

QUEST FOR SCHEDULED TRIBE STATUS AMONG THE PANO OR KUI DOMANGA - AN EMPIRICAL STUDY

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Abstract: As a multi-cultural nation, India accepts and respects cultural diversity, stress its inevitability, and holds that all varied ethnic groups are equal members of society. The Pano (or Kui Domanga) categorized as Scheduled Caste in Odisha, shares and practices all the major cultural attributes and behavior of the Khand (or Kandha /Kondh)—classified as Scheduled Tribe in Odisha. Both of them share the same geographical area for their livelihood. The stigma of untouchability has been attached to the Pano or Kui Domanga by the enumerator. However, prior to the Independence of India they were considered as Hill Tribe. The Pano or Kui Domanga of the Balliguda sub-division, added to Odisha state from Madras Presidency in 1936, has now been excluded from Tribal list since 1956. The inclusion and exclusion of a community largely depends on birth, descent and kinship as well as legal-administrative mechanism. The paper discusses whether the claim of the Pano (or Kui Domanga) as Scheduled Tribe like their immediate and inalienable neighbor— the Kandh, a Scheduled Tribe in Odisha are justified. Being a member of Scheduled Caste – the Pano(or Kui Domanga) observes and practices the same ritual activities in all sphere of life as a customary rule with their neighbour the Kandh –a Scheduled Tribe in a particularly restricted geographically territory where both the groups are Kui speakers, share same cultural attributes, symbols, dress, adomments, ornaments etc. This kind of phenomenon is very much evident with regard to the identification as a constitutionally enlisted scheduled group.

Keywords: Pano, Kondh, identity, tribe, caste, Community, Custom.

One can identify himself or herself in various ways such as by name, affiliation, position through geographical territory or some interest groups as well as by ethnic terms and so on. In fact, ethnicity emerges from ethnic groups while, it creates identity consciousness and it is a kind of psychological feeling or group sentiment. Ethnicity is a term which arouses some emotional and psychological feelings in human mind. It “creates identity consciousness” (Goswami 1991). It gives the feelings or sentiments of “we” and “they” or in the group and out of the group. “Ethnic identities and categorization are based on the relationship between the ethnic groups at a particular point of time. The conditions which modulate the boundary of ethnic groups are a specific situational and historical condition” (Goswami, 1991). Ethnicity generates cognitive categories, that is, the notion of one ethnic group for others. According to Glazer and Moynihan (1975) ethnicity is a social group which consciously shares some aspects of a common culture and is defined primarily by descent.

India being a cultural-pluralistic nation accepts and respects cultural diversity, stress its inevitability, and holds that all varied ethnic groups are equal members of society. The Pano (or Kui Domanga) categorized as Scheduled Caste in Odisha,

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shares and practices all the major cultural attributes and behavior of the Khand (or Kandha /Kondh)-classified as Scheduled Tribe in Odisha. Both of them share the same geographical terrain for their livelihood. The stigma of untouchability without any reason has been attached to the Pano or Kui Domanga by the enumerator. However, prior to independence of India they were considered as Hill Tribe (vide. Ganjam Hill Tracts Agency, erstwhile Madras Presidency, Act.XXIV of 1839 and Madras Act of 1948). The Pano or Kui Domanga of the Balliguda sub-division, added to Odisha state from Madras Presidency in 1936, has now been excluded from Tribal list since 1956. The inclusion and exclusion of a community largely depends on birth, descent. The matter will be discussed in the following pages in order to justify the claim of the Pano (or Kui Domanga) as Scheduled Tribe like their immediate and inalienable neighbor- the Kandh, a Scheduled Tribe in Odisha.. Under this backdrop the present researchers intend to collect empirical data on both the communities and try to justify their (i.e. Pano or Kui Domanga) claim towards the equal status of their neighbor—the Kandh-a Scheduled Tribe of Odisha.

The present study was carried out at Kandhamal district of Odisha especially in Balliguda block. We have carried out research investigation in a number of villages of various panchyats and blocks. All of them are located in erstwhile Kandhamal sub-division of Phulbani district of Odisha. Among all the villages, we have made intensive study at Budrukia village of Balliguda block. The villages where we have conducted our field investigation have a distinctive form, with rows of houses, joined under a continuous roof, one row on each side of a whole road—very much different from many other tribal inhabited villages, where households are usually dispersed. In the centre or in a corner of the village there stand sacred places of *darni penu*, *soru penu*, *burha penu*, and *kor koba* where buffalo sacrifices are made during *merriah* or *kedu puja (yatra)* in the month of March, prior to agricultural starting of agricultural operations. The present treatise highlights the empirical situation of Pano or Kui Domanga—a Scheduled Caste as well as of the Kandh or Kuinga / or Kuwinga –a Scheduled Tribe of Odisha at Kandhamal district. Being a member of Scheduled Caste – the Pano(or Kui Domanga) observes and practices the same ritual activities in all sphere of life as a customary rule with their neighbour the Kandh –a Scheduled Tribe in a particularly restricted geographically territory where both the groups are Kui speakers, share same cultural attributes, symbols, dress, adornments, ornaments etc.. In a word, it is very difficult for an outsider to differentiate them from one another. Both the endogamous social groups are inalienable and serfs?? to one another. Under this backdrop the present researchers intend to collect empirical data on both the communities and try to justify their (i.e. Pano or Kui Domanga) claim towards the equal status of their neighbor—the Kandh-a Scheduled Tribe of Odisha. It can be also mentioned here that there are a number of sections among the Pano, which are endogamous in nature; Kui Domanga or Domanga is one of such groups distributed in hilly area of Kandhamal sub-division of Odisha.

METHODOLOGY

We have employed various methods for the collection empirical data. Firstly, we would like to submit that it is primarily an extensive survey work. To substantiate primary data we have carried out survey work in a number of villages in order to understand the variation and the area of prevalence of particular cultural attribute or attributes for both the communities. The data were collected from the Kui Domanga or Pano and the Kuinga or Kandh / Kondh communities who are living in all the villages together. Group interviews with case studies were employed. The key informants were from panchyat level, village and community's elites and the *laka gatanju* or priests and *kepagatanju / clega or gunia* (i.e. sorcerer). In some cases 'observer participant' technique was also employed in case of data collection on '*merriah yatra*' (to appease earth deity they made human sacrifice in earlier days (now replaced by buffalo). Apart from those, genealogy, structured questionnaires and focused interviews were also made. In all the studied villages the Pano and the Kandh are kui speakers. The fieldwork was carried out from March, 2014 to May, 2014 at various villages of Kandhmal district of Odisha. After completing first draft of the report the researchers again visited the field area on last week of June, 2014 and the draft report was read before the informants and was taken necessary observation from them and finally the same are incorporated in the final report. They are aware of Hindi. Further, within three months' time we were able to generate empirical data from the Budrukia village and further in 20 villages where chiefly group interview has been employed for substantiating our data and to understand the variation and cross check our data (The details of the surveyed villages have been given in the Appendix). More so, we also like to state that we also able to interview Tiro Mallik, 100 years of age on April, 2014 of Kandh village Badagaon (Madapada) under Balliguda Gram Panchyat who was witnessed human sacrifice and as his father named Digo Mallick used to do the duty of human sacrifice when it was performed under their *muttha*.

CONSTITUTION OF INDIA AND SCHEDULING OF COMMUNITIES

In the preamble to their questionnaire regarding Scheduled Tribes, the Backward Classes Commission observed as follows:

The Scheduled Tribes can also be generally ascertained by the fact that they live apart in hills, and even where they live on the plains, they lead a separate, excluded existence and are not fully assimilated in the main body of the people. Scheduled Tribes may belong to any religion. They are listed as Scheduled Tribes because of the kind of life led by them (K.S.Jayasree v. State of Kerala, (1976) 3 SCC Para. 19, pp.734-735, quoted from Chatterjee,2012.).

It will be observed that in 1931 and 1935 as well as in 1950 and 1956, it was acknowledged that every tribe need not be regarded as requiring special treatment;

the list of 1935 was of “Backward Tribes” and primitiveness and backwardness were the tests applied in preparing the lists in 1950 and 1956. The essentials characteristics, first laid down by the Lokur Committee in 1965, (vide. The Jammu and Kashmir Backward Classes Committee,1969, J.N.Wazir, Chairman, pp.28, quoted from Chatterjee,2012), for a community to be identified as Scheduled Tribes are—

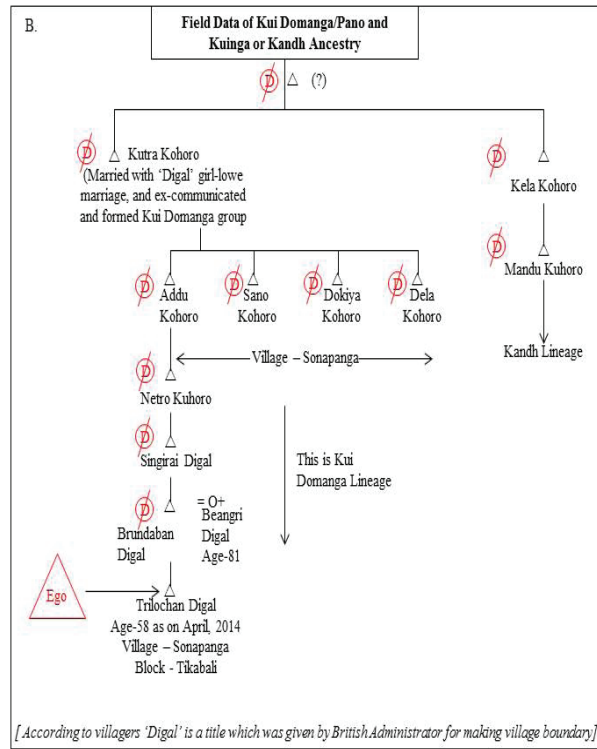
- (a) primitive traits,
- (b) distinctive culture,
- (c) shyness of contact with the community at large,
- (d) geographical isolation and
- (e) backwardness—social and economic.

Apart from this the myth of origin of a community is an important aspect in understanding the relationships between communities and their socio-historical background.

MYTH OF ORIGIN

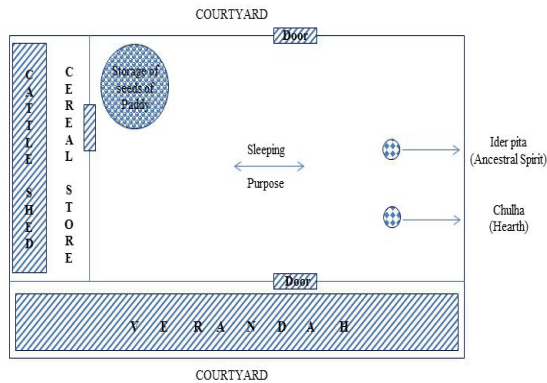
A group of informants, including both Kandh and Pano, narrated us a story handed down to them by their grandfathers and other ancestors. The story runs thus: long before –time immemorial, there were two brothers of a same father (whose name was unknown to them). The brothers were named as kulo and Dohu(Padel,1995). Among them Dohu was older than Kulo. After that Kulo’s progenies are called Kandh or Kuwinga and Dohu’s progenies became Pano or Domanga. They at first used to live in a place named Sikaboudu in Daringbadi area. Later, they migrated to Boruguda and then settled in Media. Gradually these two brothers formed their separate groups through their progenies and became endogamous. Though separated, even then, they were inalienable to each other.

Another mythical story is told by a group of informants of village Sakusabali of K. Nuagaon block (G.P. Mahasingi, Sarpanch-Jogeshwar Mallick (Kandh) ,who lives in Mahasingi village), about the separation of two brothers. It runs thus--“there were two Kui brothers named Kuenju and Domenju. Once the elder brother Domenju, very hungry, ate beef when there was no other food. It is a sin according to their customary rule, it is tabooed. After he had taken the beef, he was expelled from the Kandh community. Hence these two brothers were separated and the expelled one repented and obeyed the punishment. He gradually gave birth to another separate community named as Pano or Kui Domanga. Though he was elder, due to his breach of the taboo, he was given a lower status. From then the Kondh people do not take food cooked by them and no marriage alliance is allowed between these two groups”.



House Type

Sketch Drawing of Internal Arrangement of Room of both Kui Domanga or Pano and Kuinga or Kandh at Kandhamal



- Rooms are rectangular in size.
- Walls are of wooden plank and pasted with cowdung mixed mud.
- Roofs are thatched with either asbestos, or Khapra, often shed with pual or straw.
- Outsiders (or Sasi) are tabooed to enter into the room due to place of Ider pita that is, ancestral spirit.

Language

Distinct Kui language is spoken by both Pano or Kui Domanga and Kui Kandh or Kuinga in the studied hilly terrain of Kandhamal. It is becoming vulnerable or an endangered language because of engulfment and dominance of Odiya language which is the lingua-franca of the state, that is, Odisha.

Tattoo (*tikanga*)

Women of both the groups tattoo their whole face in such a uniform and identical pattern which is rare and it was a compulsory ritual for all the women of Kui Domanga or Pano and Kuinga or Kui Kandh of the hilly terrain of Kandhamal. The reason of such tattoo in the face of women is already described. Attached plate in the text will speak for the design of such tattoo of both the ethnic groups.

Economic life-It is told that traditionally the Pano are *podu* (slash and burn) cultivators. Hunting and collection from forest were very important occupations in their life. From literatures it is found that they were petty traders, middlemen, money lenders and helpers of the Kandh in any of their occupations. In G. Udaigiri side the Pano or Kui Domanga also do weaving. Presently the Pano are primarily cultivators. Along with cultivation, they also do collection from jungle. Some among them there are some persons who do service also both in skilled and unskilled sectors. Now a days, hunting as an occupation is not pursued, instead both *podu* and plough cultivation are done by them. Number of Minor Forest Produces are in their(both Pano and Khand)food chart which they collect from various seasons of the year (Banerjee,1968).

In the hills they practice *podu* or shifting hill cultivation. The area is commonland. Each individual family is used to do *podu* in the area of hills that they could clear for that cultivation. No outsider is allowed. Later the village headman, after several meetings with the villagers, settles the boundary of land for each family. If anyone wants to sell his land to any person, the person who wants to buy the land gives a pig to the owner. Then the owner of the land scarifies the pig and mixes it's blood with some rice grain and mud and the lump taking in hand remembers *Bura Penu* and *Piter Penu* or *Pitedi penu*; he promises that from the day onwards he will have no right on that land. Till date this system is maintained.

Brotherhood of Clan / Lineage festival:

Imagine the animistic forefathers diligently and fearfully worshipping and appeasing the mysterious spirits. Imagine the wonder of their efforts to live in complete harmony with nature, which played a very integral part in the destiny of their routine lives.

In an insecure forest environment, festival such as *merriah* or *kedu* emerged as a celebrated festival. It ushered in a time for sharing with one another; a time

for rekindling and strengthening community bonds on which depended their very survival. It was also a time for appeasement of the spirits that literally coexisted within their environs and otherwise confounded their daily lives: unbelievable perhaps but true. This festival emphasized not only the health of the crops but also the hope for a better and prosperous future for which they prayed and gave offerings to the *penu* or spirits. (Elwin, 1945, Elwin Paper in Archives, New Delhi, Misc x no. 161. Notes about Meriah Tribes (53 pages).

This is chiefly a festival to appease earth deity –*darni*, performed prior to agricultural season in the month of *Iрпи danju* (March). Though this is one of the chief festivals among the Kandha, it has equal importance also among the Kui Domanga or Pano (Padel, 1995). In earlier days (prior to 1845) the *merriah* was supposed to mean human sacrifice which was banned by the British and was replaced by buffalo (*koru*) sacrifice (Das, 1959, Boal Barbara, 1982). This ritual among both the ethnic groups (i.e. Kuinga or Kandha and Kui Domanga or Pano) played a vital role in expressing the in-group feeling and solidarity of clans and lineages where relation from distant villages are invited (Padel, 1995) and the main role played in this ritual by the Kuinga or Kandh and Kui Domanga or Pano as *laka gatanju* or priest. It is told by the villagers that *darni penu* or earth goddess is considered the malevolent spirit, to appease her blood sacrifice is essential, while *bura* or *buda penu* – the creator of the earth, is the benevolent spirit. The entire belief system is deeply embedded among both the Kui Domanga or Pano and Kuinga or Kandh in the studied villages.

They would together go round the whole village beating drums and anything that make loud noises, shouting and dancing in possessed mood and asking the spirits to bless them for welfare and good harvest and get rid of all kinds of illness and finally ask the evil spirits to depart from the village. In this ritual the *mantras* they utter clearly signifies to appease nature. According to their religious pantheon they consider following hills to be the abode of their ancestors, namely, *Dimbuli Srambuli*, *Aseri* and *Goseri*. Accordingly, both the ethnic groups appease them in the beginning of each ritual activities.

In the present empirical situation both the ethnic groups consider *burha penu* is the creator of their territory (Macpherson, 1843 and 1852) and *Dimbuli*, *Srambuli*, *Aseri*, and *Goseri* hills are their ancestors abode which they appease time to time for their protection and welfare. All their activities for sustenance are centered on these hillocks.

Distinct belief

According to their belief system they considered following hills and its boundaries are the abode of their ancestors, namely, *Dimbuli* (a female deity, her area is extended from Koraput → Kalahandi → Kandhamal border), *Srambuli* (a female deity, her area is from east of Dimbuli), *Aseri* (west of Dimbuli, that is, Daringbadi,

K.Nuagaon Balliguda and Kotoguda blocks) and Goseri (border area of three blocks namely, Daringbadi, K.Nuagaon and Kotoguda blocks).Accordingly both the ethnic groups appease them in the beginning of each ritual activities.

Since they are animists in their faith and in their ancestral worship and also in other ritual activities they chant in the beginning ‘ *nagela, bondela, kula, doha dimbuli, srambuli, aseri and goseri*’ which are the names of their ancestors.

The empirical data narrated in the preceding pages clearly shows that the cultural attributes, customary laws and spiritual roots of both Kui Domanga or Pano and Kuinga or Kandh are almost same. They share common geographical territory, possesses preliterate cultural traits (i.e. animistic belief and practices) which are very much distinct in nature. They do not worship their deities in the temples with anthropomorphic images, nor with Brahmin priest. Their deities are rather clearly connected with local environment and the deities are in the form of boulders or pieces of stones etc. Their religious specialists are diviners and shamans (i.e. *gunia or tlamba* and *kepagatanju / clega*) respectively(Elwin, 1944 and SCSTRTI,2006). At the same time they as a whole are shy and also backward in all spheres of life and deed. The Kandh are treated as Scheduled Tribe in this area of our investigation and the Kui Domanga or Pano also deserve the same status alike Kandh—the Scheduled Tribe.

The Kandhas are classified according to territory into three major classes viz. Kutia ,Malua or Dongoria and Desia.

The Kutia Kondhas are found mainly in Kotgarh, Tumudibandh and Belgarh area of Balliguda Sub-division. The Dongoria or Malua live in high lands of hilly area in the district. The Desia or Oriya Kandhas live in plain areas with the non-tribal. However, empirical data suggests that there are seven (07) major endogamous groups which are based on their traditional economic pursuits among the Khand, namely, (i) Kuinga or Kui Kandh (cultivator) (ii) Domanga or Kui Domanga (cultivator as well as business and labour), (iii) Loharanga or Khanda Bindhani (iron work), (iv) Kumaranga or Kandha Kumfare (pottery), (v) Gaudanga or Khanda Gaura (cattle herder), (vi) Gahinga (whose traditional occupation was arrangement of funeral activities) and (vii) Sittaranga or Sitakandha (basket makers); among these groups Kui Domanga and Gahinga are not declared as Scheduled Tribe, while all the seven endogamous groups are Kui speakers (Elwin Paper from Archive : Misc x no. 160. Notes on the Konds (handwritten field notes, total page 480).

It is also evident from our study that Pan as a community found in Ganjam and adjoining area are not Kui speaker while Pano of our study area are Kui speaking people and are also known as Domanga and they are very much different from Pan or Pana /Pano of other places of Odisha in cultural attributes and customary laws. Therefore, empirical data suggests that Domanga are Pano in our studied area are nature worshipper while, Pan /Pana of other places of Odisha are not nature

worshiper. Our field study also suggests that in the village Tiangia of G.Udaygiri a few families of Pano / Kui domanga are practicing weaving but with the help of genealogy it is established that it was introduced by Britishers among a few families only; it is the third generation who practice weaving as one of the major economic pursuits.

Our observation from field investigation is that Dom or Domb are engaged in unclean, menial economical pursuits which makes them untouchable in Hindu caste hierarchy while Domanga are altogether different and are not involved in any unclean occupation; they are inalienable ethnic group with Khand and lazy in comparison to their immediate neighbor-- Khand, serfs and labourers, found in all Villages inhabited by the Khand. Domanga group never identified themselves as Dom or Domb who are categorized as Scheduled Caste. Perhaps by the census enumerator Dom, Domb or Dombo were synonymous with Domanga? Practically, in empirical situation Domanga are altogether different ethnic identity. Secondly, if Domanga and Dom /Domb are same and synonymous with each other, then in Khand ritual activities especially *merriah* festival or *kedu yatra* the Domanga's division of labour traditionally assigned as *laka gatangu* (priest) cannot be socially approved. Moreso, the putative kinship, that is, *sahu domanga* among a Khand family with Domanga or Kui Domanga family could not be observed. It is true that they (that is, Khand) do not take any *pucca* or cooked food from a Kui Domanga's family but cannot tell the reasons. This kind of feeling of low social ranking may be introduced by the recent census enumerator when they (i.e.Domanga or Kui Domanga) are classed as Scheduled Caste. Earlier when both the group enjoyed tribal status(scan document is attached), there was no such feeling of being clean and unclean. Moreover, in Hindu social system if any group is beef eater then the community is degraded. Domanga or Kui Domanga is not at present beef eater in the studied area. Lastly, we found there is no difference between them and both the groups are inalienable to each other. Their food habits , dress and ornaments, tattoo marks in the woman faces, customary laws especially in rites-de-passage, breach of social norms ,kinship terminology, traditional political organization through *muttha* organization and distinct belief systems in following hills which are considered as the abode of their ancestors(namely, *Dimbuli* , *Srambuli*, *Aseri* and *Goseri* –to appease them in the beginning of all ritual activities), are all equal and same for both the ethnic groups. All the characteristics features of a Scheduled Tribe in Indian constitution are also fulfilled by the Kui Domanga or Pano community in the study area alike with their immediate neighbor-the Kandh.

Now, at a glance we may see the chief cultural attributes of the Kui Domanga or Pano and Kuinga or Kandh in the studied area :

The Salient Characteristics features in terms of Cultural attributes between the Kui Domanga / Pano and Kuinga or Kandh are as follows :

Sr.no	Cultural attributes: Parameter	Kui Domanga / Pano	Kuinga / Kandh
1.	Language	Kui	Kui
2.	Clan; Practice exogamy	Totemic like-- Kumbhar(earthen vessel),Kushala/ Kusaluya(a kind of ragi- cereal),Kuldipa(lamp), Bagh(tiger),Kuer(a kind of cereal),Surjal(sun),Basiya, Beda,Urma etc.	Totemic like— Mallick, Jani, Kahara,Jhankara, Majhi, Pat majhi, Bhoi,Sona majhi, Basinga,Manglanga, Jatolanga,Benaranga, Kundunga, Sonudanga etc.
3	Dress,Ornaments and Tattoo marks on the face and forehead	These are same with the Kandh and one cannot differentiate from other.	These are same with the Pano and one cannot differentiate from other.
4.	House type and internal lay out	These are same with the Kandh and one cannot differentiate from other.	These are same with the Pano and one cannot differentiate from other.
5.	Rites-de-Passage or Life cycle rituals.	These are same with the Kandh and one cannot differentiate from other	These are same with the Pano and one cannot differentiate from other
6.	Kinsjip terminology	Iraquois type	Iraquois type.
7.	Putative Kinship	Existence of <i>Sahu - domanga</i> with the Kandh only.	Existence of Sahu domanga with the Pano / Kui Domanga only.
8.	Cultivation	The empirical data also speaks that the primitive or pre-literate section of Kui Domanga or Pano and Kuinga or Kandh are largely in the studied area of the district are <i>podu</i> or shifting hill cultivators—one of the remarkable trait of primitiveness. Even the folk taxonomy of land classification on the basis of retention of water in the land are equal and same with Kuinga / Kandh.	The empirical data also speaks that the primitive or pre-literate section of Kui Domanga or Pano and Kuinga or Kandh are largely in the studied area of the district are <i>podu</i> or shifting hill cultivators—one of the remarkable trait of primitiveness. Even the folk taxonomy of land classification on the basis of retention of water in the land are equal and same with Pano / Kui Domanga.
9.	Religious belief and Practices	They are nature worshipper, belief in various spirits, hills etc. which are very much similar with the Kandh. Both the endogamous groups believe in Darni -the earth goddess and the Supreme being. She is not only powerful but highest among all deities in their religious pantheon. She is also responsible for the growth of vegetation and other produce of land. Distinct belief systems in following hills which are considered as the abode of their ancestorsnamely, <i>Dimbuli ,Srambuli, Aseri</i> and <i>Goseri</i> –to appease them in the beginning of all ritual activities.	They are nature worshipper, belief in various spirits, hills etc. which are very much similar with the Kui Domanga / Pano. Both the endogamous groups believe in Darni -the earth goddess and the Supreme being. She is not only powerful but highest among all deities in their religious pantheon. She is also responsible for the growth of vegetation and other produce of land. Distinct belief systems in following hills which are considered as the abode of their ancestors namely, <i>Dimbuli , Srambuli, Aseri</i> and <i>Goseri</i> –to appease them in the beginning of all ritual activities.

Contd...

	(b) Appeasement of hills	In an insecure forest environment, festival such as <i>merriah</i> or <i>kedu</i> emerged as a celebrated festival. It ushered in a time for sharing with one another; a time for rekindling and strengthening community bonds on which depended their very survival.	In an insecure forest environment, festival such as <i>merriah</i> or <i>kedu</i> emerged as a celebrated festival. It ushered in a time for sharing with one another; a time for rekindling and strengthening community bonds on which depended their very survival.
10.	Spirituality and belief system: Annual lineage festival or brotherhood of clan festival	This is chiefly a festival to appease earth deity <i>-darni</i> , performed prior to agricultural season in the month of <i>Irpi danju</i> (March).	This is chiefly a festival to appease earth deity <i>-darni</i> , performed prior to agricultural season in the month of <i>Irpi danju</i> (March).
11.	Priest are custodian of village welfare / shrine / village people / cattle etc.	Among both the ethnic groups the same person— <i>Tlambaor Kutaoguru</i> or <i>Kutagatanju</i> performs the duty as and when required.	Among both the ethnic groups the same person— <i>Tlambaor Kutaoguru</i> or <i>Kutagatanju</i> performs the duty as and when required.
12.	Magical rites specialists	The person responsible for black magic is <i>Clega</i> or <i>Kepagatangu</i> and performs his duty as and when required for both the community.	The person responsible for black magic is <i>Clega</i> or <i>Kepagatangu</i> and performs his duty as and when required for both the community
13.	Belief in transmigration of soul	Same belief with the Kandh and perform ritual after delivery of a new born.	Same belief with the Kui Domanga / Pano and perform ritual after delivery of a new born.
14.	Typical political Organisation	They are part and parcel of Muttah organization as a member of the village.	They are part and parcel of Muttah organization as a member of the village.

OBSERVATION

Kandhamal district of Odisha is the homeland of Kandh- a Scheduled Tribe and also of Kui Domanga or Pano. Both the ethnic groups are sons of the soil according to land settlement record and genealogy (formore than seven ascending generations they are living here) and hence they are indigenous people of Kandhamal. Incidentally, Pano has been categorized as Scheduled Caste in Odisha. But empirical study suggests that there are a number of endogamous groups among the Pano who are culturally different from one another and their customary laws also differ from one another(According to Census of India, 1891, Volume XV, Madras, Tables A to E, British Territory, Tables for Feudatory States and A Caste Index by H.A. Stuart, the Sub Caste among the Pano are Pano, Jara Pano, Pan Tanti, Buna Pano, Dombo, Pano-Baishnab, Patro Pano etc and all these groups are endogamous and this is also supported by K.S.Singh.in his People of India : Odisha, Vol.XXXV, Part.A and B, 2012, 2013. The present study highlights and is restricted to Kui speaking Pano area (who identifies themselves as Kui Domanga) like Balliguda, G.Udaygiri, Tikabali, Raikia, Daringbadi, K. Nuagaon, Tumudibandha and Phiringia blocks of Kandhmal district. The salient observation in these blocks among the Pano or Kui Domanga is that they are animistic(*pdadhisaja* in kui dialect) in nature (i.e. no anthropomorphic images are worshiped, on the contrary they are nature worshipper), no Brhamanical services are also required in their life cycle rituals which are very much closely

akin to their immediate neighbor –the Khand, especially in customary laws.

According to available literature in the field it reveals that Walter Fernandes through his famous article (not dated) on “Kandhamal: Social Issues Communalised” it is stated that at present the Pano are the most important Dalit community in the district and the Kandha always considered themselves superior to them. However, “the tribal-Dalit problem began only when the moneylenders started to come from outside the district and even from outside the state used the Pano as their agents. After independence the state encouraged growing of ginger and turmeric in the district but the producers got very little out of it. Merchants advanced money and took away most of their produce. Initially the Dalits used to be the agents of the moneylenders. Later they began to lend money directly and to supply the produce to the merchants from outside since the lending operations here were too small for the merchants. They found it convenient to depend on these local agents to control the marketing of the produce”.

“The Kandha consider them indigenous to this district. They cultivated most land in the district till the British land laws changed their livelihood into state property. These laws recognised only individual land ownership and turned all community owned land into state property. With that, the tribal became encroachers on the land that was their habitat for centuries before the colonial laws were enacted because their land was community owned. At that time when moneylenders entered the area and alienated some of their land from them”. Empirical data also suggests that Kui Domanga or Pano in the studied area of the district are also indigenous along with their inalienable neighbour -the Kandh.

In fact the root of this social problem regarding the social identity of Kui Domanga / Pano lies chiefly on land-related tribal-Dalit conflict which has also a communal dimension. It linked the Pano demand for to be declared a Scheduled Tribe. This demand was made already from the 1980s’ but initially it was status-related and was not primarily economic. The Pano would have been allowed to keep it if they were declared tribals”. From contextual situation we the researches also feel that in order to avoid all social tension the Kui Domanga or Pano in the studied area should also be given the status of Scheduled tribe since they possess all the cultural attributes for getting a scheduled tribe status.

“It is perhaps a matter of shame that the nation appears seemingly complacent in performing its pious responsibility on these indigenous populations by merely declaring them in the Constitution of India as one of the weaker sections of the Indian society that in turn entitles them to certain benefits of reservations. There is no denial of the fact that though the craze for entitlements to ‘quota’ benefits cut across space as well as socio-cultural boundaries,.....”(Danda, 2016). After analyzing the preceding empirical data it reveals that total socio-economic condition of Kui Domanga / or Pano is very much similar with their neighbour the Kandh. They shares common cultural attributes with the Kandh which might be due to

sharing of common ecological niche. The community Kui Domanga or Pano are landed aristocrat like the Bhumij (Sinha, 1957, 1959). According to Sinha (1957, 1959) among the Bhumij there were internal stratification based on the land possession, namely, (a) *Ataifhey* (landed aristocrat, upper class among the Bhumij, more Hinduised, wear sacred thread and Brahminical services are required in their life-cycle rituals), (b) *Nagati* (substantial cultivator, fairly well to do and only a few wear sacred thread), (c) *Nichu*-(possession of land is less, this section is the follower of tribal culture, never wear sacred thread, devoid of Brahminical services in life cycle rituals), which clearly indicates an attempt of Khatriaisation. Similarly, may be in the remote past one section among the Pano (identified in the studied area as Kui Domanga) due to possession of more land holding they transformed to landed aristocrat and the then elite section among them desire to achieve the status of caste in order to elevate their status before 1950 (only after 26.01.1950 the SC and ST criterion were aroused in our country). It is quite possible that the then association among them might have been organized to steer the process of transforming from tribe to caste to upgrade their social prestige. Record also speaks that the Pano were categorized as Tribe as per 'Rules under the Agency Tracts Interest and Land Transfer Act, 1918'.

Now, in the present situation the Pano or Kui Domanga are categorised as SC which they expressed are a degraded status. They are not Dom /Domb /Dombo, who by traditional calling are engaged in unclean occupational pursuits. There is no commensal and connubial relationship among the Kui Domanga with the Dom / Dombo /Domb in the studied area.

However, the indigenous cultural roots of both Kui Domanga or Pano are very much alike with their immediate neighbor Kuinga or Kandh. The distinct belief system i.e. following hills are the abode of their ancestors, namely, *Dimbuli*, *Srambuli*, *Aseri* and *Goseri* Daringbadi, which clearly suggests towards nature worship, their house type and internal arrangement of the room (as mentioned earlier through sketches), apart from these other ritual activities especially *darni* and *koru-keedu* (buffalo sacrifice) clearly signifies that significant cultural attributes (mentioned earlier) are not only same by the both ethnic groups but they exploit the same geographical terrain and worship the nature in various forms time and again. These all signifies the possession of distinct culture with primitive traits in a particularly geographically secluded area where the community under study is not only socio-economically backward but also is shy and hesitant to mix up with the outsiders. Like any tribal group in our country and also among the Kandh of Kandhamal, sacrifice or offering of blood in the religious ritual is a common practice which gives them not only mental strength but also peace, happiness and prosperity. In this connection, Hubert and Mauss (1964) gave a view of sacrifice as mediation –the victim and his death form a bridge between the human and the divine worlds that generates life-giving sacredness.

Apart from this it is also noticed that "Rules Under The Agency Tracts Interest And Land Transfer Act, 1917, the Governor in Council is pleased to frame the following rules..... wherein the Panos of the then Ganjam district were declared as Hill tribe". The copy of the said order is attached herewith (Figure-1).

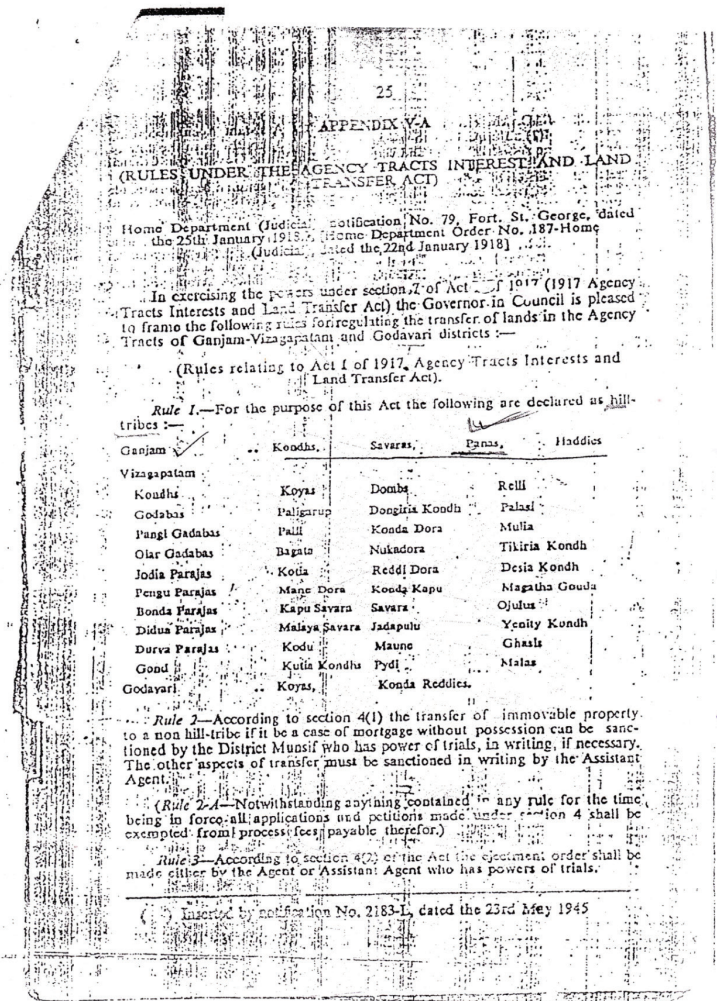


Figure: 1- Scan copy of the order attached in which Pano was Declared as Hill Tribe in 1917.

- (ii) Record also reveals that "khatians (land records) were to be prepared for non-Kandh only (Panos and semi-aboriginal to be classes as Kandh)".

[Reference: Survey and Settlement Operation in the Kondhamal ,(1921-25), Board of Revenue, pp.3 and 13].

- (iii). “Panos throughout the province of Orissa shall be classified as Scheduled Caste except in Kondhamal District”. (Reference: The Govt. of India , Scheduled Caste. Order, 1936, part. IX, Orissa.).
- (iv) Census of India,1891, Volume : XV, Madras, Caste Index by H.A.Stuart,published in 1893 clearly shows that Pano (12164) are one of the sub-caste of Khonds (vide. Pp.45).

CONCLUSION

Therefore, it can be concluded from the collected empirical data through field investigation and all available records mentioned above that the Kui Domanga or Pano community rightly deserves the status of Scheduled Tribe as per article 342 of the Indian Constitution(Bakshi, 2013) at the studied area of Kandhamal district of Odisha since they fulfill all essential characteristics of a tribe first laid down by the Lokur Committee in 1965 (Sarkar, Dasgupta and Senapati, 2016). The unnatural and illogical social cleavages among the Kuinga or Kandh with Kui Domanga or Pano may bring social unrest in the area which may also hamper developmental activity as well as Basic Human Development Index at the village level of the district.

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Figure :2- Kui Domanga /Pano (Left) and Kuinga / Kandh women (Right) [Photo: Authors]



Figure: 3 - House Type of Pano (Middle) and Kandh (left and right)[Photo:Authors]



Figure: 4 - Darni--the earth goddess [Photo : Authors]

APPENDIX

Name of the Studied Area of Kandhamal District, Odisha

Name of the Village	Block / Panchyat	Ethnic Composition (with approx. number of families)	Basic amenities available in the village
1. Budrukia	Balliguda block	Kui Kandh or Khand(200), Kui Domanga or Pano(30), Goura(1), Guru(1)	Electricity, Dish TV, Tube well, Well, Anganbadi, Primary School
2. Dandapadar	Balliguda block	Kui Kandh or Khand(3), Kui Domanga or Pano(37), Brhaman(1)	Electric, Dish TV, Tube Well, Well, Kachha road, Pr. School(2), Upper Primary (1), Anganbadi(3). Having 05 hamlets.
3. Borikiya	Balliguda block	Kui Kandh or Khand(50), Kui Domanga or Pano(50), Gouda(1)	Electricity, Anganbadi, Chua for drinking water and bathing, Upper Primary School upto class VIII, kachha fair weather road.

4. Kurtamgada	Tumudibandh block	Kui Kandh or Kuinga or Khand(30), Kui Domanga or Pano(9)	Electricity, Anganbadi, pr. School, Tube well,nearest health centre is 18 K.M. away, from village to nearest bus stop is 22 K.M.away.
5. Masedikia	Raikia block	Kui Kandh or Khand(32), Kui Domanga or Pano(60)	Electricity, well, motorable road, Dish TV, School, Anganbadi
6. Solakia	Balliguda	Kui Kandh or Khand(37), Kui Domanga or Pano(33)	Electricity, Church, No dispensary, Anganbadi, School(I-V)
7. Solabadi	Simanbadi GP, Daringbadi block	Kui Kandh or Khand(42), Kui Domanga or Pano((22).	Electricity, Tube well, Church, Dish Tv, Pucca road,Pr. School
8. Dasingbadi	Daringbadi block	Kui Kandh or Khand (158), Kui Domanga or Pano(200), Oriya Patnaik(1)	Pucca road, Electricity, Anganbadi, Panchyat office, School: High, Middle, Primary, Auxillary Nursing Midwifery.
9. Kandi Banda	K.Nuagaon block	Kui Kandh or Khand (21), Kui Domanga or Pano(7), Gauda(1), Oriya(3)	Electricity, Dish TV,,Chua for drinking water,Church,Kachha road. Non Kui speaking people identified here as 'Sashi'.
10. Midiakia	Balliguda block	Kui Kandh or Khand(200), Kui Domanga or Pano(74), Oriya and Paik(200)	Electricity,Fair price shop, Kachha road, Anganbadi,, Primary School, High School, Auxillary Nursing Midwifery.
11. Dombuli	Daringbadi block	Kui Kandh or Khand , Kui Domanga or Pano	Kachha road, Well, electricity, Anganbadi.
12. Kumbar Munda	Daringbadi block, Kirkuti Panchyat	Kui Kandh or Khand, Kui Domanga or Pano	Kachha road, chua for drinking water
13. Sadaa Panga	Daringbadi block, Tilor Panchyat	Kui Kandh or Khand(12), Kui Domanga or Pano(25)	Electricity,well, Pr. School, Anganbadi, Kachha road
14. Kampada	Balliguda block	Kui Kandh or Khand(15), Kui Domanga or Pano(32)	Electricity, Anganbadi, Tubewell, well, Situated on the metalled road.
15. Badagaon(Madapada)	Balliguda block	Kui Kandh or Khand(20), Kui Domanga or Pano(20)	Electricity, dish Tv, Anganbadi, Tube well, Well, Patakhanda temple

16. Gumikia	Balliguda block, Bataguda Panchyat		Electricity, Pucca road, Tube well, Church, Pr.School.
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17. Sakusabali	K.Nuagaon block	Kui -Khand(15), Kui Domanga or Pano(27)	Electricity, Anganbadi, kachha road, Well, tubewell
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18. Tiangia	G.Udaygiri block, Katingia Panchyat	K u i K a n d h o r K a n d h (3 0) , K u i Domanga or Pano(13), Oriya(8).	Electricity, Tubewell, well, Anganbadi, Church, Inside road of the village is of concrete, Dish TV, grocer's shop, <i>matha</i> (temple). Here Kui Domanga or Pano are weavers.
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19. Barakhama (Badasahi)	Balliguda block	Kui Kandh or Kandh, Kui Domanga or Pano, Ghasi(8),Oriya Patra	Electricity, Kuchha road, Well, Anganbadi. Entrance road of the village is of metalled.
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20. Sonaponga	Chakapada(Tikabali) block,	Kui Kandh or Kandh(34), Kui Domanga or Pano(55),Gauda(4), Gudra(4).	Electricity, Anganbadi, Tubewell, Well, internal road of the village is of kachha, nearest health centre is 8 K.M. away at Tikabali.
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21. Pabingia	Phiringia block, Pabingia Gram Panchyat	K u i K a n d h o r K a n d h (1 5 0) , K u i Domanga or Pano(80), Hadi(4), Patra(4).	Electricity, Tube well, Dish TV,Post office, internal road of the villge is Kachha, Church, Mahila Samity, High School and Primary School, Veterinary dispensary, Angan Badi.