



JOURNAL OF EMERGING TECHNOLOGIES AND INNOVATIVE RESEARCH (JETIR)

An International Scholarly Open Access, Peer-reviewed, Refereed Journal

The Bonda: Avenues of Marriage

Jagannath das

Lecturer in history Govt. Degree college, chitrakonda

Odisha-764052

Abstract-

The Bonda is a numerically small and archaic tribal group of Odisha. They inhabit a compact area that comes under Khairput block of Malkangiri district. They were well known for their homicidal tendencies and aggressive behaviour. They belong to Proto-Australoid racial stock having a dialect of their own called "Remo", that is grouped under the Austro-Asiatic sub-family. They chiefly eke out their living by practising slash and burn cultivation. In their social life the girls' dormitory, 'Selani dingo' serves as the most important institution for imparting training to youths apart from discharging the function of the matrimonial agency. Due to high degree of illiteracy, inaccessibility and confinement to a particular territory, the Bonda have managed to keep themselves away from the influence of the outside world. Even today, the traditions and customs of their society are followed religiously. Marriage is an institution, which lays legal foundation for the family. "Marriage is the complex of social norms that define and control the relations of a conjoined pair to each other, their relative, their offspring, and society at large. It includes all the institutional rights, duties, and privileges of the pair as husband and wife. It helps shape the form and activities of the group known as family. Marriage is the most remarkable event to a Bonda during his lifetime as his cherished dream comes true by acquiring a mate. The main objectives of this study were as to reveal instances of discontinuation of unconsented contraceptive procedures, side effects, myths and misconceptions, family/husband mindsets, gender preferences/economic influence, and lack of government-sponsored initiatives. These barriers collectively play a significant role in influencing the discontinuation of modern contraceptive methods among the Bondas, emphasizing the need for targeted interventions and awareness campaigns to address these challenges. Primarily case study method has been employed for collection of data. Besides, through group discussion, observation and informal conversation much information was gathered from the people.

Keywords: marriage, marriage rules, marriage age, matrimonial agency, types of marriage, bride price, divorce.

Introduction:

Bonda is one of the oldest mainland's and primitive people in India come under the list of 13 PVTGs of Odisha and the long inhabitation of the tribal land of Bonda hills. Accordingly 2011 census, there are more than 705 tribal / adivasis spread across India, which constitute about 8.6 per cent of the total population of India. As per the constitution of India, there are 75 tribal groups are considered as PVTGs (Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Groups) and 13 PVTGs are coming under Odisha state. Out of these Bonda is one of the most primitive vulnerable community, living in hilltop villages on the Kondakamberu mountain range of Malkangiri district in Odisha, The Bonda people belong to the Austro-Asiatic ethnic group and they are believed that the part of the first wave of migration out of Africa, 60,000 years ago. Linguistically the Bonda speak in "Remo" language which is coming under the Austroasiatic language belonging to the Mundari

group. As these people were living on the hills, they came to be known as Bonda Highlanders in the British reports. Verrier Elwin made them well known in the name, in the princely state records (1950), as 'Bonda Paraja' or Ryots. Later some Bonda families made settlements at the foot hills and were mentioned as lower Bonda. They are inhabited 32 villages located on the hilltops at heights of about 3000 to 4000 feet above sea level in the remote and steep hill ranges of the Eastern Ghats. These villages are coming under the Khairput Block of Malkangiri District. These villages are locally known as Bonda Hills or Bonda Ghati in the regional dialect.

The cultural heritage of any society, whether primitive or modern, is built on its age-old customs and traditions. The members of the community, who through socialization get themselves acquainted with and adhere to the social customs, usages, conventions, folk-ways, mores, norms, ethos, values and ideologies play their roles as actors in the social system not only in defining the social identity of the society to which they belong but also in transmitting them to future generations. In the process of transmission the customs undergo modification, reinterpretation and adaptation with the changing situation although some customs persist for a longer period. Factors, both endogenous and exogenous, are responsible for effecting such change and in course of time several old customs become obsolete and new ones emerge. It is inevitable that at a given point of time, many erstwhile customs merge into traditions and become a part of myths and social history of the community. According to Sapir, "tradition emphasizes the historic background of custom" and further in certain tribal communities, "customary obligations are recognized as a system of law that is capable of enforcement by the community". Customary sanctions, therefore, are not rigid but exist in a fluid state and change in adaptation with changing time and circumstances.

The major objectives:

Bonda tribe are to ensure sustainability and continuity of the tribe, and for mutual support within their specific social structure, particularly the practice of women marrying younger men. Bonda tribe marriages are unique in that women marry boys significantly younger than them, often 5-10 years younger. This is a matriarchal system where the older wife raises her child-husband until he matures. He then takes on the responsibility of caring for her in her old age. Bonda people are often led to bonded labour through marriage, also known as diosing. A form of dowry (known as Gining) is paid for brides. In Gining items are used to determine how many arranged marriages will take place. Marriage is an institution to satisfy physical, psychological, social, cultural and economic needs of men and women. It permits men and women to establish a stable relationship with each other in order to form a family. Regulation of sexual activities through a stable relationship is the primary aim of marriage.

Marriage:

Marriage is the most remarkable event to a Bonda during his lifetime as his cherished dream comes true by acquiring a mate. "Marriage is the complex of social norms that define and control the relations of a conjoined pair to each other, their relative, their offspring, and society at large. It includes all the institutional rights, duties, and privileges of the pair as husband and wife. It helps shape the form and activities of the group known as family." Marriage confers on them the social sanction to indulge in legitimate sex among the marrying couples while living as husband and wife. Besides, it brings them the challenges of certain new roles as father, mother, husband and wife to play. It is a kind of indissoluble bond between husband and wife backed by supernatural sanction which does not break ordinarily, as only death of either of the partners can break such a tie. Marriage should not be equated with mating as the latter means pairing of individuals of opposite sex for the purpose of sexual gratification, which carries no legal sanction, whereas marriage accords legitimacy to the status of husband, wife and their offsprings.

Marriage Rules:

Bonda society is influenced and controlled by three sets of relationships, that is, the relationship of a man with his village community, the relationship with his soru-bhai and the relationship with his clan/kuda members. Based on these affiliations the Bonda rules of marriage are framed as well as regulated. The members who live in these villages constitute somewhat unified group interwoven by social ties. The village boundaries are not only sealed by the magical spells but also guarded by the benevolent spirits and deities who, however, move while keeping constant watch over the villagers. These spirits and deities ensure safety and welfare of the villagers and therefore, a Bonda while at home always feels safe and secured. This

sacramental fellowship between the members of a village backed by moral and religious values force them to lead a disciplined life and maintain brotherhood, making the village an exogamous unit. The boys and girls of one village belong either to single kuda or several kudās who are attached to one sindibor (village meeting place) are treated as brothers and sisters. Marriage cannot take place among them under any circumstances even under the rule of clan exogamy. To a Bondo all women in the village are like his mothers and sisters even though they belong to different clans, and he never ill-treats or cuts jokes with any of them which he may do so with women of other villages belonging to different clans. For strict observance of the rules of the village exogamy, the Bondo society does not permit the boys of one village to visit the Seloni dingo (girl's dormitory) of the same village in the evening as such visits may lead to marriage with some one else. Such union is viewed very seriously and regarded as incestuous. Bondo have mentioned about certain exceptional situations where the law of village exogamy is not followed very rigidly. According to them when the village contains a body of immigrants who have not fully integrated with the original village community and who for all ritual purposes maintain a separate entity, then, marriage with such groups may be possible till that immigrant group is fully affiliated to the community.

Soru exogamy:

The Bondo also observe soru exogamy strictly. Soru is a Tamil word for 'food' but to a Bondo it is a kind of sacred food offered ceremonially to Patkhanda Mahaprabhu. According to their custom, those who are entitled to share such sacred food are treated as brothers; therefore, marriage among them is not possible. Initially members of two villages, namely Mudulipada and Dantipada were sharing soru relationship among themselves. Subsequently due to population increase the village Mudulipada gave birth to two more hamlet-villages, namely Podeiguda and Bandhaguda, the members of which now also share soru with the inmates of Mudulipada and Dantipada. These four villages, which are ritually attadied to one another is regarded as Kutum villages, and as such matrimonial relationships among the members of these villages are not permitted. "A man's neighbours are his soru bhai brothers who have eaten the same sacrificial food, a privilege that is rigidly restricted to members of the same village." He further states that, "a woman enters her husband's soru group and if she is widowed, she can re-marry someone from her original village."

Different kudōs:

Bondo is proud of his own kuda and he suffixes the kuda name to his own name. The Bondo society is divided into nine different kudōs, such as Bodnaik, Challan, Dhangara-majhi, Kirsani, Muduli, Sisa, Dora, Jigri and Mandra. The latter three clan names are said to be the recent inclusion in the Bondo society. It is evidence from the nomenclature of the villages that, Mudulipada was the homeland of Mudulis, Kirsanipada, that of the Kirsanis and Challanpada, of the Challans and So on. During the present course of study it was found that all the seven villages are composed of families belonging to different kudōs.

Present study:

The village Mudulipada, now, no longer exclusively belongs to Mudulis; there live families belonging to three different Kudās, namely Kirsani, Dhangoda-Majhi and Sisa though in lesser number. Similar is the case with Kirsanipada where 25 families belonging to Sisa kuda are living with the Kirsanis. The members of one particular kuda are said to have descended from a common mythical ancestor, As they are related to one another by blood, they are treated as brothers and sisters. The members of a kuda mostly function as a corporate group for all socio-cultural and economic purposes. They cooperate with one another during birth, marriage, death, magico- religious celebrations and different agricultural practices. Their group solidarity is revealed though their common ownership of swidden plots and their custom to have their memorials for dead (menhir) at one place together away from those of other kudōs. The next higher division above the kudo is the bonso (moiety) which divides the Bondo society into two exogamous divisions. These two bansos are the Cobra (Ontal) and the Tiger (Killo). Bonsos are, as their names imply, totemistic in nature and the members of the bonso do not cause any harm to their respective totemic objects. the bonso exogamy was strictly followed. At that time, the population of the tribe was less and there were few villages. Each and everybody could know his Bonso name and the boys and girls were well aware of the fact that for marriage, one has to select a suitable mate from the other Bonso. But today, the population of Bondo has given birth to many new villages. There are here two problems to be considered. In the first place, as we have seen, Bondo society is divided by three different systems of exogamy, each independent of the other. The rule against marrying within the Soru fellowship of the village is the one most strictly observed, the division into nine

kuda/clans is less carefully obeyed; but still seems to exert considerable influence, bonso- exogamy, however, has largely broken down. Another ritual relationship known as Moitor or Mohoprashad that exists at the family level forbids matrimonial alliances between the two concerned families. It is a kind of ritual alliance between two persons of similar temperament based on affection, mutual help and support. Informal and casual friendship between two souls, in course of time if develops into a very rigid bond, then a permanent shape is given to such relationship when they call each other as Moitor. Once such ritual bond is established the Moitor friends do not call each other by name and the friendship between the two moitor families continues for generations.

A moitor has to offer ceremonial gifts in the marriage ceremonies of his ritual friend's family. Moitor friends exchange visits to each other's house at different socio-religious functions. In such visits gifts of liquor and food are exchanged between the two friends. The Moitor friends usually stand behind each other firmly and provide moral and physical support at the time of need. The Moitor friendship becomes formal after the ceremony of covenant is observed. The Disari performs a small ritual after the two friends are allowed to sit on an altar specially prepared for this purpose. In front of witnesses who attend the function, two friends take a vow before the Patkhanda Mahaprabhu to become the Mahaprasad of each other. Thereafter, they are publicly recognized as Moitor of one another.

Marriage age:-

Bondo follow a peculiar custom with regard to determination of age of marriage for boys and girls. As per the custom, a boy of 8 to 10 years of age marries a girl of 16 to 18 years of age. This indicates that the boys in their society marry when they are still child and the girls, when they attain puberty and become adult. The society does not take into account such factors as maturity and adulthood, capability of maintaining a family and sexual capability. For a boy while considering his fitness for marriage. But, on the other hand, a girl is fit to marry when she attains puberty and capable of doing all household works and agricultural activities required for sustaining the family. The explanations to the custom of marrying the minor and unmatured boys with the matured girls mostly come from the women folk when they say that a boy becomes old when he develops beard and mustache in his face and we do not like to marry the old boys. A Bonda girl, who loves freedom and likes to have an obedient and faithful husband, finds it possible, when she selects a life partner younger in age to her. During the initial years of marriage she virtually acts with some kind of authority, as the husband is dependent on her in all matters.

Pre-marital Sex:

Bondo sexual experience prior to marriage is considered to be a very serious matter. Their customary rule is so stringent that a boy or a girl cannot think of indulgence in such an act before marriage. The boys and girls enjoy considerable freedom in their society. What to speak of premarital sex, they do not even indulge in indecent joke with one another. pre-marital sex among the Bondo went on to say that the boy and girl who spend the night together in the dormitory have the experience of unconsummated sexual excitement. Such excitement never leads to sex as the girls who are most conscious of the two would never like to have it. "To them sexual intercourse in the premarital period implies a serious intention, it is most equivalent to a betrothal". Apart from the fear from anger of supernatural being, the girls apprehend that such involvement would lead to an unsuccessful married life in future. As they do not like to enjoy sex secretly and go astray, they put a definite limit to the liberties allowed to the boys, and the latter being younger to them never insist upon for such act.

Selani dingo: The Matrimonial Agency

A Bondo youth enjoys complete freedom in selecting his/her life partner. Neither the parents nor any relatives try to interfere in such a matter. Rather, they believe that children will lead a happy married life if they themselves choose their life partners. For such mate selection which demands mixing of the boys and girls in order to enable them know each other and get acquainted with their respective habits, likes and dislikes, above all, develop love and affection with one another, the society has provided a common meeting ground in each and every village called Selani dingo, the girls dormitory, which serves as a matrimonial agency. This is culturally unique. Every Bondo village has two dormitories, one for the boys (Ingersin Dingo) and the other for the girls (Selani dingo). Unlike the boy's dormitory of other tribal societies which perform multifarious functions such as meeting place for the elders where all important matters concerning

village affairs are decided, guest house for the strangers and outsiders, recreational center for the promotion of art and craft, dance and music, the Ingersin dingo of the Bondo plays a subsidiary role to the Selani dingo by becoming a sort of base camp for the boys. It may either be a separate hut or an annexe of a well-to-do person, but its presence is not very conspicuous for its smaller size and wretched condition. Most of the time it remains deserted and unattended, but during bad weather and unpleasant seasons the boys assemble there before they set out to visit the girl's dormitory of other villages. Besides, it serves the purpose of sleeping room of those unmarried boys who are not permitted to spend night under their parent's roof. Selani dingo, the dormitory of the girls serves as an important centre of social life for both boys and girls. Among the Bondo the girls use two types of structures. The former type is a pit of about 10 ft. Deep. covered over with a roof made up of bamboo frame and thatched with leafy branches and pounded earth.

The dormitory life of a girl begins when she attains the age of 8 to 9 years. The Selani dingo blasts into activity mostly during rainy season in the evening every day when the unmarried girls charmingly dressed eagerly await to welcome the boys of other villages. The boys with their best of dresses walk many miles in a cheerful mood covering ups and downs of natural terrain through the dark and the rain to reach their destination. While walking in the rain they use leaf umbrellas and country-made raincoats. It is a rare sight to watch, when they greet each other with smiles on their face. Being overwhelmingly emotional, they look at each other at the first sight that marks the beginning of love and fun. The girls entertain their guests with food and drink and in turn the boys give them hand made presents, such as bamboo combs and plaited grass or Palmyra hair bands. The boys also bring tobacco for the girls. They chitchat and get themselves introduced to one another. The most common and popular entertainment in the dormitory is the alternate songs, during which two boys sit opposite to equal number of girls and sing song in turn in tune with melodious and pleasant music. In these songs a boy tries to impress upon the girl of his choice not only by addressing her as my sweet heart, my queen, my bulbul, etc but also he allures her by telling that if she will marry him he will take her to different places and fulfill all her desires and look after her comforts. In course of interaction, the girl comes to know more about the boy of her choice, his land holding position and capability to maintain her after marriage. When love intensifies and overcomes all hurdles and the boy is sure that his proposal for marriage is likely to be accepted by the girl, he then holding the middle finger of the girl puts a brass Bangle on the palm. If the girl accepts the gift and puts it on her arm, it implies that she is willing to marry him or else, she may immediately throw it away to indicate her denial for marriage. Therefore, love making in all cases does not necessarily end in marriage. Only a few succeed in such attempt. Among the successful cases, such an engagement is not obligatory, they are at liberty to change their mind at later period and marry someone else. Those boys who become unsuccessful in finding their life partners in a particular dormitory may move to girl's dormitory of other villages.

Types of Marriage

(I) Marriage by mutual consent (Sebung)

(2) Marriage by capture (Guboi).

First one is considered to be ideal and prestigious in the society. Most of the marriages performed are of Sebung type, though instances of Guboi are not rare.

(I) Marriage by Mutual Consent:

This type of marriage, where everything is regular and socially approved, is very complex, elaborate and expensive; rather, it is more or less a rich man's affair and a poor man's dream. Negotiation is a mere formality in such type of marriages, as legitimate pairing of boys and girls have already been made in course of their dormitory visit. When dormitory visit comes to an end, the parents of the boys and girls keep on guessing about the lovemaking and mate selection by their children until they are informed about the same. On being informed, they wholeheartedly accord their approval to the choice made by their children. This marks the beginning of observance of different rituals connected with marriage. Marriage is celebrated with pomp and gaiety, which entails among other things such as slaughter of a buffalo in a very peculiar manner. On an auspicious day fixed by the Disari, the village astrologer and the boy's parents carrying with them

several pots of cooked food and rice beer go to bring the bride. The food and drink are served to the bride's relations present there who in turn entertain the guests with same type of food. In the same evening or in the following day, the groom's party returns with the bride who brings with her a basketful of cooked rice, meat and beer for distribution among the boy's relations. The girl on her arrival is cordially received by her mother-in-law who sprinkles turmeric water on her feet and gives a Mark on her forehead with a paste of unboiled rice. Just before she is taken in, she receives gifts and blessing from the relations of the bride.

Case Study-1

Most of the marriages in Bonda society are held through negotiation and love. One D Kirsani, son of S.Kirsani of Kirsani kuda of village Podeiguda has married to one k. Toki of Dora kuda of village Bondapada during the year 2024 when he was about 10 to 12 years of age. He said that during his visit to Selani dingo of bondapada with his friends he fell in love with k. Toki. The girl selected him because of his handsome appearance, sober manner and shy nature. The girl first expressed her love to him by pulling his hands and cutting jokes with him Frequently in the dormitory. He too was impressed by the beauty and good physique of the girl. One evening while dancing he put the brass bangle on the girl's hand, which she accepted with a smile. Thereafter, he came to know from the girl that she was serving as a 'goti' as she had lost her parents at a very tender age and there were none to look after her. He told his parents about his beloved. Then, his parents made negotiations with the employer of k. Toki, named B. Dora to release the girl. Before the marriage was celebrated, the bride price was fixed. Few days after their marriage, he paid the bride price consisting of one cow, one bullock, one pot of sago palm juice and one pot of rice beer (pendom) to the employer of his wife. Now D. Kirsani is living with his family in his own village Podeiguda happily having a daughter of 7 years old. He feels that his marriage to k.Toki could make her free from the clutches of the Sahukar.

Marriage by Capture:

This type of marriage is less expensive, less elaborate and simpler than the other types described earlier. The main features of this type of marriage are capturing of a bride followed by parent's consent and payment of bride price. Bonda girl cannot easily be married against her will and even if taken by force to the captor's village she will run away at the first opportunity unless she likes him and he has won her consent. However, a marriage by capture must be followed by the payment of the usual bride-price. In this type of marriage, no buffalo is slaughtered and visits and gifts are reduced.

Generally, a Bonda prefers to acquire a spouse through this type of marriage under the following circumstances.

- (1) When a boy fails to select a girl during his visit to 'Selani dingo'.
- (2) When a boy grows old in the eyes of the girls due to development of beard and mustaches on his face.
- (3) When a man wants to accept a second wife.
- (4) When a widower wants to remarry for the second time.
- (5) When a physically handicapped person wants to marry.
- (6) When divorced men and women want to remarry.
- (7) When poor and landless persons want to marry who cannot afford to meet the marriage expenses.

Case Study-2

In village Bandhuguda, one saita Majhi, son of P.Dhangada Majhi could not get married during his childhood, as his parents could not afford to pay bride price due to their poverty. When he reached adulthood and decided to marry, he had no option but to go for capture of a divorced lady. He captured one M.Toki of village Bodbel who had married earlier in village Dumeripada. After four months of her first marriage, she divorced her husband and came back to her own village Bodbel and returned the bride price when claimed by her former husband's family. Later, when she went away with p.Dhangada majhi her Brother demanded bride price from her new husband, which was double the amount usually paid. P.Dhangada Majhi had no option but to pay reluctantly four heads of cattle (2 cows and 2 bullocks) to his brother-in-law as bride price. For such payment he incurred loan from the private moneylender.

In Bondo society, the widow or widower is allowed to remarry if they so like. Other members do not treat them differently and they enjoy equal status as that of the others. A young widower may visit the girl's dormitory and if he could be able to convince any girl, marries her on payment of bride price at a little higher rate. But the widows, young or old, are not allowed to visit dormitories; rather, they have to wait to be captured by those men who are in need of them.

Bride-Price:

Payment of bride price or bride-wealth is an important custom in marriage in all the tribal societies. Bride-price is seen not as a custom whereby women are purchased as Chattels, but as a cultural pattern enabling a family to compensate the loss of a daughter by securing brides for their sons. Dowry, similarly, is not to be conceived as an inducement to marriage but as a device whereby the bride's family seeks to help its daughter's husband set up an economically stable household. Both of these customs again emphasize the fact that marriage is very largely a family concern and not of interest to bride and groom. The Bonda, payment of bride price (gining) is a must in all types of marriages except when they practise levitate. Normally, before marriage, the two parties fix the amount to be paid and soon after marriage payment is made to bride's family by the groom's family. It is paid both in cash and kind. Generally, the bride price consists of some heads of cattle, few pots of liquor and some cash. There is no fixed amount of bride price to be paid at the time of marriage as it depends on negotiation between both the sides and the kind of marriage.

Divorce: Marriage, divorce is an affair of the family. Both men and women can divorce each other on reasonable grounds but rarely at will. Either of the spouses can effect divorce unilaterally by mutual consent of both. Before marriage, the boys and girls simply do not love each other being attracted by each other's beauty, but they are well aware of each other's habits, capabilities and other virtues required for establishing a life long relationship. Therefore, in Bondo society, divorce, though socially permitted, is of rare occurrence. To them it is an undesirable and uncommon event in a man's life. They accept such occurrences with utmost restraint and attribute it to one's ill fate. Breaking of the wedlock is a very serious matter, which requires careful thought and consideration before it is affected. The procedure of divorce is very simple. If a man wants to divorce his wife and forcibly turns her out, then, she goes back to her village and informs her parents about such happening. A group of men from her father's village, mostly her father and brothers go to her husband immediately after this and try to persuade him to accept her once again. But if they fail in their attempt, they may kill one of his pigs while they return. If the person has no pig, he may buy one for killing by the visitors. In case, the pig killed belongs to somebody, the husband has to pay compensation to the owner; otherwise, the result is a nasty quarrel. When the divorce is effected on the initiative of husband, he cannot claim to get back the bride price. But, in case of vice-versa, the husband has every right to get back the bride price. After the divorce, irrespective of fault of the husband or the wife, the wife has no claim over the children. She has no right to take any children with her. The husband keeps all the children with him and becomes their custodian and legitimate guardian.

Conclusion:

The rich cultural foundation of the Bonda society have started weakening under the present circumstances of rapid social, economic and political change. In this situation, there emerges the need for exploration, documentation and promotion of unwritten time tested valid tribal social system which have survived the test of time.

Reference:

1. B.N. Das, Suppression of Human Sacrifice among the Hill Tribes of Orissa. Man in India, 1956, Vol. XXXVI, No. I, P 21.
2. J.K. Das Tribes of Orissa, Census of India, 1961
3. S. Pradhan, Rock Art in Orissa, New Delhi, 2001, p.13.

4. The Rock Edict of Emperor Ashoka at Dhauli, near Bhubaneswar in the Khurda district of Odisha belongs to the 3rd century B.C.E, where Asoka mentioned for the liberal administration for the Atavikas, i.e. the Jungle people.
5. V.Elwin, Bondo Highlander, Bombay, 1950, pp.71-72.
6. C.V. Furer-Haimendorf, "Avenues of Marriage among the Bondo of Orissa", Man in India, Vol.XXIII, No.2, Ranchi, 1943, p.170-171.
7. Ibid, p.172.
8. R.L. Beals and H.Harry, An Introduction to Anthropology, Ed.IV, New York, 1971, p.404.
9. N. Patnaik, Primitive Tribes of Orissa and their Development Strategies, 2005, p-92.
10. N.A. Walts, The Half-Clad Tribals of Eastern India, 1970, pp.73-74.
11. V.Elwin, op.cit, 1950, p14.
12. Government of India. 1994. Census of India 1991. New Delhi: Government of India, Ministry of Tribal affairs, Statistical Division.
13. Government of Orissa. 1990. Tribes of Orissa. Tribal and Harijan Research-Cum-Training Institute: Bhubaneswar, Orissa.
14. Patnaik, Nityananda. 1989. The Bondo. Tribal and Harijan Research-Cum-Training Institute: Bhubaneswar, Orissa.
15. Sachchidananda and R. R. Prasad. 1996. Encyclopaedic profile of Indian tribes, vol. I. New Delhi: Discovery publishing House.
16. Singh, K. Suresh. 1994. The scheduled tribes. People of India National Series, vol. III. Delhi: Oxford University Press. (Anthropological Survey of India).