Chapter XII

MAGIC AND WITCHCRAFT

The supernatural belief of the Abujhmarhia is further reflected in the magic, panda and witchcraft, which exist universally in the Abujhmarh hills. Magic provides them a way of coping with situations of misfortune or danger with which there are no other means of dealing. It is a common place that in the face of actual or threatened disaster to do something is psychologically satisfying and a way of relieving anxiety; anything is better than just remaining passive and waiting for it to happen. Due to lack of empirical knowledge their large number of ritual performances play an important function of magical practices relieving anxiety.

The origin of magic, panda is associated with the mythological magic man, pandwal, who is believed to be born with their mythological Gaita, Dumhirival. (Supra. 310).

The Abujhmarhia is afraid not so much of the female as of the male. A pandwal brings about disease, illness, accidents, misfortune, failure of crops, sudden death and other calamities to an Abujhmarhia; these are always attributed to magic or sorcery. When several men die in succession in a village, when children suffer from one disease after another, when crops fail at the last moment, the Abujhmarhia suspect sorcery of some pandwal in the village. This type of magic is believed to be done for the whole
village. Tiger lifting and other epidemic diseases are believed to be supernaturally caused.

Glasfurd (1862) described that "the simple and unsophisticated Gond tribes are believed to be expert necromancers, and on the most intimate footing with evil spirits; and that the Marias have totally undeserved reputation as physicians, although their general idea of sickness is that it is caused by magic and best cured by detection of the magician or white counter-magic."

Black magic is still suspected as the cause of death and other calamities by all the Abujmarhias. But the detection of magic as pointed out by Grigson (1938) by Kaddal priest is not practiced in these hills. The black magic or sorcery and witchcraft are regarded very bad and essentially evil. All these actions are more than crimes (i.e. public as well as private delicts). A person who is guilty of inflicting and injury through witchcraft and sorcery is held to pollute, jutata the community by his presence. In other words, such persons are treated as sinners and sources of spiritual danger. When these sorcerers, pandiwal and witches, pandi or elle are detected, they are sometimes put to death by the combined action of all the members of the village. Or they are sometimes expelled by their own kith and kin from the village. The Gatta or the Patel never possess this black magic and he can use it against the deviant members of the society. This is unlike what Malinowski mentioned about Trobriand Islanders; in whom the chiefs are expected to do black magic to maintain their positions.
The Abujhmarhias do not account for illness by a single factor nor do they fail to perceive relatively direct conditions as injurious. There are four major culturally perceived ultimate causes of illness, disease and other calamities:

1. The calamity devastating a vast territory, *hum in duk*, sent by their benevolent spirits in pious rage because of an antisocial behaviour of an Abujhmarhia or his leaders;
2. Illness brought about by malevolent spirits;
3. Illness and disease sent deliberately by other persons (i.e. sorcery and witchcraft); and
4. Disease and illness of the body, resulting from physiological and/or anatomical disorders.

Illness of the first category is believed to be a punishment, brought about because of the carelessness of the Patel and the Gaita of the village, who fail to observe the antisocial behaviour of his kith and kin in the village; this guilty behaviour of an Abujhmarhia signifies the guilt of his leaders. Consequently he offends his Pen, Talur, Mata/Yaval and Anal. The cure in these cases will be obtained by the Gaita and the Patel through propitiation of the angered supernatural beings. In the second category the malevolent spirits may suddenly attack an Abujhmarhia without provocation and make him ill so as to get offerings. In the third category persons who are generally affinal clan members are believed to be instigators of sorcery and witchcraft resulting in disease and death. In the last category are included accidents like drowning or being
killed by an arrow or spear, breaking a bone, after a fall
and death in old age, were the association of cause and effect
which is clearly seen.

The Abujobmarhia possess a surprisingly elaborate
pharmacopoeia. Surgery is limited to wound treatment,
setting of broken and dislocated bones through massage,
cauterisation and blood letting. Wounds are treated
through the application of drugs of herbs, roots and
leaves. However, they use other material forms of disease
prevention. An Abujobmarhia carries certain articles around
his neck or keeps in his house; these protect the owner and
his household from illness and misfortune. These amulets
are regarded as very effective in warding off evil spirits
and in protecting the bearer from evil eyes. The sacred
dry fruits of elephant creeper, Pentapaufer usually put on
around the neck of an Abujobmarhia child gives him good
health and protects him from evil eyes. Thus they do not
avoid naturalistic explanations of disease and accidents,
but often combine them with supernatural ones. Sometimes
they make a clear cut distinction between supernatural and
natural causes of illness. But in general they believe that
most disease and illness are due to sorcery or witchcraft.

Cult arising from witchcraft is significantly
lessened and is replaced by suspicion, indicating the sources
of interpersonal antagonism. Belief in magic and witchcraft
is therefore more persistently associated with social
conflict in this community. There is for example strongest
attention between distant affinal relatives or between those who were punished and those who took the initiative of getting them expelled from the village. The illness and disease caused by magic and witchcraft usually point to a break in the Abujhmargia inter-personal relations, and in these instances the patient may remember with whom he has quarreled, or whom he has offended. Thus, the fear of magic and witchcraft, is a positive factor which tends to foster harmony in inter-personal relations of these hill people.

II

Before discussing the Abujhmargia magic and witchcraft here it will be useful to review some of the early works done in this particular branch of knowledge. Tylor (1958, Vol. I: 123) called magic a 'monstrous farrago'; Frazer considered it to be a 'pseudo science'; Durkheim (1961: 59) characterized it as thoroughly 'antisocial' and 'personal'; Levy Bruhl (1956) saw it as a 'product of prelogical mentality' and Malinowski (1948) proposed a distinction between magic and religion based on utility in his detailed studies of the Trobriand Islanders. One of the major distinction made by the nineteenth century anthropologists between magic and religion was based on the concept of 'manipulation' and 'supplication'. According to this distinction, magic involves the attempt to manipulate the higher power while religion relies on supplication. Magic, than, would compel the supernatural to bend to man's wishes, and success is seen as inevitable provided one knows the
right ritual or formula. Religion, on the other hand, assumes that the supernatural powers are free agents that may or may not grant requests.

III

On the basis of the forms and methods of Abujhmarhia black magic which are generally used by their pandwal, it can broadly be arranged into two categories:

(A) Contagious magic based on physical contiguity; and
(B) Homeopathic magic based on likeness.

The Abujhmarhia sorcerers pandwal are generally male, who are believed to be experts in killing their victims through spells. Even an expert Abujhmarhia pandwal does not need to have direct contact with his victim. Injury to another person is his goal. Pandwal like alle, are generally evil minded, but rather than depending upon their psychic power, they perform mechanical acts to harm others. In their mechanical acts they use the most varied kinds of medicions to perform their panda, black magic. All the acts of an Abujhmarhia pandwal are essentially added with spells, rites and formula. The right form of words for the performance of a particular kind of magical act is handed down from one person to another who wants to do so. Thus the pandwal's art is learned. It is disastrous to forget the right words, for a mistake will invalidate the magic.
Evans Pritchard (1937) reported from the Azande that some people are witches, injuring others by virtue of an inherent quality in them. The Aby uomo also believe that pandan may do them ill by performing panda rites with lago motta, bad medicines. Whereas the elle witches perform no rites, utter no spells, and possess no medicines. The elle is distinguished from pandan on the ground that an elle brings about her evil influence as such; she has no need of rites or medicines. The practicing of art of both is said to take place under strict privacy.

A Contagious magic:

The most prevalent form of contagious magic is the stealth of soul, jiwa oena.

1) Stealing of soul, jiwa oena:

Jiwa oena is kind of a stealing of the soul. A man who knows how to do so performs the act with the motive of harming an enemy, and for one's own well being.

When a pandan wants to harm somebody, he must only stealthily obtain some thing that has been in direct contact with the victim, a hair, parings of a nail, blood, a piece of cloth or its thread. This act must not be known to the victims. These things are kept in a bamboo tube in a very secret place. The actual performance of magic is made at the opportune time, within three months of obtaining of the above mentioned articles. He goes in the forest, utters certain spells empowering the article and propitiates his
patron evil spirit who fulfills his intention, and offers an egg and fowl to the bamboo tube. With this rite it is believed that the person concerned, will lose his soul. In the first instance he feels pain in his body and then gradually he will pine away and ultimately dies. If the sorcerer wants immediate effect, he may expressly, while doing the ritual, give a particular period of time to show its effect and on the last day, he would again go to forest, perform the same ritual and after that cut the budur gutta; as it is cut off, the death of the man concerned follows.

The second type of jivadema is prepared almost in the same manner. The difference is that the bamboo tube is buried in panda fields or under fields bundings. Not only the concerned man dies within three months but also the panda field improve the fertility and the bundings are not washed off in rains. Such magical tubes for jivadema are usually prepared in more than one numbers; because the concerned person as soon as he falls ill, would consult his Leska who would, if is quite efficient with his magic, may restore the soul; the pandual therefore will have to try again and offer another gutta of jivadema to save his own life.

B Homeopathic magic -

This type of panda is again divided into two -

1) Masbilla and 2) Kaparh misor

1) Masbilla -

From the bee's wax a pandual prepares figures of hi
enemy and of a tiger. This kind of magic is called duwal jindana te mashilla; to kill an enemy through the figures of tiger and man. The pandwal works in secrecy in the forest, utters spells and sacrificed a fowl, praying—"I have a request which you must promise to grant." And when his patron evil spirit promised to do so he proceeds, "you must have my so and so killed by a tiger the day after tomorrow." The propitiated spirit promised to do what he asks for and disappears. On the next day he again goes to the forest, performs the same rite and puts the wax figure of his victim in the mouth of the wax image of the tiger.

With this it is believed that the victim will die or will be killed by the propitiated spirit which transforms itself into a tiger. In this magical act, when it is performed on the first day, the tiger may be seen by the victim who thinks it to be a result of some spell being done on him. If he fails to consult the Leska to avert the spell, he may be killed by the tiger within three days.

ii) Kaparh mistor:

Kaparh mistor is prepared by the pandwal to harm his enemy and (his enemies') village-folk. When a pandwal wants to destroy the family of his foe, he prepares kaparh-mistor. He keeps in a small earthen pot, a few paddy grains, a piece of cloth, vermilion, a piece of iron or tin (sometimes lead) and bits of grass tied in a human form. He goes to the forest, propitiates his patron evil spirit, makes certain utterances to empower this earthen pot on which he makes vermilion marks, offers it an egg or fowl.
He then ties its mouth with a piece of cloth. On his return from forest at night he buries this pot at a distance of about 25 feet in front of the hut of his enemy. This is supposed to work immediately, after three days a evil soul enters it, making it move towards the door of the person concerned. Then it reaches near the door, the members of his family get fever, cold, cough and itches and thus, it brings all the sickness and calamities which may end in the death of a few persons in that family.

To harm the village-folk:

For this purpose the kaparh mistor is prepared usually by more than one pandwal, sometimes just by one, of a village without the knowledge of their Patel and Gaia. The prepared kaparh mistor is buried near the shrine of the Wata, Pen, and at the outskirts of the village. At the right time, sickness and all the calamities from the spot where kaparh mistor has been buried spreads in the village, causing the crops to fail, making the people and their animals ill and causing the death of some of them.

All these are practiced only by the pandwal or male sorcerers. The woman can never practice these acts because a large number of rites are required to be performed for them, which is not possible for a woman. If she practices black magic, she is known as alie.
The Abujhmarhias are obsessed by the fear of witchcraft. The greatest trouble for them in boundary or multi-clan villages would be a witch, ello. "Because we are enemies of each other", some informants from these villages told me, "if there were no witches, how happy we might have been, witches are our greatest trouble! How are we to end them?" The Abujhmarhias do not give any explanation for witches or their strange power. They only explain their characteristics. Witches are persons who are believed to use supernatural power for evil purposes, or to be able to make others ill or even kill them through this power. A witch acquires her power through another witch by contact, influence or instruction. Sometimes this malign power is transmitted from mother to daughter. They attack those whom they hate. The witch is an agent of murder though the victim does not necessarily belong to her husband’s family/lineage. A witch in the Abujhmarhia society does not directly use her craft against her husband and his lineage members; the typical witch only harms the affinal relatives. Some witchcraft passes from mother to daughters. For example, when the elder brother of Orchha Patel was married, his wife’s parents sent a witch in his family through their daughter. Due to this evil spirit there were many deaths in his family. One of them being of his brother’s son. The brother’s daughter was spared. Now Orchha Patel also wants to send that witch through this daughter of his elder brother, to the group in which she
would be married. But no one is ready to marry his brother's daughter. In cases of inherited witch spirit they never kill the witch woman because it is believed that the witch spirit always remains in female line. But when there is no issue of that woman the accused would be expelled from the village or even killed off. Witchcraft accusations in the uni-clan or C type villages is very rare, if it occurs, it is equivalent of death.

These witches are supposed to do many evils, they may eat away fowls, pigs and cattles of their enemies, they may stop menstruation of a woman and birth of children to prospective mothers. The ordination into witchcraft is said to take place under strict privacy and their art is secret. They work at night. They are formed of human flesh and life. They make their victims ill, and wait for them to die in order to consume their bodies after burial.

The pandi or elle calls the pandwal or the spirit under their command at the dead of night on a bank of stream or river; she sprinkles water on the pupil's head, murmuring certain spells, when the novice becomes possessed, she shakes, puts off her clothes and runs stark naked towards the water, utters some spells, then she sits on a stone and eats human excreta whereupon she becomes a full-fledged elle. If she gives up in the middle she will die or a tiger may kill her. A witch who has eaten such a thing, is quite proficient and can never forget what she
has learnt. She has also to sacrifice a human soul to the spirits of the witches. Once a woman or girl has become a witch, the village is at her mercy. She knows all sort of witch magic to harass or kill any one whom she wants to. She makes an effigy of the man she wants to kill and takes it to the river bank, speaks some spells, sprinkling water over it and eats victim's organs, and once it has been 'eaten', it is only a question of time before he falls ill. The elle fixes a date for his death and some days earlier the fatal sickness starts. The man gets fever and dies in given time.

Whenever a Pandwal or elle has been at work, the sign is illness. Not every illness is, however, due to him/her and the Leska must first diagnose that pandwal is the cause of illness before further steps can be taken. As soon as an elle or pandwal has been identified, the matter becomes an affair of the whole village. It is not merely one household which is threatened, the security of the whole village is undermined. Therefore the task of detecting the actual pandwal or elle is undertaken by all the village-folk. The Patel and the Gaita with the help of Leska are called in, the action taken, varies accordingly as the victim is still alive or is already dead. If the victim is alive and patient quickly recovers, nothing more is done. The Leska may seek out the elle or pandwal and either request her/him to withdraw her/him evil influence. Or he may make vengeance magic against the suspected pandwal or elle. The members of the victim's family, no doubt, suspect their
enemies but they have no 'proof', whatever their suspicions may be, the Leska also may ask them but he will not ask the name of a elle or pandwals till the case is serious; because he thinks that it may lead to quarrel, and consequently it is advisable to warn all, then possibly the guilty may think better of it and leave off.

If after this, there is no improvement or sickness continues, the Leska hands over the case to the Dumkal and 'prove' the case by divination, where the elle or pandwals is. On these premises plus their knowledge of local scandals, and if a witch is suspected by more than one man in the village and proved by the Leska through divination; the suspected woman (in case of elle) or man (in case of pandwals) is taken out by the village-folk before the Dumkal, where he/she is to be put to a number of very cruel ordeals. They believe that he/she may accept their guilt and forget their magic by these ordeals. After this, if they do not confess their guilt, they are beaten till they confess.

After this, if they persistently create injury and calamity, they are punished usually by death or in a very rare cases by exile.

The significance of these elle and pandwals, will need no emphasis, as they undermine personal and social security. They kill and injure, on the contrary because their attacks are invisible, they are, if anything more potent and dreaded. The elle and pandwals are an
enemy of society as ruthless as a murderer.

But obviously, it can be said that the acts of elle and pandwal denotes the bad relationship of jealousy, malice and suspicion in this society. It often follows existing line of tension, i.e. people with whom an Abujhmarshia has some other reason to be in conflict or to whom he exists as a rival, may suspect him/her of panda or el.

V

Detection of witchcraft and sorcery (Divination):

There are a large number of methods to detect magic and witchcraft. The Leska plays a key role in all these affairs, who mediates between an Abujhmarshia and the unseen aspects of the universe. He discovers what specific personalized entity sent the trouble, i.e. what living person, pandwal or elle is responsible for the affliction. It should be noted, that the operations undertaken by the Leskas and the village people, so far the above described magic and witchcraft are concerned, do not go further than pointing out certain limits within which the culprit is to be sought. The Leska does not attempt the responsibility of naming the individuals.

The different methods of divination practiced by the Leska are as follows:

A Divination by means of blowing, Urla:

Urla is a very common method of divination in which the Leska himself visits the patient's house in the village.
in the early morning and evening, fans the patient with a broom of peacock feathers, and sometimes with the leaves of tamarind and saja tree, uttering some magical formula. The patient is also taken to the Leska’s house, if he belongs to another village. This is the first step of treatment to diagnose the cause of illness. It is believed that the evil spirits may leave the patient, if they are the cause of trouble.

In this method he simply calls a postulated entity to tell him what is wrong with the patient. This can be observed when he starts shaking his hair and arms violently and an odd whistling sound issued from his lips. At this time it is assumed that he is in communication with the unseen realm of the universe. After a few minutes he calms down, and provides the messages sought by the unseen world. These messages are interpreted by some of the family elders, which reveals what is displeasing, some personal entity and motivating him to trouble. The request and offerings are promised on behalf of the patient by some of his family members, which will be made after getting relief.

B Penkiyana - Divination by means of grains or rice, wheat etc.

When the Leska does not get rid of illness by the usual form of divination, he practices the Penkiyana form of divination. He takes some grains of paddy or wheat and utters some magical formula like the following: -
"Sat, sat, sat........
Dantasir mavli, Yayal,
Kesharpal, Galam karin,
Bawrhi karin, Dhowe karin,
Sat, sat, sat, Bawrhi ta paroy,
Bangaram Warha-Marhia;

True, true, true..........(Hearkan O' true god and goddesses)
Danteshwari/Mavli, Yayal, Kesharpal, Galom karin, Bawrhi
kalin, Dhowe karin, O' true, true, true (god, goddesses),
Bawrhi, Bangaram and former Marhia hearkan."

After this he throws the rice/wheat grains in the
name of the above spirits, which are separated by some family
male member or Patel of the village in pairs. If these
rice/wheat grains end up as even numbers, called chokos, if
not, then these are called khand.

1) To find out the spirit who can tell the name of
responsible spirit for trouble: To find out the
judicial spirit

First they find out the ruling spirit under which
the case comes and who can tell the responsible spirit for
trouble. This is done through the means of chokos and
khand in which the Leska throws the grains in the name of a
spirit (mentioned above), and if these grains end three
times in chokos forms continuously; it is believed that the
called spirit can tell the case. If the grains end in khand
form, then, they throw the grains in the name of next spirit
and so on.
11) To find-out the responsible agent (Human or super-human):

When the ruling spirit is traced out, e.g. Narhil-karin, he throws the grains in the name of this deity to know the responsible agent. If these grains end in khand, then he again throws 10 or 15 rice grains three times, after that if they end in khand then it is believed that it is the super-human agent. But if they end in chokos first, khand second, and again chokos, then they are again thrown. When they end in chokos, the human agent is assumed for the trouble. After this in the above pattern they find out the sex of human agent, their pargana, village, the name of the village headman, of the person at whose behest they have come.

After tracing out clearly the responsible spirit who is at the root of the patient's trouble, the next step of treatment follows. In case of a super-human agent all the necessary offerings are made to get relief. But if the agents are human, two methods follow to get relief.

1 Counter-magic; malchiyana; and

2 Giving of offerings; puja keeyna.

The counter-magic, malchiyana is used to cure illness and disease by those Laskas who are quite efficient and their possessed postulated spirit possesses great power.

In the second form the responsible agents are promised to give offerings after getting relief.
When a case is quite serious, the patient is brought over to the Mata/Yayal Guru or Pen rauer, where a male member of his family, the Leska, Patel and the Gatta of the village are called. The Leska when possessed by his postulated spirit communicates with the above mentioned spirits (i.e. Yayal and Pen) and asks them for their decision and advice. He contacts these super-human beings through the spirit possessed, who seeks out the specific spirit responsible for the trouble. At this stage it is assumed that the Leska engages himself in a face to face contact with the supernatural powers. The encounter usually begins by the incessant in utterance of coherent words with mutual boasting, each showing the other his powerful magical weapons. There they engage in a duel, which involves all kinds of fearful transformations on the part of both adversaries, but in the end the Leska usually requests the responsible spirit to leave its victim, and close the hands, mouth and ears of the illness.

When there are many diseases and deaths in the village, crops fail every year, tiger-lifting increases and children die, and these do not respond to any cure by the above mentioned forms of divination, then the village people consult the pargana Pen or some of the Hajwarhe ta Pen to detect the witchcraft and sorcery of the village. Below is given a case recorded at Kanhagaon in the year 1969 which is of this kind :-
The Patel of Nanharoon with his village elders approached the priest of Kudumtula at Sonpur. When asked, why he had gone to call the Anza of Kudumtula, the Patel reported that there were deaths and diseases, tiger-lifting and failure of crops since last three years in his village. His village Mata/Yayal and Pen were polluted by magic as they neither save them from all these calamities, nor tell them the causes of these calamities. He uttered the following words before the Anza of Kudumtula:

"Maya mar himar aas mandu,
Iijke mava wesa tu tak nibba aata,
Mava pen Mungraj ton tatta karh sakarh
Yosada Puntun tattakarh,
Bona lote Pen, mattek tan paevtek,
Anza ode mattek tan wehtar!

Hearken O' god of Pargana, there are lot of diseases and deaths in my village. My village (deities) are polluted; thus my village is polluted (by sorcerers). My god, Mungraj has gone away to a distant place; hearken, O' god, you are his family member (brother of Mungraj), hearken. We adjure you, kindly visit my village and detect for us all kinds of evil spirit, and let us be relieved from all kinds of trouble; we adjure you. Kindly cure my village."

The Anza Kudumtula having given his consent through the medium accepted the Patel's appeal and a date was fixed by the priest for the Anza visit to the Patel's village. On the fixed day the Anza of Kudumtula was brought over there,
where it was properly propotinted by the people giving the offerings of a goat. Next day it was ceremonially moved over the village through all the paths, streams and the sacred places of the village. A wooden pole was also fixed in the ground, fixing a tinpin in it, in the name of Kudumtula with all necessary offerings of a chicken etc. One year time was also given to the Patel and the Gaits of the village to see the power and influence of the Pargana Pen and the villagers were asked to desist from all evil activities for a year. "If it remains alright all over the year, you may come next year, and you will see the thing alright." They were answered the next year, there were good crops and no diseases and deaths in the village. The Patel and the Gaits of the village presented a chicken and an ornament of silver, to the Pargana Pen at the time of Jatra and requested in to visit again this village and cure it completely from all the evil influences of the supernatural as well as human beings.

When the Anga again visited the village, a goat, chicken etc. were offered, and a feast was given to its priests, bearers and drumers. Next morning a chicken was again sacrificed and ceremonially worshipped by its priests. After that it was brought over through all paths of the village. But not a single household, nor an Abujhmarhia was detected. After covering all the paths and streets of the village the Anga galloped towards a stream impelling its bearers, directly in midstream. There was three feet deep water. The priest said to the village people -
Anca ætha thowli
Anca æga mitīha
Ega mañta, paytu

Anca stayed, and directed them to dig up there. There is seeds of sickness Kaparhishto; dig up beneath the feet of the Anca's bearers. The Patel of the village was asked to dig up up to 2 feet mud. After it was done from the spot a little earthen pot Kaparhi meštor covered with a cloth was found. After getting this Kaparhi meštor they turned towards the west direction of the village and reached near the Jen ruacer, where again the priest of Anca asked to dig up the ground at the spot of the ceremonial hearth of the Jen. From this place they dug up a knotted cloth, called satte pachtagar nīch. When the small earthen pot was opened, a few seeds of paddy grain, a doll of grass tied in human hair called, jarhtaptra, marked with vermilion, a small piece of lead and iron Kachagot, a small piece of tin damra goṭi and vermilion, all were tied in a piece of cloth were found inside. All these magical items were as fresh as if they were just put there. These articles then were taken away outside the village boundary by the priest of Anca, and were ceremonially burnt with offerings of a pig and a fowl. When all the ritual performances were completed, the medium of Anca pointed out the name of the Pandwal, who had died five years back. He was a Marbha who had come from outside, his son and widowed wife were still living in the village but who were innocent of any knowledge about this sort of magic.
A goat was again sacrificed near the Aun and propitiated by the village people. It was then ceremonially seen off in the evening. After that all the families got well.

Thus all these communal rituals are generally held through the Pargana Pen to purify a village, and to drive away all evil spirits, witches and pandawal and to treat all sickness that may not be cured by the village Pen. This type of ritual performance denotes the superior power of the Pargana Pen.
NOTES

1 Both terms are adopted from Frazer, but as far the definition of magic is concerned, it is taken from Beatti (1964 : 207) "Magic is a symbolic activity, not a scientific one and the elements used in it are selected because they are symbolically appropriate, so magic is not only a way of thinking about things; it is also a way of doing things." Here, Frazer failed to see that magic was not just a mistaken theory about natural causation because he was concerned with what people thought about things, rather than with what they did about them.

2 In the year of 1969 (April) when I was at Kachchapal, the Sirpanch of Irakbhatti came to me in 13th April morning in the Gotul. He had come to pay a visit some of his relative in the village. He had plucked a few hair of a Bengali boy who bad turn his way in these hills and went away to his village. Banga, a Marhia boy of the Ashram (School) observed this act of his, and reported the case to his teacher who was with me. At the time Patel Kaye also came to me and as he heard about this case, he rushed to his house and brought a trumpet, and played on it loudly. Within half an hour all the villagers gathered in the Gotul. The Patel reported this case to them that Dhowa(Sirpanch) of Irakbhatti had stolen the soul of a Bengali boy
Jewwonna hatur, and ordered to follow, hita him and
brought over at Kachchapal. Ten Gotul youths armed
with bows, arrows and axes galloped to Irakbbatti.
Dhowa was brought to the Kachchapal followed with his
village Patel, Gaata and other village elders; a Dumkal
meeting was called immediately. The Patel of Irakbbatti
requested the Kachchapal Dumkal not to illtreat Dhowa
physically. Dhowa accepted the proposed penalty of a
pig and twenty rupees. Thus it was learnt from the
Patel of Kachchapal that Dhowa was constructing bundings
of his fields and he wanted to sacrifice a human spirit
to save them from being washed away. The Patel told
me that of this had happened with any Marhia village boy,
then death would have been the proper penalty of this
guilt.

This type of case was reported from the Padamkote
village. The Patel of this village told me that ten
years ago a Marhia of his village was heavily fined in
the Dumkal by his father and was mercilessly beaten, as
he was suspected to be a pandwal. After a year or so
he tried to prepare masbill of his father, but in the
meantime, he was killed, when a tiger was seen by his
father, he called the Leska of the village, and found
out that his brother-in-law was doing magic to him.
He was caught red-handed when he was busy in ritual
performance in the forest. The sorcerer was killed
publicly then and there.
At village Garpá Kule's wife's mother (living with her son-in-law) was suspected to be a witch by Kule's uncle, Dul, Patel of Garpá. It was reported by Dul that Kule was making magic against him through his mother-in-law to destroy his family due to some previous conflict with him. Neither Kule nor his wife would be able to do this magic as they are his lineage members.

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