Chapter III

MATERIAL CULTURE

The Abujhmarhia's ingenious and elaborate technology and material culture, are cultural screen which he sets up between himself and his environment. The techniques and the material products are important measures of ecological relationships between man and his environment. The arrangement of these tools in functional categories shows that widely different techniques may serve similar ends in the Abujhmarhia material culture. He makes tools out of wood and metal to increase his efficiency to work in the available environment. It has been observed that the bamboo is of service at every turn, as tool material among these hill-dwellers. It is the most useful item in these hills which fulfils their immediate needs. The salient technological limitations are pertaining to the preservation and storage of food on the one hand, and their mode of settlement which is shifting in its nature, on the other.

The handicrafts and tools do not constitute their main occupation which would give livelihood to the Abujhmarhias, but they are devices which fulfil their daily needs. It is everybody's job to make his own tools and implements. The iron work and pottery are not known to these people, a few of them do the iron repairing work, and make minor agricultural implements and house-hold articles, such as knives and sickles, though most of them purchase these from the weekly markets of Narayanpur, Dhorhai and Gidam. They do not know the method of oil-seeds pressing, as do the Gonds; the Muria and the Dandari Marhia.
Leather working and cloth-weaving are also not known to them. Very few Abujhmarhias sell baskets and mats which they make as leisure time activity. Though this does not bring them money to fulfil their daily needs.

In every culture, its material aspects, may be divided into two parts. One, the material culture of daily use, its value in that culture being determined by its utility; this has a secular aspect. The other aspects of material culture, serve religious purposes, and fulfil the need of ritual and worship. The value of these artifacts is pre-determined; they are sacred. These artifacts used for religious purposes, either daily or on some special (religious) occasions and which have a sacred value, are defined as material culture of religion.

**Part One : Material culture of daily use** :-

A tool, broadly defined, is any material device employed by man to transform raw materials into a more usable form or to construct other and more elaborate tools (Deals and Hoijer, 1965 : 326). The Abujhmarhia’s tools are classified on the basis of their functional use, the materials of which they are made, and by the techniques used to manufacture them, and by shape and size.

### I. **Basketry** :-

Basketry is much more widely distributed than wood-working. Every man has to know some or other basket making techniques. This is strictly men’s job and not of both men and women as mentioned by Grigson (1938:174). It is **polo** for the Abujhmarhia women to make baskets. The technique of basket making has to be learnt by every Abujhmarhia boy,
and he who is a good basket maker in his village or kin group is well spoken off, when he presents some of his fine creation to his kin folk. The old men are considered to be good basket makers in this society and most of the baskets are made by them. They make baskets of all size from big to small, for different purposes such as grain bin, house walls and fencings, basket plates, mats, domestic baskets, hunting traps and nets and so on. The favourite material for all these purposes is bamboo in trellis form and stripes from varying in size from half an inch to one inch in width. Some of the baskets and their uses are as follows:

A. **Bamboo Baskets** :

   (1) **A Grain Bin, Dongi** :-

   This is a kind of a skeleton of a big rough bamboo basket made out of wet bamboo trellises, jatieng with open twilling structure with a gap of 4 to 5 inches. Its inside is thatched with palm leaves. It is used on the threshing floor or granaries **Kohla manda** to store grain. Its size ranges from one khandi **Kohla** to twenty khandies in capacity. The barn **dongis** are not used for keeping the **Kohla** in the granaries for which they make another, on a threshing floor where they store **Kohla** for some times, and when they keep the **Kohla** in their granaries they make another one. In boundary villages where paddy is cultivated they make a closed twig **dongi** with bamboo strips half an inch in width, the inside portion being plastered with cow-dung and its mouth being thatched with palm leaves. Making open this twilled basket for storing the grain on the threshing floor saves them labour and protects their grain from water and humidity because of the inside leaves.
(ii) Medium size open or close twilled basket, Kehmudka :

It is smaller than the dongi. This they place inside their houses, lon monda, for storing the grain for daily use. The mouth of the kehmudka is not thatched with leaves because kohla has to be taken out from it every day, the leaves being in convenient for the purpose.

(iii) Standard size, twilled-twined basket, Duti :

Duti is standard size basket and it is used to store grain, fruits, vegetables, meat, and for carrying grain from the threshing floor to granaries and markets. The size differs from big one (20 kg. capacity) to smaller one (5 kg. capacity). These dutians are made using a variety of techniques. The commonest is twilled twined, in which the warp and weft are made of beaten bamboo strips of a uniform thickness and of width varying from 1/4 inch to 1/2 inch. The patterns are made by using warps of strips of bamboo core wefts of outer green rind strips each weft passing over and then under two or three warps. Thus producing a chessboard effect. Nearly all the Abujhmarhia basketry is twilled or checker work, the topmost edge or rim being twilled twined with a weft of the bamboo pared to the size of twigs. Sometimes an ornamental plaided ring is worked around the central circumference, and other variations of many kind are introduced by passing the weft fibers over two or more warps and by staggering this process to secure a diagonal twill. These are round baskets with slightly convex bottoms and are uniform in diameter at the top and the bottom.

(iv) Bamboo wallets, Hudka :

(a) This is a kind of basket like the Duti, narrow
cylindrical in its diameter, a rope of rauer being fixed on the top edge. It is used by women and children as a bag to collect fruits, nuts, berries, vegetables and tubers. It differs in size from a big one (3 kg.) to small one (1/3 kg.) in capacity.

(b) It is a long narrow necked bamboo wallet used for fishing by men and women. As it has very narrow upper end, the fishes cannot come out.

(c) A square shapped bamboo box which they use to keep the ornaments, dancing dress and other similar articles. It is coiled and twilled twined in its structure with circular warps and fibers. Its another form is narrow, in which they keep rations whenever they are on tour to the markets or kagars.

B. Hollow Bamboo Baskets:

There are a number of hollow bamboo baskets of a square form. These are used for different purposes; according to which their shape and size differ. Some of them are described below:

(1)(a) A hollow square basket, Naira:

These are used for keeping rice, food, fruits, and to dry grain and fruits.

(b) A basket-sieve, Maku:

The maku is a square shape bamboo sieve to sieve the grain etc.

(c) Some baskets are in different shapes and sizes as measures.
(ii) The winnowing scoop, Yetti:

The Yetti is a square plate with raised edges at three sides like a shovel. The winnowing woman holds the Yetti with both hands and fans the grain in such a manner that the lighter husks and false grains gather at one side of the Yetti, while small grains of sand being heavier, collect at another corner which is held slightly lower. Through a long practice, the women in a short time sift the grain from the chaff.

(iii) The Mat, Sapi:

The Abujhmarshia Sapi is a twilled plated mat, standard size is being 3' x 5'. It is used for sleeping and sitting on for closing the doors and for drying the grains.

(iv) A bamboo kitchen plate, Alpunj:

This is a square plate with raised edges on all sides, which they tie to house roof with the help of palor rope above the oven. It is used to keep salt, chillies, meat, and vegetables as mentioned earlier.

(v) Cradle basket, Utum:

This is a bamboo basket, tied near the hearth or the mortar hole for children to sleep in.

C. Fishing Baskets:

Of the many fishing baskets used by the Abujhmarshias mention should be made of the following:

A big bag like a net, guuma is held open between wooden poles driven into the river bed. This requires group cooperation and is done in the months of October-November.
The work is often both difficult and hazardous. A big net like bag gudsa are designed to lead the fish through a cylindrical funnel into a large basket or crib. The fish cannot re-enter the narrow spout, because the force of funnel shape makes it impossible for them to turn back. Small traps are also made mainly for streams, where the gudsa are constructed.

Another basket dandur has the shape of a big cylindrical bag with a round bamboo hook at the brim and a long bamboo pole tied across its mouth. It is held against the current of the river, firmly wedged in between heavy logs of wood or boulders to prevent it from being swept away by the force of the water, thus the fishes caught in these dandurs are held secure in it by the force of the rushing water. The dandur is used with advantage in a swiftly flowing river or stream or in muddy water of the early monsoon. Dandur is smaller fishing basket in comparison to gudsa whereas there is another fishing small basket known as deer which is usually used by the Abujhmarias for individual fishing.

These nets, traps and baskets are built in such a way that bamboo splints are fixed inside which give way when a fish enters but hold it back when it tries to escape.

Another basket known as chock shell prepared on the same method is also used for rat catching.

II House-hold utensils and articles:

There are no potters in the Abujhmarih, therefore they have to purchase the earthen pots from weekly markets of Narayanpur, Dhorala, Chhotedonger and Gidam. Usually all
food is cooked in earthen pots, arhkang. The arhkang is a pot of departed animal also. Other uses are to store water, grain and pulses. Some of the well to do Alujharhias use brass vessels. Other utensils are made by gourds for fetching and carrying water, gruel, and gorga. The gourd bottles, bukkang are generally used whenever they go to jungles and markets. They make bamboo tube for storing lard of pigs. Some of these utensils are as follows :-

A. Utensils : 
(i) Earthen pot, Arhka :-
These arhkang are of different sizes, used for different purposes. A big one for storing water, and medium sized called kurwi are used for cooking.

(ii) Gourd bottle, Bukka :-
They make different sizes of bukkang for fetching water, carrying gruel and shalifi, gorga. In summer they wrap a bark of paper or lekwara round the bukka which keeps the water very cool.

(iii) Gourd pipe, Pagas :-
This is lute shaped gourd pipe open in the middle of thick round part and closed from the long cylindrical edge. This is used to fetch water, to take gruel from arhkka, and to take water from water pot. Another pagas, which is open from the both sides, middle of thick round portion and the edge of long cylindrical, used to pour gruel and gorga in bukka. It serves all the purposes of a spoon.
(iv) Wooden spoon, Ukadi :-

This wooden spoon is prepared out of the wood of toyamara, used as a cooking spoon to serve the fried vegetables and cooked rice. But the gruel and the vegetables which are full of juice are served by paras.

(v) Wooden flat scoop, Dawi :-

This is a flat wooden scoop. The upper part of the dawi called garhda, is a square in its' shape with a square hole. The middle cylindrical part of the dawi is known as menduli. And the lower third part with two vertical gaps in a closed square hole which is also called garhna, is placed inside the pot, arhka. Dawi as a whole is known a kohla-pirhtana dawi.

The women keep their left hand phylangies inside the upper garhda supported by a thumb putting it from outside, the right hand is placed in the middle menduli to move the kohla pirhtana when they boil the kohla.

(vi) A bamboo tube, Gutta :-

It is a tube made from the thick bamboo, the upper natural knot is tucked with the help of knife and lower knot always remains closed. It is used to store lard of pigs and oil. The lard of pigs is generally used whenever they are burnt by fire as they always sleep near by the hearth. In every Abujhmarhia's house we will get a gutta full of lard. It is also used to keep burnt oysters or shells, yetti which is calcium used to mix with tobacco leaves to eat.

(vii) A wooden round chest, Gutta :-

It is a small egg shaped box or chest, which most of the Abujhmarhia tuck in their lion-cloth. In this gutta they
always keep a ready-made tobacco mixed with yetti calcium. It is packed with a wooden pin, generally prepared by toyamara wood. These burnt yetting are also used to kill the tiger. The powder of these burnt yetting is prepared and packed in dead animal's body, and whenever the tiger comes and eats the meat of this dead animal, he eats the powder of these yetting also, and when he drinks water the powder of calcium essence discretely his lungs and stomach. It is a general practice of the Murias and some boundary village of the Abujhmarhias to hunt or kill the tiger.

B. Articles:

(i) Off shoot bamboo peg, Lokogi:

It is used to peg the gourd water bottles, 'vertigos' and pagas. In every Abujhmarhia house there are two lokogi, first in the parlour sana and second near the kitchen hearth.

(ii) A pitch-fork, Tekbuni:

It is a bamboo pitch-fork, with the length of 3' to 4' to sweep the rachha and out-door of the house.

(iii) The grain peatle, Upal:

To prepare rice, nukang out of kohla and other grains there is only one tool called upal to husk. It is a heavy log of wood, round about 5 inches thick, with three ridges; top of the upal tala is thinner one than the middle, moduli is thicker than lower, raitana with a notch around the middle to allow the pounding woman a firmer grip. An iron ring is framed in the lower edge which fit into the mortar hole, and which is made in a flat log of wood and fixed with the level of ground and let into the floor of the sana room. The pounding woman sits before this hole filled with grain,
one leg stretched out and supporting with its thigh the foot of the other bent leg. Some-time two women pounded their pestles alternatively sitting in front of one another with singing a song.

C. The grinding stone mills, Jata

The Abujhmarhias have started to use the grinding mills used for hard grain like pupal, gram, maize, jona, tour, turibordki and Marhia crops. The jata (Halbi name) consists of two circular discs, the lower disc is called habla, flat stone, and upper disc jata, is criss crossed with groves which are cut into the stone with a chisel. The upper stone revolves on a strong bamboo pin fixed in the centre of the lower disc. This pin is called Khuti. To allow the upper stone to rotate and also to feed the mill with grain, a hole, a few inches wide, is cut through the centre of the upper stone, called todi. They purchase it from weekly markets. There are two or three jatas in a village or hamlet. Thus it seems to be a new tool in the Abujhmarh area.

D. Carrier pole, Kowadi

The Abujhmarhias never use a bullock-cart for transport. Most of the load is carried by men and women. The women carry their burden on the head, and the men carry it on the shoulders. To carry the load more easily, they use the carrier pole kowadi. Kowadi consists of a stunt pole of bamboo about 4 to 6 feet long. The pole is placed across the shoulders alternatively, while the load is divided into two equal parts and hangs from both ends of the pole, either on ropes or in baskets. The nets of ropes in which the basket
hang are called irkanj. Any load carried by men by this kowadi, such as grain or phulbahari, the carrier does not walk slowly but moves at a quick pace. He walks with light steps and with slightly bended knees, the pole of flexible bamboo accommodating itself to the carrier's steps by spring-like swinging movements which make the carrier easier.

But it is less bad for women to use the carrier pole.

E. Some other wooden articles:

(i) Atte:

It is a bamboo trellis of 8" to 10" in length, one edge of which is tapered or burnt with a hot iron rod to form a U shape. They keep this U shape edge on the small stone, and keeping their right leg on it. They prepare strips kosaanone of kosa silk with the help of a razer majja, putting on the upper part of the atta and kosa inside the atta.

(ii) A seed keeping bamboo slash, Bakka Parhku:

It is prepared specially for preserving gourd seeds. The seeds are placed within the two trellises with the help of the jauer creeper cord.

(iii) Didalath:

It is a flat wooden log, aswoballa 4 to 5 feet long with 9" width and a square hole in the centre where a bamboo shaft of 8 to 10 feet length didmalath is fixed. It is used to expand the burning woods in the ponda fields to scatter the ashes.

In some places where they have started plough cultivation, they prepare for themselves the plough on the same pattern as the inhabitants of plains in Bastar do.
frame is fitted on the inner frame (bamboo skeleton) with the leaves of pauer in between. Such hats are water-tight and cover the wearer whenever he goes to field.

Now-a-days very few Abujihnarias use the umbrella in place of these above mentioned rain-hoods. But the number of umbrellas are very few in Abujihnar since they cannot afford to buy them.

G. Leaf pipe, Chungi :-

Before preparing the chungi, the veins of pauer leaf are scraped by knife, than it is heated on fire, and then it is folded with the help of index-finger, with a little bend in the lower side with the help of thumb by pressing a nail on the bottom of this fold. Then the tobacco is placed in it. This is a typical Marhia pipe which is not found in plain area as the pauer leaves are not available there.

The goblets are the Abujihnaria's eating and drinking pots which serve him only once because every time he eats his meals, he prepares them a new with fresh pauer leaves, as they are available in plenty.

So, it is the bamboo that gives him food and pauerware which gives him tools and instruments and vessels. Both these trees have great role to play in their economics.

H. The Furniture :

Generally, there is no furniture in the Abujihnaria's house, except in a very few houses or in the Gotul where cots are kept, as most of them sleep on the bamboo mat near the hearth. Grigson has mentioned that they sleep in almari. But it is not found still in the Abujihnar.
The katul consists of a rectangular frame on four, rather, short legs; the frame is spanned with a net work of strings of gauar bark or it is tightly plaited with bamboo splits. The katul frame and the string-netting is all home-made. Other furniture found in some houses, is a small stool called wila.

Table III: 1

Material articles of an Abu’hmashia household
(to fulfill their all socio-economic needs)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S. No.</th>
<th>Name of the Abu’hmashia articles</th>
<th>No. of articles</th>
<th>Minimum</th>
<th>Maximum</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Arhkang (Arhka; Singular)</td>
<td>Earthen pots</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Jata Grinding stone mill</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Yetti Winnowing scoop</td>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Dongi Big grain biá (bamboo)</td>
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<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Kehmurhka Small grain bin</td>
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<td>8</td>
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<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Duti Baskets</td>
<td></td>
<td>20</td>
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<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Murhka (for root; s, yama)</td>
<td>Bamboo wallet</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Bariya (middle, medium, small)</td>
<td>Bamboo plate basket</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
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<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Solarih Strainer</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Murhka (for fishing)</td>
<td>Bamboo wallet</td>
<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Sapi Mat</td>
<td></td>
<td>15</td>
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<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Murhka (for marketing)</td>
<td>Bamboo box</td>
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<td>13</td>
<td>Upal Matle</td>
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<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Aki Mortar hole</td>
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<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Davi wooden flat scoop</td>
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<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Bukka (readymade) Gourd bottles</td>
<td>4</td>
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<td>17</td>
<td>Pagas Gourd - (10-30) Gourd lute shaped tube</td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Ukorhi Wooden spoon</td>
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<td>19</td>
<td>Daddur Gutta Bamboo tube</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Oda Wooden</td>
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<td>Katul Cat, Ded</td>
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<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Udla Wooden stool</td>
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<td>26</td>
<td>Bill Bow</td>
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<td>Kani Arrow</td>
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<td>Magsu, Marse Axe</td>
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<td>Tatti, papi, Adze korli</td>
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<td>Purgh</td>
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<td>Majja Razor</td>
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<td>36</td>
<td>Kaser Knife</td>
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<td>37</td>
<td>Yetarh Sickle</td>
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<td>Oswoballa</td>
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<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>Nagoli Plough</td>
<td>Only in plough cultivated village</td>
<td>6</td>
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<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>Pikoli Leng, bamboo, threshing hook</td>
<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>Atte Flat bamboo trellis</td>
<td>(for kusa-silk)</td>
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<td>Camid</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Note:**
1.Minimum articles represents nuclear family.
2. Maximum articles represents joint family of more than two grown up sons.
In the Table III : 1 the material articles of the Abujhmarhia household are shown in which minimum number of articles are in possession of those families which consist of husband and wife; and maximum number of those households which consist of married and unmarried young sons also. Grinding mills are few in the Abujhmarhb, if there is one or two in a village it serves the purpose of the whole village. The tobacco, gutta are very common; but those who are idle cannot prepare these guttas as it is a handi-craft and luxuriously skilled work. There are twenty two to twenty six fishing baskets - which are also not prepared by every Abujhmarhia, as it requires a lot of labour and devotion of work, even some young Abujhmarhias do not know how to prepare these baskets. These articles are found with those Abujhmarhias who are Patel, Gaits or Para Mukhia, which are treated as their parental property inherited by the eldest son of the family. Ploughs are very few in few villages.

III. The Iron tools
A. The digging tools
   (i) The Iron spike, Usool :

   Usool is a iron spike, the solid iron crow-bar for digging stick, found in all the Abujhmarhias houses from one to four in numbers. It is interesting to find that it is sometimes soldered and is in form very like the Madras sawars soldered iron hoe illustrated at p. 361 of Hutton's Indian (Census Report 1931). This is known as pulu.1 The observation of Grigson in this respect is still true, but the
name which he has given to this tool is not found all over
the Abujhmarh. The shape of the usool is like the plough
share but some what longer. It is generally 2' to 3' long
and the soldered portion is about a quarter of the total
length. They purchase it from weekly markets. The cost
of one usool is about 7 to 8 Rupees. It is a main tool
for digging up the various roots, tubers, and yams, and for
digging holes for house building.

(ii) A pick axe, Gudarb :-

Gudarb is a main digging hand tool, with which the
Abujhmarhia hack up the surface of his penda fields and
the paddy fields.

The hoe penda is not in general use, it is used only
in those villages where they have started plough cultivation.

(iii) The Sickle, Hotarh :-

Hotarh is main implement for cutting grass and the
stalks of their crops. It is curved in its form. The handle
is a wooden one made by the Abujhmarhia himself according to
his own grip.

B. Axes :

(i) The Axe, Marse or Maga 2 :-

The Abujhmarhis use two or three different kinds of
axes, as maage, purae and gudali etc. Among these, the marse
is the main axe which is carried by an Abujhmarhia on his
shoulders when he goes to the jungle or to his penda field,
or whenever he is out on visits. It is also used for self-
defence against wild animals.
The muge has a heavy blade, with a cutting edge, three or four inches broad and the maximum length of the blade is about 6 to 8 inches. This is used for chopping wood and felling trees.

(ii) The partisan, Purse:—

Purse is a kind of ceremonial axe as well as ornamental one. Generally the old people keep this purse with them whenever they are on tours. While the young generation prefers a gudeli. The purse which the old man keeps, has a slim and slightly curved blade, while the ceremonial axe is shaped like V or curved. The curve of this ceremonial axe helps itself to fix on the neck of pigs or goats at the time of sacrifice, but the general purse similar to battle axe is used for killing and skinning the animals, also for cutting the meat and so on. These axes are never used for wood work.

(iii) Adze, Tatti:—

This iron tool is a main instrument for house building. Tatti is an arched blade, set with edge at right angles to handle; it is for fine wood work. Its shape resembles that of hoe, but it has a shorter and heavier blade. It replaces a chisel as well as a plane. When working with it, they hold the tatti very short for its handle is shorter than the axe, placing the index-finger on the back of the blade.

It is lage (bad) for women to handle tatti, purse: or gudeli, she can use only the muge axe. There are only two-three tatting in a village or hamlet, therefore it seems a foreign implement recently adopted by these people.
A few minor tools like -

- Awl - Popi
- Anvil - Korli
- Razor - Maja

These tools are found in every village or hamlets in small number. These serve the whole village. In some villages, they also keep a saw and a pair of scissors.

C. Knife, Kaser :

The observation of Grigson that "the universal vademecum of the Hill Majhi. Majhi. is the knife, Kasever (sic) carried and tucked into the lion-cloth with or without a wooden sheath," is still found true. Speaking comparatively, the hill Majhi. Majhi. are most sparsely armed, in spite of the fact that he is frequently required to move through treacherous jungles where the menace of wild animals is always threatening. (Naik 1963: 29). The shape and size of these vademecum differs according to its users, as a child keeps a small one, while a full grown man keeps a bigger one. The length of the blade is usually from 4" to 7-8" and width three quarter inch to 2 inches. The shape of the handle, kola is plain, which differs as the Abuji Majhi. himself made it according to his own grip. The sheath, darbe is also wooden, of two flat pieces of toyamara wood trimmed roughly to the shape of the blade. It is often curved with a favourite design. He uses his knife very dexterously.

IV. Hunting Implements and Traps :

A. Bow and Arrow :

Bow and arrows are favourite devices of the Abuji Majhi. Any one going to the jungle or to his field or market carries the Hill Oru Kani, bow and arrow on his shoulder or in his
hands, for hunting and also for self-defence against wild animals. Grigson has mentioned that they are not good shooters, which stands incorrect today, because kanj arrow is not only a tool device but it has got its cultural function also. (Infra. 424) They do not shoot the tiger due to their religious beliefs which has a great value in their socio-religious life. The bow called bill or billy, means stave only. The string нонда a little shorter in length than the stave, is a carefully sliced outer piece of a green bamboo, cut with a portion of the natural knots at each end, trimmed into knobs, round which loops of twine made from the fibre of the paper creeper and tied in notches 4' to 5' from tip to tip. One loop of left tip is permanently bound to the notch of the lower tip or left tip. The free loop on the right side being only sprung into the upper tip towards him. The stave is always made out of bamboo, 2 the bow when strung measures 4' to 5' from horn to horn, the stave measured, the thickest circumference varied from 3" to 1 inch.

The back of the stave is the natural curved exterior of the bamboo; the belly is pared flat, two notches are made on both ends and on left notch the string trimmed into knobs with the help of the paper creeper, a round loop is formed and permanently tied in the notch. Another loop is made fixing a paper creeper on the upper natural knot of string, a free bow being only strung in the upper (right) tip towards him. All the bows which were observed were generally knotted by kosa silk fibers and some of them were plain, used for spear arrows, kanj and club arrows, \textit{vita}. 
The stave is made by a particular species of bamboo (a tasty one) found near the villages. This fact came to my knowledge, when I was at Kusturmeta. The Patel of Kachchapal Gyme asked to his Idamtor, brother-in-law, for a stave. I asked him why he was asking for a stave when there was plenty of bamboo at Kachchapal. He told me, the bamboo which is found at Kachchapal is not strong enough, as the bamboo of Kusturmeta. Thus it is learnt that the bamboo which is fit for stave and carrier pole is generally planted near the hoe paddy fields.

Generally they keep the bows loose whenever they are not out on hunting.

The small iron spear which is fixed in a small bamboo rod is called kani and the shaft with feathers in the end known as arrow.

Kani-vito are the heads of arrows, but the name of the different parts of bow, spear and club arrows are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bow</th>
<th>Dil, Billa</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stave</td>
<td>Dil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>String</td>
<td>Candi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spear arrow</td>
<td>Kani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spear or</td>
<td>Kani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arrow head</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shaft</td>
<td>Kola</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feathering</td>
<td>Toku, Toraoku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barb</td>
<td>Kowu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shaft hook</td>
<td>Ijal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Club arrow</td>
<td>Vito</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The names given by Grigson, such as \textit{banks}, \textit{kandmor} (p. 85) are not known to the Abujhmarhias.

The length of arrows differs according to their use. General length, measured, is from 2 to 2\frac{1}{2} feet. The wings curve convexly or concavely from points to tips of barbs. The balance of these spear curve must be equal as they test these spears when they purchase them by whirling them on the tip of their middle finger.

All the spear arrow heads have groves in the thickness of the wings, right wing has the groove in upper side while the left has it in the lower, starting deep between the tang and barb and becoming shallower as it tapers upward to a point a little below the point of the blade. This groove helps the blood trickle down when an animal is shot with it. Thus it makes it easier to search out the wounded animal with the help of the guiding line; the blood drops provide.

The tang is heated and fixed in the shaft hole with the help of lac, the shaft is whipped with the fibres of kosa silk. The \textit{vito} is natural bamboo knot tapered with a knife from the natural thickness in a conical form and a shaft is fitted in the natural hole of this \textit{vito} knot. This is used for killing small birds and to teach the boys how to shoot. To feather the arrow, they use the peacock or peahen tail feathers. A 'U' shaped hook is made near the feather and whipped with the fibres of kosa silk.

The Abujhmarhias are deadly shots up to fifty or sixty yards. They do not like to give their arrows to any one, as
they do not use other's arrow. It is considered the individual property. Even the father, brother or sons do not exchange, or take their arrows from one another. Somebody may ask and say that they have to purchase the iron spear; it may be, due to economic reasons. But I found that this is not the economic cause as the spears of arrow are presented and exchanged within the family and outside it, but not the readymade arrow of daily use. The reason which I have observed is that the thin bamboo stick used for shaft, is chosen and prepared by the individual himself, according to his own taste. Once he has used it, it belongs to him. But he is free to give away in gift or in exchange only those arrows which are unused. Because as per belief, his aim and shot depends entirely on his bow and arrow.

B The throwing spear, Gokka, Bayawi

Most of the Abujhmarhias scrapers, spears, stabbing spears, lance, clubs and arrow points are made of iron. But the Abujhmarhias are not, now-a-days, very skilled throwers. The gokka is made in one piece of iron, a much longer, solid spear; shaped like a leaf but with a very long blade, shaft with a knob, spiked butts, about 8 to 9" long. Bayawi is a stabbing spear about 3½ to 6 feet long, and consists of an iron head socketed on to a long bamboo shaft, generally with one or more iron or brass rings which are forced down over the socket from shank when the shaft has been inserted to tighten the grip of sockets on the shaft. The general use of these bayawings, now-a-days, is to keep them at night for guarding the penda fields. These are not used for hunting.
The Abujhmarhias are expert trapers. They shunned traps and deadfals which are food getting devices to them. The ingenuity of such an unusual variation of the much more common spring trap in which the animal puts his head to get the bait, releases the trigger, and is hoisted, if not by his own petard, at least in consequence of his own action. Dead fals are forms of traps in which the animal who comes at the bait releases a trigger that literally brings down the dead fal on his head. This type of dead fal is, however, used for tiger killing also. But the spring traps are ingenious devices. Near the village site, in the penda field, or in dippa we find number of traps erected by Abujhmarhias. Anybody may come across a trap where some oval ground is cleared of growth and is surrounded by bamboo sticks driven into the ground. A passage runs into it, and quite a complicated trap is prepared. Generally the traps prepared for deer and kodri trapping are urinated by trappers themselves. In fact, as Dsai (Patel of Garpa) told that each passerby is supposed to urinate in these traps when he goes that way. It is presumed that, after evaporation salt is deposited, which tempts the animals to come to the traps. By having pitfall covered lightly with earth and leaves on inter-crossed stocks, are frequently used even to trap animals like sambar and deer. These pitfalls are usually prepared near the penda and dippa fields.

Part Two : Material culture of religion

The material culture of religion of the Abujhmarhias,
includes all those artifacts, implements and articles which
fulfill their religious needs; their creation is limited to
an individual or a group of individuals; it is also limited
to particular place or territory. Their use is also limited
to a particular feast or festivals or on some religious
occasions. The whole material culture of religion can be
divided into two categories:

A. The different material forms or representations
of gods and goddesses, whom they worship. The ownership
of these artifacts is generally with a clan or with the
village community as a whole or with a pargana.

B. All artifacts and implements included in this
category are used on a particular religious occasion by an
individual. Their ownership is vested in individuals
belonging to a particular lineage or clan.

A. Material forms of gods and goddesses:

The Abujhmarhias divine world is represented by the
following six material forms:

(i) A wooden image of clan god (clan-god) called Angra.
(ii) Another wooden image of clan-god, Manda.
(iii) Still another log form of clan-god, called Lat.
(iv) A bamboo log form of clan-god called Kola.
(v) (a) Mata Doli - A palanquin or a kind of small closed litter, used
for females deities especially for village mother-deity.
(b) Iron chains used as a symbol of the
village mother-deity
(vi) A stone representing an immovable deity

(vii) A flag with bamboo shaft, different deities being symbolised by different colours of flags

If an Abujhmarhia is asked about his deities, he names them as anga, lat, kola, doli, sakri and gariya. The clan-gods are symbolised by the above four forms; the village mother by doli (usually mata-doli) or sakri (some of them are known as sakri) and the village Talur (known as gariya) is symbolised by a stone or a heap of stones.

Grigson dealing with the earth cult, clan-gods and village mother (on page 195) probably could not understand the religious world of the Abujhmarhias. He says regarding the forms of their gods etc., "In form, we have seen, the clan-god of Marinas (sic) of both kinds and of Marias, is a framework of three parallel saja logs held together by cross-pieces of bamboo or saja, to which they are lashed by cords of siari creepers or twisted thongs of the outer rind of bamboo. Where saja trees are scarce, he may be made entirely of bamboo, but will be lodged in a hut under a saja tree. The junctions of the logs and the cross-pieces are adorned with bunches of peacock and jungle cock feathers, and the ends of the logs with rupees or spirals of peacock quill or bands of brass and silver." (pp. 197-8). It is clear that Grigson has not observed the forms of the clan gods properly. They never make the anga with bamboo or saja logs. Even the name anga deo is not used by these kotors. They simply say anga. The 'nose' which he says, is erected, to hunt the witches, is not a correct concept of the angas parts. Here it will be useful to quote him again (from page 198)
"Their generic name in Bastar is anga _de eo_ or _pat de eo_, Log God. The central log is the essential part, for the other two logs are added primarily to enable the god to be borne on the shoulders of four men when he goes forth to a festival or a witch hunt. The Jhoria log-god at Narayanpur had a special nose for witches, and the late Raja Dhairam Deo, great grand-father of the present Maharaja, installed a copy of it in the palace at Jagdalpur; for witch hunts the god used to be brought in from Narayanpur while the palace copy was sent to Narayanpur during his absence."

The description of the Jhoria log-god, _anga_, of _Parh de eo_ is confusing. The _Parh de eo_ (which exists now-a-days in the Bastar palace) is the original _pan_ of Narayanpur. When Dhairam Deo was out hunting, he prayed to this _anga_ to get him a tiger, as he could not kill a tiger for a week. When he prayed, he shot a tiger on the same day, and after offering a sumptuous sacrifice to him, he took this _Parh de eo_ from Narayanpur to Jagdalpur, where again the supreme power of this log-god was examined by throwing him in the _Inda_, Indrawati river, where the _anga_ moved against the river current. Since that day it was installed in the palace.

And then when this _anga_ was not returned to the Narayanpur Murias, there was a great rebellion known as _Amghat kI_ _ladai_, the battle of _Ama_ pass against the ruler. The King Dhairam Deo rushed to Narayanpur, and pacified the Murias by saying that their god was willing to stay in the palace and had directed _Sonkuwar_ of _Bayanar_ to go to his palace. Therefore the _anga_ of _Bayanar_ named _Sonkuwar_, is placed at Narayanpur. Thus the _anga_ god is not a copy of the
original as wrongly held by Grigson. The same is the case with Chhotedonger. The log-god of Chhotedonger named Kudumtula originally belonged to Kolar (a village in Muria country). But King Dhairam Deo placed another anga, named Kudumtula to control these people, but there was again a great rebellion, against the King, but somehow, the peace was maintained by the high anga priest saying that the anga himself desired to go to Chhotedonger. Even up to this time it is said that this is a case of theft of the log-god by the Halbas.

The anga, manda and lat, made from a particular tree which is held sacred in the Abujhmarh as well as in Muria country, are the images of clan god's spirits. The erection of another anga means a rebirth ceremony of that god. Therefore it will be useful to give a general description of pen-anga erection as of Burhamudial of Karkanar which was built in 1969 at Binjuli village near Narayanpur.

Burhamudial of Arhka or Karkanar :-

Burhamudial is a clan log god, pen of Duga and Dhurwa clans of Dugal pargana of Muria country. This is the pargana god, pen. The rebirth ceremony of the log god, anga ren, was celebrated in 1968-69 by the Duga and Dhurwa clans. It is said that the clan god takes rebirth after an interval of a thousand years, when his anga form becomes old and hackneyed. Therefore he desires to transfer his soul from one body, anga to another. It is believed that he changes his body without dying. His spirit is a supreme
spirit which changes the body but not the soul. The forms of his body may be *anga*, *manda*, *lat* or *kola*. This body creation is ceremonially done. The *anga*, *manda* and *lat* are usually built of the *ira* tree; the *kola* is made of a bamboo log and *matadoli* of a *saja* tree, while some of the village mothers are worshipped in the forms of *sakriang*, a bunch of iron chains. Here it will be useful to discuss all the forms of clan-gods, village-mother and so on.

(i) *Anga* :-

It is a frame-work of two parallel logs of *iramara*, (a kind of tree) held together by two cross-pieces, and a third small thin log placed parallel to two main logs, tied with cords of *pawar* creepers. Generally it is found that they are thatched with the help of holes in the centre of two main wooden logs. The edges of *koking* are arms and its other ends are *par koking*, feet, and the central square part is called *menduli*, the trunk of the body being at the spot where a small long wood is placed. The edge of *koking* is convex like a snake's hood called *mokom*, *maso*, mouth or forehead and two small curved silver plates are placed in the centre of *koking* in its diameter called *kondang*, the eyes. The part of its *menduli* is always covered with a small piece of coloured cloth.

(ii) *Manda* :-

The *manda* is made in the same way as the *anga*, the basic difference being that in *manda* the small central wood is not used; second, the junctions of the logs and edges are
adorned with bunches of peacock feathers and in the centre ends of koking logs, small silver coins are adorned. The mouth, mukum is curved in the forefront with a cross-piece of wood. Manda is carried by an individual, who places his head in the centre of menduli while anga is borne by four individuals on their shoulders. When they move with anga on their shoulders, the part of koking will be in the front, and whenever they turn back, they turn by moving alternately backward and forward and always keep the koking and manda in the front. The number of bunches of peacock feathers from 5, 7, 8, 12 to 14 had to the manda would signify different clans.

(iii) Lat :-

Lat is a straight wooden log covered with peacock feathers and a small piece of cloth. The length is generally from 5 to 7 feet. The kala is a bamboo log, the length varying from 7 to 14 kutang (nava kuta, sata kuta), nine, seven measurement of hands. Their numbers represent the group of closed brother-clans. The upper part of this bamboo log is twisted with thick peacock feathers. It is made and adorned by the pen-pujari (god priest) and kaser, gaita. It is usually adorned with new peacock feathers every year at the time of Kagsar.

(iv) Doli :-

The doli is always made for the village-mother. But when the village is divided into hamlets and these hamlets take the form of independent villages, the new village which is thus separated, takes some iron chains from the former village-mother shrine and worship them in
the form of the village-mother. In this doli they usually keep one or two idols of brass as an image of mata. At the time of the jatra ceremony when the women visit the mata doli there are hundreds of brass rings. The four small pillars form, the base of its structure, the lower edges of these being called kalku, feet, and upper ones guba, being adorned with peacock feathers. Four long iron chains are also fixed in these pillars, and with the help of these chains a long wooden log is fixed. Thus the mata-doli is always carried on two men's shoulders. At the time of the jatra festival, the doli is covered with a small piece of coloured cloth.

(v) Palo :

Palo (Bareg-Walbi) a flag is also a form of a god or goddess. If the god and goddess is gariya (immovable deity) they make a flag for it, and representing it thus in the Kagsar. This is a new phenomenon in the Abuji Marh adopted by the Abuji Marhiyas for the last about 10 years. The difference of represented deities is usually made out by using a different colour and V shaped horizontal flaps with pointed edges outside for each one. The numbers of these V form flaps differ from pargana to pargana and village to village. The varying colours of these flags are also the base of differentiation of different deities of different villages and clans. A white, pandra flag is a flag of village-mother of a single flap, the Hansaram deity is also represented by white flag but it has two flaps. A red, natral flag usually represents the male deities. Coloured cloths, mihar are generally used to cover the mata-doli and mata puj.
Other colours are called karival, dark (they may be black, yellow and green etc.) and these are not used for purposes of making flags by the Abujhmarhias. (In the Kholpatti, Muria country, the Dalbas use black cloth flag for abhlanai and village mother in non-Muria villages).

B. Ceremonial artifacts :

(i) The iron chains, Sakrini :-

The plain iron chains are generally used by now priests like pulsari and leska. The other forms of sakri are pointed iron pins used by the senior priest. They beat their backs with these chains at the time of jatra and Kagsar ceremonies. It is called sakrini karsinta or the priests playing with chains. But when the village mother possesses these priests and when they play with them, it is called agsinta. Sometimes even blood comes out from the backs of some of the Abujhmarhias due to these terrible beatings. They rarely use a pointed iron rod, trident or three prolonged lance trisul (as borne by the Hindu god Shiva). It belongs to Rangaram god. Whenever the Rangaram possesses some one, he bears this trident by piercing it through the cheeks.

(ii) A kind of flax whip, Korhajoot :-

It is used in place of sakri by the Leska and priests. With it they whip their backs at the time of jatra and Kagsar.

(iii) A sacrificial V formed iron scoop, Parsa :-

It is generally used for the sacrifice of pigs and
goats at the time of Kagsar and Jatra. It is believed that the head of the sacrificial victim must be cut by one stroke. Thus performing this ritual is a job of a specialist.

(iv) A circular earthen camphor pot, Ahar :-

The Abujmarhias burn perfumes in this ahar and perform the worship of gods and goddesses by moving the camphor pot up and down with right hand, and the smoke of it is thrown to deities by a handful of thatched peacock feathers called jalgute.

(v) A trumpet, Hakum :-

It is a curved, brass or bronze, trumpet which is purchased from Narayanpur, and Dhorai markets. It is played at the time of ceremonies, feasts and festivals. It is used by the village-folk together at the time of sudden calamities. It is also used to invite the pargana deities. It is also made of earth but some of them are also made from the Bison horn.

(vi) Siren, Mohra :-

This wooden pipe is made and played upon by the Panka and Ganda at the time of jatra and Kagsar.

(vii) Drums, Dolang :-

(a) A big wooden round drum, dol :-

The body of the dol, drum is a wooden bowl, generally the rounded base of the hollow trunk of an exhausted gorgonara (Caryota urens tree), trimmed with a sickle or a knife to bowl shape. The membrane is dried untanned cow-bide, hair outwards, and this is attached by criss-cross thongs of the
same material to rings of the same material tied round the outside of the bowl in its centre with the help of a ring made of pauer creepers just above the base. The thongs are passed through holes pierced in the overlap of the membrane with the point of the knife or of an arrow and pulled tight without any thing being done to guard the edge of the membrane from treaining. These dolang are used generally at the time of Kagsar or jatra or on the time of sudden calamities.

(b) A cylindrical wooden drum, dol :-

This cylindrical wooden drum prepared from the silk-cotton tree. The membranes are stitched to each other by thongs of cow-hide criss-crossed over the outside of the wooden cylinder. The membranes are of equal circumference to produce the same sound, and the cylinder is sometimes as much as three feet long and its weight is considerable. These cylindrical drums are beaten at the time of death and while performing death rituals. A variant of these drums is used for dancing in Bison-horn and in Muria country and now in some villages of the Abujhmarsh.

(c) A cylindrical drum, Mandri :-

It seems that these dancing drums known as mandri are adopted by the youths of the Abujhmarsh from neighbouring tribes, e.g. Murias, Dandami Marhias and Chanda Marhias. The Abujhmarshias call these mandri drums, shut mandri. These unthatched, cylindrical earthen drums are generally, purchased from Chanda (Khalsa). The cost of per drum varies from 30 to 40 rupees, while the same drums are purchased at
Narayanpur market at a cost of 3 to 5 rupees each but the Abujhmarhias, where they have adopted, do not purchase them from Narayanpur market, but they get them from Chanda and pay ten times more for these drums in comparison to Narayanpur market. The cause of preference for Khalsa mandri as reported by these people is that it produces more sound, in comparison to the nagur mandri. These are also stitched to each other by thongs of cow-hide, as the death drums. But the mandri are plastered with boiled rice paste over both the edges of cow-hide to produce a musical sound at the time of Kagsar and jatra. These drums are tied with a pauer creeper cord in the waist of the drummers. (The death drums are slung over the right shoulders by a twing of a cow-hide or cord, and carried obliquely across to make it a little higher. These are beaten by the wooden sticks). The mandri are beaten with the fingers.

(d) Pottery bowls, Kutusku?

Kutusku is a small pottery bowl with a rounded base stitched by cow-hide as do. It is played with two small wooden sticks to the accompaniment of a song called Nutkinata Yendna, at the time of Kagsar dance. The kutusku bowls are bought from Narayanpur at a cost of twenty five paise.

(vii) The brass and bronze bells, Muyang or Irnang

Brass hollow bells irnang, are dancing ornaments worn round the waist. The muyang are small closed bells and tied with the help of pauer creeper cords, 20 or more apiece. Irnang are generally fixed in cow-hide, from 8 to 16 a piece. The cost of muyang is 25 paise per muya and
that of irna is 2 to 4 rupees per piece. First of all they wear irna, then tie them with a long cloth. Then they put on buyang on these irnang and again wrap criss-cross a long cloth around the waist. These are worn by layor, the male youths only at the time of Kagsar and jatra dances.

(viii) A long petti-coat type apron, Chari:

The chari is prepared by the dancers themselves from a rough white cloth with a red or blue border. A dark blue calico with white border around the neck and shoulders is usually preferred but some of them like the white one. A large turban cloth is a common dress of layor in the Abujhmarh. Some of the layor at the time of dance keep mirrors, darbanje, bottles, botji, a torch, umbrella, chati and an ornamental hatchet, gudali. They also have beautiful head hook made of two pieces of curved pig ivory decorated with the feathers of a black bird known as birangraj pite. These are put on at the time of Kagsar and jatra dances.

The Abujhmarhi calender and astrology:

The Abujhmarhis measure their time according to the movements of the Moon, lenu and the month is also called lenu. Their whole year is divided into twelve months and three seasons, which are counted on the basis of months. The month is divided into two: vilchayata, moon lit night and okwal, dark night. The month begins with a saying that "moon is rising, pedu lenj tohtu," then comes the half moon, atam, and full moon is called melta nittu. The decreasing moon is known as melta kidtu preceding again the atam (half moon).
Their week is also divided into seven days. Day is measured according to the movements of the Sun. All this is explained through the Chart III: 1.

As far the conception of tense is concerned they have no conception of past, present and future. Present day is known as none, for future they have three words, nad, tomorrow, pirnadiva for day after tomorrow and for day, day after tomorrow ag. For past they have only two words, nine, yesterday and ninovone for day before yesterday.

The cardinal conception of these people is quite clear, which is the conception of four cardinal numbers, beginning with south, for which they have two words, first tinaz kaif and the other is ukka, known after a star. For west pekke and kopa known again after a star, north divansais or katul, seven stars or Pole star, and for east mune and ukko.

The Moon is treated female, a sister as well as wife of the Sun.

Whenever they move at night for hunttings or other activities and happen to lose the exact direction, they get to the right track with the help of the Pole star, known as Katul.

Abujharhia’s working day:

The Abujharhia counts the day according to the sundial, by socially recognised natural phenomena. The routine of the Abujharhia’s family day is roughly an adjustment to natural environment, which changes according
to season, the division of work differs from child to man, but this difference is oriented towards the fulfilment of the daily needs by means of material tools of their life. The whole day is divided into ten parts which gives an inkling in to the daily life of these hill dwellers (See Table III: 2). The working day begins early in the morning when the cock crows, Kok-kasta. Women-folk sit down at the mortar and pestle kohin or kohin ushna to husk rice. This tedious work is often enlivened by singing. Men go to jungle to see the traps and nets which were placed by them on previous evenings. Then they go to defecate (for which water is not used, instead of water they use leaves); brush their teeth with parkal, wash their faces, take shalafi with their village fellows which they call Pittu sah, morning tea, and have their gruel as break-fast. Women sweep the houses and go to fetch water, hayar tatama to the river or streamlet or nearby spring, carrying gourd bottles or earthen vessels on their heads. Then prepare gablets for break-fast. Sweep out the house and its surroundings, make free the fowls and pigs from their nets and sheds. Take their bath naked and return to cook, gota atma, the gruel, Jawa for their family break-fast as well as for the day meal. Husband and wife with the children and family members take the gruel in break-fast together. Afterwards the men go to jungle with their mid-day meal, an axe, arrow and bows where they work in Panda field and forest. Some of the women (where they have started domestication of cattle) clean their cattle-shed of cow-dung, throwing it outside the cattle-shed, if it is dry weather, there is no need to clean the shed as
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S. No.</th>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Abujhmarhia's sundial</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Children</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>4:3 to 6 A.M.</td>
<td>Kok-kustu (the time when king crow calls crow, peep of day)</td>
<td>Getting up, roaming traps and nets, and main carrying back to home</td>
<td>Getting up, pasting and husking, to mend the fire, cooking</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>6 to 7 A.M.</td>
<td>Injek bhettu, break of day</td>
<td>Shalfi taking. In cattle shed, observe to axe, bow and arrow</td>
<td>Water fetching, cleaning goblets preparing, bathy</td>
<td>Getting up, break-fast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>7 to 8 A.M.</td>
<td>Jawa labar, The time for gruel taking</td>
<td>Break-fast, gruel taking</td>
<td>Break-fast (Jawa taking preparation to go to jungle, observe baskets etc.)</td>
<td>Jawa taking, playing and guarding household and amusing youngsters, playing, shooting birds and insects</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>8 to 12 A.M.</td>
<td>Neck-natutu Arte, The time when the day is half</td>
<td>Rove to jungle with mid-day meal, work in fields and forests</td>
<td>Rove to jungle with mid-day meal, work in fields and forests, roots and leaves collecting</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>12 to 2 P.M.</td>
<td>Raah Artu, after-noon</td>
<td>Mid-day meal (Jawa taking) rest and siesta taking, gossiping</td>
<td>Mid-day meal (Jawa taking) rest and gossip</td>
<td>To guard houses and amuse youngsters, roaming nearby the village</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>2 to 5 P.M.</td>
<td>Mul-Fahar Mulinta, when the sun is half below the horizon twilight</td>
<td>Work in field and forest, Bath taking</td>
<td>Fuel collecting, picking leaves for goblets, return home, pestiling</td>
<td>The main job of children is Karasna aru tindana, to eat and to play</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Time</td>
<td>Activity 1</td>
<td>Activity 2</td>
<td>Activity 3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>7:00 P.M.</td>
<td>Return home, placing traps and nets, observe cattle, pigs and fowls, blooming children</td>
<td>Husking, grinding, pestilling, water fetching, mending the fire, preparing goblets</td>
<td>Preparing goblets, observing pigs and fowls, playing</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8:00 P.M.</td>
<td>Gossip, Gotul going, discussing the socio-economic affairs with village fellows, blooming children</td>
<td>Cooking, preparing goblets</td>
<td>Dinner</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9:00 P.M.</td>
<td>Dinner</td>
<td>Dinner</td>
<td>Sleeping</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10:00 P.M.</td>
<td>Gossip (Gotul going, dancing, storey telling, only lads and lass go to Gotul. Married men or women are not permitted.</td>
<td>Gossip, Gotul going dancing, lass return to sleep.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
they keep their cattle in open fencing. Children, by this time, get up, gather round the hearth and take whatever comes to them, a gourd or a bow or an arrow (small one) and play outside the hut or in court-yard, naked and unwashed, but joyous and smiling. The smaller ones take their gato (boiled rice) in goblets and run out. The grown up children, from 10 and above accompany their elders according to sex and help them in their day work or with Gotul boys work together where their man power is needed. If there is some work in the Banda fields then the women-folk accompany their husbands in the field. In the mid-day meal the women pour gruel on a leaf goblet which they take together. The men rest and smoke a pipe, chungi or take tobacco leaves and then if there is no hard work, they take siesta. The women, dig roots and tubers, collect fruits and leaves for vegetables. The children guard, lonta raka to keep the house, and amuse their youngsters, pakortun techna by playing and eating. They roam about far and near the village or Gotul and shoot small insects and birds. Sometimes the children also go with their parents. Therefore the noon hours are almost noiseless as the whole village remains without human beings. In summer days women-folk return to their houses upto 1.30 p.m. and postle the kohla while the old men-folk work on basketry and rope making. In harvest time men and women work whole day in the field, the men-folk stay there day and night. The meal is sent by women. They go to field in the morning, work whole day in the field and then come back to their houses for night-stay. Afterwards the men continue this work till sun-set. But the women return to their houses
after collecting leaves and vegetables and dry woods for fuel, *barkeitng tatana* to prepare their evening meal, taking bath (if it is very hot) naked on their way in a river or stream. Their husbands come back towards evening and also take bath, naked, in the river or springs; or wash hands and the upper part of the body. This bath is quite reposeful after the day's work.

At the evening there is a lot of hue and cry in the village. Children play outside the house, men observe their cattle, fowls and pigs and women-folks, fetch water while some are pestling, making fire and cooking.

The men-folk are gossiping in the Gotul or neighbouring houses with their small children being fondled in their arms. The unmarried girls fetch water, sweep houses but cooking is usually performed by the house-wives. The kohla husk is given to pigs and fowls. Usually it is given to these animals together. The goblets are prepared while they sit around the hearth, discussing their family affairs and thus the meal taking starts. After their meal the Laya Layor go to the Gotul where they meet with other village youths. Fire is burnt in the centre or near the fencing of Gotul outside or inside it. They chit chat, smoke, tell stories, sing and dance till late in the night. The girls depart from the Gotul, while boys stay there all the night. The men-folk generally sit around the hearth fire and discuss their family affairs with their wives and chalk out their next day work, then they sleep round the fire in their houses,
while young girls sleep in some one's hut, wherever they get space. They mend fire and sleep around it with their fellow maidens. Cattle and poultry also rest and by about 9 to 9 p.m. the whole village is quiet unless of course there are some festivals or Kangar in the village.
NOTES

1. See Grigson (1938 : 90).

2. Grigson (1938 : 85) has been narrated that they use dhaman (Grewialia folia) for more powerful stave but I have not found a single stave made out of dhaman in the 26 surveyed villages of 14 parganas.

3. There are more than three species of bamboo. The bamboo better in text is not used for stave. There is particular species of bamboo from which the stave is made.

4. Shaft always made from bamboo and not from cane as mentioned by Grigson.

5. The Talur is never symbolized by these flags.

6. Mohra is a Malhi word.

7. In Malhi and Muria it is called hulki.