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ORISSA

BAULAGADIA

A monograph

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M. AHMED

VILLAGE SURVEY SERIES No. 4

A MONOGRAPH
ON
VILLAGE BAULAGADIA
(Nilgiri Subdivision, Balasore District)



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VOLUME XII—PART VI—No. 4

ORISSA

Village Survey Series No. 4

A MONOGRAPH

ON

VILLAGE BAULAGADIA

(Nilgiri Subdivision, Balasore District)

M. AHMED, I.A.S.

Superintendent of Census Operations,
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FOREWORD

APART from laying the foundations of demography in this subcontinent, 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 underpinning 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 decentralization 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 those 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, saltmakers, 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, multiethnic in composition. By fair size was meant a population of 500—700 persons

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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 extramural 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 organization 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 conclusions', 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. Finally, a study camp was organized 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. The Social

Studies Section of the Census Commission rendered assistance to State Superintendents by way of scrutiny and technical comment on the frame of Survey and presentation of results.

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 structure. 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 in an Appendix.

NEW DELHI
The 24th May, 1962

A. MITRA
Registrar General, India.

PREFACE

The monograph on village Baulagadia in Nilgiri subdivision of Balasore district is the fourth in the series of 15 such monographs proposed to be brought out by this organization. The scope, aim and background of this novel feature introduced in 1961 Census have been given by the Registrar General in his Foreword.

The village presented in this monograph owes its importance to the stone handicrafts, which is as old as the village but has been registering, of late, signs of stagnation notwithstanding State patronage. Though the population is of multi-ethnic composition, the Khandayats predominate both numerically and in the above craft. The monograph attempts to depict the impact of the impinging forces of urbanization on the people and on their once-so-famous industry.

Observations contained in the monograph are based on detailed field study and survey by the Officers and Investigators of this organization. It is hoped that the common reader will find the book interesting and useful.

CUTTACK

M. AHMED

The 5th October, 1965

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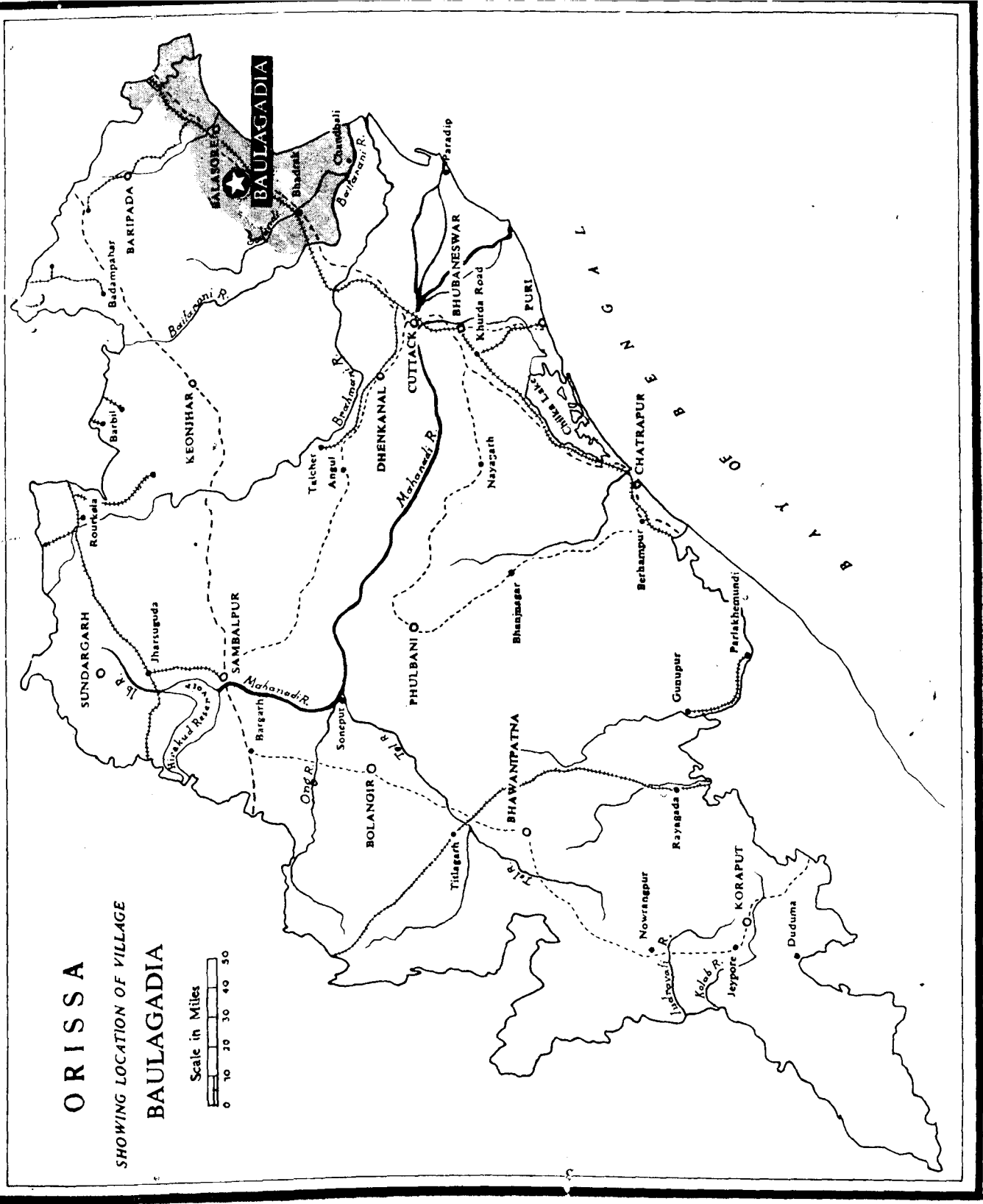
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A LANDSCAPE OF THE OUTSKIRTS OF BAULAGADIA



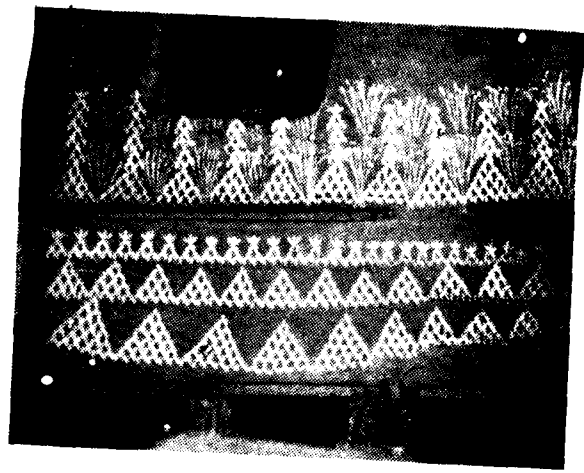
THE ROAD FROM NILGIRI



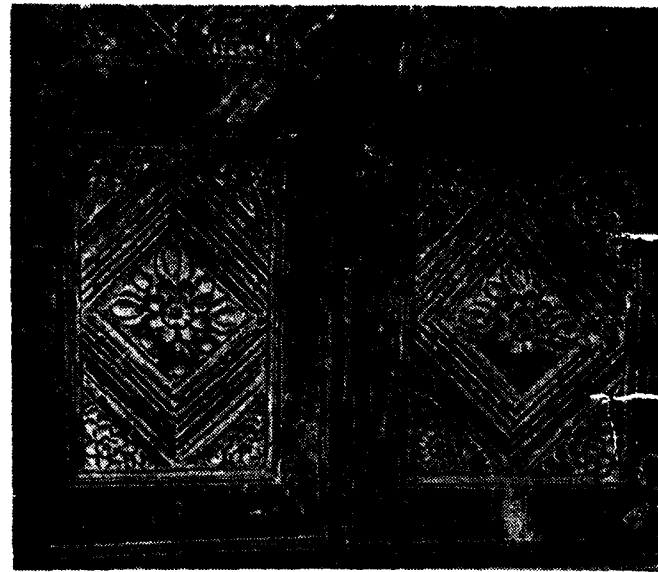
A KHANDAYAT HOUSE



A KHANDAYAT COUPLE



A GRANARY



CARVED DESIGNS ON THE DOOR PANEL



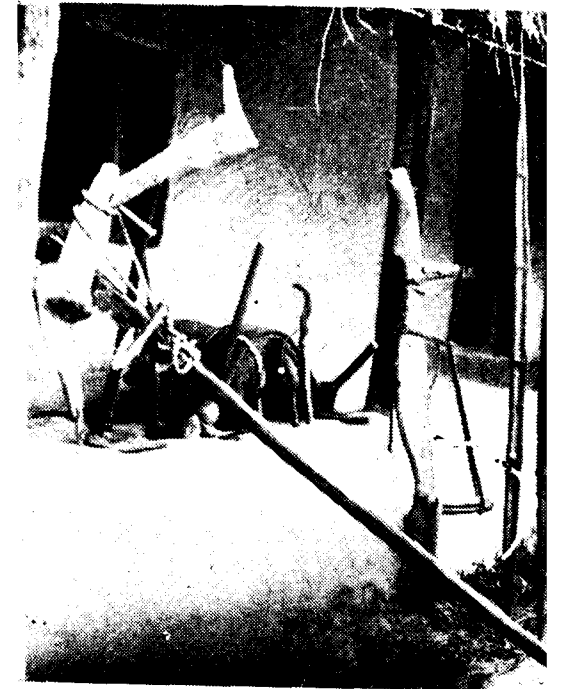
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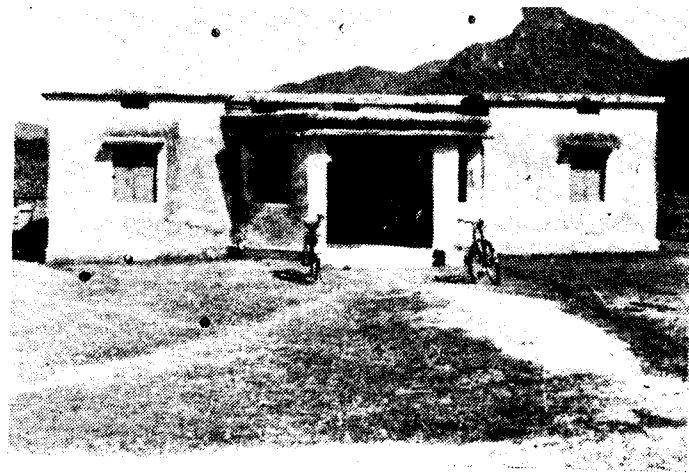
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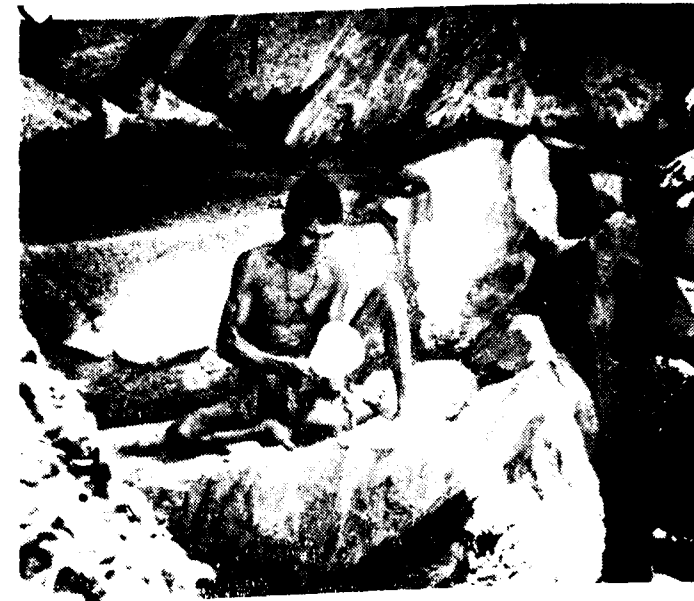
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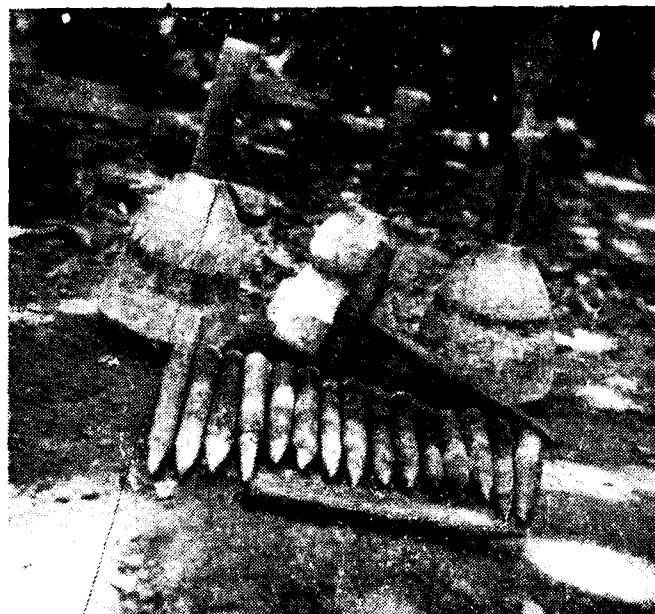
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CARRYING STONES UP THE QUARRY



BAILING OUT WATER FROM QUARRY DEPTHS



TOOLS FOR STONE CUTTING



ARTISANS BUSY AT THE QUARRY TOP



A LATHE AT WORK

1. THE VILLAGE

Introducing the village

Baulagadia, a village of moderate size, lies in Nilgiri subdivision of Balasore district. Until 1st January, 1948, it was contained in the princely state of Nilgiri which was the first in a group of 24 such states to merge with the State of Orissa. After merger, it, however, retained its entity as a separate subdivision of the district of Balasore.

2. The village is 10 miles from Nilgiri and comprises 182 households with a population of 752 out of which 384 are males and 368 females. There are, in all, 14 communities, ranging from caste Hindus to Scheduled Castes and Tribes, all living together for generations. This habitation of heterogenous castes far from being compact has as many as 5 hamlets, some named after the predominating community. Of course, the distance between these hamlets is not much, the same having been narrowed down with years of slow and ill-planned expansion.

The hamlets are named Brahman Sahi, Patara Sahi, Upara Sahi, Majhi Sahi and Tala Sahi.

3. Agriculture is the mainstay of the villagers. Stone carving—a household industry, takes the second place. The village owes its good name to the products of this industry which find ready market not only within the State, but earn appreciation even in the markets of Calcutta. Lately, the industry seems to be facing a slump and in spite of the organization of a co-operative society, the annual volume of trade has fallen into a state of stagnation. Whatever be the reasons, it is clear that the dependence on this trade is decidedly on the wane and that the corresponding reliance on agriculture is on the increase. This trend is disquieting for the village economy.

Location and communications

4. Located at $86^{\circ} 42' 0''\text{E}$ and $21^{\circ} 21' 10''\text{N}$, the village lies on the plains though close beyond its western boundary there runs

a long range of hills extending over several miles. It is bounded on the north by the village Mukundapur, on the south by Mahisauri, on the east by Iswarpur and on the west by the Hill Block. All these lie within the jurisdiction of Iswarpur outpost of Nilgiri, police station.

5. At Nilgiri, the headquarters of the subdivision which is only 10 miles far from the village, are a high school, hospital, market, Post and Telegraph office and offices of the Excise, Forest and Police departments. The institutions located at Balasore—the district headquarters, some 20 miles from the village, are: a degree college, high schools for boys and girls, Post and Telegraph office, Telephone Exchange, Technical Schools, a district headquarters hospital and markets for a variety of commodities. Other places of importance in the neighbourhood of Baulagadia are Iswarpur, Santragadia and Bahangabazar, Iswarpur is the headquarters of the Grama Panchayat bearing the same name. Baulagadia, which is included in this Panchayat is only a mile off from its headquarters. Santragadia is about 2 miles away on the Baulagadia-Nilgiri road. It has a high school, a maternity centre and an important weekly market. Bahangabazar is a railway station on the Howrah-Madras route of the South Eastern Railway. It is the nearest rail-head for Baulagadia being only 4 miles away and is connected through a 3-mile long earthen road from Bidu on the National Highway to Baulagadia.

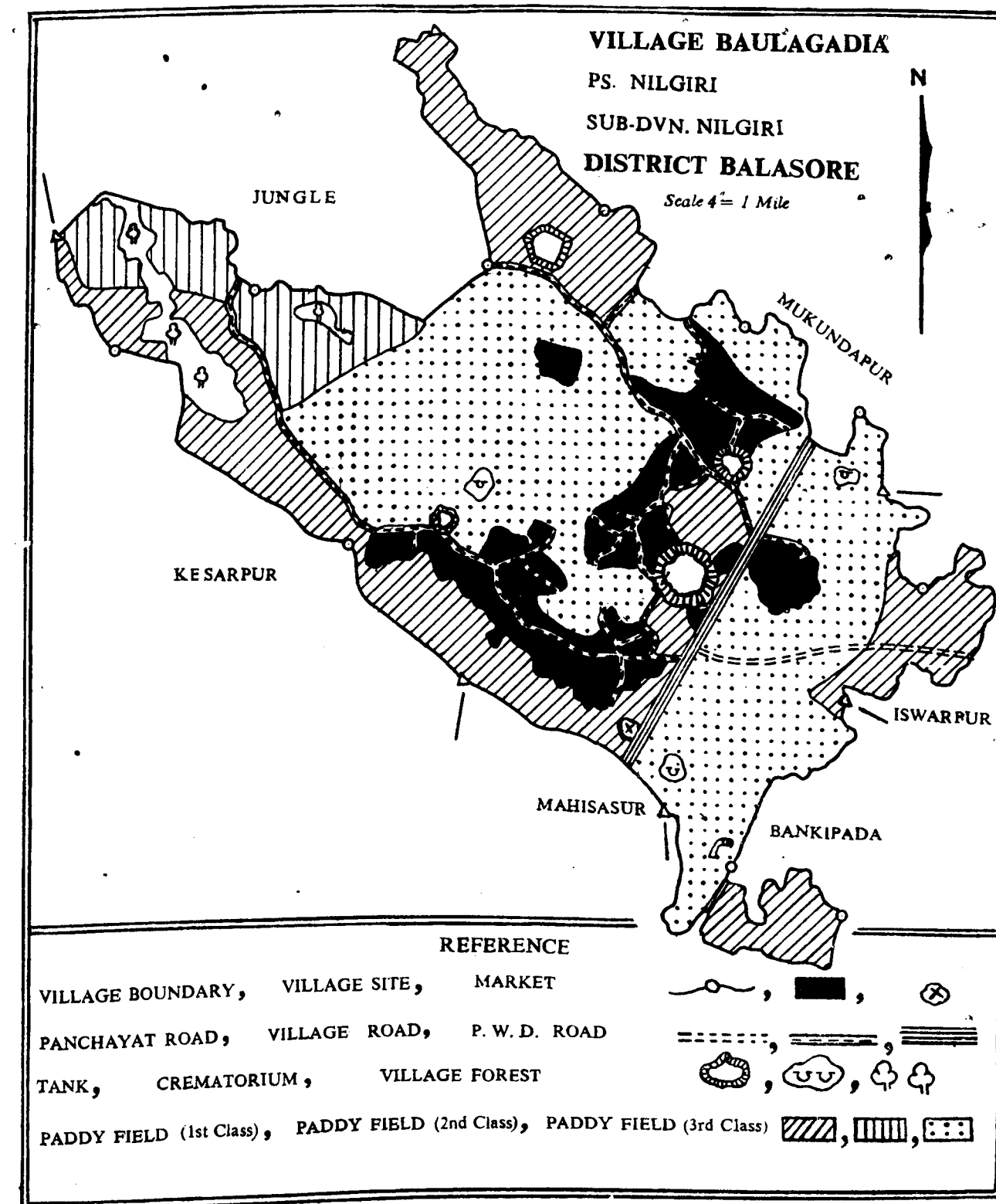
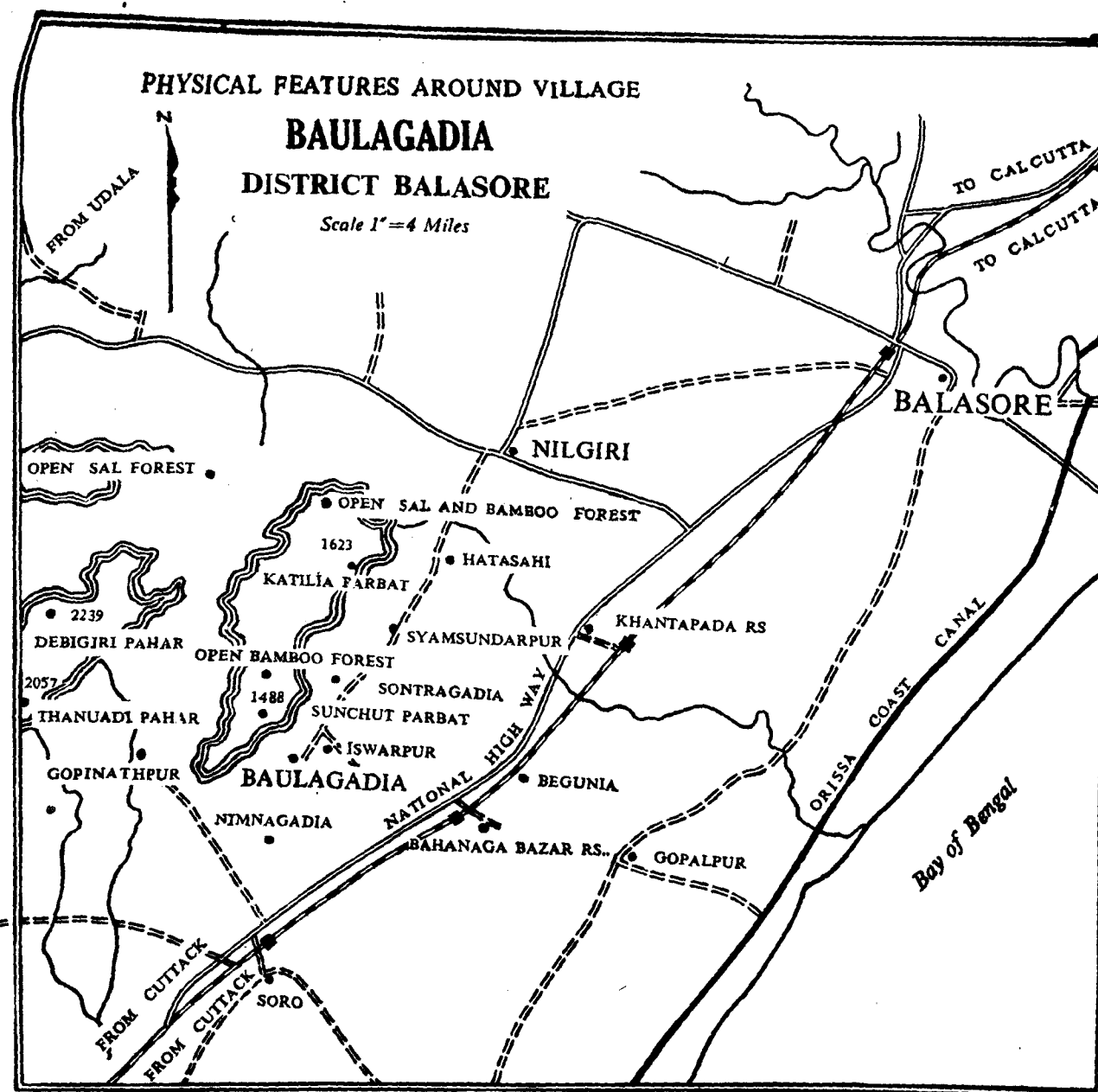
6. An earthen road connects the village with Nilgiri. At present, it is negotiable during fair weather, though with the construction of one or two more culverts, it would be suitable for traffic all the year round. The road has been proposed for transfer to the Public Works Department. It is hoped that after this transfer, the condition of the road will improve considerably.

Nilgiri is, however, connected with Balasore by an all-weather pucca road. The first stage of 7 miles from Nilgiri to Shergarh is a black-

topped 'Major District Road' and the remaining 8 miles up to Balasore is part of the National Highway No. 5. There is regular bus service from Balasore to Nilgiri alighting where one can cover the distance to Baulagadia by cycle. But the easier approach to Baulagadia is by train. Bahanagabazar is the halting station for all passenger trains, and from here one can cover the distance to Baulagadia either on foot or by a cycle rickshaw.

Physical features

7. The road from Nilgiri to Baulagadia runs parallel to the range of forest-clad mountains which rising within a mile to its west extends far beyond. Some peaks of this range attain a height of 1,500 ft or more. The eastern side of the road on the other hand, presents a sharp contrast with far-stretched paddy fields, its continuity having been broken here and there by scattered hamlets and clusters of trees.



8. There is no river or stream in the village nor in the neighbourhood. The soil is loamy and is extremely suitable for paddy cultivation. The sand content diminishes as one approaches the hills. All the lands are rain-fed. The rain water trickles down the long range of hills on the western border and enriches the lands below with humus.

Climate

9. The climate of Baulagadia, on the whole, may be considered as healthy. Though not far from the sea shore, its climate is characterised by extremes of temperature and low humidity in contrast with that of Balasore, the district headquarters. This might be due to its close proximity to the rocky hill ranges.

The winter from December to February is followed by the hot season from March to May. The south-west monsoon season continues from June to September.

The villagers consider the rainfall as normally adequate but for occasional years of drought when they are threatened with a partial failure of crop in absence of any assured irrigation facility. One such year during the last decade was 1957.

There is no rain-recording station in the village. The nearest is at Soro, some 6 miles from this village. The rainfall data available for this place, though incomplete, is given below :

Year	Rainfall	Rainy days per annum
1951	47.16 inches	65
1952	62.01 "	84
1953	63.03 "	73
1954	51.78 "	67
1955	70.35 "	71
1956	93.56 "	73
1957	29.84 "	58
1958	989.10 mm	49
1959	1566.42 "	67

The average rainfall and number of rainy days for the district of Balasore are 1583.3 mm and 77 days respectively. It is a fact that the Nilgiri-Soro region of which this village forms a part records the highest rainfall in the district every year.

The district of Balasore including this village lies on the tract of most of the cyclonic

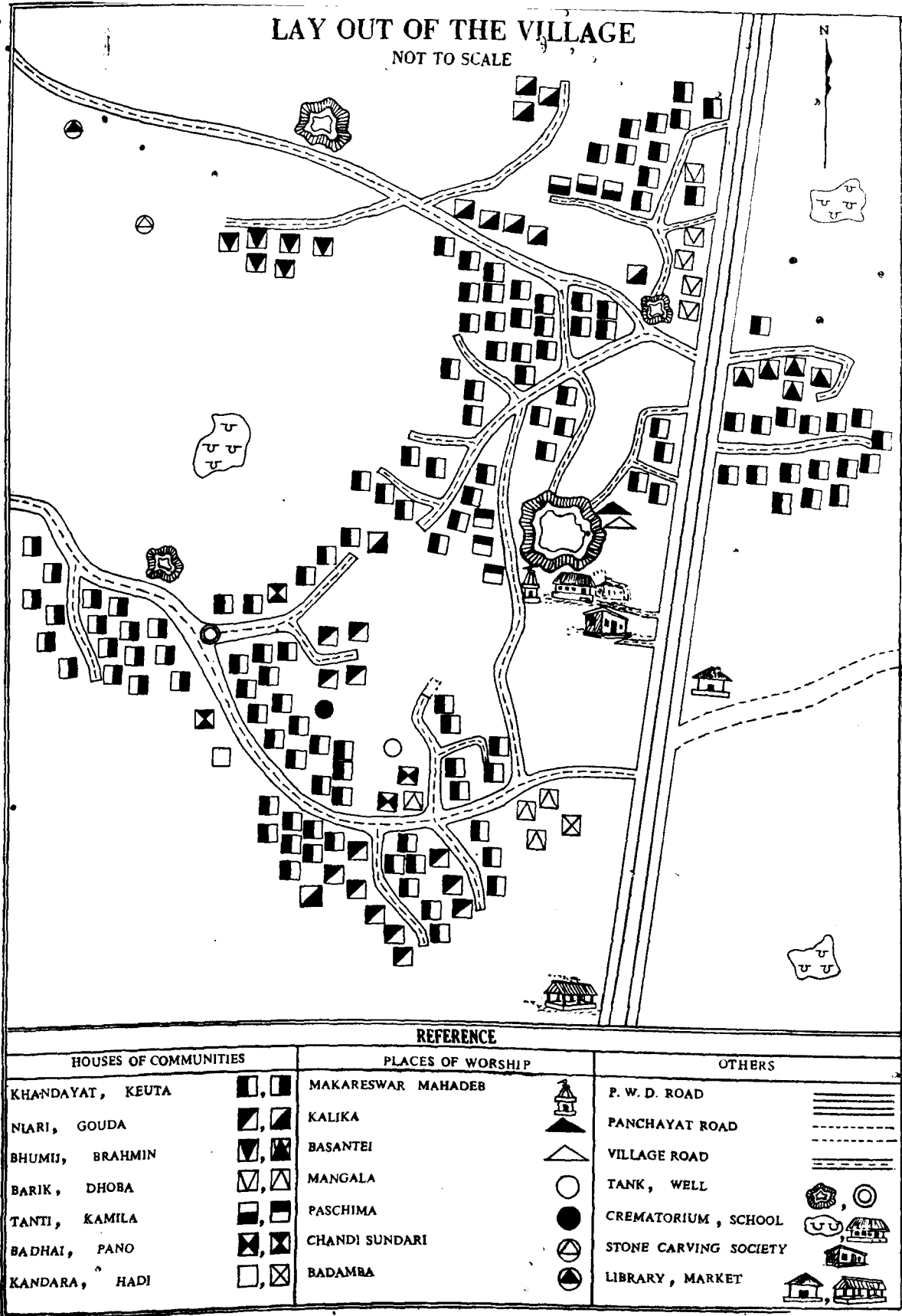
storms and depressions which form in the Bay of Bengal in the monsoon season and cross Orissa coast. Widespread heavy rains, strong winds and thunder storms are experienced, according to the villagers, rather frequently in the months of Jyestha, Aswina and Kartik.

It is learnt from local sources that the drop in temperature during winter days particularly in Pousa and Magha is perceptibly severe.

The village has experienced earth tremors of mild intensity a number of times, though there has never been any loss of life or damage to property. A man of forty recounted vividly at least six such occurrences.

Water sources

10. With 4 large tanks, 97 private ponds, one pucca well and a tube-well the position with regard to supply of water in this small village can be stated as satisfactory. The tanks constitute the main and the only source for supply of drinking water. The tank named Godipokhari is situated to the north of Patara Sahi and caters to the drinking water needs of this hamlet. Jati Pokhari tank lying close to the hamlets of Upara Sahi and Majhi Sahi supply water to their residents. Similarly Ramapanda tank which lies to the south of Majhi Sahi serves the residents of Majhi Sahi and Tala Sahi and Raghupadhan tank on the north west of Tala Sahi is used by villagers close to the tank. Ramapanda tank is by far the largest in the village with an area of about 5 acres. Being centrally located it is the main drinking water source. It was excavated about a century ago by one rich and benevolent Brahmin named Rama Panda of Gohirapada. The tank had silted up when in 1953, its renovation was undertaken by the State Government at a cost of Rs. 5,000/-. The same year, Godipokhari was also renovated at a cost of Rs. 4,000/-. No improvement has been done to the remaining two tanks. Although the tanks provide the only drinking water source, their unrestricted use for the purpose of bathing and washing of clothes, utensils and domestic animals make the water polluted. The ponds are located mostly within the compounds of individual households and as such are inaccessible to outsiders. The owner-households use the pond water for drinking during the rains and



winter, as during the summer, they usually dry up.

11. The first pucca well was constructed in 1959 in Tala Sahi hamlet of the village at a cost of Rs. 1,000/-. The villagers had then paid Rs. 300/- in shape of labour. In 1961, a tube-well was fitted to the well excavated in the local U.P. School premises at a cost of Rs. 900/-. The well originally meant for the school orchard has fallen into disuse and serves neither men nor plants. Like all old habits dying hard, the villagers stick on still to the old tanks for drinking water. The wells stand uncared for with water polluted through disuse.

Flora and Fauna

12. There is no jungle worth the name within the village boundary but as indicated earlier, there is a long and continuous range of hills bordering on the west of the village boundary and stretching far beyond. Some of these hills are still clad with dry woods though in most of them, the vegetation has grown thin through years of indiscriminate felling and unscientific exploitation.

Among the trees common in the house sites and within the village premises, mention may be made of mango, tamarind, banyan, peepal, neem, palmyra palm, date palm, bamboo, bel (Aegle marmelose), kadamba (Anthocephalus kadamba), arjuna (Terminalia arjuna), krushnachura (Poinciana regia), etc.

The common fruit-bearing trees planted by the villagers within their homestead lands are guava, jack-fruit, papaya, cocoanut, plantain, blackberry, etc.

13. To-day, the forest wealth stands greatly depleted—the thick woods of the past having thinned down to scrubby jungles at places. Yet the trees still common are: karanja (Pongamia glabra), kendu (Diospyrus melanoxylon), kusum (Slicera trijuga), sal (Shorea robusta), piasal (Pterocarpus marsupium), mahula (Bassia latifolia), bahada (Terminalia balirica), harida (Terminalia chebula), dharua (Angoëssus latifolia), etc. Besides, many plants of medicinal importance are also available in these forests.

14. Because of proximity to the range of mountains, many wild animals visit the outskirts of the village after sun set. Elephants, bears, deer and porcupines also descend down from the hills and cause devastation to the standing crop. The villagers, during discussion, narrated encounters with bears on the road and with elephants near the tanks where they come regularly every night to drink water. Cattle lifting even during day time by leopards, wolves, etc., has assumed such menacing proportion that the villagers have lost the zeal to improve the cattle wealth. Avi-fauna are also noticed in abundance.

15. Among the domestic animals, mention may be made of cows, bullocks, buffaloes and goats. Apart from ploughing the fields, the bullocks carry closely packed and well balanced bags of food grains on both sides of their back. Dogs of the local breed—many of them pariahs frequent the footpaths.

16. Fowls are the only domestic birds. Ducks and pigeons are rare. Except the Brahmins all other communities have taken to poultry keeping.

History

17. There is little data to throw light on the antiquity of the village. According to a local tradition, two brothers named Sathilo and Athilo Ransings, Chiefs of Nilgiri State founded the village some two hundred years ago. Though there is no historic evidence to bear it out, the very settled characters of the village go to prove that the village exists since the days of yore.

18. It is believed that this part of the country was inhabited only by tribals till the British conquered Orissa. Khandayats, drawn from neighbouring areas came to settle down here as the favoured child of the British. They drove the tribals away into the dry woods of Mayurbhanj State and invited instead caste Hindus of various occupations to serve them. One such early Brahmin migrant was Ram Panda—a rich and benevolent man whose tank served the village for more than a century.

19. Table No. I in the Appendix gives the settlement history of the households. Only

8 households seem to have settled during the present generation. Their community-wise distribution is as follows: Khandayat 2, Bhumij 3, Brahmin, Badhei and Pano, one each. Twelve households claim to be settled for 2 to 3 generations and 19 households for 4 to 5 generations. The remaining households belonging to all communities except Hadi appear to be settlers for more than 5 generations.

20. It is believed that the village owes the origin of its name to a tank bearing the same name. The tank was fed by a perennial spring and was quadrangular with low embankments on all sides. On this grew a number of Bakul trees which bear small pendulous and sweet smelling blossoms. Bakul is colloquially called Baula and Gadia means

a pond. The tank obviously derived its name from these trees, and the village from this tank. It was later improved by one Rama Panda—a local Brahmin, who in his zeal to extend the surface area cut and removed most of the Bakul trees.

There is yet another legend about the nomenclature of this village. It is said that Lord Krishna used to tend his cows on the neighbouring hillocks. In the herd, one named 'Baula' was his hot favourite, who chose to graze on a particular hillock, about two miles to the west of the village. Baula, it is claimed, has left her foot prints on this hillock which is named after her as 'Baula Pahar' (Pahar means a hillock). The village which grew up in course of time near this hillock came to be known as 'Baulagadia'.



2. THE PEOPLE

Population

The population of the village as recorded during survey is 752. This is slightly higher than the 1961 Census figure of 715 comprising 364 males and 351 females. The difference in the population figure is mainly due to the fact that some persons who were left out during the Census for being away from their houses were recorded during the survey.

Table 1
AREA AND DENSITY

Area	Population	Density per sq. mile	No. of houses	No. of households
1	2	3	4	5
582.19 acres or 0.91 sq. mile	752	826.37	182	182

2. According to 1951 Census, the village had 150 households and a population of 585 out of which 290 were males and 295 females. An increase of nearly 28.5 per cent has thus been recorded during the decade. The increase in the male population is comparatively higher as there has been a rise of 32.4 per cent in the male population against 24.7 per cent for the females. On account of this

higher rate of growth of the males, they are now superior in number to the females thereby reversing the 1951 Census returns. The density of the village is very much on the high side when compared to the density of the district and the State which are 566 and 292 respectively.

3. Table 2 shows sexwise break-up of the population and their distribution according to age groups. There are 332 persons in the age group of 25—59 and 241 in the group of 0—14. This constitutes 44.1 per cent and 32.0 per cent of the total population thus making the distribution rather disproportionate. The percentage for the 0—14 age group in the State and the district are 39 per cent and 38.7 per cent respectively and that for the age group 25—59 are 38.7 per cent and 37.5 per cent respectively. Comparatively a high percentage in the first age group is an indicator to the rapid rise in population and similar high figures in the age group of 25—59 is equally indicative of the same trend. The low percentage of the population belonging to the older age group reflects the need for better health and sanitary conditions.

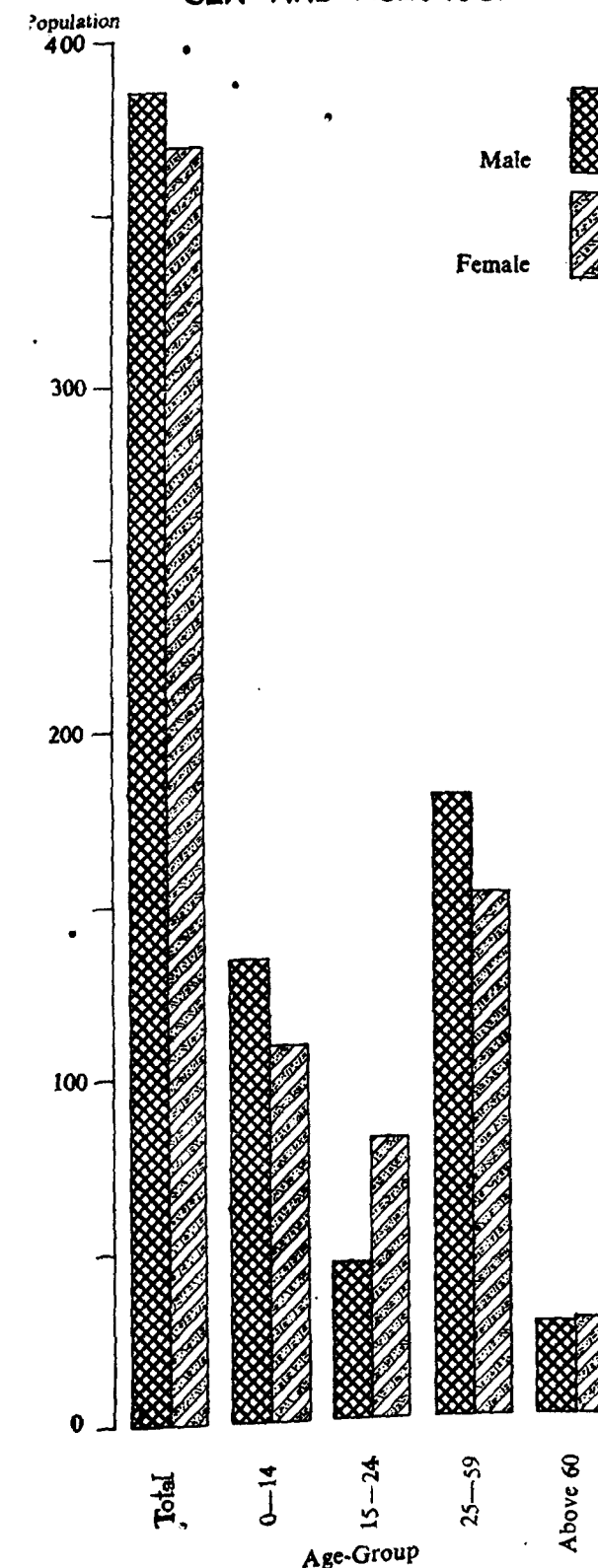
Religion, Caste and Communities

4. The village is inhabited by Hindus of 14 different communities of whom the Khandayats are, by far, the most numerous.

Table 2
POPULATION BY SEX AND AGE GROUPS

Persons	Males	Females	0—14		15—24		25—59		60 & over	
			M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
752	384	368	133	108	45	81	180	152	26	27

POPULATION STRUCTURE BY SEX AND AGE GROUP



Community-wise distribution of population by sex in the village is given below:

Table 3
CASTES AND COMMUNITIES

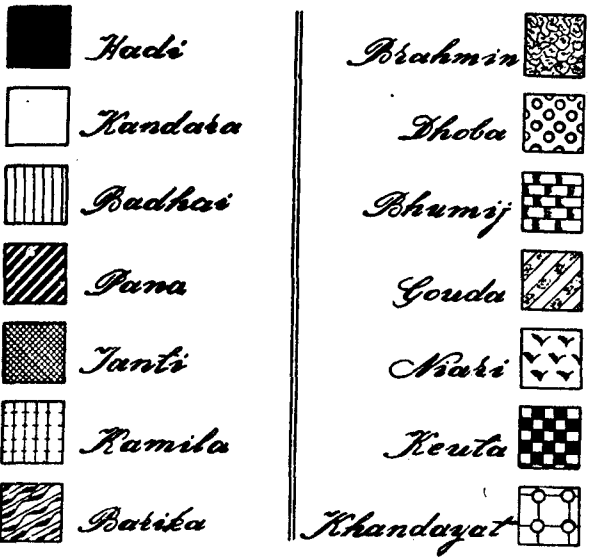
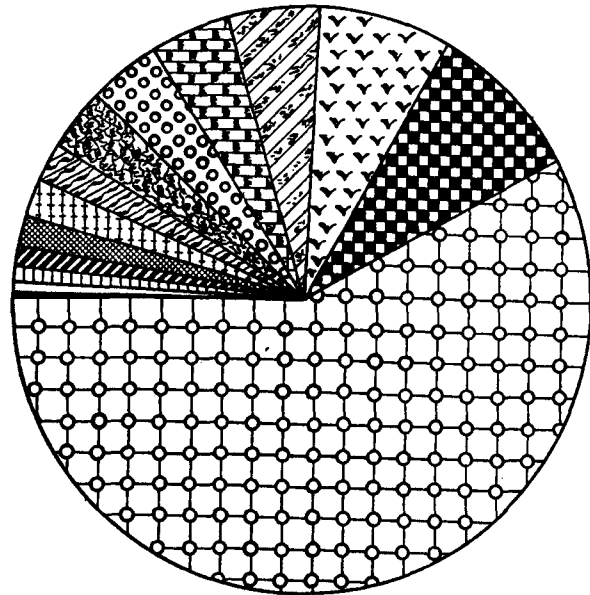
Sl. No.	Caste/ Communi- ty	No. of house- holds	Population		Remarks	
			Per- sons	Males Fe- males		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1.	Khandayat	110	437	224	213	
2.	Keuta	17	66	30	36	
3.	Niari	13	57	31	26	
4.	Gouda	10	37	18	19	
5.	Bhumij	6	34	19	15	Scheduled Tribe
6.	Brahmin	5	24	10	14	
7.	Barika	5	17	8	9	
8.	Dhoba	4	30	17	13	Scheduled Caste
9.	Tanti	3	12	7	5	
10.	Kamila	3	16	8	8	
11.	Badhei	2	7	5	2	
12.	Pano	2	8	3	5	Scheduled Caste
13.	Kandara	1	4	3	1	Scheduled Caste
14.	Hadi	1	3	1	2	Scheduled Caste
Total		182	752	384	368	

5. The Khandayats numbering 437 form 58 per cent of the population. They belong to one community but are subdivided into 'Gotras' and marriage relations within varying 'Gotras' is permissible. The Khandayats of Baulagadia are of average stature, the height of the male varying between 5'-2" and 5'-6" and that of the female between 5'-0" and 5'-6". Colour of their skin varies between dark and brown barring a very few who are fair complexioned. They are neither strong nor robust.

In caste hierarchy they stand second to the Brahmins of the village. Next to Khandayats come the Keutas in numerical strength. They form 9 per cent of the total population and are not further sub-divided. They are dark complexioned but are stronger than the Khandayats. Next come the Niari or Radhis who form nearly 8 per cent of the population

of the village. They have no subdivisions among them. The Goudas who constitute 5 per cent of the population of the village are apparently stronger than many other communities. In hierarchy, they occupy a top place next to Brahmins and Khandayats. The Bhumijis, who are members of a Scheduled Tribe, come next to the Goudas in numerical strength constituting a little less than 5 per cent of the total population. They are dark but strong and hardy. In the descending order of the numerical strength, then come the Dhobas and Brahmins who form 4 and 3

ETHNIC COMPOSITION



per cent respectively of the population. The latter being the highest caste Hindus monopolise the practice and preaching of religious rites and customs. The remaining castes to follow numerically in a descending order are Bariks and Kamilas (2% each), Tantis (2%), Panos (1%), Badheis, (1%), Kandaras (0.5%) and Hadis (0.5%).

Houses

6. Out of 5 hamlets in the village, the smallest named Patarasahi is occupied by the six Bhumij households. Their residential houses are located a little away to the south of the village road. The tank, Godipokhari lies on the opposite side of the road. To the north-west of this hamlet, lie the goddesses Chandi Sundari and Badamba who are worshipped by the villagers. The second hamlet named Uparasahi contains 11 households of Khandayats, 8 households of Goudas, 5 households of Bariks and 3 households of Tantis. It is close to the main road. The houses are built unsystematically, each of the communities residing in compact areas. This hamlet has a public tank which is named as Jatipokhari. The next hamlet is Brahmansahi and as its name suggests, it was probably once predominated by Brahmins though now the Khandayats preponderate in number with 21 households, while the Brahmins comprise 5 households only. Here also the Brahmins and the Khandayats live in isolated groups. The fourth hamlet, because of its central location is called Majhisahi. It has 38 households out of which 35 belong to Khandayats and the rest to Kamilas. The houses lack an orderly look without any lane. The tank named Rampanda Pokhari lies to the west of this hamlet and close to this tank lie a school, a library, the temple of Makareswar Mahadev and the deities of Kalika and Basantei. The office building of the stone carving society is located in this hamlet though at a distance, being away from the hamlet by the road. All the residential houses are away at a distance from the P.W.D. road and are connected with it by feeder village roads. The last but the largest hamlet in the village is Talasahi which occupies the southern part of the village and comprises 9 communities. The Khandayats predominate with 43 households. The Keutas have 17 households, Niaris 13, Dhobas 4, Gouda and

Badhei have 3 each and Kandara and Hadi communities have each one household. An approach road branches off from the P.W.D. road, a few yards from the society building to connect this hamlet. The dwelling houses, on either side of the village road, lie scattered and lack planning. There are two places of worship, one has goddess Mangala and the other has goddess Paschima. The sheds for the weekly market lie to the south-west of the hamlet. There are three crematoria in all, one lies to the north-east of Uparsahi and

Brahmansahi, the other to the south-east of Talasahi and the third one is to the west of Majhisahi.

7. There are no streets and even the lanes cutting through the irregularly scattered houses are few. Most of the houses have spacious compounds each containing a pond, some fruit trees and clumps of bamboos. Beyond the green fence of some compounds lie the limitless stretch of paddy fields. The ridges of these fields provide ideal foot path for entrance into these hamlets.

Table 4
SIZE AND COMPOSITION OF HOUSEHOLDS

No. of households	Single member			2—3 members			4—6 members			7—9 members			10 members and above		
	No. of H.H.	Males	Fe-males	No. of H.H.	Males	Fe-males	No. of H.H.	Males	Fe-males	No. of H.H.	Males	Fe-males	No. of H.H.	Males	Fe-males
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
182	16	7	9	63	79	79	78	199	173	22	85	87	3	14	20

8. The above table indicates the size and composition of the households. At the outset, it may be noted that there are 50 'simple' families each comprising the married couple and their unmarried children, 1 'intermediate' family comprising husband and wife with their unmarried brothers and sisters and one of the 'parents'. There is no 'joint' family comprising husband and wife with married sons and daughters or married brothers and sisters. Rest of the households numbering 131 do not fall under any of the aforesaid categories. They embrace all the three and are termed as 'other type'.

9. As regards the size and composition, 16 of the households consist of single members,

7 are males and 9 females. Out of 63 households with 2—3 members, 21 are with simple families and 42 with 'other type' families. The largest group is composed of 4—6 members. Of this, 27 households are with simple families, 1 with an intermediate family and 50 with families of 'other type'. Among the households comprising 7—9 members, 2 are with simple families and 20 with other type. There are only 3 households consisting of 10 or more members and all of them are with families of the other type.

10. The following table indicates the number of rooms and number of persons in each household.

Table 5
NUMBER OF ROOMS AND NUMBER OF MEMBERS LIVING IN THE HOUSEHOLDS

Classification of households according to no. of rooms	One roomed	Two roomed	Three roomed	Four roomed	Above four roomed
1	2	3	4	5	6
No. of households	72	72	29	8	1 (5-roomed)
No. of persons	185	336	162	63	6

11. It may be seen that the majority of households own one-roomed and two-roomed houses. In each of these categories there are 72 houses. Each one-roomed house is occupied by nearly 2.6 persons. This type of house appears most congested as each room in the 2-roomed type is shared by nearly 2.3 persons and in the 3-roomed type by only 2 persons. The pressure on the household types having four rooms or above is reduced to nearly 1.8 and 1.2 persons respectively per room.

12. With the exception of one-roomed houses, all the other types are known as 'Khanja-bandi' with an inner courtyard. This affords privacy to the inmates.

13. All the houses have mud walls and roofs of straw. Posts are generally of sal wood and only the poor ones use seasoned bamboo poles, cut to size. Small windows are seen fitted to the living rooms in some households. Each room is furnished with a door and shutters made of wood. Every house has a front verandah made of mud and is sufficiently broad. The side verandahs are narrow. Stone carving is done in some houses on the front verandah. In 'Khanja-bandi' types of houses, wide verandahs are provided in the inner-yards.

14. As many as 109 houses are provided with ceilings in the living rooms. This is done with bamboo poles placed closely over the wooden beams and then fastened. The upper part of the ceiling is smoothened with a thick coating of mud. An opening is left in the ceiling to admit entrance for storage of household articles not in daily use, such as, earthen pots, pitchers, broom-sticks, etc. This type of house is called 'Matu Ghar'. Beams are rarely used in the ordinary houses. The roofs in that case rest entirely on long bamboo rafters. In all types of houses, the roofs provided on four sides are made unusually steep as a protection against the strong wind.

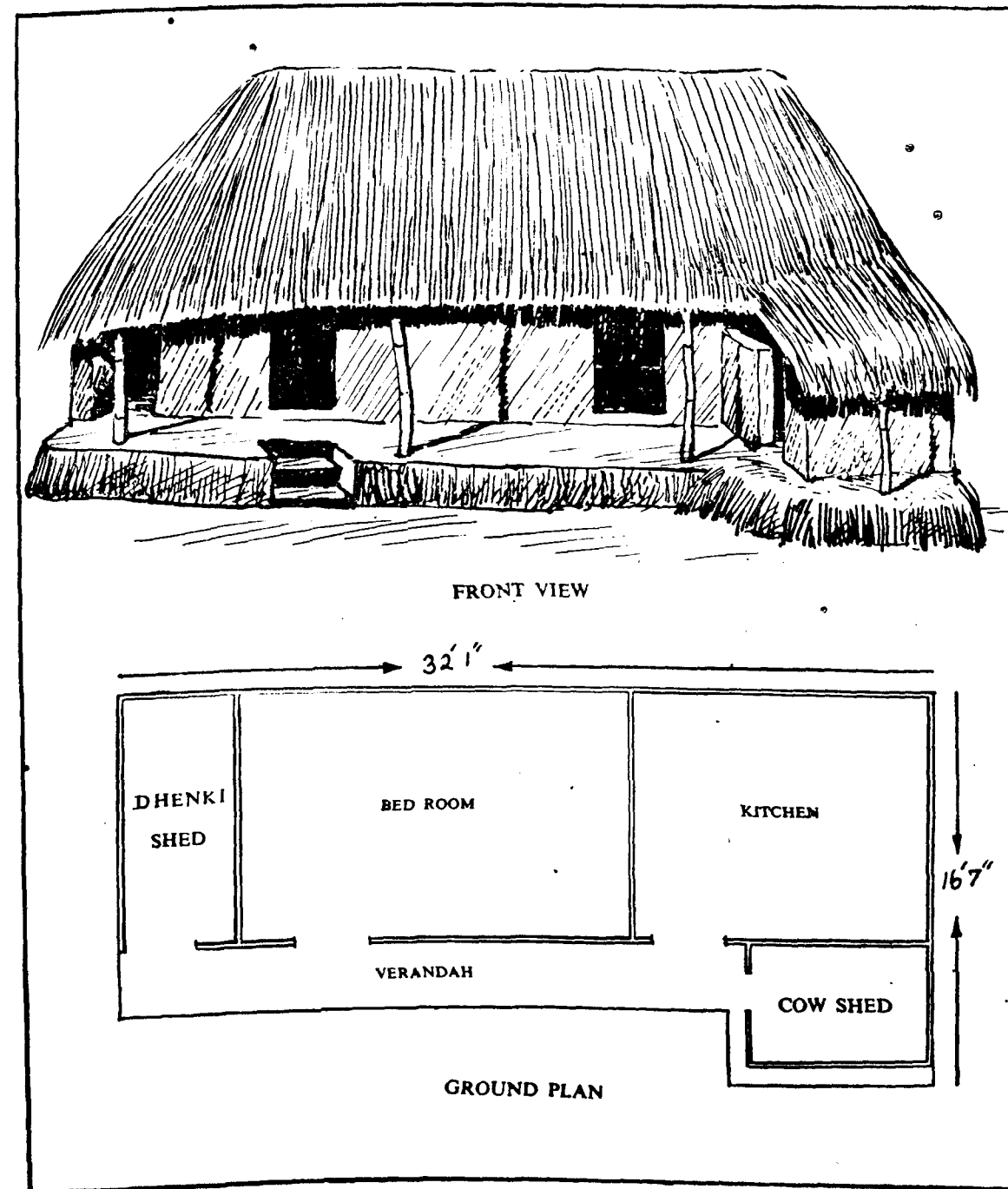
15. The houses usually stand on raised plinth—the height ranging from 1½ feet to three feet. This prevents the floor of the

household so close to the paddy fields from dampening.

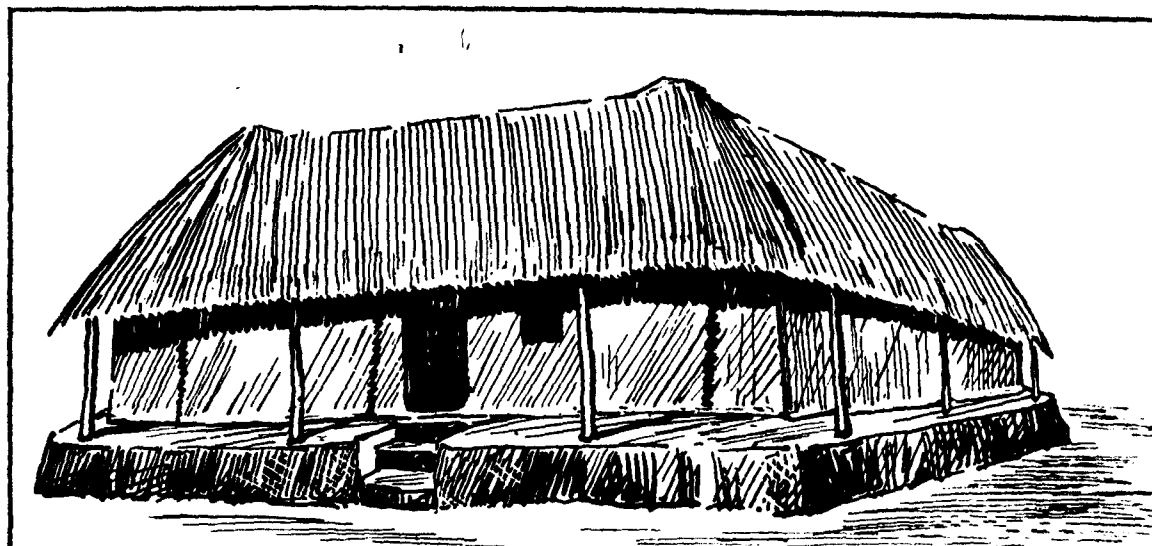
16. The condition of the dwelling houses and size of the rooms vary according to the economic status of the inmates. The higher caste Hindus, namely, Khandayats, Brahmins and Keutas invariably have better and spacious houses that receive regular maintenance. An average room measures 10'-6" × 16'-6" and a big room sometimes measures 12' × 25'. The height of the walls vary between 8 and 10 feet. The well-to-do ones have separate rooms for cooking and storing their grains besides cattle-sheds and sheds for the "Dhinki" or the wooden huller. Even in one-roomed houses cooking is not done in the living room. A separate small room adjacent to the living room is used as kitchen.

17. Village astrologers are consulted before construction of a house by almost all castes of people. The astrologers generally offer their considered opinion on the auspicious day to start with the construction and on the suitability of the site. They also give necessary directions about the location of entrance and exit doors and the length and breadth of the house.

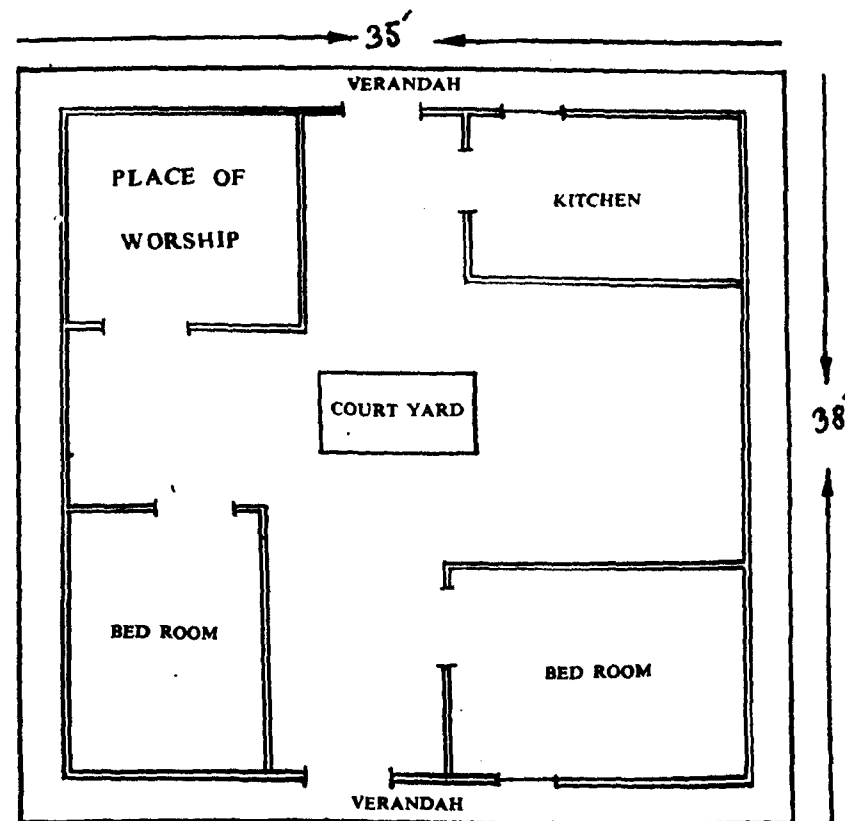
18. Before laying the foundation of a house the village deity is propitiated through offerings of sweets, milk, plantains and flowers. The Scheduled Tribes and some Scheduled Castes also sacrifice cocks and uncastrated goats on such occasions. After the construction of a new house and before the first entry into it, libation of a little 'ghee' (clarified butter) is made with the help of a priest of the Brahmin or Baisnab caste and offerings of sweets, flowers, milk, etc., are made in honour of the "Dasa Digapal" specially by higher caste Hindus who can afford to incur the expenditure. The poor section of the villagers do not engage Brahmin or Baishnab priests and usually manage without libation. However, a small feast is arranged in the new house to celebrate the occasion. Rice, dal and vegetables are cooked in new pots and distributed among the invitees comprising the caste-men, friends and relations.



FRONT VIEW AND GROUND PLAN OF ONE BED ROOM HOUSE



FRONT VIEW



GROUND PLAN

FRONT VIEW AND GROUND PLAN OF A KHANJA-BANDI HOUSE

Dress

19. The male adults of the Khandayat community wear short dhotis or napkins at home. When they go out they use clean dhotis—some eight or nine cubits long and two cubits broad with some jerseys or shirts. The women at home wear coloured or white saris of cotton both hand-woven and mill-made, the length of which vary between eight to ten cubits and the width between two cubits and a half. They do not use any under garments. The widows do not use bordered saris. Children up to the age of three or four years ordinarily go naked. Those of higher age groups put on knickers, jackets, frocks, etc., purchased readymade from the village markets. Girls are provided with saris smaller in size than those meant for adults.

20. On festive and ceremonial occasions, men use finer dhotis with jerseys and shirts, etc. and the women use clean, white or bright coloured saris with brilliant borders. The young women use blouses and petticoats as well, which are purchased readymade from the markets. The children are also provided with readymade cotton dresses of gaudy colours. The dress used during festivals and ceremonies are carefully preserved in the boxes and their use on ordinary days is carefully avoided.

21. During winter, the men use cotton jerseys and shirts and coarse cotton 'chaddars' or wrappers. The women, at home, do not use any extra dress for the winter. Children are provided with jackets, cardigans and frocks of cheap quality purchased readymade from the markets. The affluent ones use woollen wrappers when they go out.

22. The villagers do not use any head-dress. During summer and the rainy season most of them use umbrellas and the women use 'Pakhias' made of palmyra-palm leaves. The Pakhias are also used by members of both the sex while working in the fields.

23. Cheap *chappals* are used by men when they move out. Women rarely use any footwear. Now-a-days, the school-going boys of the affluent families increasingly use socks and shoes.

24. The washermen in the village wash the clothes of all the higher caste Hindus. It is usually the affluent households who take to the washermen. Among the poor sections, women do the washing themselves and only the costlier clothes are sent to the washermen. The Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes do their own washing.

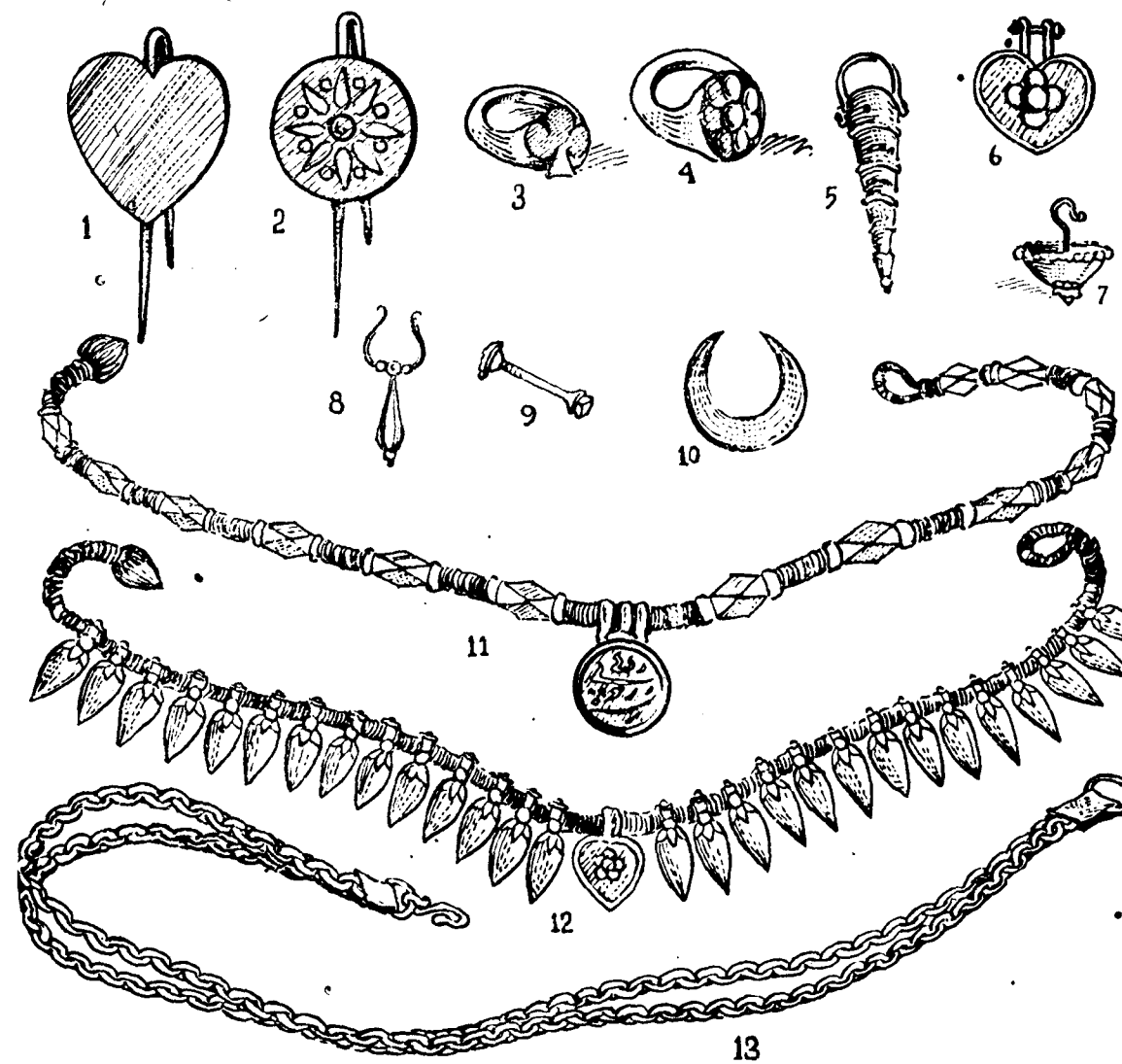
Ornaments

25. The women use silver ornaments in general though use of gold ornaments is not rare. For the neck, they use *Chamapakadi*, *Kanthi* and *Jhinjira* all made of silver. For the arms they use armlets of silver called *Taita* and for the wrists they use bangles and bracelets of silver called *Bala*, *Chudi*, *Bataphala*, *Moda Bala*, *Paincha* and *Katuri*. Silver rings are also worn in the fingers. *Chandrahara*, a stout chain of silver is used round the waist. Anklets of silver called *Bankia* are used on the ankles. Rings of silver are also used in the toes. For the ears and nose, only gold ornaments are used. The nose ornaments are called *Dandi*, *Nakaphula*, *Phuli* and *Nuduka*. Out of these, the Dandi, which is set with stones is the most common ornament. Eardrops and ear-rings of various designs for the ears are called *Noli* and *Kanachampa*. They also use bangles of glass of different colours and designs. Young women use hair-pins with floral embroideries, which are generally made of silver and sometimes of nickel also. They are called *Matha Phulakanta* and *Matha Panakanta*.

26. All these ornaments are not for daily use. It is only on festive occasions and ceremonies that the women put on most of their ornaments. The men ordinarily do not use ornaments, but some wear rings of silver or nickel in their fingers. Ornaments used are typical of this region and there is hardly any trait characteristic to this village. Although ornaments adore all feminine folk, its range varies from glass bangles with the have-nots to gold ornaments with the well-to-do.

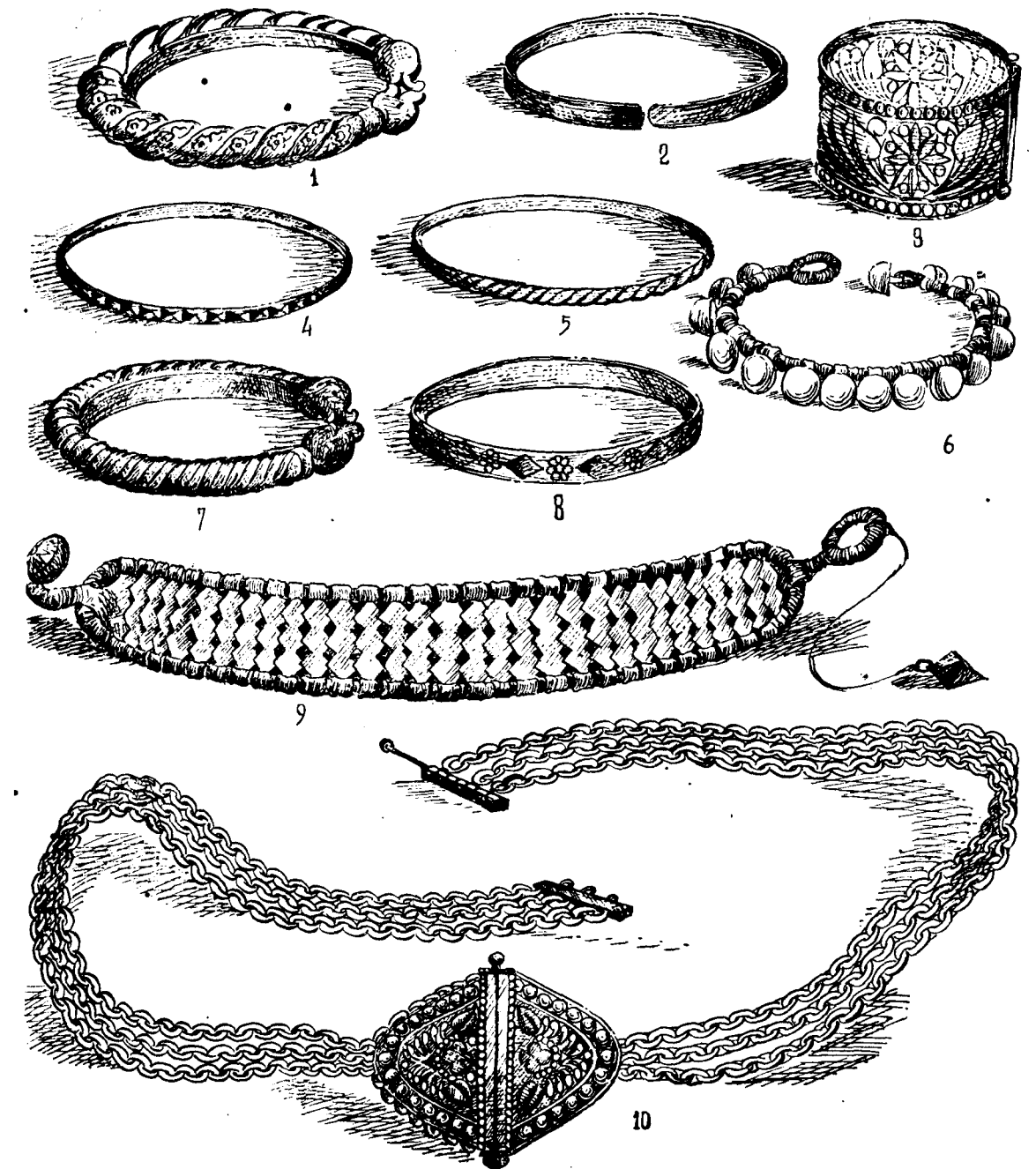
Hair style

27. There is no speciality in the hair style of women. The grown-up and middle aged women generally tie their hair into knots



ORNAMENTS FOR THE NOSE, EAR, HEAD AND NECK

- | | |
|---------------------|-----------------|
| 1. Matha Panakanta | 8. Nuduka |
| 2. Matha Phulakanta | 9. Nakaphula |
| 3. Mudi | 10. Noli |
| 4. Chutiki Mudi | 11. Kanthi |
| 5. Kanachampa | 12. Champakadhi |
| 6. Dandi | 13. Jhinjira |
| 7. Phuli | |



ORNAMENTS FOR THE HAND, LEG AND LOIN

- | | |
|--------------|-----------------|
| 1. Bankia | 6. Bataphala |
| 2. Bala | 7. Moda Bala |
| 3. Chudi | 8. Paincha |
| 4. Katuri | 9. Taita |
| 5. Moda Bala | 10. Chandrahara |

behind after combing with combs made of wood or horn. The younger ones particularly of the higher caste Hindu families love to have plaits dangling on their back. Men trim their hairs short and do not grow moustache or beard. For this, the higher caste Hindus engage the *bariks* or barbers while the Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe residents manage through some of their own men as they are not shaved by the caste barbers.

Tattoo designs

28. Some women have tattoo marks on their limbs. But these are not so elaborate and are confined mostly to geometrical figures on the elbows. A diamond shaped figure or a simple dot can be seen on the forehead of a woman irrespective of her caste. Such marks are also noticed on the palm and feet as well. Some men have their own names or the names of gods, tattooed on their forearms. It is believed by women that the tattoo marks save them from being punished by the attendants of Yama, the god of Death.

Household equipments

29. Most of the families live modestly. Their household articles comprise ordinary

utensils, tin boxes and bamboo-made *Pedis* (a box), agricultural implements, earthen pots of different shapes and sizes and some bamboo-made articles like baskets.

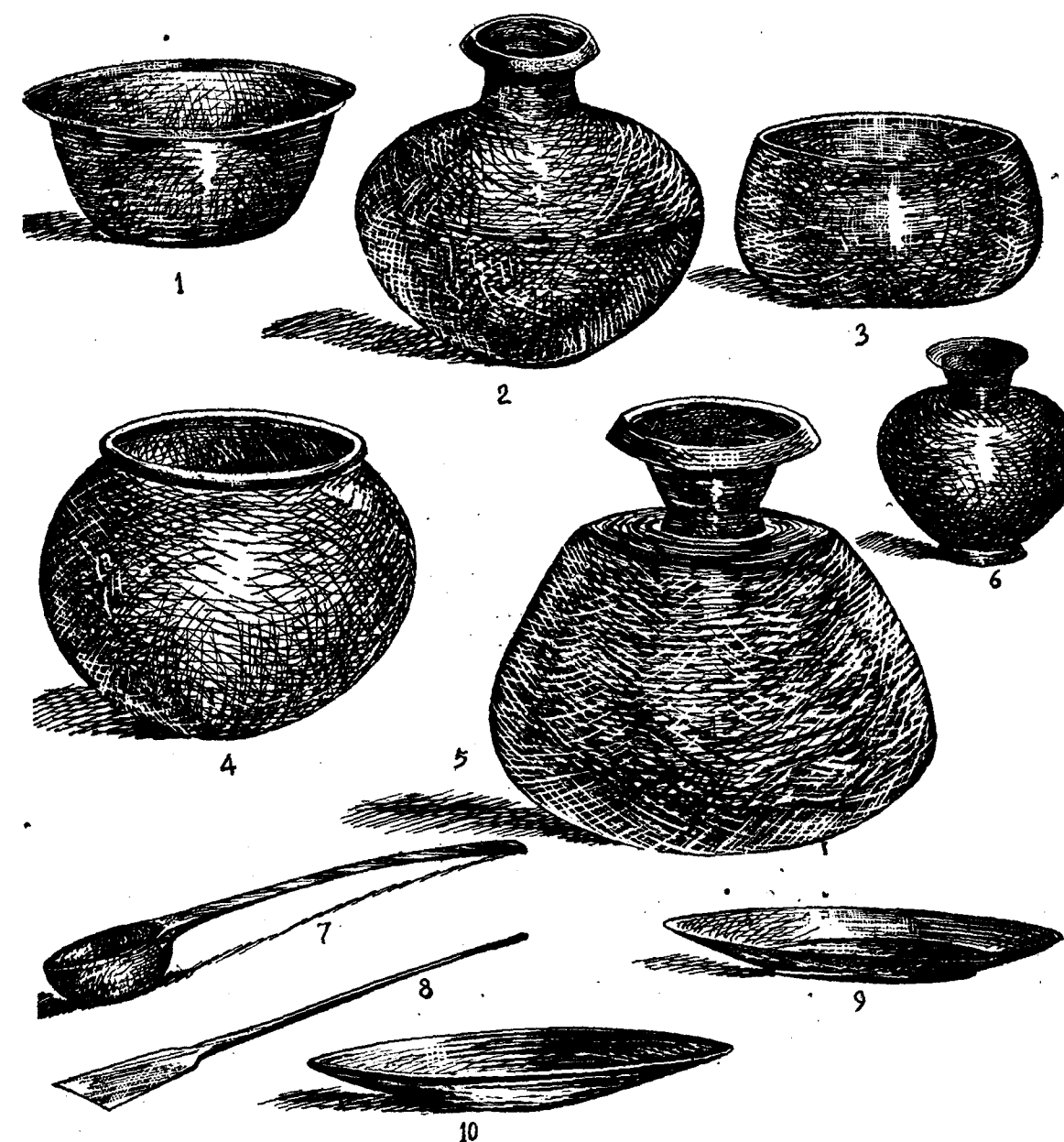
30. The utensils used particularly by the Khandayats are of bell-metal, brass, aluminium and stone. Big bowls of bell-metal are found in each household. The affluent ones have brass pitchers for fetching and storing drinking water. Dishes, cups and tumblers made of the same substance are of common use. For cooking, earthen pots and pans of aluminium and iron are used by all the households. As there is a stone utensil factory in the village, most of the villagers use stone dishes, cups and bowls. Drinking water stored in earthen pitchers keeps cool.

31. Bamboo-made baskets, winnowing fans, broomsticks, etc. are used by all. Articles of value are stored in tin boxes and bamboo-made *pedis*. Only a few well-to-do households possess steel trunks. *Dhenki*, i.e., the wooden huller, and the grinding stones are common to all households.

32. A glance at the table below will show the caste-wise possession of furniture of different types :

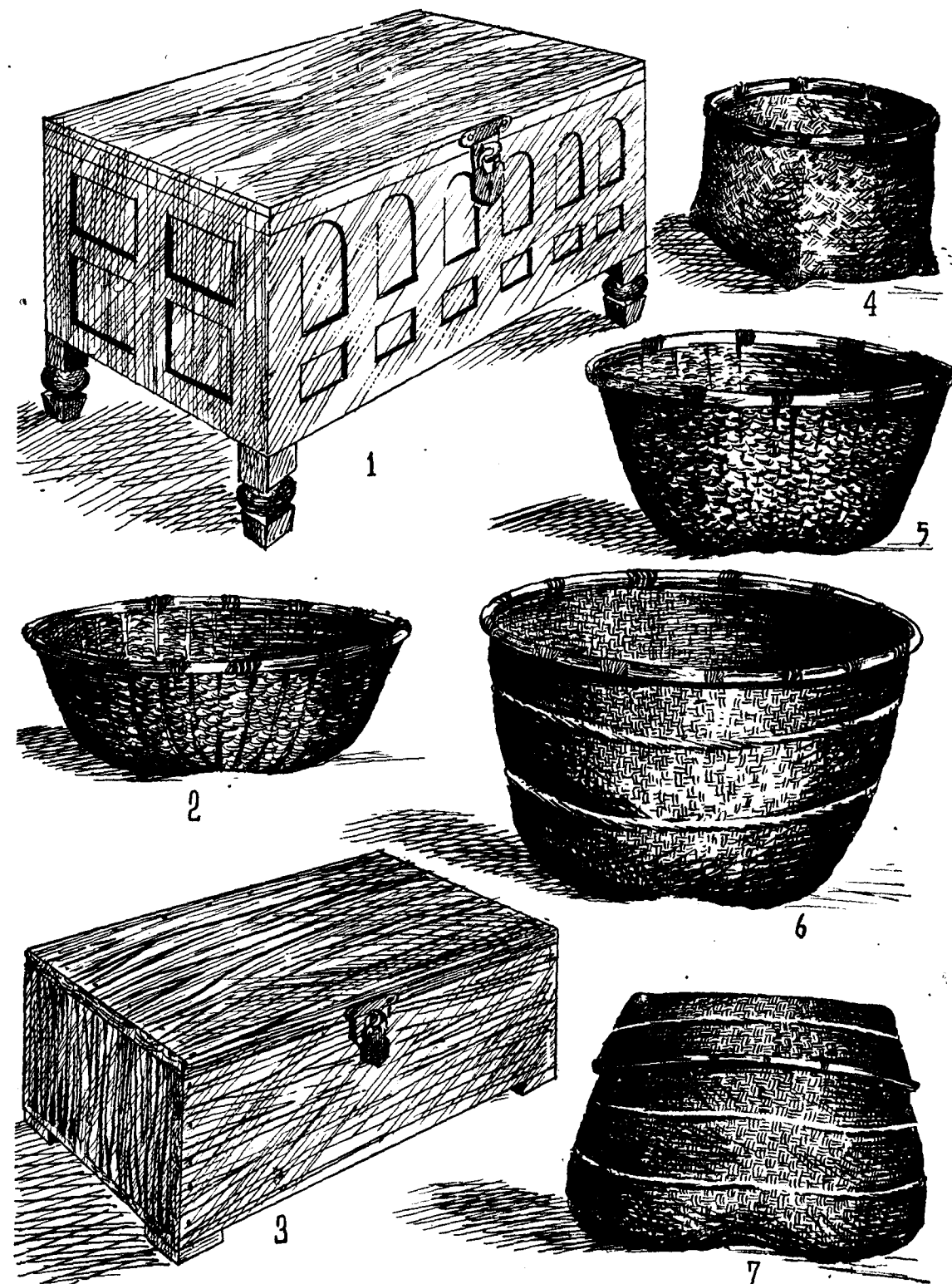
Table 6
POSSESSION OF FURNITURE

Caste/Community	Total no. of households	No. of households owning						
		Bedstead	Charpoy	Chair	Table	Bench	Stool	Wall-shelf
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Khandayat	110	11	41	10	2	9	—	—
Keuta	17	1	5	—	—	—	—	—
Niari	13	1	4	—	—	—	—	—
Gouda	10	1	1	1	—	2	—	—
Bhumij	6	—	1	—	—	—	—	—
Brahmin	5	1	4	2	—	—	—	—
Barika	5	—	1	1	—	—	—	—
Dhoba	4	1	1	—	—	—	—	—
Tanti	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Kamila	3	—	3	—	—	—	—	—
Badhei	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Pano	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Kandara	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Hadi	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—



UTENSILS

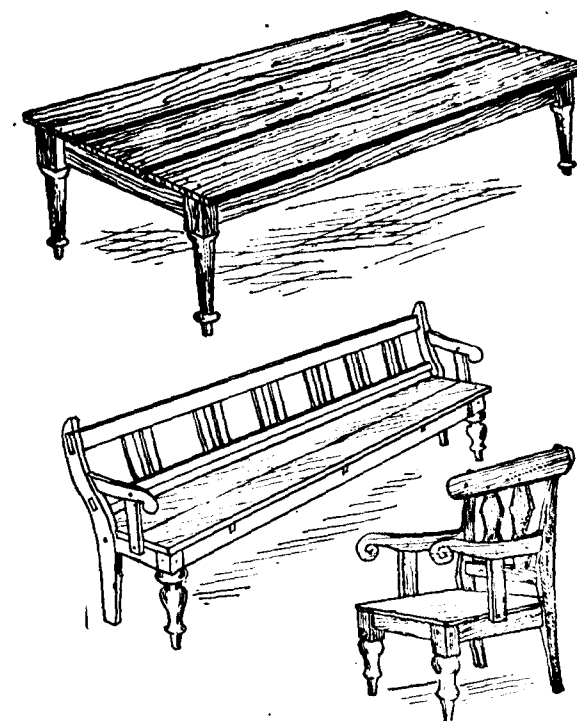
- | | |
|-----------------|------------------|
| 1. Madia | 6. Gara |
| 2. Kalasi | 7. Karchuli |
| 3. Kansha | 8. Piha Khadika |
| 4. Mati Handi | 9. Thali |
| 5. Pital Gagara | 10. Piha Pathuri |



HOUSEHOLD ARTICLES

- | | |
|---------------|-------------|
| 1. Sinduka | 5. Jalli |
| 2. Bojha | 6. Duila |
| 3. Baksa | 7. Betapedi |
| 4. Chauladhua | |

33. Out of 110 households of the Khandayat caste, only 11 households have wooden bedsteads and 41 households have stringed charpoys. The frames of the charpoys are made of wood and the string used is either of jute or sabai grass. Chairs are found in 14 households only. Tables are possessed by only two households and benches by eleven.



FURNITURE

34. How poor are members of the caste can be inferred from the fact that nearly 50 per cent sleep on the floor and cannot afford to use even a charpoy. It is only the affluent among them who sleep on bedsteads or charpoys laid with quilts. During winter, the poor ones use cheap blankets and coarse sheets. Used and torn clothes sewn to a length of about 72 inches and breadth of about 45 inches, are also used as wrappers by the poor. The well-to-do use blankets and quilts. About 71 persons use mosquito-nets.

35. The parents with children sleep in one room and the grown-up ones are provided with separate rooms. The suckling child shares the bed with its mother. Unmarried grown-up girls sleep with some elderly woman

of the house, generally a grand-mother or aunt.

36. Almost all the households use lanterns. Only 16 out of 182 households who have no lanterns, use kerosene lamps made of tin. One household has a petromax lantern also and 22 have battery-torch lights. The table below indicates the position community-wise with regard to possession of consumer goods.

Table 7
POSSESSION OF CONSUMER GOODS

Caste/Community	No. of households possessing				
	Lan-tern	Petro-max	Torch light	Bi-cycle	Radio
1	2	3	4	5	6
Khandayat	104	1	12	—	—
Keuta	14	—	2	—	—
Niari	10	—	1	—	—
Gouda	10	—	3	—	—
Bhumij	5	—	—	—	—
Brahmin	4	—	2	—	—
Barika	5	—	1	—	—
Dhoba	4	—	1	—	—
Tanti	3	—	—	—	—
Kamila	3	—	—	—	—
Badhei	1	—	—	—	—
Pano	1	—	—	—	—
Kandara	1	—	—	—	—
Hadi	1	—	—	—	—

Food and Drinks

37. Rice is the staple food of the villagers, who generally use hand-pound coarse rice. Three meals a day is the usual practice with the adults. The children and the old ones are, however, fed four times a day.

38. The time for breakfast is about 7 A.M. for the school-going children and 8 A.M. for the adults. The menu consists of

soaked rice, a pinch of salt and one or two baked dried fish. The children and the old ones are given flattened rice or fried rice or rice cakes as tiffin. The women take soaked rice as their breakfast at about 10 A.M. after their bath.

39. Hot rice is generally taken at mid-day by all with dal, cooked vegetables, fish or dried fish. Fish and dried fish are cheaper in the neighbouring weekly markets compared to vegetables. Even the poorest household can afford to have dried fish in sufficient quantity for his family. Children take their mid-day meal first and then the male members. The women have it last. In the afternoon only the children and the aged persons of the family are given some tiffin which consists of rice-cakes and flattened or fried rice. The last meal is taken at about 8 P.M. It consists of soaked rice, some cooked vegetables and one or two baked dried fish.

40. The villagers take all kinds of vegetables and a large variety of fresh-water and marine fish. Dried fish, because of its cheapness is their most favourite food. They also eat crabs and tortoises. Meat of goats, sheep, deer, hares, fowls, ducks, snipes, pigeons, cranes and bats is relished whenever available. Fowls are taboo for the Brahmins. Varieties of edible mushrooms, garden fruits and tubers are also taken when available.

41. Palatable dishes and delicacies are a rarity which the poor can ill afford to include in their menu. It is only on very special occasions, particularly during festivals and ceremonies that such delicacies are prepared. Such special items consist of cakes with rice-powder, cocoanuts and molasses as ingredients; *Khechuri*—a kind of gruel with sweetened rice and cocoanuts; varieties of vegetable curries and fish or meat specially cooked with spices like onion, garlic, turmeric, chilly, ginger, cardamom and mustard seed.

42. Mustard oil is the medium of cooking in all families. Now-a-days, a kind of oil known as 'refined oil' is being used for the preparation of cakes and many other delicacies. Ghee is used though very sparingly and

mostly by the well-to-do to prepare delicacies for offering to the deities during festivals.

43. Dried logs of *Sal*, *Asan*, *Dharua*, *Mahula* and other trees are collected from the neighbouring forests for the purpose of fuel. Dried leaves are also collected and stored specially for boiling paddy for conversion into rice. Cow-dung is also made into balls or flattened cakes and dried in the sun to be used as fuel.

44. None of the villagers was reported to be addicted to alcoholic drink. There are, however, a good many addicts of tea, who prefer to drink the liquor only without addition of sugar and milk.

Public Health

45. It is learnt from the villagers that there has been no outbreak of epidemics in the village during the last decade. Some fifteen years ago, cholera broke out in the village in epidemic form and took a toll of 15 lives. During spring and summer, stray cases of measles and chickenpox are reported. The villagers get vaccinated regularly for protection against pox.

46. Poverty, consequent under-nourishment, unhygienic surroundings and lack of protected water supply bring in their trail diseases of the skin, gastro-intestinal disorders and malaria. Thanks to the efforts of the National Malaria Eradication Programme, the horrors of malaria have been checked to a very large extent.

47. *Filaria* appears to be rampant. The ponds—almost one for each two households are largely to blame since they serve as the breeding spots of mosquitoes. In a population of 752, there are at least thirty cases of elephantiasis. No effective measure seems to have been taken to combat this abnormally large incidence of the disease. It is difficult to draw any accurate picture about the incidence of leprosy and tuberculosis in absence of a systematic health survey.

A look at the school-going children shows that compared to other areas, their general standard of health is much better.

• 48. Though the dispensary at Soro is only 6 miles as the crow flies, the villagers prefer to be treated in the Nilgiri hospital, which is 10 miles far from the village. The reasons are: the footpath to Soro through the cultivated lands becomes inaccessible during the rains and Nilgiri, having a subdivisional headquarters hospital offers better equipment and advice.

It was decided to construct the Primary Health Centre building of Nilgiri II Block (Hqrs. Oupada) at Ishwarpur. A few quarters for staff have been constructed at the outskirts of this village. The main building is yet to come up.

A Kaviraj family at Chintamanipur and another homoeopath at Ishwarpur are among those consulted for minor ailments.



3. ECONOMY

Economic resources

The economy of the village is primarily based on agriculture. Large majority of the villagers depend on agriculture either as cultivators or as agricultural labourers. Most of the households own lands which are personally cultivated by the members. The lands thus form the main source of their income. As this source does not prove adequate to sustain them throughout the year, a majority of them work on wage as agricultural labourers to supplement their meagre income from the former source. Many also earn from household industry, namely stone carving which occupies the third place among occupations in the village economy. Apart from these three economic resources there are a few others, namely, fishing and other services, but they are rather insignificant.

Cultivated area and Classification

2. The total area of the village is 582.19 acres out of which the *abadi* or cultivated area is 484.15 acres. This is further divided into three categories, namely, paddy lands, orchards and homestead lands. The paddy lands are classed into three categories basing on their level, high or low and they are assessed to rent accordingly. The former class of paddy lands is known as *Gahira* and the latter is called *Balia*. The paddy lands are further sub-classified as *Dhan I* (1st class paddy), *Dhan II* (2nd class paddy) and *Dhan III* (3rd class paddy). Dry lands, homestead lands and lands occupied by orchards are known respectively as *Thenga*, *Gharbari* and *Bagayat*.

3. The land lying low is considered good for cultivation. They are locally known as *Gahira* land and the annual rent is Rs. 3.31 per acre. The rent for second and third class lands is Rs. 2.12 and Rs. 1.75 respectively. These rates of assessment do not, however, apply to the Adivasis who are subjected to a correspondingly lower rate of Rs. 2.25,

Rs. 1.69 and Rs. 1.12 respectively for the above categories.

4. *Thenga* lands, the local name for dry up-lands are mainly used for growing ground-nuts, horse-gram, etc., and are assessed at the rate of Re. 0.81 per acre and *Bagayat* or orchard lands are assessed at Re 1.00 per acre. The acreage of *Thenga* and *Bagayat* land in this village is negligible. These rates apply to both Adivasis and non-Adivasis.

5. The rate of assessment on homestead or *Gharbari* land is comparatively higher. The land occupied by the houses is assessed at the rate of Rs. 8.00 per acre and the land lying around the house within the compound bears a rent of Rs. 6.88 per acre. Homestead land without any dwelling house is assessed to Rs. 5.56 per acre. The corresponding rates applicable to Adivasis are Rs. 5.66, Rs. 4.00 and Rs. 3.19 respectively for these three classes of *Gharbari* land.

Land held by different communities

6. Community-wise acreage of lands held with average per household is shown below:

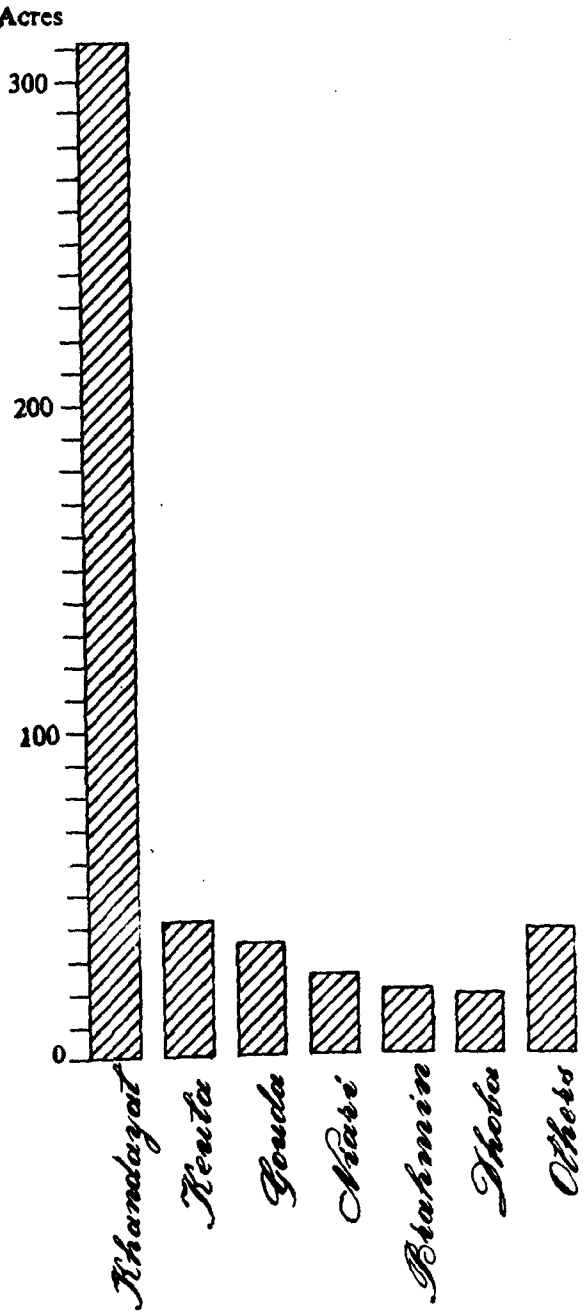
Community	No. of households	Total acreage	Average
1	2	3	4
1. Khandayat	109	311.09	
2. Keuta	17	40.91	
3. Gouda	10	33.50	
4. Niari	12	23.25	
5. Bhumij	5	7.15	
6. Brahmin	5	19.50	
7. Barik	5	9.50	
8. Dhoba	4	18.00	
9. Kamila	3	7.50	
10. Tanti	3	4.75	
11. Badhei Pano Hadi	1 each	2.50 each	
12. Kandara	1	1.50	

Out of the above, jagir lands are held as under: Three households of Khandayats have

4.02 acres of Debottar lands, one Bhumij household is in possession of 50 cents of *Debata Pujari* jagir land, 2 acres of the total acreage held by Kamilas are jagir lands.

It will appear that next to Dhobas whose average acreage per household works out to be the highest, come the Brahmins (4), Goudas (3.35) and Khandayats (3).

OWNERSHIP PATTERN OF LAND



7. Further analysis reveals the concentration of land as follows: One household owns 10 to 20 cents of land, 6 households 20 to 50 cents each, 25 households 50 cents to 1 acre, 55 households 1 acre to 2.4 acres, 66 households 2.5 to 4.9 acres, 22 households 5 acres to 10 acres and only 2 households own more than 10 acres each. This gives a fair picture about the nature of concentration of cultivated lands. It is seen that 90 households possess more than 2.5 acres each while 87 households have each less than 2.5 acres. This, in other words, means that the holdings of a large number of households are much smaller than the economic size. This answers the point as to why the majority of households are unable to maintain themselves solely out of the income derived from their lands.

8. Paddy is the only crop grown in the village. The paddy lands are rain-fed as there is no irrigation of any kind. Absence of assured irrigation is the reason why none in the village take to rabi cultivation. Some households grow vegetables on their homesteads during the rains. The crop is usually too meagre to meet the needs of local consumption. This is attributed by the villagers to the soil which, according to them, is unsuitable for vegetable cultivation.

Agricultural practices

9. The paddy fields lie fallow and deserted during the summer months when the ground is hard and dry, but with a shower by the end of February, the cultivator makes no mistake in running to his field for Kadhan or first ploughing.

The real busy season starts with the showers in June when every cultivator is astir in his field. The buffaloes or bullocks are yoked to draw the primitive wooden ploughs, up and down and across the length of the field, widening with every turn the patches of rich brown earth. The nature of the soil and the variety of the crop determine how often the land needs to be ploughed over. Up-lands need many ploughings before cultivation of early paddy.

10. The low ridges separating the fields need annual repairs to stand heavy rains. The farmer, therefore, keeps busy with his spades

and hoes making them secure. The level of a field bounded by these ridges is so precise that the last drop of moisture is retained long after the cessation of rains. When the rush of water becomes too great, required measures are taken to prevent the fields from erosion or from becoming too sodden and waterlogged.

11. In case there is timely rain, early variety of paddy is sown in the months of April and May, failing this the operation is extended up to June. Ordinarily, the cow-dung compost manure is used.

12. Sowing of paddy seeds usually begins on the Akshaya Trutiya day in the month of May. Broadcasting—a practice more popular than transplantation continues that after for some days.

13. Some cultivators prefer transplantation—the process, which demands more labour but certainly gives greater yield. A small patch of land near to some water-source is selected as the nursery for the seedlings. These are uprooted after they reach the desired height and then kept aside in convenient bundles to be carried to the field well prepared for transplantation. About a dozen women are engaged a day to uproot plants enough to cover an acre but it takes nearly twice as many hands to plant them again on the new ground. Each labourer takes a bundle and simply makes a hole with the thumb in the mud into which are thrust a few shoots. Transplanting is done under the greatest hardship, the labourers moving for hours in the mud of the fields. Torrents descending overhead rejoice them in the hope of an abundance of moisture that will ensure a good crop. The farmer cares for nothing so long as he has the promise of a good harvest. Great care is exercised by the tiller so that the terrace does not get overflowed till the young plants take roots. If there is the slightest chance, an opening is made in the ridge for the excess of water to drain off. Towards the end of the rainy season, arrangement is made to retain the moisture till the crop is ripe. During the time the rains help in the maturity of the crops, the cultivator remains busy in removal of the weeds and grass from the fields. This is indeed an important work which keeps men, women and children delightfully engaged.

By his strenuous exertions, the cultivator goes on guarding the safety of the crops. He has to build a *Kuma*—a rough straw hut wherefrom he can keep watch over his fields in order to protect the crop from the ravages of wild animals like deer, porcupines and elephants. Sometimes dishonest neighbours and wandering gangs of thieves cause alarming loss to his crop. It is particularly during harvest that he has to be extremely vigilant.

14. While keeping watch over his crop, the cultivator has to prepare his *Khala* (threshing floor) in readiness for the coming harvest. It is an open space well cleaned and swept and made even with a careful plastering of mud and cow-dung. The cultivator takes much time and infinite troubles in making it as hard and clean as he can. If his fields are close, he prepares the *Khala* within or near to his homestead land, if they are at a distance, he prepares it on a level piece of ground close to his land where he also builds a temporary shed to guard the grains.

15. The villagers co-operate in a large measure during harvest in the months of November to January. The women and children also lend their willing hands to expedite the mowing and making of bundles. After all the stages of the operation are completed in the field, the bundles are carried home either on the backs of bullocks or by men who balance the bundles on either ends of the pole.

16. No machinery of any kind has been introduced as yet. The same primitive ploughshares and bullocks and the levelling planks are still used by all. Mowing is done by scythes and sickles. Each cultivator has the compost pit within his homestead land. Into the pit are thrown cow-dung, wastes of the kitchen, refuse of the *Khala*, dried leaves and used stacks of paddy, etc. Chemical fertilisers have not yet gained popularity with the cultivators of the village.

17. The same primitive methods are also followed in threshing. The operation starts when the stacked paddy in the *Khala* gets thoroughly dried in the sun.

18. A thick layer of paddy stalks is spread out in a circle over the *Khala* and a row of bullocks, tied in a line, are driven round and round until the grains are well trodden

out. As the bullocks move, the straw is shifted with pitch forks, so that the grains fall underneath without being hurt by the hoof of the animals. When one layer is well trodden out another layer is spread over and the process continues until the straw becomes too deep for the bullocks to make their way through. At last the straw is carefully removed from the grains and chaff which are left on the threshing floor. The cultivator then places some of the paddy in a *Kula* (winnowing fan) and holds it above his head and shakes it to and fro, whereby the grains are separated from the chaff. The grains being weightier fall straight on the ground and the chaff and dust are blown away by the breeze caused by the movement of the winnowing fan.

19. There is also another process of threshing paddy. Small bundles of dried paddy stalks are beat against stone slabs or thick wide planks so as to separate the grains from the stalks. The grains are finally cleaned by winnowing with a winnowing fan.

20. After threshing, the cultivator keeps in safe storage the required amount for seeds for the succeeding year. He also keeps a part for daily use in the household. If there is surplus left after the repayment of his loan, he stores the paddy in *Pudas* (straw baskets). Paddy is first placed in a layer of straw which is then bound tightly round and round with plaited ropes of straw. The whole thing is made as light and compact as possible and the rope is wound close, coil by coil, in order to preserve the grain within from any possible harm.

21. Rice is obtained by husking the paddy with a *Dhenki*, generally made of sal wood. Paddy is first boiled in large earthen pots and then spread out in the sun to dry. The husking with the *Dhenki* then starts.

Arua-rice is made by simply husking paddy previously well-dried in the sun. There is great need of this rice in auspicious and ceremonial occasions.

22. Besides paddy, there is no other cultivation worth the name. Most of the households grow vegetables during the rains within their homestead compounds primarily for their own use. Maize, brinjals, melons and gourds,

beans and various *sag* (edible leaves) are the chief items grown. In winter, less than a score of the households grow cabbages, peas, etc., for their own consumption.

23. The soil is said to be good and rich in mineral nutrients. On account of the high percentage of sand, contained in it, the soil to the east of the village looks white—whereas the same in lands nearer the hill ranges has in local verbiage more of '*Mata*' characteristics. It looks darker.

24. The mounting cost of cultivation has hit the agriculturist pretty hard. It is explained that the agriculturist is denied the prices for his commodities which have to rise keeping in pace with the rise in agricultural wages and rise in price structure of other essential commodities.

The economics of paddy cultivation in an acre of cultivated land as ascertained from the local villagers is presented below. In local measure, on *man* fifteen *gunths* make an acre.

Cost of cultivation per acre

1. Wage and hire charges for		
1st., 2nd. and 3rd. ploughing	Rs.	40.00
2. Price of seeds (48 seers) ...	Rs.	16.00
3. Bihuda (3 ploughs) ...	Rs.	12.00
4. Weeding (usually twice) ...	Rs.	27.00
5. (a) Manure (cow-dung, etc.)	Rs.	10.00
(b) Chemical fertiliser ...	Rs.	12.00
6. Weed cuttings ...	Rs.	9.00
(This is not required in trans-plantation)		
7. Harvesting ...	Rs.	18.00
8. Threshing ...	Rs.	12.00

Rs. 156.00

Though the cost as calculated above has been arrived at after due local enquiry, this has to be taken as approximate, as fluctuation in cost depending on the extent of availability of labour and equipment may occur. It was, however, the general consensus that with the rise in price and wage indices, the cost was also rising fast. It is a subject for study whether this rate of rise was proportionate to the rise in the prices of agricultural produces so as to guarantee for the cultivator a fair and assured dividend.

In the case in point, against Rs. 156/- spent on cultivation of paddy per acre, the

gross yield of paddy per acre is 18 mds. in the average. According to the prices prevalent in the year of calculation, the produce fetches Rs. 216/-, thus bringing for the farmer a net profit of Rs. 60/- only.

Forest resources

25. There are jungles in the hill-ranges running along the western border of the village—from where the villagers collect their fuel. Fruit-bearing trees like *Mahula*, *Kendu*, *Chara*, *Kusum* and *Kasaphal* are found in abundance in the jungles and many villagers collect these fruits during appropriate seasons to sell them to the agents of the businessmen. Apart from these edible fruits, roots and tubers are also collected from the forests in different seasons. Bamboo poles are also collected for varieties of household use. Timber of *sal*, *asan*, etc., are removed for construction of houses. The forests thus benefit the villagers in numerous ways. Their cattle also get abundant fodder when there is no grass in the fields during the summer.

Livestock

26. Possession of improved and healthy livestock is vital to the interest of an agriculturist. The cattle wealth in this village consists of cows, bullocks and buffaloes. Whereas bullocks and buffaloes are yoked to the plough, cows and she-buffaloes yield milk and help in multiplying the livestock. The urine and dung of the cattle serve as base in the manufacture of compost manure for each household.

27. The livestock population of the village is shown analysed in Table III of the Appendix. Out of 445 in all, 311 are draught-animals. Against this, the number of milch cows and buffaloes is too small, the same being 3 only. There are, however, a good number of goats and sheep numbering 262 which are owned by 90 households belonging to all the communities except the Brahmins. Rearing fowls is a taboo with the higher caste Hindus. There are only 26 such birds in 9 households belonging to Bhumij, Keuta, Niari, Dhoba and Kamila castes. The Panos, Kandaras and Hadis had no fowls at the time of the survey.

28. The draught-animals are owned by 153 cultivator households. This means that another 24 households owning lands have no

draught-animals of their own. Some households are also not in possession of complete pairs. They borrow or hire draught-animals for cultivation of their fields.

29. The cattle are fed with straw, husk and grass. There is no pasture land in the village. The cattle frequently graze on the slopes of the neighbouring hills. There are no whole-time cow-herds to tend the cattle. Part-time cow-herds are employed by the cultivators from the month of July to the end of November to protect the crop from the cattle. The cow-herds are paid @ Rs. 1.25 per head of cattle per month. For tending goats and sheep, the rate is one seer of rice per head per month. After the harvest the cattle are left to themselves. Some affluent cultivators, however, engage servants to tend their cattle instead of entrusting them to part-time cow-herds.

Economic activities

30. Table No. IV in the Appendix shows the position with regard to workers in different occupation groups. It also gives the workers of different age groups belonging to both the sexes. The labour force in the village consists of 458 persons, i.e., 225 males and 233 females aged within the age group of 15—59 years. Out of these persons, 224 males and only 48 females are actually engaged in different economic activities. In other words, nearly 79.4 percent of the female of the labour force do not participate in any work. This makes the size of the real working force considerably depleted. This working force contains 15 males from the age group 0—14 years and 24 males from the age group 60 years and above.

31. An attempt is now made to analyse the distribution of workers in different economic activities. At the out-set, it may be made clear that no worker is exclusively confined to any particular nature of work. They are dependent on different types of work for their source of income and accordingly, they either work in a particular job at a time or at different seasons or take up different jobs simultaneously. Yet the workers have been classified into different occupation groups on the basis of the time they remain engaged in a particular work. According to this classi-

fication, there are 131 persons—120 males and 11 females, in Occupation Group I, i.e., cultivation. They constitute 42.1 per cent of the working force. The second category of workers, namely, agricultural labourers constitute 38.3 per cent of the working force with 119 of whom 83 are males and 36 are females. Household industry claims 15.1 per cent of the workers in which 47 males only participate on whole-time basis. Other Services (Occupation Group IX) claims 3.5 per cent of the workers. The other two occupations, namely, fishing and trade taken together engage less than 1 per cent of the workers.

32. It would be of interest to know regarding the engagement of the households in different occupations while discussing the economic activities of the villagers. 75 households are seen engaged in cultivation only, 56 households are engaged in cultivation and household industry, 2 in cultivation and business and 1 household in cultivation, household industry and business.

33. Whereas workers in cultivation or agriculture need no further analysis, it is worthwhile presenting the pattern of other occupations obtaining in the village. Two persons, a Keuta and his wife of one household are engaged in catching and selling fish. They catch fish from the local tanks but most of the time they fetch dried sea fish and sell in the local markets. They also possess some land under their personal cultivation.

34. Although one male has been shown in trade as a whole-time trader, there are, in fact, 2 more in this occupation who work part-time. The traders own two petty grocery shops in the village where foodgrains, salt, oil, spices and other commodities consisting of daily necessities of the village community are sold. The average assets of a shop would be between Rs. 300/- to Rs. 400/-.

35. Out of 11 males in 'other services', one is working as the godown keeper of the Stone Workers' Co-operative Society and another is the watcher of the said Society. Two persons from the Barik community (barber) are engaged in their traditional occupation, i.e., hair cutting. Two Brahmins are engaged in their traditional occupation, i.e., priesthood in Baulagadia and in the neighbouring villages. Two males belonging to Khandayat commu-

nity are working as teachers. Two persons are working as peons in the Post and Telegraph Office in Calcutta and one is working as locomotive shunter at Howrah.

36. In the classification of workers, 47 males are shown in household industry as they devote their major time to this occupation. In practice, a large number of persons work in different household industries, namely, capentry, silver-smithy and stone carving. One male belonging to Badhei community prepares wooden agricultural implements. He is also utilised for construction of doors and simple furniture. The traditional occupation of the Kamilas is black-smithy which they have given up for the last few generations. They now devote mainly to cultivation. Three of them drawn from 3 households have taken to silver-smithy. They make simple ornaments in silver and gold on order from the villagers. The remaining workers of this category are engaged in preparing stone images and stone-ware about which a detailed discussion will follow.

Non-workers

37. Nearly 58.6 per cent of the population are non-workers, their number being 441 (vide Appendix Table V). They hail mostly from the age group of 0—14 years with 118 males and 108 females, out of whom only 30 are full-time students, the rest being dependants. The non-workers in the higher age groups total 215 with 3 males and 212 females. These females are engaged in household duties and have been treated as non-workers as they are prevented from participating in any outside economic activity by the prevailing social customs.

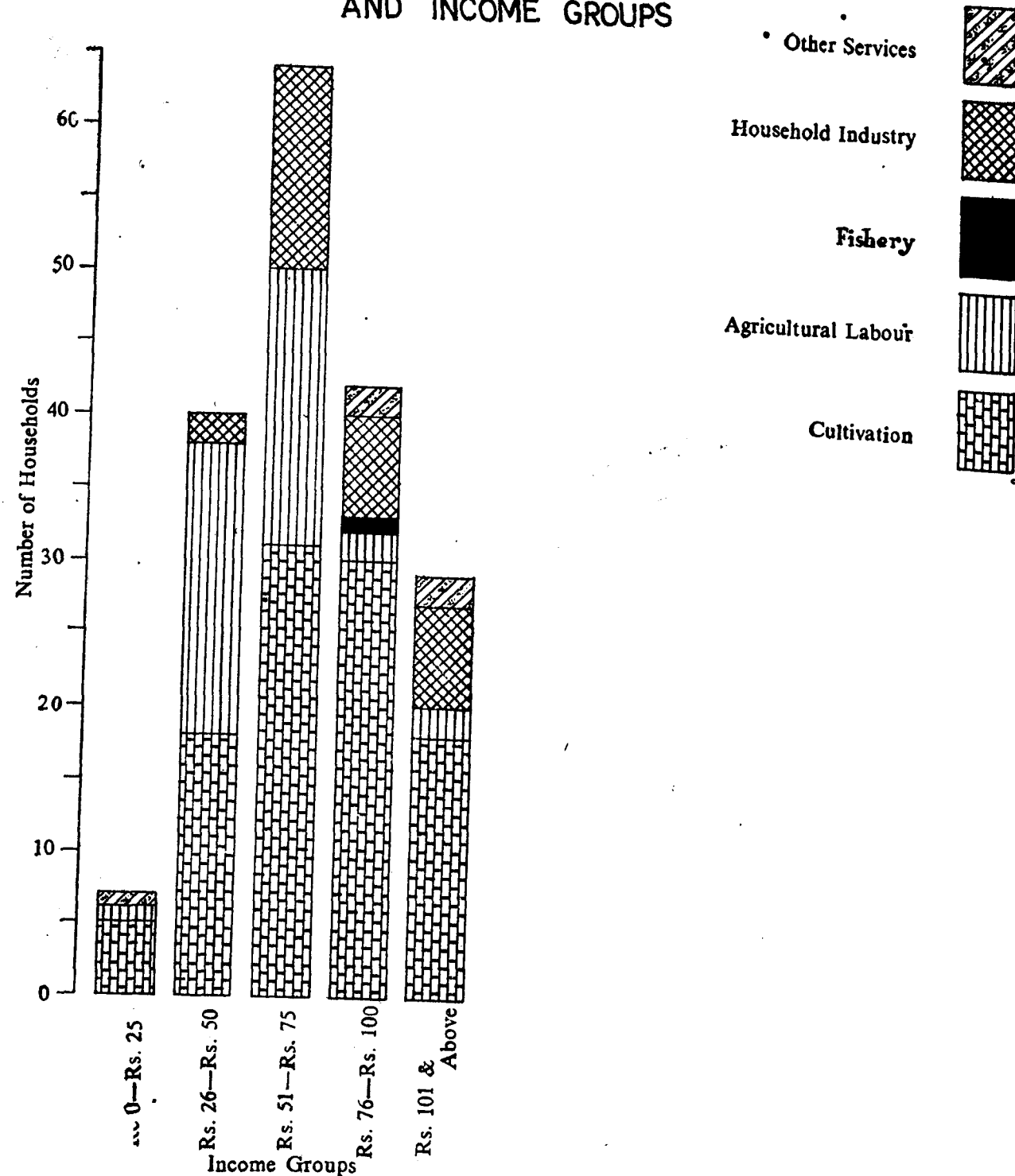
Occupational mobility

38. Earlier discussions reveal that the occupation pattern of the village is rather static. If agriculture is to be taken as the primary and traditional occupation of the majority, introduction of household industry as a shift overtook place long ago. Similarly the Kamilas changed their traditional occupation, i.e., black-smithy long ago and took up silver-smithy as a secondary occupation, cultivation being the main one. Service in Government institutions seems to have been taken recourse to in recent years. Though some of

the workers of this category have found employment in far off places outside the State,

their number appears too insignificant to merit a discussion.

DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSEHOLDS BY OCCUPATION AND INCOME GROUPS



Income

39. Table No. VI in the Appendix shows the distribution of households according to the five income groups, namely, monthly average income ranging from Rs. 0—Rs. 25, Rs. 26—Rs. 50, Rs. 51—Rs. 75, Rs. 76—Rs. 100 and Rs. 101 and above. As per this division, 7 households are in the first income group, 40 households in the second income group, 64 households in the third income group, 42 households in the fourth income group and 29 households are in the last income group.

40. Community-wise break-up of the income groups is indicated below. The first income group is composed of 1 household each from Gouda and Barik communities and the remaining 5 households hail from Khandayat community. The second income group has 19 Khandayat households, 6 Keuta households, 4 households each from Niari and Gouda communities, and two households from Bhumij community and 1 household each from Brahmin, Barik, Kamila, Badhei and Pano communities. The third income group shows 43 Khandayat households, 5 Keuta households, 2 households each from Niari, Bhumij, Barik and Tanti communities and 1 household each from Gouda, Dhoba, Brahmin, Kamila, Badhei, Pano, Kandara and Hadi communities. In the fourth income group, there are 28 Khandayat households, 4 Niari households, 3 households from Keuta community, 2 households each from Gouda and Bhumij communities, 1 household each from Dhoba and Brahmin and Tanti communities. The last income group comprises 15 Khandayat households, 3 households each from Keuta and Niari communities, 2 households each from Gouda, Dhoba, and Brahmin communities and 1 household each from Barik and Kamila communities.

41. Further analysis of the income groups on the basis of the main occupation of the households shows that the first income group is composed of 5 households of cultivators, 1 household belonging to agricultural labourer and another household grouped in other services. The second income group consists of 8 households of cultivators, 20 households of agricultural labourers and 2 households whose

main occupation is household industry. In the third income group, 31 households belong to cultivators, 19 households belong to agricultural labourers and 14 households come under household industry. The fourth income group comprises 30 cultivator households, 1 household engaged in fishery, 7 households engaged in household industry and 2 in other services. The last income group has 18 cultivator households, 2 agricultural labourer households, 7 households whose main occupation is household industry and 2 households in other services.

Expenditure

42. Table No. VIII in the Appendix deals with the average monthly expenditure per household by income group and occupation. It appears that invariably larger slice of the expenditure pertains to food in all the households with the exception of 18 households of cultivators from the second income group and 14 households from the third income group with household industry as their main occupation. It is in the latter category of households that the average expenditure on 'other items' exceeds the average monthly expenditure on food. The excess spending in these 32 households was attributed to marriage expenses incurred in 12 months preceding the month of investigation. These households, also over-spend their income every month.

Indebtedness

43. Out of the 182 households in the village, 133 or nearly 73 per cent of the households are in debt (vide Table VIII of the Appendix). The extent of indebtedness in each income group can also be measured from this table. It is clearly indicated that the incidence of indebtedness varies directly as the income.

Out of the indebted households, 54 or nearly 40.6 per cent have incurred debt for ordinary household expenses, 44 or nearly 33 per cent of the households have incurred loan to spend in marriage functions, 16 or nearly 12 per cent of the households for purchase of land, 5 households each for construction of

houses and obsequies, 1 for purchase of bullocks, 2 for repayment of old debts, 2 for purchase of medicines for the sick, 1 for education of children and 3 for improvement of land and cultivation.

44. Loans are obtained in cash as well as in kind. The latter usually consist of paddy for consumption. The main sources of credit appear to be private money-lenders as 122 persons obtained loan from this source as against 21 from the Grama Panchayat Grain Golla Co-operative Society. In the village itself, there are 4 unregistered money-lenders who advance loans in cash and kind. But a registered money-lender—rather a usurer who belongs to a neighbouring village seems to have established monopoly in the field in this area and is alleged to charge exorbitant interest for cash and paddy loan. The interest on these loans range up to 37.5 per cent and 25 per cent per annum respectively. The loans are supported with securities such as ornaments, valuable utensils, lands, etc., and covered by unregistered stamped deeds. In few cases, where the loan covers a large amount, the deeds are registered. There seems to prevail a peculiar custom with regard to kind loan. A loanee foregoes a part of the grains to be taken on loan. This varies from place to place but 20 per cent seems to be the usual margin, as most of the lenders deduct 8 seers per maund towards wages for measuring. Thus against 32 seers of paddy actually taken on loan, the loanee repays 40 seers of paddy besides interest.

45. The Grama Panchayat Graingola Co-operative Society is functioning at Iswarpur, the Panchayat headquarters since 1955. 376 persons from constituent villages of the Panchayat have been enrolled as members of the Society paying share in cash and kind. A member is at liberty to purchase as many shares as he can afford to. The Society apart from raising share capital also obtains cash loan from the Central Co-operative Bank at Balasore paying 15 per cent interest on kind loan and 6.5 per cent on cash loan and advances loans to its members with 25 per cent interest on kind loan and 8.5 per cent on cash loan. The maximum amount of loan a member can receive from the Society is Rs. 1,800/- on the strength of personal and property

securities. The Society seems to be gaining grounds in spite of heavy odds as enrolment of members is on the increase and its volume of transaction has considerably expanded since inception. But it seems, the Society has not been able to eliminate effectively the private money-lenders. The statistics regarding indebtedness from Baulagadia amply justify this contention. Only 21 out of 120 members have obtained loan from the Society. In contrast to this, in spite of exorbitant interest, 112 persons have taken loan from the private money-lenders. The total indebtedness of the village was about Rs. 34,000/- at the time of survey. If the information supplied by the debtors is believed, the major part of the loan has been incurred for unproductive purposes, namely, ordinary household expenses, marriages, obsequies and repayment of old debts, etc. Expenditure on productive purposes such as purchase and improvement on land bears a small proportion to the total debt.

Prospect of Industrialization and Urbanization

46. As discussed earlier, agriculture being the primary occupation, the large majority of the villagers have remained confined to the village—all their lives. The nearest town, Nilgiri, is itself too small to bring this smaller village into the folds of urbanization. This apart, occasions compelling the villagers to pay visits to the town are few and far between. Some of the villagers have visited Calcutta for marketing their handicraft products. Far from changing the outlook of the villagers radically these occasional visits have not even gone far to modify their own attitudes and behaviours. Age-old conservatism and poor economic condition are factors standing in the way of any change in their mode of life. So far, none has put up a pucca house with brick walls. Houses with terraced roofs or roofs made of fire-proof materials also do not exist. The only noticeable change is in the dress of the younger folks who discarding dhotis have started using pants and shirts while going to school. As it is, a switch over to an urbanized society is not contemplated for this village in the foreseeable future.

47. The absence of mineral ores in the vicinity of the village leaves no scope for

establishment of any large industrial unit. The prospect of large scale industrialization, therefore, is far too remote. But there lies good ground to cover in the sphere of small scale industries particularly handicrafts industry. The utility stonewares and other artistic products of the handicrafts industry of this village have earned a name for the village and its workers in the State and outside especially in the neighbouring States of Bengal, Assam and Bihar. This industry which is perhaps as old as the village itself and which once provided primary occupation to all the villagers seems to have decayed down to a moribund state. Several factors have their cumulative effect on its decline. The discussion below presents an analysis of these factors.

Introducing the Stone Industry

48. The products turned out in the handicrafts industry at Baulagadia may be broadly divided into three categories, i.e., stone utensils, other utility articles and images. The first category comprises varieties of utensils of different shapes and sizes used for storing water and serving food. Large bowls used for storing water are called *Sadha Kunda* and *Gayali Kunda*. Drinking water is also stored in tall-necked jars called *Bati*. Small cups for serving curry called *Bati* and cups of larger size meant for watered rice locally called *Ucha Kandha Bati* are commonly used by the villagers. Plates of varying sizes are also carved out with engraved artistic designs. A large plate of the diameter of about 1½ feet is known as *Parat* and is commonly used to carry articles of worship. Jars with lids are also prepared in different sizes which are called *Sarapas bati* and *bayam*. Tumblers, tea cups, saucers and jugs, etc., also come in this category. Among other articles, both of utility and beauty, may be mentioned: *phula dani* (flower vase), *dhupa dani* (a stand for burning incense sticks), *sindur karat* (a case for keeping vermilion), *hema dasta* (mortar and pestle for preparing flour and spice powder, etc.), *khala* (mortar and pestle for preparing medicine powder), *belana peda* (for preparing chapatis), *khata khura* (stands on which the legs of the bedsteads rest), *para bata* (con-

tainer for Betel leaves), *tigar cases*, ink pots, lamp stands and paper weights, etc. The last category of articles include images of gods and goddesses such as Gopal Jiu, Siva Linga, Srikrishna, Radha and Krishna, Ganesh, Mahabir, Narayan, Budha, Laxmi, etc., and images of animals such as elephants, lions, etc. These articles fetch good price in the markets outside.

49. Black granite stone—the raw materials for these articles is procured from quarries on the hill ranges—some 5 miles to the west of Baulagadia. There are 7 quarries locally named: Pani Khani, Bhanra, Jodi, Amba Bania, Bali Ghira, Kanti Bania and Bhejia. Formerly, a tribal village named Hatasahi Chatri with a weekly market was located near to these quarries. The Bhumij and Savar inhabitants of the village deserted long ago for more remote interiors in the hill ranges. The area is presently known as Bishnupur after the name of the hill range. Out of 7 quarries, the stock in four stand thoroughly depleted and good quality stones available in the three, viz. Amba Bania, Bhanra and Pani Khani are collected by workers from Baulagadia and 24 other neighbouring villages. During the rulers' regime, the quarries were being leased out annually to contractors. The stone workers used to pay fees varying from Re. 1 to Rs. 8 per annum to the lease-holders. The practice continued for some years after merger of the ex-state in 1948. But from 1956 onwards, the quarries are leased out by the Government to the Stone Workers' Co-operative Society. The Society extracts stones from the quarries by employing paid labourers and supplies stones to the members. Non-member stone workers are allowed to collect stones from the quarries on payment of annual fees on the old rates fixed by private lessees.

50. Stones are collected during the period from February to June. The pits are 30 to 40 feet in diameter but some 50 to 60 feet in depth. This is so because the cutting is usually done layer after layer at the bottom instead of from the sides of the pit. While cutting layers of stones down its depth, they scrupulously carve out lateral steps that help them

climb up carrying the load. Stone cutting is suspended after June when the pits get filled with water. Sand and earth from the hill slopes are also washed into the pits by the rain water. This entails hard work before commencement of the cutting operation every year when along with the accumulated water, the sand and earth deposits have to be removed. Prior to 1956, the stone workers had to work hard together for a couple of weeks every year. Two motors supplied since 1956 have saved their strain and labour.

51. Transportation of raw materials from the quarry to the work site pose a formidable problem. Not even a cart track connects Baulagadia with the quarries so that carrying the load, one has to cover the entire distance on foot. Labourers carry the stone pieces either on rope slings or right on their head. An attempt had been made by the Forest Department as early as in 1952 to put up a road at a cost of Rs. 8,860/- but it appears, the same did not bear fruit. It only helped in construction of some drains to divert the rain water carrying sand and soil away from the pit.

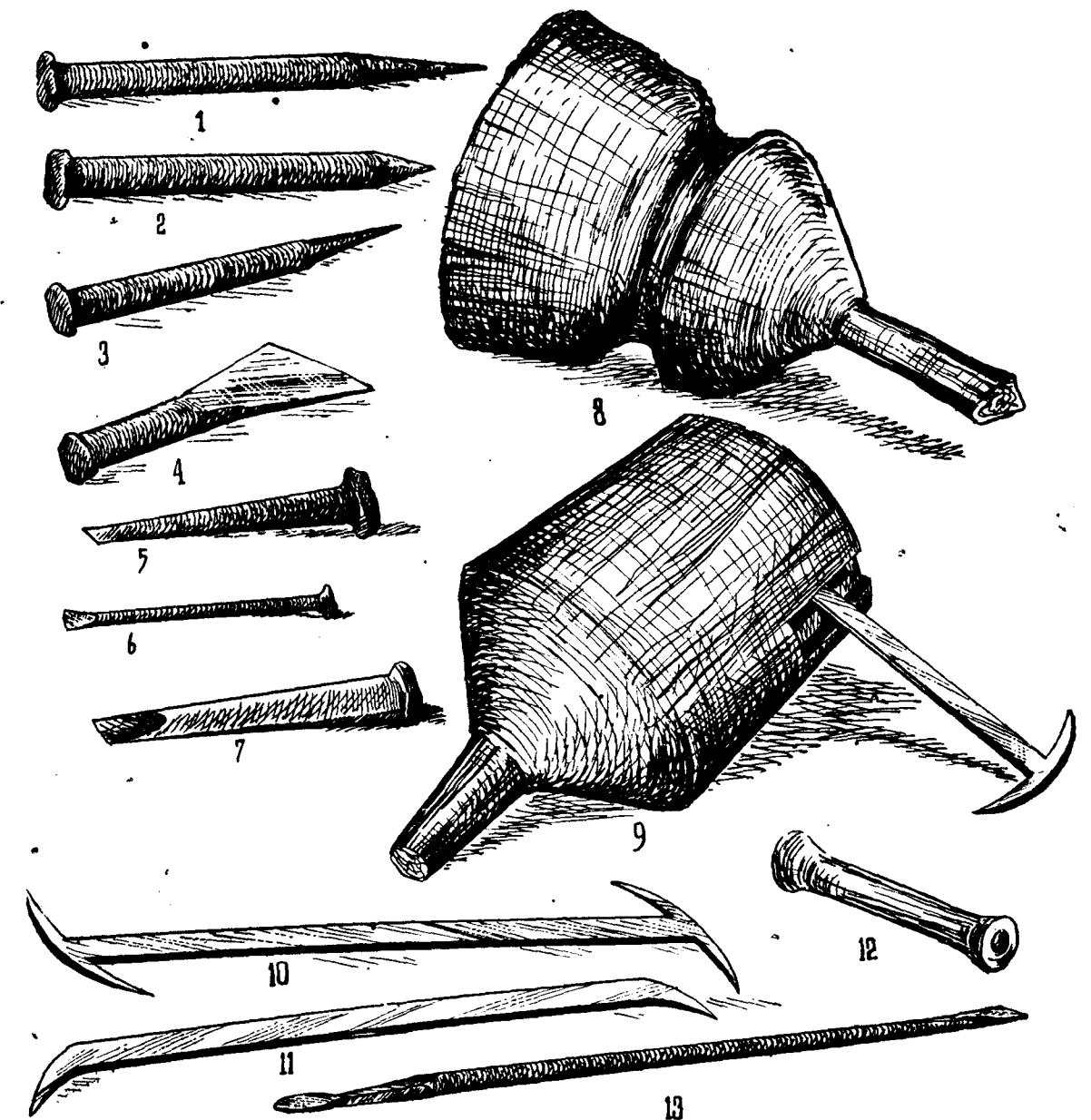
52. The community-wise distribution of the 83 stone handicraft establishments in the village is Khandayats (56), Niaris (17), Goudas (5), Bariks (3), Tantis (2). Except a few establishments run in separate workshop-sheds set up behind the dwelling houses, are accommodated on the courtyards and the verandahs. Out of 83 workshops only 20 were in commission at the time of survey and the remaining 63 were closed for want of raw materials. It is usually the members of the household who run these establishments. Outside workers are seldom engaged except by a few at the end and final stages of the product. In all, 173 workers (172 males and one female) were reported to find part-time employment in this trade. Some 7 of the male workers are considered highly skilled being specially trained for making images. 146 workers belong to Khandayat community, 17 to Niari community, 5 are from Gouda community and Barik and Tanti communities claim 3 and 2 workers respectively. As stated earlier, besides these workers, men and women labourers

from Baulagadia and the neighbouring villages are employed for transportation of the raw materials during the collection season.

53. Each establishment has its own tools, locally called *Tangi*, *Patali* and *Mugura* which are used in the first and second stages. The third and fourth stages of the work are done in only 6 establishments with *Kunda* (lathe), *Karandi* and *Matha*. The establishments owning lathes belong to 6 Khandayats. Though these are essentially meant for the last two stages of the work, the first and second stage work is also got done here when there is not enough work during the final stages. The Stone Workers' Co-operative Society also runs 5 lathes, though not to the full capacity by engaging workers from the village.

54. The first stage of the work commences with the cutting of stones from the pits. Although this stage does not require much skill, yet unskilled workers are seldom employed except to lift stones from the pit and to carry them to the workshops. The stone workers themselves do the cutting. This stage is called *Mara*. The size of the stone is determined according to the article to be prepared out of it. This saves much time and labour in transportation. The worker uses *Tangi*, a pointed iron implement made of iron and *Mugura*, a wooden hammer. The stone-pieces cut from the bottom of the pit are again sized properly to suit the requirement. The weight is also considerably reduced since transportation to the village—some 5 miles off presents a sizeable problem. At this stage a worker earns Rs. 2.50 per day if he does only stone cutting. Wage for carrying about one maund of stone from the pit to the village is @ Rs. 1.25 for a male and Re. 1.00 for a female. Transportation of the raw materials is done through hired labourers.

55. The second stage of the work is done in the workshops using *Patali*, smaller *Tangi* and *Mugura*. The shape of the article is carved out by *Tangi* and the surface is smoothed with *Patali*. This stage is known as *Ghada* and does not require a helper as the worker placing the stone piece between his legs does chiselling and smoothening with both



TOOLS USED IN STONE HANDICRAFTS

- | | |
|--------------------|--------------------|
| 1, 2 and 3. Tangi | 9. Benta |
| 4. Patali | 10 and 11. Karandi |
| 5, 6 and 7. Chheni | 12. Benta |
| 8. Mugura | 13. Matha |

hands while he uses both the feet for rotating. The average income of a worker at this stage of the work is about Rs. 3/- per day. If the worker is employed by another, he does not receive daily wages. On the other hand, he is paid at the rate fixed for each work. The prevailing rates are Rs. 5/- for a *Kunda* (bowl), Rs. 2/- for a *Parat*, Re. 0.75 for a *Thali*, Re. 0.75 for a *Bati*, Rs. 1.50 for a jug, Re. 0.62 for a tumbler, Rs. 1.50 for a jar, Re. 0.75 for a cup and a saucer. The rates also vary according to the size of the articles prepared.

56. The third stage of the work is accomplished by *Kunda* or lathe, a country-made wooden roller about 3 feet long set on a wooden frame and worked with hand. Other implements used in this stage are two types of *Karandis* one of which is I-shaped having sharp edges and the other variety, a rod with both the ends slightly curved and sharp. Both the instruments are fixed to wooden handles before they are put to use. Another iron implement used in this stage is called *Matha*, a long iron rod whose one end is pointed and sharp and the other end is blunt and shaped as a ball.

57. In this stage, some wax is attached to one end of the axle of the lathe. The wax is heated and the article to be given its final shape is fixed to it. The correct position is secured by means of the *Matha*. After it is set in correct position, processing is done at first by using the *Karandis* and finally with the sharp edge of the *Matha*. This stage needs a skilled worker as a slight error in the movement of the hands results in damage or loss of shape and proportion of the product. The skilled worker needs one or two unskilled labourers who are called *Hunchuda* to turn the lathe. Two labourers are required when heavy articles are fixed to the lathe for processing, otherwise one person rotates it at ease.

58. In this stage, an ordinary labourer gets Rs. 1.25 per day towards his wage. The skilled labourer gets at different rates according to the size and type of articles processed. The rates for processing a *Kunda* ranges up to Rs. 6/- per piece, while it varies up to Rs. 5/-

for a *Parat*. The usual rate for a piece of *Thali* or *Bati* is Rs. 1.12, while Rs. 3/- is paid for a jug and Rs. 2/- for a *Bayam*. The rates for tumbler, tea cup and saucer ranges up to Re. 0.75.

59. After being processed in lathes, the articles are taken back to the former workshops and there some of the articles such as *Surai* and jug having more than one component are joined with wax. The articles after the third stage are ready for sale and some are disposed of. But the bulk of the products undergo the final stage. In this stage the articles are polished with three types of stones, called Chrome stones. One of the stones is green whereas the other two are black. They are again glazed with three kinds of polishing stones, one is yellow, the other is black and the third is white. The finishing touch is given with yellow coloured wax polish. The articles are washed and heated over the lathe and the wax polish is applied. When it cools the colour turns black. It is said that polishing and glazing of the stone products have been introduced since the formation of the co-operative society in 1955.

60. The wages of the workers engaged in the final stage also vary according to the size and the nature of the article. The worker earns about Rs. 4/- for a *Parat* and Rs. 2/- to Rs. 3/- for other plates. The rates for bowls ranges up to Rs. 3/-.

61. Unlike the utensils and other utility articles, the stone images are not sent to the lathe machines. The images are hand-made and finally are polished and glazed. The image makers earn Rs. 5/- per day on the average. As image making consumes time and labour, only a few workers occasionally prepare them on indent from the Society. Some of the images of gods and goddesses are priced up to Rs. 70/-.

62. In 1963, the Co-operative Society appointed an instructor from Calcutta on a monthly remuneration of Rs. 150/-, who during his short stay of 8 months introduced new features and designs to the industry. It

is true that for generations, the only training grounds have been the family workshops where the youngsters have served their time ungrudgingly with their elders. Setting up of an institution or a production-cum-training centre has never been attempted to train them up on more remunerative and imaginative lines.

Stone Workers' Co-operative Society

63. The Society was formed in 1955 with 25 members from Baulagadia and 3 from Angola, a neighbouring village. Members were enrolled on payment of Re. 1/- towards share capital and an entrance fee of Re. 0.50 each. Since then, the Society has marched a long way forward. The number of shareholders has increased to 325, out of which 95 persons belong to Baulagadia and the rest are drawn from 24 neighbouring villages.

64. A Board of Directors has been constituted with 9 members among whom the Subdivisional Officer, Nilgiri, Block Industries Extension Officer and Forest Ranger are the official members while the remaining six are elected from among the shareholders. The Subdivisional Officer functions as the president and the posts of vice-president, secretary and cashier are held by three non-official members. The Board of Directors meets once every month and the general meeting of the shareholders is held once a year.

65. The Society's assets consist of Rs. 50,000.00 being the working capital received on loan from the Central Government, share capital amounting to Rs. 437.00 and entrance fees of Rs. 162.50. Apart from this, subsidy amounting to Rs. 37,720.00 was received from the State Government in 1956 and another subsidy amounting to Rs. 3,040.00 in 1960. Out of this subsidy, Rs. 20,000.00 was spent for construction of a building and another Rs. 13,000.00 towards cost of 2 water pumps which were needed to pump out water from the stone quarries.

66. The primary function of the Society is to promote improvement of the handicraft industry. It acted as buyer of the handicraft

products from both members and non-members. It also took lease of the stone quarries from the Forest Department which were previously held by middlemen. So far, no improved technique or implements have been introduced through the Society.

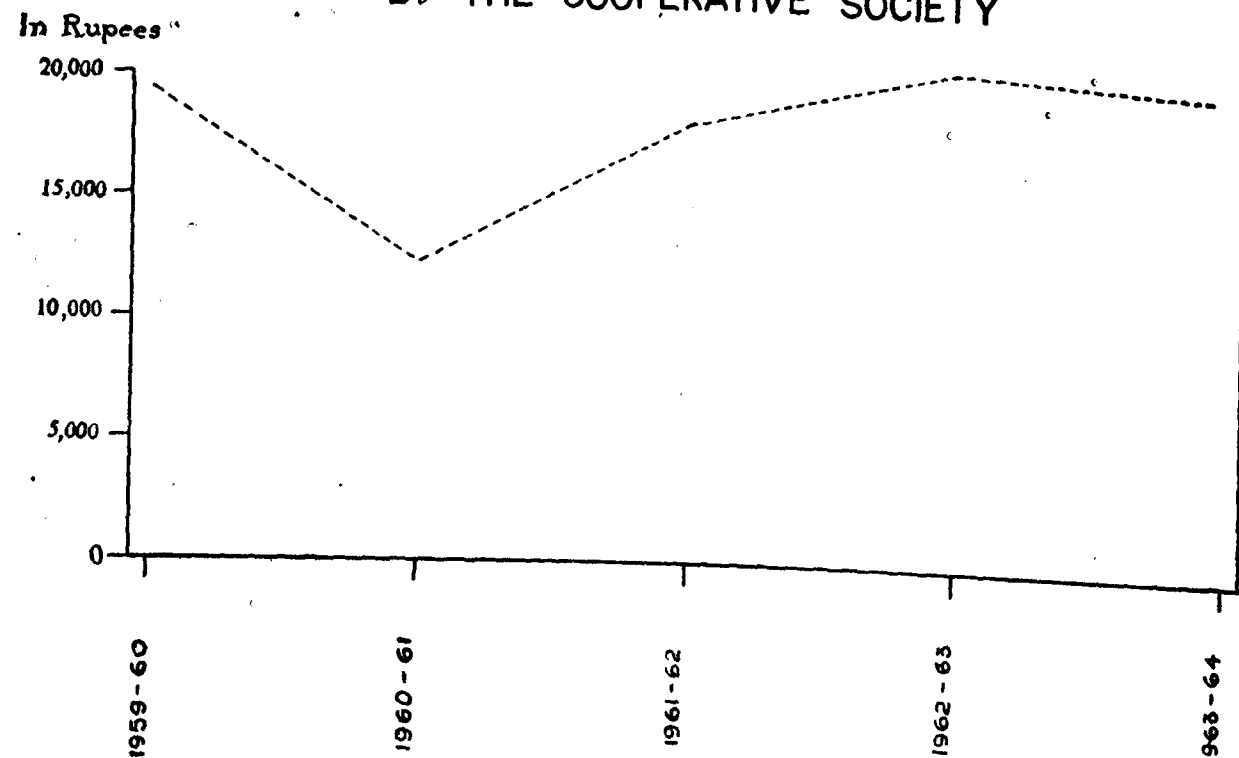
67. It is sad that in spite of the organization of the Co-operative Society, all is not well with this industry. Although signs of decline are not yet manifest, it is clear that the objective factors operating around the industry are portentous and should be seriously taken note of.

Stone chips and boulders are now under collection from quarries about a mile off from Baulagadia. Trucks carrying the same for construction of the National Highway No. 5 ply via. Mukundapur, Chintamonipur and Bidu. As the work offers much higher wages, of late, there has been a flight of young artisans from the stonewares industry to boulder collection. At present, it is practically the few old artisans who stick on to this traditional occupation.

There is no road to the quarry for facilitating transport of raw materials. The foot path from Baulagadia is long and tortuous, half of the distance of five miles passes through fields and forests and the other half wades through the dense forests of a steep hillock. The path lies abandoned during the rains. It is claimed by the artisans that the face of the industry will change if only a road could be constructed to ease the problem of transport. The road suggested is from Baulagadia to Santragadia, which is a part of the existing Baulagadia-Nilgiri Road and needs improvement; and from Santragadia to Khumkut, another two miles that should be constructed anew. Even today, large-sized stones are rolled from hill top on Khumkut side to be transported on this road. The suggestion to improve this road certainly deserves an investigation.

The problem of stone cutting and collection is yet another woeful tale. The black

ANNUAL VALUE OF PRODUCTS SOLD BY THE COOPERATIVE SOCIETY



granite is no longer available at the surface; one has, at times, to cut through hundreds of feet of deep layers of hard granite to get at it. And the pity is that the entire process is manually served. The process is slow and patient and to be wedded to it, one needs perseverance and dedication that appears in this industry, to be the prerogative of age. With the change in the pattern of occupation, a young man seldom feels inclined to put up with this rigour when alternative occupations, less arduous yet more paying tempt him at his threshold.

The last is the problem of rising wages and high pricing of the products, the latter being partially the outcome of fall in production. The competition in the market from china-ware, stainless steel and other equivalent products goes more stiff with the rise in prices of these articles. There is no mechanical aid at any stage—neither at the boring nor at the lathe stage so that sheer manual processing at every stage of the operation reduces output while raising the cost.

68. It is gathered from the office-bearers of the Society that the following business was transacted during the past five years.

Year	Value of products sold (in rupees)
1959-60	19,312.93
1960-61	12,152.49
1961-62	18,034.93
1962-63	20,387.77
1963-64	19,862.20

These figures show signs of stagnation. It was explained by the old and aged members of the Society that stone-crafts was a flourishing trade of the village a couple of decades ago when the entire hill top nestled with the thatches of groups of workers and the discordant note of beat and repose of the hammer and the chisel brought life and hope to the weary traveller.

Marketing facilities

69. A major part of the handicraft products are sent to Calcutta for sale. The Society supplies the articles to the dealers in Calcutta. Within the State, the sale is made through the Co-operative Stores.

70. Local marketing facilities seem to be adequate with two grocery shops and a *hat* which sits thrice a week. There are a few shops and weekly markets at Iswarpur, Santaragadia and Bahanagabazar who also market their products.

Land reforms and other measures influencing economic life

71. During the Ruler's regime, settlement operations were carried out from time to time and the last operation ended in 1921. This settlement was for 15 years which expired in 1936. Revision settlement was not undertaken till the merger of the ex-State with Orissa. The tenure systems prevailing before merger are still operating. Besides *rayati* lands, there are *brahmottar* and *debottar* lands in this ex-State area. There are also *Jagirs* or service-tenure lands. A discussion has been made in earlier paragraphs with regard to the classification of lands and assessment of rent for different types of lands and variations in the rate of rent for categories of cultivators. A brief analysis regarding the rights and privileges enjoyed by different types of tenants is now given below.

Tenants with *rayati* right have absolute right on their lands. They had to obtain permission of the ex-State authorities only to fell trees standing on cultivable lands, whereas no authority or sanction was required for felling the trees standing on homestead lands.

72. *Brahmottar* grants of land were made to Brahmins for religious and intellectual purposes. These lands were held rent free and consisted of entire villages or detached holdings. The grantees were required to present cocoanuts and consecrated thread to the Raja and offer benediction. The owners were not free to alienate the land. Permission of the

State was necessary for transfers. They had no right over the trees, they could only enjoy its fruits. There are 4 Brahmin tenants in this village enjoying *brahmottar* lands to the extent of 4.50 acres which are rent free. The grantees of *brahmottar* lands are otherwise called *lakhrajars*. As they are no more required to render any service, it is proposed to resume the *brahmottar* rights and settle the lands with the present occupants, with *rayati* rights.

73. The Raja also created some *debottar* property in his State by granting either whole *debottar* villages or detached *debottar* holdings which were held by the grantees rent free. The holders of *debottar* lands are termed as *marfatdars* or trustees who cannot alienate the lands in any manner. The *marfatdars* can cultivate the lands personally or through sub-tenants from whom they collect paddy rent. In this village, there are 9.23 acres of *debottar* lands granted for the deities Chandrasekhar Mahadeb, Baladeba Jiu and Radhakrishna Jiu. The former two are situated at village Makundapur and the latter at Nilgiri. 2.15 acres of *debottar* land granted to *Chandrasekhar Mahadeb* is held by a person of Baulagadia as *marfatdar*, who is also the *Pujari* of the deity and cultivates the lands personally. The extent of *debottar* lands granted for Baladeba Jiu is 3.06 acres which is held by a person belonging to Makundapur. He is the *Pujari* of the deity and is also the *marfatdar*. These lands are cultivated by three sub-tenants belonging to Brahmin community of Baulagadia, who pay rent to the *marfatdar*. Radhakrishna Jiu has 4.02 acres of *debottar* lands in this village. To the *marfatdar* of this village, 3 sub-tenants belonging to Khandayat community pay rent as they are in cultivating possession of the lands.

74. Formerly, there were 7 kinds of *Jagirs* or service tenures in this village, namely, *Chhatia Jagir* or *Choukidar Jagir*, *Badhei Jagir*, *Kamar Jagir*, *Nagara Jagir*, *Hajini Jagir*, *Dhoba Jagir* and *Debata Pujari Jagir*. Of these, *Nagara Jagir*, *Hajini Jagir* and *Dhoba Jagir* had been abolished shortly before merger and the lands have been settled with

the occupants on full assessment of rent. The *Chhatia* Jagir lands measuring 3.25 acres are held by a choukidar belonging to the *Kandara* community. The *Badhei* Jagir lands measuring 2.35 acres are held by a carpenter who is engaged for construction of the carts of the temple of Radhakrishna and others situated at Nilgiri. In the past the holders of *Badhei* Jagir lands used to work in ex-State buildings and other public institutions. *Kamar* Jagir lands comprising 2.00 acres are held by 2 households. The holders, in lieu of the Jagir lands, used to render services for the temple chariots and other public institutions, etc. The Jagir lands are held by 2 Kamila households who have given up their traditional occupation. Yet, they continue to supply the required nails, etc., after purchasing the same from the market. *Debata Pujari* Jagir lands measuring 0.50 acre are held by a Bhumij who performs *seva* of the local deities named, *Kalika*, *Basantei*; *Mouda*, *Paschima*, *Chandi Sundari* and *Badamba*.

75. The land revenue was being collected by the *Sarbarakar*, an intermediary agent, till 1939 who got a commission of 12½ per cent of the rent and cesses collected by him. He was in charge of realising rents of several villages—some far away from his place of residence. This system has since been abolished. The rent is under collection by the agents of the State called Tahasildars and Revenue Inspectors.

76. Transfer of land was no easy matter during the Durbar regime. Previous permission of the authorities was necessary before execution of a deed for transfer of landed property. Partition, even among the brothers, was not allowed without prior permission. These restrictions no more exist. The parties concerned can transfer or partition their property and effect mutation by applying to the Revenue Officer. Transfer of land by an aboriginal to a non-aboriginal is, however, restricted under provisions of law. In absence of this restriction, it was easy to exploit the aboriginal tenants by inducing them to alienate their lands at low considerations.

77. Previously *Bethi* and *Beggari* prevailed in the ex-State. For any work taken up by

the State like construction of roads, *shikar* (hunting) parties of the ruler and for royal weddings, etc., each household had to provide one representative to work without remuneration. For weddings in the palace, each tenant had to pay something. Carrying of luggages, etc., of the members of the royal family and officials of the State on tour without any remuneration was compulsory. These practices have died out with the integration of the State in 1948.

Village Organization

78. Although the village is mostly inhabited by the Khandayats, there exists no caste Panchayat. In case of disputes, a meeting of the elderly persons of the village irrespective of the caste and creed is convened. For the sake of convenience, six villagers have been nominated to look after the interest of the villagers. The body of six is composed of one Brahmin, four Khandayats and one Dhoba member—all elected informally in a general gathering of villagers. No separate place is set apart for the deliberations; any convenient verandah of a villager serves the purpose. There is no fixed time, nor date for the meeting. It is only the exigency that determines everything.

79. When a turbulent bullock or buffalo of some villager gets into the kitchen garden of the neighbour, the case is brought before the committee of six. Both the parties appear with witnesses, and if the case is proved, the owner of the animal is fined rupees two to five according to the extent of the damage done. The committee of six also deals with matters relating to social customs.

80. There is no village officer at Baulagadia excepting the choukidar. He keeps the officer in charge of the Police Station informed of the births and deaths of the village and of the crime intelligence and statistics. He does not maintain any register.

Grama Panchayat

81. Baulagadia comes under the Iswarpur Grama Panchayat. The village has 2 wards, and therefore, sends 2 members to the Panchayat. At present one is a Khandayat and the

other a Gouda. Renovation of two tanks, sinking of two wells and establishment of a fruit orchard in the village are some development works done by the Panchayat.

82. A Jubak Sangha and a Mahila Samiti have also been organized which are reported to be functioning well. The Mahila Samiti at Baulagadia has 40 members. Its weekly meetings are convened in a private house rented for the purpose where among other things lessons on stitching are imparted. Milk powder is distributed to the children and parturient women.

83. The Jubak Sangha, apart from providing recreational facilities, popularises the habit of reading newspapers and books for which it maintains a library.

Graingola Co-operative Society

84. The Graingola Co-operative Society for Iswarpur Grama Panchayat started functioning in 1955. Out of 376 members in 1963, 120 persons are from Baulagadia. Landless people are not allowed to hold shares. Value of each share is 20 seers of paddy or rupee one in cash. The share-holders may borrow paddy or money. One may purchase any number of shares.



4. SOCIAL AND CULTURAL LIFE

Social customs

The social and cultural life of a village is determined to an extent by its ethnic composition. The numerically dominating community or the communities in the higher order always exert their predominating influence on other strata of the social life. At times, fusion of social customs occur in villages of multi-ethnic composition. In Baulagadia also, such trends and processes at work are perceptible. Here the Khandayats, predominating in number follow customs of the higher class Hindus, yet customs, beliefs and superstitions relating apparently to castes of lower status have crept into them due to their long association with the people of these communities. Similarly, other communities have adopted largely the customs of the higher caste Hindus while still retaining some of their own. In essence, the customs of the communities at Baulagadia appear greatly similar except in matters of details in practice. This chapter deals with the customs of the Khandayat community to the exclusion of others as any discussion of the customs of all the communities would spell repetition.

Birth

2. With the growing anxiety of the parents for a grandchild after the marriage of their son, their reverence for the deities also increases. The father, after his morning ablutions prays God near the *Tulsi Choura* (a raised platform with the sacred basil tree) daily with bent knees and folded hands to bless him with a grandson and the mother, with an ardent longing for the same, offers *pujas* to many gods and goddesses. Very frequently, but particularly every Monday, she fasts till the 'Siva-Puja' is over in the village temple by the Brahmin priest, especially arranged by her, with offerings of milk, plantains, one hundred and eight fresh *Bael* (*Aegle marmelose*) leaves and a few grains of *Bhang* (*Cannabis sativa*). The *Prasad* of the *Puja* is partaken by the daughter-in-law with all reverence. The

mother-in-law takes every possible step to propitiate the deities so that the daughter-in-law may bring forth a child early—particularly a male child—through the grace of God. She dreams and talks about often how she would be fondling the babe, she stores the softest old linen, made clean, for preparing small beds for the babe by stitching them together and folding into convenient size of about half a metre square. The mother-in-law never fails to keep the correct date of the last menstruation of the daughter-in-law. The lapse of a fortnight from the date of menstruation without the daughter-in-law having it makes the mother-in-law hopefully suspicious.

3. Some day, she detects signs of nausea in her daughter-in-law and this confirms her suspicion. She is led to think at once that her most cherished desire is coming to fruition and she prays God for it from the core of her heart. From then on, she keeps a close and constant watch on the movements of the daughter-in-law who is then kept under certain restrictions. She is not allowed to go to a stream or tank alone, she must not cross a stream on foot, she is not allowed to cut melons, gourds or fish into two pieces. She cannot go to the temples of Kali, Chandi and Durga. She cannot attend any funeral feast and she must not visit a house in mourning. Her husband also, has to observe certain traditional restrictions. He must not join any funeral procession nor visit any house in mourning; he must not kill any goat, sheep, fowl or duck.

4. Delivery generally takes place at the house of the husband. If the father of the woman is very rich and there is some inconvenience at the husband's house, she goes to her father's house after completion of the eighth month of pregnancy. The woman during the period is seldom kept idle. She keeps busy, as usual, with her normal household work.

5. She is given nutritious food everyday with frequent changes in the menu. On the

completion of the eighth month of pregnancy, the father of the woman sends various food articles including fish and sweets and also a new sari for the daughter. On the next day various delicacies are prepared at home and the friends and relatives in the village are invited to a feast. The mother-in-law feeds the daughter-in-law with her own hands to her heart's content. The woman wears the new sari presented by her father and bows down first before the family deity and then before her father-in-law, mother-in-law and other superiors. The occasion is called *Sadkhia* (a corruption of *Sadhabhakshana*, which means eating of the cherished food). Within a week of the *Sadkhia*, the father-in-law arranges another feast at his place where different delicacies are served to the daughter-in-law. Thereafter, the neighbours continue to feed her well till the delivery.

6. When the time of delivery draws nigh, a convenient small room in the house is made clean for the confinement and small logs of dried wood (*sal* or *karanj*) are kept ready for use after the birth of the child. A professional midwife of the Kandara caste is brought in as soon as labour starts. Two or three experienced women of the family or caste attend on the woman along with the midwife. She is taken into the room reserved for the delivery. No male member is allowed inside the room. The woman gives birth to the child on the bare floor of the room. After the birth of the child, the umbilical cord is severed by the midwife with the sharpened edge of a shell. The sex of the child is announced by her when it cries for the first time and if it is a male one, conch shells are blown loudly and the women waiting outside welcome the news with *hulhuli* (a sonorous sound made with rapid movements of the tongue).

7. The umbilical cord is kept in a broken bit of an old earthen pitcher or pot and with the placenta, it is buried outside the house by the midwife. The child is then washed with lukewarm water in a basin and a little paste of turmeric is touched to the navel. The body of the mother is then cleaned by sponging in warm water. Care is taken to keep the wounds away from exposure to contagions. She is then attired in her sari.

8. A bed of old clothes is spread on the floor upon a mat for the mother with a tiny bed for the child beside her. Dried logs are set fire to near the bed and hot compresses are given to the mother by the midwife to allay her pains. The logs remain burning day and night till the morning of the seventh day when they are thrown away into water by the midwife. A few drops of honey are given to the baby on the first day. The mother is kept on liquid diet. A heavy dose of powdered dried ginger and *pippali* mixed with cow's ghee is administered to the mother about two hours after the delivery.

9. Pollution is observed for 21 days in all cases of child birth among the Khandayats. The first stage of pollution expires on the seventh day, the day of *Uthiari* (removal)—when the mother and baby are removed to another room from the lying-in room. The final purification takes place on the twenty-first day of the delivery. A bundle of *Siju* twigs is kept hanging at the entrance door of the house to indicate pollution in the house due to child-birth and this is removed and thrown into a stream or tank in the morning of the twenty-first day. During the period of pollution, no alms are given to beggars, no outsider accepts food touched by a member of the household having child-birth and no member of the family visits any shrine or place of worship. The father of the child will not shave and will not visit a house in mourning, far less to think of acting as a pall-bearer.

10. During the period, the mother is not allowed to move about in the house and is also not allowed to touch the pitcher of drinking water or the cooking pots and pans, etc. No member of the house is allowed to touch the mother, the babe or the midwife and their belongings in that room. The mother is given two meals a day from the second day. The first meal is served at about 11 A.M. consisting of hot rice, cow's ghee and a soup of vegetables like brinjals, green plantains and potatoes. The last meal is served immediately after sun set which consists of fried flattened rice with a little cow's ghee, some garlic and a pinch of salt. Milk, if available is given with a bit of sugar. The child is fed with goat's milk for two to three days till the mother lactates.

Sometimes caste women feed the babe from their breasts during this period.

11. On the sixth day, the horoscope of the child is prepared with the help of a village astrologer. Puja is offered to *Sathibudhi* with offerings of rice, cakes and fish curry. The mother and other members present on the occasion partake the *Prasad*. The maternal uncle of the child comes invited with some sweets, ornaments and toys for the baby.

12. On the seventh day, the preliminary purification is made. All the houses are dabbed with cowdung mixed in water. The old earthen pots and pitchers of the house are replaced by new ones. The old rugs used by the mother and babe are thrown into water. The room used by the mother and babe is also cleaned in the above way and resin is burnt profusely. Both are removed to another room after their purificatory bath.

13. The parents of the new born go to a bathing ghat where the father gets shaved by a barber, and the mother pares her nails. Both of them with other members of the house take purificatory baths and then all return home. They all eat a grain or two of *Mahaprasad* specially stored for the purpose. All members of the household, thereafter, may touch the mother and the child. The mother, however, does not enter into the kitchen nor is she allowed to touch any utensil or cooking pot.

14. The final purification is made on the twenty-first day. The houses are cleaned again and dabbed with a coating of cow-dung mixed in water. All the used earthen pots, bamboo baskets, broomsticks, etc., are replaced by new ones. The cotton clothes are given to the washerman for a steam wash. The baby and the mother are provided with clean soft beds in another room.

15. In the evening of that day (21st day), a 'Puja' is offered to *Satyanarayan* which is done by the Brahmin priest of the family. Cakes, sweets and *Sirini* (a paste of plantains, sugar and milk) are distributed among the guests present. A name is given to the child.

16. The child is fed upon goat's milk in addition to its sucking the mother's breasts. When it is about 10 months old and some teeth appear, it is then given rice cakes steamed with

milk. A child usually sucks up to the age of one year or even a little more.

17. Rice is given to the babe first on an auspicious day. The maternal uncle comes invited. A few other relatives are also invited on the occasion. The Brahmin priest performs *puja* after which all enjoy a feast.

Puberty

18. Girls attain puberty generally within the age group of 13 to 15. As soon as a girl has her first menstruation, she is kept confined to a room which is generally dark. She comes outside stealthily only to answer the calls of nature and all the time she remains closed inside the room. The mother, grandmother or some other woman caters to her food and other necessities within the room. She is not allowed to bathe till the flow stops. Ordinarily the girl remains confined for seven days. She is not allowed to touch articles except those exclusively meant for her. Members of the family do not touch her during the period of seclusion. If, by accident, someone does, he or she must bathe and should wash the cloth.

19. A village astrologer is consulted about the future of the girl and future course of action, if any, by the parents depends much on his forecasts.

20. At dawn on the eighth day, she takes her bath in a stream or tank accompanied by her mother, aunt or some elderly woman of the house. She then wears a new cloth and goes to the temple of the village where she bows down before the deity and chews a few *Tulsi* or *Bael* leaves. This done, she comes home where some sweets are given to her. Then she bows down before the superiors in the house. She has to cook that day and distribute the food to the family members herself.

21. From that day she is kept under strict vigilance. She is not allowed to move about freely and talk with young lads. Whenever she goes out, some woman of the house generally accompanies her.

Marital status

22. Table No. IX in the Appendix deals with the age and marital status of the villagers. Of the total population of 752, 354 persons or nearly 47 per cent are married and 107 persons

or nearly 14.2 per cent are widowed leaving 38.8 per cent of the total population still unmarried. Out of the total 384 males, 177 or nearly 46.09 per cent are married and 177 females out of 368 or nearly 46.3 per cent are married. The position may now be examined in different broad age groups. Only 1 female in the age group 0—14 years is married out of 241 persons in this age group. The married persons in the age group 15—24 mostly consist of the females as 75 out of 81 females are married, whereas 13 males are married out of 45. The combined total percentage is that 70 per cent of the males and females are married in this age group. The next group of 25—59 years naturally bears the highest percentage in the marital status of the villagers with 251 persons married (75.6%) out of 332 in the age group. In the last age group of 60 years and above, there are only 14 married persons out of 53 in the age group and the percentage works out to 26.4. They are all males.

23. The widowed population consists of 27 males and 80 females or 14.2 per cent of the total population. Excluding 2 young widows in the age group 15—24 the rest are from the age group 25—59 and 60 years and above with 15 males and 51 females in the former and 12 males and 27 females in the latter age group. Happily, there are no persons with divorced or separated status in the village. This is rather a rare phenomenon as divorce and remarriage are practised among all the communities with the exception of Brahmins. Widow marriage is also allowed in these communities.

Marriage

24. With the exception of the Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe inhabitants of the village, the marriage customs of the other caste Hindus is primarily of the vedic type. Deviations from this can also be seen in some of the communities who have adopted some changes in accordance with their convenience. There are also differences in the observance of the customs primarily based on the economic status of the community or the family. While some of the affluent families follow the prescribed procedure in detail with elaborate arrangements, others stick to the sacred rites only and

dispense with some of the expensive arrangements. Even then the expenditure on simple marriage functions run to a couple of hundreds of rupees and a fairly good number of persons have incurred loans either for their own marriage or for the marriage of their sons, daughters and brothers.

25. Marriage is a sacrament with the Khandayats and selection of a partner for life is too important a matter to be left to the immature brains of the youngsters. When the daughter attains puberty, the mother observes it with her husband to arrange for the marriage of the daughter. Ordinarily the marriageable age of a girl varies between 14 and 18.

26. The father of a girl goes in quest of a suitable son-in-law. He consults an astrologer who enlightens him with certain broad indications about the marriage. Accordingly the father of the girl visits the house of a casteman who has a son of marriageable age and whom he (the father of the girl) knew long before. Marriage negotiations seldom occur between parties unknown to each other.

27. Sometimes a mediator is selected and with him and one or two relatives, the girl's father comes to the house of a youngman's house. They discuss about the proposal and the youngman's father or guardian willing, a date is fixed up for the groom's father to see the bride.

28. On the appointed day, the father of the youngman accompanied by one or two of his relatives comes to the house of the girl's father. They are received very cordially and are seated on a *durry* covered with a clean sheet. *Pan* and cigarettes are offered after which they begin their talk. The visitors desire to see the girl, and accordingly the father of the girl goes inside his house and asks his wife or any other senior lady member of the family to escort the girl to the presence of the visitors. The girl is decorated with some ornaments and is attired in a coloured sari with a blouse and a petticoat. A long veil covers her face. Both of them remain standing near the guests and after a few minutes of their arrival, the father of the girl asks the mother to show the face of the daughter. The mother, accordingly lifts the veil. The visitors stare at her

with a smile. The mother and daughter then leave the place when the visitors keenly observe their walk and movements.

29. If the girl meets the approval of the visitors, they decide next to see the girl's father and the mediator fixes up once again a meeting at the youngman's house for which a date is fixed. If the youngman's father insists on comparison of horoscopes, this is done by the village astrologer. If there is coincidence, the marriage may take place, otherwise there can be no proposal and the matter is dropped altogether. If all goes well, the father of the girl comes to the house of the youngman's father with the mediator and one or two relations. Discussions take place regarding the dowry and other details and fixation of a day for the betrothal. All are treated to a dinner and then return home.

30. On the appointed day, the betrothal ceremony takes place at the girl's house. The fathers of the girl and the youngman with their relations, the mediator and a Brahmin priest remain present in the ceremony. The Oriya almanac for the year is consulted by the Brahmin priest for a suitable auspicious day convenient to both parties. The best time for marriage is considered to be sometime during the months of Magha and Falguna corresponding to the period from mid-January to march. *Mahaprasad* brought from the temple of Lord Jagannath at Puri or from some other temple is distributed first. All the guests are then fed sumptuously on the day of betrothal.

31. The Khandayats generally do not give bride price. Payment of dowry to the groom is also optional. Only the well-to-do give some dowry to the grooms. The daughter is given ornaments, utensils and clothes, etc., by the father during her marriage. In exceptional cases, the fathers of beautiful girls get money from the father of the well-to-do bridegroom to meet the marriage expenses. Both parties make arrangements for the marriage. Relations are invited through presentation of arecanuts by a barber. All the houses, at both places, are dabbed with cow-dung mixed in water and *chita* is drawn on the walls of the

house with a liquid prepared from powdered sundried rice and water.

32. Marriage booths or *Vedis* are constructed at both the bride and groom's house, with mud, the top being covered with green branches spread over a framework of bamboo supported on four bamboo posts on the four corners of the pulpit. These *Vedis* are decorated with chains of green mango leaves and festoons at least two days before the marriage ceremony. Marriage always takes place at the girl's house. Relatives of the groom assemble at his house two or three days ahead with their family members. They help in the various arrangements for the marriage. They also make presents of new clothes, rice and vegetables to the father or guardian of the groom. Similarly, at the bride's place, many relatives arrive invited with presents for the girl and foodstuff, etc., for use on the special occasion. These customary presents prove to be of immense help on such occasions.

33. The girl begins to wail with rhymes three or four days before the celebration, addressing her mother, grandmother, aunts, uncles, father, brothers, sisters and cousins in a pathetic tone reminiscing the fondness, love and affection with which she was brought up all along in the midst of her relations and family members under the benign protection of her parents and grandparents. This is customary or else the women folk would murmur that the girl was anxious to leave her father's house for her father-in-law's.

34. On the day preceding the marriage ceremony, a brother or cousin of the bride accompanied by a Brahmin priest and a barber come to the house of the groom with an invitation card on a palm-leaf scribed upon with an iron nail. They also bring some sweets and a new cloth for the groom. On their arrival at the groom's place, conch shells are blown and *hulhuli* is given by the women. They are very cordially treated at the groom's house and are asked to stay on to escort the groom's party to their house next morning.

35. With the first crowing of the cock, the mother of the groom leaves her bed and awakens other members of the house. She comes to the son first and asks him to get ready for the bath. Oil of any kind is not used for

toilet on such occasions, instead cow's ghee which is held auspicious is used.

36. The groom takes a cold bath with the help of his mother, aunts and other women relatives. He is then attired in the new red bordered dhoti brought by the brother of the girl and his new jersey and shirt—all dyed yellow with paste of turmeric. The sisters of the groom then decorate his face with the paste of sandal wood in an artistic way. He then appears before the Brahmin priest who marks his (groom's) forehead with vermilion and sprinkles a few grains of sundried rice with some flowers, some grains of sesamum seeds and leaves of plum trees. The groom is not given any solid food to eat till the marriage is over.

37. By noon, on the day of marriage, arrangement is made for the procession of the groom's party. All the invited male relatives and many castemen and friends of other castes, the father, uncles and cousins, all constitute the groom's party along with a band of drummers and trumpeteers. They all take their food at the groom's house before they start.

38. The mother and other women of the family bless the groom on the eve of their departure. The Brahmin priest chants hymns blessing the groom and sprinkles sundried rice and flowers on him. The groom's party start in a procession with right eclat. The drummers and trumpeteers lead the procession followed by the bridegroom seated on a palanquin borne by the Goudas. Others follow next. The well-to-do families arrange carts or cars for the party members if the distance is long enough and there are good roads to the village of the bride.

39. Marriage generally takes place after the evening and night-marriages are considered auspicious. If there is no auspicious *lagna* (time) at night, marriage takes place during the day time though such cases are rare.

40. Amidst revelry and jubilation, the procession continues. Though the extent of light arrangements is a matter of means, a country musical party is a must-be for such occasions. Funds permitting, some persons also arrange for fire works. The procession is made as lively as is possible. On reaching

the house of the bride, the party is most cordially received by elderly members and relations of the bride's family. The barbers then wash their feet. The groom remains seated on his palanquin. All the members of the party are given seats on durries spread round the *Vedi* (marriage pulpit).

41. On the day of marriage, the bride takes her bath long before the dawn, anointing paste of turmeric and ghee. She wears a new red-bordered sari dyed yellow with paste of turmeric and her forehead is decorated with paste of sandalwood. She is not given any solid food till the nuptial ceremony is over.

42. The women folk of the bride's house (mother, aunts and sisters of the bride) approach the palanquin and welcome the groom amidst blowing of conches and *hulhuli* and the mother of the bride, holding a lighted earthen lamp in her right hand moves it round the face of the groom thrice. This is called *bandapana*. Next comes the Brahmin priest who blesses the groom uttering hymns and then escorts him to the *Vedi* and gets him seated on a new piece of plank, facing the east and leaving sufficient space for seating the bride.

43. The members of the groom's party are served with some light refreshments. Smokes and *pan* are freely distributed.

44. Meanwhile, the rites of the marriage ceremony are pushed through one after another. The detailed rituals in a Khandayat family are merely a replica of the patterns of customs in the vedic style adopted by the Brahmins.

45. The bride is escorted to the *Vedi* by her mother dressed in a silk sari, red or yellow in colour with a long veil and decorated with new ornaments. She is seated beside the groom on a new piece of plank. As soon as the bride is seated on her seat, the priest sprinkles a few grains of sundried rice with flowers and leaves of the plum-tree uttering hymns of blessing. Then he ties two pith crowns one on each of the foreheads of the groom and the bride with cotton threads. This done, the priest starts libation of ghee on a burning pile of sticks arranged in front of him. The god of fire is made a witness to the happy union. Thereafter, *Kautuka Sutra* is tied

to the wrists of the groom and the bride. This consisting of a few mango leaves, folded and made into a pad is tied by the priest to the right and left wrists of the groom and the bride respectively with cotton threads dyed yellow with turmeric and made holy.

46. A new sheet is covered over the heads of the groom and the bride and each sees the face of the other. The bride keeps her eyes closed although the veil from her face is removed for the time being. The priest then makes arrangement for the union of their palms. He, with two or three other Brahmins, who come invited to help him, prepares a string of new cotton and makes it holy with utterances of *mantras*. Then he unites the right-palms of the bride and the groom and binds them with the holy thread prepared there. After a few minutes, a younger sister or cousin of the bride unties the knot after some fun. The Brahmin priest blesses the couple with hymn. Thus ends the marriage ceremony.

47. The bride and groom are escorted into the house by the mother, sister and other relatives of the bride. They are seated on a new mat and made to play with seven *cowries* with the help of the women members one by one. Each woman makes presents of coins to the groom for the first time.

48. In the meantime, a grand feast is arranged at the bride's house where all the members of the groom's party and the invitees are entertained. Fish and sweets are freely catered among many other items of delicacies.

49. The groom and the bride are first given soaked-rice with curd after the ceremony to break their fast. Then they are fed with various delicacies.

50. Next morning, after breakfast, the groom's party make arrangement to return home with the bride. The bride is carried in a *Sabari* and the groom in a palanquin. They all return in a procession, the musicians leading it. The father of the bride presents some dowry to his daughter as well as to the son-in-law, in the shape of new clothes, ornaments, new utensils and bed, etc., which are all carried to the groom's house. A brother of the bride accompanies his sister. When the groom's party reach the house of the groom, the mother

if not a widow and 6 other married women (but not widows) come out to receive the couple. The mother holding a lighted earthen lamp in her right hand, moves it round the faces and heads of the couple and then embraces them and escorts them inside. Near the threshold of the entrance door sits a sister of the groom with her legs stretched who lets in her mother and her brother but not the new sister-in-law. Someone of the party, generally the bride's brother, makes some presents to the sister of the groom and then only the bride is let inside.

51. The couple are then made to sit on a new mat inside a room and the women folk come one by one and make the couple play with seven *cowries*. Each of them makes presents of coins and ornaments to the new daughter-in-law for seeing her face for the first time. Thereafter the couple are fed with delicacies. The relatives of the groom who come on invitation stay on till the *Chauthi* (the fourth day of marriage) and others return to their houses.

52. The groom and the bride are not allowed to meet in seclusion until the *Chauthi* ceremony is over. On this day (the fourth day), the father of the bride sends various food-stuffs, sweets, fish, etc., to the new son-in-law's house. A grand feast is arranged at the groom's house to which friends, relatives and castemen are invited. By evening, the Brahmin priest comes and makes libation of cow's ghee on a small burning pile of sticks in the room meant for the couple. The couple remain present all the while. The ancestor-spirits are invoked to bless the couple.

53. After parting of the invitees, the bride, decorated with many ornaments and clad in a new yellow-dyed cotton cloth with a red border is escorted into a room. An earthen lamp remains burning in the room all through the night.

54. From the next day, the relatives that came on invitation, begin to return to their own houses. The sisters of the groom with their husbands and children generally stay on till the *Astamangala* (eighth day) is over. The *Astamangala* or the eighth day celebration is the concluding ceremony of the wedding. A

water carnival takes place in the afternoon wherein the bride, the groom and their cousins, sister-in-laws and grand-parents take active part, though the uncles and aunts join the same. Mutual throwing of coloured water is the marked feature of the ceremony. When there is no coloured water, mud and mire of a tank or river, where all assemble for a clean wash, are freely used. This important custom was perhaps devised to create early an atmosphere of familiarity in the family for the new daughter-in-law.

55. Before the brother of the bride returns to his house, he is presented with a new cloth by his brother-in-law. Marriage among the Khandayats does not take place within the same family, i.e. there is no cross cousin marriage or parallel cousin marriage. A maternal uncle or a paternal uncle cannot marry a niece. One cannot marry one's wife's elder sister. The younger brother does not marry the widow of the elder brother as is customary in many other castes. Sorority, however, is sanctioned in Khandayat society.

56. Widow marriage is allowed in the community. This is known as *Sanga* (partnership) where many formal rites are eschewed. The man desiring to marry a widow feeds his castemen sumptuously and there announces his intention to take a particular widow as his spouse. Divorce is not customary in the Khandayat community. Neither the husband nor the wife can be divorced.

57. Child marriage was always rare with this community. It is even rarer to-day.

Death

58. Death is generally considered as the natural outcome after a prolonged illness but when a youngman dies accidentally, it is accepted as the result of some sin in the family.

59. When death takes place in a Khandayat family, all the family members assemble round the dead body and the younger ones touch their heads to the feet of the deceased amidst loud lamentations. Very soon the relatives and castemen of the village flock to the house in mourning and try to console the bereaved members. They make speedy arrange-

ment for the removal of the dead body to the cremation ground.

60. A bier is prepared with six poles of bamboo, cut to size, in the shape of a ladder. A new pitcher is procured and a bundle of straw is kept ready for being carried to the grave. If the survivors of the deceased are well-to-do persons, they arrange to have bundles of dried *tulsi* plants and some chips of sandal-wood for burning in the funeral pile. A new cloth and a wick of cotton immersed in cow's ghee, some flowers and paste of sandal-wood are also kept ready for burning with the dead body.

61. When the preliminaries are ready, the body is conveyed to the bier by the surviving members of the family with three loud shouts of *Haribol* amidst bewailings of the womenfolk. The eldest son lays a wreath of flowers round the neck of the deceased and others present follow suit. The body is then tied tightly to the bier.

62. The dead body is touched by the successors, agnates and castemen. Others must not touch it as carrying the bier is confined to the castemen only.

63. The funeral procession starts with the eldest son leading, who carries the bundle of straw in his hand. The pall-bearers follow him with shouts of *Haribol* at intervals and last come others carrying axes, crow bars, knives, the pitcher, cloth, dried faggots of *tulsi* plants, etc. Friends and sympathisers of other castes also accompany the procession. No woman or girl is allowed to join a funeral procession. As soon as the dead body is removed, the spot is dabbed with a mixture of cowdung with water and resin burnt profusely.

64. On reaching the cremation ground, the bier is kept on the ground and one of the survivors sits by its side touching it all the time till it is removed. The eldest son fetches a pitcher of water from the stream or tank nearby and with the help of other survivors or agnates, brings out the dead body from the bier and washes it. The new cloth brought from home is wrapped round it and the used one is thrown away. The forehead of the body is marked with paste of vermilion and a fresh wreath of flowers is put round the neck.

65. In the meantime, the funeral pyre is made ready with split logs of fire-wood. The dead body is then moved round the pyre thrice with shouts of *Haribol* by the survivors and then conveyed to the pyre with the face downward and the head northward. The *tulsi* plants are then strewn over the pyre along with the chips of sandal-wood. The eldest son gets the cotton wick lit and placing it near the face of the dead body, leaves the place. Others of the party make arrangement for the full consummation of the dead body.

66. When the body is fully burnt, the pallbearers and others come to the bathing ghat and take their baths. All then return home in mourning. At the entrance door, a bucket of water is kept for washing the feet of those who went to the cremation ground. A few leaves of *nim* tree (*Melia azadirachta*) and a little powdered turmeric are mixed with the water. All wash their feet with this water and then go inside. They are fed with flattened rice, curd and treacle and then they return home.

67. In the house of mourning, cooking is not done on the first day. All the members of the house eat flattened rice or fried rice.

68. On the morning of the second day, the eldest son in company with one or two other male members of the house comes to the place of cremation with a pitcher. They fetch water and pour over the ashes and then extract a bit of bone of the upper part of the body. This bit of bone is kept in a small tin case and is kept concealed in a secret place behind the house to be conveyed to the holy water of the Ganges or the Baitarani. On returning home, they take their baths. Pollution is observed for ten days. On the second day *Pitabhat* (bitter rice) is partaken by all the members of the family including the agnates. A few leaves of the *nim* tree are cooked with a pot of rice which is distributed among all the mourners.

69. The eldest son, who first set fire to the dead body, takes charge of the obsequies by remaining austere. He does not sleep on a bed or a cot for all these days but sleeps on a mat spread over the floor. No male mourner shaves his beard and moustache nor trims his hair. The women do not make any toilet nor do they use oil. Fish, meat, onions and garlic

are strictly forbidden as food during the days of pollution. No castemen will eat or drink in the house in mourning. The mourners do not visit any place of amusement or worship. Even their touch pollutes others. If anyone, by accident, touches some mourner, he has to take a bath and wash his clothes.

70. A new small earthen pitcher is placed on a tripod prepared with three pieces of bamboo, cut to size and this tripod is fixed to the ground on the inner compound of the house to the south-east. The eldest son, who sets fire to the pyre, pours a pot of water into the pitcher everyday after his return from the ghat. A small hole is made at the bottom of the pitcher which allows the water to drop to the ground. This is done from the second day up to the tenth day and on the last day everything is thrown into a stream. From the second day, all the mourners eat rice once only at noon. Spices and oil are forbidden in cooking during the days of pollution. After the cooking of rice and vegetables, a leaf-plate of rice and curry is kept near the above-said tripod stand by the eldest son, dedicated to the departed spirits. Thereafter, all the mourners sit down on the ground and dine on separate leaf plates.

71. At night, the well-to-do ones eat *luchi* or *puri* (thin wheat cakes fried in ghee) and the poor class are satisfied with flattened rice, molasses, a pinch of salt and a chilly. *Pan* (betel-leaf) is not taken by the sons and their wives. Chewing of tobacco with lime is not objectionable. Everyday the Brahmin priest comes to the house in mourning and with the son who set fire, goes to a bathing ghat. Rice and some green edible leaves are cooked together with a little ghee in a new small earthen pot. The cooked food is made into balls (called *Pinda*) by the son and offered to the departed spirit and ancestor spirits with the chanting of *slokas* by the priest all the time.

72. On their return from the *ghat*, cooked rice and vegetables are offered in a leaf-plate to the departed soul outside the house. Then all the mourners partake the meal in separate leaf-plates.

73. Nine days pass away in the above manner. On the tenth day, all the houses are dabbed with cowdung mixed in water, all the

old earthen pots, pitchers, all old bamboo-made baskets, winnowing fans, broomsticks, etc., are replaced. All cotton cloths used in the family are given to a washerman for a steam-wash.

74. By 10 A.M., all the mourners accompanied by barbers, washerman and the Brahmin priest come to the bathing ghat where *pinda* was being offered daily to the departed spirit. The male members get shaved and the sons and nephews of the deceased shave their heads also. The women get their nails pared by a barber's wife. Then all take purificatory baths by using oil as toilet for the first time after an abstinence for nine days.

75. The eldest son who set fire, in the meantime finishes his offering of *pinda* to the departed spirit with the help of the priest. Both of them get shaved and take purificatory ablutions.

76. The Brahmin then sprinkles holy water on all of them with the help of a *Tulsi* plant uttering hymns of blessing. All wear new clothes and the used ones are made over to the washerman. The barber and the priest all get new clothes after their baths.

77. All then return home and sit at one place. Again the Brahmin chants hymns and sprinkles a mixture of sundried rice, sesamum seeds and a few leaves of the plum tree. All become free from pollution.

78. Rice and vegetables cooked in new pots are partaken by all at about 4 P.M. On the eleventh day, again the cooking pots are replaced by new ones and the used ones are thrown away into water. All the relatives and castemen are invited to the caste dinner which takes place in the afternoon. Brahmins and *Baisnabs* are fed with flattened rice, molasses, sweets, curd and plantains, etc. Each of them is given *Bidaki* or *Dakhina* amounting to few annas.

79. On the twelfth day, fish is cooked and is served with rice, dal, etc., to all the mourners. The household assumes a normal look by the evening. Some poor beggars are also fed in the afternoon and with this concludes all the ceremonies.

80. When a pregnant woman dies, the womb is incised by the husband with a sharp

razor blade and the foetus is removed after which the womb is stitched up. The mother is cremated in the usual way and a gourd or pumpkin is kept by her side on the funeral pyre before setting of fire. The foetus is buried near the funeral pyre. There is no deviation in the observance of the usual obsequies.

81. When a child dies before dentition, purification is made on the very day of death. If it dies at night, purification is made the next morning. The houses are purified by dabbing the walls, etc., with a mixture of cowdung and water and the old used earthen pots and pitchers are thrown away and new ones are substituted. The presence of the Brahmin priest is not required in such obituaries. No caste-dinner is given. All the inmates of the house take purificatory baths at a public bathing ghat.

82. Dead bodies of lepers and patients suffering from cholera and smallpox are thrown away at distant places.

Structure of the family

83. Generally a family consists of the father, mother and their children with the father as the head of the family. Daughters go away to their husband's houses after their wedlock. The old and decrepit parents are looked after by their sons. If the sons are separate, the old parents live with the sons by turn. Sons generally separate after their marriages if their father is dead.

84. Ancestral property is equally divided equally among the sons but in some cases the eldest one gets a little more than others. Separation does not necessarily mean alienation; brothers and cousins maintain a cordial relation and in time of exigencies they come forward to help each other.

Literacy and Education

85. Out of 752 persons of the village only 162 or 21.5 per cent are either literate or educated of whom 120 are males and 42 females. The percentage of literacy among the males is 31.2 and for the females 11.5. One who is able to read and write Oriya has been accounted for as literate. The number

of such literates is 108 males and 41 females who have no educational standard. Only 8 males and 1 female have passed the primary examination and there are only 4 matriculates in the village. There is none with college education.

86. Community-wise break-up of the literate persons will show that 77 males and 27 females, i.e. 23.8 per cent of the Khandayat community are literate. Out of them 7 males and 1 female have studied up to primary standard and 4 males have read up to matriculation. The Keutas, though second in numerical strength, are mostly illiterates with only 1 out of 66 persons claiming as literate without educational standard. 8 out of 57 Niaris (nearly 14%) are literate. Literacy among the Goudas works out to 16.2 per cent as 6 out of 37 Goudas are literate with no educational standard. Only one male and one female out of 34 belonging to Bhumij tribe are literate. The percentage thus works out to 6 per cent only. Percentage of literacy among the Tantis comes to 16.6 with only 2 female literates out of 12 persons in the community. Literacy among the Bariks or barbers is also encouraging with 23.5 per cent as 3 males and 1 female out of 17 persons are literate. The position in Badhei, Dhoba, Kamila and Brahmin communities is far better. In Badhei community the percentage works out at 28.6 per cent with 2 literates out of 7 persons. 9 males and 4 females out of 30 Dhobas or 43.3 per cent of the Dhobas are literate. 43.8 per cent of the Kamilas or 5 males and 2 females out of 16 persons from this community are literate. The highest percentage of literacy is seen among the Brahmins with 9 males and 1 female literates out of 24 persons. In the three communities, namely, Pano, Kandara and Hadi no one has so far received any education to qualify as a literate.

87. Table X of the Appendix shows that the highest number of literates and educated persons come under the age group of 25—59 years; the males number 62 and the females 13 only. The four matriculates belong to the age group of 15—24 years which indicates that aspiration for higher education is only recent. In the age group of 0—14 years, there are 45

children of whom 30 are males and 15 females. But in the age group of 25—59 years, the literate and educated females are 13 against 62 males. This shows that there has been a growing tendency in the education of the girls in recent times. In the age group of 60 and above, there are 7 literates of whom only one is a female.

Higher Education

88. Although Baulagadia is mainly inhabited by the Khandayats—which is one of the four upper castes of the Hindus, none has received college education. The number of matriculates in the village is only 4 against a population of 752.

Educational institutions

89. It was told that the village had one Lower Primary School during the ex-State period but it was closed sometime in 1930. The reason attributed to was that it being a roadside village, the ex-State officials used to camp in the school rather too frequently thereby subjecting the villagers to unnecessary harassment and expenditure. From 1930 to 1951, the village went without a school and the educational facilities available in the neighbouring schools were availed of. It is after merger of the ex-State that one Lower Primary School was started in 1951 by the State Government which was upgraded in the year 1962. The roof of the school has been changed to fire-proof material in the meantime at Government cost. There are three teachers for the strength of 112 students of which 69 are boys and 43 girls. 16 students—12 boys and 4 girls hail from villages Mahisasuri and Makundapur which are close to Baulagadia. 7 boys and 1 girl from Baulagadia attend the Middle Schools in the villages Iswarpur and Santragadia which are rather distant for the school-going children.

General awareness

90. Table No. XI in the Appendix deals with the extent of general awareness. It may be seen that most of the informants have knowledge of the important places about which they were interrogated during the survey. There are a large number of persons who keep abreast of the events taking place in the coun-

try and abroad. This has been possible through the medium of Oriya newspapers and two wireless sets at the village library and the office of the co-operative society.

91. The library started in 1958, has now 20 members and a collection of 920 books. This consists mostly of epics, mythologies and novels all written in Oriya. Two newspapers in Oriya, namely, the daily *Samaj* and weekly issue of *Matrubhumi* are subscribed to by the members. The newspapers and the radio attract a good gathering especially in the evening.

92. The library is open to adult members of either sex and to all castes, though its membership has been confined till to-day to males only. The women have a separate organization called Mahila Samiti since 1961 with 23 members. It functions in the house of a local villager for want of suitable accommodation of its own. The Samiti meets thrice a week. Large number of women attend the sessions in which writing and stitching are taught to them. Topics of common interest are also discussed during these meetings.

93. The village Yubak Sangha functions as the literary centre. This organization has not made any appreciable contribution in the sphere of social service. As to how far its feeble endeavour to rouse the general awareness among villagers has borne fruit is a matter for study.

Social Legislation and Reforms

94. Most of the male adults of the village are fully aware of the new enactments regarding untouchability, adoption, early marriage and succession. They appear to have understood the spirit of the laws and have accepted them willy-nilly. There is perceptible change of attitude with the change of times.

95. Untouchability is a social curse and though prohibited by law, many elderly untouchables even today do not venture to pollute the Brahmins by their touch lest some mishap may befall on them. The younger generation do not pay much respect to the orthodoxy of the upper caste Hindus and they not only do

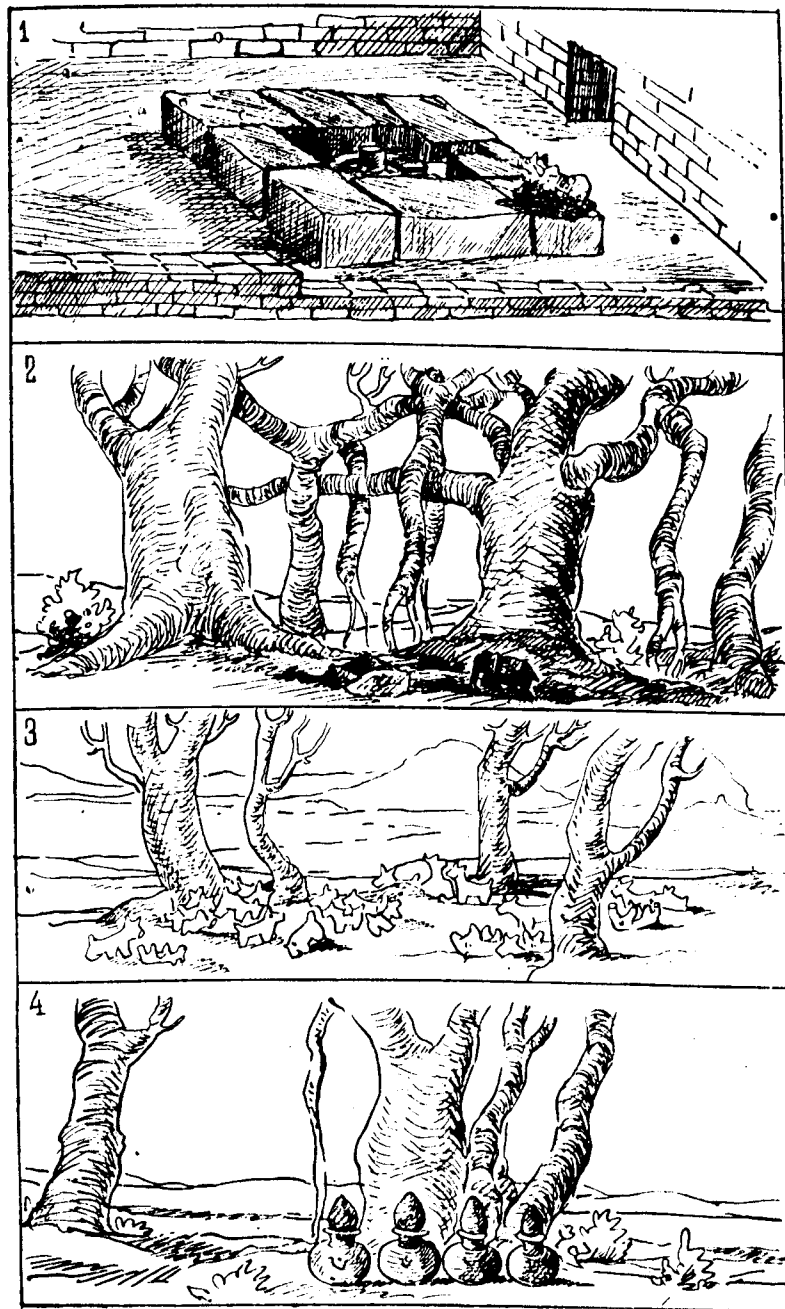
not hesitate to enter into the temples, they even eat and drink with the caste Hindus. In the village, the untouchables mix with the caste Hindus freely but so far cases of dining together have been reported as rare. The women, however, practise untouchability rigidly even today.

Religious Institutions

96. The villagers have not been able to construct a pucca temple in their village though the village is inhabited by a large number of caste Hindus. On the southern embankment of the tank named Rampanda Pokhori, a pucca temple for Makareswar Mahadeva is under construction with contribution from the villagers. The deity has been installed and *puja* is offered everyday by a Brahmin in the morning. Many elderly persons of both sex visit the temple after their morning bath and offer *puja*. The Brahmin belonging to village Makundapur has been appointed by the villagers for the punctual worshipping of the deity and on Sundays and Mondays, many devotees of both sex come to offer *puja* with milk, plantains, *Bael* leaves and *Bhang* (*Cannabis sativa*). About 1.5 acres of lands have been donated to this temple by one Panu Sahu of Baulagadia. The Brahmin priest enjoys the land in lieu of service to the temple.

97. During the festival of *Sivaratri* many devotees mainly females come to the temple and watch the burning of their earthen lamps with cotton wicks immersed in ghee, for the whole night, without a wink of sleep. The devotees remain fasting for the whole day.

98. Besides this Mahadeva temple, there are no structures for any other deity. Stone images representing *Mangala*, *Kalika*, *Basantei*, *Badamba*, *Paschimia* and *Chandisundari* are found scattered under trees in the village. These deities are not offered any regular *puja*. On the first day of the Oriya months, called *Sankranti*, the Pujari belonging to Bhumij tribe offers *puja* to these deities with flowers and sweets, etc. For such service he enjoys *Debata Pujari* Jagir lands to the extent of 50 cents granted to him by the durbar administration.



DEITIES AND PLACES OF WORSHIP

- | | |
|------------------------|-------------|
| 1. Mahadeva | 3. Paschima |
| 2. Kalika and Basantei | 4. Mangala |

Superstitions

99. The Khandayats are as much susceptible to superstitions as any other Hindu community. The women obviously are more superstitious than men.

100. Many omens and forecasts are associated with the movements of birds and

insects. When butterflies move about the house, marriage of someone in the family is predicted. When a *Jhitpiti* (lizard) squeaks during a conversation, the truth contained in the topic is confirmed. When a white spider walks over one's body, he is sure to get a new cloth quick. When a bird named *Bhadbhaddia*, mongoose or fish is seen at the start of a

journey, the result is supposed to be favourable. A vulture sits on the top of a house means sure illness for the family members. An owl hooting in the evening on some tree top within the precincts is an evil omen and death of someone in the family is foreboded.

101. Sights of some articles are considered auspicious and of yet a few others, greatly ominous. A pitcherful of water, and curd are things that bring good results whereas an empty pot or pitcher, a snake, oil, a cawing crow, a wailing dog, etc., if noticed at the start of a journey are considered ominous. Sights of dogs, jackals and dead bodies on the left side are auspicious indications and on the right side they are ominous. If one breathes by the right nostril at the start of a journey, good results are indicated; if by the left, the reverse is predicted. In marriage negotiations, horoscopes of the brides and bridegrooms are compared and if they do not agree, the negotiations are dropped.

Pseudo-religious beliefs

102. When a child in the family falls ill, the parents make vows of a special *puja* to some deity, such as *Mahadeva* or *Kali* or the like. Soon after recovery, the *puja* is offered in right earnest as until this is done a fresh danger of a more serious magnitude is apprehended.

103. Housewives offer special *pujas* to *Mahadeva* with the hope of having his grace in getting male issues for their son. *Mangala Thakurani* is propitiated so that there may not be any epidemic of cholera or smallpox.

Community festivals

104. As majority of the population comprises caste Hindus, many Hindu religious festivals are observed in the village jointly and also individually in the households as prescribed in the Oriya almanac.

105. The first festival of the year is held on the first day of the first month of the year. It is known as *Pana Sankranti* which is held on the first day of *Baisakh* (April). Sweet cold drinks prepared in every home is relished by all.

106. The next festival is *Akhyaya Tritiya*, which is held in the month of *Baisakh* (April-

May). First sowing of the paddy seeds starts on this day. The day is also chosen to start construction or for entry into a new house.

107. In the month of *Asadha* (June) comes the *Raja Sankranti*. This is observed for three consecutive days, the first day of *Asadha* being the principal day. It is observed by all sections of the people. All the houses are cleaned and the well-to-do ones wear new clothes. The women-folk eschew all manual labour for these days. Big rice cakes prepared with mixture of fine powdered rice, cocoanuts and molasses are enjoyed during the festival. The children dressed in colourful garbs arrange rope swings in the homes or in the open, under mango or banyan trees and enjoy swinging in great revelry and merriment. Even the elderly people join the young ones in amusement. Ploughing is not done for these three days, the popular belief being that the Mother Earth is in menstruation.

108. Then comes the *Rathajatra* or the Car festival of Lord Jagannath. It is held in the month of *Asadha* (June-July) at Nilgiri. Though there is no formal observance of the festival in the village, the villagers go to Nilgiri, where dances, opera shows, etc., continue for ten days.

109. In the month of *Shrabana* (July-August) *Gamha Purnima* is celebrated. All castes of people observe it in the village. Sweets, cakes and other delicacies are prepared in every house. Sacred threads are used by the adult males of all castes which are presented to the heads of the households by Brahmins with cocoanuts or areca-nuts. The Brahmins are rewarded amply in return.

110. *Durga Puja* is celebrated in the month of September-October. Many devotees observe the *Mahastami* and fast till they offer their *Puja*. Sweets, milk, fruits and flowers are offered to the goddess *Durga*—whose clay image is worshipped at Nilgiri. The *puja* continues for five days. The villagers of Baulagadia visit Nilgiri to witness the *puja* which is celebrated with pomp. The last day of the festival is called *Dasahara*. Many wear new clothes and provide new dresses for their children.

111. After *Durga Puja* comes *Kumar Purnami*. All the unmarried children of the

family are provided with new clothes and are fed with sweet cakes. It is a festival of the children.

112. *Kali Puja* comes in the month of *Kartik* (October-November). An image of goddess *Kali* is duly worshipped by a Brahmin priest. Sacrifices of uncastrated goats are made in honour of the goddess and the meat which is considered holy is relished by many. *Deepavali* festival is observed the same evening when all illumine their houses with rows of earthen lamps and the youth and the aged alike enjoy the evening with crackers, rockets, coloured matches and other fireworks.

113. *Kartik Purnima* is observed on the full-moon day in the month of *Kartik*. Devotees—old and young bathe in the rivers and tanks long before the dawn and then proceed to the temple to have a *darshan* of *Mahadeva*. The devotees take boiled rice once in the afternoon and touch no food after sun set. The entire month of *Kartik* is a month of fasting. Some observe this fasting for the full month, some do it for five days and yet many others fast on the full moon day only. On the last day, pith-made tiny boats are floated in the tanks by the devotees. It is said that the day is reminiscent of the maritime trade and prosperity of the Kalinga empire.

114. After *Kartik Purnima* comes *Prathamastami* in the month of *Margasir* (November-December). This is the day for the eldest issue in each family who is provided with new dresses. Cakes and delicacies are prepared in each family in honour of the eldest. The festival is observed by people of all castes.

115. Throughout the month of *Margasir*, *Lakhmi Puja* is celebrated in all the families on Thursdays. Sweets, cakes, porridge, etc., and fruits and flowers are offered to *Lakhmi*, the goddess of wealth. Sweet but copious drawings of lotus, birds, paddy plants, feet of the goddess, etc., are painted on the floors and walls of the house with a fluid done by mixing powdered sundried rice and water.

116. Then comes *Makar Sankranti* on the first day of *Magha* (January-February). Many

elderly persons take their bath in tanks long before the dawn and on returning home make offerings of sweets and flowers to the Sun god. Cakes and delicacies are prepared in each family and are relished. A kind of sweet is specially prepared for the occasion which is called *Tilou*. Powdered rice, treacle and a few grains of sesamum seeds are the components of this cake.

117. In *Falgun* (February-March), *Sivaratni* is celebrated. The devotees remain fasting for the whole day and night and break their fast the next morning. Both men and women observe its celebration. There is a temple of *Mahadeva* in the village where hundreds of devotees of both sex assemble on the festive day and offer their *Pujas* with the help of the Brahmin priest. From dusk till dawn, earthen lamps with cotton wicks immersed in ghee remain burning continuously under the unflinching vigil of the devotees, each one taking particular care to poke the wicks in time, or to change the burnt one for a new. The devotees sit in lines watching over their lamps under improvised sheds of green branches and leaves and from a distance, the illumination presents a beautiful spectacle. The *Puja* ends towards the dawn. All the devotees make a rush into the temple and after their last offerings with *Bael* leaves, flowers, sweets and milk they come out and take ablution in the tank. Then again they visit the deity and make fresh offerings with sweets, etc., and return to their places with the remnants of the offerings—called *prasad*. This *prasad* is the devotees' breakfast, a portion of which is kept for absentee members of the house. Shops exhibiting varieties of articles for sale are opened in rows near the temple. The villagers specially the womenfolk get an opportunity to select and purchase their requisites. Children enjoy sweets from the stall. *Jatras* and musical entertainments keep the visitors merry all through the night. The shops remain open the next day, when visitors from neighbouring villages assemble to make purchases.

118. The last festival of the year is the *Dol Purnima*. It is celebrated on the full moon day of the month of *Falgun* (February-March). This festival is enjoyed for five days

beginning with *Dasami* (10th phase of the moon) and concluding on the full moon day. All the communities of the village join in the festival. Red powder (*Abira*) and coloured water are freely used all these days. An opera party of the village entertains the villagers on these nights. The place of entertainment during this *Holi* festival is a bit of open space to the east of the *Mahadeva* on the embankment of the Panda tank. On the full moon day images of Radha and Krishna of different houses and of different villages of the neighbourhood are brought to the *Melan Padia* (a meadow for meeting) where all enjoy in merriments. Sweet-stalls and varieties of shops sit in this field. The whole village is agog with excitement.

Leisure and recreation

119. An amateur dramatic club organized by some enthusiastic youngmen of the village gives demonstrations of dramas and operas. The club has one instructor—an *Ostad*—who teaches dancing, singing and acting. All the members of the club attend the club house after evening and take lessons from him. Women have not joined the organization. As young boys play the roles of women, they let hairs grow profusely so that they may be tied into

knobs in imitation of women. Sometimes this party visits other villages and earns through entertainment.

120. Poor as the majority of the people are, they can spare very little time for recreation. Yet indulgence in indoor games of cards, dice and ludo is not rare in the evenings. Some devote to *kirtan* parties and sing chorus of devotional songs.

121. Poaching in the reserved forests is prohibited under law. A few *Bhumis* at times go to the hills with their bows and arrows and bag some game birds.

122. The children spend their time in outdoor games called *Baguri* and *Bohu Chori*. Football has now become a favourite pastime of school boys.

123. The library with its sizeable collection of novels and epics and the wireless set attracts small crowds in the evening. The room is spacious enough to make room for reading books and newspapers and also for indoor games specially cards. It is becoming more and more popular as a forum for study, discussion and recreation.



5. CONCLUSION

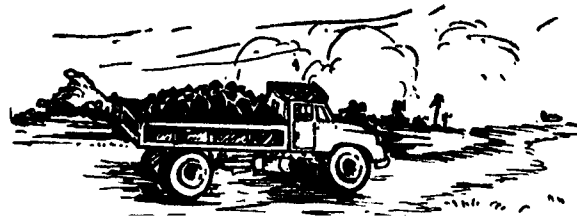
In the foregoing chapters, an objective portrayal of various aspects of the socio-economic life of the village has been attempted. It would appear that though the impact of the changes all around on the life of these people is, in a way, far reaching, the people themselves have not changed as much as they should under the weight of this impact. The somewhat static economy continues to run on set grooves and the shift in social trends and attitudes has not been significant.

2. Among changes, mention may be made of caste rigidity which once dominated the scene of the village social life. The separate hamlets owe their origin to this caste rigidity. A study of the caste structure with its associated caste prejudices shows that the rigidity is giving way slowly to a state of relaxation.

3. The school, library, jubak sangha and mahila samiti certainly constitute important

landmarks in the direction of organizational and institutional buildings designed to bring in socio-economic change. It is too early to evaluate the impact of these organizations on the society at large. But there is no gainsaying the fact that these institutions or organizations have marked a good beginning in the right direction.

4. The village economy has also imbibed some degree of change. How far this change is for the better is a matter for more thorough investigation. Dependence on stone handicraft has been diminishing and the people are more and more relying on cultivation, labour and other services. The apparent decay of the stone crafts industry in spite of the attempt to rejuvenate it through a cooperative organization is a matter that deserves further investigation.



APPENDIX

Table I
SETTLEMENT HISTORY OF HOUSEHOLDS

Caste/Community	Number of households settled					
	Total number of households	Earlier than 5 generations	Between 5—4 generations	Between 3—2 generations	Generation age	Present generation
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Khandayat	110	87	13	8	—	2
Keuta	17	13	3	1	—	—
Niari	13	13	—	—	—	—
Gouda	10	9	1	—	—	—
Bhumij	6	1	—	2	—	3
Brahmin	5	4	—	—	—	1
Barika	5	4	1	—	—	—
Dhoba	4	4	—	—	—	—
Tanti	3	2	1	—	—	—
Kamila	3	3	—	—	—	—
Badhei	2	1	—	—	—	1
Pano	2	1	—	—	—	1
Kandara	1	1	—	—	—	—
Hadi	1	—	—	1	—	—

Table II
CULTIVATED LAND HELD BY CASTE/COMMUNITY

Caste/Community	Number of households having no land	Number of households having land	
		Number of households	Area of the land held (in acres)
1	2	3	4
Khandayat	1	109	311.09
Keuta	—	17	40.91
Niari	1	12	23.25
Gouda	—	10	33.50
Bhumij	1	5	7.15
Brahmin	—	5	19.50
Barika	—	5	9.50
Dhoba	—	4	18.00
Tanti	—	3	4.75
Kamila	—	3	7.50
Badhei	1	1	2.50
Pano	1	1	2.50
Kandara	—	1	1.50
Hadi	—	1	2.50

Table III
LIVESTOCK

Caste/Community	Cows, Bullocks and Buffaloes		Draught-animal		Milch cows and Buffaloes	
	No. of households owning	No. of livestock	No. of households owning	No. of livestock	No. of households owning	No. of livestock
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Khandayat	96	267	94	190	1	1
Keuta	14	37	14	28	—	—
Niari	10	30	10	22	—	—
Gouda	9	32	8	17	—	—
Bhumij	5	11	5	10	—	—
Brahmin	5	20	5	10	1	2
Barika	4	11	4	8	—	—
Dhoba	4	16	4	8	—	—
Tanti	2	4	2	4	—	—
Kamila	3	7	3	6	—	—
Badhei	2	3	1	2	—	—
Pano	1	3	1	2	—	—
Kandara	1	2	1	2	—	—
Hadi	1	2	1	2	—	—

Goats and sheep		Pig		Fowl		Others	
No. of households owning	No. of livestock	No. of households owning	No. of livestock	No. of households owning	No. of livestock	No. of households owning	No. of livestock
8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
52	154	—	—	—	—	—	—
7	21	—	—	2	7	—	—
8	22	—	—	1	2	—	—
4	12	—	—	—	—	—	—
4	8	—	—	4	11	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
3	8	—	—	—	—	—	—
4	15	—	—	1	3	—	—
2	4	—	—	—	—	—	—
2	7	—	—	1	3	—	—
1	3	—	—	—	—	—	—
1	3	—	—	—	—	—	—
1	3	—	—	—	—	—	—
1	2	—	—	—	—	—	—

Table IV

WORKERS CLASSIFIED BY SEX, BROAD AGE GROUPS AND OCCUPATIONS

(All workers are divided into 9 occupation groups, namely, Occupation group No. I: Cultivator, No. II: Agricultural labourer, No. III: Workers in mining, quarrying, livestock, forestry, fishing, hunting, etc., No. IV: Household industries, No. V: Manufacturing other than household industry, No. VI: Construction, No. VII: Trade and commerce, No. VIII: Transport, storage and communications, No. IX: Other Services).

Age groups	Total No. of workers			Occupation No. I (Cultivator)			Occupation No. II (Agrl. labourer)			Occupation No. III (Mining, quarrying, etc.)		
	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
All ages	311	263	48	131	120	11	119	83	36	2	1	1
1—14 years	15	15	—	—	—	—	15	15	—	—	—	—
15—59 "	272	224	48	119	108	11	98	62	36	2	1	1
50+ "	24	24	—	12	12	—	6	6	—	—	—	—

Occupation No. IV (Household Industries)			Occupation No. VII (Trade)			Occupation No. IX (Other Services)			The remaining occupation Nos. V, VI & VIII		
P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F
14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25
47	47	—	1	1	—	11	11	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
41	41	—	1	1	—	11	11	—	—	—	—
6	6	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

Table V

NON-WORKERS BY SEX, BROAD AGE GROUPS AND NATURE OF ACTIVITY

(All non-workers are divided into 4 groups: Group (I) Full-time students or children attending school, Group (II) Persons engaged only in household duties, Group (III) Dependants such as infants and children not attending school and persons permanently disabled, Group (IV) Retired persons not re-employed, rentiers, persons living on agricultural or non-agricultural royalty, rent or dividend, beggars, vagrants, persons seeking employment, persons having unspecified source of existence)

Age groups	Total non-workers			Students			Engaged in household duties			Dependants			Others		
	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
All ages	441	121	320	105	65	40	215	5	210	121	51	70	—	—	—
0—14 years	226	118	108	104	64	40	27	5	22	95	49	46	—	—	—
15—59 years	186	1	185	1	1	—	185	—	185	—	—	—	—	—	—
60+ years	29	2	27	—	—	—	3	—	3	26	2	24	—	—	—

Table VI
MONTHLY INCOME PER HOUSEHOLD BY OCCUPATION GROUPS

Sl. No.	Occupation	Number of households in the monthly income groups of				
		Rs. 0—Rs. 25	Rs. 26—Rs. 50	Rs. 51—Rs. 75	Rs. 76—Rs. 100	Rs. 101 and above
		3	4	5	6	7
1.	Cultivation	5	18	31	30	18
2.	Agricultural labour	1	20	19	2	2
3.	Fishery	—	—	—	1	—
4.	Household Industry	—	2	14	7	7
5.	Other Services	1	—	—	2	2

Table VII
AVERAGE MONTHLY EXPENDITURE PER HOUSEHOLD BY INCOME GROUP AND OCCUPATION

Sl. No.	Occupation	Income groups					
		Rs. 0—Rs. 25			Rs. 26—Rs. 50		
		Expenditure			Expenditure		
		No. of households	Food	Other	No. of households	Food	Other
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1.	Cultivation	5	15.77	4.00	18	34.18	40.01
2.	Agricultural labour	1	16.80	1.66	20	31.27	2.58
3.	Fishery	—	—	—	—	—	—
4.	Household Industry	—	—	—	2	24.15	2.00
5.	Other Services	1	21.07	1.50	—	—	—

Income groups—(contd.)

Rs. 51—Rs. 75			Rs. 76—Rs. 100			Rs. 101 and above		
Expenditure			Expenditure			Expenditure		
No. of households	Food	Other	No. of households	Food	Other	No. of households	Food	Other
9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
31	56.07	6.22	30	67.56	13.16	18	105.47	23.62
19	50.68	5.25	2	84.51	6.04	2	95.37	14.16
—	—	—	1	62.08	16.25	—	—	—
14	54.28	80.65	7	67.92	11.95	7	116.42	16.83
—	—	—	2	70.81	4.00	2	94.94	23.75

Table VIII
INDEBTEDNESS

Sl. No.	Monthly income group	No. of households in the group	No. of households in debt	Average amount of debt per household	Reasons for debt	Source of credit
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1.	Rs. 0—Rs. 25	7	2	Rs. 400.00	1 for ordinary family expenses and 1 for marriage	112 from private money-lenders and 21 from Co-operative Society
2.	Rs. 26—Rs. 50	40	25	Rs. 136.40	15 for ordinary family expenses, 4 for marriage, 3 for purchase of land and 3 for obsequies	
3.	Rs. 51—Rs. 75	64	51	Rs. 207.86	23 for ordinary family expenses, 13 for marriage, 10 for purchase of land, 1 for purchase of bullocks, 1 for purchase of medicines, 1 for education of children and 2 for repayment of old debts	
4.	Rs. 76—Rs. 100	42	30	Rs. 271.00	9 for ordinary family expenses, 10 for marriage, 2 for purchase of land, 3 for cultivation of land, 1 for purchase of medicine, 4 for house construction and 1 for obsequies	
5.	Rs. 101 and above	29	25	Rs. 492.92	6 for ordinary family expenses, 16 for marriage, 1 for purchase of land, 1 for house construction and 1 for obsequies	

Table IX
AGE AND MARITAL STATUS

Age group	Total population			Never married		Married		Widowed		Divorced or separated	
	P	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
All ages	752	384	368	180	111	177	177	27	80	—	—
0—14 years	241	133	108	133	107	—	1	—	—	—	—
15—24 "	126	45	81	32	4	13	75	—	2	—	—
25—59 "	332	180	152	15	—	150	101	15	51	—	—
60 years and over	53	26	27	—	—	14	—	12	27	—	—

Table X
EDUCATION

Age group	Total population			Illiterate		Literate and educated		Literate without educational standard		Primary or Junior Basic		Matric or Higher secondary		Intermediate		Graduate		Any other qualifications	
	P	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
All ages	752	384	368	264	326	120	42	108	41	8	1	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
0—14 years	241	133	108	103	93	30	15	28	14	2	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
15—24 years	126	45	81	23	68	22	13	13	13	5	—	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
25—59 years	332	180	152	118	139	62	13	61	13	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
60 years and above	53	26	27	20	26	6	1	6	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

Table XI
RANGE OF INFORMATION

Caste/Community	Total number of households	Number of household heads who know the name of					Remarks
		Panchayat H.Q.	Thana H.Q.	Tahasil H.Q./ Taluk H.Q.	District H.Q.	Principal rivers of the district	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Khandayat	110	91	91	91	91	6	
Keuta	17	14	14	14	14		
Niari	13	12	12	12	12		
Gouda	10	9	9	9	9		
Bhumij	6	4	4	4	4		
Brahmin	5	4	4	4	4	2	
Barika	5	5	5	5	5	1	
Dhoba	4	3	3	3	3		
Tanti	3	3	3	3	3		
Kamila	3	3	3	3	3		
Badhei	2	2	2	2	2	1	
Pano	2	—	—	—	—		
Kandara	1	1	1	1	1		
Hadi	1	1	1	1	1		