CHAPTER- 8

TRADITION AND CHANGES OF THE ORIYA ORIGIN IN THE TEA PLANTATION OF ASSM

8:01: Introduction:

The Oriya people, being originated from the lower strata of the Vedic people had kept many of the rituals followed by in the ancient time. In the process of the evolution they had also adopted many of the habits of their tribal neighbours and at present sometime one confuses of their origin from the Vedic people. It is not surprising if we assume of their origin as the offspring of both the tribes and the early Vedic people. In the atmosphere of the plantation a new system of life style began which gradually losing their original identity.

The family of the Oriya people is patriarchal and they are organized in group of a particular clan, called Kutumb. Originally, several consist of a social structure under a traditional ‘Gada’ who was responsible for collecting the revenue for the traditional Zamindar or the King. Under the King, a traditional ‘Jhakor’ is responsible for the Social customs of the society. But every ‘Kutumb’ have their own traditional ‘Jhalngia’ to look after the matters of the customs. ‘Jhalngias’ are selected by the people in the traditional assembly. The family and the social rituals have to be looked after by the selected ‘Jhalngias’ who are helped by the ‘diari’ in performing the rituals. The ‘diari’ is also selected and accepted by the ‘Kutumb’ from the experts of exortize.580

580 Informant: Sri Subhas Bagh (42), on 31-10-2007

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8:02: Social Structure of the Oriya origin:

Family: The Oriya people in the tea garden of Assam live in family system consisting of father, mother, children, brother-sisters, step relatives and widows where spouse and their children live in a separate house. They have both joint and nuclear family system and their lineage; inheritance and descent are of patrilineal type. The totem objects are partially discarded from the present environment in the tea garden.

Marriage of any type is responsible to contribute a family which gets social recognition. Without marriage no family is socially accepted in the Indian situation.\(^{581}\) It is recognized by both tribes and castes belonging to Oriya origin. Concubine is only accepted in the form of *poili, rokhui* or *chhotki*. The formal first wife is called *baďki* if second or third wife is accepted in the family. The former is called *dharmo-patni* while the later is called *kama-patni*. But polygamy is prohibited.\(^{582}\)

Among the tea garden Oriya people of Tinsukia district follow several types of marriage systems. A family can be constituted out of any kind of these marriages, if, it is accepted in the society. The marriages through elopement, rape, cheating or inter caste are accepted and initiated only after their expiration. Sometime in the tea garden environment, the social institution seems helpless if such person is a regular worker in the tea garden. Many of such expiration takes place during the occasion of initiation of their children comes.

Father, or in his absence, the next elder is considered to be the head of the family. The elder male, next to the father,

\(^{581}\) Informant: Sri Rajaram Tanti on 13.9.2006
\(^{582}\) Sri Tanti
preferably the son is considered to be authoritative if he is adult, even though his mother is alive. Among the Oriya origin the earnings of the family members have to be surrendered to the head and the father has the right to decide on the expenses. He is responsible to arrange food, shelter and security for all in the family. He also represents the family in the social, administrative and all civil purposes. The tea garden authority knows and regulates his family through him and in his absence, his wife, who is also a worker in the tea garden. The traditional Oriya family is however, partially affected by the tea garden regulations. Father also regulate the kula; received from his father and handover to his eldest son at old age.583

Mother is considered next to the authority of the father as she is also a permanent earner in the garden. The tea garden management keeps her name next to her husband replacing the second title only for the identification of the family. She also has to represent her husband in the social function in absence of her son, if he is a minor. Traditionally she is the authority of the house and called griha-lakshmi; after her death she is worshipped by her sons of the family as maa-loshmā with the family tutelary. During her lifetime she has to help her husband to keep the economy of the family in the track. She cooks the family food, offers the first share to the agni-devtā and tutelary, and feed all others in the family before taking her own food. She is the only person in the family to handle the family reservoir. She equally participates with her husband in the family rituals, offering oblation to the tutelary. Without her participation the family god never accepts the offerings.584

More than one family composes the clan bearing a

583. Sri Rajaram Tanti on 13.9.2006
584. Smt Hemo Nayak on 17.1.2005
common designation and believed to be originated from common ancestor. The Oriya origin in the district of Tinsukia consider themselves to be of optimistic clans from particular animal, bird, fish, plant or even an inanimate object like salt, iron etc. as their original ancestor. Marriage is forbidden within a clan. Even some consider similar clan element to be their brothers and forbids marriage between two. Clan organization has its importance during the economic crisis of one of its family and assists on occasions such as death, marriage or other functions take place in the family. In the village the clan members help each other to complete the regular harvesting of the crops in the field. In the tea garden also they help each other especially the women during pruning of the tea bushes when the nirikh is excess for a woman to complete it within eight hours. Originally, families of a single clan are composed of one village. But gradually new clans began to join and the villages become multi-clan families. In the tea garden of Assam no family of a single clan is found in a line but of multi-clan families. There are however, few lines seen with majority of a single clan living together.585

The ‘Kutumb’: Next to the clan organization comes the kutumb which is composed of several clans and its area is a line or certain village. All the families, from any clan are the member of a kutumb with equal participation in all of its activities. Occasional meeting of the members take place in a place to decide on the matters of social functions, select one or two dhāngrā-mājhi for some period to function. The dhāngrā-mājhi’s function is to regulate the rituals of the society and help the diāri in his social activities. The diāri is a shaman and capable to invite certain depta on him; which is felt to be sufficiently powerful to save the society from the attack of the evil spirits.

585. Sri Rajaram Tanti on 13.9.2006
and so adopted by the *kutumb*. *Kutumb* is the functionary of the social code with the power of the entire families of the village or a *line*. It can summon a segregate and consider expiation. Marriage within a same clan is not considered but within a single *kutumb* it is considered. In the plantation situation *kutumb* exists in those lines where Oriya people or any tribe or castes living in sufficient number. The majority of a caste or tribe is sometime joined by minor groups assuring to follow the regulations.586

**Society:** After *kutumb* comes the society of a single cultured background. There may be several unorganized social groups and the organized *kutumb* under a single society. The language and behaviour of such social groups may differ as they come from different cultural regions with assimilated and adopted different types of rituals. The variations are clear identification of their regional differences. In the plantation, sometime different groups of regional differences live in a single *line* or garden creating another opportunity for a new outcome in the course of time. That is why, in Tinsukia district, tracing out of the Oriya people of regional differences is only possible if the person or party could say about the region from where their forefathers had come from. The 'Utkal Samaj' under Sri Bishu Deep (58) of Kachujan T.E. and the 'Oriya Samaj' under Sri Punyeswar Nanda (61), Kharjan T.E. is functioning under the objective of common Oriya platform.587

In the plantation of Assam the Oriya society does not have an extra-identification. This is because they feel the regional differences among themselves with superiority complex. The 'Utkal Samaj' formed in about 1985 and the 'Oriya

586. Informant: Sri Udey Nayak on 7.2.2007
587. Informant: Sri Bisu Deep on 12.3 2006
Samaj' in about 1990 is trying to bring all under one platform but the objective of the leaders led them to incredible position.588

Beside the Oriya speaking people there are a number of tribes found claiming themselves to be Oriya. They have their own socio-cultural behaviour with the dialect unintelligible to the others. They claim that their forefathers originated from the forests and hilly regions of Mayurbhanj, Keonjhar, Phulbari, Sundergarh, Sambalpur, Bolangir, Kolahandi and Koraput districts. In these districts all together 62 tribes are found, but in the tea garden of Tinsukia district only the Kondh, Koya, Porja, Santhal. Oraons, Saora, Gond, Kharia and Munda are found.

The Kondhs are the earliest tribes famous for their human sacrifice. They are nearer to the Kondhria Oriya and found in almost all the Oriya populated tea gardens of this district. Tongna Gaon, Beesakopie, Daimukhia, Samdang, Raidang, Hansara, Baghjan, Deamoolie, Rupai, Khatangpani, Margherita are the tea gardens where Kondh people are found but they are not as large as their kinsmen the kondhria Oriya; so have to compromise their superiority complexes among other the Oriya dominated kutumb.589

Some people of tribal origin also claim to be Oriya. These people were the inhabitant of the boundary of the North and the North-Eastern States. The Kharia, Munda, Oraon, Santhal. Gond, Porja. Koya etc. all of whom are tribal origin, now feel the present Jharkhand to be their previous home State. This is because the area of their inhabitant, now fall under this State. Their dialects and few similar to the later and they are good

588 Informant: Sri Punyeswar Nanda (61) on 9.7.2007
589 Informant: Dhaneswar Kondh
hunters in the forests. Santhai are one of the ancient and major tribe originated from the Kol-Munda due to their more attachment with the general neighbouring people. They are found in Bogapani, Dirok, Namdang, Ledo, Pengri, Anandabag, Srikrishna and Hoolonghabi T.E. in Tinsukia district. Porja people are found in almost all the tea gardens in the Tinsukia district with limited numbers in Rupai, Deamoolie, Baghjan, etc. where they are in countable numbers. Munda population is prominent in the tea gardens of Dirok, Namdang, Pengeree, Ledo, Talap, Tippuk, Koomsong, Bordubi etc. The Oraons are mostly populated in the tea gardens of Powai, Dihing, Phillobari, Bordubi, Laina, Dhaisa, Tippuk, Khobang etc. Kharias and Gonds are found in Dighalturrang, Baghjan, Deamoolie, Rupai, Dhol, Sankar, Sodasiva, Bogapani, Digboi etc. The distribution of these tribes is similar with the Oriya speaking people. This is because all of them including the Oriya speaking people immigrated after 1865 of Gonjam famine.590

The socio-economic life of the Oriya origin as well as the tribes is similar due to the resemblances of their occupation, shelter provided by the tea garden management. The tribals who had come earlier than the others occupied some cultivable land and are engaged in agriculture at the same time when some of their family members engage in the garden employments. The economy of these people is little sound than the others and they can afford to educate their children in higher studies. A few others of large families most of the adult members are engaged in the plantation works also in sound economic condition afford extra expenses. The large group of people are however, depended only in their garden salaries. The wages are insufficient to meet their most essential

590 Informant: Sri Nicolas Lakra on 23.3.2007
demands. To meet their family expenditure they are bound to send their immature children to the garden work. They are the people who are still below the literate level. They are backward in all aspects of life.\footnote{loc cit , Tasa.}

The Oriya speaking people seems more aware in education but they were more laid towards their own language until the repatriation bent. Initially they had no interest to learn Assamese for the hope they preserve to return to their previous place. As no interest to stay in Assam they did not take interest in occupying cultivable land in Assam. This is the cause why most of the Oriya population lives in the plantation depending on their wages only. These people though said to be socio-culturally advance are far behind in respect of education. Now they have gave hope to return and left behind. The Oraon, Munda, Kharia, etc. are far more advance both in education and economic condition compared to the other castes and tribes. This is due to their conversion to Christianity and missionaries’ assistance.\footnote{Informant: Sri Anand Tanti on 29.8.2007}

Culturally, the Oriya people are similar to their neighbouring Bengali and Assamese people. The plantation situation, however, affected most of their original socio-cultural behaviour. They follow the family and social rituals very strictly and still keep some of the traits of them. The Hindu observation of fair and festivals and religious ceremony they participate equally like the others. But many of the religious observation related to Vedic rituals are left unobserved nowadays due to time and economic factors in the tea garden. Even then, they

\footnote{loc cit , Tasa.}  
\footnote{Informant: Sri Anand Tanti on 29.8.2007}
still observe the Trinath-mela, Kartik purnima, Push-purnima, Phaguwa, Shiva-Ratri, Durga Puja, Kali-puja, Diwali etc.\textsuperscript{593}

8:03: Caste distinction:

The Oriya people of the tea garden, as mentioned earlier, compose of several regional groups. The regional impact on their culture is quite distinct in respect of language and a few of the social behaviour. This is due to their attachment to the neighbouring castes and tribes. There are also some differences in social behaviour borrowed from the class system in the society. Feeling of high and low is found even among a very small group of society. There are a few of the tribes among the Oriya speaking people who practice their tribal rituals. Such are the Konds of the western Orissa who were said to be the Zamindars and so feel the others inferior to them. They do not take water from such people. Their tradition and culture are clear instances of their tribal origin. But they predominant the people of lower strata of the Hindu fold.\textsuperscript{594}

In the plantation of Assam Oriya people of a certain region including the Konds constitute themselves into a kutumb. The kutumb comprise of the families of the same clan and include the kond; who, as in force assume a respectable position in the kutumb. As they are expert in exorcize they are very often recognized as the jhakor of the kutumb who take the responsibility of the diari when the depta comes on him. He is also responsible to guide the dhangra-majhi in the social function. Thus, the konds in Assam also hold respectable position among the Oriya people in the kutumb. But here, in many cases they had to compromise their feeling of superiority,

\textsuperscript{593} Informant: Sri Udey Nayak on 17.1.2005
\textsuperscript{594} Informant. Sri Dhaneswar Kondh
specially, in relation to some social offerings. The *kutumb* however, never forgets to separate their shares in raw edibles which they take for cooking themselves. This separation of the raw edibles is called ‘khanda-dia’ which has to be prepared in the boundary of the host.\textsuperscript{595}

The same distinctions of caste feeling have been noticed among the people of lower strata than the *Kondhs*. The *Kondhriäs* feel the *Sänliä* and *Dongorliä* to be inferior to them and rarely involve in social attachments. The *dom, ghäsi, chämär*, even some of the Oriya people of the other district such as *Kotkiä* are also felt inferior by them. This is due to the position of employment in the tea garden. The Kotkiäs are mostly appointed in the cleaning works in the tea garden and so felt schedule castes. The Kondhriäs nearer to the *Kondhs*, but one stage lower than them feel others inferior to them in the tea garden though they are also included in scheduled caste as *gāngā*. The Tasa, Karan, Khandait, Pradhan, Mohanti, Mahapatra, etc. feel more superior then other. In Tinsukia district these people are found in only few numbers and are engaged in respectable jobs in the gardens.\textsuperscript{596}

\textbf{8:04: Marital status:}

Marriage in Oriya society is not merely the engagement of the bride and the bridegroom. It is an engagement between two families, two *kutums* and of two gardens or villages. The boy or the girl is felt to be the property of the *kutumb* and it is the responsibility of the *kutumb* to bear with the whole affairs of the marriage. Marital status depend on the age of marriage differential, mortality by age and sex, incidence of divorce and

\textsuperscript{595} Sri Kondh
\textsuperscript{596} Informant. Sri Bisu Deep on 12.3 2006
separation, remarriage of widowed and divorced persons. All of these affairs dealt with by the Kutumb and among Oriya society segregation cases are less than the other tea garden societies. Generally, husbands are older than wives. Again, the number of females widowed, divorced and separated is higher than the males. The number and age of children born and surviving after the demise of husband affect the marital status of a person.

After marriage wife has to live with her husband. In the tea garden Oriya family the new couple, first have to live with the boys family and they are separated only after they could get a company’s quarter against the permanent work the boy is doing. Girl’s permanent work is not considered for a company’s quarter. During living with the boy’s family they have to arrange their own expenditures, specially, for food. In the boys house if children born they are feel fortunate enough as the old mother of the boy look after the matters of the new born. 597

8:05: Family Ritual:

Morning rituals: Morning hours starts in a Hindu family among the tea garden Oriya people with early leaving of bed by the woman in the house before the sun rise. Her first step is to collect some cow dung and dilute it with water and to sprinkle it all over the courtyard called “chhera-dia”. She brings out all the utensils used during the night to the “pani-sal” with the ashes of the hearth used at night. She wipes the hearth. If there is no time, she wipe the hearth with it platform and the “puja-sthan” specially, the “tulsi-sthan” or the “pippal-tree” or bor-tree which the family worships with pouring water every day. At least the door-step and the middle of the courtyard must be wiped with

597. Informant: Sri Rajaram Tanti on 13.9.2006
the paste of cowdung before taking bath. This limited wiping of the limited spots signifies total wipe of the house which is called "māḍāl-diāa". Only after this wiping, other washing specially of the utensils with the ashes and to take bath with complete change of the clothes used at in bed. Only after that she lit the hearth for the morning cook.  

**Evening ritual:** During the evening, after having come from the garden work, the first step of an Oriya woman is to take bathe changing her clothes used during work and lit the 'dia' in the 'sthān' and on the tulsi, make scented smoke by dhuna or scented stick and then she lit the hearth for the evening cook.

**Family food:** The edible items of a tea garden family are very limited. They prepare 'roti' out of the 'ātā' (flour) received as ration from the garden management with 'chah-pani' in the morning as breakfast and during evening 'bhat' out of the ration rice. They take a few rotis from their morning shares to the working place where they use it with the 'chāh-pāni' they receive freely from the garden management during lunch. The children and others at home use the remains from the night diner or morning roti and in absence of both they cook 'mud-bhat' and use it. Sometime if the workers did not take their shares to the working place, the children or others in the house take the same to them to eat it during the work. The compulsory breakfast, lunch and dinner are not known to them. Specially, two times meals (morning before going to work and in evening before sleep) is compulsory for them. Simple curry out of pulses or potatoe or vegetables are used with rice during

598. op.cit., Kurmi (ed) 2001, p.551.('chhoda" reffered by Tasa is a "kotkia" or "sanlia" sound. I found during my investigation "chhera", which is the 'kondhria' sound)

599. informant: Smt Nijra Tanti on 9.9.2004
evening only and rarely with roti during morning or in the working place. Fish or meat they, sometime arrange on Sunday or on some occasion. Fish from the nearby river, ‘bil’ or pond when meat, if having a small poultry in the house or from the neighbors. Other edibles like fruits etc. they collect mostly surroundings or from their own small garden surrounding their quarters freely. Rarely could they afford to spend money for these items. They obcourse spend some money on ‘chonamushi’ or on “hāḍiā” as special enjoyment. Their nutrients so, depend upon the quality of the ration supplied by the management and the few others which they could afford to purchase. A few numbers of them having a small cultivatable land with regular cultivation, obcourse, could get some regular food of good quality. 600

The woman in the house never takes food before her husband. After her husband’s food she should take her meal on the same ‘thal’ in which a small portion from his share is left for her. It is believed that the ritual helps the husband and wife being affectionate to each other. If husband is not present the later should first prepare the ‘thāl’ of the husband and then take her own. If, in the large family, the host woman’s duty is to feed all the members first and then take her own. Even in other’s house also the females have to follow this ritual.

Taboo in the house hold activities: The unwashed utensils; completely empty utensils in which the meal was cocked; ‘chherā’ less courtyard; unwiped hearth; uncovered food; complete wiped out the ‘thāl’ while eating; not leaving a small portion for the beasts or insects; remembering of the ancestor before taking food; entering of other person in the kitchen or near the hearth; entrance with shoes or chappal in the house

600 Informant: Sri Udey Nayak on 17.1.2005
looking during menstruation; working by hurried female from other family etc. are felt taboo. Even the equipments like, knives, broom, powdering stones (sil-nada) sitting stool, if not kept properly before use believed to be caused by evils.601

8:06: ‘Suchi/asuchi’ (sacredness): The entire Hindu family in India feels ‘asuchi’(unclean) when a child takes birth in a family death occurs which continues till the initiation ceremony takes place. A woman on her menstruation; after given birth is felt serious unclean. The initiation of a new mother is ceremonially initiated but except the fast menstruation the rests are simply cleaned after it’s stop and being properly cleaned with the belongings; visiting the death; attending funeral., birth of a child; attending a girl allian puberty; or mix up with a girl during menstruation; after sleeping with the husband or after sex; all are counted as unclean and before any activities must be taken both with the belongings. Coming from attending a dead or from funereal place is felt more serious and are allowed only after sprinkling of ‘tulsi’ mixed water on one self and taking some turmeric with mustered oil massage on body. Once used dishes (that’s) for food, half-eaten food etc. are also felt unclean.602

8:07: Rites of Passage:

8:07:1: Birth rites: Birth of a child is felt sign of prosperity in the family. But as soon as a child takes birth thehouse with the family members are felt ‘asuchi’ (unclean) till the initiation ceremony takes place. The initiation takes place in at least two stages. The ‘nulua-jhoda’ and ‘chhathi’ are these main functions. Besides, some people observe the first eating of food

601. Informant: Sri Rajaram Tanti on 17.1.2005
602. Informant: Smt Hemo Nayak on 17.1.2005
and the 'namakaran' ceremonies. Beginning from time of the starting trouble for delivery till death continuous initiation ceremonies are observed. Even after death the soul of the person is invited and worshipped from generation to generation.

Finding the hour of delivery: - On reaching the time of delivery of a child; a pregnant woman faces a number of difficulties; specially acing of the stomach of the kind unknown to her. This continues until the birth takes place. The Oriya pregnant woman normally attended by her in-laws accompanied with a traditional 'dhai-budhi' during such trouble and even in garden hospitals, though doctors and nurses presents the members in the family, specially, the women including the 'dhai' are also found waiting.

In the household situation if such troubles appear to a pregnant woman before delivery the 'dhāi' perform some traditional ritual to confirm the exact time of delivery; arrangement to make the child's ear, nose, eye, etc. work; identification of twin delivery; identification of the gender of the next child; etc.603

Ritual regarding confirmation of the exact time of delivery: - To confirm the exact time of delivery the 'dhai' pour some mustard oil in the middle and just below the joints of the breasts to let the oil flow downwards on the abdomen of the woman. If the oil flow straight to the naval point, it is believed that the time is in; and if it flows towards other side the distance from the naval point indicates the probable period of the delivery. This practice continued for several times with small intervals to confirm the exact time of the delivery so that the 'dhai-budhi' could arrange things for use during delivery.

603 Smt Hemo Nayak
Materials required during delivery are:- hot water; pasted turmeric; some clean cotton cloth; a new cotton string; a new blade; a piece of bath soap; towel etc.; a piece of mat with light clothes; an earthen small stool called ‘piḍhā'; a tin; drum or ‘dhol' etc.

The performance during delivery of a child:- The woman first laid on the ground in north-south position (the woman has to sit on the ground facing south) or east-west position (west to be faced) in arm position stretching her legs open in front and the two hands could support the body from falling backward. The delivery takes place in that position of the woman helped by the ‘dhāi-buḍhi'. Sometimes the ‘dhāi-buḍhi' helps the woman by pulling her waist little upwards to minimize the pressure on the ground when such position seems to be disturbing easy delivery. The female attendants, specially; the in-law in the house begins to make jokes related to child birth and try to divert the woman’s mind from the painful delivery. (*) this gradually done when the woman giving birth of a child is delivering her child for the first time) (* there are a number of action to divert the woman’s mind from the pain; sometime old railway ticket is handover to come over the child saying that the child is in without ticket, so stopped on the way) One of such jokes may be cited here — “why you are crying now, when the result of the secret act you have done is coming out; who told you to go to sleep with your husband?" On such artificial scolding the woman forgets her pain and the delivery becomes normal.604

After the delivery the ‘dhāi-buḍhi' binds the normal string of the baby in two places leaving one ‘bitā' from the side of the baby by the new and fresh string and detached it cutting by the

604. Smt Nayak
new blade in the middle of the two knots. During the delivery of the child the drum, tin or any other things which may make big sound must be beaten to make the eye, ear etc. of the baby active. The sign ultimately found from the crying of the baby. But before it when the baby comes out the 'dhāi-buḍhi' holds it on a tender cloth and examine whether the child is breathing or not. To normalize the breath the string of the placenta slowly pressed to pass the air towards to baby to make the breathing easy. Then the 'dhāi-buḍhi' make the baby upside down holding it's foots to pass air into it's lungs through nose and then cleaning of the baby completes by the 'dhāi-buḍhi' and handover to its mother for breast feeding. This is necessary to make the mother breast produce milk. By that time the other woman collects the placenta which sometimes takes time (* on such cases the woman let to lay behind slightly and one of the woman takes hold of her waist and make sudden lifting. This action helps coming out of the placenta) and placed it in a plot filled with ashes. The husband has to take it and burry it under the 'pāni-chhāchhā', where the rainy water falls from the top of the house. After coming out of the placenta the woman attendants wash the woman with warm water by help of tender cloth. Using of turmeric is necessary on such washing and given tender massage of light temperature to the woman's abdomen; back of the waist and sometime the legs if necessary. Then the woman and the baby kept in the same room with her necessary belongings till the naval string falls.

The 'Nuluā-jhoḍā' ceremony: - Nuluā-jhoḍā means detachment of the naval string from the baby. On the day of the detachment of the naval string the hair of the child is removed from its head by a new blade pouring some milk on the scalp. Then the child is bathed and new cloth may be offered.
The mother after detachment of the naval string goes to the well, devote some vermillion with pasted turmeric uses it for her bath etc. After this bath she is allowed to use a few limited things for her use in the room. But cooking of food in kitchen or use of other rooms or articles she has to keep aloof from her touch.\textsuperscript{605}

**The Chhathi:** Chhathi is a performance of initiation of the women and the child for normal movements and mixing up with others. This performance is limited participatory for women only but celebrated ceremonially offering one tome meal to the 'kutumb' and neighbours. The performance is as follows:

During early in the morning the women of the 'Kutumb' or neighbour first gather on the 21\textsuperscript{st} day of the birth which is declared by the 'kutumb' as soon as they are informed and a day before the 'dhāngrā-магазhi' invites the families of the 'kutumb' and the neighbours. The women gathered advice the woman, the man including the child for bath. After the bath they are given to sit on a 'piḍhā', and in front of them a 'ghot' of brass full with rice or any kind of seeds that can be grown is placed. The 'ghot' attached with an earthen mustard oil lamp on it. A 'ḍhāl' with 'aruwa' rice mixed with turmeric; a ball made out of cow dung on a piece of banana leaf on which two 'seltā' made of cotton are to be placed in front of the 'ghot'. After preparation of the above materials three, five or seven small children uphold a bowl of prepared rice on the mother's head. The mother without seeing it, takes a handful of rice from it and make another ball which she places near the cow dung ball. Then the women who were present during the child birth; one by one take hold of the two 'selta' lit it; and take it towards the eye of the mother, father and the child one by one on which

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they blow the light. This performance is to be done by three, five or seven woman three, five or seven times each. In this occasion new clothes, bowl of brass are usually given as gift. Sometimes calf, cow, gold, etc. are also offered in the name of the child. After this performance is over, the people present take some turmeric mixed rice in their hand and touch it to the foreheads of the three. During this time; which is also called 'ashirbad' giving ceremony; the guests may offer present to the three.⁶⁰⁶

As soon as the performance is over, the two balls of cow dung and rice are buried on the same place where the placenta has been buried. The seeds in the 'ghot' showed somewhere, growing of which symbolizes the growing of the child. After this performance is over, the mother and the child are allowed to enter the kitchen in the house and so initiation of her is complete. Taking part in this ceremony the guests invited, offer new clothes and other things to the woman and the child. The guests received by the family with delicious feasts who very often, enjoys the ceremony with songs, dance and music. After the dinner guests leave the house.

The 'Kondhria' Oriya follows rituals of some special kind during this initiation performance. They allow only the mother to sit with the baby covered in a tender cloth and not the male. Husked rice in case of female baby and paddy in case of male child is filled in the 'ghot' on which the earthen light place facing the mother. Here, the baby is covered inside the tender clothes so that it could not see the light. The simple performance of this kind of initiation is called 'aankhi-phuka'; specially, by the womenfolk. The 'dhai-budhi' performs the

⁶⁰⁶: loc.cit., Kurmi (Ed)
'aānkhi-phukā' first, and then the other women. The performance of 'aānkhi-phukā' may be describes as follows:- The 'dhāi' takes hold of the two 'seltā', wetted with mustard oil, lit them by the earthen lamp and holding up once on the mother and once on the child's face so that the carbon comes out after its puffing should touch the faces and on return keep it again on the two pieces of cow dung ball (the 'kondhriā’ makes two cow dung ball instead of one and make no rice ball). Then the next woman comes and repeats the performance. After this performance the mother stands back and receives the light, two cow dung balls with the 'seltā' without seeing them and handover it to the 'dhāi-buḍhi' who takes it to the place where the placenta is buried or she herself takes it by the help of the 'dhāi-buḍhi' where the articles are placed carefully to bury after some while. The 'dhāi' and the other women take the mother and the child into the house; make them touch the reserve foodstuff in the house and the initiation is over. After this performance they prepare some food and take all together. The 'dhāi-buḍhi' is presented with articles like new clothes, money and sometime, the bowl used for keeping turmeric or mustard oil. She may now leave the mother and the child whom she attended and cared for 21 or 19 days. She is also offered with raw edibles in her farewell. The initiation ceremony is reserved for women and no male are allowed to participate.

**Initiation of the baby:** The initiation of the whole family completes with the initiation performance of the mother and child. The performance of selection of name for the baby is takes place after the initiation ceremony to which females are not restricted to join. To perform this ceremony ‘jhākor’ or ‘diāri’ plays the main role. The ‘diāri’, ‘dehri’ or jhākor’ calls upon the ‘deptā’ on him, who choice the name indirectly such

607. Informant: Smt Nijra Tanti on 9.9.2004
as beasts, human, trees, flora, occasions, objects of the nature, etc. on which the elders select the name. In such cases, names like gojo, arjun, pāṅ-potro, sukru, mangal etc. are the few of such names.

There are also a few other rituals they perform to select the name. One of such rituals is as follows:- The 'jhokar' or one of the elder from among the 'kutumb' put a piece of husked rice on the water in a 'thāl' or 'bāti' in the name of God. Then rice is put one by one in the names of the forefathers of the family till one of the rice reaches the rice in the name of God and faces it. Then the name of the forefather selected to name the baby. In case of female child names of the foremothers are remembered. It is interesting to observe that most of the child named after their forefathers possess the physique, nature etc. like the person already died long past. This method of selection of name prevalent among the tribes also.\textsuperscript{608} The initiation ceremony of the family completes after this performance.

8:07:2: ‘Phul-Shadi’ (puberty rite):

The rite of passage of a girl who gets matured by puberty is believed to become impure called ‘chhutuk’. To initiate her for usual life the ‘phul-shādi’ rite is followed among the Oriya Hindu in the plantation. The Christians do not follow this ritual. The tribes, originated from Orissa also do not follow this puberty ritual.

The ritual is restricted participatory. The performance of purifying the girl reserve for womenfolk and even the father of the girl is not allowed to participate. The father, of course, meets the expenses from his pocket for supply of the materials

\textsuperscript{608} Informant: Sri Preman Tuti on 17.2. 2006
required. Participation in the dance and music and social meal is not restricted.

The first menstruation or puberty is the sign of natural growth of a girl into adulthood. Physical change as starting of the first menstrual period marks the initiation from childhood to young girl. In Indian condition a girl attains it between 12 to 15 years of age.

Almost all the Oriya people, who are Hindu, follow certain rituals, this way or that as rite of passage for the girl. The rituals followed may be differing from place to place and caste to caste. Even it differ among sisters of a same family due to the 'diari' / 'dehri's forecasting.

When a girl gets her first menstrual cycle the girl with other young girl of her age, especially who have already got puberty invited to accompany the girl as soon as she reports to her mother or elder sister about her menstruation. The mother of the girl and the relative women take the following steps:

- The girl is kept in privacy, preferably a corner of the house which is private and not easily comes to an eye, specially, of males. The ground of the corner is carpeted and screened to make it into a temporary room for the girls for few days. The corner, however, should not be in the main room and near the kitchen or the 'puja-ghar'.

- Girls in the family; neighbour or from the 'kutumb' invited to stay with the girl during the period of menstruation.

- The girl is restricted to her corner, restricted to move into the other rooms and has to sleep on the ground only with limited clothes.
She is not allowed to go to the kitchen or to cook or to touch any other materials of the house accept natural call.

She is forbidden to talk or see a male.

She is not allowed to take hard taste edibles and simple vegetarian food is allowed for the days till the main function of her initiation is over.

She is restricted to sit or sleep on high place and facing towards east.

The above prohibitions and provisions stats as soon as the menstruation takes place strictly followed with the guidance of the elder female in the house.

The next step is that the parents invite the 'jhākor' or 'diāri' and ask to see a 'pānji' if any supernatural odds have been affected the girl during the menstruation; informing him about the place, direction, position and action during the time. The 'diāri' or 'jhākor' examines by applying traditional method of 'pānji' and forecasts the good or bad with the process and materials required to get rid from the evils (The 'jhākor' examine through traditional 'pānji' but the 'diāri' or 'dehri' calls the spirit on him for the forecasting).

On the day of the cleaning some rituals are performed by the womenfolk. The girl is taken to the nearby river, pond or bathing place before the dawn and collecting water from three, five or seven 'ghats' of which, the first water is poured on the

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610 Informant: Sri Dhaneswar Kondh
girl. Turmeric, mustard oil etc. are used in this bath by the girl and the women and after some dedication to God they return before dawn. But, if the forecasting required for a special kind of ritual, the ‘diāri’ or the ‘jhākor’ is allowed to perform the ritual. The women advise the girl about womanhood and its responsibility, behaviour and wearing.

The next ceremony is the celebration of the occasion with songs, music and dances. The near relatives and the members from the ‘kutumb’ enjoyed the feasts offered by the host.

The people gather for the celebration make jokes. The matrilineal relatives take part most in these jokes. Such jokes are all about the maturity of the girl, that it becomes ripe to be eaten and the young boy from the matrilineal family are indirectly advised to be ready for it. They also warn the boys not to quarrel for her as it is only for one and not to share.611

The tradition followed by the Oriya people in relation to the puberty of a girl possesses some special feature. The matrilineal parents of the girl; if they have a boy of her age propose the parents of the girl to make her their daughter-in-law; and if agreed, allowed to bear the expenses to perform all the rituals related to her initiation.612

Beliefs:

- A girl getting on the ground; not on Tuesday, Saturday and Thursday and not facing towards east, and during her recreation hours, specially just after earning is told to be secured from influence of evil spirit. In such case no special dedication is required.

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612. Sri Kondh
The girl getting puberty on bed becomes widow, so, certain ritual predicted by the 'diari' is must for her and if it is during odd hours and other means of odd; need to offer gold, silver, iron like metals (the size of the metal may be of any size particles is accepted) to get rid from widowed.

The minor odds can be removed by offering small things like pigeon, fowl etc. and sometime a black piece of cloth, vermilion, beetle nut and pan etc. are sufficient to remove such evils.

The general performance does not require any items; but fruits and flowers for the dedication of God are common. The girl also presented with new clothes and others costumes from the guests and gold ornaments, if she is selected as daughter-in-law. The proposed father-in-law offers gold and silver ornaments with new clothes on such occasions as symbol of acceptance.

The folk materials forecasted by the 'jhakor' or 'diari' are:

- Chicken, pigeon sometimes are to be loosened; new red, yellow or black clothes are to be offered.
- Gold, silver, iron, copper, like metals, a piece of cloth, etc., which may be offered at any size.
- 'Guda' or powder of rice, turmeric, coal or soot, red etc. and mustard seeds to be burn on burning coal slipped but untouched from top to bottom of the body of the girl which to be placed at the nearest three or four lane corner of the road without allowing others to see.
8:07:3: **Marriage rites:** Marriage is a social function observed to allow a young boy and a young girl to live together as husband and wife. Almost all the society in the world observes this function in different ways to consider a couple as a family and a part of the society. The result of this union gives birth to children which are acceptable to the society as the family observes the rites and rituals and contributes their part towards the identity and existence of the society. Thus marriage keeps moving the society since unknown times. The rites and rituals of marriage differ from country to country, region to region, caste to caste, and the tribes to tribes. Even the creed within the caste or tribe itself features some individual identification.

Unlike other Indian societies, the institution of marriage plays a very important role and the Oriya people. It is compulsory for a couple for the passage of being 'donguwa' into a family to become a part of the society. Only the married persons among the Oriya people are allowed to participate in the marriage of their own son or daughter. The unmarried couple living together and having children are considered outcaste until they observe the marriage ceremony. Such couples who could not observe the institution for themselves until old age are compelled to observe the minimum ritual so that they could perform the rituals of the marriage of their sons or daughters. Sometimes they hire other marriage couples for the purpose on behalf of themselves. Young couples after having children observe marriage by sending the children somewhere or putting them inside a bamboo basket during the observation so that they could not see their parent's marriage. 613

Unlike the other colourful societies in India, marriage in

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613. Informant: Sri Udey Nayak on 3.6.2007
the bridegroom's family among the Oriya people is an occasion of colorful songs and music starts with the beginning of the 'pani-snan' ritual. But for the bride it is a sorrowful occasion and some short of marriage verses recited by the elderly women followed by the friends of the bride every evening after the 'pani-snan'. The bride herself also emotionally recites the remembrances of her life in her parent's house and complaining for her sordid fate to be torture in the hands of strangers with whom she is going to live called 'kandana'. She ironically questions her parents as to why they did not kill her at the vary time of birth to save her from being pushed into unknown depth of ocean of sorrow. 'Kandana' is an emotional expression of the above while weeping and crying by the bride and her mother or other females of near relative replies her, 'that the fate is not created by them but the 'bhagyo' of each female; that they will also remember her every activities in the house since her birth.' In these verses one often comes across the girl blaming her fate of being sold or exchanged for worthless cowries in heartless manner. This refers to the custom of accepting bride-price among the caste Oriyas of the tea garden community. She also remembers the moments of joy and sorrow shared with her friends. The 'kandana' or song of tears picture of her position in the family relatives and with close friends. She also blames her father why he is sending her to suffer under he in-laws. As it is a patriarchal society the bride has to go to live with her groom in distant tea gardens or villages. Unlike other South Indians the Oriya people consider not proper to marry close relatives like mother's brother's daughter, father's sister's daughter or eldest sister's daughter 614

The newly-wed young bride has not only to coterie to the varying tastes and humour, the changing moods of the in-laws

614. loc. cit., Das & Mahapatra.
but also to observe the family customs, rituals, facts, and other observances peculiar to her husband's family and village. The beliefs, skills, rituals and even some basic values vary not only from 'kutumb' to 'kutumb' but also from group to group and she has to share it. She is considered to be the 'buwason' of her husband's family.

Marriage as an institution is recognized by almost all of the society in the world. The Oriya castes, as originated from this traditional background accept this. Unlike most of the Indian society polygamy is an acceptable form of marriage while polyandry is not accepted. Among the high class; specially the zamindars, were keeping 'rakhni' (concubine). In the plantation it was found that a number of the well to do persons, specially of high social status having more than one wives. The first wife of such person is called 'bodki' while the second is called 'chhotki' among the Oriya people. Keeping of more than one wife in the same time is economic condition rather than sex. If a person of old age is wealthy enough to keep more than one wife may be allowed to marry a girl of sixteen among the Oriya people. The children of such relations were customarily given some share of the property of the father and the mother also had the right to get maintenance from her husband, sons and step sons. The practice of such marriage is supported by horoscope makers and sometime not having a son often blamed upon the wife and the husband is allowed to marry for the second time. Widow marriage by younger brother is not accepted openly but the responsible of maintenance is liable to him. The other forms of marriages by capture, or institutionalized force; marriages by intrusion, by elopements, by agreeing to serve in the bride's parent's house, on a trial basis are also prevalent among them. Such trial is only to test the groom about his fitness for earning to look after his bride
after marriage. The families which do not have sons but having daughters use to apply this method. The tribal practices of youth dormitory which offers opportunities for examining companionship are not found among caste Oriya. The Konds, who are considered as tribes were practicing such dormitories in their previous land as remembered by a few of them in the plantation. Among the Oriya people there is no pre-marital sex acceptance. Holding a matured girl hand by a matured young man, if he or she is not her near relative is considered unsocial and aggregation of the social conduct. It completes with marriage after expiation only. In such cases if the boy is found unmatched from caste, religion or pre-married may also be considered after certain fine imposed on him by the 'kutumb' as the girl once touched by others felt unfit for marriage. In this type of marriages the wife is insisted upon and rigidly enforced even by her family members. But persons of unsocial record, if accepted by the girl and her family met with harsh punishment; such as boycott from the society and sometimes fighting even to death.

A number of marriage systems found among the Oriya people in the tea garden. Among them some are social and few are unsocial mean but considered after acceptance of the expiation imposed. But the 'ārsha' form of marriage practiced among the general Hindu people is more popular in which bride price is received by the parents only to know the economic condition of the bridegroom, and is satisfied; the groom is returned double in price with the bride. Now-a-days, the 'prajapati' form of marriages become more popular among them for its social acceptance. The 'gandarva' marriages take place only on the acceptable position of the bride and bridegroom. If

615 Sri Udey Nayak on 3.6.2007.
616 Sri Nayak.
the pair is socially acceptable that may be considered into formal marriages. Unacceptable love affairs often met with troubles in the society. If the bride family is extraordinary the girl intentionally comes to the boy's house and refuse to go back often forces her parents to accept the marriage. This kind of marriage is called 'dhuku-dhukā'. In such cases the couple's only choice is to go for the court marriage or live away from the family.\textsuperscript{617} Sometimes the 'asur' form of marriage is also found in this society. In this form, rich and wealthy person of high position use money to induce the parents and the parents give their girl to the person forcibly. The 'rakshas' form was more prevalent among the Oriya people, which forces a girl to go with him into marriages. In this marriage, the boy or the groom forcefully pulls the girl into his house; and if he is successful the girl is considered as his wife; as such girls are felt unfair for further marriages. The 'kutriā' and 'bundriā' a special kind of bangle made of silver may be considered as weapon against this type of marriages. The 'brahma' marriages were existed in old times; even the 'daiva' and 'pisacha' marriages are not found now-a-days. Marriages by 'mohni' giving may be considered as 'pisach' marriage which is still prevalent. Now-a-days giving or taking chances for sexual intercourse results with marriages. Cheating of any one of the partner within the pair may be considered in this category.\textsuperscript{618}

Among the Oriya Hindus, remain unmarried is a curse, not only for the boy or the girl, but also for the parents. A number of myths and songs referring about the misfortunes of such unmarried are found among them. Widowhood sometime considered as punishment for some serious guilt committed either in this life or in the previous life. Their employment in the

\textsuperscript{617} Sri Nayak
\textsuperscript{618} op.cit. Kurmi (Ed) 2001 pp. 136-145.
The tea garden helps them to stand equal with others without trouble. The situation sometimes helps them to remarry again if age is considered. 619

The tradition of living together with other near relatives, what is called joint family is more prominent among the Oriya people. The quarters provided by the management in the plantations are smaller and for one family of husband, wife and two children. The old parents rarely get space for their dwelling in the house. In such a condition they make some extension of the house using bamboo, thatch (now-a-days tin) etc. for the use of the near relatives. In such families the grand parents, parents and their brothers with their families featured more frequently. The families of younger brothers; if workers in the garden; live jointly until they get quarters for themselves from the management. In such a situation, the wife of the younger brother respectfully avoids looking towards her husband's elder brother, called 'bhashur' from whom she has to keep distance. She has also to behave respectfully towards her husband's elder sister called 'ded-sas' or 'jeth'. She has to look after the grand parents and parents and also the children in the house; is a great burden towards a new girl or bride. Unable to satisfy them met with harassment and chastised by the mother-in-law or her husband's sisters sometime. 620

The institution of marriage is responsible not only for the evolution of the society through birth and kinship but also the institution of sacrifice and introduction and cultivation of rice as a food interlinking other institutions like that of religion. Birth plays important role for the evolution of the society which is

620. loc.cit. Das & Mahapatra
possible only through marriages. In those days birth rate was so low that fear of extinction of the race was a serious matter.

The Oriya people are patriarchal emphasizing the social, economic, political and also ritual importance of men. The ceremonies connected with child birth are more elaborate and lively in the case of the male child than that of a female one. The caste Hindus become anxious to have at least one male child, so that he will be ritually qualified to offer the proper oblation to the ancestral spirits. Unless such oblations are offered by a male descendant the ancestors will be tormented in some special hall. The result is multiple marriages by some man in the hope of blessing with a male child geared up. 621

The Oriya origins in the plantation of Assam follow the rituals whatever their forefathers following in their original State. As expressed earlier, the marriage customs of the Hindu families hardly shows any differences. But among the plantation workers little difference can be identified if carefully observed. This is due to the influence of the tribal customs of their neighbors. Observation of marriage to constitute a family is outcome of Vedic rites and perhaps, it became an institution in later periods. After the assimilation of the Vedic and non-Vedic people the rituals are also assimilated in their observations. The result is that some features of both the rites are distinct in their rituals. The minor differences among the castes are hardly visible to a person who is not familiar with the process.

Here, the marriage systems are discussed of those whose rituals completely or partly influenced by the rituals of their tribal neighbors. The rituals sometimes confuse a person to identify the actual origin of a particular caste claiming rituals of

621. Informant: Sri Dhaneswar Kondh
the Oriya origins in Assam. Majority of the Oriya people follow the assimilated rituals and at the sometime, pure Vedic rituals also. The few castes whose forefathers originally belong to the eastern coastal districts of Orissa sometime follow pure Vedic rituals.622

The people of Oriya origin in the plantation are mainly from the north-western districts of Bolangir, Sambalpur and the western parts of Dhankianal districts of present Orissa. These areas are mostly populated by the tribals like Sabar, Porja, Oraon, Munda, Kharia etc. whose centre of residence in the Chottanagpur plateau and the western ranges comprising present State of Chhatisgarh and Madhya Pradesh. The inhabitants of this area were cultivators mainly of rice, depending on the summer rains prior to the advent of the irrigation system. Less rainfall occasionally was the fate of the people to face draught and famine. This was the reason why maximum number of people recruited from this region into the plantation of Assam. The tribes who live generally in the upper hilly regions were affected by such situation though they were habituated with shifting cultivation and were dependants on other products also. Unfavorable climate very often made them to come closer for want of commodities of extreme need was one of the major causes of their cultural mix up. The other reasons may be, perhaps, acquiring of land for cultivation from the land owners, most of whom were the ‘kondh’ who themselves are of tribal origin living in the plain. Thus, economic situation may also another reason of their cultural relation. At present none of them can claim the genres they have borrowed to be their own.

622 loc.cit., Kurmi (Ed)
Most of the forefathers of the Oriya origin in the plantation of Assam belong to this region and their marriage rituals they observe, are the result of both tribal and non-tribal mixture. The caste Hindu of lower strata may be traced identifying the rites from them. However, the changing situations in the tea plantation as well as the over all changing environment now, have remarkable influence over them.

8:07:4: 'Māti-diā' (death rites): When a person dies his body is taken to the burial ground on a 'khāt' or 'chāng' made of bamboo with procession of relatives, neighbors and friends. Some time the dead fastened with flowers and garland, accompanied with 'khol' and 'tāl' with chanting of the 'Rām-nāām'; carried to the burial ground. The dead is laid on the carrier head towards the ground.

The grave dug west and east of length of a size of a man. The dead is laid head on west or north. Then the clothes on it removed, but put all of his belongings during his life including the clothes. The first soil is to be given by the nearest relative of dead; then the others one by one and at last the grave is filled up. After completion of the burial a white piece of cloth on a pole is fixed and the pole is let stand on the head side as indication of the burial.623

On retreating from the burial ground certain precaution is taken. Crossing a thorny branch or making cross mark on the earth by 'dāo' on at least three spots on the way must be observed. While retreating, must not say; "let us go" to any one. Persons coming back from the burial ground, directly go to the river, well or water supply and to have a full bath with the

clothes on. Then to have a little massages of hands and foots by mustered oil and taking some scented smoke is necessary. Only after this, the persons get passage to his family or other members in the society. 624

Carrying of the dead till coming from the burial is male concern. It is restricted to the females among the Hindu castes or tribes and the Oriya people specially follow it.

The female however, grouped near the dead and observe some ritual mean for them only. They offer prepared rice, massage pasted turmeric on the face and the body of the dead; three times on three spots before and after carrying to bury. One of the elder woman, specially the elder sister of the dead breaks the bangles or removes it from the hand, wipe out the 'sindur' from the forehead immediately and then the dead is allowed to take to the burial ground by the males. These activities of the females are purely limited participatory for them only.

The family of the dead has to keep some taboo as avoiding cooking of food; taking 'āiswa', salt and oil until the 'tiloni' or 'tin-diniā' performance takes place after three days of the death. During these three days members from the matrilineal family supplies the foods to the family. In absence of such family the 'kutumb' arrange the meals meals for the family.

The 'tin-dinia' performance: The 'tin-dinia' performance is initiation ceremony for the family. The persons from the matrilineal family or from the 'kutumb' cook food mixing little 'aisa' and 'pita' and let the family members to take after bath.

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At first the ‘pita’ is given to and then the rice. From this day the family is allowed to cook their own food. In most of the Oriya caste eating of fish or meat or using oil starts from this day while the more rigid avoid taking fish or meat till the main ceremony of the death takes place. Offering meal to the ‘kutumb’ in the ‘tin-diniā’ observation is not compulsory. The meal made for the family some time used by all. The eldest son of the dead or the near relative keeps ‘brat’. He prepares his own one time meal on an earthen ‘kūḍi’ outside the house; which he has to offer a share from to the dead first in one of the isolated corner of the boundary before his meal which continues for three days. The performance of the ‘tiloni’ or ‘tin-dinia’ is also of limited participatory; by male only. The meal cooked by the ‘kutumb’; however, taken by the whole family.625

‘Dos-dinia’/‘dosa’: The ‘dosā’ or ‘dos-diniā’ is the main performance of death ritual takes place on the tenth day of the death. The host invites the ‘dhāngrā-mājhi’, the ‘jhākor’ and the ‘diārī’ and discuss about the matters of arrangement for the ‘dos-diniā’ performance. The ‘jhākor’ may requests the ‘diārī’ to call on the ‘deptā’ or he himself see a ‘pānji’ to identify the dedicable materials to offer the spirit of the dead. Other expenditures for the occasion are also discussed in this meeting. The ‘diārī’ on a selected evening call the spirit and informs about the materials required; specially, the chicken, fowl or kid to be dedicated. The ‘dhāngrā-mājhi’ prepare beetle-nut and paan and visits every houses of the ‘kutumb’, neighbors and friends; invites them on behalf of the host. Special attention is taken not to leave any person who was involved in the burial ceremony.

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The main performance takes place with taking bath after having shaved of their heads; cut of the nails of the family members in which the females have their nails cut only. Then they stand by the ‘jhakor’ who dedicates the materials like coconut, banana and other fruits; lighting a earthen candle in front; facing east ward to the supreme God He includes other gods and goddesses, spirits, ghosts, etc. from all corners; above of the sky and the ‘patal’ below in his dedication. Coconut and milk preserve special attention in this dedication. After the dedication the ‘jhakor’ blesses the family members in the name of God and the dedication is over. After this performance the family members are allowed to live usual life and the ceremony of their rites of passage completes. The ‘dhāṅgrā-mājhi’ with the ‘khāndā-sāliā’ receives the edibles in raw from the host; cook them and are responsible to distribute and satisfy the guests. The performance starts in the morning and by evening; taking of the dinner completes. The guests after the dinner leave the courtyard of the host one by one.626

‘Jee-dhukā’/‘Chhāhir-āña’ ceremony: The invitation of the soul of the dead in to the house takes place at mid-night; attended only by the ‘jhākor’, ‘dhāṅgrā-mājhi’, sometime the ‘diāri’ and the adult males in the house. This performance is called ‘jee-dhukā’, ‘chhāhir-ānā’, ‘māsān-ānā’, etc.

The folk materials required for the ‘je-dhuka’ ceremony:
1. rice powder to fulfil a ‘thal’ of brass.
2. powder of three or five colours.
3. an egg.
4. a roll of thread.
5. a fowl (according to the advice of the ‘diari’)
6. earthen lamp of masterd oil 2 pots.

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7. a small basket
8. mustard oil, dhuna or scented stick or powder and matches etc.

The above materials are necessary to perform the ritual; but sometime the 'diāri' advises a few more articles which had been used by the dead during his life. Such articles are as follows:-

1. native wine.
2. beetle nut and pān.
3. bidi or cigarette or ganja (whatever the dead habituated to use)

And, if the dead is a minor:-

1. milk;
2. jokhā (moulded rice with milk);
3. pithā ('bhājā-pithā' and 'ọdṣā-pithā' only) 627

The preparation at the interior of the house is as follows: The time of the performance of the 'jee-dhuka' takes place at midnight of the darkest day. A corner at the interior, preferably the place near the hearth which is out of the sight of the outsiders is selected. The 'diāri' prepared a spot where he places the rice powder on which the brass 'thāl' is packed upside down on the ground. Then the female and children in the family told to keep silence and to confine themselves in a room. They are also told to put down all the lights in the house and should make no noise until the performance is complete. Then

627. 'pitha' indicates only the 'bhaja pitha' and 'odsa pitha' made of rice powder, sugar molasses and mustard oil but with different quality and taste.
the ‘diāri’ including the other males leave for the place from where they have to invite the soul.

The ‘diāri’ with the males come to a spot outside the line or village where no people visit during the night. It should also be a ‘char-āli’ or ‘tin-āli’ or a crossing. The participants select such a spot and start their activities with the materials they have brought. Calm and soundless condition without any disturbances preferred for the calling of the spirit. Facing the east the ‘diāri’ first prepare a rectangular ‘alpanā’ on the ground out of the three, five or seven colour powders representing nine houses for nine planets. He places the earthen lamp in the middle of the rectangle; offers the chicken / wine / milk one by one favorite to the dead during his life and simultaneously invites the soul. He also asks the near relative to call in the names in which he was being called. A ‘lādu’ (bal) made out of rice powder is patched on any small creature enters the boundary of the rectangle which kept tenderly inside the ‘korlā’ (bamboo basket) with the earthen lamp and the egg. The near relative of the dead has to carry the ‘korlā’ with the materials inside carefully so that the lamp should not extinct. The ‘diāri’ now bind one edge of the thread on a small stick which is hoisted inside the rectangle and the roll opened to lay on the road of their return fastened with the basket. When they start back one of the persons starts beating of a brass ‘thal’ mildly up to the doorstep of the house.

The members in the house have to listen and follow the arrival of the performers. The children in the house allowed to sleep and the host woman awaken and waits for their return.
As soon as they reach they the doorstep of the house they ask:-

- ‘suā āchhās nu jāgā āchhās?’
  (sleeping or awake)

The person awake inside replies-
- ‘jāgā āchhun’ (awaking)

After three time questions and reply the woman inside, open the door and the persons enter the house straight to the spot at the interior prepared. The woman lit the light all of a sudden and the beating of ‘thal’, unfastened the roll of thread and place the materials in the basket near the fastened ‘thal’ on the rice powder. An earthen lamp placed facing it and thus the other materials. When the light is on the ‘diari’ picks up the ‘thal’ and enquire any sign of the spirit's arrival on the plain rice powder and try to identify at least a mark to signify the entrance of the spirit. Then he buries the egg on the spot after removing the powder. The chicken and wine are offered in the name of the soul on the spot and from that moment the place becomes sacred and seat for the tutelary gods called ‘pidor’ or ‘pittor’ in the house.

The edibles are prepared which was brought back from the outside performance. But in case of female soul no female members in the family allowed to take the edibles.

The Oriya people are more attached to the Vedic rites and the family of sound economic condition, cremate their dead, follow the Vedic rites of ‘sradho and ‘dohā-kāj’. The eldest son in the family keeps ‘brat’ for ten days and the rites of passage for him or the near relative who have kept the ‘brat’ completes with the ‘pindo-dan’ by the bank of a river, a pond or a stream. Taking of the remains of he dead collected from the funeral are
floated on a sacred river felt highest oblation to the dead by the son.

After this performance the 'dos-diniā’ karma completes. The dead however, remembered at least once a year during the special occasion of 'nuwā-khāi'.

The performances of the ritual show a number of differences also. Here the share from the edibles of the relatives of the dead is absent and there is nothing to do outside the house within the courtyard and whatever ritual is performed is not in or near the burial place but a nearby lonely 'tinali’ or 'charali’. In such a place when it is quite lonely and there is no chance of any person to pass through is selected the calling of the spirit. The 'pindo-dān’ replaces ‘chhahir-ana’ among the higher castes. But there are some castes like the Mohanti who observe both the performances. In Assam most of the poor families observe ‘chhāhir-ānā’ performance. The general Oriya people originated from the lower caste or from the tribal origin never perform ‘pindo-dān’. They are very strict in their ritual of ‘chhāhir-ānā’; and sometime outcaste their co-brothers if not perform the same.

Ritual related to a dead: Cremation as well as burying of a dead is usually practiced among the Oriya people in the plantation. But they make some exceptions when young children die of epidemics, snake bite. Such dead are floated on the river. The popular ‘sanyashi’ is given a burial after his death. Cremation of a dead is felt complications and costly in the plantation situation. So, most of them bury their dead. The man

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628. 'Chhahir-ana' ritual is the annual dedication of forefathers during 'nuwā-khāi' which evaluate their relation with their ancestors. This is a compulsory ritual of the people of Orissa.
killed by beasts or a pregnant woman are to be buried is a compulsory ritual. The pregnant woman universally believed to become dangerous ghost after their death, tries to snatch away children from their mother's lap out of her own frustration. So her bones are broken and thrones placed on her grave in order to pin her down at the place she is buried. In old days a few of the Oriya people use to take out the fetus of the womb and given a separate burial.629

8:08: Belief in the other World:

The common believe of the immortality of the soul and its reincarnation in human or in some other form according to the 'puniya' or 'pāāp' earn in the previous life is widely believed among the Hindu Oriya people. The soul after leaving its body either go to the heaven or hell in accordance to the 'karma-phal' (result of his activities) during his life. Such 'karma-phal' continues till it gets the final salvation. The 'shradho' means for him helps his soul to get early salvation or transmigration into better soul in the next birth is practiced only by some of the people of the higher strata. The average Oriya people widely practice the 'jee-dhukā' means inviting the soul of the dead into the house to live with them for ever. It is observed that the average Indian community; though it may be the higher castes propitiate their tutelary gods in their family and perform the 'jee-dhukā' or 'chhāhir-āña' ceremony in other form. The tribals are strict in this performance are perhaps the originator of this practice.630

8:09: Worship of ‘piddor’ (tutelary gods):

Almost every year during some hours of happiness like

629. op. cit., Das & Mahaputra,. 1993. p.27.
630. Informant: Sri Udey Nayak on 3 6.2007
taking food from new crops the family tutelary gods are remembered and offered the food first to them and only after that the Oriya people take their food. The moment is called 'nuwa-khai' and regarded as sacred as to limit the ceremony within the family. The girls in the family are felt to be the members of other family to which they are to be married and are kept distance from the dedications. They are also prohibited to take food from the oblation. The outsiders strictly prohibited during the 'nuā-khai' observation. Besides the 'nuā-khai' observation, they also remember the souls in special occasions. They firmly believe that the soul resides in the interior of the house where they provided with a seat untouched or out of sight of the outsiders. The spot mean for the dedication of the soul called 'pidor' or 'pittor'. They believed that the grand parents take rebirth in there own family if they are satisfied with the dedication. If neglected, the family faces misfortunes or illness or entrance of the evil spirits in the house to trouble the family. The family tutelary spirits save the house from such unwanted events.  

The funeral or burial ceremony can not be performed without participation of the 'kutumb' or neighbours. From burial to the 'jee-dhukā' ceremony, the main performances are performed by the maternal relatives. The family including all the brothers and sons with their families become "chhutuk" or unholy and prohibited to cook their food, at least for the three days till the 'tiloni', 'tin- diniā'. Till then, it is duty of the 'kutumb' to arrange vegetarian and non-oily food to the family. The 'morā-kāj' is the rites of passage in to the society and only after this function they can mix with others and can take non-vegetarian and oily food.

631 Informant: Smt Panpotro Tanti
The souls of the Christian and Muslims are believed to wait for the final judgment of God at the end of the world. After prayers in present of the priest; by whom the last sacrament is given to the person before death is a religious faith. It is believed that the person who receives his last sacrament before death directly goes to heaven. It does not need to wait for the final judgment. Among the Oriya people; Mohammedan believers are absent.

8:10: Language and Literature:

Originally, the language and literature of the Oriya people was Oriya. They kept practicing it for a long period in the environment of the plantation also. This is because of the contract system of their employment in the plantation. After completion of the five, three years term they had to return to their own States. Practicing of their own language in the plantation was a natural behaviour But it put them on the backfoot in respect of language and literature. In the course of time they had to give up their own language and to adopt Assamese as the State language. Repatriation of these people by the planters was a vain.

Most of the Oriya people who had been frequently recruited were literates in Oriya. They had their traditional literatures, most of which were Puranic. They became so popular that the Book stalls kept such books for its demand. It is not many years passed that the book stalls had kept the Oriya ‘Chat-Sali’ which is a book to learn the laters of the language. The puranic literature still found in the houses where the predecessor was literate in Oriya. The ‘trinath-mela’ a religious ritual they regularly observe read the myths written in
Most of the present literates, who are educated in Assamese are sometime practicing their forefathers language through the few socio-cultural organizations established to revive the socio-cultural behaviour to improve their social life. It is only half a century passed that they have realize their position in Assam; that thinking of their previous State is only a vain. They are now, adopting Assamése not only by language but also in all sphere of life. Similarity of Assamese culture with their own, induce them for rapid adoption. A number of the renounced writers from the tea community come out from the Oriya origin. Deoram Tasa, Samir Tanti, Prahlad Tasa etc., are of Oriya origin whose contribution to the Assamese literature cannot be neglected.

In the plantation situation the Oriya origins had to live on multi-lingual basis. In their families they continue to speak their own language and with their co-worker they had to talk with the newly developed garden ‘sadri’. In such a condition a number of their own words they had to include when speaking. The tea gardens in which they are in majority talked Oriya even with the garden staff. And where they are in balanced position most of their words enter in the ‘sadri’ language. In the tea gardens where they are in small numbers they adopted the ‘sadri’ prevalent in them. There are also instances that a Munda majority tea garden talked Munda by all of its inhabitants, even the Oriya speaking people also. Similarly, the Oriya populated tea gardens got priority of the Oriya language. At present very few can speak Oriya even in the tea gardens where they are in majority. This is due to the conversation with their co-worker in ‘sadri’ and the rapid adoption of the Assamese language.

632. Informant: Sri Rajaram Tanti
633. op.cit. Tasa (Ed) 2003, p. 54.
8:11: Food Habit:

The Oriya people were agrarian in nature in their previous place. The area where they were living produced rice, barley, pulses, pea-nuts, etc. and so they were habituated to use these items as food. Rice and curry made of pulses and different vegetables are their main food. The favorite dishes made of rice are the ‘bhāṭ’ of different types, ‘dal’ of the different pulses, specially, of ‘arahar’. Besides; ‘mahul’ a fruit was famous for its abundance and use to prepare the native wine. This fruit also help the people in hunger. Use of wheat for ‘roti’ introduced to them in the plantation. Among the Oriya people both vegetarian and non-vegetarians are found.

In the plantation of Assam the food habit of the Oriya people was forced to change as the supply depended on the planters at the early stages. Initially, the planters supplied all the essential materials to the workers as there was no market to purchase edibles. Rice, pulses, vegetables, edible oils, wheat powder; all include their supplies. The planters were more interested to supply them food rather than their wages against their work. This was one of the policies of the planters to keep the workers in the plantation. The Plantation Labour Act 1951 made supply of edibles to the workers compulsory and there after they were supplied with the ration as rice and wheat powder only.635 Other edibles they have to purchase from the market occasionally held in the garden. The ration supplied sometime are of the old stock and so becomes waste to

635. op.cit. Tasa (Ed) 2003. p.42
consume. The worker including the Oriya people have to go with the same as they have no other ways to have supplies. A very few of them possess some cultivable land and for some period they use them when such ration is supplied to them. The economically sound people purchase their foodstuff from the market. Others have to go with the same ration which gradually affecting on their health. With their limited cash in hand they sometime purchase the vegetables from the market. Those who are successful to prepare a small 'bāḍi' in their boundary get a few of the vegetables to be used with the rice. Fruits of different kind, if available in the area are within their reach but they cannot afford for milk. The tea gardens were felt usefull pasturing cattle, but nowadays use of the chemicals in the bushes made the plantation areas fatal for the animals. Fish and meat are arranged by their own efforts. During the holiday they go to the nearby spring or beel to collect fish. They also sometime keep small poultry from where they arrange their meat. Nowadays, pork becomes popular among them as it cost less than the price of other meats. A few of them, specially, the Christian people sometime take beef in their foods. Beside, the cheap edibles found in the market are consume by them, creates health problem. The Oriya people in the plantation also become habituated with the house made 'haria' which they consume like the cold drink. The most fatal drink some of them become habituated is the 'chulāi-sārāp' which is prepared out of the waste sugarcane mixing with prohibited chemicals.\textsuperscript{636}

8:12: Costume:

The favourite dress of an Oriya male was the 'unchhi' on the waist worn like a dhoti, but above the knee during the work and below during visiting people. A similar clothe on the

\textsuperscript{636} loc.cit., Chakravorty
shoulder, sometime covering the body. They also sometime wore ‘lengti’ only during the work or inside the ‘unchhi’. The females wore a ‘kāptā’ on thei waist covering the body. They did not use blouse on their top, whether it be an adult woman. They use their interior called ‘āngiā’.

The Oriya people in the tea garden use the similar costume that their fellow brothers do. For the male a shirt or ganji with the half pant during the work while during the off time the usual dresses is used. The female dress in the work is the general ‘mekhelā-chādor’ with the blouse and interior garments. They take an extra clothe on their head to support the ‘tukri’ or the rope of the ‘tupā’ they use in their work. During the off time they wore the usual dresses used by all females in general. The sari, suijar, etc., are favourite dress for them.637

The Oriya people favour gold ornaments most. From top to bottom the body of a female is ornamented. The golden ornaments include julpi-sona hanged with facia; makdi on three nose lobes; ‘serso-mali’ on the neck; ring on the fingers are the usual fashions for an Oriya woman. The Silver ornaments are the tikli on the forehead, a khoglā or hansli or tākā-māli on the neck; bāhtād on both the arms; ghunsi on the waist; at least two rings on the fingers of both the legs. Besides; Khongso-kata to support the khopā is the usual ornaments the Oriya woman use. These ornaments sometime could be seen in the marriage performances if a woman comes fashioned with them. Nowadays, all these ornaments disappear either for their economic condition or losing interests in old ornaments.638

During the work in the garden a few more precaution is

637. Informant: Smt Hemo Nayak 17.1.2005
taken in respect of their dresses. The women cover an apron on
their waist to save their dresses from the pinching of the tender
branches and wet. They also put a high heeled 'khodom' on
their legs. The males are also wore the apron and khodom
during their work.\footnote{639}

8:13: Beliefs and Superstitions:

Religious belief of the Oriya people is of mix nature. Both the classical and tribal influence could be seen in their
religious performances. They worship all the Vedic gods and
goddesses in one hand and at the same time worship a number
of spirits and different power of the nature. A number of people
are also found worshipping only the Vedic gods. Similarly, other
people worship only the spirits. The people who worship the
Vedic gods originate from the eastern part mostly from the
upper strata while the people originated from the western parts
worship the both the Vedic and non-Vedic gods. The people
from the tribal areas worship only the non-Vedic spirits. There
are also some people from the castes and practice exorcize or
sorcery, worship only the spirits they have adopted.

Among the classical gods ‘trinath’ i.e., Brahma, Vishnu and
Siva; the trinity is the most favourite gods. The Oriya families,
though it is a member from the upper or lower castes, observe
‘trinath-melā’ in their homes at least three, five or seven times.
The observation costs so little that arranging of a mustard oil
candle, little sugarcane with chana or chewra and three shares
of ‘gānjā’ or ‘biḍi’ are sufficient for the dedication. A person
who can read the Oriya scripts and describe myths with full
dedication may be appointed to perform the rituals. Besides,
the Oriya people worship Lord Shiva, pouring water, specially,

\footnote{639. Informant: Smt Hem o Nayak on 17.1.2005}
on the occasion of the Shiva-Ratri. Goddess Lakshmi also most
sacredly worshipped by them. The house, the foodstuff, the
cooking materials and the cattle in the house; all are felt to be
the symbol of the goddess and kept clean and sacred every
day. On the occasion of 'dewali', all of these materials are
dedicated in the name of the goddess with full sacredness. The
Phagua; the males play street drama and play colour.\textsuperscript{640} The
famous Palla play starts from this occasion. For the Oriya
people all the matrilineal people including the in-laws can be
coloured. But in respect of the adults, the colour should be
offered on the legs respectfully. They cannot involve directly in
the Durga-puja as it is celebrated publicly in the tea garden.
They offer duck to the 'devi' through the appointed pujari, bring
it home and take it as Prasad. In some of the tea gardens Rath-
jātrā' centrally organized participated by the people of its
surroundings. They recite the eighteen 'purans' sacredly on the
'kirtik-purnima-tithi' (bright moon of the month November),
following the ritual. In the plantation a few of them walk long
distance to pour water on the Shiva-linga in a famous temple
during the month of 'Sawan' (July/August). The Oriya women
never forget to pour water on the basil plant every morning with
full dedication and put an earthen 'dia' and scented smoke
during the evening. Push-Purnima, usa-brat are also observed
by most of the Oriya women.\textsuperscript{641}

The Oriya people in the plantation also observe a number
of rituals related to spirits. They believe that there are three
types of spirits try to influence over the people to get oblation.
The first category of spirits is the family tutelary, invited to live
and remembered every year during the special occasion of the
'nuā-khāi'. In this category, the 'kutumb' adopted 'depta' also

\textsuperscript{640} loc. cit., Kurmi (Ed)
\textsuperscript{641} Informant: Sri Jyoti Pusti on 15.3.2003
include whom dedicated on the ‘chutriā’ occasion. They may be also invited through the ‘diāri’ on special occasion but for some moment only. The second category, are those who play neutral and living outside the residential areas. They help the wise and make trouble to the mischief. The third category of spirits are the ‘masans’, strolling everywhere. They are very often trouble a person to make him for the oblation. They are the souls of those died in unnatural manner and are not offered oblations. All these spirits can be identified, invited and talked by the help of the ‘diāri’ who is capable to invite the ‘kutumb’ adopted ‘deptā’ on him in his unconscious condition. Worship of the spirits may also be observed among the tribal Oriya people.

Belief about the earth, sun, sky, star and the natre is according to the puranic beliefs. Almost every literate family of Oriya origin keep at least one puran in their houses; occasionally recited on recreation. The puranic believe of Tribhuban, Dev-lok, Indra-lok, Yam-lok, Baikuntha, Patal, etc. which a person can achieve through his activities in this world. The person with good deeds achieves Baikuntha and the mischief gets Patal. They also believe in a supreme God, may be in the form of lord Vishnu, Shiva or Brahma; is all powerfull, omnipotent and omniscient.642

A good number of people among the Oriya origin are also believer of Christianity. They follow what the apostle directs and totally rejects the Vedic or non-Vedic beliefs. They believe in heaven and hell; one liable to go after his death according o his deeds in the world. The main observances of these people are the ‘boḍo-din’ and ‘paska’; the former is the birth anniversary of Jesus and the later is the reincarnation of Jesus, as they believe.643

642. Informant: Smt Panpotro Tanti
643. Informant: Smt Probha Surin on 30.1.2007
8:14: Tradition and life in the Plantation:

By the advent of tea in Assam the people from the different areas including the Oriya origin are brought to work in the plantation as manual labourers. These people originally were the agrarian masses producing rice and other commodities for their own use and supply to the State. In the plantation situation they are converted from agricultural farmers to wage earning labourers. It is more than one and a half century they have passed in the plantation and virtually become daily rated labourers. They occupy about 20% percent of the total population of the State and among them 30% are the Oriya origins.

The Garden work: Tea industry is an agro-industry depended on large number of manual labourers. Green tea cultivated in the open field by regular manual work, which is carried to the factory to convert it into the black tea by manufacturing in machine. Labourers required for the two types of work and they are divided into two groups to work with the process. There is also another group who engaged in such works which are not directly related to the production. To control and guide these workers there are some literate persons called ‘babus’. The management control and keep record of of the production and its marketing through the auction centres. Initially, the workers had to work for more than eight hours every day to earn wages without which their survival was impossible. They are habituated with this process and can hardly think for other kind of works. The Plantation Act 1951 provided them with some statutory facilities including eight hours of work.644 The new situatin in the plantation not only affected their economic life

644 loc. cit., Tasa (Ed)
but also their socio-cultural life they had borrowed from their forefathers.

The 'line' and the social structure: All the immigrated people live together in the 'lines' provided by the garden managements. Only few instances are there that they are provided with lines for individual caste or tribe. Most of the lines are of common inhabitats. People of different castes or tribes living in a common environment for more than a century are liable to be assimilated. Even the individual unintelligible dilects could not stand in front of this assimilation process. In such a situation, it is natural of their individual culture to be assimilated with each others.

New Identity: The family observations and few of the rituals controlled by the existing 'kutumb' are the only sources of their individual identity. In other words, the individual socio-cultural process got mixed up to each other and it could rightly be called tea garden culture. A number of rituals like 'Karam', Tushu, Sohrai etc., are already accepted as common observation. The Oriya people, living in the common inhabitat have also habituated with the pattern of lifestyle and their individual rituals cannot be identified with their original ones. What remains little affected are only their family rituals. This is because, the rituals are traditionally followed by their forefathers and the tutelary oblation observed by the common Indian people and the descendants cannot neglect them. The other factor responsible for the existing a few of the social observations is existence of the 'kutumb', a customary social group prevalent among all of the Oriya origins in their collective living.

The present generation is not interested to follow them and trying to avoid these observations also as useless and
superstitions. The other factors mostly responsible are the rapid modernization of the whole atmosphere; specially, the young people of all the traditional societies. Electrification gave light to every corner of the residential areas made the spirits to flee from their dwelling places. Medical science proved that the spirit effects are actually a kind of disease that can be cured by medicine. The latest technology of internet reached every corner that the people mind is not limited to a certain area of thinking. But it is worth mentioning that a group of new generation comes out to revive at least the old fashions which are worthy in the modern atmosphere also. The medical science failed where the traditional medicine works. So people began to realize that adoption everything blindly is no gain but loss of something important.

645. Informant Sri Dipen Tanti
A Jagannath temple in tea garden

A 'Panda' of tea garden community on Jagannath 'Rath'

A 'Ratha' 'Jatra' in tea garden
A recreation hour with dance

A 'jhumolin' dance

A street drama in Phaguwa
'Dimni' and kil shed

Ornament and household materials

A tea garden youth with bow and arrow