipping deities called Hingula, Mangala and Pitabali. ²

They are divided into a number of sub-castes but the Mehtar Hari alone acts as sweeper for removing nightsoil. They do not touch the body of the dead animals. The sweeper sub-caste will eat pork and leavings on dishes.

The Hadis are mainly engaged in household industries. They also prefer to work as cultivator and agricultural labourer. They are educationally very backward. According to 1961 Census ³, 777 males and 36 females, i. e., 7.14 per cent of the Hadi community were literates. Out of them 45 males and 3 females had studied up to primary standard.

(v) **Ghantra**

The Ghantras are mostly found at Chhendipada in Angul subdivision. Their population was 541 (288 males and 253 females) in 1961 Census. Their main occupation is making of household articles in brass and iron. The incidence of education among them is poor. According to 1961 Census there were 69 literates, of which only 7 persons had primary education. There were no matriculates among them. Their favourite deity is Kali represented by an iron rod, to whom they make offerings of fowls, goats, rice and milk. Once a year during the Kalipuja, they worship a lump of charcoal as the emblem of their craft.

(vi) **Godras**

The Godras, a small caste of basket makers, are found mostly in Chhendipada police-station. They make winnowing fan, grain container, etc. According to 1961 Census ⁴, they numbered 1,667 (847 males and 820 females). Their main occupation is basket making. In 1961 Census ⁵, out of 869 workers belonging to this caste, 604 (212 males and 392 females) were engaged in cottage industries as stated above. They are educationally very backward. Of 115 literates ⁶, 111 persons were literates without educational level and only 4 males had primary education.

1. Census of India, 1961, Vol. XII, Orissa, Part V-A, pp. 208 and 227

2. L. S. S., O' Malley, Bengal District Gazetteers, Angul, 1908, p. 43.

3. District Census Handbook, Dhenkanal, 1961, pp. 244-245

4. *Ibid*, p. 240

5. Census of India, 1961, Vol. XII, Orissa, Part V-A, pp. 56-57

6. *Ibid*, p. 227

34. Scheduled Tribes

According to 1961 Census¹, the population of Scheduled Tribes in the district was 143,484 which was 13.9 per cent of the total population and 3.3 per cent of the Scheduled Tribes of the State. The population of each of the Scheduled Tribes is given below :

Name of the Scheduled Tribes	Population		
	Persons	Males	Females
1	2	3	4
1. Bhuiya or Bhuyan ..	3,645	1,965	1,680
2. Bhumij ..	2,325	1,201	1,124
3. Binjhal ..	154	70	84
4. Dharua ..	77	41	36
5. Gond, Gondo ..	20,379	10,862	9,517
6. Ho ..	2,006	983	1,023
7. Juang ..	11,551	5,587	5,964
8. Kharia or Kharian ..	8,675	4,321	4,354
9. Khond, Kond or Kandha including Nanguli Kandha and Sitha Kandha.	20,563	9,722	10,841
10. Kisan ..	6,010	3,057	2,953
11. Kolha ..	7,226	3,859	3,367
12. Kora ..	3,357	1,521	1,836
13. Koya ..	58	23	35
14. Lodha ..	6	1	5
15. Mahali ..	30	13	17
16. Mankidi ..	88	37	51
17. Matya ..	2,505	1,331	1,174
18. Mirdhas ..	2,094	1,104	990
19. Munda, Munda-Lohar or Munda Mahalis.	7,878	3,810	4,068
20. Oraon ..	20	12	8
21. Paroja ..	4	4	..
22. Pentia ..	369	182	187
23. Santal ..	1,783	927	856
24. Saora, Savar, Saura, or Sahara	12,365	5,750	6,615
25. Shabar or Lodha ..	29,851	14,820	15,031
26. Sounti ..	23	11	12
27. U. classified ..	442	192	250
Total ..	143,484	71,406	72,078

District Census Handbook, Dhenkanal, 1961, p. 25

Out of the 26 Scheduled Tribes, Shabar, Kond, Gond, Saora, Juang, Kharia, Munda, Kolha, Kisan, Bhuiya, Kora, Matya, Bhumij, Ho and Santal were numerically important and constituted 97.6 per cent of the total tribal population.

The concentration of the Scheduled Tribes was highest in Dhenkanal (35,989) and lowest in Hindol (5,976) subdivisions. Among police-stations Kamakhyanagar (20,476), Dhenkanal Sadar (18,697), Gondia (14,393) and Pal Lahara (13,211) claimed more tribal population than other police-stations.¹

Analysis of working force among the tribal population in the district shows that the majority of the population (72,517) are workers. Men predominate among workers and women among non-workers. The workers constitute 62.3 per cent of the males and 38.9 per cent of the females. Of the 72,517 workers, 76.9 per cent of the Scheduled Tribes are engaged in agricultural occupations, 6.2 per cent in household industries, 15.8 per cent in other services, 0.7 per cent in mining, quarrying, forestry etc., and the rest 0.3 per cent are employed in construction, trade, transport and in manufacturing other than house hold industries.²

Dhenkanal with a total Scheduled Tribe population of 143,484 has 14,548 literates of which 13,133 are males and 1,415 females. The literacy works out to about 10.1 per cent. This is satisfactorily above when compared with the corresponding figure for the Scheduled Tribes of the State which is 7.3 per cent. Of the 14,548 literates, 13,384 were literates without any educational qualification, 1,143 had primary education and only 21 persons were matriculates³. There is no information of a tribal having gone higher than matriculation.

The general structure of the tribes is discussed below with reference to some important tribes inhabiting the district.

(i) Santals

The total population of Santals in Dhenkanal district, according to 1961 Census, was 1,783 out of which 1,761 lived in rural areas and only 2 inhabited urban areas.

Datta-Majumder states, in his book *The Santal*, that the tribe can be grouped under the category of Pre-Dravidian or Proto-Austra-

1. District Census Handbook, Dhenkanal, 1961, p. 231.

2. Ibid, p. 18.

3. Ibid, pp. 256-57.

loid¹. According to Risely, their physical characteristics are as follows :

“Their skin colour varies from dark to very dark brown. Zygomatic arches are prominent. The root of the nose is depressed. The average nasal index is 88.8 with a range from 74 to 110. The average cephalic index is 76.1 with a range from 69 to 88. The average stature is 161.4. cm. with a range from 151.0 to 177.0”².

The language of the Santal is known as Santali and it belongs to the great Mundari group. P. W. Schmidt remarks that Santali may be considered as a member of the Austro-Asiatic sub-family of the Austric family³. Out of the total population of 1,028,935 in the district, 1017 (452 males and 565 females) speak Santali of which 541 (101 males and 440 females) use Oriya as their subsidiary languages. Further it is found that out of the total Santal population, 955 speak Santali, 814 speak Oriya, 10 speak Juang language, and 4 persons speak Ho language⁴.

According to 1961 Census, 920 of the total Santal population in the district were married of whom 425 were males and 495 were females. Persons who were not married accounted for 797 of the total population, male being 52.31 per cent and females 33.65 per cent of their respective strength. The widowed were 3.25 per cent and divorced or separated persons were found to be 0.39 per cent only.

The following table indicates the structure of population of the Santal in 1961 Census⁵:

Marital Status	Age Group										
	Total Population			0—14		15—44		45+			
	P.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.		
Never married	..	797	485	312	366	286	119	26	..	..	..
Married	..	920	425	495	..	..	309	415	116	80	..
Widowed	..	58	15	43	..	..	5	17	10	26	..
Divorced or separated	..	7	2	5	..	..	2	4	..	1	..
Unspecified	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Total	..	1,783	927	856	366	286	435	462	126	108	..

1. N. Datta-Majumdar, *The Santal*, 1955, p. 21.

2. H. Risely, *The People of India*, Second Edition pp. 372-441.

3. P. W. Schmidt, *Völker Und Kulturen, Regensburg, 1924*, Quoted from N. Datta-Majumdar. *The Santal*, 1955, p. 33.

4. *District Census Handbook, Dhenkanal, 1961*, pp. 260-62.

5. *Ibid*, pp. 252 and 255.

The statement given above reveals that child and infant marriages are not existing among the Santals. Married males and females constitute largest proportion in the age-group of 15—44. Divorced and separated are found to be more in the age-group 15—44 than age-group 45 years and above.

The father is the head of the family. Their family usually consists of husband, wife and children, but in several cases parents and married children continue to live together in a joint family. Family pattern might be termed as patriarchal in nature.

Various kinds of rituals are observed in the Santal family after the birth of a child. Name giving ceremony ordinarily occurs on the fifth day after birth in the case of a boy or on the third day if the child is a girl. They perform this name giving ceremony before new moon. After this the child enters the second month of its life. To name a child during that period is harmful. So the Santals observe the name giving ceremony on the first day after birth if the child is born one to three days before the new moon. On the day of the rite the villagers are invited to the house. The barber shaves the males of the village in the following order, first the priest, then the headman, next the other officials, then other villagers in need of a hair-cut and finally the father of the child. Lastly, the hair of the child's head is shaved. The men and women take their bath in the nearest pond. The mid-wife soaks a cotton thread in turmeric water and ties it round the child's waist. She next purifies the assembled people by sprinkling a mixture of flour and water first on the child, then on the men beginning with the priest and finally on the women beginning with the priest's wife. At the end of this sprinkling of flour-mixture the mid-wife declares the name of the child. The name of the sons are given according to the name of the paternal grand-father, maternal grand-father, paternal grand-father's brother and the maternal grand-father's brother. Similarly, the daughters are given the names of the equivalent female relatives and in the same order.

The Santals practise seven forms of marriage, namely, *Kirin bahu bapla*, *Tunki dipil bapla*, *Itut bapla*, *Ghar Jwain bapla*, *Kirin Jwain bapla*, *Sanga marriage*, and marriage by intrusion. Of all these marriages, *Kirin bahu bapla* is the most common form of marriage. It is usually arranged by the parents with the help of friends and relatives. In every type of marriage, the consent of the parents is essential. In arranging a marriage, the parents of the bride-groom pay bride-price to parents of the bride. Bride-price consists of cash plus certain payments in kind, such as cloth and cattle. Divorce is allowed but is rarely found among the Santals. In case of death or barrenness, the bride price is refunded. Sororate and levirate form of marriages are also allowed.

After death of a person, the corpse is carried to the cremation ground by the relatives and friends of the deceased. The corpse is then placed on the pyre. The eldest son or the nearest relative sets fire to the pyre and returns without looking back.

The persons accompanying the dead body throw a piece of firewood on the pyre, and fire is kindled on all sides at the base. After the cremation, small pieces of bones are washed and placed on a new earthen pot. On the fifth day after death the remains of bones are immersed in the nearby river or tank. Mourning is terminated on the eleventh day by offering feast to the ancestral spirits, relatives and fellow-villagers. Women who die in pregnancy are buried instead of being cremated and become *Curin* (a type of monster). All those who die before the performance of *Caco chatier*, a ceremony admitting one into full membership into Santal society, become *Bhut*. There is strong belief in the existence of sorcery and witchcraft among the Santals.

According to 1961 Census, 927 males and 856 females were Hindus. Impact of Christianity and Mohammedanism are not found among the Santals. Thus the community is entirely influenced by the Hindu¹. Many traditional Hindu deities such as Rama, Hari, Parvati, Kali, etc., have been adopted and given a place in the Santal pantheon of *bongas* or spirits. Hindu festivals, *Pata* and *Chata Parab* have been added to the cycle of Santal annual festivals.

The Santals are very fond of hunting. They hunt by the help of bows and arrows. Hunting is done only by men who go in a group to the forest. They fish in rivers and ponds. Their fishing implements consist of nets, basket traps, bows and arrows. Apart from hunting, fishing, and cultivation they also collect wild fruits, roots, and tubers. Owing to the reservation and other official restrictions on forests their dietary system is seriously affected.

As collecting food and hunting have decreased in importance, agriculture is of great economic significance. According to 1961 Census the main source of income of the Santals is agriculture which gives employment to 617 persons (including 264 females) whereas non-agricultural occupations absorb 396 persons (including 157 females)².

As regards education, about 4.5 per cent or 81 persons out of the total population of 1,783 are literates. Literacy is confined to only males. Of the 81 literates, 70 males have no educational standard, 10 males have read up to primary standard and only one matriculate is found among the Santals³. The Santals of Dhenkanal are backward while Santals elsewhere are found to be advanced in education.

1. District Census Handbook, Dhenkanal, 1961, p. 258

2. Census of India, 1961, Vol. XII, Orissa, Part V-A, pp. 280 and 306.

3. *Ibid*, pp. 390 and 403.

(ii) Kisan

According to 1961 Census, the population of Kisan in Dhenkanal district was 6,010. Only two males were reported to be found in the urban area while the rest of the population lived in the rural areas¹.

Dalton states that the Kisans resemble the Kol so far as their appearance is concerned². The Kisan language has some similarity with that of the Oraon. The Census of 1961 indicates that in the district 780 Kisans speak Kisan language as their mother-tongue, of which 361 persons exchange their ideas through Oriya medium. Further, it has been estimated that out of the total Kisan population, 5,113 Kisans speak Oriya as their mother-tongue, 104 speak Ho language, 7 speak Juang language and 6 speak Telugu language³.

The following table deals with the age and the marital status of the Kisans. Of the total Kisan population of 6,010 in the district, 2,631 persons are married, 315 persons are widowed, and 7 persons are divorced or separated, and 3,057 persons of the total population are unmarried. Out of 3,057 males, 1,390 are married, and 1,241 females out of 2,953 married. It is clear from the table that child marriages are in existence. It is found that within the age-group 0—14, 12 girls are married. But when we compared the frequency of marriages of the age-group 0—14 with that of the age-group of 15—44, their number appears to be very insignificant.

The largest number of married men and women are found in the age-group of 15—44. But this group is relatively larger in the case of men and smaller in the case of women.⁴

Marital status	Total population			Age-group					
	P.	M.	F.	0—14		15—44		45+	
				M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.
	Never married	3,057	1,593	1,464	1,327	1,421	265	43	1
Married	2,631	1,390	1,241	..	12	1,023	987	367	242
Widowed	315	71	244	..	..	24	35	47	209
Divorced or separated	7	3	4	..	..	3	2	..	2
Total	6,010	3,057	2,953	1,327	1,433	1,315	1,067	415	453

1. District Census Handbook, Dhenkanal, 1961, p. 248

2. E. T. Dalton, Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal, 1872, Reprinted in 1960, p. 127.

3. District Census Handbook, Dhenkanal 1961, pp. 260—62.

4. *Ibid*, pp. 252 and 255.

In the context of their marriage, Dalton says, "The Kisans confine themselves to one wife and have no concubines. Girls are not married or betrothed till they are mature, but the old people nevertheless settle the matches, and there is no instance on record of a youth or maiden objecting to the arrangement made for them. Two baskets of rice and a rupee in cash constitute the compensatory offering given to the parents of the girls." ¹

They do not reside in any compact area of their own but live with other tribal and caste groups as well. Castes such as Brahmin, Teli, Kaibartta, Lohar, Kumbhar, etc., and tribals namely, Bhuiyan, Munda, Kolha are usually their neighbours.

As regards their social status, Mohanty remarks that "they are below the Hinduised tribes such as Bhuiyans, Gonds, and Kandhas but almost rank equally with the Munda, Oraon, and Kharias. They are not served by Brahmins, washermen or barbers. Yet they have almost integrated with the local Oriya society having lived long with these people. The chief virtue of the tribe is that though they have been greatly influenced by the local culture they have not lost as yet their own identity." ²

The Kisans are industrious. Most of them possess land in plains areas. The rich Kisans employ several labourers, and sometimes they work in the fields. Cultivation is their main occupation. Besides that some of them prefer to work as carpenter and mason. According to 1961 Census, the occupation of the Kisans was classified as follows: 3,195 (including 1,339 females) were workers, and 2,815 (including 151 females) were non-workers. Of the 3,195 workers, 2,274 (1,353 males and 139 females) were engaged in cultivation, 352 (213 males and 139 females) were employed as agricultural labourer, 167 (60 males and 107 females) worked in household industries and other services provided employment to 397 Kisans (246 males and 151 females). The remaining 5 (including one female) were engaged in mining, quarrying and construction work ³.

The incidence of literacy among the Kisans is very low. Out of the total Kisan population of 6,010 in the district 629 persons were literates. Of the 629 literates, 537 males and 50 females were literate without educational standard while 42 males have passed the primary or junior basic standard. ⁴

1. E. T. Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, (1872), Reprinted in 1960, p. 128.

2. U. C. Mohanty-Kisan, *Adivasi*, 1964, p. 179

3. *Census of India*, 1961, Vol. XII, Orissa, Part V-A, pp. 306 and 280

4. *Ibid*, pp. 390 and 403

At the time of 1961 Census, 6,007 Kisans were enumerated as Hindus and only 3 males were Christians. This obviously shows that entire population have been influenced by the Hindu neighbours.¹

The Kisans are divided into clan groups. The clans are as follows : Majhi, Lakda (tiger), Topo (a bird), Bhala (wild dog), Bada (Banyan), kind (fish), Kujur (plume), Ming (Kika), Eka (tortoise), Haha (crow), Tiga (monkey), Hes (paddy), Panna (iron), Beka (salt), Khale (curd) etc. Each clan is exogamous and totemistic. The clans are further divided into sub-clans which are called 'Khudi'.

The Kisans are very co-operative. The adults take active part in organising all socio-religious functions of the village. The headman of the village is known as *Sian*. All important disputes are referred to him and his decision is honoured by the villagers.

Among the Kisans there are few persons who are known as *Mati* (witch doctor). The main function of the *Mati* is to cure diseases. He also acts as priest in various rituals.

The Kisan territorial unit consists of number of villages. These villages have a particular Ghat in the nearby river where every year on the appointed day, either in the month of Kartik or Margasira, the Kisans observe Ganga ceremony and throw the pots containing bones of the deceased persons. Each Ghat is in charge of a particular official who is called *Panigiri*. To re-admit the ex-communicated persons into the community is the main function of the *Panigiri*.

(iii) Juang

The Juang is the most ancient tribe of Orissa inhabiting the districts of Dhenkanal and Keonjhar. They are mostly found in the Kama-khyanagar, Pal Lahara, Hindol, and Dhenkanal subdivisions of the Dhenkanal district. They claim to have had their origin in Keonjhar and trace their descent on male side. Col. Dalton states that the 'cradle of the race' or their headquarters was considered to have been at Gonasika in Keonjhar and later some members of the tribe migrated to Dhenkanal and settled there.

The Census of India, 1931 recorded the strength of the Juangs as 15,024 and after a decade, i. e., in 1941 it increased to 17,032. But according to the Census of 1951, the population figure came to 12,559 indicating a sudden decrease in number. The total population of the Juangs in Orissa according to 1961 Census, was 21,890, out of which the number of females was 11,013 and males 10,877.

1. District Census Handbook, Dhenkanal, 1961, p. 258.

The table furnished below shows the distribution of the tribe in different districts of Orissa :

Name of districts	Population		
	Male	Female	Total
1	2	3	4
Dhenkanal ..	5,587	5,964	11,551
Keonjhar ..	5,028	4,740	9,768
Cuttack ..	183	233	416
Koraput ..	78	76	154
Mayurbhanj ..	1	..	..
Total ..	10,877	11,013	21,890

The Juangs speak a language which has been stated by Col. Dalton as Kolarian. The terms used by them in their daily life are common or nearly so to the terms used by the Korwas, Kharias, Santals and Hos. He says "the Juang language approaches more closely to the Kharia than to the other Kol tongues." They have acquired many Oriya words by coming in contact with the Oriya speaking people. When they find difficulty in expressing their ideas they use corresponding Oriya words. Hence, it is not possible to connect number of vocables with any Aryan, Kolarian, or Dravidian language.

Most of the Juangs live in rural areas. Their villages are situated on hill tops or slopes or on valleys amidst hills and forests all around. In Pal Lahara the Juang settlements are situated in valleys and in Dhenkanal these are built on plains just like the neighbouring Oriya villages. All the Juang settlements are found near streams or rivers to ensure supply of drinking water for inhabitants.

They have territorial units which consist of one or more wards situated close to each other or separated from one another by a little distance. In Dhenkanal, the village Sansailo has five distinct wards situated close to each other but have different names of their own. Thus, we get Tala Sahi, Upper Sahi, Banka Salua, Nua Sahi and Battra Sahi, though all owe their identity to one village, i. e., Sansailo. In Keonjhar, the village Kansa for example has got a similar pattern. Usually the distance between the wards of a village varies from one to two furlongs. Sometimes these are separated by high hills.

1. E. T. Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, 1872, Reprinted in 1969, p. 150.

A Juang is allowed to cultivate, to hunt and to cut down trees from that part of the forest which belongs to his village. The boundaries are demarcated from the time of the Raja. Now-a-days village disputes regarding boundaries are found in many places. Such disputes were brought to the notice of the Subdivisional Officer, Keonjhar. But the picture is different in Pal Lahara where shifting cultivation is completely restricted and in Dhenkanal where the land allotted to a person after it is throughly surveyed.

The Juang settlements are of uni-clan type, traditionally each Juang village is inhabited by the members of a single clan. Thus the villages like Barura, Kansa, Tangarpada, etc., are so named after the clan names of their inhabitants as Barun, Kansia and Tangarpada. In Dhenkanal Kamakhyanagar, and Pal Lahara, this traditional village pattern is no more found. The uni-clan village has become multi-clan village owing to migration of *bandhu* and *kutumba* clan families.

The Juangs generally change their village site. They believe that to stay in a village for a long period is not auspicious. Changing village sites is widely prevalent in Keonjhar but in Dhenkanal and Pal Lahara it is not a common occurrence. Shortage of *toila* land, frequent death, continued disease and calamities, arson, failure of crops, sorcery and witchcraft are main reasons for changing of villages. The aged persons of the village select new site for the shifting. After a site is selected, arrangements are made to clear the proposed site. On an auspicious day, first of all the Nigam's house is constructed, then the Pradhan's house and lastly the rest of the families build their houses. The *Majang*, the dormitory house, is constructed in the middle of the village. Before the villagers move to the new site the Nigam installs the sacred stone of Gramsiri in the front of the *Majang*. Then on an auspicious day the villagers move to the new village and worship the Gramsiri.

In Pal Lahara, the plan of the Juang settlements is similar to that in Keonjhar, but in Dhenkanal the Juang villages are imitation of Oriya villages. The walls of the houses are made of wooden pillars. They use a mixture of mud and cowdung to plaster the walls. In hilly area, the Juangs use wild grass and in plain areas they use straw as roofing material. In Dhenkanal, the houses are much bigger in size and have double roof system. They also use windows in houses which is still unfamiliar among the Juangs of Keonjhar.

Very few household appliances are found in a Juang family. These consist of mats, earthen cooking pots, gourds for fetching water, brass or aluminium plates and pots, a few bamboo baskets, carrying poles with strings, axes of varying size, sickles, plough, yoke, hoes, digging sticks for digging roots and tubers, pestle for husking paddy, a stone slab for grinding spices, and bow with arrows for hunting. They do

not have fishing implements. The Juang girls weave mats of date palm leaves. Cots of wooden planks or of string are not used by them. The male members use a small piece of wood as pillow. They purchase earthen cooking pots from the markets. The females pluck Sal and Siari leaves from the forest and prepare leaf cups and plates for taking daily meals. They purchase iron implements like, hoe, sickle, digging sticks, etc., from markets. The male members of the family prepare plough, carrying pole, bow and arrows, etc., at home.

Tribal endogamy is strictly followed. This tribe is divided into two exogamous clans, namely, the *Bandhu* clan and the *Kutumba* clan. The *Kutumba* clans do not intermarry, whereas marriage is permitted among *Bandhu* clans. No Juang can marry outside the tribe and within his or her own clan. The male clan is known as Ba'K and the female clan 'Dai'. Their clans are all totemistic.

Patrilocal and patriarchal systems are the characteristics of a Juang family. Father is the sole controller of the family. The number of joint families are very few and the nuclear family predominates among them. The joint family maintains its solidarity and cohesiveness till all the sons of a father are married. A girl ceases to be a member of the parent family soon after she is tied by marital bonds.

In a Juang family, after the birth of a child an old neighbourly woman cuts the umbilical cord. Generally knife or arrow is used for cutting it. The placenta is taken out by the grand-mother. The father wraps it in a Siali leaf cup and buries it behind the house. The child is bathed with tepid water and allowed to sleep. When the umbilical stump falls a bundle of turmeric and sun-dried rice are tied by means of a *Bauhinia Vahlia* leaf. Elwin writes, "After the birth the mother is regarded as unclean and in a state of taboo for a period that varies from a week in Pal Lahara, to three weeks in Dhenkanal, and to five months for a boy and three months for a girl in Keonjhar. Intercourse may begin again after a month and half in Pal Lahara, after three months in Dhenkanal and after five months in Keonjhar"¹.

On the seventh day after child birth, the mother takes a sacred bath by applying turmeric. She throws away the old earthen pots and cleans the house and washes her clothes. She herself cuts the hair of the baby. On the occasion of the name-giving ceremony a thread is tied round the child's waist.

Marriage customs of the Juangs belonging to Dhenkanal and Keonjhar districts show a wide range of variations, but apart from the details and the discrepancies the following factors are taken into account before a marriage is settled up —

- (a) The marriage mates must not belong to same clan.
- (b) Marriage should take place within a Bandhu clan.

1. V. Elwin, Notes on the Juang, Man in India, Vol. 28, 1948, p. 68

(c) Prohibited degrees of kinship within the same or alternate generations, at times, determine the marriage to a considerable extent. A man, for example, cannot marry a girl who stands as his wife's elder sister or his elder brother's wife's elder sister (own or classificatory) though both are of one generation.

Among the Juang society, sororate and levirate are not generally prevalent though in some cases the widowers tend to remarry the widows of their deceased elder brothers. Marriages are usually monogamous but polygamy is not prohibited in case of the wife's barrenness. Adult marriage is very common. Marriage takes place when the boy completes 20 years of age and after the girl attains her puberty.

According to 1961 Census *, the age and marital status of the Juangs are given in the Table below :

Marital Status	Total population			Age Group.					
				0-14		15-44		45+	
	P	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Never married ..	5,545	3,265	2,280	2,718	1,988	539	292	8	..
Married ..	5,285	2,188	3,097	..	13	1,428	2,486	760	598
Widowed ..	695	122	573	..	..	49	129	73	444
Divorced or separated	23	12	11	..	..	10	4	2	7
Un-specified ..	3	..	3	..	1	..	2	..	..
Total ..	11,551	5,587	5,964	2,718	2,002	2,026	2,913	843	1,049

Out of the total population of 11,551 Juangs, 5,545 (48 per cent) were unmarried and, 5,285 (45.75 per cent) were married. The number of widowed was 695 (6.02 per cent) and the rest 23 (0.11 per cent) were found among the divorced or separated group. Only 3 (0.02 per cent) females could not be classified and had been placed under the unspecified category.

In the age-group of 0-14, maximum number of unmarried persons and minimum number (13 females) of married persons were found. The data indicate that child marriage is very rarely practised among them.

* Census of India, 1961, Vol. XII, Orissa, Part V—A, pp. 354-55

In the age-group of 15 to 44 years, many males and a good number of females were returned as married. Of the 2,026 males and 2,913 females in this age-group, large number of males and females, i. e., 1,428 males and 2,486 females were found married. This reveals that usually marriage takes place when the boy or girl completes 14 years. Of the 5,285 married persons, 3,914 (74.05 per cent) come under this age-group and of this 1,428 (36.5 per cent) are males and 2,486 (63.5 per cent) females. There are 178 persons in the 15 to 44 years age-group who are widowed. The largest number of widowed persons are in the age-group 45 years and above. Of the total number of 695 widowed in the district, 517 come within this age-group and of this 73 are males and 444 females.

The Juangs do not perform marriage in the month of Chaitra (March-April). Marriages are usually performed in summer months after the harvest and before advent of rains. The Juangs practise seven forms of marriages, namely, (i) *Kamandiria Kania* (marriage by arrangements), (ii) *Digar kania* (marriage by capture), (iii) *Wadi kania* (child marriage), (iv) *Burha kania* (widow marriage), (v) *Daki kania* (marriage of the separated and the divorced women) and (vi) *Ghar Jwain*. Out of these forms of marriages *Digar kania*, i. e., marriage by capture is most common among the Juang. In this form of marriage the representatives of the groom's party capture the bride (a) from the dancing ground, (b) on her dancing visit to bandhu villages, (c) from bathing, (d) from the jungle while she is engaged in plucking leaves or collecting roots and tubers and (e) on her way to market or fairs. Unlike the Bhuiyas and Mundas the Juangs while capturing the would-be-bride do not quarrel with the villagers of the girl. Before a girl is captured for marriage the consent of the groom and the girl's villagers is never taken. Only the consent of the boy's father is required.

The father of the boy must have seen the girl beforehand and must be willing for his son's marriage. The girl's parents and her villagers are informed only after she is captured. The marriage is performed in the boy's house. After the marriage is solemnised the bridal-pair along with the friends and relatives pay a visit to the bride's village. As bride price they pay money, clothes and paddy to the bride's parents.

The Juangs burn their dead and throw the ashes into any flowing stream. They mourn for three days during which they abstain from eating fish, meat and salt. The corpse are burnt with their heads to the south. Owing to Hindu influence, they have changed their traditional process of purification. Now-a-days, the death pollution is observed by the family and the kinsmen of the deceased for a period of ten days. A ceremonial feast is arranged on the eleventh day. They make their

dwelling house neat and clean, sprinkle cowdung water on the floor and cook food in new earthen pots. They shave themselves before bath and women cut their nails. The final purification ceremony ends after the feast.

The economic life of the Juang varies from place to place. The Juang of Pal Lahara have given up shifting cultivation under the restrictions imposed upon them by the Forest Department. Now they have adopted wet land cultivation. Owing to low yield they have taken recourse to basketry as the main source of their livelihood. The Juangs living in Dhenkanal and Kamakhyanagar subdivisions are not familiar with basketry. They have left *toila* cultivation since long and are doing wet land cultivation. As the agricultural produce are not sufficient, the Juangs of these areas also work as labourers. In Keonjhar, the Juangs are least affected by the alien cultures. They still depend on shifting cultivation, tilling their land by traditional age-old methods.

In the past, when the Juang had the full freedom of the forest, they earned their livelihood from cultivating forest land, hunting, fishing, and food gathering. After break up of their traditional economy they have adopted (1) agriculture, (2) food gathering, (3) hunting, (4) fishing, (5) basketry, (6) animal husbandry, (7) trade and barter and (8) wage earning as sources of their livelihood.

In Dhenkanal, the Juangs practise two types of cultivation, namely, shifting cultivation and wet land cultivation. In shifting cultivation they cut and burn the trees in the hill slopes and prepare patches of land for cultivation. Usually *rasi* or *til* along with some pulses are cultivated in these lands in the first year and in the second year these plots are recultivated for paddy. They also cultivate *mandia* (ragi) along with the paddy. In most of the areas of the district the Juangs have switched over to *toila* cultivation in high lands and wet land cultivation in low lands. They grow groundnuts, sweet potatoes, pumpkins, pulses, and vegetables in the *toila* lands but in wet land they grow paddy only.

In addition to agriculture, food gathering occupies an important place in Juang economy. They collect roots, tubers, fruits, green leaves, mushrooms, honey, eggs and insects from the forest in different seasons to supplement their diet.

Hunting is practised not only as a pastime but as an occupation. The Juangs roam in the forest with axe, bows and arrows, and hunt animals. They eat the flesh of deer, sambar, wild pigs, bison, monkey, and birds. They do not eat the meat of tiger and bear.

Fishing is another source of getting food for the Juang. They are not good fishermen. Yet they use bamboo traps and fishing rods to catch fish in rivers, streams, and paddy fields.

Basketry is the main source of income of the Juangs of Pal Lahara. This art of basket making is unknown to the Juangs of Dhenkanal, Kamakhyanagar, and Keonjhar. The Juangs of Pal Lahara picked up basketry from the Doms and Panas. The Juangs usually bring bamboo from the forest around Pal Lahara and weave different varieties of baskets by using heavy knife, crude needle, and axe. The most popular varieties of baskets are *tupa* (baskets for storing paddy and other grains), *Tankal* (used for washing rice before cooking) and *Uttan* (winnowing fan). They also make huge and strong baskets for storing paddy and other grains in greater quantity for future. They sell the baskets and bamboo boxes which fetch them good price.

They are backward in animal husbandry. They do not have enough cattle for agricultural purposes and hence most of them either borrow or hire cattle on payment of two to four *Khandi* of paddy per pair. The poor men who are unable to pay for hiring cattle take recourse to hoe cultivation. They do not milk cows. Beef eating is strongly prohibited in their society. The Juangs worship cows and buffaloes and treat these animals as insignia of wealth and prosperity. They do not give any fodder to the animals. The animals reared are taken to the forest for grazing and after they return home they are confined in sheds until next morning.

They are not good traders. They also do not take interest in collecting forest products for sale. The Juangs bring logs and loads of firewood from the forest and take the trouble of carrying them as far as ten to fifteen miles to sell them in weekly market. A log fetches them three to ten rupees depending on its size and quality. They also sell a load of charcoal for three to four rupees. The Juang women earn a small amount by selling mats made by weaving date-palm leaves. The price of a mat varies from 50 paise to a rupee.

Despite their hard labour in raising various kinds of crops and earning money by selling various commodities, they seldom get proper exchange price. Quite often, they fall victims to the exploitation of local money-lenders. The money-lenders advance money or crops on loan basis at the time of scarcity and demand crops at the time of harvest and demand exorbitant interest. Such circumstances compel the Juang to engage themselves as labourers.

According to 1961 Census, out of the total population of 11,551 Juangs in the district 5,512 (3,572 males and 1,940 females) were workers and 6,039 (2,015 males and 4,024 females) were non-workers. The

workers were again divided into nine occupation groups as mentioned in the table given below *:

Occupation Group	Persons	Males	Females
1	2	3	4
1. Cultivator	1,391	1,289	193
2. Agricultural labourer ..	1,998	1,123	875
3. Mining, Quarrying, Livestock etc.	71	12	59
4. Household industry ..	453	264	189
5. Manufacture other than household industries.	19	8	11
6. Construction ..	..	..	..
7. Trade and Commerce ..	3	..	3
8. Transport, Storage and Communication.	..	..	..
9. Other services ..	1,477	867	610
Total ..	5,512	3,572	1,940

As noted in the table, it was found that cultivation and agricultural labour were the principal occupations of the Juangs. Apart from these two occupations, household industries such as basket-making and other services were also popular.

The following table ** gives the number of non-workers classified by sex and type of activity according to 1961 Census :

Categories	Persons	Males	Females
1	2	3	4
1. Full time students ..	323	299	24
2. Persons seeking employment for the first time.	1	1	..
3. Persons employed before but now out of employment and seeking work.	3	3	..
4. Others ..	5,712	1,712	4,000
Total ..	6,039	2,015	4,024

* Census of India, 1961 Vol. XII, Orissa, Part V-A, pp. 280 and 306

** *Ibid.*, p. 503

It is evident from the table that nearly 52.45 per cent of the total Juang population of the district are non-workers. Of 6,039 non-workers, 323 persons are full-time students. Compared to other type of activities, it is noticed that microscopic minority, i. e., only 4 males are seeking employment. The remaining 1,712 males and 4,000 females have been grouped under "others" category. These females are mostly engaged in household duties and have been treated as non-workers as they are not allowed to participate in any outside economic activity owing to certain taboos.

As regards education of the Juangs, it was found in 1961 Census* that 10,842 persons, i. e., 93.86 per cent of the total population were illiterates. The education of the remaining has been presented in the table below :

Level of education	Persons	Males	Females
1	2	3	4
Illiterate	10,842	4,911	5,931
Literate (without educational level)	657	625	32
Primary or Junior Basic	52	51	1
Matriculation or above	..	..	..
Total	11,551	5,587	5,964

As it may be noticed from the table, only 657 persons, i. e., 5.68 per cent of the total population, were literates without educational level, whereas 52 persons or 0.45 per cent had only primary education and no one had read up to matriculation.

The Bada Behera is the head of the Juang political organisation and under him one assistant is employed. He is known as Pai Behera. He helps him in village administration. The Juang association consists of some village chiefs. They assemble and elect those two. Generally, aged persons having more experience and reputation in the society are

* Census of India, 1961, Vol. XII, Orissa, Part V-A, pp. 390 and 403.

elected as Bada Behera and Pai Behera. The major cases of the village are brought to the association and are decided. Moreover, the association has got the power to give punishment to the offender according to the gravity of the case. The petty cases of the village are decided in the Majang (dormitory) which acts as court house.

About the dress of the Juangs, Dalton states that "the females of the group had not amongst them a particle of clothing, their sole covering for purposes of decency consisted in a girdle composed of several strings of beads from which descended before and behind small curtains of leaves"¹. According to them the leaf dress is very simple and natural. They use any kind of long soft leaves for the purpose. Hence, Sir W. W. Hunter, in his book "Orissa" has described the Juangs as "Leaf wearing tribes".

This curious custom of wearing leaf dress is now disappearing. It has been recorded earlier that the Patcas are a separated section of the leaf-wearing tribes of Juangs. They did not know the use of cloth and remained in nude state.

It has been stated in the Utkala Dipika (Weekly Oriya Paper) on 4th. February, 1871 that the Maharaja of Dhenkanal had assembled all the chiefs of the leaf-wearing tribes and persuaded them to wear clothes. They agreed to put on clothes, if His Highness would supply cloth for all their family members free of cost. They also promised to replace their cloth when it was worn out. Accordingly, the Maharaja of Dhenkanal offered them clothes worth four or five hundred rupees. The Maharaja also made an attempt to spread education among them. Gradually, the Patoas of Dhenkanal learnt use of clothes and developed their interest in education.

The same Oriya paper on the 18th February, 1871 stated that the Patoas of Hindol were unwilling to part with their traditional custom. They vehemently criticised and treated their brethren in Dhenkanal as outcasts. Owing to the efforts of Shri Harekrishna Das, Assistant Superintendent of Hindol, the Patoas changed their attitude and used clothes. Like the Maharaja of Dhenkanal, the Raja of Hindol also distributed cloth with his own hands among the Patoas in his territory.

The Juang women adorn their bodies with various ornaments. They use *Gojikathi* and *Chaurimundi* on head, *Nakamachhi* and *Nuluk* on nose, *Kanapasa* in the ear and necklace of beads in the neck. Moreover, they put on rings on the fingers and toes. In their wrist they wear bangles. The ornaments cited above are either made of gold, silver, brass, aluminium or bell-metal. Some male members use ear pin in each of the ears.

1. E.T. Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology of Berhal*, 1872, Reprinted in 1960, p. 152

The Juangs observe the following festivals. On the occasion of the *Amba Nuakhia* and *Dhana Nuakhia* they clean their houses and discard the used earthen wares from the kitchen and use new pots. They offer special type of food with country liquor to their ancestors and gods and goddesses. The Magha Parba is observed by the Juangs with much pomp and ceremony. They prepare cakes and other delicious food and offer them to Banadevi to have a good harvest. In the evening they assemble and enjoy the night in dance and music.

Now-a-days it is observed that the Juangs of the district who are not coming frequently in direct contact with the civilized people have retained their traditional customs and practices unaltered. But where there is scope for contact with the neighbouring Hindu culture they have assimilated some Hindu traits in their tribal culture. Due to outside influence, changes in the economic, political, religious and social aspects are noteworthy.

They have picked up many Oriya words by coming in contact with the Oriya-speaking people. It is regrettable that the original Juang dialects are disappearing as a result of culture change.

In birth rites, marriage customs, and death rites noticeable changes have taken place. The role of old occupations has changed and new occupations have come in.

Hinduism has brought about appreciable change in their culture. They observe Raja Parba and the Hindu religious festivals connected with the worship of gods and goddesses like Laxmi, Durga, Rama, Lakhana, and Sita.

In 1871, owing to the continuous efforts of the Maharajas of Dhenkanal and Hindol, the Juangs of that area discarded leaf dress and used clothes. Now-a-days, they dress themselves like non-tribals. A piece of Dhoti and napkin is ordinarily used by the Juang male. The females wear Saree, made in mill or handloom.

(iv) Malhar*

The Malhars are one of the primitive tribes of Orissa. In Dhenkanal district they are found only in the Rangathali village of Rasol Police-Station.

They claim to be the descendant of Jara Sabara, whose arrow killed Krishna. They have a language of their own, very few clean caste people understand their language. No study pertaining to their physical and cultural affinities with other tribes have yet been undertaken.

*SOURCE—Tribal Research Bureau, Government of Orissa, Bhubaneswar.

They mostly live on hill-tops. Their houses are scattered. They have no dormitory but have a common house called Kothghar. There were 12 families in the Rangathali village. They numbered 46 (22 males, and 24 females) in the village. The average size of a Malhar family consists of four members.

The districtwise distribution of the Malhars including Koli in Orissa according to 1961 Census was as follows :

Cuttack	..	162
Puri	..	7
Ganjam	..	66
Keonjhar	..	44
Mayurbhanj	..	41
Phulbani	..	8
Koraput	..	3
Sundargarh	..	13
Total	..	344

The above distribution might have been totally changed by now as the Malhars are semi-nomadic and shift their settlements from one place to another. During the field-investigation they were found in the district of Dhenkanal though they were not located in this district during the 1961 Census.

They collect honey, bee-wax, fruits, wild roots and sell them in weekly *hats*. They also collect firewood from the forests for fuel. As they are nomadic, they do not practise cultivation. Some of them have accepted wage earning as a subsidiary occupation. Education has not yet entered into their society.

As regards dress and ornaments, the Malhars follow their Hindu neighbours. Men and women wear small Dhotis and Sarees, respectively and children put on small piece of cloth.

They eat the flesh of all animals except rats and snakes. Some of them do not even eat chicken and goats. They drink taddy. On festive occasions the Malhars indulge in excessive drinking.

The Malhars are short statured, dark brown in complexion, strongly built with good muscular development.

The village chief is called 'Behera'. He is the spokesman of the village. He supplies all necessary information to outsiders.

In their society marriage by arrangement is not common. Divorce is allowed on certain recognised grounds, e. g., adultery, laziness in household duties, barrenness, and quarrelsome nature. They do not have marital alliance with other communities.

The birth pollution among the Malhars remains till the purificatory rites are observed on the ninth day. During the period of pollution no outsider takes food or water from a family. They practise both burial and cremation according to economic condition of the deceased family. Mourning period for the whole lineage continues for ten days.

They have their own gods and goddesses, viz., Mangala, Grama devati, Bana Durga, and Kalika. Like Hindus, Malhars also observe Gamha and Raja Parba. The Kondh Dihuri worships the village gods and goddesses whereas Malhar Dihuri propitiates the household deities.

(v) Bhuiya

According to 1961 Census*, the population of Bhuiyas in the Dhenkanal district was 3,645. Only 4 Bhuiya females were found in the urban area while the rest in the rural areas. They are mostly concentrated in Dhenkanal, Talcher, and Pal Lahara subdivisions.

The tribe is divided into four principal classes, namely, Desh Bhuiya, Khandait Bhuiya, Rajkoli Bhuiya, and Paraja Bhuiya. The Desh or Pahariya Bhuiyas generally live in hills and are known as Pauri or Hill Bhuiyas. This is the present clan and retains almost all characteristics of the tribe. They distinguish themselves from the other section of the Bhuiyas by adopting the 'banghy' or wooden carrying pole as their symbol whereas the other groups have either the sword or the axe for their symbol. The other three classes—Rajkoli, Khandait, and Paraja or Rautali—live mostly in the plains and cultivate wet lands. They are called plains Bhuiyas. They are considered by their tribal brethren of the hills as a degenerate type of their own tribe. They have lost many old customs and practices by coming in contact with Hindu castes.

Bhuiyas both male and female are well-proportioned; muscular, of medium height and rather tall built. The hair is black and plentiful on the head, but generally scanty on the rest of the body. The hair is ordinarily wavy and it has a general tendency to curl. Their dolicocephalic head, thick lips, light brown tint skin, broad and concave nose, and little facial prognathism are remarkable. They have racial affinities and cultural similarities with the 'kol' group of tribes.

*District Census Hand-book, Dhenkanal, 1961, p. 248

The Bhuiyas have no language of their own. They speak a dialect of Oriya language, which they have strangely distorted.

The Bhuiyas have simple family consisting of father, mother and their children. Extended families are found more among the plains Bhuiyas than Pauri Bhuiyas. Patrilineal and Patrilocal type of family is prevalent in their society. The parents having no sons adopt a son from one of his agnatic group. The sons thus adopted enjoys all privileges like a true son and inherits the paternal property.

Females do not inherit property. Ownership to all property vests in men. The widow gets maintenance till her death or remarriage. Unmarried daughters are entitled to maintenance, out of her deceased father's assets, until her marriage.

Among Pauri Bhuiyas though exogamy exists, totemic organisation is absent. In lieu of clan-exogamy, they practise village exogamy. Their social organisation is the village consisting of families which is known as *Kutumbas* or agnates. According to norm, they will not enter into marital alliances in their own *Kutumba* villages. So they have to bring a bride or bridegroom from the other villages where cognatic relations or *Bandhus* are found. Thus a village for marital alliances is called *Bandhu* village.

The headman of the village is called *Naek* or *Padhan*. He acts as representative of the villagers. The *Dihuri* is the village priest. Besides public worship he also takes active part in social, socio-religious, and socio-political matters with their *Naek*.

Like other tribes, the Bhuiyas have dormitory. The boy's dormitory is known as *Mandaghar* and that of the girl is called *Dhangribasa*. They pass the night in their respective dormitories. In villages where a separate house for girls can not be found, girls sleep together in the boy's dormitory. The elder boys in the dormitory act as leaders. They punish other boys when they fail to do their duties. They distribute the work-fetching water, cleaning the floor, bringing wood and fuel, etc., among the younger ones. Similarly, the girls perform their duties in the dormitory. The dormitory system is losing its popularity among the Pauri Bhuiyas in some villages. Instead of a widow or a widower, married persons are being selected as the leaders and supervisor of the dormitory. Among the plains Bhuiyas this organisation is no more found.

The Bhuiyas observe rituals at different stages of life in order to save the individual from harmful spirits.

The impurity connected with child-birth ends to some extent on the 8th day after delivery. But the final purification takes place after 4 or 5 months after the birth of the child. On that day onwards, she is allowed to enter the kitchen and cook food for the members of her family.

Like the Hindu neighbours, the plains Bhuiyas observe the sixth day, the twelfth day, and the 21st day. The final purification and the name giving ceremony is performed on the 21st day in consultation with the astrologer. The new child is named after a dead ancestor.

Marriage among the Bhuiyas is endogamous but exogamous so far as villages are concerned. According to them males and females belonging to the same group in the village are considered brothers and sisters. The Bhuiyas prefer cross-cousin marriage, polygamy is allowed though monogamy is the rule. They recognize four forms of marriage such as *Dhari Para*, *Jhika*, *Phul-Khosi*, and *Mangi Bibha*. Of these the first form of marriage is common and the last two are uncommon. The *Dharipara* and *Jhinka* marriages are love marriages whereas the *Phul-Khosi* is a marriage by force. The *Mangi Bibha* is in some cases a love marriage and in other cases a marriage arranged by the parents or guardians. This marriage is an imitation of the Hindu custom and is found among the well-to-do plains Bhuiyas. It is comparatively rare among the Pauris.

Widow marriage is permitted and preference goes to the younger brothers and then to the cousins of the dead to marry the widow. A Bhuiya male is also permitted to marry his dead wife's sister. If the widow marries some other man, she loses all her right and authority. No bride price is paid or consent of any relative is required at the wedding of a widow. The plains Bhuiyas have adopted a few rites and customs from their Hindu neighbours and modified some of their old tribal rites. The services of a Brahmin and a barber in their socio-religious ceremonies is definitely borrowed from Hindus.

Divorce is allowed. The cause of divorce may be due to her habitual neglect of her duties or frequently quarrelling with her husband and family members or carrying on an intrigue. The consent of Panchayat is not required for a divorce. Only he has to move over his wife to her parents and inform his relatives. After divorce a woman may marry again just like a widow without any ceremony and bride price.

The Bhuiyas practise hunting not for food but for religious observance. The hunting weapons of the Bhuiyas are bows and arrows. Only male members of the village participate in the hunting expedition. Individual hunting is rare but communal hunting is popular. This expedition is organised by the Naek (village Headman).

Usually they hunt Sambar, pig, and deer, etc. The Naek rewards the hunter according to the animal he has shot. He also offers a basketful of rice to the members of the hunting party. They observe the ceremony for three days, first day for Naek, second day for Dihuri and the third day for the Barabhais (elders).

Failure to bag game on this day brings forebodings of failures all the year round. They believe that successful hunting brings bumper harvest and keeps them hale and hearty.

The dead are either buried or burnt though burial is more common. The dead body of an infant is buried. Persons who die of snake bite, pregnancy, cholera or small pox are buried but a person killed by a tiger is cremated. Mourning is observed for 10 days. They throw away all earthen cooking vessels and replace with new ones. All males of the household and their relatives are shaved by the village barber. They also pare their nails and take bath in the stream. The polluted clothes of the household are washed by the village washerman. After the bath the relatives give about a seer (0.93 kg.) of paddy to the head of the family in a new earthen pot to be preserved for the next season for sowing. A community feast is given on the 11th day of the death when offerings are made to the deceased. After this the impurity ends.

In 1961 Census¹, all the Bhuiyas have been described as Hindus. The deities worshipped by the Bhuiyas are Dharma Deota (Sun-god), Dharti-Mata or Basuki-Mata (Earth-Goddess), Goi-Sri (also called Grama-Sri or Thakurani) and Boram (also called Mangala). Besides these deities they also worship many malevolent spirits.

The Bhuiyas celebrate a number of festivals all the year round to ensure safety and prosperity. Festivals which are observed by the Pauris, are, Magha Jatra, Makara Jatra, Karam Jatra, Akhin Pardhi, Am-Nua, Aksay Muti (Aksay Tritia), Asarhi Puja or Bhirapeja, Gamha punai and Nua Khia. The plains Bhuiyas have further adopted a few other Hindu festivals that are in vogue. Thus they observe Chitau Parab in the month of Sravan (July-August), Lakhmi-Puja in the month of Magasira (November), Kojagar Purnima festival in the month of Kartika (October-November). They also perform the Sasthi Osa in the month of Aswin and Somanath Vrata in the month of Bhadra.

The Bhuiyas living on hills practise shifting cultivation. They supplement their diet with fruits, roots, leaves, meat, and fish. They cultivate upland paddy, Suan, ragi, Kolath, Biri, beans, potato and vegetables. The Bhuiyas living on the plains are settled cultivators. But most of them are cultivators-cum-agricultural labourers. According to 1961 Census², out of their total population, 1628 were engaged in cultivation, 163 as agricultural labourer, 29 in household industries, 3 in trade and commerce, while 64 doing other services.

They are educationally very backward. Out of the total Bhuiya population of 3,645 there are 221 who have returned themselves as literates in 1961 Census³, thus bringing the rate of literacy to 6.06 per cent. Among the males 10.1 per cent are literates whereas among the females literacy is limited to 0.9 per cent. Only one matriculate, a male, is found among them.

1. District Census Handbook, Dhenkanal, 1961, p. 258.

2. Census of India, Vol. XII, Orissa, Part V-A, pp. 278 and 306.

3. *Ibid*, pp. 390 and 403.

(vi) Kora

The Koras are found more or less in all the districts of Orissa. According to 1961 Census, their main concentration was in the district of Dhenkanal. They numbered 3,357 of which 3,355 persons lived in rural areas. They are mainly found in the Kishorenagar, Athmallik and Chhendipada Police-Stations of this district.

The tribe is divided into a number of endogamous groups such as, Dhalo, Malo, Sikharia, Badamia and Surya Vansi. In this district they claim themselves to be of Surya Vansi group and do not recognise any other group. The Koras are divided into totemistic clan groups. Each group is named after a tree or an animal and cutting or eating of that tree or animal is not allowed for the group concerned.

Their family is patrilineal, patrilocal and patripotestal. Marriage outside the kin group is allowed. Bride price system is prevalent. It varies from five to ten rupees according to the economic condition of the party. Owing to acculturation, Hindu system of marriage has been adopted by them. The Brahmin performs the marriage ceremony. He performs 'Homa' and gives the sacred thread to the bride groom to wear. During the rituals barber extends his service to them.

Marriage is solemnised by the boy applying vermilion on the forehead of the bride. Polygamy is allowed. Widows are allowed to remarry. A widow may marry the younger brother of her husband. In their society, the husband had got the right to divorce his wife but not *vice versa*. He paid for food and clothes for at least half a year to her as compensation. But due to daily contact with other communities, divorce now-a-days has been prohibited by their caste assembly.

Birth brings pollution for 21 days. In the case of a girl, the mother pares her nails and is allowed to touch water after 12th day, but she is not permitted to cook up to the 21st day. In the case of boy a ceremony is performed on the 21st day, when a feast is given to the invited guests and relations.

Burial of the dead is common. Under the influence of Hinduism they also cremate at times. The dead body is laid in the pit with face downwards and the head to the south. Those persons who die of cholera or small pox are buried. They observe mourning for 10 days and do not eat meat and fish. Like Hindus they perform the Sradha on the 11th day. In the month of Kartika, they perform annual Sradha by offering rice, gur, vegetables, and ghee to the deceased.

All the Koras were classified as Hindus in the Census of 1961 and continue as such. They worship Hindu gods and also their village and household deities such as Bhairabi, Gram Deoti, and ancestral spirits.

They worship these gods and goddesses, through the Brahmins. Like the Hindus, they observe Dasahara, Rahasa Purnima, Margasira masa Gurubar, Pusa Punia, Nua amkhia, Holi, Chaitra masa Mangalabar, Rakhi in Sraban and Nua Khia in Bhadrab.

They live in small houses. The walls of the houses are made of clay and wattle. The roofs are thatched with straw and forest grass. Well-to-do Koras have constructed tile-roofed houses in most of the areas.

By profession they are good earth diggers and cultivators. In course of time they had left the earth work such as digging tanks and making roads and adopted the profession of preparing Khaira (catechu).

Now-a-days most of them have stopped this profession and have taken up agriculture. According to 1961 Census, agriculture is the main source of their income. Out of 3,357 Koras, 1,668 (853 males and 815 females) were workers and 1,689 (668 males and 1,021 females) were non-workers. Among the workers, 1,020 (550 males and 470 females) were observed in cultivation, 213 (127 males and 86 females) preferred to work as agricultural labourer, 212 (49 males and 163 females) were employed in household industries. In other services 196 (100 males and 96 females) were employed. Occupation like mining, construction, trade and commerce had attracted only 27 persons. As cultivators they produce paddy, pulses, and oil-seeds from their land. Hunting is carried out at times and fishing is practised rarely.

Literacy among them is confined to 10.9 per cent of their population. Of the 368 literates, only 18 males and 2 females have studied up to Primary standard. The remaining 305 males and 43 females are literates without any educational standard.

They do not eat beef and pork. They drink much less now than they did before.

At village level the Koras have community Panchayat consisting of adults of the community. It is still active and popular among them and all disputes are settled within the community itself. In case of doubt or a persons preferring a reconsideration, an outsider is called and his decision is accepted by all. Usually matters pertaining to caste are discussed in the Panchayat.

Their community Panchayat has started social reforms. They are pressing for exclusion of their community's name from the list of Scheduled Tribes*. They emphasise that they are Surya Vansi Khetriyas and were only known as *Khaira* owing to their manufacturing of catechu.

* G. N. Satpathy—Kora, Adivasi, 1964, p. 172.

35. Religious Beliefs

Religion of the district can broadly be classified into (i) Hinduism, (ii) Islam, (iii) Christianity, (iv) Sikhism, (v) Jainism, (vi) Buddhism, and (vii) Mahima Dharma.

(i) Hinduism

The majority of people in this district profess Hinduism. They believe in the existence of Supreme God and worship Brahma, Vishnu, Maheswara and other minor deities. In 1961 Census, out of the total population of 1,028,935 they numbered 102,661.

(ii) Christianity

In 1961, the Christian population was 455. They are mainly found in Dhenkanal, Angul, and Chhendipada police-stations of the district. They are of various denominations such as Roman Catholics and Protestants. They observe festivals like Christmas and Easter.

(iii) Islam

The followers of this faith numbered 2,079 in the 1961 Census. They believe in monism. A muslim has no other God but Allah and his messenger, the Prophet Mohammed. But *Pir* worship has become a common feature among the Muslims. In Dhenkanal district there are very few tombs of the Muslim Saints where *Urs* ceremony is held. The devout Muslims keep awake for the whole night and after the recital of the *Maulood* the Chadar of the *Pir* is changed.

(iv) Sikhism

According to 1951 Census, the Sikhs constituted only 79 in the district. Their number in 1961 was 220 and form nearly 0.02 per cent of the total population of the district. They are immigrants from Punjab. Their ranks have swollen owing to industrialisation of the district. They are mainly found in the Talcher subdivision. At present there are three Gurudwaras in Talcher subdivision of Dhenkanal district. The Gurudwaras at Deulbera Colliery which is a temporary one was established in 1939. The Gurudwara at Talcher Colliery was established in 1940 and is a permanent one. The third Gurudwara is found at South Balanda Colliery.

(v) Jainism

In 1961, only 10 persons declared themselves as followers of Jainism. They are mostly immigrants from western and northern India.

(vi) Buddhism

The Buddhists with an aggregate of 10 represent a microscopic minority of immigrants. It is evident from the 1961 Census that this religion could not penetrate into this district in its proselytising mission.

(vii) Mahima Dharma

This religion is also called Alekh Dharma. Its founder was Mahima Gosain whose name, parentage and place of birth as well as caste are not known. He appeared as a youngman at Puri in 1826. His disciples believe that he was living in the Himalayas and is an incarnation of Param Brahma. After making his appearance at Puri in 1826 he moved about Khandagiri, Udayagiri, and Dhauligiri for 12 years. Then he went to Kapilas Hill in Dhenkanal district and lived there for 24 years, in what disciples of Mahima believe as self-meditation. The story goes that the Raja of Dhenkanal used to send him milk every day and other disciples used to send him fruits. After spending 36 years in preparation he started teaching his gospel of Mahima from 1862. He travelled widely till 1876, when he passed away at Joranda in Dhenkanal district. During his travels he made many disciples and established many centres of Mahima cult known as *Tungi*. During this period his leading disciple was Gobinda Das Babā. For the sincere devotion of Bhima Bhoi, a blind Khond boy, Mahima Gosain blessed and imparted instructions to him. He also gave him power to compose poems on Mahima Dharma. Four Brahmins were appointed to take down what Bhima Bhoi was singing. The result of this has been a number of books such as, *Stuti Chintamani*, *Brahma Nirupana Gita*, *Bhajan Mala*, *Chautisa*, etc., which are in great demand.

The leader of the cult is known as *Adhyakhya*. At present there are two *Adhyakhyas*, namely, Brahma Abadhuta Biswanath Das Baba, and Brahma Abadhuta Rajiba Charan Das Baba. The head of the cult today is Biswanath Baba. Under the committee of *Adhyakhyas* are the Para Sanyasis who are also known as Baba. They wear bark of the Kumbhi tree (*Careya arborea*, Roxb) held by a belt of Murga (*Sansevieria Roxburghiana*) fibre. Because they wear the bark they are also called *Balkal Dhari* which means the wearer of the bark. And because the bark is of the Kumbhi tree they are also known as Kumbhipatias among the common people. A junior class of Sanyasi known as Aparā Sanyasis wear saffron cloth held by a belt of Murga fibre. Under them are Bairagis who wear only saffron cloth. The above three classes, i. e., Bairagis, Aparā, and Para Sanyasis have given up home life and move about preaching Mahima Dharma. They lead a severely austere life. Also, there are Gruhastha Bhaktas in this cult. (For details on Mahima Dharma see Appendix given at the end of this book).

36. Manners and Customs**(i) Connected with Child birth**

Among Hindu castes, the mother is considered unclean for 12 days after giving birth to a child. Only the mid-wife contacts her during this period. The umbilical cord is cut by a Dhai (mid-wife) with the

help of sea shell or knife. It is then secretly buried underground near the house or within the courtyard. On the sixth day, a ceremony called 'Sasthi' is observed in which Sasthi Devi, the goddess of fate, is worshipped in the labour room by five or seven women. The period of pollution (Chhutikia) ends on the twelfth day. After that, normal life of the mother is resumed. On the twenty-first day, *Ekoisa* or the name giving ceremony is observed. The first hair-cutting ceremony is performed usually after completion of one year. Those who like, perform the ear-boring ceremony after completion of 4 years 4 months and 4 days.

Rituals connected with child birth of Juangs have been given at page 114.

Among Bhuiyas, the navel cord is cut by the father's mother (Aji) or by some other woman standing in the same relationship to the baby. She is called the *Suruni* or mid-wife*. The umbilical cord of a male child is cut by means of an arrow and in case of female child a bamboo splinter is used. On the eighth day, purification is done—the room and clothes are washed.

On the thirteenth day, only the family members accept drinking water from the child's mother. After four months, the final purification ceremony takes place.

Among Kharias, a woman belonging to the tribe becomes the mid-wife and cuts the umbilical cord by an arrow or a knife. Previously a bamboo splinter was being used as knife. They bury the umbilical cord in a small pit under their door-way. When the stump of navel cord dries up it is put in the same pit where the umbilical cord was put. The impurity continues till the navel stump dries up and finally falls off. The Shuddom ceremony ceremonially removes the pollution of the whole family. When the pollution is over, name-giving ceremony takes place. Usually the grand-father or grand-mother suggests the child's name. They do ear-boring but the hair-tying ceremony is gradually losing its importance due to contact with modern civilization.

(ii) Mortuary rites

The Hindus generally cremate the dead body. The corpse is carried to the cremation ground on a bier called *Kokei* by relatives. Before being carried to the cremation ground the body is given a sacred bath and is wrapped by a piece of new cloth. The Dhoba (washerman) accompanies the body to cut the fuel for cremation. The funeral pyre is lit by the eldest son who applies fire to the mouth of the dead. The performance is called *Mukhagni*. After cremation all return home after washing themselves. A period of pollution is observed for ten days. On the tenth day, ablutions take place. Shaving and nail paring is done

* S. C. Roy—The Hill Bhuiyas of Orissa, p. 180

Earthen cooking pots are thrown away. After this, the family members become purified. To mark this, a feast to the kith and kin is given on the eleventh day.

Mortuary rites of the Juangs have been given at page 116.

Among Bhuiyas, persons who die of snake bite, cholera or smallpox are buried and those killed by tiger are cremated. Children of tender age are buried. The eldest son throws the first handful of earth on the corpse placed in the pit. Then it is filled by others. After returning from the cremation ground the persons shave their head and pare their nails. The clothes of the dead are given to washerman. The purification is done by changing the old clothes, old earthen pots and vassels. A feast is given to cognates.

The Kharias bury the dead body. In some Hinduised families or well-to-do families cremation is practised. Every Kharia village has a graveyard of its own. Paddy, empty pitches, oil and wick are carried with the corpse. As soon as the corpse is taken out of the house, somebody shuts the doors immediately. The period of pollution continues for nine days. During this period all types of rejoicing feast and food are prohibited.

37. Inter-Caste Relations

In the social structure of castes and tribes in the district, we find two distinct sub-structures, the Hindu and the Tribal. In the Hindu social structure there are many castes who interact among themselves. There also exists inter relationship among the tribes and relationship is found to have extended from the castes to the tribes.

Within the Hindu social structure the *Jajmani* system yet prevails and there are mutual rights and obligations among them. This relation is important from the ritualistic as well as from economic points of view. For example, the Brahman discharges his services as a priest. So also the washerman and the barber discharge their respective services. There are certain untouchable castes who remain at the periphery of the structural whole and are entitled to perform certain prescribed duties. These untouchables are not shaved by the barbers and the washerman does not wash their clothes. Under the *Jajmani* system the payment for the services are made by cash or kind. The payment may vary from household to household and is more or less determined by economic status of the family.

Each of the castes in the structure maintains its separate identity and functions as an endogamous unit. There are, however, certain castes whose boundaries are flexible. It may be mentioned here that certain castes like Karans, Mohantis and Khandaits marry among themselves, although such cases occur in limited number.

Under the impact of urbanization and industrialisation, the Hindu social structure is gradually losing its cohesiveness and solidarity. The *Jajamani* system is gradually waning and is being replaced by cash payment system. Thus the spirit of co-operation which was previously the keynote in Hindu social structure is gradually breaking. The relationships are becoming more and more commercialised and mechanical.

Each tribe maintains a separate identity. No inter-marriage is allowed among them.

38. Property and inheritance

(i) Joint Family System

Joint family system predominates the Hindu society although there are certain exceptions to it. The members of the family contribute a portion of their net income to a common pool for the benefit of the entire family. If some members live outside for earning, the joint family system gets modified. In case of frequent quarrels this system tends to break down. It so happens that the brothers with different levels of income do not pull on well together as a result of which joint family system disintegrates.

Joint family system is generally not found among the tribals. The joint family exists among them till the sons are married. After marriage sons live in a separate house and have separate hearths of their own. Nucleus family (with parents and their unmarried sons and daughters) is the predominant variety.

When the joint family breaks the property is equally divided among all the sons and the father is entitled to get an equal share. After the death of the father, the final division of property takes place. Mother does not get any share but she has the right to be maintained by the sons. The Hindus of this district are governed by the Banaras School of Mitakshara Law. The Bengali residents, however, are governed by the Dayabhag School of Hindu Law. The Muslims follow the Hanafi School of Mohammedan Law.

(ii) Transfer of Property

The tribes follow their traditional rules for transfer of property. They are not much affected by the civil rules. They take shelter of the rules whenever any dispute regarding the transfer becomes acute.

Transfer of property through wills is very rare. When an old father thinks it necessary to provide for any dependent daughter, he at times takes resorts to a will giving her a part of his property as equivalent to her dowry.

39. Marriage and Morals

(i) Monogamy, Polygamy and Polyandry

Monogamy is the law and is the general rule. Polyandry does not exist.

The practice of keeping concubines or kept-women is seldom found among the tribes although it prevails to a limited extent among some of the Hindu castes. Almost always the concubine belongs to a caste lower than that of the man who keeps her.

(ii) Traditional restrictions on marriage alliance

Among the non-tribals the members follow *gotra* exogamy and although this is generally followed by the Brahman caste, other castes often ignore it. Marriage with the maternal uncle's daughter is not allowed among the higher castes.

Sexual union within the same clan is contemptuous and is considered to be a grave social offence in the Kharia tribe. The sexual union of a Kharia woman with a man of another tribe or caste is not excusable. They have certain prohibited degrees of relationship and breach of rules leads to ex-communication and such other punishments by tribal assembly.

Practice prevalent among Juangs have been given at pages 114-115

(iii) Marriage customs and rituals including dowry system

In the Juang marriage "The first move in the elaborate negotiations" is for the boy's parents to go and have a look at the girl proposed. They say to each other, "Will she be good for our boy? Then on Friday they crowd their house, make a pattern on the ground with turmeric and the boy's father takes the omens by grain-divination, asking 'Will their whole lives move together or not'? It is most important that attention should be paid to these omens."¹ The following instance cited by Dr. Elwin is interesting in this connection. "In Korguda (Dhenkanal) the Padhan examined three piles of rice for his son's marriage. None was favourable, but he decided under strong pressure from his wife (who threatened to leave him if he abandoned the marriage) to go ahead. Within a year his son died."²

After a week or so of the grain-divination a messenger is sent to the bride's house and a man from groom's side visits the house of the bride through the knowledge of the headman of the village. The groom pays a bride price to the bridal party and the contents of it are exhibited before the elders of the village for their appreciation. After this the date of the marriage is fixed.

1. V. Elwin, *Notes on the Jung-Man in India*, 1948, p. 98

2. *Ibid*, p. 98

"In the marriage customs of all the three sections of the Kharias, we further meet with rites such as joining of the couple's hands, tying together of their garments, and their eating and drinking out of the same vessel, all symbolising union not only of the body but also of souls between husband and wife. Such rites as the first cooking of food by the bride, in new vessels, and both bride and bridegroom first offering of this food to the groom's ancestor spirits, and then serving food to his clan-fellows and other invited tribe fellows, symbolise not only the mystic spiritual union of the couple but also the communion of the bride with the husband's clan and community and her incorporation into it. The change of social status of the wedded couple is, as we have seen, symbolised by their putting on pith crowns at marriage and wearing new clothes, and abstaining, since after marriage, from taking cooked food and drink at the hands of other castes and tribes. Ceremonial bathing and anointing of the body with turmeric paste and drinking of sacrificial blood are among the means adopted to cleanse the couple from past 'sins', and to neutralise the mutual dangers apprehended from sexual contact. It is particularly in the folk-ritual of a Hindu marriage that we find analogues of some of the salient marriage-rites of the present day Kharias." ¹

(iv) **Marriage of Widows, Divorce**

About widow marriage and divorce among the Juangs Dr. Elwin states as follows :

"The actual ceremony of divorce which is rarely practised, is very simple. The elders assemble and the Bhaitar sets out five sarai leaves in the name of the twelve Bhuitar and twelve Bhuitarni, on each he places a small leaf-cup of liquor and the husband there salutes every-one. The elders say, "This house is now broken. Let there be no more quarrels. May you eat well and live well. The husband often has to pay a fine to the elders". ²

"The Kharias, like other Munda tribes, permit the re-marriage of widows. Generally it is a widower who marries a widow. But even a bachelor sometimes, though comparatively rarely, takes a widow for his wife. In such a marriage the wishes of the woman are consulted. A widow desiring to remarry, generally goes, after her husband's death, to live with her parents if they are alive". ³

In the Kharia society the husband and wife can divorce each other on certain grounds. Sexual offence committed by any of the partners, sterility of the wife and thievish propensities or negligence of duties on the part of the husband lead very often to divorce. In such cases the village Panchayats give the final decision.

1. S. C. Roy, *The Kharias*, pp. 279—281

2. V. Elwin, *Notes on the Juang, Man in India*, 1948, p. 105

3. S. C. Roy, *The Kharias*, 1937, p. 271-272

In non-tribal society divorce and widow re-marriage, though permitted, are rare.

(v) **Economic dependence of women and their place in society**

In non-tribal society the women is dependent on the male folk whether father, brother or husband. The daughter's right to property is hardly ever enforced. Among Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes she works and earns though she does not inherit property.

Among the non-tribals the low-castes such as Dom, Pana, and Hadi women enjoy an equal status with men. Among other castes, specially among Brahmans and Karans, women are completely dependent upon men and are considered inferior to them in all walks of life.

(vi) **Civil Marriage**

Prior to 1954 Special Marriages were being solemnised and registered under the Special Marriage Act, 1872. In the year 1954 the Parliament enacted the Special Marriage Act, 1954 with certain modifications, It also repealed the old Act of 1872. This new Act was enforced on the first day of January, 1955 and the Government of Orissa framed certain rules called Orissa Special Marriage Rules, 1955 for implementation of the Act. The State Government has also issued notification appointing District Sub-Registrars and Sadar Sub-Registrars to exercise the powers and perform the functions of marriage officers under the Act within their respective jurisdiction. Under this law, marriages between two persons can be solemnised on an application made to the concerned marriage officer, provided they satisfy the conditions laid down in the law. Upon the marriage being solemnised a certificate to the effect will be entered in the register kept by the marriage officer for the purpose. Since 1961 very few such marriages took place in Dhenkanal district.

The following figures show the incidence of Civil marriage in this district * :

Year	Number of marriages
(1)	(2)
1961	1
1962	3
1963	1
1964	Nil
1965	2
1966	Nil
1967	Nil
1968	2
1969	Nil
1970	Nil

* SOURCE—District Registrar, Dhenkanal.

40. Home Life

(i) Housing

According to 1961 Census * the total number of census houses recorded in the district was 187,727. The following table indicates the distribution of various types of houses in Dhenkanal district :

Type of census houses	Census Houses	
	Number	Percentage to total No. of census houses
1	2	3
Total number of census houses ..	187,727	1,00'00
Census houses vacant at the time of house-listing.	3,891	2'07
Dwelling ..	155,592	82'88
Shop-cum-dwelling ..	882	0'47
Workshop-cum-dwelling ..	14,316	7'63
Hotels, sarais, tourist homes and inspection houses.	494	0'26
Shop excluding eating houses ..	2,872	1'53
Business houses and offices ..	483	0'26
Factories, workshops and worksheds	1,072	0'57
Schools, and other educational institutions including training classes, coaching and shop classes.	1,505	0'80
Restaurants, sweetmeat shops and eating places.	28	0'01
Places of entertainment and community gathering (Panchayat Ghar).	1,475	0'79
Public health and medical institutions, hospitals, health centres, doctors' clinics, dispensaries, etc.	225	0'12
Others ..	4,892	2'61

* Census of India, 1961, Vol. XII, Orissa, Part IV-B, pp. 22-25

Out of 187,727 census houses, 170,790 or 90.98 per cent were used as dwellings, shop-cum-dwellings and workshop-cum-dwellings, 3,891 or 2.07 per cent were vacant and the rest 13,046 or 6.95 per cent were used for non-residential purposes such as hotels, shops, offices, factories, schools, restaurants, places of entertainment and hospitals. Of the total, 178,067 (or 94.85 per cent) houses were in rural areas and 9,660 (or 5.15 per cent) in urban areas. Taking the district as a whole, on an average out of every 1,000 census houses 20 were vacant as against 980 which were occupied. The district average was exceeded by the subdivisions of Kamakhyanagar, Angul, Talcher and Pal Lahara where the proportion of vacant houses was 23,21,26 and 32 respectively. In all other subdivisions the proportion was less than the district average, the smallest being 12 in Athmallik subdivision. Very few houses remain vacant owing to many reasons. Most probably the house owners do not like to give the houses on hire during their absence because when they return home, they want to utilise again.

According to 1961 Census* the number of household was 39,439 as compared to dwelling houses which numbered 1,70,790. In Dhenkanal district 38,436 or 97.45 per cent of the households lived in owned houses and the rest in rented premises. It is estimated that the proportion of owned houses was comparatively less in towns than in villages. While in urban areas 84.29 per cent of the households lived in their own houses, in rural areas this percentage was as high as 98.09. In villages, very few people lived in rented houses.

Housing facilities in the district appear to be on the whole inadequate. 20 per cent sample housing census conducted during 1961 Census * disclosed that as many as 39.37 per cent of the total sample households in the district lived in two-roomed houses, 19.79 per cent in houses with single rooms, 16.83 per cent in houses with three rooms and 11.74 per cent and 12.16 per cent live in four and five-roomed houses respectively. It is estimated from the census table that 2.21 per cent male and female occupied single room on an average.

(ii) Rural Housing

The use of mud, reeds and bamboos as wall materials, is prevalent in rural areas due to easy availability of the materials. According to the census of 1961 ** (Table is given in the Appendix to this chapter), as many as 66.89 per cent houses in rural areas of the district were built

* Census of India, 1961. Vol. XII, Orissa, Part, IV-B. pp. 64—67

* *Ibid.* pp. 338—340

** *Ibid.* pp. 302—304

of mud (as against 75.25 per cent in the State as a whole), 28.82 per cent had bamboo and reed walls, 2.10 per cent walls built with unburnt bricks and 1.19 per cent with stone.

As regards roofing material 98.48 per cent of the dwellings had roofs of grass, leaves, reeds and bamboos and 0.48 per cent had tiled roofs and 0.31 per cent each had asbestos cement sheets and brick and lime roofs. The rest had concrete and corrugated iron sheets.

In majority of village houses people use beaten earth and cow-dung as flooring material. They prefer cowdung because it is believed to possess certain antiseptic properties. Well-to-do people use stone and cement in the construction of floor.

(iii) Urban Housing

In urban areas too, mud is the principal material in use in the construction of walls. 71.37 per cent of the urban houses had mud walls, 22.38 per cent had walls built with burnt brick and 4.87 per cent had grass and bamboo walls. The rest had stone, unburnt bricks and timber walls.

The use of grass, bamboo and reeds as roofing material is common in rural areas. 4.81 per cent of the dwellings in urban areas had asbestos cement sheet roofs, 3.66 per cent had tiled roofs, 3.33 per cent had brick and lime roofs, and 3.37 per cent had concrete and corrugated iron roofs.

The impact of economic development, contact with the outside world and availability of building materials like cement, iron rods, metal sheets, asbestos cement sheets, etc., have brought some changes in the types of dwellings in the rural and urban areas. The houses of the higher income group are more spacious and ventilated. In most of the houses modern conveniences are also found.

(iv) Furniture and Decoration

Although the houses of people are built with mud and often thatched with straw they present an aesthetic appearance. In rural areas the dwelling houses are sometimes plastered with red ochre and painted with various types of *alpana marks*. On festive occasions like marriage and child birth the house is invariably painted to provide a pleasing appearance. On Thursdays in the month of Margasira *alpanas* are given on the floors to welcome the goddess of wealth. The doors of the houses are often artistically carved with geometrical and floral designs and also with figures of birds and animals.

Although tribal art is greatly influenced by religion, it exhibits a few decorative forms which appear to be secular. There are decorations and woodcarvings on the Juang and Saora doors. Men, animals, creepers, fish and other linear carvings are distinctly marked specially on the doors of the Juangs. There are also beautiful *alapana* marks on tribal walls as well as on the walls of non-tribal people in the district. Now-a-days under the influence of outside contact the artistic outburst is becoming more utilitarian than decorative.

In urban areas, houses of well-to-do families are decorated with door and window screens, decorative mirrors, flower-pots and table lamps. Some of the house walls are also decorated with pictures of Gods and Goddesses, eminent leaders of the nation, and film stars.

In urban households, various types of furniture are in use for comfortable living. The rich people have bedsteads, almira, chairs and tables. The tribals have not become furniture-minded.

(v) Dress

Now-a-days people are using European garments like trousers, shirts, or coats. These garments are not only found in urban areas but also have infiltrated into villages. Trousers, even drain pipe trousers, and bush shirts are commonly used by school and college students. Elderly males of middle and high classes wear *Dhoti* (waist cloth) and shirt. The people of lower class put on only *Dhoti* and use *gamuchha* (napkin). *Dhoti* worn with *Kachha* (one end of the cloth passed between the thighs and is tucked in at the back) is the style prevalent in this district. The poor people do not generally wear any upper garment in their village homes. While out on a visit, they put a short piece of *chadar* or *gamuchha* on the left shoulder. The peasants usually wrap a piece of napkin or towel loosely round the head while working in the fields.

All women irrespective of castes and social conditions wear *Sari* (the single unsewn cloth). In urban areas, a good number of women wear *Sari* and blouse (sewn garment used to cover breast) while in rural areas *Sari* is used to cover lower as well as upper part of the body. Differences are also noticed in mode of wearing and length of *Sari* used. Regarding the position of the *Sari* it is observed that the *Sari* hangs at the back from the front and invariably rests on the left shoulder. In general, it is noticed that in this district women draw the *orhni* (veil) on the head.

The male Bhuiyas usually wear a small cloth round the waist but the poor wear only a strip of perineal cloth kept in its place by a string round the waist. They wear long cloth at the time of dancing and going to

market. A very poor man uses a napkin for an upper garment on such occasions. Now-a-days the plains Bhuiyas are using shirt, banians and mill-made clothes. The females use mill-made *saris*.

The Kharias of Dhenkanal use *Khadia*. This is a piece of loin cloth seven to ten inches in width and about one yard and a half in length. It is passed between the thighs and wound round the waist. The children up to twelve years use this cloth. Besides *Khadia*, adult Kharias also use *Kardhani* (which is a piece of cloth twelve to fourteen inches in width and two to three yards in length). This *Kardhani* hangs down about twelve inches from the waist towards the thigh while going out to market or other places and in winter, they cover their body with a long sheet of thick loin cloth. This loin cloth is known in Kharia as *Borroka*. The Kharia women wear on the waist a *lahanga* which is a loin cloth, about 2 yards long and $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide with or without red or black borders and reaching down to the knees. Some women now covering their breasts either by using a long *lahanga* or a separate cloth called *Rago-lutni* round the chest.

In the past the Juangs were using leaf dress. Dalton in his book "Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal", published in 1872 (Reprinted in 1960) and Elwin in "Man in India", Vol. 28, 1948, have described the leaf dress of the Juangs.¹ They used leaves as dress because long soft leaves were abundant in the forest. Owing to their leaf dress Hunter in his book "Orissa" published in 1872 has described the Juangs as leaf wearing tribes. The impact of civilization has changed their traditional costumes. *Dhoti*, *Sari*, even shirts are being used by them. Now-a-days they are like other non-tribals in the matter of dress. A piece of *dhoti* and a napkin is ordinarily used by the Juang male and a piece of *Sari*, mill made or hand-woven, is used by females. The females do not use under garments.

(vi) Ornaments

Usually people in rural and urban areas use ornaments made of gold, silver, copper, brass, etc. The principal indigenous ornaments are given below :

- | | | | |
|---------|----|------------------|---------------|
| 1. Head | .. | (a) Gojikathi | (ଗୋଜିକାଠି) |
| | | (b) Chauri Mundi | (ଚୌରିମୁଣ୍ଡ) |
| | | (c) Banka Deuria | (ବାଙ୍କାଡେରିଆ) |
| | | (d) Kiapatara | (କିଆପାଟାରା) |
| 2. Neck | .. | (a) Sarukanthi | (ସରୁକାନ୍ଥୀ) |
| | | (b) Champa Kadha | (ଚମ୍ପାକାଦା) |
| | | (c) Suki Hara | (ସୁକିହାରା) |
| | | (d) Adhuli Hara | (ଅଧୁଲିହାରା) |
| | | (e) Tanka Hara | (ଟାଙ୍କାହାରା) |

1. What Elwin photographed was not spontaneous. It was a dress rehearsal of what existed long ago (Reported by Nirmal Kumar Bose)

3. Ear	..	(a) Phasia	(ଫାସିଆ)
		(b) Baliguna	(ବାଲିଗୁଣା)
		(c) Jaulinoli	(ଜାଉଲିନୋଲି)
4. Nose	..	(a) Dandi	(ଦଣ୍ଡି)
		(b) Notha	(ନୋଥା)
		(c) Phuli	(ଫୁଲି)
		(d) Naka Chana	(ନାକାଚନା)
5. Hand	..	(a) Gazara	(ଗଜରା)
		(b) Bataphala	(ବାଟାଫଳା)
		(c) Bida	(ବିଦା)
		(d) Tikha	(ତିଖା)
		(e) Pane	(ପାନି)
		(f) Taeta	(ତାୟା)
6. Waist	..	(a) Gotha	(ଗୋଠା)
		(b) Antasuta	(ଅନ୍ତାସୁତା)
7. Leg	..	(a) Goda Mudi	(ଗୋଡ଼ମୁଦି)
		(b) Bala	(ବାଲା)
		(c) Pauza	(ପାଉଜା)
		(d) Jhuntia	(ଝଣ୍ଟିଆ)
		(e) Mala	(ମାଲା)

These ornaments, though still in vogue in country-side, are being discarded in urban areas by educated class. Women in well-to-do families are using necklaces of different varieties, bracelets, armlets, chains and ear-rings. Nose ornaments are gradually disappearing. Instead of heavy ornaments they are using light and attractive ornaments for nose, ear and hand. Males do not normally wear any ornament except rings.

Now-a-days very few original tribal ornaments are worn. The tribal people are almost entirely depending on the outside market in so far as the procurement of ornaments is concerned. Flowers, feathers, beads and other wild nuts (Kaincha) and *cawri* shells were commonly used in the past. Necklaces of wooden and earthen beads, stones, and shells were used commonly by the tribals. Now-a-days the necklaces of bronze, silver, bell-metal and other metal are purchased from the bazar and are used. At present they are able to have multitude of ornaments, to display in all parts of the body. Tattoo marks sometimes found on their bodies may be regarded as just the corollary of ornaments.

(vii) Food

The people of Dhenkanal usually consume rice, Atta (flour), pulses, gram, vegetables, meat, fish and eggs. Various kinds of savoury, sweets, curd, milk and milk products are also consumed by the well-to-do families. The commonest cooking media are Dalda (hydrogenated vegetable oil), mustard-oil, and ground nut oil. Only on festive occasions people use *ghee*. Most of the people take very simple diet consisting of two or three items per meal. Boiled rice, *dal* (lentil soup) and vegetable are the usual items of food. Chuda (flattened rice), *mudhi* (pop rice) and *pahkal* (boiled rice left over night steeped in an excess of water) are the usual daily food for an average family. Sometimes *chapati* or *roti* of *atta* and vegetable curry are taken at night by the upper classes. During last fifty years tea has become popular as a beverage among all classes. Even in rural areas tea is a regular item in the morning and in the afternoon.

Most of the tribes consume rice, millets, pulses, beans, sweet potatoes and other vegetables. Their diet is also supplemented by fruits, roots and tubers collected from the forest. The tribal people usually eat *bainga*, *pitaru* and *turkiaru* roots either by steaming, boiling or roasting. They use salt, chillies, turmeric, garlic and oil to make the food palatable. In an average tribal family, the items of food are only two, namely, rice and pulses or vegetables and sometimes cooked meat. The Kora and the Matya tribes do not eat beef, and pork. The Hill Juangs still continue to eat beef and buffalo meat, but in Dhenkanal beef and buffalo meat are strictly prohibited. The Juangs eat fish, hare (Alang), Sambar (Seran), barking deer (Kutra), bison (Sayneo) and birds. Like other tribes, the Bhuiyas, the Juangs and the Kharias are also fond of taddy Mandia or rice beer and liquor made from *mahul*. In Pal Lahara taddy is used as daily diet among the Juangs.

41. Community Life**(i) Pilgrim Centres and Jatras**

There are a number of small pilgrim centres in different parts of the district, famous among them being the temples of Lord Chandrasekhar at Kapilas, Rameswar at Tentulisinga in Kamakhyanager sub-division. The account of these places are dealt with in Chapter XIX. A few lines on Kapilas and Tentulisinga are given below :

(ii) Kapilas

A hill range in Dhenkanal district, the biggest peak of which is 2,239 feet high. It has a perennial spring whose water is reputed to have medicinal value. There is the temple of Lord Chandrasekhar on the hill. It is a pilgrim centre. On Sivaratri in February-March a large fair is held here every year and continues for two days. About 60,000 people congregate here during this festival.

(iii) Tentulisinga

The temple of Rameswar is situated in this village. A big fair is annually held here at the time of Dola (Holi) festival. The fair is observed with great ceremony and is attended by several thousands of people.

(iv) Jatras

There are many Jatra centres in the district and people gather there on various ceremonial occasions. The following table * presents detailed information about these centres:

Occasion	Name of place	Approximate number of persons attending	Month
1	2	3	4
1. Makar Jatra ..	Nadhara (Motanga P.S.)	10,000	January
2. Magha Saptami ..	Kamalang (Motanga P.S.)	20,000	January
3. Mahima Mela ..	Joranda (Gondia P.S.)	50,000	February
4. Sivaratri ..	Kapilas (Gondia P.S.)	60,000	February
5. Dola Jatra ..	Bhuban (Bhuban P.S.)	20,000	March
6. Hingula Jatra ..	Gopalprasad (Colliery P.S.)	10,000	April
7. Ratha Jatra ..	Dhenkanal	15,000	July
8. Ramachandi Jatra	Kosala (Chhendipada P.S.)	25,000	August
9. Lakhmipuja ..	Dhenkanal Town	15,000	October
10. Lovi Thakurani Jatra.	Gada Santri (Angul P.S.)	15,000	November

* District Census Handbook, Dhenkanal, 1961, pp. 277—283

(v) Communal Dance

Communal dances are many dimensional, such as, marital, ritualistic, ecstatic, and funeral, etc. Such dances are always accompanied by music which makes them more enjoyable. It is generally said that music is the dance of words and dance is the music of limbs, and so dance and music are complementary to one another.

In the district of Dhenkanal, tribals as well as non-tribal people enjoy their respective communal dances. A brief account of some of the dances is given here.

The 'animal ballet' of the Juang has been described by Dalton, "They made their appearance at night and danced by torch light, it was a wild weird-like sight."¹

In the Juang community there are many types of dances observed by Dr. Elwin. They are pigeon dance, deer dance, boar dance, elephant dance, snake dance, bear dance, kod dance, peacock dance, vulture dance, and cock and hen dance, etc. Now-a-days, dance has degenerated to a great extent. They are now, under the influence of outside contact, not willing to declare facts about their dance in the past to the outsiders. The Changu, a big tambourine, the Ghagudu, a kind of drum and flute are the musical instruments found in their community. On festive occasions as well as in marriage ceremonies they drink and dance merrily even at times throughout the night. There are many folk songs which are also sung at the time of dance.

"Kharia youths of both sexes dance together. In a few dances, the dancers of the two sexes divide themselves in two or more separate rows; and in some dances old men and women dance together, though a few young persons, too, may sometimes join in those dances. In most dances, a few young men play on drums and stand in front of the dancers a little apart. These youngmen begin a song and, when they have sung a distich or a stanza, the dancers take it up and repeat it, or the end-lines only, in chorus, and all dance to the tune of the song"².

In the Kharia community there were many types of dances such as, the Hariao dance, Kinbhar or court-yard dances, Halka dance, Kudhing or Jatra dances, and Jadura dance, etc.

42. Festivals

Durga Puja, Dipavali, Shiva Ratri, and Holi are the principal festivals of the Hindus. In these festivals number of tribals also participate. The Muslims observe Muharram, Shabe-barat, Ramzan, Id, Bakrid and Feteha Dwazdahum. The important festivals of the Christians are Christmas, and Easter. Tribals observe the following festivals :-

1. V. Elwin, Note on the Juang, Man in India, 1948, p. 77.

2. S. C. Roy, The Kharia, p. 476.

(i) Magh Jatra

This festival is celebrated to mark the termination of agricultural year. It is observed in the month of Magh (December-January). On this occasion a small hut is constructed and the Dihuri sets fire to it. On the following day early in the morning the Dihuri scatters a handful of paddy seeds over the ashes. Then two Pauri Bhuiyas plough the area. The Dihuri offers rice and sacrifices fowls to Boram and Gai-Sri. Then they eat the cooked rice and meat. The villagers are allowed to commence agricultural operations only after the ceremonial burning of hut, sowing of seeds and ploughing are over.

(ii) Amb Nua

This is held in February-March to mark the beginning of eating green mangoes. Mango blossoms are offered in honour of their ancestors, local gods and goddesses. Communal hunting is performed on the last day of Amba Nuakhia.

(iii) Akhin Pardhi

This is the annual hunting festival of the Bhuiyas. It is observed in the 3rd day of the moon in the month of Chaitra (March-April). The day is fixed by the Dihuri. He also leads the hunting party. After the game is bagged, either the Dihuri or other leader takes a little blood of the game and offers it to the village goddesses. They believe that good or bad harvest depends on the quantity of game bagged.

(iv) Raja

This festival is celebrated for 3 days in mid-June. Ploughing land is forbidden for all these three days. The young boys and girls pass their time by swinging and singing on swings fastened to trees. This festival is borrowed by the tribals from coastal Orissa.

(v) Gamba

This is observed for worshipping cattle. This festival is borrowed from Oriyas and is held in the month of July-August.

(vi) Guda Bua Nua

It is observed in the month of August-September for eating new Guda rice. This day new *Guda* paddy is offered to the deities and to the ancestors.

(vii) Gunda Dia

This is held in the month of October-November. This festival is observed for offering of *toila* paddy, saru suluir, etc., by individual families in their *toila* fields.

(viii) Pus Punei

This is celebrated in the month of November-December to mark the beginning of the agricultural cycle of the year. On this day *toila* land is distributed among the individual families. Marriages are not performed until Pus Punei is observed.

APPENDIX

Distribution of sample Households living in Census Houses used wholly or partly as dwelling by predominant material of wall and predominant material of roof

(Based on 20 per cent sample)

Sl. No.	District/ Subdivision	Total Rural Urban	Total No. of house --holds	Predominant material of wall		
				Grass leaves reeds or bamboo	Timber	Mud
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
	Dhenkanal District	T	39,439	10,935	237	26,463
		R	37,612	10,846	235	25,159
		U	1,827	89	2	1,304
1	Dhenkanal Subdivision	T	8,870	1,985	1	6,364
		R	8,336	1,944	..	6,057
		U	534	41	1	307
2	Kamakhyanaagar Subdivision.	T	8,651	2,656	98	5,675
		R	8,252	2,656	98	5,290
		U	399	..	..	385
3	Angul Subdivision	T	8,331	1,743	16	6,227
		R	7,764	1,695	16	5,884
		U	567	48	..	343
4	Talcher Subdivision	T	4,253	617	3	3,203
		R	3,926	617	2	2,934
		U	327	..	1	269
5	Athmallik Subdivision.	R	3,987	1,668	47	2,159
6	Hindol Subdivision	R	3,301	1,247	49	1,887
7	Pal Lahara Subdivision.	R	2,046	1,019	23	948

Source—Census of India, 1961, Vol. XII, Orissa, Part IV-B, Housing and Establishment, pp. 302—305.

APPENDIX—contd.

Sl. No.	District/Subdivision	Total Rural Urban	Predominant material of wall			
			Unburnt bricks	Burnt bricks	C. I. sheets or other metal sheets	Stone
1	2	3	8	9	10	11
	Dhenkanal District	T	80	1,199	16	467
		R	76	790	16	448
		U	4	409	..	19
1	Dhenkanal Subdivision	T	6	333	..	169
		R	6	152	..	165
		U	..	181	..	..
2	Kamakhyanagar Subdivision	T	46	115	..	52
		R	46	106	..	47
		U	..	9	..	5
3	Angul Subdivision	.. T	14	216	..	100
		R	12	52	..	90
		U	2	164	..	10
4	Talcher Subdivision	T	2	353	1	73
		R	..	298	1	73
		U	2	55	..	..
5	Athmallik Subdivision	R	8	67	14	21
6	Hindol Subdivision	.. R	4	61	1	50
7	Pal Lahara Subdivision	R	..	54	..	2

Source — Census of India, 1961, Vol. XII, Orissa, Part IV-B., Housing and Establishment, pp 302—305.

APPENDIX—contd.

Sl. No.	District/Subdivision	Total Rural Urban	Predominant material of wall		Predominant material of roofs	
			Cement concrete	All other materials	Grass, leaves, reeds, thatch, wood or bamboo	Tiles, slate, shingle
1	2	3	12	13	14	15
	Dhenkanal District	T	21	21	38,592	248
		R	21	21	37,042	181
		U	..	..	1,550	67
1	Dhenkanal Subdivision.	T	1	11	8,651	79
		R	1	11	8,248	37
		U	..	..	403	42
2	Kamakhya nagar Subdivision.	T	6	3	8,583	25
		R	6	3	8,198	24
		U	..	..	385	1
3	Angul Subdivision ..	T	11	4	8,189	28
		R	11	4	7,718	16
		U	..	..	471	12
4	Talcher Subdivision	T	1	..	3,949	36
		R	1	..	3,658	24
		U	..	..	291	12
5	Athmallik Subdivision.	R	1	2	3,958	13
6	Hindol Subdivision	R	1	1	3,270	13
7	Pal Lahara Subdivision.	R	..	..	1,992	54

Source —Census of India, 1961, Vol. XII, Orissa, Part IV-B, Housing and Establishment, pp. 302—305.

APPENDIX—*contd.*

Sl. No.	District/Subdivision	Total Rural Urban	Predominant material of roof				
			Corrugated iron, Zinc or other metal sheets	Asbestos cement sheets	Brick and lime	Concrete and stone	All other materials
1	2	3	16	17	18	19	20
	Dhenkanal District	T	77	205	178	133	6
		R	50	117	117	99	6
		U	27	88	61	34	..
1	Dhenkanal Subdivision.	T	20	56	46	18	..
		R	11	13	22	5	..
		U	9	43	24	13	..
2	Kamakhyanaagar Subdivision.	T	12	15	7	6	3
		R	12	4	5	6	3
		U	..	11	2	..	..
3	Angul Subdivision ..	T	18	34	41	18	3
		R	4	9	6	8	3
		U	14	25	35	10	..
4	Talcher Subdivision	T	18	92	76	82	..
		R	14	83	76	71	..
		U	4	9	..	11	..
5	Athmallik Subdivision.	R	3	3	3	7	..
6	Hindol Subdivision	R	6	5	5	2	..
7	Pal Lahara Subdivision.	R	..	..	..	..	..

Source—Census of India, 1961, Vol. XII, Orissa, Part IV-B, Housing and Establishment, pp. 302—305.