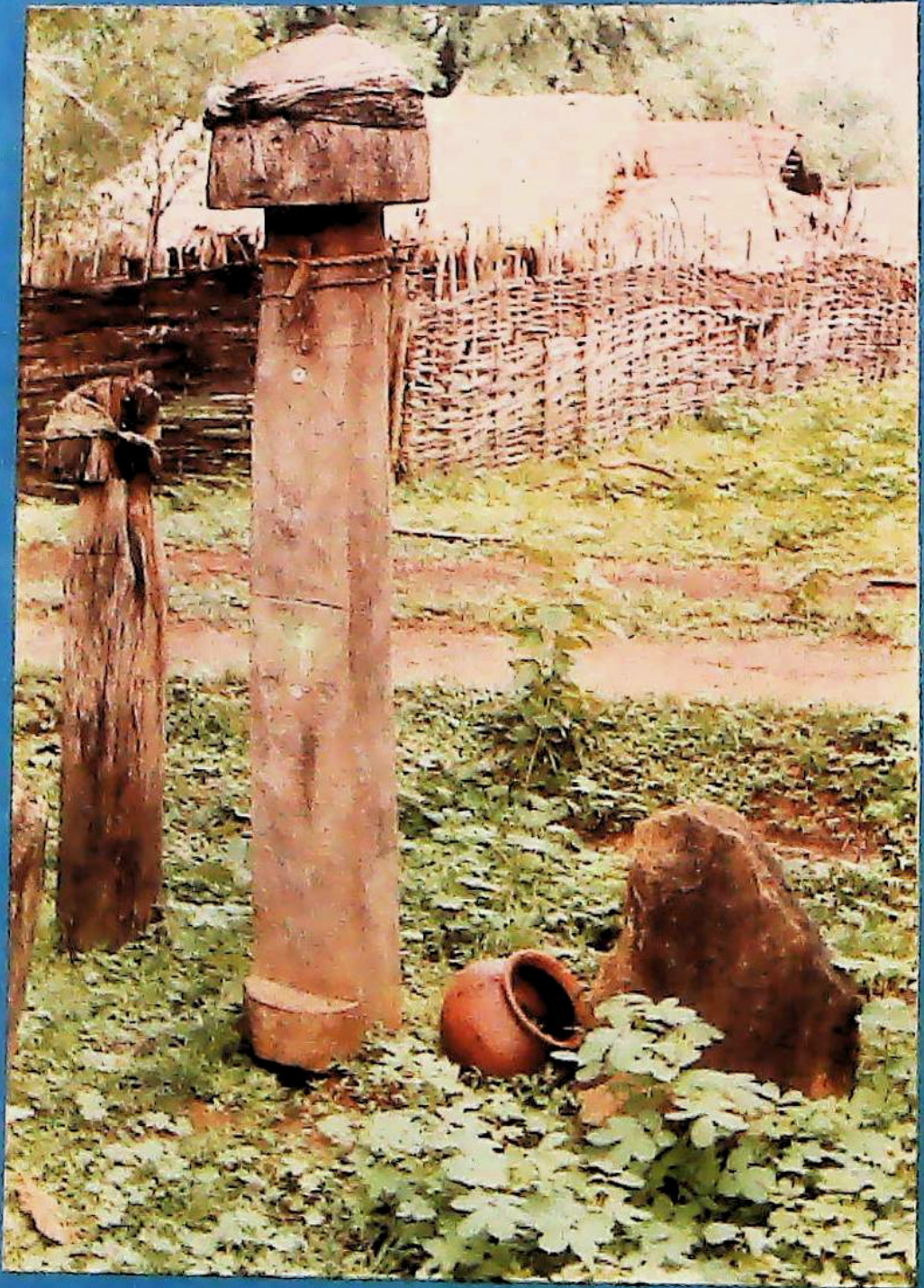


TRIBAL LANGUAGE & CULTURE OF ORISSA



**ACADEMY OF TRIBAL DIALECTS & CULTURE
GOVT. OF ORISSA**

1997

TRIBAL LANGUAGE & CULTURE OF ORISSA



Editor
Kh. Mahapatra

ACADEMY OF TRIBAL DIALECTS & CULTURE
WELFARE DEPARTMENT
ADIVASI GROUND, UNIT -1, BHUBANESWAR -751009
1997

TRIBAL LANGUAGE & CULTURE

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OF ORISSA**

2nd Enlarged Edition -1997

Editor :

Professor Kh. Mahapatra

Art :

Prasant

ACADEMY OF TRIBAL DIALECTS & CULTURE

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Adivasi Ground, Unit -1,

Bhubaneswar -751009

Printed by : Bholanath Press

Rs. EIGHTY FIVE ONLY

FOREWORD

Study of tribal culture has assumed special importance in the light of developmental efforts and State sponsored welfare and economic growth measures. It is a truism to say that growth and development can not be viewed in isolation without looking to the culture and personality-traits of a society. The design for development has to take into account the value-system of a society, its social structure, its educational pattern and even its language competence.

In our current attitude towards tribal culture there is an ambivalence at many levels. This ambivalence is between a feeling of the inherent exotic nature of tribal culture and paying a lip service to its strength and autonomy while believing that the "good" of the tribal societies lies in their being assimilated to the non-tribal society and culture. This ambivalence is often reflected in contradictions, in policy-formulation and their implementation. Cultural traits of a given society is always a unique phenomenon. Unlike advances in science and technology it is difficult to speak of advances in culture. Each culture has its own complexity, sophistication and autonomy. Socio-economic change and mechanisms are bound to impinge on traditional cultures and it is never possible to keep the traditional culture of any society in a frozen condition. The dynamics of culture change would make such an attempt infructuous. There was a time when social anthropology used to implicitly believe that the cultural traits of primitive societies was opposed to economic development. Slowly there is now a growing realisation that as in all societies the cultural traits of primitive communities also contain both growth-positive and growth-negative factors. The essence of social engineering and economic development lies in isolating these factors and to use them selectively. More importantly, the understanding of language and the framing of educational policy suitable to the tribals are very essential for a long term perspective plan for development. Without a well-formulated educational policy, growth, change and innovation in tribal area can often be counter-productive. Language and culture are integrally related to development and they have to be studied as important parameters in the entire development process.

[Extracts from the First Edition Foreword]

Bhubaneswar
20 August, 1984

Dr. Sitakant Mahapatra, I.A.S.
Commissioner,
Harijan & Tribal Welfare,
Govt. of Orissa

PREFACE

In 1981 during November 24-25 I had organised a seminar at Visva-Bharati University in collaboration with the Academy of Tribal Dialects & Culture, Bhubaneswar. The theme of the seminar was four-fold

- (1) Ethnology and culture
- (2) Art and literature
- (3) Society and culture
- (4) Language and script

In all 15 papers were presented and 30 persons had participated in the deliberation. The notable scholars were Prof. B. K. Ray Burman, Prof. K. S. Behera, Prof. S.C. Behera, Prof. N. K. Behura, Dr. B. P. Mohapatra, Sri Raicharan Das, Sri Durgamadhav Mishra, IPS, Sri S. S. Ahuja, IAS, Dr. Omkar Prasad, Dr. Asim Adhikari, Sri Borka Soren, Dr. S. Subbaya, Dr. S. Sengupta, Dr. N. N. Mishra, Dr. P. K. Mishra, Dr. B. C. Jena, Dr. S. S. Mohapatra, Dr. Gopabandhu Das, Sri Harihar Mohanty, Dr. Giribala Mohanty, Smt. Bina Giri, Sri R. R. Patnaik et al.

The seminar was inaugurated by the Vice-Chancellor Prof. Amlan Dutta and the Valedictory Session was chaired by Prof. R.S. Tomar. The seminar was unique of its kind for the interdisciplinary approach given to the subject.

Later on, the seminar papers were compiled and published under the title of 'Tribal Language and Culture' in 1984 with a 'Message' from the then Minister, Harijan & Tribal welfare Department Hon'ble Ramachandra Ulaka and the 'Foreword' was written by the then Commissioner, Harijan & Tribal Welfare Department Dr. Sitakanta Mohapatra, IAS.

This seminar and this publication were marked as the first academic activities of the A.T.D.C. since its inception.

The monograph being heavily demanded, a second edition has been undertaken. It has been revised and enlarged with more articles gleaned from the body of the previous issues of the 'BANAJA'. I hope, this additional input will further enhance the value of the monograph in the eyes of the scholars interested in the study of language and culture of the tribals of Orissa.

Kh. Mahapatra

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LANGUAGE

TRIBAL LANGUAGES OF ORISSA

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 ୧୦ ୧୧ ୧୨ ୧୩ ୧୪ ୧୫ ୧୬
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 ୩୮ ୩୯ ୪୦ ୪୧ ୪୨ ୪୩ ୪୪
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 ୬୬ ୬୭ ୬୮ ୬୯ ୭୦ ୭୧ ୭୨
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 ୯୪ ୯୫ ୯୬ ୯୭ ୯୮ ୯୯ ୧୦୦

The tribes of Orissa have their distinct ethnic identity which is overtly marked in their languages besides many other cultural traits and traditions. The most fundamental characteristics of human verbal behaviour are preserved in their languages which are distinctively observed in vocabulary, sound symbolism, grammatical structures or such other aspects. Thus Santali and Sora of the same Munda family and Remo, Parji and Bhatiri of Munda, Dravidian and Indo-Aryan families respectively show certain common features of the nature and structure of the tribal languages. Such common typical features characterise the tribal languages as a part of their unique culture and ethnicity.

Ethno-linguistic Classification/

The tribes of Orissa are ethno-linguistically classifiable into three groups. Munda (Austroasiatic), Dravidian and Indo-Aryan. A group-wise tentative inventory of the tribal languages and dialects may be drawn up as follows :

Munda Group

Gata (Didayi)
Gutob (Gadaba)
Juang
Koda
Birhor (Mankidia)
Mundari (Mundari/Munda)
Santali
Sora (Saora, Lanjia, Juray, Arsi)
Gorum (Parenga)
Remo (Bonda)
Kharia (Kharia/Mirdha)
Korwa
Bhumija
Ho (Ho/Kolha)
Mahili (Mahali)

Dravidian Group

Parji (Dharua)
Koya

Kui (Kondh-Kutia/Dongria)
 Konda/Kubi (Konda Dora)
 Ollari (Gadaba)
 Kurukh/Oraon (Oraon)
 Gondi (Gond)
 Madia
 Kuvi (Kondh,Jatapu)
 Pengu (Pengo Kondh)
 Kisan

Indo-Aryan Group

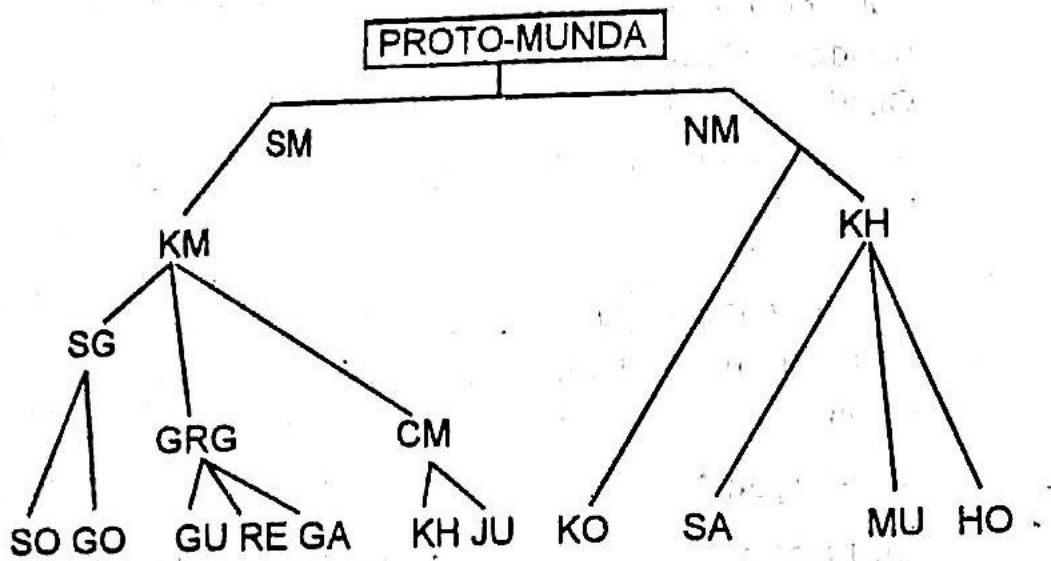
DIALECTS

LANGUAGE AFFINITY

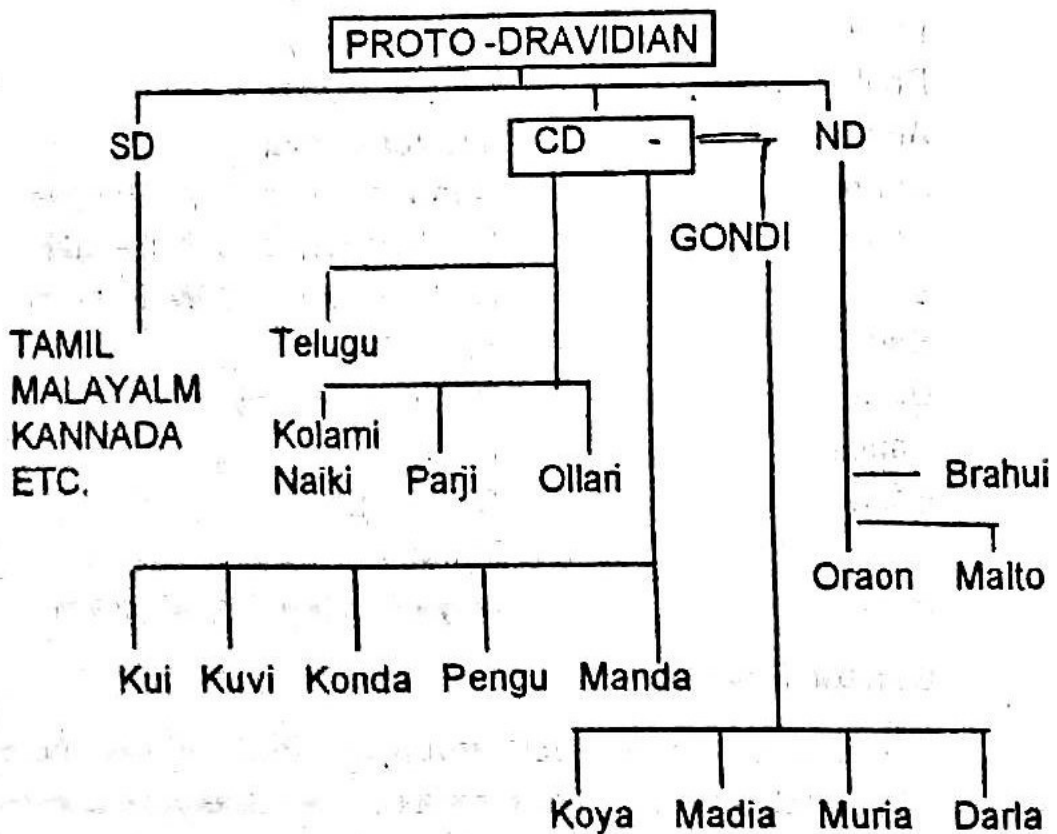
Desia	Southern Oriya
Bhuyan	Southern Oriya
Bhatri	Southern Oriya
Jharia	Southern Oriya
Matia	Southern Oriya
Kondhan	Western Oriya
Laria	Western Oriya
Bhulia	Western Oriya
Aghria	Western Oriya
Kurmi	Northern Oriya -S.W. Bengali
Sounti	Northern Oriya -S.W. Bengali
Bathudi	Northern Oriya -S.W. Bengali
Sadri	Hindi -Oriya
Binjhia	Chhatisgarhi -Hindi
Banjara	Hindi Dialect
Baiga	Chhatisgarhi
Bhunja	Marathi
Halbi	Oriya-Marathi -Chhatisgarhi

Genetic Relation

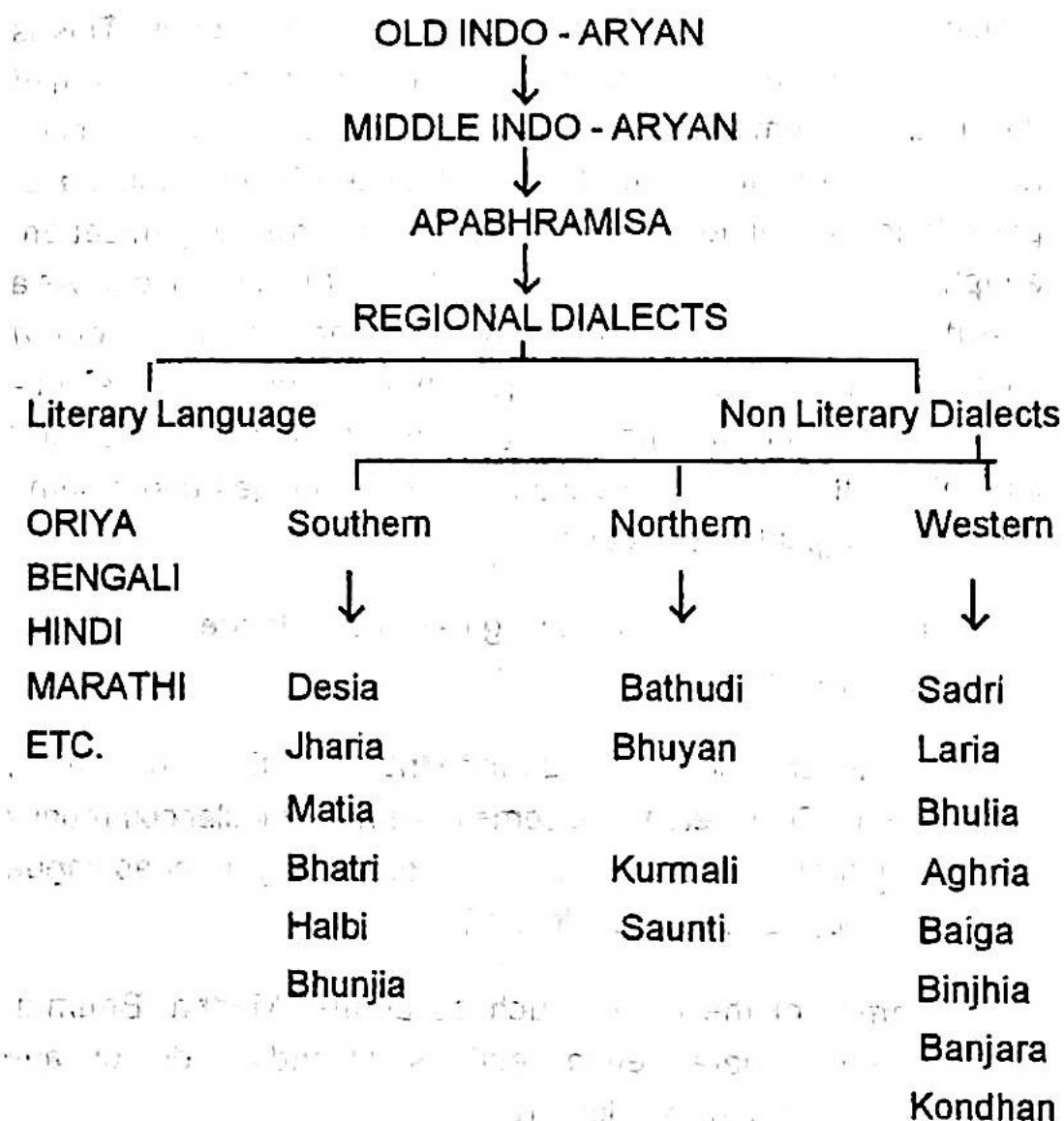
The Languages of each group are inter-related both genetically and structurally. They have a common source, common ancestry and cultural heritage. The relationship among the languages within a group may be schematically charted as under.



(SM - South Munda, NM - North Munda, KM - Koraput Munda, CM - Central Munda, SG - Sora ; Gorum GRG -Gutob : Remo ; Gta, KH - Kharia, JU - Juang, KO -Korku, KH - Khewari, SA - Santali - (Mahili, Birhor), MU - Mundari (Bhumija, Munda), HO - Korwa.



SD- South Dravidian, CD- Central Dravidian, ND - North Dravidian



All these non-literary I.A. dialects are used by the tribals either as mother tongue or second language. These dialects are based on archaic forms of the modern literary languages and have developed peculiarities in course of time due to convergence of languages belonging to different families, diffusion of linguistic traits across genetic boundaries and hybridization of language as a result of extensive bilingualism or multilingualism. In multi-familial and multi-dialectal situations there have been lot of inter-mixture and mutual borrowing resulting in development of certain common traits among the dialects of divergent origins.

Typological Classification

It appears from the above statements and statistics that the sixty-two tribes in Orissa use a variety of languages and

dialects. However, all of them are not of equal status. This is conceivable from several aspects, such as, numerical strength of the speakers, primitiveness of the tribe, use of own separate script, richness of oral literary tradition, influence of other languages, prevalence of bilingualism, tendency towards Oriyanization, adaptation of regional Oriya dialects at inter-tribal level, etc. As a result of such considerations tribal languages are being differentially treated now as major/ -minor, autonomous /semi-autonomous, pure /pidgin, literary /ordinary and recognisable /ignorable. It is better to categorise the languages under some sort of typological classification.

In this context, the following notable facts are to be taken into consideration.

- (i) Some languages have definite tribal identity (e.g. Santali, Bonda, Oraon etc.), and some have no particular community affiliation but function at inter-community level as lingua franca (e.g. Desia, Sadri etc.).
- (ii) Some of the tribes, such as Lodha, Mirdha, Bhumia, Jatapu, Bagata, Pentia, sections of Gond etc. do not have distinctive linguistic identity.
- (iii) Some tribes like Mahali, Kondh, Kisan etc. have only dialectal distinction from autonomous languages like Santali, Kui-kuvi, Kurukh etc.
- (iv) Some of the tribes having scattered settlements in different regions, under the same tribe-name use different languages (e.g. Kondh, Saora etc. living elsewhere outside Koraput, Ganjam and Phulbani districts use Oriya dialects.)
- (v) In some cases the name of the tribe and the name of their language are different (e.g. Dharua speak , Parji, Kolha speak Ho, Gadaba speak Gutob or Ollari, Kondh speak Kui or Kuvi or Konda).

- (vi) Larger tribes like Kondh, Saora etc. have several subgroups as there are Desua /Kutia /Dongria /Pengo /Jatapu Kondhs and Lanjia /Juray /Arsi / Sudha Saoras and each of these sub-groups speak a distinct dialect of the language.
- (vii) Languages form cognate groupings having much commonalities at the grammatical level and in vocabulary (See Appendix -1 - & II).

Problems of Orthography

In general the tribal languages are non-literary. The languages began to appear in written form only in the last century. Initially the christian missionaries produced written and printed texts in Roman script. Subsequently attempts were made for using the scripts of the regional literary languages (Oriya, Telugu, Bengali, Hindi etc.) However, in the recent past between 1935 - 85, at least four scripts have been devised for the languages - Santali, Ho, Sora and Kui. The exponents of these scripts are taking various steps to promote literacy in the scripts at their respective community levels. (see Appendix III).

It is, of course, true that the tribal languages have such phonetically peculiar sounds as checked consonants, glottal stop, low tone, stress, long or geminate vowels, positionally different articulation of palatal and velar nasals, different qualities of vowels etc. . It is also true that no language has perfect one to one equation of its phonemes to graphemes. Hence, instead of developing separate writing systems for each and every spoken language, a more practical solution could be to employ the existing Oriya graphemes with necessary diacritic marks for standardising the orthography of peculiar phonemes of the tribal languages. Experimentations in this direction are gradually getting more popular and academic support because of the simple fact that the tribals being bilinguals by necessity, they can use a single script for writing their own languages as well as the State language. It is noteworthy that publication of more and more books in many tribal

languages during the last few years by adapting Oriya writing system has greatly expanded literary activities in the tribal languages.

Emergent Desideratum

The tribal languages of Orissa were unknown to the world till the other day. It is only during the past few decades there have been considerable reconnaissance works due to the initiative taken by scholars like M.B. Emeneau, T.Burrow, F.B. J. Kuipor, H.J. Pinnow and Norman H. Zide. Particularly, Burrow and Zide with their collaborators have done most commendable works in bringing to lime light the Dravidian and the Munda languages of Orissa respectively.

The tribal Orissa is in fact represents a microlinguistic area as we find here three different ethnic and linguistic communities divided into sixty-two separate tribes live together and use one language at intra-tribe level and another at inter-tribe level, or mix up one with the other at both the levels. Hence, for having a very clear picture of the linguistic situation, first of all, a survey of the tribal dialects of Orissa is indispensable.

The results of this survey is likely to minimise the confusion over the status of a language and reduce the demo-linguistic complexities and the long array of languages to a manageable sub-groups. Once the languages are clearly identified and properly classified into cognate groups, due attention can be given for their study, preservation and promotion at administrative, academic and socio-cultural spheres.

Appendix-I

Comparative Vocabulary

(I) MUNDA LANGUAGES

	<u>Tamarind</u>	<u>Turmeric</u>	<u>Mango</u>	<u>Bamboo</u>	<u>Datepalm</u>	<u>Paddy</u>	<u>Mushroom</u>	<u>Blackgram</u>
SO	tittin	Saṇsaṇ	uṛa	uriṇ	sindi	konem	boti	munu
PA	tintin	"	uṛa?	uruṇ	inderṇ	kundem	boti	rogo
DI	tittin	sisia	uli	gaṇḥa	ndendia?	kia	ntwig	romia?
BO	tittim	sasaṇ	"	a?a	ṇḍainḍa	kerṇṇ	ntwi	rumak'
GA	soso	"	illi	a?l	sindi	"	itig	rumag
KH	tenton	saṇsaṇ	kayar	kenderṇ	larog	ba?a	ud	rambara
JU	tintliṇi	"	ole	alo	taḷo	bua	ūḍ	rantilla
MU	jojo	sasaṇ	uli	mad'	kita	baba	ud	rāḇra
SA	jojo	sasan	ul	mat'	"	hujo	ot'	rambra
HO	jojo	sasaṇ	uli	mad'	"	baba	ud	ramba

	<u>Dog</u>	<u>Cat</u>	<u>Chicken</u>	<u>Peacock</u>	<u>Goat</u>	<u>Sal tree</u>	<u>Liquor</u>
SO	kinsod	ramen	konsim	mara	kinmed	sorgija	ali
PA	kusod	numan	anoy	"	kinmed	sorgi	"
DI	gsu ?	grin	gisen	gko	gmi?	"	nli
BO	gusu?	girem	gisiin	kukun	gime ?	sorge	ili
GA	guso?	girem	"	munjur	"	sorgi	"
KH	solog	biloi	sipkoe	marag	mer m	sařiga	golan
JU	selog	bilai	sepkoe	"	"	"	mauli
MU	seta	runda	sim	mara?	merom	sařom	ili
SA	seta	"	"	"	"	"	pa'rua
HO	"	"	"	"	"	"	ili

(SO -ra, PA -renga, DI -dayi, BO-nda, GA -daba, KH-aria, JU -ang, MU -ndari, SA-ntali, Ho)

(ii) Indo-Aryan TRIBAL DIALECTS

	<u>Finger</u>	<u>Navel</u>	<u>Eye</u>	<u>Girl</u>	<u>Daughter</u>	<u>Husband</u>	<u>Wife</u>	<u>Tamarind Creeper</u>
BAN	aŋʈi	nalo	aki	motiar	chari	guar	ʈaɖri	amli ɖala
BHA	"	buŋki	ʌkh	ʈukil	ʈukil	munus	maɟi	ɖit
BHU	"	nehuɟi	"	ʈukuli	ʈukuli	gusiā	matɔ	loɟi
BAT	"	"	"	"	jhiɔ	ghɔita	maip	noɖa
DES	"	boŋli	ʌki	ʈoki	ji	munus	maɟi	mal
D-K	"	nabi	aekh	saal	jhi	gɔita	maikina	loɔ
KON	aŋʈa	buŋki	ʌkh	sāala	ʈukel	ghorlok	konja	loɔ, luɟi
KUR	angur	laibuku	"	kuāri	konjai	bhagor	jeni	lot
MIR	aŋʈhi	nahi	"	ʈukel	jhila	ghɔeta	k nia	loɖa
SAD	aŋʈi	nabhi	aikh	jawani	beɟi	purus	jonana	laraŋ

	<u>Sun</u>	<u>Butterfly</u>	<u>Chicken</u>	<u>OX</u>	<u>Cucumber</u>	<u>Threshing floor</u>
BAN	don	prajapati	kukudja	bolod	kakri	kothar
BHA	bel	:	kukura	buil	kakri	kojar
BHU	"	pempla	kutuli	holia	kakli	tokra
BAT	bejo	pempila	kukuja	holia	kakuli	-
DES	bel	tumeli	kukra	bolod	bada	kojar
D-K	-	-	jholia	-	kekiri	khola
KON	"	kokopana	jhilla	buil	kaker	"
KUR	ber	potni	khuhuli	holia	kakoli	khodl
MIR	surj	kapkapi	kukra	bolod	kaker	khola
SAD	suraj	papla	murgi	garu	khira	khula

[BAN -Jara, BHA - tri, BHU -yan, BAT - hudi, DES -ia, D-K = DesuaKondh, KON - dhan, KUR -mali, MIR -dha, SAD -ri]

Appendix -II

Comparative Grammar

The tribal languages belonging to an ethno-linguistic group are inter-related both genetically and structurally. For instance, the following verbal constructions of some cognate languages may be observed.

(i) DRAVIDIAN GROUP

Common canon of structure : Vst + T/M + G-N -P suffixes

<u>KUI</u>	Singular	Plural
	Masc. eañju sepai-mane -ñju	earu sepai -mane -ru
	He is sweeping	They are sweeping
	Fem. eri sepai - mane	evi sepai -manu
	She is sweeping	They are sweeping

KUVI

tanu hit -esi	tamba hit -eri
He gave	They gave
tanu hit -e	tamba hit -u
She gave	They gave

PENGO

avan huṛ -tan	avar huṛ -tar
He saw	They saw
aḍel huṛ -tat	avek huṛ -tik
She saw	They saw

KOYA

oṇḍ at oṇḍ	oṛ at oṛ,
He went	They went
aḍḍ atte	aw attow
She went	They went

ORAON

as moḁha lagi-as	ar moḁha lagi -ar
He was eating	They were eating
aḍ moḁha lagi -a	"
She was eating	"

KISAN

hus keras

He went

hud kerad

She went

hubrar kerar

They went

"

"

(ii) MUNDA GROUP

Common canon of structure :Vst _ T/M + P-N suffixes
Parenga, Didayi, Juang : P - N + Vst + T/M

MUNDARI

aiŋ	jomia	tana	I am eating
am	"	tanam	You.
ini	"	tani	He

SANTALI

ig	jom	edain	I am eating
am	"	edam	You
uni	"	-eday	He

HO

añj	senakena	-ñj	I have done
an	"	-m	You
ay	"	-e	He

BHUMIJ

aiŋ	sentana	-iŋ	I am going
am	"	-m	you
ay	"	-ø	He

SAORA

nyen	yer	re	I went
aman	"	"	You
anin	"	etin	He

PARENGA

niŋ	ne-jum	-mu	I ate
maŋ	mo-	"	You ..
no '	ø -	"	He ..

GADABA

niŋ	dem -ɔ-ɖu	-tu	have done
nom	"	You
mai	"	He

BONDA

niŋ	baɖ	o? -t - iŋ	I have slapped
no	"	-to -no	You ..
may	"	-t - a	He ..

DIDAYI'

neŋ	n-conŋ	-ke	I ate
na	na-conŋ	-ke	You ..
me	ø -conŋ -	ke	He ..

KHARIA

iŋj	karae -tej	-ɖiŋ	I am doing
am	"	-ɖem	You ..
aŋi	"	ke	He ..

JUANG

aŋ	ur	nom ɾe	I am drinking
am	m- ur	"	You ..
apa	a - ur	"	You two ..
ape	i -ur	"	You all ..
are -	kiur nom -ɾe - ki		They ..

[Vst = verb stem; T = Tense; M = Mood; G = Gender; N = Number, P = Person]

Tribal Scripts

- [illegible]

- (2) Saora (Soran Sampen) Devised by Guru Mangei Gamango (1916 -1981) it is being used by a section of Saora speakers and some texts have been printed in the script at a press established at Dambsara (Gunpur).

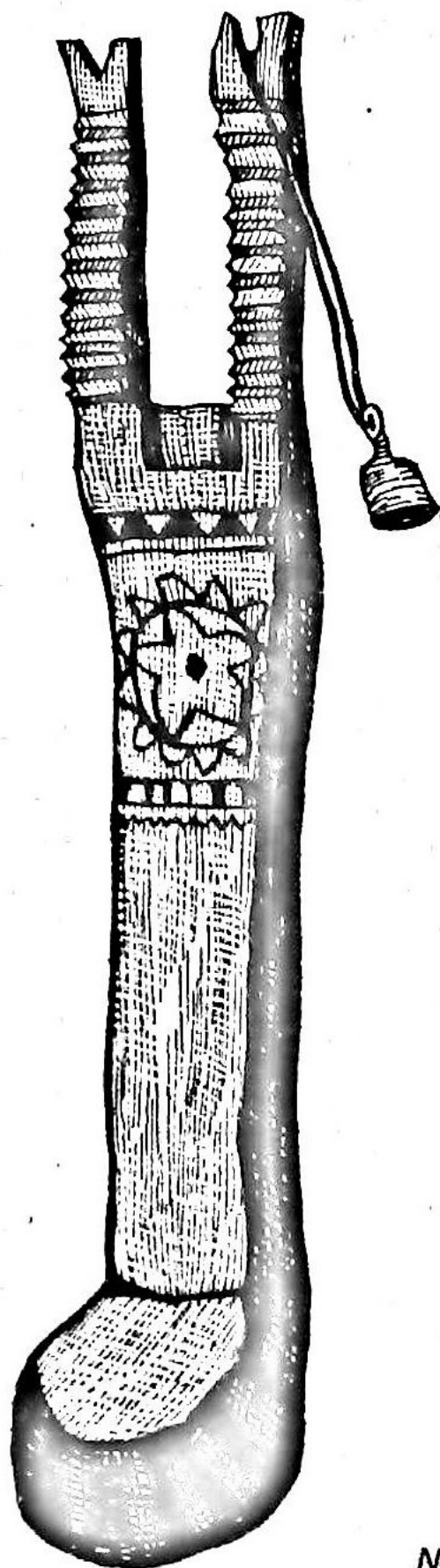
ମୌଢ଼ିକାଂ ଶୂଢ଼					
ସୋରାଂ ସୋରାଂ (SAORA)					
୧	୨	୩	୪	୫	୬
୭	୮	୯	୧୦	୧୧	୧୨
୧୩	୧୪	୧୫	୧୬	୧୭	୧୮
୧୯	୨୦	୨୧	୨୨	୨୩	୨୪
୨୫	୨୬	୨୭	୨୮	୨୯	୩୦
୩୧	୩୨	୩୩	୩୪	୩୫	୩୬
୩୭	୩୮	୩୯	୪୦	୪୧	୪୨
୪୩	୪୪	୪୫	୪୬	୪୭	୪୮
୪୯	୫୦	୫୧	୫୨	୫୩	୫୪
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- | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| <p style="text-align: center;">ପରାକ୍ରମେଶ୍ଵର ଶୁଭ-ଲିପି</p> <p style="text-align: center;">ଆରମ୍ଭ</p> | | | | | |
| V. | Σ | F | L | Y | ୩ |
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- ନିର୍ଦ୍ଦେଶ
 ଏହି ଲିପିରେ ପରାକ୍ରମେଶ୍ଵରଙ୍କ ଶୁଭ-ଲିପିରେ ଲେଖାଯାଇଥିବା ସବୁ କଥାକୁ ଠିକ୍ ଭାବରେ ବୁଝିବାକୁ ହେବ ।

- (4)

KUI

CHANGING TRIBAL LANGUAGES



Norman H. Zide

First a word about 'tribal', and a word about 'dialect'. I use the word 'tribal' loosely, as almost everyone else does-here to refer to some languages of Orissa-non-Indo-Aryan Languages in this case-spoken by communities listed in the scheduled tribes list. I don't mean to suggest that there is something intrinsically different (tribal) about these languages. English and Sanskrit have been 'tribal languages'. The term 'dialect' is used in several ways. Two common ones: as a form of speech which is a verity or very closely related form of some other 'language' (i.e. the various dialects of Oriya : Sambalpur Oriya, etc). This is the standard linguistic use of 'dialect'. The other common usage has nothing to do with the distinctiveness of the 'dialect' but only with its political importance. If it has none or little, it is a 'dialect. The linguist Robert Hall defined a language as 'a dialect with an army and a navy'. Or at least a police force. Sora and Gondi by this definition -however distinctive and linguistically rich they may be-are 'dialects' because their speakers have little political power. I use the term 'dialect' in the former-linguistic-sense, and speak of Gadaba (Gutob), Juang, etc. as languages. The notion that these languages since they are spoken by 'primitive people' are 'primitive' and 'severely limited' in expressing more 'advanced notions' is still around, even among anthropologists, who should know better. The late Nirmal Kumar Bose once told me that Juang was a very limited dialect with a few hundred words, the rest of the verbal communication being done in Oriya.

That may have been the kin of Juang spoken to and by Bose. It is not the language spoken among themselves by the Juangs. It is true, of course, that the Juangs have no adequate vocabulary to discuss astrophysics, but should they wish or need to do so the vocabulary can be provided (as it has been for many other languages), and there is nothing intrinsically limiting in its grammar or general structure. One hears occasionally-in Orissa and elsewhere the statement that these languages have no grammar. How there can be a language without a grammar is

hard to conceive and the people who make such statements mean nothing more than that these languages are crude and limited which is not so (and which they are in no position to judge in any case).

All languages change and are changing-at different rates and in different ways, Languages have 'died', i.e. have been given up (more and less willingly) and their speakers have adopted other languages. Certain literary or liturgical languages have been more or less fixed by some authority to prevent, direct, or slow down change, i.e. Panini's work established What Sanskrit was and should continue to be. The French Academy tried to fix proper, literary French. Writing languages down tends to constrain and fix usage, at least written usage. Standard languages have been created from a number of regional dialects, or classical texts (i.e. Norwegian, Modern Hebrew). The sorts of changes observed in the tribal languages of Orissa are notably those of increasing convergence with, 'borrowing' of vocabulary and syntax from the regional prestige languages. Some-e.g. Gutob (Gadaba)-have borrowed a great deal. If a language 'borrows' more than a certain amount there may be little enough left to distinguish the original language from the language it has borrowed from, and the original language is lost. Why the borrowing? Borrowing is usually done through the agency of bilingual speakers, and they take in new vocabulary from a prestige language because they see or feel their own language is inadequate. Elite languages have spread noticeably in India in the last ten years. More speakers whose mother tongue is Hindi speak in English (in many contexts) to other people (who share Hindi as a mother tongue) than used to be the case. And Hindi itself is an elite language in regions where it is not the mother tongue. Many of the tribals speaking their own mother tongues are made to feel that these languages (juang is a good example) are 'primitive', 'shameful', and the sooner they drop their unfortunate mother tongues and adopt the regional language, Oriya, the better it will be for them. (The Oriyas of course, remember the political arrangements under which Orissa

was part of Presidencies where the dominant languages were Bengali and Tamil. They had no intention of giving up their mother tongue, but with tribals it is somehow different. They don't have a long tradition and a written literary culture so somehow the mothertongue must be less important.

Giving up a mothertongue, i.e. not just learning a second, third or fourth language as well, but dropping the mothertongue is a serious matter. Psychologically-and this includes cognitively'-much of one's basic emotional repertory is embedded in the mothertongue. For those who are fluent in three or four languages, the mother tongue is still the vehicle of much basic communication for which the other languages are less good, or no good. India is-and probably has been for a very long time-a multilingual country (unlike, say, the United States). Why then pressure tribal groups (who are vulnerable to such pressures) to give up their mothertongues and adopt a stepmothertongue ? It may be adminintratively simpler to some, but it is damaging and traumatic to most of those who not only take on a second or third language, but abandon-in some cases willingly enough-their mothertongues.

It has been said that every language is a world, and the loss of a language is the loss of a very complex and valuable social construction that is irreplaceable. The multitude and diversity of tribal languages in Orissa has not usually been thought of as a resource. More commonly it has been regarded as a nuisance, a hindrance to development. Certainly there are problems in educating people in thirty languages, instead of only one. At various times and places (in India) children were taught in languages they could not understand one word of, and the educational authorities concluded that they were particularly stupid. One wonders who was the more stupid. I don't mean to minimise the problems of education, but one cannot blame the 'tribals' if Oriya is poorly taught to them. And if the regional vernacular-the lingua france of certain regions, i.e. Desia in Koraput District is left out entirely of the educational scheme.

Let me conclude by simply reiterating the importance of keeping - and cultivating. One's mother tongue, and certainly-learning the standard language (learning it well), and a regional lingua franca, if there is one (as there is in Koraput, and in Chota Nagpur, where Sadri-Nagpuris has gained increasing recognition in recent years). This admittedly, presents formidable problems, but junking the tribal mothertongues deprives their speakers of more than they can be compensated for. Well-to-do Indian immigrants to the United States have more or less willingly-not for themselves but their children-abandoned their hereditary mothertongues. More recently they have discovered that this was a mistake, and unnecessary, that institutions to maintain Hindi, Tamil etc. in the United States can and should be set up. The tribals in Orissa are obviously not in the same position, but encouraging them to give up their mothertongues is a mistake and there seems no good reason to do so.



SORA & ORIYA : A STUDY ON LOAN VOCABULARY



B. P. Mahapatra

Of the several important tribes of Orissa, Sora is one of the most well known, mainly due to its connection with the Jagannath legend. The tribe is also known by various other names like Sabara, Saura, and Sara. The mother tongue statistics for this tribe spelled as 'Savara' in the 1981 census is as follows.

Savara-1981, India, 5,56,195

Orissa - 3,70,060

Andhra

Pradesh - 82,101

It is clear from these figures that the main concentration of the tribe is in Orissa. However, we have reasons to believe that these census figures may not be very accurate, because a large number of Sora speakers who return Oriya as their mother tongue are merged with another tribe called Sabara or Lodha. It is important to note that the Oriya speaking Sabaras are mainly found in the coastal districts of Cuttack and Puri, while the Sora speakers inhabit predominantly in the districts of Ganjam and Koraput. It is these latter Soras who are discussed in this paper. Their language Sora belongs to the southern branch of the Munda Sub-family and genetically distinct from Oriya which belongs to the Indo-Aryan sub-family. But languages which are in contact for centuries together are likely to influence each other irrespective of their genetic affiliations. Thus, we find that there are a large number of linguistic features and words which are common to Oriya and Sora. This situation immediately raises the question of culture contact between these languages and consequently of a loan vocabulary. Although at the moment it is not possible to identify definitely the languages in terms of donor or recipient, the loan vocabulary is sufficient proof to establish the depth and extent of the contact situation. However, taking the cultural conditions of these two groups, it is not to be denied that Oriya is way ahead of Sora in many accomplishments and therefore it is natural that Oriya in most cases will appear to be the donor and the Sora recipient rather than the other way round. But it is also true that Sora as we understand its processes is a very conservative

language and has a natural built in mechanism to recreate its own vocabulary with its own indigenous devices. As a moderately agglutinative language, it favours to form new words with indigenous material rather than by direct borrowings. Some of the direct borrowings are like raja-king, sun-quick lime, loa-iron, mua-a sweet meat etc. But there are also a large number of common vocabulary which could not be traced to any particular source and the possibility of Oriya borrowing from Sora remains quite plausible. In any case, such a study is yet more difficult particularly in the absence of a theory of loan words. Although no such theory is proposed here, a few guide lines might be of interest.

(i) A word appearing in Sanskrit or in any of the attested Prakrits is to be credited to Oriya, simply because Oriya is Sanskritic language, even if the word is originally borrowed from munda to Sanskrit. For example, the word for 'tree', widely attested in North Munda languages as 'daru' and probably has a Sora cognate ken-dar/ḍar, also appears in Oriya as 'daru' in the temple jargon of the Jagannath temple. In spite of this fact Oriya 'daru' and Sora 'ḍar', although forming a part of the common vocabulary must be viewed as a coincidence rather than a loan. Similar is the case with Sora Kumm Ed/mEd. / 'goat' and Oriya 'meṇḍha'-sheep, with reference to Sanskrit 'meṇḍha' which in itself is traced to Munda origin. In all such cases, the words are to be treated as belonging to Sora-Oriya common vocabulary rather than one borrowing from the other.

(ii) A word appearing widely in cognate languages like Hindi, Bengali, Marathi, etc. is to be credited to the Oriya source whether or not it occurs in Sanskrit or Prakrit. For example Sora 'ḍa'-branch and Oriya ḍaḷḍare obviously connected and the Oriya word has definite cognates in Hindi and Bengali 'ḍal'. But the Sora word is so much naturalised in the indigenous system, i.e. the form has a free form ken-ḍar which is again connected with Oriya 'keṇḍa'-branch, that an easy way out might prove hazardous. Thus the

Sora free form ken-ḍar and the connected combining form ḍar, pose- a peculiar problem ; the free form is a loan to Oriya and the combining form is a loan from Oriya.

On the other hand, to establish a Sora word with evidence from other cognate Munda languages is just not possible at this stage because such studies for the Munda languages are still to be made.

(iii) A word, whether loan or indigenous represents a concept and this concept is directly connected with the cultural achievements of a particular people. In other words, certain concepts presuppose some degree of achievement in the plain of material culture. For example, the word for 'gun' in Sora is 'baḍa' with its combining form 'bal'. there is no means to suppose that the words are not original to Sora, except for the fact that the concept inved is 'gun' -an artifact of high achievement. Therefore, one would be very tempted to connect it with Oriya baṇṇ-fire-works, and treat it as a loan in spite of complete naturalisation.

Similarly, a whole range of words connected with cultivation and other related concepts are to be considered as Sora origin. I think, even the very name Oriya orṇas in o ṛ cṇsa we owe it to a Sora word- ṇrr-mer,ṇen, meaning 'cultivator'. Also consider these words :

Sora		Oriya
Padder	- Village	pṇṇṇ as in Kaipadara
padda	- meadow	pṇda
iḍi	- rim verge	hiṇṇ
ṇṇanga	- altar	ṇṇṇṇṇ

iv) Some words in spite of being common to Sora and oriya, yet widely attested in Dravidian languages also ; the preference is to be given to the latter in view of more intimate connections between Oriya and Dravidian languages. This area is still to be explored fully.

(v) When the borrowings are mutual between two languages, it is natural that the sound units are likely to be interpreted in each language in a characteristic manner, unless of course a loan phonology emerges. As far as we can see, the exchanges between Sora and Oriya is not so vast for emergence of such a phonology. Therefore, we will concentrate only in the sphere of interpretation of existing sound units. To begin initial position only. Since Oriya has only six vowels in comparison to nine in Sora, there are practically no regularity in vowel interpretation.

Sora vowel system				Oriya vowel system	
i	i	u		i	u
e	e	o		e	o
E	a	o		e	a
S. i	o. i,	Ex.	sikktri	-	sikuli
			jin	-	jhink
S.e.	E o.e.,	Ex.	benda	-	bhenda
			benta	-	bent o
			kempa	-	kempa
			mEk	-	mekh
S.l.e	O.O	Ex.	peresa	-	p oŋ o s o
			segera	-	s o g o r o
			p o ria	-	ph o r i a
Sa	O.a,	Ex.	saru	-	saru
			ḍango	-	ḍang o
			fau	-	jau
S u	O.u,	Ex.	tumba	-	tumba
			punla	-	phungula
			sun	-	cun o
S.o.	O.o	Ex.	polla	-	pola
			dobba	-	dhoba
			loṛa	-	loṛiba
S.O	O.o,	Ex.	b o t o d	-	b o t h o
			k o jja	-	kh o j a, etc

But these are only ideal examples. There are many deviations to these correspondences. For example, S.o.

s	→	c, ch, s	Ex.	sun-cun ɔ sal, chal ɔ, satta - ch ɔ ta segere-s ɔ g ɔ r ɔ, saru-saru, ser - s ɔ r ɔ
j	→	j, jh	Ex.	j ɔ ra - jor ɔ, jau-jau, jal-jal ɔ, jompā-jhumpa, jin-jhink ɔ
k	→	k, kh	Ex.	kunE-kun ɔ, kendar-kenḍa, kompi-kumpa kaddu-kh ɔ ru, k ɔ jja - kh ɔ ja
g	→	g, gh	Ex.	guddi-gori, g ndej -gundu ɔ i
m	→	m	Ex.	mEk ɔ -mekh ɔ, mEd-menḍha
n	→	n		
n	→	n	Ex.	nada-n ɔ ra, nana-mer-en- naga
n	→	n		
l	→	l, l	Ex.	lora-lori, l ɔ an - luha, lay-lia bolo - bol ɔ, elam - ɔ lia
r	→	r	Ex.	renka - r ɔ nk ɔ, ranja - r ɔ nja
r	→	r, rh,	Ex.	j ɔ ra-jorā, segera-s ɔ g ɔ r ɔ, p ɔ r̥ia-ph ɔ r̥ia, s ɔ rua-c ɔ rhua, pera-pir̥ha, peresa-p ɔ nk ɔ s ɔ, bara-baṇ ɔ

(iv) Finally, the specific semantic areas of these languages which are more exposed to culture contacts. Depending upon this exposure certain domains are more prone to accept loan vocabulary than others. Although the loan words roughly point to these domains, there are many difficulties to be overcome. However, an attempt is made to arrange the loan words in terms of some broad semantic domains to which the items belong. These are, 1. Body parts, 2. States of body, 3. Professions, 4. Material culture, 5. House and habitat, 6. Animal, 7. Trees and plants, 8. Verbs and 9. Onomatopoeic words. A special area called 'Terms of Jagannath temple' is also appended to the list considering many interesting legends connecting the temple with the Sora tribe.

1. Body parts :

- S. Kundu-n -'armful'/O. kuṇḍh
an-tem-'to gape'/O. āṅk
bṭṭd -'boil, mole'/O. bṭṭh, bhatuṛi
tṭṭd/tem -'mouth'/O. thoṛ, thomṭi
pṭṭia -'sirolin, fore leg'/O. phṭṭia
pas-si-'span'/O. pos
bij-bej-'spit'/O. (chep) bṭṭbṭṭ
pudin -'stomach'/O. (pet) pura
gotur-'tickle'/O. kutukutu

2. States of body

It is interesting to note in this section that a large number of words referring to the deformity of body or mind are same in both these languages.

- S baya-'crazy'/O. baya
jadda-'crazy'/O. jṭṭa
kuṇṭa -'crippled, mimed'/O. khunṭa
kEmpa-'cripple'/O. kempa
soṭṭa -'lame'/O. choṭa
kaṛa-'blind'/O. kṭṭa
kalla-'deaf'/O. kala
kojja -'hunch back'/O. kuja
bukṭai -'fool'/O. boka
petṭa-pon-en-'glutton'/O. peṭu
ranka-mar-en 'greedy'/O. rṭṭk
urdij -'disrobe, naked'/O. urbhut (nṭṭngṭla)
puṅṭa-'unfold, open'/O. phuṅṭa
paju -'mrauder'/O. paji
er- gaṇḍi-n-'foolish'/O. (ṭṭgaṇḍia (raja)
dukeri-'married woman'/O. dhokṭṭi (burhi)
beṇḍa-'young ox'/O. bheṇḍa
terekka -'cunning, artful'/O. tṭrṭka
keyed -'dead'/O. kaila

3

Orrɔ - 'cultivator'/O. orɔ (ɔɔsa)
saroba - 'cultivator'/O.sarua (bramhɔŋɔ)
tasa - 'cultivator'/O. ɔɔsa-tɔsa
pallo - 'cultivator'/O. (hɔɔ) palɔ
kembera - 'menial'/O. khɔmari
kumbij - 'potter'/O. kumbharɔ
dobba - 'washerman'/O. dhoba
ñaña-mer-en-'bow man'/O. naga
beñta-'mer-en-'hunter'/O. beñtɔkarɔ
kuñar-en-'in-laws (elder)'/O. kuñia
elen-en'stranger'/O. ɔɔnge (bɔɔnge)
raja-'king'/O. raja
pareja -'subject'/o. pɔɔja

4.

S. kaḍḍu - armlet/O. khṛu
 ḍoṅra - talisman/O. ḍeṁṛia
 sikkirī - chain/O. sikuḷi
 penḍoy - shoes/O. paṇḍhoi
 paga-kab - turban/O. pagṛ
 satta/sad - umbrella /O. chṛta
 sindura - 'vermillion /O. sindurṛ
 kanna - banner /O. bana
 tuḍur- basket /O. toṛṛ (muhṛre pṛisa asiba)
 ḍulli - basket /O. ḍoli
 sangora - basket/O. changurī
 pela/pel - basket/O. peṛi (skt. peṭika)
 sappā - mat /O. sṛpṛ
 peṭṭi - mat/O. pṛṭi
 elam/lam - hay, straw/O. ṛḷia, oḷia
 ḍanki/ḍan - crockery /O. ḍṛnkṛ
 taḍi - cup/O. taṛṛ
 koṇḍaj - doll/O. koṇḍhai
 doṅga/don - small boat/O. ḍṛṅga

settoā /sed - ladle-/O. cōtu
 jala/jal - net/O. jalō
 perā - seat/O. pirha
 paḍua - sail/O. poṛhuō
 palo - sail/O. palō
 baṛa/ba l - gun/O. baṇō
 kubba - pointed stake /O. gobō, khobiba
 pallaṅki - palankin/O. paliṅki
 umman - fire pan/O. umhai
 keṛin /din - drum /O. kōṛhi, dengura
 rañja - support for creepers/O. rōñja
 gōria-pitcher/O. gōra
 ser - arrow/O.. sōrō
 laya - parched grain/O. lia
 mua - sweetmeat/O. muā
 pupu - pastry/O. pua
 kōjja - sweetmeat /O. khōja
 jau - porridge /O. jau
 maṇḍi /mun/ - 'plate'/O. muṇi
 karia - thick as cloth/o, Kōria
 tenta - water lift/O. teṇḍa

5. House and habitat

eṛōga - altar/O. cōṛōga
 kunE - corner/O. kuṇō
 samoṇḍa - pandal/O, chamuṇḍia
 meṇḍoa - pavilion /O. mōṇḍōpō
 iḍi - ridge, margin/O. hiṛō
 daṇḍi - ridge/O. (dipō) daṇḍi
 piṇḍa - varenda/O. piṇḍa
 jōra jōl - rivulet /O. joṛō, jhola
 paddera - village /O. pōḍōrō
 padda - meadow /O. pōḍa

6. Animal

kullu-fox /O. kulhia
 ktmEd /mEd - goat/O. meṇḍha

keñjin /jiŋ - porcupine /O. jhiŋkɔ
 gɔŋdeŋ /gɔŋ - squirill /O, guŋduci musa
 tunkum/kum - rat /O. duggei musa, tuŋkiba
 ɖal - sod-en-hunting dog/O. dahaɭɔ kukurɔ
 bɔab - tom cat /O. bhua
 budor = bador-tid-partridge/O. baduri
 parua - pigeon - /O. parua, para
 budbud/buɖ - insect/O. buɖhiani
 tènke/ten - parasite on the dog's body -/O. tiŋkɔ
 ku-ku-kuna -haena/O. kokomina

The last identification demands a foot-note . Those of us who remember the long drawn battle on the etymology of this word in the Prajatantra, several yaersago, might be reminded of several other possibilities. But our belief is that the word is of Sora origin and it meant the well known animal 'haena'. I also think that the 'kokua bhɔɔ' which Krishna started in 'Krishna lila' is also connected with the very same word.

7. Trees and plants

payidi = payɖa - coconut/O. pɔiɔ (Skt. payahpeti ?)
 pɔɔsa - jack fruit /O. pɔɔsa
 maranten - parasite as a tree /O. mɔlangɔ
 bon - te-n-plantain /O. bɔntɔ (kɔdɔi)
 kin - te-n- plantain/O. kandhia
 kaɖia - " /O. kaɖia
 sollo - brush wood/O. solɔ
 saru - gay/sar-tuber/O. saru
 kɔkaru - white gourd /O. kɔkharu
 sii - hand /O. siɔ
 kɔndar - branch/O. keɖa
 dar - branch/O. daɭɔ
 ɖango/dan - twig/O. ɖaŋgɔ
 jompa - cluster /O. ,jhumpa, jhampura
 kasi - tender fruit/O. kɔsi
 kumpi - cup/O. kumpa

tanku - nut/O. (tal ɔ), tanku, takua
 pɔppara - spathe/O. phopɔra
 tumba/tum - gourd vessel/O. tumba
 kaɖa - pedicle/O. kɔrhɔ
 tuŋti - stalk/O. thuŋta
 polla - hollow/O. pola

8. Verbs

soked - bend /O. sukuŋi jiba
 ugga - curse/O. ughaiba
 seed - decay/O. sɔrhi jiba
 gum - dream/O. ghumaiba
 ad - drive/O. ɔraiba
 kondo - embrace/O. kuŋdhaiba
 bebbiob - howl/O. bobaiba
 beŋta - hunt /O. beŋtɔkɔriba
 Elay - jump over /O. olhaiba
 ir = eder - pour/O. iriba
 tun - project, shoot/O. tuŋjiba
 ɔb - derder - prop/O. deriba
 manda - form herd/O. (seul ɔ) mɔnda
 battar -soak /O. bɔturiba
 to - cohabit/O. tohiba
 urid - riot/O. hururiba
 bante - share/O. baŋtiba
 gob -sit/O. gɔbi jiba
 bolod-smear/O. bohiba
 at-sin-ɖa-sneeze/O. chiŋkiba
 pala-sing /O. pala
 gatti-stir /O. ghaŋtiba
 rappej - tea. /O. rampiba rampuriba
 jɔrɔd -tickle /O. jhɔriba
 loɾa -want /O. loriba
 punum -bask /O. puŋiba
 dɔped - move/O. dhɔpuriba

9. Onomatopoeics

maun maun = call of cat/O. myaũ myaũ
 amba = bellow of cow /O. hɔmba
 si si = word of detest/O. chi chi
 gata gata = itch /O. gɔtɔgɔtɔ
 ken ken = music /O. kẽ kẽ
 kallai billai = ruffle /O. kɔlei bɔlei
 latum = soft /O. lutuputu
 tat - tama = stammer /O. thɔtɔmɔtɔ
 papur = threadbare/O. purpur
 gotur - da = tickle /O. kutukutu
 ʈon ʈon = move with light steps/ ʈɔŋŋ ʈɔŋŋ
 pose pose = whisper /o. phus (phus)
 ulam ɔtta = excited, irresponsible /O. ulukum ɔta

No study on the subject of Oriya-Sora contact can be said complete without a note on the Jagannath temple of Puri which traces its origin to the Sora tribe. The existing legends are so well established and widespread that no amount of counter argument can eliminate it from the memories of the Oriya race. Anthro-pologists like Verrier Elwin has published extensively on the religion and ritualistic practices of the Sora, but his investigations hardly touch upon the Sora origin of the Jagannath. As far as we could see, there is not much of synchronic anthropological information of the Jagannath worship of the "Soras. Whatever traces are there, these are apparently of fairly late origin. Nevertheless, it is of great help. Linguistically, the topic is also of some interest. The Jagannath temple of Puri in its elaborate ritual system uses a large number of words and phrases which are peculiar to this temple jargon. These words are intimately connected with the daily rituals of the temple; with various services or 'seba', innumerable food items or 'bhoga', places or 'asthana' utensils clothes and ornaments. The number of words runs to several hundreds. Most of these words are still in use in the jargon and some have gone out of use very recently. Whatever

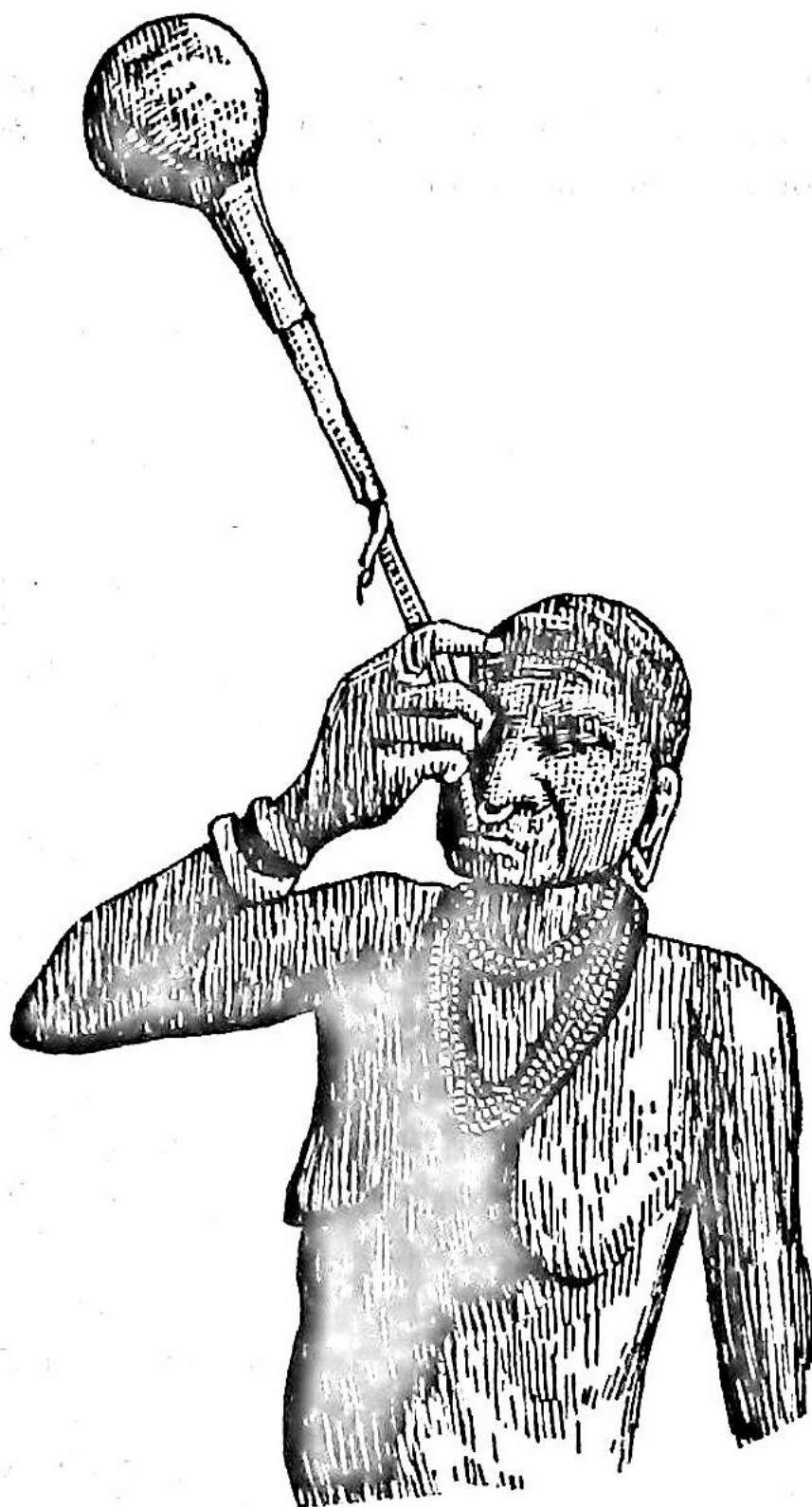
evidences of Sora origin of Jagannath are still extant are extremely difficult to extricate' due to ritualistic secrecy. So, there is only limited scope to glean the information from the synchronic material. The following is a list of words appearing in the temple jargon with their possible counterparts in Sora.

- banna = kab -flag/J. bana
 samonḍa = pandal /J. chamunḍia
 daṇḍi = rim margin /J. (dip ɔ) daṇḍi
 sonum = suṅ-eṅ, sin -suṅ -pagoda, house/J. singi duar ɔ
 dayuṛi = canoy/J. dhukuṛi duar ɔ
 ptr = ptr-en -sacrifice, religion /J. Puri, pūrost ɔ m ɔ
 sanggoḍ = basket/ J. cangguṛa, cangguṛa mekap ɔ
 dakku = m ɔ r-en=custodian /J. r ɔ th ɔ dahuk ɔ
 muda = m ɔ r-en=senior person /J. muduli
 paḍi = m ɔ r - en = senior person/J. p ɔ ṛhiari
 beera = steward /J. behera
 rabal-en=young servant /J. r ɔ baria
 ñanã = m ɔ r-en=bow man/J. naga
 beṇṭa=hunting /J. beṇṭ ɔ kar ɔ
 maṇḍi =plate /J. maṇḍu ɔ
 taḍi =bowl /J. taṛia, taṛ ɔ
 munggi=goblet /J. mugei oli
 sorua =plate /J. t ɔ ṛhua, c ɔ ṛhua, c ɔ ṛheineda
 sed-da=sacrifice /J. sidha (s ɔ jariba), ched ɔ
 sinten =boiling or cooking /J. sintula
 ab-aḍa=prepare broth /J. ɔ bh ɔ ṛa
 m ɔ ñoon =pleasure/J. m ɔ ṇohi
 ɔ meñ = uncooked /J. ɔ mhunḍia
 toreo = to tie /J. (bhog ɔ) toliba
 sikk ɔ m = sling /J. sika
 jompa =cluster/ J. jhumpa
 menol =oil /J. malepa
 pad -jen =pace /J. p ɔ h ɔ ṇḍi

The list is neither very impressive nor exhaustive. As both these areas, ie. the temple jargon and the Sora language are not intensively studied, much of this is only guess work. Some effort should be made to compile the temple jargon synchronically and also from the old Oriya literary works. There is definite possibility of comparing these words more critically and to reach a conclusion regarding the Sora myth of the Jagannath temple



THE CELEBRATION OF LIFE



SITAKANT MOHAPATRA

Singing and story -telling are perhaps as old as man. They express man's basic relatedness to the world, to the elements. They give shape to this relatedness by formal articulation in words and body-movements. Singing has never been divorced from dance, the gestures of hands, feet and often the whole body. Singing has also been linked to rituals and celebration of life's triumphs and tragedies. Some would assert that singing is older than speech, that man sang and expressed himself, his emotions and his physical needs before he could make formal speeches or statements.

Song is thus the basic rudiment of what latter came to be known as poetry. Once upon a time all poetry was song. It was recited, chanted, sung either individually or in group. More often than not there were accompanying dance-numbers. Often too a variety of musical instruments were used. Man came to fashion these instruments and produced various sounds and notes which accompanied his songs or provided a prelude to it.

Singing was in fact at the core of the entire business of living. the birth of a child, assigning a name to the child, attainment of puberty of a girl ; love; marriage, death, the activities of agricultural seasons, hunting, curing illness, propitiating and offering thanks to the unseen gods and goddess-each occasion demanded songs appropriate to it. Life was still looked upon as a series of ritual events deserving and calling for celebrations and each celebration had to have its songs, its dances, its rituals.

Man never thought he was alone or that the world of men, was separate from the greater universe surrounding it. This earth as he knew and the world of men, was only a part of the larger cosmos - the natural world of other living things, of birds and beasts, of trees and creepers and the world of spirits and ancestors who dwelt somewhere in the clouds in the vast expanse above called the sky. This mutuality of relations was a source of emotional strength and consolation. The ancestors were a part

of the world "over there" and they had a profound interest in the continuance and prosperity of their own people. One remembered the ancestors as much as the gods. In fact the ancestors were even nearer and they were remembered on every festive occasion, on every occasion of joy and sorrow in the life of the individual and the community :

The old hearts still beat,
And we are alive
Here in this ancient village
of dead ancestors ;
And so today we join
In this great jubilation
This over-flowing joy.

(A Kondh song)

Among the gods there were both benevolent and malevolent ones. Both needed to be appeased and their blessings sought for the happiness and prosperity of men in society. The malevolent gods and goddesses has to be particularly propitiated by appropriate prayers or invocations and offerings as otherwise their evil eye would cause incalculable suffering to the individuals and damage to the community.

The primitive tribes or the people of the preliterate societies are still living and surviving with their rich mosaic of cultures all over the world. They are variously designated in different countries. Sometimes they are called ethnic minorities, sometimes they are called aborigines. The American Indians of various types in the United States are treated as ethnic minorities. They are of various groups. So also the Indians and Eskimos in Canada. The Australian aborigines similarly are of various groups and live in isolated remote tracts. As in America, so in Australia and Canada- in fact the world over- slowly they have been pushed out into remote corners of the land, into less accessible or inaccessible hills, jungles and deserts or reservations. Basically they are simple

and vulnerable people and cleverer outsiders coming into their areas have taken full advantage of it. Often they have been confined to reservations as in the States.

There are similar ethnic minorities in Soviet Union, Eastern and Western Europe. In many parts of Asia, including the Polynesia, Micronesia and Latin America, their life-styles, religions, beliefsystems and performing and plastic arts have been studied by western scholars since the 19th century and by local scholars later on. Margaret Read's *Coming of Age in Samoa* was one of the earliest scholarly works on the subject. It is not the intention here to get into the history of social anthropological studies relating to the tribes. That is too vast a subject and in any case not very relevant here. Suffice it to say that almost all over the world there are primitive tribes whose performing and plastic arts are of great significance to us and are a part of our heritage.

In Africa many tribes are themselves in the majority in a territorial boundary which is a modern State. They have thus notionally, and often in reality, the control, of State power and access to economic resources of the country. They do not, therefore, have any sense of minority complex, of deprivation or encystment. It is true that in Africa also there are smaller encysted primitive groups which are very very isolated, antonomous and deprived. Often too their numbers are on declines.

These tribal or ethnic groups range all the way from nomads, hunters and food gatherers to peasant cultivators, and industrial workers. The nature of the State and the larger society (wherever applicable) to which they belong determine the stage of economic growth of the community and its pattern of economic activities. And since economy is a vital sector of community life, it has also determined their cultural evolution and change.

There have been attempts to document the life-styles of these primitive societies. On the American Indians, for example, there have been many learned books dealing with their poetry

and songs. Jerome Rothenberg's **Technicians of the Sacred** and **Shaking the Pumpkins** are two of the best representative collections on the subject. So also is Tedler's **Finding the Centre Narrative Poetry of the Zuni Indians**. There is of course that very valuable work of C.M. Bowra, **Primitive Songs**. In the Bibliography some of the major works in this field have been mentioned so that discerning readers can go to them if they so like.

In India during the British rule the general approach of the administration was one of non-interference with the tribal world. This is not only meant not interfering with their traditional life-styles, customs and manners but also a high degree of indifference towards the knowledge, and understanding of these systems. These communities were supposed to be too different, too exotic and difficult and there was no attempt to study, document and analyse their societal patterns, life-styles, value-systems, performing or plastic arts, land-use or land inheritance patterns, legal systems etc. No doubt the restriction on non-tribals either settling or acquiring land in tribal regions did have an overall salutary effect and kept the tribal communities fairly contented in their grand isolation and general absence of exploitation.

There were also exceptions to the general academic indifference to their socio-cultural lives. An Englishman of the Indian Civil Service, W.G.Arche, who worked as a Deputy Commissioner in Southern Bihar did compile and translate some of the song-poems of the Mundas and the Oraons of that area under the titles **The Blue Grove** and **The Dove and the Leopard**. As Arche once mentioned to this author in his London home (in 1968 when the author was doing a Fellowship in the University of Cambridge) this was, however, more the product of an individual officer's predilections and interests (as in his case) than emerging out of any design or directions of Government. Varrier Elwin also compiled and translated quite a large corpus of the song-poems of the tribes of middle India. As pioneering works they were

certainly of a very high order and deserves to be praised. But sometimes there were inadequacies, particularly in case of Elwin, perhaps because of the over-dependence on local interpreters. There have been sporadic collection of the oral/literature of the tribal people of different regions available in English translation or local languages but a systematic project for comprehensive documentation work is yet to be taken on hand. The oral literature of these people, like their plastic and performing arts-traditions, deserve full-scale documentation. As the pace of development and modernisation picks up these are bound to be distortions in these matters. Such is the logic of culture-change that howsoever we try. It will not be possible to retain the original shape of these cultural traits. Some of them in fact will vanish with passage of time. The eminent Oriya novelist Gopinath Mohanty has collected some oral poetry of the Kondhs and Parajas in the Koraput district of Southern Orissa during the early nineteenforties. He had only the originals of some of the songs and had not gathered their meanings. Three decades later in the seventies the Kondhs and Parajas in the same villages where the songs had been collected earlier could not give the meaning of many of the words. The change in the vocabulary had been so fast due to urbanisation and other factors ! This is why it is a matter of national importance that these oral traditions are fully documented for posterity so that at least in the coming decades we can know from books and records what were the customs of these oral traditions.

The Anthropological Survey of India has perhaps a great responsibility in this regard. Studies in ethnography is no doubt important, but equally important is the documentation of literary oral traditions and plastic and performing arts. It is good that the Central Sahitya Akademi has also looked upon this as part of its responsibility because here is ethnography which is also poetry ! And a volume on the Songs and Tales of Orissa Tribals is perhaps most welcome in that regard because it is a State which has one of the Highest percentage of tribal population (22.4 per cent as per the 1981 census) in the whole country. In absolute terms they

number 5.9 millions. There are 62 tribal communities. They vary in their population, sizes, degrees of acculturation and economic patterns. While on one hand you have the Santals who are, in the Pan-India context, one of the three largest tribes in the country, there are the Mankidias whose number is only around one thousand. Numerically the kondhs numbering around 9 million are the largest in the State. They live in Koraput, Kalahandi and Phulbani districts. The Santals are mostly found in Mayurbhanj district and in a scattered manner in many other districts. While the Santals show a high level of acculturation with a capacity to welcome and absorb the benefits of economic growth and modernisation, there are communities like the Bondas in Koraput or the Juangs in Keonjhar who are still very much isolated and are designated as primitive tribes. On the basis of economic and educational backwardness, degree of isolation and an autonomous cultural self-image, twelve tribal groups in Orissa have been designated as "Primitive". Some of them like the Dongria Kondha or the Lanjia Saoras or Kutia Kondhs are sub-groups of the main group.

Basically most of the tribal societies of Orissa are agricultural. Their agriculture is often at a primitive level. It is subsistence agriculture in the villages supplemented by slash and burn technique of cultivation on hill-slopes locally known as podu. Even when regular agronomic practices are there on the plain and level lands, it is inferior technology that is used. Productivity is low. But all the stages of the agricultural cycle- the sowing of the seeds, the reploughing during the rains, the de-weeding operations, the harvesting-have their appropriate songs, dances as also ritual celebrations. The coming of new leaves and flowers in the trees in March and April also has its celebrations, the celebration of spring. It is the time when the forests are a riot of colours, red, vermillion, yellow, copper and gold. Different tribal communities call it differently but it is the spring festival, the festival of flowers, one of the happiest in these societies. The tribals never use the new flowers and leaves until there has been the

celebration and offerings have been made to the gods and goddesses. There are also the songs for all seasons, songs which are chanted just to while away time, as a form of entertainment after a hard day's work either in the fields or in mines and factories. The other major group of songs are those related to life crises like birth, marriage, death, etc.

Thus the tribal's life is punctuated by an everrecurring series of songs and dances and ritual celebrations. Despite poverty and economic deprivation this perhaps gives him a strong anchorage into life. Nothing characterises tribal life more than the jest for living, a feeling of gratitude for life itself, a desire to return again and again to this earth. The tribal rarely turns his back on life in fashionable despair even though tragedies and deprivations he has many. It is only imperative that this fact is recognised and they are assured of a greater share in the nation's well-being and prosperity and are enabled to participate effectively and meaningfully in its economic activities. While doing that we should, however, try to ensure, to the extent possible that we do not damage or destroy that great heritage of culture in performing and plastic arts as also the style of living that have characterised these societies for centuries.

In all societies strong feeling comes naturally to old people, with the children as eager listeners. It is more so in tribal societies. The stories unfold in the long idle hours after nightfall when darkness is everywhere and there is little else to do. Grandmothers or grand-fathers narrate stories to the grand children. Often these are the stories they themselves had heard from their grand parents. But they also innovate or add and modify. And so the stream of story-telling -like the parallel stream of songs-flows on uninterrupted like a massive river, receiving inputs from several tributaries with the passage of time. The stories have immense range and thematic variations. They are composed out of the hopes and fears, the tragedies and ecstasies that characterise their lives. To an extent, therefore, they become symbols.

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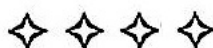
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Symbols for certain values which the community cherishes, metaphors of existence that carry in them the deeply ingrained value-systems of the group. There is no self-conscious design to weave symbols or metaphors through the stories but the life experience of many centuries often crystallise into symbols. The distillation of a multitude of experiential contexts add up to metaphors. They are thus genuine expressions of life's experiences without any attempt either to be clever or decorate.

Jerome Rothenberg in his 'Appreciation to Dennis Tedlock's Finding the Centre : Narrative Poetry of the Zuni Indians' has observed that one set of concern with the 'primitive' in human experience has been to see "primitive cultures not as mere targets for objective study, but as a series of communally structured and ecologically sound models, from which to learn something about the re-organisation of society and the revitalisation of life and thought". He also mentions how its other concern is in "rediscovering and keeping alive the oldest real traditions of man in poetry and art". Both are indeed important at a time when sound ecology, human balance and a strong sense of community are the crying needs of our time. We are at a stage in human society's evolution when man seems to consider himself virtually as the conqueror of nature with a right to use its resources in any manner he thinks fit without regard either to the needs of others on this planet or of his own future. Secondly, despite technological advances that have rendered drudgery in work as a thing of the past, there is a lack of human balance in our economic growth which is reflected in ugly cities, public squalor, social tensions and wastage and stagnation. Thirdly, there is a constant thrust in the process of individualisation and the erosion of the sense of the group, of the family and the community that makes freedom sometimes a burden, and this 'fear of freedom' itself can be the source of autocracy and dictatorship. A happy and balanced polity where individuals discover happiness and meaning for their lives is an essential need. In that regard we

have to learn perhaps a lot from the life-style of the so called primitives and their oral literature which is structured on a deeply-felt sense of community, the primacy of the individual, a holistic view of the togetherness of man, nature and the cosmos and an enviable zest for living despite economic hardships and deprivations.



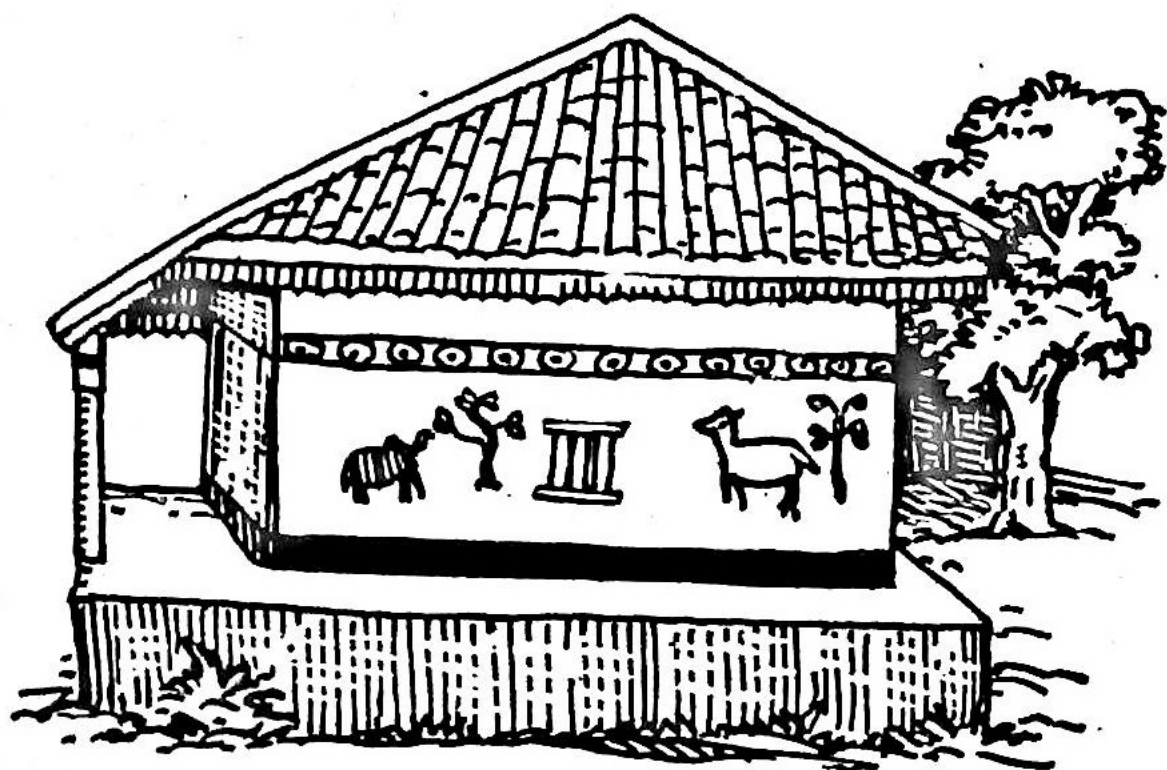
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STRUCTURAL APPROACH TO A SANTAL MYTH.

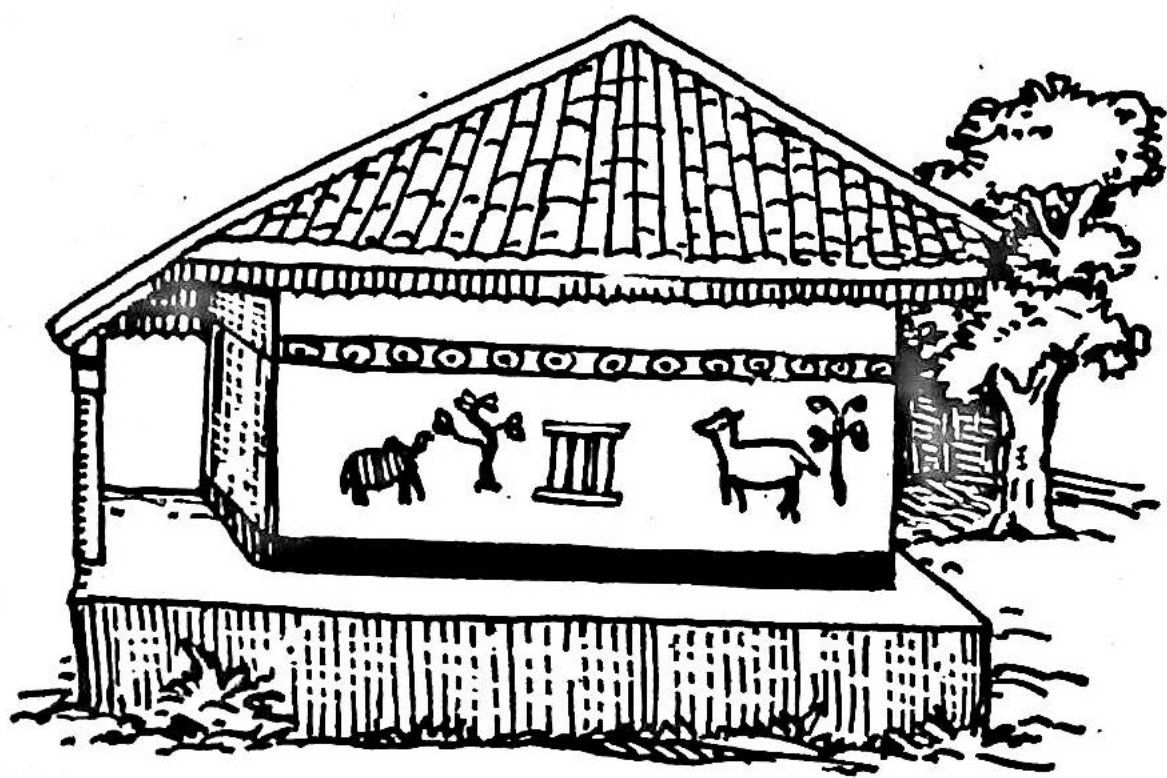


Shyam Sundar Mohapatra

Myths were mystery to scholars for generations. To some, they were nothing but collective dreams. In other words, they serve the same purpose to a society as dreams to personal life. They were also treated as inventions of folk-mind to justify practice of rituals. To some, again, they were 'a kind of aesthetic play.' There were interesting contemplations on the characters appearing in myth. Some believed that they were human beings elevated to the status of semi-gods for their superhuman behaviour. Others thought that they were fallen gods. Moreover it was commonly believed that myths lack logic and are never a systematic composition. They are loose. Anything may happen in the course of a myth. But Levi-Strauss, the French anthropologist, focussed new light on the structure and meaning of myth. His paper 'Structural Study of Myth', now included in 'Structural Anthropology'(1969) forms the nucleus of his study.

To Levi-Strauss, myths are no idle plays nor are they 'crude philosophical speculations'. They are based on reasoning as Science is. Levi-Strauss widely borrows from the field of linguistics to postulated his theory. The Linguistic study, proper, could begin when concepts like Phoneme and morpheme were well established. These are considered to be constituent units on which linguistic studies are based. Levi-Strauss speaks of such constituent units in myth which he calls gross constituent units. In a study of myth, however, such constituent units are 'not to be found among phoneme, morpheme or sememe'. That would reduce the study to a study of language of myth and not the myth itself. On the other hand the gross constituent units of myth are to be traced on sentence level. Such sentences are to be chosen mainly on the following considerations : 'economy of expression, unity of solution, and ability to construct the whole from a fragment, as well as later stages from previous ones'. 'Each constituent of a relation' and the 'true constituent units of a myth are not isolated relations but bundles of such relations, and it is only as bundles that these relations can be put to use and combined so as to

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produce a meaning. For this he arranges the methemes, by trial and error method, in some columns from top to bottom in a sloping order. The methemes, thus arranged, reveal paradigmatic relationship and each pair of columns show a binary opposition where the last column gives the resolution. With this preliminary guideline from Levi-strauss we can now proceed to analyse a Santal myth :

The Story

At the beginning, the earth was full of water and only aquatic animals lived there. One day some god accidentally thought that it would be a very nice thing to create human beings. Thakur, the Supreme God asked Malin budhi, a goddess, to make two images of men. Malin budhi made two images out of foam. When the images were kept in the sun to dry up, sin' Sadom, a celestial horse, trampled over them on its way to drink water, Thakur warned Sin' Saom not to commit the same mistake again. Malin budhi once more made two images at Thakur's bidding. Thakur, then, asked her to fetch two human souls hung from the ceiling of His house and not those hung from above the door. Malin budhi was a bit short in stature. She brought the souls hung from above the door as she could not reach the other souls. She never thought that Thakur would detect it. God put the souls into the images in good faith. But as soon as he did it, the images turned into birds and flew away. Malin budhi's mis deed come to light. Thakur turned her into a ghost.

After a few years the birds called Hans and Hansil came back to Thakur and wanted space to build nest. No aquatic animal could raise soil from bottom of water. It was, at last, the earth worm who could do this with the help of tortoise. Hans, Hansil built their nest in a bush where Hansil laid eggs. In due course two human infants were hatched out of the eggs. Hans and Hansil fed them different kinds of juice with the help of cotton. Later the two (infants) came to be known as Pilchu halam and Pilchu budhi.

The mythemes of this myth could be arranged in the following four columns in a trial and error method :

I	II	III	IV
—	—	Malin budhi made two images of human beings out of foam.	—
—	The celestial horse trampled over the images	—	—
God(Thakur) warned Sin' Sodom(the celestial horse).	—	—	—
—	—	Malin budhi made images for the second time.	—
—	Malin budhi brought the wrong souls.	—	—
—	—	—	The images turned into birds.
God turned Malin budhi into a ghost.	—	—	—
—	—	—	Two infants (Pilchu halam and Pilchu budhi) were born out of eggs.

The mythemes, thus arranged, show how the different parts of the story are related to each other, at the same time, how they are related to the whole. But they will be still more meaningful if we analyse the columns.

The usual way of reading is from left to right. But in this arrangement if we read from left to right we get the story of the myth, not its meaning. The story, as such, seems illogical and ludicrous. But if we read the columns from top to bottom, one after another, we get the meaning. Thus the approach is two dimensional. Now let us examine the columns which are 'bundles of relation.'. We have to find out the common 'feature of each column. If we examine the mythemes of the first column it will be evident that each of the mythemes speaks of supremacy of God(Thakur). In this way the mythemes are in a paradigmatic relationship. The second column denies the supremacy of God. Now for the sake of convenience let us take up the fourth column first. The general feature of the mythemes of the fourth column is to assert indirect creation of man. Obviously the third column opposes the fourth, its tendency being denial of indirect creation of man (i.e. supporting direct creation of man).

To sum up

Column I Assertion of supremacy of God

Column II Denial of supremacy of God

Column III Denial of indirect creation of man

Column IV Assertion of indirect creation of man

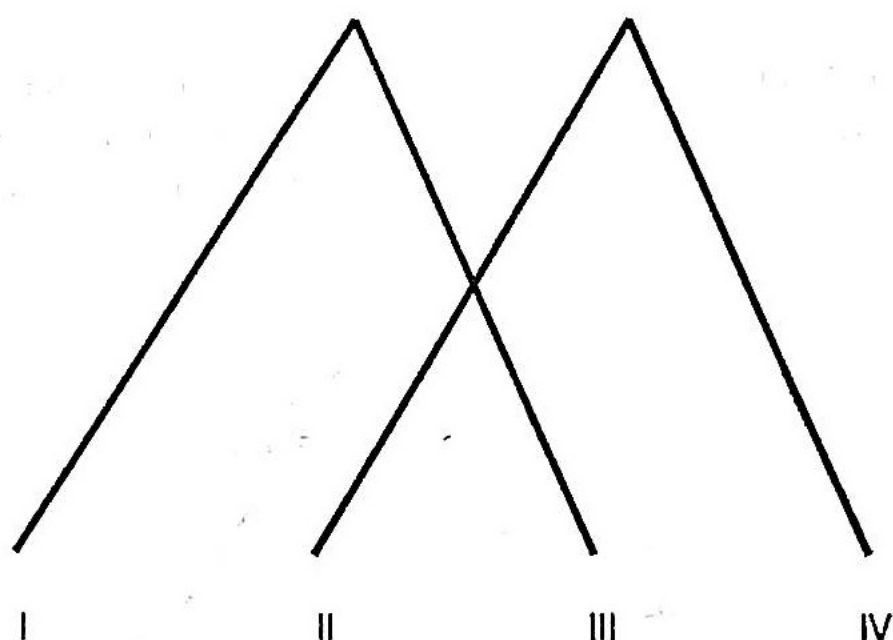
This leads us to the following equation :

I : II

III : IV

Which may be read as assertion of supremacy of God is to denial of supremacy of God as denial of indirect creation of man is to assertion of indirect creation of man. From this also it follows that column I and III bear some affinity as column II and IV. The point may need a bit elaboration. Column I asserts the supremacy

of God which Presupposes His Power to create human beings directly (column III) Similarly column II denies the supremacy of God which asserts indirect creation of man (column IV). the relationship can be illustrated by the following figure :



The terms and functions of the myth can be indicated in the following way ;

Term :

- a - God (Thakur)
- b - Malinbudhi and the celestial horse.

Functions :

- X - Assertion of supremacy of God.
- Y - Denial of supremacy of God

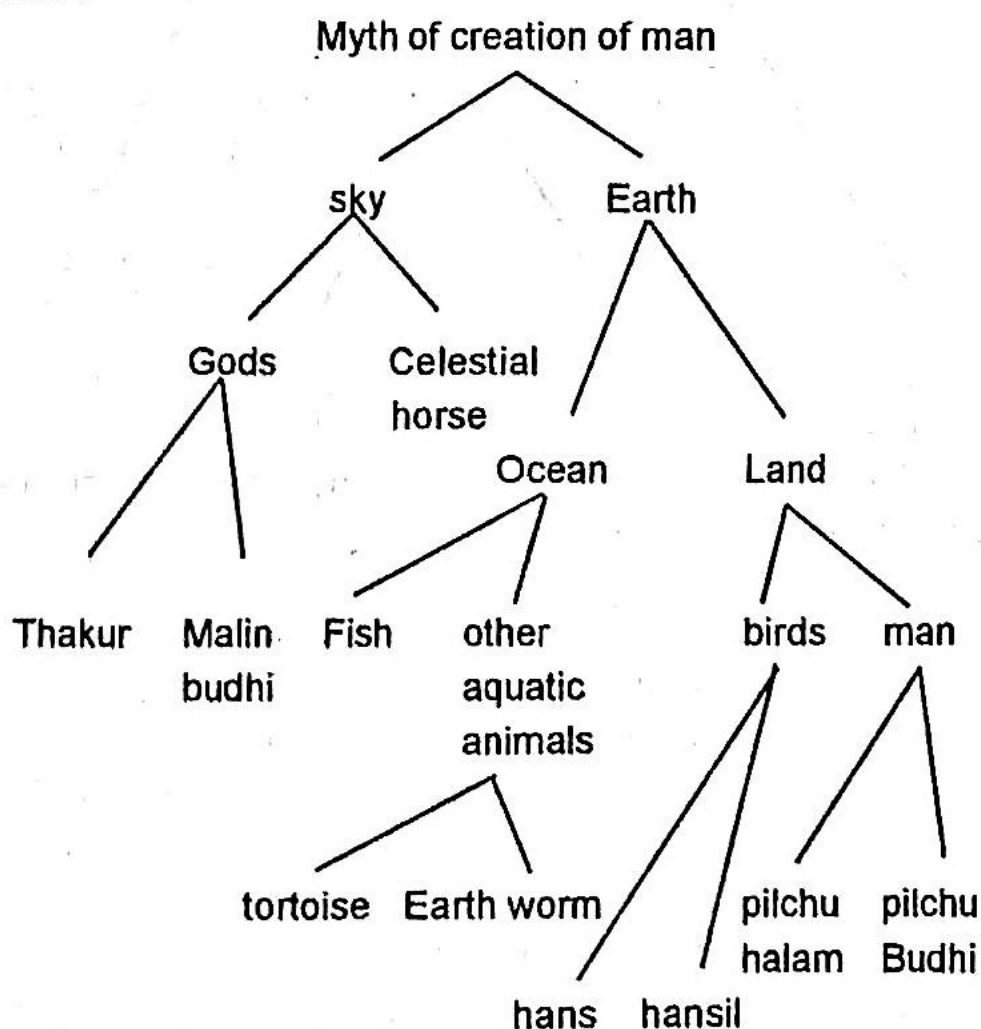
Hence the above analysis conforms to the formula of Levi-Strauss :

$$F_x(a) : f_y(b) \qquad f_x(b) : f_a^{-1} (y)$$

In the present myth b is the mediator. It has both X and Y functions. In the fourth column the term a has been inverse and

function Y (direct creation of man) has gained importance and that is the ultimate result of the series of oppositions. In this way the myth takes into its fold the two contradictory faiths in Santal culture and gives a resolution that human beings were not directly created by God, they came out of eggs.

Though the basic contradiction in the myth is between two faiths relating to the creation of man, it is composed of many other binary oppositions. Those can be arranged in the following diagram :



The elements involved in binary opposition are interlinked and come under the two basic contradicting items, sky and Earth. If sky and Earth stand for God and Nature respectively, the binary opposition between them, as revealed in the above diagram, implies the same basic question-whether man is directly created by God or is a product of Nature. Obviously Pichu halam and

Pilchu budhi are on the side of Nature. Hence from this analysis too, we get the answer of the myth that man is not directly created by God, but is a product of Nature. In this way it supplements the result obtained through the method of Levi-Strauss which is more scientific. Of course it throws light on the structure of the myth from a different angle.

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**ETHNIC IDENTITY AND ORAL
NARRATIVE :
A CASE STUDY ON KAMARS OF ORISSA**



MAHENDRA KUMAR MISHRA

India constitutes a fascinating mosaic of diversities of various types, thereby earning an epithet of subcontinent. The huge landmass encompasses a vast and varied geographic expanse with a unique historical continuity, ethnic diversity, rich cultural processes as well as the mature civilizational framework. The Indian culture represent a massive bedrock of philosophical and epistemological foundations assimilating the best in the life style and custom of the subcontinent. Here the vast majority of ethnic subcultures and their cultural variations and religious multiplicity make the Indian society a conglomerate of co-existing diversities lying in a state of perpetual equilibrium with common central focus of cultural integration and universal appeal. Many castes and tribes accentuate each other's cultural identity and uniqueness through the complex system of caste and communal heirarchy in which their respective social positions are either determined or achieved through social processes. There is broad cultural concensus in the whole subcontinent. There has been significant the sociocultural interaction among various ethnic groups are so symbiotic that co-existance and correspondence at various levels have brought in a great deal of synthesis to give the Indian society a multi-ethnic character and a plurality of approches and world views.

But although the co-existing ethnic groups project a composite and universal Indian culture, they do not completely give up their ethnicity and cultural moorings. There are certain reasons and compulsions for maintaining their ethnic idntity. The economically dominant groups have ideological predominance over minor ethnic groups living around them. In course of time, the ethnic minorities are either assimilated within the dominant cultures loosing their identities or they zealously try to preserve and maintain their distinct cultural indentities.

One ethnic group is different from the other in terms of objective cultural differences. "The member of an ethnic group", writes Sharp, "spoke one language, held to a distinctive set of

practices and showed a common system of beliefs. Because of these objective characteristics the members of the group showed common interest, and would naturally unite in order to propagate and defend their interest", (1988 :79)

Role of Folklore in Ethnic Identity :

Dundes refers the term "folk" "to any group of people whatsoever who share atleast one common factor, sharing common occupation, language or religion having a distinct group identity" (1978 :7). So he says that "Folk groups are those of an ethnic, racial, religion or. occupational character." (ibid.p.7)

Studying the role of folklore in retaining ethnic identity, Hoppal writes, "Folklore as creative communicative process articulates different forms of ethnic symbolism, and being a fact of social reality, belongs to the mechanism of culture which reproduces the ethnic consciousness of identity of the given people." (1993 :6)

Ethnic identity, now a days has a meaning which is keenly related to ethnic self consciousness. "Ethnic self consciousness" writes Bromley, "means the awareness of their particular unity and distinguish themselves from other similar formalities." (1978:45)

Ethnic identity is thus maintained through the language, rituals, customs, food, dress, manners, speech, dance, music and such other aspects of culture of a particular ethnic group which distinguish them from others. More specifically the oral tradition of each ethnic group bears the ethnic characteristics, manifested through language, symbol and cultural objectives.

In this context the aim of this paper is to study the oral narratives of the 'Kamar' of Kalahandi in Orissa and to find out how their ethnic identity has been reflected in their folklore. The

Kamars are also known as 'Paharia'. They are an offshoot of the Gonds. But they claim to be autochthones, of 'KatparPurabadi' hill range of Central India. (Russel and Hiralal ; 1916 :323)

The Kamar tribe is found in the western Kalahandi region of Orissa and in the eastern part of Raipur district of Madhya Pradesh. They were the rulers of Bindra Nawagarh region (presently Gariabandh Tehsil of Raipur district in Madhya Pradesh). They were also the village headmen in some of the villages of Khariar state, presently identified as the Nawapara district of Orissa.

According to 1911 census, the approximate population of the Kamars was 7000 in the Central Provinces (Madhya Pradesh and some portion of western Orissa were parts of Central Provinces) and at present they number 19,750 in Madhya Pradesh (Srivastav ; 1990 :117) and about 5000 in Orissa. In Madhya Pradesh they are related as a Scheduled Tribe, whereas in Orissa they are not considered as Scheduled Tribed, because they have been wrongly identified as ,Kamar', another caste of 'iron melter' (blacksmith).

The Kamars are concentrated in Katpur Purabadi hill range. They practise shifting cultivation, hunting, fishing and food gathering in the jungle. When there is scarcity of food or hunting-animals, they migrate frequently from one place to the other for a certain period and thereafter they return to their homeland, They never allow any outsider to hunt in their own jungle.

The Kamars speak a language of their own which is influenced by Halvi and Chhatishgarhi. They believe in the Gods and Goddesses of the Gonds. Most of their rituals, customs and religious beliefs are akin to the Gonds. (Hiralal & Russel; 1916 :324)

The Kamar folkore is rich in its ethnic content. Though their numerical strength is not significant, their folkore, rites and rituals etc. reflect their distinct ethnic identity.

The Gonds and the Konds are numerically dominant groups in Kalahandi exercising control over the land ownership, village administration and religious heirarchy. They have assimilated many traits of caste Hindu culture. But the Kamars still maintain their distinct ethnic identity.

The Kamars are divided into two sections, viz ; 'Budharajia' and 'Makdia'. The Makdias are monkey eaters, so they are looked down upon by the budharajias. The Kamars maintain their distinctiveness by living in separate settlements or isolated hamlets in multi-caste / community villages and they donot like to live with other communities.

The Kamars have no bardic tradition. Being asked of their bardic tradition they reply that long ago they had their ethnic bards. They were greedy and were never satisfied with the alms given to them for their singing. So they killed their bards with bows and arrows and started singing their songs themselves.

The Kamar Folkore is enriched with myths, legends, epics, tales, riddles and songs. Their oral narratives, both in prose and poetry form, have a rich depository of their ethnic cultural traditions. They sing the long narrative epics and myths for nights together. (Dube;1947 :7)

The oral narratives of the Kamar tribe are known as 'geet', 'khena', and 'katha'. 'Geet' means the song. It may be as small as two lined song or as big as 1000 lined oral epic. They sing the oral epic which is known as 'geet'.

The myths are known as 'janamkhena' or 'adipuran' which means creation myth. 'Katha' refers to folktales and legends etc. Here some selected specimens of oral narratives of the Kamar folklore are presented as case studies to find out the elements of their ethnic identity.

They are as follows :

- Narrative -1 : Creation myth of the Kamar
- Narrative -2 : Kechra Dhurua (legendary epic based on a Kamar hero)
- Narrative -3 : Origin myth of Goddess Duarsani
- Narrative -4 : An epic story of Kamar widow
- Narrative -5 : An epic story of Gandhu Paradhiya

All these narratives are collected by the author in 1985 from the hilly region of Katpar Purubadi hill range of newly framed Nawapara district in Orissa adjoining Chhatishgarh region of Madhya Pradesh.

Narrative -1 : Creation myth of the Kamar

In the beginning God created a man and a women, from whom two children of opposite sex were born in their old age. 'Mahadeo', (the Supreme God) however, created a massive deluge over the world in order to destory a Jackal who had offended him.

One day the old Kamar went for hunting. While shooting an arrow to a deer, it said, "dear hunter it would rain for seven days and there would be a great flood." It was a great surprise for him to hear this from a talkingdeer. The Kamar returned to his house and narrated it to his wife. They put up their children in a Jhapi (bamboo box) providing food for twelve years. When the deluge struck everything went down the water excepting the Jhapi. A generation passed.

Mahadeo wanted to create man on the earth. He made a bird out of the dirt of his body and sent the bird in serach of a man in the deluge. The bird discovered the Jhapi and brought them to

Mahadeo. Mahadeo asked the two children inside the Jhapi, "who are you ?" The boy and the girl said "we are a pair of brother and sister". Mahadeo separated them for twelve more years, and disfigured their faces with pox marks so that they could not recognise each other and got married. Thus the Kamars are said to be the children of this couple.

Narrative - 2 : Kachra Dhurua : A Kamar Hero

According to the legend, there was a Kamar ruler in Bindra Nawagarh, the present Gariaband Tehsil in Raipur district of Madhya Pradesh. He killed the Bhimaraj bird of a foreigner from Delhi. The foreigner from Delhi sent man-eating soldiers who ate up all the Kamars except a pregnant woman. She took shelter in a Brahmin's house in Patna and gave birth to a child. The name of the child was Kachra Dhurua who grew up to be a benevolent warrior and took revenge against the man-eating soldiers and regained his ancestral throne of Bindra Nawagarh (Russel & Hiralal ;1916 :324)

Narrative- 3 : Origin myth of Goddess Duarsani

Once in the jungle of Guru donger mountain, a Kamar was digging the earth for roots. Meanwhile his spade struck on a stone in the earth and blood secreted from the stone. The stone was the resting place as well as the symbol of Goddess Duarsani. The Kamar saw the blood and being afraid of it returned home. At night, the goddess appeared in his dream. She wanted the Kamar to be her priest as he had woke up the Goddess sleeping on the earth.

Next day, the Kamar brought the stone -the symbol of the Goddess and started worshipping it. but he could not appease her with blood through offerings of animal sacrifice. So he transferred the priesthood to a Gond. The Gond appeased the goddess with ample sacrifices. Then, the Gond transferred the

priesthood to the Bhunjias, a small tribal group of the same area. The Bhunjias are also considered as an offshoot of the Gonds.

Narrative - 4 : An epic story of Kamar widow.

This is an epic sung by the people of the Kamar tribe in Central India. The name of the epic is "Maa randi poo tura", the literal meaning of which is the story of an "widowed mother and her orphan son". The gist of the poetic narration may be summarised as follows.

There was a poor widow in a village living with her son. The woman worked in the village headman's (Gauntia) house who belonged to Gond tribe. The widow was doing works such as husking paddy, watching agricultural fields and helping in household chores. But her wage was so inadequate that she was unable to make both ends meet. It was very difficult to manage her basic sustenance. Very often the old woman had to engage herself in digging roots from the nearby jungle and eked out a very precarious livelihood.

One day she did not have any food to eat. She sighed and said 'Oh Mother laxmi ! for how long would you put me in such difficulties ?' Hearing the painful utterance of the poor woman, Mother Laxmi, the Goddess of wealth appeared in the shape of a young Kamar girl before the widow. Being asked by the widow Goddess Laxmi replied that she was an orphan girl and have come for shelter. The old woman took pity on her and gave her shelter. The son of the widow regarded Goddess Laxmi as his sister.

The widow gave Mother Laxmi a handful of rice for cooking food. It was cooked and surprisingly it was more than sufficient. Since then they had no food problem and they all lived happily.

One day Laxmi advised the son of the widow to cut the jungle and prepare the field for cultivation. The boy prepare the

field and borrowed plough and bullocks from the Gond headman. But he was unable to collect the seeds. Laxmi took some straw in her hand, made it small pieces and advised the boy to sow it in the field. The villagers laughed at him and thought that the boy had gone mad. But surprisingly there was a bumper harvest. It was quite difficult in their part to bring all the paddy to their house. Laxmi told the old woman to go to the village headman and hire six 'Kodi' (one 'kodi is equal to twenty) carts to lift the paddy from the field. Being asked of the rent for transportation, the village headman (Gauntia) thought that yesterday she was working in his house as a domestic servants and now she needed six 'kodi' carts to lift her harvest. However, the Gauntia reluctantly agreed to provide the carts being assured by the widow to receive the stipulated transport charges. The paddy was transported from the field to the widow's house. But there was no place in her small hut to keep all the paddy. So it was kept outside her hut.

The cartmen sent by the Gauntia demanded the transportation charges for the cart. Laxmi immediately plucked a pumpkin from the roof of her hut and gave it to the cartmen to hand it over to the Gauntia. When the Gauntia saw the pumpkin he put his hands on his forehead and said, 'see, how the wicked kamar widow cheated me with a mere pumpkin for six kodi carts'. He gave the pumpkin to his wife to prepare curry. While cutting the pumpkin the Gauntia's wife found a large number of gold coins within it. Gauntia knew this from his wife and asked his cartmen, 'how many more pumpkins did you see on the widow's roof?' The cartmen said, 'innumerable' Gauntia became greedy. He thought that there was no other rich man like him in his locality. Perhaps, now Goddess Laxmi had taken shelter in the old woman's house and made her rich.

The Gauntia devised a game plan. He wanted to give his daughter in marriage with the son of the old widow so that through her daughter he could get control over the old woman's property.

He gave this proposal to the old widow. She gladly accepted it and the marriage of Kamar widow's son with the only daughter of the headman was solemnised.

Thereafter, the headman wanted to get Laxmi, the adopted daughter of the Kamar widow as his daughter-in-law. He said to the old woman, "O Samdhin ! I gave my daughter in marriage to your son. Now I want my son to be married to your daughter." The old woman, unwittingly agreed to this proposal. The marriage was almost fixed up.

Goddess Laxmi could understand the plan. She said the old woman 'Mother' do you hearing your pitiable condition. I helped you in all respects. Now how do you think of my marriage with a human being ? You believed the Gauntia who was not even giving you your rightful daily wages. I considered you as my own mother. I filled your house with riches. Now I am going. 'Saying this Goddess Laxmi disappeared.

When the Gauntia heard about it he felt as if he had terribly been cheated by the Kamar widow.

Narrative - 5 : Gandhu Paradhiya

This narrative is named as per the name of the hero 'Gandhu Paradhiya'. Gandhu is the name of the hero and Paradhiya symbolised a hunter. The gist of the epic is as follows -

Gandhu Paradhiya was hunter. He killed a deer. By this time the Gond prince and his followers of Bindra Nawagarh kingdom arrived at the spot and claimed that they had killed the deer. So there was a fight with Gandhu and they took away the skin of the deer. Then Gandhu decided to take revenge of this defeat. He made a beautiful bamboo handicraft and presented it to the king of Subarnapur. The king gladly accepted the gift and in turn gave him some gold coins and expressed his inability to help him in his objectives. Gandhu returned with the gold coins.

Next, he went to the king of Manikgarh, who was a Bhunjia king. He presented the gold coins to the king and sought his help to fight against the king of Bindra Nawagarh. His plea was that the prince of Bindra Nawagarh had forcibly taken away the skin of the deer from his own territory. The king of Manikgarh also expressed his inability to extend his support in his expedition and gave him some Manikya i.e. pearls. Then Gandhu came to the Binjhal king of Padampur. The king employed 'Kokobhani', a tribal hero of super human ability to help Gandhu in his fight against the prince of Bindra Nawagarh. A great battle was fought between Kokobhani and the prince of Bindra Nawagarh. Finally the latter was defeated. The deer skin which was retrieved from the prince by Kokobhani who refused to return the same to Gandhu. So another combat took place between Gandhu and Kokobhani. Ultimately Kokobhani defeated Gandhu. the latter, out of grief went into the jungle. Since then he never went to Padampur region. Till today the Kamar has no kingdom.

ANALYSIS

Jansen, studying the role of folklore in retaining group identity, is of opinion that, "Folklore not only acts as a unifying force in terms of one's group's identity but also as a divisive force in terms of moulding and confirming attitude of one group towards another group" (1965 :44). He further says. "the smaller the group, the stronger the esoteric elements in its folklore and vice versa. Many groups are definable simply because they each have their own peculiar types of isolation ranging from obvious geographic separation to other not so-obvious forms of isolation".

In all the oral narratives presented in this paper we could find out two distinct aspects viz., (A) ethnic culture of Kamars, preserving their group identity .(B) cultural assimilation with the great traditions of Indian society.

(A) Ethnic culture of the Kamars to retain their group identity is based on some factors which could be found from their socio-

cultural processes. The question is that why the Kamars prefer to retain their group identity ? Why do they like to live in isolation ? On the basis of their folk narratives these questions may be examined. As described in narrative-2, the Gonds constitute powerful tides to overthrow the Kamars from blindra-Nawagarh state. This was originally the ancestral seat of the Kamars. The ethnographic account of Russel and Hiralal also mentions that the Kamars are the off-shoot of the Gonds(1916 :324) But the Kamar myth (Narrative-1) mentions that they are the creations of their Supreme God Mahadeo. In this myth they describe that their first progenitors were a Kamar couple, consisting of a brother and a sister born from the same parents. Thus, the myth shows their racial purity, which rejects the concept of their being the off-shoot of the gonds. When the Gonds have occupied their territory the hostility between the Gonds and Kamars might have been much more acute. So to project their separate identities such myths could have been created to alienate the Kamars from the Gonds.

In Narrative-3, it is seen that the Kamars were the first discoverer of Goddess 'Duarsani' now the tutelary deity of the Gonds. Goddess Duarsani was worshipped by the Kamar priest who was replaced by a Gond priest. This story validates the process of control over the state, transfer of the power base and the religious priesthood. It is found in western Kalahandi that the Gonds were the administrative heads called "Gauntia" and "Makaddam". They also acting as religious heads achieving priestly status. This symbolises the transfer of political and religious power from the Kamars to the Gonds. So the truth of over-lordship of a peasant community, the Gonds over the primitive tribe-the Kamars, is established through a power shift. It is a great loss on the part of the Kamars. The loss of the land and Goddess have continued to be blackspots in the racial memory which might have been projected in their folklore. In narrative-5, the fight over the deer skin symbolises the intervention the Gonds upon the territory of the Kamars. Even to compensate for the degradation of their socio political status they have projected

themselves as superior to the Gonds. It is evident from their folk narratives.

ETHNIC PRIDE OF THE "KAMAR"

In reality, it is even unimaginable in the part of a Kamar boy to marry a Gond girl of Gauntia-the village headman. But in the epic of the Kamar widow (Narrative-4) it happened so. The Kamar boy married the Gauntia's daughter and in turn the Gond's son could not marry the daughter of the Kamar widow.

This again indicates a sense of ethnic pride of the Kamar community. In reality they do not have an equal social status with that of the Gonds. Rather the Kamars are considered as an offshoot of the Gonds. In the narrative-4, the Kamars have perceived marriage between a Gond girl and a Kamar boy. In this narrative the concept of ethnic purity of the Kamars is exhibited by refusal of marriage of a Gond boy with Laxmi a Kamar girl. A Gond girl given in marriage to a Kamar boy denotes a superior social status for the Kamars. Till to-day there is no evidence of a Kamar girl divorced by a Kamar husband nor any Kamar girl eloped with any boy belonging to other communities.

In the creation myth of Kamar (Narrative-1) Mahadeo, the Supreme God wanted to bring a deluge on the earth simply to drown the jackal, who offended Him. Again in the epic narrative-5, Gandhu Paradhiya had fought for a deer skin which reveals the impulsive characted of tribal people who are more likely to be guided by their social memory rather than a sense of rationality.

Here, an event may be mentioned. A certain kind of grass called "Debadhun" is not cut off from the jungle unless the brightmoon of Bhadrava comes. Once some Gond and Dom people entered the forest and cut off the grass. They were obstructed by a Kamar. He told them that if they took away the "Debadhun" the forest Goddess would be angry with, and their

entire community and supernatural punishment would come. But when the outsiders did not bother to listen to him and cut off the grass, the Kamar killed one of them shooting an arrow in his bow. Two others saved themselves by running away. The police arrested the kamar and he replied in the court that as they had disregarded their religious tradition by cutting off the grass he had to kill one of them. He confessed his role in the homeside without any hesitation and did not consider his action as sinful. Rather he was happy that he had done his duties to uphold the tradition. This depicts the distinct ethnic pride of the Kamars.

Sense of Isolation and withdrawal

In narrative-5, we see that Gandhu Paradhiya was betrayed by the tribal warrior "Kokobhaini" who defeated the Gond king of Bindra Nawagarh on behalf of Gandhu and got back the deer skin but he did not return it to Gandhu. It symbolizes introduction of another tribal power to their territory. Out of anguish and sense of diffidence he ran into the jungle as a mark of self withdrawal. A sense of insecurity alongwith a challenge to his self esteem as well as his self identity, take over his mental process. He started a new settlement, where he expected not to face any outside intervention. Till today it has been observed that the Kamar tribe does not allow people from other castes / tribes in their exclusive settlements. They always build their habitat only at the feet of some hill adjacent to a jungle and like to live in isolation. Even their language, customs, traditions and rituals are entirely different from other communities. In narrative-3 we see that their sense of withdrawal is much more intense when Goddess Duarsani is also appropriated by the Gonds and handed over to the Bhunjias. But at first instance, the Kamars were the traditional devotees of the Goddess and, the priest, i.e. the first worshipper is always from the kamar community.

The Gonds belong to the peasant society. They share the agro-economic activities with other non-tribal group and thus have

been assimilated into the greater Indian tradition. As plain-dwellers and agriculturists they have adopted the changes through their participation in education, politics and culture etc. But the Kamars have defined a particular territory for themselves and are confined to the area specified. Till today they have not adopted agriculture as their major economic activity. They are not even aware of their exclusive habitat in the forests being encroached upon and gradually destroyed by outsiders, thereby slowly depriving them of their forest dependant livelihood. They do not desire to come down to the plain land, thus trying to maintain their group solidarity and isolated life style.

Esoteric Elements In Kamar Folklore

No other ethnic group knows about the esoteric elements inherent in Kamar Folklore. The ethnic self image and the ethnic stereo type of Kamars in relation to the Gonds and their indifferent attitude towards other communities are not visible in the present Kamar life style. But when the traditions of their folklore are carefully studied and analysed, the esoteric components would be revealed. Similarly their folklore has given them a sense of unity and integrity in their in-group building and ethnic mobilisation.

Cultural Diffusion

In the oral narratives of the Kamar we may see certain motifs which denote the age old cultural interaction between tribal and non-tribal groups in Central India. The following motifs are found in the Kamar narratives :-

Narrative-1 : Creation myth :-

- i) Mahadeo -Siva as Supreme God.
(a supreme God of Hindu Pantheon)
- ii) Concept of deluge and creation of earth, bird and animal by Mahadeo
(a concept similar to those of the Hindu myth of creation.)

- iii) Floating of a box in de luge and the first brother sister in the box.
- iv) Brother-Sister incest.
- v) Talking deer warning a de lugu on the earth,
- vi) Creation of man from the union of brother & sister.

Narrative -2 : A Kamar Hero :-

- i) A pregnant Kamar woman taking shelter in a Brahmin's house in Patna Kingdom. (A caste-tribe relationship)
- ii) The Kamar hero taking revenge on his father's enemy and regaining his father's Kingdom.

Narrative - 3 : Laxmi :-

The Goddess of wealth appearing as a Kamar girl in Kamar widow's house. (Laxmi is a Hindu Goddess)

The Motifs of creation myth of the Kamar have striking resemblance with the Hindu mythology in which Goddess Laxmi accepted the puja made by an unclean caste woman by entering her house.

Studying the tribal myths of Central India, Blackburn is of opinion that these myths are by no means free from sanskrit influence. (Blackburn : 1977 :200). The motif of talking deer in Kamar myth is influenced by the Hindu mythology Srimad Bhagabata. In this text a small talking fish warned the king Satyabrata of the future deluge on the earth. The king was indentified later, as Manu. (Srimad Bhagabata, VIIIth skandha :24 Adhyaya). As the context of tribal myth is jungle, the Kamar had witnessed a talking deer. This shows the cultural influence of Hindu mythology in a tribal culture of Central India.

The narrative of a Kamar hero Kachra Dhurua is also influenced by the Chauhan kings of Western Orissa. (Ramsey;

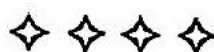
1910 :281-303). Similar myths are also found among other tribal communities of Central India (Mishra; 1993 :20).

It shows that an Indian aboriginal community confined to a particular geographical environment has similarities in the mythological beliefs and concepts with those of the greater Aryan tradition of India vis-a-vis retaining their ethnic identity through their oral traditions.

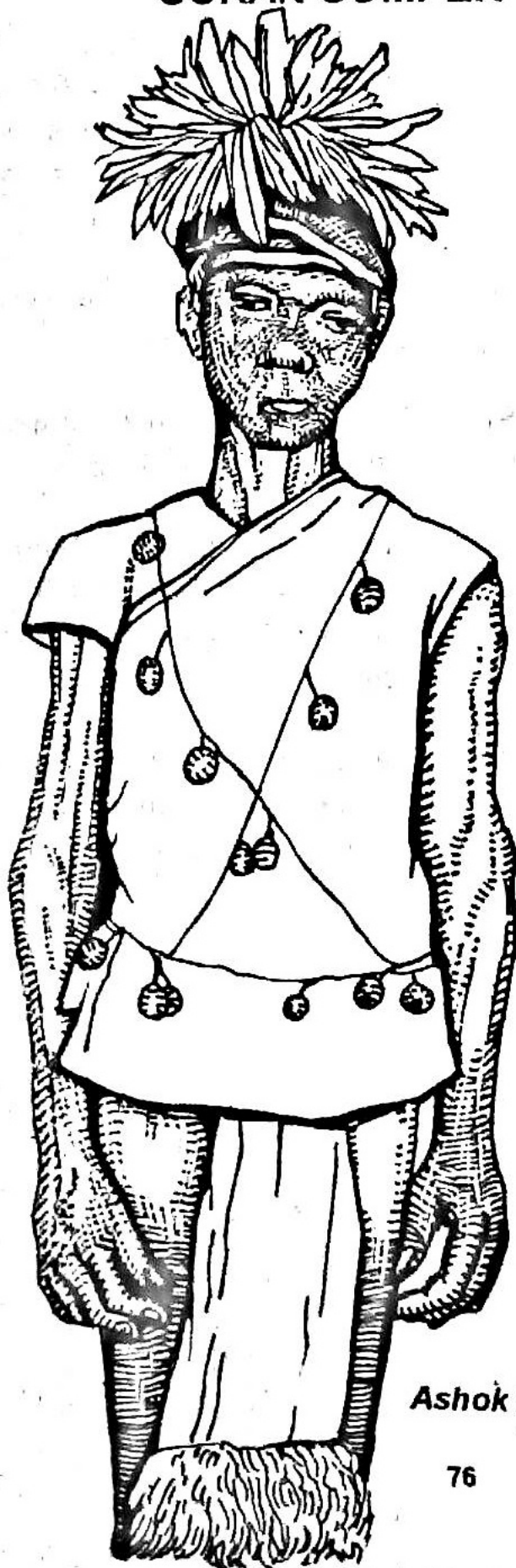
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MONGEI GOMANGO :
THE FATHER OF SORA SCRIPT -
"SORAN SOMPEN"



Ashok Kumar Dasbabu

Orissa is the wonderland of marvellous art, craft, architecture, culture, tradition, religion, language and also many great personalities. A number of poets, artists, philosophers and social thinkers took birth in this holy land and passed away leaving their great deeds have made them immortal. Sabar Pandit, Mongei Gomango, the inventor of the Sora Script is one of those great personalities.

There are sixty two categories of scheduled Tribes living in different parts of Orissa. Among them the Sabar or Sora is one who live in each and every corner of Orissa. But they live in large numbers in the Gajapati district and Gunupur Sub-Division of Rayagada district. They have their own language called 'Sora' which come under the "Austro Asiatic language" family. The script of this language "SORAN SOMPEN" was invented in the year 1936. Being inspired by religious and nationalistic feelings. Mongei Gomango, a literate of the Soura community went on meditation for 21 days in a forest adjoining his village Marichguda and saw a script in his dream as a gift to Sabaras. Their legendary "Daru devata" reappeared, in the form of "Akhyara Bramha". The letters of Akhyara Bramha symbolize 24 important Gods of their religion which forms the 'Sora Script' "Soran Sompén". It means the phonetic box of the Soura. The stone on which the script was first visible has become a place of pilgrimage for the Sora. In the idol of Akhyara Bramha, twenty four syllables, numbers upto twelve and a symbol of wisdom are arranged in the shape of Oriya letter "OM". All these letters were kept hidden inside a temple made of cement. there are three small gates in it. According to the Soura, these gates are named after three Hindu Supreme Gods ; Bramha, Vishnu and Maheswara.

The news of invention of the soura script by Mongei created a great stir among the Soura society. Travelling village to village he tried to create a consciousness among the people. But the Soura people who were living in the darkness did not accept it easily. From Gunupur to Gudari, many Gomangos opposed it.

Still Mongel Gomango devoted to his duty never gave up. He suggested to all his known persons that, in the absence of this script their language would perish. Slowly but steadily his message reached his tribesmen. Basing on this script a new religious sect was formed in the name of "Matter Bramha Damdree". The followers to this new religion were persuaded to give up the use of country liquor and animal slaughtering before God. In one way it helped their economic upliftment and in the other it created a consciousness among them to become bettermen. In the beginning, Mongei made verbal propagation of these principles. Those baptised by him tried to lead a disciplined life. This newly invented script was then linked to this new religion and thus it gradually gain acceptance among the people. All believed that "Daru Bramha" has come back in the form of "Akhayara Bramha", Mongei devoted himself day and night to propagate it. From 1936 to 1952 only verbal propagation was carried on. Towards 1952 Mongei started propagating it by writing in small pocket books. But it was not possible to provide the books to all Soura brothers in writing. So he tried for a permanent solution.

In the year 1965 he travelled to Vijaywada of Andhra Pradesh, where he contacted the "Inter Press" to arrange printing in his script. At first the letters were printed by using stone blocks. But mistakes were found in some letters. So Mongei made some changes. In this time, a Soura language book named "SABARAMKLAYNAMI" was published from "Swatantra Art Press" of Vijaywada.

Instead of printing the books outside, Mongei took interest to publish them in a press of his own. At this time some personalities came forward to help Mongei and offered donations.

Being financed by Nilambar Sabar(Ghanatri), Bisa Sabar (Adlasa), Suku Sabar, (Bamuri Dangar,)Narasingha Sabar (Damsara), and Pechang Sabar (Damsara), Mongei left for Srikakulam in 1966 to purchased a printing machine. At last he

purchased an old printing machine from "Rama Press". But, he could not get the licence to start his own press. Still Mongei did not lose patience. Later, in the Year 1972-73, he got a licence, Pechang Sabar donated a piece of land at Dambsara to establish the press. At first only letters were printed. Then starting from primers, religious books and history books were also printed. In total 23 books were printed and the writer of all the books was Mongei. Published books were distributed among the Soura people, free of cost. Publication of all these books in their own language evoked new thinking, new consciousness in them. In the year 1976, for the first time a Sora school was established in Marichguda village. It was named as "Matter Bnam Bigyan Prachar Ashram". Later on many such schools were established in different Soura villages. Many educated Souras taught there honorarily. All the Souras came out with a great joy for the sake of development of their own religion. Many schools were also opened not only in Orissa but also in different parts of neighbouring state Andhra Pradesh.

There were no specific curriculum in these schools.

Also there were not any guidelines regarding the syllabus or text books for different classes. Only the books of scripture, moral education, arithmetic and grammar were taught, Certificates having the signature of the President, Secretary and the teacher of the "Matter Bnam Bigyan Prachar Ashram" were awarded to the qualifying students.

Mongei Gomango himself was an educated person. For the development of his community he introduced the script through the medium of a religious community in order to see that the backward Soura Community do not lag behind the march of time and civilisation in this modern era. He fought day and night to root out the age old prejudices & superstitions from his community. He won the heart of the people by sharing their sorrows and happiness. He knew both Astrology and Mantras which also helped

him to win the confidence at his tribesmen. He prepared the herbal medicines from Indigenous roots and herbs and cured people from many incurable diseases. Again using "JHODA PHUKA"(a primitive magico-religious curative paractice using "Mantras".) he could invoke belief in the minds of his people. As a result people loved and respected him.

He campaigned against the tradition of ritual sacrifice of animals and drinking of country liquor by his tribesmen. He went on travelling from village to village to propagate his script and reforms by crossing the remote mountainous and densely wooded soura country for the betterment of his own community. He used to stop his journey wherever night fell and took whatever food available there. At last became know as 'Sora Guru'. He used to write using pen and paper wherever he stayed.

Now many of his manuscripts are seen in the houses of many Souras. These manuscripts are full of advice for his Soura brothers.

He creates such a new pulsation among the soura of Gunupur region that his fellowmen thought as if he was an angel, who saved a declining Primitive society. It is true that he is no more today, but following his teachings. Many Souras became educated and gave up slaughtering of animals and drinking of country liquor to build up a healthy society and environment.

The creator of the Sora Script, Momgei Gomango was not a linguist. Being borm in an ordinary Soura family, he left such an invaluable asset to his community that, he shall be remembered for all time to come. Some errors are there in this Script, but looking from the angle of phonetic theroy, it is not totally unscientific. According to the linguist, Dr. Khageswar Mahapatra. "It is not only a script but also a symbol of spiritual, Social & cultural awakening of the Soura community in total." None but Mongei deserves all the credit for this.

CULTURE

TRIBAL HERITAGE OF INDIAN CIVILIZATION.



L.K. Mahapatra

Introduction :

To raise the question of the Tribal heritage of our Indian civilization is almost a blasphemy. For, it is a sacred belief and conviction in the mind of the general public that it is the aryan and Aryan alone, who had been responsible for creating and developing the civilization in India. This civilization of the Aryan people spread, according to this belief, to the Dravidian people of the South and to the Tribal people of the interior and on the Eastern borders. But, Unfortunately this is not even a half-truth. Firstly, there was civilization before the Aryan hordes came to India. We refer here to the Indus Valley Civilization which flourished about five thousand years ago. If we remember that the civilization in vedic times was quite different from what followed in the days of the Puranas, we could hardly question the fact that, the Hindu Civilization of India was the end product of a long-standing process of indigenous development. The ancient Civilization of India was a product of India, borrowing strands, elements and institutions from outside India, for example, Iran, Mesopotamia, Egypt, Greece etc. We need not go into details here. We may just refer to the most colourful combination of diverse peoples and cultures brought into the vertex of the Mahabharata war in fighting for some common causes and values. This vast drawing together of the Aryan, Dravidian and numerous tribal resources in men, materials, technology and knowledge, was symbolic of the process of building up of the Indian civilization. The tribal contribution and components were not the mean or the least part and parcel of the great Indian civilization.

How a civilization emerges and grows :

For, this exactly is the way in which indigenous civilizations have arisen and grown in the valleys of the Nile, the Tigris and Euphrates and also of the Indus. There are two major ways in which the complex and sophisticated civilizations originated and developed. Firstly, by drawing upon the cultural resources of the

tribal peoples available in the region and secondly, upon the resources borrowed from other civilizations or cultures outside the region. We may indeed quip the famous couplet thus : when you and I were the tribesmen, where was the civilization ? True to this line of thinking, we find in the Indus Valley civilization the skeletal and sculptural remains of the people allied to those of the present day tribals and other peoples of India.

Indus Valley Civilization and the cultural and Racial continuities

From this point of View we are not surprised to find to the cultural and racial continuities in India in basic features from the heary days of the Indus Valley civilization. Think of the cow worship, tree worship, Mother Goddess worship and Pashupati cult, Yoga and even the linga or Phallus worship, which are traced by most scholars to have originated and spread from the Indus Valley Civilization Centres. The gap between the cow-eating tribes and the cow-worshipping tribes of ancient texts and present day India, is not in any way lesser than the cultural hiatus between the cow-sacrificing civilization of the Vedas and the cow-worshipping and horse-meat avoiding civilization of the Puranas.

Tribes within and outside the Varna system

That the tribes formed the web and woof of the Aryan society is known even from the Vedic days. Now, who are the shudra, Who formed the vital fourth varna, with whom the Brahman, the Kshatriya and the Vaishya consorted ? They are nothing but the assimilated tribes. Their compatriots outside the Varna system were the famous Nishada, Shavara, Dasa and Dasyu tribes and the mongoloid Kirata tribes of central, southern and eastern India besides those of the Himalayan hills. Even in the vedic days some cults and gods of the Nishada were given importance by the Aryan. The famous Asura Priest Shukra, becoming a venerated Aryan authority was not an exception to

the process of integration of cultures and peoples going on in India. The tribal 'Yavana' hordes of the Shaka, Huna, Yuchi, Kushuma, Gurjara etc. being elevated to the highest Kshyatriya status is only the most famous historical example of the same process of integration of peoples and cultures in India. Again, who are the so-called untouchables within the caste system, though outside the varna system ? they are, after one plausible view, basically the tribal groups having defiling customs and crafts. Who were Mlechchha and Antyaja groups.

However, it redounds to the credit of Indian civilizations that the diverse, customs, religions and social institutions of the tribes, whether inside or outside the varna or caste system, were not suppressed, even if these were looked down upon. In Eastern India, including parts of the northeast frontier hills of Arunachal Pradesh, Nagaland, Meghalaya, Manipur etc. the predominance of the tribal peoples and cultures was so patent, that the questions are reasonably asked in the reverse -who are not originally the tribals, what is not basically derived out of the tribal heritage of the region ? What is known as *deshachara* in culture and institutions and what is known as *deshaja* in the Aryan languages of Eastern India, are basically of tribal origins. If the marriage of cross-cousins is popular in western Orissa, whereas it is not so in most other parts of Orissa, it is primarily because of the dominance of the Gond tribal chieftains in the region. Kamakhya, the famous centre of shakta cult near guwahati, is reputedly a Khasi tribal goddess and cult centre, according to the linguist and culture historian Dr. Kakati. To this day many gods like Sri Jagannath of Puri, Sri Lingaraj of Bhubaneswar and sri Nursinhaswamy of Simhachalam are acknowledged as of tribal Savara origins.

Popular Hinduism and tribal religions

Dr. Hutton, the famous author of *Caste in india* and the veteran anthropologist and former census Commissioner of India, was so overwhelmed with these facts that he drew many parallels

between popular Hinduism and tribal religions. The animal scapegoats and sacrifices, votive offerings, spirit possession, worship of animals, plants and other objects, the anthropomorphic nature of gods and spirits, magical beliefs and practices, etc. etc. are only a few of the examples of the basic similarities between the two. The tribal derivation can be easily documented by taking a census of those village goddesses, other regional gods and goddesses in villages and towns of Orissa, where the priests are traditionally the local tribesmen. And these gods, goddesses, and the fasts and festivals in their honour, are as much important for the so-called non-tribals as for the tribals in the region.

Tribal and Peasant Worldview

This pattern is repeated, if you also take into consideration the *weltanschauung* or the world-view of the tribal peoples and the rural peasants. Both are considered as superstitious, conservative and immune to the rat-race of the achieving modern society. Like the tribal people, the peasants also depend on the supernatural powers for their weal and woe, and their primitive technology is considered inadequate, their actions are not future or longterm-oriented and the relatives are indispensable in their scheme of life. More or less self-contained, at least that is the ideal, they are loath to trust strangers. These and other parallels have been brought out convincingly by Dr. Surajit Chandra Sinha, formerly the Vice-Chancellor of Viswabharati University. I have drawn a rather simplified picture only to heighten the effect of continuities.

Tribal Cultures as Residues of Civilizational Process

By studying the process leading to the emergence and development of civilizations of the world and by drawing parallels between the Hindu society and culture at the village and the regional levels, anthropologists have come to the view that most of the tribal cultures found in India have been involved and used

in the process of building up the great mosaic, the variegated fabric of civilization in India. In fact, some like Dr. Hutton go to the extreme of holding them up as the residues of culture building materials, which were not absorbed, systematized or refashioned in the civilizational process in India. To put it fragrantly, the tribal cultures of India till the other day, were rather like the essence yielding plants, from which the cultural essence had been extracted to fill the pool of civilization of India. In other words, basically, the tribal cultures in India and Indian civilization had been derived from the same stuff, though dressed and served differently. This view is inescapable, if we rightly emphasize the indigenoussness, the Indianness of our civilization. To give you one example, tribal music of Barabhum area in West Bengal has been shown by Dr. Purnima Sinha to be directly ancestral to some raga / ragini of the classical North Indian style. That is, there is sometimes a continuum from the tribal music through folk music to the classical music.

This civilizational process is however, not a one-way traffic. There is what is known as a feed back process. The tribal cultures, out of which the civilization emerged and grew, are in turn influenced and changed by their own end - product, the civilization. Therefore, the Hindu civilization affects them here and there and everywhere. This results in the induction of the concept of reincarnation, which itself was a reinfication of the widely prevalent tribal concept of transmigration of souls, the concepts of **Papa** and **Punya** re-enter and replace the naive moral values of punishment for wrong committed against the gods and spirits. Tribal headmen are elevated to the status of chieftains and kings, and division of labour by age, sex and ethnic groups is transmuted to caste-like occupational structure, arranged in a hierarchy and concepts of purity and pollution and even of untouchability, infiltrate into the tribal society.

This rather cyclical process of give and take between the tribal cultures on the one hand and the ancient, yet growing

civilization in India, on the other, became complicated when the Islamic and western industrialized civilization spread to India. Those cultures which had always come remained marginal to, and beyond the pale of, the ancient civilization, especially in the northeastern hills, did not have to shake off any moorings in the old Indian civilization. It was rather easy for them to adopt a new religion and to reorient their way of life in accordance with a cut-and-dried frame of religion from a foreign civilization. For a large majority of the tribal peoples in India, the tribal heritage in the traditional Indian civilizations perhaps holds some mysterious charm of kinship and continuity, and that helps them to approach the mainstream of Indian society with some confidence and trust.



**STRUCTURAL CONTINUITY OF TRIBAL
CULTURE AND INDIAN CIVILIZATION :
AN ANALYSIS OF ORISSA SITUATION.**



N. K. BEHURA

During the last five decades, following Redfield's concept of 'folk-urban continuum', and Redfield and Singer's concept of continued interaction between a Great Tradition and Little Traditions', Indian and western Social Anthropologists have made a number of contributions to our knowledge of the nature of functioning of the indigenous civilization of India. In order to achieve this they painstakingly carried out fieldwork in urban centres, village communities and among tribes. Some of them have highlighted the pattern of interaction and correlation between the Great Tradition of India, as systematized and elaborated by the specialist literati, mainly in urban centres and the Little Traditions of little communities (Sinha, 1958). These scholars have mostly focused their attention "on the 'outer portions' of the continual spectrum of India's tradition, i.e its local and all-Indian aspects", and avoided the study of various regional traditions of India (Eschmann et al, 1978 : XIII). Study of 'regional traditions' needs team work, and its neglect may be partly due to the "prevailing trend of carrying on "Micro-studies' by individual research workers in social Anthropology, and may be partly due to the vague feeling that the regional traditions represent neither the "unspoiled" Sanskrit tradition nor the pure village life, but a distorted "provincial" variant of both" (Eschmann et al, 1978 : XIII). Regional traditions "form not only literally the "central portion" of India's tradition, but also the true melting pot of the local and the all-Indian tradition" (Eschmann et al, 1978 : XIII).

Social Anthropologists began concentrating on the study of the structure and organization of the Indian civilization during the post-second world war period which was one of the watersheds of Indian history. Redfield's concepts of 'Great Tradition' and 'Little tradition' together with Srinivas' concept of 'Sanskritization', which were of tremendous heuristic importance, provided intellectual spurs to Social Anthropologists for the study and analysis of the structure of Indian Civilization.

Redfield's and Srinivas' concepts stand for two different types of social process. Redfield conceptualizes consistent and

multiple channels of communication between a 'Great Tradition' and the 'Little traditions'. He labelled as 'peasant society' the social group that perpetuates Little Tradition in relation to a Great Tradition ; and this he distinguished from the isolated self-sufficient 'folk-society'. Unlike the ideal folk society, the peasant society is in continuous interaction with "country-wide net works" tied to one or more urban centers" (Sinha, 1958: 504) Sinha holds that "the urban dimension of a primary civilization is mainly a product of elaboration and systematization of a core culture pattern shared by the peasant hinterland" (ibid). Whereas Srinivas' concept provides an approach for studying social change and mobility in Indian society with regard to the "reference group" theory.

It is evident, no doubt, that Redfield's concept dichotomizes the all-India 'Great Tradition' and 'Little Tradition' of India's villages into two analytical categories and emphasizes continuous interaction between them, whereas Srinivas' concept of 'Sanskritization' emphasizes emulation of the model of all-India Brahmanical tradition in the context of social change and mobility. These concepts have been further developed by Marriott (1955), Bailey (1960), Sinha (1962) and Dumont (1970). Marriott has stressed a continuous process of "Universalization" and "parochialization" Bailey and Sinha have emphasized an uninterrupted tribecaste continuum and Dumont has acknowledged Brahmanical model of Indian society as the basis of local as well as regional caste systems.

These studies corroborate the fact that in Indian society there are shastrachar or textual, deshachar or regional and lokachar on folk models of the Indian civilization; and thus deshachar and lokachar are the variants of Indian Dharmashastra. The variants represent different levels (lower, middle and upper) of systematization of Indian civilisation, and as such, the problem of mutual influence of these levels of Indian civilization has become the focus of analysis. This factor has been amply exemplified in the writings of both Western and Indian scholars. Cohn and

Marriott (1958) have analyzed network and centres in the integration of Indian civilization ; Singer 1959 has discussed the media of cultural transmission as a uniting factor for the 'Great and the Little traditions'; Marriott(1959) has delineated the channels of cultural transmission in Indian civilization, and Raghavan (1959) has described the methods of popular religious instructions as perpetual reinforcing factors between the various levels of Indian civilization.

In this paper, we are concerned with analyzing the socio-cultural position of tribal societies in Orissa vis-a - vis the stable agriculture- based village communities and the urban societies, which are the loci of the centres of civilization. In this process we shall be analyzing the mutually interacting strategies and patterns of all the three broad segments of Indian civilization, viz, tribal / folk, caste / peasant and urban.

According to Redfield an indigenous civilization is characterized by the existence of a Great Tradition above Little Traditions ; the former signifies critically systematized thoughts and ideational excellence as formulated by the literati specialists, and the latter denotes unsystematized oral traditions as perpetuated by a peasant society. A civilization is also further characterized by the existence of hierarchies of urban centres which are the loci of different levels of 'Great Tradition', as abstracted on the basis of material and ideational excellence, and are connected by complex networks of cultural communication with each other and with peasant societies / village communities of their respective command areas.

Within the scope of the above concept, when we try to comprehend the structure and function of the Indian Sanskrit civilization certain confusion arises ; for instance, an urban centre, which is the seat of a Great Tradition, is not a homogeneous social whole. Apart from the specialist literati it also contains other social categories whose lives are chiefly guided by local oral traditions,

and their Little Tradition may rank higher to those of the village / peasant communities in the command area or hinterland of the concerned centre. Because other social categories within an urban centre do have direct and face-to-face interaction with the specialists and as such are in the close proximity of the cultural symbols of the latter.

Redfield holds that a social group which perpetuates 'Little Tradition' in relation to a civilization is labelled as 'peasant community'. In Indian context scholars have conceptualised a village community as similar or equivalent to the 'peasant community'. This is empirically partly correct and conceptually fallacious. Because a village community though overwhelmingly comprises Hindu peasantry, who belong to the middle order of the social hierarchy, it also includes other caste categories belonging to both higher and lower positions of the ranking order, namely, Brahman, artisans, craftsmen, ritual servants, and castes of various other hereditary avocations. Besides these, a village community often contains Dalits and tribesmen, who in the traditional Hindu social structure were exterior communities. And even from a cursory review of the structure of the village community it is evident that only some caste categories pursue agriculture as their hereditary occupation and others practise various other callings. Traditionally the moving equilibrium of the social structure of a village community rested on its caste-bound economic pluralism'. Sinha, following Redfield, says that "peasant societies" are stable agriculture-based village communities whose members, though largely guided by local oral traditions, have also channels of communication with specialists and centres of civilization" (1980 :3). It is an accepted fact that Indian village communities have stable agricultural base, but all the constituent caste categories do not pursue agriculture even as one of their subsidiary occupations, although they have a vital stake in agriculture. And, moreover, when there are different categories of Brahman, who are specialist literati, in a village community, is in correct to say that they are "largely guided by local oral

tradition" ? Therefore, in an Indian village community all the constituent caste categories have first-hand vertical channels of communication with the local specialists, apart from the channels of communication they have with various centres of 'civilization' as well as with other village communities. Sinha also says that in "Indian context peasant societies are further characterized specifically by Varna-Jati system of birth ascribed status hierarchies and hereditary division of labour" (1980:3). From this one can draw a conclusion that mobility in the social hierarchy is difficult within a village community, but there is no hindrance in the flow of cultural symbols of the higher to the lower, if such symbols are positively valued. Amongst the higher Shudra caste categories an individual has the option either to accept or eschew any cultural symbol ; whereas, the choices of the members of lower Shudra caste categories, namely, artisan, vocational, ritual-service and exterior groups, are more restricted because in their case, nature and type of emulation or eschewal of cultural symbols of other groups are determined by their respective caste councils and assemblies-the local and regional caste organizations.

Indian 'village communities' are not homogeneous social wholes like peasant societies', elsewhere, and all of their constituents are not 'largely guided by local oral traditions' and do not look up to urban centres of civilization for guidance in the moral sphere always.

In contrast to 'peasant society' the folk or tribal society has been defined by its primitive status, ethnic and cultural homogeneity, relative isolation from the networks of social relations with other socio-cultural universes as well as from cultural communications with the centres of civilizations. Sinha adds that "in their isolation the tribal societies are sustained by relatively primitive subsistence technology such as shifting cultivation and hunting and gathering and maintain an egalitarian segmentary social system guided entirely by non-literate ethnic tradition" (1980 : 3)

Ray (1972) while elaborately dealing with the historical background of the contemporary tribal science says that the term tribe in ancient India was jana, meaning ethnic groups, and the territory they inhabited as janapada. Sinha also points out that "some outlying janapadas were labelled as Atavika rajya (forest kingdoms) and Pratyanta Deshas (frontier regions). And while the term Jana referred to 'tribe', the term Jati referred to the "socio-religious cum economic organisation that was supposed to sustain the Jana and keep the given community of people together" (Ray, 1972 :9). Ray maintains that "in the whole body of historical data at our disposal there is hardly anything to suggest that these communities of people belonged to two different social and ethnic categories altogether" (ibid). Apart from these literary facts, there is also hardly any evidence to prove that in the collective mind of Indian people there is any consciousness of a clearcut difference between the two sets of people, i.e. jana and jati, excepting the fact that they belong to different socio-religious and economic organizations. And indeed the janas or tribes were different from jatis or castes only in the sense that the former continued to remain outside the Brahmanic Varna-jati hierarchical social system. Sinha observes that today also Hindus 'label the 'tribes as jatis (sometimes jungly jatis'). (1980 : 2).

It is believed that in the remote past it must have been impossible for those janas who lived in the proximity of the Varna-jati communities to resist the pressure of the superior social organization with superior techno-economy as those of the latter. And facts also attest some of the janas who were defeated in war by the Varna-jati communities were made socially subservient, being reduced to slaves and labourers and eventually were incorporated in the Hindu social system, and seem to have been assigned the lowest position in the social order (Ray, 1972 :14). Sinha also holds similar views and says that "It is generally agreed that for several thousand years Atavika janas have been in contact with the encroaching and engulfing plough cultivation-based

Brahmanic Varna-jati civilization and that numerous hitherto isolated and autonomous groups have been absorbed in the body politic of the civilization (1980 :2).

The British administration in India introduced the term "tribe" to designate the techno-economically backward isolated and autonomous section of the population in the 19th century. It soon discovered that the tribes presented a wide spectrum of cultures and were at various levels of techno-economic development and acculturation with regard to the Hindu culture. And in fact till the early part of the current century some of the tribes were completely isolated and autonomous, whereas some others had assimilated Hindu culture in varying degrees. This indeed had posed a problem for various census Commissioners from 1872 onwards in demarcating tribes as a socio-economic category distinct from the castes. The general tendency among most of the non-christianised tribes till Independence was towards articulation with the caste society. Because of their lowly social position they treated the castes as their reference groups for emulation. "From 1872 onwards the successive British census Commissioners of India have noted down that throughout India tribes were being gradually transformed into castes"(Sinha, 1980 :6). Risley (1915) also endorses this view point. (Bose 1941) too in an incisive article emphasized as to how a section of the shifting cultivator Juang tribe adapted to the economy of the neighbouring caste Hindus under pressure from the latter, and was ultimately fagged on to the larger body of Hindu society Moerman while discussing the problem of ethnic identification in Southeast Asian Society says that "tribe can be described, defined and analyzed only in terms of that society's contrast to civilized society which..... it can never ignore..... " (1969 :164). This is suggestive of the fact that the larger society, which is techno-economically more advanced, impinges upon the partially-isolated and culturally autonomous primitive societies. Sinha also emphasizes that tribal transformation in India "will have to be studied along the central axis of tribe caste /peasant polarities"(1980 :4). But the process

is not a symmetrical one as it operates on both vertical and horizontal planes. Tribes are at various levels of socio-economic transformation as the 'exterior' and lower Shudra caste categories are at various levels of Brahmanic culture. In consequence the 'reference' group of each varies from the other.

In Orissa context we find that there are intra-tribal, inter-tribal, tribe-caste and caste-caste interactions. Emperically it has been found that all the sections of certain major tribes of Orissa are not on the same techno-economic level ; and in terms of social evolutionary parameters they are indeed at different levels. For instance, among the Bhuyans, the Pauri section, which practises shifting cultivation, treats the Rajkuli section, which has taken to settled agriculture and has become Hinduized, as its 'reference' group among the Kondh the Sa'la section which depends on shifting cultivation, tries to emulate the life style of the Deshia section, which has Sanskritized its style of life while taking to settled agriculture ; the Suddha Saora, the Hinduized section of the Saora tribe, is the 'reference' group for the Lanjia section which is in moorings of its traditional economy, among the Santals the Sarna Hor used to emulate the life style of the Sadhu Hor (Hinduized), which has, to some extent, been arrested by their solidarity (tribalism) movement. Now the Santal Leadership to insisting on Santalization of Santals.

From the above facts it is clear that tribes as a social category, outside the varna-jati social system, do not always treat caste groups as their 'reference' group. More ethnographic details are necessary for the precise comprehension of the channels and patterns of cultural communication, within the macro-framework and super-arching networks of the pre-industrial Indian civilization.

Ethnographic facts from Orissa attest that the pattern of cultural adaptation in the tribe caste polarity is bidirectional. certain artisan and "exterior" castes penetrated into tribal interiors in search of better economic opportunities during the early part of

the 19th century when the British Administration established its link with various hitherto isolated tribes by opening up roads ; and since then, these caste people have been living in tribal villages side by side with tribals. Sinha also says that "these tribal communities have been in touch with the traditional network of weekly markets whereby they are involved in economic symbiosis with at least ten or more Hindu castes. This has been going on for at least a hundred years in most cases. Besides this participation in the organized market system, the tribal communities are, in most areas, in intimate contact with at least four Hindu or Hinduized artisan castes : the blacksmith, the basket maker, the potter, and the weaver" (1958 :505).

In Orissa, whenever these Hindu castes are numerically small in number and are fully encysted by the overwhelming local tribal population in an isolated forest and hilly habitat the former have adapted to the local natural and cultural habits. Here the Pressure of the tribal culture in an untampered habitat is stronger on the Immigrant caste population.

The influence of encysting tribal cultures in some cases is so strong that at least in three cases some of the artisan castes almost completely have adapted to the culture of the encysting tribes, excepting the fact that each of them continues to maintain its endogamy, because all of them are considered socially inferior by their tribal neighbours. One of the major reasons of their being relegated to a relatively socially inferior position is that they are outsiders in the territory of the tribes, who consider themselves as autochthones and masters of their territory.

Here we shall confine ourselves to the data from two Dravidian tribes and one southern Mundari tribe of South Orissa, viz the Koya, Kondh and Gadaba. And for illustration of the pattern of Cultural adaption we shall select three caste categories, namely the blacksmith, the potter and the basket-maker cum weaver, the latter is a scheduled caste. In Koya and Gadaba area the

blacksmith and the potter are designated as Koya/Gadaba Kamari and Koya/Gadaba Kumrulu respectively ; whereas the basket-maker cum weaver caste is referred to by its caste appellation, i.e. Musuri among the Kondh the blacksmith, the potter and the basket-maker cum weaver are designed as Kui Kamaranga, Kui Kumaranga and Kui Damanga. The Kui Damanga have given up their traditional occupation of basketry and weaving. We shall briefly discuss hereunder certain aspects of the culture of the blacksmith, the potter and the basketmaker cum weaver castes which bear complete simimarity with the cultures of their respective encysting tribes.

1. IDENTITY AND SOCIAL STRUCTURE :

All these caste categories identify themselves with the identity and appellation of their respective encysting tribes, i.e. 'Koya', 'Gadaba' and 'Kuienga' (Kondh) ; and for them too the reference group is the tribe or a large segment of it, i.e. the sub-tribe(such as Gomin Koya, Bar Gadaba and sa'la Kuienga). Each such caste category is believed to be ethnically distinct, and hence endogomous ; and each is segmented into a number of exogamous patrilineal totemic clans and the clan names are similar with those of their encysting tribes. Each clan includes within it a number of unilineal discent groups, each of which is a solidary agnatic unit. Succession to ranks and inheritance of property remain confined to the descent group, which are handed over by one generation to the next. In the terminological structure there is an emphasis on the unilineal principle, and it conforms to the 'bifurcate merging' type as the principle of the equivalence of siblings is operative. The mode of mate acquisition, marriage rules and regulations and marriage types are not a whit different from the encysting tribes. The preferential secondary marriage rules, i.e. junior levirate and sororate are also similar.

There is very little specialization of roles among them excepting those based on age, sex and kinship criteria. There is

no specialization of the role of priest, and they are also not served by any Hindu caste. The tribals treat them as socially inferior and do not accept any cooked food from them. The tribals exercise symbolic ritual superiority and local political supremacy over them.

2. IDEOLOGICAL SUB-SYSTEM:

There are no anthropomorphic gods and goddesses among them. They do not propitiate gods and goddesses of the Hindu pantheon, rather they worship all the presiding deities and spirits of their tribal neighbours in time. In their conception of spirits are of two types, namely, benevolent and malevolent, and it is the latter who cause sickness, mishap and even death; and they, like the manes, expect personal loyalties and devotion. The benevolent spirits are not conceived as possessing ethical qualities, but are considered as harmless even if they have not been satisfied with offerings. Whereas the Sun God and mother earth are considered as sustainers of life on earth like father and mother.

All supernatural entities are propitiated for ensuring happiness and security in this world, for avoidance and elimination of sickness and for abundance of crops. The axis of their entire ritual nexus is hedonism. All supernatural rites are performed with the belief that there would be continuity of pleasure in life. They have a belief in rebirth and transmigration of souls into various forms of life, "but there is no connection between ethical action and the form of reincarnation" (Sinha, 1958 : 512). They have also a belief that in rebirth there is no shuffling of generation, that is, members of old and even generations are reborn in respective generations only.

The human world is believed to be dependent on the natural world for survival, and hence the latter is brought within the scope of social and moral order "Man, nature and the super-natural are connected in terms of intimate relationship" (Sinha, 1958 : 512).

3. LANGUAGE :

The mother-tongue of these caste categories is the same as that of their encysting tribes; in Koya area it is Koya, in Gadaba area they speak Gadaba and in the Kondh area it is Kui. Mostly they are bilinguals, that is, in additions to their respective mother-tongues they know Desia, the local link language.

The brief account on the three artisan castes presented above is much too general . However, it helps us to develop a right perspective to comprehend how these caste categories, who have been living amongst tribesmen for several decades, have completely adapted to the culture of their respective encysting tribes as well as to their serene forest and hilly habitat. Despite certain commensal and connubial restrictions between them on the one hand and the tribes on the other, these caste categories have been striving for complete integration and absorption with their tribal neighbours. The basket-maker cum weaver, who belong to Harijan castes do not like to limit their social and moral universe to their respective ethnic groups because of the unsavoury stereotype which is attached to their castes.

Since Independence all the tribal groups in Orissa and elsewhere in India are being exposed to the outer world in a planned and phased manner and are being tagged to the national society in various ways as a sequel to the constitutional provisions as under Article 16(4) and 46. As a result of the post-independence exposure not only the tribes but also these encysted caste groups, who in the past were through the process of tribalisation, are now undergoing gradual transformation. And, moreover, as these caste groups are still in perfect articulation with their encysting tribes the nature of their transformation is not different from that of the tribal communities. The transformation is rather relatively retarding in case of the blacksmith and the potter as they do not come under the scope of welfare programmes meant for Scheduled tribes and castes.

From a discussion of cultural adaption we shall now proceed to an analysis of the persistence of tribal cultural elements in Peasant / caste societies of Orissa. In the folk/ tribal-peasant/ caste continuum it is difficult to demarcate the socio-cultural boundary of the tribal universe and separate it from the Varna-Jati social system. Absorption of tribal societies in the Varna-jati social system is an old phenomenon (Ray, 1972) and the process was in operation in Orissa till almost the time of Indian Independence (Bose, 1941). In Orissa absorption of tribal societies in the varna-jati social system is more likely for three reasons : (1) the physiography of Orissa had kept the State almost in cultural isolation from other parts of the country ; and since 9th century onwards there had been some political and cultural inroads into Orissa, which have not significantly affected the configuration of the regional culture of Orissa. The regional culture of Orissa has a distinctive character and it revolves round its central axis of Jagannath cult, which is the confluence of the elements of tribal, Jaina, Buddhistic and Brahminical religious systems : (2) Orissa was overwhelmingly a feudal state. Before Independence there were 26 Garhiats or feudatory states apart from numerous zamindaris in the State. The Garhjat Rajas had the prerogative to elevate the status of a low caste in the social order, and to confer caste status on a community which was outside the Varna-jati system (Mahapatra, 1976). The Raja of Mayurbhanj had raised the status of certain sections of the Bathudi tribe to the levels of various artisan and ritual service castes (Behura, 1978). In Mayurbhanj there are Bathudi barbers, washermen and potters who are on the positive side of the caste pole as they are rapidly undergoing the process of Sanskritization; (3) In Orissa there is a preponderance of tribal groups. There are as many as 62 recognized scheduled tribes with a total population of 70,32,214 that is, 22.22 per cent of the total population of the State (as per 1991 Census).

The concept of tribe does not refer to a set of static economic social and ideological parameters; it simply means 'the

people '(Leach, 1964 fried, 1966) or 'communities of people (Ray,1972) who are changing and evolving like others. Sinha in one of his earlier writings considered the tribal cultures. "apparently to be outside the main historical current of the development of Indian civilization and "the only way to study them in relation to that civilization will be in terms of numerous particular acculturation studies involving the contact of tribal cultures with already formed centres of Indian Civilization (1958: 505). And secondly he says that "the tribal cultures may be conceived of as a backward branch of traditional Indian civilization;" and thirdly he said that "the tribal cultures give us an idea of the initial primitive level of cultural raw materials that contributed to the development of Indian civilization"(ibid). But in one of his recent papers he has revised his earlier stand, and says that "tribal societies and cultures in India are not to be understood merely as a primitive dimension or reservoir of cultural raw materials for the evolved peasant societies kept at a level of primitivism under the massive thrust of the networks of the civilization"(1980 :4). He has revised his earlier stand in view of the post-independence trends in the transformation process. However, tribal societies are to be understood as changing and evolving ones; but the direction of change in all cases is not towards the Hindu pole. For instance santals in Orissa have launched a solidarity movement the basis of which is tribalism. santal elites have been trying to project the new identity of the tribe before their masses, and thereby steer social change in their society in the desired direction.

However, the caste society in Orissa has been influenced by tribal cultures because of the process of Hinduization and incorporation of Janas in the Varna - Jati social system. In order to illustrate this we shall confine ourselves to two aspects only namely social structure and religion.

SOCIAL STRUCTURE :

Almost all the tribes of Orissa belonging to Austric, Indo-aryan and Dravidian language families practise unilateral as well

as bilateral cross-cousin marriages under preferential marriage rules. Many artisan, vocational and ritual service jatis do practise cross-cousin marriages. Such marriages are also found, but at a declining rate, among certain higher Shudra jatis of South and Western Orissa, viz. Dalua and Agharia. Cross-cousin marriages are almost nil among the Chasa, Khandayat and Karan and all other higher jatis of Orissa.

There are various forms of bride acquisition prevalent among the tribes of Orissa, viz (I) Capture, (ii) Elopement (iii) Service, (iv) Purchase and (v) Negotiation. "Negotiation," though considered as highest form of marriage, is practised less; whereas 'capture', 'elopment' and 'purchase' marriages are more among the lower Shudra Jatis. In addition to negotiated marriages other forms, such as marriage by service and marriage by purchase are practised; but among all the higher jatis mostly negotiated marriage is found.

Child marriage is still in vogue among the koya, Gadaba, Gond, Konda, Jharia, Pengo, Saora, etc. who belong to all the three language families viz Austric, Indo -Aryan and Dravidian. Child marriage is also practised by many artisan, vocational and ritual service castes of South and Western Orissa.

In case of almost all tribes of Orissa, belonging to all the three language families, a girl is given in marriage as soon as she attains puberty. This is also the practice among all the lower Shudra jatis whereas in case of all the higher castes marriage is little delayed.

All tribal societies practise widow remarriage, polygyny (both sororal and non-sororal), junior levirate and concubinage. Such marriage types are also found among all categories of Shudra jatis in Orissa.

Payment of bride - price in marriage is a customary rule in case of all the tribes of Orissa. Payment is made partly in cash

and partly in kind; it may be paid before the marriage ceremony or may be deferred and it may be paid in full at a time or be paid in instalments. The nature and quantity of bride-price is, more or less, uniform in a subtribe /tribe. Bride - price is also paid among the various lower Shudra jatis, but it has no fixed form; its form and quantity are mutually determined by the contracting parties. among higher jatis bride - price is completely absent, and instead, payment of dowry has been institutionalized. Bride - price confers a special social status on a married woman in all tribal societies, and likewise, dowry among the higher jatis elevates the status of a married woman among her affines.

Divorce is prevalent in all the tribal societies, and both the contracting parties have the right to divorce. Divorce is also found among the lower Shudra jatis, although its frequency is less; but it is rare among the higher jatis .

In our discussion we have avoided the exterior jatis because the issue before us is the persistence of elements of tribal culture on the Varna -jati social system

RELIGION :

"Hinduism has an extraordinary capacity to incorporate and amalgamate other religions and alien cults.... and the whoever is born in India is essentially a Hindu"(Eschmann, 1978 :79)

In corporation of folk religious elements in Hinduism is referred to as "inclusivism". The process of incorporation of folk religious elements into Hinduism has been termed as "Aryanization" and "Universalization".

There are some functional differences between Hinduism and folk religions. In Hinduism the deity (Ganesh, Kartik, Durga, Kali, Saraswati or any other) appears through the medium of an iconographic image. The function of the image is to mediate the

presence of deity. The arrival of the deity through his /her image is ascertained by the attending priest through rituals. After the arrival of the deity the priest commences sequentially the elaborate paraphernalia of sorasa upacara or sixteen services, which are called puja. The upacara or services are : (1) avahana or invitation (2) asana or offering of seat, (3) arghya or offering of clean water, (4) Padya or washing of the feet of the deity symbolically, (5) acamana or offering of water for cleansing, mouth (6) madhuparka or offering of light refreshment, (7) snana or symbolic bath through rituals, (8) vastra or offering of cloths. (9) upavita or offering of sacred thread, (10) gandha or offering of sandal -paste, (11) puspa or offering of flower, (12) dhupa or offering of incense, (13) deepa or offering of lamp, (14) naivedya or offering of meal, (15) vandana or paying of obeisance, and (16) visarjana of farewell.

Devotees are admitted for audience or darsana only after the deity has arrived in the image, and usually they witness the last three upacaras. In important Hindu temples upacaras are offered to god / goddesses regularly as many as five times a day. In contrast to this "in tribal India anthropomorphic images of gods are rare" (Elwin, 1955 :577). "Tribal shrines may be completely empty..... or else contain uniconical symbols -wooden posts, earthen posts -or elementary symbols like stones and trees" (Eschmann, 1978 : 81). The religious functions, as in Hinduism, are not conferred on these symbols in tribal religions. Because the functions of the deity are obtained through a living man, who possessed the deity. The priest /shaman/ shamanin may be possessed by the spirit of the deity at anytime, that is, whenever needed, and "therefore regularity in the performance of ritual is much less important to tribal religions than to Hinduism (Eschmann, 1978 :82)

In tribal religion deities are propitiated and sacrifices are offered at the time of need. In contrast to this, in Hinduism, apart from regular worship, the occasions of sacrifice are fixed, and they are made at specific places near the shrine or temple, rather than

before the images and symbols, and the gods and goddesses are invited symbolically in order to partake of the sacrifice, as it happens in the temples of Biraja of Jaipur, Chandi of Cuttack and Mangala of Kakatpur.

In Hinduism regularity and frequency of worship and offerings are synchronized with the natural time, and this is not an essential criterion in tribal religions. Unlike Hinduism, dates of annual village level festivals are fixed by the village functionaries in tribal religions, and as such, dates of festivals also vary from village to village.

In Hinduism the deity manifests and is approached through an iconographic image. but in tribal religions the same appears through a human medium and is directly approached by the devotees, and the latter also communicate directly with the deity.

Hinduism or Brahmanical religion as practised by peasant / village communities are not similar to codified or sastrya form, although it is several degrees away from the tribal religions. Religion as practised in village communities falls in between textual or sastrya Brahminism or Brahmanical religion and tribal religions. A village community contains Brahman as well as a number of non-Brahman caste categories. The religious beliefs and practices of Brahman caste groups, more or less, conform to the standards of regional religious texts, and the latter are a variant of the Original Sanskrit texts. The religious beliefs and practices of the non-Brahman caste categories in a village community are several degree removed even from the regional sastracara. As the non-Brahman castes outnumber numerically the Brahman caste groups in the village communities, the abstraction of their religion can be taken as representing the true regional tradition or desacara. And this desacara or regional tradition is an admixture of both textual and folk elements. Eschmenn's assertion that "desacara practices are not folkloristic additions which might be observed or not" is not empirically valid (1978 :83). In Orissan desacara there are

folkloristic additions which are binding for observance. Apart from many other examples we can cite here the institution of ghantapatua which is attached to the Mangala of Kakatpur and Charchika of Banki, two important Saktipitha of Orissa. The ghantapatua are the Harijan religious specialists who possess the goddess(es) on the occasion of the Jhamu festival. On the first four tuesdays of the month of Chaitra (March -April) the ghantapatua move round the villages to perform shamanistic dances being possessed by the goddess. In the villages devotees belonging to all caste categories take advantage of the divine revelation, and prophecies of the Harijan ghantapatua. On the last tuesday all the ghantapatua congregate near the temple premises and perform orgiastic dances being possessed by the goddess. Here too Brahman devotees prostrate before the ghantapatua performers in solicitude for divine blessings.

In many caste villages the priests of the village goddesses belong to non-Brahman caste Hindu or to a Harijan caste, and Brahman devotees of the village do propitiate these deities with the help of such priests.

These are the empirical evidences of the persistence of elements of tribal religion in the base line Hindusim, which is often termed as the "local custom" or lokacara. However, inclusion of folk elements in the practice of Hinduism at village level is optional or facultative. A village community incorporates a number of caste categories belonging to various positions in the Varna-jati system, and certain jatis belonging to higher positions in the social order may not practise the "local custom" or lokacara.

Hinduization, Aryanization and Sanskritization all no doubt refer to a continuum between the poles of tribal religion and textual Hinduism, but they too signify progressive transformation of existing cultures.

The process of cultural communication between various levels of an indigenous civilization, viz folk, peasant and urban as

defined by Redfield has become an important subject of analysis. But the application of the model in Indian context has been somewhat infructuous. Singer is right when he says that "the unity of Hinduism does not exclusively reside in an exemplary set of norms and sacrifices, such as those defined by Sanskritic Hinduism, or in an alternative "lower level" popular Hinduism of the uncultivated masses. The unity is to be found rather in the continuities that can be traced in the concrete media of song, dance, play, sculpture, painting religious story and rite that connect the rituals and beliefs of the villager with those of the townman and urbanite , one region with another, and the educated with uneducated" (1927:47). But he has not gone to the crux of the problem of Indian civilization. He follows the model of Redfield in his analysis, and believes that cultural communication in Indian society is mostly in the downward direction, that is, from centres of civilization (cities and towns) to peasant societies and from there to tribal societies. This is an over simplification of the complex structure of Indian society. The traditional as well as modern Indian society will have to be understood through three structural criteria, namely, hierarchy, stratification and segmentation. The structure of Indian society has to be delineated by means of these three criteria. Indian society includes numerous tribal societies, village communities (which includes various caste categories and others), religious groups (Jaina, Buddhist, Muslim, Christian, Zoroastrian and others) and ascetics, who constitute smaller sociocultural wholes of the omnibus Indian society. The network of relationships among all the constituents is much more complex than it appears to be at the surface. The relationships cross-cut and intersect each other vertically, horizontally and diagonally. And therefore the structure of Indian civilization can be better understood and analyzed in the light of Bose's model. He says that "the structure of Indian unity canbe compared to a pyramid. There is more differentiation at the material base of life and progressively less as one mounts higher and higher. It is needless to say that the implication is not that the village people are more different from

one another than city people or sophisticated and propertied classes; but that, whether it is villager or a dweller of Indian towns, there is more variety in regard to some aspects of life and less in relation to others (1961 : introduction).

Bose's concept provides the right kind of perspective for the analysis of Indian civilization; it not only takes care of traditional Indian society but also that of the modern Indian society. Modern Indian society is largely a product of Indian constitution, the spirit of which is equality fraternity. secularism, democracy and socialism. It provides directives for social change. Thus it can reasonably be said that social change in modern India to some extent is planned. As an instrument of social change Indian Constitution has provided certain spurs for the rise of social movements; and 'tribalism' is one such movement, which the modern India is witnessing. Constitution of India has provided ample new win to hitherto backward sections of Indian mass, and some of the ethnic groups have taken advantage of this opportunity in order to organize themselves on the basis of 'rank-path', and have defined their sociocultural identities. But whatever it may be, one who is born in India (Hindusthan) is a Hindu (citizen of India) ,and whatever may be his inner socio-cultural identity, he will continue to be an Indian and will continue to articulate himself with other consituents of Indian society. Therefore Bose's model is the most appropriate basis for study and analysis of Indian civilization.

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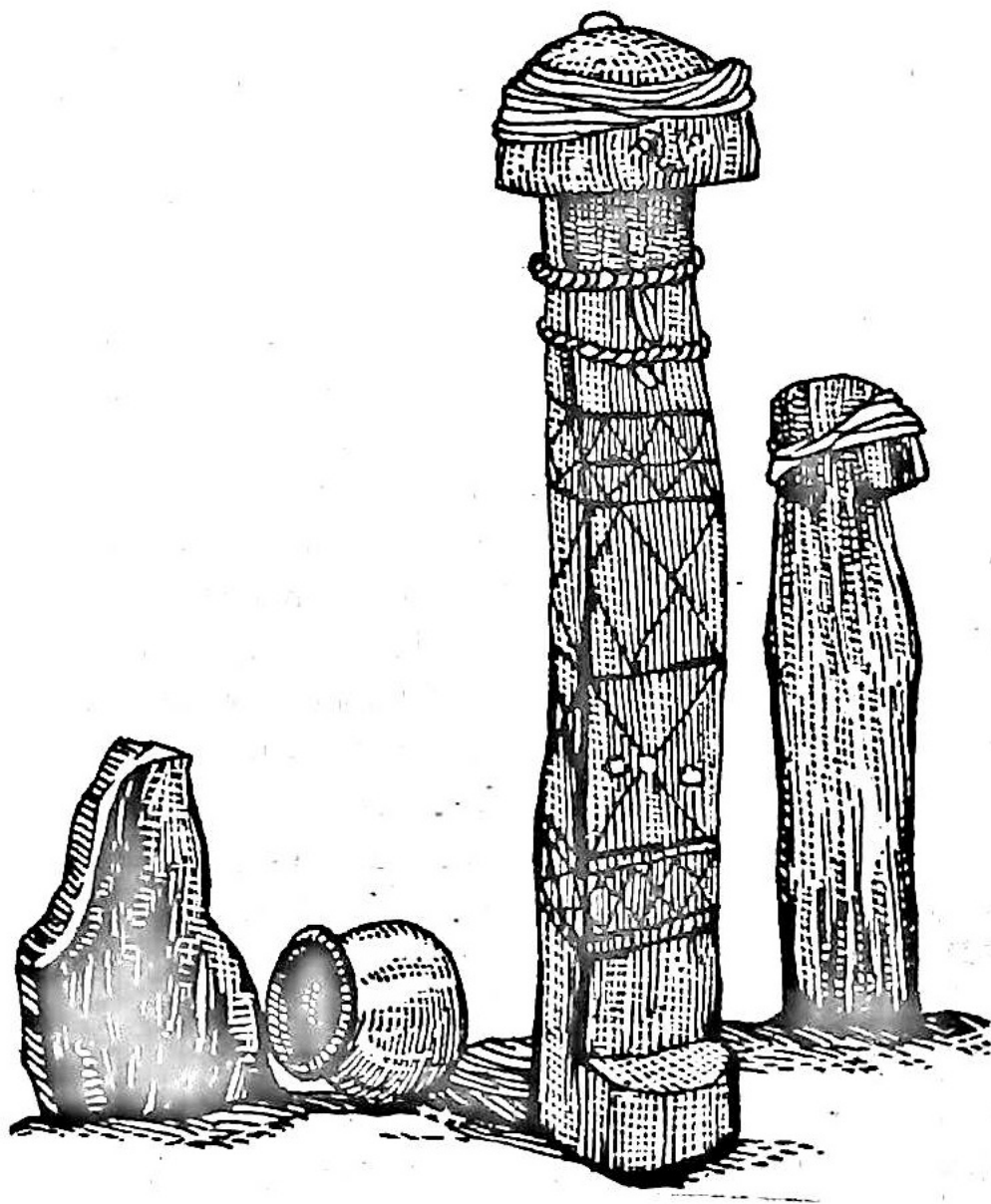
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ASPECTS OF TRIBAL INFLUENCE ON ORISSA'S HISTORY AND CULTURE



K.S. Behera

Geographically Orissa can be divided into two parts: the coastal plains and the hilly region which lies to the west. The alluvial plains along the coast had been the home of settled population, while the hilly region was the home of aboriginal tribes. Even now Orissa is a highly tribal populated state with as many as 62 tribes belonging to three ethnic groups. The tribes constitute 22.21 % of the state's population. The tribes has influenced the history and culture of the state to a very great extent. There are good grounds to believe that Orissan culture, which developed in a broader Indian framework, have assimilated folk and tribal cultural elements all along its very long history.

The name "Orissa" is derived from "Odra" which is a tribal name. In the Munda language we come across a term like "Orea" which denotes the name of a clan (Kili) of the Mundas. Kalinga also probably represents a Munda name. This region was named as Odra, Kalinga, Utkala after the tribes inhabiting this area. A micro study of the etymology of these geographical names as well as other place names of Orissa may throw further light on the subject. In any case there is no doubt that aboriginal tribes such as Pulindas and Savaras lived in Orissa in the distant past. The Mahabharata shows that these tribes, led by Kalinga King, participated in the famous Kurukhetra War. The Baudhayana Dharma Sutra prescribes performance of punastoma and sarvaprstha sacrifices for the purifications of travellers visiting the territories of the Araltas Karaskaras, Pundras, Sauviras, Vangas, and Kalingas. Why did these regions were considered impure ? The epithet sankimayoni used of these people would suggest admixture of Aryan and Dravidian elements in their culture. The earliest inscription of Orissa, the Edicts of Asoka, refers to the unconquered Atavikas (anta avijita) and the emperor's policy towards them. He declares; "The king (Asoka) desires that they should not have any anxiety because of him, they should be consoled by him, and they should obtain happiness and not sorrow from him". At the same time he warns them that the 'Beloved. of

the gods has power even in remorse and he tells them to desist from doing harm, as otherwise they would be killed". This shows that Asoka tried his best to win the loyalty and co-operation of the tribes to consolidate his rule over Kalinga. The next important inscription, the Hatigumpha inscription, does not indicate the relationship between the tribes and the ruler. The inscriptions of the post Samudragupta period, however, refer to forests and forest kingdoms. The Asanpat inscription, discovered from Keonjhar district, throws light on Maharaja Satrubhanja of Naga dynasty, who is described as a ruler of Vindhya-tavi. Loka vigraha, as known from Kanasa copper plate, ruled over coastal Orissa as well as adjacent regions in the hills. This is evident from the expression "tosalyams" = astadasa' = atavi rajyam (Tosali with 18 forest Kingdoms). In Orissan inscriptions we find reference to Trikalinga which was probably situated in the hilly area to the west of Kalinga. The Magulipatna grant of Amama I (916 -925 AD) states that Vengimandala adjoins the Trikalinga forest (Trikalinga atavi yukta). The Narsinhapur charter of Uddyotakesari refers to land of the Savaras where leaders hostile to Naghusa had taken shelter. Pandit Binayak Mishra gives the following translation of the relevant verse: "The old Savara women, having suppressed the tears in order to teach how to wander in the forest, took pity on the females of his (Naghusa's) enemy and told them that there are many ruttish elephants, and there is also a strong lion having irresistible access all over the world and again there are huge snakes in the holes in the caves of the hills". It is likely that during civil war between Naghusa and Indraratha a number of people of coastal Orissa had taken shelter in the land of the Savaras. The Polsara plates of Arkesvaradeva (1148 AD) records grant of one half of village called valigram situated in varttani visaya forming part of jhada khanda Dess. The inscription of Ganga monarch Narasinha II (1295 AD) also mentions south Jhada Kanda (daksina jhadakhanda madhya). The Sirati-Firuzshahi, contains a brief account of aboriginals of Orissa. Their dress was made of peacock feather, while the flesh of buffalo served

as their food. They never built any houses, but preferred to live on or beneath the trees using the leaves and grass as their beds. They perhaps never had any utensil, and for drinking water they used to cup their palms over the running streams. When any of them was in need of inviting the help of his fellow tribes men, all he had to do was to lop off an earlobe with some sharp instrument, when his fellow tribes men saw the blood on his person, they would rally round him in a great number. They were capable of driving away wild animals by their shouts and roars, but when they saw cavalry approaching, they would beat a hasty retreat and climb up trees like monkeys."

The physical features, the forests, hills, rivers and valleys - facilitated the growth of separate small states in the early medieval period. These states are Kongodamandala (covering the hilly region of Ganjam and Puri Districts), Kodalaka mandala (Dhenkanal District), Yamagartta mandala (covering parts of Dhenkanal and Keonjhar Districts), Ariavartta mandala (covering Dhenkanal, Cuttack and Puri Districts), Khinjali mandala (Sonepur, Baud, Athmallick region), Khiijinga mandala (Mayurbhanj and parts of Keonjhar District), Banai mandala (Bonai area of Sundargarh District), Kamala mandala (comprising old state of Kalahandi), etc. In an excellent paper on "Early state formation and royal legitimization in Late Ancient Orissa" Dr. Hermann Kulke refers to the significance of this political development. These small states became the "nuclear areas" for diffusion of high traditions of Brahmanical culture. As he points out "They were centres of integration of tribal elements rather than of their "sustained displacement". The establishment of Brahman villages, spread of Sanskrit learning, construction of temples, in tribal zones had considerable importance. The historical sources do not suggest that original inhabitants migrated or fled away. The new development must have facilitated a slow process of acculturation. The interaction of cultures must have led to incorporation of some elements of High - sophisticated culture by the tribals and

incorporation of tribal elements by the higher sections of the people. This cross - cultural assimilation gives a new dimension to Orissa's culture. The chiefs in a tribal surrounding depended on the loyalty of the local tribes to consolidate their political power. Some of the tribes gained higher status. In some cases tribes were adjusted into the caste hierarchy or given a particular rank in the political organisation. The political influence of tribes even survived to the modern period. In Keonjhar a new chief ascends the gadi being carried on the back of a Bhuiya. In Bonai the Raja had no right to exercise any authority until he had received the tikka or token of investiture from his Bhuiya vassals. The Khonds who constitute an important tribe in Kalahandi, claim the right of placing the new Raja on the throne. Another interesting custom is that the chief must marry a khond girl. This ceremony is observed by presenting a khond girl to the chief who later returns her to her parents in the convenient pretext of khond system of divorce.

Another very significant aspect which deserves mention is the probable tribal origin of some dynasties of early medieval Orissa. The traditions preserved in the epigraphical sources trace the origin from cock, egg of peahen etc. Such traditions may not be historically correct but they suggest the original environment in which these dynasties established, Pulindasena the progenitor of the Sailodbhava family was famous among the people of Kalinga (Khyata Kalinga janatasu). He was evidently the chief of the aboriginal tribe of the Pulindas of Mahendra Giri region. He did not covet sovereignty for himself and worshipped Lord Swayambhu who granted his wish and created apparently out of rock (Sila sakalod vedi) Sailodbhava who became the founder of the dynasty. The Cuttack Museum charter mentions : "Beyond the human vision from a mass of rock came out the founder of the dynasty who appeared as the son of a deity or a second moon". It is probable that the myth indicates that the dynasty flourished in a rock region. It may be that Pulindasena adopted one of the scions of the Sailajas who are associated with the Pulindas in the

Puranas. The Bhanjas of Khijjinga kotta trace their origin from the egg of pe-hen. The Bhanjas of Khinjali mandala, according to their geneological tradition, originated from egg. The Nalas of Koraput region claimed descent from Nala, great king of Nishades (Nala nrupati kula anvayah). Some of the Tunga rulers styled themselves "astadasa gondramadhipati" or overlord of Gond tribes. Some scholars also trace the origin of Sulki rulers to the ancient Sulki tribes and the Bhauma - karas to the Bhuiyas. Thus some of the dynasties flourishing in Orissa between the 6th and the 11th century represent "Hinduised social promotion" of various indigenous or aboriginal tribes.

The Indian culture, especially in its religious aspect has also been enriched by folk and tribal elements at the level of rituals and the deities. The aryastava of the Harivamsa throws light on Durga's association with hills, caves, forests, wild animals and her being worshipped by tribes such as Pulindas and Savaras. Some of the names of the Devi such as Aparna, Nagnasavari, Parna Savari (of Mahayana Buddhism) indicate the tribal environment in which the Devi worship developed. The cult of Stambheswari, which is a unique contribution of Orissa, represents Hinduisation of the tribal worship of a pillar or wooden post. The epigraphical evidence shows that Stambhesvari worship was much popular in various parts of Western Orissa and it was patronized by rulers of Bhanja, Tunga and Sulki families.

The tribal aspect of the worship of Samalai is indicated by her peculiar unorthodox image and Sahara Savakas. The image of Samalai is unique and it does not conform to any Devi icon of Hindu iconography. In Orissa so far no comprehensive survey has been made of the grama devatas or village deities. Many of them were aboriginal deities who have been incorporated into local Hinduism. The tribal influence can be traced in the development of Saivism. The Svayambhu linga of Lingaraja representing a natural rock, originally worshipped under a mango

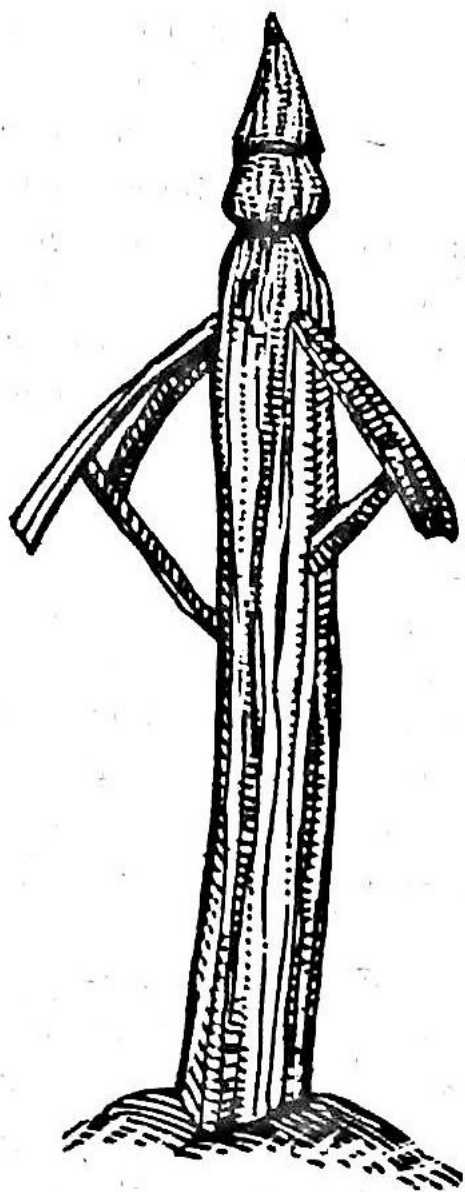
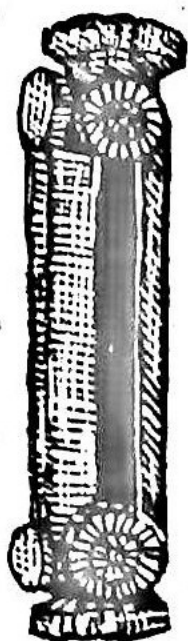
tree, indicates the environment in which the worship developed. Like the Daitas of Jagannatha temple, the Badu priests of Lingaraja temple - are believed to be the descendants of Savaras who originally worshipped the Linga. The chinta potri priests of Siva temple at Kapilas also claim descent from Savaras.

The tribal background of the cult of Jagannatha has already been pointed out by a number of scholars such as Dr B. Padhi, Dr. K.C. Mishra and Dr. Eschmann. Dr. Eschmann has provided new insight for understanding the pre - Brahmanical aspects of the cult by drawing attention to similar contemporary tribal cults of Orissa. Dr. Geib has analysed the different versions of the Indradyumna legend which associates the worship of Jagannatha, with Savara Chief Visvavasu. The peculiar form of Jagannath, legends, nonvedic and non -Aryan elements in ritual practices would evidently suggest that Jagannatha was originally a non - Brahmanical local deity with following among the tribal masses of Orissa. In course of time, however, he was identified with Visnu - Purusottama and was regarded as the Lord of the Universe. In the 12th Century the temple of purusottama Jagannatha was constructed by Anantavarman Chodaganga Deva. From early 13th century Purusottama Jagannatha was considered as the King of the Orissan empire. Even today he remains the greatest symbol of Brahmanical tribal synthesis and pivot of Orissa's religious life.

Thus there can be no doubt that folk and tribal elements had considerable effect upon the development of Orissa's culture and history. The rapid Survey, however, is no Justice to the subject. In this short paper I merely make a plea for more intensive and depth study. Such a study requires an interdisciplinary approach involving cooperation of scholars of literature, anthropology and history.



CONTRIBUTION OF TRIBES TO ORISSAN CULTURE IN THE POST GUPTA PERIOD



Late S. C. Behera

Orissa is a hilly region with a long coast lines. The hilly tract of the state comprises about three fourths of its area. Tribal people of the proto -Australoid type constituted the oldest racial group of the region which was mainly populated by the Pulindas and the Sabaras from very early times. The Pulindas are first mentioned in the Aitareya Brahmana (VII.8) along with the Sabaras (1) with whom they have been very often associated and sometimes confounded. We learn from the Mahabharata (2) that Sahadeve proceeded to South India after defeating the Pulindas in a war. This reference indicates that the Pulindas dwelt in the Vindhyan range which extended as far as Mahendragiri in the east coast of Orissa. They seem to be identical with the Atavi people (3) who had been warned by Asoka in his Rock Edict XIII. The Atavikas in Orissa were so powerful in the third century B.C. that even after the victorious campaign of the Kalinga war Asoka felt the necessity of enforcing Raja Dharma in Kalinga in order to control the rising power of the tribal people who dwelt in the forest region of Kalinga.

By the fourth century A.D. Mahendragiri which was the cradle of the Sabaras and the Pulindas. had been accorded recognition as one of the seven Kulagiris of ancient India. Most of the Puranas (4) which were compiled in the Gupta period, bear testimony to this fact.

If Puranic tradition is to be believed one tribal chief called Guha (5) ruled over Mahendragiri and its neighbourhood in or about the fourth century A.D. The Matharas who ruled Kalinga in

1. Cunningham's Reports Vol. XVII; See also Vamana Purana Ch. XIII, 48 - 49.
2. S.K. Aiyangar, Begininings of South Indian History (1918) p. 60
3. Sircar, D.C. Select Inscriptions Vol. I p. 35
4. Vide Vamana Purana Ch. XIII Vr. 14
5. Kalinga Mahisaschaiva Mahendra Nilayaschayo /Etan Janapadan sarvan palayisyati vai Guhah / Vide purana Text of the Dynasties of Kali Age (Pargiter) p. 54

the fifth century A.D. also realised the importance of the tribal population which dwelt in Mahendragiri and therefore, they converted the hilly tract into an administrative unit called Mahendrabhoga visaya (6)

The fall of the Matharas in the middle of the sixth century A.D. was followed by a short period of chaos in the history of Kalinga. The Vakatakas, (7) the Visnukundins (8) and other powers attacked Kalinga which then was without one single sovereign. It was at that critical hour that the tribal strength of Mahendragiri emerged as the redoubtable force and saved Kalinga from total disintegration.

We learn from the charters of the Sailodbhavas that in the Kulagiri called Mahendra (9) there flourished a great tribal chief called Pulindasena (10), who was famous among the people of Kalinga. He was a highly impressive personality with his tall figure, charming arms broad chest and bewitching eyes. Although he was thus an accomplished hero he did not crave for the lordship of Kalinga. He prayed to Lord Siva on the Summit of Mahendragiri and as a gift from the Divine he was blessed with a successor named Sailodbhava, who came out of pieces of rock and founded the dynasty that bore his name. (11)

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6. Vide line 2 of the Dhavalapeta Plates (E.I. Vol. XXVI pp. 132-135)
 7. E.L. Vol. XII pp. 133-136
 8. A.S.W.I. Vol. IV p. 119, IC. Vol. VII p. 372
 9. Srimanmerurivodgatah Kulagiri Ksato Mahendrah Ksitau (E.I. Vol. XXIV p. 148)
 10. Pramsukamahebhakarapivara Charu Vahu / Krsnasma Sanchaya Vibheda Visala Vaksah/ Rajiva Komala dalayata lochanantah / Khyatah Kalinga janatasu Pulindasenah (E.I. Vol. III p. 43)
 11. Sa Sila Sakalodbhodi tenapya lokyadhemata / Parikalpita tadvamsah Prabhu Sailodbhava Krtah (O.H.R.J. Vol II p 20)

The dynasty which thus emerged in the middle of the sixth century A.D. in the rocky region of Mahendragiri undoubtedly marks the rise of the most powerful tribe of Kalinga in a Brahmanical garb. There was a Hinduised social promotion of the Pulinda tribe. The Gonds(12) of South Kosala have a similar myth with regard to their origin. Lingo was their leader, who liberated the first man of the nation from a cave in the Kachikopa Lohagarh or Iron valley in the Red Hill. Mahadeva is said to have closed the mouth of the cave with a large stone, sixteen cubits high. Linga removed the stone and sixteen score of Gonds came out of the cave. Origin from inanimate objects like rock is a common tradition among various tribes, who were worshippers of Siva.

Under what circumstances Pulindasena became a devout worshipper of Siva is a subject of socio - anthropological interest. The tribes of the hilly region were worshippers of tree from very early times. But in course of Aryanisation they came in close touch with the Brahmanical form of Hinduism. In . R.K. Veda(13) Rudra has been invoked as the Lord of forests. This reference indicates that the tribal people who dwelt in the forest were devout worshippers of Siva. We are inclined to believe that the worship of Siva in the form of a Lingam emerged from tree worship which like serpent worship was an ancient cult of India. The primitive people who dwelt in the forests and hills of eastern India having embraced Saivism worshipped Siva in the form of Linga which more or less resembled the trunk of a tree.

In the inscriptions of the Sailodbhavas Siva is eulogised as Sthanumurti (14) In the Sanskrit lexicon(15) Sthanu means a

12. Cunninghams' Reports Vol IX p 150

13. Hastings, J. Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics (1954) Vol XI pp.91-96.

14. See line 7 of Buguda Plates (E.I. III p. 41)

15. Apte, V.S. the Students' Sanskrit - English Dictionary (1965) p. 622.

branchless trunk'. It is interesting to note that in the Mukhalingam Ksetra Mahatmyam, (16) which is a part of Skand Purana, there is an anecdote which supports our hypothesis that the worship of Siva Linga emerged from tree worship. According to the anecdote a Sabara Chief who lived in the vicinity of ancient Kalinganagari near modern Paralakhemundi, had two wives who were allowed to maintain their livelihood, from the yield of a Madhuka tree. One of the wives was devoted to Siva and she was blessed with golden flowers from the tree while the other had not this privilege. Consequently there was a quarrel in the family and the tribal chief in utter disgust cut the tree at its very root. Strangely there appeared from the root of that tree a Siva Linga whom the people of that locality worshipped as Madhukesvara. A critical study of this anecdote and the literary and archaeological evidences indicates that in its beginning Saivism in Orissa was a synthesis of primitive tree worship, protohistoric Linga worship and Vedic Rudraworship.

In the post Gupta period the powerful tribal population of Kalinga came under the spell of the Brahmanical school of Hinduism. Both the Sailodbhavas and the early Gangas who emerged as great political powers of Kalinga in the Post - Gupta period embraced Saivism and honoured Mahendragiri (17) as the seat of Gokarnesvara and Swayambhu Siva. The Pulinda Chief called Pulinda Sena chose a worthy person from his own racial stock in the rocky region of Mahendragiri and under the influence of the Brahmanical School called him Sailodbhava. It is striking to note that Varahamihira refers to certain tribes of the Vindhya as "sailajas(18). Apparently the Pulindas and the Sailajas joined together and contributed to the rise of a royal house which not only bore the name Sailodbhava indicating its tribal origin but also rendered remarkable contribution to Orissan Culture in the field

16. Rajaguru, S.N. Inscriptions of Orissa Vol II p 178

17. Inscriptions of Orissa Vol II p. 64

18. Brihat Samhita Text Ch. XVI Ur. 2

of religion and fine arts. The Sailodbhavas came under the influence of the teachers of the line of Kadamba Guhavasi (19) and championed the cause of Saivism in Kongoda in the seventh century A.D.

The Sailodbhavas not only patronised the cause of Saivism but also upheld the importances of Vaisnavism by richly contributing to the Cult of Madhava, which again in the tradition of the Sabaras is identical with the cult of Jagannatha, Sainyabhita I and his grandson Sainyabhita II of the Sailodbhava family bore the second name Madhava. In the charter that was discovered at Khurdha (20) Sainyabhita II alias Madhavaraja II though a devout worshipper of Lord Siva paid obeissance to Chakradhara Madhava as the supreme Lord or Bhagavan. It is interesting to note that at the foot of a hill called Krsnagiri near Khallikote in the Ganjam district of Orissa we notice an interesting image of Madhava made of tituechlorite stone by the side of an image of Uma Mahesvara, both assignable to the seventh century A.D. According to a legend recorded in Skanda Puran (21) Visvabasu, an aboriginal Sabara was a servant of the God Jagannath. He used to worship the deity in the form of blue stone image (Nila Madhava) at the foot of a tree. Subsequently the image disappeared and the deity reappeared as a log of wood which was converted into the image of Jagannath. Laid bare, the story clearly indicates that the cult of Madhava which was the faith of the aboriginal Savaras was absorbed in the cult of Jagannath. A critical and comparative study of the legendary account and the inscriptions of the Sailodbhavas leads us to believe that the cult of Madhava which was popularised in Kongoda (modern Puri and Ganjam districts of Orissa) in the seventh century A.D. by the successors of Pulindasena contributed to the growth of Jagannath

19. E.L. Vol. LXXIV pp. 239 - 243

20. J.A.S.B. Vol. LXXIII pp. 282 -286

21. L.S.S.O' Malley & P T. Mansfield : Puri District Gazetteer (Patna: 1929) p.97. Eschmann, Kulke and Tripathy. The Cult of Jagannath and the Regional Tradition of Orissa (1978) p 27

cult which even now maintains in its fold the strong hold of the aboriginal Savaras.

The tribes of Orissa not only contributed to the growth of Saivism and Vaisnavism but also rendered significant contribution to the growth of Saktism from very early times. We learn from the Terasinga plates of Tustikara (22) that by the fifth century A.D. in the wilds of the Kalahandi district of Orissa the cult of the worship of the mother goddess through the medium of a post (Stamba) had been widely popular. There is no doubt that the cult of Stambhesvari, like the Linga worship, emerged out of the primitive tree worship of the aboriginal people who dwelt in the forest region. This cult was later on adopted by the Bhanjas and the Somavamsis and even now the goddess is worshipped in the form of Stambhesvari or Khambesvari in various part of Orissa. It is striking to note that the Somavamsis who believed in the cult of Stambhesvari were the worshippers of Bhadrabika. We are inclined to believe that the cult of Stambhesvari and that of Bhadrabika contributed their share to the evolution of Subhadra in the triad of Jagannath.

To sum up, the Pulindas, the Savaras and the Sailajas who emerged as a great political power in the new name of the Sailodbhavas absorbed vital elements of the Brahmanical form of Hinduism. They synthesised the primitive tree worship and stone worship with the anthropomorphic concept of Brahmanical gods and ultimately laid the basic foundation of Saivism, Vaisnavism and Saktism of early medieval Orissa.



**ELEMENTARY STRUCTURE OF BEAUTY
AND LOVE :
EXPLORING INTO CULTURAL
VARIATIONS IN KORAPUT COMPLEX.**



P.K. Nayak

PRELIMINARIES :

Beauty and love need not necessarily be seen through the eyes of an individual although men as individuals express their respective choices in various combinations and recombinations. Every man in every culture possesses a total sense of beauty and adores love. Love and beauty or beauty and love need not necessarily also be thrown to the disposition of man's nature, although biologically man is a different grade of being different from the sub-humans and the non-humans. Beauty and love are one, and the same, the two in one, forming an order, an exclusive state of phenomenon, a social reality and a cultural fact, integrated into systems through elaborate institutional arrangements. The idea of beauty and love is a cultural construct, remains in man's mind, at the conscious level could be summed up, empirically intelligible and investigable and at the unconscious level could be inferred, abstracted out, classified, designed and explained at the universal level, be the society archaic or modern, cultures dwindling or upcoming.

The structure of beauty and love can be very closely and conveniently examined and its basic foundations could be discovered on the basis of comparative study and understanding of the relatively pristine cultures continuing with the beliefs and practices, mostly of their own, in spite of the impinging forces of change and modernization. These cultures are designated as primitive and /or tribal cultures and specifically in the Indian context more well known, officially as cultures of the scheduled tribes. In Orissa in the Indian Union inhabits sixty -two varieties of them among the areas of tribal concentration, the erstwhile Koraput - Ganjam region the strategic importance in the sense that in it inhabit primitive tribes belonging to two major linguistic groups, Dravidian and Mundari, occupying the Eastern Ghat mountains, sharing more or less the same ecological niche. Among the most important colourful tribes of the region are the Bonda Highlander, the Gadaba, the Saora, the Koya and the Kondh, the Kutia and

the Dongria Kondh. Culturally these tribal communities could be seen to have formed a "complex", from outside at the surface level displaying diversities and from inside at the internal bedrock level reflecting unities, which have been assumed to have been the main thrust of the present exercise. Thus, it has been assumed that the tribal cultures of "Koraput Complex" in their varieties are not totally very different from one another, rather one is the variation of the other. Keeping in view the above delineated theoretical stand and basic premise, it has been intended here to bring to light some of the aspects of beauty and love and examine them structurally at the elementary level as they are there in the two most culturally prideful communities of Orissa, the Bonda Highlander and the Dongria Kondh.

COMPOSITION OF BEAUTY AND LOVE :

Beauty attributed to women in one society may be exactly the reverse in another society. Take for example, the length of hair. In the Dongria Kondh society in particular hair is women's crowning glory, and she wears it rather longer than that of her husband. But in Bonda society it is the custom for women to crop their hair close to the head, and for men, especially for youngmen to wear it long down their backs. the custom is not a matter of simple taste or habit. It is linked with a host of ritual, religious and other institutional behaviours and practices. While women shamanism is widely and elaborately in practice among the Dongria Kondh, where whirling long hair of women in trance is positively valued bringing success and goodluck, absence of such predispositions among the Bonda, where women are cursed and men are the main performers, speaks of the connection at a hypothetical level. Girl's dormitory as a very sportive social institution among the Dongria Kondh having decisive control over men's affairs in many matters, including regulating love and marriage contrasts with that of the Bonda where winning over the love of a woman is very much restricted to the limited rules of marriage. Contrarily, men's love for women while is symbolically

depicted and inscribed in massive wooden posts and cross bars, particularly the women's bosoms, the seat of the passions and feelings, the group consensus being ritualistically transformed among the Dongria Kondh, there is no such symbolic depiction found in the Bonda culture, and in reality, the halfnaked Bonda woman, with her self-woven bare minimum bark skirt and thorax heavy necklaces of multi-coloured jungle beads guarding the bosoms can be contrasted with the half-clad Dongria women's self-embroidered full-skirt and apron made of cotton cloth.

To put the contrast in ordinary language, the Bonda women are half naked and their Dongria counterparts are half-clad. In ethnological language, the Bonda cultural order goes hand in hand with the natural order, whereas the Dongria cultural order follows closely the order of the Lanjia Saora, a close culturally of the Bonda, belonging to the Mundari group of tribes, the order of which is somewhat ramified but obviously relatively little away from the natural order. At this level of analysis on the basis of the argument made above, one would be prompted to attribute the cropping of hair of Bonda women close to the head paradoxical. Since wearing long hair is natural, making it short and wearing it trimmed is cultural. But the paradox of the paradox is that both are cultural features humanly contrived to suit to the scale and proportion of one's cultural order. If we proceed one step further into the cultural image of a woman's body, hairlessness of body or absence of bodily hair is universally esteemed high grade, symbolic representation of women's beauty and man's love for it. In that parlance the Bonda contrivance of almost hairless head coupled with hairless body of a woman suggest uniformity in terms of beauty and love.

Group dances of men and women in fullmoon-lit night are performances by both the sexes to express love to one another, the community of youngmen of the community of young ladies and the vice versa, displaying a total situation of love, not just love of one to the other at the individual level, although it may

terminate into that. Young men or young women coming from affinal clans and villages used to be treated warmly and cordially and organising group dances on the occasion, on the part of the hosting -girl's dormitory being the custom, the basic principle is to make love, express love, admire each other's beauty and glory through the medium of verbal questioning, querying and quizing in the from of songs which flow in succession upto the point of winning each other's heart. The concept of time in these cases are bivalent the breaks, the set to work, go to the woods; the night falls, they go to sleep, descend down to the girl's dormitory, Festivities are marked by the congregation of men and women, more of affinal kinsmen than the lineal kins in all their colourful dresses and adornments as if competing with one another to attract or get attracted, and at the same time to love and be loved. The attributes of beauty and love go together. Unless someone fulfils the minimum requirements of a total sense of beauty, he or she is never to be loved. Love here need not be understood in terms of satiating biological urge, but a total acceptance, appreciation and surrender. The Bonda and the Dongria do have the above delineated customs of appropriating beauty and expressing love, but the system is relatively more elaborate among the Dongria than it is among the Bonda.

MAPPING ELEMENTARY ALIGNMENTS :

The Dongria Youth, *dhangda* and *dhangadi*, so also those of the Bonda with their outbursts of natural biological beauty, physical outfit, youthful exuberance. adorn themselves pridefully and culturally to the appreciation of their fellow community of men and women. The knowledge of beauty and art of love get transmitted from generation to generation, the degree of uniformity of which attests the cultural taste of the people and sheds light on the pattern of their alignment.

Man or woman, each in veritcal order could be conveniently divided into six horizontal parts, each part of which has difinite

order of adornment. These hexa - divisions of body correspond to the six possible zones of the natural biological body of man which get adornments in varieties of ways, in various forms in various types of societies. Both men and women in most archaic form of societies used to adorn the different parts of their body in definite proportions, of course the man differing from a woman in specific form. The six hexa-divisions of body composing the seats of adornment, beauty and love are the zones, such as, respectively from head to toe, head and face, neck thoracic, arm, waist and pubis, ankle and foot. The adornment in each horizontal zone could have only vertical alignment or horizontal or both. In the next step the number and type of items in each alignment order could be determined to reflect upon the variation, and presence or absence of any one of them in one culture or another and their explanation in complex combinations can further explain the cultural variation relatively comparatively, and, in the last step it can answer the why questions to variation and explain the ultimate structural variation among societies and cultures. Understanding these variations among the indigenous cultures comparatively, through the mapping of the alignments is earlier than that of the heterogeneous forms of societies. Thus the method of mapping the alignment can be proceeded with step by step in an equational order to arrive at definite formulations.

TRIBAL RELIGIOUS CUSTOMS AND MANNERS IN ORISSA



R.N.Dash

Orissa has sixty two recorded tribal groups. Out of them a few are important tribes. Others are their branches or influenced broken tribes. However, each has its own custom and manner. Customs and manners are considered religious when found in traditional practices. Religious customs are reflected in traditional rules followed in birth, marriage, illness, death, economic and non economic festivals, pantheon and priesthood. But the religious manners in a tribe are seen in the behaviours of its members elders of the houses, priests and diviners during ceremonies.

The birth customs are visible in the extent of pollution period, taboos, name giving, ear and nose pricking, first shaving of head etc. As per tribal rules pollution affects the mother, father family, kins, villagers and rarely the family of the mother, and the period extends from a day to that of a month. The male child is named after the father's father and the female child after the mother's mother. Saoras make paintings on the wall in name giving ceremonies. Boring of ear and nose in children are intended to facilitate wearing of ornaments. The first shaving ceremony enables a child to be admitted into the tribe.

Love is the natural urge and marriage culminates it into family. But strictly followed traditions are its religious customs in marriage. Tribals have different types of marriages. Marriage by capture is unique among them. a Kondh girl so captured is shut in a room without food and drink wearing heavy bangless weighing thirty to forty pounds in her wrists, for three days. A Juang girl if refuses to marry her captivator and escapes from captivity remains a spinster. The dormitories and dances help shape most of the marriages. The widows and divorced women can marry and women enjoy equal rights with men in divorce matters.

According to the tribals all illness spring from witchcraft and the wrath of the spirits and deities. They need prevention and propitiation through offerings and sacrifices. To conduct them the causes are to be detected and requirements suggested by diviners and priests respectively.

Death is sorrowful and mourned in the family. For the same pollutional period and taboos are observed, rite performed to console the departed, and to provide for them in the other world. The concept of a life beyond death and immortality of the soul are the guiding factors for the same. There is the belief of turbulent spirits resulting from violent deaths and departed offensive individuals. Divinors and priests make efforts to calm down these spirits and console the souls. For the same feasts of merit like Karja are held and monuments like menhirs, stone circles and piles, table stones, and dolmens are put up.

Tribal festivals are seasonal, special and borrowed but mainly economic and non-economic in nature. Collecting, hunting and agricultural festivals are seasonal and the last has different stages of operations. First eating festivals for bean, mango, mahua and rice are held seasonally. Among special non-economic festivals Shahrae, Karma and to some extent Meria or Kedu are important. Borrowed festivals like Kali Puja, Dassarah, Raja, Christmas and Easter are some such and brought from their Hindu neighbours and Christian adherents.

The tribal pantheon is polymorphous in character. They have household, village, hill, river and forest deities. The ferocious beasts and departed heroes of the tribes are also promoted to god head. The adopted deities, here and there, from the Hindu society by the tribals include Mahadev, Lakshmi and to some extent Krishna during the Holi festival. The converted tribals worship Jesus in the recently established churches. In course of offering the assistance of the priests, divinors, etc. are required. They are known as Dihuri, Jani, Sisa, Pujari, etc.

The manner is otherwise known as good behaviour. It is both religious and secular. Various religious manners are found in the taboos, beliefs, gestures, etc. whereas the secular manners are manifested in their economic operations mutual family relationships and other interactions with kins, society and outside

members. For example, it is religious when the Kondh women fast during meria or Kedu festivals till the arrival of the flesh from the sacrificing villages, the Saora Italmaran fasts till he finishes the wall paintings, and no one plucks fruit before noon during mango blossom festival, and so on. The secular behaviour category of the tribe also include rules of avoidance in the family, recognised joking relations between the children and the grand parents, paying respect to elders, forms of address between different persons inside and outside the family etc.

Religious manners of the tribals thrive round their belief. They employ a spirit doctor to cure anything considered to have sprang from witchcraft. At times suspicion lead to murder of a women when believed to be a witch. Casting a spell of black magic on a particular person is similarly based on negative believe arising out of fear. The most important of tribal religious beliefs is the existence of life beyond death in the under world. The concept of the other world is again of two kinds, i.e. consisting of souls of the dead and the turbulent spirits. Souls considered well -wishing and seeking compassion are brought back home. The tribal behaviour in bringing these souls back to their home with ardent sincerity is intended to impart comfort to the deceased. Because it is believed that they help in good harvests and communicate with gods, living higher up, for the betterment of their progenies. On the other hand the thought of the violent spirits stem from fear which lead to the pantheon of ghosts and goblins. The Juangs believe that a dead man becomes a "bhut" or ghost. In their society there are Patar - sunni (the Pitasuni of the plains), Kanwaria (Kuanria of the plains), Chirguni, Apsari and Daihini bhuts responsible for inflicting various kinds of trouble to the inmates of the tribe. Even these beliefs have plagued the non -tribal Oriya society also. The Juangs out of fear take caution, soon after the funeral, to spread goat dung on the way and to cut the road to prevent the ghost to return to the village.

The manners of the tribals relating to their pantheon depend on the troubled aspect of their lives. The demigods are believed to put trouble on the way of men if they are not satisfied. This is a reacting behaviour of the tribal mind to their trouble which is attributed to the demigod responsible for it. These demigods remain invisible but the cause and effect relations are assigned in their name. For instance, among the Bondos there are demigods like Kunda, Mali Bebur, Ganga - sabota and Karandi responsible for inflicting sores on head and swelling of the face, bringing tigers to the village door steps, causing pneumonia fever and vomiting, and responsible for arson respectively. Among the santals there are Bongas responsible for illness. Though they believe that all trouble arises due to the natural and ancestor spirits and Bongas yet the last is the powerful of the lot. They need be propitiated. All propitiations remain in the Santal manner of alleviating fear from diseases and misfortunes. The Saora gods dwell in the sky, under -world, and inside the earth. With them live the ghosts, tutelaries, and ancestors. They are also responsible for various sicknesses and misfortunes that men suffer with a view to avenge human neglect. The religious manner of Saora shaman or Shamamin are also manifested in their marrying tutelary wives or husbands beside their own human spouses.

The secular manner of the tribes of Orissa incorporate personal behaviour. It includes the way by which one pays respect to his elders. It is the duty of a Kharia to salute the elder members at least once a day. The Santal boy salutes his father half - bending before him. There are also other forms of paying respect. Bad manners at times result in abusing each other when they engage themselves in calling names and disrespecting each other. It may take place between two males, two females, a male and a female, etc. The bestowing of abuses are commonly found in all the tribes.

Tribal manners are also manifested in the rules followed in marriages and love affairs. The taboo when respected in the

marriage norms are considered good manners. But when they violate taboos either in marriage or in love they are outcasted. Expulsion from the tribe according to the santals is "bitlaha" but other tribes have other names and even some tribes have other names and even some tribes do not have any such special name for the same. During the premarital years the existence of sex among the village boys and girls are overlooked in many cases though it is seriously viewed in some of the tribes. Tribal boys and girls visit to different villages in course of their dance expeditions. Similarly it is no incest to have sex during these trips. But it becomes an offense if a girl and a boy of the same village marry as this violates exogamy.

Social manner allows joking relationship between grandfather and grandchildren, grandmother and grandchildren, wife's brother and husband's sister, and the like. These are the socially approved rules and among the tribals there are extension to such norms. The tribal manners are also witnessed in the process of making friends, eating, talking, meeting elderly and younger persons, etc. Though tribal boys set out in dancing visits to other villages and have sex with the girls of the visited village yet it does not culminate in marriage till regular rules are followed. Although there are difference in observances among the tribes, in a general way, they are more or less uniform. Jealousy, arrogance, bravery and tribal solidarity are the bad and good manners existing among them as is also found in the non-tribals but with degrees of flexibility in them. The tribal society is considerate and non-rigidity is a general tendency with them. The most important but negative aspect of tribal manner is found in their drunkenness and that too universal drunkenness beginning from the child to that of women. The different rules existing in practice of games, participation in festivals, dances, etc. may come under the manner of the tribals as these are learnt in the dormitories. But these are manners in mass participation whereas in the non-tribal societies these are individual affairs.

One important factor of tribal manner is manifested in their taboos. It has pervaded into their life and religion. For example, the Sagra taboo rule indicate that a shaman may go to another village for officiating in certain rites but he must not eat there. The Bondo religious rules indicate that no outsider should enter a village during the festivals and in no case remove anything from it so also no one should go out of a village during the Giag Festival. When the Juangs start for hunting Dihuri cautions all women to remain indoors lest the shadow of a menstruating women will fall on the hunters. The person whose wife is in her period must not go in the hunting party nor he shall tell this to any other, hunter. Any hunter who hears this should also remain at home. The Santal girls should hide her rags smeared with menstrual blood because if a boy lights upon them, he gets her in his power. Similarly there are many more taboos observed by other tribes.

The tribals observed and crave for good omen whenever they set out for any work, particularly marriage. The Santals find a welcome omen in the calling of an Oriole bird. Other tribes also have different omens observed when they are going on a negotiation trip to settle a marriage. These omens also differ from place to place among the same tribe. A bad omen in a place may not be that bad to others belonging to the same tribal group. A deer, a tiger, a snake, etc. met on the way are various omens having good and bad repercussions for that tribe. Even some of the omen are found to be ancient in their origin and some are of recent acquisition. However, they combine belief with manner or otherwise the belief shapes the tribal manners.

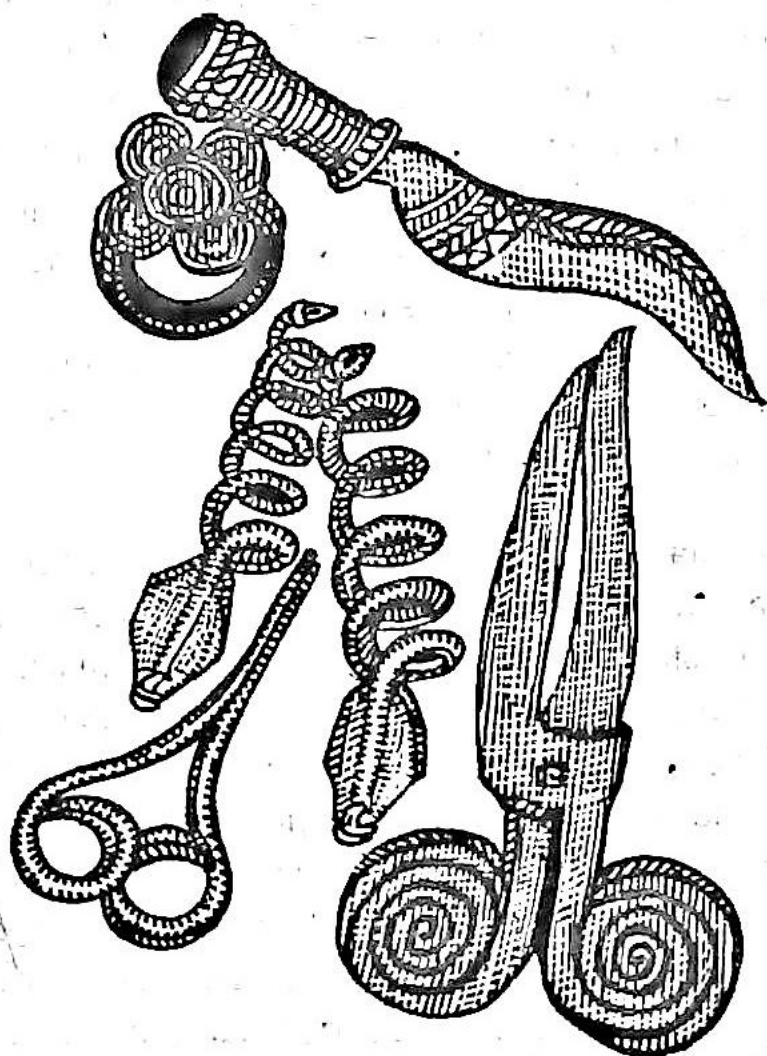
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AESTHETICS IN ORISSAN TRIBAL ARTIFACTS



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In India, more than 400 tribal communities are living out of which Orissa has 62 scheduled tribes. The Orissan tribes who occupy the second position (next to Madhya Pradesh) among all States in numerical preponderance belongs to Indo -Aryan, Dravidian and Austro -Asiatic linguistic families. There are close cultural similarities among the tribal communities belonging to the same language group. Taking into consideration their socio-economic condition they may be broadly classified into several categories, like food-gatherers and hunters, cattle herders, artisans, shifting cultivators, horticulturists, settled agriculturists and industrial workers. There are some tribal communities who are economically backward, educationally less advanced and politically less conscious are labelled as primitive groups. Several Orissan tribal communities have experienced change especially during the post - independence period.

They have strong social organisation characterised by segmentary divisions, exogamy, totemistic clans, territorial solidarity, kinship tie, etc. By religion most of them are animists and have belief in supernatural and magicoreligious elements. Aspect of their day to day life are influenced by religious beliefs. The life -cycle rituals of the tribal people are uniquely significant. String from conception till death series of rituals are performed in consonance with their social sanctions at different stages of life of an individual. The traditional political organisation and customary law aim at the maintenance of social solidarity, social health and happiness, peace and security and social well-being. By and large, the tribal people of Orissa have perpetuated their cultural identity and distinctiveness through several folk traditions and lifeways depicting their ethos, ideologies and world-view. Different folk traditions, such as folk tales, legends, myths, riddles, proverbs, songs, dances, and music are significant items enriching their artistic and aesthetic urge. Their economic, social, political and other important aspects of life are amply represented in their folklore, art and crafts. Their unwritten cultural heritage is

transmitted from generation to generation through oral traditions. It reflects the finer sentiments, artistic talents and emotions in the contextual framework of people persistence and change. Folklore, which is transmitted through oral literature of the simple tribal societies, depicts fragments or even total way of life of the people. Among most of the tribe, either backward or developed, the folklores although not formally taught are comprehended by people and passed on to next generations orally. Their delicate and sublime sense of perception, sharp memory and comprehension are so remarkable that the aesthetic manifestations are reflected through their simple artifacts and art objects prepared within their environmental niche. The tribal people mostly assemble in a place for chatting, dancing, singing and making special designs etc.

In several Orissan tribal communities there is an institution either for youths or villagers where there are scope for story telling, singing, dancing, exhibiting performing art etc. The regular assembly of unmarried boys and girls which is embodied in the tribal Institution of youth dormitory, is helpful in various ways in the growth, genesis and transmission of tribal folk traditions in an institutionalised form. In non-institutionalised way also these are practised in field, forest, at home and in village streets. For the tribal people the function of folklore are more meaningful than its content and form. It makes little children asleep as lullaby, encourages the youths to enjoy their life and invigorates old people as story tellers to carry forward the stories spoken by their ancestors. The diverse functions of folklore are intended to educate the young ones to promote group cohesion and solidarity to provide ways for adherence to social sanctions, to enforce social control, to create avenues for utilisation of leisure in production of art objects and artifacts, etc. Generally, different types of folklores can share similar, if not identical functions. Stories are told and song are sung to put the children in good humour and also make them disciplined. It also preaches morals inculcating remarkable principles. It serves to validate culture, justify various practices

and stabilise justify traditional institutions. Folklore also fulfils the important functions of maintaining conformity to the accepted pattern of behaviour and arts as means of exercising social control.

Looking minutely, the tribal people of Orissa have also shown differential use of their respective material cultures. One can discover differences in the employment of technology, the production of designs and in the use of materials. Particularly, the aesthetics in Orissan tribal artifacts give a vivid picture of their indigenous skills and meaningful and imaginative impressions of the simple people, irrespective of their socio-cultural status and economic condition. In a nutshell, despite their low economic status in general, they do possess a very rich cultural heritage reverberated in their material culture.

The aesthetic manifestations in artifacts and art objects made and used by the tribal people in Orissa depict their creative genius in the contextual framework of environmental niche. Their societies and cultures, perpetuating over years through persistence and change, document innumerable tangible objects in their habitat, household appliances, musical instruments, weapons of offence and defence, implements and equipments for various subsistence techniques, ornaments and personal adornments, craft materials, votive and magico-religious objects, etc. and they speak of finer sensibility, aestheticism and creativity. Despite the economics persued by them for eaking out living, they do possess rich cultural heritage conspicuously pronounced through music and dance; songs and riddles, tales, legends and myths, handicrafts and art objects etc. The aesthetic sensibility embeded in their cultures reflects through their unique symbols translated through motifs, designs, style, colour combination and the like. Aesthetic impressions are remembered and transmitted from generation to generation in historical perspectives. The bodily decoration, traditional tabooing, indigenous hair - style and dressing pattern among different tribal communities highlight their aesthetic appreciation and sense of special skill. The design

pattern manifested and colours used in several drawings, paintings and craft vary from one community to the other. Aesthetics in different forms incorporate general attitude, diligent behaviour, filial piety, ridiculus, rebellion, snobs etc. Some wall paintings, like Saora ikons depict adventures of the spirits, of un - known world. Both art and religion tend to fuse with each other with some of the artistic experiences.

Being conservative and inward looking, the tribal people remain very faithful to their age -old customs and practices and hardly agree for any induced change. Their art, craft and multifarious artifacts in and around are more than mere economic or religious objects. Irrespective of their social and economic conditions they very sincerely and willingly depict sense of aestheticism in several aspects of material as well as non -material cultures. Each motif or design, shape and size, has its speciality and socio-cultural significance.

The tribal people of Orissa living in different ecosystems have shown their knowledge of architectural designs while making various house types. It varies from a leaf made conical small house (KUMBHA) among the Birhor to architecturally very well constructed Santal houses made of bricks and local tiles with beautiful wall paintings. With the raw materials collected locally they build their houses and decorate their doors and walls with floral and linear drawings by use of indigenous colour ingredients. Moreover other factors involved are ecology, ingenuity and power of imagination. The house of rectangular ground plan with inclined roof are most common type of tribal houses. House of each community shows its distinctiveness in many respects. It also differ in use of materials, fashion, mode of construction, designs and motifs, rituals associated, functional use of space and many others. Apart from the living houses in each community, there are community houses, youth dormitories, house for community rituals, etc.

Tribal communities have retained their rich and varied heritage of colourful dance and music. To them songs, dance and music are community activities which form an integral part in the celebration of religious festivals, wedding, funeral and occasional recreation and enjoyment. Although a tribal community has its own specific style and characteristic features, there are some common features in case of all communities taken together. The dances with various kinds of musical accompaniments or orchestra are varied. The dancers sing particular songs according to the occasion and type of dance. Special costumes are used at the time of dance not only rhythm but also projection of bodily parts according to necessity and music of the orchestra are of special mention. Although dancing in general is meant for recreation, rejoicing and enjoyment, it has greater relevance when it is connected with namegiving ceremony, puberty rites, marriage and death rituals. Dancing connected with agricultural operation, festivals and ceremonies, for treatment of diseases and appeasing spirits etc, are having significant socio-cultural implication. Dance, brings unity, strengthens social relationship and also extends intra and inter village relationship. Keeping in view the functions of dance and its performing art by several communities we may make mention of religious dance and dance connected with their annual cycle of economic pursuits in order to obtain the blessings of supernatural powers for their securing and prosperity. There are dances which are performed during and after the magico-religious performances. Magical dances are connected in diagnosing disease and also in preventing and curing the same. Courtship dances are regular type of dances in which boys and girls are engaged in merrymaking when they are free and in special occasions. Such situations provide opportunity to the unmarried boys and girls to select their spouse.

In course of dance sequence the young men and women exchange emotions, feelings, sentimental appeals, through symbols, postures and gestures besides exchanging lovable gifts, however simple, and forget their miseries, shortcomings and deficiencies, the primary intention being to win hearts.

By and large, the tribal people in general are lover of music. They manufacture their musical instruments of their own. Some parts of the musical instruments are purchased from the local markets and beautiful designs are given in it by themselves. They use varieties of musical instruments, such as drums, flutes, xylophones, harps, etc. Some wooden and bamboo pieces, fruits of tree, ornaments, sticks and palm of the hands are aslo used to produce musical sounds. Even some type pf instruments vary in size, shape and materials used. The dance style, lythm and performance vary from one tribal community to the other. The musical instruments like kidding sagar of the Bondo, huge double-membrance drum of the Juangs and some others belonging to different tribal communities have magico -religious significance.

Tattooing is common among many traditional tribal communities specially among the Kondhs. The motive behind tattooing varies from tribe to tribe and so also the interpretation of the designs. Some believe that tattoo developes resistance power in the body and some other consider it as the decoration of body and cannot be removed at any cost. Some other also link it with sexual life and superstitious beliefs. There are skilled operators mostly females who have been traditionally trained in this art within tribal groups.

Some tribal communities use fire saw, fire drill, fire plough, pump drill, flint and steel and some stones which are designed in a particular fashion peculiar to them. Various utensils used by the tribal people are also decorated with designs. Different tools and appliances such as hunting implements, fishing nets, traps etc. are designed in specific manner. Many tribal people use tobacco containers which are beautifully carved with figures of animals, birds, graphic designs etc. Various items like wine containers, smoking pipes, baskets, pottery, etc. are also sometimes decorated with various designs.

Engraved decoration on the weapons like clubs, axes, spears, swords, knives, bows and arrows attracts the eyes of the

viewers. Similarly, varieties of musical instruments, articles of game and sport, household furniture and articles etc. reveal their creativity and ingenuity.

Aesthetics manifested in the dresses used by different tribal communities are associated with their ecology and culture. The processes of carding, spinning, sizing, dying and finally weaving involved in the process of designing and production by themselves are labourious and time taking. The Bonda, Saora, Gadaba and the Santal have still preserved the attractive designs and wide range of colours. The clothes of the Dongria Kondhs, embroidered with geometric designs in different colour combination are not only beautiful but also have bearings on socio-cultural values. The most fascinating head dress of the Koya, the Kondh and special turban with bird's feathers used by the Saora are very attractive and the users are generally rated as influential and experts. The motifs are often symbolical and consist of abstract figures of decoration. The geometric patterns include the zig-zag and spiral designs.

The tribal people are very fond of ornamentation of various parts of their body with jewellery as embodiments of their culture as one of the forms expressing their aesthetic sense. The variety in jewellery and their pattern of use differ from tribe to tribe and in many cases these help in the identification of the group. Ornaments are of different size, shape designs made of various makings. Jewellery like hair pins and clips, ear rings, nose rings, necklace of metal and beads, neckbands, waist chain, armlet, bangles, finger rings, anklet and toe ring with various designs are objects of beauty. Mostly metals like brass, aluminum, alloys, white metal, silver and rarely gold are used. Apart from these, beads, seeds and certain varieties of grasses, weeds, leaf and wooden sticks are shaped / designed for use as ornaments.

The comb are one of the favourite items of many tribal communities. It manifests cultural excellency and decorative

designs as well as utilitarian value. The tribals like the Juangs, Kutia Kondhs, Koyas and many others utilise their leisure time for making comb is being used for dressing hairs, to enhance beauty and exchange as a gift among lovers. Different type with specific designs and made different materials reveal cultural significance of different communities. Its use and sociocultural implication also differ one community to the other.

Tribal communities in general have some sort of paintings of their own. Many of them are having wall paintings. The Santals are well known for decorating walls as several unique designs of their own. The Saoras, the Bhuiyan, the Juang, the Dongria Kondhs and Kutia Kondhs in particular draw various geometric designs, figures and figurines for ritualistic purpose. The materials used in such painting are very simple type which are locally available and prepared by them. They hardly bother about the surface texture and quality of materials, medium and style. Their common pigments consist of red, yellow, black and white soil or available from plants. Cowdung and burnt straw and grassess are also used in certain paintings. According to significance of the occasion they make specific decorations of the walls or ground surface through paintings. Very rarely the painting are made for pleasure sake as it has some magical and ritualistic significance among many tribal communities of Orissa, in particular. But in all the paintings creative efforts are noteworthy. They get inspiration from their environment and culture to develop the skill of painting. This skill is transmitted from mothers to daughters from fathers to son and from magico - religious specialists to their fellowmen. The symbols are unique and patience in doing the job also equally admirable. The perfection, balanced principles, spacing of figures and designs are some creativity which highlight their artistic potentiality.

Wood carving are magnificent examples of art among the tribal communities of Orissa. Their carvings on the wood primarily cater to the socio-religious and aesthetic needs. The motifs given

by the Juangs on the pillars of their "Majang", the youth dormitory, carving skill shown by the Kondhs on the doors and shutters, pictorial carving on palanquins of the Santals and designs given on the traditional stick of the Dongria Kondhs are some of the bright examples of wood carvings existence among the tribal people. Artistic design of the wooden pillars representing the deities among the Saora, beautiful notching and engraving in the Meriah poles, workmanship on the symbolical magico -religious sculptures on the wooden posts among the Kondh are some of the significant heritage and emotional make up of the tribal people. Wooden portion of some household articles like husking pestle, measuring pot, musical instruments and daily use articles are beautifully engraved for beautification. The designs in carving on various items and sculptures mostly consist of circle, spiral, triangles, squares, zig -zag lines, symbolic representations of animals, birds, plants, human beings and natural objects. Apart from the wooden items one can notice beautiful designs on the iron axes, containers, knives even on bows and arrows which are typical to the owners.

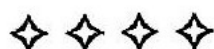
The terracotta items purchased from the local potters are also used by tribal communities for several magicoreligious purposes. Of several items mention may be made of horses, elephants, bulls, birds and others. For certain ritual purposed tribal people obtain these from the local potters with specific designs as required by them.

Dokra items are made by casting of metals through lost was process having a significant purpose in the tribal communities of Orissa. These are exact revelations of the socio - cultural and religious life pattern of individual communities. The Dokra item related to Kondhs are associated with several practices, beliefs, emotions, feelings, love and affection along with magico religious habits through various Dokra items. The Dokra items also fulfil several utilitarian needs of the tribal people. Many art forms of Dokra items are result of deep spiritual experience, the innate

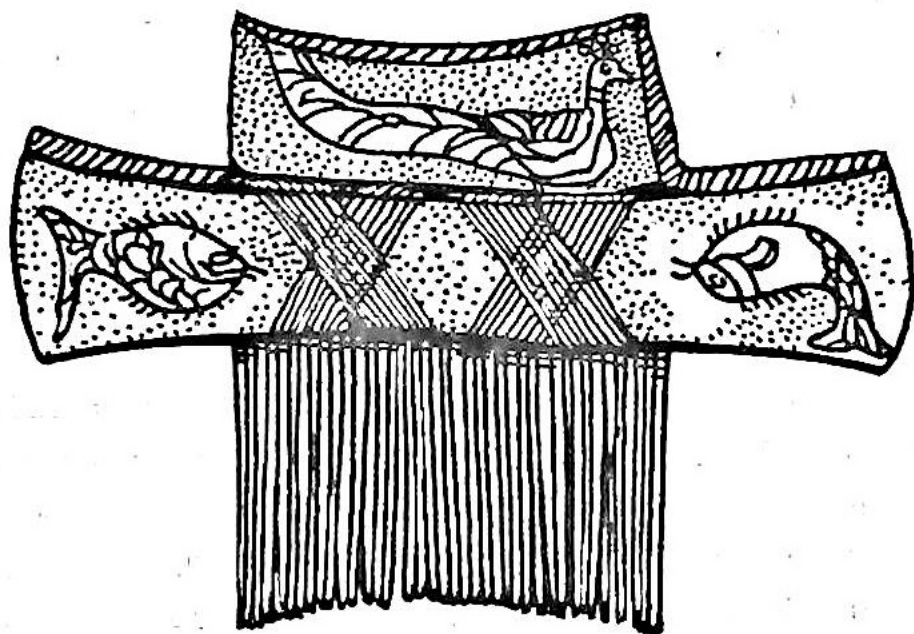
meaning of which is understood by the users in terms of their aesthetics and socio-religious significance. Kondh Dokra items attract the visitors both inland and foreign for its aesthetic value and excellent design. Dokra items are use by the tribal communities for decoration, marriage and day to day requirements.

The aesthetics exhibited in Orissan tribal artifacts which has emerged spontaneously from within and developed and continued have significant bearing on their life and culture. Aesthetics are manifested in art objects, rituals, customs and beliefs. Different aspects of their life find expression in their varieties of crafts, artifacts and also in performing art forms. It is quite common among many tribal communities to find an average person possessing skills in the manufacture and use of various artistic objects and participating in artistic performances. The aesthetic awareness revealed in their personal adornments and possessions is also a striking feature of their culture. Most interesting and meaningful to mention are their workmanship on textile designs, embroidery works, bamboo, wood, cane, fibre, horn and leaf works. Although stone items, pottery, Dokra items and jewellery are not manufactured by them they use them in decorative purposes. The skill they inherit and traditional motifs they follow brings in a sense of dignity of the owner. Normally a tribal craftsman works for his own community and evolve new designs without any commercial attitude. The symbolic contents of the designs may not be interpreted by the manufacture but he derives satisfaction out of his finished products. Although the exact reason behind this phenomenon is difficult to explain, it is evident that once the aesthetic awareness is evoked in a pattern it is usually retained. The totems have also some influences on the arts and crafts and aesthetics of the tribal communities. By and large the aesthetics is manifested in innumerable symbols, motifs, imaginations, paintings, arts, craft and multifarious artifacts. Not only the significant of culture but also environmental, cultural,

historical and traditional background play quite vital role in the making of rich heritage of aesthetic life. They derive inspiration and express their creativity in the field of aesthetics in their eco-cultural background. The aesthetic experience in the tribal societies are spontaneous and singularly unique and it may not be witnessed in other societies.



PERSISTENCE AND CHANGE IN THE JUANG SOCIETY



Sarat Chandra Mohanty

The dynamics of change is a continuous and universal process associated with the passage of time. It affects everything and, nothing remains totally immune to change. Human societies - both primitive and modern are more or less affected by this process. It is designated in various names such as, "modernisation", "culture change", "acculturation", etc. But the extent of culture change in a particular society depends on the extent of its acceptance of new ideas and practices to cope with the time. This capacity varies from one society to another. On this basis the social scientists make a socio-cultural classification of human societies into "primitive", "archaic" "ancient" or "folk" and "modern", "civilised" or "complex". It is taken for granted that the rate of culture change in the primitive societies are slower than the civilised societies. In this paper a case study about certain important culture changes that has taken place in a primitive tribal society, i.e. the Juang tribe of Orissa is being highlighted.

The Juang is a mundari speaking tribe found exclusively in the State of Orissa. Their total population as recorded in 1981 census is 30,875 accounting for 0.52 per cent of the total tribal population in the State. The bulk of their population is concentrated in the hills, highlands and adjoining plains of Gonasika region of Keonjhar district and the neighbouring Pallahara region of Dhenkanal district. The Gonasika hills - the birth place of the holy river " Boitarani", is regarded by the Juangs as their place of legendary origin. They narrate legends to say that they are the children of a "Rusi" (saint) couple who appeared as the first human beings on the earth, with growth of their population, they have spread in and around the remote Gonasika hill region and many of them have migrated to the Pallahara area.

Juang settlements are scattered hidden inside hills and forests of Gonasika region. The community is socio-economically and educationally quite backward. The Juangs living in remote

hill regions are more backward than the Juangs living in adjoining plains. The Hill -Juangs eke out a precarious subsistence out of shifting cultivation and collection of minor forest produces. The plain Juangs earn their livelihood from wage earning, bamboo basketry, forest collections and settled cultivation, though very few of them own cultivable lands.

The Hill - Juang villages of Gonasika area are grouped under four *pirhas* - the territorial confederation of villages and maximal traditional, territorial, socio-political units namely, *Satkhand, Jharkhand, Kathua, Rebena*, which had received due recognition and patronage from the then rulers of ex-Keonjhar State for over centuries. Each *pirha* is led by a traditional tribal chief designated as *Sardar*. Each Juang village is an autonomous sociopolitical unit managed by a set of traditional leaders and a corporate body of village elders called "Bhala bhai" or "Barabhai". The Juangs pursue a communalistic life -style - i.e. kind of primitive communism. The village community owns and manages all the productive and useful natural assets such as the shifting cultivation sites, forests grazing grounds, grass lands, habitation sites, foot paths etc. which lie within their village territory. The individual is not the owner, but he can be allotted with swiden lands and other sources of livelihood by the *Barabhai* according to his actual needs and utilisation capacities.

Another important feature of the Juang society is their traditional youth organisation and dormitory system and the institution of "Majang" or "Mandaghara". The unmarried boys and girls become the members of Youth organisation. As a well - organised group they carryout various public service jobs and sociocultural functions for their community. They spend their nights in dancing, singing, merrymaking and socialising in their respective dormitories. The "Majang" structure standing conspicuously in the centre of the Juang village is a multi -purpose community centre. It is a club house for the youth and elders, a court house for the elders and *Barabhai*, a guest house, a cooperative institution to

kept the common village common fund, a venue to conduct communal rituals. a cultural centre to conduct folk dancing and singing programmes regularly.

Other distinguishing features of the Juang are their strong kinship organisation dividing them into *Kutumb* (brother) clans and *Bandhu* (friend) clans, homogenous uniclans village organisation village exogamy, their undifferentiated society, their strong belief in supernaturalism and their keenness to preserve their group solidarity and cultural identity. As a primitive, preliterate and preagricultural community, they are more custom - bound and tradition oriented, which means their exposure to external world is minimal and therefore their acceptance to change is slower. As such they have so far preserved the core of their ancient culture by interpreting and incorporating in their own way certain essential changes in their old age life style to cope with the changing times. This is more true in case of the Hill -Juangs of Gonasika region. This paper is based on a study of the Juang of Gonasika area in Keonjhar district of Orissa.

II

To put it otherwise, the Juang society even though relatively isolated from the mainstream of civilisation is not totally unaffected by change. Changes in many aspects of their life-style is noticeable. But by and large, they are very much custom bound and tradition oriented. Their way of life is permeated by the customs and traditions of their forefather's creation. As such, they are ardent devotees of the cult of ancestor worship. During every family ritual, ancestors(Pitruki) are worshiped to get their blessings. It is a fine example that Juangs follow the foot -prints of their forefathers which is nothing but the practice of adhering to customs and traditions.

Custom orientation of Juang society may be well established from the practice that when their traditional councils decide cases,

they always refer to the precedents and decision is not taken by a judge or a single person of authority but by general consensus. As regards administration of law and justice in modern society there are atleast two parties -one complainant and one opposite party. In Juang society a serious issue involving violation of important taboos and customs thereby affecting the integrity of their community can be taken up by the community even if there is no complainant. Any infringement of established custom can not escape the watchful eye of the community. For example, the unmarried boys (Kangerki) and girls (Selanki) of two bandhu(friend/ relative) villages though allowed to mix freely to dance and joke, they can not indulge in sexual intimacy. If they violate this custom and take sexual liberties with each other, the village elders condemn their conduct, punish them and warn them so that they would not dare to repeat such act in future. Following case study shall illustrate this point.

Case - Once in the village Budhakhaman a group of unmarried girls came from a bandhu village to dance with the boys of that village. The dance competition continued for four days. In course of long hours of dancing, the boys and girls became sexually excited and stealthily escaped to the forest to satisfy their sexual urge. When this matter came to the notice of the leaders and elders of Budhakhaman, they got angry and called an emergency meeting of their village council (Barabhai). The miscreants were severely scolded, warned and fined against their misconduct. The dancing competition was stopped and as a penalty the boys and girls had to give a feast to the elders of village council.

In such cases the 'public eye', 'public opinion' and 'social ridicule' bring the offenders to book and also act as deterrents against reoccurrence of anti-social activities. Like any other society the Juang society is controlled by certain customary rules which are social in nature. These social rules remain in the core of 'culture building society' or 'society building culture'.

The rapidly changing circumstances of the ongoing post-independent era have affected the Juang society more or less. The Juang are no longer isolated from the national mainstream as before. They have started to feel the joy of freedom and liberty. The impact of grampanchayat system, democratic election system, spread of communication and education and many other development programmes implemented by Government and non Government welfare agencies have created an awareness among them and made them try to adapt to the changes. But the direction of change is more towards their very survival than towards progress.

Certain major changes noticeable in the field of social control; customs and traditions are (1) Emergence of modern leadership and awareness and (2) Improvement of decision making and enactment of new customary rules to keep pace with the time.

(I) Emergence of Modern Leadership.

The *modern leadership* mainly comes from the younger generation who seriously think about bringing some changes in their way of life in order to adjust to the changing circumstances. While the old guards sing in memory of good old days of the king's rule when there was strict social discipline and rule of truth and virtue, the younger Juangs believe that the old system can not deliver the goods. They understand that the changing circumstances have created many new problems for their survival. These can not be solved by the traditional means prescribed by their old culture. On the other hand their traditional social institutions which are deep rooted can not be wiped off overnight because people still have great confidence on their efficacy and no viable alternatives are known to them. So there appears to be a compromise between the new and old. This compromise provides that the traditional system takes care of their conventional cultural needs and the modern leadership looks after the growing

extracultural needs of the present day. Therefore at present, traditional leaders remain unchallenged in their respective grounds and give way to the ambitious younger generation to meet the emerging needs of their people which they are unable to meet. There are areas of common interest where both of them join hands to work together. There are also some dynamic and Charismatic personalities who work successfully in both the fields harmonising the tradition and modernity.

II Formulation of New Customary Rules

The change has created an awareness among the Juang to review their customs and traditions in the modern context so as to modify the existing ones which have become outdated and formulate new ones to suit the present circumstances. The conscious modern leaders have been organising conventions inviting representatives from the Juang villages of Gonasika *pirha* area to discuss about the issues and take reformatory actions. Sometimes, government officials, development agencies, modern local leaders like ward member, Sarpanch, Panchayat Samiti Chairman are made involve in the process of decision making. This is indicative of the fact that the Juangs are generally realising the importance of modern leaders, agencies and institutions.

Some examples of new customary rules formulated recently by the Juang are discussed below :

1. Prohibition of Beef -eating

Juangs claim themselves to be "*Rusiputras*" -the descendants of the great *Rusi* (Saint) and *Rusiani* (his wife) according to their legendary tradition . Some children of the *Rusi* took beef stealthily. When the *Rusi* knew about it he cursed the sinners to lead a wretched life. These children became Juangs while other children who had not taken beef became the Bhuiyan a brother tribe.

Juangs realise the fact that because of this beef eating practice they are looked down upon by their clean caste and other tribal neighbours. In order to stop this practice, a grand convention was organised at Janghira *hat* (weekly market) in which, the Juang *Sardars* of all the four *pirhas*, traditional leaders from all the Juang villages participated. A resolution was passed unanimously banning the practice of beef-eating. Any Juang violating this rule would be severely punished by ostracism and ex-communication.

Sometimes after this convention, a Juang man of Kuajharan village was accused of beef-eating. He faced so much social ridicule, humiliation and criticism that he had to run away from his area leaving his house and personal assets behind before receiving any formal social punishment.

This new custom is kind of positive social reform aimed at enhancement of social status of the community. It shows the determination of a primitive and backward tribal community to do away with a practice they are ashamed of.

2. Prohibition of Wearing of Beads for Women.

Juang women are fond of wearing beads which is a very old fashion of personal adornment. In course of time the conscious Juang people realised some disadvantages of this practice.

- i) The beads worn in different parts of the body such as neck, forearm, lower arm, ear and nose were very heavy and created inconveniences while working.
- ii) Beads worn round the neck of a Juang woman were barely covering her breasts. As the women wore beads, they were not interested to wear clothes in their upper parts covering their breast region because clothes may cover their beads. As a result their upper parts remained uncovered.

Because of this practice, their civilised neighbours looked down upon them as uncivilised people and sometimes tried to take sexual liberties with Juang women. When the Juang community became aware of the dangers of wearing beads they tried to give up this out dated practice. Young Juang leaders persuaded the women folk to give up wearing beads and to wear sarees covering their upper parts. A meeting of village leaders and *pirha Sardars* was organised at Janghira *hat* to discuss about this issue and it was decided to stop this practice and encourage women to wear sarees. Juang Young men came forward to help in creating an awareness among women against wearing beads in their respective village areas. There was some resistance from old women while young women co-operated. Gradually, this reform gathered momentum and popularity. Now Juang women have totally given up this practice and they are wearing sarees covering their upper parts.

3. Ammendment of Certain Marriage Rules :-

It was felt by some young dynamic Juang people that certain rules and practices relating to marriage has not only become old and outdated but also are creating social problems. Most important among them are marriage by capture and high rate of brideprice.

Jagabandhu Juang, a charismatic young leader belonging to the village Khajuribani took initiative to organise the conscious Juang people of his neighbouring Juang villages to build a public opinion in these issues. At last he succeeded in organising a public meeting at Talapanasanasa with the active co- operation of Nata *Sardar* of *Jharkhand pirha*. In that meeting every one agreed that the old rate of bride -price should be reduced and the outdated practice of marriage by bride capture should be discouraged with a view to stop it gradually with passage of time because it is not possible to stop this old practice immediately.

4. Some Other Important Social Reforms.

About forty Years ago, the illustrious late Nata Sardar the dynamic chief of *Jharkhand pirha* convened a meeting of the Juang leaders of all *pirhas* and villages to initiate some social reforms in the age-old habits and improve the life style of the Juang people to keep pace with the changing time. The meeting was held at Jantari *hat* in which distinguished Juang leaders such as Netra Sardar of Satkhand *pirha* and Narsing Sardar of Kathua *pirha* participated. A Sardar of neighbouring Bhuiyan *pirha* was invited as the guest participant. In this meeting Nata Sardar presented the following proposals for discussion.

- i) To change the old pattern of dress and ornaments for Juang women by adoption of the dress pattern of clean caste women.
- ii) To cultivate good habits of neat and cleanliness and personal hygiene so that their neighbours can not hate them for their ugly and unclean habits and their health conditions would improve.
- iii) To reduce and finally stop consumption of liquor and other intoxicants by conscious efforts.
- iv) To fight against the exploitation by unscrupulous local money lenders.

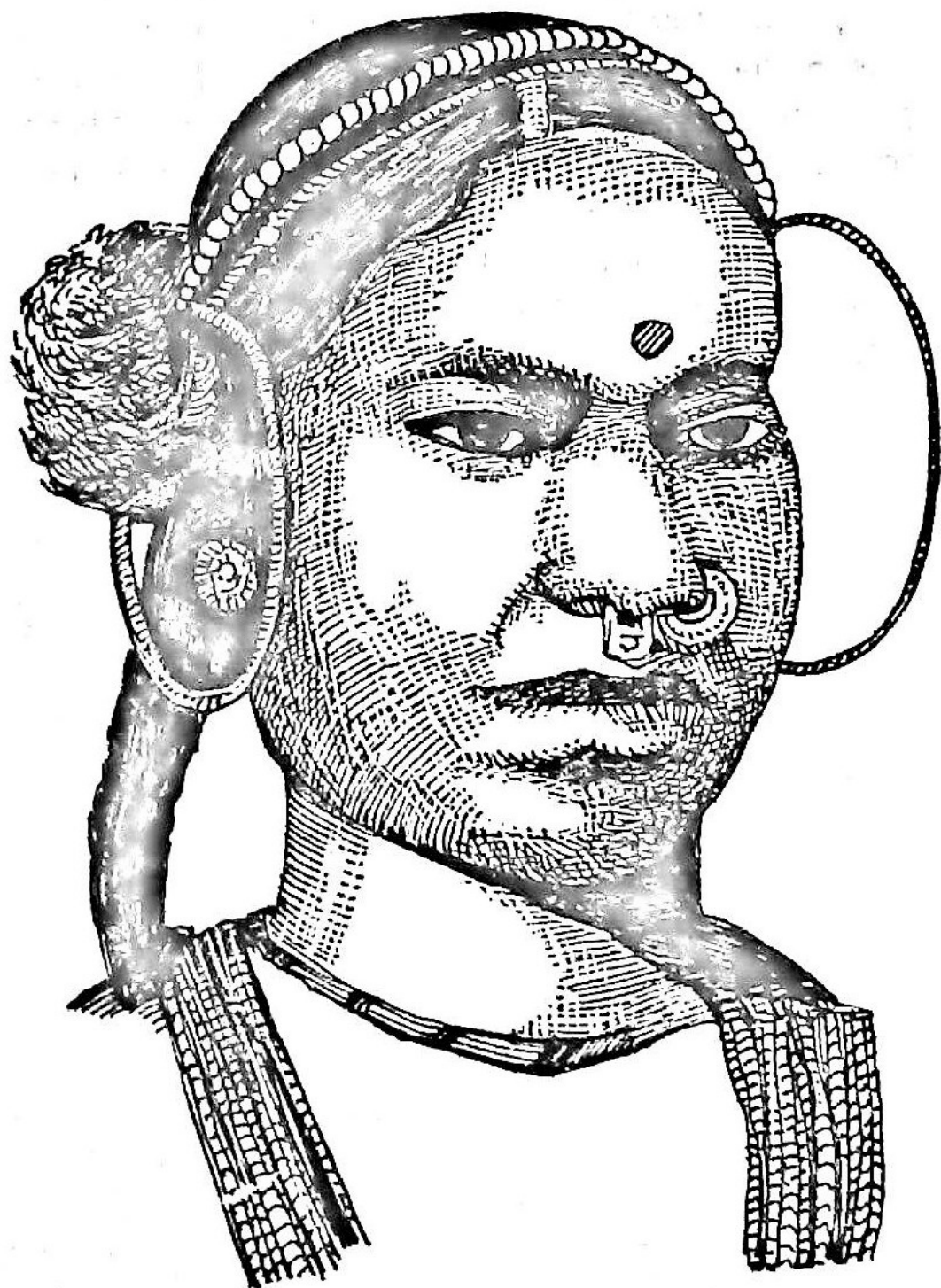
Majority of the participants approved and accepted these proposals. The village leaders were entrusted with the responsibilities of communicating these messages to their people and create an awareness among them in favour of these reforms. It was hoped that these reforms would be put into practice slowly with mass awakening.

These examples show the will and determination of a small aboriginal community to meet the challenges of the changing time.

They have developed the capacity and flexibility to incorporate necessary changes in their way of life to adjust to the modernage. Most of these changes are reformatory, progressive and suitable to the present time and environment and also to foster higher social aims and objectives. The movements and achievements are very slow but enduring. The consciousness and progress are not mechanical or superficial but silent and spontaneous. In spite of these changes their core of culture have not been affected so much. On one hand they have accomodated certain reforms in respect of some aspects of their traditional life -style and on the other they have preserved the originality and uniqueness of their old indigenous culture and thereby their group identity counteracting the powerful blows of modernity.



DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF TRIBAL ORISSA



Paramananda Patel

Orissa is one of the fascinating ethnographic state of India. It is remarkable for having as many as 62 different tribal communities with a population of 7,032,214 which forms 22.21% of the State's Population of 3,16,59,731 as per 1991 census. The tribal Population of India as per 1991 census is 67,758,380 which is 8.08% of the total population of 8,46,302,688 (excluding J & K). Hence, a little more then 10% of the total tribal population of the country is found in Orissa.

The distribution of scheduled tribe population in different districts of the state is uneven. The 1991 census figures reveal that among all the 30 districts the undivided Koraput (inclusive of Rayagada, Malkanigiri and Nabarangpur) having maximum number (1,636,079) of scheduled tribe Population tops the list and Puri (undivided) (1,27,347) lies at the bottom in this respect. On the basis of percentage of tribal population to the total Population of the district, Mayurbhanj comes first with 57.87% percent and Cuttack comes last with 3.29%. The Districts showing heavy concentration of scheduled tribe Population are Koraput (54.30%), Sundargarh (50.74%), Keonjhar (44.51%), Phulbani (37.31%), elsewhere their proportion is low as it is in Kalahandi (30.95%), Sambalpur (27.44%), Balangir (18.55%), Dhenkanal (12.26%), Ganjam (9.39%), Balasore (7.06%), and Puri (3.54%).

Of the total scheduled Tribe population males constitute 49.90% and female 50.1%. The sex ratio is 1003 females per 1000 males. The corresponding figure in general is 981 females per 1000 males. The percentage of Scheduled Tribe Population living in urban areas in Orissa is 5.1% only.

The total number of literates among Scheduled tribes is 12,72,863 and the percentage of litercay is 18.10% But literacy among the persons above 6 years of age among the scheduled tribe of Orissa is 22.31%. As compared to these figures the percentage of literacy in India among the scheduled tribe is 29.60% and the literacy percentage to the total population is 52.29%. In

Orissa literacy percentage to the total population is 49.09. Among all the districts Sundargarh records the highest percentage of literacy among the tribal communities where it is 37.34%. The other districts which record higher percentage than the overall average are Sambalpur (31.73%), following Puri (24.89%), Phulbani (27.68%), Bolangir (25.23%), Keonjhar (24.89%), Mayurbhanja (24.10%), Dhenkanal (24.02%), Kalahandi (18.53%), Balasore (18.35%), Cuttack (18.29%), Ganjam (17.00%) and Koraput (8.99%).

The tribals of Orissa, considering the general socio-cultural and economic characteristic features, can be broadly divided into (1) Hunters and Food gatherers, (2) Shifting cultivators including cattle rearers (3) Artisans, (4) Horticulturists, (5) Settled cultivators, (6) Industrial and Mining workers. Further, considering their pre-agricultural economy, low level of literacy, and inhospitable and isolated habitat, twelve tribal communities have been identified as primitive tribes. They are (i) Juang, (ii) Bonda (iii) Kutia Kondh, (iv) Dongria Kondh, (v) Paudi Bhuiyan, (vi) Soura, (vii) Lanjia Soura, (viii) Didayi (ix) Birhor, (x) Mankidia (xi) Hill Kharia and (xiii) Lodha.

The economies of the Orissan tribal communities are primarily subsistence -oriented. The subsistence economy is based mainly on the collection of food items including minor forest produce, hunting & fishing, shifting cultivation and plough cultivation. The economic pursuits are mainly household-based or kinship oriented. Although they are tradition -bound in their approach they gradually make use of modern techniques and tools for better production. The shifting cultivation is a burning problem among the tribes of Orissa. The pernicious practice is associated with their economic, political, religious and social structure. By and large, they also depend on wet land cultivation to some extent. Their aesthetic sensibility is manifested in the architectural designs of their settlement and house pattern, art and craft, personal belongings, materials of daily use made out of locally

available resources, musical instruments costumes, hunting weapons, fishing nets and traps, even in the agricultural implements, basketry and utensils.

As per their socio-structural arrangement they are segmented into exogamous totemic divisions, most important being the clan organisation with territorial cohesion and strong corporate social boundary and identity. Further, clans are segmented into lineages and families, which are effective corporate social groups. The tribal people have broad kinship - range and cohesive community life. There is very little specialisation of social roles, except the secular and sacerdotal headship.

The religious beliefs and practices of the tribal people are principally animistic, but incorporates other strands of belief such as animatism, nature worship, fetishism shamanism, anthropomorphism and ancestral worship. It aims at ensuring group security and establishing prosperity and happiness. The annual cycle of rituals of the tribes is in consonance with the cycle of economic activities. The gods, ancestral spirits and other supernatural elements are appeased from time to time. They celebrate a number of fasts, feasts, festivals for the approval of eating of several food items available seasonally. They believe in the practice of magic and sorcery.

The marriage is most remarkable event which entails selection and acquisition of mates and ends with the consummation and the establishment of a neolocal residence. The mode of acquisition of mates, payment of bride price at marriage, pattern of the family life, divorce separation, remarriage, etc. vary from tribe to tribe.

The tribals traditional political organisation has several significant. There are folk-mores, norms, customs, sanctions and customary laws for social control and social order. Norms and

customary laws and Social sanctions are culture specific. They have specific functionaries and territorial political organisations. The law and order, peace and security are well maintained in the traditional political organisation, which are still in existence but in many areas they are gradually weaning under the impact of panchayatiraj and modern political system.

Amidst the web of harmonization and confrontation and emergent change and social mobility they have retained some of their most significant traits of culture, in one form or the other. The traditional institutions are still existing as the centres of important events without being non-functional. The centres are meant for enculturation/ socialisation and play the most significant educative role. The tribal people of Orissa are ever remembered for their rich heritage of folk-lore, dance, music and various kinds of performing Arts.

TRIBES OF ORISSA

Sl. No.	Scheduled Tribes	Population (1981)	Area of Concentration
1.	Bagata	2,616	Cuttack, Balasore
2.	Baiga	188	Kalahandi
3.	Banjara	10,925	Koraput, Mayurbhanj
4.	Bathudi	1,47,970	Mayurbhanj, Keonjhar
5.	Bhottada	2,47,709	Koraput, Kalahandi
6.	Bhuiya, Bhuyan	2,07,793	Sundargarh, Keonjhar
7.	Bhumia	75,221	Koraput, Sundargarh
8.	Bhumij	1,57,613	Mayurbhanj, Balasore
9.	Bhunjia	9,077	Kalahandi, Koraput
10.	Binjhal	98,631	Sambalpur, Bolangir
11.	Binjhia, Binjhoa	8,041	Sundargarh, Sambalpur
12.	Birhor	142	Sundargarh
13.	Bondo Paraja	5,895	Koraput
14.	Chenchu	39	Kalahandi, Sundargarh

15. Dal	18,163	Bolangir, Kalahandi
16. Desua Bhumij	1,183	Puri, Mayurbhanj
17. Dharua	8,611	Koraput, Mayurbhanj
18. Didayi	1,978	Koraput
19. Gadaba	56,913	Koraput
20. Gandia	2,263	Koraput, Dhenkanal
21. Ghara	618	Kalahandi, Sambalpur
22. Gond, Gondo	6,02,749	Kalahandi, Sambalpur
23. Ho	44,496	Mayurbhanj, Keonjhar
24. Holva	8,883	Koraput, Kalahandi
25. Jatapu	18,457	Koraput, Ganjam
26. Juang	30,876	Keonjhar, Dhenkanal
27. Kandha Gauda	15,189	Phulbani, Puri
28. Kavar	8,549	Sundargarh, Sambalpur
29. Kharia, Kharian	1,44,178	Sundargarh, Sambalpur
30. Kharwar	1,434	Keonjhar, Mayurbhanj
31. Khond, Kond, Kandha, Nanguli Kandha, Sitha Kandha	9,89,342	Koraput, Phulbani
32. Kisan	2,27,992	Sambalpur, Sundargarh
33. Kol	4,235	Keonjhar, Phulbani
34. Kolahloharas, Kol Loharas	7,562	Sundargarh
35. Kolha	3,26,523	Mayurbhanj, Keonjhar
36. Koli, Malhar	4,711	Dhenkanal, Ganjam
37. Kondadora	17,442	Koraput, Ganjam
38. Kora	5,823	Dhenkanal, Keonjhar
39. Korua	986	Sambalpur, Koraput
40. Kotia	19,136	Koraput, Phulbani
41. Koya	87,260	Koraput
42. Kulis	1,498	Sambalpur, Bolangir
43. Lodha	5,100	Mayurbhanj
44. Madia	1,066	Koraput, Dhenkanal
45. Mahali	11,767	Mayurbhanja, Sundargarh

46.	Mankidi	205	Kalanandi, Sundargarh
47.	Mankirdia	1,005	Mayurbhanj, Sambalpur
48.	Matya	12,123	Dhenkanal, Koraput
49.	Mirdhas	28,177	Sambalpur, Bolangir
50.	Munda,	3,38,935	Sundargarh, Sambalpur
	Munda Lohra,		
	munda Mahalis		
51.	Mundari	24,667	Sundargarh, Mayurbhanj
52.	Omantya	19,465	Koraput, Ganjam
53.	Oraon	2,15,337	Sundargarh, Sambalpur
54.	Parenga	9,622	Koraput
55.	Paroja	2,67,184	Koraput
56.	Pentia	7,908	Kalahandi, Sambalpur
57.	Rajuar	2,313	Mayurbhanj, Keonjhar
58.	Santal	5,30,775	Mayurbhanj, Balasore
59.	Saora,	3,70,060	Ganjam, Sambalpur
	Savar, Saura,		Koraput
	Sahara		
60.	Shabar, Lodha	3,29,209	Mayurbhanj
61.	Sounti	67,872	Keonjhar, Mayurbhanj
62.	Tharua	1,034	Mayurbhanj, Balasore

ORISSA 5,915,067 (1981) 70,32,214 (1991)



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