

CHAPTER III

PEOPLE

POPULATION

The total population of Ganjam district as enumerated by the Census of 1981 was 2,669,899 of whom 1,314, 520 were males and 1,355,379 females. The district during the above census period was divided into 11 Tahasils and 23 police-stations.¹ The population of each such administrative unit is given below as per the 1981 Census².

Tahasil/ Police-station	Males	Females	Total Population
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Ghumusar Tahasil ..	168,334	175,129	343,463
Gangapur P.S. (Portion)	20,630	23,367	43,997
Buguda P. S. ..	56,028	58,139	114,167
Tarasingi P. S. ..	30,848	31,214	62,062
Bhanjanagar P. S. ..	60,828	62,409	123,237
Sorada Tahasil ..	60,528	60,625	121,153
Gangapur P. S.(Portion)	1,641	1,684	3,325
Sorada P. S. ..	28,078	28,061	56,139
Badagad P. S.(Portion)	30,809	30,880	61,689
Asika Tahasil ..	128,936	134,940	263,876
Badagad P. S.(Portion)	7,383	7,596	14,979
Gangapur P. S.(Portion)	28,117	30,782	58,899
Asika P.S. ..	68,968	72,102	141,070
Hinjili P. S.(Portion) ..	1,625	1,720	3,345
Patapur P. S.(Portion)	22,843	22,740	45,583

1. There are 14 Tahsils 33 police stations in the district at present.

2. Census of India 1981, Orissa, Part-IIA, General Population Tables pp.55—57. According to the Census of India Paper 1 of 1991 Provisional Population-Totals the Supplement, population of Ganjam district is 3,143,120 (1,562,128 males and 1,580,992 females).

Tahasil/ Police-station	Males	Females	Total Population
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Digapahandi Tahasil ..	119,314	120,552	239,866
Hinjili P. S.(Portion) ..	7,712	7,646	15,358
Patapur P. S.(Portion) ..	57,230	57,897	115,127
Brahmapur Sadar P. S. (Portion).	7,159	7,403	14,562
Nuagan P. S. (Portion)	47,213	47,606	94,819
R. Udayagiri Tahasil ..	72,667	74,483	147,150
Ramagiri P. S.(Portion)	7,559	7,623	15,182
Mohana P. S. ..	36,988	37,462	74,450
R. Udayagiri P. S. ..	24,182	25,135	49,317
Serang P. S.(Portion) ..	3,938	4,263	8,201
Paralakhemundi Tahasil	128,065	130,734	258,799
Serang P. S.(Portion)	27,999	29,907	57,906
Kashinagar P. S. ..	22,135	22,352	44,487
Paralakhemundi P. S. ..	53,890	53,851	107,741
Garabandha P. S. ..	11,232	11,327	22,559
Ramagiri P. S.(Portion)	12,809	13,297	26,106
Chikiti Tahasil ..	63,471	67,923	131,394
Jarada P. S. ..	41,836	44,957	86,793
Nuagan P. S.(Portion) ..	20,138	2,498	41,636
Brahmapur Sadar P. S. (Portion).	1,497	1,468	2,965
Brahmapur Tahasil	189,567	187,382	376,949
Nuagan P. S.(Portion)	5,857	5,952	11,809
Brahmapur Sadar P. S. (Portion).	97,249	101,155	198,404
Hinjili P. S.(Portion)	1,994	2,192	4,186

Tahasil/ Police-Station (1)	Males (2)	Females (3)	Total Population (4)
Chhatrapur Tahasil	137,993	142,466	280,459
Patapur P. S. (Portion)	256	190	446
Hinjili P. S. (Portion) ..	43,918	45,212	89,130
Purusottampur P. S. ..	28,201	29,171	57,372
Chhatrapur P. S. (Portion)	62,513	64,751	127,264
Rambha P. S. (Portion) ..	3,105	3,142	6,247
Khallikot Tahasil ..	109,465	113,236	222,701
Chhatrapur P. S. (Portion)	822	814	1,636
Rambha P. S. (Portion) ..	64,980	65,814	130,794
Kodala P. S. (Portion) ..	35,158	37,780	72,938
Purusottampur P. S. (Portion).	8,505	8,828	17,333
Kodala Tahasil ..	136,180	147,909	284,089
Hinjili P. S. (Portion) ..	1,875	1,776	3,651
Purusottampur P. S. (Portion).	88,823	96,216	185,039
Kodala P. S. (Portion)	45,482	49,917	95,399

Growth of Population

The district ranks third in area among the districts of the State. It also stands third so far as population in 1981 census is concerned.

The growth of population in the district from decade to decade is given over leaf.¹

1. Census of India, 1981, Orissa, Part II-A, General Population Tables, p. 150.

Census Year	Males	Females	Total	Decade variation	Percentage decade variation
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
1901	538,804	603,159	1,141,963	..	..
1911	588,076	681,610	1,269,686	+127,723	+11·18
1921	552,593	675,872	1,228,465	-41,221	-3·25
1931	635,020	756,049	1,391,069	+162,604	+13·24
1941	719,489	841,180	1,560,669	+169,600	+12·19
1951	769,060	855,769	1,624,829	+64,160	+4·11
1961	899,329	973,201	1,872,530	+247,701	+15·24
1971	1,123,160	1,170,648	2,293,808	+421,278	+22·50
1981	1,314,520	1,355,379	2,669,899	+376,091	+16·40
1991 (p)	1,562,128	1,580,992	3,143,120	+473,221	+17·72

The district suffered from famine frequently during the second half of the 19th century and thereafter. The more serious famines are those that occurred in 1865-66, 1888-89, 1896-97 and 1908-09. The district then enjoyed a period of quick recovery, in spite of occasional adversities. The Agency portion of the district had unfavourable crop condition in 1905, 1906 and 1907 due to inadequate rainfall. The Agency tract of Paralakhemundi and Brahmapur Taluks were in the grip of famine in 1908-09 which was controlled by gratuitous and test relief works. The famine did not extend to other areas. Growth of population by the close of the decade was satisfactory as it gained 127,723, an increase of 11·18 per cent.

The decade 1911—21 was a period of devastating public health. The excessive or inadequate rainfall was equally detrimental to crop conditions. The epidemic of influenza which broke out in 1918 spread rapidly increasing the death rate. Ghumusar, Kodala and Chhatrapur Taluks were affected by famine in 1919 necessitating test relief works. The increased death rate and poor public health conditions encouraged large scale emigration to Burma and other places. The result was the decrease in population by 3·25 per cent in 1921.

(P) for provisional

In the next decade, the district recovered quickly and the general health improved except for sporadic outbreak of epidemics. The harvests were good. People started coming back from Burma. All these contributed to the growth in population during 1931 Census, which showed an increase of 13.24 per cent. This satisfactory growth of population was also maintained in the following decade 1931—41. There was general peace and prosperity although the decade was not completely free from natural calamities. The cyclones in 1933 and 1938 severely damaged the food crops. Malaria was gaining ground in villages around the Chilika lake causing higher mortality. In spite of these adversities, increase in population was noticed in 1941 Census as general health and economic condition did not deteriorate to a great extent. The population rose to 1,560,669 in 1941 with an increase of 12.19 per cent.

The decade 1941—51 was not favourable for the growth of population. Crops were affected due to failure of rains. The first half of the decade witnessed total failure of crops either due to cyclone or heavy rains or irregular rains alternatively. Simultaneously public health broke down resulting in increased deaths from malaria and cholera. Some improvement in public health was noticeable in the later half of the decade. As a result, the growth of population was in the level of 4.11 per cent in 1951 Census.

The decade 1951—61 was a period of economic prosperity and planned development. The entire district was covered by the Community Development Blocks and National Extension Service Blocks. Improved techniques were adopted for higher yields in agriculture. Minor irrigation works on large scale were implemented. Public health had improved considerably. Social Welfare Schemes sponsored by the National Extension Service Blocks received good response. And finally trade and commerce expanded. Thus the results of the multi-sided developmental activities and improved agricultural practices were noticeable in the growth of population which was recorded as 1,872,530 according to 1961 census giving an increase of 15.24 per cent, which was the highest growth in any decade till 1961.

During the next decade from 1961 to 1971 the satisfactory rate of growth of population as noticed in the previous decade was practically maintained. The population increased from 1,872,530 in 1961 to 2,293,808 in 1971. The growth rate being 22.50 per cent. The reasons for the growth of population are due to improvement in public health and personal hygiene, excess of births over deaths, good crops, industrial and commercial developments.

The decennial growth rate during 1971—81 works out to 16.40 per cent against the state average of 20.17 per cent and that during 1981—91 works out to 17.72 per cent against the state average of 19.50 per cent.

The growth of population of the district during the last ninety years is 175.23 per cent which is below the state average growth of 205.85 per cent.

Density

The density of population differs from decade to decade which can be seen from the table given below :

Census Year	Density of population per sq. km.	
	Ganjam district	Orissa State
(1)	(2)	(3)
1951	133	94
1961	149	113
1971	183	141
1981	213	169
1991 *	251	202

The density is not uniform throughout the district. It differs from place to place and from one administrative unit to another. The reasons for such disparity are geographical, social and economic. However, the Census of 1981 recorded the highest density of population (869) in Brahmapur Tahasil and the lowest (78) in R. Udayagiri Tahasil.

Of the 20 towns, Paralakhemundi, formerly the headquarters of Paralakhemundi estate and the subdivisional headquarters, tops the list with 8,903 persons per sq. km. and Khallikot ranks last with 293 persons.

Rural/Urban Distribution

The total population of 2,669,899 persons was distributed into 2,289,510 rural and 380,389 urban in the ratio of 85.75 per cent and 14.25 per cent respectively in 1981 census.

Rural population

The Census of 1981 recorded 4,185 inhabited and 539 uninhabited villages in the district.** These inhabited villages accommodated 2,289,510 persons. The average population size per inhabited village thus comes to 547 persons. It was higher than the

*Paper I of 1991 Provisional Population Totals, p. 33.

** According to the Settlement Officer, Ganjam Major Settlement, number of villages is 4,784.

state average of 500. The table below presents percentage of villages by size to the total number of villages and percentage of population living in villages of different size to the total rural population of 1981.*

Villages with population of	Percentage of No. of villages in this range to total No. of villages		
	1981	1971	1961
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Less than 500	65.37	69.36	70.26
500—999	17.71	16.81	17.57
1,000—1,999	12.26	10.23	9.17
2,000—4,999	4.52	3.51	2.89
5,000—9,999	0.14	0.09	0.11
10,000 and above	..	..	..

Villages with population of	Percentage of rural population in this range to total rural population of the district		
	1981	1971	1961
(1)	(5)	(6)	(7)
Less than 500	20.85	23.28	27.10
500—999	23.26	25.14	27.33
1,000—1,999	31.04	29.66	27.23
2,000—4,999	23.47	20.67	16.99
5,000—9,999	1.38	1.25	1.35
10,000 and above	..	..	..

It is found from the table that the number of villages having population less than 500 is the highest in the district. This trend is also observed in other districts of the state. It is noticed that the highest percentage of rural population was recorded in the

*Census of India, 1971, Orissa, Part-II-A, General Population Table p. 116 and Census of India, 1981, Orissa, Part II-A, General Population Tables, p. 57.

villages having the population size of 1,000—1,999. While number of villages having population less than 500 is decreasing, it is increasing in the category of 1,000—1,999 and 2,000—4,999 and 5,000—9,999.

There are four villages in the district having a population of 5,000 and above. Details about the villages are given below according to 1981 Census¹.

Name of Police-station/part police-station (1)	Name of village (2)	Popula- tion (3)
Badagad (portion) in Sorada Tahasil.	Badagad	5,092
Patapur (portion) in Digapahandi Tahasil.	Bhismagiri	5,120
Brahmapur S a d a r (portion) in Brahmapur Sadar Tahasil.	Subhani (Suani)	5,419
Hinjili (portion) in Chhatrapur Tahasil	Sikiri	5,020
Purusottampur (por- tion) in Chhatrapur Tahasil.	Bhatakumarda	5,470
Chhatrapur (portion) in Chhatrapur Tahasil.	Sundarapur	5,589

Urban Population

According to 1981 Census, 380,389 persons lived in the urban areas of the district. The proportion of urban population to the total population of the district was 14.25 per cent. The corresponding proportion for the state was 11.79 per cent. The districts having higher proportion of urban population than Ganjam were Sundargarh (30.59 per cent), Sambalpur (15.49 per cent) and Puri (14.79 per cent.)

The urban areas of the district consist of 20 towns, the highest number of towns in the state. (Phulabani district occupied the lowest position with three towns). Of the urban areas, Brahma-
pur was the only class I town (population having 100,000 and

¹A Portrait of Population, Orissa, 1981, p. 35.

above) with a population of 162,550 persons Paralakhemundi with a population of 32,317 was classified under class III (Population 20,000 to 49,999) towns. Eight towns viz., Bhanjanagar, Asika, Hinjili, Chhatrapur, Polasara, Kabisuryanagar, Sorada and Purusottampur were treated as class IV (Population 10,000 to 19,999) towns. The category of Class V (Population 5,000 to 9,999) towns recorded nine towns, viz., Buguda, Belaguntha, Sorada, Rambha, Khallikot, Purusottampur, Kabisuryanagar, Kashinagar and Kodala. Only Gopalpur belonged to the category of Class VI (Population less than 5,000) town.

The number of towns has increased from two in 1901 to 20 in 1991. The subjoined table shows the growth of urban population since 1901.

Town	Population				
	1901	1911	1921	1931	1941
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Brahmapur	25,729	31,456	32,731	37,750	43,536
Paralakhemundi	17,336	18,370	18,719	20,072	21,042
Bhanjanagar	..	6,042	6,134	6,748	7,227
Asika	..	4,912	4,491	5,015	5,794
Chhatrapur	6,227
Sorada	6,339
Belaguntha
Gopalpur
Hinjili
Khallikot
Buguda
Rambha
Purusottampur
Kabisuryanagar
Polasara
Digapahandi
Kashinagar
Chikiti
Kodala
Ganjam

Town	Population				
	1951	1961	1971	1981	1991
(1)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)
Brahmapur	62,343	76,931	117,662	162,550	2,10,418
Paralakhemundi	22,270	22,708	26,917	32,317	36,667
Bhanjanagar	8,469	9,952	12,353	15,324	17,122
Asika	6,379	9,024	12,954	16,394	19,363
Chhatrapur	7,746	7,835	10,835	14,140	17,950
Sorada	7,106	8,703	9,833	11,269	13,268
Belaguntha	..	5,762	7,113	7,915	8,838
Gopalpur	..	3,536	3,583	4,503	5,403
Hinjili	..	8,028	10,821	13,761	17,676
Khallikot	..	3,365	6,889	8,340	9,071
Buguda	..	..	5,148	8,706	10,664
Rambha	..	..	6,771	8,196	9,213
Purusottampur	..	..	8,898	10,739	12,904
Kabisuryanagar	..	..	9,500	11,870	13,938
Polasara	..	..	10,579	13,039	16,854
Digapahandi	..	..	..	7,853	10,032
Kashinagar	..	..	..	9,179	10,102
Chikiti	..	..	..	8,177	10,005
Kodala	..	..	..	8,537	10,187
Ganjam	..	..	..	7,580	10,847

It is seen from the table that Brahmapur and Paralakhemundi were the only two towns in 1901. In the year 1911, Bhanjanagar and Asika acquired urban status. Chhatrapur and Sorada were added to the existing four towns in 1941. The Census of 1961 recorded four more towns, viz., Belaguntha, Gopalpur, Hinjili and Khallikot. But in 1971 Buguda, Rambha, Purusottampur, Kabisuryanagar and Polasara were treated as towns. With the inclusion of Digapahandi, Kashinagar, Chikiti, Kodala and Ganjam in the town list, the total number of towns increased to 20 in 1981.

The analysis of the statement further shows that population of the towns have grown almost steadily from decade to decade. Brahmapur, the only class I town of the district, has added 44,888 persons during the decade 1971-81 to the previous population of 117,662. Thus the town has registered a growth of

38.15 per cent during this decade. This is mainly due to the concentration of a large number of State and Central Government offices, private firms, banks, educational institutions and district headquarters hospital. It is surrounded by extensive cultivated plain areas and is a town of commercial importance. It is an important rail-head of the southern Orissa. Besides availability of regular inter-district and inter-state bus services Brahmapur is well connected with other places of the district by road transport.

Displaced Persons

The Census of 1951¹ enumerated 149 displaced persons from 1946 to 1951 in Ganjam district. Of the total persons, 20 persons (15 males and 5 females) were from West Pakistan (present Pakistan) and 129 persons (66 males and 63 females) from East Pakistan (present Bangladesh). They were displaced not only geographically but also socially and economically. For their rehabilitation Government provided grants and loans. All the displaced persons were engaged in non-agricultural occupation.

Due to Chinese aggression of Tibet in 1959, the Tibetan Guru, His Highness Dalai Lama and a large number of Tibetans were forced to flee from Tibet and sought refuge in India. They were settled mainly in Sikkim, West Bengal, Uttar Pradesh, Himachal Pradesh and Orissa. The first batch of the Tibetan refugees arrived in Orissa on the first day of May 1963. They were settled in the Chandragiri, Tankilipadar, Lobarsingi, Jirango and Mahendragada areas of Mohana police-station in the district. The number of families settled in different camps are given below²:

Name of camp	No. of families	No. of houses	Agricultural Lands (in acres*)
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Chandragiri ..	91	110	434.289
Tankilipadar ..	25	30	107.833
Jirango ..	40	40	204.509
Lobarsingi ..	140	140	668.601
Mahendragada ..	194	350	385.079

1. Census of India, 1951, Orissa, Part II-A tables, pp. 148—155.

2. Tibetan refugees in Orissa, an Anthropogenetic study by S. Patel, 1980, p. 5.

*1 acre—0.405 hectare.

They have been provided agricultural lands and loans to maintain their livelihood. Carpet weaving and knitting woolen materials are the traditional subsidiary occupations of the Tibetans.

Disabled population

Disabled persons were recorded under three categories, viz., totally blind, totally crippled and totally dumb for the first time in the 1981 Census. Number of such persons in the district is given below.¹

Rural/ Urban	..	Totally blind	Totally crippled	Totally dumb	Total disabled persons
(1)		(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Rural	..	3,475	2,093	1,428	6,996
Urban	..	321	231	144	696
Total	..	3,796	2,324	1,572	7,692

Out of 7,692 disabled persons, 6,996 were rural dwellers. Among Tahasils, Brahmapur has recorded 963 persons, the highest in the district. Analysis further revealed that out of 696 disabled persons in urban areas, 304 persons were found in Brahmapur town. Other 19 towns of the district have 392 disabled persons. Among the districts, the highest number of disabled persons is enumerated in Cuttack district (7,864) followed by Ganjam (7,692) and Koraput (6,761).

Age group

The distribution of population by age and sex according to the Census of 1981² is given below:—

Age group		Males	Females	Total	Percentage to total population
(1)		(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
0-14 years	..	553,094	542,681	1,095,775	41.1
15-59 years	..	678,708	715,041	1,393,749	52.2
60 years and above.	..	823,23	97,358	179,681	6.7

1. Census of India, 1981, Orissa, Tables on houses and disabled population, pp. 35—39.
2. A Portrait of population, Orissa, 1981, p. 59.

It is noticed from the table that children below 14 years constituted 41.1 per cent of the total population. This was above the state average of 39.6 per cent. The working age group 15—59 years constituted 52.2 per cent which was less than the state average of 54.0 per cent. The next age group is 60 years and above which contributed 6.7 per cent.

The percentage of population in age groups 0—14 and 60+ are almost dependant for their livelihood on the percentage of population in age group 15—59.

Sex Ratio

The number of females per thousand males in the district was 1,012 in 1991. This ratio is higher than the state average of 1991. The following table presents the sex ratio of the district from 1901 to 1991.¹

Census year (1)	Number of females per 1000 males		
	Rural (2)	Urban (3)	Total (4)
1901	1,119	1,138	1,119
1911	1,162	1,081	1,159
1921	1,231	1,083	1,223
1931	1,198	1,061	1,191
1941	1,180	999	1,169
1951	1,122	1,002	1,113
1961	1,095	951	1,082
1971	1,054	955	1,042
1981	1,045	953	1,031
1991 ²	..	...	1,012

It is evident from the foregoing table that the district has maintained a surplus of females since 1901. Among the districts, Ganjam claims the first position with a surplus of 31 females in 1981. Table also discloses that sex ratio increased from 1901 to 1921 in Ganjam. Thereafter, the ratio decreased continuously till 1991.

Female predominance in the rural areas of the district is noticed in all the census years. Excess female is also observed in urban areas except in the census years 1941, 1961, 1971 and 1981.

Migration

According to the Census of 1981 the migrants to this district constituted 3.31 per cent of the total population of whom 1.88 per cent were born outside the state. The migrants from outside the

1. Census of India, Orissa, Part II-A, General Population Tables, 1981, p. 147.

2. Paper I of 1991, Provisional Population Total, p. 33.

state hail from Andhra Pradesh, Assam, Bihar, Gujarat, Haryana, Himachal Pradesh, Jammu and Kashmir, Karnataka, Kerala, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Manipur, Nagaland, Punjab, Rajasthan, Sikkim, Tamil Nadu, Uttar Pradesh, West Bengal, Arunachal Pradesh, Chandigarh, Delhi, Goa, Daman and Diu. As this district is contiguous to the state of Andhra Pradesh, the largest number (37,838) of persons came to settle from that state. The immigrants from countries like Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Burma, China, Iran, Nepal, Pakistan, U.S.S.R. and elsewhere to this district numbered 2,661 persons. Of these 565 persons were from Burma. The distributions of population on the basis of place of birth is given below as per 1981 census.

Place of birth	Males	Females	Total	Percentage to total population
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Born in place of enumeration.	1,129,405	787,258	1,916,663	71.79
Born elsewhere in the district of enumeration.	151,170	513,590	664,760	24.90
Born in other district of the state.	16,488	21,843	38,331	1.43
State in India beyond the state of enumeration.	16,083	31,384	47,467	1.78
Born in countries in Asia beyond India (including U.S.S.R.).	1,364	1,297	2,661	0.10
Born in countries in Europe (including U.S.S.R.)	..	..	..	..
Born in countries in Africa.	..	..	..	..
Born in countries in America and Canada.	10	..	10	Negligible
Born in countries in Oceania.	..	..	..	..
Unclassified	..	5	5	Negligible
Total	1,314,520	1,355,379	2,669,899	100.00

The predominance of females is noticed in some of the categories of migrants. The females migrated mainly consequent on their marriage while participation in economic activities may be secondary cause. Majority of the males appear to have moved out of their birth places for economic pursuits.

LANGUAGE

The district presents a colourful confluence of tribal and non-tribal languages. Here 80·80 per cent of the population speak Oriya. Telugu, the principal language of the adjoining Andhra Pradesh, accounts for 12·19 per cent. Next in order is Savara tribal language whose proportion is 4·67 per cent. Speakers of other tribal languages like Kui and Khond/Kondh constitute 1·77 per cent. The district has also Tibetan language speakers and these Tibetans are displaced persons rehabilitated in Ganjam district. The following table shows the number of speakers and their percentage to total population of some major languages in the district according to 1981 Census. ¹ Institutional households and members therein have been excluded from the table.

Name of language	No. of speakers	Percentage to total population
(1)	(2)	(3)
Oriya ..	2,146,243	80·80
Telugu ..	323,688	12·19
Savara ..	124,064	4·67
Kui ..	27,240	1·03
Khond/Kondh ..	19,567	0·74
Urdu ..	5,330	0·20
Hindi ..	2,746	0·10
Tibetan ..	2,597	0·10
Bengali ..	1,136	0·04
Others ..	3,537	0·13
Total ..	2,656,148	100·00

Cities by their nature of growth and development tend to attract population of all faiths and languages. People migrate to cities in search of livelihood. This makes the cities ethnically and linguistically more heterogenous than the rural areas. A glance at the 1981

1. A Portrait of Population, Orissa, 1981, p. 98.

Census reveals the language composition of Brahmapur city. In this city, next to Oriya (115·302 or 72·59 per cent) comes Telugu with a strength of 37·211 or 23·42 per cent and Urdu with 3,049 or 1·92 per cent. Hindi population is only 1,191 or 0·75 per cent. Other languages like Bengali, Gujarati, Malayalam and Punjabi are also represented in this city but the number is not significant.

Bilingualism

Oriya is the most important subsidiary language of the non-Oriya speakers. Next to Oriya comes Telugu. A few people use Hindi, English, Savara, Kui and Kondh as subsidiary languages. The people in the plains generally speak and are educated in both Oriya and Telugu languages with ease. The Telugu spoken in this district has a large mixture of Oriya words and the intonation accent differs from those of the people living in Andhra Pradesh. Similarly the Oriya spoken in this district has a few admixture of Telugu words and the intonation differs from those of the people living in other coastal districts.

Scripts

Oriya, a branch of the Indo-Aryan family is the official language of the state where Oriya-speaking population comprised about 81 per cent of the population in 1981.

The Oriya script is prevalent in the district. In olden days some letters of the Oriya alphabet were written in a cursive style known as *Karani* to facilitate speedy writing. Most of the old Oriya records made use of the *Karani* script. The palm-leaf manuscripts also show some peculiar characteristics of Oriya alphabets. Most tribal languages have no scripts of their own. Their languages are mainly spoken languages and occasionally written in Oriya script. However, in recent past a script has been devised for Saora language. The missionaries of the Canadian Baptist Mission, Serang produced first a written literature (Saora) language in Roman script. In course of time ardent Christianised members of the tribe also took to learning the scriptures written in that script. In the process literacy in the language through the Roman script developed and a favourable trend was set for adopting this script as an acceptable system of writing in Saora language. However, during 1920, this trend was thwarted due to the following socio-political factors:

1. The spread of Christianity created a cultural revolution within the community and in the wake of religious rivalry the Hindu revivalist craved for a script of their own other than the Roman script.

2. The invention and propagation of the Santal 'Ol Chiki' script in the northern part of Orissa provided an impetus to the Saora leaders to establish their linguistic identity through a separate script.

3. The controversy between the Oriya and the Telugu protagonists on the issue of adopting a script for Saora language put the Saora people in an awkward situation, and so some enlightened and self-conscious tribal leaders, instead of choosing a side to merge themselves, endeavoured to maintain their identity by inventing a new script for themselves.

It is said that during that revivalistic period, Malya Gomango, a very influential leader of the non-christianised block, spearheaded the movement for separate script. He inspired his own son-in-law Mangei Gomango to undertake the responsibility of devising alphabets for their speech. Mangei (born 1916) being an educated person and conversant in Oriya, Telugu and English languages stood up to the occasion. He resigned from his job of medical compoundership and observed a sort of penance in the hills for several days. Finally, in the midnight of June 18, 1936 he realised the script as a divine gift.

Mangei thus spiritualises his invention of a Saora script and sets up a new religious order which is designated as 'Mttar Bnom Dmri', the religion that opens the eyes and makes people good and wise. His script symbolising the Akshara-Bramha is enshrined on a hill near Marichiguda, about 20 km. far from the nearest town of Gunupur. The image is in the shape of 'OM' in Oriya character having the 24 letters, 12 numerals and a crest inscribed on it. During the past fifty years Mangei and later on his followers have proselytized a good number of hill tribesmen and have established sub-centres all over the Saora-speaking tract in Orissa and Andhra Pradesh. In many villages regular evening schools are being run to make people literate in the script. Particularly in the Padmapur-Gunupur region, the area centering around Marichiguda-Dambasara village, the literacy has spread to a recognizable extent and the script is, in fact, being used in intra-community communication and literary activities.

Since 1965, preparation and production of teaching materials in the script have been taken up. The first book 'Sbrm Klenmi' (4 language Primer, pp. 34) was printed at the Swatantra Art Printers Press, Vijaywada in 1965.

The press has also published some tracts, almanacs, inventory of alphabet, invitation cards, bulletins, etc. Mangei himself has authored all these publications.*

The people speaking other Indian languages use their respective standard scripts.

Southern Orissa dialect-popularly known as Ganjami Oriya is spoken in the district. This form of Oriya is also spoken in Srikakulam district in Andhra Pradesh by Sistakarana and Relli castes. The colloquial Oriya speech of Ganjam has certain dialectal variations from the literary Oriya which are noticed in phonology, grammar and vocabulary.

RELIGION AND CASTE

Numærically speaking, the principal religious groups in the district are the Hindus, the Christians, and the Muslims. The percentage of population of each religion to the total population of the district in 1951, 1961, 1971, 1981 census are given below :

Name of Religions	Census Year			
	1951	1961	1971	1981
Hindus	99·01	98·81	97·57	96·67
Christians	0·75	0·93	2·02	3·00
Muslims	0·25	0·26	0·28	0·20
Sikhs	N	N	0·01	0·01
Buddhists	..	N	0·12	0·10
Jains	..	N	N	N
Zoroastrians	..	..	..	..
Jews	..	..	..	..
Other religions and persuations	..	N	..	N
Religion not stated				

It is noticed that a very high proportion of the inhabitants of the Ganjam district are Hindus (96·67%). In comparison, the percentage of other religious communities is negligible. Next

* The Saora script by Prof. K. Mohapatra published in Tribal Art Exhibition and Seminar on Tribal Culture, Orissa Lalit Kala Akademi, Bhubaneshwar, 1991, pp-5 to 6.

N—Stands for negligible.

to Hindu comes Christians and then the Muslims. It is interesting to note that the percentage of Hindus is gradually decreasing from census to census and that of Christians is increasing mainly due to proselytising activities of Christian Missionaries. These three major religious groups in the district observe the same beliefs and practices as their fellow believers do all over the country and they are too well-known to need any elaborate description.

Hinduism

The Hindus consist of Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas and Sudras (including Harijans), the four castes under the traditional Varnasramadharma. They are again sub-divided each into a number of castes and sub-castes. There are also the Scheduled Tribes who cannot be categorised with these castes, but are nevertheless an integral part of the Hindu community.

The Oriya and Telugu speaking population constitutes bulk of the population of the district. The main tribal people of the district are the Kandhas and the Savaras. They are mostly confined to the mountainous tracts, otherwise known as the "Agency" area or the "Scheduled Area." The Telugus are an enterprising people and their colonies are chiefly found along the sea coast as far north as Puri and at the southern border of the district, particularly in Paralakhemundi Tahasil border.

Ganjam forms a meeting ground of northern and the southern portion of India and owing to the prevalence of different races, the number of castes in the district is very large, no fewer than 283 having been counted in 1880, when the Ganjam District Manual was prepared by T. J. Maltby, of the old Madras Civil Service, when the conception of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes as envisaged in the Constitution of India was not known. Therefore, the list of 283 castes given in the Ganjam District Manual also includes some of those found in the list of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes specified in the Constitution Order for the State of Orissa and those found in Srikakulam district which was then a part of Ganjam. The list of castes as enumerated in 1880 and found in the then district of Ganjam is given in Appendix I of this Chapter.

The traditional distribution of occupation which constituted the *raison d'être* for the four principal castes among the Hindus must be regarded to have been greatly altered. In this respect it may be stated that the Varnasramadharma has yielded place to the Yugadharma. The Brahmins have no longer a monopoly

of learning and priesthood than the Vaisyas of trade, the Khetriyas of governance or the Sudras of tilling the soil, and doing the service for the higher castes. In all the communities there is a hunger for education and uniform longing for white-collared jobs and position of power in public life, blurring the rigid frontiers between one caste and another. Nevertheless we can even now broadly identify certain castes or groups with specific occupation and characteristics. After 1931 no enumeration in regard to different castes was made in the census except in respect of the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes. In the absence of such statistics, any detailed description relating to the habit, custom, economy and educational level of the people of each caste is not possible. However, a picture of some of the general characteristics still noticed among the castes living mostly in the rural areas of the district will be given in the subsequent paragraphs.

The Hindus are polytheists. They worship Jagannath, Siva, Krishna, Sri Rama, Hanuman, Ganesh, Vishwakarma, etc., in temples. They also worship the consorts of Lord Siva, and their various incarnations like Mangala and Chandi. They are regarded as Maa, the Mother and worshipped for strength and protection. The consorts of Vishnu, Lakshmi and Saraswati are worshipped for wealth and learning. The Hindus do not have a single religious book like the Christians and Muslims. They read holy books like Ramayan, Mahabharat and Bhagabat Gita, Bhagabata etc. These books contain the voice of God.

The Pipal (*Ficus religiosa*). Banyan (*Ficus bengalensis*), Bel (*Aegle marmelos*), mango (*Mangifera indica*), Anla (*Phyllanthus emblica*), Duba (*Cynodom dactylon*), Asoka (*Janesia asoka Saraca indica*), Bar Koli (*Zezyphos*), Bakul (*Mimusops elengi*) and Tulsi (holy basil) trees are held sacred by the Hindus. They use leaves, flowers and fruits of these trees for worship. There is a sacred place in every Hindu house. They call it *Chaura* where a Tulsi plant is planted. They offer prayer after pouring water on it in the morning and by putting a lighted wick in the evening.

The Commissioner, Hindu Religious Endowment, Orissa, has recorded 1609 Hindu Religious institutions in the district. The Hindus congregate on festive occasions and offer prayer to the deities.

Saivism

Hinduism includes Saivism. The followers of Saivism worship Siva in the name of Mahadev, Nilakantha, Rudra, Sankar, etc. Siva is usually represented by the phallic symbol, the *Linga* and the *Yoni*. Siva shrines with Siva's trident at the top adorn many

villages in the district. The Gupteshwar and Tumbeshwar temples in Purusottampur area, Uttareshwar temple of Pandia, Sakaleshwar temple of Daluapalli, Kaleshwar of Haridakhandi, Siva temple at Budhakhol near Buguda and Ishaneswar Mahadev of Randha under Brahmaipur P. S. are ancient Siva temples. The other renowned Siva temples are Budhalingeswar of Sorada, Mahalingeshwar in Jhalundi hill, Bateshwar of Palur, Gokarneshwar of Mahendragiri, Dharmalingeshwar and Jogeshwar near Paralakhemundi and Nilakantheshwar temple on the banks of the river Mahendrantanaya. These temples help to spread Saivism in the district. The followers go to the Siva temple daily or on festive occasions like *Sankranti*, *Amabasya Chaturdasi*, etc. to worship the deity. Sivaratri is the principal festival of Lord Siva. Sital Sasthi, which marks Siva's marriage with Parvati, is also celebrated with great pomp and show. The devout Saivites use three horizontal lines of sandal wood paste on their forehead as religious mark and wear *Rudraksha Mala* round their neck.

Saktism

Saktism is one of the cults of Hinduism. Sakti is conceived as the divine mother and the consort of Lord Siva. In the district Sakti is worshipped in many forms of which Narayani near Khallikot, Tara Tarini near Purusottampur and Durga at the outskirt of Rambha town are important. The Sakti is also seen in many villages in the form of folk goddesses. The deities are worshipped to secure the desired result. Animal sacrifice is prevalent in the Sakti shrines of the district. These are done generally on the Mahastami day of the Durga Puja.

Vaishnavism

Jagannath is regarded as the incarnation of Vishnu. The followers of Vishnu are called Vaishnavas. Shri Chaitanya deva of Navadvipa (West Bengal) is the main prophet of Vaishnavism. He emphasised on Bhakti or fervent devotion to God as the true road to salvation. He advocated in favour of Nama Sankirtan or singing the song of Radha-Krishna to the accompaniment of musical instruments, such as, *Gini* and *Mrudanga* as a reformatory form of worship. The doctrines of Chaitanya found ready acceptance among the Vaishnavite people of Orissa, by whom he is regarded as an incarnation of Krishna and Radha. Shri Chaitanya was a great reformer and his cult represents a revulsion against the gross and debasing religion of the Tantras. He accepted followers from all sections of the society irrespective of caste and vehemently opposed the practice of animal sacrifice. A peculiarity of Chaitanya's cult is that the post of the spiritual guide or *Gossain* is not confined to the Brahmins. He preached this cult

in many parts of India including Mayurbhanj, Baleshwar, Cuttack, Puri, Ganjam and Koraput districts of Orissa. The Chaitanya Maths and temples found in the district are as follows :¹

Maths and temples	Place
1. Chaitanya	Village and P. O. Rambha
2. Chaitanya Math	Village and P. O. Buguda
3. Chaitanya Swami	Village and P. O. Seragad
4. Chaitanya	Village and P. O. Athagad Patna near Asika
5. Chaitanya-Nityananda	Village and P. O. Ganjam
6. Chaitanya	Burligad, P. O. Humma
7. Chaitanya	Belkhandi near Brahmapur
8. Chaitanya-Nityananda	Village and P. O. Badakhemundi
9. Chaitanya-Nityananda	Village Nimakhandipentha, P. O. Nimakhandi.
10. Chaitanya-Nityananda	Usthapada, P. O. Polasara
11. Chaitanya	Bhimapur near Brahmapur
12. Chaitanya	Bhabanipur near Brahmapur
13. Chaitanya-Nityananda	Village and P. O. Digapahandi
14. Chaitanya-Nityananda	Barkatjhari, P. O. Digapahandi
15. Chaitanya	Village and P. O. Surangi
16. Chaitanya-Mahaprabhu	Village and P. O. Polasara
17. Chaitanya-Nityananda	Chingudipadar near Kodala
18. Chaitanya	Village and P. O. Badagad
19. Chaitanya	Paralakhemundi
20. Chaitanya	Dhaniiji, P. O. Asika

Mahima Dharma

The followers of Mahima Dharma or Alekha Dharma are found more or less in villages under the police-stations of Chhatrapur, Nuagan, Buguda, Bhanjanagar, Kodala and Rambha of the district. They believe in one God, i. e., Param Brahma, the Supreme Being. He is indescribable, indivisible and invisible. He is believed to have created the Universe. The founder of this

1. History of the Chaitanya Faith in Orissa by Prabhat Mukherjoe, 1979, pp. 113-114.

cult is Mahima Gossain whose name, parentage, date and place of birth are not known. His disciples believe that he is himself Raram Brahma who hailed of his own accord in a wonderful manner. He appeared at Puri in 1826 A. D. and passed away at Joranda, Dhenkanal district of Orissa State in 1876 A. D. Joranda as the principal seat of the cult is respected and recognised all over the world. The head of the cult is Brahmabadhuta Biswanath Baba* who has been guiding the Mahima order of the Sannyasis and the lay-disciples. The Sannyasis represent the Abadhuta Sannyasi order of the Upanishadic times and they include both the Balkaldhari Para Sannyais and the *Dora-Kaupindhari* Aparas Sannyais.

The daily life of Biswanath Baba and his authoritative texts which are in strict accordance with Guru Ajna, i. e., the commandments of Jagadguru Mahabrahma Mahima Alekha, have been the source of inspiration to the entire Mahima Order.

It is ascertained from a senior lay-disciple that in the Ganjam district there are approximately fifty Ashramas, maintained by the villagers to provide accommodation for the Sannyasis who are constantly on the march on principle of one meal in a family and one night halt in a village as commanded by Mahima Swami, the only Guru in the order. It is further ascertained that the Tungi Ashram at Khodasing under the Baidyanathpur police-station is the oldest in the district sanctified by the visit of Niladri Das Baba and Ghasiram Das Baba of the first line of the Siddha Sadhus known as "Sixty-four Siddha Sadhus". As elsewhere, the lay-disciples in the district have rigid adherence to the principal commandment of the "Guru Gossain", i. e., leaving bed sufficiently before sun rise, taking bath, keeping themselves bodily neat and clean, having Sharan and Darshan in both the morning and evening Brahma Muhurtas, taking no food from sun set to the next sun rise, putting on Gairik cloth, strictly avoiding idol worship, leading simple and pure life, etc. They follow the principles of Yama and Niyam. They do not observe caste distinction. All these help them realise Param Brahma within themselves. The Mahima devotees wish well of mankind and live in harmony with all creations which is reflected in the poems of Bhima Bhoi.

Brahmo Samaj

Among the Hindus of the district, a microscopic section belongs to the Brahmo Samaj. The Brahmos are monotheists. They do not believe in idol worship, casteism, untouchability, dowry system, priestism, child-marriage, polygamy and re-birth. They encourage inter-caste and widow marriage. They give

* Biswanath Baba died on the 16th May, 1992,

stress on the rights of the women and their education. They believe in Veda, Vedanta and Upanishads. At Brahmapur members of the Samaj gather on every Sunday and read the Vedic texts and discuss on it. They observe the foundation day of the Brahmo Samaj and the birthday of Raja Rammohan Roy, the founder of Brahmo Samaj.

Arya Samaj

A microscopic section among the Hindus follow the principles of the Arya Samaj. Late Shribachha Panda, a great freedom fighter and social reformer, helped to spread this religion in the district. He established an Arya Kanya Gurukula Ashram, a residential school for girls and a Gorakhya Ashram (Cow Protection Centre) at Tanarada near Bhanjanagar about 50 years ago. About one hundred girls get education in the institution. A Veda Mandir is also functioning at Polasara. It is the centre of Vedic teachings and social reform in the district. Arya Samaj workers are active in preaching against untouchability, oppression of women and other social evils in Hindu society.

Christianity

This religion has the second largest following in the district. The followers of this faith numbered 12,097 (0.74 per cent) in 1951, 17,516 (0.93 per cent) in 1961, 46,429 (2.02 per cent) in 1971, and 80,119 (3.00 per cent) in 1981 censuses. Almost all the Christians are converts from the Hindu fold. There are both Protestants and Catholics. They were and are engaged in extensive evangelical activities in the district. Almost all sections of the Protestant Christians belonged to the Church of South India, Canadian Baptist Church, Church of England, Church of Lutherans, Churches of London Mission, Bible Mission, Pentecosts and Fellowships are found in this district. Brahmapur was first visited by Baptist Missionary in about the year 1827. While the Baptist Missionary society, London continued their work at Brahmapur and Russelkonda (presently Bhanjanagar) the Canadian Baptist Mission with their headquarters in Andhra Pradesh came to the Western region of the district in the year 1902. Around 1840 and 1850 the London Baptist Mission Society opened an orphanage and a Upper Primary school at Brahmapur for poor and illiterate children. Later the Canadian Baptist Mission also established an orphanage and a hospital at Serang. After 1970, the activities of the Baptist Mission Society, London, was transferred to the control of the Church of North India with their regional headquarters named Diocese at Cuttack. Now-a-days the work of the Canadian Baptist

Mission has come under the control of this regional body known as "Ganjam Mala Baptist Samilani". The activities of the above two missionaries exist at Brahmapur, Chhatrapur, Bhanjanagar, Paralakhemundi, Serang, Chheligada, Gumma, R. Udayagiri and Mohana. The following institutions started by them are functioning:

1. Christian Hospital, Brahmapur started in 1900,
2. Christian Hospital, Serang started in 1860,
3. Mission M. E. School, Brahmapur started in 1950.
4. Christian High School and Poor Boy's and Girls' Home at Paralakhemundi,
5. Boys' Home at Ladruma, Mohana started in 1981.

The Catholic Missionaries also came to this district first about the year 1850. Like the Baptist Missionary Society they have established a number of institutions at different places in the district, particularly orphanages, schools and hospitals. Their activities are centred at the following places :

1. Brahmapur, (2) Allada, (3) Gothapodar, (4) Badapada, (5) Chandiput, (6) Mohana, (7) Biri Kot (8) Damadua, (9) Sorada (10) Dantalingi, (11) Sampadar, (12) Goudagutha, (13) Bhanjanagar (14) Asika and (15) Paralakhemundi.

The Catholics undertake relief operations in times of natural calamities, like flood and cyclone etc. in the district in the shape of free gifts of wheat and other food materials including cash sent to them by the Catholic Relief Society of India.

The Pentecosts have their centre at Paralakhemundi and the Fellowships at Serang, Rayagarha and Nuapada.

The Christians of this district have taken to varied professions and most of them are engaged in teaching, nursing and evangelical activities. Even though Christianity does not recognise any caste system, yet the influence of the castes to which they belonged before conversion from Hinduism does operate in their general social life, and particularly in the matter of matrimonial alliances. Converts from the same caste tend to group together in endogamous practices. The Bible is the holy book of the Christians. They assemble on every Sunday to offer prayer to Lord Christ. Lord Christ, according to their belief, is the saviour of the mankind.

Islam

Muslims who are numerically next to Hindus and Christians in this district constituted less than 1 per cent of the total population in 1981. They belonged mostly to the Sunni sect, though there are some Sihas also. Generally speaking, the Muslims are not to be found confined to any particular profession. They are to be found in almost all walks of life. The Muslims like other followers of their faith elsewhere believe in Allah, the one and only God and Muhammad the Holy Prophet as the last Messenger. The Quran is their Holy Book. They abide by the teachings of one of the four Imams (Guides). They perform Namaj (Prayer) five times a day. They give Zakat (alms) to the needy persons. They also observe Roza (fasting) for one month in the month of Ramzan.

The Commissioner of Wakfs, Orissa, Cuttack, has recorded 16 mosques in the district as given below.

1. Brahmapur Subdivision .. 7 Mosques
2. Chhatrapur Subdivision .. 4 Mosques
3. Bhanjanagar Subdivision .. 3 Mosques
4. Paralakhemundi Subdivision 2 Mosques

Buddhism

According to the Census of 1981, the Buddhists constituted only 0.10 per cent of the total population of the district. The followers are immigrants from Tibet and reside mostly in the Chandragiri area of the Mohana police-station. They are the Tibetan refugees.

Sikhs

In 1981 only 181 or 0.01 per cent of the total population of the district declared themselves as followers of Sikhism. They are mostly immigrants from outside the state and are mainly found in Brahmapur town.

A Gurudwara is functioning at Brahmapur town since 1974. On every Sunday the devotees congregate there to offer prayer to the Holy Book "The Granth Sahib". They observe Guru Nanaks' Birthday, Guru Tegh Bahadur's martyrdom day, Guru Govind Singh's birthday and Guru Arjun Singh's martyrdom day.

Jainism

The Jains with a population of only 8 in the district represented a microscopic minority in 1981. They are residing in urban areas of the district. Trade and commerce are their main occupation.

Common features of Castes

Some of the characteristics common to most of the castes in the district are given in the next page.

Most of the working population are engaged in agriculture and allied pursuits. Thrift and economy are little practised except by the Kumuti caste and the effective desire of acquisition is chiefly conspicuous by its absence.

The women are scantily dressed. They cover the bosom, but do not wear bodices. The poor class women wear a great amount of coarse brass bangles on each arm. Their wrists and hands are generally marked with a horny substance like a great corn induced by the friction of these brecelets. There is a strong affection for applying turmeric paste on their face and body which is considered as an antiseptic paste to beautify their appearance.

Until recently the girls (except Kshatriyas, Karans) were married before puberty. Sudra girls, if a real marriage is not arranged in time can be married to the Sun and if this ceremony is performed, they are eligible for marriage with man, notwithstanding having arrived at womanhood. Widows or divorced woman can marry again.

The customs and manners of the Telugu community of the district are more or less similar to those of the neighbouring district of Srikakulam.

Besides the common characteristics found generally among castes living in the plains as stated above, it is possible to give some description of various castes which are specific to their trade or occupation, and who are not members of the Scheduled Castes or Scheduled Tribes. They are as follows:

Badhei

The Badheis belong to the Biswakarma community which also includes Kamar and Pathuria. The Badheis work on wood and prepare various kinds of agricultural implements and wooden furnitures. The Kamars prepare iron implements and household appliances. The Pathurias are stone workers. They worship Biswakarma, the maker of the Universe. Marital relationship within the three groups, viz., Badhei, Kamar and Pathuria are allowed.

Bania

The Banias are makers of gold and silver ornaments. They also prepare anthropomorphic and zoomorphic figurine.

Bhandari

The Bhandaris are known as Barik or Napita. They are barbers by profession. The services of male and female barbers are indispensable on the occasion of marriage, birth and death. In most of the towns and villages Telugu barbers (Mangali) are found. They are known in the state as Telenga Bhandari. They have no marital relationship with Oriya barbers. The Telugu barbers usually form band party and play popular film songs in musical instruments on social and religious functions in addition to hair-cutting. Now, many Oriya barbers have also adopted to this practice as it is very lucrative and in demand on ceremonial occasions.

With the establishment of hair-cutting saloons, the practice of barbers going from house to house is fast vanishing mostly in the urban areas.

Brahmin

As given in the Appendix I of this chapter there are 8 classes of Brahmins in Ganjam district, according to the state or place from which they have migrated. They are Telugu Brahmins, Oriya Brahmins, Hindustani Brahmins, Bengali Brahmins, Gujarati Brahmins, Marathi Brahmins, Karnatic Brahmins and Dravida Brahmins. There are several divisions of Oriya Brahmins existing in the district. They are Danua, Padhi, Bhodri, Sahu, Sarua, Guharia, Halua or Chasa, etc. Some Strotriya or Vedic Brahmins appear to have also migrated to the district.

Chitrakara

This caste has earned name for preparing ganjapa (a type of playing cards), painting in papers, earthen pots and dried cocoanuts. They are also skilled in stone carving and making earthen deities and toys on festive occasions. They use to paint the deities in the temples. They also paint with different colours the temple walls with stories and sceneries taken from religious text books. Some of the paintings in the district are very old and beautiful. There are 15 Chitrakar families in Paralakhemundi. They are also found in Chikiti, Dharakot, Mathura (Polasara P.S.), Balipadar, Digapahandi and Athagad in the district.

Dera

Deras are weavers. They are engaged in producing silk fabrics popularly known as Brahmapuri Pata. At present about 450 families are depending on this trade in areas under Brahmapur Municipality. Their mother tongue is Telugu.

Dera weavers are devotees of Lord Siva and Ganesh. They worship Devi Choudeswari once in a year in the month of Asadha (June-July). They like very much to bear the sacred symbol of Sivalinga on their neck. They observe social functions just like other Hindu communities.

Gauda

The Gaudas are cow herdsmen. They are also known as Ahir, Goala, Golla, Gopa, Gopal, Idalya in different parts of India. They rear cattle and deal in milk and milk products. For better living some of them are found to have given up their traditional calling and have changed to other occupations. They worship Lord Krishna and trace their descent from his dynasty. Dola Purnima (full-moon day of the month of Phalgun) is their main festival. On ceremonial occasions they worship cows and sing songs relating to Radha and Krishna. They engage Brahmins on socio-religious functions.

Guria

The caste name is derived from Gur (unrefined sugar). They prepare sweetmeats of different kinds for sale. They are also required by the people on festive occasions to prepare different items of sweetmeats at home. Other castes accept water from them. Lord Ganesh is their tutelary deity.

Kachara

Kachara is an indigenous caste of Orissa. They are found mostly in the subdivisions of Brahmapur and Chhatrapur. These people mainly deal in lac and glass bangles. They are also dealers of brass and bell-metal utensils which are prepared by Kansari/Thatari caste. They enjoy the ministrations of Brahmins. They worship the weighing scale and weights on the Dasahara day. This caste has a Matha named "Kalinga Kachara Matha" at Balagandi Sahi in Puri. It is functioning since 1901.

Karan

The origin of the word is said to be from *Karani* which means 'writer'. Wilson derives the term from the Sanskrit word *Karan* which means 'doer'. They are a prosperous and influential caste in Orissa and rank next to the Brahmins in the social order. The people of this caste held high positions under the feudatory kings of Orissa and were appointed as Dewans. There are many among them who are zamindars, tenure-holders of landlords. The village headman (Karan) is a Karan by caste in this district and the post was hereditary. He was the revenue officer of the area under his control. There are seven classes of Karans as specified in Appendix I. This caste fulfils the same functions in Orissa as the Kayasthas in West Bengal and Bihar. The Telugu Karans have a peculiar system of marrying their sister's daughter on a pre-emptive right.

Kansari

The Kansari is an artisan caste. As smiths, they specialise in bell-metal, brass and copper metals and manufacture various types of non-ferrous metalwares. They also deal in these finished products. At present the Kansari and the Thatari are almost inter-changeable terms and Tambera and Kansari are inter-marrying groups. The Kansari (Sanskrit :Kansyakara. Kansya—bell-metal, kara—worker in bell-metal), the Thatari (Sanskrit: Tashta-Kara one who polishes) and the Tambera (Sanskrit: Tamra-kara—a copper-smith) may be said to constitute a caste cluster¹ as they follow the same type of occupation. There are also other copper and copper-alloy metal craftsmen like the Kharuda (brass bangle makers), the Ghantara, the Thentari (Rana), the Situlia, the Basara and the Achari (Telugu speaking)². They may be regarded as the folk metal artisans following folk style of art and the age-old "cire-perdue" technique of manufacture³.

The Kansaris are found more or less in all the police-stations of the district. But their concentration is more in Belaguntha (Bhanjanagar P.S.), Jagamohan (Asika P.S.), Kabisuryanagar (Purusottampur P.S.), Brahmapur (Brahmapur Town P.S.), Gopalpur (Gopalpur P. S.), Paralakhemundi (Paralakhemundi P. S.), Jagannathpur (Chhatrapur P. S.), Patarakanbupur (Rambha P. S.), Kanchuru (Hinjili P. S.) and Keshpur (Jarada P.S.). They have caste-councils called '*Thana*' '*Sabha*' '*Anchal Samiti*' with definite territorial jurisdiction and area of operation. It is managed by President/Vice-President/ Secretary and other functionaries. They look into the external and internal affairs of the castemen.

They worship Vishnu, Siva and a number of Hindu deities. The Goddess Durga, the deity of Shakti or power is their presiding deity. They worship their tools and equipments on the occasion of Dasahara festival. They have belief in ritual purity and pollution. The Brahmins act as their preceptors and priests.

1. Irawati Karve : Hindu Society—An Interpretation, 1968, p. 9.

2. Orissa Past & Present, ed. by Shri G. P. Patnaik, vol. IV, Nos. VII & VIII, 1990, p. 59.

3. The Kansari of Orissa : Aspects of ecology, economy and technology by K.K. Mohanty, Published in Art and Artisans of Orissa, p. 64.

Khandayat

The Khandayats form a substantial section of the population of the district. Regarding the origin of the word Khandayat, there are two prevailing opinions. The general view is that it means swordsman (from Khanda meaning a sword). The other explanation is that Orissa was formerly divided into Khandas or groups of villages corresponding to the Pargana of the Muslim times. Each Khanda was governed by a headman called Khandapati which was subsequently corrupted to Khandayat. Whatever may be the etymology of the name, it is admitted that the Khandayats belonged to the warrior class and are the descendants of the people who formed the landed militia under the ancient Rajas of Orissa. The Khandayats had to serve as soldiers in times of war and in return they were given lands under strictly military tenure. Their characteristic occupation having ceased, they took to agriculture as their main occupation and converted themselves to cultivating (Chasa) class. The caste Khandayat and Chasa thus became, more or less, synonymous. Due to increase in their population and fragmentation of holdings, they migrated in large numbers to Burma and other places in India in search of livelihood and today they form the bulk of the Dadan labourers of Orissa. Most of them work as agricultural labourers in the fields of their neighbours to supplement their inadequate income from their small holdings.

Dasahara is their main festival when they display their swords (weapons) as insignia of their past glory.

Besides, some families claiming themselves as Kayastha-Khandayat are also found in this district. They are mainly seen in the village Kanchana and Sundarinagar (near Postapur) under Kodala police-station in Khallikot Tahasil. They are here for the last 200 years. It is learnt from a few old persons that they have migrated to these places from Uttar Pradesh. This they have heard from their forefathers. Their traditional occupation is applique work. Certain differences in the applique art of Pipili (Puri district) and Kanchana (Ganjam district) are noticeable. In the Ganjam applique work, there are geometric patterns in contrary to the animal motifs like elephant, peacock, parrot, duck, etc., in Pipili applique work. While glass beads, alluminium/brass circles and mirrors are used in large numbers with hand stitching in the former, these are less in numbers in the latter which are stitched with machine. In Pipili the materials used for fixing mirrors are plastic beads and circles.

At present out of 400 families, only 12 families are engaged in this work. Others have changed their occupation to agriculture. They observe all Hindu festivals but give more importance to Dasahara.

Khitivamsa or Mativamsa

This community is found mainly in Dharakot, Ghumusar, Kodala and Athagad areas of the district. They are divided into three sections mostly on the basis of the occupations they follow. The Khitivamsa or Mativamsa Abdhans used to teach children in *Chatasalis* (village schools). A section of the community takes the goddess *Mangala* from door to door and thereby earn a living. Another section has taken to weaving as the means of livelihood. One section did not establish marital relationship with the other section in the past. Now a days it is not followed rigidly. They worship Adishakti. Their caste symbol is *Khadi* (soapstone). They hold Lord Lingaraj of Bhubaneswar in high esteem and offer special *Puja* on *Chaitra Shukla Ekadasi* (11th day in the bright fortnight of Chaitra (March-April).

Kshetriya

The Kshetriyas like the Khandayats belong to the warrior caste. There are seven classes of Kshetriya in this district as detailed in Appendix I. They observe Upanayan. This caste is generally found in Paralakhemundi, Ganjam, Athagad, Sanakhemundi, Brahmapur, Sorada, Ghumusar and Khallikot. The Kshetriyas ranked next to the Brahmins in Hindu caste hierarchy, but like the Khandayats they have converted themselves to cultivating class (Chasa).

Kumbhar

The Kumbhar (Potter) is an artisan caste and is known as Kumbhakara in Sanskrit. But the common appellation for the potter caste in Oriya is Kumbhar.

The caste has nine distinct endogamous groups, namely, Oriya, Bathuli, Magadha, Kanaujia, Jhadua, Rana, Sanbhatia, Badabhatia and Telenga*. Of these, Oriya and Telenga potters are found in the Ganjam district. The Telenga potters speak Telugu and the rest of the potter groups speak Oriya only. Among the Telugu potters a man may marry his mother's brother's daughter, father's sister's daughter or elder sister's daughter. This is also the custom of most of the Sudra castes of Ganjam district.

The potters have their own tutelary deity. They invoke the deity once in a year to ward off any eventual hazard in the pursuit of the craft as well as to achieve prosperity. The Oriya potters invoke Vishwakarma, the celestial artificer as their tutelary deity. But the Telenga potters regard Bighneswar (Lord Ganesh), the god of wisdom and dispeller of all evil omens as their tutelary deity. But the potters of all the groups worship the potter's wheel and other tools as fetishes along with their tutelary deity.

* N. K. Behuria—Peasant Potters of Orissa : A Sociological Study, 1978, p. 1.

All the potter groups of Orissa observe Kurala Panchami in the month of Margashira (November-December) except the Telenga potters with great eclat and enthusiasm. The Telenga potters celebrate Subramanya Sasthi on the sixth lunar day of the bright fortnight in the month of Margashira (November-December). On this day, Subramanyaswamy or Kartikeya, son of Lord Siva and Durga is propitiated.

The Oriya, Telenga and Bathuli potter groups use the "pivoted" type of pottery wheel and the rest of the potter groups use the socketed type of pottery wheel for preparing earthenwares. The Oriya, Telenga, Magadha and Bathuli potter groups burnt pots in ovens, whereas the rest of the potter groups burnt pots in the open.

The Oriya and Telenga potters of the district manufacture a large variety of utilitarian pots meant for cooking, storing, dining, drinking and the like. They also manufacture quite a good variety of pots for various Hindu rituals. Metalwares are fast replacing the utilitarian earthen pots, but the ritual earthenwares are being used evermore with solemn veneration.

Kumuti

They are akin to Vaisyas of north India. They are found more or less in all the places of the district. Business is their mainstay. They prefer generally the daughter of their maternal uncle for marriage. There are four types of Kumutis, i. e., Gobara Kumuti, Kalinga Kumuti, Kachara Kumuti and Gujarati Kumuti in the district.

Kurmi

The Kurmis are found in the districts of Sundargarh, Mayurbhanj, Kendujhar and Ganjam. Usually they speak Oriya, but at home speak Kurmali, a colloquial Hindi of the Maithili group. Their traditional calling is agriculture. With the passage of time some of them have adopted business and preferred service to earn their bread. Marriage in same *gotra* is not allowed. They worship all Hindu deities but give much importance to Gobardhan Puja and Durga Puja. They observe Tushu Parab with much pomp and show.

Mali/Raula

The Malis/Raulas as a community are engaged as traditional Pujaris in every Siva temple. Although they put on sacred thread they are not classified as Brahmmins. Raulas are called upon to blow conch shells at the time of any auspicious occasion and get remuneration for offerings in Siva and Durga temples. Flower business is the traditional occupation of Malis.

Nolia and other fishing castes

The Nolias have migrated to this district from the south particularly from Andhra and Tamil Nadu. They reside near the sea shore and the Chilika lake. They are divided into two groups, namely, Jalarulu and Oda Baliji. They usually attend the surf-bathers at Gopalpur and Chhatrapur. The traditional occupation of the Nolias is fishing in the sea. Although the customs and manners of both the groups are same, one does not accept food and water from the other and no marriage relations are also established between the two groups. The mother tongue of both the groups is Telugu. In Telugu the Nolias are called Jalarulu. The word, it is said, is derived from a Telugu word "Jalumu" which means catchers of fish. Jalarulu groups of Nolias claim to be the descendants of the demon king named Jalandhara. They believe that they have some relation with Lord Siva as they hold that Lord Siva married Ganga, daughter of a fisherman named Sankudewdu. The Nolias, inspite of their occupation of catching fish, are served by Brahmin priests, barbers and washermen.

The common dress of a Nolia is a napkin which he wears as a "Langoti". In addition to this some wear banians and few use Chaddars to cover their bodies. While going out, a Nolia male wears short *dhoti* instead of 'Langoti'. Some also put on banians and shirts. The usual dress of a Nolia, while in the sea, consists of simply langotis. A conical palm-leaf cap serves as a headgear for protection from the sun and water. It also serves, as a receptacle for keeping tobacco powder, 'Suta' or country *cherootes* and matches while on work. Such conical caps are found more convenient than wide brimmed caps, because these are light, water-proof and being conical in shape withstand the impact of wind well without causing inconvenience while rowing on the sea.

On the other hand the women mostly use coloured *saris*. The women exhibit their love for dress more than the ill-clad men.

The Nolias are industrious and maintain sound physique on account of hard toil in the sea. The very nature of work makes them bold and active. They use boats and nets for catching fish. The boats are of two types according to their size. The small boats are known as 'Tepa', while the bigger ones are called 'Padawa'. Tepas are used in all seasons while Padawa are used only for six months from October to March when the sea is not rough.

Most of the Nolias have not changed their traditional profession of fishing. Their economic activities are confined to the sea and the neighbouring markets. They sell conch, sea shells and other sea products. Although some of them desire to see that their children take up other professions and education, they are unable to do so mainly due to poverty.

They profess Hinduism. Hence observance of customs relating to birth, puberty, marriage and death is generally guided by the time honoured traditions and customs of Hindu community with little variations. In their society, marriage with blood relations is always given preference. Marriage with father's sister's daughter and mother's brother's daughter are quite common. Nolias who eat fish almost daily do not serve non-vegetarian dishes in the marriage feasts. Liquor is served lavishly. Most of the Nolias have no immoveable properties except the dwelling houses on account of which no one places much interest for paternal property and chooses to live independently after marriage.

As Hindus, they worship gods and goddesses. The important festivals observed by them are Kare Pongal, Dasahara and Dola Purnima. Of these, Dola Purnima is most important for them. On this day, God Narasingha Swamy, who is not represented by any image is worshipped by the Nolias. The function is held simply by chanting prayers of the god who is worshipped in the temple at Simhachalam in Andhra Pradesh.*

Besides Nolia, other fishing castes are also found in the coast of Chilika lake in the district. These are Kandara, Keuta, Karetia, Khatia, Taira and Liari.

Paik

The word Paik is derived from the word Padatika or infantry. In the past Paikas were recruited from various castes of which the Khandayats formed the majority. Though economically backward, they are very much conscious of their social prestige.

Patara

Pataras are dealers in silk and cotton cloth yarn. They worship Lord Balabhadra on Gamha Purnami day. On this occasion they also worship their professional articles like *ankura* and *pata*.

Sundhi

Sundhis are mainly business people. Their lucrative occupation is sale of liquor for which the tribals are their regular customers. The Sundhis are crafty and have kept up sale of liquor in spite of general prohibition in the district. They speak Oriya as their mother tongue. They also know Telugu. In Telugu this caste is known as Yatavallu and Segidi.

*Nuagolabandh—A village monograph, Published by the Census of India, 1961 Orissa, p. 43.

Teli

Telis (oil-men) are known by that name among themselves, as well as among others in Orissa. In recent times, they have occasionally adopted such descriptive appellations as *Tailika Vaishya* or *Sadhava Teli*, *Kuvera-putra*, etc., but none of these innovations seems to have gained general acceptance. They used to press oil by indigenous method and trade in it, But many of them are now tradesmen.

SCHEDULED CASTES

According to the figures released by the Census of 1981,¹ the population of Scheduled Castes was 401,116, (194,783 males and 206,333 females). This constituted about 15.02 per cent of the total population of the district. Out of 93 Scheduled Castes specified for the State of Orissa in the Constitution (Scheduled Castes) Order, 1980, as many as 79 were returned in 1981 Census (vide Appendix-II). Of them the most numerous are Adi Andhra, Bariki, Bauri, Chamar, Dandasi, Dhoba, Dam, Ghantra, Hadi, Jaggali, Kandara, Khadala, Madari, Madiga, Mala, Mundapotta, Pan, Pataratanti, Relli, Sauntia, Siyal and Tiar. The above 22 Scheduled Castes comprised 78.13 per cent of the total Scheduled Caste population of the district.

Of the total Scheduled Castes, 88.49 per cent live in the rural areas and the rest in the urban areas. The 1981 Census also recorded the highest Scheduled Caste population in Ghumusar Tahasil (64,628) and the lowest in the R. Udayagiri Tahasil (7,338). Similarly the proportion was more in the police-stations of Buguda (21,801), Bhanjanagar (21,863), Patapur (21,849), Nuagan (22,501), Chhatrapur (25,145), Rambha (25,059), Purusottampur (39,437), Hinjili (19,373), and Kodala (23,571).

Among urban areas, Rambha claimed the highest (27.65) and Ganjam the lowest (7.81) percentage of the Scheduled Castes in the district.

The Scheduled Caste growth rate during 1971—81 was 9.81 per cent. This is lower than the growth rate (18.48 per cent) of previous decade, i. e., 1961—71.

In 1981, literacy was confined to 17.17 per cent only. The analysis revealed that 30.10 per cent males and 4.97 per cent females were literate. This indicates that literacy programmes have made no impact on the females.

1. Census of India, Orissa, Paper-2 of 1982, Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, 1981, p. 8.

Among the Scheduled Castes 50.16 per cent were workers* and the rest non-workers. Majority of the workers were engaged in agricultural occupations. Household industries and other works provide employment to the remaining persons. The 1981 census also recorded 1,582 persons under main workers in special occupations like tanning and curring of hides and skins, and scavenging.

On examining the marital status of the Scheduled Caste population by their broad age-group it is found that the number of married persons in the age-group 20—49 was the highest in both the sexes, while large number of widows were found in the age-group 50 and above. The gradual disappearance of child marriage is also noticed from the small number of married persons in the age-group 0—14.

To raise the socio-economic conditions of the Scheduled Castes Government have introduced recently I. R. D. P. (Integrated Rural Development Programme), E. R. R. P. (Economic Rehabilitation for Rural Poor), P. M. M. P. (Prime Ministers Massive Programme), M. A. D. A. (Modified Area Development Agency), T. R. Y. S. E. M. (Training for Rural Youth for Self Employment), N. R. E. P. (National Rural Employment Programme), R. L. E. G. P. (Rural Landless Employment Guarantee Programme), Indira Abas Yojana and Nehru Rojgar Yojana.

Adi Andhra

Out of 3,621 Adi Andhras in Orissa, 967 were found in Ganjam district in 1981. Their main occupation is agriculture. Services in transport and communications provide employment to most of them in urban areas. The percentage of literacy was 16.76 per cent in 1981 census

Bauri

The Bauris are one of the predominant Scheduled Castes in the district. Their population, according to the 1981 Census was 88,977. Of these, 81,144 persons lived in rural areas.

Bauris act as priests of goddess Mangala and Thakurani. They observe fairs and festivals like other Hindu castes. Besides they celebrate Usha Kothi in the month of Aswina (September-October). Brahmin priests do not perform rituals connected with birth, death and marriage of Bauris. They have their own caste-priest called Baishnaba or Gosain. They have also their own barber. He is known as Behera. The post of

* Workers include Main Workers 41.47 per cent and Marginal workers 8.29 per cent.

Gosain and Behera is hereditary. They do not depend on Dhobas for washing their polluted clothings. Their caste-leader is called Mohapatra. They use sacred thread during marriage ceremony. The Bauris are mostly engaged as cultivators and agricultural labourers. They sell firewood and forest products in the market to supplement their income. In urban areas, some of them also earn their livelihood by pulling rickshaws.

Bauris and Khadadas are of same rank. They are not considered as separate castes because marriages occur between Bauris and Khadadas. The surnames of Bauris are Bhoi and Das.

As regards education of the Bauris it was found in 1981 Census that 13.02 per cent of their total population were literates. Among them six males and one female had graduate degree. One female had degree in engineering and technology.

Chamar

In 1981 Census, 3,869 persons were enumerated as Chamar, Mochi, or Satnami in the district of whom 13.14 per cent were declared as literates. They speak Oriya and Telugu languages and deal with leather works and footwears. The creed adopted by them is Satnami.

Dandasi

The Dandasis were declared as a denotified Scheduled Caste community in Orissa. They are considered as an ex-criminal tribe and are tagged under vulnerable groups among the Scheduled Castes. Predominantly they live in south Orissa and are highly concentrated in Ganjam district. The Census of 1981 enumerated 48,356 Dandasis in the district. This constituted 95.87 per cent of the total Dandasi population in the state.

The caste name Dandasi appears to have come from the Oriya word Danda (village road). According to others, the word Dandasi has come from the word Danda means stick and Asi means dagger. The man armed with these is called Dandasi.

In the past they were engaged by zamindars and landlords to assist their collection agents to realise/recover various payment from their subjects. As they were characterised as cruel by nature and at the same time untouchable, the nonprayers of

tax or toll were arranging to make immediate payment by very approach of Dandasi at their door step. Besides, they were also engaged as village watchmen to guard the village at night against robbery or theft. For this type of service a Dandasi was provided a piece of land in the village for construction of house to live in. In addition, food, clothing, etc., were provided by the villagers. Thus, they were completely depending upon the villagers to maintain their livelihood. At early time land was less important for them as they were getting sufficient remuneration in shape of cash or kind from the villagers in lieu of their service. With this social and historical background Dandasis did not even dream of indulging themselves in stealing activities. During early period of British administration in the district Dandasis lost their importance as servants of king's court but continued to serve as village watchmen. Gradually the British administration did not pay much attention towards their police activities which resulted in upsetting their economy. This was a tremendous blow for the Dandasi community. An air of frustration and discontentment grew among them. Their social life took a different turn. Out of hunger they were forced to commit theft at night whenever possible and in course of time they professed it as their caste tradition. Ultimately in 1923, the British Government declared them as the ex-criminal tribes. At present they have given up the habit of stealing as a caste tradition and are living as cultivators and daily wage earners. It is revealed from a survey* conducted by the Tribal and Harijan Research-cum-Training Institute, Bhubaneshwar in Kumarbegapalli, Sitampur, Balia Chhatrapur and Satrusola villages under Chhatrapur C.D. Block that in 1986 nearly 86 per cent of Dandasi families were living below the poverty line.

They observe fairs and festivals like their caste-Hindu-neighbours. They do not have priests in their own caste. But a knowledgeable and well versed elderly person performs ceremonies in their society. The barbers do not serve them as social stigma of discrimination is attached to them. A person belonging to their own caste does this job at the time of need. In urban areas a Dandasi is served in a saloon where no caste identity is questioned. A similar trend is observed in case of service of a washerman.

The incidence of literacy was confined to 16.36 per cent in 1981. Among them ten persons were graduates and one person received post graduate degree other than technical degree.

* A Short account of the Dandasi by N. Patnaik and A. Malik.

Dewar

Out of 3,637 Dewars in Orissa, Ganjam district had accommodated 3,151 in 1971. But 1981 census has recorded only 158 Dewars in Ganjam. Reasons for the sharp decline is not known. Their traditional profession is to ply boats and catch fish. They speak Oriya and Telugu. The Dewars observe Pongal, Dasahara, Dola and other festivals. On Dola Purnima, God Narasingha Swamy is worshipped. Literacy is confined to 31.01 per cent. One person only possessed a degree as his educational qualification.

Dhoba

There were 87,217 Dhobas/Dhobis in the district according to 1981 census. Among them females out-numbered the males. The traditional occupation of this caste is to clean dress materials and wood cutting. They collect clothes from house to house for cleaning. They return the clean cloths with or without ironing. For this work they get remuneration either in cash or in kind. The system of payment in kind is still prevalent in rural areas. In urban areas they receive cash payment. In course of time some of them have stopped collecting dirty clothes from door to door and have started laundries in urban areas. Besides, they also depend on agriculture for their livelihood. Their services are indispensable during birth of a child or death of a person.

Their main festival is Pusha Purnima. They worship Goddess Nitei Dhobani on this day by the side of river, canal or pond where they use to clean the clothes on a stone. That stone is called Gandi. The other name of Nitei Dhobani Puja is Gandi Puja. Apart from this, they worship the gods and goddesses like the Hindu clean castes. The people of this caste generally use Sethi as surname.

As regards education, it was found in the 1981 census that 21.22 per cent of the Dhobas were literates. In their community 66 persons were graduates and 9 persons had post-graduate degree. Seventy two persons were found with technical diplomas or certificates not equal to a degree.

Dom

In 1981, the population of Dom, Dombu or Duria Dom in the district was 7,079 persons. Their settlements are found mostly in the tribal areas. They are very crafty and cunning. The tribals treat them as their advisors. The Doms work as Chowkidars, money-lenders, retail merchants and agricultural labourers. Due to

spread of education and out-look they are gradually abandoning thefts and robbery and are switching over to respectable callings. Literacy is limited to 11.52 per cent. The 1981 census also recorded only one Dom having obtained a degree as his educational qualification.

Hadi

The Census of 1981 returned 26,102 Hadis in the district. The other spelling of caste name Hadi is Haddi or Hari. They work as sweepers and scavengers. They act as drummers in socio-religious functions. Well-to-do persons of this caste depend on agriculture for their livelihood. They observe fairs and festivals like the clean castes. 21.01 per cent Hadis were found literates in 1981 census. Among them 9 were graduates, one was post-graduate and one had engineering and technological qualification.

Jaggali

As per 1981 Census more than 69 per cent of the Jaggalis of the state are inhabiting in the district. Most of them work as cultivators and agricultural labourers. A few persons earn their livelihood from trade and commerce. Transport and communication also provide subsistence to a number of persons of this caste. Literacy is confined to 11.28 per cent.

Kandara

The strength of Kandara in the district was 7,471 of which 38.15 per cent were literates in 1981. Among the literates, 13 persons possessed bachelor's degree and 4 persons had post-graduate degree. Fishing and allied activities provide employment to large number of persons.

Keuta

There are four types of Keutas in the district. They are—(1) Hula or Hania Keutas who catch fish by burning straws at one end of the fishing boat, (2) Bilua Keutas are named thus after their way of living in the Bila (fields). Their way of catching fish is to throw net and shout, (3) The Chudutia Keutas who prepare and sell flattened rice and (4) Kaibertta Keutas who ply boats but do not catch fish. Their population is large in number, in fact, the largest among the Keutas.

Khadala

The Census of 1981 enumerated 30,818 Khadalas in the district. They constituted 60.36 per cent of the total Khadala population of the state. Principal economic activity of the bulk of the population is cultivation and agricultural labour. Trade,

commerce and other services are also followed. The incidence of literacy was limited to 15.17 per cent in 1981. Among them two persons had possessed bachelors degree and one person had degree in engineering and technology.

Madari

The strength of the Madaris in the district was 1,111 of whom 16.56 per cent were literates in 1981. They are found mostly in the Paralakhemundi subdivision. They speak Telugu. Basket-making is their main profession. Bag prepared by them out of bamboo splits and other materials is unique.

Madiga

The Census of 1981 returned 560 Madigas in the district. They are labourers, both agricultural and non-agricultural. The incidence of literacy among them was confined to 31.67 per cent.

Mala

Malas, Jhalas, Malos or Zalas are generally employed as labourers. Their number in the district was 2,313 in 1981. Literacy was confined to 23.69 per cent. The 1981 Census had recorded three graduates and one post-graduate degree holders in their society.

Mundapotta

Out of 1,317 Mundapottas in Orissa, 902 were found in the district according to the Census of 1981. They are a class of Kelas who bury their heads in a hole dug in the ground and beg for alms in that posture by extending the arms. Agriculture, livestock, forestry and fishing also provide engagement to them. They are educationally very backward. Only 3.55 per cent were found literate among them. They are wanderers and do not stick to a single village.

Painda

Of the total number of Pains in Orissa, more than 58 per cent live in the district. Analysis of census figures revealed that majority of the Pains were engaged in agricultural occupations and household industries. In 1981 Census 7.5 per cent of them were found literates.

Pano

According to the 1981 Census, the population of Pan or Pano in the district was 49,859. They are found almost in every tribal village and have close relationship with the Kandhas. They work in their farms and collect buffaloes for sacrifice. They also act

as their intermediaries and exploit other tribal people economically. They are the craftiest caste among the entire tribal and Harijan people. Other sources of their income is weaving clothes. They worship deities at the time of illness, and to obtain good crops. They also participate in the Durga Puja, Ratha Jatra, Thakurani Jatra, Diwali and other festivals observed by the clean castes.

Due to influence of the Christian missionaries, a considerable number of persons of this caste have been converted to Christianity in the district.

In 1981, 15.05 per cent Panos were found literate in the district. Further study revealed that their society had produced five bachelor and one post-graduate degree holders.

Patratanti

The 1981 Census enumerated 644 Patratantis of which 31.11 per cent were literates. They were found at Namakoi village under Jarada police-station in Chikiti Tahasil. At present, 30 families are depending upon silk fabrics (Pata) trade. The famous Brahmapur Pata is also prepared by these weavers. The Patra weavers are original inhabitants of this area. They speak Oriya. These weavers are devotees of Lord Vishnu (Narasingha). They worship the deity on each Chaturdasi day.

Relli

The Census of 1981 returned 1,717 Rellis in the district. They are generally employed as scavengers. Literacy in 1981 Census was 18.82 per cent. Their language is Telugu.

Sauntia

Ganjam is the home of Sauntias as 22,216 or 97.11 per cent of their total state population are found in the district. The rest are inhabiting in Puri, Koraput, Cuttack, Mayurbhanj, Balleshwar, Dhenkanal, Sundargarh and Sambalpur districts. Cultivation and agricultural labour provide livelihood to the largest section of the population. Out of the total population, 16.38 per cent were found literates. Their society has so far produced only one graduate.

Siyal

The Siyals are toddy tappers. In 1981 Census 1,986 persons of this community were enumerated in the district of which 25.21 per cent were literates. Their society has produced four matriculates.

Tiar

Out of 4,136 Tiars, 4,054 are found in rural areas. Agriculture is their principal occupation. Fishing and allied activities also provide engagement to some Tiars. Literacy has gone upto 20.88 per cent in their society in 1981.

SCHEDULED TRIBES

The Scheduled Tribe population of the district which was 228,945 in 1971 increased to 253,034 in 1981, thus registering a growth of +10.52 per cent in the decade 1971—81¹. Out of 62 Scheduled Tribes specified in the Constitution (Scheduled Tribes) Order, 1980 as many as 49 were returned in 1981 Census (vide Appendix III). Of them, the principal tribes were Jatapu, Kandha, Koli, Konda-dora, Matya, Saora, Shabar and Sounti. These eight tribes constituted 98.71 per cent of the total Scheduled Tribe population of the district.

It is seen from Census figures of 1981 that 99.11 per cent of the Scheduled Tribes live in rural areas and the rest in urban areas. The concentration of Scheduled Tribes was the highest in the Paralakhemundi Tahasil (98,039) and the lowest in Chhatrapur Tahasil (539). The police-stations, viz., Serang (49,246), Mohana (42,482), R. Udayagiri (35,093), Ramagiri (33,987), Garabandha (12,946), Nuagan (11,577), Kashinagar (10,799), Badagad (8,751), and Paralakhemundi (8,286), claimed comparatively more Scheduled Tribes than other police-stations of the district in 1981.

The majority of the Scheduled Tribes are found engaged in agricultural occupations, household industries and other services.

Literacy among the Scheduled Tribes was confined to 10.82 per cent in 1981. This percentage was lower than the state average of 13.95 per cent.

The Census figures released in 1981 revealed that among the Scheduled Tribes 81.41 per cent professed Hinduism and 18.58 per cent Christianity. The rest followed other religions. Out of 49 Scheduled Tribes, Christianity seems to have influenced mostly three tribes, viz., Kandha, Saora and Shabar.

However, the spread of education, communication facilities and the implementation of various development projects have helped the Scheduled Tribes a lot to change their traditional manners and customs.

To protect and control atrocities on the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes, Government have taken steps and booked cases under the protection of Civil Rights Act, 1955. Statistics in this respect is given in Appendix IV of this Chapter.

1. A Portrait of Population of Orissa, 1981, p. 122.

Jatapu

The Census of 1981 returned 560 Jatapus in the district. They are believed to be a more enlightened section of the Kandha tribe. The Jatapus speak Kandha language in the hills and Telugu on the plains. They claim to have their own script but it has not developed much. However, some of them also speak Jatapu. Regarding education, 16.25 per cent were found literate among them in 1981.

The Jatapus have no systematic village Panchayats. The head-man of the village is called *Nayudu*. He decides the disputes. The *Jani*, the village priest, assists him in settling the matter.

The tribe is divided into a number of septs; such as, fowl, cow, goat, sheep, peacock and white ant. The members of each sept venerate their respective sept totems. They generally prefer adult marriage and claim to marry their father's sister's daughter. Their marriage ceremony is like that of the Telugus. Other forms of marriage like marriage by capture, marriage by service, marriage by mutual consent and marriage by selection are also prevalent among them. In their society divorce is allowed and the divorcee is permitted to marry again.

The Jatapus usually bury the dead. The death rites last for three days. Every year an annual ceremony in honour of the dead is performed by their family members.

The Jatapus are Hindus. They worship Jakara Debata and sacrifice pigs and buffaloes to appease the deity. They observe Goddali Panduga and Anguma Pandugu festivals. The Jatapus are mainly agriculturists. They perform rituals to mark the harvest of each crop. Some of them earn their bread as labourers.

Kandha

The Khonds or Kandhas known in the past for their practice of human sacrifice and female infanticide are one of the major tribes of Orissa. Out of 989,342 Kandhas, 63,848 are found in Ganjam district. The growth rate of the Kandha population during the decade 1971—81 was 10.93 per cent and the male-female sex-ratio has been recorded as 1,000 males to 1,029 females. Only 10.56 per cent of the Kandhas living in Ganjam district were found to be literate according to 1981 Census. Literates included 15 graduates, one doctor and one was the holder of teacher's training degree.

Macperson, Campbell, Dalton, Risely, Elwin, Niggemyar and others have studied the tribe but the origin of the name of Kandha still remains obscure. However, the Kandhas have racial affinity with

proto-Australoid stock. They are generally dark brown to black in complexion. They have medium stature, broad nose and high cheek-bones.

The Kandhas are mainly divided into three sections. Kutia Kandhas who live in the foot of the hills or in between two hills in the midst of dense forest are shifting cultivators. Dongria Kandhas who live on high land hills are horticulturists and Desia Kandhas who live in plain area mixing with other non-tribals are settled agriculturists. The Kutia and the Dongria Kandhas represent the primitive sections of the tribe. They live with the Panos and Dombs. These two Scheduled Castes are itinerant traders selling such articles as dry fish, sugar, salt, oil, clothes, etc. Simultaneously they also carry on the business of money lending and supply cows, buffaloes, goats which are sacrificed by the Kandhas to appease their deities. The Lohars (blacksmiths) make their iron implements. The Betras (basket makers) and the Kumbharas (potters) usually visit Kandha villages seasonally to barter baskets and earthen pots. The Desia Kandhas, from the very beginning, have lived in villages in the plains with Brahmins, Gaudas, Sundhis, Dhobas, Kamars and other caste groups and in many respects their life-ways are same as those of the caste Hindus.

The settlement pattern is linear type. In the middle of the road Jhankar (Earth Goddess) is installed in a hut. In some villages there are bachelors' dormitories constructed both for the boys and the girls close to the cattle sheds at the end of the village.

Before constructing a house they first obtain permission from the headman. The house is generally constructed on a rectangular ground plan with a low height. The lay-out of a house consists of front and rear verandah, a bed room in the centre and a small kitchen. Walls are made of wooden planks or bamboo plastered with mud. Then the two-sloped roof is thatched with tall grass of local variety or straw on a day fixed by the Dishari (medicine man-cum-astrologer). *Attu* houses are also seen in the village. The mud walls of the house are washed in red colour. Sometimes black soot dissolved in water is smeared. There are no windows except two doors, one on the entrance and the other making an opening for the backyard. A few household equipments are stored in the front verandah to reduce the congestion of the bed room. The rear verandah on other hand, is used as pigsty and goat pen.

The inside view of a Kandha house presents a picture of the limited wants that the Kandhas have which mainly comprise containers made of gourds, wood, bamboo and stone articles. Besides, earthen pots, baskets, agricultural and hunting implements are also

kept. These are generally procured from the other castes of the neighbouring villages. The most common furniture is the cot. Another wooden article of a characteristic design is their pestle which is used to husk grains in a mortar fixed on the floor of the main room. The only stone implement is the grinding stone. It is used for powdering the millet. They utilise earthen pots for cooking purpose. Musical instruments like clappers, mouth organs (Gauni) and flute (Banshi) are also seen in their houses.

The male members of Kutia and Dongria Kandhas wear loin cloth. They feel comfortable with such an attire while working in the field. Both Dongria and Kutias use a simple wrapper when they feel very cold. Otherwise the upper portion of the body remains bare. The upper garment of a female is a handloom cloth thrown over in the front and held at the neck by means of a knot. It hangs down right up to her knee keeping the back completely bare. The lower garment consists of two pieces. The first is a loin cloth. The second piece is a skirt worn round the waist. The Dongria Kandha women have a special liking for using scarves with beautiful embroidery in which the ladies are skilled. This is called Kudu. The Desia section of the Kandha community follow the Hinduised fashion of putting on cloth. The males put on dhotis and shirts. The women like to wear deep coloured saris and blouse.

The Kandhas with limited ornaments look attractive. They use glass bangles and necklaces of colour beads. They also use silver necklaces. They wear brass ring on the ear. The Dongria and Kutia keep long lock of hair which they tie into a knot at their back as a traditional fashion. Both sections maintain the style strictly. The Kandha women always keep their hairs neatly combed and decorated. They fix hair-pins or wooden comb in their bun. They use Kusum oil which they prepare at home. Tattoo marks of various designs are also seen on the face and hand of the women among the Kutia and Desia sections of the tribe.

The entire Kandha country was divided into different territories. The general system of administration was enforced through the traditional headman of the village. A group of villages was called Mutha which was an administrative-cum-social unit. Lands on hill tops were distributed to different villages of a Mutha by the Mutha-head in a common meeting for shifting cultivation. Other than the clan members, outsiders were not allowed to enjoy the right over any property permanently unless they were allowed by the Mutha-head. The practice is still in vogue.

The village headman subsequently distributed hills among different families in the village. Each Kandha household possesses about

2 to 3 hills with an area of about 5 to 6 acres. These lands are possessed, cultivated and handed over to the next male heirs in a continuous process. The lands are neither sold nor mortgaged.

The process of shifting cultivation is almost uniform among both the Kutia and the Dongria Kandhas. They cultivate Kandula, Kangu, niger, maize, green gram, mustard, turmeric, etc., on the hill-tops and hill-slopes. The Dongria Kandhas are expert horticulturists and produce banana, pineapple, jackfruits, orange, etc., in addition to other crops. On the Dahi land or at the foot of the hills paddy, ragi and mustard are grown. Cowdung is used as manure. At present, due to more economic diversification like selling of Kendu leaf, leaf cups and plates, *siali* ropes, etc., and also due to some measures taken by Government the practice of shifting cultivation has been minimised. Agriculture thus keeps the Kandhas engaged for most part of the year to eke out their living amidst an arduous terrain.

Forest produce supplements their meagre income from land. The Kutia Kandhas are forest dwellers and hence are in a secure position to collect more of forest produces and trap animals than other sections of Kandhas. The Dongria Kandhas are in less advantageous position as they have to cover long distance in order to reach forest resources. Hunting is not a regular pursuit for them. Desia Kandhas who have taken to plough cultivation in the plains do not get such scope.

The food habit of the Kandhas varies according to the availability of food materials. Whatever they produce are not sufficient to meet the consumption for the whole year. The cereals and millets hardly last for four months and for rest of the eight months they solely depend on wild fruits, tubers and leaves of edible plants. Both the primitive sections eat buffalo meat, pork, beef, chicken, etc., on festive occasions. Oil is used for cooking in small quantity. Sugar is rarely consumed. Turmeric powder, chilly and salt are the only condiments used for cooking. In ceremonial cooking, garlic, onion and ginger are added.

Liquor is not socially prohibited and is taken irrespective of age and sex. Liquor has various ceremonial and religious uses. To get rid of the druggery of hard labour and for the sake of pleasure liquor is drunk. It is also used as medicine. It is offered to various deities and spirits as consecrated food. It is offered to friends and relatives as a mark of social courtesy. Mahua liquor and Sago palm juice are considered more as food than as intoxicant drinks.

The Kandhas use *dhungia*, *kundeji* and *chunga* as narcotics and stimulants. Of these *dhungia* is a raw tobacco leaf chewed mixed

with lime. Kundeli, a type of raw tobacco which is rolled in *siall* leaf and used as cigar. Chunga is a bell-metal pipe in which raw tobacco is puffed.

The family in Kandha society is patrilineal and patriarchal. In their society social ties between the kins or a married couple are strengthened after the birth of a child. The delivery usually takes place at home. An experienced woman is called upon to attend the delivery. She cuts the umbilical cord with a knife or with an arrow. After six days the wife's mother in case of Dongria Kandhas and mother's brother in case of the Kutja Kandhas shave off the head of the baby keeping a patch of hair on the vertex. Both the mother and the baby are brought to the normal social life after completing ritual bath. On the eighth day both ear-boring and nose-boring ceremonies take place with a fine brass wire. In the case of Dongria Kandhas the pollution period is completed on the 21st day of the birth of the child. Both the mother and the baby take bath in a stream on that day. The father of the baby offers rituals to ancestral spirits. He sacrifices a pigeon and solicits blessing for child. The name of child is usually given after a deceased member.

They take good care of their children. At the age of ten or twelve, the children start to help their parents in cooking, house building and rearing of their younger brothers and sisters. They also help their father in agricultural operations. Thus from the very childhood they become active and dutiful so that they do not feel any difficulty in future life.

The marriages are usually conducted through negotiation. The other types, namely marriage by consent, capture and service are also popular. Generally marriage takes place in the month of Magha (December-January), but this is not followed strictly in all types of marriages. Inter-lineage marriage is considered incestuous which means marrying one's own sister. Boys and girls of the same village, even if belonging to different lineage groups are considered brothers and sisters. Therefore, village exogamy is practised. However, marriage within the Mutha is permissible.

Women are considered as an important asset to the family and source of economic prosperity. Hence the boy's father usually takes initiative for arranging marriage. The bride price system is prevalent. It includes cash, animal, rice and liquor. The quantity of bride price varies from section to section. However, once the bride's father accepts the liquor presented by the groom's father, marriage negotiation is finalised.

On the appointed day the groom's party reaches the bride's house to escort the bride's party. At the auspicious moment the bride and her party start with a procession after being blessed by the *Jani* (priest) at the altar of Earth-Goddess.

On reaching the outskirts of the village, the bride cooks rice and the Shaman offers it to the groom's ancestors. By that the bride is admitted into the groom's ancestry. The bride is then taken to the Earth-Goddess where a little turmeric paste and wet rice-grains are touched on bride's feet and forehead respectively. A fowl is sacrificed and blood is sprinkled on the Earth-Goddess. A tip of blood is also marked on the forehead of the bride.

The *Jani* then instructs the bride and the groom to place their right and left foot respectively on an upturned brass plate kept on the floor. The *Jani* sprinkles a few grains of rice on their feet. A chicken is thrashed on the ground and blood is sprinkled over their legs. A lighted lamp is encircled their legs three times to ensure happy union. Beyond these rituals, the Dongria section invoke and appease twenty-one spirits believed to be in all directions of the village. *Jani* and Shaman perform the ritual on behalf of the newly-wedded couple.

After three days of the marriage the bride escapes to her parent's house stealthily. Since this is a social custom, it does not create any anxiety. The groom, therefore, goes to bring the bride back. The day following the arrival of the bride in the groom's house a grand feast is arranged by slaughtering one or two buffaloes and all friends and relatives are entertained.

The Desia section of the Kandha community though in the process of assimilation, still follows the rule of exogamy and abide by the community norms. But they entertain caste Hindus as guests.

Physically deformed or diseased men or women are forbidden to marry. However, they are married to a mango tree which is called spiritual marriage. It is believed that with the performance of spiritual marriage these persons like others can enter the abode of the ancestral spirits after death.

The dead bodies are generally cremated. Fire is set to the pyre by the relatives of the deceased. Rice, wearing apparel, ornaments and other articles used by the deceased are placed on the pyre. The Dongria and the Kutia observe death pollution for two days but the Desia section of the Kandhas observe it for 10 days. *Jani* along with Shaman perform the

mortuary rites. Rice is cooked in a new earthen pot and three rice balls are prepared representing ancestral spirits. The functionaries chant hymns and move round the balls twelve times, pouring wine on the rice balls. The end of the purificatory ceremony reaches when a goat is sacrificed and blood is sprinkled over the rice balls. Relatives, community members and neighbours are entertained with a feast. Although the Desia Kandhas have adopted caste Hindu system of entertaining guests, there has been no change in the ritual practice.

The Kandhas believe in Supreme Being. They do not worship images or build temples. Blocks of stone are installed representing the Earth Goddess (Tana Penu or Dharani Penu). Two religious ceremonies are performed yearly, one at the sowing and the other at the harvest time. Dharani Penu is responsible for the growth of vegetation and other produces of land. She used to be worshipped in the past by making human sacrifice and human flesh was being buried in the land as a measure of infusing the soul with magical power to make the crops grow luxuriantly. It was known as Toki Puja by the Kutia section and Meriah by the Dongria section. This barbarous practice is no longer in vogue as it was suppressed by the British Government and replaced by buffalo sacrifice known as Kedu Puja.

On all the festive occasions the Kandhas worship the dead ancestors (Dumba) who are represented by a wooden post in the house known as Tuli Munda. Besides, the Kandhas worship many deities at different periods of the life cycle. Their festivals are linked with agriculture. They observe Chaitra Jatra, Taku Jatra, Anka Puja, Sapangada Jatra and Kedu or Poda Jatra. All these festivals with different names are also observed by the Dongria Kandhas. The Hinduised section of Kandha, in addition to these festivals also observe Hindu festivals. They have stopped sacrificing animals and offering of liquor as sacramental food to their deities. Regarding religion, the census report of 1981 revealed that among the Kandhas in the district 86.74 per cent professed Hinduism and 13.25 per cent Christianity. The rest are Muslims (0.01 per cent).

The Kandhas also believe in the efficacy of magic. Good fortune is ascribed to white or good magic and black or bad magic is ascribed to misfortune. Unnatural events, accidents and infectious diseases are ascribed to black magic. The Shamans are considered most befitting to deal with black magic. They are, therefore, called upon to attend these cases.

Black magic is rampant in the district. It claimed five lives in Olamba village under Badagad police-station in October 1987. The victims included two pregnant women and three children.

The victims were taken to Dharakot government hospital where the doctors discharged them as they had no disease. But they died soon after their discharge. The villagers of the said village brought this matter to the notice of the Collector, Ganjam, and demanded to take action to forestall further death.* Occurrences of deaths of this type due to black magic are not uncommon in the tribal areas but these are rarely brought to the notice of the Government.

Mutha which consisted of a group of villages was like a socio political unit. The Mutha heads used to arbitrate cases like village boundary disputes, land disputes, disputes over bride capture, etc. These cases are not generally referred to the court of law, because the unwritten tribal codes are different from the Indian Penal Code. But at present the Mutha head has lost his authority after the abolition of the Mutha system. Most of the cases are now referred to the Village Panchayats or else the people take shelter in the court of law. Even after the advent of the new statutory leaders, the importance of the traditional leaders in many ways has not been affected. Rather it facilitates administration in the Kandha villages.

The Kandhas have aesthetic sense. They manifest their aesthetic impulses through song, dance, music and craft. Their songs are generally accompanied by dances through which the Kandhas express their emotions. Kandha youths of both sexes dance together. In a few dances, the dancers of the two sexes divide themselves into two or more separate rows. Old men and women also participate in some dances. In most dances, a few young men play on drums and stand in front of the dancers a little apart. Young male dancers begin a song and when they complete a stanza the dancers take it up and repeat it in chorus and all dance to the tune of the song. They have *Sadrangi*, *Sarua*, *Meriah* and *Hadada* dances. During dance they use musical instruments like big drums (Liasani), small drums (Dhupa), clappers mouth organ (Gauni) and flute (Banshi or Mahuri). Thus song, dance and music cheer the toil-worn Kandhas in the evenings and provide respite from daily work. These dances also take place for days and nights together on festive occasions.

Besides, the Kandhas have also exhibited their talent and love for art. The carvings made by the Dongrias on their bamboo flutes

* The Statesman, Calcutta, October 27, 1987.

and by the Kutias on the door planks of their houses are very attractive. The Kutia Kandhas also make wallpaintings with motifs of natural objects.

Lack of knowledge about environmental sanitation, personal hygiene and poor living conditions are some of the factors responsible for their poor health and infectious diseases. They do not take bath for days together. Teeth are not brushed regularly. Clothes too are not washed even once in a month. There were no wells or tube-wells and the Kandhas used water from nearby streams for both drinking and washing purposes resulting in sufferings from water-borne diseases like diarrhoea, dysentery and other gastro-intestinal disorders.

After independence concrete steps have been taken to ameliorate the socio-economic condition of the Kandhas. Agriculture being the main source of livelihood, has been given sustained attention. Lands are reclaimed for landless families or families having land up to one acre. Podu lands are brought under horticultural plantation. Fruit trees are planted in the Podu ravaged areas. Financial and technical assistance are provided to undertake plantation of fruit trees like mango, jack fruit, orange and plantain. Improved agricultural implements and seeds are also provided. To facilitate irrigation dug-wells are sunk and water harvesting structures are constructed. To provide drinking water facility and protect tribal people from water borne disease, tube-wells are sunk in the stream bed. Under the Animal Husbandry Programme the Kandhas have been supplied with goat and poultry units to supplement their income. To encourage gainful employment and to supplement income various small scale industries like bee-keeping, leafcup and leaf-plate making and carpentry are introduced under the Rural Industries Programme. Dongria Kandha girls are experts in embroidery work. Arrangements have been made to impart scientific training on embroidery work. Other than these income generating schemes, the areas have been supported with infrastructural facilities. Under this, emphasis has been given on the education factor. The existing primary schools are renovated and renewed. Provision for mid-day meal has been introduced in the schools to attract the students. Reading and writing materials are supplied free of cost.

Primary Health Centres and dispensaries have been opened in the tribal area to render medical aid to them.

All these developments have brought some changes among the Kandhas. Though the Kandhas are still in the habit of using

primitive methods, yet they are gradually becoming aware of modern technologies and in fact some of them have started utilising them. As a result of the impact of land settlement operations the Kandhas are now assertive of their rights over lands. They are now responsive towards paddy cultivation and have adopted improved practices in cultivation. The Podu-ravaged areas are being covered by horticultural plantation by the younger generation on an increasing scale. The exploitation by the Doms is no more tolerated. Large-sized Multipurpose Co-operative Societies (LAMPS) have been organised at Mohana, Chandragiri, Nuagad, Rayagada, Gumma and R. Udayagiri to solve the problem of indebtedness and to procure surplus produces of the community by paying fair price. The co-operative societies also supply daily necessities to the tribal people through fair price shops.

In the village politics the traditional leaders feel it their duty to co-operate with the modern leaders in planning developmental schemes to be taken up in the area. The younger leaders instead of challenging now accept the advices of the old leaders. The adult Kandhas are gradually becoming politically mature and have now realised value of their votes. However, there is no change in the religious life. They still cling to traditions.

Koli/Malhar

In 1981, the strength of Koli including Malhar was 727 in the district. The Malhars are a nomadic tribe in Orissa whose main occupation is collection of honey whereas Kolis are a class of weavers. They are two separate tribes who bear apparently no regional or ethnic affinity. Yet how and under what circumstances both these tribes have been clubbed together is a matter for more detailed enquiry.

It is learnt from enquiry in Polasara under Kodala police-station that the members of the tribe were once in numerical preponderance near and around Ichhapur in Andhra Pradesh. They were then in a primitive state. Some were weavers and others used to rear up goats and poultry. They migrated later to different regions of Orissa from this place. The influence of Telugu on these people is clear. The mother tongue of the Kolis is at present Oriya though in their spoken language influence of Telgu is evident. 57.08 per cent of the population of Kolis and Malhars are literates.

Their houses differ from the regional pattern. Generally a loom is installed in the front entrance room. A narrow courtyard usually separates this room from the inner room which is meant for bed-cum-kitchen. Wattles plastered with mud or sun-dried bricks are chosen for the wall according to the means of the occupants. The roof is either thatched in straw or with tiles. Their living condition looks fairly sanitary. The floor, the walls and the surroundings are cleaned regularly. Provision of windows and wide verandahs at the front are features rather peculiar to this tribe. Sometime the walls are painted white with lime and the door and the window leaves are painted with brilliant hues.

There is nothing peculiar about dress and ornaments of this tribe. Tattooing was popular in the past. At present the practice seems to have been given up completely.

They are non-vegetarian and take fish and flesh of all varieties which are relished by the caste Hindus. Besides earthen pots, brass and aluminium utensils are also used in cooking. Food is taken in bell-metal and aluminium utensils. Groundnut oil is used as cooking medium. Drinking is deemed as a taboo. Chewing Pan and tobacco are popular. Like neighbouring castes tea has gained popularity with them.

Kolls are divided into exogamous divisions called *gotras*. There are *gotras*, viz., Gangalama, Sodasa and Nagesa. The rule of exogamy are not so strictly followed now a days. Among them marriage occurs by and large according to the Hindu customs. A Brahmin priest officiates in the marriage. There is the usual *vedi*, *homa*, *hataganthi* and *kaudi khela*. Usually in marriage they prefer maternal uncle's daughter. After birth the child is named on the 21st day. The rituals associated with puberty are observed rigorously. The girl on attaining puberty is kept segregated for seven days. After that she is given a new Sari to wear and is then led to the temple where she offers worship to the *Thakurani*. A feast according to means is also arranged on the seventh day.

After death they bury the dead. But the well-to-do persons among them prefer cremation. They observe death pollution for 11 days.

Most of the members of the tribe weave cotton cloths. The women members assist their counterparts in most of the stages of the weaving operations. Very few people possess land.

There are other castes of the same occupation like Tanti, Patasali and Pan. None of these castes accept water from the other and except the Pan all the rest are served by Brahmins, barbers and the washermen.

The headman of the tribe is called Behera. In marriage and divorce his sanction is required. Like caste Hindus they worship Siva. They worship Thakurani on the Makara Sankranti day. They observe most of the Hindu festivals.

Konda-doras

Number of Konda-doras in the district was 527 according to 1981 Census. They live in hills. There are two divisions among the Konda-doras—the Pedda Kondalus and the Chinna Kondalus. The former have adopted totemic divisions as septs whereas the latter retained the Telugu system of family name. The Pedda Kondalu adopts Naga (Cobra) and Bagha (Tiger) as their totemic objects. But the Chinna Kondalu follows a custom known as *Menarikam*. According to this custom, a man marries his maternal uncle's daughter or own sister's daughter. Their social life is guided by the Telugu way of life.

Even though they have been influenced both by Telugu and Oriyas, they speak Telugu and have retained it as their mother-tongue. The Telugu assimilated group also speak a mixture of Kuvi (a language of the Kandhas) and Telugu. Though this tribe is a section of the Kandhas, still they feel ashamed to identify themselves as such.

Both the sections of the Konda-doras observe marriage in different ways. Among the Chinna Kondalus, on the day of the marriage the bride goes to the groom's house where the couple take bath in turmeric water and wear new cloths given by their father-in-laws. Sacred threads are then tied round their wrists. On that day the bride groom ties the (*Sathamam*) (marriage thread) on the bride's neck according to the instruction of the *Chhukamurti*. (astrologer). On the next day the wrist threads are removed and the newly married couple bathe together in ordinary water. Among the Pedda Kondalus, the parents of the groom carry three pots of liquor to the home of the would-be-bride. The acceptance of these by the bride's father means a consent for marriage. Then required bride price is paid to him and marriage is solemnised. The Konda-doras accept bride from the Kandhas and the majority of them are polygamous.

The Konda-doras have no dormitory system. They sing devotional songs on festive occasions. All their songs and musical instruments are influenced by the Telugu style.

Their houses and domestic utensils are like those of the Telugus. The Konda-dora women wear glass bangles and beads like women in the plain areas. The males wear *Dhoti* and occasionally shirts.

The Knoda-doras practise both shifting and wet-land cultivation. The Pedda Kondalus are mainly cultivators. They grow paddy, millets and other crops. Some of them have several acres of land and are very rich. They sell their surpluses and live by this. On the other hand Chinna Kondalus are mostly service holders and labourers.

In 1981, the percentage of literacy was to 13.09 per cent among them. Only two persons were found to have read upto Matriculation level.

Matya

The Matyas are numerically a small tribe. Their strength was 622 in 1981. They derive their name from their association with soil (Mati in Oriya) and land. They are expert in earthwork and migrate for this work. Besides, most of them cultivate their own land. They produce paddy, maize, pulses, tobacco and vegetables. Their argicultural implements consist of plough, ploughshare, spade, crow-bar and axe. Their folk earn by mat-making with date palm leaf.

They speak Oriya. Some of them also speak Telugu and Kui. They use their own dialect Matya in their homes. Only 19.61 per cent were found literate in 1981.

The Matyas live in small thatched houses in plain areas. Since the rooms are not spacious they use bedrooms as store and kitchen. They paint the walls with red soil to give aesthetic view to the house.

Generally two different communities are found under Matya. One is Matia which has affinity with the Begatis, a Scheduled Caste and the other is Matya which has affinity with Gond, a Scheduled Tribe. They also consider them to be at par with the

Bhumija. In their society inter-caste marriage is not allowed. Intra-gotra marriage is also not preferred. The headman of the village officiates in the marriage ceremony which is performed on a *vedi* or altar. The formalities connected with the birth and death ceremony largely resemble those of caste Hindus.

Rice is the staple food. Apart from that they take varieties of cereals and pulses like *biri*, Kultha, Kandul and Chana. They also eat Chura and Murhi. They use oil and spices in cooking. They consume the meat of fowls, ducks, doves, mongoose and pork.

They have caste Panchayats to resolve all disputes relating to village. They worship ancestors and a number of spirits. Pousa Purnima is their most important festival.

Saora

The Saoras are one of the most ancient tribes of India. References to the Saora are found in the Ramayana and the Mahabharat as well as in the Puranas and also in the ancient works of Pliny and Ptolemy in the early centuries of the Christian era.

The word Saora has been spelt by different scholars and administrators in different ways. The word 'Saora' has been adopted in this work as this sounds very similar to the word pronounced by the Saora themselves. However, numerically, Saora, Savar, Saura or Sahara as this tribe is called is the fourth largest tribe whose population exceeds 3 lakhs in Orissa. They are found more or less in all the districts of the state, but their concentration is more in this district, i.e., 69,201 in 1981. Hence the district is considered to be the homeland of the Saoras. The main pocket of this tribe is in Paralakhemundi subdivision of the district.

The tribe is divided into several subdivisions mainly based on differences in their occupation and culture. The main subdivisions are :—“(1) Lamba Lanjia, (2) Jadu, (3) Mane (4) Raika, (5) Sarada, (6) Kindol, (7) Arsi, (8) Juari, (9) Kancher, (10) Kurumba, (11) Sudha, (12) Jati, (13) Jara and (14) Kampo”.¹ The Lamba Langia Saoras are mainly shifting cultivators. The Jadu Saoras who live in Badakhemundi area do not revere the cow. The Mane Saoras work on brass and are found in Ajoygoda Mutha in the district. The Raika Saoras who inhabit in Rayagarha

1. Adivasi, Tribal Research Bureau, Orissa 1963-64, No. 3, 31st January, 1964, p. 101.

Mutha or Paralakhemundi subdivision abstain from eating animal flesh. The Kindol or Tankla Saoras are bamboo basket-makers. The Arsis eat beef. The Juari Saoras are skilled in cutting date palms. The Kanchers are good archers and the Kurumbas are primarily shifting cultivators. All these groups speak Saora language which is an Austro-Asiatic language of the Munda family. The Sudha and the Jati Saoras who pose themselves as more civilised than other sections of the Saora are mainly shifting cultivators. They usually speak Oriya. The Kampo speak Telugu language. The ancestry of Jara Saora is famous throughout India as one of their kinsmen is said to have killed Lord Krishna with his arrow as depicted in the Bhagabata. The Bhima Saora living in Jirang area of Ganjam Agency trace their association with Bhima, one of the five Pandavas and worship Hindu Gods. The Kurumba Saoras serve the people as potters.

The Lamba Lanjia Saoras are mostly found in Paralakhemundi subdivision of the district and Pottasingi area of Gunupur Taluk in Koraput district. They live in the inaccessible hilly and forest areas having small streams and rivulets. Nature provides them various things which they require for their livelihood. But their free movements are restricted by the presence of man-eaters. A Lanjia Saora village can be easily identified by the arrangements of houses in long rows on both sides of the street. Another important feature of the village is the construction of the Mandus (small platform) in the middle of the street. The members of the family worship their family deities on that platform. Near the village the abodes of *qangoduram* and *galbeboy* deities are found. These deities are believed to protect the villagers from epidemic and smallpox. On the outskirts of the village the cremation grounds and clusters of *Menhir* (memorial stones) are found.

Most of the villages have no irrigation facility. They grow ginger, turmeric, green vegetables, tobacco, bannana and the like. Cash crops like orange and lemon are also grown in such villages. Kitchen gardens enhance the beauty of the Saora villages.

The Lanjia Saora villages are not big in size. A village on an average consists of 20 to 30 houses. The houses are rectangular in size and built with high plinth and verandah. The roofs are thatched and the walls are made of stone and mud. The Saora houses have no provision for ventilation.

About more than half of the room is covered with a high wooden platform where foodgrains and other possessions are stored. The hearth is made under this platform. The household utensils are kept near the hearth. Baskets, gourds, bundle of clothes, umbrellas, spears, bows, arrows and pots are hung on the roof. The dedicated pots and clothes of the dead or tutelaries are hung against the walls. Usually they decorate the walls with icons of gods and ancestors.

Most of the tribal communities have stratified societies. The Saoras have also that type of society. The chief of the village is called *Gamang*. He is assisted by *dal-behera* and *Mandal*. *Buyya* is the religious head. The *Gamang*, *buyya*, *dal-behera*, and *Mandal* are the aristocrats of the Saora community; others are raiyats. Land and property disputes are settled by the *Gamang* but in marital disputes the opinion of *buyya* carries more weight. Generally the headman of the village is responsible for the maintenance of law and order, and inter and intra-village relationship. On the other hand, *buyya* and *Kudang* look after the progress and prosperity of the village by pleasing the deities. Almost in every Saora village a man called *barik* is found. Usually he is a Dom by caste. He does the work assigned by the headman, villagers and other important persons and get remuneration in kind. Like *gamang* and *buyya*, *bissoyi* is also an influential man in the society. He is the head of a *mutha* consisting of a number of villages. Generally a non-tribal and wealthy man becomes *bissoyi*. During British rule, they were appointed as feudal over-lords. They were also held responsible for maintaining law and order, and were empowered to collect taxes. They were cruel to the people and they used to exploit them in every possible way.

The Saoras have no clan organisation. They have extended families called *birinda* which consists of descendants from a common ancestor for four to five generations. Marriage within *Birinda* is prohibited. A woman after marriage does not change her *birinda*. After her death, the members of her *Birinda* may claim to perform her funeral rites.

Among the Saoras arranged marriage is common. They also practise other forms of marriage like marriage by capture and by service. The arrangements are made by the parents and the relations of the groom take initiative in the matter. When the engagement is finalised bride price is discussed and fixed.

Bride price is generally paid in kind, i. e., as grains, liquor and clothes. In some localities cash is also demanded. On the appointed day groom's men visit the girl's house for marriage taking nine pots of wine with them. They are entertained with festive meals and liquor. No religious rites are observed. The groom brings the bride with him and the marriage ceremony is over.

Sororate and levirate forms of marriage are prevalent among the Saoras. Polygamy is allowed. As a result many Saoras have more than one wife. Among them taking of more than one wife is a sign of prosperity and it implies expansion of cultivation and greater accumulation of food grains. Saora women have distinct position in the society. Women, being an important economic asset, are not treated as chattels. Women work hard in the field and look after the household work. Men also work in the field and do other arduous jobs which the women do not.

The children assist their parents in all the occupations and attain skill and proficiency in tribal vocations and crafts. They can skin a buffalo, climb high hills, fetch water, do agricultural operations, tend cattle and look after babies when parents are out.

The Saora pantheon consists of innumerable malevolent and benevolent deities and deified ancestors. They all have a distinct role to play, exercise their influence over the living beings and demand respect and sacrifices from them. Any omission and negligence is followed by disease, death or trouble to the family and to the society. The Shaman known as Kuranmaran Kuran or Kudang is the religious head. He offers sacrifices and worships the gods and spirits to find out the cause of disease and cure the same. He also divines the cause of anger of a particular deity and prescribes ways and means of appeasing him or her. Thus he acts as a link between men and gods.

The Saoras observe a number of rites and rituals round the year. On the occasion of agricultural operations and other economic pursuits they sacrifice buffalo, pig and fowl, and offer liquor. In Hindu dominated areas buffalo sacrifice has been given up. They make drawings on the walls of houses in honour of the dead to avert disease and to promote fertility.

The Saoras cremate their dead except the bodies of those dying of smallpox or cholera. Cremation is the affair of the family and the *idalboi*—a girl specially trained in performing the various death rites is called upon to render assistance. The funeral procession is

taken out with beating of drums and songs. Next day the family members go to the cremation ground to see the imprints in the ash and know the cause of death. If they fail in their efforts, the Shaman is invited to divine the cause of the death. In the evening a fowl is sacrificed at the cremation ground and this is cooked with rice and bitter leaves. Each mourner takes a cup of this food to his own home and offers to the ancestors. This feast is called *jimma*. Later on the *quara*—a death rite observed for a few weeks or months or even a year, the soul of the deceased is admitted to the underworld and thus becomes a deified ancestor. In his memory a *mepher* is erected. This is generally followed by three successive Karjya ceremonies in second or third year to commemorate and to honour the deads of that particular period. Sometimes a minor ceremony called *sikanda* is performed in order to postpone the expensive Karjya ceremony to a later date. The last ceremony performed for the deads is the *Lajap*. Ancestor worship is an expensive affair as it requires sacrifices of buffaloes. For a Saora not worshipping his ancestors is a serious failing for which he is sure to invite their wraths.

Hinduism has made sufficient impact on the life of the Saora. Accordig to the 1981 Census¹ there were 45,733 Hindus among the Saoras in Ganjam district. The Hindu Saoras respect Hinduism because they say that most of their gods are from Hindu pantheon and they bestow their blessings on the people. They possess adequate knowledge about Hindu gods and goddesses. Christianity as a new religion has received the favour from the Saoras in the recent years. In 1981², 23,466 persons followed Christianity among the Saoras. It is ascertained from some of the converts that they changed their religion mainly to get relief from heavy expenditure due to innumerable religious practices and animal sacrifices. Generally poor tribals are forced to make loans to meet such expenditure. The converts have not only changed their dresses but also given up their traditional dance and music. They attend church on Sundays.

The Lanjia Saoras use musical instruments during dance, marriage, worship and funeral ceremonies. These instruments are drums, brass horns, brass gong, cymbals made of brass, stridulator, a bundle of reeds which are beaten by hand with a clattering din, Gagerajan and Memorajan. Of these the string instrument Gagerajan is most popular among them.

1. Census of India, Orissa, 1981, Special Tables on Scheduled Tribes, Part IX (iv), p. 1085.

2. Ibid, p, 1085.

The main source of livelihood of the Saora is shifting cultivation. They also practise wet cultivation in terraced lands. They grow millets, pulses, oil-seeds, turmeric and ginger on the slopes of the hills. Paddy is mainly grown in wet land. Vegetables except brinjal, plantain and pumpkin, are seldom grown either for own consumption or for cash. Tamarind and Karanja trees are plenty in the area. They collect the fruits of these trees in summer and sell for cash. They grow sago-palm and *mahua* flower for wine. Saoras in general earn more than other neighbouring tribes but lead miserable life due to chronic indebtedness to meet the expenses of innumerable feasts, festivals and for treatment of diseases. They use bullock driven ploughs for wet cultivation and dig-stricks and hoes in shifting cultivation. Hunting is a popular pastime. They use bows and arrows, and varieties of axes and knives in hunting.

The local traders and merchants take advantage of the illiteracy and ignorance of the Saoras and exploit them in different economic transactions by using fake weights and measures and paying them a low price for their goods. With the establishment of Large-sized Multipurpose Co-operative Societies (LAMPS) in many areas which procure the produce from the Saora people on payment of reasonable price and supply them with their daily necessities at a fair price, the Saoras have now got some relief. But the unfair practices of the itinerant traders and pedlars are still continuing in the tribal areas.

The Saora consume gruels of rice, millet or pulses with edible leaves. They eat meat and fish. Edible roots, tubers, turmeric, salt, chilli and onion are sometimes added to the principal diet for taste. They use very little oil or *ghee* for preparing food. They mostly drink home-made liquor and smoke tobacco. Earthenwares are generally used for cooking and storing purposes. Use of brass and aluminium pots are seen among the wealthier Saoras.

There is no traditional system of training through youth dormitory, as found among many other tribes of India. The main training grounds for them are their families and village. The members of the family are backward in education as a result of which the children do not get proper education. The educational facilities provided by the Government are becoming popular with them. However, 7.65 per cent Saoras were found literate in 1981¹. This percentage of literacy is very low in comparison to some other tribes like Jatapu, Koli, Konda-dora, Kandha, Matya, Shabar and Sounti.

1. Census of India, Orissa, Part-IX (iv), Special Tables for Scheduled Tribes, 1981, p. 708 and p. 826.

After independence of India, Government have taken several steps to develop the standard of living of the Saoras. At Paralakhemundi one Tribal Development Agency (TDA) was functioning for the socio-economic development of the Saoras. Under this programme good results were obtained in the field of agriculture, communications, horticulture and minor irrigation. Since the beginning of the Fifth Five-Year Plan, some modifications were made in the programme and to give special attention to primitive tribes Integrated Tribal Development Projects (ITDP) were established. For the development of Lanjia section of the Saora tribe Micro Projects have been taken up at four different places in Ganjam and Koraput districts having large concentrations of this tribe. In the district Micro Projects are functioning at Serang, Thumba and Chandragiri and in Koraput district at Pottasing. Programmes receiving priority under these projects are horticulture in the Podu areas, irrigation and marketing, apart from programmes like, communication, forestry, health, education and animal husbandry, etc.

CUSTOMS AND PRACTICES

The orthodox customs and practices are changing fast due to the impact of Western civilisation and scientific outlook. The external pattern of life of all communities are becoming increasingly uniform. Nevertheless, the traditional Hindu, Christian and Muslim customs relating to birth, marriage and death are still in vogue and each community has its own particular way of life distinguished by varying manners and customs.

Among the Hindus, there is a prescribed ceremony for every occasion in a man's life from birth to death like naming the child (Namakaran), first feeding ceremony (Annaprashanna), sacred thread ceremony (Upanayan), marriage ceremony (Bibaha), entry to new house (Gruha Prabesh) and death ceremony (Antyestikriya). The people observe the ceremonies according to their pecuniary condition. Some castes cremate the dead while others bury them. But all the Hindus place the head of the dead towards the east. Generally the death-pollution (Sudhikriya) ends on the eleventh day. They perform death anniversary (Barsika Sradha) for the dead every year.

The Christians celebrate baptism and solemnise marriage in the Church. They also take their dead to the church for the funeral rites before burial in the cemetery. The converted Christians of the district observe some of the customs and practices inherited from their Hindu ancestry.

The Muslims perform *azan* (sacred verses of God) after the birth of a child. They also observe *aqiqah* (sacrifice of the God), *bismillah* (beginning of educational career) and *Khatna* (circumcision of male children) ceremony before seventh year. *Mehr, nikah* and *khutba* are important stages of marriage in their society. After death they carry the dead to the graveyard where a funeral rite called *Namaj-e-Janaza* is conducted. Then the dead body is buried with its head placed towards the north and the face turned to the west in the direction of Mecca.

Inter-caste relations

The traditional division of the Hindus into castes, though basically still intact, has lost much of its social rigidity due to the impact of education. The drive of Mahatma Gandhi against the social disabilities of the untouchables has almost broken the caste barriers. As untouchability is punishable under law, people of various castes dine in common restaurants, enjoy film in cinema houses, offer prayer in temples. They also travel together in public conveyances. On festive occasions and in social functions, there is free mixing of castes including interdining which some years ago could not be conceived. The change of occupation, spread of education and appointment of persons belonging to the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes in public services have further shrunken the traditional differences between various castes. Inter-caste marriage, though rare in the district, are now tolerated. Under these circumstances the traditional structure of the Hindu society based on caste system is undergoing a rapid change. The tribal people of the district have preserved their individual identity based on clans and dialects, but they have cordial relationship and reciprocity among themselves. Sometimes marriage between members of two different tribes, though not socially approved, are tolerated without protest. Although social relationship of the converted Christians is almost confined within their own group, they do not hesitate to participate in the functions of the tribes or castes to which they originally belonged.

The reputed social worker, reformer, freedom fighter and organiser Late Mohan Nayak who belonged to Scheduled Caste was born in a Harijan family in 1921 in the village Dhanmera. Being influenced by Mahatma Gandhi, the Father of the Nation, he dedicated his life to ameliorate the condition of the untouchable castes. He also came in contact with Amrutlal Bithol Das Thakkar popularly known as Thakkar Bapa, the great Harijan leader of India, who was working

among the downtrodden communities in Gumma area under Paralakhemundi subdivision. He established a house for orphans in the village Nimakhandi on the outskirts of Brahmapur town where he performed Yagna and Gayatri Puja according to Vedic rites and taught Gayatri Sloka to the inmates. To enlighten people about the problems of Harijans he brought out a handwritten fortnightly magazine called 'Harijan' on the 2nd October, 1938 from Brahmapur. But it ceased its publication after interference of the British Government. Again in 1948, he published a fortnightly magazine titled 'Sebaka'. The aim was to eradicate untouchability. He also worked to remove social stigma of discrimination attached to the Harijans. He took leadership and entered Shri Jagannath temple at Puri in 1948 notwithstanding several hurdles. He was successful in his mission and Harijans began worshipping in the temple. Besides, at Brahmapur town he led a group of Harijans and entered hotels and restaurants and dined with general people. He encouraged education among the Harijans and discouraged them to take unhealthy food. Thus he is the pioneer in every respect to defuse untouchability. For his honesty, sincerity and dedicated service for the downtrodden communities, Government of India conferred on him 'Padmasri' on the 26th January, 1969.

NEW RELIGIOUS LEADERS AND MOVEMENTS

The new religious leaders like Shri Aurobindo, Shri Maa, Satyasai Baba, Swami Sivananda, Thakur Ankul Chandra, Thakur Nigamananda, Abhiram Paramahans, Swami Bibekananda, Swami Saraswati Keval Baba, etc, have exerted considerable influence on the people of the district. The teachings of these leaders are not different from the basic principles of Hinduism. In all the subdivisions of the district study circles, Bhajan Mandalas and religious functions are organised to propagate the teachings of these religious leaders. But all these new creeds have so far little impact on the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes. They follow their age-old religious beliefs and practices.

PROPERTY AND INHERITANCE

As a result of the stresses of the socio-economic pattern of modern life and recent legislations affecting the pattern of land ownership as well as succession to property the traditional pattern of joint family system so characteristic of Indian life, has been considerably weakened and its physical structure is on the decline throughout the district giving place more and more to nucleus families. The abolition of zamindaris and the ceiling on land which can be owned by a family have also shaken the joint family to its roots. It, however, survives in

the discharge of filial and family obligation even if the members are scattered by the socio-economic forces of modern times. The Hindu Succession Act of 1956 has also led in a few instances in the district to the transfer of property through wills (vide appendix v). Inheritance among Muslims is governed by their Personal Law and among Christians by the Indian Succession Act of 1925.

MARRIAGE AND MORALS

Monogamy is common among all the communities except Muslims who follow polygamy. Polyandry is non-existent in the district.

In Hindu society outlook of the people have changed. Consequently a number of practices in marriage like horoscope matching, consideration of *gotra* and the ceremony of *nirbandha* which were rigidly observed in the past are not strictly adhered to now a days. The practice of child marriage has almost disappeared and the age of marriage has also increased in all caste groups. But still a few cases of child marriages in the remote rural areas of the district occur inspite of the prohibition of such marriages under the Child Marriage Restraint Act. Civil marriages are hardly resorted to by any of the communities. Only 96 civil marriages from 1971 to 1980 and 129 such marriages from 1981 to 1987 (31st March) were solemnised under the Special Marriage Act, 1954 in the district. Number of such marriages though insignificant is still gaining popularity. Normally boys and girls who fall in love go in for marriage by registration if they have attained adulthood and such marriages are not approved by their parents, being inter-caste marriages or otherwise.

Though widow marriage is looked down upon by the society, stray cases do occur mostly among the educated mass and are tolerated. Among the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes widow marriage is allowed by tradition. Mohammedan Law allows widow marriage but in actual practice such marriages are uncommon. Among the Christians also widow marriage is not common.

Dowry system is in vogue among the various castes and tribes. In certain communities the ruthlessness of this practice has become a nightmare to parents who have marriageable daughters. To eradicate the evils of dowry system the Government have passed the Dowry Prohibition Act, 1961 and the Dowry Prohibition (Orissa Amendment) Act, 1975. The State Government is also taking steps to mobilise public opinion against dowry system. But the system is so ingrained in the society that the provisions of the law have remained mostly on paper. Not a single case has been registered under the Dowry Prohibition Act.

Statistics relating to dowry cases on homicide, suicide and torture for dowry from 1985 to 1989 are given in Appendix VI.

DIVORCE

Divorce was unknown to Hindu marital code as marriage was considered a religious sacrament. However, among some castes divorce is permissible by custom. The common grounds of divorce are adultery, desertion, cruelty and ill health. Divorce is permitted among the Muslims and Christians. The Special Marriage Act of 1954 and the Hindu Marriage Act of 1955 allow divorce, but the tradition-bound people are usually averse to it. The following table shows the number of divorces instituted and the reasons thereof from 1981 to 1986.

year	No. of cases instituted	Reasons			
		Adultery	Desertion	Cruelty	Ill-health
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
1981	16	4	11	1	..
1982	12	2	8	1	1
1983	17	3	12	1	1
1984	13	..	9	3	1
1985	21	2	14	5	..
1986	21	1	18	2	..

STATUS OF WOMEN

In the past women were able rulers and brave fighters. The status of women declined after the Muslim invasions when seclusion came into vogue as a measure of safety and protection. The practice continued thereafter among different caste as a mark of social prestige. But things have changed with the spread of education. Tattoo marks, heavy ornaments on hand and purdah are disappearing from the society.

For the advancement of women Government is taking interest and implementing various schemes for their social security. Now-a-days women have developed interest in business and service. They are also taking active part in various social and political activities.

In the rural areas of Ganjam, women, in addition to their domestic work, also help the male members in agricultural operations. They also earn independently by working as labourers. Rope making, basketry, leaf-plate making, pottery, laundry work, midwifery, cloth weaving, gathering of forest produce, particularly fuel bundles of small twigs from the neighbouring forest, in some cases 4 to 5 km. away from the main village-site for selling them in the nearest urban areas is a popular profession of poorer people of the district. While driving along a road one is struck by the rows of females hurtling along with loads of long fuel bundles on their head towards the selling centre. In the urban areas, stress and strain of modern life have forced some to work. There are some who out of their individual conviction seek employment. Many of the women are now serving as nurses, health visitors, lecturers, teachers, clerks, typists and are occupying positions of importance in public life. Regarding percentage of female workers and non-workers, 1981 census has recorded as follows :¹

	Percentage of	
	Total female workers to total female population	Female non-workers to total female population
Total	30.59	69.41
Rural	33.44	66.56
Urban	12.61	87.39

It is evident that the females, in general, are more dependant on the males in urban areas than in rural areas.

PROSTITUTION, DRINKING AND GAMBLING

Prostitution is a very ancient business and the district is not free from it. However, no open prostitution is practised in any of the places of the district. It is reported that some girls have taken up secretly this business at Keshpur and Rambha in Chhatrapur subdivision, Belaguntha in Bhanjanagar subdivision, Paralakhemundi in Paralakhemundi subdivision mainly due to their poverty.

1. District Census Handbook, Ganjam, 1981 Part—XIII B. p. 21.

In Brahmapur subdivision, 40 ladies were living on open prostitution at Bachubari Sahi and Redika Sahi under Brahmapur town. Since 1965 after their rehabilitation in other professions, there is no open prostitution.

There was an organised brothel in Hinjili town. In fact it continued even after prostitution was abolished and it is only for the last 8 years that it has been controlled. Prostitution in Belaguntha on the contrary has been thriving since the prostitutes are the regular kepts of the rich local businessmen. Belaguntha has approximately 25 prostitutes. Prosecution under the suppression of Immoral Traffic in Women and Girls' Act, 1956 is rare. There were organised brothels in Paralakhemundi town at Arogya street. There is no social or voluntary organisation working for rehabilitation of the prostitutes or for stopping this practice..

Gambling is not generally considered as an anti-social act. There are regular organised gambings during festive occasions. Educated people, industrialists and businessmen participate in gambling in the month of Aswina (September-October) every year. Many people are addicted to liquor. Police work for the eradication of these social evils by conducting raids and booking offenders under the existing laws. But conviction for offences like drunkenness and gambling is rare.

HOME LIFE

Type of houses

In the rural areas the houses of the villagers are usually mud-hut with thatched roof, the walls of which are plastered over with wet-clay or mud which becomes hard after exposure to sun and air. Sometimes they are of brick, and tiled. The houses are of row-type with common walls shared by two families, adjacent to each other. The village-site or Basti consists of two rows of houses with common Danda in between which is intercepted with a Choupadhi (community hall) or a temple. Owing to this closely knit row type houses and inflammable common roof fires are common during dry season when the whole village is gutted necessitating immediate widespread relief operation to alleviate distress of the affected people. The Danda in front of each house is also dotted with Khanis (underground storage for storing and parching paddy) where paddy is kept after the harvesting

seasons for about three to four months but again dug out before the rainy season to improve the taste of the foodgrain and to save the grains from pest attack. The accommodation consists of two or three houses at the back, small and badly ventilated (hardly any window is provided for) whilst the entrance or front part is reserved as a stall for cattle. The verandah outside is used as a place for gossiping and in the warm weather forms a convenient sleeping place with the simple addition of a rush mat. When the family is divided the division takes place longitudinally. Even when a piece of land is sold it is generally expressed in linear measure in terms of cubic (1.5 ft) and not in terms of square measure without any reference to breadth. In villages on the sea coast where the area abounds in palmyra trees, clusters of peculiar conical huts with very steep roof of palmyra thatch are a common sight. The constructions are so shaped so as to resist cyclones which is not infrequent in this district. Timber for beams, rafters and doors and bamboos for the roof frame and straw for the roof are the materials chiefly used for house building. The verandahs and the inside floors are plastered with mud and cowdung. Each house is provided with wooden doors and windows. In some houses windows are absent or small openings are left in the walls which serve as ventilators. The height of the roof is high yet entrances are invariably low, so low that it is not possible to enter a house without bending. In coastal areas low roofs are constructed only to have protection against strong wind and also to avoid high cost of construction required for high roofs. A few houses are seen with roofs made of tile, tin or asbestos.

There are also pucca buildings in the district. But the proportion is more in urban areas than in rural areas. Generally, persons having better financial condition construct pucca houses. The better houses are built on a high plinth with solid materials like brick, stone and cement. People now prefer concrete roofs as they are not only trouble-free but also long lasting. Buildings with these roofs also look decent. Most of these are double or triple storeyed. Most of the houses in the urban areas are now provided with Barpali or safety latrines, but until recently even pucca houses had no such latrines even in urban areas like Brahmapur or Chhatrapur and the latrines were open types called 'Pindi' latrines where faeces were visible at the time of easing until they are lifted by the sweepress the next day. The position has since improved as the Government are giving subsidy for conversion of such types of latrines to septic

latrines. Number of households having toilet facilities in the urban areas are given below according to the figures released in the Census of 1981.¹

Tenure status	No. of households	Toilet facility			
		Available		Non-available	
		No. of House-holds	Popula-tion	No. of House-holds	Popula-tion
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Owned ..	48,240	14,315	87,348	33,925	175,120
Rented .	23,445	10,880	54,235	12,565	56,175
Total ..	71,685	25,195	141,583	46,490	231,295

It is seen from the table that 64.85 per cent households are deprived of toilet facilities in urban areas of the district.

In the rural areas there is no toilet facility attached to individual houses of poor people. The people generally use the road side lands, tank-beds and other public places as community defecation ground. While driving along roads in Ganjam district in the evening one is struck by the spectacle of females defecating in groups on roadsides with bell-metal/aluminium pots (lota) with water put in front of them.

In the tribal areas low roofed houses are found in the midst of valleys or at the top of the hills. The houses are built in a row with common walls and a continuous roof. In some cases they are jumbled up here and there. There are also houses where no definite pattern is followed. Whatever may be the layout of the house the tribal people obtain all the materials needed for their houses from the neighbouring forests. The roof is of thatch and the walls are of wattle covered with mud. Many houses are surrounded by a neat bamboo wattle fence. All the houses make designs and use colours to make the house attractive. Regarding materials of roof, wall and floor, the figures released by the Census of India 1981 are given in Appendix VII of this chapter.

Owing to steep increase in the cost of timber and other building materials, the poor people are finding it difficult to construct a house. Government are constructing low-cost houses for the poorest of the poor belonging to the Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and freed bonded labourers in the rural areas. Keeping this in view "Indira Awas Yojana," has been formulated by the Government under the 20-point programme. This scheme is fully

1. Census of India, Orissa, Part VIII. A and B (ii), Household Tables, 1981, p. 53.

funded by the Central Government. It was taken up in a big way during 1985-86 after its announcement in the Parliament by the then Finance Minister in May 1985. "Under Indira Awas Yojana, 1,989 houses were provided to the Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and others in the district from 1985 to 1990.

Furniture, Utensils and Decorations

People use furniture for a comfortable living. They arrange furnitures according to their need, taste, status and capacity. In higher income group families, sofa sets in drawing room, dining table and chairs in dinning-room, bed-steads, almirah, tables, chairs and dressing table are generally seen. They also possess motor cars, scooters, television sets, radio sets, refrigerators, wall clocks, fans, telephone, grinder and pressure cooker as status symbols and for their necessity and comforts. People belonging to the low-middle and lower income groups remain content with wooden chair, table, bench, stool or cot of ordinary type and charpoy. A few people possess scooter, cycle and radio sets. Most of the families in tribal areas possess very little furniture. Invariably mats of date palm leaves are used by the people for sitting and sleeping.

Varieties of utility household articles and utensils are seen in every house of the district. People rear fowls and ducks and therefore, most of them keep 'uji' made of bamboo for covering the domesticated birds. Different types of bamboo baskets whose sides are plastered with cowdung are used for keeping grains and fish as well. Such baskets are also used for carrying fish to the market. 'Siura' is used for collecting cowdung and leaves. The winnowing fan is called 'kula' by some castes and communities. Others call it 'Cheta'. It is found in every house of the district. Most of the households have got wooden mortar and pestle for grounding paddy and ragi. It is called 'Rakali'.

One can also find a variety of earthen wares, brass, bell-metal, aluminium and steel utensils of different sizes in a household. In some houses glassware and china clay articles are also seen. In tribal area leaf cups and plates are used as utensils. They keep their clothes in bamboo basket or ordinary wooden box. Kerosene tin lamp called 'dibi' and lantern are used for light mainly in rural areas. In the interior, the people depend mainly on wood for light and fuel. Rural electrification has made progress in the district but few people have means to use electricity for domestic

purposes. However, 3184 villages have been electrified by the end of March 1990. It is also learnt from the OSEB (Orissa State Electricity Board) that 404 villages under ITDA Sub-plan area and 476 Scheduled Caste villages have been electrified.

So far as decoration is concerned, all the Hindus use *alpana* or *chita* in front of their houses. The walls of the dwelling houses are smeared with cowdung and sometimes with coloured earth or paste. Apart from *alpana* houses are also decorated with door and window screens, mirrors and flower post and door mats. Some of the house walls are also decorated with photographs, calendars and paintings bearing picture of deities, eminent leaders of the nation and film stars.

Dress

In the plain areas, men in all communities usually wear Dhoti and Kurta. The young men wear pants and shirts. Lungi and Gamuchha are used generally during leisure time at home. The women of all the communities wear saris and sometimes blouses and Sayas. Wearing of Shalwar and Kameez by the ladies is rare. Girls wear frocks. New ideas in dress are gaining popularity among the people.

In the tribal areas, the dress of the people is simple. They use cheap and coarse cloths. The people are generally scantily and shabbily dressed. The clothing of the females is limited like that of the males. Married women of the district veil their head as a custom.

As foot-wear, most of the people in the urban areas use shoes and slippers. The cheaply available Hawai slippers have become popular both in the urban and in the rural areas. The use of turban as headgear is not common, only labour class people use turban while they are in field. Among poor people *jhampi*, a palm leaf covering for the head and palm leaf umbrellas were commonly used for protection from sun and rain. But nowadays there is a growing tendency for the use of cotton umbrellas.

Ornaments

Regardless of caste or community, all women are fond of flowers and ornaments. Hindus, Muslims and Christians wear varieties of ornaments. Most of those are made of gold, silver, aluminum, brass, coloured glass beads and rolled golds. The design, size and weight of the ornaments have undergone changes from time to time according to the prevailing fashions and designs and also differ from one community to another. The ornaments used in the past were generally simple in style and heavy. But those in vogue at present are much lighter, refined and sophisticated in

designs. However, the principal ornaments used by the women in the district are Mathamani, Chaurimundi and Jharakathi for head; Tigi, Chandrahara, Pohalamali, Sorisiamali, Pasaperu, Kasuluperu, Sampathipasa, Khavala and necklace for neck; Cheramukamu, Bullak Adikami, Podugukamu, Notha, Guna, Dandi for nose; Nagului, Gulla, Kanakamulu, Tamalapaku, Bagadalu, ring top for ear; Modia, Kadialu, Ruli, Sankha, Chudi for hand; armet, Bahatada, Bahasuta for arm; Angaramu, Mudi for fingers; Godamudi, Tali for the toes; Paunji, Khadu for foot.

Ornaments on the toes are the symbol of married life and are removed only in the event of widowhood. Bangles are used by Hindu, Muslim and Christian women, rings made of gold and wrist watches are put on by many men and women of all the communities.

Generally the Kumuti and Sundhi women have in their possession good quantities of gold. They purchase and store gold and give much importance to it. In tribal areas women wear a very limited number of ornaments. These are mostly made of cheap metal and are generally purchased from the local markets. The married Kandha women can only wear earring but this is not the practice with the other communities.

Personal decoration

The married Hindu women put sinduratopa (Vermilion mark) on the forehead. Some of the Christian women also use Sindura Topa. Regardless of caste or community, girls now use Bindi to enhance the beauty of their face. Only on special occasions ladies apply collyrium to their eyes and Alta (red dye) on the contour of the foot. The women are very fond of turmeric. They generally smudge their bodies with turmeric paste and adorn their heads with flowers.

The men as well as women appear to be careful in coiffure. The men usually prefer short hairs. The adults generally shave themselves by using safety razors. For hair trimming and shaving they take the help of saloon. The women also comb their hairs daily but they tie their long hairs behind to form large knots. Some women oil the plaited hair and fix hairpins.

Modern cosmetics have reached to some extent in the tribal areas. They are using cream, powder, soap, Alta, nail polish and scented oil occasionally. Generally oil from Kusum and mahua seed is rubbed on the body and head before bath. The common type

of comb is made of bamboo or wood. Use of plastic comb is rare. The tribal girls, specially Kandhas, enhance their attractiveness by tattooing their faces and arms. Non-tribal girls do not like it.

FOOD AND DRINK

Rice constitutes the staple diet of the rich and middle class people. It is taken dry or soaked in cold water. The latter is called *pakhal*. Ragi is the staple diet of the poor. Fish curry is taken with rice more often than vegetable curry and Dal in coastal area. A type of pickle prepared from the juice of tamarind is taken with rice. Mango and lemon pickles are also popular among all classes of people. Sometimes Dhania or Podina Chatani is added as an item for taste.

Some people take *kanjee* which is prepared by boiling fine grains of rice and fresh or dried vegetables with slightly fermented water extracted from rice boiled on the previous night. This meal is supported with *sukua* (baked dried fish). Poor people prefer this food as it is cheap, tasty and provides protein.

Besides dry fish, sea fish and a particular variety of sweet water fish called Seula (ଶୈଳା) are popular especially among the working class in both urban and rural areas.

A few people use wheat. Well-to-do families like various savoury preparations of meat, fish, lobster, crab and egg. They also consume sweets, curd and *payas*. The consumption of milk and milk products is less in the district. People need it when sick. So is the case with fruits.

Besides rice and wheat, people also take ragi, *mandia*, *kodo*, *suan*, *bajara* and *jowar*. In between principal meals people usually eat *chuda* (flattened rice), *murhi*, (puffed rice) and *khai* (pop rice) as tiffin. The favourite snacks of the masses in urban areas are *dosa*, *idli*, *bara*, *singada* (samosa), *pakodi*, *Upama*, *halua*, *alu* or vegetable chops. However use of *chakuli*, prepared out of greengram and rice flour, is not uncommon.

Like the people of adjoining Andhra Pradesh, they have great liking for chilli. A person from north Orissa or north India finds it difficult in taking meals in hotels either in urban or in rural areas where a lot of chilli is mixed with curry. Challah (curd mixed with a lot of water) and Charu (a lotion prepared with tamarind and some condiments) are favourite supplements with meals. Besides, Sambar a mixture of curry with Dal added with Masala specially prepared for this is also favourite and common item served during breakfast, lunch, and dinner. The people generally prefer hot food. Turmeric and curd form the main ingredients of

several curry preparations. The staple food of the people in tribal areas is ragi, bajara and jowar. In addition, they not only eat the roots and tubers collected from the forest but also flesh of animals killed in the chase. Salapa liquor is a very favourite drink among the tribals besides Mahua liquor and Handia.

The common cooking media is groundnut and mustard oil. Refined and palmolin oil are also used. In tribal areas, people use *mahua*, *til* and *pesi* oil. Only on festive occasions people use *ghee*. Spices are used rarely by the poor people.

Tea and coffee drinking is common in the district but these are not popular in the tribal areas.

Smoking is a common habit, Telugu-speaking men and women usually smoke a long cheroot called *pika*. All the communities, irrespective of caste and creed, chew Pan. Some people are also addicted to opium, *ganja* and *bhang*.

Firewood from forests is used as the principal fuel in the district. Dried leaves are collected and stored specially for boiling paddy. Cow-dung is also made into balls or flattened and dried in the sun to be used as fuel. In addition to kerosene stoves, electric heaters and cooking gas, bio-gas (Gobar gas) is also used as fuel mostly in urban area. It is harmless and cheap. As such, it is gaining popularity in the district. Number of bio-gas plants installed are given below year-wise.

Period	No. of bio-gas plants installed
(1)	(2)
1984-85	206
1985-86	1,103
1986-87	401
1987-88	1,064
1988-89	1,524
1989-90	2,338
(up to October, 1990)	996

Like food, drinking water is also essential. People of the district collect it from well, tap, hand pump, tube-well, river, canal, tank and other sources. Number of households depending on such sources of drinking water are given below according to 1981 census¹.

Area	Total No. of households	Well	Tap
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Rural	452,420	281,115	9,089
Urban	71,685	26,340	34,390
Total	524,105	307,455	43,479

Area	Hand pump/ tube-well	River / canal	Tank	Others
(1)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Rural	10,405	57,315	86,195	14,850
Urban	2,610	1,800	4,915	1,630
Total	13,015	59,115	91,110	16,480

It is evident from foregoing table that people in rural areas depend largely on wells whereas in urban areas on tap for drinking water.

Impact of New Forces

While discussing the state of the family system earlier in this chapter, we had occasion to refer to the impact of agrarian changes on social life. The structure of society has undergone significant changes in the past few years. With the abolition of the zamindaris and the tiller of the soil becoming the owner, an almost revolutionary change in the class structure of the district has come about. This process has been greatly strengthened and accelerated by political changes, particularly universal adult franchise which has armed the common man with the vote. There is today in the district an acceptance of social equality and the sharing of opportunities which has somewhat eased village tensions and has emphasised the need for peaceful living. The zamindars also have disappeared as a class and tended to take to other professions and trades. The gradual easing of

1. Census of India, Orissa, Part. VIII-A & B (ii) Household Tables, 1981, pp. 192-193.

the caste system (with its rigid notions of high and low) has also greatly added to the transformation of a feudal and ascriptive society into a more egalitarian structure.

COMMUNAL LIFE

Communal life of an area is always associated with its culture. The district which constituted a significant part of the ancient Kalingan empire is well known for its rich culture that includes folk dance, music, theatre, art and crafts. The evolution of some of these aspects of culture finds mention in the chapter XV "Education and Culture". The following is an account of the folk dances and art and crafts of the district.

Communal Dances

Folk dances were generally patronised by the rulers as well as by the affluent sections of the society for centuries. Even today most of the villages in the district have Akhadās which maintain the musical instruments and equipments and serve as the place of rehearsal organised by the locally recruited Gurus. These Gurus often move from village to village. Efficient Gurus are felicitated with *Kundalas* and *Pattavastras* for their contributions to the folk dances of the area. Some of the important folk dance forms of the district are as follows.

Daskathia

Ganjam is famous for 'Daskathia' which is the most indigenous form of ballad singing in Orissa. It owes its name for "Daskathia" (also called Ramtali), a pair of castanets or wooden clappers, the playing of which accompanies the singing. They are not hollow, but solid and resonant, fitted with a bunch of tiny ankle-bells. The clappers are held in the left hand with the forefinger in between to keep them apart and played by the right hand with the thumb pressing the upper clapper with a jerk to strike the bottom one. While singing, the singers keep the time-beats with the clappers and sometimes work out various uncanny rhythms of percussion instruments. Experienced singers often play two pairs of clappers simultaneously in both the hands and prove their skill and dexterity.

The Daskathia group consists of only two persons, a singer and his assistant. The refrain of each couplet is repeated by the assistant known as *Palia*. In between the singing of the ballad the *palia* questions the singer pertaining to the theme in simple prose dialogue and the singer answers through the songs or in prose form. By this, the musical narration becomes more explanatory to the common village audience. Intermittently the *palia* also sings doggerels and banter to provide enough comic relief. Both the singer and the *palia* not only sing, they enliven the performance with unsophisticated dramatic actions and simple dancing.

All the ballads mostly have episodes from the great epics of Ramayana and Mahabharata. The metres of composition generally conform to the mediaeval tradition known as Chhanda, Choutisa and Chaupadi. Set to traditional tunes the ballad singing has a peculiar charm of its own. The compositions are mostly chosen from those of medieval poets who flourished between fourteenth to eighteenth centuries A. D.

The Daskathia singers mostly belong to Ganjam district where most of the well-known Oriya poets of medieval period flourished. Generally the traditional singers come from the community of lower Brahmins who plough the land and are debarred to take part in the traditional ritual services. Now a days there are singers from other communities also. Throughout the length and breadth of the state during the fair-weather days they move to earn their livelihood. Their performances are usually held in mid-street or in somebody's courtyard, in temple precincts according to the nature of patronage. They also take part in T. V. programmes.

Of all the singers of the tradition, late Gayakaratra Baidyanath Sharma was the most popular and famous. For his unique style of presentation he had owned many laurels in and outside the state. He has greatly influenced the present group of singers.

Chadheiya Nacha

This dance pattern is peculiar to this district. Chadheiya means bird-catcher who makes a living by catching birds and selling them. An improvised pattern of the Chadheiya dances is performed in Danda Nacha. The difference is that in the "Danda Nacha" the Chadheiya and the Chadheyani (wife of the Chadheiya) appear on the scene and the couple sing ballad in praise of Lord Siva and Goddess Parvati while in the Chadheiya dance feminine character is absent. Moreover, it is a group dance comprising six or more Chadheiyas and is built up of the theme of a hunting expedition of the Chadheiyas. The colourful dress pattern and the unique body movement of the dancers synchronising with the music emanating from the Dholki keeps one spell bound. The dance which starts slowly gains momentum and the dancer's steppings and body movement grow quicker and quicker till the audiences are thrilled with excitement.

Danda Nacha

"Dandanacha" is the earliest form of folk dance that is based on religious traditions of the worship of Lord Siva and Goddess

Kali. The devotees who participate in the ritual part of Danda Nacha are called Rushiputras. They undergo physical sufferings and lead disciplined lives in order to appear in the drama by pleasing Siva and Kali. Although found in some places outside the district, this folk dance is better organised and has a mass appeal only in Ganjam. It has a greater attraction to the rural people than any other form of folk dance mainly because of its religious appeal. The ritual part of Danda Nacha is quite interesting as all types of people irrespective of caste considerations participate in it. Some scholars are of the view that this folk dance had its origin in the Buddhist era. The Rushiputras or devotees hail mostly from the backward communities. They make use of traditional instruments like Dhol, Mahuri, Jhanja and Ghanta. Although the theme of this folk dance is quite old, the prevailing shape of it has been given by a number of persons like Anand Chandra Kabichandra, Neelambar Misra, Anand Bhuyan and Neelakanth Patnaik.

The Danda Nach teams move from village to village either for 13 or 21 days and complete their tour on the Mesa Sankranti (or Meru Sankranti day in the month of April). The course of action of this folk dance has undergone changes in recent days when some element of modern open theatre have been added to the traditional devotional performances through Chadheya, Chadheyani, Sabara and Binakar. Although found in various parts of the district, the teams of Danda Nacha that hail from Dharakot, Kulada and Khemundi have earned reputation for their excellence. This dance is widely found in Ghumusar (Bhanjanagar) Subdivision.

Ghoda Nacha

This is a colourful dance which is performed especially by the fishermen community during the fullmoon day of the month of Chaitra (March-April). It is also performed on other occasions. It is said that Lord Rama rewarded the ferryman who ferried him across the river Saraju with a horse. Since that time they worship the horse. They also worship goddess Baseli on this occasion. This dance is usually performed by three characters the horseman, the Raut and the Routani. An image of horse except the head is built up with bamboo strips and is decorated with coloured cloth pieces. The painted head is fixed thereafter. The horse dancer enters the cock pit of the horse frame and the frame is hung in a manner which gives an illusion of a man riding on the horse. The Raut is the main singer commentator while the Routani in the role of his wife joins as co-singer and dancer. The dance is made lively with improvised dialogues and humourous episodes. The tempo of the dance of the Routani and the horse dancer increases to the tune of the Dhol and Mohuri.

Ghoomra Dance

Ghoomra is a typical earthen drum resembling a pitcher, the mouth of which stems out like a cylinder and is covered with the skin of a snake. During Durga Puja and other important festivals the folk dancers, each hanging a Ghoomra on the shoulders and playing vigorously on it, dance in festive mirth and enjoyment. While dancing they work out various rhythmic patterns.

Ghuduki Nacha

The youths like this dance very much for its pleasant music and song. The instrument that accompanies this dance is prepared out of the gourd or hollowed wood into which a string is tied. Two or three dancers dance to the rhythm of this musical instrument.

Kandhei Nacha

The Kandhei Nacha or puppet dance is prevalent in many parts of the district and is popular among the children. The peculiarity of this dance is that the dancers are puppets. The performer remains in the background and narrates mythological stories by moving the puppets in a fine string. He does it with such skill that the puppets appear to be moving and dancing on their own accord. This form of dance is acclaimed even outside the country.

Kandha Dance

The life in Kandha society is full of dance and music. They compose their own songs relating to love, marriage and harvest. The girls sing and dance by joining hands and form a circle during the dance. They bind white cloth as uniform on their waists. The boys sing with the girls and move forward and backward and go round the circle with the rhythm of music.

Kela Nacha

The reference to Kela Nacha which has developed in Ganjam as a household circus of the Kela community has been found in the literature of Kabisamrat Upendra Bhanja. It is fast vanishing due to lack of patronage. The male participants in this circus play drums and exhibit masculine feats whereas the female participants climb on the top of bamboo and display difficult acrobatic feats. These rural circus teams used to survive in some important rural centres like Hinjilicut and have completely disappeared for want of patronage.

Paik Nacha

The folk dance of the standing army (Paiks) of bygone days in tune with war drums is a common scene in many parts of Ganjam. The dance survives in the shape of Badinacha

or Khandanacha. The Paiks who participate in such dances hold swords and sticks and display several feats of mock fighting. Bhagaban Sahu of Narendrapur near Brahmapur participated in the India Festivals organised abroad with his Paika Nacha troupe. He has reformed the dance and has skillfully trained youths to stand on sticks and dance in tune with drums.

Ranapa dance

Ranapa literally means a stilt. The dance on the stilts is prevalent among the cow-herd communities of southern Orissa. The young village dancers standing on the stilts dance with utmost ease to the accompaniment of Dhol and Mahuri (wind instruments). Songs relating to the boyhood exploits of Lord Krishna are also sung intermittently.

Shri Bhagaban Sahu of Narendrapur with his party presenting this item has dazzled many spectators in and outside the state on ceremonious occasions.

Sakhi Nacha

Numerous troupes of "Sakhi Nacha" or *sangeet* parties each of which consists of a vocal instructor-cum-string player, two or three rhythm players and about half a dozen dancing boys first came up in important centres of the district mainly to display the rich lyrics of Kabisamrat Upendra Bhanja. The poet, who is also known as Sangeet Samrat, himself used to organise such dancing teams under his supervision. Sakhi Nancha troupes which received the financial support of the rulers moved to the remotest corners of the district performing mostly the Odissi songs composed by medieval poets like Upendra Bhanja and Kabisurya Baladev Rath along with solo and group dances. But the number of such parties at present is fast dwindling due to lack of patronage. The audience of "Sakhi Nacha" is quite selective and includes mostly the younger sections of people who show greater interest in romantic songs and dances. Although most such teams include boys for the purpose of singing and dancing, there are a few teams which include girls too. The participants dance while singing Champu, Bhajans and Choutishas in chorus.

Saora Dance

The Langia Saora dance is held only on festive occasions and marriages. They do not dance frequently like the Oraon, Kisan and Santa. However, in their society people irrespective of age and sex dance to the tune of the musical instruments. At a time they move forward and backward. The dress and ornaments of

the dancers are attractive. The male dancers use coloured clothes as turbans to which white feathers of fowl are fixed. Similarly the females wrap coloured cloths round their chests and hold peacock plumes in their hands. The male dancers generally carry swords and sticks, and blow whistles. Their dance which is more religious in nature is never accompanied by songs. But they have songs which they sing while working in the field.

Tiger dance (Bagha Nacha)

Tiger dance (Bagha Nacha) is an imitative dance of the animal among the tribal people. Now it is performed as a folk dance in this district. It is associated with the ritual festivals of the Mother Goddess, Durga, who also rides on a lion. The dancer is surrounded by a group of *changu* players who encourage him to dance. The body of the dancers are painted bright in yellow and black in a striped pattern to give the look of the coat of a leopard.

ARTS AND CRAFTS

Paintings depicting mythological characters, wild life, Ras Leela, war processions, Jagannath and Balaram with the milk-maid Manik are commonly noticed on the walls of royal palaces, temples, Akhda ghar and Osakothi houses throughout the district. With the spread of Vaishnava faith, pictures of Kirtana parties of various musical instruments like *mrudanga*, *table jhanja*, *kahali* and of Shri Chaitanya dancing and chanting the glory of the Lord were prominently displayed in every household. The folk dance parties generally include painters who paint the different participating characters. In the famous Thakurani festivals at Brahmapur, Purusottampur, Chhatrapur, Kabisuryanagar and Pitala, one can enjoy the sight of people dressed as mythological characters and jokers. On religious occasions like Dasahara, Laxmipuja, Kartika Purnima and Gamha Purnima *alpana* is drawn by womenfolk. The rulers of different estates used to patronise the Chitrakaras engaged to beautify the palaces and temples. The famous Chitrakabya Bandhodaya by Kabi Samrat Upendra Bhanja contains hundreds of pictures drawn on palm leaves. Poet Kabisurya Baladeb has portrayed the heroine Chandrakala as a painter who painted the picture of her mother. The eminent artists of this century, who have added new dimensions to Orissa painting, are Sarat Chandra Deb and Laxmi Narayan Acharya. An art school was founded by Sarat Chandra Deb at the Chikiti House of Brahmapur in 1950. When the first College of Art and Craft was set up at Khallikot, Shri Deb was appointed its Principal.

1. Dr Prahallad Panda, Culture of Ganjam District, Souvenir XV Indian Social Science College, Brahmapur University, 1990.

Ganjam has a rich tradition of crafts promoted mostly by the goldsmiths and weavers. The silk industry of Brahmapur has enjoyed great reputation for centuries. The Dera community, who are at present preparing silk clothes (Pata), were brought to Brahmapur by the rulers of Mahuri much before the coming of the East India Company. Places like Belaguntha and Kabisuryanagar have become famous for their flourishing metal works. Brass and horn works of the district constitute an important export item of the country. There was a time when portable sundials were made in places like Manjusha and Badagad, with financial support from the rulers. Interestingly, many of these crafts are still produced today even though royal patronage has ceased with the abolition of zamindari.

FAIRS AND FESTIVALS

Fairs and festivals are important not because of the religious bias attached to their observance but the happy diversions they bring into the monotony of the daily routine life. These are the occasions of mirth in the community. Many of the festivals usually mean a holiday when all appear in their best. Apart from traditional worship of the deities and ancestors, good food, drinking of wine, singing and dancing are the high-lights of almost all the festivals. In Hindu society some festivals are observed jointly and others individually in the households as prescribed in the Oriya almanac.

Like Hindus other religious communities have their own festivals. Members of one community greet their neighbours and friends belonging to other communities on such occasions. Some important festivals of the district are described below:—

Baruni Snana

The Baruni Snana is observed on the 13th day of the dark fortnight in the month of Chaitra (March-April), if it happens to be a Saturday or Satvisa Nakshetra. If the day happens to be both, Saturday and Satvisa Nakshetra, then it is called Mahabaruni *joga*. On the day of Baruni or Mahabaruni thousands of people take their holy dip at Asika in the confluence of river Rushikulya and Bada Nadi. Some people also take dip in the sea.

Bhagabat Mela

It is observed during the bright fortnight in the month of Baisakh (April-May). At Bhagabat ghar of the village the Oriya Bhagabat is worshipped and read in the evening.

Chandan Jatra

The Chandan Jatra is observed at many places in the district. It starts from Akshya Trutiya, the third day of the bright fortnight in the month of Baisakha (April-May) and lasts for 21 days. In some places it is celebrated for 5 days. On this occasion the deities are taken in boats every evening for cruise.

Danda Parba

This is a famous festival of Bhanjanagar subdivision. It begins on an auspicious day in the first week of April and ends on the Meru or Mesa Sankranti. On this occasion Lord Siva and her consort Parvati are worshipped. The Danda of Galleri village under Bhanjanagar Community Development Block and Kuladagada village under Seragad Community Development Block are noteworthy.

Dasahara

Dasahara is celebrated throughout the district during the bright fortnight in the month of Aswina (September-October). Generally Durga Puja continues for four days from Saptami upto Dasami. The celebrations reach climax on Dasami which is called Vijaya Dasami. Clay idols of Goddess Durga are made and worshipped in many places in the district of which celebrations held at Brahmapur, Parlakhemundi, Hinjili and Rambha deserve special mention. Worshipping of the clay idol of Durga during Dasahara was first introduced by the Bengalee settlers in Brahmapur town of the district in the early part of forties of the century.

Durga Puja is also celebrated with due pomp and ceremony at several Shakti Pithas in the district of which Goddess Narayani near Khalikot, Ramachandi of Chikiti, Mahisamardini of Rambha, Tara Tarini near Purusottampur, Thakurani Pitha of Purunapatna near Paralakhemundi, Byaghra Devi of Kulada, and Bhairabi Pitha of Mantridi near Brahmapur are important.

Dasahara has a special significance to the warrior caste. The members of the caste worship their weapons of war and exhibit physical feats on the occasion.

Dola Jatra

This festival is usually celebrated from the day of Phalguna Dasami to Phalguna Purnima (February-March). In some places it is observed from the next day of Phalguna Purnima to Chaitra Krishna Panchami. On this auspicious occasion the images of Radha and Krishna are carried on in a decorated *Biman*. People offer prayer and *Bhoga* to the deities. This is a main festival of the people belonging to Gauda caste. They worship the cow and play *Naudi*

(a play with stick) by singing songs relating to Radha and Krushna. Holi (sprinkling of coloured water) is also observed on the day following Purnima. At Chhatrapur, Ganjam, Gopalpur, Kodala, Pitala, (Hinjili P. S.), Phasi (Kodala P. S.), Bododumula (Nuagan P. S.), Toladi (Tarasingi P. S.), Alasugumana (Buguda P. S.) and Paralakhemundi, Dola is observed on a grand scale. A large number of people congregate at these places to witness the festival.

Ganesh Chaturthi

On the fourth day of bright fortnight of Bhadrab (August-September), the birth of Ganesh is celebrated. This elephant-headed God of wisdom and prosperity is a popular deity of the Hindus. Known by many names, he is widely worshipped as Vighneshwara, the remover of obstacles. For this he is propitiated at the start of any work or ceremony. His birthday is celebrated all over the district.

On Ganesh Chaturthi, the clay idol of the God is installed. It is kept for a day or two or more according to the will of the worshippers. Whatever may be the period, the idol is worshipped until it is ceremoniously immersed in rivers, canals or tanks. This festival is also observed with great enthusiasm in educational institutions and commercial establishments.

Apart from temporary Pujā Mandapas, there is a Ganesh Temple at village Panchma under Brahmapur Sadar police-station. As one of the Panchadevatas, Panchama Ganesh attracts thousands of devotees on festive occasions.

Janhi Osha

This ritual is found among the Oriyas. It is observed by the unmarried girls and is performed throughout the month of Aswina (September-October). The devotees take vegetarian diet all through the month of Aswina. They are not required to observe fasting. They also abstain from taking ridge gour (Janhi) during this period. In the evening the devotees assemble near Brundavati with offerings. The altar is decorated with ridge gour flowers and an earthen lamp is kept burning there until the ritual is over. One of the devotees reads out the mythological text that deals with the significance of this ritual and after this oblation is offered to the deity Brundavati. The devotees disperse after partaking of the sacred oblation. This is repeated every evening throughout the month. The ritual is aimed at obtaining suitable life-partners.

Janmastami

The festival, celebrated in honour of the birthday of Lord Sri Krushna, is known as Janmastami. It is held on the 8th day of the dark fortnight of Savan (July-August). The people congregate on the

Sri Krushna temples and listen to Haribansa, the holy book, which deals with the birth of Lord Sri Krushna. Many devotees observe fast and break it after Puja.

Jhulan Jatra

The Sravana Purnima (full-moon day in the month of July-August) is known as Gamha Purnima. It is observed as the birth day of Balaram, the elder brother of Lord Sri Krushna. On this day not only cultivators but also others worship cow and ox. They also worship the agricultural implements and bullock carts. Special attraction of Gamha Purnima is Jhulan Jatra or the Swing Festival of the deities Radha-Krushna. It is observed from Dasami at many places in the district to Purnima particularly with great pomp at Paralakhemundi.

The other name of Sravan Purnima is Rakhi Purnima. On this sacred day after bathing, the sister ties Rakhi on her brother's wrist, offers him sweets and recites few lines for the well-being of brothers. The brother accepts the bond and returns the honour with a gift.

Kartika Purnima

Kartika is a sacred month. Many Hindu devotees especially older women and widows take one vegetarian meal a day before sun-set. They take their bath early in the morning, go to temple for Darshan of the deities and return home to listen Kartika Mahatmya, a religious book. Every evening a lighted lamp called Akashdipa is suspended on a high pole. This is done in order to show light to the ancestors who are invited to home in this month. In olden days these posts served as light houses for the Oriya traders who return to their home after months of maritime trade in foreign lands.

The last five days of the month is called *panchuka*. Many people observe it in austerity and take on vegetarian diet.

The distinctive feature of the celebration of the festival on the full-moon day is that in the early morning people after taking their holy dip in the rivers, canals or tanks, float tiny boats made of the under-layer of banana plants or pith with lighted lamps fixed to them. Flowers, betel leaf, areca-nut are placed on that boat. While floating the boats the people sing Aa Ka, Ma, Vai-song. The floating of the boats is supposed to be done in memory of the past maritime activities of the Oriyas who sailed to Java, Sumatra, Borneo, Bali, Ceylone (Shri Lanka) and Burma for trade. At that time a number of ports in Ganjam district were active.

Kartika Purnima is also known as Rasa Purnima. On this day Rasa Leelas are performed. People, specially followers of Vaishnavism, take part in Sankirtan.

Kumar Purnima

On the day of Kumarpurnima the unmarried girls do fasting. They worship the rising moon before the Tulasi Chaura. Bhoga offered to the full-moon is called Chanda. Unmarried girls also establish friendship by offering *chanda* to each other and call each other by that name. The *tulasi chaura* is decorated by the girls with various floral designs in different coloured powders (Muruja) on the occasion. The girls sing songs typical to the occasion and play *puchi* which is a kind of frolicking game. Family members generally put on new clothes. The whole night is relieved with song, dance and merry-making by the people. Now a days, varieties of performances and other cultural programmes are being organised on the occasion., mostly in the urban areas.

Most of the householders from young and old participate in friendly gambling with money to mark the occasion. For three days before the Purnima, people indulge in gambling with Pasa, Hata pancha, play with *cowries* as stakes, culminating in the all night gambling on the full-moon day.

Magha Purnima

Magha Purnima or Agira Purnima usually falls in January-February when winter usually begins to subside. On this occasion people worship Agni, the Fire God. People gather bamboos, wood and straw in a place at the end of the village road crossing and set fire to them after offering prayer and *bhoga*.

Makar Sankranti

This festival commences in the month of Magha (January-February) and marks the entrance of the Sun into the house of capricorn. In other words, from this day, the Sun starts moving from the Tropic of Capricorn northwards, and thus the Sun's winter solstice (୧୩/୧୩) comes to an end. The Hindus believe that if a person dies during summer solstice (୧୩/୧୩) it would be easier to get a berth in the heaven.

Makar Sankranti as harvest festival is celebrated joyously. People gather in the Siva temple and worship. They also exchange Makar Chaula (a mixture of til, molasses, Arua chaula, pieces of coconut and peanuts) on this occasion as a token of good relationship.

The Telugu people residing in the district observe this festival as Pongal. This three-day festival is the biggest event of the year for them. On this occasion the Sun is worshipped. On the third of this three-day festival, coins are bathed. Turmeric and Kumkum are applied to these coins.

Mana Basha

This is observed on every Thursday of the month of Margashira (November-December) by the Hindu housewives with a view to obtaining material prosperity. Goddess Lakshmi, the presiding deity of wealth and prosperity is propitiated on this day. The deity is represented by the newly harvested grains kept in a measuring unit (basket). The term *Mana* connotes measuring basket. Usually the eldest lady in the family observes this *osha* as long as she is able and when she is unable to continue, she relinquishes the observance of the Osha usually in favour of her eldest son's wife. The lady who observes ritual reads the Lakshmi Purana. Among the offerings to the deity, cakes prepared out of the newly harvested crop are considered obligatory. As a convention the offered food is distributed only among the members (Sapindas) of the family. The lamp is allowed to burn continuously from the beginning to the end of the Puja. The discontinuation of burning is considered as an evil sign. The outsiders are not allowed to see the Mana. The walls and the floors of the house are decorated with Alpana or Jhoti. On the last Thursday the Puja is culminated with rice, cakes, Khichri, Payas etc. The Puja lasts from morning till night.

Nrushinha Chaturdasi

This festival usually occurs on the 14th day of bright fortnight in the month of Baisakh (April-May). The devotees throng to the temples of Nrushinhanath to worship the God. It is observed ceremoniously at Paralakhemundi, Hinjili, Belaguntha, Hundata and Baunsia (Purusottampur P. S.).

Maha Bishuba Sankranti or Pana Sankranti

The Maha Bishuba Sankranti is held on the first day of Baisakh (April-May). On this occasion people offer Chhatua made of wheat or gram and Pana (drink made of cold water, gur, pepper, bhang, ripe banana, cheese, etc), to the deities. Pana is an important item of this day. It is relished by all. Hence the other name of Maha Bishuba Sankranti is Pana Sankranti.

From 23rd March the sun moves from equator to Tropic of Cancer. As a result, the heat of the sun-rays begins to increase. This helps to dry the sources of water. Offering of water to the wayfarers during this part of the year is treated as a noble work. To quench the thirst of the passengers, from this day for a period of one month up to Brusha Sankranti, religious persons offer water on the road side. Hindus on this day construct temporary sheds under the Chaura in which Tulasi (holy basil) plants are worshipped. They hang an earthen pot having a small hole at the bottom. After

bath they pour water in the pot everyday. Water falls drop by drop every day on the plant for the whole month. Hence the other name of this Sankranti is also Jala Sankranti (ଜଳସଂକ୍ରାନ୍ତି).

From this Sankranti, the speed of the wind begins to increase. To get relief from wind and fire, people worship Hanuman, the son of wind god. People observe Hanuman Jayanti to propitiate him.

Naga Chaturthi

Women worship the images of Naga and Naguni (male and female serpents) near an ant-hill on the fourth day of the bright fortnight in the month of Kartika (October-November) in order to protect the family members from snake bite. The cultivators revere Naga (cobra) as it protects the crops by killing the rats. They worship snake as Khetrapala.

Raja

This is an agricultural festival in the district observed for three days, i. e., from the last day of the month of Jyaistha (May) called Pahili Raja upto the 2nd day of the month of Asadh known as Bhuindahan or Bhumidahan. The first day of the month of Asadh is called Raja Sankranti. Mother Earth is supposed to be Rajaswala or under menstruation for these three days and all agricultural operations like ploughing, digging, sowing, etc., are suspended for the period. In Hindu households, cooking is stopped on the first and the 3rd day of the festival and girls are forbidden to walk on earth with bare feet for these three days. The day preceeding Pahili Raja is observed as the day of preparation for the festival. Various kinds of dishes, *pitha* or rice cakes and sweets are prepared. Raja is chiefly a festival of feasting and merry-making. The young girls enjoy the days on swing and sing songs. The festival ends on the day following Bhumidahan when Mother Earth is given a ceremonial bath. This is called Basumati Snana.

Rama Navami

Rama Navami is observed on the ninth day of Chaitra (March-April) in memory of the birth day of Lord Sri Rama, the celebrated hero of the Ramayana. Rama and Krishna are universally regarded as divine incarnations of Vishnu and are the most popular gods of the Hindus. Temples dedicated to these deities are centres of congregation for worship in the district. On this occasion devotees read Ramayan, the holy book, and arrange religious discussions on Lord Sri Rama.

Ratha Jatra or Car festival

The Ratha Jatra of Lord Jagannath is held on the second day of the bright fortnight in the month of Asadha (June-July). The three deities Jagannath, Balabhadra and Subhadra are brought from the main temple and placed in the chariots. After *Chherapahanra* ceremony, the Rathas (Cars) are drawn by devotees. The spectacular procession starts from the main temple to the Gundicha Ghar. After a stay at Gundicha Ghar the deities are carried back on the chariots to the main temple on the ninth day. This return Jatra is called *Bahuda Jatra*. This famous Ratha Jatra of Lord Jagannath is observed at Chhatrapur, Khallikot, Hinjili, Brahmapur Gopalpur, Belaguntha, Sorada, Asika, Paralakhemundi, Ramagiri, R. Udayagiri, Jarada, Buguda, Kodala and many other places in the district. The devotees pass the day by singing Jagannath Bhajans and Jananas. Every Hindu household also observe this festival by worshipping Lord Jagannath, Balabhadra and Subhadra in their homes.

Saraswati Puja

Saraswati Puja is celebrated throughout the district on the Magha Sukla Panchami (January-February) with usual gaiety and enthusiasm. The people decorate the image of Saraswati, the Goddess of Learning with flowers and worship it. Children wear new dresses on the occasion. In many homes children are initiated to the alphabet known as Bidyarambha. Students observe the festival with austerity.

Savitri Vrata

Savitri Vrata is observed by the Oriya Hindu married women on the Amabasya of Jyestha (May-June) in honour of Savitri who is believed to have brought her husband back to life by dint of her devotion, loyalty and love for him. Married women observe this fast in order to seek heavenly blessings for the long happy life of their husbands. Those who observe it take bath early in the morning, put on new clothes and observe fast until afternoon when the ritual is completed. The ritual is usually performed in homes and occasionally in the temple. At least seven different varieties of fruits and peeled Mung are offered to Savitri. After the ritual the sanctified fruits are distributed among relatives and neighbours.

Sivaratri

Sivaratri festival is observed in all the Siva temples on the 14th day of the dark fortnight in the month of Phalguna (February-March). The devotees observe fast the entire day and remain awake throughout the night to worship Lord Siva. At midnight a lamp called Mahadipa is taken to the top of the temple and is kept burning throughout

the night. The devotees break their fast after darshan of the Mahadip, This festival is observed with great pomp and splendour in all the Siva temples of the district.

Sital Sasthi

From the day of Sivaratri it is believed by Hindus that Siva starts meditation keeping himself away from all amorous. This meditation ends when he marries Parvati in the Jyestha Sukla Panchami (May-June). As it is associated with the cooling of desire this auspicious day is known as Sital Sasthi.

Thakurani Jatra

Thakurani Jatra of Brahmapur is an ancient one. It is held every alternate year. The Jatra is celebrated on the occasion of Thakurani going to her father's house. The actual date of inception of this Jatra is not known. But it is learnt from a legend that during the reign of Mohuril Raja, Desa Behera, the head of the Dera (Pata weavers) community once on Tuesday midnight in the month of Chaitra saw a girl with dishevelled hair and black Sari. She was crying. Enquired, the girl told "I was going to my fathers house but lost the way". At this Behera told "I am like your father, stay at my house to-night. In the morning you will go away". Hearing this the girl went towards a bush and vanished. He searched for the girl but to no avail.

Like every other day, the next day, Desa Behera went to the Thakurani temple with some flowers for worship. When he placed the flowers on the head of Thakurani, they all dropped to the floor. Surprised, he tried again and again only to meet his failure. In order to know the cause he prayed to the Thakurani. At last, he heard an oracle, You were worshipping me previously. But from yesterday you have become my father. Being a daughter, how can I accept worship from you? He became apprehensive that Thakurani would remain unworshipped. Realising Desa Behera's apprehension, Thakurani Mahamaya told, "I will not remain unworshipped. Whoever comes upon your return journey first, ask him to worship me". And the man whom Desa Behera met first was a Bhandari (barber by caste). Being pleased, he asked Thakurani Mahamaya "Is it my last visit to you? No, I am your daughter. Once in every two years you call on me, I will go to your house and stay there for some days," said Thakurani. From that day Thakurani is coming to her father's house with much pomp and show. This sojourn is popularly known as Thakurani Jatra. Ceremonial invitation of Thakurani marks the beginning of the Jatra. Preliminary preparation for the Jatra takes place on Sivaratri day. On an auspicious day the heads of the Dera community

observe fasting. In the evening they assemble in the main temple and invite Thakurani. Desa Behera and his wife, after performing (rituals at home, take garland prepared from "etela flowers" (ଉଡ଼ିକା) in a *changuda* (basket made of from bamboo splits) in a procession to the main temple of the Thakurani. The garland is placed on the head of the deity. People of Bhandari caste usually worship the deity. After the worshipping is done, that garland is brought to the place of Jatra by the Desa Behera. Near his residence a temporary altar is constructed for the purpose. That garland is worshipped there. From the third day that garland is kept in a decorated *ghata* (earthen pot) and worshipped. With the main pot, other eight pots are also worshipped as side deities. From the day of *ghata* Puja every night from eight to ten Thakurani is taken in a procession. The main pot or *ghata* is carried on head by the wife of the Desa Behera and the remaining eight *ghatas* by the wives of the heads of the Dera community. These nine women take only offered food to Thakurani during the Jatra period. Every day the *ghata* is taken in a procession first to the residence of the Mohuri raja and then on to the main roads of Brahmapur specially to those areas inhabited by the Dera community. On the last day of the Thakurani Jatra the *ghata* is taken to the main temple of the Thakurani. On this day any woman who has anything in mind to get as a boon from the goddess joins the procession. About fifteen thousand women with *ghata* participate in the grand procession.

Other attractions of the Jatra in Brahmapur are the demonstration by men with fancy dresses. Entertainment programmes are also arranged by the villagers. Besides, different types of Rathas (cars) and Kalakunjas (exhibition of mainly different gods and goddesses made of clay depicting mythological episodes) are organised for display. According to tradition, about 25 Rathas are prepared. The name of the Rathas are Ramchandra, Laxman, Nagarjuna, Narayan, Kali, Bana Durga, etc. The parts of the Rathas are preserved for the next festival and are used again by repainting with attractive colours. Colossal images of the deities with 20 to 25 ft. in height are prepared and placed on the Rathas.

During the Jatra, some people decorate themselves by applying different colours and move on the streets of Brahmapur. They do so as part of votive offering to the Thakurani. Mainly they are dressed like tiger, Krishna, Ramchandra, Hanumana, Babaji (Saint), etc. Processions are also arranged on behalf of different villages. People of Bijepur area take "Buddham Saranam Gachhami",

procession in which hundreds of people dressed like "Buddha Bhikhu" take part. Similarly "Nanak" procession of Balua Sahi, "Circus programme" of Balaji Pentha Sahi and "Akhada" programme of some Sahis (villages) attract visitors.

Ugadi

The Ugadi or new year's day of the Telugu community is observed on the full-moon day of Chaitra (March-April). On this occasion a great deal of rejoicing, merry-making and feasting takes place amongst them. Everybody puts on new clothings. Houses are nicely decorated with powders, festoons and screw pine leaves and twigs. On this day everyone tastes, before taking the principal meal, a special semi-liquid preparation called *pachadi* which is prepared with new tamarind, jaggery, coconut, condiments and margosa flowers. The significance of mixing bitter margosa flowers with sweets is apparently to enable people to realise and reconcile to the hard fact that life on earth is a mixture of joys and sorrows.

On this day people usually visit temples and shrines to seek divine blessings and to have a noble conscience. Sweets and other eatables are sent to relatives, friends and neighbours as a gesture of good will. Those who can afford to also feed the poor and needy people.

RECREATION

Leisure and recreation are essential for life. People of the district in general are religious minded and usually gather in temples to offer their prayer to the almighty God mainly during leisure hours. They get mental peace and satisfaction. They also meet at a common place where the priest recites and explains from the religious text like Bhagabat, Mahabharat, Ramayan, Haribansa and other Puranas. Singing Bhejan, Kirtan and other devotional songs accompanied with musical instruments like Khanjani, Gini, Mrudanga or harmonium is also another popular form of entertainment especially in the rural areas.

Different festivals and other social functions round the year never leave people in want of mirth. The rural people also enjoy folk performances like Danda Nacha, Paika Akhada, Daskathia, Kandhei Nacha, Sakhi Nacha, Bagha Nacha, Ghuduni Nacha, Ranapa Nacha, Chaiti Ghoda Nacha, Chadheiya Nacha, Prahalad Natak, Ram Leela, Krishna Leela, Radha Prema Leela and Bharat Leela. In addition to these, people also get pleasure in tribal dances. Occasionally acrobatic feats, monkey dance, bear dance and snake charming performed by itinerant professional groups also provide entertainment to the people.

In tribal areas the bachelors of a village sleep in bachelors' dormitory at night. It is the oldest community centre. Here they spend the evening beating drums, dancing and singing. Sometimes girls and older folk join them. The bachelors talk among themselves, exchange experiences and discuss the problems they face in their day-to-day life. Hunting, fishing, cock-fighting and archery competitions also provide opportunity for recreation.

For educational and recreational facilities Government have supplied 978 radio sets / transistors which have been distributed in four subdivisions of the district.

In urban areas cinema is a common source of entertainment. In the district there are 34 cinema houses which include 14 in Brahmapur subdivision, 7 in Chhatrapur subdivision, 5 in Bhanjanagar subdivision and 8 in Paralakhemundi subdivision. Besides cinema, visiting circus and theatre parties also provide entertainment to the people. Exhibitions are arranged by the Government to enlighten the people about the progress made in different fields.

There are a number of clubs and associations located at Brahmapur, Chhatrapur, Asika and Bhanjanagar which provide entertainment to the people by organising various cultural programmes, sports and athletic meets. To popularise games and rural football tournaments are conducted by the District Athletic Association. Brahmapur. This Association conduct All India Fieaz Tournament every year to encourage playing of football and also to promote team spirit.

Narayani, Nirmaljar Singhasini Taratarini. Chilika. Aryapali sea beach in Chhatrapur subdivision. Budhakhol (Buguda) and Balipadar (Stag sanctuary) in Bhanjanagar subdivision, Gandahati waterfall, Mahendragiri and Serang Micro Project area in Paralakhemundi subdivision ; Gopalpur-on-sea and Taptapani in Brahmapur subdivision are some of the well-known tourist centres and picnic spots in the district. A large number of students and people visit these places for sight-seeing and picnic. Russelkonda (Bhanjanagar) reservoir is a picturesque spot which attracts visitors.

Hotels and restaurants in urban areas are also places for social gathering and amusement. At Brahmapur, Gopalpur Chhatrapur, Bhanjanagar, Paralakhemundi and Asika, there are good hotels and restaurants.

APPENDIX-I

List of castes*

Brahmins

1. Telugu Brahmins	..	ତେଲୁଗୁ ବ୍ରାହ୍ମଣ/ଆନ୍ଧ୍ର ବ୍ରାହ୍ମଣ
2. Oriya Brahmins	..	ଓଡ଼ିଆ ବ୍ରାହ୍ମଣ/ଉତ୍କଳ/ବ୍ରାହ୍ମଣ
3. Hindustani Brahmins	..	ହିନ୍ଦୁସ୍ତାନୀ ବ୍ରାହ୍ମଣ
4. Bengali Brahmins	..	ବଙ୍ଗାଳୀ ବ୍ରାହ୍ମଣ
5. Gujrati Brahmins	..	ଗୁଜୁରାଟୀ ବ୍ରାହ୍ମଣ
6. Maharatta Brahmins	..	ମହାରାଷ୍ଟ୍ର ବ୍ରାହ୍ମଣ
7. Carnatic Brahmins	..	କର୍ଣ୍ଣାଟକ ବ୍ରାହ୍ମଣ
8. Dravida Brahmins	..	ଦ୍ରାବିଡ଼ ବ୍ରାହ୍ମଣ

Kshatriyas

1. Kshatriyulu	..	କ୍ଷତ୍ରିୟ
2. Khonduvalo	..	ଖଣ୍ଡୁଓଲ
3. Katrautu	..	କଟ୍ଟାଉଟ
4. Bhayipuo alias Santo (illegitimate)	..	ଭୟପୁଅ ପତରୁକୁ
5. Rowtara	..	ରଉଟରା
6. Maghee	..	ମାଗି
7. Rajputs	..	ରାଜପୁତ

Vysias

1. Gavara Komatlu	..	ଗୌରକମ୍ପୁଟି
2. Kalinga Komatlu	..	କଳିଙ୍ଗ କମ୍ପୁଟି
3. Kanchura Komatlu	..	କାଚୁରା କମ୍ପୁଟି
4. Guzarati Komatlu	..	ଗୁଜୁରାଟୀ କମ୍ପୁଟି

Sudras

1. Telaga	..	ତେଲଗାଲୁ
2. Adivelama	..	ଆଦିବେଲମଲୁ
3. Baligi	..	ବାଲିବାଲୁ
4. Bodiredlavallu	..	ବୋଦିରେଡ଼ିଆଲୁ
5. Ayyaralu	..	ଆୟାରାଲୁ
6. Perike	..	ପେରିକାଲୁ
7. Akulavallu	..	ଆକୁଲାଆଲୁ
8. Ralla Balji	..	ରାଲାବାଲିକାଲୁ

*Ganjam District Manual by T. J. Maltby, 1918, pp. 244—251.
(With corresponding Oriya words in place of Telugu)

9. Gajula Balji	..	ଗାଜୁଲବାଲିଜୀଲୁ
10. Linga Balji	..	ଲିଙ୍ଗବାଲିଜୀଲୁ
11. Modalari	..	ମୋଦଲରି
12. Pillalu	..	ପିଲୁଲୁ
Kapulu	..	କପୁଲୁ
1. Velama	..	ଭେଲମଲୁ
2. Belema	..	ବେଲିମା
3. Yanadi Velama	..	ୟାନାଦିଭେଲମଲୁ
4. Kamma	..	କମ୍ମଲୁ
5. Bosontia	..	ବସଣ୍ଟିୟା
6. Kalinji	..	କାଲିଜିଲୁ
7. Kalingalu	..	କାଲିଞ୍ଜିଲୁ
8. Nunia	..	ନୁଣିଆ
9. Kolata	..	କୋଲଟା
10. Reddika	..	ରେଡ୍ଡିକା
11. Vupperialu	..	ଭପୁଆ
12. Kapavallu	..	କାପୁ
13. Gajulakapulu	..	ଗାଜୁଲକାପୁ
14. Tudu Kapulu	..	ତୁଡୁକାପୁ
15. Kampo	..	କାମ୍ପ
16. Doluva	..	ଡଲୁଆ
17. Potia	..	ପୋଟିଆ
18. Oodiya	..	ଓଡ୍ଡିଆ
19. Banayita	..	ବଣୟିତା
20. Molosupodia	..	ମୋଲସୁପୋଡ୍ଡିୟା
21. Bolasi	..	ବୋଳାସି
22. Alia	..	ଆଲିୟା
23. Aruva	..	ଆରୁଓଧାଲୁ
24. Kudumo	..	କୁଡୁମୋ
Golla	..	ଗୋଲା
1. Golla	..	ଗୋଲାଲୁ
2. Yerragolla	..	ଏରଗୋଲାଲୁ
3. Mekalagolla	..	ମେକାଲଗୋଲାଲୁ
4. Kakustagolla	..	କାକୁଷ୍ଟଗୋଲାଲୁ
5. Gowdu	..	ଗୌଡ଼
6. Apola Gowdu	..	ଅପୋଲଗୌଡ଼

7. Battuva Gowdu	.. ଭଦ୍ରା ଗୌଡ଼
8. Sollokhondia Gowdu	.. ସେଲୁକେଣ୍ଡିଆ ଗୌଡ଼
9. Gowdu Halisi	.. ଗୌଡ଼ ହଲସି
Panchananam	.. ପଞ୍ଚାନନୁ
1. Kamsali	.. କଂସାଳି
2. Asari	.. ଆସାରି
3. Rampakari	.. ରମ୍ପକାରି
4. Kammari	.. କମ୍ମାରି
5. Kanchari	.. କଞ୍ଚାରି
6. Ashttalohi	.. ଅଷ୍ଟଲୋହି
7. Sunnari	.. ସୁନାରି
8. Badayi	.. ବଡ଼ାଇ
9. Korti	.. କର୍ଟି
10. Muli	.. ମୁଲି
11. Pothiria	.. ପଥରିଆ
12. Khodra	.. ଖଡ୍ରା
13. Tambra	.. ତମ୍ବରା
14. Kundara	.. କୁନ୍ଦରା
15. Ostali	.. ଓଷାଳି
16. Sonkari	.. ସଂକାରି
17. Kavusia	.. କାବସୁଆ
18. Jaura	.. ଜାଉରା
19. Lohura	.. ଲହୁରା
20. Bonia	.. ବଣିଆ
21. Komsari	.. କଂସାରି
Dandra	.. ଦେଣ୍ଡୁକୁଳ
1. Devangulu	.. ଦେଓଖାଙ୍ଗୁଳୁ
2. Dendra	.. ଦେଣ୍ଡଓଖାଙ୍ଗୁ
3. Pattusali	.. ପାଟୁସାଳିକୁ
4. Sali	.. ସାହିଳୁ
5. Kaikalu	.. କାଳିକୁଳୁ
6. Ranguni	.. ରଙ୍ଗୁଣୀକୁ
7. Tonti	.. ତନ୍ତୀ
8. Koli	.. କଲୀ
9. Dera	.. ଡେରା

Karanalu

1. Sistu Karanam
2. Bomma Karanam]
3. Boyicia Karanam
4. Madjula Karnam
5. Balaga Karanam
6. Odiya Karanam
7. Mohanty

- ... କରଣ
- .. ଶିଷୁ କରଣ
- .. ବନାଜି କରଣ
- .. ଦେଶ୍ୟ କରଣ
- .. ମାଡୁକୁଳ କରଣ
- .. ବଲଗା କରଣ
- .. ଓଡ଼ୁ କରଣ
- .. ମହତ

Pujaries

1. Dammulavallu
2. Jakkulavallu
3. Ravulo
4. Mali
5. Muni
6. Jani
7. Sipiti

- .. ପୂଜାରୀ
- .. ଦାମୁଲ ଓୟାଲୁ
- .. ଜାକୁଲ ଓୟାଲୁ
- .. ରେବ
- .. ମୌଳୀ
- .. ମୁନି
- .. ଜାନୀ
- .. ସିପିଟି

Kummari

1. Kummari
2. Kumbharo

- .. କୁମ୍ଭାର
- .. କୁମ୍ଭାରି
- .. କୁମ୍ଭାର

Vupparlu

1. Vuppara
2. Vaddari
3. Matti

- .. ଉପାରୁଲୁ
- .. ଉପାରୁଲୁ
- .. ଓୟାତାରି
- .. ମାଟିଆ

Mangallu

1. Mangali
2. Bhondari

- .. ଉଣ୍ଡାରି
- .. ମଙ୍ଗାଲି
- .. ଭଣ୍ଡାରି

Chakally

1. Chakali
2. Sukladhari
3. Dhoba

- .. ଧୋବା
- .. ଶୁକାଲି
- .. ଶୁକୁଧାରୀ
- .. ଧୋବା

Meela

1. Pallevallu
2. Vadavallu
3. Yedivadavallu
4. Meela
5. Jalari

- .. ମୀଲୁଲୁ
- .. ପଲ୍ଲଓୟାଲୁ
- .. ଓୟାତାଓୟାଲୁ
- .. ଏଡ଼ିଓୟାତାଓୟାଲୁ
- .. ମୀଲଓୟାଲୁ
- .. ଜାଲରିଓୟାଲୁ

6. Khandra	.. ଶଶରାଓ୍ୟାଲୁ
7. Kevutu	.. କେଉଟ
8. Tiyaro	.. ଚୟରୋଓ୍ୟାଲୁ
9. Nolia	.. ନଲିୟା
10. Khotuya	.. ଖଟୁୟା
Sondi	.. ସଂଣ୍ଡି
1. Gamallu	.. ଗମାଲୁ
2. Segidi	.. ସେଗିଡ଼ି
3. Yatavallu	.. ଏତାଓ୍ୟାଲୁ
4. Sondi	.. ସଂଣ୍ଡି
5. Siolo	.. ସ୍ୟାଲୋ
Telukulavallu	.. ତେଲି
1. Deva Telukulavallu	.. ଦେଓତେଲ
2. Telukulavallu	.. ତେଲୁକୁଲାଓ୍ୟାଲୁ
3. Telli	.. ତେଲି
Others	.. ଅନ୍ୟାନ୍ୟ
1. Bondili	.. ବନ୍ଦିଲି
2. Gudia	.. ଗୁଡ଼ିୟା
3. Darji	.. ଦର୍ଜି
4. Rangrizu	.. ରଂଗ୍ ରିଜୁ
5. Pitabalji	.. ପିଟାବାଲଜି
6. Nagarapuvallu	.. ନଗରପୁଓ୍ୟାଲୁ
7. Battraju	.. ବାଟ୍ରାଜୁ
8. Mutharachavallu	.. ମୁତରାଚଓ୍ୟାଲୁ
9. Summialu	.. ସୁମ୍ମିୟାଲୁ
10. Vatra	.. ବତ୍ରା
11. Chamdayitya	.. ଚଣ୍ଡୟିତ୍ୟା
12. Neyyalavallu	.. ନେୟିଲାଓ୍ୟାଲୁ
13. Kurakulavallu	.. କୁରକୁଲାଓ୍ୟାଲୁ
14. Gavaravallu	.. ଗଓ୍ୟାରଓ୍ୟାଲୁ
15. Pondra	.. ପନ୍ଦର
16. Pachilia	.. ପଚିଲିୟା
17. Togarlu	.. ତଗରୁ
18. Tohoro	.. ତହାରୋ
19. Satani	.. ସତାନୁ
20. Dasari	.. ଦାସରୁ

21.	Jogulavallu	..	ବୋଗୁଲୁଆଳୁ
22.	Jangum	..	ଜଂଗମା
23.	Viramushtivallu	..	ଭୀରମୁଷ୍ଟିଆଳୁ
24.	Senkudasari	..	ଶଂକୁଦାସରି
25.	Bukkavallu	..	ବୁକ୍କାଆଳୁ
26.	Singamvallu	..	ସିଂଗମଆଳୁ
27.	Vipruavinodulu	..	ବିପ୍ରବିନୋଦୁଲୁ
28.	Ranjavallu	..	ରଂଜାଆଳୁ
29.	Kalukuntlavallu	..	କାଲୁକୁଟାଆଳୁ
30.	Pichakuntlavallu	..	ପିଚାକୁଟାଆଳୁ
31.	Bommalatavallu	..	ବମ୍ମାଲାତାଆଳୁ
32.	Kumbhakalisavuddillu	..	କୁମ୍ଭକଳିଶବୁଦ୍ଧୀଳୁ
33.	Pondito	..	ପଣ୍ଡିତୁଆଳୁ
34.	Katkarivallu	..	କାଟ୍ଟକାରିଆଳୁ
35.	Nagaswaramvallu	..	ନାଗସ୍ଵରମଆଳୁ
36.	Pamulavallu	..	ପାମୁଲାଆଳୁ
37.	Bandangivallu	..	ବାନ୍ଦଙ୍ଗିଆଳୁ
38.	Yeetivallu	..	ୟିଟିଆଳୁ
39.	Dommaravallu	..	ଡୋମାରଆଳୁ
40.	Neravidiavallu	..	ନେରାବିଦିଆଆଳୁ
41.	Gardivallu	..	ଗାରୁଡ଼ିଆଳୁ
42.	Ketikapulavallu	..	କାଟିକାପୁଲାଆଳୁ
43.	Ponnadilu	..	ପୋନାଡ଼ୀଳୁ
44.	Dasi	..	ଦାସୀଳୁ
45.	Gudesetti	..	ଗୁଡ଼ିସେଟି
46.	Nagavamsamvallu	..	ନାଗବଂଶଆଳୁ
47.	Sanulu	..	ସାନୁଲୁ
48.	Bojunapuevallu	..	ବୋଜୁନାପୁଆଳୁ
49.	Kurmapuvallu	..	କୁରମପୁଆଳୁ
50.	Drare	..	ଡ୍ରାରି
51.	Godugulevallu	..	ଗୋଡ଼ୁଗୁଲେଆଳୁ

52. Medarivallu	.. ମେଦାରୀଓ୍ୟାଲୁ
53. Tollari	.. ତୋଲାରୀ
54. Magura	.. ମାଗୁରା
55. Mochi	.. ମୋଚି
56. Chitrakari	.. ଚିତ୍ରକାରୀ
57. Potrasunia	.. ପାତ୍ରସୁଣିୟା
58. Jalagadugulavallu	.. ଜାଲଗଡୁଗୁଲାଓ୍ୟାଲୁ
59. Dudekulavallu	.. ଦୁଦେକୁଲାଓ୍ୟାଲୁ
60. Tulabhena	.. ତୁଲାବେଣା
61. Bolidia	.. ବଲଦିଆ
62. Bolidhiatelli	.. ବଲଦିଆତେଲି
63. Bouddhia	.. ବୌଦ୍ଧିଆ
64. Hayegudia	.. ହାୟଗୁଡ଼ିଆ

Hill people

	.. ପାହାଡ଼ିଆମାନେ
1. Pittalavallu	.. ପିଟାଲାଓ୍ୟାଲୁ
2. Gytalu	.. ଗୟିତଲୁ
3. Yanativallu	.. ଯାନାଟିଓ୍ୟାଲୁ
4. Jatapuvallu	.. ଜଟାପୁଓ୍ୟାଲୁ
5. Khandilu	.. ଖଣ୍ଡାଲୁ
6. Gullavallu	.. ଗୁଲାଓ୍ୟାଲୁ
7. Agarlu	.. ଅଗରୁ
8. Boyulu	.. ବୋଲୁ
9. Gadabalu	.. ଗଦବାଲୁ
10. Sabaravallu	.. ଶବରଓ୍ୟାଲୁ
11. Savara	.. ଶବର
12. Jara Savra	.. ଜରଶବର
13. Kapa Savra	.. କାପା ଶବର
14. Avisa Savra	.. ଅଭିଶା ଶବର
15. Sudda Savra	.. ସୁଦ୍ଧ ଶବର
16. Jennalu	.. ଜେନାଲୁ
17. Tekkali Savra	.. ଟେକାଲି ଶବର

18. Yerakalavallu	..	ଏରୁକାଲପ୍ୟାଲୁ
19. Pano	..	ପାଣ
20. Kondo	..	କୋଦୁଲୁ
21. Sonno kondo	..	ସାନ କୋଦୁଲୁ
22. Bado Mondo	..	ବୋଡ଼ୁ କୋଦୁଲୁ
23. Buda Kondo	..	ବୁଡ଼ା କୋଦୁଲୁ
24. Sankara	..	ସଂକର
25. Lodderajulu	..	ଲଡ଼େରଜୁଲୁ
Pariahs	..	ପଞ୍ଚାଲୁଲୁ
1. Relli	..	ରେଲି
2. Mala	..	ମାଲା
3. Madiga	..	ମାଦିଗା
4. Arisa Mala	..	ଅରିଶମାଲ
5. Gosangy	..	ଗୋସଂଗି
6. Maladasari	..	ମାଲାଦାସରି
7. Paidi	..	ପୈଡ଼ି
8. Arisa Paidi	..	ଅରିଶପୈଡ଼ି
9. Godari	..	ଗୋଡ଼ାରି
10. Boya	..	ବୋୟା
11. Chadara Boya	..	ଚଦରାବୋୟା
12. Suddakulastulu	..	ସୁଦ୍ଧକୂଳସ୍ତୁଲ
13. Sunnapuvallu	..	ସୁନୁପପ୍ୟାଲୁ
14. Dombo	..	ଡ଼ିମ୍ବ
15. Pano Dombo	..	ପାଣ ଡ଼ିମ୍ବ
16. Sani	..	ସାନି
17. Ghasi	..	ଘାସି
18. Bavuri	..	ବାଭରି
19. Jaggili	..	ଜାଗିଲି
20. Chachadi	..	ଚାପଡ଼ି
21. Dandasi	..	ଦଣ୍ଡାସି
22. Arisa Dandasi	..	ଅରିଶ ଦଣ୍ଡାସି
23. Chitra Ghasi	..	ଚିତ୍ରଘାସ
24. Samontya	..	ସମଂଟିୟା
25. Haddee	..	ହାଡ଼ି
26. Muchi	..	ମୁଚି

APPENDIX-II

Population of Scheduled Castes of the
district

(1981 Census)*

Sl. No.	Name of the Scheduled Caste	Population		
		Males	Females	Total
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
1	Adi Andhra ..	407	560	967
2	Amant, Amat ..	120	131	251
3	Badaik ..	295	299	594
4	Bagheti, Baghuti ..	319	298	617
5	Bajikar ..	21	16	37
6	Barik ..	1610	1865	3475
7	Basor, Burud ..	1	..	1
8	Bauri ..	42594	46383	88977
9	Bavuri ..	1	1	2
10	Bedia, Bejia ..	81	72	153
11	Belder ..	2	2	4
12	Bhat ..	28	27	55
13	Bhoi ..	206	242	448
14	Chakali ..	53	50	103
15	Chamar, Mochi, Muchi, Satnami	1926	1943	3869
16	Chandala ..	47	41	88
17	Chandhal, Maru ..	3	2	5
18	Cherua, Chhelia ..	20	12	32
19	Dandasi ..	23183	25173	48356
20	Dewar ..	82	76	158
21	Dhanwar ..	2	..	2
22	Dhoba, Dhobi ..	42451	44766	87217
23	Dom, Dombo, Duria Dom	3319	3760	7079
24	Dosadha ..	3	3	6
25	Ganda ..	8	3	11

*Census of India, Orissa, Part. IX (ii), Special Tables for Scheduled Castes, 1981, pp. 694—747.

Sl. No.	Name of the Scheduled Caste	Population		
		Males	Females	Total
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
26	Ghantarghada, Ghantra	389	358	747
27	Ghasi, Ghasia ..	327	371	698
28	Ghogia ..	..	1	1
29	Ghusuria ..	131	120	251
30	Godari ..	2	3	5
31	Godra ..	3	4	7
32	Gokha ..	79	80	159
33	Gorait, Korait ...	1	1	2
34	Haddi, Hadi, Hari ..	12981	13121	26102
35	Irika ..	83	92	175
36	Jaggali ..	1510	1708	3218
37	Kandra, Kandara ..	3730	3741	7471
38	Karua ..	15	11	26
39	Katia ..	4	..	4
40	Kela ..	220	200	420
41	Khadala ..	14518	16300	30818
42	Kodalo, Khodalo ..	23	24	47
43	Kori ..	10	13	23
44	Kummari ..	160	179	339
45	Kuriunga ..	5	2	7
46	Laban ..	2	3	5
47	Laheri ..	46	35	81
48	Madari ..	541	570	1111
49	Madiga ..	267	293	560
50	Mahuria ..	10	14	24
51	Mala, Jhala, Malo, Zala	1122	1191	2313
52	Mangan ..	1	1	2
53	Mehra, Mahar ..	92	93	185
54	Mehtar, Bhangi ..	1	..	1
55	Mewar ..	2	..	2

Sl. No.	Name of the Scheduled Caste	Population		
		Males	Females	Total
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
56	Mundapotta ..	445	457	902
57	Nagarchi ..	27	25	52
58	Namasudra ..	4	3	7
59	Painda ..	282	278	560
60	Pamidi ..	20	19	39
61	Pan, Pano ..	24,904	24,955	49,859
62	Panchama ..	8	8	16
63	Panika ..	1	1	2
64	Panka ..	5	3	8
65	Pantanti ..	83	60	143
66	Pap ..	1	3	4
67	Patial, Patikar Patratanti, Patua.	314	330	644
68	Rajna ..	16	12	28
69	Relli ..	823	894	1,717
70	Samasi ..	4	2	6
71	Sanei ..	36	31	67
72	Sapari ..	15	7	22
73	Sauntia, Santia ..	10,983	11,233	22,216
74	Sidharia ..	14	24	38
75	Siyal ..	872	814	1,686
76	Tamadia ..	1	3	4
77	Tania ..	76	75	151
78	Tiar, Tlor ..	2,042	2,094	4,136
79	Turi ..	1	..	1
	Total ..	194,783	206,333	401,116

APPENDIX-III

**Population of Scheduled Tribes of the district
(1981 Census)***

Sl. No.	Name of the Scheduled Tribe	Population		
		Males	Females	Total
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
1	Bagata ..	15	15	30
2	Baiga ..	1	..	1
3	Bathudi ..	3	3	6
4	Bhottada, Dhotada ..	..	1	1
5	Bhuiya, Bhuyan ..	126	112	238
6	Bhumia ..	95	92	187
7	Bhumij ..	90	83	173
8	Bhunja ..	3	1	4
9	Binjhal ..	..	1	1
10	Binjhia, Binjhoa ..	1	..	1
11	Birhor ..	7	4	11
12	Chanchua ..	5	5	10
13	Dharua ..	2	..	2
14	Gadaba ..	6	4	10
15	Gond, Gondo ..	194	154	348
16	Ho ..	2	2	4
17	Holva ..	3	2	5
18	Jatapu ..	288	272	560
19	Kandha Gauda ..	186	161	347
20	Kawar ..	1	2	3
21	Kharia, Kharian ..	9	2	11
22	Kharwa ..	2	1	3
23	Khond, Kond, Kandha, Nangulia Kandha, Sitha Kardha	31,189	32,659	63,848
24	Kisan ..	23	24	47
25	Kol ..	2	2	4

* Census of India, Orissa, Part—IX (ii), Special Tables for Scheduled Tribes pp. 480-513.

Sl. No.	Name of the Scheduled Tribes	Population		
		Males	Females	Total
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
26	Kolah Loharas, Kol Loharas ..	33	37	70
27	Kolha ..	6	7	13
28	Koli, Malhar ...	376	351	727
29	Kondadora ..	268	259	527
30	Kora ..	4	2	6
31	Korua ..	4	2	6
32	Kotia ..	3	2	5
33	Koya ..	41	31	72
34	Lodha ..	56	66	122
35	Madia ..	3	1	4
36	Mahali ..	32	29	61
37	Matya ..	327	295	622
38	Munda, Munda Lohara, Munda Mahalis ..	55	71	126
39	Mundari ..	5	10	15
40	Omanatya ..	106	130	236
41	Oraon ..	16	11	27
42	Paranga ..	17	14	31
43	Paroja ..	47	35	82
44	Pentia ..	4	2	6
45	Santal ..	83	55	138
46	Saora, Savar, Saura, Sahara ..	33,632	35,569	69,201
47	Shabara, Lodha ...	55,343	57,277	1,12,620
48	Sounti ...	845	816	1,661
49	Tharua ..	..	1	1
	Total ...	123,955	129,079	253,034

APPENDIX-IV

**Statistics of cases of atrocities on Scheduled Castes and
Scheduled Tribes and cases under the Protection
of Civil Rights Act 1955**

Scheduled Castes

Year	Reported	Charge- sheeted	Final Report	Pending investi- gation	Convi- cted	Acqui- tted	Pending Trial
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
1985	.. 25	19	6	..	..	5	14
1986	.. 20	19	1	..	..	4	15
1987	.. 28	23	5	..	2	1	20
1988	.. 49	38	11	..	..	2	36
1989	.. 44	37	5	2	..	3	34

Scheduled Tribes

1985	.. 1	..	1	..	..	..	..
1986	.. 2	2	..	..	..	2	..
1987	.. 2	2	..	..	..	1	1
1988	.. 9	7	2	..	..	4	3
1989	.. 4	4	..	..	..	..	4

P.C.R. Act.

1985	.. 8	8	..	..	1	3	4
1986	.. 7	6	1	..	..	1	5
1987	.. 4	4	..	..	..	..	4
1988	.. 8	5	3	..	..	..	5
1989	.. 6	5	1	..	..	..	5

APPENDIX V

Number of wills registered in the district. *

Year	No. of wills registered
(1)	(2)
1971-72	453
1972-73	543
1973-74	465
1974-75	553
1975-76	527
1976-77	520
1977-78	511
1978-79	563
1979-80	590
1980-81	660
1981-82	712
1982-83	677
1983-84	734
1984-85	763
1985-86	649
1986-87	618
Total:	9,538

* District Registrar, Ganjam, Chhatrapur

APPENDIX-VI
Statistics of Dowry cases on Homicide, Suicide and Dowry Torture cases of the district

HOMICIDE CASES

Year	Rep.	CS	FRT	MF/ML	Non. Con.	False	P. I.	Con.	Acq.	P. T.
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)
1985	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1986	2	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	..
1987	3	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	..
1988	4	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	3
1989	5	2	1	..	..	..	2	..	..	2

SUICIDE CASES

1985	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1986	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..
1987	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
1988	4	3	..	..	..	..	1	..	2	1
1989	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1

DOWRY TORTURE CASES

1985	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1986	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
1987	5	4	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	3
1988	17	16	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	15
1989	6	4	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	4

Materials of wall	Urban Rural/ Total	Total house-holds	Materials of roof							All other materials and material not stated
			Grass Leaves, Reeds, Thatch, Wood, Mud, Unburnt bricks or Bamboo	Tiles, slate, shingle	Corru-gated Iron, zinc of other metal sheets	Asbestos cement sheets	Brick, Stone, Lime	Stone	Con-crete RCC	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)
All materials of floor										
6. Galvanised sheets or other metal sheets	U	105	5	10	25	35	10	..	20	..
7. Stone	R	225	30	40	30	25	55	..	20	25
	U	225	140	5	10	25	20	..	25	..
	R	10,325	8,720	315	140	670	75	5	280	120
8. Cement concrete	U	760	25	85	20	60	125	..	425	20
	R	1,545	95	150	100	270	160	..	710	60
9. All other materials and materials not stated.	U	80	15	..	..	..	..	..	5	60
	R	715	200	15	10	10	5	..	5	470
10. All materials ..	U	71,685	33,475	12,075	4,375	6,970	1,465	110	11,920	1,295
	R	4,52,420	3,62,625	27,050	10,370	12,245	4,285	205	31,420	4,220

(concl.)