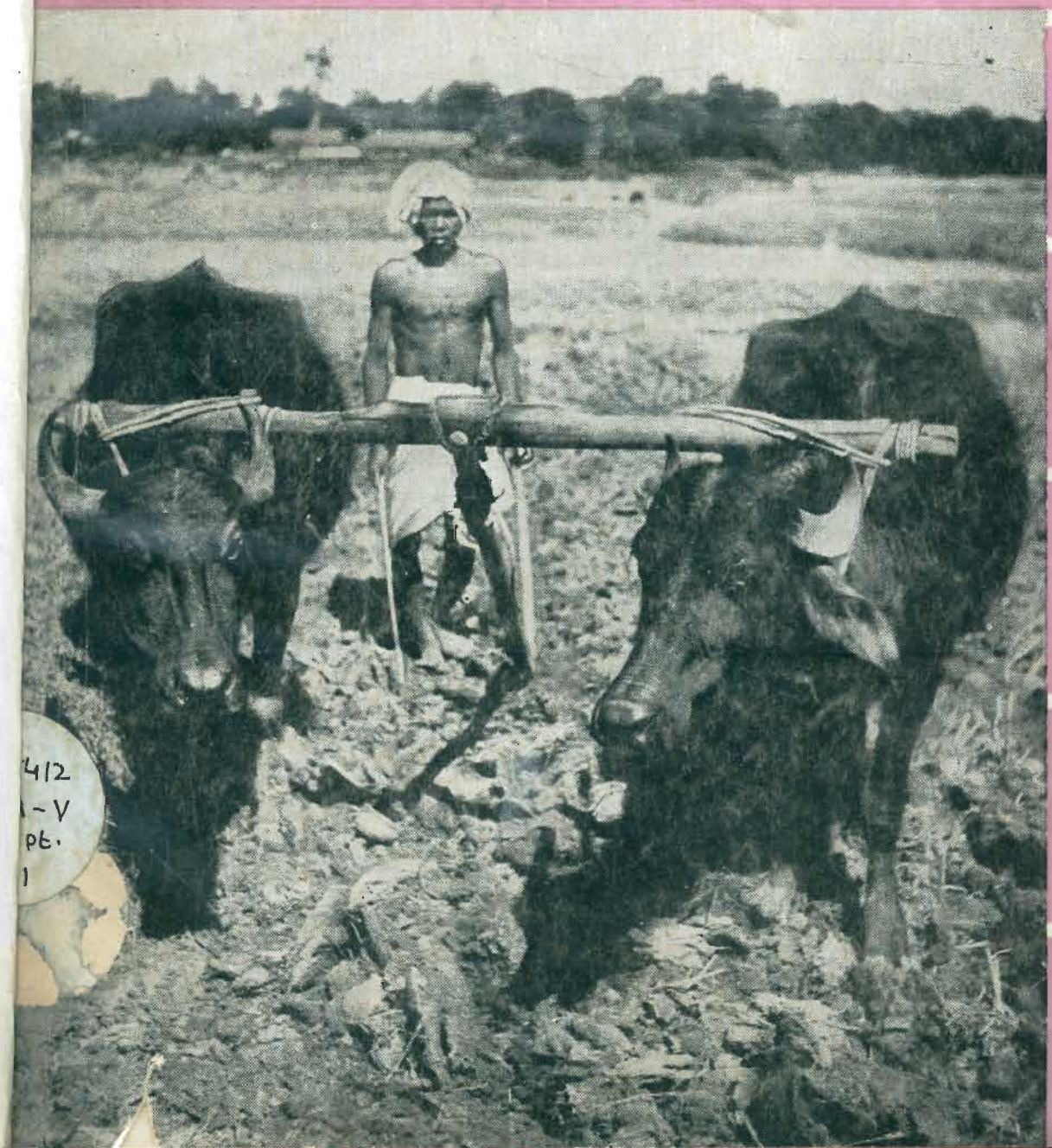
CENSUS OF INDIA 1961

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GHAGHRA

A VILLAGE IN CHOTANAGPUR

Bihar



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L.P. VIDYARTH

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CENSUS OF INDIA 1961

MONOGRAPH

NO. 3

MONOGRAPH SERIES

GHAGHRA

A Village in Chotanagpur

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FOREWORD

Towards the end of November 1961, a letter was addressed to several distinguished social scientists in India inviting their attention to the Registrar General's programme of Socio Economic Survey of about 800 villages in the next few years. While explaining the scope and content of this Survey for each village, the letter extended an invitation to the distinguished scholars to take up one or two villages for study in greater depth on which they could bring to bear their experience and knowledge. The letter proposed to offer each social scientist the services of a qualified investigator whose remuneration and travelling expenses would be paid for by the Registrar General's office. A participating author was invited to keep the broad purposes of the Survey in view but adopt his own research design and investigation schedules This office further offered a small honorarium to the scientist himself Each report would be published by the Registrar General's office in the name of the author as a separate monograph.

It was very heartening to receive almost an immediate response from Dr. L. P. Vidyarthi on the 28th November of 1961, acclaiming the offer and offering to study two villages, one on the hills and the other on the plains, preferably in Bishnupur Police Station of Ranchi District This office wrote back to Dr. Vidyarthi to suggest that as the primary emphasis of the present project was on a micro-study of social and economic processes in a village, he would be welcome to take up one village for investigation. It was suggested to him that in addition to his own area of investigation, he might like any of the following topics for special study in that village:—

(a) The network of *Jajmani* relationships in the village and trends of modern changes,

(b) Extent of occupational and spatial mobility and its impact on the community life of the village;

(c) A quantitative assessment of import and export of various commodities through different channels and different types of transactions;

(d) Differences in the rates of adoption of innovations in agricultural practices as correlated to various social, cultural and economic factors;

(e) Voting behaviour among the different sections of the population at the Panchayat elections during the last tent years; and

(f) Case studies of disputes in the village, together with an analysis of awards of the Panchayat.

While welcoming these suggestions, Dr. Vidyarthi wrote back to say that he had selected village Ghaghra, a Munda village in Khunti Sub-division in the district of Ranchi, because he wanted to study a tribe on which not much of this kind of work had been done before and because it was not a purely single-tribe village, nor was it very close to a town He offered to study, in addition to other problems, the unity and extension of the village the *Jajmani* system in a tribal setting, the emergence of a tribe as a caste and inter group relationships.

The Registrar General's organization welcomed Dr. Vidyarthi's offer and provided him with the profferred assistance. Dr. Vidyarthi completed his study in February 1964. Dr. B. K. Roy Burman and Shri N. G. Nag went through Dr. Vidyarthi's manuscript in great detail and prepared a review of the draft report, suggesting certain important revisions and re-arrangement of the material. Dr. Vidyarthi accepted these suggestions and his report on Ghaghra village was ready for printing in July 1964. Subsequently, the Registrar General's office again suggested some changes and modifications in the table of contents in the interest of unity with other similar monographs. These suggestions were also found acceptable to Dr. Vidyarthi.

This book, like the 1961 Census Monograph series which are concerned with analyses of the demographic and related results of the 1961 Census, is a testimony to a unique collaboration between a Government organization and private research. The Registrar General's office feel as gratified to have been able to offer this opportunity to Dr. Vidyarthi to do a study of his village, as it has been to undertake its publication.

NEW DELHI;
10 *November*, 1966.

ASOK MITRA,
Registrar General, India.

PREFACE

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

Under the influence of this awareness and with the inspiring help of the Census Operations (1961), I undertook this assignment of studying a village of the tribal belt of Ranchi district which is said to be the land of adivasi population.

Selection of the village

Selection of a village was definitely a difficult task before me. But this problem was easily solved when I could define my interests precisely: While making a general survey of the villages in Ranchi, I could learn that almost all the villages were mixed villages with either the predominance of the Munda in one area or of the Oraon in another belt or of the Kharia population in another belt. Among these tribal villages, my choice fell on the Munda village and I revisited a number of villages in the Munda area of Khunti sub-division. In some of these villages I came across another caste-like group, of the Manjhi who inhabited some of the Munda villages of this region. These Manjhi, though from many points have resemblance with a caste, are taken to be one of the scheduled tribes of Chotanagpur. Moreover, so far, no ethnographic work has been done on this "caste-like" tribe of the Manjhi. With a view to collect preliminary data on this "tribe" and with the hope of understanding the emergence and functioning of caste system in the tribal areas, I selected Ghaghra for the sake of an intensive fieldwork.

Fieldwork

The fieldwork commenced from January in the year 1962 and it continued for about six months. One of my trained research scholars Sri Parimal Kumar Roy was given this assignment. He lived with the villagers and applied almost all the anthropological field techniques—participant observation, interviews, genealogical tables, life-histories and collected satisfactory data to bring out a microcosmic picture of a village in tribal Bihar. He also administered certain schedules (given in the Appendix) for a quantitative appraisal of their material culture and social relations.

While doing fieldwork, methodologically, we were aware to reconstruct local history to understand as far as possible the origin, development and migrational patterns of the village. As is evident from a critical perusal of the Chapter on history, such an attempt to record the local history on the basis of collecting oral traditions and interviewing old men of the village, was extremely fruitful as it provided us a glimpse of the cultural history of the tribal village and aided in understanding the style of life of the contemporary tribal village.

The data, thus collected, have been arranged into ten chapters.

In the first chapter, (The People of the Village) an introductory description about the people of the village as such has been outlined. The sub-division of the village and the major social groups have been determined and demographic structure of the village bringing out the age and sex groups has been analysed.

The second chapter, deals with the past of the village as well as with the ethnic groups inhabiting the village. On the basis of oral traditions, interviews and literary sources, the historical set up and the migrational pattern of the tribes and castes inhabiting the village have been described.

The third chapter dealing with the material culture and technology of the village, describes in details about the house-pattern, household

belongings, agricultural and fishing implements musical instruments, dress and ornaments of the tribes and castes living in the village. In an unconventional way, the quantity of these material items owed by the families of different ethnic groups have been also mentioned in a number of tables.

The fourth chapter has been organised into two sections. The first section, describing the village as an ecological system, deals with the environmental setting of the village. The area of the village has been classified on the basis of such geographical features as landscape, soil, drainage etc. The second section is devoted to the economic basis of the village. As agriculture is the main stay of the village-economy, particular attention has been paid to the agricultural pattern and agricultural land use. The basic limitations of the village economy have been pointed out and the economic condition of the people have been analysed in terms of their natural resources.

The fifth, sixth and seventh chapters are devoted to the discussions on social life in the village. Here, man to man relationships in all the social dimensions have been examined. In the fifth chapter the formal and informal social groups with their respective characteristics have been described and the unity and extensions of the village in terms of social characteristics have been analysed.

The sixth chapter has been devoted to the study of family structure and to the analysis of inter-personal relationship among the family members. Various forms of family, family relation, inheritance and the position of women in the family have been brought together in this chapter.

The seventh chapter focuses its attention on "Man" himself and examines him at the "axis of self" in terms of his biological quality of sex and hunger on the one hand and the process of socialisation on the other. Here, the entire course of life of a villager has been described.

The chapter that follows, deals with the political organisation of the village. Here, both the traditional and government-sponsored panchayat have been described and their mutual relations of compromise and conflict have been brought out. This chapter also presents a number of cases tried by both the panchayats and enumerates the law and customs of the village.

The ninth chapter deals with the religious life of the villagers. Here, along with the description of the religious beliefs and rituals of the tribals and the Hindu, their mutual interactions have been brought out.

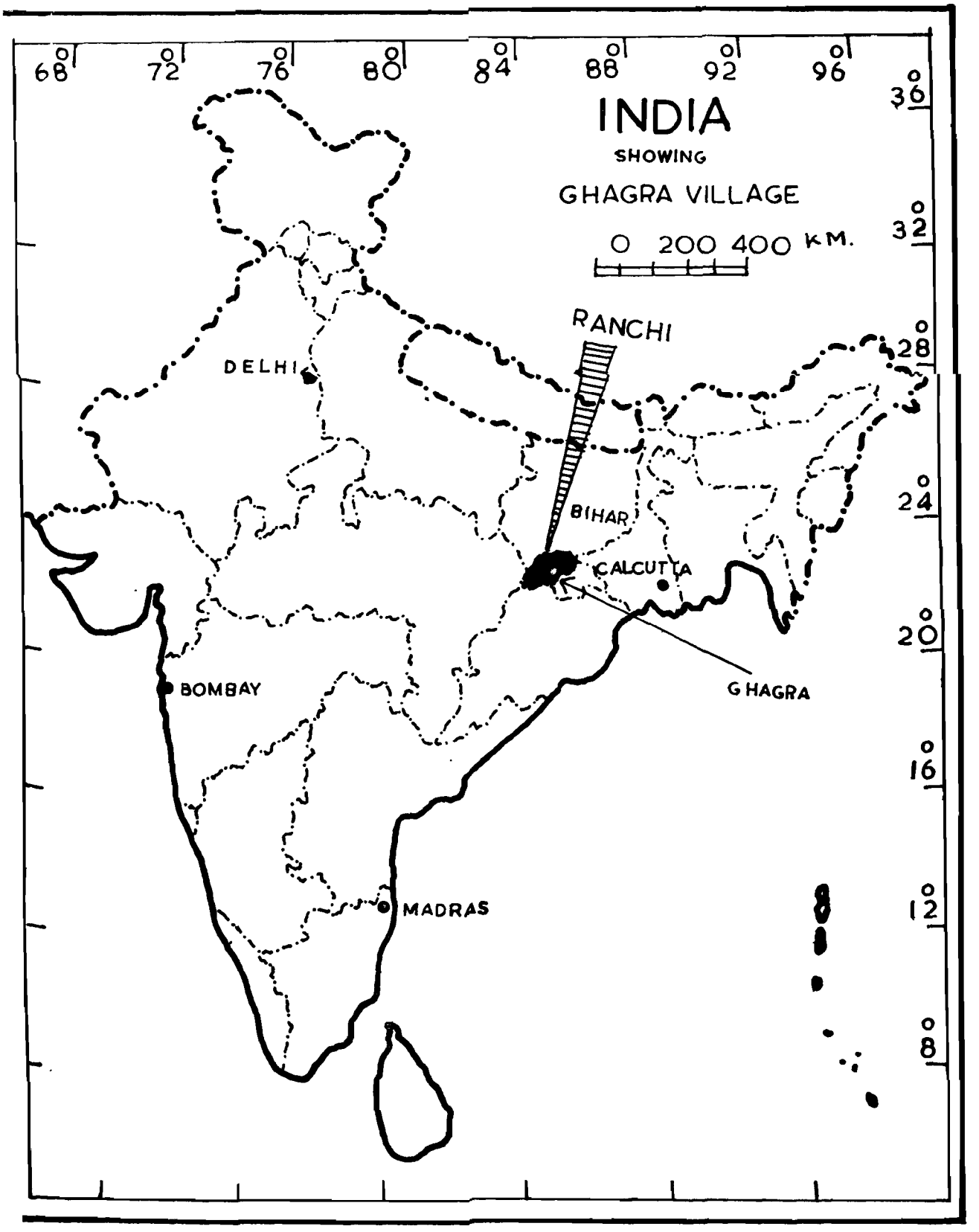
The tenth chapter which deals with the changing face of the village examines the social changes that have been brought about by the traditional and modern processes operating in the village. It is interesting to note that now a series of elements of Hindu villages, like caste-hierarchy, ritual pollution, Jajmani system etc. in course of time became the integral part of this village social organisation. If this chapter is read with the chapter on history, one also records that the Manjhi of this village in many ways (still considered as a scheduled tribe) have adopted Hindu style of life, and from the sociological point of view they have become a caste. Then, again it has been brought out that under the impact of modern forces, the isolated village is fast expanding its network of external relationships and is becoming closely integrated with the region as a whole.

This village study, thus presents a rich wealth of materials which can be used by social anthropologists and rural therapists for both theoretical and substantive purposes. Such a village study, though just initiated, will go a long way in providing comparable data and may facilitate the way of cross-regional and cross-cultural studies in India.

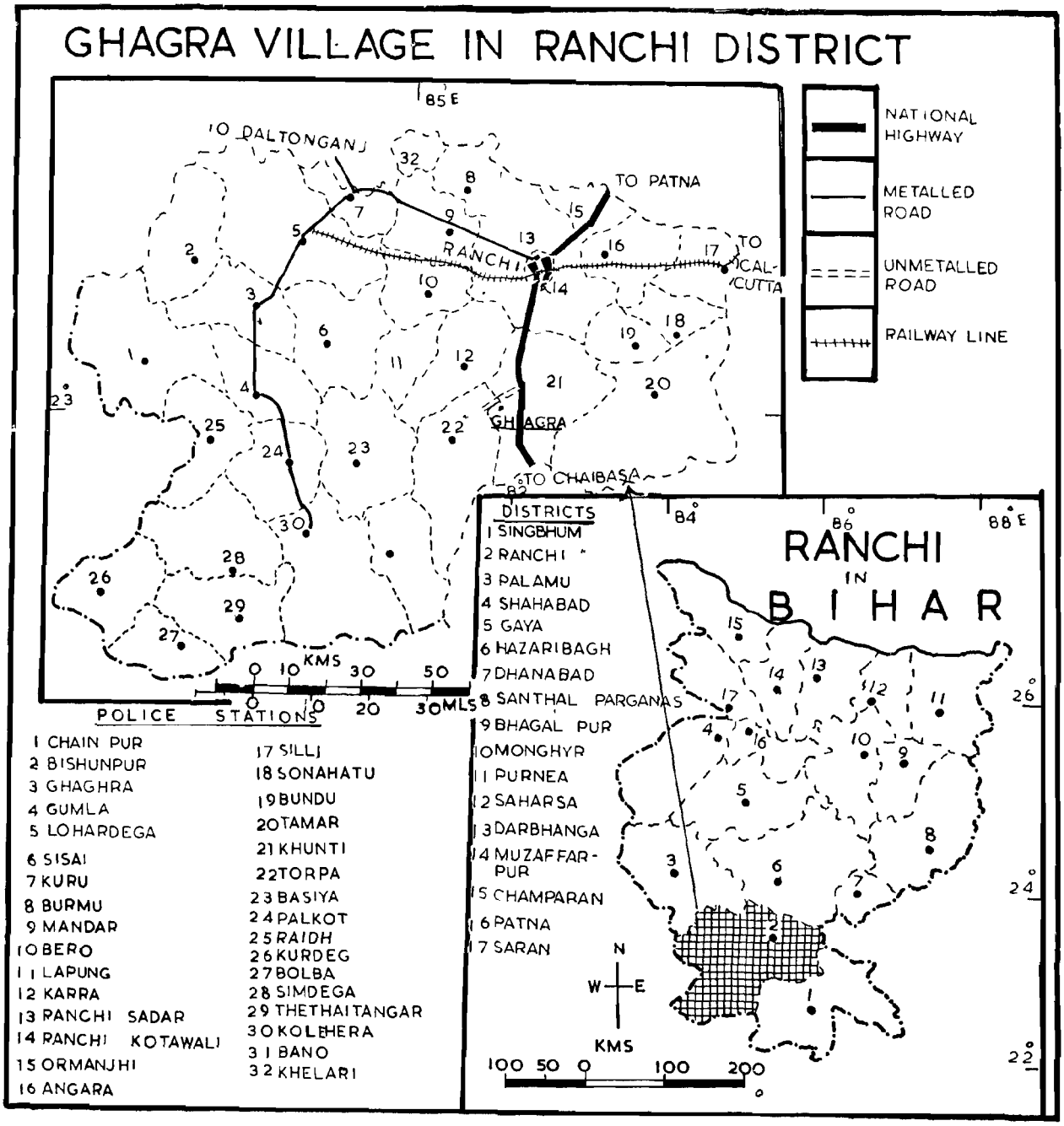
While, I am alone responsible for the Methods of field research and the interpretation of data etc., I have to thank Mr. Parimal Kumar Roy who worked as a research assistant and collected data and prepared preliminary note under my supervision. Professor M. Roy of this Department also helped me in conducting this research and I am thankful to him for his assistance. The villagers of Ghaghra deserve all appreciation for extending all co-operation during the field investigation and I have no hesitation to mention that without their help a comprehensive and authentic study of the village would have remained a dream.

I am also grateful to Dr. B. K. Roy Burman for inviting me to take up this village study. He extended to me all co-operation in completing this assignments and I am thankful to him for all his co-operation and suggestions. In the end I cannot forget Sri A. Mitra, Registrar General, Census Operations who deserves my special appreciation for his insight in planning such a scheme for village studies in different districts in India which is bound to be of immense importance in sociological and anthropological field for cross-cultural and cross-regional comparative researches.

L. P. VIDYARATHI.


INDIA
SHOWING
GHAGRA VILLAGE
0 200 400 KM.
RANCHI
DELHI
BIHAR
CALCUTTA
BOMBAY
GHAGRA
MADRAS
68°
72°
76°
80°
84°
88°
92°
96°
36°
32°
28°
24°
20°
16°
12°
8°

GHAGRA VILLAGE IN RANCHI DISTRICT



CHAPTER I

The people of the Village

Location

The village Ghaghra is situated at a distance of thirty-two miles south of Ranchi and falls under the Police Station of Khunti. Of this distance twenty-nine miles can be negotiated by a motorable metalled road and the remaining three miles are unmetalled fair weather road. During the rains this feeder road becomes muddy and a considerable part of it remain under water.

The river *Banoi* flows from South to North at a distance of three miles from the village. But at the northern boundary of the village the river takes a turn towards the west, and thus the village is demarcated by the river on the eastern and the northern sides. The village is quite large in size, about six miles in length and three miles in breadth, taking an area of about eighteen square miles. In between the eastern and northern sector of the village there is a stretch of forest plain which separates the two sectors of the village. Nine miles from Khunti (though a sub-divisional town, Khunti is not so well developed), segregated by forests with quite difficult communication, this village seems to be totally cut off from the urban world.

The village

Ghaghra is a mixed village. It is inhabited by eleven different groups of people. The village consists of one hundred mud built houses. They are built up in two rows, running east to west. Some open space is attached with a few houses. Such space is meant for growing the vegetables. All the castes and tribes live in specific corners of the village and thus present a distinct social geography.

In average, a village has two-roomed house, each with four low side walls made of mud, one opening or door way, and a roofing of tiles. In this village there are few houses with more than two rooms. The village has as many as eight wells. Most of them are made of unbaked bricks. The one well which is situated in the centre of the village, is brick built and is constructed by the Government under the Block Development Project. This is by far the best among the village wells as it is cemented and well protected and its water is used by most of the villagers.

Sub-division of the village

The village is divided into two main hamlets or *tolas*: Ghaghra proper, and Bandhu tola. Ghaghra proper again has been divided into two main sectors or localities—the Het (lower) tola or Munda tola and the Manjhi tola or the Sarak tola. The Het tola is predominantly inhabited by the Munda and most of them belong to the Pahan Khunt. The Pahan, the religious head of the Munda has his dwelling there. On all festive occasions the entire population of the village assemble in the central Akhra (dancing ground) which is located near the Pahan's house.

People of other castes are also distributed in a number of segments, each caste having a contiguous dwellings in a particular area of the village. Each *tola* has a separate *akhra,* and the people of one *tola* naturally assemble in their own *akhra* in the evening for dancing and singing. It is only on the occasion of a festival or a ceremony that all people gather in the central *akhra* of the *Munda tola.*

The village demography

According to the sociological census carried out in January-February, 1962 the total population of Ghaghra village is 505, out of which 263 are Mundas, 116 Manjhi, 23 Brahmin, 18 Teli, 17 Tati, 12 Jogi, 22 Swansi, 10 Kumhar, 10 Bhokta, 7 Ahir and 7 Lohar. Out of 505 souls 270 are males and 235 are females. The male population dominates the female population in the matter of sex ratio. The distribution of the tribes and castes will become clear from the following table.

TABLE I·1

Different groups and Sex ratio (Census in January-February 1962)

Tribes and Caste groups	*Male*	*Female*	*Total*
Manjhi	55	61	116
Brahmin	13	10	23

TABLE I·1—*concld.*

Different groups and Sex ratio (Census in January-February 1962)

Tribes and Caste groups	*Males*	*Females*	*Total*
Teli	10	8	18
Tati	11	6	17
Kumhar	6	4	10
Ahir	3	4	7
Bhokta	7	3	10
Swansi	12	10	22
Jogi	7	5	12
Total of non-tribal	124	111	235
Non-converted Munda	124	107	231
Lohar	4	3	7
Converted Tribal (Munda)	18	14	32
Total of Tribal	146	124	270
GRAND TOTAL	270	235	505

In a community, social distinctions are made between men and women. Sometimes these distinctions extend through the whole sphere of social life, sometimes they are confined to certain aspects. Similarly gradation in terms of age and maturity are recognised in all societies.

Human memory is proverbially short and it is shorter in case of Munda villagers. Most of them have never thought the necessity of remembering their age as counting has very little to do in their social and economic set up. In view of this, an investigator has to face a number of difficulties in collecting information about the age of the villagers. However, an attempt has been made to collect approximately correct data about age-groups, which are being presented here.

Age and Sex

Elder members in the society are found to be few in number. 39% of the total population of Ghaghra is to be found in the three youngest age groups of 0—15, persons of next age groups *i.e.*, 16—30, occupy 26·7% of the total population, and persons of the age group of 31—45 occupy 20·6% of the total population, while the age group of 46 and above 60 occupies only 13·5% of the total population of the village. There are only eight men and five women beyond 60 years of age.

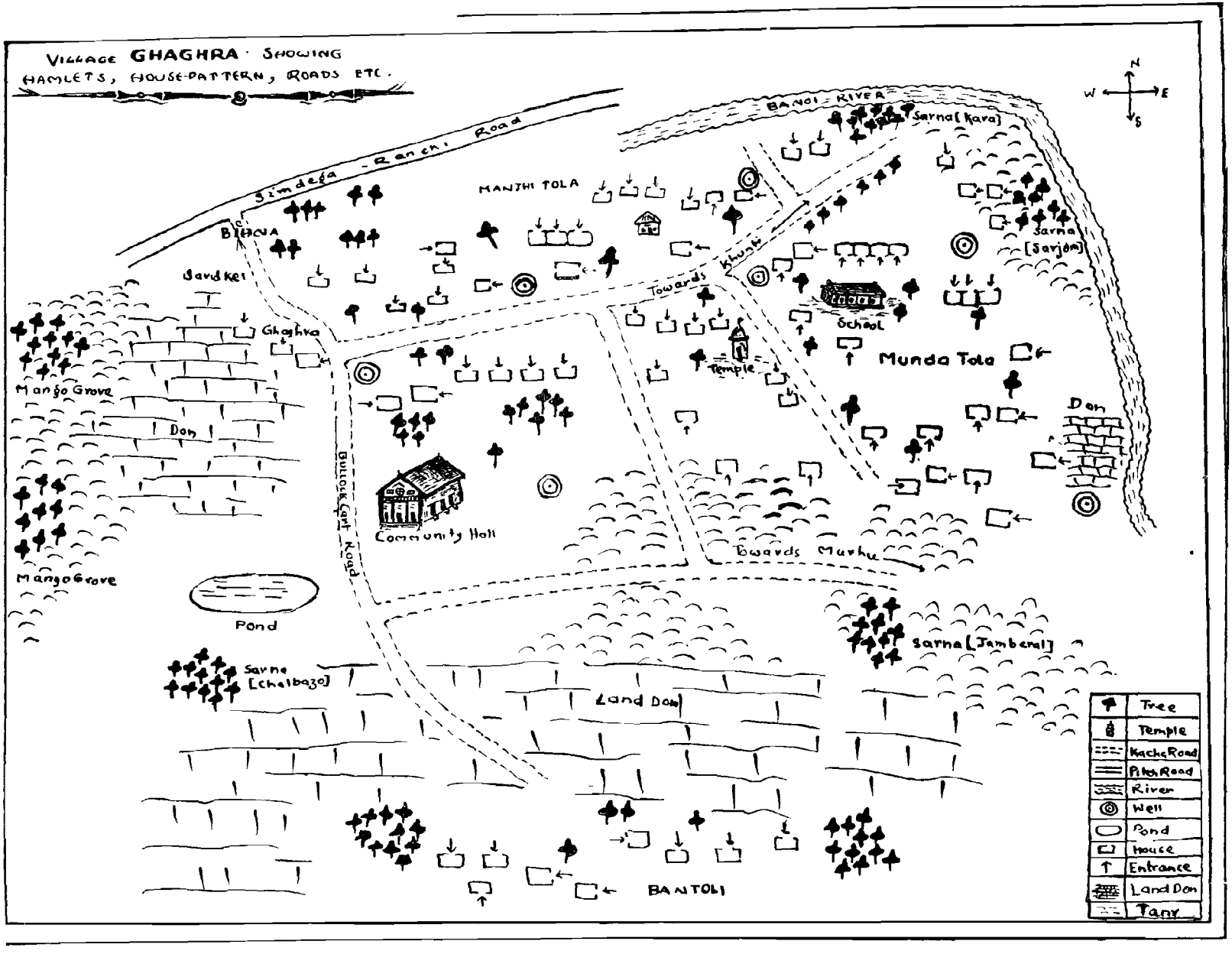
In the total population, the number of the male exceeds that of the female in the village. Thus the sex ratio is found to be 115 males per hundred of females. An analytical study of the figures, however reveal that it is only among the minors within 5 years of age that the female exceed the male in number. Enormous differences and fluctuations are found among the number of both sexes at the age grades of 6—10, 11—15, 16—20, 36—40 and 51—55.

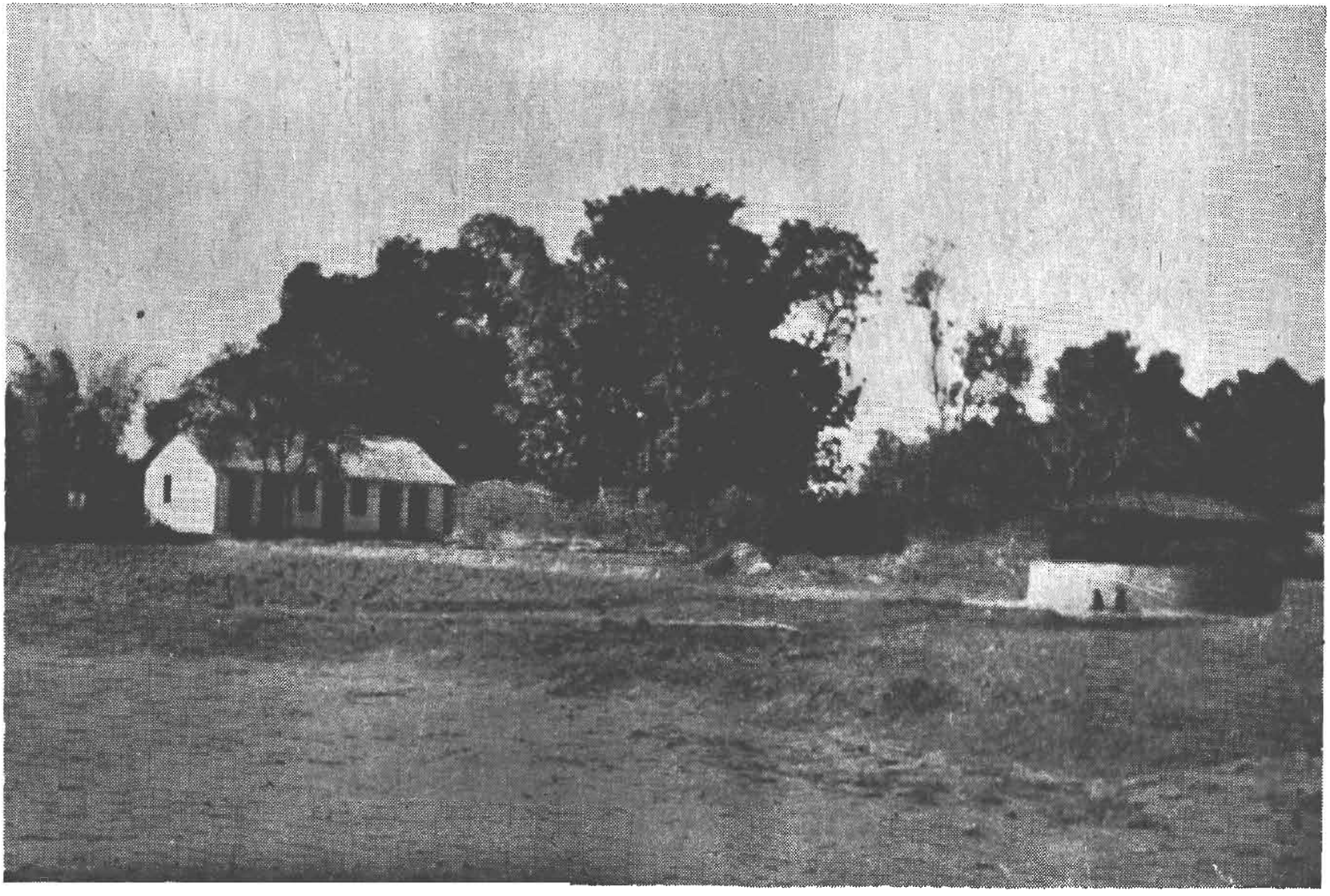
The sex disparity is high among children (between 0—5, 6—10) and in the old age group (of 56—60 and above 60). In the adolescent age group of 11—15, we find that figures for male have gone higher than that of the preceding age groups. However, the disparity of the ratio between the sexes is again reduced and the reduction is more or less maintained upto the age group of 51—55, except in the age groups of 46—50 and 31—35 in which we find that the female are in excess over the male. The sex and age composition of the different communities will become clear from the following table.

(*See* Table 2 next page)

Marital composition

The following figures give us an idea about the marital status of the inhabitants of Ghaghra. Study of the following table reveals that the proportion of unmarried men is very high in comparison to the numbers of married men. But the proportion of married women is high in comparison to the number of unmarried women.


VILLAGE GHAGHRA · SHOWING
HAMLETS, HOUSE-PATTERN, ROADS ETC.
N
W
E
S
BANOI RIVER
Sarna (Kara)
Simdega - Ranchi Road
MANJHI TOLA
BIRSHA
Sarna (Sarjom)
Sardkel
Towards
Khunti
Ghaghra
School
Temple
Munda Tola
Mango Grove
Don
Don
Bullock Cart Road
Community Hall
Towards Murhu
Mango Grove
Pond
Sarna (Jamberal)
Sarna (Chalbaza)
Land Don
BANTOLI
Tree
Temple
Kacha Road
Pitch Road
River
Well
Pond
House
Entrance
Land Don
Tanr



Village Setting

TABLE I·2

Age and Sex composition of social groups (in January—February 1963)

Age (in year)	Manjhi		Brahmin		Teli		Tati		Kumhar		Ahir		Bhokta		Swansi		Jogi		Munda		Lohar		Total		Grand Total
	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	
5 & below	8	9	2	1	1	2	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	2	4	—	—	17	19	—	—	30	37	67
6—10	5	8	2	3	—	—	4	1	2	—	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	28	18	—	1	45	35	80
11—15	9	7	1	—	1	—	—	1	3	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	13	12	2	—	30	20	50
16—20	3	6	3	1	1	—	—	—	—	1	—	1	3	—	1	—	2	—	9	6	1	1	23	16	39
21—25	9	10	2	2	1	1	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	1	1	—	8	10	—	—	23	24	47
26—30	6	8	—	—	1	—	1	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	2	1	1	1	12	13	—	—	23	25	48
31—35	4	6	—	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	—	—	1	10	9	—	—	15	19	34
36—40	2	3	—	—	—	2	1	—	—	—	1	—	2	1	2	1	1	—	15	9	—	—	26	15	41
41—45	2	2	1	—	—	1	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	10	6	—	1	15	11	26
46—50	2	1	1	1	1	—	2	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	5	10	1	—	12	14	26
51—55	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	5	3	—	—	10	6	16
56—60	1	—	—	1	2	2	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1	1	—	5	3	—	—	10	8	18
Above 60	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	5	3	—	—	8	5	13
Total	**55**	**61**	**13**	**10**	**10**	**8**	**11**	**6**	**6**	**4**	**3**	**4**	**7**	**3**	**12**	**10**	**7**	**5**	**142**	**121**	**4**	**3**	**270**	**235**	**505**
	116		**23**		**18**		**17**		**10**		**7**		**10**		**22**		**12**		**263**		**7**			**505**	**505**

TABLE I·3

Marital status of the villagers:—

	Male		Female		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Married	120	23·8	120	23·8	240	47.6
Unmarried	136	27·0	103	20·4	239	47·4
Widow	12	2·3	11	2·1	23	4·4
Divorce	2	0·4	1	0·2	3	0·6
Total	**270**	**53·5**	**235**	**46·5**	**505**	**100%**

The percentage of men and women remaining unmarried above the age of 35 is almost nil. The percentage of such young persons (i.e., below the age of 15) who have been married is also very insignificant. The custom of child marriage is almost absent, except a few cases among the non-tribals.

The over all ratio of married men to married women is almost equal. This clearly suggests that almost all the married men have been living here with their wives.

(*See* Table 1·4 next page)

The marital status of the people belonging to the different communities gives a similar picture. In almost all the other communities, the proportion of unmarried males is in excess of the number of unmarried females in almost all communities except the Manjhi. This emphasise on the early marriage of girls and that they are married when they reach the age group of 15—20. 47·4% of the total persons are unmarried, and almost the percentage of persons (47·6%) are leading conjugal life, while 4·4% are living in a state of widowhood.

Among the unmarried persons, all the males are within 20—25 years of age while all the females are below 20. Regarding the exact year in the age-group, it is recorded that the

TABLE 1·4

Table showing the marital status of the persons belonging to the different castes and tribes

Communities	Married		Widow		Divorce		Unmarried		Total	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Manjhi	28	28	2	6	..	..	25	27	55	61
Brahmin	5	5	..	..	.	..	8	5	13	10
Teli	4	4	1	..	..	..	5	4	10	8
Tati	2	1	2	1	..	..	7	4	11	6
Kumhar	1	1	..	..	..	..	5	3	6	4
Ahir	2	2	..	..	..	..	1	2	3	4
Bhokta	2	2	..	..	..	..	5	1	7	3
Swansi	7	7	1	1	..	..	4	2	12	10
Jogi	3	3	..	..	..	..	4	2	7	5
Total of Non-tribal	74	74	6	8	..	.	64	50	124	111
Converted Munda	13	13	..	..	..	..	5	1	18	14
Non-Converted Munda	53	53	6	3	2	1	63	50	124	107
Lohar	2	2	..	..	..	..	2	1	4	3
Total of Tribal	68	68	6	3	2	1	70	52	146	124
Grand Total	**142**	**142**	**12**	**11**	**2**	**1**	**134**	**102**	**270**	**235**

eldest unmarried male is a boy aged 25, while the eldest unmarried girl is just of 20. These figures may speak about the limits of the age of marriage of the boys and girls in current practice.

Educational composition of the village

One of the most interesting things about the village is the very low rate of education and literacy (see table 5) despite its proximity to Khunti and other educational institutions.

Education of girls in the village is still not at all popular. It is felt that education for girl is merely a waste of time.

The table shows that the extent of literacy for the village is also low. Only 189 or 47·2% of total population reported themselves to be literate. Out of this 31% of total population was that of such persons who were not in a position to read and write thoroughly. Thus in the real sense of the term the literacy rate of the village comes only to 16·2% of the total population.

If we take seperate figures of literacy amongst the male and the female, we find that where as the percentage of literacy is comparitively very high amongst the males (78·1%) it is lower among the females (24·9%).

But now the people have come to realise the importance and necessity of literacy. Now we find that the percentage of literacy is increasing within the lower age-groups.

Until recently the village had been completely devoid of any educational facilities whatso-ever. The lower primary school in the village is run by Block Development Project. Those who wished to study had to go out of the village. The nearest educational facilities available are located at Murhu, 3 miles from the village where facilities for imparting education upto Matriculation standard are available. For further education one has to go to Khunti, sub-divisional headquarter of Munda country.

TABLE I·5

Library figures in different Communities

		Manjhi	Brah-min	Teli	Tati	Kumhar	Ahir	Bhokta	Swansi	Jogi	Total of non-tribal	Converted Munda	Non-converted Munda	Lohar	Total of Tribal	Grand Total
Illiterate	Male	5	..	1	1	2	1	4	3	6	23	2	43	3	48	71
	Female	34	5	6	4	2	4	3	5	5	68	5	64	3	72	140
	Total	39	5	7	5	4	5	7	8	11	91	7	107	6	120	211
Sign only	Male	20	4	8	4	4	2	3	6	1	52	7	33	1	41	93
	Female	10	3	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	17	6	9	..	15	32
	Total	30	7	10	6	4	2	3	6	1	69	13	42	1	56	125
Primary	Male	8	4	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	15	2	12	..	14	29
	Female	7	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	8	..	..	..	..	8
	Total	15	5	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	23	2	12	..	14	37
Middle	Male	10	3	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	16	3	6	..	9	25
	Female	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	Total	10	3	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	16	3	6	..	9	25
Non Matric	Male	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	2
	Female	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	Total	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	2
Total	Male	45	11	9	11	6	3	7	9	7	108	14	94	4	111	220
	Female	51	9	8	6	2	4	3	5	5	93	11	73	3	87	180
	Total	96	20	17	17	8	7	10	14	12	201	25	167	7	198	400

Birth and death rate

Let us now examine the increase or decrease in birth and death rates in the village in order to come to a correct conclusion with regard to the increase of population.

TABLE I·6

Table showing the number of Births and Deaths during the last twelve years

Year	No. of Births	No. of Deaths
1951	19	4
1952	27	6
1953	10	8
1954	20	4
1955	16	2
1956	18	3
1957	10	4
1958	17	..
1959	14	..
1960	10	..
1961	9	..
1962	7	..
Total	**177**	**31**

As it is clearly evident from the above table that 177 persons have been added to the village population during the last twelve years. The total number of deaths that occurred during the same period come to 31 only. Thus, the total increase in population due to birth is 146. This may be called internal growth. In fact, in the absence of data regarding birth and death rates of the previous decades, it is difficult to make a comparative study of the problem.

The number of deaths during recent years is almost nil. It was high during 1951-53 as is evident from the table given below.

TABLE I·7

The number of deaths during 1951 to 1962

Age-group	1951	1952	1953	1954	1955	1956	1957	1958 to 1962	Total
1—5 . .	1	1	2	2	1	1	2	..	10
6—10 . .	..	2	2	1	..	..	..	..	5
11—20 . .	..	..	..	..	1	1	1	..	3
21—30 . .	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	2
31—40 . .	..	1	2	..	..	..	..	..	3
41—50 . .	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
51—60 . .	1	1	1	..	..	..	1	..	4
61—70 . .	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
71—80 . .	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	2
Total .	**4**	**6**	**8**	**4**	**2**	**3**	**4**	..	**31**

Village economy

For their subsistance the villagers are mainly dependent on agriculture. In some form or the other it pervades through all the walks of the peoples life. All the lands are not cultivated in every year. Some lands are left fallow so that they may recover their lost fertility. Some re main fallow for two or even more years.

The three main crops of the village are *Aghani, Bhadai* and *Rabi*. *Aghani* crops include millet (Bajra) and Paddy (Dhan); *Bhadai* crops include maize (Makai), beans (Bodi), Pulses (Urid) etc. and *Rabi* crops mainly include wheat, barley and grams etc. Among all the above crops, the *Aghani* crops are the most important. The villagers do not generally purchase seed from the market, they use the best grain of the previous year, which they preserve. All the Mundas and Manjhis are cultivators. The Lohars who practice their own traditional occupation of blacksmithy have also taken up agriculture as a subsidiary occupation.

The people of the village regularly attend the weekly markets (*hat*) at Murhu, Khunti and Dorma. All these markets play important roles in the economic life of the villagers in so far as buying and selling are concerned (For detail please see land and livelihood chapter).

Village Polity

The Panchayat and the Parha organisation are the two structural units of the Munda political system in this village. The Parha panchayat is wider than the village panchayat. A Parha is composed of a number of neighbouring villages. This Parha mainly deals with the cases of infringement of sex taboos and the readmission into the caste of the excommunicated members. Besides this Parha, there is also a village panchayat. The old men of the village are the members of this village council. It controls and takes the responsibility of maintaining law and order and ensuring justice to different families living in the different hamlets (tolas) of the village.

Religion

The Pahan is the key figure of the religious organisation. It is round him that all the ritualistic activities connected with religion revolves. He represents the village in all rituals and makes sacrifices to Gods on its behalf. The religion of the inhabitants of the village finds expression in their beliefs in a series of spirits, deities, gods and goddesses and in their worships. The villagers celebrate a common list of festivals among which some are *Faghua, Karma, Sarhul* etc. The *Sarna* of this village is also a symbol of the ritual unity. Besides usual sacrifices and offerings, all the festivals are celebrated with varieties of dances and songs.

In a way the villagers are self-sufficient as in the village there are different groups of people who are engaged in the activities like tilling land, building houses, making ploughs and other agricultural implements and earthen pots, sowing and harvesting and doing all the different kinds of jobs. However, they have to purchase mill-made clothes and few other things from the neighbouring markets and towns.

Social Groups

The population of Ghaghra village consists of eleven communities. They are Munda, Manjhi, Brahmin, Teli, Tati, Kumhar, Bhokta, Ahir, Jogi, Swansi and Lohar. Munda and Manjhi form the major segment of the village population and they enjoy numerical superiority over other castes and tribes. Of hundred families in the village, as many as 27 families are of Manjhi, 50 of Munda, 5 of Tati and Swansi each, 4 of Teli, 3 of brahmin, 2 of Bhokta, 1 each of Kumhar, Ahir, Jogi and Lohar. The following table shows the distribution of population, the different ethnic and religious groups, along with their number of families of each of these eleven groups.

TABLE I·8

Distribution of families and population according to castes, tribes and religions

Different Communities	Number of families	Percentage of total No. of families	Population	Percentage of total No. of population
Hindu				
Manjhi	27	27%	116	22·7%
Brahmin	3	3%	23	4·6%
Teli	4	4%	18	3·6%
Tati	5	5%	17	3·4%
Kumhar	1	1%	10	1·9%
Total of Hindu	**40**	**40%**	**184**	**36·4%**
Marginal Caste				
Ahir	1	1%	7	1·3%
Bhokta	2	2%	10	1·9%
Swansi	5	5%	22	4·5%
Jogi	1	1%	12	2·4%
Total of Marginal Caste	**9**	**9%**	**51**	**10·1%**
Total of Non-tribal	49	49%	235	46·5%
Non-converted Munda	42	42%	231	45·8%
Lohar	1	1%	7	1·3%
Total of Non-converted tribal	43	43%	238	47·1%
Converted Munda	8	8%	32	6·4%
Total of Tribal	51	51%	270	53·5%
Grand Total	**100**	**100%**	**505**	**100%**

The social setting in the village has four constituent elements, the Hindu, the Marginal caste*, the converted tribal and the non-converted tribals. The non-converted tribals dominated

*The castes who have come under the influence of the tribals have been termed as marginal castes. Some of the bongas of the Munda are also worshipped by these castes. They (bongas) are generally held by these castes people in reverential awe, sacrifices are made to them. For this the Pahan is called to worship these bongas. They regard Sarna as sacred. These castes have also adopted some of the tribal customs and practices e.g., beliefs in *Mati, Ojha* and the '*Singbonga*' as well as have adopted their food, dress and language. It, however, remains to be determined as to whether these castes have attained marginality owing to the impact of tribals on them or they themselves have emerged as castes out of the tribal matrix.

in numerical strength. There are 43 non-converted tribal families forming 43% of the total number of families which include 238 persons forming 47.1% of the total number of population of the village. Next to them are the Hindu castes who with 40 families forming 40% of the total families include 184 persons forming 36.4% of the total population. Then, the Marginal castes which form 9% of the total number of femilies include 10·1% of the total population. Further it is evident from the table that the converted tribal (Munda) consitute 9% of the total number of families in the village and includes 6.4% (*i.e.* 32 persons) of the total population.

The Munda

There are 50 Munda families in the village. They belong to different clans, such as *Sankura, Bhodra, Bhengra* and *Demta.* The Sankura clan is the dominant clan claiming 20 families under its fold. The 'Munda' (secular head man) and the Pahan (religious head man) both belong to Sankura clan. The people of this clan are the first scttlers and claim to be socially superior to the people belonging to other clans. The members of other clans came later and they were given land by the earliest settlers on a payment of rent. Again, within the Sankura group itself, the *Pahan Khunt* is the most important and influential from all the points of view. The relative importance and superiority of this group can be accounted for by three factors: their numerical strength the office of the Pahan, and the ownership of the maximum cultivated land. The Munda hold 165.25 acres of cultivated land. Out of which Pahan Khunt alone shares about 100 acres.

The Munda strictly obey the rules of tribal endogamy and clan exogamy. In addition to these, they prefer village exogamy. In general, the Munda families are nuclear, though, in certain cases, married brothers with their children live together or the aged parents share the same house with their married son.

The Manjhi

There are 27 Manjhi families in the village. Numerically they consist of 22.7% of the total population. All the Manjhis have their dwellings in the *Manjhi tola* or *Sarak tola*—along the western border of the village. They belong to *Adyab gotra.* All of them hold cultivable land. Those who do not hold land sufficient for their livelihood, are compelled to take to other subsidiary occupations, such as a service or carpentry. They live in nuclear families mostly. But in certain cases joint families are also found. In some cases the parents share the same roof with their married sons but have a seperate hearth of their own. The Manjhis are more enlightened in the worldly affairs and they maintain a friendly relationship with all other communities of the village.

The Brahmin

Three families of Brahmin inhabit this village. Each family has some cultivated land, but the produce does not give them even a subsistance living. They are engaged in their functional caste occupation. They perform all the religious duties of the village. The propitiation of Gods and deities and other religious ceremonies and rituals are done by some Brahmins. The Brahmins are according to tradition, supposed to officiate at the more important religious and social functions amongst all the other castes and receive in return something in cash or kind from the latter.

Teli

There are four families belonging to this caste. They are engaged in the traditional work of preparing oil. These families possess some land. All the families are engaged in oil making. Oil plays an important part in village economy. The need for oil is constant, the greatest demand are made at the harvest time. Apart from supplying oil to the villagers, the Teli sell oil in the neighbouring markets.

All the four families belong to *Kashyap gotra,* the only gotra (clan) found in the neighbourhood. But strangely enough, gotra among the Teli, is not an exagomous unit. The only marriage restriction being geneological proximity—five generations in the parental line. The range of marriage in all the Teli families is also very limited.

Tati

There are five families belonging to this community. Each family has some land. Weaving is not their main occupation. The yield from their fields do not give them even a subsistance income.

The Kumhar

There is only one family of *Kumhar* in this village. Though this Kumhar family possesses a few acres of land (4.6%), his traditional occupation (of pot making) continues to be the main source of livelihood. The whole family, consisting of ten members, is engaged in making earthen pots and country tiles. Though the village itself consumes some of these earthen pots most of their earnings come through selling

them in the nearby markets. A relation of mutual friendship and reciprocity exist among the Kumhar, the Manjhi and the Munda.

The Ahir

There is only one family of this caste in the village. Ghasi Ahir is the head of the family and there are six other members. There are two acres of *'don'* land (low paddy land), and two acres of 'Tanr' (less fertile upland) land in his possession. The produce of this land is sufficient to solve his food problem. Two of his sons tend cattle of a few families of the village, for which they are paid. He possesses a few cows and buffaloes and sells milk and milk-products. But the number of cattle is not enough to serve as the main source of income. Thus, in this case, we find that the traditional caste occupation has been reduced to a secondary occupation while agriculture has become the main source of livelihood.

The Bhokta

There are two families of Bhokta in this village. The traditional occupation of the Bhokta includes preparation of *'Chura'* or flatened rice, and its sale in the village and the nearby markets. *Chura* or flattened rice is sold against paddy and the price of two seers of *Chura* is considered equivalent to three seers of paddy. Both the Bhokta families possess 'don' and 'tanr' land (6·5 acres). But the yield is not sufficient for their livelihood. Therefore, they have to look for some subsidiary source of income. Very often the members of these families serve as agricultural labour in the fields of well-to-do persons. They receive wages either in cash or in kind. There are six members in one family and only four in the other.

Jogi

There is only one family of Jogi in this village. He is engaged in his traditional occupation of rug-making. He collects the fur of lambs from the village itself and the adjoining villages and makes rugs and blankets which he sells in the markets.

Lohar

There is only one family of Lohar in this village. The family consists of seven members, and possesses some land (2 acres), but his traditional occupation continues to be the main source of livelihood. He is engaged mainly in sharpening the plough-shares, and making spades, sickles, axes and so on. He sells his articles to the villagers. But the main income comes from the nearby markets. Quite often he moves from village to village to supply the agricultural implements. Ironsmithy continues to be an attractive and paying occupation.

CHAPTER II

The Past of the Village

Historically, the village Ghaghra can be seen as a miscrocosm: a great world represented in a small one. The village can be viewed as a port of Chotanagpur and its local history can throw light on some of the historical events of the tribal villages of this region. It is interesting to know how the village is a product of history and how it reflects the historical processes operative in this tribal belt. Though, I am not interested in what is called historiography of the village community, I like firstly to introduce the village as a part of the general racial and linguistic history of the region, secondly tell of more recent events of migrations and of achievements as recounted to me by the people of Ghaghra themselves. Nevertheless, the account of the past given in this chapter is meagre, superficial and inadequate. It can not be seriously regarded as a systematic history of any thing. It is rather collection of statements about past events some of which have a bearing on present day Ghaghra. In these respects my chapter on history is like many other brief historical introduction to traditional ethnographic studies which suffer from lack of historical depth owing to inadequate date.

Who are the Mundas: their racial and linguistic affinities:

The problems of the origin of the Mundas and their physical affinities with other tribes have been often vaguely discussed. Earlier attempts have tried to discuss this problems in relation to the linguistic affinities. "Their language, with the kindred dialects spoken by the Santals. Hos and other tribes inhabiting the Chotanagpur plateau, has been shown by Pater Schmidt to form a sub-family of the family called by him the Austro-Asiatic, to which he includes also Mon Khmer, Wa, Palaung, Nicobarese, Khasi and the aboriginal languages of Malacca. There is another family which he calls the Austro-nesian, including Indonesian. Melanesian, Polynesian. These two families are grouped into one great family which he calls the Austric"[1] (Gait: 1912 page iv).

Anthropometry has shown that there is no recognizable distinction in respect of physical type between the speakers of Munda and those of the Dravidian languages (as Kurukh of Oraon, Malto of the Maler). Its main characteristics are a broad nose, a long head, plentiful and sometimes curly (but not woolly) hair, a black skin and rather a low stature. There is a Negrito element in the south of India, but it is much smaller than has sometimes been supposed. It has been modified by contact with other races, and the distinctive woolly hair of the Andamanese is practically never seen. (Thurston says I have only seen one individual with woolly hair and he was of mixed Tamil and African parentage—castes and tribes of southern India I-xxviii). There is on the west-coast and intermixture of some short headed race, possibly Mangolian, which may have found its way either by sea, or along the coast. Except where it has been influenced by immigration from the north-west or north-east in comparatively recent times, the general uniformity of physical type throughout India seems to show that the speakers, both of the Munda and of the Dravidian languages, must have been settled there for countless ages during which intermarriages and climatic influences and environment gradually destroyed the former racial distinctions and evolved an uniform type[2] (Gait: 1912: v-vi).

Dr. Grierson opines that the so-called Dravidian ethnic type may be really that of the Mundas and should be called the Munda type. His suggestion is that the Dravidian type was dissimilar, that (exactly as happened in the case of the Aryans) they inter-married with Mundas, and their children gradually gained the Munda-ethnic type, while they (again exactly like the Aryans) retained their own language[3]. (Gait, 1912: p.vi).

The Munda are not so much of a race as a great linguistic family. Speakers of Munda languages may differ widely as regards their physical characteristics. As a result of various attempts to connect Munda language with other linguistic families throughout the world, considerable evidence has accumulated in support of possible relationship between Munda and a few scattered languages formed in the Himalayas between the great central range and the minor range of the Punjab Hills and also between Munda and the Mon-khemer language of S.E.

1. Quoted from the introduction to the book, Mundas and their country by S.C.Roy, 1912.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.

Asia. William Schmidt called it the Austro-Asiatic language group which was a branch of the great Austric language family extending from Madagascar through Indonesia, Melanesia, Polynesia to the fringes of the western coast of south Africa. Hevesy, a Finnish scholar, trace the affiliation of the Munda languages with Finno-urgic form of speech. Gorden Bowles who conducted research on the racial and linguistic aspects of the Munda problem came to the conclusion that both, the theories of Schmidt and Hevesy are untenable. Anthropometric data collected by him and the material and cultural features gathered from the Himalayan areas referred earlier did not even remotely suggest any possible linguistic and racial relations. Schmidt's classification has recently received support of F. B. J. Kuiper, the Dutch scholar, and remains on the whole most widely accepted theory.

Thus, the linguistic problem does not very much help us to know something exactly about the origin of the Munda.

Migration

Very little is known about the genesis and migration of the people of tribal Bihar. About their origin and indigenous abodes we are in complete darkness. We have no written records of their successive migrations in ancient times through different parts of India. The fast disappearing ancient traditions of the Mundas may give us a clue for tracing their origin and migrations. Vague as these traditions are, such an attempt is bound to be crude and conjectural.

Sarat Chandra Roy (1912) has examined a number of myths and legends and has tried to fit them in an orderly and chronological pattern. He suggests that the Munda and other tribes speaking languages of the Munda group originally lived in the region extending from the Aravalli mountain and proceeding East-wards along Vindhya and Kaimur ranges. They reached as far as the modern state of Surguja and the South-Eastern districts of Chotanagpur. Through the help of references in the Rigveda, the Ramayana and the Mahabharat, Roy traced the travels of this race until it being gradually pushed East wards by the advancing tide of Aryan conquest and settlements came into existence in the region now represented by the district of Azamgarh in Uttar Pradesh. Following the order indicated in the Munda traditions, he is of the opinion that they migrated from Northern India South wards to modern Bundelkhand and Central India, thence across Rajputana back again to N.W. India and thence through modern Rohilkhand and Oudh to Bihar and finally to Chotanagpur. Their final dispersion and differentiation took place in Rohta in Kaimur Hills. The Munda and Santal crossed the Sone and marched in South easterly direction along the border land that separates the present district at Hazaribagh from districts of Palamau and Ranchi. Not far from this borderland is the village Omedanda which Munda tradition names as their first settlement in Chotanagpur. Here the Santals and the Mundas parted company. The Santals left Chotanagpur, crossed the Damodar and settled down in Sikharbhoom (the modern district of Hazaribagh) and later the Mundas had to fight sanguinary battles with their kinsmen the Asur, which had settled there earlier till they drove the latter into the remote western corners of the district.

Populating a village: origin of village settlements

Thus we have seen now the strange ancesters of the Mundas finally secluded themselves in the valleys and jungles of Chotanagpur. In this area, at least, their age-long wanderings were followed by a long era of peace. Here, in the primeval forests of 'Jharkhand' or the 'forest-country as it appears to have once been called-here, the first Munda immigrants made clearances in the jungles and established their primitive Kol villages (S. C. Roy: Munda and their country: 1912: p. 114) Thus, in this way, in the heart of the deep forests where the rays of the sun had hardly penetrated, villages grew up, and day by day went on steadily multiplying. In this way, the Munda spread over the entire north-western parts of the present district of Ranchi.

Since the Munda appear to have remained isolated, walled off from the outside world by chains of wooded hills, they long remained in occupation of the north-western parts of what is now the Ranchi district.

In course of time the idea of private property developed amongst the Mundas. "Each family made in the virgin forests its own clearances which came to be called the *Hatu,* later on known as the Khuntkatti-hatu, or the village of the family of the original settlers. The boundaries of the village were laid down by the *Pater* families" (Roy: 1912:115). And even to this day the Mundas regard it as sacred and in these boundaries live the boundary-God (Simanbongako) who keeps a vigilant watch and protect them from external evils. One more patch of jungle was specifically reserved which was the abode of village Gods (Hatu-bonga) and it is still called "Sarna". When the sons of the *Pater* families came of age, they married girls of other villages, and on the fathers' death, the married sons often separated from one another and built

separate houses for themselves in the same *Hatu*. And in this way the original village-family would branch off into a number of seperate families belonging to the same kili or sept. On the death of the founder of the village, his eldest son would come to be the patriarchal head of the different branches of the family. The whole village acknowledge his chiefship in matters of temporal as well as spiritual, for in those early days the functions of the Munda or secular head of the village and of the Pahan or the religious head do not appear to have been separated. In course of time, men not belonging to the village family appear to have been introduced. Relatives by marriage—men of different kilis or septs—a son-in-law for example would sometimes come and settle in the village. Again the primitive agricultural tribes—such as the Mundas require the services of blacksmiths to make and mend their ploughshares, cowherds to tend their cattle and weavers to weave their clothes. And for these and similar services men of inferior status, though originally belonging to the same race, appear to have been employed and remunerated with plots of lands in the village. These outsiders were the "eta-haturenko" (men of other village) the "Parjahoruko" of later times as contradistinguished from the "hatu-horoko" who were the khuntkattidars—the descendants of the original village family. These outsiders with the exception of such relatives of the khuntkattidars as might have been admitted into the village family by a ceremonial public adoption had no right to the village-lands but could only enjov the crops of such specific plots of lands as might have been available to them by the khuntkattidars for their maintenance (Roy: 1912: 117-118).

Their original settlements in the north western parts of the present Ranchi district appear to have gradually lost much of their former attraction. Due to the numerical strength of the Oraons the Mundas deemed it desirable to seek fresh friends and new pastures. And then, they proceeded along the valley of the north Koel and passed further east beyond the source of that river not far off from village Nagri. A Munda patriarch, Risa Munda by name, so runs the tradition, led the main body of the Mundas, twenty thousand in number, halted on the site of the village Murma. These twenty-one thousand Mundas, it is said, included the twenty-one kilis or clans into which the Mundas were then divided. "The twentyone kilis are Kachwa, Topno, Bhengra, Sandigura, Dungdung, Lipi, Honre, Hav, Kandir, Kerketta, Barla, Tuti, Hemrom, Kongari, Sanga, Kujri, Soi, Tiru, Tuyu, Orea, and Purthi. Subsequently the number of kilis seems to have been increased by sub-divisions or otherwise, such as the Purthi kili seems to have been since subdivided into Enga-Purthi, Hasa purthi, and Chutu purthi" (Roy: 1912:131).

On the way, a follower of Risa Munda, Korumba by name, settled in what is now known as village Korambe (so named after its original founder) and Sutiambe. These two places Sutiambe and Korambe are still mentioned by the Mundas of the central plateau to have been the cradle of 'Konkpat' or 'Kompat' Mundas as they call themselves. From Sutiambe the Mundas went to Pithouria and from Pithouria later on to Chutia, and from Chutia to many other places.

In this way the central plateau of Chotanagpur appears to have been gradually colonised by the Mundas. According to Munda tradition, Raja Phani Mukut's foster-brother of the Munda race had a son of the name of Setea. And Setea had eight sons. Of these eight, the eldest son went southwards and established a Khuntkathi village which is named khunti—the present headquarters of the Munda sub-division of the Ranchi district.

When the Mundas first went to Khunti and its neighbouring villages, they found that part of the country in the occupation of the Asurs and Tirkis. The Asurs were the raiyats and Tirkis the Bhuinhars of the land. When the Mundas with their stout physique appeared in that area they (Asurs and Tirkis) got terribly frightened and fled away from that area.

"Similarly the second son of Setea, went to eastwards of Tamar. And many a Munda followed his lead. To the east the Mundas appear to have occupied the five parganas of Silli, Baranda, Rahe, Bundu and Tamar and after that several bands of them appear to have moved further eastwards beyond the Subernarekha and at one time occupied the parganas of Jhalda, Bagmari, Bygonkudar and Pathum.

It was in the Panch Parganas as they are now called, that the largest migration of the Mundas took place. These parts appear to have then been outside the limits of Chotanagpur, and to have formed part of the dominions of the Raja of Maurbhani. And here for several centuries the Mundas lived in peace in villages and *pattis* organised on the model of those they had left behind them (Roy: 1912).

Who are the Manjhis: Early, History and Migration

The Manjhis are an archaic community. They are famous as *"Sarak"*. The word *Sarak* is doubtlessly derived from *"Sravaka"*, the sanskrit word for "a hearer". Amongst the Jains the term was used to indicate the laymen or persons

who engaged in secular pursuits as distinguished from the "Yatis", the monks and ascetics, and it still survives as the name of a group which is rapidly becoming a regular caste of the usual type (Saraogi). The Buddhists used the same word to designate the second class of monks, who mainly occupied the monasteries, the highest class of Arhans usually lived solitary lives as hermits, while the great majority of the *Bhikshus*, or lowest class of monks, led a vagrant life of mendicancy, only resorting to the monasteries in times of difficulty or distress. The origin of the caste is ascribed in the *Brahmavaivartta Puran* to the union of a *Jolaha* man with a woman of the Kuvinda, or weaver caste. This, however, merely shows that at the time when this Puran was composed, or when the passage was interprated, the *Saraks* had already taken to weaving as a means of livelihood. Mr. Risley says that the Sarak of Manbhum, though now Hindus, retain traditions of having formerly been jains. But as the story goes that when they came to Ranchi at that time their traditional occupation was cattle-rearing and making of "Ghee".

They are described by Mr. Risley as "a small caste of Chotanagpur who seem to be a Hinduised remnant of the early Jain people, to whom local legends ascribe the ruined temples, the defaced images, and even the abandoned copper mines of that part of Bengal". The Census of 1901 shows that the caste is much more widely distributed than was apparent from the statistics of earlier enumerations. However it is again, doubtful whether even the figures of 1901 represents its full strength.

TABLE II I

Distribution of the Manghis in 1881 and 1901

	1881	1901
Burdwan	38	819
Birbhum	..	87
Bankura	501	1972
Midnapur	..	436
Hooghly	..	165
Santhal Parganas	448	982
Hazaribagh	(No record)	26
Ranchi	1915	1942
Manbhum	8218	10495

(Orissa-Puri-Cuttack etc. 460)

In many parts the Sarak have taken to weaving and are popularly known as Saraki Tanti, and they have thus doubtless sometimes been entered at the census as Tanti and not by their proper caste name.

Saraks of West Bengal and Chotanagpur

It is now reported from Manbhum and Ranchi that they claim formerly to have been Agrawals who venerated Pareshnath and inhabited the country on the bank of the river Saraju which flows into the Ganges near Ghazipur, in the Uttar Pradesh, where they lived by trade and money-lending. They cannot explain why they left their original home, but in Manbhum they say that they first settled near Dhalbhum in the estate of a certain Man Raja. They subsequently moved to Pachet, in consequence of an outrage contemplated by Man Raja on a girl belonging to their caste.

In Ranchi, it is believed that their first settlement was at Orga near Puri, whence they subsequently migrated to Chotanagpur. In Burdwan and Birbhum there is a tradition that they originally came from Gujarat, but in the former district the popular belief is that they were brought there as sculptors and masons for the construction of stone temples and houses, the remains of which are still visible on the bank of the Barakar. They themselves say that their ancestors were traders and revered Parashnath. However, at the present time, as in Birbhum, Bankura and Manbhum, they call themselves Hindus. The Saraks of this part of the country are served by Brahmans, who in some parts are and in others are not held to be degraded by acting as their priests. In Manbhum, it is said that they were not served by Brahmans of any kind until they were provided with a priest by a former Raja of Pachet, as a reward for a service rendered to him by a Sarak, who concealed him when his country was invaded by the Bargis *i.e.*, the Marathas. They are seven *gotras,* or exogamous groups; Adi or Adyadeb, Dharma Deb, Rishi Deb, Sandilya, Kashyapa, Ananta

and Bharadvaja. In Birbhum Gautam and Vyasa are also given as the names of gotras, and in Ranchi Batsava is added. They are also divided into *thanks* of sub-castes based on locality, *viz.*, (i) Panchkotia, or inhabitants of the Pachet state in Manbhum, (ii) Nadiparıya, or Saraka residing on the right bank of the Damodar in Manbhum, (iii) Birbhumiya or residents of Birbhum and (iv) Tamariya or residents of Pargana Tamar in Ranchi.

There is a fifth sub-caste based on occupation, *viz.*, the Saraki Tantis or Tanti saraks of the Vishunpur sub-division of Bankura, who live by weaving and are held to be degraded. The latter, again have four sub-divisions-Asvini Tanti, Patra, Uttarkuli and Mandarani. In the Santhal Parganas the sub-castes are Phulsaraki, Sikharia, Kandala and Saraki Tanti. Except for the few traditions mentioned above, the names of some of their gotras and extreme tenderness for animal life mentioned by Mr. Risley, which not only makes them strict vegetarians, but even leads them to eschew altogether the use of the word "cut", there is little to distinguish the Saraks of West Bengal, Manbhum and Ranchi, from the ordinary Hindus amongst whom they live.[4]

Saraks of Orissa:

In Orissa the Saraks are weavers, and are often known as Saraki Tanti, but they are accorded somewhat higher rank than the ordinary Tantis. There are four main settlements, *viz*,. in the Tigaria and Bramba states, in the Bankthana in Cuttack, and in the Pipli thana of Puri. The Puri Sarakas have lost all connections with the others, and do not inter-marry with them. Though they are not served by Brahmans, they call themselves Hindus. They have no traditions regarding their origin, but like all other Saraks they are strict vegetarians. The Saraks of Bramba, Tigaria and Banki are closely connected and continue to inter-marry. Those of Baramba were shown as Buddhists at the census. The others also say that they are Buddhists, but at the census they were entered as Hindus. The tradition current amongst both communities is that their ancestors came from Burdwan to worship at the Puri temple and that the Raja of Orissa (the Thakur Raja of Puri), who was himself a Buddhist, took much interest in them and settled them near his palace on some land which he assigned to them for their maintenance. This tradition is, to some extent, confirmed by their titles, some of which, such as Chand, Dutta, Kar and Nandi, are more common in Bengal than in Orissa. There are various references in their rengious writings to "Bardhaman" which probably stand for Burdwan. The use of the word Sarak by a Buddhist community seems to indicate that they were originally a sectarian group that has hardened into a caste, and Babu Jamini Mohan Das says that they are in many respects similar, to the Dasnami 'Sannyasis' of Cuttack, a caste of known sectarian origin. These Buddhist Saraks profess to have four gotras, *viz.*, Adi Deb, Krishna Deb, Hema Deb and Dhar Deb.

They also worship an idol called Chaturbhuja whom they identify with the Buddha. The offerings consists of edible fruits, rice etc., cooked food is never offered. The only offerings at Hindu temples of which they will partake are those made to Jagannath at Puri, which, as is well-known, is often said to be of Buddistic origin. All their ceremonial observances are commended with the recitation of the formula: *Ahinsa Paramo Dharma*[8] (Gait 1902, 427-30).

II

How the Munda peopled the Village Ghaghra

Chotanagpur is a land without a written history. There are a few records of the events that occurred more than a hundred years ago. Legends only have passed down from generation to generation, gathering additions as they passed from one mouth to another and obvious tables have been invented to account for the causes of those things that baffled the limited native intelligence and defied authentic explanation. It is a land of mystry, witchcraft and spirits, mostly evil and malign, that cause the ignorant, shrinking native to pass his whole life in fear and dread and unceasing attempts at propitiation.

But the old men of the village (Ghaghra) have some idea about the past of this particular village. The Pahan of the village, an old man of 62 years narrated to me the history of this locality. His statement was confirmed by other old men of the village.

According to their statements this land used to be densely forested and was inhabited by wild animals of various types. A group of Munda migrated here from near Namkum (three miles of Ranchi and 35 miles from the present village)

[4] In Manbhum they abstain from felling or from eating the fruit of the 'dahuk' (Artocarpus Lacuchua) and Dumar (ficus Glomerata) trees. The word 'cut' is also taboo to the Baishnabs of Bengal and there is a wellknown story of the imbroglio that arose between a girl and her guru owing to her having to avoid the use of this word. The Sarak will not eat onions.

Extract from the Census of India 1901 by E.A. Gait Vol. VI published in 1902 pp. 427-30.

and preferred to settle on this land. They felled the trees, levelled the land and made the forested area fit for human habitation. Gradually, they increased the area of cultivable land and decided to settle here permanently. Later on people of other castes and groups came in succession and settled here.

There are very few villages, in Khunti area, with an exclusive population of Mundas. The exclusive occupation of the Munda of this village is agriculture and a Munda, howsoever poor, considers it derogatory to engage in such occupations as weaving, pottery and ironsmithy. Owing to this, the Munda necessarily require the services of people of other tribes and castes to supply their few simple needs. The Lohars who prepare ploughshares and other tools and implements in this village (Ghaghra), Ahir who tend their cattle, Kumhars who make earthen-ware for their domestic use and tiles to roof their huts are must for every Munda village.

The Munda have a clear idea of the successive immigration of different castes. According to them Manjhis came next to Munda. The Manjhis were followed successively by Kumhar, Lohar, Brahmin, Tati, Teli, Bhokta, Jogi and Swansi.

When the Mundas came to this village, the number of their kilis (clan) were a few. They were: Sankura and Vengra. In course of time, men not belonging to the original village family appear to have settled here. Relatives by marriage—men of different kilis or clan—a son-in-law, for example sometimes came and settled in the village.

Homogeneity of the village broken: Migration of the Manjhi in the village

Next to the Munda, the Manjhi are the important community. But they are not the original settlers of this village. They, too, like Mundas, have a pseudo-historical notion about their migration. The main concentration of Manjhis are to be found in nine villages of Khunti subdivision of Ranchi district. These villages are Kasmar, Dorma, Korla, Biremkel, Ghaghra, Sundari, Mahil, Marel, Hassa and Gajgaon. All these villages fall within a radius of about ten miles from Ghaghra. The total population of Manjhi in this zone comes to be about seven thousand. They are divided into two groups, *Bardah* and *Chotdah*. The Bardah group considers itself to be superior to the other one, and is to be found in Kasmar, Dorma, Biremkel, Sundari, Mahil and Meral.

There are two different opinions about the migration of the two groups of Manjhis in this sub-division. The 'Bardah' group, as it was told, inhabited 'Borgram' in the district of Manbhum. Their traditional occupation was cattle-rearing and "ghee" making.

Once a Manjhi from Borgram, as the story goes, came to Lohardaga, 46 miles from Ranchi town, along with two of his friends. He had some sort of business there and came for a short time. As he was interested in cattle, he made certain enquiries and found that the price of cattle was quite low in the district as a whole. His keen eyes did not fail to observe the vast stretches of pasturcs on the slopes of hills of the undulating country. This encouraged him to make further enquiries and he came to know that "Chutia" near Ranchi Railway Station was a very good market for cattle. After sometime he approached the "Raja" (king) of this area and expressed his desire to settle in his kingdom. The King was pleased to grant him a few acres of land and as a mark of royal patronage made a free gift of the land. At first only four families of Manjhis came and settled in the village Argora, 3 miles from Ranchi. That is how the Manjhis came for the first time, to the district of Ranchi.

The second group of Manjhi, the Chotdah according to the first opinion originally belonged to the border area of Bengal and Orissa. The second view is that, they migrated from "Holud Pukur" near Jamshedpur. This second group was also originally cattle rearers, but became more specialised in cotton and sugarcane cultivation. Under the patronage of the Maharaja of Chotanagpur (Ratu), they settled near Pundag, about 6 miles away from Ranchi. Some families of this group settled in Argora also. Life was happy and prosperous and they lived peacefully in this area for about fifteen generations. Then, all of a sudden, they left the place. There are two different stories explaining this unhappy incident of migration.

One young Manjhi boy, according to the first story, was employed in the royal palace to look after the cattle. He was allotted a room there. The young boy had a very good voice and sang melodiously. Occasionally young boys and girls, and very often the elderly people gathered round him to listen to his melodious tune. One young widow of the royal family fell in love with that boy and tried to attract his notice. The innocent boy did not understand all these. The unsuccessful efforts made the young widow quite desperate. One day in the dead of night she entered into the room of the boy and expressed her love for him. The boy became puzzled. When the lady became passionate and tried to seduce him, he became extremely afraid and refused her. Frustrated at heart the lady went away, but not

without the determination of vengeance. In the next morning the lady lodged a complaint with the king that the Manjhi boy had stolen her golden necklace. Without any evidence of proof the boy was beaten to death and his parents were informed about the misconduct of their son. The wrath of the king did not end there. He ordered that the Manjhis must leave his estate within 24 hours. The whole group of Manjhis reacted violently to this insult. They decided to leave the territory of the king immediately, never to return in future. This story refers to the Bardah group of Manjhis.

The Chotdah group has a different tale of migration to tell. Long long ago, their story runs, one young Manjhi girl of sixteen was on her way to visit some of her relatives. She was beautiful and attracted the notice of the young prince. He tried to persuade the girl to have his desire of her, but failing he took the girl by force to the palace. One night the girl managed to escape and ran away to her own people. She related the entire incident to her parents which, naturally infuriated the entire group. They complained to the king against the misbehaviour of the prince. But king was not just. He did not find any fault with the prince. Instead of punishing his own son, he ordered that the Manjhis must leave his kingdom immediately. The Manjhis also did not like to stay there where their honour was at stake. So they left the place.

Later on, during their migratory period, they met the Thakur (landlord) of Jaria. They told their tales of sorrow to him. The Thakur was very much pained to hear the unhappy incidents. He offered them land in his estate and said that he would settle them anywhere they wanted. The hatred for the king made them decide the farthest area and they chose Khunti sub-division. That is how they came to this area. After coming to this area they gave up the traditional occupation of cattle-rearing and took to agriculture.

In spite of not being the first settlers and numerically much lesser than the Munda, the Manjhi of Ghaghra have occupied the most important position in all spheres of life merely by virtue of their tact, intelligence, education and experience. They are the second set of immigrants and are inhabiting the village Ghaghra only for the last seven generations. Their first settlement in the village is hardly more than a two hundred years old. Strangely enough, in Chotanagpur, and specially in the Khunti sub-division of Ranchi, where the Munda abound as the first settlers, the Manjhis of Ghaghra, till the abolition of zamindary were the landlords and rulers of the village. Economically this group is the most well off, and politically the most conscious and influential. Though the Brahmins occupy the highest position in caste hierarchy the Manjhi enjoy a great social prestige and occupy a higher social status than any other group in this village. Before the abolition of zamindary they were the landlords and all other tribes and castes were their tenants. During those days the Manjhi did not cultivate their agricultural land by themselves, instead they used to get it done by their tenants. But after the abolition of zamindary they have to till their own land, though, till now, much of their land has been given away to men belonging to other tribes and castes on "Aadh-Batai" (half-share) system.

Other Caste specialists

Besides these two dominant groups—the Manjhi and the Mundas—there are other occupational groups which fulfil the needs of the villagers. According to the villagers the Kumhar and Lohar came next to Manjhi. The Kumhar and Lohar were followed by Brahmin, Teli, Tati, Jogi and Ahir.

The Brahmin look after the religious part of their life, the Lohar supply them with iron implements and ploughshares, the Kumhar are engaged in making earthen wares and tiles, and the Ahir tend their cattle. In this way, this village having different functional and occupational groups has a harmonious life and to a very great extent has become self-sufficient. At least all the major needs of the people of this village can be satisfied by people themselves. The isolation of the village has been broken long ago and the village is fast progressing. We get an account of the changing aspiration, mood and policy of the village in the concluding chapter.

CHAPTER III

Material Culture and Technology

The village Ghaghra is rather isolated. It is connected with Ranchi by a road, the last part of which is not easily negotiable. During the rainy season it becomes impossible to reach the village except on foot, and that, too, by crossing knee-deep water.

The whole village is connected by three roads, dividing it in four sectors. The Manjhi tola stretches from east to west on the northern sector and the Munda tola occupies the South-eastern segment. A small rivulet marks the eastern and northern boundary of the village:

Housing

All the houses are built with mud and the roofs are of country-tiles. The pattern of house is 'L' shaped, which is typical among the Munda. The larger side of the house consists of one big room attached with a small store room. One smaller extension serves as the cattle shed. But there are a few houses where several rooms are to be found. The village is a compact settlement. There is no planned street, but usually there is a wide space running in between two rows of the houses which serve the purpose of inter-house road.

In spite of this exception, a common pattern persists. Over the mud walls a structure is built by wooden logs and bamboos. Over this country tiles are placed, giving the house a gable shaped roof. The front walls are very low in height. The central room is comparatively long and spacious. There are no windows for which the interior is quite dark even in the day time. There is also no other opening from the front verandah. There is one door which allows entrance from the verandah to the central room. The central room is used as a living room-*cum*-store room. The walled up and covered verandah may be partitioned to be used as a separate store room. In one end of the verandah is to be found the cattle shed.

The type of the house is adopted according to the climatic conditions of the area. The gabled roofs are primarily for the high rain fall. The tiles are long, curved and burnt. The beams and rafters are generally of *Sal,* though occasionally bamboo is used. *Sal* is a very strong wood and lasts for a long time.

The big house consists of three or four rooms. The whole house is separated for different purposes. For example—bed room, grain room, cattle shed, etc. The actual dimension of the rooms differ from house to house depending upon the size and economic status of the family.

The walls are made of twigs-plastered cover with mud and cowdung. The floor of the hut is also of mud; and is usually raised one or two feet above the ground.

The poorest villager who has small house uses the larger room for his sleeping, eating and cooking purposes and the side room, for his granary and store room, whereas a portion of the sleeping room is partitioned off with a bamboo fencing to serve as his cattle-shed. Very well to do villagers with large families have more than two rooms with a courtyard or open space called *'Angan'*. Some of the houses have an outer enclosed compound. This protected area serves the purpose of a small garden.

Both the interior and exterior of the Manjhi houses present a neat and tidy appearance. A defect in their houses seems to be that there is no outlet for the kitchen-smoke to escape.

The houses generally have heavy wooden doors usually consisting of two roughly hewn planks, each revolving on a socket at one end of the door step. In most of the houses, there is a conspicuous absence of windows.

Every cultivator has a manure-pit close to the *basti* and often close to each individual's homstead. In this pit, cowdung, decayed vegetation, and all sorts of refuges are deposited every day and finally burnt and carried to the fields as manure.

For constructing or repairing a house the villagers must take help from others. The owner of the house entertains the helpers with food and drinks according to his means.

TABLE III·1

Distribution of Households according to the number of living rooms and a number of other rooms

Numbers of other rooms	Number of living rooms			
	1	2	3	Total
Nil	4%	6%	..	10%
1	35%	30%	4%	69%
2	4%	11%	4%	19%
3	..	..	2%	2%
Total	**43%**	**47%**	**10%**	**100%**

10% of the households have no other rooms except living rooms. 69%, however, have one room other than living rooms, which may be either a store room, a cattle shed or a separate kitchen room. Out of 69%, 35% of the households have one living room and one room other than living room. 30% out of 69% are those households which have two living rooms and one room other than living rooms. 4% of the families have three living rooms and one from other than living room.

19% of the total number of households have two other rooms besides the main living rooms. Out of this 4% of the households have one living room, 11% of the total households have two living rooms and 4% of the total households have three living rooms besides two other rooms.

2% of the total number of households have three other rooms and three living rooms.

43% of the total households in the village have only one room for living purpose. 47% of the total households have two living rooms and 10% of the total households have three living rooms.

The position of almost all the communities in respect of proportion of living rooms and other rooms is almost the same as is evident from the table below:

TABLE III·2

Distribution of household according to living rooms

Communities	1 room	2 rooms	3 rooms	Tota
Manjhi	8%	15%	4%	27%
Brahmin	1%	2%	..	3%
Teli	2%	1%	1%	4%
Tati	3%	2%	..	5%
Kumhar	..	1%	..	1%
Ahir	1%	..	..	1%
Bhokta	2%	..	..	2%
Swansi	4%	1%	..	5%
Jogi	1%	..	..	1%
Total of non-tribal	22%	22%	5%	49%
Converted Munda	3%	3%	2%	8%
Non-converted Munda	17%	22%	3%	42%
Lohar	1%	..	..	1%
Total of Tribal	21%	25%	5%	51%
Grand Total	**43%**	**47%**	**10%**	**100%**

TABLE III·3

Distribution of households according to area under various purposes

Area of House (With compound, courtyards *etc.*)	Area of living space: Less than 1 katha	1—3 katha	4—6 katha	7—9 katha	Total
Less than 1 Katha	7%	..	..	..	7%
1—3 katha	4%	41%	..	..	45%
4—6 katha	..	27%	13%	..	40%
7—9 katha	..	8%	..	..	8%
Total	11%	76%	13%	..	100%

11% of the total number of families have an area of living space which is less than one katha. 76% of the total number of families have an area between 1—3 kathas and 13% have the living space between 4—6 kathas.

7% of the total number of families have the same area of house and living space. Large houses in an area of 6—8 kathas and above 8 kathas are strikingly few in number. Only 13% of total number of families have an area of living space between 4—6 kathas.

45% of the families have the total area of house between 1—3 kathas and 40% have the total area of house between 4—6 kathas and 8% have the total area of house between 7—9 kathas.

TABLE III·4

Distribution of households according to cooking arrangement

Communities	Have separate kitchen	Attached with living room or other rooms	Total
Manjhi	15%	12%	27%
Brahmin	3%	..	3%
Teli	..	4%	4%
Tati	1%	4%	5%
Kumhar	..	1%	1%
Ahir	..	1%	1%
Bhokta	..	2%	2%
Swansi	..	5%	5%
Jogi	..	1%	1%
Total of non-tribal	19%	30%	49%
Converted Munda	5%	3%	8%
Non-converted Munda	13%	29%	42%
Lohar	..	1%	1%
Total of tribal	19%	33%	51%
Grand Total	37%	63%	100%

37% of the total number of households have separate cooking arrangements. Such high percentage of separate cooking arrangement is due to the Hindu influence. Nearly two-thirds of Manjhi households have separate cooking arrangements. All the Brahmin families in the village have separate cooking arrangements. 13% of the non-converted Munda families have separate cooking arrangements.

63% of the total households have no separate kitchen or kitchen like space to be used for cooking. They mostly use the corner of their living room for cooking purposes. However in some of the communities, there is a complete absence of separate cooking arrangement in their residences. The table III. 4 will give the exact figure

TABLE III·5

Description of House

Communities	Wall		Floor		Roof	
	Kachcha	Pakka	Kachcha,	Pakka	Khapra (tiles)	Bush
Manjhi	24	3	27	..	27	..
Brahmin	3	..	3	..	3	..
Teli	4	..	4	..	4	..
Tati	5	..	5	..	5	..
Kumhar	1	..	1	..	1	..
Ahir	1	..	1	..	1	..
Bhokta	2	..	2	..	2	..
Jogi	1	..	1	..	1	..
Swansi	5	..	5	..	5	..
Converted Munda	8	..	8	..	8	..
Non-converted Munda . . .	42	..	42	..	42	..
Lohar	1	..	1	..	1	..

The above table gives us an idea about the types of houses in the village. The walls of the houses are generally of mud. Only three Manjhi families have *pakka* wall (the brick wall). The floor of the house is invariably of mud. *Khapra* (country-tile) sheds are more popular than the thatched ones.

Household goods and furniture

Furniture:—It is rather difficult to find an object worth the name of furniture from all the houses of the village. For sitting purposes the people use date-leaf mats (*Pitri*) which are prepared by the Munda women. These mats are spread out on ground for guests and visitors to sit upon. For spreading cereals in the sunshine the same mats are used. The length of the the mats vary from 3′ to 4½′ by 6′. They also possess *Khatias* or sleeping cots. The size of the *Khatias* also varies. Generally two sizes are common, smaller one and a bigger one. It has a frame with four legs. The open space is covered by the inter-weaving of ropes made of *Sabai* grass. At one end it is left open where the people use strong ropes to retain the tightness in a proper form. In some houses small planks of wood are used for sitting purpose which are known as *Kandos*. Some have *Machias* or small sitting chairs. *Machia* can be called a much smaller replica of the *Khatia*, without the tension—shrings. The *Machias* are less than a foot-high from the ground and are about 1½ foot square. Sometimes a coiled straw is used for sitting purpose. In a very few families, chair, table and stool were found.

In recent times some of the rich villagers have purchased big wooden boxes and trunks made of tin plates or galvanized sheets. A few chairs and tables were also noticed. Grinding stone and pestle are commonly found. The following tables give a clear picture of the materials found in their houses.

TABLE III·6

Table showing the possession of different types of furnitures

Communities	No. of house-holds	No. of households possessing the different furnitures				
		Khatia (cot)	Table	Chair	Stool	Bench
Manjhi	27	53	4	3	3	1
Brahmin	3	9	1	2	..	..
Teli	4	6	..	..	..	..
Tati	5	4	..	1	..	..
Kumhar	1	2	..	..	..	..
Ahir	1	..	..	..	..	.
Bhokta	2	2	..	..	..	.
Swansi	5	2	..	..	..	.
Jogi	1	..	..	..	..	..
Converted Munda	8	6	2	2	1	..
Non-converted Munda	42	15	3	2	1	.
Lohar	1	..	..	..	..	..
Total	**100**	**99**	**10**	**10**	**4**	

TABLE III·7

Table showing the furniture acquired in the last five years by different communities

Communities	No. of house-holds.	Furnitures acquired during the last five years				
		Khatia (cot)	Table	Chair	Stool	Bench
Manjhi	27	1	1	2	..	..
Brahmin	3	..	..	1	..	..
Teli	4	..	..	..	..	..
Tati	5	..	..	..	..	..
Kumhar	1	..	..	..	..	..
Ahir	1	..	..	..	..	..
Bhokta	2	..	..	..	..	..
Jogi	1	..	..	..	..	..
Converted Munda	8	..	1	1	..	..
Non-converted Munda	42	4	2	1	..	..
Lohar	1	..	..	..	..	.
Total	**100**	5	3	5	..	..

The Table III·7 shows that the furniture of the average villagers is neither numerous nor costly. Except for cot in which they sit or sleep, there is hardly any furniture in the village worth-mentioning. Only 10% of households have tables, out of which the Manjhi possess 4% of total number of tables and 10% of chairs. A comparison of this table with the table showing furniture acquired in the last five years shows that there has been negligible change during the period.

Household utensils

All the families possess a number of household utensils. Among these the most important is *Tharis* or the dinner plate. There are two types of these plates. The bigger ones with smaller elevated rims are used by adult males and females for eating purpose. The smaller *thari* have high rims and are generally used by children. They have also pots or cups—which they call *dubha* for serving cooked pulse or vegetable curry. Brass *lotas* or spherical water jugs for holding water, are used for washing the mouth or the hands and feet. The brass utensils are manufactured by Hindus of the *Kansera* caste from whom the Mundas or other villagers buy them at the bazars (market).

For cooking rice they use earthen pots. Sometimes the rich families use brass pot for cooking rice. The earthen pot for cooking rice are made by the *Kumhars* or potters and mud-hearths (*chulnas*) are prepared by their own women folk. Iron Karani, Kalchhul (iron spoon), Tawa (iron disc), Chimta (tongs) etc., are also found. These are made by the village blacksmith or the *Lohar* from whom the villagers purchase these with cash. These are also available in the weekly markets.

The earthen wares are made by the Kumhars. The common and useful wares are *Ghara* or *da-chatu* (Pitcher), *'chuka'* (smaller pitcher). Earthen jars (*da-chatu*) are used to hold drinking water. A large earthen jar to hold water is called *sorol*. Those who can not afford to buy brass *Lotas*, use earthen *chukas* for holding water to wash their hands and faces. The *bisal* (big pitcher) is used for boiling paddy before husking. When rice has been prepared, these big pots are used. They also have *dabnas* or earthenware discs which are used for covering the mouth of *gharas* or pitcher.

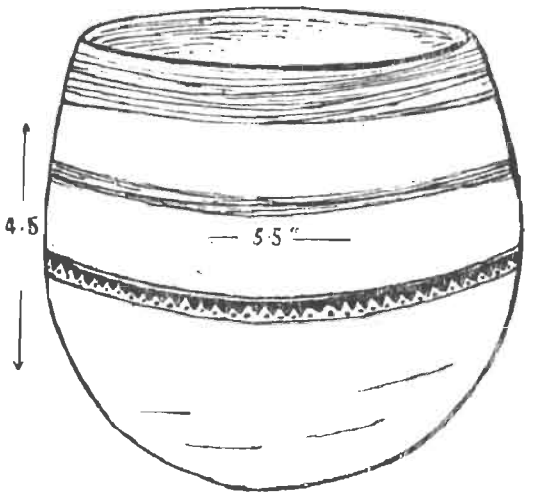
The women of the village in carrying water from the well, tank or spring (*dari*) generally place the earthen jars (*gharas*) on a small straw-pad (*binda*) over the head.

TABLE III·8

Distribution of households according to utensils owned

Communities	No. of households	Cooking			Others		
		Metal (brass)	Aluminium	Earthen (and drinking purpose also)	Metal (brass)	Aluminium	Others (china clay glass etc.)
Manjhi	27	30	21	49	30	32	15
Brahmin	3	4	5	8	12	4	3
Teli	4	5	6	8	2	15	..
Tati	5	2	8	10	2	22	..
Kumhar	1	1	2	4	2	6	..
Ahir	1	.	2	4	..	4	..
Bhokta	2	1	4	6	2	10	..
Swansi	5	2	8	10	2	6	..
Jogi	1		2	4	..	8	..
Converted Munda	8	10	12	10	6	10	4
Non-converted Munda . .	42	22	44	48	21	88	10
Lohar . . .	1	.	2	4	..	6	..
Total	**100**	**77**	**116**	**165**	**79**	**211**	**32**

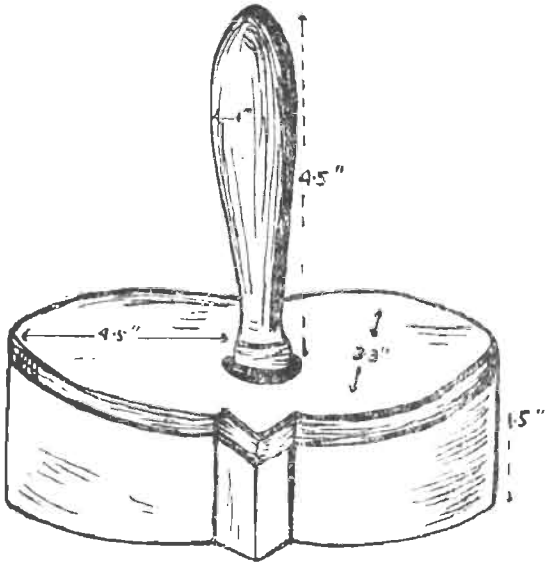
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ENGLISH NAME..MEASURE



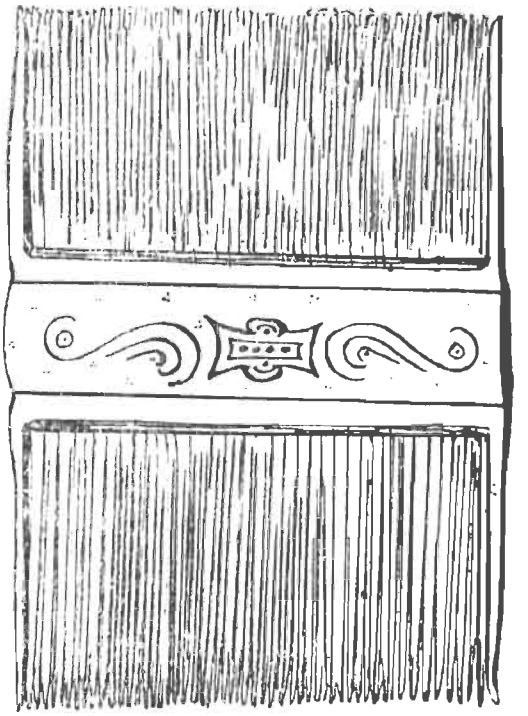
LOCAL NAME LANDIG
ENGLISH NAME EADLE



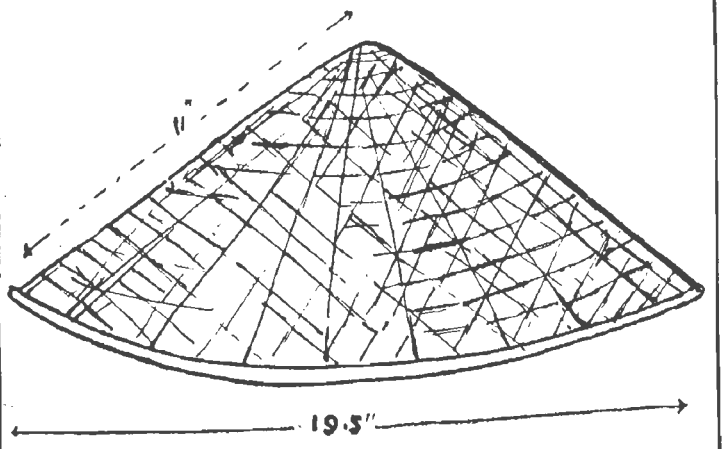
LOCAL NAME..KATHILA
ENGLISH NAME..WOODEN BOX
FOR SPICES



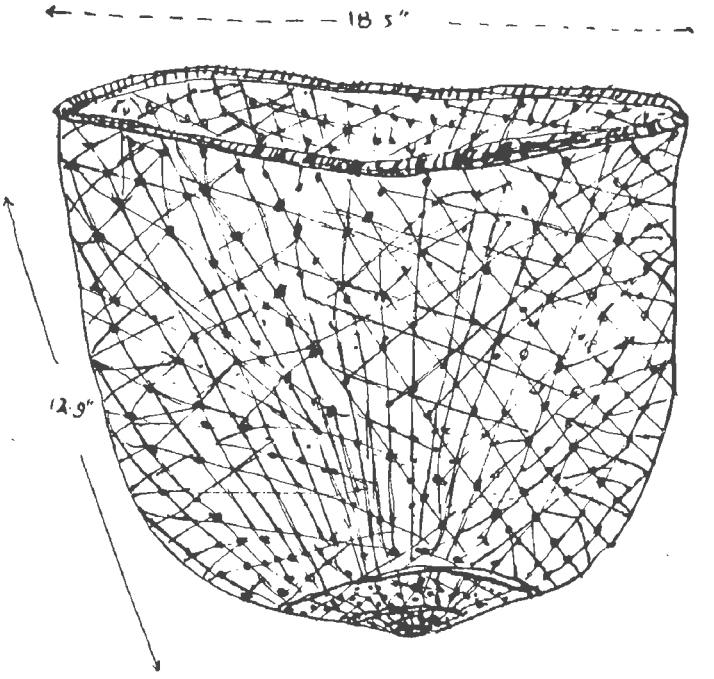
LOCAL NAME..NAKI
ENGLISH NAME..COMB (WOODEN)



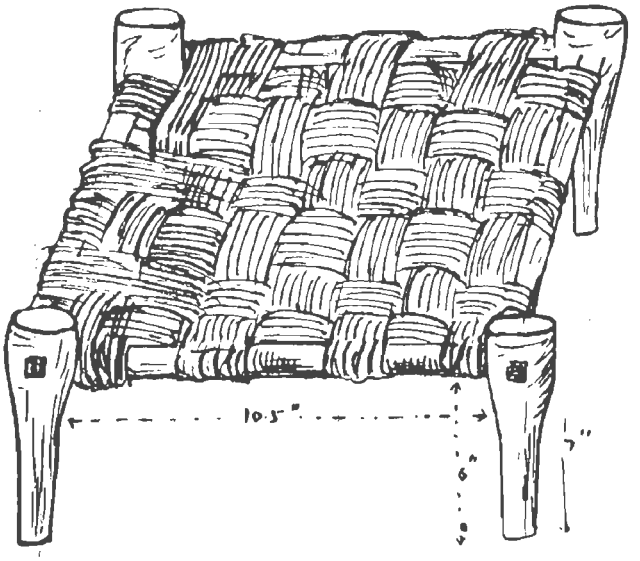
LOCAL NAME ...COOLLA CHUKRU
ENGLISH NAME. RAIN HAT



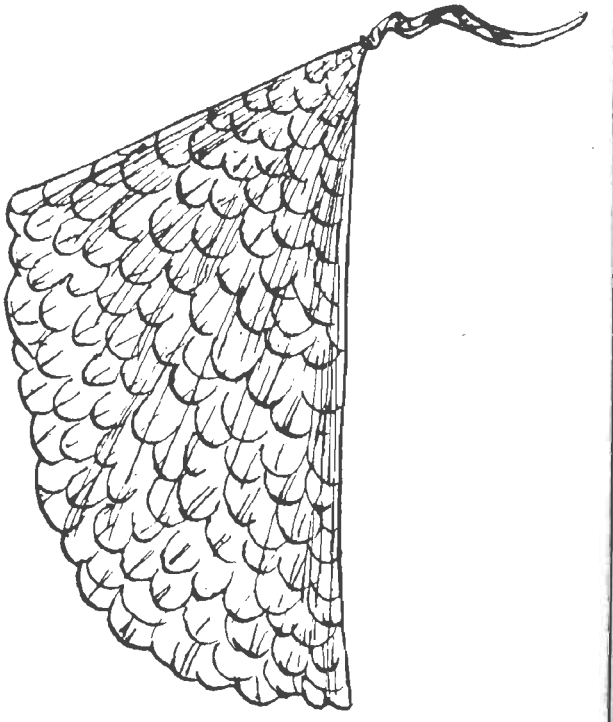
LOCAL NAME ... GANGHUA
ENGLISH NAME... NET BAG



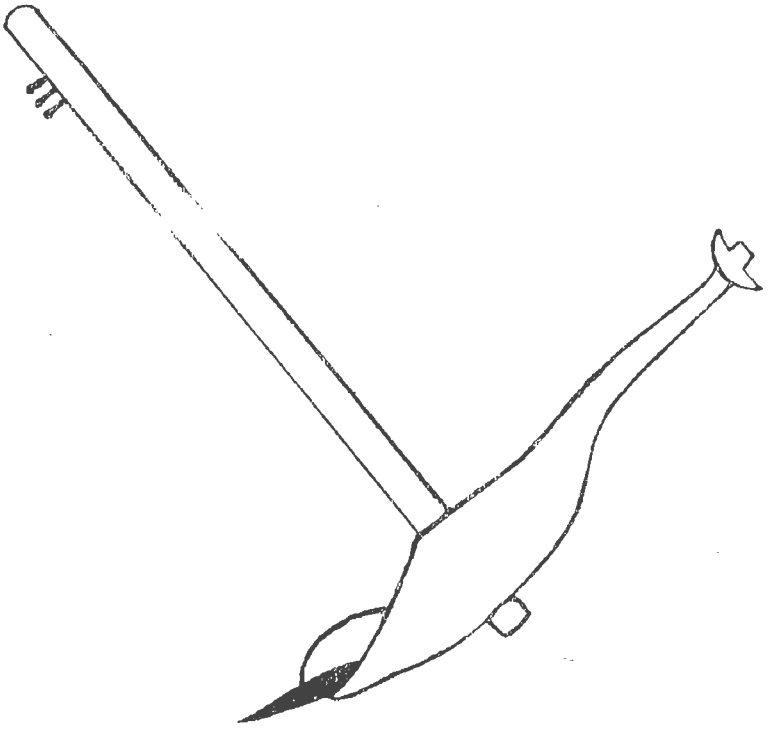
LOCAL NAME.. MACHIYA
ENGLISH NAME.. SITTING STOOL



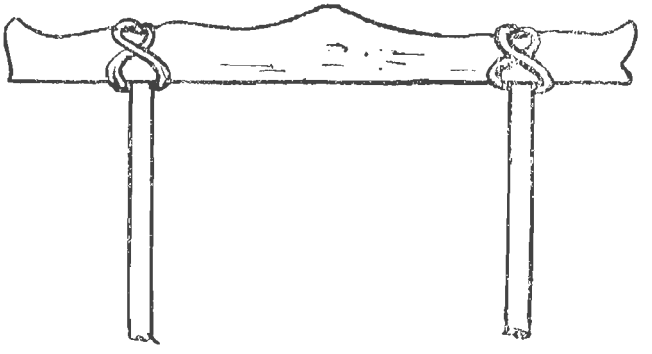
LOCAL NAME... GUNGU
ENGLISH NAME ... LEAF HAT



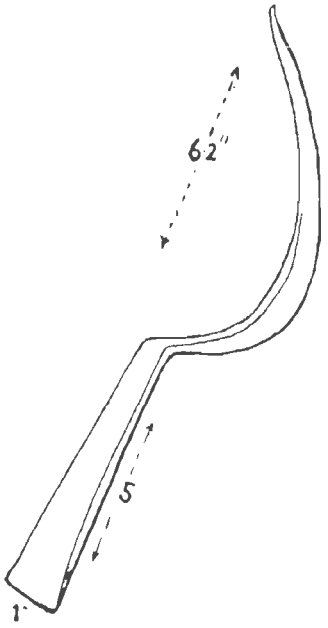
LOCAL NAME HARS



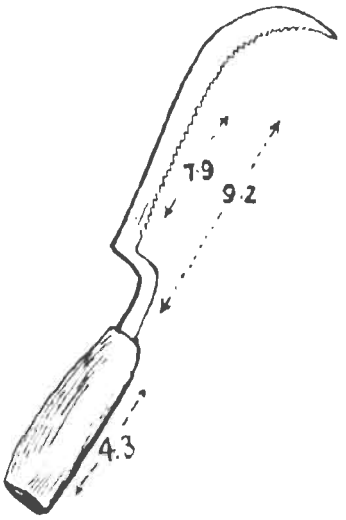
LOCAL NAME GOAUT



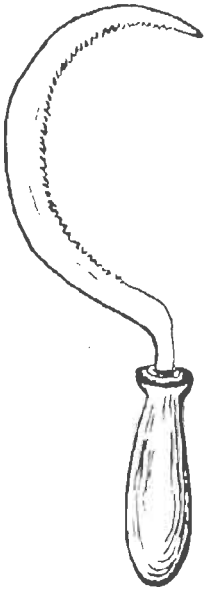
LOCAL NAME ... ANKHARI
ENGLISH NAME - HOOK



LOCAL NAME . DATROM
ENGLISH NAME . . SIKLE



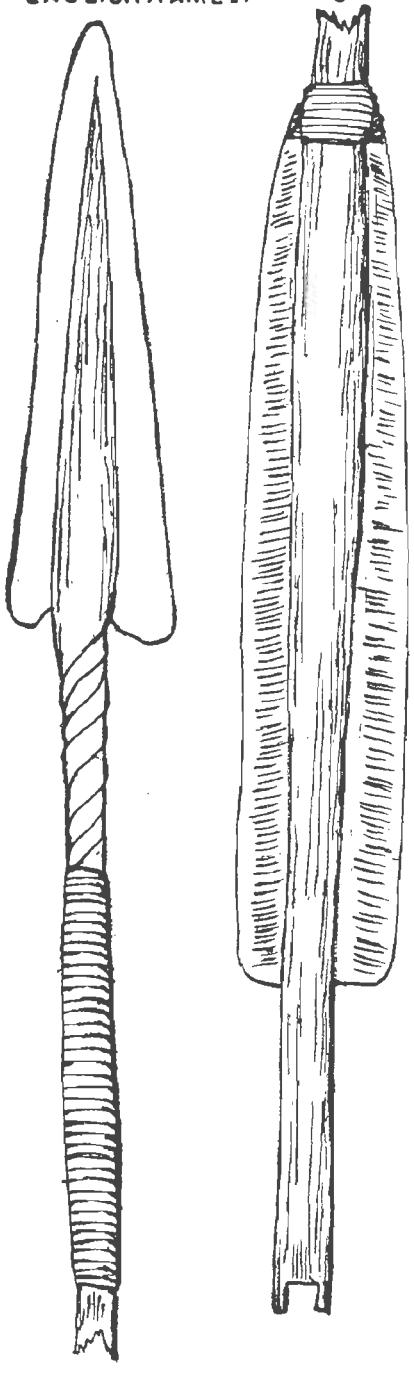
LOCAL NAME HANSUC



LOCAL NAME . PATA



LOCAL NAME ... SAAR
ENGLISH NAME .. ARROW

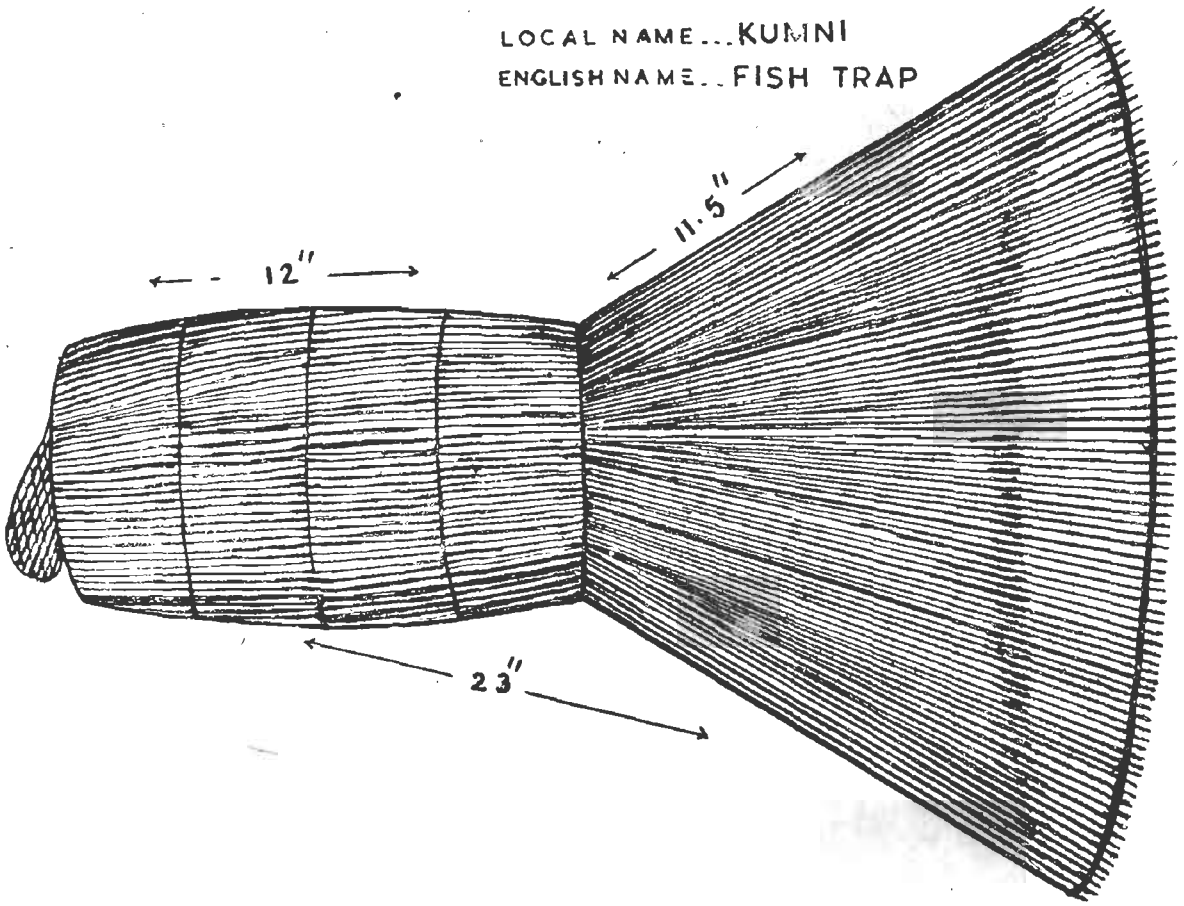


LOCAL NAME ... SAAR
ENGLISH NAME .. ARROW



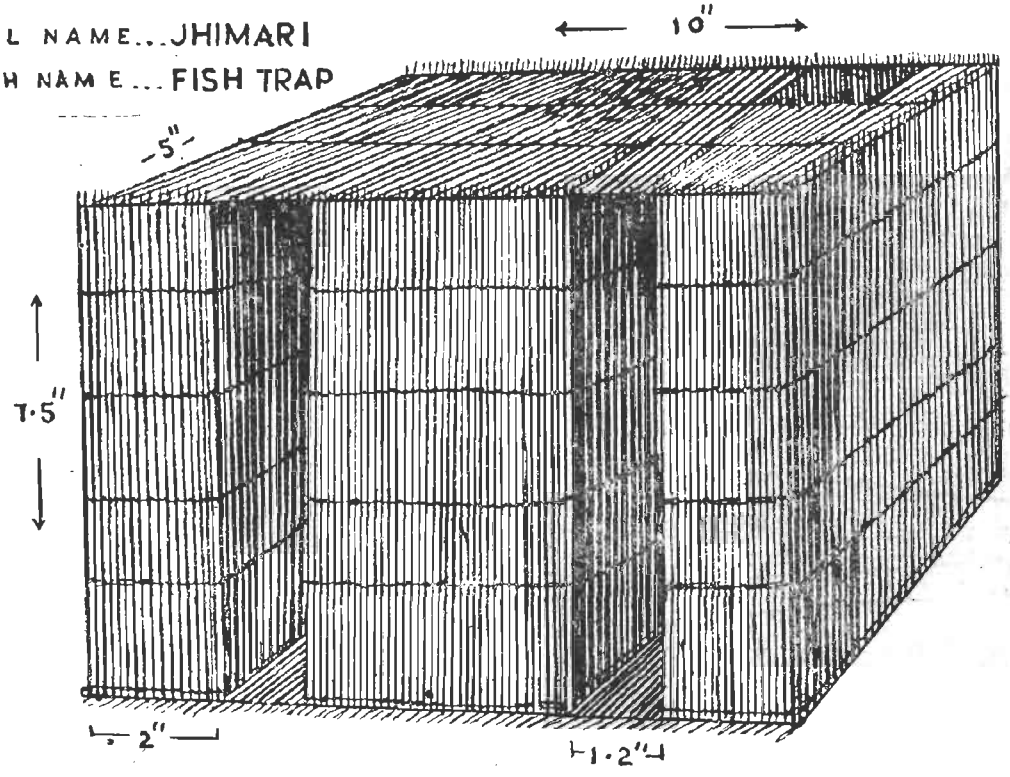
TOTAL LENGTH OF THE SHAFT 17.5"

LOCAL NAME...KUMNI
ENGLISH NAME..FISH TRAP



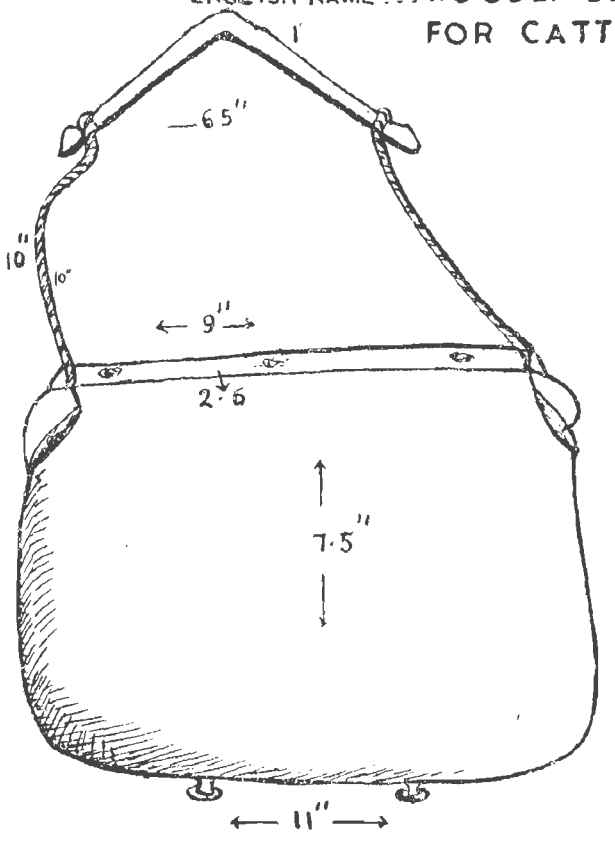
18

LOCAL NAME...JHIMARI
ENGLISH NAM E...FISH TRAP



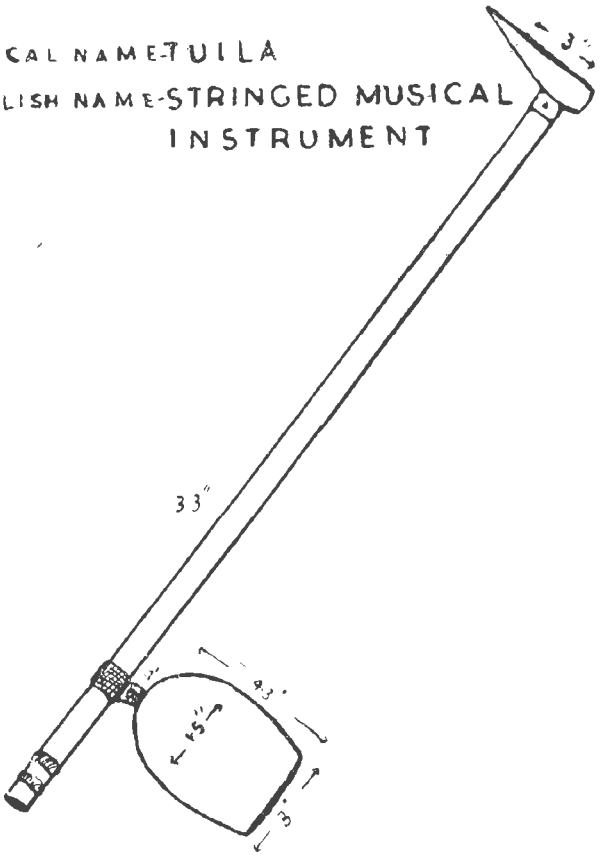
LOCAL NAME ... THERKI

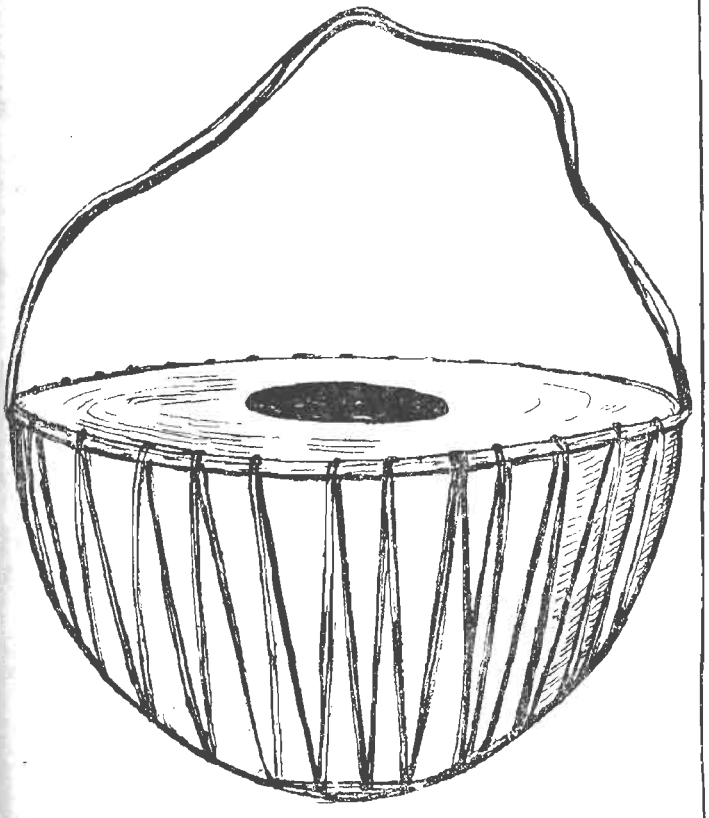
ENGLISH NAME ... WOODEN BELL FOR CATTLE



LOCAL NAME-TUILA

ENGLISH NAME-STRINGED MUSICAL INSTRUMENT



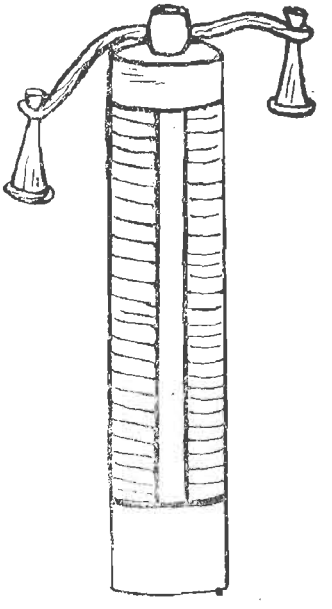


LOCAL NAME NAGARA

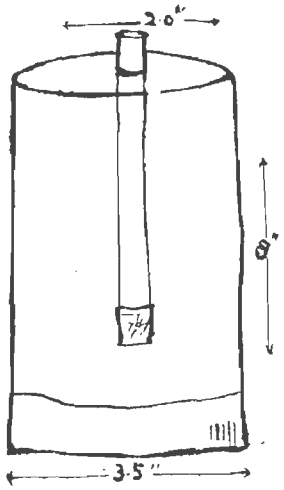
ENGLISH NAME DRUM

LOCAL NAME ... RALGU

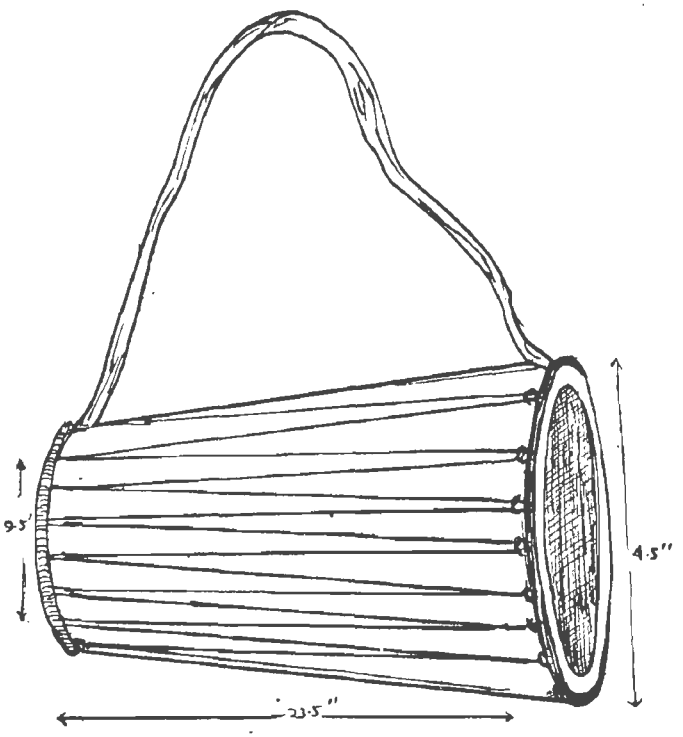
ENGLISH NAME ... WOODEN BELL FOR CATTLE



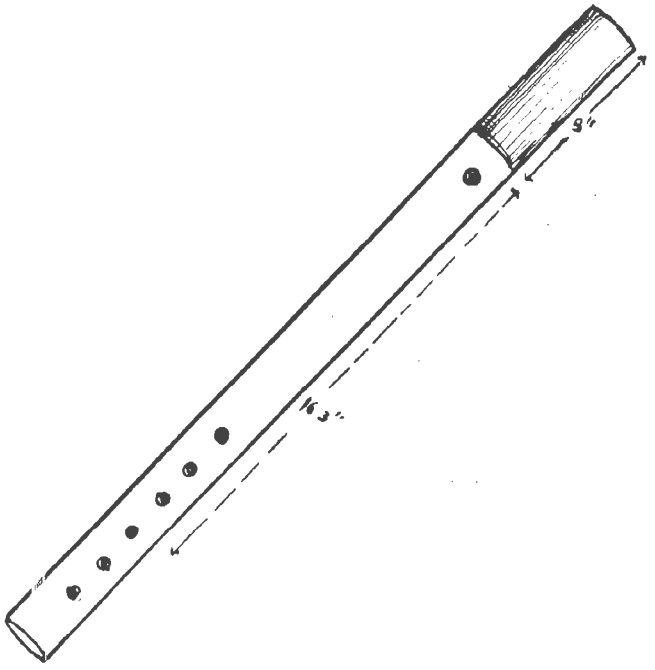
LOCAL NAME ... THERKI
ENGLISH NAME ... BELL



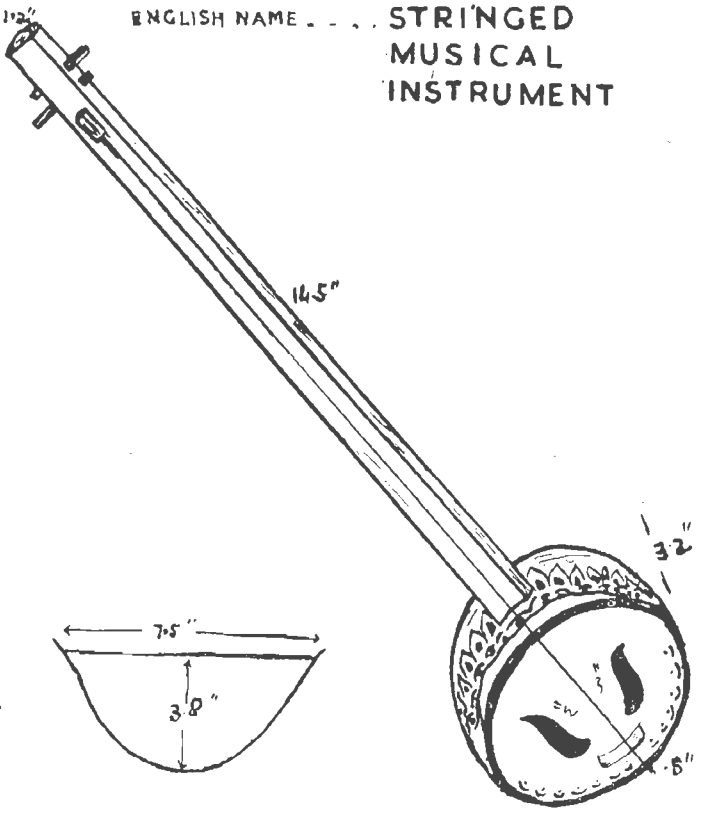
LOCAL NAME MANDER [KHEL, IN ORAON, DUMANG, IN MUNDARI
ENGLISH NAME DRUM



LOCAL NAME .. RUTU
ENGLISH NAME .FLUTE



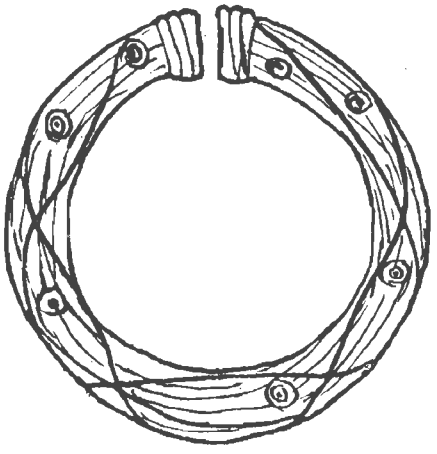
LOCAL NAME .... PORI
ENGLISH NAME .... STRINGED MUSICAL INSTRUMENT



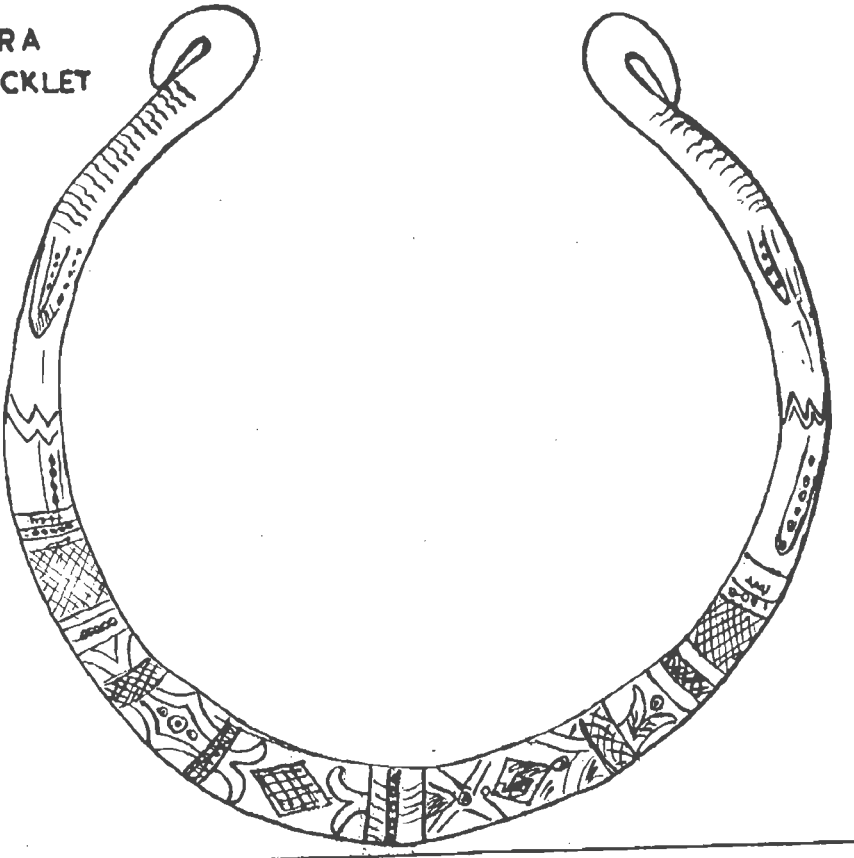
LOCAL NAME...BERA
ENGLISH NAME.. NECKLET



LOCAL NAME..CHURI
ENGLISH NAME BANGLES



LOCAL NAME...BERA
ENGLISH NAME.. NECKLET



LOCAL NAME..CHURI
ENGLISH NAME BANGLES



Table No. III-8 showing the possession of different categories of utensils by the various households, suggests that a very few households own brass utensils and other utensils (including china clay, glass etc.,) and incidentally these are possessed by those who are economically better off in the village.

Basketry

The basketry consists of bamboo baskets of various sizes and shapes. The most common is *sup* or the winnowing fan to be found in every household. *Chchatka* is a very large basket used for storing paddy or rice. In some households smaller baskets or *dauras* are to be found, which are used for keeping various things. A somewhat bigger size of the *dauras* are used for carrying cow-dung. Smaller baskets, called *tunkis* are used in carrying paddy seeds to the fields, and to hold cereals, vegetables and the like. Very small baskets, called *tupas,* are used by children in gathering *Sag* or edible leaves. All these baskets are now generally made by men of other castes such as the *Bans Mahis* and the *Doms.*

Other household possession

(1) Knives (Kato).

(2) Meat cutters (Bainthi) etc.

Agricultural implements

Among all the agricultural implements the ploughshare and the sickle are the most important for the villagers. The iron ploughshare is fitted in the wooden plough. It is this part of plough which tills the soil. It is prepared by the blacksmith of the village. This needs occasional sharpening. The Lohar does it for all the villagers for which he is paid annually in kind. The sickle is used for cutting paddy and grass. It is generally purchased either from the blacksmith of the village or from the market. The people use balance and *paseri* for weighing and *paila* for measuring grain and other agricultural produce.

The wooden shaft of the plough which is known as *har* or *sair* measures about 6′ to 8′ in length. At the other end is fixed a wooden portion known as the *hal.* It is fixed by making a hole in the centre of the *hal* and the *hars* are at right angles to each other. The wider end of the *hal* is slightly curved inwards. The iron blade, known as *Fal is* fixed to this part of the plough. At the upper end of the *hal* is an oval shaped wooden piece known as *Muthia* which serves as a handle. The man behind the plough holds this handle and exerts pressure according to the situation and mud.

Three different kinds of husking instruments are used by the Mundas and other villagers. The first is known as the *darusenl* or wooden mortar. This is constructed by hollowing out a piece of wood, and inserting it up right in the ground with the scoop turned upwards in the form of an inverted bell. The grain is put in this scoop or hollow, and husked with a wooden pole called *tuku.* The second variety is the *dirisehel,* or stone-mortar. This consists of a small basin like hollow made in a block of stone or on a flat hillock. The grain is placed in this hollow and husked with a wooden *tuku* or pestle. The third variety is the ordinary wooden dhenki acted on by the feet.

Other implements are as follows:

(1) Kisla or bassila—used in chopping off small branches and twigs.

(2) Kolhu—(oil pressure).

(3) Hanga—is required to level fields and press the soil. It is like a large oblong wooden shovel which is used to break the larger clodes of the earth with a short handle.

(4) Hoe (Kalam).

(5) The crow-bar (sobaro) with which rocky soil is opened up.

(6) Ankri (Pitch-fork)—is a wooden rod about five feet long with a bent iron hook at one end. At the time of thrashing, it is used to shift the straw.

(7) Chisel and adgemallet—The mortising chisel or rukhna and the (rukhna and baisla) adgemallet or basila are used by the villagers in working wood with as for instance, in making their ploughs etc.

(8) Spade (kori or Kudari)—The spade or kori consists of three parts—namely a bamboo or wooden handle about a yard long, an iron socket (pasa) which fits into the handle, and a flat steel blade, which is welded on to the socket. The villager use it for earth work such as digging fields, and repairing and constructing ridges and embankments.

(9) Axe—The axe or tanga, like the spade consists of a bamboo or wooden pole about a yard and a half long, called *bahinga* with two rope nets or sikas suspended one at each end of the rod. Things to be carried, such as paddy seedlings to be carried to the fields or reaped crops to be carried to

the thrashing floor, are put into these nets and the bahind's pole is placed crosswise on the shoulder of the carrier.

Hunting weapons and Fishing Implements

Hunting Weapons

The principal weapon used for hunting are the bow and the arrow, the axe, the sword, the spear (ballam) and sticks of different varieties. The bow consists of a thin bamboo or of chop or sun string, and the arrow consists of a reed-shaft generally with a pointed iron-arrow. Often, a pair of feathers of the white stork or some other white-plumed bird, are attached to the lower end of the shaft. These feathers not only serve as ornamentation, but, what is more important that, it make easy for the hunter to recover his arrow after it has been shot. Spears used by them are of two varieties, the larger variety called ballam having a bamboo shaft four to five cubits long and an iron or steel point, the shorter variety called *barchi* having a bamboo handle about a cubit long and a smaller iron or steel point axes used in hunting are also of different varieties, such as the *balua* the *pharsa* and the *surhi*.

Fishing implements

Fishing implements are as follows:

(1) *Kumri* which is a bamboo-trap with one tooth (2) the *jhimri* also a bamboo trap but possessing two teeth (3) the *kurua* which is another bamboo trap with two door so constructed that when a fish once enters the trap, it can not get out. These bamboo traps are made generally by men of *Turi, Ghasi,* Castes.

Musical Instruments

The people have a great fancy for music and dance. They possess *Dhol* and *Nagara* which are two different types of drums. These are generally used at the time of dancing and for such occasions as wedding or worship. The *Nagara* is a large and heavy drum, more or less 'V' shaped. The upper end of this 'V' is covered with strong tanned hide. It is hung on the neck and two small sticks are used for beating. It produces a deep sound which is audible from a long distance. The *Dhol* is elliptical in shape. The two narrow ends are covered with hide. Fingers and palms are used for beating purpose. It is also hung on the neck. But more numerous and common is the bamboo flutes 'Most of the young men possess flutes and, besides during dancing on social and religious occasions, the young men play upon their flutes at leisure hours.

Dress and ornaments

Dress: The young men and women are exceedingly fond of finery. The old men and women generally use rough and coarse clothes. In all persons the feeling of shame of nakedness is present. Very young children upto 4 or 5 years are to be found, in many families, roaming about without anything. This is more for economic reasons than for anything else. Girls under eight or nine years wear nothing except a piece of torn cloth round their waists. In some well-to-do families men bring frocks for their daughters and the young girls wear them, with great pleasure and pride. At the age of ten or twelve a Munda girl wears *Paria*. Blouses are rarely used. But this is not the case with the Manjhi. When a Manjhi girl grows up, she wears *Sari* and blouse to cover the upper part of her body.

The ordinary and common clothing of an adult male in the village consists of a cotton dhoti and a shirt. Old men and the poor wear a piece of cotton cloth about a foot wide and three to five or six yards long. While taking a journey to the market or to a relative, they cover their trunk with a *chaddar*. The use of head dress is not obligatory or very common.

The Munda women, in the village, ordinarily wear *Sari*, the one end of which is wrapped over the upper body. Some women use Sari with a black or red border. The old women wrap the sari only round the waist the upper part remaining bare. On special occasions young girls wear coloured blouses. The festive dress on the occasion of *Jatra* is a sari, a blouse and a *taina*.

The poor who cannot afford to get a shirt and a dhoti use a loin cloth only.

It has been observed that the traditional dress for both men and women are going gradually out of vogue. The urban pattern of dressing *i.e. dhoti* and shirt for men and *sari* and blouse for women are being received favourably by the people.

During the winter, men and women use blankets and wrappers. Only a few can afford to get woollen blankets. Mostly they use coarse and thick *chaddars*.

Ornaments

Young women of the village are fond of ornaments. Brass, silver and glass ornaments are generally worn by them. In the lobes of the ear they use ear rings, either of brass or of silver. Sometimes they use a red coloured leaf for this purpose. *Hansuli* and *necklaces* are worn round the neck. These are made either of brass or of

silver. Bracelets or *balas* are used round the arm. A wooden comb is fixed on the bun of the hair behind the head.

The young men are also very fond of ornaments. At marriages or festivals or at the time of Jatras a young Munda wear something or other to decorate his body. Bracelets or wristlets are used by them. A variety of head necklaces are worn by the young men on such occasions.

TABLE III·9

Table showing the possession of Consumer Goods —

Communities	No. of house-holds	Huricane lantern	Petro-max	Torch	Bicycle	Radio	Sewing machine
Manjhi	27	27	1	4	7	..	..
Brahmin	3	3	1	3	3	..	..
Tali	4	2	..	..	..	..	..
Tati	5	2	..	..	..	..	..
Kumhar	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
Ahir	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
Bhokta	2	1	..	..	..	..	..
Swansi	5	2	..	..	..	..	..
Jogi	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
Converted Munda	8	7	..	2	2	..	..
Non-converted Munda	42	15	2	4	4	..	..
Lohar	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
Total	100	59	4	13	16	..	..

TABLE III·10

Table showing the consumer goods acquired in the last five years by different communities

Communities	No. of house-holds	Consumer goods acquired during the last five years					
		Haricane lantern	Petro-max	Torch	Bicycle	Radio	Sewing machine
Manjhi	27	..	1	2	2	..	..
Brahmin	3	..	..	..	..	..	..
Teli	4	1	..	..	..	..	..
Tati	5	1	..	..	..	..	..
Kumhar	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
Ahir	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
Bhokta	2	1	..	..	..	..	..
Swansi	5	1	..	..	..	..	..
Jogi	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
Converted Munda	8	2	..		1	1	..
Non-converted Munda	42	2	1	..	1	..	..
Lohar	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
Total	100	8	2	2	4	1	..

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The table 9 shows that 59% of the total number of households have haricane lanterns. The rest of the households have either earthen lamps or small tin lamps. 16% of the total number of households have bicycles. There are four patromaxes owned by a Manjhi household, and other three by a Brahmin and two Munda households.

A comparison of the data shown in the table III·9 (possession of consumer goods) with the table III·10 (showing acquisition of these goods during the last five years), shows that during the last five years the villagers have purchased very few consumer goods. Except in case of 8 huricane lanterns, 2 Patromaxes, 3 Torches and 5 bicycles hardly any change has taken place during the last five years. This indicates that villagers do not generally purchase the costly things. As the number of cycle is fast increasing, it appears the tribal village is at the threshold of "cycle stage"

CHAPTER IV

Land and Livelihood

An ecological approach is essential for understanding the geographical structure of the village. Ecology plays an important role in determining the economic structure and influencing the social organisation of any community.

Soil

Soils are of paramount importance in agricultural economy. For the purpose the soil of Chotanagpur plateau is generally poor. This village also has not been endowed with nice agricultural soil. The soil, in general, is sandy. But on the Northern and Eastern areas, blessed by the river Banai, the percentage of sand is rather low. This blackish soil is quite fertile, specially for paddy cultivation. On the Western side, the soil is reddish and the percentage of sand is more. The Southern sector presents a very hard soil, rather difficult for ploughing and cultivation. The fourth type of soil is very sandy sometimes rocky, and particularly unfit for any cultivation. The villagers also categorise the land into four types *i.e.* the *Don* land, or Low land, where the soil is less sandy and more fertile, the Intermediate land, where the proportion of sand is more and water flows out, the Tanr land, or the upland which is sandy but cultivable, the last type of land is Partiland or uncultivable land.

Climate

The rainfall is heavier during the monsoons—in the months of June, July and August; September also passes away with a few showers. The average rainfall is 2·50 or 3 mm. The monsoon generally breaks by the middle of June. Just before the monsoon there is a short spell of heat, but the scorching warmth of the sun is moderate to some extent by the forest and the river. For the most part of the year the climate of this area is cool and bracing.

There are three distinct and well marked seasons: Summer, Rainy and Winter.

Drainage

In general the whole of Chotanagpur plateau is undulating. Even the plains, which are nothing but table lands are sloping in one direction or the other. Thus, in spite of heavy rain during the monsoons, the water drains out from most part of the cultivable land, except the deeper low lands. As the soil is sandy, water cannot be retained for a long time.

Landscape

The village bears the chief characteristic of Chotanagpur plateau. Though not hilly completely, it shows some rocky exposures. The rocky portion of the village do not go unused. Men make use of such parts for non-productive works—as for the purpose of *Sasan* or graveyard, *Khauhan* or threshing ground etc.

The village slopes from south to north. The southern part is upland, which generally slopes northwards and after some distance there is a sudden depression and we find the low-lands or *Dons* of the village. This stretch of *Don* land is narrow on the west and becomes broader and broader as we go towards the east and north-east. On the north the land rises again to constitute the central upland of the village or the *Tanr*. The central upland is the heart of the village containing the habitation of most of the villagers.

From east to west the village can be divided into four topographical zones—two don lands (low lands) and two tanr lands (uplands). Near about 55% of the total land under the jurisdiction of the village is Don, and 45% is Tanr. The slopes are cut into terraces. The lowest cultivable land in the depression between the ridges are called *garha don*. The terraces just about *Garha dons* are known as *Sokra* lands The next elevated terraces are called *Choura don*. Above *Chaura don* come *Taria don*. Above *Taria dan* comes the upland—known as *tamr* or *Tanr*. The fertility of the *tanr* land is very low and the soil is also very poor. Thereafter these lands have to be left fallow for every alternative year. At times they are cultivated only once in three years.

Natural vegetation

Along with the increase in population there was more pressure on land. The decreasing fertility of the cultivable fields was also being felt every day. So there was a desire for more land. As a result of which trees and plants were cut and land was prepared for cultivation. This resulted in destruction of natural vegetation of the village. Only in the uplands are to be found

some trees and plants—like mango, tamerind, *neem,* jackfruit and so on. Most of these trees, as was reported by the villagers, were planted by them. During the rains some shrubs grow on the uplands. There is no natural pasture for the cattle. They have, therefore, to be artificially fed throughout the year. The absence of the pasture, coupled with the general economic plight of the village explains the relatively small number and the poor quantity of the cattle of the village.

Agricultural land use

In the village economy, land is important as the principal source of livelihood and in the society the size of land holding determines, to a certain extent the social status of a person.

The following figures amply illustrate the position of agriculture in the economy of the village.

TABLE IV. 1

The classification of land of the village

	Area in acres	Percentage of the total acreage of land
Land under cultivation	718·73	53·4%
Cultivable but barren	200·94	15·1%
Cultivable land which is not covered by cultivation	0·14	0·2%
Non-agricultural land	67·99	5·2%
Fallow land	212·50	16·2%
Current fallow	132·65	9·9%
Total	**1332·95**	**100%**

Table shows that the land under cultivation accounts for 53.4%, the remaining are waste land, fallow land *etc.,* which account for 46.6% of the total.

The land which is not cultivable represents rock exposures and stony waste, and cannot be reclaimed for agricultural purposes. All the lands classified as cultivable are not sown every year. Some lands are always left fallow in order to recoup the lost fertility. Some are left fallow for two or even more years. The fallow lands are generally situated on the *tanr* where the soil is poor and cannot be ploughed every year.

During the course of the year four crops are raised in the village. Their relative position in the village economy is revealed by the following figures:

TABLE IV. 2

Crops	Area in acres
1 Aghani	403·60
2 Bhadai	279·84
3 Rabi	13·98
4 Garma	21·31
Total	**711·73**

From all the above crops the *Aghani* crop is the most important. The latter is not as important as *Aghani.* The two other crops *i.e., Rabi* and *Garma* are of average importance.

The *Aghani crop* is sown with the onset of the monsoon and is harvested in November. It is the main stay of the agricultural economy of

the village. The *Aghari* cropped areas are as follows.

TABLE IV. 3

Crops	Area in acres
1 Aghani Dhan	334.73
2 Gangai (Danadar)	24·31
3 Urid	16·88
4 Kurthi	2·55
5 Surguja	21·23
6 Vegetable	0·49
7 Sakarkand	3.40
Total	**403·59**

The winter paddy is exclusively confined to the '*Don*' land. The average yield is between 15 to 20 maunds per acre. But the yield is subject to wide variations. It is greatest in the *Don* field where the soil and moisture conditions are the best. The yield of the winter paddy seems to be inversly proportional to the slope. It decreases towards upslope fields where the soil becomes sandy and soil moisture diminishes.

The *Bhadai* crop is the second most important crop of the village and covers a good acreage. It is sown with the onset of the monsoon and harvested in September and October. The total acreage under the *Bhadai* crop is utilised as follows:

TABLE IV. 4

Crops	rea in acres
1 Gora Dhan (paddy)	116·62
2 Makai	0.5
3 Marua	51·8
4 Gondli-*etc.*	103·63
5 Urid	3·57
6 Bodi	0.5
7 Til	0.2
8 Vegetable	0·51
9 Sakarkand	4·31
Total	**279·84**

Gora, the broadcast paddy is the most important crop of the season. It accounts for nearly half of the acreage under *Bhadai.* The average yield of the *Gora* rice is about 10 to 12 maunds per acre. *Marua* is a hardy and early naturing variety of millet, and *Gondli* another variety of millet with smaller grain than *Marua,* are the two other important crops of this season. The average yield of these crops is about 2 to 4 maunds per acre. Pulses are represented by only *Bodi* and *Urid* but the combined acreage under them is only 3.62 acres.

It should be noted that the crops raised during the *Bhadai* season are of coarse and hard varieties and can successfully be grown on less favourable plots. As a result of this practically all the *Bhadai* crops are confined to *Tanr* or upland sites.

The main stable food is rice but the villagers do not get it all the year round so they supplement it with the *Rabi* and the *Garma* crops. The proportion of cropped area in *Rabi* and *Garma* varies from year to year, depending upon the irrigation facilities available. But on an average, the areas of *Rabi* and *Garma* crops are as follows:

TABLE IV. 5

Rabi	Area in acres	Garma	Area in acres
1 Chana (pulse)	1·57	1 Dhan (Dalva)	1·21
2 Matar (pulse)	0.88	2 Vegetable	0·7
3 Arhar (pulse)	12.1	3 Kakri and Other fruits	0·11
4 Potato	0·12	4 Mango	19·92
5 Vegetable	0·12	**Total**	**21·31**
6 Rasun (garlic)	0.8		
Total	**13.98**		

The above table clearly shows that the village has one crop economy. Rice is the predominant crop. It accounts for 41·7 per cent of the *Bhadai* acreage and 82·9 per cent of the *Aghani* (winter paddy) acreage, the combined acreage under the two varieties of paddy is 451·35 acres. This means that 70% of the total cultivated area is devoted to a single crop. Of the two rice crop, the winter transplantation paddy is most important and covers 50·5% of the net area sown during 1960-61.

The above land use data clearly shows that village is inextricably tied up with rice economy. Success or failure of the crop affects vitally the material well-being of the people.

The rice economy of the village has advantages as well as disadvantages. On the debit side, is the problem of slope. Paddy fields require submergence. In this respect the rice field of the village suffers from the greatest handicap. All the fields have some slope and normally it would have been impossible to keep them submerged. But this handicap has been counter balanced by artificial means. The fields generally run along the contours. This has been taken advantage of and all the fields have been contour-bunded. The entire slope from the lowest point to the upland has been very painstakingly terraced and bunded. In this way the slope has been artificially converted into flat fields. These contour bunds help submerge the rice field and also control soil erosion by containing the soil within the field.

On the credit side are many climatic factors favouring the cultivation of rice. The monsoon sets in earlier and withdraw later. This ensures adequate moisture for rice crop.

Agricultural Operations: The two processes of growing low-land rice are known respectively as the *buna* process or broadcast sowing, and the *ropa* process or transplantation. The former is generally made in June and the latter in July and August. The sowing may be either made in dust (*dhuri-buna*) or in mud (*lewa*). Before sowing or transplantation, the fields are generally ploughed up three or four times, once immediately after the first heavy showers of rain in January or February, and two or three times again within a month or two of the first ploughing. The soil is thus exposed to the heat of the sun. The land is again ploughed up just before sowing. Sometimes after sowing the weeds that have grown in the meanwhile are destroyed by a further ploughing.

The process of manuring is very simple. The manure is first spread over the field and then the ground is lightly ploughed to mix up the soil with the fertilizer.

The land having been thus prepared for the reception of paddy-seeds, dust sowing (*dhuri-buna*) is made in May or June by casting dry seeds.

In June after the regular rains set in, *Lewa* or moist-sowing is made. The field which was once ploughed in January-February is thoroughly ploughed up again after a heavy shower of rain in June-July. The mud is then allowed to settle down for a day or two, after which the water which comes up above the mud is drained off. The seeds are now scattered on the surface



Ploughing the field



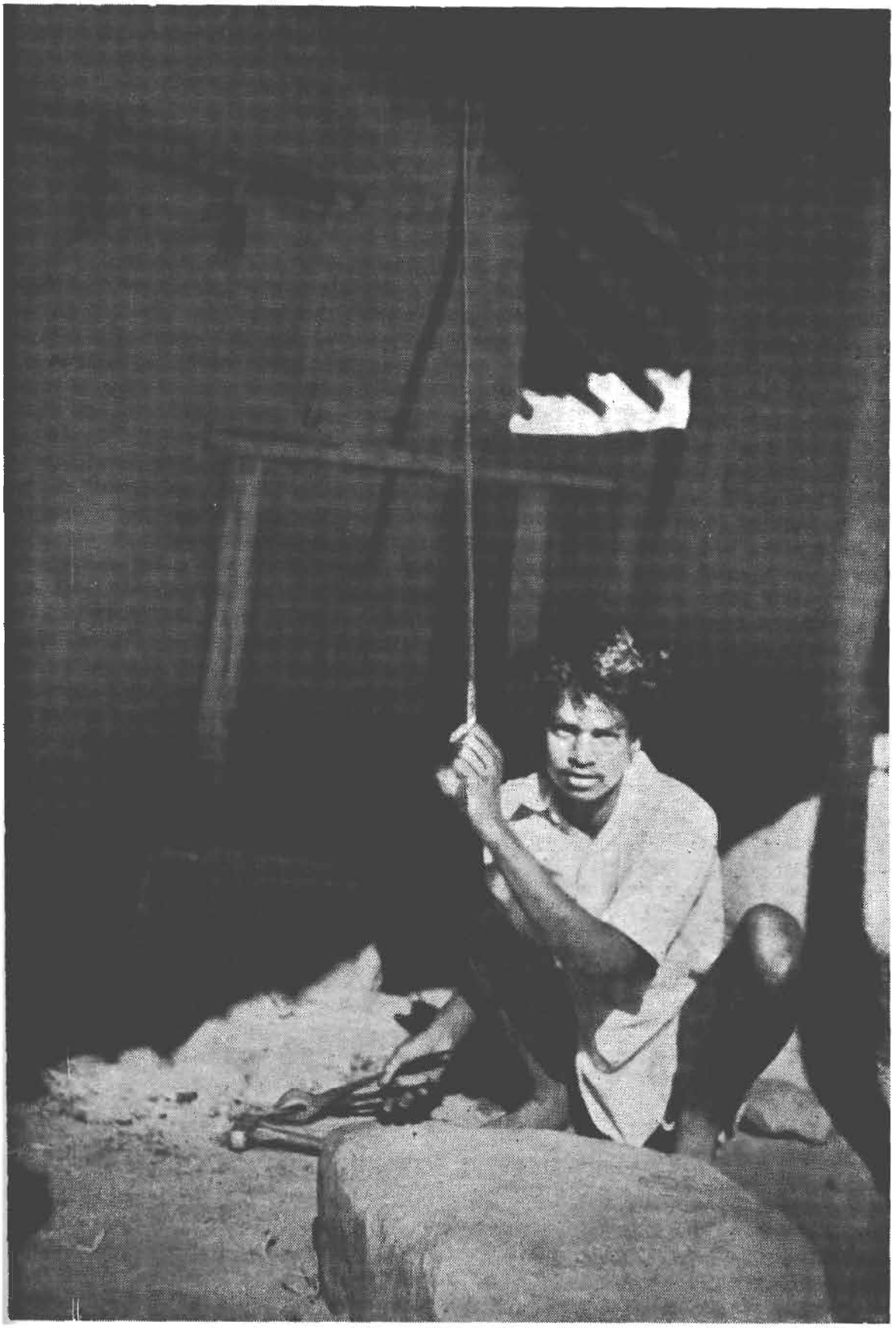
The Munda with the surplus to sell in the market (HAT)



The Kumhar is busy in his pot making



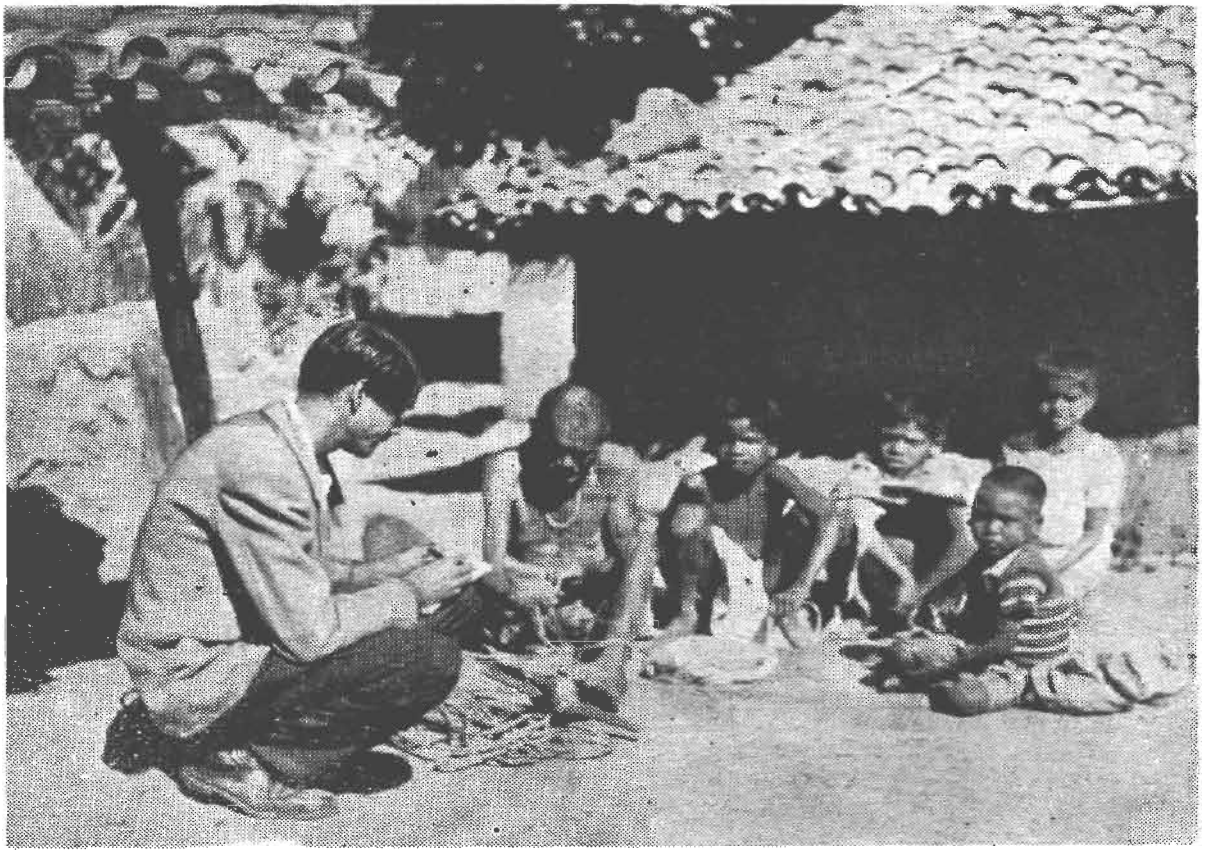
The Kumhar with his pots proceeding towards the Market



The Lohar is preparing iron implements



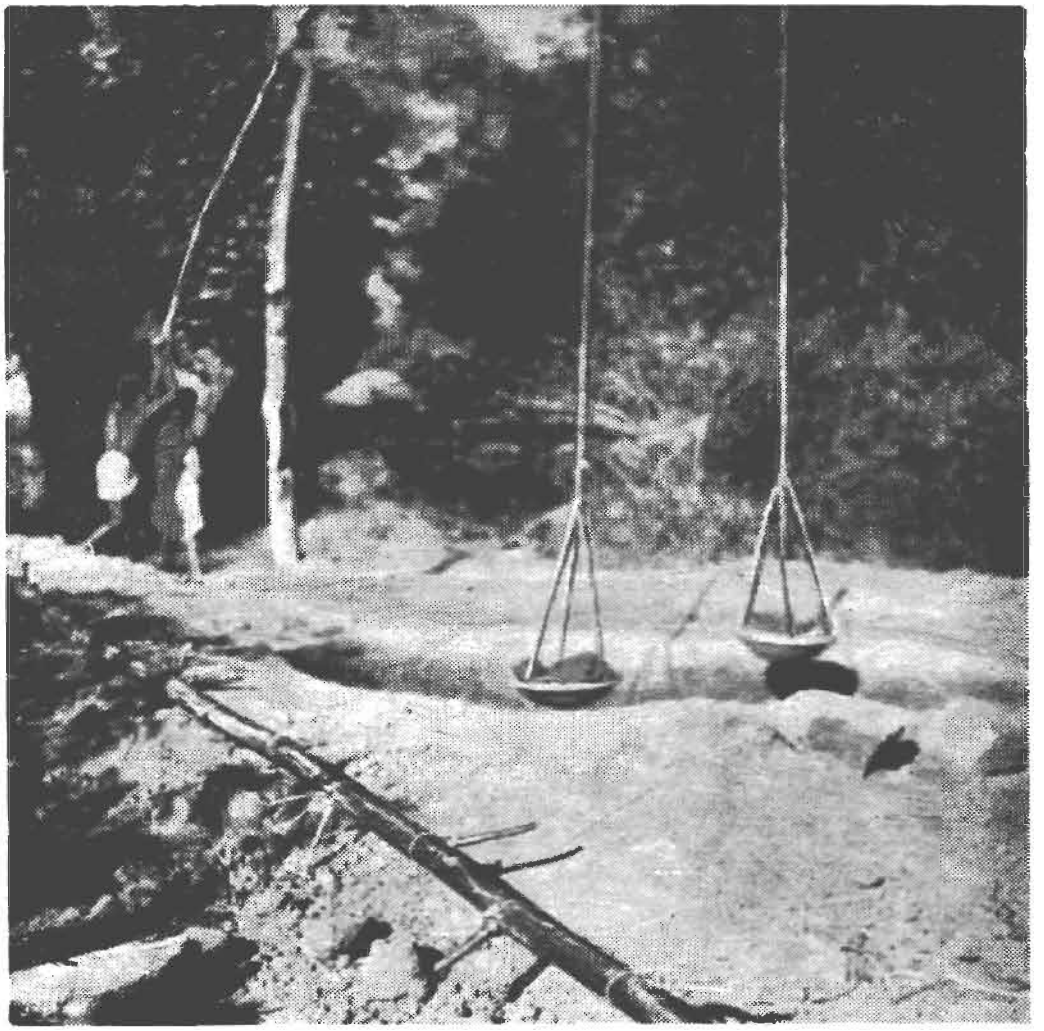
The old woman knitting the mat



The old man knitting the mat surrounded by the younger folk and Mr. Roy is interviewing



I am the carpenter of the village. I prepare carts for the village



The villagers are engaged in digging well

of the mud. The soil is then lightly turned up with one or more ploughs.

The rice-fields are usually weeded out three or four times. The first weeding takes place before the sowing and the second and third weedings follow at the intervals of one month. The weeding in the last stage requires a large number of people because after the seedlings have been transplanted, each and every shoot of grass is to be carefully weeded out. The last process is the transplantation. A field which has been ploughed up already twice or thrice in June-July is once more ploughed. The paddy seedlings brought in bundles from the nursery where they were reared, are washed clean of all earth and one by one separately inserted in the mud by the women.

When the crops are ripening, they require to be carefully watched. At night men keep watch by staying in small straw-sheds called *Kumbas.*

The harvesting is done both by men and women. This again is a time of large scale social co-operation because the rice crop must be harvested at the proper time and any failure to do so may damage the crop. A thrashing floor (*Khalian*) is prepared beforehand as close to the fields as possible. Rocky places are the most suitable for the purpose. The paddy stalks as they are reaped, are left on the ground in small bundles, and are carried to the thrashing floor.

The thrashing is managed with a few bullocks tied in a line. The paddy-stalks are spread cut on the ground, and one or two men drive the bullocks round and round over them. As the thrashing goes on in this way, the straw is shifted with a pitchfork called *akain.*

The paddy is husked with the *dhenki.*

After the harvest is over and the paddy is husked and winnowed, the period of maximum work is over. From then till sowing time there is little to be done in the village.

Agriculture as an economic activity

The distribution of economic activities and their adjustment to the seasonal variations, the daily routine of life, co-operation of the different members of the family in the economic pursuits, the relative importance of different sources of livelihood, the magic religious rites relating to agriculture, trade, exchange and distribution and above all the mutual obligations and reciprocity in their transaction all of these constitute the economic organisation of the village.

Ghaghra is mainly an agricultural village. Of course in a place where caste distinctions are rigidly marked, there would be the traditional caste professions but in Ghaghra a Brahmin inspite of being *pujari* of a Hindu temple, also works as an agriculturist. Similarly the Kumhar through traditionally are pot-makers, we find them engaged in agricultural profession. So it happens that a very large percentage are farmers working either on their land or on the lands of others on payment. The *Tati* of this village is also an agriculturist. So is also the case with the *Manjhi.*

Agriculture is the main stay of the village economy. It is also the predominant occupation of the people. In some form or the other it prevades through all the aspects of the people's life. The people are genuinely peasantry and are earthbound in the strict sense of the term. The influence of agriculture is reflected on every aspect of their culture and for a comprehensive understanding of their culture, we have to examine it in context with its agriculture.

In the village economy, land is important as the principal source of livelihood and in the society the size of land holding determines, to a certain extent the social status of a person.

The following figures amply illustrate the position of agriculture in the economy of the village, cultivators who have more recently developed a practical knowledge of soil, plants and other environmental conditions. Now they are fully alive to the fact that ploughing, manuring, good seeding and adequate water supply in proper time are some of the factors which are necessary for agricultural production.

Cultivation of rice and other crops

There are three main crops grown in the village. They are *Bhadai, Aghani* and *Rabi* crops.

Of the food crops, the staple is rice, which is grown both as *'don'* as well as on the *'dani'* lands. The general name for upland rice is *'gora'* which is reaped in August and September, and includes several varieties of coarse rice such as *alsanga, kuaranga* etc. *Besides gora* rice, other important *Bhadai* crops, such as *Gondli, Urid, Marua* and other millets and pulses are grown on *dani* lands.

During the *Aghan* they grow rice, *maize, urid, Gangai* (Dandar) *Surguja etc.,* while in *Rabi* they usually produce *Chana, Matar, Arhar* and *lahi* (a kind of mustard). The *Aghan* crop is sown in Asarh (June-July) *i.e.,* at the beginning of the rainy season. Of these crops maize, *urid, marua* are grown in very small quantities.

Different crops

Dhan or Paddy.—Generally the low lying fields are taken for this crop. The fields are manured in late June just before the rains. Soon after the first rains, the fields are ploughed twice or thrice. When the fields have been ploughed well, they are ready to be sown. The seed is scattered all over the field. The fields are then levelled twice and left as they are, for rains to provide the necessary water.

The *Dhan*-crop is ready in September-October. Plans turn yellow, and the grains also get a bright yellow colour. Members of the family themselves reap the crop. Sometimes labourers are engaged for this work. When the crop is harvested it is made into bundles.

The paddy is stored in bags or in big earthern pots. The stalks are used as fodder and also for other purposes.

Pulse.—Urid and *Arhar* are the only varieties of pulse grown in the *Bhadai, Aghan* and *Rabi* seasons. The villagers do not grow *Arhar* in large quantities, but *Urid* is grown by almost every agricultural family. The grain is broken into two and is used like other pulses. Its raw preparation like *bari* serve as curry. In *Asarh* (June-July) begins the preparation of the fields the fields are ploughed four or five times, if rains permit. Generally the seeds are sown in *Sawan* (July-August) but sometimes in heavy incessant rains the seed is sown in *Bhado* (August-September). The seed is thrown in the field in such a way as to cover the entire field. When the seeds are sown, the fields are levelled. The fields are generally not manured for this crop but if manuring is necessary, it is done in *Asarh* (June-July). In *Kartik* (October-November) the crop is ready for harvest. Sometimes *Urid* is sown with black *Arhar*.

Maize—The fields are manured in *Asarh* (June-July) before the rains. Soon after the rains, ploughing begins, and then the seed is sown. Villagers do not grow maize in large quantity.

Swan (inferior variety of rice)

The cultivation of this crop does not involve much labour. Further it ripens in a very short period, say within six or seven weeks. So every agricultural family in the village grows at least one or two *bighas* of this crop. The fields are ploughed once in *Asarh* (June-July) after the rains. There is no need of manure. When ploughing is over, the seed is scattered and the fields are levelled. The crop ripens in August-September.

The upland crops are generally sown by rotation. Thus, after the *Marua,* crop is gathered from a field in October-November, *'Gora* paddy is sown on it in the following May and harvested in September. In the next year the same field is used for sowing *Urid* pulse which is harvested in September or October. This follows next June by a *Gondli* crop which, in its turn, is reaped in August. A month or two later, *Surguja* or *Kurthi* is sown on the same field. Frequently *Arhar* pulse, which is reaped in March, is sown along with *gora or gondli* on the same *dani* and *bodi* is sown along with *marua.*

Agricultural tools and equipments

The agricultural implements used in the village are the age-old plough and sickle. They till the fields, the plough is used, but as the corners of the fields are not ploughed by the plough, the *Kudal* is used. In sowing the seed it is either scattered all over the field or is dropped into furrows made by the plough. *Khurpi* is also used as one of the implements. The sickle known as *'Hansua'* is used for reaping the crop. Thrashing is done either by walking the bullocks on the stalks or by beating the stalks with a thick stick. Besides these, *Kudari, Tangi,* and other implements are also used by the villagers (for general description *See* Chapter—Material culture)

Manure.—With regard to manure the villagers generally use a mixture of the dung of the animal. The dung is collected in a pit into which the dirt and other refusals are kept. A sort of thick fence around the pit prevents any water flowing into it. After some time the decomposed contents of the pit are taken out and used as manure. A great part of this manure is composed of cow-dung. The manure is spread over the fields and then the fields are ploughed. In manuring their fields the villagers are very careful about the quantity of manure used, for the little would mean a poor yield and too much would result in the crop being scorched by the heat of the manure. When a field has to be manured, the manure is carried to the field either by the people themselves or in a bullock-cart.

The manuring requirement differs from field to field according to the richness of the soil. The *Tanr* land or upland suffer greatly from the loss of agricultural fertility. In these upland fields the proportion of sand is greater and the surface soil are generally rocky. These lands get exhausted after each cropping. The fertility of the upland fields, is to be artificially resorted by means of manuring each year. They require constant care.

In the low land or *Don* land the soil is deeper and richer. Each family has its manure pit in which cattle dung is dumped to decompose. Moreover, in spite of the availability of the local manure some of them (specially the Manjhis) also use chemical fertilizers. The Block Development Authorities are attempting to introduce artificial fertilizers in connection with the Japanese method of rice cultivation, which is experimentally being tried in this village.

Irrigation

Irrigation facilities constitute one of the basic factors influencing the quality and quantity of agricultural output. The means of irrigation in the village are not well developed. Irrigation through canal is unknown. This is the major drawback for agricultural operations. The cultivated area depends upon the vagarics of nature for irrigation.

Trees, Plants etc.

Mango trees—there are four mango groves in the village. The oldest is *Bantoli Bagh* consisting of 200 trees. Then, in the western side of the village, there is another *bagh* consisting of 150 trees. In all there are more than 600 (Six Hundred) mango trees in Ghaghra and they are owned by different communities. However, the major owners of mango trees are three Manjhis of this village namely Prafulla Manjhi, Narayan Manjhi and Mohendar Manjhi.

There are three or four varieties of mangoes grown here, namely, *Kalmi, desi* and *Teri*. There are very few *Kalmi* trees in the village. The planting of the *desi* and *Teri* is very easy. The planting of *Kalmi* variety is a bit difficult.

The mango trees blossom in *Magh* (January-February). When a mango tree blooms for the first time, the blossoms are not allowed to develop into fruits, as it is believed the life of the tree would be shortened. The fruits appear in *Chait* and ripe in *Asarh*. The *Kalmi* fruits ripe a little earlier. *Kalmi* is a better variety than *desi* and *teri*, and fetches a better price in the market.

Those who cannot take care of their trees, auction the annual yield. The auctioning takes place when the trees are in full bloom. The people who purchase the anticipated yield judge the value of the trees by the quality and quantity of blossoms. After the auction the responsibility of looking after the grove, plucking the fruits, taking them to markets etc. lies with the purchaser. If due to some mishap, the yield does not come up to his expectations the purchaser has to bear the loss. Often it so happens that the two or three or more people jointly purchase the yield and divide equally among themselves all expenses and income from the grove. Both ripe and unripe mangoes are sold in the market. The unripe mangoes are those which fall from the trees due to strong winds. Otherwise the villagers allow the mangoes to ripe on the trees. *Kalmi* mangoes are rarely allowed to ripe on the trees. The fruits are plucked when they mature and are kept under straw. When the yield is more than enough, they sell it in Ranchi or Khunti market.

Guarding and protecting mango trees is quite a problem. The birds, village boys and other animals, all claim a right over the fruits. When the fruits grow big, watchmen are employed. The hot summer winds are harmful to the crop and so are the strong winds.

The other common fruit trees are *Jamun*, bananas, papay, *Katahar* etc. Besides these, there are many bamboo trees. The villagers sell it in the town to the contractors.

Vegetable production

The villagers grow several vegetables such as potato, tomatoes, onion, beans, etc.

Festivals associated with agriculture

Since the primary motivation of all the activities of the villagers, is centred round the food-producing pursuits, agriculture being the most important of them, the magico-religious rites and observances are intimately connected with the agricultural operations. The villagers resort to magical rites which are directed to ward off the insects, protect the crops from the wild animals and other calamities.

Almost all the economic festivals are observed by all the villagers without taking any consideration of tribes and castes and almost all such festivals are ceremonially made by the village Pahan.

When they first sow the seeds in the field, some kind of observances are made. On the day of sowing, the head of the family prays to God that he may bring the good crops. In this connection they used to observe the festivals* as (1) *Hariari*—celebrated in the month of *Asarh* (June-July), (2) *Kadleta*—celebrated in the month of *Bhado* (August-September), (3) *Khalian Puja* which is celebrated in the month of *Aghan* (November-December), (4) *Nawa-Khani* festival. Besides, there are festivals like *Sohrai* i.e. the feast of cattle: *Jitia* etc.

* For details on social function, observances *etc*. *See* chapter on religion and festival.

Though, to some extent, these festivals have also the bad effect on the economic condition of the family (due to excess expenditure on these festivals), yet on the other hand they are socially beneficial. These festivals give them the chance to celebrate in common and bring them all into a single tie, whatever may be the difference in their economic conditions. This is the occasion when they co-operate and enter into a common goal.

Rearing of cattle

Cattle is of vital importance for the villagers. Every cultivator owns a pair of bullocks. They also keep some cows for milk. The calves are also fed on milk to help them grow into strong bullocks. The number of bullocks and other domestic animals owned by the villagers depend upon the number of *bighas* of land he owned. The domestication of cattle helps them to support their agricultural operations and sometimes it also serves as a direct source of income when they sell their cattle to others.

Farm calendar and Agricultural Employment

The farm calendar and the co-ordination of the productive activity is governed by the specific nature of agriculture in the village.

The preparing of the field for different types of crops, to sow the seeds, looking after the crops and reaping etc. keep the villagers busy all the year round. The calendar given below shows their agricultural activities all the year round.

Sowing and harvesting seasons for *Bhadai* and *Aghan* crops are *Asarh* (June-July) and September-October, while those for *Rabi crops* are *Kartik* (October-November) and *Phagun* (February-March). During these Months when the labour in the field is in full swing other occupational activities become slack.

The following table gives a well rounded picture of the routine of economic activities distributed over the year.

TABLE IV·6

Table Showing Seasonal Activitise

	Month	Seasonal activities
1	*Magh* (January-February)	The winter paddy harvesting is over. The Dhangar's contract of one year ends on the day of *Magh jatra* (fair) and he is paid the promised amount. After a week or a fortnight he is re-appointed and on the day of appointment a short ceremony is held in the master's house and a small amount as token wage is given. Marriages take place, construction and repairing of houses. The land is ploughed so that it may not get dry.
		The *Magh Parab* which is considered to be the biggest festival falls in this month.
2	*Phagun* (February-March)	Harvesting of *Arhar*, to manure the *Bunn* (sowing land). Marriages are also held in this month. Holi festival, weeding *etc.*
3	*Chait* (March-April)	The *Dhel-Kota* (levelling the earth) is done in this month. The *Gora* paddy and *Marua* is sown. Harvesting red and black *Arhar*. Thrashing and winnowing.
		The *Sarhul* is celebrated in this month.
4	*Baisakh* (April-May)	The preparing of the field and the sowing of *Gora* paddy are done also in this month. As there is a surplus of paddy it is taken to markets for sale.
5	*Jeth* (May-June)	Manuring fields for the *dhan* (paddy) crop. As it is the dry season the people get a period of respite only *bari* work is done. The houses are repaired or built and the ploughs and Saggar (a carriage like bullock-cart with wooden wheels) are made.
		The *Hon-Ba-Parab* is held in this month.
6	*Asarh* (June-July)	The fields are ploughed to sow pulses and *Gondli*. Preparing fields for *ghan*, *urid*, watching mango groves Plucking mangoes and taking them to markets.
7	*Sawan* (July-August)	Transplanting is done in this month. *Bari* work is carried on and oil seeds are sown. The women folk do *Nikai* (weeding) and sell grass.
8	Bhado (August-September)	The weeding is continued in this month as well. *Gora*, *Gondli* are reaped in it.

TABLE IV·6

Table showing seasonal activities—*concld.*

Month	Seasonal activities
Asin (September-October) . . .	Harvesting of *Dhan*, watching *Khalians* and fields. Thrashing and winnowing.
Kartik (October-November) . . .	The Paddy is reaped. Harvesting of *Marua* and *urid* also. The *sohrai* and *kolan sing-bonga* festivals are held in this month.
Aghan (November-December) . .	The paddy is reaped and the *Khalian* work is done.
Paus (December-January) . . .	Thrashing of paddy, storing of paddy.

In the calendar given above the festivals of economic importance have been mentioned because they are thought to be a part of the life and are performed so that the natural conditions should be favourable for cultivation and also to thank Gods for the kindness they have already bestowed upon them. This is a brief statement of the time sequence of the major agricultural activities. These agricultural practices govern the activities of the people for a major part of the year

The village has one crop economy and that 'rice' is the predominant crop. Since there is little double cropping, agricultural activities are essentially confined to rice culture.

The growth period of rice is about 5 to 6 months. The maximum agricultural activity is confined to this period. In other words the period of maximum activity is limited between the sowing and harvesting.

In the light of the above discussion it is possible to divide the agricultural year of the village into two clearly demarcated half. The period between May and December is the time of great activity. It can be termed as the busy part of the year. December to May is the slack period when little or no work is to be done.

Construction and repairing of Houses

There are few villagers who are skilled and experienced in the art of constructing houses and doing minor repairs. These people give free labour to their neighbours whenever approached by them. There is a definite understanding that their labour and services will be amply compensated at some other occasions by the fellows who ask for their help. This practice is based on mutual reciprocity and understanding.

Daily routine of work

The cycle of economic activities chalks out for the villagers a definite scheme of work for the whole year and also regulates their daily routine of work. During their sowing and harvesting seasons they are busy in their fields all the day. In those months when the villagers relax they employ their time in repairing and constructing houses or in engaging themselves in other supplementary occupations. In the month of *Magh, Faghun, Jeth,* their daily routine of work is interrupted by weddings which must take place during these months. Holi is also celebrated in the month of *Faghun.* Thus, they arrange their routine of work according to seasonal changes.

The following table shows what proportion of time and labour is devoted to agricultural pursuits in their daily routine of work.

TABLE IV·7

Time	Man's activities	Women's activities
6 to 9 A.M. . . .	Rising up and going to their fields	Rising up, sweeping cleaning the houses, fetching of water from wells or *dari* cleaning the utensils, cooking etc.
9 to 11 A.M. . . .	Taking of morning meal and then resume to work in the field.	Taking meal in the field, Cleaning the utensils etc. Some times weeding in the field.
11 to 4 P. M. . . .	Still busy in the field.	Busy with domestic work. Some are busy in the field with their husbands.
4 to 6 P. M. . . .	Returning from the fields.	Cooking of evening meals.
6 to 9 P. M. . . .	Taking their evening meal and retiring to bed.	Taking of evening meal and retiring to bed.

Division of labour

Both male and female members work and help each other. The part taken by Munda women in actual agricultural operations, consists in transplanting paddy seedling after the preparation of land by the male members. The crops are reaped by men as well as women. Women carry the harvested corn to the thrashing floor on their heads, and men on wooden poles carry on their shoulders. Certain occupations are exclusively assigned to a particular sex, for instance, hoeing, ploughing, sowing and levelling of fields are performed by male members. While cooking, fetching of water from the well are some of the duties allotted to female. At the same time there are number of occupations, sowing of seeds, harvesting, etc., which are jointly done by them to help each other.

There is a social restriction for women to go out from their houses. Besides house-keeping, bearing and rearing of children a women goes with her husband to work in the field. Except ploughing she does all the other works. She is given equal opportunity to work with male. She contributes much for her family.

Thus the dangerous tasks and those requiring straneous and concentrated physical effort for comparatively short periods are done by men, while relatively safe work, which calls for more prolong but less concentrated effort, is usually the province of women.

Following table shows the division of labour between sexes.

TABLE IV·8

Division of labour between sexes

Different economic activities	Men	Women	Both
Agriculture	Spading, ploughing of fields, sowing of seeds, watching over the crops at night and stocking, levelling the fields.	Cutting of crops, weeding the fields, storing, husking and grinding of the corn.	Reaping the corps, carry the harvested corn, carrying seeds for sowing to the fields, winnowing, grinding etc.
Collect wood from jungle.	Cutting trees etc.	..	Carrying the fuel to house.
Miscellaneous	Building of new houses and repairing the old one. Rearing of cattle and grazing the cattle. Performs ceremonies, worshipping deities etc.	Cooking food, looking after their children, plastering the wall and cleaning the houses.	Marketing.

As custom and tradition play a great part in determining the types of work to be done by the members of two sexes, every boy or girl begins to pursue a particular economic career from his or her very childhood. The girls are, therefore, taught to take up lighter work of domestic nature, such as cooking, cleaning of cooking utensils, grinding and sweeping the courtyard etc. The boys are given training to assist their parents in heavier work of agriculture and a number of other jobs suited to their physical strength. Old men and women, on the other hand, keep themselves busy in work which require less strength.

Livestock :

The ordinary livestock of the average cultivator consists of oxen, cows, buffaloes etc. milch cows or milch buffaloes are not very common. The Munda cultivator also use the milch cow for ploughing.

Following table shows the different types of livestock in the village.

TABLE IV·9

Different type of livestock of the Village

Communities	Calves	Bulls	Cows	Buffaloes	Goats	Total
Manjhi	20	40	17	20	..	97
Brahmin	.	4	..	2	..	6
Teli	..	8	..	2	..	10
Tati	..	6	..	3	..	9
Kumhar	..	2	..	..	..	2
Ahir	2	2	1	..	..	5
Bhokta	..	4	..	..	..	4
Swansi	.	5	..	5	..	10
Jogi	..	..	..	..	2	2
Converted Munda	..	12	..	4	..	16
Non converted Munda	10	42	8	40	8	108
Lohar	..	..	..	..	..	..
Total	**32**	**125**	**26**	**76**	**10**	**269**

A closer study of the table reveals that milch cattle along with their young stock, account for 11 6 per cent of the total livestock in the village. The preponderance of bullocks signifies the importance attached to bullocks as a source of power in agricultural operations in the absence of any mechanical device. The families who reported to own milch cow, are those engaged in milk selling, though it is not their main occupation.

The cattle of the village are of a very poor breed, and are generally underfed. The scarcity of pasture-grass in the hot weather and the clearing out of the jungles and the consequent disappearance of herbs and trees whose leaves are used to supplement in insufficient grass-fodder, would appear to have contributed to the degeneration of the small sized cattle of the villagers. It is only from July to November that there is plenty of grass-fodder for the cattle. For the rest of the year, the only fodder available is the stubble of rice, millets, etc. and the scanty grass growing on fallow lands.

Except a few who are poor, practically every family keeps some cattle. The less substantial cultivators (*e.g.* Jogi, Lohar, Swansi etc.); who have not sufficient cattle hire them for this purpose.

Incidence of disease is very high among the cattle. Long spells of damp climate, undernourishment, absence of anti-epidemic measures and superstitious belief in magic-cure are largely responsible for this state of affairs.

The livestock, though numerous, is poor. The villagers maintain a large number of cattle which are beyond their means. Quite a large proportion of cattle are underfed; many cattle owners maintain disproportionately large number of cattle compared to the available fodder and supplies.

Handicrafts

Handicrafts play a very insignificant role in the life of the village. Except for three or four industries *viz.*, manufacture of earthenware, blacksmith, rug-making, weaving and carpentry, no other industry is functioning in the village. While pottery or manufacture of earthernware, blacksmithing, rug-making, weaving are traditionally and exclusively associated with castes of Kumhar, Lohar, Jogi and Swansi.

Of the twenty-seven Manjhi households in the village there are only two persons engaged at this time in carpentry. They are two brothers and work jointly under one roof though living separately. Although they cannot claim to be an expert in carpentry, they make the doors, door-frames etc. for the mud houses of the village. For the agricultural implements they make the handles, plough, beams etc. For the household they make *charpai,* boxes etc.

Rug-making

Jogi is the only group which still continues to find its old occupation of rug-making sufficient, and sufficing for its requirements.

The son inherits all the tools and implements from his father and has never felt the need of going out for better or improved types of tools and implements. The technique followed and the goods produced now are the same as were produced by his ancestors.

As it is obvious from the nature of work and limited market he requires very little capital. Generally he makes rug on order only. He collects for of lambs from the village itself and the adjoining villages and makes rug which he also sells in the market.

Pottery

There is only one family belonging to this caste who supplies clay pots to the villagers. The family members gather clay, shape the pots, and supply them to their customers. The black soil is mostly suited for their work since the vessels made out of it do not crack when heated. The lump of clay is placed on the wheel, revolving at a great speed, and vessels of different sizes and shapes are made. Apart from special ceremonies for which clay vessels are required, the demand comes prior to the two or three big festival days.

Blacksmithy

There is only one representative of the community in this village. The chief function is sharpening the ploughshares of the ploughs. Besides this Lohar makes spade, *Hasua* (sickles) and ploughshares which he sells to villagers on payment of cash price. As a result of the large amount of work to be done, he has specialised in iron work. He does heavy work at the busy season. Occasionally smaller things are also made by him.

Other crafts

Some of the old men in the village, who are unable to do arduous work in the agriculture engage themselves in weaving nets, clothes, traps or in making baskets. In fact, the village home has an appearance of a small workshop in which every member of the family is doing some or other work according to his or her capacity and aptitude. Their purpose is to meet their own requirements and make the family self-sufficient

as far as possible. A Munda boy automatically gets training in different handicrafts. By the time he attains adolescence he becomes expert of his crafts. A Munda can repair his bow and arrow, he can mend his net, and he can, to some extent, sharpen his axe and knife.

Most of the crafts are neither seasonal nor regular in operations. The time and season of work depend on the nature's supply of raw materials, spare time, intensity of forest work and the actual need of article for consumption. A Munda engages himself in a handicraft when he is free from agricultural operations. He mainly produces materials for his home consumption, and not for the market. He utilises local raw materials in his handicrafts. Therefore, he does not depend upon external sources for their supply.

Thus, we find that arts and crafts as an occupational category are meant for a few households in the village. The important thing to note, however, is that by and large, arts and crafts are pursued along with other occupations.

Occupational structure

Table No. 10 indicates the occupational pattern of the village. The most significant features that emerges from the table is the predominant role of agriculture in the life of the village. 81·8% of the villagers are engaged in agriculture and 18·2% of the total villagers are engaged in non-agricultural activities such as weaving, blacksmithy, pottery, priesthood etc.

(See table 10 next page)

Non-agricultural occupations

Besides agriculture the villagers are also employed in various occupational fields, a brief mention of which may be made here.

The Brahmin or Pandit—There are three families belonging to this caste. The Brahmin performs the various religious and ceremonial rituals. They have some land and in addition to their income from land, they receive some money and gifts when they act as priests in the festivals and ceremonies of the villagers.

Ahir—To deal in animals and milk is the traditional occupation of the *Ahir* caste but he is also an agriculturist. Besides Ahir, others have also taken to the milk business, such as the Manjhi.

Kumhar—The Kumhar also depends on agriculture for their livelihood. He is the only exception and he alone manages to fulfil all the needs of the villagers as regard to the earthenwares. He generally insists on cash payment, but if a client cannot pay him in cash, he accepts grain instead, but in every case, he delivers the goods only after he receives payment for them. The *Kumhar* make for the villagers, various types of jars, utensils, tiles etc.

Lohar—It is only this family of Lohar in the village which is continuing its traditional occupation of blacksmithy. The land at its disposal is extremely meagre. It receives the payment of twentyfive seers of grain at every harvest from the clients in Ghaghra village and receives payment in cash from those outside the village. Even within the village cash payment is demanded for making new implements. For each plough the lohar is paid *one khat* 4 *paila Don* paddy; 3 *pailas Gondli* and 3 *pailas* of *Gora* paddy. He has some land but he does not care much for agriculture as his own profession is quite paying and he moves from village to village selling his goods. Somra Lohar is a blacksmith of repute and he is always surrounded with customers. Business is good and he sees no reason to take up agriculture. He gets so much grain in the harvesting season that he does not have to go to weekly markets to sell his goods.

Then, there are *Bhokta* whose traditional occupation is the preparation of *Chura* or flattened rice and selling it in the weekly market, and also in the village. Each family, however, has some acres of land.

Similarly, the weavers have their own traditional occupation of rug-making, cloth etc.

Subsidiary occupation

In addition to their main occupations, the villagers have certain other occupations to maintain their livelihood. Such source includes basketry and other bamboo work, selling of milk, vegetable and grass, casual labour on farm and industry, weaving etc. Subsidiary occupations largely depend upon the local supply of raw materials, traditional skill and demand for a particular article in the neighbouring areas. Table IV. 11 given on page 42 shows the pattern of subsidiary occupations of the villagers.

TABLE IV·10

Distribution of Earning-persons with percentages according to their community and occupational divisions (Main Occupation)

Community	Agricultural farmers	Agricultural labourers	Blacksmiths.	Parched rice sellers	Cattle herders	Service Chokidar	Priest	Rug Weavers	Potters	Carpenter	Coarse cloth Weavers	Total
Manjhi	33—19·5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2—1·2	..	35—20·7
Brahmin	3—1·7	..	..	..	..	..	5—3·0	..	..	..	..	8—4·7
Teli	6—3·5	1—0·6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	7—4·1
Tati	8—4·6	..	..	..	..	1—0·6	..	..	..	..	..	9—5·2
Kumhar	1—0·6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3—1·7	..	..	4—2·3
Ahir	..	1—0·6	..	..	1—0·6	..	..	..	..	..	..	2—1.2
Bhokta	2—1·2	1—0·6	..	4—2·3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	7—4.1
Swansi	4—2·3	2—1·2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5—3·0	11—6·5
Jogi	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4—2·3	..	..	..	4—2·3
Total of non-tribal	57—33·4	5—3·0	..	4—2·3	1—0·6	1—0·6	5—3·0	4—2·3	3—1·7	2—1·2	5—3·0	87—51·1
Converted Munda	12—7·1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	12—7·1
Non-converted Munda	58—34·3	11—6·4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	69—40·7
Lohar	..	..	2—1·2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2—1.2
Total of tribal	70—41·4	11—6·4	2—1·2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	83—49·0
Grand Total	**127—74·8**	**16—9·4**	**2—1·2**	**4—2·3**	**1—0·6**	**1—0·6**	**5—3·0**	**4—2·3**	**3—1·7**	**2—1·2**	**5—3·0**	**170—100·1**

TABLE IV·11

Table showing the subsidiary occupation of different communities

Community	Agriculture	Agricultural labourers	Industrial labourers	Selling of vegetables, oil seed, grass etc.	Selling of milk	Handicraft	Total
Manjhi	2	..	..	..	8	..	10
Teli	..	1	..	3	..	..	4
Brahmin	2	..	..	..	..	..	2
Tati	..	..	..	3	..	..	3
Kumhar	1	..	..	..	..	..	1
Ahir	..	..	..	..	..	1	1
Bhokta	1	..	..	..	..	..	1
Swansi	..	..	2	..	..	4	6
Jogi	1	..	..	..	..	..	1
Total of non-tribal	7	1	2	6	8	5	29
Converted Munda	..	..	2	4	..	4	10
Non-converted Munda	..	4	6	12	..	8	3
Lohar	..	..	..	..	..	1	1
Total of Tribal	..	4	8	16	..	13	41
Grand Total	7	5	10	22	8	18	70

A majority (22) persons have subsidiary occupation like selling of vegetables, oil seed, grass etc. Again a majority of the subsidiary occupations (18) are in the handicraft sector.

Income—

Income is an important index of man's economic prosperity. As is evident from table No. 12, the yearly in come of different households is very poor. 34% of the total households have yearly income between Rs. 501—600, 27% of the total number of households, belong to income group of Rs. 401—500. Again we see that 5% of the total number of households have yearly income upto Rs. 300/-, followed by income group of Rs. 301—400 per year accounting for 9% of the total number of households. Only 17% of the total number of households reported their yearly income to be above Rs. 700/- 13% in the income group of Rs. 701—1000, and 4% in the income group of Rs. 1001—1200.

TABLE IV·12

Table showing the annual income of different communities

Community	Upto Rs. 300	Rs. 301—400	Rs. 401—500	Rs. 501—600	Rs. 601—701	Rs. 701—800	Rs. 801—900	Rs. 901—1000	Rs. 1001—1100	Rs. 1101—1200	Total
Manjhi	..	..	5%	8%	1%	2%	4%	3%	2%	2%	27%
Brahmin	..	..	1%	2%	..	..	..	..	..	..	3%
Teli	..	..	2%	..	..	..	1%	1%	..	..	4%
Tati	..	..	2%	2%	1%	..	..	..	..	..	5%
Kumhar	..	..	..	1%	..	..	..	..	..	..	1%
Ahir	..	..	1%	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1%
Bhokta	..	..	2%	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2%
Swansi	..	1%	2%	2%	..	..	..	..	..	..	5%
Jogi	..	1%	..	..	..	..	.	..	..	..	1%
Total of non-tribal	..	2%	15%	15%	2%	2%	5%	4%	2%	2%	49%
Converted Munda	..	1%	2%	4%	1%	..	..	..	..	.	8%
Non-converted Munda	5%	6%	9%	15%	5%	..	..	2%	..		42%
Lohar	..	-	1%	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1%
Total of tribal			12%	19%	6%	..	..	2%	..		51
Grand Total	5%	9%	27%	34%	8%	2%	5%	6%	2%	2%	100%

Table 12 also reveals that in the highest income group of Rs. 1001—1200 (per year) there are only four households and all of them are from Manjhi community.

Indebtedness

Villagers' attitude towards debt, particularly borrowings within the tribe, is the greatest obstacle in collecting accurate data about their indebtedness. What we regard as debt in the ordinary course is not considered as such by the villager. For example, foodgrains and pulses borrowed by a man from his neighbour, or money taken by him from a friend on a market day are not treated as borrowings. Usually they do not charge any interest on such transactions. When he is asked about his total borrowings, he excludes all such borrowings. It is with great difficulty that the villagers were persuaded to give details of their local borrowings. General illiteracy and ignorance is another difficulty that comes in the way of recording facts about debts. How much he borrowed, when and at what rate of interest, how much he had repaid and what balance still stands—most of the villagers cannot answer such questions with confidence or accuracy. The debt is sometimes connected with his private family affairs.

In spite of the above difficulties inherent in the situation, an attempt was made to ascertain the position of indebtedness in the village and the precise informations are included.

The total amount of debt in the village (survey in January-February 1962) comes to Rs. 3425. Out of this total debt 54% of the debt was for non-productive purposes such as expenditure on marriages, social observances and domestic use. The remaining 46% of the total debt are meant for productive purposes such as construction of well and houses, purchase of seeds, agricultural implements and purchase of cattle. Thus one notes that more than half of the total indebtedness has been incurred for non-productive purposes.

Credit Agencies

Mahajan—Nearly 50 per cent of the loans are supplied by the *Mahajans*. He possesses an intimate knowledge of the character and credit potentialities of each of his clients. He charges high rate of interest to cover risks. The *Mahajan* also keeps a grocery or cloth shop, and often purchases the produce of small cultivators. He visits at the time of harvest for recovering his loans.

Government loans and co-operative Banks

Neither the Government loan nor co-operative credit has become popular among the tribal. It is due to the fact that the amount of Government loan is inadequate and does not meet their requirements. Further, the Government Loans are granted for specific purposes. Again, a number of formalities is involved in taking loan from the Government credit societies. But a *Mahajan* does not worry whether his advances are put to productive or non-productive uses as long as he is sure of getting annual interest from the debtor.

Friends and Relatives

The next important agency which supplies loans to villagers are friends and relatives, which is generally free of interest.

Rate of interest

The following are the rates of interest charged by these different sources.

Sources	*Interest*
1. Money lender or *Mahajan*	20 to 35% per annum.
2. Government	4 to 6% per annum.

Property

Property is of two kinds *viz.*, immovable and movable. The category of immovable property includes land, both agricultural and non-agricultural, groves and trees and houses. Cattle, furniture, money, ornaments and agricultural implements are movable property.

Property in this village is acquired by various means such as:—

1 Inheritance—When the father dies, the property naturally goes to his sons, and if he has no son, it goes to his daughter or close relatives.

2 Purchase—It may happen that people in certain circumstances acquire a lot of money. With this money they buy land or build houses or invest it in ornaments.

3 Clearing wasteland—Acquiring waste land and turning it into fertile fields or groves is not unknown in the village, but it is more popular during the difficult period.

4 Marriage—Some movable property in shape of bride price passes from one hand to another during the marriages.

Expenditure

A Munda or Manjhi now spends his money for acquiring agricultural implements and utensils, clothes and ornaments and other items of daily need. The villagers spend substantial amount of money on ceremonies such as birth of a child, marriage and a death. The expenses are also made on liquor and other such purposes.

Marriage is the most expensive item in the life of the villagers and bridegroom's family has to meet a major part of its expenses. They have to spend money on few necessary goods.

Market

There is no special class of traders or merchants amongst the villagers. The produces of agriculture, in times of necessity, or when there is a surplus are taken by their women to the nearest market and sold on cash. Of such produces paddy, *marua, Gondli, oil seeds, vegetables* are the most important.

There is no market within the village, but there are bi-weekly markets at Murhu, 3 miles from this village, at Khunti and in other neighbouring villages, such as Dorma etc. Monday and Thursday are the market days at Murhu. Monday and Friday are the market days at Khunti. The Khunti market is a big one in which all sorts of articles including cloth, utensils, grain, spices are available. Many of the villagers go to this market. The Murhu market takes place on Monday and Thursday. It is also a big grain market and many people go there. Preference is also given to this market, mainly because it is near Ghaghra. It has turned to be a bigger grain market. Salt, sugar, spices etc. are available here and it is only three miles away from Ghaghra village.

In spite of the existence of these markets, some of the villagers go to Ranchi market to sell their grains, bamboo etc. as they know the rates are higher there than the neighbouring markets. The villagers also go to Ranchi market to purchase shoes, clothes and utensils. It is their opinion that they can get goods of better quality at reasonable rates at Ranchi. Moreover, a few villagers who are regular visitors to Khunti often purchase articles at Khunti for themselves, and also for others when asked to do so.

No family of the village undertakes trade as profession. Buying and selling for the specific purpose of economic gain is not an ingradient of the economic life. Whenever they need something they go to the weekly *hats* with some of their surplus products, sell them for money and purchase with the money, thus they procure the various things of their every day use.

The area of the *hat* held at Murhu is not very large. People from the following villages attend this *hat*-as *Ghaghra* (3 miles), Bantoli (3 miles), Hasa ($2\frac{1}{2}$ miles), Ganaleya ($1\frac{1}{2}$ miles), Mahil (3 miles) Bartoli (3 miles) and some other villages.

Number of weekly markets

The bazar day is awaited with great enthusiasm for which one should make adequate preparation. They take bath, comb the hair, wear clothes and put on jewellery and flowers as necessary. Therefore, when we see men and women in the *bazar* they look a bit different from what they appear in their villages. The week days distributed in different markets are as follows—

Markets	Weekdays
Murhu	Monday and Thursday
Khunti	Monday and Friday
Jaltanda	Wednesday
Torpa	Saturday

Of the above mentioned *bazars* those of Torpa, Murhu, Khunti are important. The Khunti *bazar* is considered to be the biggest. The Murhu bazar comes next to it.

Murhu is a perfect bazar and is linked up with Ranchi and Chaibasa Bus Road. So it is convenient for the sellers as well as for buyers to go there, on every market day. In addition, to the regular buses there runs a *bazar* service as well. Through the regular buses and bazar service the *Banias, Halwais, Tailors* go to Murhu from Ranchi. The others who go there are buyers of lac, hens, eggs, goats etc.

Principal classes of dealers

The whole market is divided into different sections of clothes, or iron and steel implements and of lac and grocery shops etc. These are all located in particular areas. On the other side we find all other shops. The *Pan* shops and sweetmeat shops run along the road on both the sides.

The hardware shops generally sell the agricultural implements and steel plates and bars. The steel or iron bars are purchased by the people to get things manufactured by their local Lohars who are paid annually. But now-a-days factory made spades, picks and shovels are also used. The other items of their sales are *nails* of different sizes which are put to various uses. Buckets, lanterns, and many other things are purchased by the villagers.

The dealers of small wares sell articles of daily use and personal decoration. The alumunium dealers sell *degchi,* bowls, pans etc.

The brassware dealers have their own place in the market. The brasswares are thought to be expensive but these are necessary part of the household utensils, and also for giving in the marriage.

Next, the tabacco sellers, who keep tobacco and *biris* besides all sorts of spices, the cloth-sellers, including the village weavers, who have brought in two or three clothes which they have woven during the week sit in the market. The seller of bangles, both of metal and glass is a constant attraction for the women folk who buy bangles not only for themselves but for their relatives and friends left at home.

The Murhu *bazar* is an important centre of lac business and here people from all the neighbouring villages come to sell their lac. Lac is purchased by such men who are authorised by the factory to do so. Those who buy for them are paid a fixed percentage of money on their purchase.

The silversmiths also come to this *bazar.* They generally sell bangles, necklace, rings, ear rings etc. They sell jewellery made of alloy but the buyers with limited means do not care much for it.

The lac-bangles are much favoured by the local people. So the bangles-seller is one of the business men who comes here. He does not only sell the bangles to them but also puts them on their hands. For this purpose he has to keep a fire burning and he puts a flat piece of iron on it. Glass bangles are also very common.

The rice and paddy-sellers come in a good number to this *bazar.* They also come from far off places. The rice is sold against paddy and cash. But the paddy is usually sold for money because they need it for the other requirements of life.

There are also some permanent shops and many come temporarily on the *bazar* day. The betel shops are the most common. They also stock *bidis* and cigarettes. As a part of the *bazar* routine, betels are presented to girl friends by the youngmen.

Next to the betel shops can be seen the village restaurants which sell *pakauri* (pulse bun), *poowa* (sweet rice-bread prepared in oil) and tea. The other refreshment shops are those of the *halwais* (sweets-meat makers) who sell the cheaper varieties of sweets.

Then, in the *bazar* the barbers, and before them bowed down heads or lifted up chins of their customers can be seen.

The vegetable sellers come next. They are to be seen in a very large number. They are both local and outsiders. The vegetable market looks busier than the other parts of the market.

Next, we may pass on to the local and handloom cloth section. Here also the Ranchi cloth-sellers and also local *Panr* (weaver) can be seen. The handloom cloth mainly includes sheets and towels. The *Panr* sell *paria, lahanga* etc. They do not stand in competition with the mill-made cloth-sellers because those are cheaper and they have larger variety and colourful prints.

The basket-makers sell many kinds of baskets. The *Tokra* is made of flat strips of bamboo split and the *Tokri* is made of very thin sticks of bamboo. Winnowing fans are an essential part of their sales.

Musical instruments like *bansuri, Nagra* are sold from time to time in the market.

Among those who go there to sell the decorative articles for women are mahlis, who make beautiful combs. They use only a simple knife to make such combs, and *Karanj* oil is applied on the combs so that they do not get crooked.

Another section of this side is the poultry market. This attracts the urban merchants very much as they go there for purchasing them. The whole scene is one of the greatest activities and animation. The constant coming and going of buyers, the cries of vendors to attract passers-by, the clatter of the bargaining tongues, the dust, the smells of queer spices and sweet stuff, the glitter of the metalwares, the bright mixture of coloured clothes, all make up a picture that must present itself to the dwellers in the peaceful aboriginat villages as a pleasure break in the monotany of the week.

Economic basis of the market

The economic basis of these markets is, however, not so exhilarating as their appearance indicates. They are seller's markets in which a few sellers enjoy the upper hand. As the number of shopkeepers is always small anyone who is able to reach these markets displays some articles for sale and enjoys a semi-monopolist's position. Absence of competition among sellers leaves the aboriginal customer entirely at the mercy of the former. The bare requirements consist of salt, oil, earthenware, agricultural implements which he must buy at any cost. The cloth dealer specially the foreign merchants fully exploit the situation. It was observed at Murhu market that a *'Sari'* which was sold for Rs. 4 or Rs. 5 in Ranchi was priced at Rs. 8 to Rs. 9 in this tribal market. As most of the transactions are of a petty nature, the shop keepers, who are two or three in the market, combine themselves against the buyers and charge high retail prices.

Tribals illiteracy and ignorance and the urgency of their requirements give full scope to vendor's greed and profiteering activities. As there is hardly any middle man between a buyer and a seller, the transaction is effected directly. Tribal's another weak point is that often he does not come to the market with enough cash to buy his requirement and the shop-keepers has a chance to buy their paddy or other things at a lower price. In the weights and measures too, the vendor does enough mischief.

Social functions of the market

It should be noted that the tribal market is a multi-purpose institution, and buying and selling are by no means the only purpose they serve. In every *hat,* besides the actual buyer and seller, there is a large number of people who are not primarily interested in the economic transactions The *hats* (market) have two facets, an economic and a social field and often it is the latter which is more important. The area of the *hat* and the social field of a particular community are often co-extensive. In the market friendships are made. Market is the place where hearts are exchanged, love is bargained, elopment is planned and life partners are selected. The *hat* also serves as a sort of social club. It is a common sight to see groups of people crowded round liquor shops. People of the nearby villages visit the *hat* as a force of habit irrespective of the fact that they have any business or not. Thus, we find that market functions as a social unit as well.

Weights and measures

For the sale and purchase of sugar, spices, salt, oil, ghee and other commodities the weights such as *Chhatak, Pawa, Seer* and *Maund* are used in the market. In market standard weights are used. The measures for oil are usually made of clay. Thus oil is either measured or weighed but *ghee* is always weighed. *Paila* is also used for measuring paddy and other grains.

Exchange system

The system of exchange depends on money, barter and services. The villagers are well acquainted with the use of money. Still in their transactions which are of simple nature they do not use it generally. But when they go to the markets, they have to buy many things in cash, but there also the exchange is not solely done with money and the traders who used to come in such markets have not only to sell their goods, but also to bring with them cereals, pulses and other things to sell them in the town.

Villagers go to the bazar like Murhu, Khunti Dorma *etc.,* with a bag or basket of rice and brings back other necessary things. But if he has to purchase a piece of cloth, he must have some money with him. For this money, at first he has to sell the rice to some one and then take the money to the cloth dealer.

Generally the villagers do not pay back the price of a borrowed article in money. If paddy is taken as a loan the return is made in terms of paddy. This type of exchange can be made only within the village.

The payment to be made solely in money constitute are those things which are purchased in the market from traders who come from different places to sell clothes, hardware, silver ornaments metal pots and other things.

The exchange of services takes place where money or payment in grains cannot be entered into. Such an occasion is the asking for a plough, the man who takes the plough, have to plough the land of the owner for the same number of days for which he had borrowed. But where the owner and the borrower do not stand as relatives or kinsmen, a charge of rupee one is made. Similarly in constructing houses, thatching the roof, cutting the crops exchange is in operation.

In the internal trade where a *Joei* (rug weaver) makes a piece of rug an ironsmith sharpens the sickle, a barber cuts the hair or a carpenter makes a wooden plough, are not generally paid

in money. Some are paid in terms of grain with the rendering of their services and others are paid annually in terms of grains. The barber is paid annually one *Katha* of paddy from each family. He is paid more if there are many children in the family. The Lohar's work is to sharpen the ploughshare for which he gets the annual payment. But if he is asked to make a sickle or other agricultural implements, he is to be paid separately in cash or in kind.

Similarly the potter exchanges his articles with paddy. He gets one *pala* of paddy for a pot of normal size.

The periods of brisk business are the times after the paddy harvest, the month of December, January and July. In December and January, *Surguja* and *Sarso* come to the markets. In the month of July besides *Gora, Gondli* and *Marua* are sold. In December and January *Urid, Arhar* are harvested. With the harvesting of crops the sales increase, and as the stocks of the people decreases the sales diminish.

The Murhu and Khunti *bazars* are the biggest exchange centres. The traders who come to such *bazars* are the men who make good contact for their own benefit and have confidence of the local people. They do not always pay what should be paid but they try to pay as less as possible. But this is now partially checked by the presence of other traders, who in competing to get more things than others raise the price.

Economic plight

Economic plight is a patrimony and they have inherited from their forefathers, who in their own turn, had lived and died under the same fetters. Let me analyse the nature, causes and the way out, if any, of this economic plight.

This small village is mainly bound up with the agricultural economy. Agriculture is the main stay of their material life.

The agricultural economy of the village is characterised by the following:

1. Agricultural landuse has already reached an optimum level. About 70% of the village land is agriculturally utilised.
2. 132·65 acres are under current fallow.
3. *Aghani* is the most important crop followed by *Bhadai* crop.
4. Rice is grown both in Aghan and Bhadai.
5. Of the two rice crops, it is the winter or the transplantation rice which is by far the most important crop of the village.

The above facts indicate the material conditions of the people. Rice is staple food of the village. Not only the staple food, it also serves as a principal means of exchange. It is both the food and the money for the people.

It is obvious that the time when the rice is harvested and the period for which it lasts is the time when the people are comparatively well off and can afford a square meal. Winter rice, which is the principal crop, is harvested in November and lasts up to March or April. During this part of the year (November—April), the people are generally happy. There is enough to eat and also there is no major agricultural task to be done.

May to July is the worst part of the year for most of the families. In August the situation brightens up a bit when the *Gondli* crop is gathered and most of the poor cultivators live on it, until the upland *Gora* and *Marua* are harvested in September and October.

These two crops support the people until November, when the principal crop of winter rice is gathered. Though three crops are gathered during the period August—October—*Gora, Gondli* and *Marua,* they provide only a margin subsistence to the people. It is only after the winter paddy is harvested that people have enough to eat and drink and enjoy.

From the above instances of the material and economic condition of the people, it is possible to divide the yearly cycle of the village into three parts.

1. The period August—October. It is a period of marginal subsistence.

2. The period November—April. It is the best part of the year when the granaries are comparatively full and usually there is plenty of food. It may be termed as a period of full subsistence.

3. May—July. It is the worst part of the year. The paddy harvested in November, has been largely eaten away and it is the period of scarcity and starvation.

Let me now further analyse the wider as well as specific character of the agricultural economy of this village.

The most fundamental primary need is food. The food resources are unevenly available throughout the year. During some parts of the year there is plenty to eat while at other the supply of food is just marginal.

But the daily consumption of certain amount is not the only thing. Man does not live by bread alone. There are other requirements to meet and obligation to fulfil. These must be met and fulfilled. There are clothes to be purchased, land revenue and debts to be paid and other needs to be fulfilled. But how all these extra food requirements are to be made. In the absence of other sources of income, a part of the crops raised must be diverted towards the fulfilment of a multitude of needs.

But nothing can be spared from the *Bhadai* and the *Rabi* because they are gathered at a critical period. Quantitatively these crops are also marginal, gathered at critical period, they can be diverted to other uses only at the risks of starvation.

The major burden to fulfil the extra-food requirements must fall on the winter rice. This crop not only feeds the villagers for the major part of the year but is also diverted for other purposes. As soon as the winter crop is harvested, a part of it must immediately go to clear off debts and loans. Loan taken within the village itself is repaid in kind and is paid back in rice. But unfortunately if creditor is some money lender, the rate of interest is so exorbitant that a sizeable part of the crop is invariably devoured by them. Then, some grain must be saved and stored to serve as seeds for the next year's sowing. Then, the rent of the land must be paid.

These are legitimate demands, and only a part of the winter harvest is justly diverted towards their fulfilment. But what is worse is that even after meeting all these demands, the residual crop is not economically consumed. On social and religious occasions rice is also consumed. Many of the festivals are characterised by communal feasting when a large quantity of rice is needlessly eaten away. Such uneconomical uses of rice is by no means warranted by the economy of the village. The nature of rice economy is such that it requires the willing co-operation of all families on a reciprocal basis. The helping hands or in any other assistance must be repaid in the form of feasting.

Rice is also necessary for making rice-beer called *Haria* or *Illi*. Not only men but women as well are extremely fond of this drink. Obviously rice-beer is an integral part of the indigenous culture. Its use has both social and religious sanctions. Rice-beer is brewed in every Munda family and its popularity might be due to its being derived from rice. Since rice is the staple food which supports the people, its brewed liquid is also to support to possess sustaining qualities.

Illi is an essential ingredient of all the rituals and on all such occasions it is invariably drunk on a very large scale. The brewing of Illi not only requires rice but also a good proportion of *Marua* or millet so that the large scale addiction to this drink is a tremendous drain on the grain economy of the village. It seems that addiction to rice beer and economic plight are to some extent complementary. Most of the people in the village live a life of poverty. They are ill-fed and ill-clad. Intoxication provides them an escape from the hard realities of life.

After meeting all these demands on his rice-harvest the average farmer has very little surplus to meet the other requirements of his daily life. That is why his economic lot is so bad.

The other avenues of agricultural implements are also limited. There is no scope of extensive technique. There is not much land to be brought under cultivation. The consolidation of holdings is also not practicable. Intensive agriculture and better methods of farming are negligible.

Insufficient agricultural production, naturally forces the people of the village, to look outside for other means of supplementing their resources. The group co-operation and solidarity is still the conspicuous feature of the economic life of the village. The tribal tradition is conducive to group solidarity and reciprocity of mutual obligations. The entire agricultural under-taking is a sort of co-partnership in which all the families willingly co-operate to utilize the economic possibilities of the village to the fullest. In agriculture, in general, and in rice culture, in particular, the co-operation of a large number of people is required. Weeding, transplantation and harvesting are all co-operative activities. In non-tribal societies this co-operation is achieved by payment of money. But in this village all such labour requirements are fulfilled at the level of community co-operation and mutual help.

The idea of reward never enters their mind when they help someone else. Normally the obligation is repaid in the form of the rendering of similar services. But a distinction is always made between those who can repay in the form of similar services and those who cannot. If a person who requires the help of others on his

farms and is not in a position to render similar services on the forms of those whose services he seeks, then he must make some payment for the services sought. But this payment is never made in cash. It is also made in kind. Even when the functional groups are repaid for the services they render throughout the year, they are always paid in kind. Payment in kind is always economical. One relevent illustration for the point concerned is the payment made to the *lohar* who is the functional group in the village. Each family makes an annual payment of 40 *pailas* of paddy to the *lohars* for the services they render them throughout the year.

Thus, we find that the economy of the villagers mainly revolves round agriculture. Among them we find an extensive area under agriculture and, relatively speaking, fairly large section of the people today depends for their livelihood on this type of occupation. Agriculture is the backbone of the village economy.

CHAPTER V

Social Life

Society is a structure of interpersonal relationships *i.e.*, sets of reciprocally adjusted habitual responses between pairs of interacting individuals. These tend widely to become culturally defined or standardized in terms of polar statuses. A social group arises whenever a number of specific individuals are linked each to every other, by relationships of the same general types *i.e.* friendships, kinship or co-residence.

The village Ghaghra is not exclusively populated by Mundas, but by other castes and tribes also. They are Manjhi, Brahmin, Teli, Tati, Ahir, Swansi, Jogi, Bhokta and Lohar. A comparative numerical strength of these people have been presented in the following table.

TABLE VI

Comparative strength of Castes and Tribes

Caste/Tribe	No. of Family
Munda	50
Manjhi	27
Swansi	5
Tati	5
Teli	4
Brahmin	3
Bhokta	2
Kumhar	1
Ahir	1
Jogi	1
Lohar	1

The first two groups are in majority in the village. Munda, Manjhi, Teli, Lohar, have their separate sets of houses but this does not mean that the low caste communities, like *Lohar, Jogi, etc.* have separate localities.

The villagers think that Brahmins are superior to other castes and tribes. But inspite of this there is a free social mixing between the Munda and Brahmin, Brahmin and Teli, Brahmin and Manjhi and also other castes and tribes.

Social relation

Birth of a baby

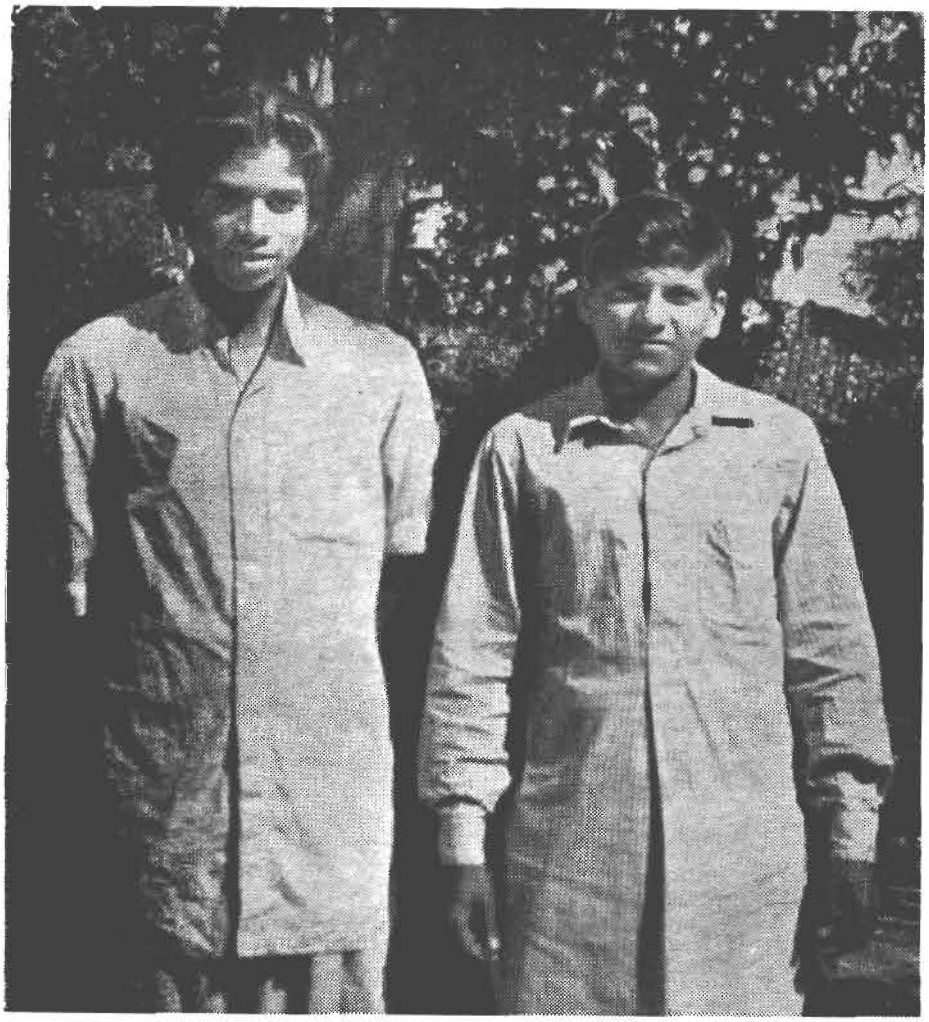
At the time of the birth of a Manjhi child the Brahmin is called to note the time of birth. He also decides the date and time for *chatti.* In return he gets his fee in cash and kind. The Lohar supplies the bangles made of iron and a knife at the time of birth of a child. These articles are supplied on the request of the community and for that Lohar gets either a few coins or a present in kind. But for these articles generally he demands cash price. The Manjhi generally do not invite the *Bhokta, Jogi, Swansi* in the birth ceremony. In a few personal and exceptional cases only, a Munda is invited. Lohar also attend the *chatti* ceremony. The Kumhar do not have any work at the time of birth of a child, of course in *chatti* ceremony he supplies some earthen pots. *Jogi* do not go at the time of birth of a child to a Manjhi family as there is no work for them on this occasion.

Hair cutting

The Brahmin prescribes the hour and day for the ceremonial first hair shaving for a Manjhi child. The *Hajam* has a lot of works to do at the birth of a child. The *Hajam* cuts the hair of the male members of the family who are polluted by the birth of a new baby and gets some



The Mundas extend their hearts with sweet "Haria" in their cups



We the "Prasad" of two castes keep a friendship and trust



The sweet shaiaro

food, clothes, and some cash. He also participates in the feast. Generally, the Munda do not participate in the hair cutting ceremony of a Manjhi child. Some of the inhabitants of the village and other relatives are invited to partake of meal. The Kumhar supplies the earthen pots for this ceremony and in return gets some grain and coin. He also participates in the feast. The Lohar and Ahir too have no work to perform in the hair cutting ceremony. They come for reward only. In the case of child birth in the Jogi family the *Hajam* accepts only grain for his work as *Hajam* do not accept cooked food from Jogi.

During the marriage ceremony, the priest performs the religious ceremony. For this he gets some money, clothes and also *Kachcha* food. At the time of Munda marriage, the Pahan performs the religious ceremony. The Brahmin accompanies the marriage party to the bride's place to perform various religious ceremonies connected with marriage.

The Munda and Bhokta are invited to attend the marriage of a Manjhi boy or girl. They give presents in cash and also offer blessings to the bride and groom. A Manjhi is also invited to attend the marriage of a Munda boy or girl. He is also invited to attend the marriage of a Lohar boy or girl. He also gives presents and blessings to them. But they do not take cooked food from them.

The Kumhar supplies the required number of earthen pots at the time of marriage and he gets either cash or grain in return.

Bhokta and *Tati* too are invited to attend the marriage of a Manjhi boy or girl. They also accompany the *'Barat'* (marriage party). The *Bhokta* and *Tati* can sit together at the feast and no distinction between the two in the feast.

The Jogi have nothing to do in a Manjhi boy's or girl's marriage. They, if invited, accompany the marriage party of a Manjhi boy.

At the time of death some male members and grown up boys, who are present on the occasion, go in procession to the grave-yard or burning ghat as the case may be. If, however, a Munda happens to be on very friendly terms with a Lohar or Tati he may accompany the funeral procession. Sukram Pahan had very cordial relations with Saklu Tati's father and when the latter died, he accompanied the funeral procession to the burning ghat. When a Manjhi dies, the Brahmin accompanies the funeral procession and performs the ceremony. In the *Shraddh*, the Brahmins are fed by the members of the deceased family.

The Bhokta accompanies the funeral procession at the death of a Manjhi and takes part in the death rituals, such as taking bath and participation in the mourning.

On this occasion the *Hajam* does many important duties. After ten days of mourning the purificatory ceremony takes place and the *Hajam* shaves and pares the nails of all the members of the family.

The Tati always accompanies the funeral procession of a Manjhi. A Manjhi, however, does not go at the death of a Tati, but he goes to see his *shayia* or *lar*, if the latter is seriously ill.

The villagers, as they mainly depend upon agriculture for their subsistence, keep busy for most of the time in the cultivation of land. But there are free moments too when people do not have any hard work to do in their agricultural fields. During these free hours people want to relax and recreate themselves. Views are exchanged with friends and other persons on matters concerned with their way of life, sorrows and happiness, and on the remarkable events occurring within the village or in the surrounding villages. The elderly people of all castes in the village are respected by all the younger generations.

Friendship

Besides these direct or indirect relationships with other castes and tribes there is a ceremonial friendship prevalent among the Munda and others, according to which the villagers enter into a brotherly tie with other castes and tribes. If a partner does not care his other fellows at the time of distress or does not visit the places on invitation during marriage, birth or festivals, the friendship automatically ceases.

Boys who grow together or go to school together think of each other as friends. They also keep friendly relationship with the opposite sex. The boys and girls play together till the age of 10 to 12. But when the girls grow up they feel hesitation in mixing with grown up boys freely. She prefers to have a girl friend rather than a boy except in exceptional cases. Caste is not counted in friendship. Friendship may also be ritualised by swearing by two persons to each other and they are known by different nomenclature.

Friendships among boys last longer because with the growth of their mutual interests, the intensity of friendship increases and calling of each other as friend is always continued.

But in case of girls, after the marriage usually they go to their husbands' house. So the

friendship of the same village with the same girl may not continue. But she remembers her friends even in her husband's house. So the friendship she makes in her childhood often come to a break because of geographical separation. At the husband's house she gets so absorbed in the household duties that she rarely takes interest in forming new friendship in the community in which she is married.

The Munda of this village dislikes to perform marriage between a young boy and a young girl of the same village. Therefore, wives of Mundas of this village generally come from different villages and belong to different clans and generally they are not, expected to have intimate relationship with one another. But sometimes they make ritual friendship or "Shaiaro" with the female members of their husband's village.

When the girls grow up they realise their personality. It is the period when girls contract deep and lasting friendship with each other. This stands into a ceremonial form. It is called the '*Saiya*' friendship. This friendship is acknowledged and shared by boys and girls of respective families. It is, at the same time said that they have sealed the *Saiya* friendship. After this ceremony these two friends do not utter each other's name. In the morning of the Sahiaro celebration, the courtyard of the house is cleared with cowdung. After the sun rises the women of other houses as well come and participate in the cermeony.

Besides, this, '*Saiya*' friendship, there are few minor forms of friendship entered into by young Munda girls with one another. The most common amongst these are '*Goi*' and '*Karma-dair*' forms. When two girls perceive a growing attachment for each other, they address each other as '*Goi*'. When they establish friendship, they present cloth *etc.*, and invite each other to a feast to celebrate the new friendship.

In this village this form of friendship is not only formed between the same caste or tribe but it also cuts across the caste and tribe barrier. There is no feeling of caste to form such type of friendship. One Brahmin girl (Uru) and a Munda girl named (Saniaro), address each other as *Saiya*. In such friendship caste or tribe does not stand in the way.

When Uru and Saniaro develop a great liking and confidence in each other they inform their parents to acknowledge their sincere friendship. The parents agree to it and as auspicious day is fixed for the purpose of the ceremony.

After that ceremony of friendship the two families regard each other as close relatives and render each other all kinds of services.

As the *Karam-dair* and *Saiya* forms or friendship are to the girls so the *Iar* and *Prasad* forms of friendship are for the boys. Like the girls a boy also enters into the *Iar* and *Prasad* form of friendship with another boy. This form of friendship not only occurs within the same caste or tribe but also outside of caste or tribe. This friendship is also like that of *Saiya* or *Karam-dair*. The boy invites the other boy to a feast at his house. Like the *Saiya* the boy also presents cloths to each other.

At all festivals the two *Iars* or *Prasads* keep together. Somra Pahan also have such friendship with Mogo Tati. The parents of each party have to spend something for solemnising such friendship. It is said that even after the death of one of the friends, the families as a rule, keep up the same intimate relationship. Prafulla Manjhi addressed his friend Phode Tati as *Prasad*, Chuni Manjhi and Sahdeo Kar (Brahmin) called each other as '*Prasad*'. They take food at each others hand. Even a Lohar who seems to be the low caste and untouchable, can make such friendship with a Brahmin or a Munda boy. There is no caste feeling among them so far as friendship is concerned.

Ceremonial friendship has an important place in the village. Pledges for life-long friendship are taken by two or more persons belonging to the same or different groups. Like other castes and tribes Mundas are also in the habit of forming ritual friendships with a number of castes and tribes living in the same or nearby villages. The inter-personal relationship works as the media of interaction between different groups. It is expected that once two persons are tied with bonds of ceremonial friendship, they will remain good friends throughout their lives and as such they have some definite mutual obligations and privileges.

The villagers have a fairly well-defined concept of a 'ceremonial friend'. They say that a *Iar* or *Prasad* or *Saiya* is always faithful to his other friend. He gives utmost support to his friend in time of distress. There can't be any reservation between a *Saiya* or *Prasad* or *Iar* friends.

Ceremonial friendship entered into by the villagers are of many types. Such as '*prasad*', *Saiya, Karam-dair, Gitio-dair, Ganga-Jal, Makar chaol, Tilai* (flower) *etc.* Through these friendships the two individuals involved, as well as their families are tied up into a kin-like relationship. After taking the pledge of such friendship one has to observe certain traditionally established conventions.

It is said that entering into *'prasad'* or *Saiya* type of friendship means getting a friend for the whole life. It is not so simple to break the relations if once established in the presence of so many elderly persons. Before entering into the bonds of friendship the parties must be well acquainted with each other's temperament. One may be of any age, Caste or village, as is said, they should be of similar temperament so that they may maintain a true tie of brotherhood and fellow-feeling.

After making the decision of taking pledge of these types of friendship the parties concerned tell their intentions to their elders. Friends and relatives from and outside the village are also invited on the occasion.

In the morning of the day when the rituals of friendship are to be solemnised both the friends go together to the tank or river, take their bath and wear new clothes.

In an auspicious day, some space of the compound is cleaned and plastered with cowdung and some rice is placed at the centre. The relatives or friends, generally elder members of the house place a metal *'lota'* containing paddy, or rice. The opening of the *lota* is covered with three or five mango leaves. On both sides of the *lota* the friends sit with a piece of new cloth on their shoulders in east-west direction and facing each other. New clothes for the very purpose are then exchanged. The head of the family gives them some rice and the object, with the name of which they have to swear their friendship. The friends then, exchange these things, and eat the *'prasad'* that is the object with which the pledge is taken. Immediately after this, they wish and greet each other. After this they show their regards by saluting to all those who assemble to witness this charming ceremony. Those who can afford, give a feast to relatives and friends.

Among the above mentioned types of friendship *'prasad'* friendship is supposed to be of the highest rank. For this friendship rice cooked or any *prasad of Jogarnath temple* is exchanged. The next in the rank is the *Saiva* type of friendship. *Ganga jal* type of friendship is next in the rank of importance. For the rituals of friendship holy water of some sacred rivers especially the water from river Ganges is exchanged.

The other types of friendship are *Makar chaol, Tilai* etc. The *Makar chaol* friendship is performed at the time of *'Makar Sankaranti'*.

Next is the *Tilai* type of friendship. *Tilai* is a kind of flower. This special kind of flower is brought and is exchanged.

Two persons belonging to any caste or tribe may enter into the bonds of ceremonial friendship. Generally grown up adults enter into the friendship of *'prasad'* type though there is no restriction of age for such friendship. After entering into the bond of friendship it is customary for a friend to invite the other friend with his family and give them a good feast

At the time of special or important festival, friends are invited. At the marriage time and during other important occasions the friends are given honourable place. On the other hand, the friends are always ready to give all sorts of assistance and co-operation as for as possible, to each other, when necessity arises. All these types of friendship involve a true brotherhood relationship. The sister of the friend is looked as one's own sister. If a death occurs in the family of one friend, the other family assists in every way.

Once entered into friendship it is not customary to address the ceremonial friends with their proper names, but by the nomenclature as *'prasad', 'Saiya', 'Iar', Karamdair, Tilai* etc. as they take pledge.

The spouses of the ceremonial friends also automatically get the status of the same type of ceremonial friendship.

Inter-village friendship

One of the unique features of Ghaghra village is the inter-village ceremonial friendship. Once two villages entered into this ceremonial friendship, it is not desirable on their part to break this.

The friendly villages of Ghaghra are *Mahil* (three miles in North-east), *Dorma* (six miles in west). *Okra* (four miles in north), *Darla* (four miles in west), *Hasa* (three and half miles in east).

In a village if somebody happens to be possessed by the main deity of some other village, people start thinking of the two villages in terms of a 'single unit'. If the possession by such God or Goddess continues for a considerably long time their belief in 'one unit' is strengthened and after some times inter-village friendship is established.

If there are frequent visits of people from a village to a particular village, after sometimes, due to the developed intimacy they are bound in friendly relations.

The people like to establish inter-village relationship with other villages. Inter-village friendship between Ghaghra and Dorma is a

fine example. For establishing such ceremonial friendship, negotiations are made through the priest and other village elders. When both the villages are agreed, a day is fixed for the rituals of entering into friendship between two villages. Rituals are just the same as in the case of rituals of *'Saiya'* or *'prasad'* type of friendship. The only difference between the two is that the rituals of inter-village friendship are celebrated on a much larger scale.

Once entered into the bonds of friendship two villages are involved into definite obligations and privileges. It is customary to invite the friendly village at least once a year. At the time of some important festivals and some other social activities, special invitation is sent to the friendly village.

Thus through the institution of ceremonial friendship the villagers come into contact with the members of many families within and outside the village.

The following table shows the different types of ceremonial friendship among the different communities in the village.

TABLE V·2

Types of friendship

Communities	Prasad	Saiya	Lai	Karam-dair	Ganga-Jal	Tilai
Manjhi	13	19	2	.	..	.
Munda	15	16	.	5	..	1
Tati	2	3	.	..	..	..
Brahmin	4	1	..	..	..	..
Teli	..	2	..	.	..	.
Kumhar	..	1		.	.	..
Bhokta	.	1		.	..	..
Swansi	..	2	1		.	
Ahir	..	1		.	.	..
Jogi					.	..
Lohar	..			1	.	.

Through the bonds of ceremonial friendship the village have come in contact with many other surrounding villages. Few examples of ceremonial friendship within and outside village are given below.

Intra-village friendship.

(1) Narayan Manjhi (Manjhi)
(2) Somma Pahan (Munda)
(3) Konka Pahan (Munda)
(4) Dode Pahan (Munda)
(5) Pohodo Tati (Tati)
(6) Gumadhar Manjhi (Manjhi)
(7) Chami Manjhi (Manjhi)
(8) Chatra Manjhi (Manjhi)

Female

(1) Saniaro Mundain (Munda)
(2) Mangri Mundain (Munda)
(3) Etwari (Lohar)
(4) Sukru Mundain (Munda)

Inter-Village Friendship

(1) Chami Manjhi (Ghaghra)
(2) Akshya Manjhi (Ghaghra)
(3) Ganesh Manjhi (Ghaghra)
(4) Prayag Manjhi (Ghaghra)

Budhuram Pahan (Munda)
Mogo Tati (Tati)
Noben Manjhi (Manjhi)
Minu Manjhi (Manjhi)
Profulla Manjhi (Manjhi)
Shankar Kar (Brahmin)
Sahdeo Kar (Brahmin)
Kedar Kar (Brahmin)

Uma Kar (Brahmin)
Nandi Teli (Teli)
Somari (Munda)
Laskhmi (Kumhar)

Haradhan Manjhi (Mahil)
Gobind Kar (Brahmin, Okra)
Narayan Dass (Brahmin, Dorma)
Balram (Daimar)

When a person wants to make an elaborate celebration of funeral ceremony of an elderly deceased person, or in marriage ceremony, or other important ceremonies, he invites the ceremonial friends of the surrounding villages apart from those within the village and his relatives. Here one finds even the non-relatives as kins who are received as guests and are fed as one's own immediate relatives. The feeling of brotherhood is reflected in marriage customs as well as in other social and religious activities.

Relationship between different communities

Kumhar and Ahir

These two communities are on the most friendly terms in Ghagara village, perhaps because they are almost on the same level of social status (*See* chart on social hierarchy in Chapter: The Changing Face of the village). A *Kumhar* and a *Ahir* are a real friends. There is only one restriction that is member of neither caste will accept *kachcha* food from other. *Pakka* food and water are freely exchanged between these two communities. There is no feeling of superiority between these two castes. They can sit together on the same cot. They are helpful to each other at the time of need. Very rarely they quarrel. The service of *Kumhar* is not needed at the time of *Ahir* child birth, but due to personal friendship the *Kumhar* do visit the *Ahir* at this time. At the marriage ceremony of a *Ahir girl* or *boy; Kumhar* supplies some earthen pots and he gets the payment. People of either caste take part in the funeral rites of the other.

Lohar and Jogi

There is no feeling of superiority between these two classes and their relations with each other are smooth and cordial. The *Jogi* attend the *chattu* ceremony of *Lohar's* house. A *Jogi* and his family are invited to attend the marriage ceremony of a *Lohar* boy. There is no restriction of exchange of food between these two communities. There is no disparity in their seating in the presence of each other. There is friendly behaviour between these two communities.

Lohar and Tati

The *Lohar* are considered to be lower than the *Tati*. But *Tati* do not try to show their superiority and hence relations between these two groups are smooth and friendly. The *Tati* do not accept *kachcha* food from the hand of *Lohar* but water and *pakka* food can be taken by these two communities.

Tati and Ahir

There is some difference of opinion regarding the respective social and caste position of the *Ahir* and *Tati* in terms of caste hierarcny. Each of them regards himself higher than the other.

Teli and Lohar

The *Lohar* are of the opinion that their status is equal to that of *Teli* and the *Teli* are not of this opinion. *Teli* do not accept cooked food from the *Lohar*. There have not been cases of quarrels and disputes between these two castes, but their social contact is limited to professional and traditional relations. Still at time of need, they co-operate with each other.

Kumhar and Teli

There is a good deal of relation between these groups. Both the communities participate on the *Fagnua* and other festivals. The *Kumhar* supply the earthen lamps for *Diwali* for which they are given payment. *Kumhar* do not like to take cooked food from the *Teli*. But they are helpful to each other in time of need and there is very rare quarrel between these two groups.

Bhokta and Swansi

There is also some difference of opinion regarding the respective social and caste position of the *Bhokta* and the *Swansi* in terms of the caste hierarchy. Each caste regards itself higher than the other. Though the *Bhoktas* refuse to accept cooked food from the *Swansi*, giving and accepting of water is very common. The *Swansi* offer their *Chillam* to the *Bhokta* and can accept their *Chillam*. Kin-ship terms are used by members of either caste to address the elders of the other group.

Even now the *Lohar* show gratitude and obligation to the *Manjhi* and there is free mixing between these two groups. The *Lohar* think that *Manjhi* are superior to their own caste. They can take water and cooked food from the *Manjhi*, but a *Manjhi* cannot take water or food from the *Lohar*. With this social feeling they do all sorts of work. They skin the dead animals like cow, buffalo and sell the skin.

The main relationship between the *Lohar* and the *Manjhi* is that the *Lohar* women serve as midwives during the pregnancy of *Manjhi* women They get some money, used cloth and food as remuneration. There are other occasions too when a social inter-action between a *Manjhi* and a *Lohar* takes place The *Lohars* are generally poor people in comparison to *Manjhi* and whenever any labour is required the *Lohars* are usually asked The *Lohars* have got the skill of ironsmithy and they supply the required number of agricultural implements to all communities.

The *Jogi* are next to Lohar who come in contract with *Manjhi*. According to *Manjhi, Jogi* are even inferior to the *Lohar,* in the sense that they take beef and take other bad things and do not show any reverence to the cow However, whatever may be in theory, in practice social inter-course and free mixing does take place among them

At the top tier in the trichotomic division of the group hierarchy are the *Munda* and *Manjhi,* whose combined population is 379 divided into 77 households. Highest in the hierarchy of caste comes the *Brahmin* who officiates at the religious ceremonies of all castes He does not dine at the house of any other castes Even from the *Manjhi,* whose status is almost equal to his own and who are also on the top tier of the social ladder, a *Brahmin* accepts only raw material like flour, pulses and vegetables Their traditional, learned and priestly profession demand that the *Brahmin* lead a very pious life. Even the *Manjhi* regard them as superior This can be seen in every respect When setting together *Profulla Manjhi* offered a Brahmin (*Hiramani Kar*) *the Charpai* (cot) and himself occupied the ground Both *Manjhi* and *Teli* greet the *Brahmin* by touching his feet as a mark of respect

The other castes in the village such as *Teli, Tati, Ahir, Kumhar, Jogi,* etc. still go to *Manjhi* seeking help to settle their disputes. The castes at the lower rung of social hierarchy regard them (*Manjhi*) as arbitrators in cases of conflict. Even the *Brahmin* seek such help from the *Manjhi. Mundas* are the only exception who do not give much credence to *Manjhi's* authority. The *Mundas* do not like to consider themselves inferior to any *Manjhi* and form an important group in the village When there is any dispute they settle it among themselves without taking the *Manjhi's* help.

Village Inter-action and Participation

In every sphere of life we find a great deal of inter-action and mutual participation or some sort of compromise Agriculture is the main occupation of the villagers and for this they require some agricultural implements The *Manjhi, Munda* and others therefore, have to depend on the *Lohar* for agricultural implements such as plough, sickle, etc

The participation of *Munda, Swansi, Ahir* and *Bhokta* is no less important. The *Munda* and *Swansi* help each other in their agricultural operations and both employ each other as a labourer in weeding, harvesting, and thrashing the crops Likewise the *Manjhi* and *Brahmin* also help each other in agricultural activities

In the political field we also find some sort of compromise and co operation In the village, two types of panchayats are functioning. One is the traditional and the other is the Gram panchayats sponsored by the Government Formerly the *Parha panchayat* was very powerful political institution and one *Parha* constituted a number of different villages. In the *panchayat* we find that the village officials belong to different communities they meet with same purpose on a common ground they have to adjust themselves for the proper functioning of the village *panchayat*

In religious sphere as well we find a great deal of inter-action and participation of the different communities in each other's festivals and worships

In the social sphere also we find a great deal of inter-action We have already seen earlier how at the times of birth, marriage and death in a particular family individuals are helped by one another.

Unity of the Village

The village is a territorial unit. The village is a distinct political unit as its boundaries are well marked and well known. The Block Development Officer maintains a detailed map for the village showing individual agricultural plots Through its departmental survey he demarcates the boundary of the village The *Karamchari* of the Block collects the land revenue. For this purpose he is obliged to maintain record of the land of every individual from year to year.

The *Gram panchayat* keeps a record of the names and parentage, date of birth and date of death of the permanent residents of its circle.

The headman of the village known as *Mukhia* and the *Pahan* are key figures in the community They both belong to the village The headman represents the village to the government and *vice versa* His duel position as an agent of the government and representative of his village gives him the respect of all He is an indispensable go between While the government regards him as one who can be held responsible for the village,

to the villagers he is their spokesman. The village is a unity in several senses of the term. The most significant unity is that arising out of ecological settings and adjustment. All old and young men and women are the most potent unity. In the sowing season all the old, young men and women are engaged in this job.

Near about fortyfive per cent of land of the village is an upland or *tanr*. This portion is deficient for good agriculture. Fifty-five per cent of the land is good *don* land. This fifty-five per cent is the real resources of the village economy. The villagers reported that these productive land is not easy to cultivate. The landscape is very undulating. So all the villagers who possess land work on unity basis. Any negligence in the maintenance of this may lead to serious losses. If in any season there is a heavy rain, is not only drains off the water which should remain accumulated in the field, but it also washes away the valuable soil. If monsoon fails, it fails for everyone. This is the reason of the all pervading sense of belongingness to the village.

The village Ghaghra is an inter-dependent unit, the village has its own panchayat, which keeps a watch over the village. Inside the village each caste leads its own style of life, though one is dependent upon the other castes.

The headman of the village settles the dispute arising within the village. Every village knows almost all the other members of the village. A relation between two persons seems to be continuity from a relationship between their parents, and leads to a relationship between their children. In spite of internal unity it has some contact with other villages also.

Dr. Srinivas has suggested that the inter-dependence of castes within the village is one of the factors for village unity.

The various castes in a village are inter-dependent. This is seen in day-to-day matters, and is prominent on ritual and other important occasions. Any villager will tell for instance, that at the wedding of a peasant, all the castes and tribes have to co-operate. The Brahmin is priest, the carpenter furnishes some wooden requirements, the oil man supplies the oil for the lamps and cooking, the Kumhar supplies earthen pots.

The carpenter make peasants' plough, and it is his duty to see that the peasants' agricultural implements are all in good repairs. Each family he serves pays him annually a fixed amount of paddy. He also gets a share of the grains that are grown during summer.

Economic unity

The village is an economic unit as most of its inhabitants are united by common interests in the village. The most conspicuous feature of the economy of the village is an almost complete absence of diversity. The entire economy rests on a single crop *i.e.* rice. The village has a characteristically single cropped economy. Out of about 425 acre of net area sown no less than 295 acres or about 84% is devoted to this crop. The predominant position to which rice occupies has far reaching implications not in the economic sphere only but in the social landscape of the village as well. The entire webs of economic, social and ritual life is woven round rice. It unites all the people on one economic plane. All the people have common economy. They also have common aims, common problems and common approaches. Here the economic unity has been a strong cohesive force. Rice economy is a co-operative undertaking. People do help each other on a mutual basis. Everybody has a vital interest in the agricultural undertaking of the other.

The year is divided into two parts *i.e.*, the busy agricultural season with intense activity and the slack period when little basic activity is to be done. The busy season is important in more than one way. This is the time of social co-operation. Generally there is enough work in the village in this season. They do not go to city in search of work.

This is the time when the basic unity of the village is seen. Most of inhabitants of the village do not want to go outside the village. Those people who needed work could get it in the village itself. The village is self-sufficient to some extent and things they have to get from the outside are now also obtained from the nearby markets or hats. Agriculture is the most important occupation and in the sowing season all the villagers young or old, male or female must engage in the field. But unity is not apparent during the slack seasons. Most of the people used to go outside the village.

Helps rendered to one another are never repaid in the form of wages. The idea of reward never enters their minds when they help some one else. The wages of course are paid in the form of service.

Rice culture is centripetal in another sense. By its very nature rice economy is characteristically a co-operative undertaking. It requires a tremendous amount of manual labour. This labour can be procured either in the free labour market or as a result of voluntary social co-operation. There is much social co-operation in the village. People do help each other on a

reciprocal and mutual basis. Everybody has a vital interest in the agricultural undertaking. By helping others for tiding over their difficulties, person indirectly ensures social co-operation in his own favour. The interdependence and mutual help is very conducive to group solidarity. Social co-operation through generations has cemented this group solidarity which has become the hard core of the corporate life of the village. That means if any one helps to the neighbours, he also helps them in similar way. In the construction of houses individuals are helped by one another. Unity can be shown in the form of lending and borrowing as if 'A' borrows the plough of 'B', he is required to plough B's field for the same number of days for which the plough has been borrowed. Much of the co-operation is voluntary, mutual and reciprocal If a person requires the help of others in the agricultural operation but is not in a position to render similar services in return, he must make some payment for the services This payment may be in any form. It may be in kind or cash. But the payment in kind is always economical When a person helps another person in a construction of a house and works there for the whole day, he merely expects a common feast. Then, another relevent illustration can be recorded in case of the village Lohar who is also a functional group in the village Generally, each family makes the payment of some *pailas* of paddy to the Lohar for the services. In case of *Bhokta* some payment is made in terms of kind. Each family makes daily payment of three *pailas* of paddy to the Bhokta. In return a Bhokta provides each family two *pailas* of parched rice.

A good part of the life of the villagers is spent in the maintenance of agricultural operation or in sowing season. This is the season that all villagers must stay in their own village We have reasons to believe that the basic unity of the village derived from ecology is not likely to weaken during the years to come

Thus, economy has an important role to play in so far as the unity of the village is concerned. But the economic setting of the village cannot remain the same throughout the year. The village has a pronounced unity emerging from economic unity. The year is divisible into two demarcated parts *i.e.* the busy agricultural season with intense activity and the slack period The busy season is important in more than one way and during this season they do not go to city in search of work.

Social unity —No less important than the ecological and economic unity is the social unity. The village Ghaghra is a composite village. It consists of many castes and tribes The local group consists of Manjhi, Munda, Lati, Teli, Brahmin, Swansi, Bhokta, Ahir, Kumhar, Jogi and Lonar and these social groups have blended admirably into a corporate whole. Social hierarchy is not so rigid. Of all social groups the Lohar, Jogi and Teli are at a lower rung of social ladder. Except matter connected with food and drink, they take part in the social life of the village on an equal footing. Manjhi and Brahmin are in a stable social relationship with one another. For all practical purposes, all the social groups are knit together into a stable web of social interrelationship. Social life of the village is compact and largely personal. Social life of this village is a kind of unit. The village Ghaghra is a perfect social unit. Its Akhra or the dancing ground is the place where all the communities participate in communal dancing and singing songs Sukrani Pahan told me that, whenever any dispute occurs it is placed first before the elders of the village who form unofficial panchayat. The members of the caste within this village are first united by similarity of occupation of rights in the lands and a ritual beliefs and practices. All the communities are united by a brotherly feeling.

Its Akhra attracts the members from all communities for dancing together. In social matters also, the basis of mutual and reciprocal help is distinctively discernible. During the periods of difficulties, a family naturally looks forward to the assistance of its neighbours. During pregnancy and child birth also women are helped by their neighbours

Ritual unity.—Internal unity also existed in religion, festivals and rituals. The ritual unity of the village is mostly demonstrated at the time of any festivals such as *Jatra, Faghua, Dewali* etc. In the festivals the entire village becomes a solid whole and every one takes active part in their celebrations Various festivals occur in this village within one year and my informant told me how people get united with each other, and how they take active part in this matter People of different communities take active part in this matter. People of different communities take active part in *Faghua, Dewali* and other important occasions, without any feeling of superiority. In Ghaghra, the Pahan looks after the relations between the villagers and supernatural beings and offers worship and sacrifice at village *Sarna* or the sacred grove. For meeting the cost of the sacrifice and the rituals, a small plot of land is set apart for him. This is indivisible and is transmitted from one Pahan to the next. It is rent free. It is the function of the Pahan to worship the village deities viz. *Dewali, Johar Buri, Chandi, Maranbonga* etc The various

deities and spirits preside over the destiny of all the villagers They (spirits and deities etc.) are generally worshipped by the villagers and sacrifices are offered to them. All the religious, rituals are characterised towards the satisfaction of the spirits and deities. Besides mere are other Gods and Goddesses such as *Kali, Devi Mai, Mahadev,* etc. Some Gods are great and powerful. The gods and deities worshipped by the villagers are believed to safeguard their legitimate rights and interests. The most important deity from the villagers point of view is the Village God (Hatu Bongako) or the guardian spirit of the village, and this deity is supposed to protect the villagers and keep them away from harm and danger. It is believed that *Hatu Bongako* presides over the well being of the village and shields them from external dangers. All the people of the village, irrespective of caste and tribe believe in this kind of specific spirit. The village deity therefore, is an important cohesive force and inspires a unity among all the villagers.

Festivals occupy a definite place in the life of the people. They are open to all without any hindrance. Social unity and solidarity is, expected to its maximum during these festivals because these are the occasions when all the inhibitions are shed and people mix freely and equally.

The fundamental idea underlying all the religious rites, rituals and ceremonies is to ensure the wellbeing of an individual family, its cattle and the crop, the village and finally of the whole community and to protect them from unforeseen or imminent dangers and hardships. The collective form of worship of village deity (Hatu Bongako) has contributed largely towards developing community feeling and social solidarity among the villagers. The different sacred centres of the village representing different Bongas and deities are worshipped by the villagers collectively from time to time.

In the sphere of ritualistic activities the Pahan symbolises the corporate spirit of the village. He is representative of the village as a unit. He does not act on behalf of any privileged group. He is the sacred spokesman of the whole village. The interest and well-being of the community as a whole is always uppermost in the ritualistic activities. The whole complex of rituals and sacrifices is oriented towards security and prosperity of the community. As a reward for his services and for meeting the cost of sacrifices that are offered on behalf of the village, the Pahan owns certain rent free land.

The Sarna or the sacred grove of the village is also a symbol of the communal unity. It is round the Sarna that the web of the village rituals is largely woven. It is respected by the entire village. In its jurisdiction, the Sarna of this village stands as the embodiment of ritual, social and territorial unity.

Besides the rituals all the festivals are celebrated with a variety of dances and songs. Many of the festivals have distinct songs and dances. In such festivals all the communities irrespective of the castes and tribes gather at its own Akhra.

Rice beer is exclusively drunk during the festivals and general feasting goes on. The entire village celebrates the festivals without any distinction of caste or tribe. Even socially low castes people participate on equal footing with other higher castes.

Political unity.—The village, again, is a distinct political unit. Its four boundaries are well marked, and well-known. The village has a common headman it has its own Pahan and Mukhia. The Mukhia is the headman of the village. The Pahan has also been elected as a member of the Panchayat. If any dispute occurs between the villagers, the panchayat settles the disputes. The Panchayat is formed by the male, women are not allowed in the panchayat until something concerns them directly. The Mukhia's decision is considered final, he confers with few other old persons of the village. It discusses and decides any sort of inter or intra family quarrels and disputes. It has also got regulative and disciplinary powers.

It is obvious that the village for many purposes is a part of a much larger unit. This village is an integrated link in a wider network.

Ghaghra is a mixed village. It consists of many castes and tribes All these castes are knit together in a well knit structural framework. The social group lived together in a peace. Each caste and tribe has performed its assigned function and lived a harmonious life with the others by maintaining an attitude of mutual co-operation. Every individual and every group has felt secure in its particular position.

Extension

In spite of the internal unity, the village Ghaghra interacts with many villages similarly situated. It has many external ties of more extensive nature which make it an integral link in a wider net-work of relationships. It shares much with other villages.

Economic inter-actions

The economic condition also forces the people to look bevond their own village. The internal economy only provides the subsistence level of income. For this they have to look outside. The villagers generally used to go to town in the slack period. Adult men and women of the village generally go to town where they work as labourers in the slack period. Having nothing economically remunerative to do in the village, people usually go to city in search of work while some persons have to stay in the village due to some domestic work. With the contact of town they have changed their system of exchange from barter to money. The payment of those things which are purchased in the market from the traders who come from different places to sell clothes, silver ornaments, metal pots etc. are to be made in cash. For some necessary thing they are in direct contact with the urban population. With the changed taste for clothes and other articles again trade is necessary. For the agricultural implements iron sheds and iron bars are supplied from the town which are shaped locally by Lohar for the particular use.

The extension of village has increased much due to means of communications and transport facilities. The *kachcha* road from village Ghaghra to main road (Torpa-Simdega), enables the people to extend their communication with the nearby towns and other urban centres.

In this village I found that there are two kinds of exchange *i.e.*, exchange by money and also by barter. But with the contact of town the circulation of money is dominant. The barber who cuts the hair, is not usually paid in money. But the trader who comes from Khunti or Murhu does not accept paddy because he has to get his material from Ranchi or Khunti or from other town, and if he goes there with a bag of paddy to the dealer he will not accept it. Therefore he can accept grains only when he has enough money to purchase his materials.

Money is used for the goods of larger value and the barter is made for small purchases. Now we see that money is making a headway in their exchange and now even in such things like asking for bamboo to build houses one has to pay money. The labourers are also paid both in cash and in kind, with the use of money now they have begun to realize its value.

Market and inter-village inter-actions

Another very important institution by which the village came into contact with other villagers is the bi-weekly *hat* or market. There is no market within the village. The *hat* is held at Murhu four miles from this village. People from the following villages attend the *hat* as Darla, Dorma. Ganlaya, Birimkel, Mahil, Hasa, Gajgao and many other villages. All these villages fall within a radius of ten miles from Murhu market. The market is very important so far as buying and selling is concerned. The merchants from the town also visit the market and also buy grain to sell it at a high profit in the towns. The influence of commercial contacts through the bi-weekly market facilitates the transmission of new ideas. The market is a multi-purpose institution and buying and selling are by no means the only purpose it serves. In *hat* besides the actual buyers and sellers, there is a larger number of people who are not primarily interested in the economic transaction. They come in *hat* and make friendship with girls of their choice or men of their temperament.

Marriage and inter-village ties

It is through the women that another set of connection has been established with outside villages. Village exogamy is practised. This means that majority of the adult women must come from other villages. A large number of villages are knit together into a net work of marital alliances. Of all the ties that bind the village with other villages, the most important is the marital tie. After the establishment of marital relationships the bonds of friendship and mutual help between the villages are strengthened. Indeed it is customary for the in-laws to go to each others' help in time of need.

Majority of the brides must come from other villages *viz.* Hasa, Bartoli, Chamratoli, Darla, Dorma, Mahil, Jamtoli and Birimkel. All these villages fall within a radius of 5 to 10 miles. Often a distant village becomes well knit through this marital alliance.

Thus of all the ties bind the village with other, the most important is the marital ties. We have seen that through successive generations the area covered by marriage ties has been expanding. This means that the village is being integrated through marriage to a progressively large region. But what is significant is that though the area as a whole is expanding, a majority of marriages still take place between territorially more or less contiguous villages say within a radius of 5 miles. This may be due to the desire to knit the neighbouring villages into a net work of kinship relationship so that mutual co-operation is forthcoming on a more solid basis. It is through marriage and kinship, therefore that solid connections with

other villages have been established. As in marriage, so in death, the integrative process comes into play. When death takes place, it is normal for people in nearby villages to visit the village at the deceased house and take part in the funeral ceremonies.

Education and Tribal Inter-actions

Education has been another link with outside. The quest for education has taken the children of Ghaghra village across village boundaries many tunes. They go to a school of an adjoining village. Very recently a high school was established in Murhu, four miles from this village. With the spread of education which brought them in contact with other castes. After receiving education in some of the neighbouring villages they return to the village with newer and fresher ideas.

Festivals and inter-village inter-actions

Festivals provide another opportunity for inter-village relationship, e.g. *Jatra, Faghua,* etc. In *Jatra* all the nearby villages gather at a particular place. This makes the integrative forces with other villages effective. Each Jatra has its specific jurisdiction. In Jatra villagers a semble at a place where ability in dancing and singing is displayed in a spirit of friendly rivalry. It is clearly shown that Jatra plays an important role in extending, the social field of the village. Young people also find their life-partners in Jatra.

Jatra is an inter-tribal dance meet, people from a number of villages assemble once a year at a particular place and there they display their dexterity in dances and songs. The Jatra is a special occasion in the tribal life. It provides the sense of social solidarity. On the appointed day people begin to assemble in the Jatra village after mid-day. When all the participating villages have arrived, they enter the dancing area. Each village has its appointed place in the area there it plants its village emblem. The dancing goes on till late in night when it becomes time for participants to depart. Some one discusses the social problems, over a cup of the rice beer. If there is any inter-village dispute, the elders ponder over it, and settle it amicably.

Young people find their life partners in the Jatra. The Jatra is precisely the place where young men and women from different villages associate, with one another in a spirit of uninhibitive freedom. The people of Ghaghra generally participate in eight to ten Jatras (as Hasa, Murhu, Khunti, Darla, Dorma, Basia, Mahil, Gajgao etc.) The special significance of the Jatra can hardly be overemphasized. They are important forums for bringing a large number of people in intimate social contacts.

CHAPTER VI

The Family Life in Ghaghra

"Family" is defined by Maciver and Page "as a group defined by a sex relationship sufficiently precise and enduring to provide for the procreation and upbringing of children" and "it may include collateral or subsidiary relationship but it is constituted by the living together of mates forming with their offspring a distinctive unity.[1]

The family is the basic social as well as economic unit in the Village Ghaghra The basic pattern of familial structure in the village is nuclear, that is husband and wife with their unmarried children live under the same roof As soon as a person gets married, he sets up a seperate household for himself. There are also exceptions to this general rule In some cases a widowed mother is living with her sons, and brothers live together, making a sort of joint family.

Size and form of the family

Most of the families are nuclear, consisting of husband, wife and unmarried children, who live together in a single hut and do their cooking together and for all practical purposes constitute one single economic unit. Joint and extended families are very rare. The family is based on monogamous marriage, although polygyny is permitted, for example Gopal Manjhi of this village has two wives. Both the wives and their children share the same hut and hearth of the husband. In some families I found that one's grand parents, son, grand-son also live in one's own family. But the system of joint family is rare. The main reason for separation in such cases is the quarrel between the wives of brothers or misunderstanding between the daughter-in-law and mother-in-law, and due to other economic factors.

The size of the family varies from one to above 15 persons. Following table classifies the families according to size.

TABLE VI·1

Distribution of families according to size and number of members in the family

Communities	1—3	4—6	7—9	10—12	13—15	15—20	Total
Manjhi	12	10	5	..	..	..	27
Brahmin		2	.	1	..	..	3
Teli	2	1	1	..	..	..	4
Tati	3	2	..	..	..	..	5
Kumhar	.	..	..	1	..	..	1
Ahir	.	.	1	..	..	..	1
Bhokta	1	.	1	..	..	..	2
Swansi	2	3	..		.	..	5
Jogi			..	1	.	..	1
Total of Non-tribal	20	18	8	3	..	..	49
Converted Munda	3	4	1	..	.	.	8
Non-converted Munda	12	17	8	3	1	1	42
Lohar	..	..	1	..	.	..	1
Total of Tribal	15	21	10	3	1	1	51
Grand Total	**35**	**39**	**18**	**6**	**1**	**1**	**100**

[1] Maciver R. M. and Page "Society" pp. 238, Macmillan & Co. Ltd., 1961 London.

From the figure stated above we find that 1—3 and 4—6 members families, are the largest in number. It is also evident that family is essentially nuclear or individual. The above table shows that the large sized households are mostly found amongst the non-converted Munda, Jogi, Kumhar and the Brahmins do have some representation amongst them.

Analysis of the data on family size reveals that the percentage of very small family consisting of 1—3 persons is 35% of the total number of families, small family consisting of 4-5 persons is 31%. The medium size family consisting of 6—7 persons is 26% of the total number of families The large size family consisting of 10—13 members constitutes 6%. The very large family of 13 members and above forms 2% of the total number of families. It is clear that in Ghaghra, the small size family has the greatest numerical strength. The following table will indicate a picture of the size of family in Ghaghra.

TABLE VIII·1

Chart showing the size of families

Families	No. of family members	No. of families (also in percentage)
1 Very small family	1—3	35
2 Small family	4—5	31
3 Medium family	6—9	26
4 Large family	10—12	6
5 Very large family	13 and above	2
Total		**100**

(1) Very small family consists of husband, wife and a child.

(2) Small family consists of husband, wife and two or more children.

(3) Medium family consists of husband, wife and four or more children.

(4) Large family consists of husband, wife, brothers and their wives and sons, father and mother.

(5) Very large family consists of husband, wife, brothers and their wives and sons, father, mother uncle, aunt and cousin brothers.

TABLE VI 3

The distribution of families according to type

Community	Nuclear	Joint	Extended	Tota
Non-tribal	47	2	.	49
Tribal	45	6		51
Total	**92**	**8**		**100**

Above table shows that 92% of the total families are nuclear, whereas, 8% of the total number of families are joint.

When the separation of household takes place, generally the different portions of the ancestral building are divided amongst the brothers. There is a perfect understanding among the brothers regarding each others' portions. Sometimes even a wall is raised to mark the boundaries.

There are cases in which even after the death of father the property has not been divided among them though they have established separate households with separate hearths.

1 A nuclear family consists of husband and unmarried children.

2 A joint family consists of father, mother, sons and their wives and unmarried daughters and such other relatives of father's side who live together under one roof and cook together in the same hearth.

3 An extended family consists of kins of the mother or wife's sides who live together in the same house and cook in the same hearth.

The villagers as a whole strongly accuse women for causing the breakup of families. A man leaves his parents and settles down in a separate house as soon as he is married or at the latest within four or five years of his marriage. This is an almost universal feature of family organisation in the village.

Yet after the separation, the two families maintain close relations, one helps the other in time of need and co-operate with each other during ceremonies; feasts, festival and at death. Separation from a joint family brings upon the man the responsibility to build a separate house for himself and his family. But for this he is helped by his relatives, friends and even by his own brothers and parents.

The only disadvantage that arises out of the spliting of the joint family appears to be the reduction of the size of the holding.

Duties of the family head and status of members of the family

Father or the eldest male is the head of the family and is incharge of its various activities. He is the sole authority in all the family matters. He may lead it to prosperity or may bring havoc to it. Budhuram Pahan of village Ghaghra is an ordinary cultivator, he is the Pahan of the village. He has been allotted some plots of land. He has 13 acres of land. Thus he is economically better off. On the other hand I found Soba Munda has five acres of land. But he is habitual drunkard. His family consists of ten members. His family is suffering from acute poverty. Thus, from the above instances it is clear that the name and prestige of a family entirely depends on the character of the father. Besides, father has to control the behaviour and action of the family matters. In another case of Saklu Tati I found that he has 3 acres of land and has two brothers. When the paddy is harvested, it is distributed among themselves. So after the distribution of paddy, the quantity is so small that they cannot maintain their family. Father or the head of the family is the central figure in the family and all responsibilities fall upon him. In cases where the father is absent from house for long time or is dead his wife manages the whole family affairs, if the sons are not matured. If there is a matured son, he controls the family.

Though, in general, every member of the family has equal right, the right of the father in the family is supreme. He maintains the family. It is his duty to control the family when any dispute occurs. The property of the family, in a formal sense, belongs to the man who is the head of the family. The women themselves, however, exclusively own all property which they may acquire from their parental homes. Although the husband is believed to be superior to the wife from the point of view of ownership, he will rarely dispose of any property without consulting her. The father is undisputedly the most important figure in the family unit. He is charged with the duty of providing shelter and food to his wife and children. In his economic pursuits his wife and children also help him considerably. During childhood of the son the responsibility, for ... material support rests with the father. But during the father's old age, it is son's responsibility to support him. The father is responsible for the education, training and discipline of the son. It is the duty of the father for material support and protection of his daughter till her marriage. The parents in the family have joint responsibility for the support, care and the upbringing of children. To the father the son owes respect and obedience.

Family co-operation

There is an economic co-operation among all members of the family. Father is the authoritative head of the family. Every person contributes some works to his family. The division of labour between the different members of the family on the basis of both age and sex, is well-marked. The old people share the responsibility of taking care of the small children and do other light work. The women folk take charge of the home, look after their children, cook food, fetch water and do other domestic works. Husband and wife both contribute to the maintenance of family. Agriculture, hunting, mental works are generally the works of men. The children share a lighter part of the work of their parents. They are busy in their work not for any moral consideration but they have work to satisfy their needs. Even an old man (say about 60/70 years old) works in the paddy field to support his family. Thus I found in this village that an old man works till he is taken to bed.

The religious and ritual ceremonies are performed in every family and both male and female take active part in connection with these ritual ceremonies. There is also a moderate economic co-operation between the parents and the children. From the composition and the principles of integration underlying the family, it is obvious that a Munda family is essentially a functional unit. We find that both the husband and wife co-operate towards the goodwill of the family.



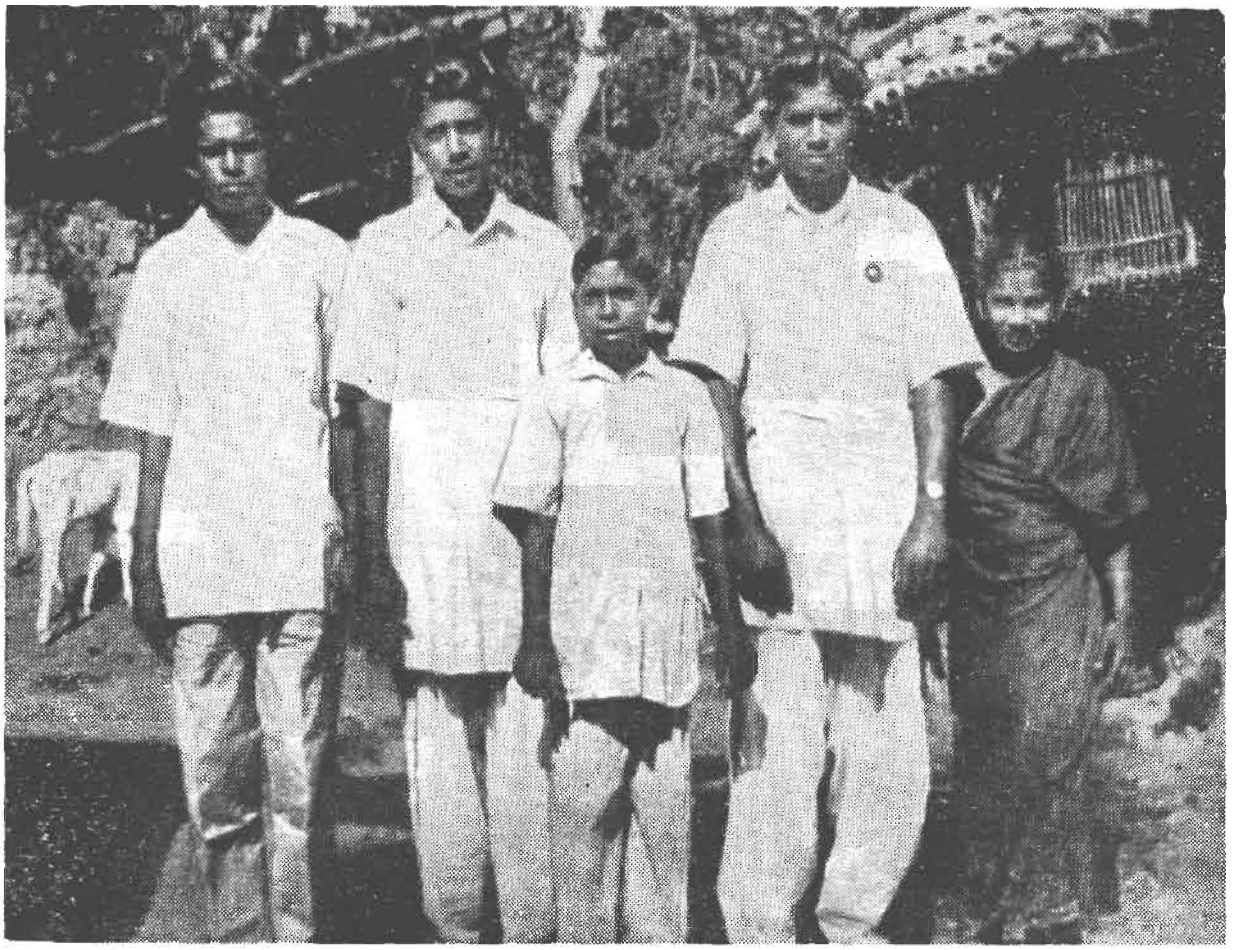
A sweet Manjhi family



I am the Manjhi woman with my two children



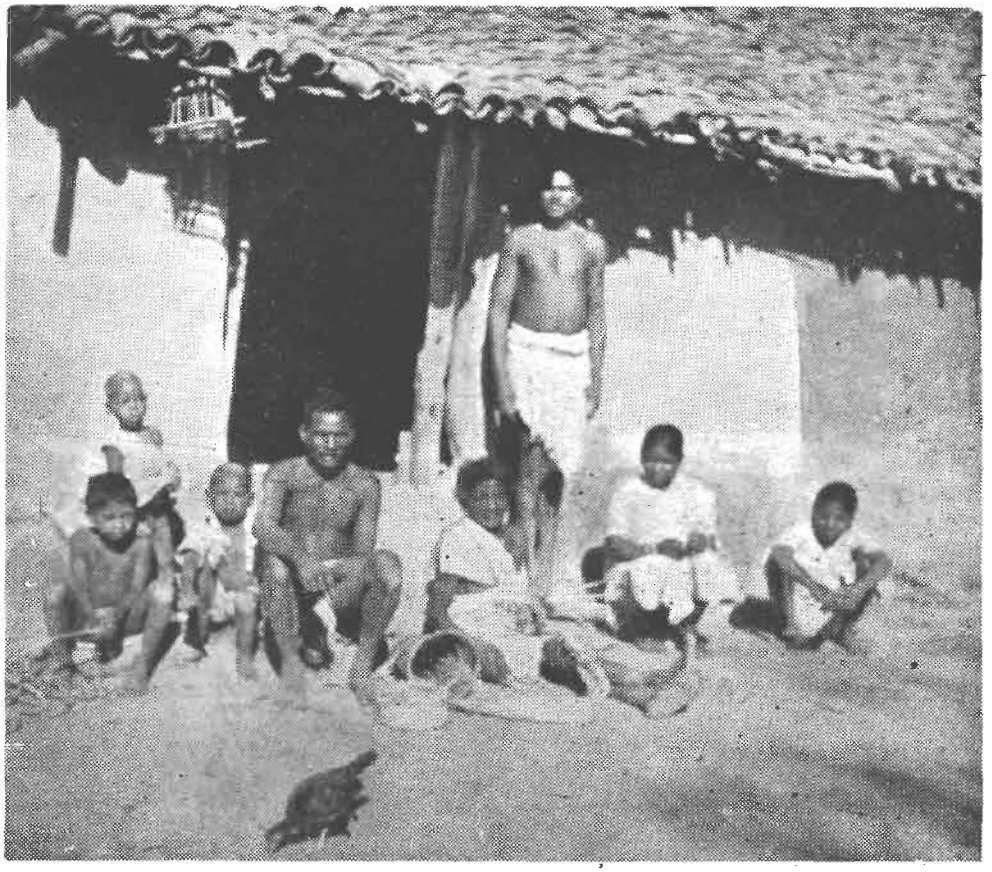
The three Brahmin women with their children



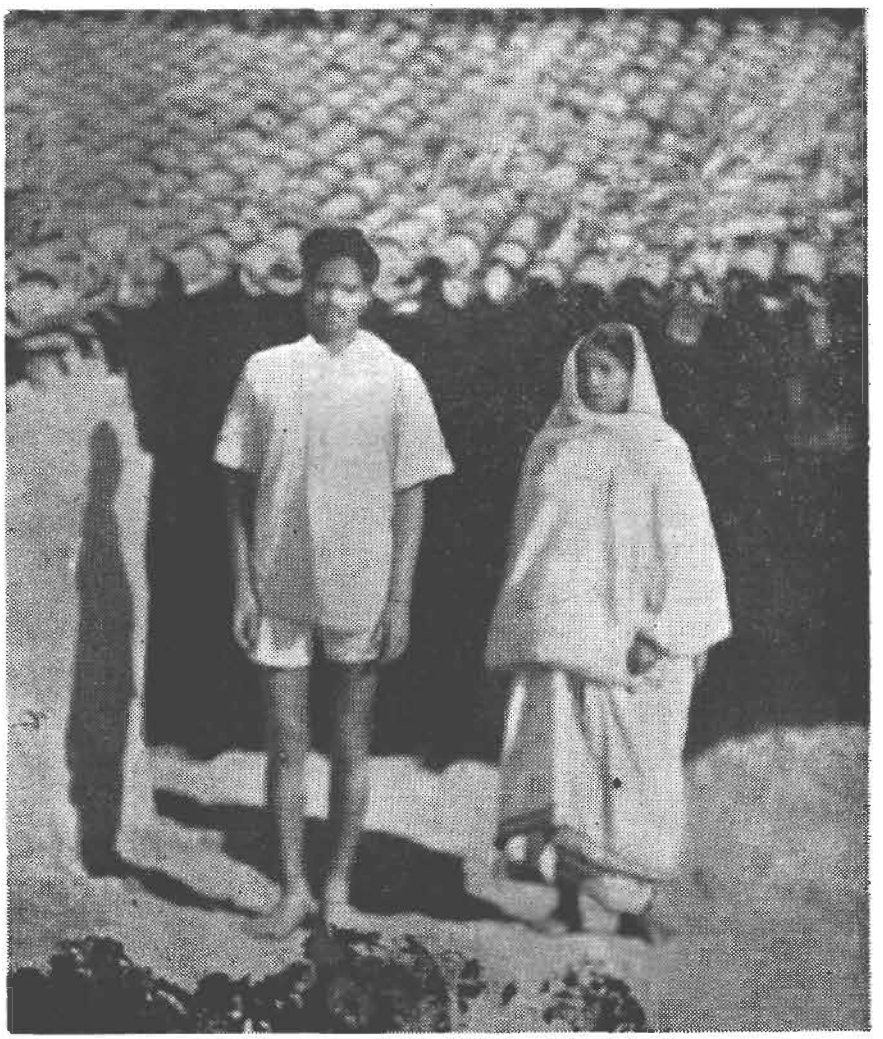
The four Manjhi brethren with their sister



The Manjhi is playing a double role with his two wives of two castes



A happy Munda family



The Lohar and his wife



A Christian family under a heap of straw

Rules of residence, descent and inheritence

The rule governing the place of residence of a married couple is a very important factor in deciding the forms of family present in any society. The Munda or other communities of Ghaghra, are essentially patrilineal and patrilocal. This is regarded as the traditionally sanctioned mode, and as such can be taken as the normative behaviour for them. It is patrilineal in the sense that the property is inherited from a father to his sons but in the absence of a son the property goes to his other near patrilineal relatives. Property must not pass out of clan nor be inherited in absolute right by a woman. Land is never given to a person belonging to a different clan except by way of will. A widow is an owner of her husband's property in a limited manner. There is no example in which a male individual after marriage has gone to his wife's village to take up residence there. There is, however, one case of *Ghardamad* living in this village.

So, all male individuals after marriage stay in their parents' village and all girls after marriage go to the village of their in-laws.

Descent is unilateral and is traced through the father. The title and rank of the father passes on to the male members of a family.

Thus, in all types of societies the rule of residence is one of the important factors to determine the forms of family.

Position of woman

In the Munda community the status of women is nearly equal to that of men in all spheres of the life. There is division of labour according to sex. Women are considered to be incapable of doing hard work. So they are given easier and lighter work, whereas men do hard and add work. In the economic field women always help men. They have an important position in economic and social life. A woman is not only a sexual mate but the life partner of her husband. As a matter of fact wife is the hostess, manager, and counseller of the family. In family matters she is often required to advise her husband.

They are not allowed to perform the religious worship, nor can they themselves offer sacrifices to Gods. But in few festivals women have also right to perform some rites, *e.g.* in *Karam* and *Ba* or *Sarhul* festivals.

Women participate in almost all rituals in the Munda community. There is no specific taboos for women to take part in rituals and festivals. Though men perform all the rites, in a few festivals mentioned above women may also give lead.

We find that women are not less important than men. Nearly in all special occasions they have something to do. Even during sacrifice they have some duties. If a sacrifice has to be performed the Pahan's wife or some other married women of the village, at the Pahan's bidding, plasters the floor with diluted cowdung.

She shares economic activities considerably with the men folk, in that sphere it is always the man who has the upper hand. She owns only her clothes, a few ornaments and some other articles of every day personal use. A woman does not inherit any property. When a deceased person has left behind a widow and grown up sons and daughters, it is the *panch* who divide the shares among them.

When the deceased leaves no son but only a childless widow or a widow with daughters, the widow is allowed a life interest in the property left by the husband. The widow may dispose of movable articles and even things of her house in case of necessity, and give temporary leases of the real property left by her husband. But she has no authority to sell any real property left by him without the consent of all the *Bhayads* or agnates of her deceased husband. When a deceased leaves an unmarried daughter or daughters and no widow or son, the unmarried daughter or daughters are entitled to the personal property left by their father only till their marriage. After her or their marriage the property is distributed among the agnates by the *Panch*.

The panchayat is formed by the male. Women are not allowed in the panchayat, until something concerns them.

Pattern of relationship

Intra-family relationship is a study of interpersonal relationship within the family. This is one of the important aspects of the study of social structure of a community. As the society is patrilocal or patrilineal the husband commands a superior position in relation to his wife or other members of the family. How a person will behave to one another depends upon the relationship in which they stand to each other. Thus, in a family the father will react to his son in one way and to his wife in another way and so on.

In a family, the husband-wife relationship is one where the husband enjoys the highest position and wife is subordinate to that of her

husband, but it can not be said as low. She is the economic partner of her husband. The steps taken by the wife in managing the household affairs, in meeting the daily expenses, in taking charge of the kitchen and looking after the babies are not at all negligible. Then, again parents look after the welfare of their children with all care. A grown up boy accompanies his father to the jungle or to the field to collect wood or other forest products. A daughter is always helpful to her mother in the domestic affairs.

Husband and wife relation

The husband is the most important person in a nuclear family. The husband has the highest authority and the position of wife is subordinate to that of her husband. This does not in any way impair the status of the wife. The wife is most obedient to her husband. This relationship is marked by division of labour, economic specialisation and co-operation, sexual co-habitation, joint responsibility for support, care and upbringing of the children. There is perfect mutual understanding between the husband and wife as far as the division of labour is concerned. Each is dependent upon other. A Munda woman is very active and hard working. She takes over the charge of kitchen, rearing of children and looks after the domestic affairs. The main jobs undertaken by the husband are ploughing, sowing and harvesting, taking care of cattle and other agricultural work. Both husband and wife work in close co-operation. The husband is the head of the family and works hard for the maintenance of his wife and children but wife assists him wholeheartedly. Husband has to train the male children for many activities, while the wife teaches the daughters the household activities. Thus, by the combined efforts of both husband and wife the children get their early socialisations.

Parents and children relationship

The next important pattern of relationship in a family is that of parents and children. Relationship between parents and children are cordial, particularly when the children are young. Parents look after the welfare of their children with all care. I found that children are very much attached to their mothers than to their fathers. The father generally remains somewhat indifferent towards the nursing of the infants. The child of five or six years of age is rebuked by the mother for his disobedience. When the child comes of age and attains puberty the father avoids excessive intimacy with the child in order to be obeyed and respected. To the father the son owes respect and obedience. In father's old age it is son's responsibility to support him. When the child matures he also helps in his father's work. A father generally has more affection for a son than for a daughter who goes out of the village after marriage and no more remains a part of his parental family for all practical purposes, except for occasional visit. The father has many responsibilities towards the daughter He has to arrange her marriage. On the other hand the mother has more love and affection for the daughter than for the son. The daughter is trained in the household activities by her mother in her early age and later on she assists her mother in the same activities. A son regards his father more than his mother, but still he generally has more affection for the mother, and also obeys all her orders.

When the child grows up, the male child goes with the father or other playmates to the forest or to other places. The female child *lives mostly with the mother and takes care* of her young siblings.

A son even after getting married and having established a separate household, gives all sorts of assistance needed by the father. In a person's life time the land remains in his hand and does not get distributed amongst his sons and this brings about the economic co-operation between father and son.

There is an economic co-operation between the father and the son and between mother and daughter. During the childhood of the son responsibility for his material support rest with as playmates. But in father's old age, it is the son's responsibility to support him. The father is responsible for the education, training and discipline of the son.

Pattern of relationship among Siblings

In childhood brothers and sisters, if there is not much difference of age, regard each other as playmates. But as they grow up in age, the incest taboos come in between them and expect them to mix only with the members of their respective sex and tend to get reserve. A grown up sister restricts her conversation with the elder brother. There arises a sense of avoidance in their mind. They follow their own respective sex groups.

The younger brother when married will not sit together in one place with his wife in the presence of his elder brother. So long as they are young the relationship between them is not of avoidance but of friendship but as soon as they grow up, they try to avoid each other. There is avoidance relationship between elder brother and the younger brother's wife. The younger brother has, however, joking relationships with his elder brother's wife.

d parents—Grand children relationship

iere is a joking relationship between the l parents and grand children. Grand pa- love their grand children more than they ieir own children. Sometimes it happens a grand son bears the name of the grand r and a grand daughter bears the name e grand mother.

its-in-law and daughter or son-in-law

e relationship between parents-in-law and iter or son-in-law is also of respect and ance There is an avoidance relationship :en mother-in-law and son-in-law, and -in-law and daughter-in-law. When a iter-in-law comes in her huband's house, hinks her mother-in-law to be the most :table female of the house. She always care of her mother-in-law.

us, we see that in Ghaghra village family entially nuclear or individual and the nce is patrilocal. The family name, if be any, descends from father to son. The ffer marriage, comes to live with the husband in his father's house. "A man's pattern of behaviour towards his kin is built up in the family organisation into which he grows up"[1]. Every person has an emotional attachment with the family to which he belongs.

In the nuclear family or its constituent relationships we thus see a combination of four functions fundamental to human social life: the sexual, the economic, the reproductive and the educational[2] The family provides sexual gratification to the married couple, resulting thereby into reproduction which assures the persistance of the family itself. Then, in the family we find the economic co-operation based, upon the division of labour between the sexes The child then, is taught the basic norms of the society in the family.

The father is the central figure in the family and he is head in social and political affairs. Invitation for marriages, other ceremonies and feasts are issued to him only, which of course covers the other members of the family as well. In the village panchayat when occasion arises, the family is represented by its head.

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[1] Evans Pritchard, E E., 1929 "The study of Kinship in Primitive Societies" *Man*, Vol. 29, pp 100.
[2] Murdock, G.P., *op. cit.*, pp. 10.

CHAPTER VII

The Course of life

One of the major aims of an individual in a society is to satisfy his biological needs, but apart from it he is haunted by spiritual needs too. A man may possess anything and everything in this world that can satisfy his needs but still he reaches a point where he is puzzled by the life itself. He feels the insecurity of life and he realises the need of getting himself secured and this is spiritual need and this need leads him to feel the existence of supernatural or super-human power to which he surrenders himself for the security of life. The daily routine of man's life is guided by religion. From cradle to the grave he is to undergo some ceremonies which are religious and at the same time social. They realise, however, that mere sexual intercourse will not necessarily lead to conception. Unless there is some ancestral spirit longing to be reborn into the family, a woman will not conceive.

Pregnancy

The normal attitude towards marriage is to have a child and this should be fulfilled within three or four years after a marriage, if the couple is young. If not, the Mundas and other believe that the woman is suffering from the spiritual effect of ghost. In such case the Mati or Ojha is called to investigate the case.

The villagers believe that the cessation of a woman's menses for a period of two or three months is symptomat of conception. But this alone is not enough. The expert old women of the family or of the village must diagnose a woman's pregnancy through some signs. If a woman conceives, she will feel idleness in her body, vomitting tendency, heaviness in her thighs with the result she becomes inactive.

The Munda have no pregnancy rites of their own. Whatever little rites they perform appear to be borrowed from the Hindu castes with whom they have been living for many hundred of years. The ceremonies are only precautionary *i.e.* to avert the dangers of 'evil eye' or 'evil spirits'. During her pregnancy a woman in her own interest should never go even in the neighbourhood of the burial grounds because of the evil spirits. Sexual inter-course continues for a considerable long period, sometimes upto five or six months. They believe that inter-course in an advance stage may injure the child or even cause its death in the womb. In her own interest a pregnant woman is always advised that wandering alone in the jungle at mid-noon and after dusk is specially dangerous.

To see lightenings is taboo to a pregnant woman. She must not drink rice-beer in advance stage. She must not sleep in an open space, otherwise it is believed that a type of ghost will attack her womb and may cause harm to the pregnant woman. The woman must cover her womb to avoid the evil eyes. In advanced stage, she must not cross river and carry heavy load. She must not be present at cremation nor even touch a dead body. To save her from such trouble, the husband or other members of the family do not allow the pregnant woman to leave the house after dark.

Although all comforts are provided to the pregnant woman, she is not allowed to remain idle and inactive. She does normal household work.

An important ceremony (worship to Garasia Bonga) takes place as soon as the newly married woman becomes pregnant for the first time. It is stated that if the bride has taken anything away from her parents house against their will, He (Garasia Bonga) is sure to cause harm at the birth of her first child. Therefore, as soon as the newly married woman knows that she is pregnant, she informs her husband who, then, goes at once to ask her father or any senior member of the family to come and offer a sacrifice to this Bonga. Garasia Bonga is the spirit who watches over the female when they are pregnant.

Estimation

The villagers are not able in their diagnosis of pregnancy and the sex of the unborn child. The members of the family are anxious to know whether they are going to have a girl or boy. Some of the old women of the village forecast the sex of the unborn babies on the basis of certain symptoms in the expectant mother, as they have acquired some knowledge from their own experience.

Birth

At the advance stage of pregnancy the woman feels all the more inactive and abstains herself from normal household duties. When she feels

pain she informs her mother-in-law or any other female of the family. At the time of child birth the men leave the hut, and ordinarily only a few elderly women remain to attend the expectant mother.

The villagers are not very particular about the laying in room. No separate hut is raised for the purpose. No seperate door for her exclusive entrance and exit are provided. The delivery of the child generally takes place in one of the sleeping rooms.

When an expectant mother feels the approach of labour pain she is put inside the room. The women of the family or of the village assist the lying of the expectant mother. In no case the unmarried girls are allowed to watch the child birth.

The unbilical cord is served by the Lohar or Ghasi midwife with a knife. As soon as the child is born the midwife (locally known as Dai) gives the child hot water bath and then applies warm mustard oil over its body.

Taboos at birth

The birth pollution lasts for eight days and the mother and child may not come out of the house till the end of this period. Males are not allowed to enter the lying room during these days.

The birth pollution is brought to an end at the expiry of the eight days by a purification ceremony when both the mother and the child are bathed. The materials, clothes etc., used by mother and child are washed in the village tank. Entire house is washed by the cowdung diluted with water. The mother is taken to the stream or tank by some fellow women of the house or village.

There are several successive rites through which the young babies have to pass before they become the full member of their community. One of the most important rite among these is, the purification ceremony named 'CHATHI'.

Chathi ceremony

Ritual impurity starts at the birth of the child and ends with the completion of chathi rites. As a rule chathi should take place on the eighth day after the child birth. But if due to some pressure of work or some other serious obstacles, it is not possible to perform the chathi ceremony on that day, this can be celebrated on the fifth or sixth day of the birth. It is the final purification ceremony of the new born baby and its mother. Until this day the whole family remains in a state of taboos. On the chathi day the women of the family throw away all the dirty clothes and earthen pots used by the mother.

Relatives and neighbours of the parent of the new born child are invited to the house. The women who attended the birth are invited to feast and are presented with two or three jars of rice-beer and also some *'inam'* (gifts).

On the appointed day the guests arrive each with a cash present for the child.

After the *chathi* ceremony is over, the mother and her family are free from all sorts of taboos imposed on them during six or seven days from the birth of the child. Now the mother resumes her household duties.

Name-giving ceremony or the Sakki

The day following the *chatti* is selected for naming the child. The *bhayada* and other relatives are again invited. A name is selected in the following manner. A brass *thali* or plate is filled with water and a grain of rice is first dropped into it. Then another grain of rice is dropped into the water in the name of some ancestor or other relative. In case these two grains touch each other at the bottom, the proposed name of the ancestor is given to that child. If they do not meet each other, another grain is dropped in the name of another ancestor or relative. If every time they fail to meet each other, it is supposed that any name can be given to that particular child. The ancestor or relative on whose name grain is dropped, and the latter meets the other grain of the baby, becomes the baby's sakhi or mital.

But generally it is seen that in the family where the baby is born, the name is given just after the birth by the members of the family. They give the baby the name of the day on which he or she is born. Suppose the baby is born on Sunday then it will be given *Etwa* to the male child or *Etwari* to the female child. Similarly, baby born or Monday (Somar) will be either *Somra* or *Somari*. Sometimes when the name according to birth day is not desired and the particular baby is born on some festive day, then it will be named according to that day.

After selecting the name, the child is bathed and anointed with oil, and a light feast is given to the villagers.

The Hindu castes (especially the Manjhi and Brahmin) do not attach great importance to the naming of the child and it need not be done by a Brahmin or Pahan or Pujar.

[1]S. C Roy : Munda and their County: 1912 rp .459.

Ear Boring (Lutur Tukui)

The Ear boring ceremony is celebrated either in the first, second or in the third year of the child's life. The *Mita* after whom the baby has been named takes the active part in this ceremony. On that day he goes to the baby's house with rice, pulse, salt, mustard oil, fowl or goat and a piece of new cloth. In case of female child both ear and nose are bored. It is done preferably by the barber. This ceremony is not publicly celebrated.

Mundan or Hair cutting ceremony

The belief associated with the Mundan ceremony is that the hair which a child has from its birth are polluted. The hair must be cut to bring about purification The age of the child at this time seldom exceeds five or six years. The Brahmin or Pahan tells the auspicious time for the ceremony but has no active part in it. The hair so cut must be removed from the house. The barber cuts the hair and receives payment in cash and also some quantity of rice, vegetable, oil etc. Well-to-do families also invite friends and relatives to a feast.

Coming of age

There is no marked segregation of sexes till the age of five or six. However, from their play it reveals that differentiation in their various functions starts at this very early age and they begin specialising in the economic functions of their representative sexes through their play. Agriculture, hunting, pottery-making, weaving, are all taught by means of play. The primary occupation of the people is agriculture and every family of ordinary means own a number of cattle. These animals require tending and as soon as village boys are six or seven years old they are put in charge of them. In addition to tending of cattle he is also trained during this period, in the minor operations of field such as weeding, reaping. At home the girls imitate the elder women folk. At about twelve or thirteen years of age the boy is initiated into the more important functions of ploughing and transplantation. During the months of ploughing a village boy may be found following his father's plough with his own while tilling the field. From year to year he sees these agricultural operations repeated in the same way and thus can easily pick up a working knowledge of the art. Ploughing, sowing, transplanting, harvesting *etc.*, he acquires by observation.

The girls also have the same kind of training. A considerable part of their time is spent in looking after the children of the house. They also begin to help their mothers in all their household activities from early life. By the time the girls are six or seven they begin putting on their cloth regularly. The segregation of sexes at this stage becomes more marked. They gradually begin sharing their part of the domestic work and before they attain puberty they learn almost everything.

Adolescence

The period of adolescence has been variously designated as one of 'storm and stress', as the 'awkward age', the 'shy age', 'flaming youth' and the 'age of revolt'. Since it is the period of concomitant physical growth, biological change and social adjustment, adolescence is generally conceded to be one of the most difficult stages in the life of an average individual. It puts both the boys and girls on a different track in the journey of their life.

Specially, adolescence is marked by an acceleration in physical growth. In addition to general change in size and stature adolescence is marked by increased glandular activation and specific growth and development of sex organs. Adolescence involves not merely certain complex changes in bodily structure and functions but also the accompanying mental expansion, the developing self consciousness where the young person attempts to work out his life scheme.

Premarital relations

Premarital mixing among the Munda is allowed in the sense that a young girl can talk and work together with boys of her age but to have sexual relations before marriage is strictly prohibited. The young girls sometimes find their partners themselves either in the field, in the *akhra* or in the weekly markets. Many boys and girls know one another and although there is a segregation of sexes, they can always develop personal likes and intimacies. When both of them belong to the same village they can easily fix the spot and time for their meeting. If the boy and the girl belong to different clans, the boy informs his parents and marriage ultimately takes place. Sometimes intimacy develops between boys and girls living in the same village or in the immediate neighbourhood. Marriage within the same village is possible if the parties belong to two different clans. Though this marriage is not viewed with favour, there is no positive bar against it. The attachments formed between boys and girls in the daily round of activities in the village necessarily end at the time of the marriage of the girl. Premarital sexual relationship also exists in this village. S. Munda (28) started sexual relation with girls when he was only 18 years old. T. Munda (33) has got sexual relation with four girls. Namely L. of Ghaghra village, M. of Ghaghra village, F of Bantali and M. of Ganalya village. Premarital sexual relationship is found in abundance but extra marital relationship is not so prevalent in the village.

Marriage

It has been stated earlier that among the Mundas, the primary function of the clan is the regulation of marriage No marriage is permissible between persons belonging to the same gotra (clan) The tribe itself being endogamous, no marriage with outsiders are permitted Monogamy is the general rule Polygynous marriages also take place in some circumstances Some of the instances of polygynous marriages were contracted for the sake of personal pleasure and also due to pre-marital sexual relations Gopal Manjhi married two wives for the same reason

Age of marriage

Among the villagers there is no fixed age for marriage According to their belief when a girl attains her puberty, she becomes polluted So the girl should be married before this time when she is sacred It seems that this type of custom has been borrowed from the neighbouring Hindu castes People of ordinary status generally marry their girls when they are about sixteen or seventeen years of age In case of child marriage the bride is required to be younger than the bridegroom but in adult marriage this rule may not be strictly observed The usual age of marriage of the boys varies between twenty and twenty-five while that of the girls between fourteen and sixteen when they attain puberty

Betrothal ceremony

Betrothal or Bala is the common rule among the Mundas The native name for this is *Sagai* or *Mangani* This ceremony is arranged by the parents themselves, if they are alive But in reverse case it can be done by the relative concerned The behaviour of a betrothed couple is regulated by custom, more vividly in the sense that they can only exchange thoughts Sexual attachments or alike privileges are strictly forbidden for them

On an appointed day, the bride's guardian with a number of relatives arrives at the bridegroom's house The most important thing of this ceremony is that the bride price is settled at that time, not by naming the demand, but the bride's guardian signifies his demand by symbols, and the boy's guardian also signifies his acceptance by the use of symbols The bride price (gonong) is an important part of marriage The *gonong* varies with one's status. Regarding money and clothes one fixes the amount according to his status

The *gonong* or bride price is settled at the bride's house before marriage by offering *Lotapani* pot full of water to the party of the bridegroom The bride price is generally paid at a time and in some cases it is paid in instalments. Only in exceptional cases when the bridegroom can not afford its payment it is payable even after the wedding

It is the parents of the bridegroom who are responsible for the payment of the bride price. Suppose that the bridegroom's father is not in a position to afford the same then some kinsmen pay the amount

After the settlement of bride price preparations are made for the forth-coming wedding. The bride price varies from Rs 5 to Rs. 100 but the marriage feast is very liberally provided, and as it takes place at the bride's house, the expenses chiefly falls on her father.

If the marriage takes place in the same year in which the betrothal takes place, the ceremonies of *Gonong taka-Idituka* (the carrying or presentation of the bride price) and the *Losgon-tol* (selection of a suitable date for marriage) take place on one and the same date. A date is fixed before hand and the bridegroom's guardian with a few friends and relatives goes to the girl's house with the *gonong taka* or bride price and are received with the same ceremonial hospitality as before. The groom's father or relative makes over the bride price to the bride's guardian (S C Roy, Mundas and their country 1912 pp. 442-43).

Logon-tol is the occasion on which the selection of a suitable date for the marriage takes place If boy's guardian is willing to perform this ceremony also at the same time, a suitable date for wedding is given by the other party. Marriages are generally celebrated after the harvest At this time all are able to contribute some rice and thus have a claim to an invitation

Anandi-Marriage Proper

This is the climax of the marriage ceremonies. It is held for four or five days and on each day a particular ceremony is performed. On the first day, that means few days before the actual marriage ceremony, a ceremony of *sasang-goso* is performed A rectangular mud platform called *Mandoa* is erected in the courtyards of the houses of the bridegroom as well as of the bride. A thin Sal sapling is planted on each of the corners of the mandoa and in the centre of it a *bheloa* (rice soso) sapling and a thin bamboo sapling and a thin Sal (sarjam sapling) are planted together and are painted with rice-floor dissolved in water and bound with cotton thread

Then, in the evening preceding the wedding day a ceremony called *cho-or-chuman* is performed at the girls house. On that day the girl puts on cloth dyed with termeric-juice and sits down on the mandoa, and some ceremonies are performed.

When the bridegroom starts for the marriage he stops at the sight of the first mango tree and there some observances are made. After a little while they proceed towards the bride's village.

When the bridegroom's procession approaches the bride's village the latter's relatives welcome the party.

When the bridegroom arrives at the courtyard of the bride s house a number of women relatives, each carrying a brass *lota* filled with water come out to welcome him. They sprinkle water on the bridegroom with a mango twig. Then, the mother of the bride and the other female relatives, one after another perform the ceremony of *chuman* on the bridegroom with *arua* rice, grass blades, and rice flour. This ceremony is known as *Da-hirchi and chuman.*

Next morning the bridegroom is carried on his palki from the Jalom (temporary shed for marriage party) to the bride's house. The bride is brought out into the courtyard on a bamboo basket. The bridegroom throws three handful *arua* rice at the forehead of the bride and the bride does the same to the bridegroom. The *Palki* and the basket are then put down on the ground. This is *chauli Heper* ceremony.

Next ceremony is known as the *Bride's Uli-Sakhi.* During this ceremony the bride with a number of her female relatives next proceed to a neighbouring mango tree (Uli-daru). The bride puts a mark on the tree with moistened rice flour and ties up a thread around the tree which is a witness to the marriage.

After Uli-Sakhi the *Sasong-Gose,* ceremony follows. In this ceremony the bride and bridegroom are left sitting on the mud platform (*mandoa*) with a friend on either side. As a rule this ceremony is performed inside the house.

Going from the platform to the house, the bride and bridegroom are not allowed to step on the ground, but have to walk on two brass plates or two baskets. Inside the house both sit down on the mat prepared for them. Then, they are anointed with turmeric by the two maidens who are on fast that day *i.e.*, they are prohibited to eat cooked rice. Maidens belonging to the bridegroom's side anoints the bride and that belonging to the bride's side anoints the bridegroom. Lastly, two pitchers of water are brought by the same sets of maidens who wash the turmerics from the bride and bridegroom's bodies. The Sasang-goso is a ceremony in which only women participate.

Sinduri Rakab

In the forenoon, the actual marriage ceremony is performed. The relatives carry the bride and bridegroom on their arms and go round the *mandoa* (platform) three times. Then they are made to stand on the *Salpatri* in the middle of the *mandoa,* the bride has to face to the east and the bridegroom to the west. The bridegroom has to press the right toe of the bride, with his left toe. After that the bride and bridegroom change their places. On the *Salpatris* they exchange garlands, each puts three vermilion marks on his or her own forehead. Their garments are now knotted together and both enter the house walking one behind the other. Then, the bride and bridegroom are seated on a new mat and are given a dish of *chura* and *gur* (parched rice and molasses), milk or curd and other things.

In this way there are also other ceremonies which are performed in the bride's house like *Da-au* and *tuing Elet, Dul-da, Bor-agia*-ceremony and *Samdhi bhet.*

The bridal feast

A rich feast follows this ceremony. Plates and cups made of Sal leaves are used. Rice, pulse, vegetable and meat are served and the bridegroom places a small sal leaf by the side of the rice plates of each guest and the bride puts a pinch of salt on it. Bride and bridegroom take their seats by the side of the village Pahan or Munda or by the side of the bride's father or uncle.

Baba-hertukam

Before the departure, the bride is seated before her mother on the threshold of her house. Some paddy is brought into a *Sup* (winnowing fans) and the bride takes up three successive handfuls of paddy in the palms of her hands joined together and throws it behind her and over her own head.

Jimma

This is a ceremony by which the bride is finally made over to her husband, to be conducted to her new home. Bride's father makes over charge of the bride to the father or guardian of the bridegroom.



The trumpts are bellowing in the air to welcome the married pair

Gati Bage

In this ceremony the bride's companions (*Gati ko*), have some right to get a small cash as present, otherwise they would not let the bride go with him.

When the bride and bridegroom arrive at the latter's house the *chuman* ceremony is again performed, in the same way as was done in the bride's house. The bride and bridegroom are carried three times round the *mandoa* (platform). Next the *Dul-da* ceremony is again done and finally a feast is given to the relatives and other villagers and after that the newly wedded couple begin their new life.

The couple lives together with the groom's parents. But whenever quarrels with the brothers or parents or anybody of the kinsmen occur the married pair starts living separately (S. C. Roy: Mundas and their country: 1912 pp. 444—53).

Widow marriages

A widow is given due honour specially if she is the mother of children. She can again marry either a widower or a bachelor. Similarly a widower can also re-marry. But in all such cases the consent of the woman is ascertained. If the widow is the mother of the male child, she generally does not like to re-marry. She likes to spend her whole life with her son.

Divorce

Whenever any quarrel or serious mutual conflict arises among the married couples the woman very often goes to her parent's house and she never returns to her husband's house if her husband is not eager to take her back. (we come across some cases of divorce in the village).

When such incidents occur the *Gonong* or bride price is affected. Whenever it occurs, because of the wife, it is demanded but when the husband himself is guilty of the same, the amount of bride-price is usually forfeited.

In case they have children it happens that the male children live with their father and female ones with their mother. The male children live with their father due to the fact that they will inherit the property according to patrilineal system of inheritance.

Sororate

The practice of sororate is rarely found among the villagers. A man is free to marry after the death of his wife, whether he has any children from her or not, does not matter. In one case, a man after the death of his first wife almost forced his parents-in-law for marrying with the younger sister of his wife. His parents-in-law agreed to this proposal keeping in view the motherless small children of their deceased daughter. So there is only non-frequent practice of junior sororate among the villagers and senior sororate is not practised at all as it is not even possible (because the elder sister always get married earlier, so there is no possibility of her getting married to her younger sister's husband, even if she gets widowed, she remarries in her deceased husband's patrilineage).

Death

Death is the final crisis in the life of individuals. To them most of the ailments are caused by the spirits and deities. Epidemic diseases like cholera, small pox *etc.*, are always attributed to activities of evil spirits. In ordinary circumstances when a man is suffering from some common diseases, no special care is taken. For dysentery, cold, diarrhoea, *etc.* they prescribe local obtainable herbal medicines. Sometime they depend in such cases on nature alone. Such a serious illness is always attributed to the malevolence of some hostile spirits or deities or to evil magic. One of the dreadful evil spirits of the villagers is the *churel,* the ghost of a woman who dies during pregnancy or at child-birth. She attacks women with fever until the victim becomes violent and tries to hurt all those who attend to her. Formerly, the witchcraft was believed to bring diseases and disasters, but now this belief has disappeared from the minds of the villagers (especially among the Manjhi and Brahmin).

In case of an illness in a family, the first thought which comes to a Munda is to consult the spirit-doctor or witch-doctor or a medicine man. He finds out which spirit is responsible for the malady by feeling the pulse of a patient and by examining the nerves.

Now the villagers are taking advantage of medical treatment. The villagers still believe that if the disease has been caused by an evil spirit or any supernatural agency no medical treatment will be effective unless the influence of the evil spirit is removed by the witch-doctor.

On the death of an individual no announcement is required to communicate the villagers that such and such individual has died. But as a matter of course, the chorus of lamentation of females in the deceased's house is enough to give idea of the sorrowful occasion.

The people from the village gather there and if there are any of the near relative in the neighbouring villages a word is sent to them. While a wooden or bamboo bier is being prepared by some people, others stand waiting

around the corpse. All male members and grown up boys of the local group, friends, who remain present at this occasion, go in procession to the grave-yard or burning ghat.

In recent years some change has taken place in the mode of the disposal of the dead. Previously the Munda, Teli, Lohar used to burn their dead but now this custom has been replaced by that of burying the dead in the *Sasan*. This change is not due to any contact. It has rather been forced on them by sheer economic plight, for burning the dead body the villagers has to spend lot of money for purchasing wood. This they cannot afford due to their economic plight. So the disposal of dead by burying them is the only way out. The Munda, Teli, Lohar, Jogi *etc.* now bury the dead in the *Sasan*. But the Manjhi or Brahmins have not been affected by this change. They cannot think of disposing of their dead in any other manner. Moreover, they are economically well off and can afford to buy wood from outside.

When the funeral is over, all people take their bath, wash their clothes and return to the village in a group.

In case of a death the whole *gotra* or clan observes mourning for ten days. After ten days of mourning the barber shaves and cuts the nails of all the members of the family. In case of Hindus the Brahmin performs the *Honyag* ceremony but in case of Munda, Lohar or others the pahans perform the ceremony. A feast to the assembled relatives concludes the day's function.

CHAPTER VIII

Political Organisation

The village Ghaghra has a political organisation to regulate the action and inter-action of its inhabitants and provide them protection against injustices. The Panchayat and the Parha organisations are the two structural units of the political system in this village. The Parha Panchayat is wider than the village Panchayat. Parha is composed of a number of neighbouring villages. The Parha deals mainly with the cases concerning the infringement of sex-taboos and the re-admission into the caste of the ex-communicated members. Several activities of the people are also organised on the basis of the Parha. The village panchayat, deals with the cases arising within the jurisdiction of the village and strives to keep the unity among the different families in the village. Every adult male member has a right to attend this panchayat and to express his views, but the opinions of elders including the Parha count much and form the basis of judgement.

The Traditional Village Panchayat

A panchayat is an assembly of the panches or the elders of the village to discuss a question or settle difficulties that arise in the community. The village panchayat settles all social matters of local interest particularly violations of minor social or religious taboos and disputes about partition. In its most ancient form it consisted of (1) The Panch, (2) The Pahan and (3) the Mahto or Kotwar. The Panches must be at least five, otherwise the panchayat cannot be formed but it is always desired that they be as numerous as possible. No women are allowed to assist; if called to give witness they retire at once after giving it[1].

The headman in consultation with the elders of the settlement also arranges for raising contributions from the villagers for periodical public worship or for the propitiatory sacrifices to the spirits in times of epidemic of men or cattle. As I was informed by Chaitu Munda of the village that when a widow or a minor owner of fields cannot arrange for the proper cultivation of their land, the village headman and the village elders direct the other villagers to cultivate, each in his turn, the land for the benefit of the helpless widow or minors. At marriage or in funeral, the village panch consisting of all adult members, attend the ceremonies. Hoffmann[2] described that in a panchayat the people do not always sit in one group, the president (head of the panch) may send them to deliberate in separate groups which then send their proposals and counter proposals or acceptance to one another through the president. When all the people sit together. The proceeding is called *arugakru;* when they sit in two groups it is called *gutu.* Thus when all the panches sitting together have found an accused guilty of an offence which will probably entail a fine in cash, the president sends them to deliberate apart and without him, over the amount of this fine. In this manner the culprit cannot know who in particular is hard on him, and consequently cannot conceive any ill will against an individual. When the panches have thus come freely to a decision, they send somebody to tell the president what is the amount decided upon. Whenever possible, it is a blacksmith or a weaver who is asked to act as go between. This man is generally accompanied by a witness, who likewise is not one of the panches. The president calls the culprit to hear what has been decided. He has to agree to the amount or make a counter proposal. In the latter case the panches deliberate again and send again their decision, and so on until the final agreement is reached. If a fine were enforced larger than what the culprit agreed to pay, he might take recourse to law. The president interferes only when the proposals and counter proposals come to a dead lock. He then calls every body together and tells the culprit that he has to pay such amount and informs the panches that they must forgo so much. His decision is always a middle course and is generally accepted by both sides.

The Gutu system: is also resorted to in the discussion of a marriage price, but this is a panchayat without a President, and it is the match maker who carries the proposals.

Now since the introduction of modern courts and due to the impact of modern contacts, the villagers go to the modern court for the settlement of their disputes. In case of minor disputes, it is the panchayat who settles it and in former times the decision of the panchayat was regarded by the villagers as inspired one and a thing not to be disregarded, but now a dissatisfied party seeks his remedy in the court.

1-2. Hoffmann Encyclopaedia Mundarica Vol. XI—pp. 3231-3232.

Financial basis

The village panchayat has no consolidated fund. The only amount which they receive is the amount of fine which is imposed on the culprit. But generally this amount of fine being very meagre, this is exhausted in arranging feasts. In some cases the village panchayat impose a fine upto amount of Rs. 40 or 50. On receipt of this amount the panchayat spends a certain amount of it on feast and rest in purchasing some musical instruments.

Generally the panchayat does not impose heavy fine like Rs. 100 or 200. A meagre amount is taken as penalty, because besides penalty the culprit also gives feast to all the villagers. Even in some cases where the heavy fines are imposed, the panchayat on an appeal from the culprit reconsiders its decision and makes the penalty low.

Procedure of the Panch

If anybody likes to bring complaint against any other individual, he first informs it to the Pahan, or to his assistant. The elders of the village assemble at the village *akhra* or some other appointed place. The complaint is made either verbally or in writings.

Previously, an oath was taken from both the parties. But now-a-days no such ceremony is practised. I have attended four different panchayats where I did not find such formal ceremony.

The panchayat decides the disputes which are simple in nature. The land dispute, theft adultery, inheritance, ownership, breach of trust-disturbance of peace, etc. are within its jurisdiction. The panchayat imposes fine or compensation in default. But in civil cases an agreement is an important part of decision. The final judgement is delivered by the president (head of the panch) according to the uniform opinion of the elders. But at times the president himself decides the cases according to his own sweet will. But some other persons have also an important say in the panchayat. Profulla Manjhi (at present Mukhia of the Gram Panchayat) who had read only upto class VIII always remained the decisive person in the panchayat and it is said that he is such an expert cross-examiner that he is even called to panchayat of other neighbouring villages. When the Munda could not decide the case or one of the parties is dissatisfied, the case is sent to the court of the Manki (head of the Parha Panchayat).

The violation of the social customs such as sexual intercourse between the members of the same *killi*, adultery, intercaste marriage are though under the jurisdiction of *killi panchs* with the consent of Munda and Manki, they are either decided in the Munda or Manki panchayats.

In case where a Munda girl and a boy of another caste have been involved, the girl is handed over to the boy after the realisation of bride price. The bride price is regarded as compensation which is given to the parents of the girl. In the case where a Munda girl is involved with a Manjhi or Teli, she is handed over to the latter sometime without compensation and sometime with compensation. But generally compensation is given as the Munda and Mankhi also stand behind the parents of the girl. So the defaulting party is compelled to pay the bride price in any suitable form.

The role of panchayat in settling inter-group disputes

The traditional village panchayat plays a vital role in mediating inter or intra-family quarrel and disputes. It keeps minute attention over the unsocial doings and over the family quarrels of the villagers and try to settle the disputes by punishing the offenders.

The people of Ghaghra village had no grudge and feelings against the fellowmen and they used to live in a spirit of co-operation. The Manjhi however, opined that whenever people used to drink heavily, it often resulted into a quarrel. Sometimes it used to upset the peaceful atmosphere of the village and the cases of divorce, adultery and incest became common for which panchayat had to be called for. Imposition of a nominal fine or punishment to the offenders were the ultimate weapon used by the panchayat to curb anti-social behaviour of a few villagers. In majority of the cases however, the panchayat used to settle the dispute amicably just by threatening the culprits.

The Manjhi, Munda, Kumhar, Ahir etc. are the exogamous unit and they strictly obey this marriage rule. But in cases of breach of these customary laws, the panchayat was called for and the cases were settled there. If a Manjhi or Munda boy or girl happened to marry outside the tribe or caste, the father or guardian of the boy or girl had to pay a fine of Rs. 100 to Rs. 500. I found some cases of this kind of marriage and for this everyone had to pay a fine.

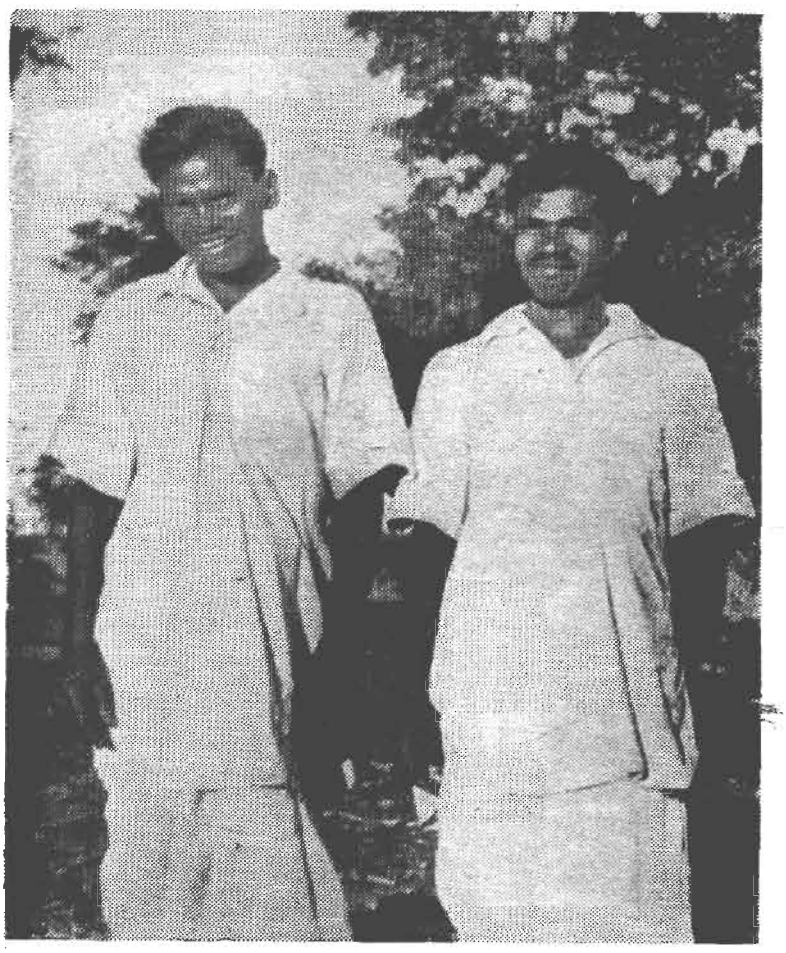
Following are the cases in which I found that the Manjhis were entangled with the girl of other castes or tribes. These cases came for



The Mukhia's son is happy with his father's role in the village



The Mukhia is the head of his village, but his son is the head of his father



The School Master (right) with the headman of the village



The Community Hall

discussion in the village panchayat and were suitably settled.

(1) Mr. X Manjhi married Mrs. Y Lohar

(2) Mr. W. Manjhi married the sister of Mr. Z. Mahto (Teli).

(3) Father of Mr. S. Manjhi married the sister of Mr. L. Tati.

(4) Father of Mr. N. Manjhi married Mrs. N. Mundain.

It will not be out of place here to mention some of the disputes which arose in the village and which were settled by the village panchayat; such case-studies will bring out the roles of village panchayat in settling disputes.

Case No. 1

In the year 1960 one herd boy of the village while grazing the cattle took out handful of gramplants to eat. The owner of the field caught the boy red-handed on the spot. He came to the boy and abused him. This irritated the boy and he also reciprocated in a bad manner. The boy argued that this small quantity of gram which he had taken only to eat would do no harm to the owner. But the quarrel which began with the abusive words from both the parties ended into a bloody scene. The herd boy was beaten severely and blood came out from his head. Then the boy went to his home and informed the matter to his kins and other villagers. They suggested him to seek justice from the panchayat. The panchayat was convened and both the parties were heard separately and the panchayat came to the decision that the owner of the field had broken the law of the village organisation as without complaining the matter to head of the panchayat took a severe decision by himself. The owner of the field was accused for this and was punished with a fine of Rs. 15. The herd boy was warned not to do any such misdeed in future.

Case No. 2

In 1962 a similar case occurred among the Manjhi community in which Mr. X took paddy from the house of Mr Y. without any prior information. But unfortunately he was caught red-handed and the case was referred to the panchayat. The panchayat forced Mr. X to return the paddy to Mr. Y and to give a fine of Rs. 10 to panchayat. This money was spent in arranging a feast in which all the villagers were invited.

Case No. 3

R. Munda fell in love with D. Mundain, a young and beautiful girl of the same village. Their intimacy resulted in the birth of a child. After few years R. again fell in love with another girl named F. Mundain, for a long time his secret love with F. was unknown to D. But later on D. came to know their secret love and by that time F. had also conceived through R. Munda. Thus, the matter became complicated and was put before panches for consideration. The complaint was filed by D. Mrs. D. was always on good terms with R. Munda who used to assure her that he would marry her. But he betrayed her and ultimately patronised another girl. A long deliberation took place among the panches over the issue and lastly arrived at this conclusion that as F. had conceived through him, R. Munda shall have to marry F. and in case D. it was decided that she may get a certain amount of paddy for her maintenance all through her life.

Case No. 4

There was a dispute regarding the partition of land between A. Manjhi and his uncle S. Manjhi of this village. His father died when he was five years old and there was none to look after him in his family. So he was taken by his maternal uncle at *Tamar* village and was brought up there. When he became young, he was married by his maternal uncle. Thereafter he came to his home Ghaghra and claimed a definite share in the joint property of his father. But his uncle S. refused to give equal share to him. A called a panchayat meeting and claimed his share in the property of his uncle, equal to that of his father. But S. did not agree to it and put up the case in the court at Khunti. There also the decision of the panchayat was held to be justified and the S's claim was defended.

Part played by the village elders in settling disputes: Informal approach

The disputes are not always settled by the village panchayat but elder people also have a vital rule to play in settling some of the minor disputes. The cases of disputes for the settlement of which village people took the resort of the elder people are not very uncommon in this Ghaghra village. The following cases of disputes which have been settled by the village elders will show the position of the village elders in establishing a peaceful stable society. These village elders are also the members of the village panchayat. Thus, it is a small informal for dealing with disputes which saved the people to bear greater botheration by referring the case to the panchayat or to the court. In case of failure to settle the disputes by the elders or in case of unwillingness of the parties to accept the decision of the elders, the case is referred to the village panchayat. But in majority of the cases this one man's arbitration proved successful in solving the disputes amicably.

Case No. 1

Mr. X who has two wives from two communities, one day happened to go to the Murhu market in the morning. While going out he noticed that one of his wives (who was more beautiful) was talking with a young boy of the village. Though this enraged him, he did not show his reaction and went to the market. When he returned in the night he asked the same wife to give him food but she told him that she had not prepared the meals for want of rice. Though her answer was true, Mr. X took it otherwise and thought that because of the intimacy of his wife with the boy she had neglected her husband. Though this was not true that she was in love with the boy, due to the doubt of her husband she was not to do any harm to his wife. Thus, the matter was settled and the couple remained nearby.

Next day the father-in-law of Mr. X referred the matter to the respectable village elders. The village elders after understanding the matter ordered Mrs. X not to keep any close contact with the boy at least for the sake of her husband. They also warned Mr. X, not to doubt his wife without any solid proof and not to do any harm to his wife. Thus, the matter was settled and the couple remained happily.

Case No. 2

While grazing Mr. B. one day left his cattle to graze in the corn field of Mr. C. This damaged the crops of Mr. C. who complained the matter to the village elders. They warned Mr. B. to keep a vigilant attention towards his cattle so that they do not do any harm to the crops while grazing in the field. As the case was not so severe and as Mr. B. was not intentionally guilty for the fault, the village elders gave only a threatening and thus could solve the dispute amicably.

Torts and Crimes

"Before the British Courts" S. C. Roy states, village Councils were firmly established, a modified form of 'blood-revenge' was formerly sanctioned by the panch in cases of murder, grievous hurt, and the like. Thus, when a man killed another or broke another's arm or leg, the panch would hand him over to Khun brethren of the murdered or injured persons to be killed or his arm or a leg broken, as the case might be. In cases of theft, the thief is beaten as well as fined". (Roy: 1915:407).

But these types of revenge is not practised these days. Any case regarding injury to any person goes to modern court and to the Police.

In case of witchcraft or sorcery the village panchayat treats these as a matter of great importance. Disease and death in a particular family due to activities of witch are not supposed to be crimes against that particular family but are supposed to constitute crime against society. It is no doubt that in some cases the witches receive serious injuries and assault, and sometimes are even lynched to death as a punishment with the consent of the panchayat or the village panch themselves take initiative in such cases, but due to the fear of prosecution, or criminal proceedings they deny to be responsible for such crimes. The only punishment to witches of which the panchayat now take responsibility is *ex*-communication.

The only punishment which the panchayat inflicts for all cases of crime is *ex*-communication and fine. The cases of theft and other serious cases, now do not come to village panchayat but go to the modern court as I.P.C. provides that theft cases must always be reported to the police station and police officer always remains in look out for breaches of such procedure by the villagers so that they can fish in the troubled water.

Breach of taboos and customary laws

Sexual offences and breaches of sexual taboos, breaches of taboos against taking forbidden food, and eating and drinking at the hands of other castes or tribes which were in the past decided by *Parha Panch,* are now decided by the village panchayat.

There is a strict taboo which prohibits sexual relations between near relatives and between members of the same clan. When cases of incest are detected, they are brought to the notice of the village panchayat.

A woman of higher caste or tribe should not eat cooked food prepared or even touched by a person of low caste or tribe. In case of young unmarried boys and girls, the eating of cooked food by low caste is not regarded as an offence but they should not eat anything cooked or touched by very low caste people. The Munda may eat food cooked by the Manjhi, Brahmin, Kumhar and other castes which are regarded as superior, but they should not eat anything touched or cooked by the low caste people. This command is seriously enforced and penalties for its breaches are very severe.

When a female touches or drives the plough or thatches the roof of a house, she is punished by the village panch. Offences against other taboos are also decided by the village panchayat.

Village Jurisprudence

In our own society law is highly institutionalised. It has its own special personnel, judges, advocates, police; legal business is transacted in special place; it is subjected to highly codified

rules and is correlated with a specialised terminology. But in many primitive societies there is nothing, corresponding to this elaborate legal institution, with its complex and highly differentiated organisations. Law among the primitives cannot be considered apart from the whole normative system—the body of moral codes, aesthetic standards, rules of good behaviour and the like. The force of habit and the awe of traditional command and a sentimental attachment to it, the desire to satisfy public opinion all combine to make custom obeyed for its own sake. It is universally believed that custom is law for the primitive people and that he has no law but his customs. Vigil of law in simple societies can be explained by reference in social sanctions. Thus custom supported by sanctions takes the form of law among the tribals.

From the very early time the village evolved a mechanism of social control suited to its own genius. From the early youth a villager listens to tribal myths and tribal lore and by the time he grows up to be an adult he knows in general terms the conduct that is expected of him. If he does not conform to his social environment or breaks the tribal laws or acts against customs and traditions he knows that his behaviour will invoke social sanctions and which when set in action will work to his disadvantage. There are a number of taboos which are strictly observed. If some by accident or deliberately breaks them he invites supernatural punishment. Incest between close relatives is also one of such punishment. Incest between brother and sister is also very serious.

A number of social sanctions are found among the villagers which regulate the flow of their life and affect social integrity. These sanctions may be positive or negative or supernatural but they are very distinct and prominent in their negative forms.

Stealing anybody's property or possession is thought to be a crime and if the charge is proved, the accused person is fined by the village panchayat.

The tribal administrative system has greatly been modified by the imposition of an alien government with its own elaborate administrative paraphernalia. They have also to abide by Indian Penal Code, besides the customary laws of their own.

There are a number of complex rules and conventions governing the intercourse of one tribe with other tribes or castes specially prohibiting them from eating food cooked by outsiders. This injunction is seriously enforced and penalties for its breaches are very severe. They lose their caste by drinking water with Lohars, Ghasi, Chamars, Jogi etc. The panchayat discusses the question, weighs the fault of the man, and settles how much he has to pay by way of punishment. The penalty always seems to be heavy for the poor people.

Sexual intercourse or adultery with different caste also result in expulsion from the tribe. In this case the decisions are generally made by the Parha and now the village panchayat also takes decisions.

Sexual relations between near relatives and between members of the same clan is strictly prohibited in the village.

Offences such as homicide, bodily hurt, suicide etc. are now a days brought to the modern court for administration of justice. The panchayat is never called upon for passing judgement over them.

Incesteous unions between close relatives within the tribe and sexual liaisons between Munda women and men belonging to a different tribe or caste are viewed very seriously. Offences against person and property are rarely of serious nature. Authority devolves on men of age and experience The elders of the tribe or caste are the guardians of its law and order. They are both. interpreters of the tribal code and adjudicators of dispute.

Rule of Marriage

The Mundas and other villagers do not marry in the same clan. It is tabooed for them to marry blood relatives upto three generations. Monogamy is the general practice and polygamy is allowed but in a very few cases. A widower amongst the Munda even if he has children, and if he likes to marry is allowed to marry.

Law of Divorce

Divorce amongst the villagers is common, and now a days it occurs for a reason such as adultery, barrenness, incompatibility of temperament and for other reasons.

F. of village Hesel was married to G. Munda of Ghaghra. But she always used to run away from her husband's house. Her father twice or thrice sent her forcibly to her husband's house. But in the last her husband G. Munda divorced her and married another girl.

When the spouses agree to be separated, the village panchayat meets and decides that the girl parents should give back what they received as the bride price of that girl at the time of marriage. If they have children they belong to the father. If however, by a common agreement, the mother takes away the children, the

mother has to provide them with clothes every year.

Adoption

A sonless Munda or such other person of the village may adopt a son with the consent of his agnates and the panches of his village and that of the adopted son's father, if it be different from his own. If a cousin, nephew or a boy of his own clan is adopted, the adopted son will inherit the entire property of his adoptive father, provided he lays no claim to a share in the property of his own father.

According to S. C. Roy "If the adopted son is not a *bhayad* (own cousin, nephew etc.) he gets only his marriage expenses, a *mora* or so of paddy, some ploughs and plough-cattle such as may be thought proper by the panch". (Roy 1912: 435).

An adoption in order to be recognised, must be made in the presence and with the approval of the panch and relatives and tribe caste fellows.

A sonless Munda may also take into his family *Ghar Damad* or *'Gor-Jonrea'* or a prospective bridegroom for his daughter to live in the house as a son. Such *Ghar Damad,* if duly taken in accordance with tribal custom inherits, on the death of his father-in-law, all movable property. The procedure prescribed by tribal custom for taking a *Ghar Damad* is as follows: In the presence of assembled relatives and tribe-fellow, the Munda who desires to take a boy as *Ghar Damad* has to declare that he has decided to take this boy (who must be present) as his *Ghar Damad* and to make him the heir of his property. No written record of this adoption of a *Ghar Damad* is kept.

Rules regarding partition of property

On the death of the father, sons are entitled to get equal shares in his father's property. So far land is concerned the eldest son receives somewhat larger share. Cattle, money and other movable properties are equally divided among the sons. But if partition takes place before the father's death, a share is reserved for the father, and the son (or sons) who may live with him and work for him and takes care of him till his death and meets his funeral expenses gets his father's share which is somewhat larger share than any other shares received by brothers.

The widow of the dead is also supported till death by her sons. If the widow and sons fail to agree, the former is allotted a share of land by way of maintenance. If the widow has lived with any particular son, and if that son bears the expenditure of her funeral rites, then that land goes to that son. Daughters are not entitled to get any share in their father's property. The sons are bound to support unmarried sisters until their marriage.

When a deceased Munda leaves an unmarried daughter or daughters and no widow or son, the unmarried daughter or daughters will be entitled to the personal property left by their father, and will remain in possession of the lands left by the deceased till their marriage. Neither a daughter's husband nor a daughter's sons are entitled to inherit.

In the absence of sons, or widow, or unmarried daughters of a deceased Munda, his property goes to the nearest male agnate or agnates. If the deceased's father is alive, the property passes to him. If he is dead, the brothers of the deceased owner will inherit equal share. The sons of a predeceased brother will take the share that would have fallen to their father if he had been living at the time. On failure of father, brothers and brother's sons, the next nearest male agnates will inherit. (Roy: 1912: 433).

The Parha Organisation

In addition to the traditional village council, the Munda villages have regional council, known as Parha. The Parha is the court of appeal for the Munda villages and it also functions to bring about law and order in its jurisdiction. However, during the present time it is almost a dying institution and the village Ghaghra, though village of a Parha, its influence was the least observable. A brief description of the Parha organisation as given below is necessary for an historical appraisal of a Munda Political Institution.

The paramount importance of the Parha system is the maintenance of tribal solidarity. 'In the Parha organisation' S. C. Roy writes "we find the ancient spirit of the clan group clothed in a new body suited to the new environment and changed conditions of life. Although in the outer form of the organisation in the names of its different functionaries and the nature of their formal functions, we see the influence of the Aryan Hindu monarchical system—in its inner soul—in its ruling idea—its aims and objects and the methods of pursuing such objects".

The Parha according to Hoffmann "is a group formed by all the villages of a clan which are grouped around the original village (*asal hatu*). It does not include villages composed by other clans. It has a chief called *raja* with a couple of assistants called *dewan*. They are charged to protect the interest of the clan and watch over the observation of the clan rules"

S. C. Roy recorded some of the offices and their functions. These are The Parha Raja and his two *Sipahis,* the Dewan and his two *sipahis,* the Thakur, the Lal, the Pande and the Karta. He also mentions the offices of "Sakam Heani" who gathers the Sal leaves on which rice is served to the assembled Mundas at the panchayat feasts and the 'chari chatani', who makes leaf cups for drinking purposes. The president of the Parha panchayat in Bhuinharipati (area) is called the Raja and in the Khuntkatti area the president is called the *Manki.* The parha panchayat in the khuntkatti or Munki Pati area is not a permanent body whereas the Parha panchayat in the Bhuinhari Pati is a fixed and permanent body.

A parha is composed of a number of neighbouring villages, sometime 5, 6 or 8 or above. But I was informed by some of the old persons that for the last ten years the sitting of Parha has not been called in the village. Profulla Manjhi and Sukram Munda told me that Parha is not active these days and they are now trying to organise it.

Functions

The Parha panchayat deals mainly with the cases of infringement of sex taboos and readmission into the caste of the excommunicated members and deals with cases which the village panchayat could not satisfactorily decide or cannot finally deal with. The Parha deals with restoration of an individual or a family who has been *ex*-communicated by the village panchayat or owing to breach of social or socio-religious taboos, are treated as outcastes by the village community.

The cases subjected to parha panchayat as Hoffmann described are as follows (a) anv case a village chief does not like to judge himself (b) a dispute between a *patmunda* (chief of the entire village consisting of tolas) and his *tola munda* (chief of a sector of a big village). This is often settled by the decision that the hamlet should become a separate village (c) a dispute about village boundaries (d) a dispute about the right of being the munda or Pahan of a village (e) a quarrel between Khunts of a village (f) adultery with other's wife (g) marking of a woman with *sindur* (red lead or vermilion) by a man of another tribe or caste.

"Besides this the establishment and maintenance of law and order. and the settlement of disputes between one village and another, naturallv come to be added to the list of the recognised functions of Parha council. Each village would co-operate in the persuit of the common obiects of the federation. These common objects were; broadly speaking, the protection of the allied villages from human and non-human forces—from natural and supernatural dangers that beset them on all sides, and generally securing 'luck' for themselves. The different villages of the Parha still hunt together, fight together and, on stated occasions meet together in dancing trysts, social feasts and deliberative and judicial committees" (Roy: 1915).

The Gram Panchayat

The modern Gram Panchayat is established according to the rules and regulations enacted. In the Bihar state the Panchayat Act was enacted in the year 1947. The State Government by notification established a Gram Panchayat for a village normally having a minimum population of two thousand persons or one thousand voters. For this purpose as the villages are not compact or clustered a number (may be either 3. 4 or 5) of small villages are combined into one. The name of the panchayat is given after the name of the main village.

Office bearers:—Each panchayat has a Mukhia who is the administrative head of the Gram Panchayat and of the executive committee. The executive function of the panchayat is performed by the executive committee. The term of the office of the Mukhia and the members of the executive committee is of three years. The elected members of the committee are called panches. And among the panches one of them is elected as the Sarpanch. For the election of the Sarpanch at least half of the panches must be present in that meeting. Among the panches a nomination for the sarpanch is asked for. One person should propose the name and other must second it. If there is only one name then the Mukhia declares him elected unanimously. In the case where there are two or three persons for candidature he prepares a list of all the persons and the panches are asked to vote for each member. The person who secures the highest vote is declared as Sarpanch. No Sarpanch or panch takes part in any proceeding in which he is personally interested.

The Mukhia can be removed by a majority decision at a meeting of the panchayat specially convened for the purpose. With the removal of the Mukhia or in the event of a vacancy in the office of the Mukhia the executive committee automatically stands dissolved and the new Mukhia appoints the members of the executive committee.

FUNCTIONS

The Gram Panchayat is responsible for the following matters:—

(1) Sanitation and conservancy.

(2) Medical relief and first aid.

(3) Maintenance of an accurate account of crop, animal and vital statistics required by the Government.

(4) Control and prevention of epidemics and infectious diseases.

(5) Maintenance and construction of road.

(6) Digging of well, minor irrigation work.

(7) Ready in every moment to face the dacoity and other calamities.

In addition to these works, there are other supplementary works to be done with the help of government, such as management of primary education, construction of village school building, to keep the account of birth and death, to construct tanks and wells, to help the village industries and so on.

The constitutional frame work of the village panchayat of the government of Bihar was first enacted in Ghaghra village in 1960 by the initiation of the government as well as by the acceptance of the village leaders. According to the Laws a general election was conducted by the government officials in which six persons of the village contested the elections. These were the persons of different castes who were also the members of the traditional panchayat. As a result of the contest a member of Brahmin community polled the maximum votes and was elected as Mukhia of the village. Prior to the enactment of this modern panchayat system also, this person was a recognised leader of the traditional village panchayat. Though he was a member of a different village, Darla he was elected for the office of Mukhia due to his prominent roles in the village organisation and also due to his education and economic status. Thus, in 1960 the Ghaghra panchayat was formed with twelve members with Brahmin as the Mukhia and Profulla Manjhi of Ghaghra as a Sarpanch.

Thus it shows that the election was not completely free from caste considerations. In spite of being a tribal area, the Brahmin was placed at the head of the village organisation due to his past influence over the tribals. The Manjhis who were the immigrants from other areas to this place were also very much influential, wealthy and to some extent educated, and one of them was elected as Sarpanch. The Munda, however, fail to achieve any important office in the panchayat.

The organisation which was formed in 1960 continued with its full zeal and activities upto 1962. During this period many developmental works for the welfare of the village have been done. Two roads one from village Ghaghra to Torpa-Simdega road and other from village Ghaghra to Murhu were constructed with the help of the government and with the initiation of the Gram panchayat. The opening of these roads enabled the village people to develop a larger circle of their trade and business. These also helped in breaking the isolation of the village and thus aided in developing their outlook.

For the supply of drinking water to the villagers, the panchayat leaders took greater finance from the government plan to secure to dig wells, at suitable places in the village. For the welfare of the village people the sacrifice of Mahendra Manjhi was appreciable, as he donated a patch of land to dig well for the villagers.

For the development of agriculture and also to meet some of the unforseen expenditure of the villagers, the panchayat leaders helped the villagers by giving seeds, and fertilizer to the people. The panchayat also inspired the villagers to take up the Japanese method of cultivation. For the preparation of artificial manure the villagers were helped by the panchayat leaders to dig compost pit by cowdung and other refusals. In this period of five years many people adopted this system of preparing manure and were able to increase the production of crops.

In the field of improvement of health no significant work was done during this period. But to prevent epidemic and infectious diseases the panchayat took the help of the government to vaccinate the villagers and also to supply drugs to them. Due to the nearness of Khunti and Murhu from this village where medical facilities were sufficiently available, the opening of hospital or dispensary in the village itself was not felt necessary. But the new road which connected the village with Murhu and Khunti and which also shortened the distance helped the people to get proper medical supply from these centres easily. During the epidemic period of cholera and typhoid and other diseases they could get the help of the doctors of the hospital who used to come to the village when called for. For the purification of drinking water the village leaders used to supply bleaching powder to disinfect the water. The gram panchayat also worked in repairing and digging the older wells deeper for the supply of pure drinking water to the villagers.

Constitutionally the panchayat may also perform various other roles for the village uplift and the village welfare. But in practice during this first two years no major work was done except those mentioned above. The Act (Bihar Panchayat Raj Act) lays down that "A panchayat may, if a majority of the members of the executive committee so decide and must, if the gov-

ernment so directs, undertake the control and be responsible for the matters included in the optional list, of course, subject to such exceptions as the Government may take". Twenty-eight items are specified in the optional list and they are lighting of public streets, primary education, registration of births and deaths and marriages, making of complaints under the Child Marriage Restraint Act of 1929 planting and maintaining trees on the side of public streets or in other public places vested in it, improving the breed of cattle and medical treatment of cattles and prevention of cattle disease, the construction of wells, ponds, and tanks, assistance to the development of agriculture, commerce and industry, the introduction and development of co-operative farming, stores and other trades and callings the establishment and maintenance of libraries and reading rooms, maternity and child welfare, the organisation and maintenance of akharas, clubs and other places for recreational games, the allotment of place for storing manure, radio sets and gramophones, relief of the destitute and sick, the management of any public ferry if vested in the Gram panchayat, the promotion of the agricultural credit, and of measure to relieve rural indebtedness and povety, filling in of insanitary depressions and reclaiming of unhealthy localities, the promotion, improvement and encouragement of cottage industries, the destruction of stray and ownerless dogs, regulation of abatement of dangerous trades and practices, the extension of village sites and regulation of buildings, the construction and maintenance of sarais, dharmashals and rest houses, the disposal of unclaimed corpses carcases and unclaimed cattle, encouragement of human and animal vaccination, the construction and maintenance of public utility likely to promote the health, comfort and convenience or material prosperity of the public.

Out of these items the existing gram panchayat of village Ghaghra has done a major work in the field of planting of trees and construction of kachcha road, two wells for drinking purpose and schooling facilities.

In the matter of settlement of disputes the panchayat during this two years' period undertook and settled on the primary level many disputes in the village. The Act says that the executive committee can impose fine on persons doing any mischief or harm to others. Such fines are to be approved by a majority of the members of the executive committee and shall be recovered as a public demand. But to the best of my knowledge and investigation no fine was imposed on any person. In majority of cases the disputes were settled peacefully by giving threatening to the culprit. The imposition of fines was avoided by the panchayat leaders due to the unnecessary botheration for the mukhia or the gram sevak to attend to the court regularly and to show full evidence of the fault of the accused persons.

In 1963 the next election of the panchayat took place and Profulla Manjhi from the Manjhi caste of Ghaghra village was elected the Mukhia of the Gram Panchayat. Profulla Manjhi who was the Sarpanch in the previous panchayat was supported by majority of villagers due to his previous favourable records and was elected Mukhia this year. The former Mukhia of the Brahmin Caste lost due to his negligence of work as Mukhia and also due to his inactive roles in the organisation. Thus, it is evident that as the objectives of modern Panchayat system is being understood by the villagers, they are becoming more and more conscious of the ideological basis of the panchayati system and leaders are being elected on the basis of merits.

The present Mukhia of Ghaghra panchayat had a closer connection with many of the government officials during his role as Sarpanch. He was also an active student during his school age, who organised many functions in the village itself. Though he was not so aged yet he got the office of Mukhia only due to his good behaviour and good doings for the benefit of the villagers.

During this period a major welfare activities have been done, but as the study was completed by the end of May 1962 no authentic data was collected to show its progress so far.

In order to understand the functions of panchayat in the village, and to evaluate the functions already played by the gram panchayat in the village, some questions were asked to the head of the family of different communities. As regards the main functions of the panchayat the different communities of the village Ghaghra opined that the settlement of dispute should be the first function of Gram panchayat. From Table (1), it becomes clear that out of 100 families, 19 families do not form any idea about the function of the gram panchayat. Of the rest we got more than one responses in support of the functions of the village panchayat. In all, the villagers accepted seven functions of the panchayat. The majority suggested settlement of dispute to be the most important function. The next accepted functions of the gram panchayat is the construction of road. The digging of wells for drinking purpose and minor irrigational facilities are also the essential functions of the gram panchayat, but their importance in relation to the settlement of disputes and construction of road is not so highly accepted by the villagers. The main cause for the lesser opinion in favour of these functions is that in the village ponds and

wells are already in existence which are sufficient to supply drinking waters to the villagers and secondly as they grow only one main crop in a year specially in the rainy season they do not feel it necessary to have irrigational facilities supplied by the panchayat. Moreover the traditional system of using cowdung and wooden plough which are hereditarily accepted for sufficient production prevent the villagers to use chemical fertilizers supplied by the panchayat. Above all the backwardness of the village does not give the villagers the opportunity to know the importance of modern irrigational and agricultural system which should also be the main function of the gram panchayat.

In favour of control of epidemic and medical relief the villagers did not seem to be much concerned. The main cause behind this is that the villagers do not actually know that these functions also come under the purview of the gram panchayat, as the panchayat, so far has not played any role in this connection. The villagers, in general, use the traditional medicine and keep lesser faith in the modern scientific treatment.

As regards the question asked to the villagers to evaluate the work already done by the gram panchayat, it reveals from the Table 2 that out of 100 families 51 families have accepted that the gram panchayat has done some sort of work after its establishment. But 49 families opined that the panchayat has not done any major work so far. The major work has been done in constructing kachcha road to enlarge the communicational facilities. The next major function has been done by the gram panchayat in constructing school and digging wells.

TABLE VIII .1

Opinion of the families of different communities regarding main functions of Gram Panchayat

Different functions of Gram Panchayat

Communities	No. of families of different communities	Digging well for drinking purpose	Minor irrigational facilities	Settlement of disputes	Control & prevention of epidemic & infectious diseases	Medical relief & sanitation	Provision of education	Construction of road	Don't know
Manjhi	27	10	7	20	2	3	8	16	2
Brahmin	3	2	1	3	..	1	2	2	..
Teli	4	2	..	3	..	..	2	3	1
Tati	5	1	..	3	1	..	2	2	2
Kumhar	1	1	..	1	..	..	..	1	.
Ahir	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..
Bhokta	2	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	1
Swansi	5	1	1	3	..	..	..	2	2
Jogi	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Lohar	1	..	..	1	..	..	.	..	..
Converted Munda	8	4	2	6	2	2	4	8	..
Non converted Munda	42	6	4	20	..	2	10	17	10
Total	100	**27**	**15**	**62**	**5**	**8**	**28**	**52**	**19**

TABLE VIII 2

Opinion of the families of different communities regarding the work done by the Gram Panchayat so far

Communities	No. of families of different communities	No. of families opened for the work done by the panchayat	Opinion of the families regarding work done by the Panchayat on different fields						
			Digging well for drinking purpose	Minor irrigational facilities	Settlement of disputes	Control and prevention of epidemic and infectious diseases	Medical relief and sanitation	Provision of Education	Construction of roads
Manjhi	*27*	*15*	*2*	..	*3*	*2*	*1*	*4*	*13*
Brahmin	3	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Teli	4	3	*1*	.	*1*	..	..	..	3
Tati	5	2	1		.	..	..	1	2
Kumhar	1	..	..	.		..	..	..	.
Ahir	1	..	.		.	.	..	..	.
Bhokta	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	.
Swansi	5	2	..	..	..	..	..	2	2
Jogi	1	.	..	..	..	..	..	..	
Lohar	1	..	..	.	..	..	..	..	..
Converted Munda	8	4	1	..	1	2	..	.	4
Non-Converted Munda	42	24	8	..	..	..	2	10	20
Total	**100**	**51**	**13**	**..**	**5**	**4**	**3**	**17**	**45**

CHAPTER—IX

Religion and Festival

The villagers have strong belief in the existence of deities and spirits. They feel that they are at the root of all evils and misery that befall on them due to their undisguised wrath. These powerful supernatural beings should be propitiated from time to time. They believe, that the lives of human beings are diseases by various deities. All sorts of diseases are caused by dissatisfied spirits and deities. A man's wealth poverty, health or sickness, prosperity, everything depends on the vagaries of these divinities. All the religious rituals and spells are directed towards this aim. Some of these deities are benevolent and some are malevolent spirits. They are generally held by the villagers in reverential awe. The benevolent spirits have to be approached with prayers and supplications and offerings, whereas the malevolent spirits or forces have to be controlled and averted by spells, threats and other methods of white and black magic. Some of these spirits receive regular offerings according to seasons and times; while others receive casual sacrifices.

Some of the important Bongas worshipped in the village are as follows:

Supreme Deity.—The Munda believe in a supreme deity whom they call '*Sing Bonga*'. At one time Sing Bonga was identified with sun God. But now the Munda deny this emphatically. He is neither the Sun, nor dwells in the Sun, though he is in the heaven. The Munda maintain that Sing Bonga existed in the remotest times, that he will exist for ever, and that he is a pure spirit.

All other spirits are shadows of deceased persons, and are still in need of food. Sometimes they harm people in order to force them to provide them food in a sacrifice. Therefore, in the formulas of all sacrifices, except those offered to Sing-Bonga the spirits are invited to eat the offerings and drink the sacrificial beer. Sing-Bonga alone is not in need of any food. When he harms people it is only to punish them for their evil acts. He is omniscient and omnipresent and provides food for all. When there is a long draught, people offer a sacrifice to Him. The Munda believe that, in the beginning, Sing-Bonga was visible to mortals when they were pure. But now that men had become sinners, he has become invisible. He is the only one whom the Munda regard as truly God to whom sacrifices are offered simply and solely to venerate Him without any consideration of any self-interest. He accepts sacrifices only of things that are white (which may signify purity), such as white goat or white fowl. These are reserved for Him and may not be offered to any other spirit. A prayer is offered to Him before devotee undertakes any new venture and makes any sacrifice. He is remembered before every meal and a few grains of rice are put on the ground in His honour. In case of a serious calamity Sing-Bonga is specially invoked as a last recourse. He is considered as supreme God and other deities and spirits are represented as His subordinates and creation.

Sing-Bonga is the Supreme deity and reigns supreme over the rest of pantheon of multitude of gods and godings. All the *Bongas* live under the protection of Sing-Bonga. Sing-Bonga directs and governs the affairs of the world with the help of other deities and spirits. He is benevolent and is respected by all and offerings and sacrifices are made in His honour even for the benefit of the village as a whole. No regular prayers and sacrifices are made to Him but if a general calamity and misfortune befall on the village, He is propitiated with great veneration.

Village Gods (Hatu Bongake).—The next class of Gods is the presiding deities of the village, such as *Desauli Bonga,* the *Jaher Buri* and the *Chandi Bonga.* These Bongas guide them in every corner of life such as in agricultural operations, hunting etc. They are worshipped by the village *Pahan* (religious head) at a particular time in the sacred groves (Sarna).

There are several points of similarity between *Desauli* and *Chandi Bonga.* Desauli Bonga is believed to reside on the *Sorua* tree. He is a malevolent spirit and may conspire with antisocial elements to bring harm to any body. He is not regularly worshipped but if it is detected that He is causing some harm to a person, He is offered sacrifices by the sufferer in order to appease Him. On the day appointed for such a sacrifice the man to whom He is causing trouble, goes to the sacred grove and there, choosing a tree, clears the spot. If he (the sufferer) knows the rite he must perform the sacrifices himself. If he does not, he must ask one of his nearest relatives or the village *Pahan* to perform it on his behalf. All the members

of the village family must be present and take part in the sacrifice. He (the sufferer) brings the sacrificial animal which is generally a red or reddish fowl or a black goat etc.

Household Gods.—The Ora Bongako (house Gods) are the spirits of the deceased ancestors of each family. It is believed that spirits of the dead ancestors become *bonga* and reside in some corner of the house. Since they belong to the family, they cannot be expected to bring any harm to its members. They are benevolent spirits. Just as the living members of the family live in the house so do the spirits of the dead ancestors, and the living members of the family do not afford to forget them. They are propitiated and offered sacrifices occasionally. Unlike all other rituals of the village, the village Pahan does not attend to any ceremony regarding *Ora bongako*. It is always the head of the family or in his absence any other senior male member who conducts the rituals concerning the family *Bongas*. Their blessings are invoked at every social ceremony and at religious festivals.

When anybody dies in a Munda family, the relatives return to the burial or *burning* place a few days after the death, to request the soul of the deceased to return to its former home, dwell in the store room or other room in the company of other deceased members of the family, and to protect the latter and receive worship from them in return. The former *horo* (man) now becomes a *Bonga,* specified as *orabonga,* a domestic or house spirit.

Nature Gods.—There are certain elemental spirits or Nature Gods such as *Buru Bonga* (Hill spirit), or *Marang Bonga, Ikir Bonga* (tank or pond spirit) and the *Nag Bonga.* These stand midway between the beneficient spirits (Manita Bonga). Their ordinary function is to do good until their anger is roused to their mischievious activity, when they have to be propitiated.

Buru Bonga or *Marang Bonga* is a very lenient spirit accepting long dated promises of sacrifice. If when the sacrifice becomes due, his devotee finds himself unable to fulfil his promise, the spirit has no objection to its date being put off still further. He never causes misfortune or sickness at the bidding of a witch. He may do so from His own will. They are very kind-hearted *bongas.*

Ikir Bonga is the spirit of deep water. In this village there is a spot which no body can convert it into a field, and trees standing on it may not be cut without the permission of the village Pahan.

Malevolent Bongas.—The malevolent entities among whom may be mentioned the *Churins,* the *Muas,* the *Apsans,* the *Hankar Bongas,* the *Barang Bongas* and the *Masan Bongas,* who are earthbound deities of persons who died a violent or unnatural death.

Of the malevolent Bongas the most notorious seems to be the Baran Bonga. He is supposed to be the responsible for all the major crises which may befall the village. He is consequently, held in great awe and ward off calamities. He is propitiated by the sacrifice of fowls and enactment of several rituals.

As soon as it has become evident that an epidemic has really broken out either among men or cattle, the *Pahan* goes through the village, proclaiming that, such and such day, they shall offer a sacrifice to a particular *Bonga* and collects money from house to house for the purpose of buying a red cock, which has to be offered to *Desauli,* in order that He may communicate favourable with the *Rogbonga.* Besides this he collects the fowls which are to be sacrificed to the *Rogbonga.* He may take one from each family or not, provided he gathers at least five of them, and, those must be of five different colours.

In the case of an epidemic among men the *Pahan* offers sacrifices. Some say that during epidemics the witches exercise their black art more frequently than at ordinary occasion because the witches feel that the people would attribute the outcome of witchcraft as the mischief of Rog *bongako*—product of epidemic and as such the people are not likely to undertake a witch hunt.

Hankar Bonga is the spirit who harms a family or its cattle with dangerous sickness or even death, not at the bidding of a witch but from his own accord. There are four kinds of *Hankar Bonga* (i) the *Hankar Bonga,* who is not in a hurry to obtain the sacrifice he wants and does not therefore inflicts a sickness immediately dangerous. As a matter of fact his most common mischief is diarrohoea amongst cattle, (ii) the *Vehankar bonga,* who wants a sacrifice at once, (iii) the *Hisingahankar Bonga,* still worse, more malevolent and envying the weal of the family he attacks repeatedly, (iv) the *Tundu hankar Bonga* who threatens to wipe out a whole family or destroy all its cattle (Hoffmann: Encyclopaedia Mundarica pp. 1603).

Mua is the shade of a person beheaded, or killed with an axe, who becomes a spirit and dwells in the house of the murdered. It is believed that such spirits dwell in the houses of

human sacrificers and there is always one or other of the children and descendants half mad. When such spirit is seen it is without body or without head.

Churin is the evil spirit of a woman dying in childbirth or pregnancy before having actually given birth to the child. The belief in this kind of spirit is common to all the Munda as well as the other Hindu castes in the village. The following are the chief points in the villagers' belief. The shadow of a woman who dies in pregnancy has an irresistible longing to return to her home. If she succeeds in reaching it, she will take with her the child or person she loves the best. She can roam about only at night. Most people pretend having seen such a ghost at least from a distance. In fact any light, appearing suddenly in the dark for which an evident cause cannot be immediately assigned is deemed to be such a ghost, because these ghosts never appear without having their mouths full of fire and exhaling it. It is believed that there are two classes of people who come into closer contact with such *Churin*, namely the drunken people trying to find their way home after a visit to relatives of another village after taking large quantity of rice-beer. These people are treated rather badly, the spirit throws pebbles and sand into their eyes so that they can no longer see their way. The second class people specially the sick women, who usually complain that some acquaintance of theirs, who died pregnant, comes to frighten them.

Besides these there is a class of deities whose function is beneficient. They protect like guardian angles-particular families and classes. This spirit is known as *Gaondet*, who resides in the North-western corner of the village and this spirit presides over the affairs of the village.

Other Minor Spirits

A considerable number of the villagers believe in the existence of spirits and ghosts. According to them these Bongas find a devilish delight in bringing epidemics to men or cattle, unless propitiated with appropriate rituals.

Common among these spirits are

(i) *Cordea.*—The villagers believe that the witches or wizards worship this spirit in secret, with a view to acquire the special power to change themselves into a cat, goat or other animal and roam in the night, doing the various kinds of minor mischief. The principal mischief ascribed to them are nightmares and playing upon mischievous things.

(ii) *Deora Bonga.*—is an individual spirit particular worshipped by a *Mati* or which finder to obtain his help and protection in the exercise or his craft.

(iii) *Darha Bonga.*—is supposed to live in rice fields or streams. In rice field or in the streams people in Her honour erect a wooden post on a small spot which is left uncultivated. Every third year a young buffalo is sacrificed to her and thrown into the water. These sacrifices are made at the time when Hindus celebrate the *Dasai* festival during which goats are sacrificed to Kali. This spirit has found very few devotees among the villagers.

(iv) *Hero Bonga.*—Sacrifice to Hero Bonga takes place after the sowing is over, when the paddy is already a couple of inches above the ground in *Asar* (June-July). From that day onward they are allowed to weed their fields.

(v) *Haram Horoko.*—Haram Horoko are the shadows or spirits of the ancestors and these spirits reside in various spots within the village boundaries. As the villagers have faith in the soul or spirits as distinct from the body, it is very natural that certain ghosts of ancestors are propitiated by them. On the occasions of illness in the family, prayers are offered and sacrifices are made to them.

(vi) *Nage Bonga.*—is supposed to live in the low rice fields. Sacrifices and offerings are made to appease this Bonga also.

Hierarchy of Spirit and Gods

The Pantheon consists of hierarchy of innate gods and spirits. Some Gods are great and powerful and receive regular offerings, while others are less mighty and are treated accordingly.

The Supreme deity is '*Sing bonga*' the creater who looks after their general welfare and well-being. He is worshipped with a great reverence, affection and regards. All the other Gods are subservient to Him.

Marang Buru or *Buru Bonga*, the great spirit, next to *Sing Bonga*, is the greatest of divinities, for in his hands lies the power of giving or with holding rains. He resides in rocks and hills and requires constant attention on the part of the unfortunate cultivators.

Nex comes the *Desauli* which keeps a guard over the village and saves the people from all calamities and looks after their welfare.

The ancestor spirits or household Gods, as a rule, watch over the family to which they belong.

Then the malevolent spirits, *Baran Bonga.* and *Hankar Bonga* are regarded very powerful



The temple of God Shiva

spirits. They are responsible for all the major crises which may befall the village.

According to the villagers all the gods, spirits do not have the same power and the most powerful gods or spirits receive regular offerings and at particular occasion or festival the sacrifices are made in honour of them.

Thus, from the above description of the spirits and deities we find that the dominant factor in the religious faith of the tribals is a belief in spiritual beings who control or influence the destiny of man.

Hindu Gods and Goddesses

The history of the village reveals that among the Hindu communities the Manjhi came to this village first and began to live with the tribal people. The Manjhi are the *Vaisya* and followed the Hindu religion of *shaiva* sect. They are non-vegetarian and are devotees of Lord Shiva. They consider themselves to be the child of God Shiva and offer worship to Him. They do also worship *Vishnu,* but for the Brahmins, *Vishnu* is the primary deity. They named Him as *'Satyanarayan'.* The idea behind the worship of Satyanarayan is that they always want to lead a life of truth and non-violence because of their belief in truth and non-violence.

There are many forms of worship of Lord Shiva which are offered by the Manjhi. *'Shiva-Ratri'* and *'Charak Puja'* are the two main ceremonial occasions for the worship of *Shiva. Shivaratri* festival is observed in the month of *Phalguna* (March-April) and that the Charak Puja in the month of *Chaitra* (April-May). During the Shivaratri festival, the devotees observe fast and eat fruits and other "sacred food" after the worship is completed in the night.

Satyanarayan Puja

The Manjhi also perform the Satyanarayan Puja. But there is no fixed dates for this performance. Whenever a Manjhi falls sick or faces some other danger he or his relatives promise to observe Satyanarayan Puja including the recitation of sacred story, if the person gets out of the danger. When one wants to perform *Katha* (devotional story recitation), he invites the Brahmin to recite the sacred story of *Narayan.* The story acquaints the listeners with the importance of *Dan* (gift), devotion, and worship. It also impresses upon them the ways of acquiring *Punya.* Moreover hearing of the recitation is also considered to be an important religious duty.

I personally observed and attended such a recitation in the village. An image of *Satyanarayan* is placed on a small wooden *Chauki.* The *Chauki* is decorated with the leaves of banana plant. One who arranges for the recitation or *Katha* observes fast and sits before the image. He offers flowers, water, *Arua* rice and *Durva* grass etc. to the image as directed at every step by the Brahmin priest. At the end of the recitation, an *arti* in a metal plate is performed. Then the *'prasad'* is distributed to the people.

Diksha

The Vaishnava observes an initiation rites known as *Diksha.* It is laid down in the Hindu religion that every Vaisanava has to accept a guru or priest who helps the devotee in performing the religious performances. The vaisnava guru perform this initiation rite. Thus the Manjhi community of this village took the help of a Brahmin to perform their worship which led to the migration of a Brahmin family to this village. Gradually with the passage of time this single family was separated and became three in number.

Manasa, Seetala and Kali

Besides Shiva and Satyanarayan puja, we also recorded the worships of *Manasa, Seetala* and *Kali* in this village. These worships are generally performed by the *Teli, Tanti, Kumhar, Bhokta* of the village. But the Manjhis also have faith in these Gods though they do not take active part in the worship. Really speaking, these communities are, though not Saivas yet they are not strictly *saktas.* They believe in non-violence but they also believe in *Sakti.* The way of performing Mother Sakti is different between Saktas and *Non Saktas* (The term which I have used for those communities who believe in Sakti but avoid blood shed). The worship of Kali, Manasa and Seetala indicate that these people also believe in destructive forces or Saktis who have the power to bring calamities in the universe. Goddess Seetala symbolises the controller of epidemic diseases. If unsatisfied, she spreads diseases and brings calamities and death to the people. People think that the spread of diseases like Small Pox is particularly the result of the wrath of Seetala.

The Goddess Kali symbolises the energy and power. She is worshipped specially by the Kshatriya with a view to gain strength and vigour, but in this village she is worshipped by the Tanti, Teli and Bhokta. Though they do not associate this goddess with violence, the way of worshipping the goddess Kali is more or less the same as prevalent in Kashtriya village. However, the strongest point of difference lies in the fact that Kali worship in this village is not associated with any animal sacrifice and the Kali has become a vegetarian Goddess.

The Goddess Manasa is the symbol of snake who brings death to the people It is worshipped in the month of *Sravan* (July-August) A small earthen pot with raised brim is placed in the courtyard which is purified with a coating of cowdung The pot is filled in with water and a Mango twig with three or five leaves is placed on it The whole thing is covered with a piece of white cloth without any border and is fixed on paddy grains Milk and *Ganja* from special offerings to the deity

The Sun-God (Surja-Puja) is worshipped in the month of *Kartik* (October-November) for general welfare of the family and specially for the good of the children. As no special date is assigned to this worship, any day convenient to the villagers is considered to be suitable It is a worship which is performed on the village level by all the inhabitants of the village

Festival

Religion as Frazer has said, must be the perfect combination of two *i.e.*, belief and practice, and this practice ordinarily leads a man to religious festivals There are some festivals, which produce the belief itself, that is to say without that festival, the belief is of no use These religious festivals are the symbols of belief For instance the celebration of Durga Puja is the symbol of belief on the particular deity of the Hindus Similarly the Munda also have got religious festivals all the year round

Festival occupies definite place in the life of the people At the following occasion the villagers participate with all other castes and tribes

Sarhul

It is an important festival which is celebrated in the village It coincides with the first bloom of the Sal flower Hence it is also known as the festival of the flowers It falls in the month of *Chaitra* or April-May The date of the festival is fixed by the Pahan with the consent and approval of the village elders, but it is customary to celebrate it on the fifth day of the moon In the rituals the sal flower plays a conspicuous role It is offered by the Pahan in the village Sarna Sacrifices of fowls are made The spirits of the dead ancestors are specially propitiated All the other Bonga and spirits are also propitiated People do not touch the plough on the Sarhul day

Karam

On the appointed day the young men of the village go out dancing and singing to the forest and cut the branches of the Karam tree for the festival The branches so selected are not allowed to touch the ground while bringing to the village When the Karam branches for the festival have been selected and cut down, a batch of young men, hands in hands, carries the branches to the village The other young men go on dancing around them The branches are ceremonially planted in the middle of the village *Akhra* After this the branches of Karam is left in the charge of the Pahan and his assistants The Pahan is presented by the villagers with a Jar of rice-beer for the occasion, and he and his companions remain drinking to their hearts in the *Akhra* After taking special meal (prepared for the occasion) the young men and women return to *Akhra* and spend the whole night singing and dancing

Next morning the *Karam Raja* or Karam plant is decorated with flowers The maidens bring with them each a young cucumber, a lamp protected with a *Seru* leaf and a bundle of leafy twigs of some pulse plants After hearing the Karam legend the young men and women make offerings of flowers to the Karam branches The Karam branches are then carried in procession by a number of young men with songs and music, and are thrown into a tank of a stream

Phagu Parab

This festival is celebrated in the month of *Phagun* on the days of full moon It resembles the Hindu great traditional festival of *Holi* The festival involves many ritualistic activities in which the Pahan plays the pivotal role All the Gods are propitiated the general theme being success in hunting Hunting is ceremonially celebrated All the male members of the village, early in the morning proceed to the forest In the evening they return to their village with games hunted The game is equally distributed

The actual festival of Holi falls on the full moon day of *Phalgun*. After sunset a festive atmosphere pervades the village and this is clearly perceived in the activities of the people In this festival some branches of *Semar* are planted on the earth, and boys collect wood, dry stalks of plants, rotten thatch and other materials All these are placed in one particular area

The auspicious moment for lighting the fire is announced by the Brahmin or the Pahan of the village Then all the people go to the place where the Holi fire is lit Before the fire is lit, a little water is sprinkled on the fuel Then the one who lights the fire goes round the heaped fuel three times, with some burning stalks and twigs in his hands When the three rounds are over, he burns the heaps of fuel with his burning twigs in his hand As soon as the fire is lit, the young boys shout at the top of their voices *Holi Hai*

On the next morning they throw coloured water on each other.

At noon when the villagers are free after their lunch, etc. they assemble at a particular place, and then go round the village in a procession singing devotional songs meant for the occasion.

Desai Festival

This festival is celebrated in the month of *Aswin-Kartik* (September-October). It has been borrowed from the Hindu festival of *Dasahra*. The villagers celebrate this festival not by doing any public worship, but by singing and dancing only. It is only in a few families that fowls or goats are sacrificed and the *Ora-Bongako* or other deities are worshipped by the head of the family.

Besides the villagers observe a number of festivals most of which are of a semi-religious character and mark the different stages of agricultural operations.

Festivals associated with Agriculture

Mage Parab

The people of the village celebrate this festival in the month of January or *Pous* on the day of the full moon. During this part of the year the agricultural cycle comes to an end, paddy is harvested and their graneries are full. Every body is content and the festival is celebrated with great enthusiam and eclat. The spirits of deceased ancestors and other household Gods, are the main objects of worship in this festival. Due to its importance the festival is spread over many days. During these days all the deities are propitiated through a complex series of rituals. These rituals centre round the Pahan. On the first day due importance is given to the spirits of the dead ancestors. They are prayed and invited to partake of the sacrifices offered. On the next day all the *Bongas,* deities and spirits are invoked to accept a share in the day's sacrifices. After the worship all the members of the family as well as the servants sit together and enjoy a hearty meal of fried rice-flour bread etc. Servants or *Dhangar* employed for a year are released from their engagements after a fortnight, servants are again engaged by the villagers for the ensuing year.

This festival has a wider social significance. It is not celebrated simultaneously in all the neighbouring villages. Different villages observe it on different dates as it is customary for the people to invite friends and relatives from different villages to attend the celebration. Thus, not only the inhabitants of the village, but also a good number of people of other villages also participate in this festival.

The Hon-Ba-Parab

This festival is celebrated in the month of *Baisak* or *Jeth* (Apr.-May), just before the first sowing. There is no public worship on this occasion, but the head of each family worships the household gods, spirits of their ancestors.

Kadleta Parab

This parab is celebrated in *Asarh* (June-July) and coincides with the first transplantation of the paddy. The Pahan makes sacrifices of fowls and all the Bongas are propitiated for the purpose of obtaining protection against snakes during the transplantation and weeding operations. It takes place in *Bhado* (August). but it is not attached to any particular date.

Jom Naoa

This festival is celebrated in the month of *Bnadra* (July-August). This is the time when the rice begins to ripe and the ceremonies are concerned with the eating of the new rice. First of all the *Pahan* celebrates it in his own house and then it is celebrated in the village level.

Kharian Puja

Kharian puja is held in the month of *Aghan* or (November-December), when the paddy is harvested and stored in the *Kharians.* The first thrashing of the season always ritually takes place on the *Pahan* thrashing floor. No body is allowed to thrash his crops until the ceremony of the first thrashing in the *Pahan's Kharian* takes place. The *Bongas* (Kolam Sing *Bonga*) are worshipped with sacrifices of fowls supplied by the villagers and with offerings of rice beer.

Sohorai

This festival is celebrated on the 15th day of the moon of *Kartik* (October-November). This festival is spread over a number of days. The special theme of the festival is the well-being of their cattle. On this festival the Pahan does not officiate as religious head of the village, but only performs the rite in his own house for his own cattle, as does the head of every family in the village. The villagers observe the rite of the cattle-feast only to protect their cattle against the influence of malignant spirits. The *Bonga* (Gorea Bonga) presiding over the cattle is specially propitiated and sacrifices are offered to them. Great love and reverence are shown to the cattle and they are fed special diet. During the sohorai week it is strictly taboo to harness the cattle or treat them harshly in any way.

Almost all the festivals are oriented towards securing their economic well being by invoking

the aid of supernatural agencies. Throughout the year the well-being and prosperity of the community is upper most in their minds.

The village has a settled agricultural economy for a long period, and hunting, fishing and food gathering are only of ceremonial significance. Naturally we find that success in agriculture is the dominant theme of most of the festivals, a majority of them being keyed to agricultural cycle. So in this respect economic activities are closely connected with religion

Most of the festivals occur at some important phase of the agricultural cycle. Thus *Mage Parab,* which is a very important festival takes place at the most important phase of the agricultural cycle *i e.* after the winter rice has been harvested. *Kadleta parab* coincides with the *ropa* or the first transplantation of the winter rice, *Jom Naoa* festival is connected with eating of the new rice.

From the view of material well-being the agricultural year in the village can be divided into two parts. From August to April is the period when the villagers have sufficient grains in the granaries and they can generally provide a meal for themselves and their family. The period from May to June is the lean period when the granaries are empty and the people are hard hit.

It is significant that the most vigorous festivals take place during the period July—April when the people are comparatively well-off. *Mage parab* which is celebrated with great zeal is significantly celebrated just after the winter harvest when food and grain are in plenty and no major agricultural task remain to be done. It is but natural that people who are so utterly and absolutely dependant upon agricultural give themselves up to enjoyment during that part of the year.

The lean period, May to July, is patently no time for enjoyment. However, one important festival namely *Sarhul* is celebrated during Chait (April-May) but at a time when lean period is ending.

Other common features of the festivals are as follows. Except for the *Phagu Parab* which falls on the 14th Lunar day of the month of *Phalguna* none of the festivals take place on astronomically or on fixed date. The fixing of dates for different festival is a social function. The *Pahan* declares the date after consulting the village elders This is socially significant in a double way. Firstly, prior consultation for fixing the dates of different festivals infuses a sense of social solidarity. Secondly, because the dates are not astronomically fixed, no two villages in the neighbourhood celebrate the same festival on the same day. This enables relatives and friends in other villages to participate in each others festivals in rotation.

Another feature which distinguishes these festivals, is that all of them are pre-occupied with the well-being, security and prosperity of the entire community as against the interests of the individual. All of them have dominant social bias.

Besides these there are Sarna, *Devisthan* or the residence of guardian spirit. The *Pahan,* also invariably, is the pivotal figure in all the ritualistic activities. No festival is exclusively devoted to the worship of any specific God. The entire pantheon consisting of a hierarchy of Gods and spirits are propitiated on all occasions. Some of the spirits, deities receive regular offerings according to seasons and times while others are to be appeased by casual sacrifices, if they cause misfortune, sickness, etc. The objects of sacrifices range from buffaloes to small fowl.

Besides the rituals all the festivals are celeberated with a variety of dances and songs. They are essential ingredients of the festivals, no less important than the rituals. Many of the festivals have distinct songs and dances.

Rice-beer is exclusively drunk during the festivals. The entire village celebrates the festivals without any distinction of caste or tribe. Even the socially low castes like *Jogi, Lohar,* etc. participate on equal footing with the *Munda, Manjhi* and other high castes.

The sacred Geography in the village

The religious life of the village can also be viewed in terms of its sacred Geography. There are a number of sacred centres in the village whose study brings out the religious hetrerogeneity and uniqueness.

In the Middle of *Sarak* or *Manjhi tola,* stands a *kachcha* temple of Lord Shiva. This is the only Hindu temple in the village, but there are other places of worship known as *deothans.* The deothans are under trees and are represented by platforms on which are placed images or sometimes stones to symbolise the particular deity. The first *deothan* that attracted our attention, is located on the North-Eastern boundary of the village. The villagers regard the *Peepal, Neem* trees and *Tulsi* plant as the abode of gods and consequently they are considered as sacred.

Each *Brahmin* household has a sacred *tulsi* plant, planted on a raised earthern platform within the compound. This platform is daily plastered with cowdung and kept very neat and clean. During the month of *Kartik* (October-November), each night, an earthen lamp is kept a lit on the platform near the plant. It burns for the whole night and is fed either with *ghee* or mustard oil.

On the outskirt of the village towards the east is to be found the *than* of Mahadeo.

The main *Sarna* or the Sacred grove of the village is located on north-eastern side of the village. Here, *Desauli,* the tutelary deity of the village and *Ora Bonga* are supposed to sojourn when attending to the wants of their votaries. These deities are held responsible for good crops, and are especially honoured at all the great agricultural festivals.

Bakri Bonga is supposed to live in southern border of the village. This sacred centre named after the *Bakri Bonga* and is represented by large and wild tree.

There is another sacred centre towards the north-western end of the village settlement. Here *maranikir* bonga is supposed to live.

In addition to above sacred centres the villagers regard *Sasan* or burial grounds as sacred centres.

There are quite few *sasans* or burial ground belonging to different social groups. The principal *sasan* of the village is situated towards the east.

The villagers believe that some of their dead ancestors or ghosts live in the *Sasan* and may attack anybody who happen to pass alone by the side of the *Sasan* in the dark night. The villagers are afraid of this place and nobody dare to enter in the dark night.

Sacred specialist—(Pahan, Pujar, Brahmin, Mati, Ojha, etc.)

The religious life in the village is mainly regulated by a set of sacred specialists who are needed for the various sacred performances. The religious head of the village is known as '*Pahan*'. This Pahan has got one or two assistants who assist him in performing the duties and also perform anything or everything in absence of the *Pahan*. From religious point of view he performs all the major sacrifices and is incharge of all the religious responsibilities. He holds his office by the right of his birth. His office is honorary, he does not depend on it for his living, but he has certain portion of land set apart from their lands called 'Pahanai tenure'. He is at liberty to use the land's production, but he cannot sell the land.

The *Pahan* is the key figure of religious organisation. It is round him that all the ritualistic activities connected with religion revolve. He represents the village in all rituals and makes sacrifices to Gods on behalf of the villagers.

As a representative of the community, he offers a sacrifice to *Singbonga,* the tutelary spirits and to the shades of the ancestors on the *ba (sarhul), Batauli, Kolansin, and mage* festival. He invokes them to offer natural blessing and protection to the community against evils arising from natural causes. On the occasion of *Phagu* feast, he makes sacrifices to *Birsandi, a spirit.*

The tutelary spirits worshipped by the Pahan are *Buru Bonga, Maramburu, Desauli and Ikir-Bonga.* There are many more *Buru Bongas*: *Ikir Bongas* and *Naga Bongas* in the village, but these are harmful spirits not counted among the tutelary ones and are not the object of the Pahan's worship. The only sacrifices they get are those offered by a *Mati* or witch-finder when they happen to do some harm to the villagers.

The sacrifices that the Pahan offers for the community on the traditional feast days are propitiary. He never offers sacrifices to appease an angry spirit not even on behalf of the whole community. This, he leaves, to the witch-finder. He offers sacrifices in the following circumstances (i) In case of epidemic of men or cattle, in village, he, with the consent of the community, promises to sacrifice to the tutelary spirits asking them to safeguard the village (ii) it is he who offers sacrifices at the beginning of a fair (iii) when an individual member of his community wants to cut a tree in the *Sarna,* the Pahan on his own judgement, without recourse to any divination, indicates what sacrifice is needed to do so without incurring the anger of the spirits, and he offers it himself before the work is undertaken. (iv) Before the flower feast people may not stick sal flowers in their hair, before the *Batauli* feast they are not allowed to weed the fields in the afternoon. It is the Pahan who lifts these prohibitions since it is he who fixes the exact date of these feasts.

It is his responsibility of fix up the dates for the various agricultural and sacrificial festivals. The *Pahan* of Ghaghra, thus performs all the religious functions concerning the village.

In celebrating the social and religious ceremonies *Pahan* has to lead the villagers in right way. As far as religious matter is concerned the villagers have to depend upon *Pahan* for any necessary suggestion.

It has been mentioned earlier that *Pahan* is always assisted by an assistant whom the villagers call *Pujar* or *Panbhara*. The duty of the *Pujar* is to assist the *Pahan* during the ritualistic observances. The *Pujar* collects the sacrificial materials from the villagers brings them to *Sarna* and assist the Pahan in making sacrifices etc.

He performs the functions of a village priest, and is always chosen for his whole life from any family of the village descendant of the earliest settlers. It is his duty to propitiate the Gods and officiate as a priest at the sacrifices in the Sarna. The office being practically kept in one family, he is supposed to have full knowledge of all village matters handed down from father to son through many generation.

To him some time the villagers bring cases of land disputes and often the word of the *Pahan* alone bears sufficient weight, and the villagers accept his decision.

In addition to the above sacred specialists the *Brahmin* or village *Pandit* is another sacred specialist of Ghaghra village. He performs the various religious and ceremonial rituals. Religious teaching in the village is controlled by the *Brahmin*. At the birth of child (specially among the Hindus) the Brahmin or Pandit is called to note the time or birth. He also decides the date and time for *Chatti*. In return he gets a payment in cash or kind. During the marriage ceremony (especially in a *Manjhi* family) he performs the religious ceremony. He reads some *slokas* from the sacred books. For this food.

Besides the evil spirits, ghosts etc. they are ceremony he gets money, cloth and also *Pucca* afraid of witch-craft and sorcery. If any misfortune befalls him he attributes it at once to the anger of some unappeased spirit or to the machinations of a witch. The *Ojha* or *Mati* (diviner) alone can tell to which cause the misfortune is due and recourse is had to him. If he decides that it is due to witchcraft or sorcery there are several ways of discovering as to who has wrought the spell, though the decision in all cases practically rests with the *Ojha* or *Mati* giving him unlimited opportunities of gratifying any personal enmity he may entertain.

The *Ojha* or *Mati* finds out the evil deities who create disturbance in the village. They trace witches among men and women. The *Ojha* is a person who has the power of *mantras* to waste away the evil influence applied to men or women.

Religious Interaction between the tribals and the Hindus:

Whenever people of different religious beliefs and practices come under one social organisation an intermixture of religious rituals and religious festivals are bound to take place. In Ghaghra we find that the groups of the tribals and the Hindus with their different religious beliefs and practices are living together from generation to generation in a single social tie and owing to this the religious life of the village show certain extent of admixture. From the above discussion, it is also clear that the belief of the two groups, in many ways are similar there are numerous points of common beliefs and practices.

After the harvesting season when the corns are brought to the house from the field the villagers as a whole irrespective of tribe or caste celebrate some common festivals and offer worship to the household Gods. *Mage Parab* is common among both the Hindus and the tribals. Though there is a slight difference in the way of performing this festival. But the idea is that after the harvesting season when the corns are ready both the groups observe rituals and enjoy merriment. The Hindus prepare sweetmeats and take a purificatory bath in the pond to get new energy and vigour for the coming secession. The tribals on the other hand prepare *'Haria'* which they take for three days after the purificatory bath in the first day. These are done to get new strength to engage themselves in new work. Both the groups also worship their domestic deities to appease them by offering grains which they consider, have been produced by the grace of their respective Gods. They also pray to their Gods to get help in producing another crop and in maintaining peace and plenty in their house. During this season every one makes merriment and marriages in both the groups are settled and performed during this period. The *dhangars* (servants) also get opportunity for merriment, when they are free from their agricultural work and get time to visit their family and relations. All the dues of the *dhangars* are cleared and later a fresh engagement is made with them.

It is the tradition among the tribals to celebrate *Kadleta Parab* when the transplantations are on. This festival is celebrated to avert snake biting or sickness during this important agricultural operation. The people with the help of the Pahan celebrate this function when they offer hen to appease their God. Though it is not common among the Hindus in general, in this village, due to the mutual impact, Manjhis, and

other agricultural castes also observe this function. In performing this festival, these castes also engage the tribal priest (Pahan) and their own Brahmin priest has no function. Thus, we note that in the religious field the Hindu families of this village have been influenced also by the tribals.

Many of the Hindu worship Goddess Manasa and Goddess Seetala. They represent the Goddess of snakes and the Goddess of small pox and other epidemic diseases. In tribal communities we also find Nag Bonga and Desauli Bonga. The way of worshipping Nag Bonga and Goddess Manasa are the same. The tribals worship Nag Bonga by pouring milk in those holes where the snakes usually reside. Whereas, in Hindus we find that the worship of snake representing it as a Goddess for which they worship an image of Goddess Manasa the queen of the snakes. The main purpose of worshipping this Goddess is to protect the human being from the anger of snake Goddess who control the snakes.

In the case of worshipping Goddess Seetala and Desauli Bonga we find similar ideas behind these two forms of worship. The Hindus specially the saktas, and some of the saivas believe in the existence of a Goddess in the village who spread and control the epidemic diseases in the village whom the people call the Goddess Seetla. Similarly in tribal community we also find that they believe in the existence of a Bonga or God in the village who is solely responsible for both the destructive and constructive influences in the village.

CHAPTER X

The Changing Face of the Village

Introduction

The village is a unit of different individuals. Among the diversity of the characteristics and nature of people, village is an organisation which is complete in itself. It has its own value system, social standard and different institutions. The social people, according to the characteristics and nature of the village and its individual; frame out social order. This system of valuing the social order, the social hierarchy and social discipline is constant if outer forces are absent.

In the modern age village does not remain complete in itself. Due to the growth of population and scarcity of material goods, the village is now-a-days in touch with the outer world. Thus, with the outcome of many modern forces like education, communication, market and industries the village unit is changing day by day and with that the system of social order of the village and the system of value judgement in the social system is also changing.

But it would be wrong to conclude that only due to these modern forces the village organisation is undergoing transformation. Change is inevitable in every sphere of human organisation. The nature and characteristics of human being is also not static. So the organisation of the village which is the organisation of the people does change with the changing characteristics of human being and also with the changing situation. So in the remote past also there were many forces which affected the traditional village organisation as a result of which many changes in the social order and social system of the traditional village occurred.

This, it is quite obvious that there are mainly two processes—traditional and modern which brought about changes in the Ghaghra village. Among the traditional forces, we find the coming up of many castes, introduction of jajmani system, Hindu religion and festival and many other such factors. In other words, the village was oriented to the Hindu model in the past while in the modern time technological changes took place. We will discuss below these two processes of change.

Traditional Processes

Caste

Sir H. Risely defines caste as "a collection of families or groups bearing a common name, claiming a common descent from a mythical ancestors, human or diving, professing to follow the same hereditary calling, and regarded by those who are competent to give opinion as forming a single homogeneous community. The name generally denotes or is associated with a specific occupation. A caste is almost invariably endogamous in the same sense that a member of the large circle denoted by the common name may not marry outside that circle, but within the circle there are usually a number of smaller circles each of which is also endogamous".

The caste imposes the restrictions of food and drink. These restrictions are connected with the primitive idea of taboos. There are seven very important taboos.

(1) The commensal taboo, which lays down the persons in whose company a man may eat food.

(2) The cooking taboo, which lays down the persons who may cook the food that a man eats.

(3) The drinking taboo, which lays down the persons from whom a man may take water.

(4) The food taboo, which lays down that kinds of food a man eats.

(5) The smoking taboo, which lays down the persons whose pipe a man may smoke and in whose company he may smoke.

(6) The vessels taboo, which lays down the nature of the vessels which a man may use for eating, drinking and cooking.

Then, there is a variation of cooking. In all castes main distinction is made between *Pakka* and *Kachcha* food. Then food should be kept free from all pollution. According to Kroebar a "caste may be defined as an endogamous and hereditary sub-division of an ethnic unit occupying a position of superior or inferior rank of social system in comparison with other sub-division". Many of the caste characteristics prevalent in a Hindu village are also traceable in the tribal village of Ghaghra. Let us examine them one by one.

1. Prasad N. The Myth of caste system, Patna.
P. Jones has pointed out "a Hindu gives more attention to ceremonial than sanitary cleanliness. It matters not how-filthy the water may be chemically, if it be ceremonially clean, he uses it freely".

Hierarchy

The essence of hierarchy is the absence of quality among the units which form the whole in this sense, the various castes in Ghaghra do form a hierarchy. The caste units are separated by endogamy and commensality and they are associated with ranked differences of dietary and occupation. Yet it is difficult to determine the exact place of each caste in the hierarchical system.

Endogamy

Before the caste can be ranked as unequal they must of course, exist as separate units. Separation of the castes is achieved, first through endogamy and this leads to increasing solidarity within each caste.

Ritual pollution and commensality

Separation of castes is also achieved through restrictions on commensality. Complete commensality may be said to exist only when all persons, men as well as women accept cooked food and drinking water from each other. Each person acccpts drinking water and cooked food only from castes which he regards as equal or superior to his own or who is not regarded as impure. Acceptance from an inferior caste would pollute him and would entail his performing, among other things, a purificatory ceremony to regain his normal ritual status. Women are more particular than men about commensal relations. For instance, while the men of equal castes may eat food cooked by each other, women do not do so. Then, there is a hierarchy in a diet and occupation. For some persons vegetable is superior to meat. Chicken and mutton are superior to the meat of bull or cow.

Occupation

There is a variation in occupation. The Brahmins are the priest. The Manjhis are the agriculturist: *Chamars'* occupation according to higher castes is a low occupation, because *chamar* works in hide and leather of animals like buffaloes and cows. It is true that all these non-vegetarian castes may occasionally kill animals but the cow or bull are never killed by them. The work of both the barber and the washerman involves handling dirt, and this makes the occupations of both the castes unclean. Ideas of pollution do not attach themselves to working with iron or making pottery.

Emergency of caste in Ghaghra village : History of the advent of castes in Ghaghra village

Though no written record on the village was available, the history of the village was reconstructed on the basis of oral traditions. Formerly, this particular locality was covered with dense forest, infested with animals. A band of Munda came here first from Namqum village six miles from Ranchi. Genealogies indicate that they have been in Ghaghra for about 200 years, but this statement is just a careful guess. They cleared up the jungles of Ghaghra and made the first settlement in this area. Then, possibly the members of the following castes came here in succession: The Manjhi, Kumhar, Lohar, Brahmin, Tati, Teli, Bhokta, Swansi, Jogi, Ahir.

The Grading of Castes in the Village

It is difficult to classify all the castes of Ghaghra according to the traditional system. But from the point of view of caste superiority which is symbolically represented by interdining, acceptance of food and water, seating arrangement and manner of greeting, these castes can be grouped in a hierarchical order. Generally there does not seem to be any elaborate and rigid social hierarchy in the village.

The *Teli, Lohar* and *Jogi* are of course at the lowest rank of the social ladder as no other communities or castes take water or cooked food from them. But they are as much regarded as a part of the village as any other communities. They can take part in festivals, in marriage and in other ceremonies. On the occasion of marriage in a Lohar or Teli family the villagers willingly participate. There is no restriction or taboo on the Lohar's participation in social functions. But the Manjhi, the Brahmin, the Kumhar, do not accept even water from the Lohar.

The higher castes and lower castes of the village cannot be defined exactly. Although a general notion (such as functions of the higher caste strength, pollution etc.) prevails among them as indicated in the following classification:

Brahmin, Manjhi

Kumhar
Ahir
Bhokta

Swansi

Teli
Lohar
Jogi

The Brahmins enjoy the status of supremacy in the religious matter. They are superior to Manjhi in caste status and they do not accept *kachcha* food at the latter's house when prepared by them. On the other hand, Manjhi can and do accept food in a Brahmin house at marriage or other ceremonies. The Brahmin takes the raw

materials like flour and vegetables and they accept water from the Manjhi. The rules of commensality between the Lohar and Brahmin are the same today as they were in the past. Even the Lohar do not take their food in the same line with the Brahmin. The relations of Brahmin regarding acceptance of food with the members of other lower caste as Teli, Jogi, etc. have not changed.

Next to the Brahmin are the Manjhi. They are richer than other castes. The other castes consider the Manjhi to be a clean caste and accept food from them. The Brahmin and the Manjhi consider themselves as a upper class people, but there exists a closer friendship between other intermediate and low castes people. Numerically the second largest group in the village, which constitutes the unity of endogamy and the identity of this group stands out sharply against other similar groups. All the members of this group persue a common occupation. The members of this group eat food cooked by each other, share a common culture and they have their own caste panchayat.

The Manjhi acquired more land than other castes. There are also more literate and educated men among Manjhi than among the other castes. The official headman of the village is one of the Manjhi who is the biggest landowner of the village. Of course, the ritual rank of the Manjhi is not so high as the Brahmin, still they do rank above the other castes. While it is true that Manjhis are not ritually high, they command respect from every one in the village including the priestly castes of Brahmins.

The castes belonging to the lower group are Teli, Lohar and Jogi. The castes belonging to this group are impure and so-called untouchable castes. They have their own traditional occupations. All these castes, however, work on land in addition to their traditional caste occupation. The economic system of today is such that the functioning of many of the caste occupations is not enough to bring an adequate income.

The castes belonging to the intermediate group fulfil many of the needs of the village life. The Kumhar (potter), Ahir, Bhokta, Swansi all practise their caste occupations, but side by side they also own some land and grow as much of their own food as possible.

In spite of it being a tribal village, the social organisation of Ghaghra is a complex cultural frame work because of the caste dominance. The caste superiority or the caste hierarchy of the village has already been mentioned. The next in importance is the combination of Hindu and tribals rituals and festivals.

Hindu festivals, deities etc.

Besides the spirits and deities of Munda some of the castes like *Brahmin, Manjhi, Kumhar* regularly or occasionally worship the Hindu Gods and Goddesses. It is worth-while to discuss the cults and worship of Gods of the great Hindu traditions which have been introduced in the village and which today provide an effective Hindu model and have made an imprint on the traditional tribal religion. The first important Hindu deity that has been accepted in the village is *Mahadev*. There is one *Mahadev* temple in the village. Mahadev is worshipped by all the *Manjhi, Brahmin, Kumhar*. Any prosperity or happiness that comes to the village is due to the grace of Mahadev. Besides Mahadev, the Gods and Goddesses worshipped by the castes are *Durga Devi, Kali, Seetla. Seetla* is believed to cause small pox and therefore a small shrine made of platform of mud stands outside the village in her honour. The other *Devi* is *Manasa* presiding over the worship of snakes.

Besides worshipping these deities, they regard the *Peepal, Neem tree* and *Tulsi plant* as sacred. The cow again is a sacred animal.

Then the function like *Katha* is held in the village, specially in the house of Brahmin Manjhi, Kumhar and Ahir. Hearing of Katha is considered to be a religious duty.

Fasting and feasting form an important part of the religious life of the village. Hindu especially among the Manjhi, Brahmin and Kumhar observe other seasonal festivals. Their number is strikingly large. Not all of them are observed by all castes of the village. In the morning and evening the devotees after washing their hands and feet enter the village temple, bow their heads before the image, sometime offer flower and pour some water. Some of them sit there for a long time. Many of the Hindu festivals are celebrated in the village: they are *Holi, Dewalee, Dasehara* etc. Other Hindu festivals celebrated only by Brahmin and Manjhi are *Janamashtami, Siva Ratri* and *Pous Sankaranti*. These festivals are not celebrated by the tribal people.

Purity and Pollution

There are few social and domestic taboos or restrictions imposed on a woman during the period of mensuration. Some kind of pollution is attached to a woman in the periods and it lasts for three to four days. Hindus specially the Manjhi, Brahmins and Kumhar consider their women as impure during those days. During this period, they are required to remain in seclusion. A woman in her periods is not allowed to enter temples or places of worship, nor can she take part in any kind of religious ceremony or worship of God and Goddesses. In the last day they have to take an elaborate purificatory bath etc.

to attain their ritual purity. During menses they have to follow strict taboos on certain thing. Munda and other women do observe the menstural pollution of taboos, but not with such rigidity as the Brahmin and Manjhi women do. All the Hindu castes observe pollution on birth and death. According to *Manjhi* and *Brahmin* the death pollution affect the entire patrilineage, and the whole *gotra* or clan observes mourning for ten days. During these days of mourning all the members of the deceased family and the member of patrilineage may not eat fish, meat etc.

The Jajmani System

Very little work has been done on *Jajmani* system in the Chotanagpur area. William H. Wiser, in a book called the Hindu *Jajmani* system, was the first to describe in detail how such goods and services are exchanged in a rural Indian village. It is greatly to Wiser's credit that he was able to characterise *Jajmani* relations as a system. Some knowledge of this system is crucial for an understanding of the economic aspects of caste in rural India[1] (extract from village life in Northern India by Oscar Lewis, 1958: Caste and Jajmani system pp. 56—59).

Under this system each caste group within a village is expected to give certain standardized services to the families of other castes. Each man works for a particular family or group of families with which he has hereditary ties. His father worked for the same families before him, and his son will continue to work for them, the occupation or service being determined by caste and is generally hereditary. The family or family head served by an individual is known as his *Jajman*[2], while the man who performs service is known as the *Jajman's kamin* or *Kam Karnewala.*

It is characteristics of this system to operate without much exchange of money, it is not on the basis of open market economy and the ties are not like those of employer and employee in capitalistic system. When Wiser wrote his book he did not know how general or wide spread this system might be, although he referred to some passages in the works of other writers which suggested that it had a wide range of diffusion. This conclusion is supported by some other studies, which give evidence for much the same kind of system in eastern Uttar Pradesh[3], parts of Malabar and Cochin[4], Mysore District[5], Tanjore[6], Hyderabad[7], Gujarat[8], and the Punjab[9].

Jajmani rights, however, which link one to certain families, may be regarded as a form of property passing from father to son. Like land and property, it is equally apportioned among brothers when they separate[10].

Jajmani system in Ghaghra

Now let us describe how the *Jajmani system* functions at present in Ghaghra.

Land is greatly valued in Ghaghra. The Manjhi and Munda are the principal agriculturists for it is only members of these two groups who cultivate with oxen and plough and have the status of permanent cultivators in the village.

Each caste in Ghaghra is traditionally associated with the practice of a particular occupation. This does not mean, however, that all the members of a caste or even a majority of them do in fact always follow their traditional calling. And even when they do follow a traditional calling, they need not do so to the exclusion of another calling. The Brahmin priest in Ghaghra shows such skill and is frequently to be seen carrying a basket and a sickle to the field.

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[1]Wiser 1936: There have been a few other works dealing with the relationships between caste and economics, notably S.S.Nehru's Caste and Credit in the Rural Area 1932. Kumar Ghosal has emphasized the economic basis for the cast system in the following words: "Hindu reformers failed to make any head way against the caste system because it was rooted in the economy of India, and only a change in that economy could bring about a change in the social structure. The economic system was stabilized at a low level, based upon more or less self sufficient village communities which combined agriculture and handicrafts. Production was on a small scale, for consumption rather than exchange. Every thing moved in narrow, well-worn grooves fixed by custom. It was a pre-capitalist economic system, whose static quality could have been altered only by an expanding dynamic market for exchange of commodities. As long as this was lacking, the social relationships of the people could not possibly be altered', Ghosal 1944, 59. O.C. Cox was also aware of the importance of economic factors, as the following quotation shows."The caste structure is fundamentally a labour sturcture, a system of inter-related services originating in specialised groups and traditionalised in a religious matrix" Cox quotes Pramanath Banerjee as follows "The chief economic significance of the system is that it fixes absolutely the supply of any kind of labour. The scope given for the play of competition thus becomes limited, and consequently the low of demand and supply is rendered inoperative or oppressive in its operation. When any change takes place in the economic world, labour is unable to adjust itself. Wages and prices have very often to be regulated by custom or some artificial means" Cox, 1948: 62,67).

[2]Webster's Dictionary (1950) defines Jajman as "a person by whom a Brahman is hired to perform religious services, hence a patron, client". The word derive from the Sanskrit *Jajamani.*

[3]Opler and Singh 1948, Reddy 1955.

[4]Miller, 1952.

[5]Srinivas, 1955a, Beals 1955.

[6]Gough, 1955.

[7]Dubey, 1955.

[8]Steed, 1953.

[9]Darling, 1934.

[10]Reddy, 1955 : 133.

Jogi is the only group which still continues to find its old occupation of rug-making sufficient for its requirements. They sell their products at Khunti, Murhu and also within the village. Besides agriculture different castes follow their own traditional occupations. These caste groups of Ghaghra have traditionally been related to one another through the mutual obligations of *jajmani* system. In order of social precedence and traditional occupation they are as follows:—

TABLE X 1

Caste	Traditional occupation
1 Brahmin	Perform different religious function
2 Manjhi	Agriculture
3 Kumhar	Potter
4 Ahir	Supply milk and graze cattle
5 Bhokta	Preparing and Selling of parched rice
6 Teli	Oil pressure
7 Barhai (Manjhi)	Carpenter (two Manjhi families are now engaged in carpentry work)
8 Tati	Agriculture
9 Swansi	Cloth maker
10 Jogi	Rug maker
11 Lohar	Iron maker

Once the relationship established cannot be broken except by the man himself who may choose to sell his rights to another man.

TABLE X 2

Occupational Caste	Castes or Tribes which are served
Brahmin	Manjhi, Tati, Kumhar, Ahir, Bhokta and Teli.
Lohar	Manjhi, Munda, Ahir, Tati, Teli, Kumhar, Bhokta, Jogi, Brahmin and Swansi.
Ahir	Manjhi and Brahmin.
Kumhar	Manjhi, Munda, Ahir, Tati, Teli, Brahmin, Bhokta, Jogi, Swansi and Rohra.
Teli	Manjhi, Ahir, Lohar, Jogi, Munda, Tati, Kumhar, Bhokta, Brahmin, Swansi.
Bhokta	Manjhi, Brahmin, Ahir, Tati, Teli, Kumhar, Jogi, Lohar, Swansi and Munda

The above chart of service relationship shows that Brahmin, Teli, Lohar and Kumhar are served by all other castes.

In return for the various services rendered, there are payment on the type of services rendered (For nature of payment *See* on land and Livelihood Chapter).

Functions of different castes

At present there are eleven communities living in Ghaghra. They are engaged in their own hereditary occupation which, with few exceptions are all that are necessary to meet the needs of a village. But the village lacks the services of a hajam, sweetmeat maker, washerman etc. In that case these services are rendered by members of the particular castes living in some adjoining villages; and with them a *Jajmani* relationship have been established.

The Brahmin

Brahmin is the village priest who performs the various religious and ceremonial rituals maintaining to a higher degree their hereditary position as priest makes various offerings and performs all religious ceremonies to other castes. They represented three families in the village. Besides, this they own some land, and in addition to their income from that they receive money and gifts when they participate in festival and ceremonies. One Brahmin named Harakmani Kar performed marriage ceremony and other religious ceremonies in Dorma village. Second Brahmin named Hiramani Kar serves twenty-seven Manjhi families, one Kumhar family, four Teli families, and five Tati families. The remaining one serves the remaining families within the village and sometime they visit adjoining villages. In this way their Jajmans are divided.

Following table shows the divisions of Jajmans

TABLE X·3

27 Manjhi families	Served by Hiramani Kar
4 Teli families	do
1 Kumhar family	do
5 Tati families	do
2 Bhokta families . . .	Served by Bonomali Kar.
1 Ahir family	do

Manjhi

The Manjhi by tradition are agriculturists. Although nearly all castes in Ghaghra are engaged in a certain amount of agriculture, the Manjhi are the specialists. The Manjhi can select better market for selling their products. Their old men pass on to the young men the hard-earned traditional method of agriculture. The Brahmin farmers in village engages Manjhis as a partner in farming certain crops so that they may not suffer any loss. The (Manjhi) are the principal *Jajmans* for other groups.

Two of the Manjhi families have taken up carpentry. These families are dependent on carpentry as a full-time profession. These families supply the needs of Ghaghra and adjoining villages. Most of the work done is of seasonal nature. During the sowing season they become very busy in preparing ploughs of their *Jajmans*. When the rush hours of cultivation are over, they engage themselves with works like repairing of carts, door etc. They get fixed rates of payment for their services to the villagers. The rate is fixed according to the number of ploughs the client owns and the *Barhai* or carpenter take six seers of grain per plough at every harvest. This payment is only for the repair of agricultural implements. For other works such as making door, window, cart etc. the villagers pay in cash and sometimes also in kind. When the *Barhai* are called to work in other villages the rate is higher and differ according to the nature of the work undertaken.

Lohar

There is only one family of this caste in the village. His chief function is sharpening the ploughshares of the ploughs. The Lohar's relationship to his *Jajman* is fixed by the number of *Hal* or ploughshare owned by each of them. If the *Jajman* owns one plough he has to pay a fixed rate. In return Lohar has to repair the plough whenever required.

If the Jajman owns two ploughs the rate paid to the Lohar is double. Even within the village the cash payment is also demanded for making new implements. The land at his disposal is limited. He has also his *Jajman* outside the village.

Kumhar

There is only one family belonging to this caste. He supplies earthen utensils and pots to the village. The Kumhar prepares various types of Jars, utensils, tiles etc. for the use of the villagers. The Kumhar supplies the required number of earthenware at weddings, when *Jajmans* require many clay vessel for their guests.

Teli

They are engaged in their traditional work of oil pressing. The need for oil is constant, but at the time of harvest greatest demands of services of Telis are made. They keep very little stock of oil because the villagers prefer fresh oil pressed from their own mustard. The entire *Jajmani* rights of the Teli are held by four families.

Bhokta

There are two households belonging to this caste. Their traditional occupation is the preparation of *Chura* or parched rice and selling it in the market. Each family, however, has some land. At the harvest time there is an abundance of grain to be turned into *Chura* and the Bhoktas are kept busy all day long. They serve all castes in the village and likewise serve the residents of nearby hamlets. Each of the *Bhokta* families has a fixed number of *Jajmans* to whom they supply parched rice in exchange for specified amounts of grain as their wage. They also have inter-service relationship with *Hajam, Lohar* and *Kumhar* families. Formerly the *Bhokta* depended completely upon their local *Jajmans* for their living, but now-a-days they have customers in *Khunti,* and *Murhu bazars* also.

Ahir

There is only one family belonging to this caste. Supplying milk, is his caste profession. He has some acres of land which he cultivates. The

Ahir have very little opportunity to serve the villagers. Most farmers keep their own cows, hence they do not need to get milk from the Ahir. They depend altogether on an outside market.

Swansi

There are five *swansi* (weavers) families in the village, but two of the family heads have taken to other occupations. The three remaining Swansi families have few *Jajmans* in Ghaghra and few in a neighbouring villages. Generally they receive cash price from each *Jajman.*

Thus, we find the various service relationships within the village. These service relationships reveal that the priest, *Kumhar, Lohar, Bhokta* etc. serve other castes of the village.

Following Table shows the various service relationships :

TABLE X. 4

Name of the Castes	Fixed Relationship	Casual Relation
Brahmin	Manjhi, Kumhar, Ahir, Tati	Bhokta, Teli
Tohar	All the village communities	
Kumhar	Manjhi, Brahmin, Teli, Tati, Bhokta, Ahir	Munda, Lohar, Swansi, Jogi
Ahir	Manjhi, Brahmin	
Teli	Manjhi, Brahmin, Kumhar.	Lohar, Swansi, Tati, Munda, Bhokta, Ahir, Jogi
Bhokta	Manjhi, Brahmin, Kumhar, Teli, Tati	Ahir, Lohar, Swansi, Munda, Jogi
Swansi		Munda, Teli, Manjhi, Brahmin, Kumhar Tati, Ahir, Bhokta.

Thus, we find that the *Jajmani* system started functioning in Ghaghra village. Despite the modern improvements, culture contact, education and other modern agencies, the system is not yet dead. However, the changes are taking place. The *Tati* have lost their traditional occupation of weaving. The *Bhokta, Swansi, Teli,* who generally depended completely upon their local *Jajmans,* now have customers in neighbouring markets like *Khunti, Murhu, Jaltanda etc.*

Manjhi Vrs. Munda

There are 250 families of Munda in the village. They are of different clans such as *Sankura, Bhadra, Vengra, Demta. Sankura* clan is the predominant clan in the village as it claims nearly twelve families and the "*Munda*" (Headman) and the "*Pahan*" belongs to this clan. The families belonging to the other clans are traditionally lower in social status than the original settlers of the village, that is the members of *Sankara* clan. The other families were settled in the village by the dominant clan which gave them lands and to whom they paid rent. The *Pahan* group is the most influential group in the village for many reasons. Firstly, they are numerically strong, secondly, because the office of the Pahan is vested in this group and then this Pahan group holds a large proportion of the cultivated land. The Mundas are the original settlers of the village.

Manjhi on the other hand constitute 22·9% of the total population. Almost all the Manjhi families possess land of different fertility. They always maintain good relationship with other castes and tribes of the village.

There is a cordial relationship between the Munda and the Manjhi. They can take water from each other's hands, but the Manjhi do not accept cooked food, as they are strictly vegetarian. There is also an affinal relations between these two groups. They also occupy an almost equal place in the social status. A Munda and a Manjhi are real friends. Besides direct or indirect relationships between these two groups there is ceremonial friendship prevalent among them, according to which they enter into a brotherly bond with others. If a partner does not care for his other fellow in time of trouble or does't visit his place on invitation during marriage, birth or festivals, the pact or friendship automatically ceases.

In the economic sphere, we find a great deal of inter-action and mutual participation or some sort of reciprocity. The Manjhis employ Munda as labourers in weeding, harvesting and thrashing the grains. On the other hand Munda hires bullocks from the Manjhi for ploughing.

In the political field, we also find some sort of compromise or co-operation. If disputes occur between the groups the cases are decided in the *panchayat*. In the *panchayat* all the members have the same purpose and common ground of thought. So they have to adjust themselves for the proper functioning of the *Panchayat*.

In religious sphere, as well we find a great deal of participation between these two groups. In *Holi, Dasehara* and other festivals most of them participate without any reservation.

Sometimes back the Mundas of the village were invited by the Manjhi to participate in marriage feasts, birth and on other occasions and the Manjhi were also invited by them. But in last three or four marriages none of them were invited by each other.

However, this does not mean that Manjhi are quite aloof from the Munda. There are several occasions when a Munda goes to Manjhi and takes money or paddy on loan, on some interest. During the agriculture seasons, those Mundas who do not possess their own bullock or plough go to the neighbouring Manjhi and they lend bullocks or plough on daily wages. In few Manjhi families it is found that the land is given to the Mundas on *adh batai* term, according to which the crop harvested is divided between the owner of the land and the man who cultivated the land.

General attitude

The population of Manjhi and Munda are the first two highest in the village, but this does not mean that they live quite isolated and have no connection with other communities. The Lohar and Jogi regard the Munda as superior to them while the Munda treats the Lohar as untouchables. Still no rigid social hierarchy is maintained.

The Munda regard Manjhi as equal. The Teli, Lohar and others regard Manjhi as rich. The Jogi can smoke '*bidi*' left by Munda, where as the Munda do not. The Munda invite both of them in marriage and death ceremonies.

The occupations of both the barbers and washermen are considered low. A barber cuts the impure hair and impure nails, and after such an act, the high caste man is accepted as pure in case of death etc. in the family. The Brahmin is extremely particular about the purification after being shaved by the barber. The place where the Brahmin and the barber sit for hair cutting or shaving is washed with a solution of cowdung after the work is over. This will explain as to how a barber is accepted by the high castes. But some of the lower non-Brahminical castes are not very particular about taking a bath after being shaved by the barber.

Again, the occupation of the washerman is also looked down upon. He washes the dirty clothes and as such he is considered as impure. The clean clothes brought by the washerman are purer than soiled clothes, but they are not pure enough for the Brahmin to wear during worship. For this either a silk cloth washed by member of Brahmin family or new clothes are necessary.

The Manjhi who is next to Brahmin in the caste hierarchy, avoid non-vegetarian food including eggs and also abstain from alcoholic drinks. To them vegetarian food is superior to meat. The Brahmins are supposed to be purely vegetarian. The very idea of slaughter of cow shudders a Hindu with rage because they regard the cows and buffaloes as their sustainers. As a matter of fact they venerate them and worship them.

Modern processes of change

Village organisation is a network of actions by the individuals and groups. Every individual is the actor in this drama and the individuals are rooted together by reciprocal relationship. But organisational change is a continuous and unending process. These changes not only take place in the material field of the society but also in the idea and ideologies of the individual. Organisational change is apparent in every society and village Ghaghra is not an exception to this. As a man advances in the way of civilization, with the extension of geographical frontiers and many modern inventions, he encounters the new situations and tries to adjust himself with them.

Not very long ago, the village economy in India was relatively static due to non-availability of any modern forces. But with the inception of plan period the village economy is gradually facing the changes and the village organisation gradually moving from its traditional organisational pattern to a new situation.

The shortening of distance by the construction of a *kachcha* road from village Ghaghra to Torpa-Simdega main road, enables the people to extend their communication with the nearby towns and other urban centres. Due to this easy communicational facilities people go to the urban centres nearby to sell their surplus products and to buy their necessary articles.

Five years ago the villagers were mainly encircled within the village areas and did not bother for surplus production as means of selling out the surplus were limited. The *Bhokta* who were the supplier of parched rice to the villagers, now got the opportunity to come to Khunti and Murhu markets twice in a week to sell their products. Similarly the *Teli* and *Kumhar* attend bi-weekly markets at Khunti and Murhu, and have established a business contact with the people of outside of their village and thus they have extended the productive force of the village. With this business contact people of the village have established a culture contact also. They now understand the importance of business, the tactics of business and also the way of development of village organisation. Communicational facilities and the meeting with the outer people have reduced the importance of Jajmani system in the village Ghaghra. Previously the village was completely isolated and cut off from outer world, when the village people were completely encircled within the village. Their field of business and services were fixed within certain families of the village. As a matter of fact their earnings were much lower to support their extended family members. But with the advancement of industries, with the opening of sub-divisional headquarters and with the extension of communicational facilities the village people got an extended field of market and could have increased their family income and their status. Many of the unemployed people also who found it difficult to depend on their traditional occupation adopted new forms of occupation by coming out from the village and going to towns and also to the industrial centres for employment.

This improved means of communication has also facilitated the young villagers to attend to schools at Khunti and Murhu. Previously they had to come daily on foot as it was difficult for them to stay at the hostels due to low income of their parents. But now due to the shortening of distance due to improved means of communication and also due to increase in the income, the young folks are attending to schools at important places in neighbourhood to a larger extent. This extension of education has put the people on the way of culture contact and placed them on progressive footing. Some of the Manjhis also attend to the technical schools of Ranchi and thus have brought the urban influences in the village. A comparative picture of education of past five years and of the present period reveals that the percentage of general education has remarkably increased.

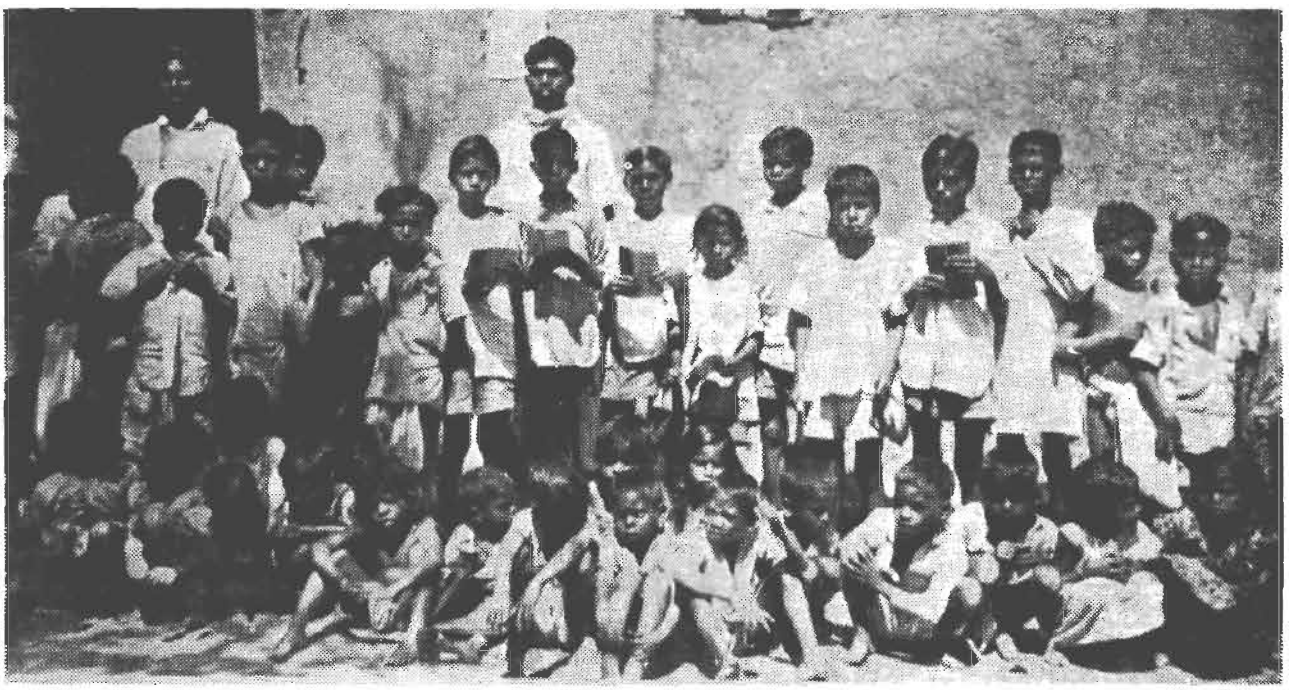
The advent of the government sponsored panchayat, new administrative system and judicial system gave a death blow to the powers and functions of the traditional village panchayat. (Detail discussion in the political organisation of the village).

The interference of Block Development, has to some extent changed the traditional style of cultivation. The one way system of cultivation by a pair of bullock and traditional pattern of ploughs did not result in the increase in production previously. The experimental method of cultivation through the help of Japanese system has resulted in the increase in production. With the initiation of the Block officials a few persons of the village have adopted this method of cultivation and have also got good result. It is quite true that many of the villagers have not so far adopted this method of cultivation due to their firm believe in the traditional way of cultivation and also due to shortage of money to buy chemical fertilizers. Those who have adopted this practice could have established a close relationship with the Block officials and thus have extended their knowledge and ideas. People, it is quite natural if continues with a single practice for many years would feel bored and consequently the production would be lower. The experimental method which has been adopted by some of the villagers has increased their zeal to produce more and increase their ideas of new agricultural system. Many of the older people have failed to adopt this practice due to their firm faith in their own traditional practice. But the ideas which have been adopted by many of the young folks show that gradually the system will be practiced largely in the village.

Thus, the picture of the social organisation is gradually losing its colour and tries to put on a new colour and evolve schemes of new ideas. The production is comparatively increasing, the contact with the officials is developing, the ideas are gradually changing, and the overall picture of the village organisation is gradually changing towards a new one, which ultimately will be helpful to adjust the people with the new situation of the outer world.

Till recently Ghaghra village has been mainly agricultural. The people in general were dependent on agricultural production but due to rains and soil, the people could have produced only one main crop in a year, which was inadequate for them. For the eight months of a year the people were engaged in agricultural field and for the rest of the periods they used to sit idle without doing any productive work.

But now-a-days with the opening of industries at Hatia, Phudi, Hardag, Kalamati and such other places, and with the increased means of communication, the villagers have turned their



Village School Children

attention to work temporarily for these leisure periods in those industries and to earn a subsidiary income. The opening of Hatia factory has specially attracted many of the young folks and also some of the older folks to migrate temporarily to support their families. These new avenues of income near the village, have brought them out. This has also resulted in the change in the outlook of the villagers as a whole.

The village is no longer an isolated unit of the illiterate mass, it is no longer a detached centre of the people but it is now, instead, a centre of exchange of ideas and centre of exchange of commodities. Modern forces, urbanisation, and industrialisation have turned the village life into a dynamic one.

APPENDIX 1

Biographies

Sukram, Age—48 years.

Sukram is the son of Mika Pahan. He was born in this village (Ghaghra). His father expired when he was of 15 years. He narrated some events of his life which he could remember. After the death of his father, mother and elder brothers were responsible for his maintenance. His two elder brothers Soma and Birsa were of 20 and 17 years respectively. They were still unmarried. They were the earning members of his family, but their earning was not sufficient for all the members. His mother used to bring paddy from fields and Soma and Birsa were to graze cattle in the field. At that time they had two rooms in their house. His mother lived in one of the rooms and kept the cattle there, while the other room was for all the brothers. He did not remember the marriage of his elder sister. Sometimes his mother went to beg in the nearby villages, specially when there was nothing in the hut to eat. In this way they lived here for three years.

Sukram had vague memory of his early childhood. He remembers his father, a great Mati-diviner, who was often requisitioned by neighbouring peoples to treat patients. Sometimes his father used to take him to the tribal villages where he used to sing for curing patients and read omens to diagnose and prognose cases. It was, then Sukram developed an interest in it, and later learnt the art from his father who encouraged him in doing so.

Sukram remembers very pleasing associations with his parents. His father brought sweets from village markets while he was child. His mother always took care of him. He was never scolded by either of his parents. During the first seven years Sukram spent most of his time with his mother. He used to move with her. Sometimes his mother used to leave him behind in the village while she went to the forest. Sukram then played with his age-mates. He collected boys and girls and played together variety of games. He was educated at the village school upto class V.

The sudden death of his father compelled him to leave his studies and due to hard economic pressure he went to Assam to work as a coolie (labour) in the Tea garden. After three years Sukram came to his own village with some money. From that money he purchased 3 acres of land. In the meantime Birsa (Sukram's brother) was married. After that the lands were divided among the four brothers. The share is equally divided. Sukram has more land because he purchased more lands by his own money. Now they have four rooms for all the four brothers. One is for Soma and his wife, second for Birsa and his wife, the third for the mother and cattle and the fourth for the two unmarried boys. The peculiar thing is that though the land and cattle were divided but the income was deposited to the mother. She spent money according to the need of each member. The married persons were given money to bring sari for their wives and some money was deposited for unmarried persons to spend on their marriages. Now the marriage of Budhuram and Sukram has been fixed with the daughters of Langra and Birshai respectively. Langra and Birshai are brothers. Sukram's father-in-law demanded Rs. 100 as bride price and he had to pay the same amount as bride price.

Then, after that they (brothers) separated each other yet after the separation, the four families maintained close relations. One helps the other in time of need and co-operate with each other during ceremonies, feasts, festivals and deaths. The brothers who lived separately work in the field together and when the crop is ready it is divided equally. Altogether they have 10 acres of land. Birsa is a habitual drunkard. He has two children and one wife. His family is suffering from acute poverty. After the distribution of paddy the quantity left is so small that he cannot maintain his family.

Outer influence.—Sukram has known too many villages and is popular among them. He could read Hindi as well as English. He is considered the powerful ghost doctor. He has many gods and ghosts in his control. He is called to villages of the neighbourhood to expel ghost from the houses. Many people come to him to enquire causes of the mishappenings in the families.

Sukram could take a firm decision, for himself, as also for his people who reposed full confidence in him. It was because of his effort that a Lower Primary School is running in the village. Sukram had an easy way with the government. He fought for school. The Block Development Officer, School Inspector paid their visit

to this village. Sukram frankly told the Block Development Officer about the irregularity in payment of school teacher and other difficulties that they had to face. Sukram also enumerated other difficulties of the school. Chair, table and other necessary things were not supplied. Only next week he found that Rupees two hundred were sanctioned by Block Development Office.

In spite of the fact that Sukram was different from the rest of his people, he had no opponent. He kept confidence in his people, for he followed traditional customs. He would not entertain any change in it.

Sukram was an obedient son. While young he worked hard. When he was married at the age of 18-19 years, he built a separate house for his wife and himself. But he always shared his produce with his brothers. When his father died some 10 to 15 years ago he maintained his old mother until 1956 when she also died. His wife came from Meral village, situated at a distance of about 6 miles from Ghaghra. His mother had sent some of her relatives to find out a girl for him. The marriage was settled without any difficulty. His wife has been very faithful to him.

Sukram has three sons and two daughters. His eldest son is now 12 years old. He reads in this village school. Sukram said that he had never beaten his children, son or daughter. They have always been obedient to him.

Name :—Dira Age-27 years Village-Ghaghra.

Dira is the son of Birsa Munda of Ghaghra village. He was born in 1935. He is now 27 years old. He has three sisters and four brothers. All of them were married. He is very poor. All the brothers lived separately. Birsa Munda lived with his eldest son. When he attained the age of 10 to 12 years he began to graze the cattle into the distant part of the forests. His father was a literate man and used to teach him at night. His father also taught him to keep friendship with good boys and not to take things of other people.

The Munda of this village are very poor and they usually go to towns and even outside Bihar to earn money in slack season. Dira Munda went to Assam in the year 1955. He came back after three years with some money.

After returning from Assam he was entangled in love affairs. There was a girl named Budhni. She lived in an other adjacent village. He had enough opportunity to have sexual relation with her. After that she became pregnant. But later on all the matters were known. The matter was brought before the Panchayat by the girl's father. Dira was fined a sum of Rs. 150. This amount was very heavy at that time because the value of money was very high and the Mundas led a life of subsistence level. Having no other alternatives, his father sold a pair of oxen that dragged the plough. Some amount of money (out of the fine) is taken to appease God.

After one year he again went to Assam Tea Garden with his wife. They remained there for one year. While they returned, there occurred tension in their family which ultimately resulted in its partition. When they returned to the village from Assam, female child was born from this wife. Now he, his wife, and his son and one daughter live in a separate house.

Name :—R. M. Age-30 years Village- Ghaghra.

R. was born in the year 1932. He is the son of K. M. His mother died when he was 10 years old. After his mother's death he was neglected by his father. His father again married, when he was 12 years old. There was sad event during that part of life. I was told that when he was of 14 years, one day he brought two bundles of wood from the jungle but his fact was disputed by his step mother. She told her husband that she had brought that wood from the jungle. This was the only sad event at that time, which he says, "he will not forget for the whole of the life". When R. was of 15 years, his marriage was celebrated with Rukmini of the same village. But his wife died after two years of marriage. He again married Pupti of the same village, but this marriage also did not continue. He divorced his wife because of her illicit connection with other young men of the village.

After one year of divorce *i.e.* at the age of 21 or 22 he married 'C' of Hasa, 3 miles from Ghaghra. R. at present is living with his wife. He has two off spirings, one daughter of five years and one son of four months.

He told that he will send sons and daughters to the village school when they attain the school-age. He himself was a student of the village school but he left his studies because his elder brother, a student of class III, died of pox during the epidemic, while he himself was a student of class I.

Once he suffered from Malaria and at first applied the jungle roots. But this medicine failed to cure the malady. He then went to his father-in-law's place and took admission in Murhu Hospital. After 5 days of admission he was fully cured. He now prefers modern medicines.

Name:—Durga Age-40 years Village—Ghaghra.

Durga is the son of Rupa Munda. He was born in Ghaghra village. He is of 40 years. While he was only six years old, his father died. After the death of his father, his mother took the whole responsibility of nursing and rearing him. His mother died after two years of father's death, his brother Rusu married and after his elder brother's marriage his second elder brother Soba married at Hesel five miles from Ghaghra village.

At his childhood he remained in the house of his brother and suffered many difficulties. In spite of hardworking he was not given adequate food and was neglected by his brothers. He started going to the Murhu Bazar with fuel wood when he was of 14 years which could fetch him a sum of annas five only in those days. At the age of 15 years he once suffered from serious malady the name of which he cannot say.

and went to Assam to work as a coolie (labour) in the Tea Garden. After three years he came back to his village with some money and he purchased a few acres of land from that money. After six months he again went to Assam and came to his village after one year.

He married at Meral, a village four miles from Ghaghra at the age of 22 years for which he had to pay Rs. 50 for the bride price. His brother kept the proposal of his marriage before him. He willingly accepted his brother's proposal. The marriage was held peacefully.

After his marriage there was separation in the family. Lands were divided among the brothers. He purchased more lands with the money which he had earned from Assam Tea Garden. He is accustomed to do hard work from the age of 10 years. After his marriage his parental properties were divided and he pays Rs. 8 as tax at present. He has at present six acres of land.

APPENDIX II

TABLE A-I (RELIGION)

Distribution of deity or objects of worship or sacred plant in the House

Community	Have the sacred plant or deity in the house				Have no		
	In the Court-yard	Inside the room	In the Veran-dah	Front of the house	Total	Sacred plant or deity in the house	Grand Total
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Manjhi	6	6	—	—	12	15	27
Brahmin	1	1	—	1	3	—	3
Teli	2	—	—	—	2	2	4
Tati	1	—	—	—	1	4	5
Kumhar	—	—	—	—	—	1	1
Ahir	—	—	—	—	—	1	1
Bhokta	—	—	—	—	—	2	2
Swansi	—	—	—	1	1	4	5
Jogi	—	—	—	—	—	1	1
Total of non-tribal	10	7	—	2	19	30	49
Munda	13	—	4	4	21	29	50
Lohar	—	—	—	—	—	1	1
Total of Tribal . . .	13	—	4	4	21	30	51
Grand Total . .	23	7	4	6	40	60	100

TABLE A-II

Table showing the Inter caste marriages

Community	No. of family	Total population	No. of married persons	No. of persons involved in Inter-caste marriage
1	2	3	4	5
Manjhi	27	116	56	6
Brahmin	3	23	10	—
Teli	4	17	8	1
Tati	5	17	4	1
Kumhar	1	10	2	—
Ahir	1	7	4	—
Bhokta	2	10	4	—
Swansi	5	22	14	—
Jogi	1	12	6	—
Total of non-tribal	49	235	108	8
Converted Munda	8	32	26	—
Non-converted Munda	42	231	106	4
Lohar	1	7	4	1
Total of Tribal	51	270	136	5
Grand Total	100	505	244	13

TABLE A-III (Untouchability)

Table showing responses of awareness of untouchability offences Act

(Do you know that untouchability in any form has been prohibited under law ?)

Community	Aware of legal prohibition of untouchability	Don't have any idea about prohibition Law	Total
1	2	3	4
Manjhi	4	23	27
Brahmin	1	2	3
Teli	—	4	4
Tati	—	5	5
Kumhar	—	1	1
Ahir	—	1	1
Bhokta	—	2	2
Swansi	—	5	5
Jogi	—	1	1
Total of non-tribal	5	44	49
Converted Munda	3	5	8
Non-converted Munda	4	38	42
Lohar	—	1	1
Total of Tribal	7	44	51
Grand Total	12	88	100

TABLE A-IV (Inheritance)

Responses of the heads of the family regarding the inheritance of property by daughters equally with son

(Are you in favour of inheritance of property by daughters equally with son).

Communities	Favour	Oppose	Total
1	2	3	4
Manjhi	5	22	27
Brahmin	1	2	3
Teli	—	4	4
Tati	1	4	5
Kumhar	—	1	1
Ahir	—	1	1
Bhokta	—	2	2
Swansi	—	5	5
Jogi	—	1	1
Total of Non-tribal	7	42	49
Converted Munda	2	6	8
Non-converted Munda	8	34	42
Lohar	—	1	1
Total of Tribal	10	41	51
Grand Total	17	83	100

TABLE A-V Awarness

Responses showing the extent of Awareness changes in Hindu adoption and Succession Acts

Community	No. of Family	No. of persons who knew that there have been changes in Hindu Adoption Act	No. that could describe the salient features on the changes in Hindu Adoption Act	No. of persons who knew that there have been changes in Hindu Succession Act	No. that could describe the salient features on the changes in Hindu Succession Act
1		2	3	4	5
Manjhi	27	3	—	3	—
Brahmin	3	1	—	1	—
Teli	4	—	—	—	—
Tati	5	—	—	—	—
Kumhar	1	—	—	—	—
Ahir	1	—	—	—	—
Bhokta	2	—	—	—	—
Swansi	5	—	—	—	—
Jogi	1	—	—	—	—
Munda	50	—	—	—	—
Lohar	1	—	—	—	—
Total	100	4	—	4	—

TABLE A-VI Zamidari Abolition

Showing of responses regarding the effects of the Zamindari Abolition

(o you think that abolition of Zamindari and intermediary rights have resulted in any good to you ?

Community	Yes	No	Total
1	2	3	4
Manjhi	10	17	27
Brahmin	—	3	3
Teli	2	2	4
Tati	5	—	5
Kumhar	1	—	1
Ahir	1	—	1
Bhokta	2	—	2
Swansi	5	—	5
Jogi	1	—	1
Total of non-tribal	27	22	49
Converted Munda	2	6	8
Non-converted Munda	32	10	42
Lohar	1	—	1
Total of Tribal	35	16	51
Grand Total	62	38	100

TABLE A-VII—Communities and generations

The number of Generations of each community represented in the Village : History

Community	Generations										
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Manjhi . .	—	—	—	—	—	—	7	—	—	—	—
Munda . .	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	10	—
Tati . .	—	—	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Teli . .	—	—	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Kumhar . .	—	—	—	—	5	—	—	—	—	—	—
Brahmin . .	—	—	—	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Ahir . .	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Bhokta . .	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Swansi . .	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Jogi . .	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Lohar . .	—	—	—	—	5	—	—	—	—		—

TABLE A-VIII—Service of washerman

Table showing the number of families who take the services of washerman (marital culture)

Community	No. of households that send clothes to washerman	No. of households that do not send clothes to washerman	Total
1	2	3	4
Manjhi	7	20	27
Brahmin	1	2	3
Teli	—	4	4
Tati	—	5	5
Kumhar	—	1	1
Ahir	—	1	1
Bhokta	—	2	2
Swansi	—	5	5
Jogi	—	1	1
Total of non-tribal	8	41	49
Converted Munda	2	6	8
Non-converted Munda	—	42	42
Lohar	—	1	1
Total of Tribal	2	49	51
Grand Total	10	90	100

APPENDIX III

Comparative figure of Munda Villages

(I) Bhandra Village

Ethnic Composition and Religion	No. of families				Population			Occupation with No. of families involved		Literate		Illiterate	
	Nuclear	Joint	Extended	Total	Males	Females	Total	Main	Subsidiary	Males	Females	Males	Females
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
Marginal case													
Ahir	6	1	—	7	17	18	35	Cattle herder (5) Agriculture (2)	Agriculture (3)	5	—	10	13
Bhokta (Pradhan)	12	2	—	14	57	39	96	Agriculture (8) Parched rice (6)	Parched rice (4)	7	3	34	32
ibal													
Lohar	4	1	—	5	18	19	37	Blacksmithy (5)	Agriculture (5)	4	—	14	10
Non-converted Oraon	14	5	—	19	74	60	134	Agriculture (19)	Agriculture labourers (3)	28	10	32	44
Non-converted Munda	54	12	2	68	213	216	429	Agriculture (68)	Do. (7)	59	17	143	180
Converted Munda	2	—	—	2	10	4	14	Do. (2)	—	6	—	4	4

APPENDIX III

(2) Senegutu Village—*contd.*

Ethnic Composition and Religion	No. of families				Population			Occupation with No. of families involved		Literate		Illiterate	
	Nuclear	Joint	Extended	Total	Males	Females	Total	Main	Subsidiary	Males	Females	Males	Females
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
Marginal Caste													
Ahir .	3	—	—	3	8	9	17	Cattle herder (2) Agriculture (1)	Cattle herder (1) Agriculture (1)	2	—	6	8
Swansi (Panr) .	25	—	—	25	53	69	122	Weaving (20) Agriculture (5)	Agriculture (20)	13	4	43	66
Bhokta .	3	—	—	3	8	6	14	Agriculture (1) Parched rice (2)	Parched rice (2) Agriculture (1)	2	—	3	6
Hindu Caste													
Ganjhu (Chatri) .	9	1	—	10	31	29	60	Agriculture (10)	Business (selling of milk etc.) (4)	8	2	32	34
Kumhar .	13	2	—	15	43	43	86	Agriculture (10) Pottery (5)	Agriculture (5) Pottery (10)	6	1	30	38
Gosain .	3	—	—	3	11	6	17	Priest (3)	Agriculture (3)	9	2	1	2
Bania .	1	—	—	1	3	1	4	Business (1)	Agriculture (1)	2	—	1	1
Hajam .	1	—	—	1	3	2	5	Barber (1)	Agriculture (1)	1	—	1	1
Muslim	6	—	—	6	16	22	38	Agriculture (6)	Business (lac, wood etc.) (3)	10	—	6	22
Tribal													
Lohar	13	3	—	16	46	54	100	Blacksmithy (8) Agriculture (8)	Agriculture (6)	6	—	26	42
Converted Oraon	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Non-converted Oraon	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Converted Munda .	2	—	—	2	5	8	13	Agriculture (2)		3	—	2	8
Non-converted Munda	36	5	—	41	125	101	226	Agriculture (41)	Agriculture labourers (6)	28	7	87	94

APPENDIX III

(3) Hardag Village—*contd.*

Ethnic Composition and Religion	No. of families				Population			Occupation		Literate		Illiterate	
	Nuclear	Joint	Extended	Total	Males	Females	Total	Main	Subsidiary	Males	Females	Males	Females
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
Hindu Caste													
Chatri .	57	3	—	60	102	94	196	Agriculture (58) Labour (2)	Milk etc. (7)	65	13	20	65
Gosain .	4	—	—	4	11	12	23	Agriculture (2) Priest (2)	Agriculture (2) Priest (1) Labour (1)	6	2	4	7
Bania .	1	—	—	1	3	2	5	Business (1)	Agriculture (1)	2	—	—	2
Marginal Caste													
Ghasi .	14	1	—	15	36	39	75	Labour (5) Agriculture-Labour (10)	Agriculture (5) Labour (10)	6	1	21	32
Swansi .	5	2	—	7	22	22	44	Agriculture (5) Weaving (2)	Labour (9)	4	—	14	18
Kahar .	1	—	—	1	3	2	5	Agriculture (1)	Labour (1)	—	—	2	2
Tribal													
Lohar .	3	—	—	3	7	11	18	Blacksmithy (3)	Labour (3)	1	—	4	8
Non-converted Oraon	14	2	—	16	36	41	77	Agriculture (12) Labour (4)	Labour-Stone quarry (6) Agriculture (4)	8	3	20	32
Converted Oraon .		—	—	2	5	10	15	Agriculture (2)	..	4	2	3	6
Non-converted Munda		4	—	33	78	93	171	Agriculture (23) Labour (10)	Labour -Stone quarry (6) Agriculture (6)	12	4	56	78
Converted Munda			—	1	1	2	3	Agriculture (1)	—	1	—	—	1

APPENDIX III

(4) Kalamati Village—*contd.*

Ethnic Composition and Religion	No. of families				Population			Occupation		Literate		Illiterate	
	Nuclear	Joint	Extended	Total	Males	Females	Total	Main	Subsidiary	Males	Females	Male	Females
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
Hindu Caste													
Bania	10	—	—	10	26	23	49	Agriculture (9) Business (1)	Business (5)	8	2	10	1
Kumhar Mahto) Marginal Caste*	8	—	—	8	20	18	38	Agriculture (4) Pottery (4)	Pottery (2) Agriculture (3) Labour (Industrial) (3)	5	—	10	16
Kahar	1	—	—	1	3	4	7	Agriculture (1)	Industrial Labour (1)	—	—	2	2
Mochi	2	—	—	2	7	6	13	Agriculture (1) Industrial Labour (1)	Industrial Labour (1)	—	—	4	6
Swansi	2	—	—	2	6	4	10	Agriculture (1) Industrial Labour (1)	Industrial Labour (1)	2	—	2	4
Tribal													
Lohar	4	—	—	4	16	15	31	Blacksmithy (4)	Industrial Labour (4)	2	—	10	13
Non-converted Oraon	52	4	—	56	180	175	355	Agriculture (46) Industrial Labour (10)	Agriculutre (8) Industrial Labour (18)	25	7	60	75
Converted Oraon	2	—	—	2	4	6	10	Agriculture (2)	—	2	2	2	4
Non-converted Munda	27	5	—	32	103	96	199	Industrial Labour (8) Agriculture (24)	Industrial labour (14)	32	6	45	70

APPENDIX III

(5) Village Chikor—*contd.*

Ethnic Composition and Religion	No. of families				Population			Occupation		Literate		Illiterate	
	Nuclear	Joint	Extended	Total	Males	Females	Total	Main	Subsidiary	Males	Females	Males	Females
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
Hindu caste													
Chatri (Rajput) .	17	2	—	19	48	52	100	Agriculture (17) Industrial Labour (2)	Agriculture (2)	17	8	22	34
Teli .	14	1	—	15	45	50	95	Agriculture (10) Industrial Labour (5)	Agriculture (4)	10	2	25	36
Hajam . . .	2	—	—	2	4	6	10	Agriculture (1) Barber (1)	Agriculture (2)	1	—	2	2
Marginal caste													
Ahir . . .	10	—	—	10	20	20	40	Agriculture (6) Industrial Labour (4)	Industrial Labour (3)	3	1	13	15
Bhokta . . .	8	—	—	8	26	28	54	Agriculture (3) Parched rice (4) Industrial Labour (1)	Industrial Labour (4) Parched rice (4)	5	3	16	20
Swansi . . .	9	—	—	9	24	26	50	Agriculture (6) Industrial Labour (3)	Industrial Labour (3)	3	2	14	19
Ghasi . . .	1	—	—	1	3	5	8	Fishery (1)	Industrial Labour (1)	—	—	3	5
Tribal													
Mahli . . .	4	—	—	4	10	10	20	Agriculture (2) Industrial Lab. (1) Agri. Lab. (1)	Industrial Labour (2) Agri. Lab. (2)	1	—	7	8
Non-Converted Munda	48	3	—	51	143	142	285	Agriculture (42) Industrial Lab. (5) Agri. Lab. (4)	Industrial Labour (15) Agri. Lab. (8)	25	10	96	106
Lohar . . .	7	—	—	7	18	20	38	Blacksmithy (4) Industrial Lab. (1) Agriculture (2)	Industrial Labour (4) Agriculture Labour (1)	5	—	9	14

APPENDIX III

(6) Village Hutar—*contd.*

Ethnic Composition and Religion	No. of families				Population			Occupation					
	Nuclear	Joint	Extended	Total	Males	Females	Total	Main	Subsidiary	Males	Females	Males	Females
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
Hindu													
Teli	3	—	—	3	6	5	11	Agriculture (3)	Business (2) Vegetable sellers (1)	5	—	—	3
Bania	1	—	—	1	1	1	2	Business (1)	Agriculture (1)	1	—	—	1
Marginal Caste													
Bhokta	2	—	—	2	7	7	14	Agriculture (2)	Industrial Labour (2) Parched rice (2)	5	—	2	6
Tribal													
Lohar	1	—	—	1	3	4	7	Blacksmithy (1)	Industrial Labourer (1)	—	—	—	—
Converted Oraon	—	1	—	1	6	6	12	Agriculture (1)	Government Service (1)	5	5	—	1
Non-converted Munda	24	—	—	24	68	65	133	Agriculture (20) Agri. Lab. (2) Government Servant (2)	Industrial Labourer (11) Agriculture Labourer (4) Vegetable business (6)	21	3	40	55

APPENDIX III

(7) Jia Rapa Village—*concld.*

Ethnic Composition and religion	No. of families				Population			Occupation		Literate		Illiterate	
	Nuclear	Joint	Extended	Total	Males	Females	Total	Main	Subsidiary	Males	Females	Males	Females
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
Hindu caste													
Teli . . .	1	—	—	1	2	2	4	Agriculture (1)	Business (1)	1	—	1	2
Hajam . . .	1	—	—	1	2	2	4	Barber (1)	Agriculture (1)	1	—	1	2
Bania . . .	1	—	—	1	3	2	5	Agriculture (1)	Business (1)	2	—	—	1
Marginal caste													
Swans . . .	3	—	—	3	7	4	11	Agriculture (2) Weaving (1)	Industrial Labourer (2) Weaving (1)	4	1	2	4
Bhokta . . .	6	—	—	6	15	15	30	Agriculture (3) Agri. Lab. (1) Parched rice (2)	Industrial Labourer (4) Parched rice (2)	2	—	10	13
Ghasi . . .	3	1	—	4	17	12	29	Agriculture (3) Agri. Lab. (1)	Agri. Lab. (1) Industrial labourer (2) Fishery (1)	1	—	15	10
Tribal													
Lohar	1	—	—	1	5	3	8	Blacksmithy (1)	Industrial Labourer (1)	—	—	4	3
Converted Munda .	1	—	—	1	2	2	4	Agriculture (1)	Business (1)	2	1	—	—
Non-converted Munda	53	6	—	59	152	180	332	Agriculture (45) Agri. Lab. (5) Industrial Labourer (9)	Industrial Labourer (38) Abri. Lab. (8) Vegetable Business (11) Business (2)	42	15	87	141

APPENDIX IV

Sociological Census of Village Ghaghra

Serial No.	Name of the Head of the family	Family members sex-wise		Total No. of family members	Education			
		Males	Females		Literate		Illiterate	
					Males	Females	Males	Females
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1	Budhram Pahan	2	2	4	1	—	1	2
2	Hatiram Pahan	2	2	4	1	—	1	2
3	Rusu Pahan	4	5	9	3	1	1	4
4	Lodhea Pahan	3	4	7	—	—	1	4
5	Sanika Pahan	1	1	2	—	—	1	1
6	Karan Pahan	2	2	4	1	—	1	2
7	Durga Munda	7	4	11	1	—	3	3
8	Chamri Mundin	—	1	1	—	—	—	1
9	Chura Munda	4	5	9	—	—	2	2
10	Nandi Mundin	1	2	3	1	1	—	1
11	Chaitu Munda	5	3	8	2	2	1	1
12	Soma Pahan	1	2	3	—	—	1	1
13	Birsa Pahan	4	3	7	2	—	2	2
14	Sukram Pahan	4	2	6	3	1	1	21
15	Birsa Munda	1	—	1	1	—	—	—
16	Ladura Pahan	13	9	19	7	1	4	4
17	Birsi Mundin	—	1	1	—	—	—	1
18	Dira Munda	3	1	4	2	—	1	1
19	Hazari Munda	5	1	6	1	—	1	1
20	Rusu Munda	3	3	6	3	—	1	1
21	Soba Munda	4	5	9	1	—	2	3
22	Tunu Munda	2	2	4	1	—	1	—
23	Etwa Munda	1	1	2	—	—	1	1
24	Dom Munda	3	2	5	1	—	1	1
25	Guru Munda	3	4	7	1	—	1	—
26	Somra Lohar	4	3	7	1	—	3	3
27	Guna Mahto (Teli)	2	2	4	2	1	—	1
28	Chatru Mahto (Teli)	3	3	6	1	—	1	1
29	Indru Teli	1	1	2	1	—	—	1

APPENDIX IV—contd.

Sociological Census of Village Ghaghara

Serial No.	Name of the Head of the family	Family members sex-wise		Total No. of family members	Education			
					Literate		Illitera	
		Males	Females		Males	Females	Males	Females
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
30	Gambhir Teli	4	2	6	4	1	—	1
31	Chamu Bhokta	2	1	3	2	—	—	1
32	Naik Bhokta	5	2	7	1	—	4	2
33	Bukhan Jogi	7	5	12	1	—	6	5
34	Lachhu Mahto (Kumhar)	6	4	10	4	2	—	4
35	Bonomali Kar (Brhamin)	4	2	6	4	—	—	2
36	Harakmani Kar (Brahmin)	6	5	11	4	2	2	2
37	Hiramani Kar (Brahmin)	3	3	6	3	2	—	1
38	Sardha Tati	4	2	6	4	1	—	1
39	Saklu Tati	1	1	2	1	—	—	1
40	Lakhu Tati	1	1	2	1	—	—	1
41	Mogo Tati	1	—	1	—	—	1	—
42	Phodo Tati	4	2	6	4	1	—	1
43	Gasi Ahir	3	4	7	2	—	1	4
44	Runtu Manjhi	2	1	3	2	1	—	—
45	Ananta Manjhi	2	3	5	1	2	—	1
46	Bihari Manjhi	2	1	3	2	—	—	1
47	Sidham Manjhi	2	1	3	2	—	—	1
48	Narayan Manjhi	3	2	5	3	1	—	1
49	Dom Manjhi	2	3	5	2	—	—	2
50	Ram Manjhi	1	—	1	1	—	—	—
51	Rakhal Manjhi	2	4	6	2	1	—	3
52	Navo Manjhi	2	3	5	1	—	—	2
53	Kesto Manjhi	1	2	3	1	—	—	1
54	Surendra Manjhi	2	3	5	1	—	—	1
55	Minu Manjhi	2	2	4	1	—	—	1
56	Kinu Manjhi	3	3	6	1	1	—	1
57	Balram Manjhi	1	2	3	1	—	—	2
58	Noben Manjhi	3	2	5	3	1	—	1
59	Mahendra Manjhi	3	5	8	2	3	1	2
60	Prafulla Manjhi	2	2	4	1	1	—	1
61	Akshya Manjhi	1	2	3	1	1	—	—
62	Narayan Manjhi	3	3	6	3	1	—	2
63	Dulal Manjhi	2	—	2	2	—		—
64	Chuni Manjhi	3	4	7	1	—	2	2

APPENDIX IV—concld.

Sociological Census of Village Ghaghara

Serial No.	Name of the Head of the family	Family members sex-wise		Total No. of family members	Education			
		Males	Females		Literate		Illiterate	
					Males	Females	Males	Females
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
65	Parayag Manjhi	3	4	7	1	—	1	2
66	Bisambar Manjhi	1	4	5	1	2	1	2
67	Butka Manjhi	1	1	2	1	1	—	—
68	Ganesh Manjhi	2	1	3	1	—	—	1
69	Bharat Manjhi	1	1	2	1	1	—	—
70	Muchi Manjhi	3	2	5	2	1	—	2
71	Masi Munda (converted) . .	1	1	2	1	—	—	1
72	Mangra Munda	1	1	2	—	—	1	1
73	Sahe Munda	2	1	3	1	—	—	1
74	Sukram Munda	2	2	4	1	—	1	2
75	Habil Munda (converted) . . .	3	1	4	2	—	1	1
76	Baria Munda	2	1	3	—	—	1	1
77	Mika Munda	2	2	4	1	—	1	2
78	Barna Munda	1	—	1	—	—	1	—
79	Jaimasi Munda (converted) . .	1	1	2	1	—	—	1
80	Gomea Munda	1	3	4	1	—	—	1
81	Parela Munda	5	2	7	2	—	3	1
82	Dura Munda	2	2	4	1	—	1	1
83	Dulu Munda	2	2	4	1	—	1	1
84	Johan Munda (converted) . .	1	1	2	1	—	—	1
85	Udai Munda	1	2	3	—	—	1	2
86	Suleman Munda (converted) . .	2	2	4	1	1	1	—
87	Tota Munda	6	4	10	3	—	1	1
88	Markas Munda (converted) .	3	2	5	2	1	—	1
89	Sidha Munda	2	3	5	1	—	1	1
90	Birsa Munda	5	5	10	3	—	2	2
91	Singha Munda	1	1	2	1	—	—	1
92	Rela Munda	3	4	7	1	—	1	2
93	Markas Munda (converted) . .	2	2	4	2	1	—	—
94	Latu Munda	8	5	13	3	—	2	2
95	Johan Munda (converted) . . .	5	4	9	2	3	—	—
96	Aghnu Swansi	1	1	2	1	—	—	1
97	Soma Swansi	2	1	3	1	—	1	1
98	Gana Swansi	2	2	4	1	—	1	1
99	Charhu Swansi	4	2	6	2	—	1	1
100	Bokha Swansi	3	4	7	1	—	—	1

APPENDIX V

Glossary of the local terms used in the monograph

A.A.—Bow

Akhra—Dancing ground

Arandi—Marriage

Arana—Yoke

Ari—Ridge of a rice field

Arkhi—Beer distilled from Mahua

Arji—To pray ; to request

Aroa—Grain, sundried and Husked

Arsi—Mirror

Asarh—The month of Asarh (June-July)

Aswin—The month of Asin (September-October)

Asirbad—Blessings.

Bagoa—A piece of cloth about a yard

Bainthi—Knife with food broad

Bala—Betrothal

Balam—Spear

Ba-parab—Sarhul festival

Basti—Village

Bened—Turban

Bhaga—Kowpin

Bonga—Diety

Buna—Sowing broadcast

Cati—The purification from social uncleanliness of a mother and her new born baby

Chala—Sieve

Chaton—Bamboo Umbrella

Chatoo—Pot

Chatto, de—Pitcher

Chura—Parched rice

Chulha— Mud hearth

Chuka— Vessel

Da-chatn—Earthen jar

Dari—Natural spring

Dalikata—Bride price

Dalu lundi—Wooden spoon

Deonara—Witch doctor

Datoon—Sickle

Dholki—A small drum made of wood and goat skin

Dutam—Go between in marriage

Don—Low land

Harka—Wooden Box

Hasuli—Brass necklets

Inam—Gift to subordinate or inferior

Jalam—Resting place of the bride groom's party in the bride's village

Johar—Greeting

Jang-topa—Bone-burial

Kadleta—A festival

Kakana—Big size bangle

Kalchhul—Iron laddle

Kaman—Shaving of head

Kath—Measurement for one maund

Kenda—Jungle fruit

Khapra—Tile

Khoai—Measurement for 20 seers

Kharian—Thrashing ground

Khongso—Hair pin

Kanda—Purification ceremony after ex-communication

Khunt—Lineage

Khunt Kattidars—Descendants of the original settlers

Kili—Clan

Kumba—Straw hut

Kumni—A trap for catching fish

Karha—A long earth remover

Kulam—The Hoe

Lakur—Wooden laddle

Latagan-tol—Date fixed for marriage

APPENDIX V—*concld.*

Glossary of the local terms used in the monograph

Lohar—Blacksmith

Lukundi—Bride's girl friend

Lathi—Bamboo stick

Mandoola—Ceremony in which white goat is sacrificed

Manchi—A low chair with string seat

Merwa—A marriage booth

Magh—Month of January-February

Masara—Burial ground

Mantar—An incantation

Murli—A smaller flute made of bamboo

Nagara—A large drum

Naki—Wooden hair comb

Najom—Poison, evil

Nutam—Name

Ojha—Witch doctor

Paila—A measurement of one seer

Pahal—Iron ploughsharer

Pakies—Musician or dancer

Pahan—Religious head

Panr—Weaver

Parkam—Charpoy (Cot)

Pati—Mat

Ropa—Transplantation

Ro-Lutur—Earpiercing ceremony

Rutu—Bamboo flute

Sar—Arrow

Sakhi—Name giving ceremony

Sakom—Brass bracelet

Sanwar—Comb

Sasang—Turmeric

Sasandiri—Graveyard

Sarna—Sacred grove

Sered pati—Mat in which new born baby lies

Sirhi—Ladder

Sorol—A large earthen jar to hold water

Tanr—upland

Tarki—Ear ring

Torari—Sword

APPENDIX VI

1. Schedules for Socio-economic Survey

(Adapted from the Schedule of Census Operation, New Delhi)

Name of District.....

PART I

HOUSEHOLD SCHEDULE

Name of Taluk/Police Station———————————————

Name of Village———————————————

Number of Village on the List———————————————

1 Serial Number of Household———————————————

2 (a) Name of Head of Household———————————————

(b) Sex———————————————

(c) Age———————

(d) Caste or Tribe———————————

3 Composition of Household including Head :

Serial No.	Name	Sex	Relationship to Head	Age	Marital Status	Age at marriage
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

A *DURATION OF RESIDENCE*

4 (a) For how many generations, counting from head of the household backwards, has the household been residing in this village ? ———————

(b) If head of household has migrated to this village, together with the household, where was his ancestral home ?

B RELIGION

5 (a) Religion ———————

(b) Sect ———————

(c) Tribe or Caste ———————

(d) Sub-tribe or Sub-caste ———————

6 (a) Is there a deity or object of worship or a sacred plant in the house ?
(Answer Yes/No) ———————

(b) If 'Yes', where is the deity or object of worship located in the house ?

(c) What is the name of the deity or object of worship or sacred plant and what is the form of worship ?

7 Do you know that untouchability in any form has been prohibited under law ? (Answer Yes/No.)

C MARRIAGE

8 (a) Has any marriage in contravention of Caste or Tribal law taken place in this household ? (Answer Yes/No.)

(b) If such a marriage has taken place, give details about the marriage

(c) With what castes or tribes other than the Caste or Tribe of the household is marriage permissible ?

(d) With which of such Castes or Tribes would marriage be desirable ?

(e) Was dowry given on the occasion of the marriage of the son ? (Answer Yes/No. If 'Yes', mention amount).

(f) Was dowry given on the occasion of the marriage of the daughter (Answer Yes/No. If 'Yes', mention amount),

D INHERITANCE

9 (a) Do you know that there have been changes in recent years in Hindu Adoption Act ? (Answer Yes/No)

(b) If yes, what do you think are the salient features on recent changes ?

10 (a) Do you think that there have been changes in recent years in Hindus Succession Act ? (Answer Yes/No)

(b If yes, what do you think are the salient features of such changes ?

11 (a) Which relatives, including male members and widows and daughters, married and unmarried, inherit property on the death of a married male person belonging to the same caste as your household ?

(b) What is the share of each member ?

12 Are you in favour of inheritance of property by daughters equally with sons ?

E PROPERTY

Land

13 If the household possesses land give—

(a) Total area in acres

(b) Total area under cultivation

(c) Area comprising homestead

(d) Name of Crop	Quantity obtained last year	Quantity sold
1	2	3
(i) Paddy		
(ii) Wheat		
(iii) Maize, Jowar or Bajra		
(iv) Pulses, including gram		
(v) Sugarcane		
(vi) Barley		
(vii) Vegetables		
(viii) Jute		

(ix) Chillies
(x) Tobacco
(xi) Oil seeds
(xii) Cotton
(xiii) Ginger
(xiv) Fodder or bamboo or cane
(xv) Fruits
(xvi) Other agricultural crops

(e) What is the organic manure used ? _____

(f) Do you use chemical fertilisers ? _____

(g) Do you use any new agricultural implement which has been taught to you for the first time in the last five years ? _____

(h) Do you borrow agricultural implements from others at the time of cultivation ? _____

(i) Do you take help of neighbours at the time of sowing or harvesting ? _____

(j) Do you assist your neighbours and receive help at the time of cultivation in the shape of manual labour ? _____

14 How much did your father own at the time of his death : _____

(a) Land in acres _____

(b Houses and other property _____

15 (a) Do you own any cattle or poultry ? Give numbers _____

(i) Milk Cattle
(ii) Draught Bullock
(iii) Cows, goats, sheep, pigs, duck/geese and fowl _____

(b) How much milk or milk products do you sell ? _____

16 Name the art or craft in which you have earned proficiency _____

F INDEBTEDNESS

17 If head of household is in debt

(a) Mention amount of debt outstanding _____

(b) Source of Credit _____

18 (a) Are you content with the present occupation ? (Answer Yes/No) _____

(b) If no, what other work you are doing ? _____

G COMMUNITY

19 (a) Does the head of the household know name of the Union Board/Anchal Panchayat/Thana or Taluk/District in which his village is situated ? _____

(b) Does the head of the household know names of the principal rivers flowing through the district ? _____

20 (a) Do you think that abolition of Zamindari and intermediary rights has resulted in any good to you ? (Answer Yes/No) _____

(b) If yes, indicate how you have benefitted ? _____

(c) If no, why have you not been benefitted ? _____

21 (a) Is there a co-operative society in your village ? (Answer Yes/No) _____

(b) If yes, are you a member ? (Answer Yes/No) _____

22 (a) Is there a Panchayat in your village ? (Answer Yes/No) _____

(b) If yes, how long has the Panchayat been in your village ? _____

(c) What are the main functions of the Panchayat ? _____

(d) What are the main parties in your Panchayat and which caste is leading the Panchayat ? _____

(e) Has there been any improvement in your village, since the Panchayat was established ? (Answer Yes/No) _____

(f) If yes, what have been the improvements ? _____

23 (a) Has any caste or tribe of your village got a separate Panchayat of its own ? (Answer Yes/No) _____

(b) If yes, what are the main functions of this caste or tribal Panchayat ? _____

(c) Since the statutory Panchayats are functioning, why do you think these caste or tribal Panchayats should still continue ? _____

H UTENSILS

24 (a) What utensils are used for preparing and for storage of drinking water ? _____

(b) Of what materials are important utensils made ? _____

I FURNITURES & ORNAMENTS

25 (a) Does the household possess a Bed-stead/Khatia/Chair/Table/Mirror Bench/Stool/Jalchowki/Wall shelf (Cross out those not found) _____

(b) Is the household using any new kind of furniture for the first time in the last five years ? _____

(c) Does the household use mosquito net ? _____

26 List of all the ornaments used by (a) men and (b) women. Give the local names and mention whether gold or silver or brass or any other material is mainly used. Give drawings. _____

J CONSUMER GOODS

27 (a) Does the household possess Hurricane lantern/Petromax or Hazak/ Battery/ torchlight/Kerosene Stove/Bicycle/Gramophone/Radio set ? _____

(Cross out those which do not apply)

(b) Has any of the items been acquired for the first time in the last five years ? If yes, which are these articles ? _____

(c) Does the household use toilet soap/washing soap ? _____

(d) Are clothes sent to washerman to be cleaned ? _____

SCHEDULE FOR SOCIO-ECONOMIC SURVEY

(Adapted from the Schedule of Census Operation, New Delhi)

Name of District———————

PART II

VILLAGE SCHEDULE

Name of Police Station/Taluk———————

Name of Village——————— Number of Village———————

Area of the Village——————— Number of Households———————

What is the religion which majority of the villagers profess ———————

1 Topography of the Village :—

(a) Is the village situated on a plain on an undulating surface/on a plateau/on a hillock/or at the bottom of a depression ? ———————

(b) The system of grouping of house-average distance between two clusters of houses—reasons for such grouping, e.g., whether on account of the nature of the surface of land or on account of social custom ———————

(c) Internal Roads—Tanks—Village common—any stream or other extensive source of water—proximity or otherwise of any jungle—Approximate number of shade-bearing trees and how they are arranged ———————

2 What is the local legend about the village ? ———————

3 Detailed description of average house of the members of each caste/tribe, religious group, occupational group in the village ———————

4 Name and distance of Hat or Hats to which surplus produce of the village is taken for sale ———————

5 Name and distance of the nearest Railway Station and Bus Route ———————

6 Distance by road from Thana and Subdivision Headquarters ———————

7 (a) Distance of the Post Office from the village ———————

(b) Distance of the Telegraph Office from the village ———————

(c) Can money be sent through that Post Office ? ———————

8 Religious practice followed by members of each caste, tribe and religious group in the village. The description of the religious practice in each case should begin with the name or names under which the Supreme Being is known and then proceed from ceremonies that might be observed in respect of a person from sometime before he is born and end with the funeral rites after his death ———————

9 Give details of places of common religious worship, if any ———————

10 Describe community festivals if held in the village ———————

11 Dress commonly worn by the villagers with special reference to peculiarities on account of caste/tribe or religious sanction or economic status ———————

12 Number and types of schools in the village ———————

13 Describe social recreation centres, if any ———————

2. SCHEDULE OF SOCIO-ECONOMIC SURVEY

(Adapted from the Schedule of Census Operations, New Delhi)

Name of District———————

VILLAGE DISPUTES RFFERRED TO DIFFERENT AUTHORITIES LAST YEAR

Nature of adjudicating authority	Leading members of each disputant party			Nature of dispute	Decision of the adjudicating authority	Nature of sanction	Remarks— (Whether the decision was enforced? Whether there is preference for adjudication by particular type of authority in particular type or case, place of tribal etc.?)
	Caste Panchayat	Name	Caste Tribe				
Caste Panchayat							
Informal Panchayat							
Statutory Village Panchayat							
Court—							
Others (specify)							

33 VILLAGE

SOCIO-ECONOMIC SURVEY

Serial No. .....

Sample No. .....

Name of Informant .....

1 Name of the Head of Household .....

2 Religion .....

3 Denomination .....

4 Tribe/Caste and Sub Caste .....

5 Clan/Gotra .....

6 Mother Tongue .....

7 Present Address .....

8 Name of Street .....

9 Ward No. .....Holding No. .....

10 Permanent Address .....

Village .....Thana .....

Town .....P.O. .....

District .....State.....

11 Length of residence of Your/ Yours family, at Ranchi .....

23 Approximate Value of the Property .....

24 Possession :—(i) Bicycle .....

(ii) Motor Cycle .....

(v) Radiogram .....

(vi) Gramophone .....

(ix) Table Fans .....

(x) Mercury Tube Fittings .....

(xiii) Electric Iron .....

(xiv) Wall Clock .....

(xvii) Chickens .....

(xviii) Goat .....

(xxi) Cooking Utensils :—

1. Metal .....

(xxii) Other Utensils :—

1 Metal .....

4 Tamchin .....

5 Others .....

(xxiii) Glasswares :—

1 Glass .....

4 Sharbat Set .....

5 Dinner Set .....

STUDY

FROM : FAMILY (I)

Date .....

Name of Interviewer .....

12 Residing in own/rented house or sharing with friend/relative .....

13 Description of House .....

14 Total area of living space .....

15 Total area of House .....

16 Rooms : No. .....Size. .... No. of ventilators

(i) living

(li) others

17 Electricity in House . Yes/No

18 Sources of water supply . Tap/Well
No. of taps

19 Bath room . . Yes/No/Shared

20 Kitchen . . Yes/No/Shared

21 Latrine facilities—
(i) Flush . . Yes/No/Shared
(ii) Service latrine . . Yes/No/Shared

22 Open Space attached to accommodation . Yes/No
If Yes, Size (i) Front (ii) Back (iii) Side

(lii) Car .....

(iv) Radio .....

(vii) Sewing Machines .....

(viii) Ceiling Fans .....

(xi) Table Lamps .....

(xii) Electric Heater .....

(xv) Table Watch .....

(xvi) Wrist Watch .....

(xix) Cattle .....

(xx) Furnitures .....

2 Alu .....

3 Earthen.....

2 Alu .....

3 Stainless Steel .....

2 Tea Cups and Plates .....

3 Tea Set .....

6 Coffee Set .....

7 Others .....

VILLAGE

Serial No.	Name	Relationship with Head	Sex	Age	Marital Status	Age at the time of marriage	Age at the birth of first child	Where married ? Distance & Direction

STUDY

Clan/Caste of the spouse	Economic Status	Occupation		Education	Language known other than Mother Tongue R/W/S	Remarks
		Main	Subsidiary			

4 Socio-Economic Survey Form

Family II Changes in the size of the Family

Serial No.	Year	No. of family members	No. of addition by birth	Sex of the born persons	No. of ommission by death	Age of the dead	Sex of the dead	Causes of death	Treatment made to the dead persons
1	1951								
2	1952								
3	1953								
4	1954								
5	1955								
6	1956								
7	1957								
8	1958								
9	1959								
10	1960								
11	1961								
12	1962								

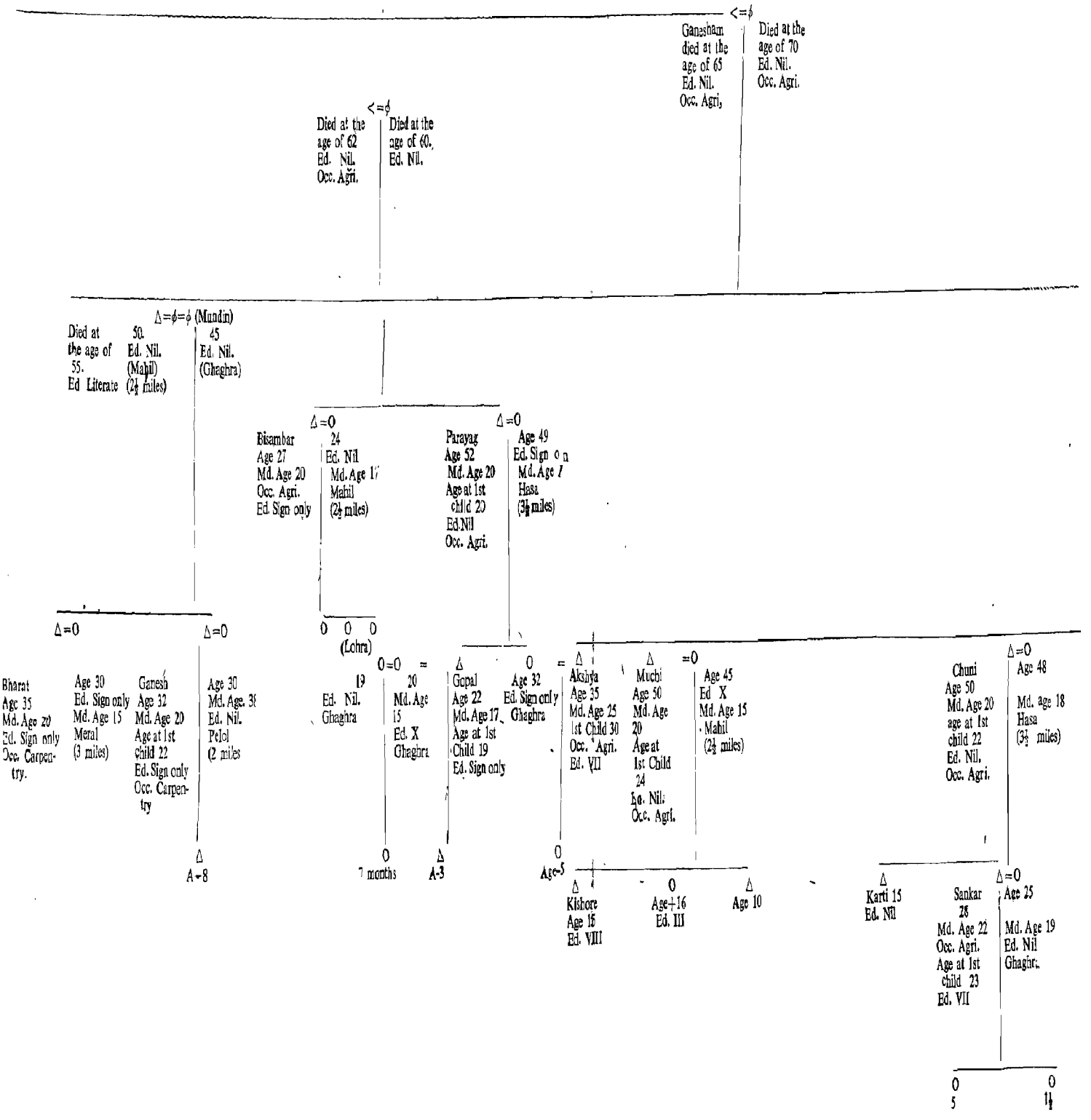
5. RELATIONS IN VILLAGE: FAMILY III

Serial No.	Name of Person	Nature of relation

APPENDIX VII

GENEALOGICAL TABLES

GENEALOGY OF MANJHI FAMILIES



APPENDIX VII

GENEALOGICAL TABLES

GENEALOGY OF MANJHI FAMILIES

Note: —

Δ—Male

O—Female

<—Dead (Male)

ϕ—Dead (Female)

=—Married.

A—Age

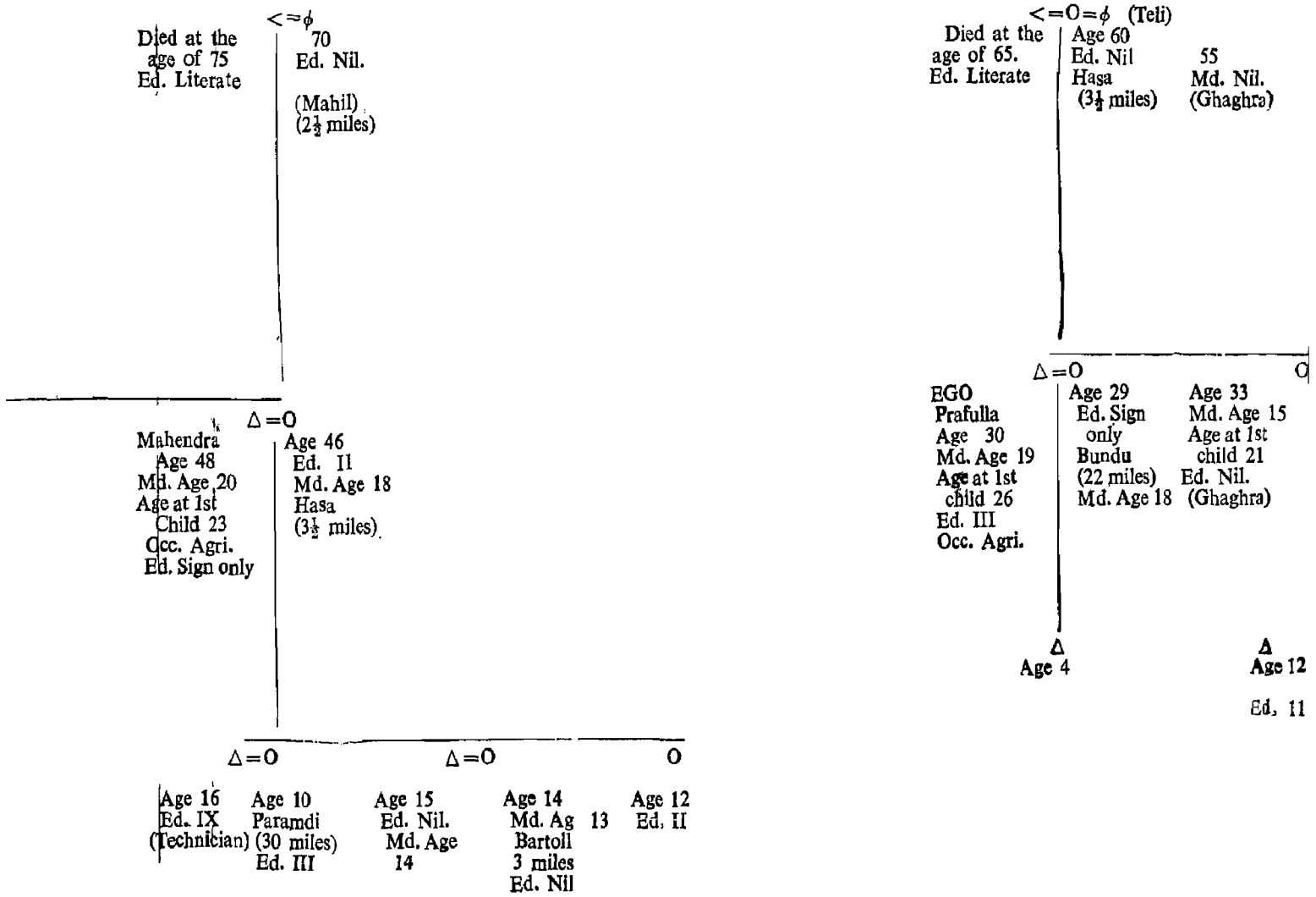
Ed.—Education

Md. Age—Age at Marriage

Age at 1st child—Age at the birth of first child.

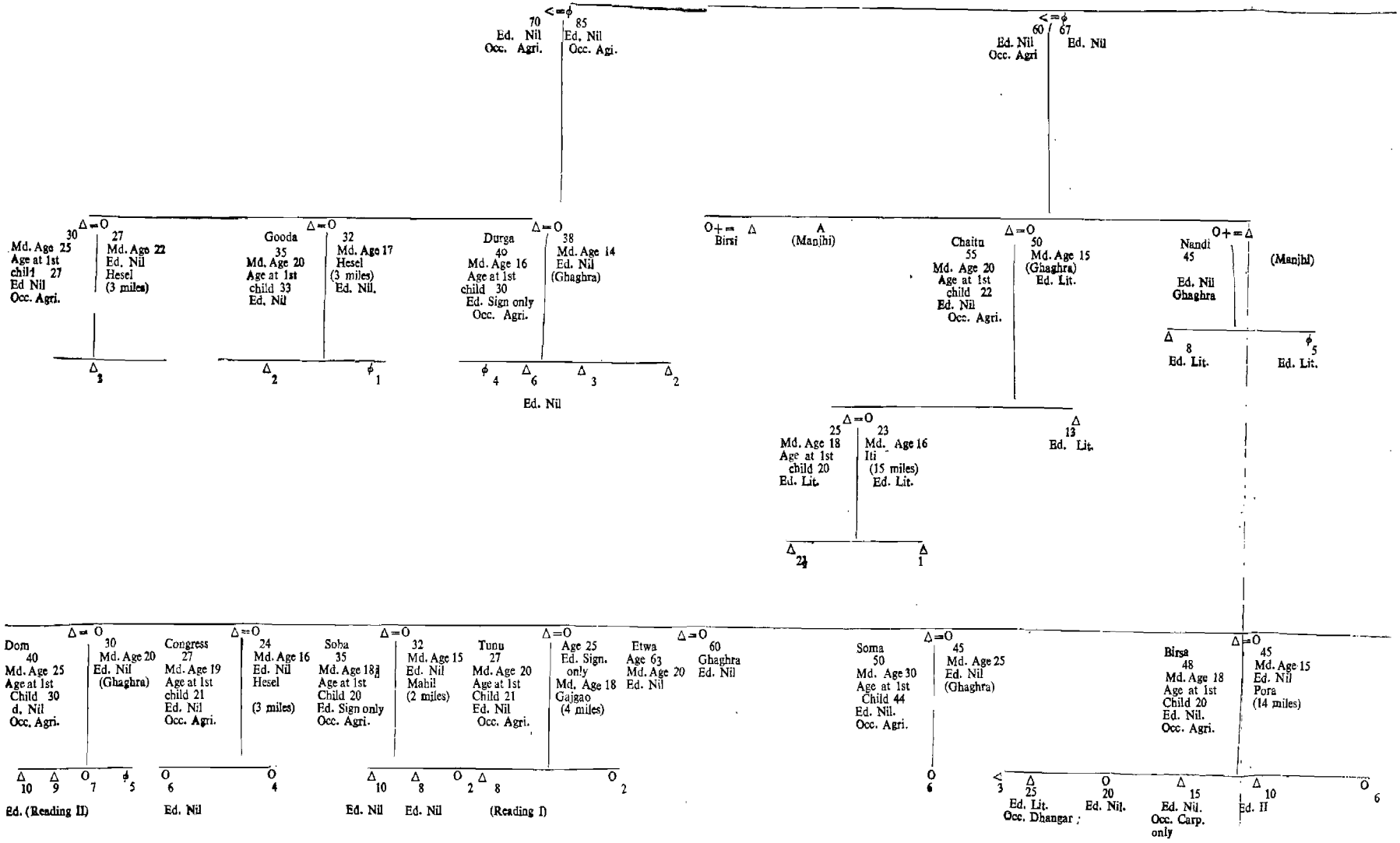
Occ.—Occupation.

The names and distances of spouses' villages from Ghaghra (for whomsoever could be known) have been mentioned.



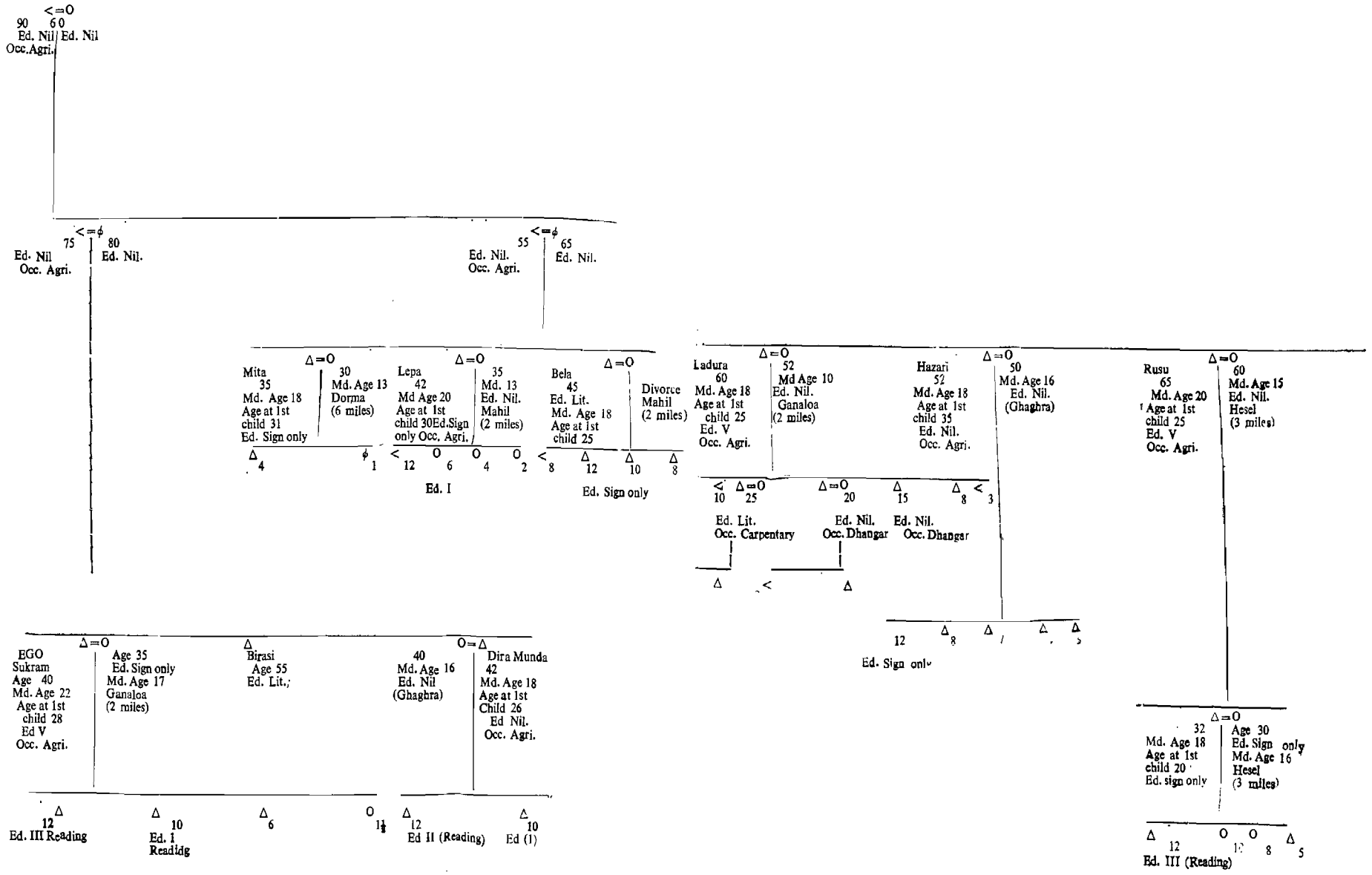
APPENDIX VII.2

Genealogy of Munda Family



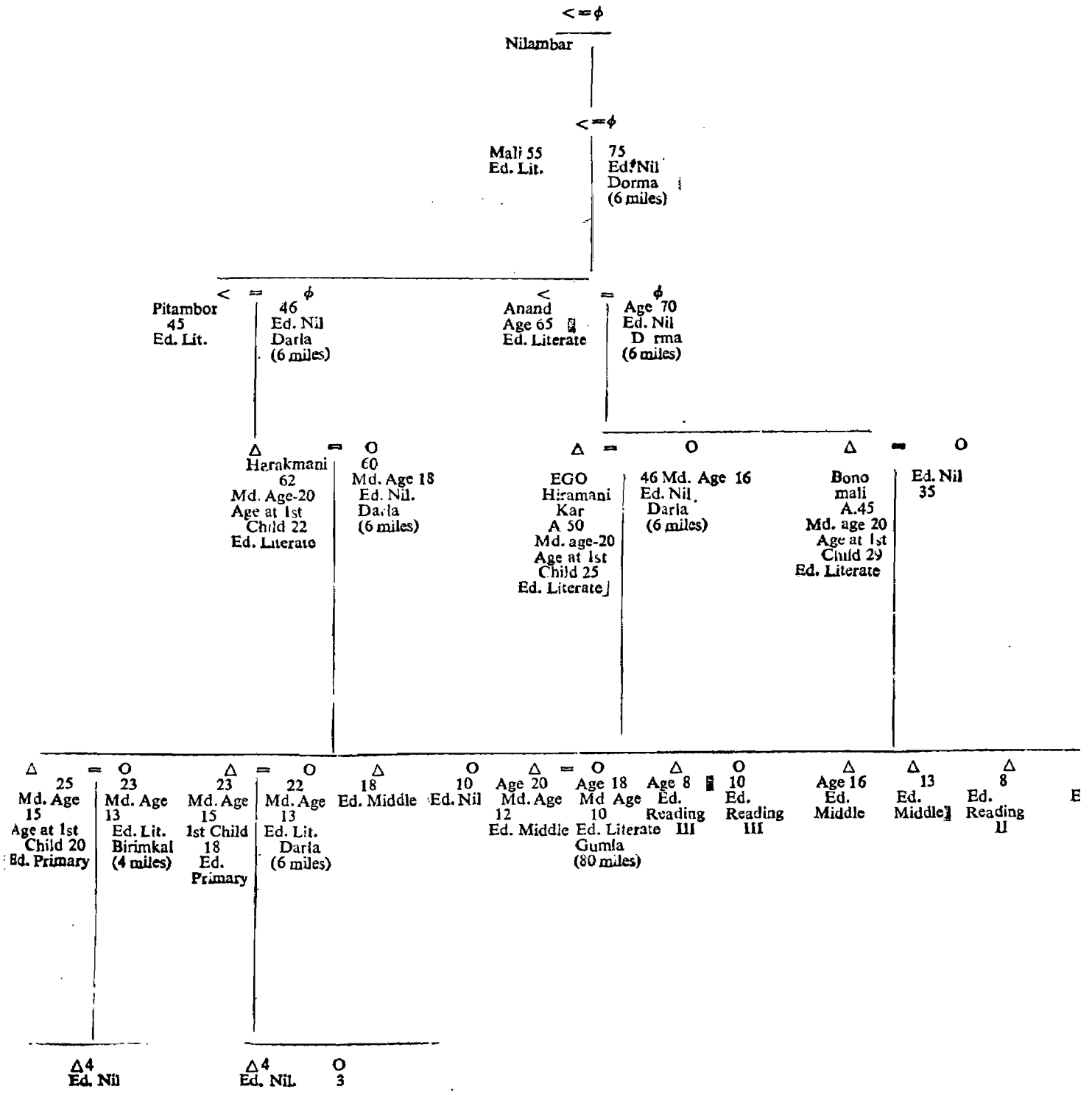
APPENDIX VII.2

Genealogy of Munda Family



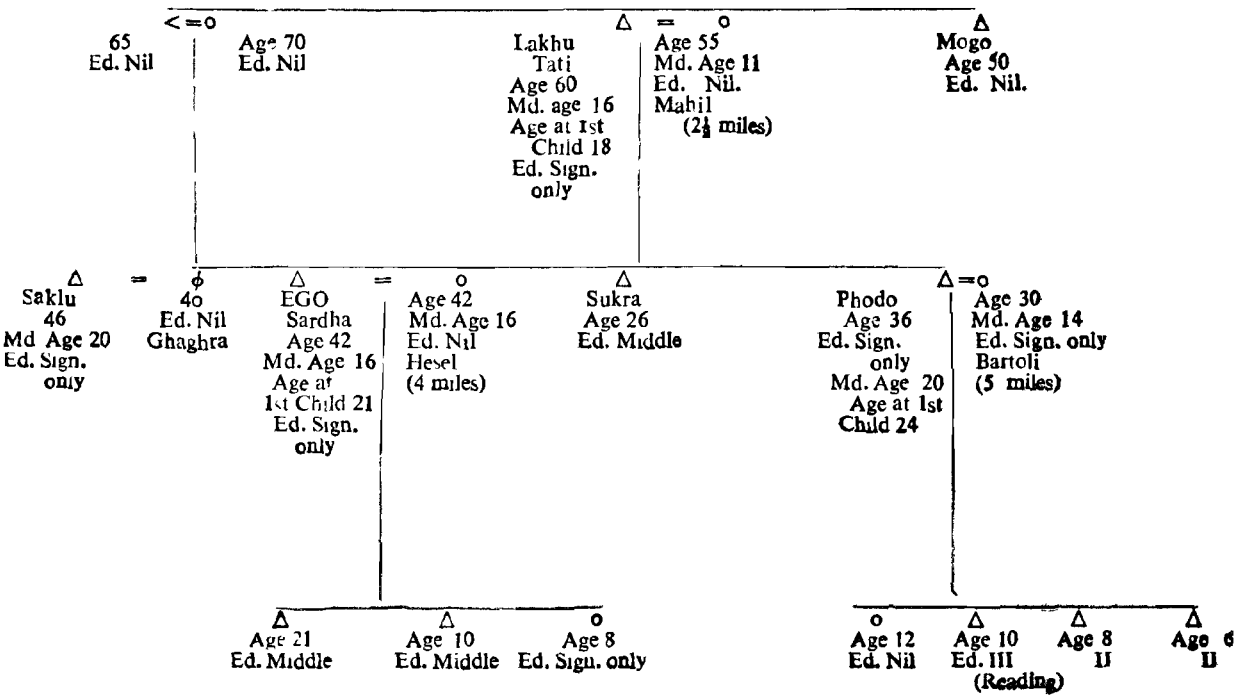
APPENDIX VII·3

Genealogy of Brahmin Families



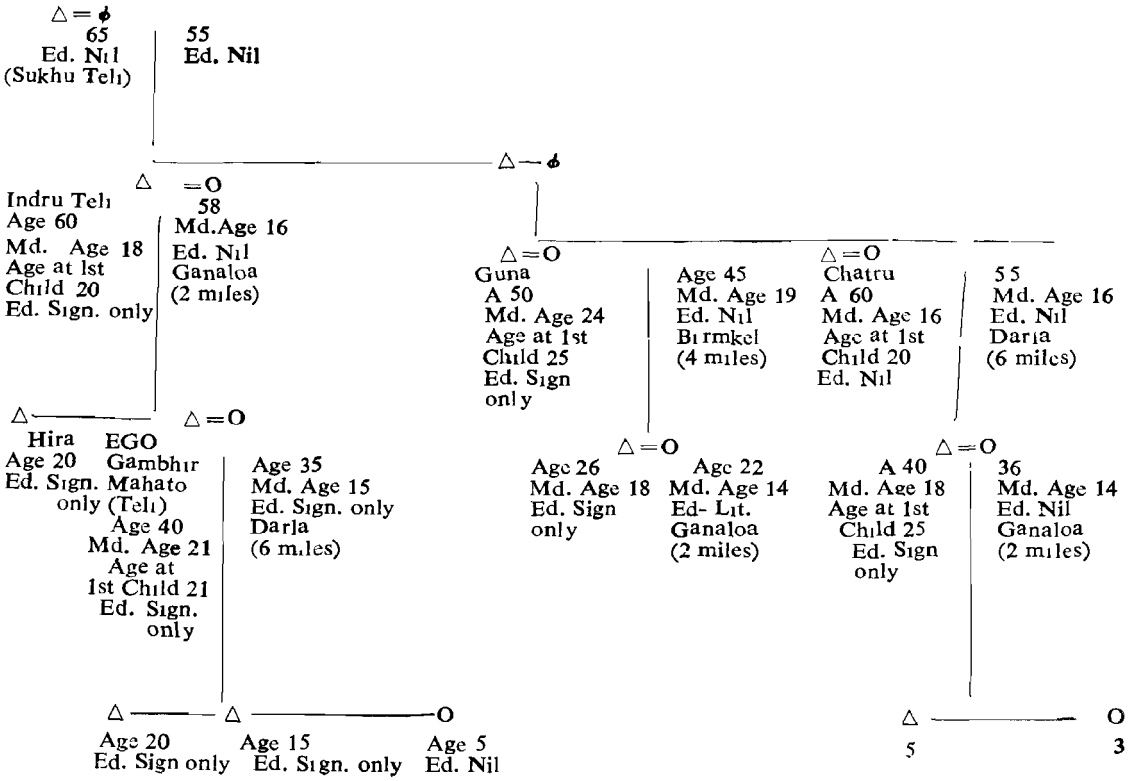
APPENDIX VII·4

Genealogy of Tati Families



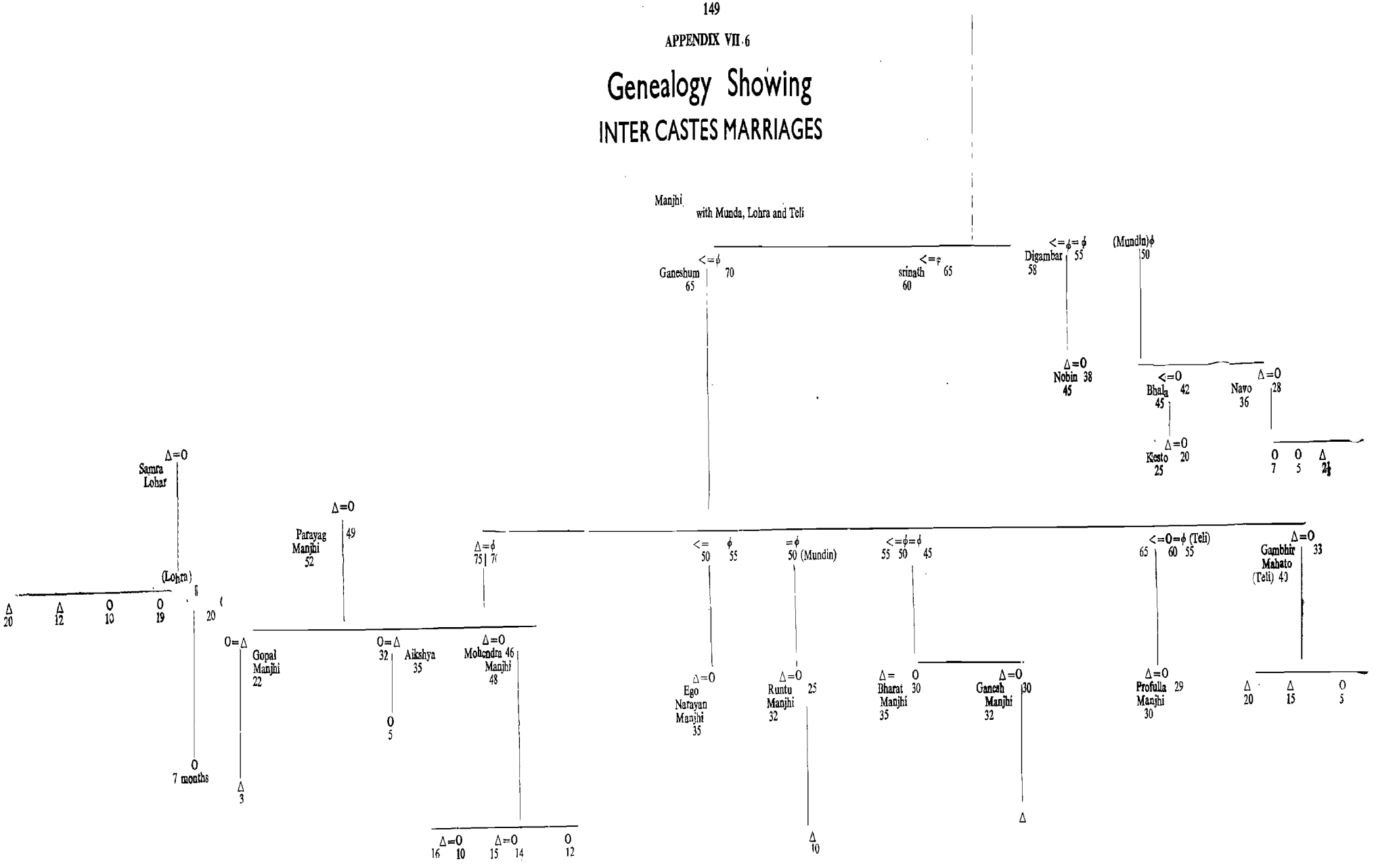
APPENDIX VII-5

Genealogy of Teli Families



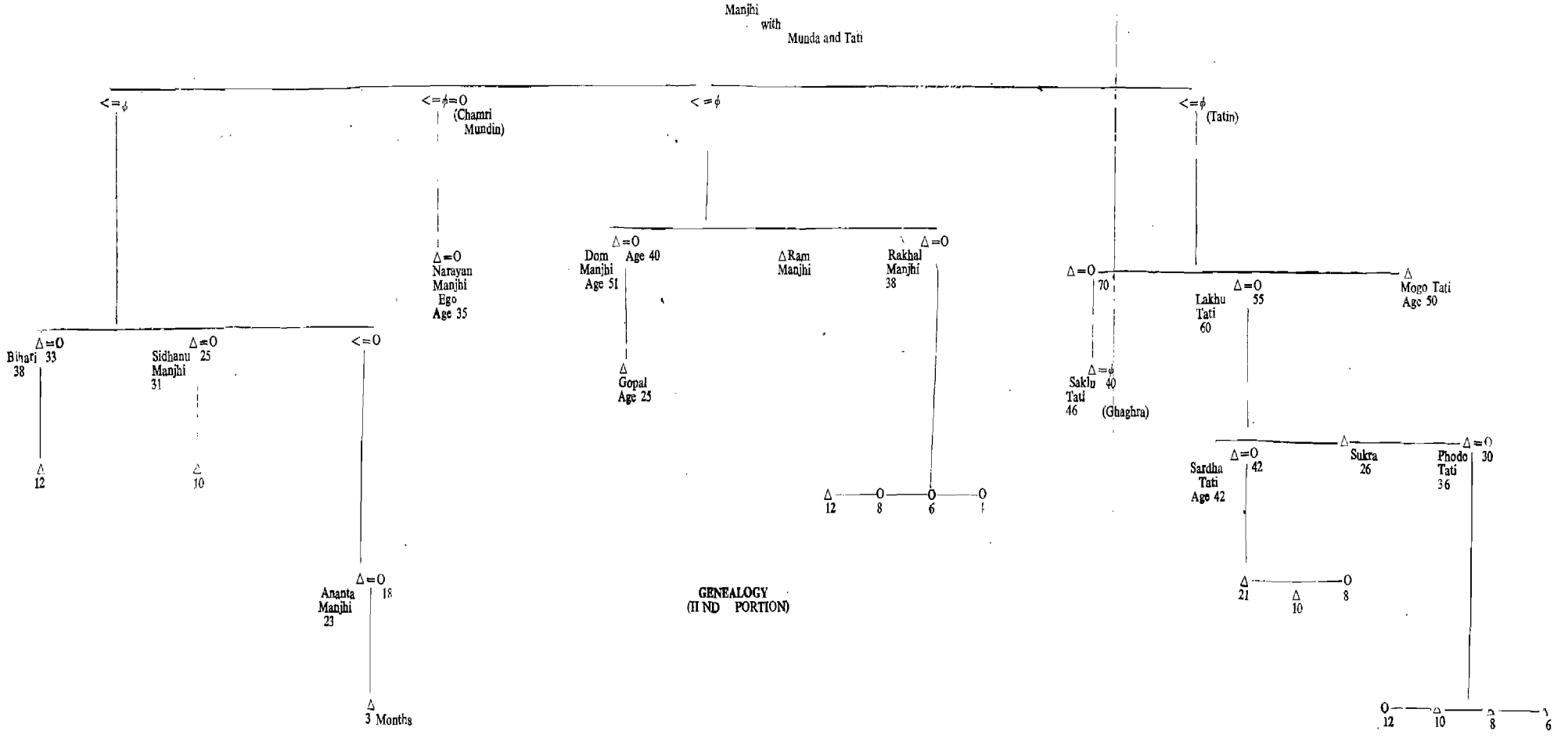
APPENDIX VII.6

Genealogy Showing
INTER CASTES MARRIAGES



APPENDIX VII·7

Genealogy Showing
INTER CASTES MARRIAGES



GENEALOGY
(II ND PORTION)

APPENDIX VIII

ANALYSIS OF THE GENEOLOGICAL TABLES

APPENDIX

Analysis of the

	Age at Marriage										Education			
	10—15		16—20		21—25		26—30		Above 30		Illiterate		Literate	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
MUNDA														
Ego's own generation	..	7	13	8	2	1	1	..	..	..	10	13	9	4
Ego's 1st ascending generation	1	3	1	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	5	7	1	..
Ego's 2nd ascending generation	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	3	..	..
Ego's 1st descending generation	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5	6	6	..
Ego's 2nd descending generation	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	.	..	..
TELI														
Ego's own generation	..	1	2	2	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	2	3	1
Ego's 1st ascending generation	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	..
Ego's 1st descending generation	..	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	4	1
TATI														
Ego's own generation	..	..	3	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	3	1
Ego's 1st ascending generation	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	2	1	..
Ego's 1st descending generation	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
BRAHMIN														
Ego's own generation	..	1	3	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	3	..
Ego's 1st ascending generation	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	2	..
Ego's 2nd ascending generation	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	..
Ego's 1st descending generation	2	3	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	3
MANJHI														
Ego's own generation	1	7	14	8	1	1	..	..	..	..	2	7	11	8
Ego's 1st ascending generation	..	7	9	3	1	..	..	..	..	..	6	15	11	3
Ego's 2nd ascending generation	..	..	.	..	..	..	..	..	..	.	6	6	..	..
Ego's 3rd ascending generation	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	2	..	..
Ego's 1st descending generation	1	2	2	2	1	..	..	..	..	..	2	6	5	1

VIII

Geneological Tables

Education						Distance of Marriage						
Primary		Middle		Non-Matric		Within the village	1—10	11—20	21—30	31—40	Above 40	
Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female							
16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28
												MUNDA
3	..	..	..	..	..	5	9	2	..	..	..	Ego's own generation
..	..	..	..	..	..	4	2	..	..	..	..	Ego's 1st ascending generation
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	Ego's 2nd ascending generation
2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	Ego's 1st descending generation
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	Ego's 2nd descending generation
												TELI
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	Ego's own generation
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	Ego's 1st ascending generation
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	Ego's 1st descending generation
												TATI
..	..	1	..	..	..	1	2	..	..	..	..	Ego's own generation
..	..	..	..	..	..	..		..	..	..	..	Ego's 1st ascending generation
3	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	Ego's 1st descending generation
												BRAHMIN
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	Ego's own generation
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	..	Ego's 1st ascending generation
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	Ego's 2nd ascending generation
4	1	4	..	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	1	Ego's 1st descending generation
												MANJHI
2	..	2	..	1	..	5	12	..	1	..	..	Ego's own generation
..	..	2	..	..	..	6	13	..	1	..	..	Ego's 1st ascending generation
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	Ego's 2nd ascending generation
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	Ego's 3rd ascending generation
10	8	6	..	1	..	1	1	..	2	..	..	Ego's 1st descending generation

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