

530S OF INDIA-1961

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JOJOHATU

a munda village

BIHAR

SURVEY MONOGRAPH

NO. 1



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2007

CENSUS OF INDIA 1961

VOLUME IV

BIHAR

NUMBER 1

With the compliments of
The Superintendent of Census Operations, Bihar

S. D. PRASAD, I.A.S.,
Superintendent of Census Operations, Bihar

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THE 1961 CENSUS PUBLICATIONS

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Photograph numbers 14-15, 17-18, 21-22, 26-27 by the Cameraman, Bihar Tribal Research/Institute, Ranchi.

Photograph number 29 by the Cameraman, Public Relations Department, Ranchi.

FOREWORD

Apart from laying the foundations of demography in this sub-continent, a hundred years of the Indian Census has also produced 'elaborate and scholarly accounts of the variegated phenomena of Indian life—sometimes with no statistics attached, but usually with just enough statistics to give empirical under-pinning to their conclusions'. In a country, largely illiterate, where statistical or numerical comprehension of even such a simple thing as age was liable to be inaccurate, an understanding of the social structure was essential. It was more necessary to attain a broad understanding of what was happening around oneself than to wrap oneself up in 'statistical ingenuity' or 'mathematical manipulation'. This explains why the Indian Census came to be interested in 'many by-paths' and 'nearly every branch of scholarship, from anthropology and sociology to geography and religion'.

In the last few decades the Census has increasingly turned its efforts to the presentation of village statistics. This suits the temper of the times as well as our political and economic structure. For even as we have a great deal of centralization on the one hand and decentralisation on the other, my colleagues thought it would be a welcome continuation of the Census tradition to try to invest the dry bones of village statistics with flesh-and-blood accounts of social structure and social change. It was accordingly decided to select a few villages in every State for special study, where personal observation would be brought to bear on the interpretation of statistics to find out how much of a village was static and yet changing and how fast the winds of change were blowing and from where.

Randomness of selection was, therefore, eschewed. There was no intention to build up a picture for the whole State in quantitative terms on the basis of villages selected statistically at random. The selection was avowedly purposive: the object being as much to find out what was happening and how fast to these villages which had fewer reasons to choose change and more to remain lodged in the past as to discover how the more 'normal' types of villages were changing. They were to be primarily type studies which, by virtue of their number and distribution, would also give the reader a 'feel' of what was going on and some kind of a map of the country.

A brief account of the tests of selection will help to explain. A minimum of thirty-five villages was to be chosen with great care to represent adequately geographical, occupational and even ethnic diversity. Of this minimum of thirty-five, the distribution was to be as follows:

- (a) At least eight villages were to be so selected that each of them would contain one dominant community with one predominating occupation, e.g., fishermen, forest workers, jhum cultivators, potters, weavers, salt-makers, quarry workers, etc. A village should have a minimum population of 400, the optimum being between 500 and 700.
- (b) At least seven villages were to be of numerically prominent Scheduled Tribes of the State. Each village could represent a particular tribe. The minimum population should be 400, the optimum being between 500 and 700.

- (c) The third group of villages should each be of fair size, of an old and settled character and contain variegated occupations and be, if possible, multi-ethnic in composition. By fair size was meant a population of 500—700 persons or more. The village should mainly depend on agriculture and be sufficiently away from the major sources of modern communication such as the district administrative headquarters and business centres. It should be roughly a day's journey from the above places. The villages were to be selected with an eye to variation in terms of size, proximity to city and other means of modern communication, nearness to hills, jungles and major rivers. Thus there was to be a regional distribution throughout the State of this category of villages. If, however, a particular district contained significant ecological variations within its area, more than one village in the district might be selected to study the special adjustments to them.

It is a unique feature of these village surveys that they rapidly outgrew their original terms of reference, as my colleagues warmed up to their work. This proved for them an absorbing voyage of discovery and their infectious enthusiasm compelled me to enlarge the inquiry's scope again and again. It was just as well cautiously to feel one's way about at first and then venture further afield, and although it accounts to some extent for a certain unevenness in the quality and coverage of the monographs, it served to compensate the purely honorary and extra-mural rigours of the task. For, the Survey, along with its many ancillaries like the survey of fairs and festivals, of small and rural industry and others, was an 'extra', over and above the crushing load of the 1961 Census.

It might be of interest to recount briefly the stages by which the Survey enlarged its scope. At the first Census Conference in September 1959 the Survey set itself the task of what might be called a record *in situ* of material traits, like settlement patterns of the village; house types; diet; dress, ornaments and footwear; furniture and storing vessels; common means of transport of goods and passengers; domestication of animals and birds; markets attended, worship of deities, festivals and fairs. There were to be recordings, of course, of cultural and social traits and occupational mobility. This was followed up in March, 1960 by two specimen schedules, one for each household, the other for the village as a whole, which, apart from spelling out the mode of inquiry suggested in the September, 1959 Conference, introduced groups of questions aimed at sensing changes in attitude and behaviour in such fields as marriage, inheritance, moveable and immoveable property, industry, indebtedness, education, community life and collective activity, social disabilities, forums of appeal over disputes, village leadership, and organisation of cultural life. It was now plainly the intention to provide adequate statistical support to empirical 'feel', to approach qualitative change through statistical quantities. It had been difficult to give thought to the importance of 'just enough statistics to give empirical underpinning to conclusion', at a time when my colleagues were straining themselves to the utmost for the success of the main census operations, but once the census count itself was left behind in March, 1961 a series of three regional seminars in Trivandrum (May, 1961), Darjeeling and Srinagar (June, 1961) restored their attention to this field and the importance of tracing social change through a number of well-devised statistical tables was once again recognised. This itself presupposed a fresh survey of villages already done; but it was worth the trouble in view of the possibilities that a close analysis of statistics offered, and also because the 'consanguinity' schedule remained to be canvassed. By November, 1961, however, more was expected of these surveys than ever before. There was dissatisfaction on the one hand with too many general statements and a growing desire on the other to draw conclusions from statistics, to regard social and economic data

as interrelated processes, and finally to examine the social and economic processes set in motion through land reforms and other laws, legislative and administrative measures, technological and cultural change. In the latter half of 1961 again was organised within the Census Commission a section on Social Studies which assumed the task of giving shape to the general frame of study and providing technical help to Superintendents of Census Operations in the matter of conducting surveys, their analysis and presentation. This section headed by Dr. B.K. Roy Burman has been responsible for going through each monograph and offering useful suggestions which were much welcomed by my colleagues. Finally, a study camp was organised in the last week of December, 1961 when the whole field was carefully gone through over again and a programme worked out closely knitting the various aims of the Survey together.

This gradual unfolding of the aims of the Survey prevented my colleagues from adopting as many villages as they had originally intended to. But I believe that what may have been lost in quantity has been more than made up for in quality. This is, perhaps, for the first time that such a Survey has been conducted in any country, and that purely as a labour of love. It has succeeded in attaining what it set out to achieve: to construct a map of village India's social structures. One hopes that the volumes of this Survey will help to retain for the Indian Census its title to the most fruitful single source of information about the country. Apart from other features, it will perhaps be conceded that the Survey has set up a new Census standard in pictorial and graphic documentation. The schedules finally adopted for this monograph have been printed as Annexures I & II.

A. MITRA,
Registrar General, India

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1. Shri R.B. Lal, I.A.S., Director of Statistics, Bihar For having agreed to the utilisation of the Junior Statistical Supervisor, Khunti Community Development Block;
2. Shri U.N. Rai, I.A.S., Director of Public Relations, Bihar For the photographs taken by the Deputy Director, Public Relations Department, Ranchi under his instructions;
3. Shri K.S. Singh, I.A.S., Subdivisional Officer, Khunti } For being very helpful to the survey, and
4. Shri D.C. Shrivastava, Block Development Officer, Khunti }
5. Shri Samuel Nag, Teacher, Middle School, Jojohatu. For valuable assistance in the village;

I cannot also acknowledge too fully the debt I owe the following gentlemen in the preparation of this monograph :

1. Shri R.N. Mishra, Deputy Superintendent of Census Operations,
2. Shri Rajendra Prasad, Investigator,
3. Shri Abhay Kumar Jha, Artist,
4. Shri K. Tigga, Cameraman, Bihar Tribal Research Institute, Ranchi.

Last but not the least, my earnest thanks are also due to Shri S.N. Chatterji, Superintendent, Bihar Secretariat Press, Gulzarbagh for the printing and layout of this monograph.

PREFACE

Village Jojohatu is one of the thirty-seven villages selected in Bihar for making detailed case studies with a view to constructing "a map of village India's social structure". The scope and objects of the study have been fully explained in the Foreword. Perhaps it need only be reiterated here that such studies are "continuation of the Census tradition to try to invest the dry bones of village statistics with flesh and blood accounts of social structure and social change".

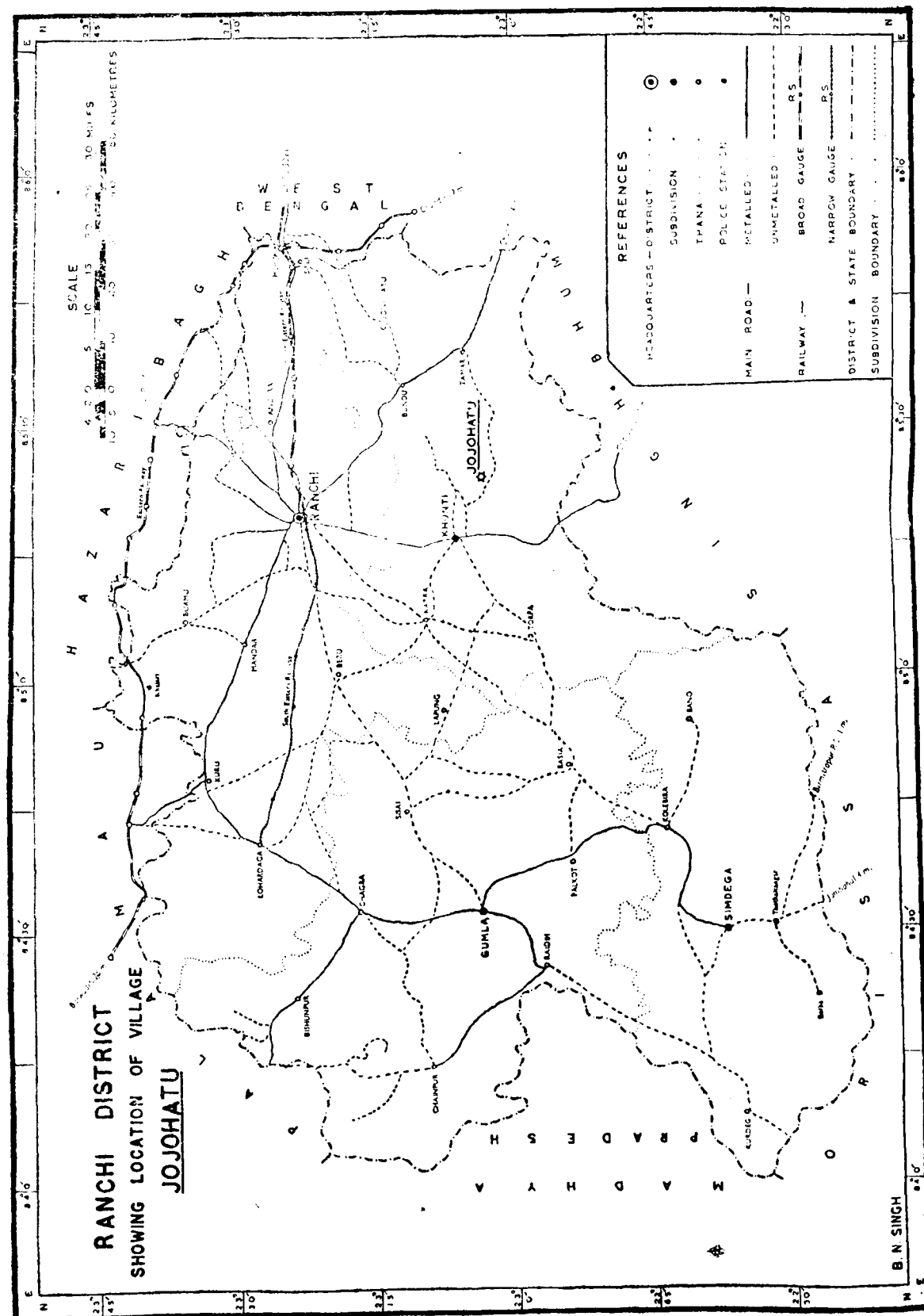
Bihar is rich in its ethnic diversity. There are as many as 29 Scheduled Tribes constituting 9.05 percent of the total population of the State. It is not surprising, therefore, that of the thirty-seven villages selected for this purpose, twenty-three are tribal, intended mainly to reflect the chief characteristics of all the important tribes in Bihar as well as some of those which have certain special features of their own. In this context, Jojohatu was taken up primarily to represent the Mundas. Its selection was made on an informal recommendation of the Bihar Tribal Research Institute, Ranchi, which was also supported by the Deputy Commissioner, Ranchi.

The Household Schedules and the Village Schedule (Annexures I and II) were initially canvassed by Shri Rahman, the Junior Statistical Supervisor of the Community Development Block, Khunti in the summer of 1961. This was followed by a fortnight's visit to the village in September, 1961 by Shri Rajendra Prasad, M.A., an Investigator of this Office. He checked, amplified and supplemented the data collected at the earlier stage. Subsequently, the information was processed and compiled in the Census Office at Hazaribagh under the close and able supervision of Shri R. N. Misra (of the Bihar Civil Service), Deputy Superintendent of Census Operations, who prepared a draft report. I also paid two visits to the village, and revised the first draft in the light of my experiences. This revised draft and the tables were then scrutinised in the Office of the Registrar General, India. The final report, as being presented now, is thus the result of the common endeavour of several persons, and it will be unfair for anyone to take all the credit to himself. Of course, the main inspiration and guidance behind all this has been that of Shri A. Mitra, I.C.S., Registrar General and *ex-officio* Census Commissioner of India, who was assisted in this work at a later stage by Dr. B. K. Roy Burman, Officer on Special Duty (Handicrafts and Social Studies).

A monograph of this nature is, perhaps, a pioneering effort so far as Bihar is concerned. Naturally, scholars and experts may find it deficient in several respects. But the effort will have been amply rewarded if it helps, even in a small way, in giving an idea of the life and environs of the people it seeks to depict, and stimulates further work in this direction.

Patna,
10th October, 1963.

S. D. PRASAD,
Superintendent of Census Operations,
Bihar



CHAPTER 1

THE VILLAGE

INTRODUCING THE VILLAGE

Next to Santals and Oraons, Mundas are the most numerous among the Tribes of Bihar comprising as they do 14.96 per cent of its total tribal population. The greater number of Mundas in Bihar live in Ranchi district and the population of Khunti Subdivision in this district is predominantly Munda. Jojohatu, a village in Subdivision, Police Station and Anchal Khunti was, therefore, selected as a representative village for the study of the Munda tribe.

LOCATION

Jojohatu lies at a distance of about 16 miles to the east of the Subdivisional, Police Station and Anchal headquarters, all of which are at Khunti. Ranchi, the district headquarters, is to the north of Khunti at a distance of 23 miles along the trunk road from Jamshedpur via Chai'asa and Chakradharpur. Anyone coming from Jojohatu must touch Khunti in order to proceed to Ranchi. The Halka office (the headquarters of the Village Level Worker and Karmachari) and the Gram Panchayat office are located at Landup, 2½ miles south-east, which is a market place like Maranghada, 3 miles north-west.

There are no important centres of commerce and industry in the vicinity of Jojohatu. Even Khunti with its population of 8,156 is hardly a place of any importance except for the fact that it is the Subdivisional headquarters. The area is very sparsely populated, the average density being 293 persons per square mile for the Anchal and 300 persons per square mile for the Subdivision as a whole. Villages in the region are usually of small size. Out of 149 villages in Khunti Anchal, as many as 60 have populations of less than 200 each.

To the north of Jojohatu lie villages Salihatu and Perihatu, the houses of the former being almost contiguous to those of Hesadih tola of Jojohatu. Chandaaur is situated on the east, and some of the settlements of this

village are alongside the settlements on the eastern fringe of Jojohatu. Gutoohathu, a village in another Police Station (Murhu), lies to the west. Village Baripur and forests are situated to the south.

The geographical location of village Jojohatu is determined by Latitude 23°17' and Longitude 85°26'.

PHYSICAL FEATURES, FLORA AND FAUNA

Jojohatu is situated on the northern fringe of a forest running east to west. The terrain is undulating and rocky. Even in the areas of settlement, large boulders are often met. The habitations are on uplands, and agricultural fields in low lands. The soil is generally reddish in colour with considerable sand content. In the low lands, however, or *Don* as they are called, there is greater admixture of clay which gives them a somewhat greyish look.

About six miles south of the village lies the Dumari hill which is reminiscent of a historic fight waged by Birsa Munda (See Appendix I) against the British regime towards the close of the last century.

Sukum Buru and Korang Buru are two hills to south and north respectively of the village. A local legend connects them thus: once upon a time, the two hills fought one another to establish their superiority in order to be worshipped by the villagers; Korang Buru, a basket-maker by profession, shot an arrow made of bamboo at Sukum Buru. It did not harm the latter much. But Sukum Buru was a blacksmith. So he shot an arrow made of iron, which caused great damage to Korang Buru who was defeated. Thus, Sukum Buru established his superiority over Korang Buru and is the recipient of homage from the villagers.

The village abounds in natural vegetation having originally been a part of the forest reclaimed subsequently for settlement. *Imli*,

Peepal, mango, *Keonar* and *Bair* trees are commonly found. Banana and papaya trees have been planted in good numbers. Besides, bamboo clumps are also common. Very often hedges enclosing open land are made of green vegetation like *Putus* shrubs. In the forest, a large variety of trees is found. Among these, mention may be made of *Sakhua* (*Sal*) *Bhelwa*, *Char* (*Chiraunji*), *Keon* (*Kend*), *Karam*, *Asan*, *Mahua*, *Mango*, *Salaiya* and *Hissir*. *Sal* is an important timber and the forest has several coupes of this timber worked regularly through contractors.

Animals in wild state are no longer found in large numbers. There have been no reports in the near past of persons being attacked in the jungle by bears or other wild animals. A few stone monuments, however, exist in the village commemorating the death of persons supposed to have met their end by such accidents. Hares are sometimes killed for food; otherwise, the only game consists of birds which are killed with bows and arrows.

SIZE AND NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS

The area of the revenue *mauza* constituting Jojohatu (Thana No. 129 of Revenue Thana Khunti) is 764.30 acres out of which about 200 acres towards the south are forests. There are 365 persons (183 males and 182 females) in the village comprised in 78 households. The density is 306 persons per square mile. Out of 78 households, fortyone have 4-6 members, nineteen 2-3 members and twelve 7-9 members. There are five single member households, and only one household has more than 10 members in it.

RESIDENTIAL PATTERN

Besides the main village, there are two other hamlets (*tolas*) Hesadih and Gangudih. The main village also has small subdivisions such as Chetan *tola*, Manki *tola*, Gugru *tola*, and Oo *tola*. But these are of little practical significance inasmuch as they owe their origin to the names of certain objects or family heads residing therein at present or in the past. The conglomerations of houses in these localities have hardly any separate or distinctive identity of their own. For the purposes of this monograph, therefore, they have all been treated as one and part of the main *tola*.

The settlements in the main village lie mostly to the south of the *katcha* (unmetalled) road going to Landup, and are bounded by the graveyard further south. Ten houses have been constructed to the north of the road and these are occupied mostly by Sawasis and Lohras. The school building and the Ayurvedic Dispensary are also to the north of the road.

Proceeding northward from the main village, the land slopes downwards and about 90 yards away begin the *Don* lands in which paddy is grown. They continue for about 200 yards, after which the level of the land again rises upward. To the north-east, about half a mile away on an upland lies Hesadih *tola* whilst to the north-west, at a similar distance is Gangu *tola*. These *tolas* were founded by families having their fields nearby. They do not appear to have come into existence as a result of congestion in the main village, nor due to considerations of caste or tribe, as will be borne out by figures in the following table :—

TABLE 1

Number of households of each tribe or caste in different
tolas

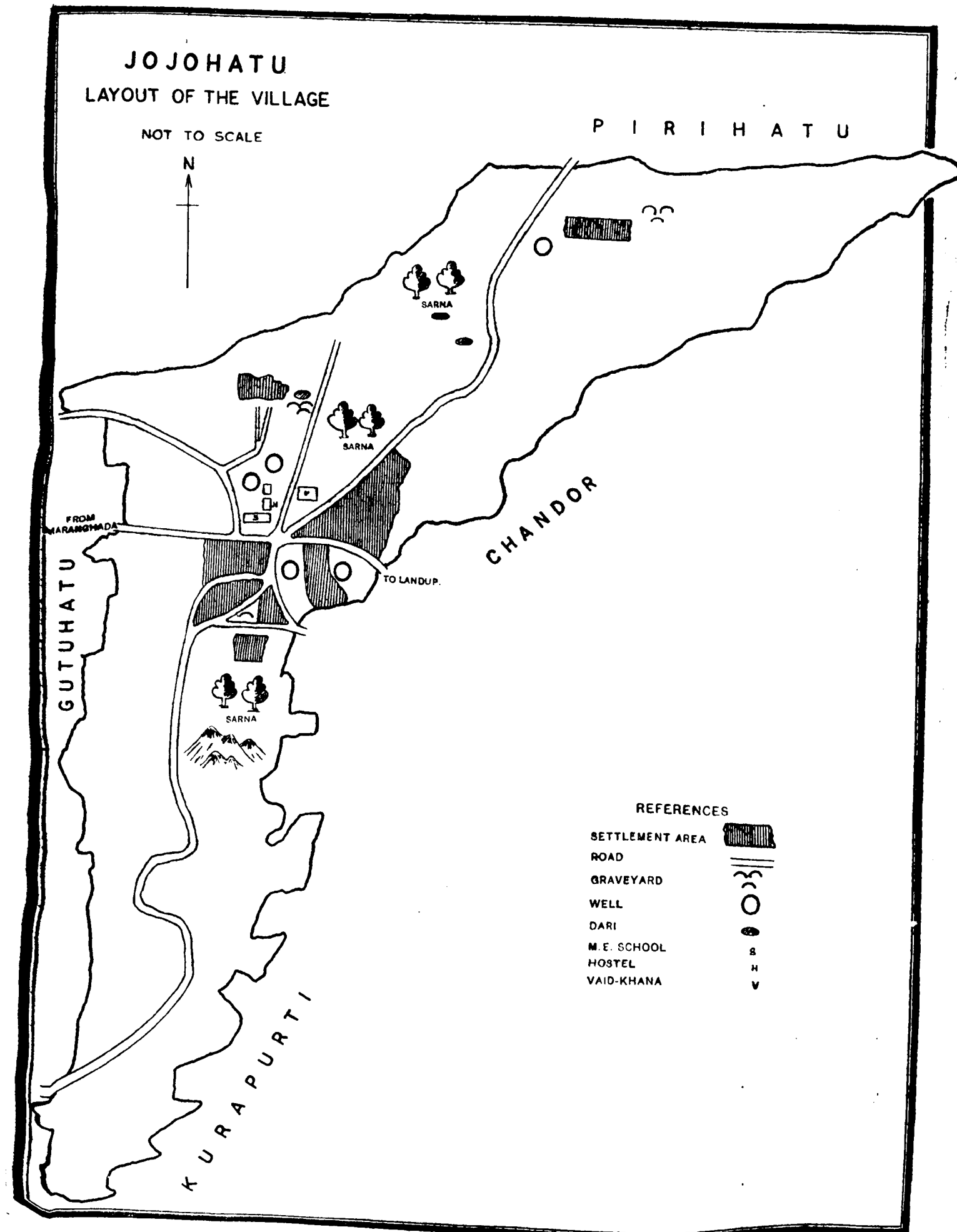
Tola	Number of house- holds	Munda	Sawasi	Lohra
Jojohatu	64	56	4	4
Hesadih	8	8	..	..
Gangudih	6	6	..	..

No particular residential pattern is discernible either in the main village or in its *toías*. Houses seem to have sprung up in some sort of mushroom growth, as and when necessary.

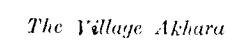
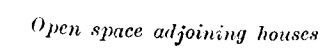
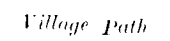
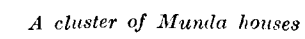
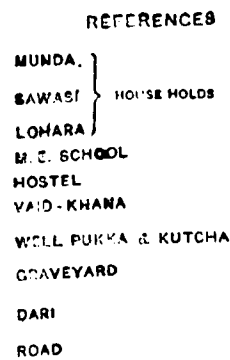
COMMUNICATION

Jojobatu is situated on the *katcha* road coming from Serom in the north-east and joining the Khunti-Tamar Road about 4 miles east of Khunti. The road has been recently improved from Maranghada (3 miles west) by the Welfare Department of the State Government and is now motorable up to Khunti. Cycles can go easily on this road.

Khunti is on a National Highway and the State Transport buses ply frequently on it to



NOT TO SCALE

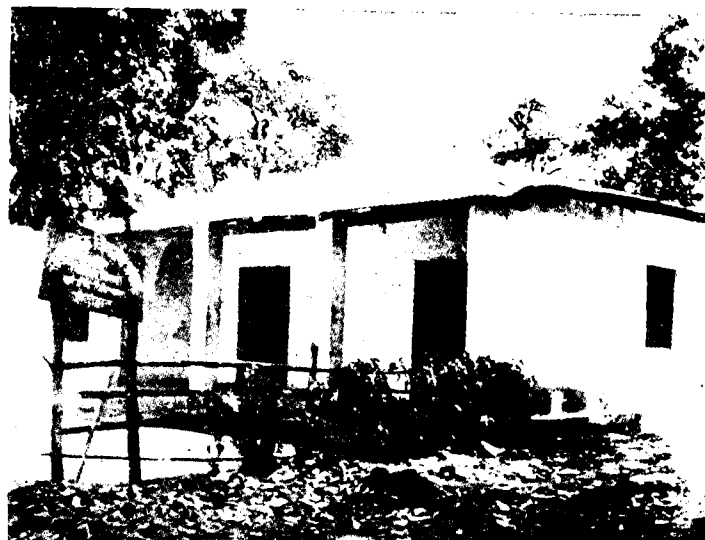




The Middle School



The School Hostel



The Ayurvedic Dispensary



The Sarhul Sarna

THE VILLAGE

Chakradharpur in the south and to Ranchi in the north, both of which are rail-heads on the South Eastern Railway. From Khunti, buses also ply to Karra and Torpa to the west, and even up to Simdega, another Subdivisional headquarters in Ranchi district.

During a visit to the village on the occasion of Manda Mela at Khunti, it was found that a group of fifteen persons, including some boys aged only 10—12 years, went to Khunti on foot early in the morning and returned by the evening.

The internal streets of the village are all *katcha* and about 10 feet wide, but often the space is reduced to 6 feet or even less due to the construction of houses on either side of the street. There is no arrangement for drainage or cleaning of the streets, but due to the sandy nature of the soil, water does not accumulate much. Cattle excreta are carefully collected and utilised for manure. The village streets do not, therefore, present a dirty appearance, particularly after the rainy season.

Jojohatu is not on any bus-route. There is weekly service from Khunti to Maranghada on Saturdays when a big market is held there. Though some people use bicycles for going to Khunti, most of them usually walk the distance through short-cuts which reduces the distance from 16 miles to 12 miles.

Bullock carts are seldom used as a mode of personal conveyance. Goods are, of course, commonly transported by this means.

The nearest post office is at Maranghada, but telegrams and money orders can be sent only from Khunti.

IMPORTANT PUBLIC PLACES

There is a Middle School in the village started in 1953 and run by the Adimjati Seva Mandal. It has an attached hostel for students. The hostel is presently located in separate mud structures, but a *pucca* building is under construction. The Ayurvedic Dispensary set up by the Welfare Department is situated near the school to its east. A qualified *Vaid* (physician) and a peon have been provided in it.

There are three *Sarnas* (sacred groves) in the village. These consist simply of reserved

areas with abundant natural growth of trees and shrubs. The *Sarhul Sarna* (*Basarea*) is situated midway between Gangudih and Hesadih, the *Chandi Sarna* is just to the north of the main settlement and the *Julu Sarna* to its south.

The *Akhara* is situated in the main village. It consists of an open space about 30 ft. square. It has raised stone slabs on one side which serve as benches. It is the place for dance-meets in which both men and women participate. It is also the venue of social gatherings in the village.

There are three *Sasans* (burial grounds) attached to each of the three *tolas*, but their use is restricted to Mundas only. Two are located very near the settlements, being not more than 24 yards away from them.

A market is held in the village on Tuesdays but being of recent origin, having been established only three or four years ago, both the attendance and the quantity of goods offered for sale are limited. Hardly a hundred people gather.

Stone slabs erected perpendicular to the ground are found at places. These are commemorative of deceased ancestors. The stone slabs near Hesadih and Gangudih *tolas* commemorate persons who met with accidental deaths. Some slabs near the school commemorate persons who died in skirmishes with British troops under Captain Lee at the time of the Kol uprising in 1832.

SOURCES OF WATER

The main sources of water are the three *Danris*, two located on the north of the village and one to the south. These are surface springs situated on *Don* lands, and are bounded by stone or wooden planks. About 2-3 feet in diameter, they are not very deep but serve as perennial source of water supply because of surface percolation. Drinking water is mostly fetched from these *Danris*, and utensils and clothes are also washed there.

Wells are not common, as there is the danger of encountering hard rocks below the surface. However, there are three *pucca* wells in the village, one in the school compound, one in the main *tola* constructed by the District

Board and another near Hesadih *tola* constructed recently by the Community Development Block. There are also 6 *katcha* wells but their water is said to be unpalatable and used, if at all, only for washing utensils and clothes. In the settlement areas water is generally met about 30 feet below the surface. During the rains, however, the level rises.

HISTORY OF THE VILLAGE

Jojobatu is a *Mundari Khuntkatti* village, and the Munda inhabitants of the village are mostly of the Hassa *killi*. But even with regard to this, there is a story current that people of Jojobatu belonged to the Hansda *killi*, and changed over to Hassa at the time of the first Revenue Settlement operations in order to distinguish themselves from the Mundas of neighbouring villages who were all of the Hansda *killi*.

The system of tribal Government among the Mundas differs according to the area in which they live, the *Khuntkatti* area or the *Bhuinhari* area. The *Bhuinhari* area is made up of groups of villages known as *Parha*, the *Bhuinhars* of each *Parha* being members of the same *killi* or sept. The *Khuntkatti* area was formerly divided into *pattis* consisting of ten or twelve villages, which were ruled over by *Mankis*, the *pattis* being known as *Manki pattis*.

The *Manki* of the *Manki patti* of which Jojobatu was a constituent village, came from Jojobatu itself. There were ten villages constituted in the *Manki-Patti*, viz., Serom, Jojobatu, Salihatu, Gutuhatu, Jamunpiri, Sayedbah, Rutadih, Lumluma, Maddhi and Guduburu.

The *Khuntkattidars* were the original village community and they still retain full proprietary rights subject to payment of *khunt* rent. Each *Khuntkattidar* paid his share (*chanda*) to the headman (*Munda*) of the village, who in his turn paid it to the *Manki*. Thus, until the abolition of intermediary interests in land by legislation in 1950, the Mundas of the respective villages mentioned above used to collect their shares of rent and deposit it with the *Manki* of Jojobatu for payment to the superior landlord, the Jharia Thakur. As a sequel to the introduction of the Land Reforms Act, 1950, the interests of the *Manki* (who used to retain a specified portion of the rent as his share) became vested in Government, and

due compensation is being paid to the *Manki* for this.

The present *Manki* had read up to the Upper Primary standard and was working as a teacher in the local school. He had succeeded to the *Mankiship* first held by his grandfather who had replaced the then *Manki*, an elder brother of his. It was said that in 1832 the then *Manki* opposed the British in the Kol Rebellion and was consequently replaced by his younger brother by Captain Lee. One of the descendants of the deposed *Manki* has, incidentally, vast experience of active social work, having been a member of Mahatma Gandhi's Ashram in the forties. He took great interest in the establishment of the school at Jojobatu and worked with the Adimjati Seva Sangh.

The traditional Panchayat consisting of members of the *Killi* used to be convoked by the *Manki* and the *Pahan*. The *Manki* generally presided over it. Thus, the *Manki* held an important position in the *Manki-Patti*, and was not a mere rent-receiver. The privileged position of the *Manki* has now completely disappeared, and the rent is collected from the Mundas by Government employees. A Statutory *Panchayat* has come into existence and even in cases when the traditional *Panchayat* works the *Manki* has no standing in it. Indeed, the *Manki* has been divested completely of all his functions. Consequently there is no longer any tie or bond among the villages of one *Manki-Patti*, and this old system has broken down completely.

The village was settled quite some time ago and as the table below shows, a great majority of the households have been living here for the last five generations or more:

TABLE 2

Settlement history of households

Caste/Tribe	Total number of households	Number of households settled			
		Before five generations	Before 4-5 generations	Before 2-4 generations	One generation ago or less
Munda	70*	36	1	15	..
Lohra	4	2	2	..	..
Sawasi	4	1	2	1	..
Total	78	39	5	16	..

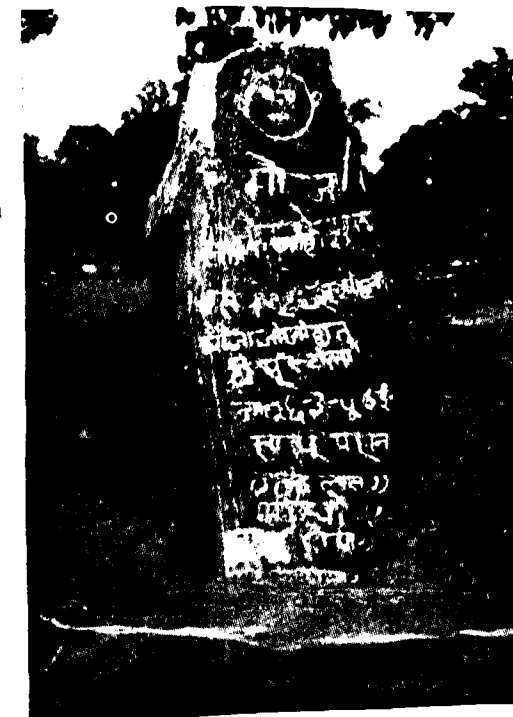
*18 households could not give any indication regarding the period of settlement by them.



A Guregan.



Memorial Stones



Memorial Stone



A Dari



A Dari



Women by the Dari



Lohra women by the Dari