CHAPTER - III

A SURVEY OF TRIBAL ART
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Primitive Communities otherwise known as tribals are found in almost all parts of the world. Tribal are called variously in different countries. In the United States of America, they are known as “Red Indians” or Native Indians, in Australia as “Aborigines” in European countries as “Gypsies” in the African and Asian countries as Tribal. India has the second largest concentration of tribal population after that of the African continent. The Indian tribes are the autochthonous people of the land who are believed to be the earliest settlers in the peninsula. In India they are generally called “Adivasis” implying original inhabitants. However, under the constitutions of India and people belonging to various tribes have been specified as “Scheduled Tribes.”

Orissa occupies a unique position in the ethnographic map of India for having the largest variety of tribal communities. Being one of the fascinating ethnographic states of the country, it is the homeland of as many as 62 different tribal communities including 13 primitive tribal groups with a total population of 81,45,081 as per census of 2001. It constitutes 22.13 % of the total population of the state. But according to the census of 1991 the total tribal population was 70,32,214 that constituted 22.21% of the total population of the state, which is 10.38 % of the total Indian tribal population. From the above data it concludes that the percentage of tribal population to the total population of the state in 2001 census declined at a rate of .08 % in comparison to the census of 1991.

Art has always been used in the service of religion. Occasional cave discoveries and tomb excavations provide evidence to prove that as early as Paleolithic times, people had a form of religious beliefs and practices. Some indications of religious beliefs and practices have come down from the later Paleolithic age in the form of paintings, carvings and sculptures found in caves.

In tribal society art and artifacts are not separately viewed nor is art divorced from function or ritual. All tribal art is generally supposed to be related to their myths, their rituals, their festivals and their magical or magico-religious practices. All art and the tribal art specifically, is visionary. It is through art that the tyranny of the senses is overcome and the terror of the unknown transcended.
Art, therefore, has been the primary need of man for the health of his mind just as food has been for that of his body.\(^5\)

The simplest art in any tribal society is that of wall paintings, wood carvings, floor design and tattooing their bodies. The custom of making designs in walls and floors for some festivals or religious purposes is widespread in Orissa\(^6\).

The factors limiting the tribal artists would be the art of motifs or symbols of his culture. He would be unlikely to invent an entirely new motifs, but would use those with which he was familiar. There are a large number of paintings which are based on some common symbolic forms. These forms are seen in the interiors or wherever the tribal are having lesser or no influence of outer world. They have made these forms in simple suggestive manner\(^7\).

Mostly tribal paintings are based on geometrical forms such as triangles, squares, rectangles and dots etc. Geometrical pattern is the simplest and symbolic way of the embodiment of forms in tribal paintings. It provides a force and boldness in the depiction and is quite meaningful\(^8\). Boas is of the opinion that, "In primitive art even simple geometrical forms may possess a meaning that adds to their emotional value"\(^9\).

Sir Herbert Read also mentions, "Even in the most abstract geometric forms, such as, circles, one could assume a really cognitive element and the most of these geometric patterns had some ulterior meaning"\(^10\). But it is also true that if the form does not carry any meaning its effect might be pleasurable one but not elevating. In most of the tribal art it is very difficult to dissociate pure aesthetic from meaningful significance\(^11\).

Religious beliefs and practices have been a religious feature of human society and cream of every society. The cultural superstructure is based firmly on religion. Religion in the broadest sense determines a society's world view. And this world view determines the attitude to the natural and super natural world, the human personality and its basic traits, the relationship between men in society and social mores and value systems on which such relationship is built\(^12\).
Tribal religion may be understood as the religious practice of a people who is a scheduled tribe according to the provision of the constitution. The term tribal religion is used in Indian context and hence may not be generalized across the culture. To the mind of a tribal his religion is to him an essential part of his hunting, agriculture, politics, science or art. Each tribe has its own religion exclusive to its members. But when religions of different tribes are compared with one another, these religions form a set of overlapping religions, each individual tribe's religion being a sub set of it. In one religious tradition, ancestor worship could be predominant while in others it could be the belief in supernatural power in the form of deities. But all of them contain rituals, belief and transcendental experience in different degrees and in different forms.

Tribal religion is said to be the human response to the apprehension of something, of power, which is supernatural and supersensory. The amazing conglomeration of traditions, beliefs, sorrows and philosophies that together constitute and vitalize the religion of the tribe has descended from antiquity and has been preserved unimpaired to the present day. Every facts of their life covering round the year activities are intimately connected with religion. It is this aspect of their culture that gives meaning and depth to their lives and solidarity to their social structure.

Religion of the tribes of Orissa is different from the mystic religions of advanced societies. Their religion is an admixture of animism, animatisms, nature worship, fetishism, shamanism, anthropomorphism and ancestor worship. Religious beliefs and practices aim at ensuring personal security and happiness as well as community well being and group solidarity. Their religious performances include life crisis rites, cyclic community rites, ancestor and totemic rites and observance of taboos. And all these contribute to motivate the simple mind living in an inimical eco-system for creative thinking of various magnitudes, which finds its manifestations in various art forms that he practiced as continuing of tradition.
Table – 3

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Total Population of Orissa as per 2001 Census – 36,80,4660
The Gond are the most predominant tribal community in India and spread over a large geographical area and inhabit the mountainous tracts of central and southern India popularly known as Gondwanaland. Because of their density the territory of the former cultural province was formally known as Gondwana and country of the Gonds. They are mostly distributed in the states of Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh, Bihar, Karnataka (Mysore), West Bengal and Gujurat. In Orissa the Gond population as per the 1991 census is 7,01,139 or 9.967% of the total population of the state. During the period 1981-91 they have a growth rate of 16.32% and became the second largest tribal community in the state next to Kondh. The highest number of Gond Population are found in the district of Kalahandi (172,686) and lowest in Ganjam (165). The other districts having larger contradiction of the Gonds are Bolangir, Koraput, Keonjhar, Sambalpur and Sundargarh. The Gonds of Sundargarh, Sambalpur, Bolangir have been highly acculturated under the influence of Hindu customs, where as the tribe living in Kalahandi and Koraput districts are primitive in respect of having their distinctive dress, habits and culture.

The Gonds have a language of their own which is known as Gondi. According to Grierson, Gondi is a language belonging to the Dravidian family. They physically characterized by dark brown complexion, thick, black and wavy hair; scanty beard; dolichouphalic head; over face; black eyes; platyrhine nose with a depression at the root; thick lips; wide mouth; below medium stature; and strongly built body with features well-out. The name "Gond" is given to them by their Hindu and Muslim neighbors of Central province. They designate themselves as Koitur.

The Gond economy is primarily and distinctly influenced by climate, soil, water-supply and floral pattern of the area they inhabit. The main occupations of the Gonds include agriculture, picking up of minor forest produce, working as labours on farms or in forest, and minor occupations like smithy metal work, goat keeping, piggery etc. All earlier reports on the Gonds have noted that they were, in the past, a famous hunting tribe. However, hunting has now a days
become an item of pastime of the most of the Gonds but still to others it bears some definite economic value. To catch fish by poisoning the streams and ponds is widely practiced. Moreover, the organized collection of honey adds a speciality to their social and economic organisation. Rats, squirrels, rodents, etc. are also gathered by them. The Gonds domesticate such animals as cow, bullock, buffalo, pig, goat, sheep, dog, fowl and pigeon. In former days they used to employ two pieces of flint and a bunch of dried up grass or stalk to produce fire.

The food habit of the Gonds is somewhat uniform. They are habituated to take three meals in a day. Their staple food is the gruel of millet and rice boiled in water. Usually they do not bother to take meat of any animal available to them. Their favorite drinks include mandja or liquor of fermented mahua flowers, toddy or fermented juice of date-plam, and longra or rice beer. The country liquor has both a ceremonial and purificatory use.

Influenced by geographical and hydrographical factors, they are found to live on the plains of plateau, on undulating hills, and on alluvial plans of low land. As regards natural protection, they favour a cliff, or a natural lent of a river or a deep forest. Villages are composed of about 50 huts, and so it may be called a hamlet or tola. Each hamlet has a main path which runs through the hamlet from east to west. On one side and throughout the whole length of the path the horses are found to be arranged in line. A fencing round the hamlet is made, and each side of the main path has a gate which is generally kept closed at night. Each hamlet has its own drainage system and water source. At the central part of the village gods are housed. In the extreme east of the village there are some stone cairns decorated with poles and flags. At the outskirt of the village there is the burial ground.

The area of home stead is divided into a number of functional plots: the anterior courtyard, the central plinth and hut the lateral cattle shed and the posterior kitchen gardens. The structure of the roof is made of rafters of wood and bamboo and thatched with grass. The walls are made of mats of bamboo splits, plastered with mud. The walls are smeared with white, yellow or red paint of indigenous origin. Each hut is provided with a raised verandah. The Gond hut
consists of bed room, attic, fowl pen, kitchen and store room. They have some temporary huts specially meant for the monstrous women.

A communal hut known as dormitory house or Ghotul is also found in the village, which is meant for the bachelors and spinsters. They assemble here to sing, dance and choose their life partners. In some villages it is situated at the outskirts while in other villages it is located in the centre of the settlement. The house is nicely built, and the pillars of this structure are found to be carved with different symbols and elaborate figures of various animals and man.21

For all life-cycle rituals like birth, name-giving, puberty, marriage and death there are elaborate rituals with celebrations, offerings of gods, accompanied with feast, drinking of liquor, singing and dancing.

The event of pregnancy in a Gond woman is highly valued and sterility in a woman is regarded as a supernatural curse. During the period of pregnancy some ritual prescriptions and taboos bring not only a check in her free movement, but also control the behaviour of her husband to some extent. With the help of a mid-wife, delivery normally takes place in a specially built hut. Just after the birth the body is placed on a winnowing fan full of grains. After placing both mother and newly born child in a bed of grass the umbilical cord is cut by a sickle or knife. Twin birth is considered a bad omen and is believed to be the consequence of an intercourse with a ghost or a resultant effect of a breach of menstrual taboo. When the kid became 6 weeks old, a name is given to the child. The selection of name is followed by divination. Some time bad names are given to avoid the influence of the evil eyes and evil spirits. In case of female children a ceremonial tattooing is done, which is believed as the passport to the heaven after death.

The next important phase of life among the female commences with the first experience of menstruation. The menstruous women are segregated to a specially built hut which is made not outside the village but at an isolated spot within it, and is held communally or individually. After a week of isolation in each month they come back to their normal life and their entry is marked by a purificatory bath.
Marriage is strictly forbidden which the same clan or a brother clan. Cross cousin marriage, marriage by service and regular marriage, which are arranged by the parents, are commonly practiced. There is no child marriage and girls are married after reaching puberty. Bride price is always paid, and the amount is generally fixed in a meeting of the parties. Polygamy is common and two or three wives are common. Divorce on reasonable grounds is allowed by the caste panchayat. Widow remarriage or remarriage of a divorcee is permissible. Women have freedom in selecting life partners and can take initiative for divorce. The status of women is quite high except for participation in religious rites.

The mortuary rituals of the Hinduised Gonds show maximum Hindu influences. A normal death is followed by a cremation, where as in abnormal death, the corpse is buried. The corpse of a child, who dies before the name giving ceremony is also buried. Pollution is observed for then days, after which there is purification by the help of Brahmin, Barber and Washerman. Mourning is observed for four days-when the house is cleaned and a menhir erected as a memoir for the dead which is called as Kalbanda by the Gonds.

A family represents itself as the smallest unit of their social structure. The occurrence of simple family is more frequent. The authority in the family lies in the hand of the senior most male members. The members within a family follow a distinctive pattern of job division which is guided by such factors as sex, age and familial status. A husband is the central authority within the family. His decision is final in all important economic, social and religious matters. The wife has a distinct position in the family, being sole in charge of all the domestic matters. She also takes equal share of the hard life of struggle with her husband and workers with him side by side undertaking various activities in fields, in production of crops, thus she forms an important privot in the economic life of the family.22

The rule of inheritance among the Gonds is patrilineal. The daughters are not entitled to receive any share of their father's property. The home stead and the house are inherited by the youngest son. That son who gives a support
to widow mother and unmarried sisters gets a lion's shred of his father's property. The dormitory house is held as a communal property.

There is no uniformity found in dress and ornaments of Gonds. A Gond male wears ordinarily a piece of coarse and short cotton cloth around the waist, and the upper part of the body is left uncovered. Female use both lower and upper garments after marriage. But before marriage her dress consist of long piece of common cloth which covers both lower and upper part of the body. An old woman use only a lower garment. They used rain hat made of bamboo splits and rain coat made of bark. The females were necklaces of coloured glass-beads and cowrieshells. Both aluminum and brass ornaments are extensively used by them. The ornaments made of tin and or silver are rarely used. They dressed the hair in the form of a bun at the back of the head, and occasionally pin ornaments, wooden combs or flowers.

Tattooing is widely practiced by both the Gond sexes. The sorcerers are found to tattoo figures of their favourite deities on the body with a view to strengthen their power of sorcery. In case of female children a ceremonial tattooing is done by Gond which is believed as the passport to the heaven after death.\(^{23}\)

The Gonds are nature worshipers and practise animism. Totem worship is one of the typical ritual or celebrations of Gonds. They worship their respective totems, which perhaps was started as part of ancestor worship. The Gonds all over India are polytheistic. All deities are thought of in anthropomorphic terms. In Orissa their supreme god is known as Badiyal Pen. Apart from this they also worship a number of deities. Among them Dula deo or war deity is represented by battle-axe, who is worshipped during every festivals. They also worshipped Gangra deo considered as Lord Buddha, may lead to believe that Gonds were influenced by Buddhism during some part of history. They also worshipped various Hindu Gonds and deities besides observing Hindu festivals like Dasserah, Nua Khai, Makar Sankranti, Depavali etc.\(^{24}\)
The spirit of the dead is propitiated; at least once after the completion of a year following the death. Serpent worship is known to them, but it is always done in secret.

Gond festivals are also performed for the first eating and sowing of the new crops. In March the Chaitra festival is celebrated and they offered a pig or fowl the village gods and the new bears and jawar or other foods are offered uncooked. After dancing and singing the whole night they start eating the new foods, drinking mahua liquor.

On the wood carving of the Gonds of Madhya Pradesh Verrier Elwin says, "they decorate frames and bands with a variety of geometric designs, the usual herring-bone, zig-zag, hatching or rows of small lozenges. Particularly popular are various kinds of circles- the flower pattern derived from intersecting circles, a spiral, a circle enhanced with alternate triangles hatched in opposite direction." Gonds do not have any tradition of wall painting.

**SANTAL**

Santal one among the colorful tribes are found distributed in the states of Bihar, Orissa, West Bengal and Tripura. The highest concentration, is found in Santal Parganas located in the eastern extremity of Chottnagpur plateau in Bihar. This place is regarded as their traditional home land. In Orissa Santal one among the largest tribe found in the districts of Mayurbhanj, Balasore, Keonjhar and Phulbani. As per the 1991 census the Santal population in the State of Orissa was 629782 which constituted 8.95 % of the total tribal population of the state and 1.98 % of the total population of the state. The growth rate over the decade 1981-91 was 18.65 per cent.25

The Santals speak a language of their own known as Santali which belongs to the Munda group of the Austro-Asiatic sub-family of the Austric family. The Santal of Orissa never claim their present habitat as their original homeland. Rather they are proud of describing a legend which gives Ahiripipiri as their birth place and Chaichampa as their fort located some where in Bihar. Some scholars link their traditional homeland with central India (Dandakaranya area).26
Physically the Santals are characterised by dark-brown in complexion, coarse, black, straight and occasionally curly hair, scanty bread and less hair on the body, dolichocephalic and hypsicephalic head form with a high vault, narrow forehead, eyes of medium size and of black colour; eye-slit usually straight and rarely oblique; straight prominent and platyrhine nose with depression at the root, large mouth provided with thick and sometimes projecting lips, euryprosopic to mesoprosopic face; and short to medium stature.\textsuperscript{27}

The Santal economy is primarily based on agriculture. Collecting, hunting and fishing were once very important source of their living but now have become reduced to a subsidiary status. Animal husbandry plays a minor role in maintaining their food supply. Now a days most of the Santals migrate to tea-gardens, coal-mines and factories where they work as unskilled labourers. Both men and women are active, and hard-working. The economic activities of the Santal community are carried out with the co-operation and participation of both sexes.

The Santals generally eat twice a day and an addition of a third meal is of rare occurrence. The daily menu consist of daka or boiled rice and utu or curry. They seldom take fish or meat and largely depend on vegetable curry. They drink rice beer (handia) and mahua liquor. Tobacco, being rolled into a Sal leaf, is used for smoking, and being mixed with a kind of lime is used for chewing.

A Santal village is usually small in size inhabited by ten to thirty five families. The settlement pattern is of linear type, or the houses are arranged on either side of the road. Adjacent to each village a common ritual place called jaher is located, where their village deities reside. The Manjhi-than, another ritual spot in the village, is located in front of the house of the Manjhi, the secular headman of the village. The Manjhi-than is the seat of the spirit of the founder headman of the village.

The Santals constructed their house as per the needs of the family. It may be of single room or cluster of several rooms. Cattle-shed, pig-sty, kitchen-
garden and rectangular or square courtyard are the general additions to a Santal dwelling. In every house, towards a corner of the main room there is a sacred place known as the bhitar, a place for the ancestral spirits. The walls are made of wooden logs planted upright and plastered with mud and decorate with different colours, with figures of human beings, flowers, animals and birds. There is no window in any of their house.

Santal men wear a rough dhoti or gamchha and a kopni. The women wear green of blue check printed saris made by the local weavers. Both the sexes are fond of decorating themselves with flowers, feathers and cow-tail hair necklaces. The ornaments commonly found are heavy bangles, wristlets, armlets, coral beads, anklets, rings, etc. made of mostly brass. Now-a-days they prefer to use ornaments made of plastic, glass and silver.

For their daily use of Santals make various crafts. They prepare wooden materials such as the Plough, leveler, husking lever, string bed etc. They are also skilled in making bullock-carts, chairs and benches. In bamboo they prepare fishing traps and winnowing fan.

Family, which is the smallest social unit is patrilineal, patrilocal and patr iptestal. The authority in the family always lies in the hands of the senior most male member. As regards the division of labour the adult male are mostly engaged in outdoor jobs while the adult females carry on the household works. The grownup boys and girls assist their parents according to their ability and tradition.

The Santal political organisation is characterized by village council (Panchayat). The council is headed by a Majhi or headman, who is assisted by the Paramanik or assistant headman, the Naik or village priest, the Jog-manji or the moral guardian of the village youth and the Gadet or messenger. The meeting take place at Manjhi-than and topics discussed in the council are cases of divorce, partition of property, adoption of children and quarrels. The council helps in all the social ceremonies like death, birth, marriage etc. All the village officials were customarily elected at the time of the foundation of the village and
their post are hereditary. Inheritance is like in the Hindus — the sons get a share, and women have no right in the movable or immovable property.  

The life-cycle of an individual Santal is marked by four different rites connected to birth, becoming a full member of the society, marriage and death.

During parturition a Santal midwife attends the expectant mother. They observe certain taboos and restrictions to protect the baby in her womb and mother from the evil-influence of the ghosts. The male members are not allowed to enter in to the delivery room during delivery and a traditional midwife called Mukhi assists her. After birth the mid-wife cuts the umbilical cord, bathes the child and mother, and puts the placenta, etc. in the pit in the same room. The mother and the house became unclean up to the name giving ceremony, that occurs in the fifth day after birth in the case of a boy and third day of the child is a girl. On the day all family members take a purificatory birth, clean clothes and houses and throw away used earthen ware pots. They select the name of the child from among the dead ancestors of either the paternal or maternal side.

Puberty marks the beginning of full fledged womanhood. When a girl attains puberty she is not allowed to enter the cowshed or bhitar, the sacred place of the house. When the period is over she takes a full bath and washes her clothes.

Among the life cycle rituals of the Santals, initiation ceremony for the young boys is a typical one. As token of initiation, a burn-mark is given on the left arm by the burning tip of a country cigar, which is performed any time before marriage, usually within their twelfth year. This marks the admission of the youth to society and social status. This is done to distinguish them from others and the fear of being fermented by insects in the next world, after death. Though tattoo is a common fashion for Santal women, a similar belief leads them to wear marks of various designs on their palms, arms, wrists, chests and breasts.

Santal marriage known as bapla makes an individual a full-fledged member of the community. The main restrictions on marriage are tribal endogamy, clan exogamy and the exclusion of cross-cousin marriage.
Illegitimacy of child does not exist in their society. There are seven types of marriages that prevailed in the Santal society, i.e.

a. Marriage by negotiation
b. Marriage by mutual consent.
c. Marriage by force
d. Marriage by intrusion
e. Marriage by elopement
f. Widow marriage
g. Hindu type of marriage

Among the above types of marriages, marriage by negotiation and Hindu type of marriage are most frequent. Their society is patrilocal. Widow marriage is permitted in Santal society. Divorce is socially permitted. The sandal are monogamous. They do not favour polygyny, unless the wife is barren.

The customary rule of disposing a dead body is the cremation of the corpse. The dead body is first anointed with oil and then new clothes are put on it. A few of the pots and pans of the deceased are also placed along with the dead body on the pyer. They believe that the spirit of the dead remains in the house and many cause harm to family members and villagers in general until the death rituals are performed. Within five to twenty days after death the first purificatory ritual is observed when all members of the Kutum group shave their heads and the women cut their nails, smear turmeric paste and anoint their bodies with oil. After this various rites and rituals performed and feast is organized. Santal believe in the ceremonial bath in a holy river, called Damodar Jatra after the name of the river Damodar. Santal now living in different localities have different ghats, to performed the last death ritual.

The religion of the Santals is centered round the worship and ceremonies of numerous gods, deities and spirits residing in the hills, forests and streams. Thakur or the creator of this world otherwise known as Sing Bongaor Dharam is their supreme deity who is identified with the sun. He is worshipped in every important festival. The villages deities are Marang, Buru, Moneko – Turiko Jaher Era and Gosani Era, who reside in the village Jahera a holy grove located on the out skirts of the village. In addition, they worship Abge Bonga or
household spirits, Hapranko Bonga or ancestral spirits, Buru Bonga (hill deities), Rango Bonga (forest deities) and Basumata or mother earth. They observed numbers of festivals associated with agricultural operations. Among which the important festivals are Erok-sim, Harihar-sim, Iri-Guldli-sim, Jauthar, Saharas, Magha-sim and Baha. They have a strong belief in their own religion. Now a days they have started worshipping Hindu Gods and Goddess.  

The youth dormitory of the Santal young boys and girls are in the Santali traditional fashion. It is the core of their culture and reinforce the age old tradition. This is the place of their entertainment and work as social gathering centres. This is also the most suitable place for the Santals to select their life partners. The dormitory is a school of dance and expression of communal art of the people. The children are taught art of living, how to work and respect the elders. The elders of the village assemble at the dormitory every day for important event in their corporate life. Here they discusses matters concerning the welfare of the village and fix up date and time for celebration of the village festivals etc. The dormitory with its elaborate system, strict discipline and duties occupies a unique place in the Santal society.

BHUYAN

Bhuyan one of the primitive tribe of Orissa are found in the districts of Keonjhar, Sundargarh and Dhenkanal. The term “Bhuyan” is derived from the Sanskrit word “Bhumi” mean and or earth and are called variously as Bhuiya, Bhuyan and Bhuinya. According to 1981 census their number was 2,07,793 were in 1991 census their population went to 2,46,573 with a growth rate of 18.66% over the decade. They constitute 3.50 % of the total tribal population of the state and 0.78 % of the total population of the state as per the 1991 census.

Bhuyan villages are situated in open table lands, up hills and most of the villages are difficult to access and are fairly isolated and lie hidden in the Sal forests. The settlement pattern of the villages are not identical and do not conform to any pattern villages are located in such places where sufficient hills slopes are available for shifting cultivation and thick forests for hunting and food
gathering. Presence of a good perennial stream is a necessary condition for the location of a settlement. Each household has a courtyard at the front and kitchen garden at the back. The number of huts depends upon the size of the family and their economic condition. The cowshed forms a separate hut and is built on one side of a courtyard. Most conspicuous in a Bhuyan village are jackfruit and mango trees which are grown around the village. In every Bhuyan village there may be a few milkmen families who live in a separate ward.

A Bhuyan hut is rectangular in shape with a two sloped roof thatches with grass. The walls are made of logs of wood which are fixed vertically to the ground. Close to one another and are plastered with mud and cow dung. The rafters are beams are also made of logs of wood and no window is provided in the house. Generally construction of a new house is always began either on Friday or on Wednesday. Ancestral spirits are properly installed in the inner chamber and food and drink are offered to them. Their main house is known as Mulaghar (inner house) while other huts are known as a Melaghar (outer house). No entry of outsiders into the Mulaghar is allowed because the Kitchen and the Bhitar section of the hut is held most sacred. 33

The most attractive and specious hut is built in the centre of the village, which is the bachelor's dormitory is called the Mandaghar in Keonjhar and Durbarghar in Sundergarh districts. The unmarried boys (Dhangadas) above 14 years are members of the dormitory. Although the girl's dormitory has disappeared, unmarried girls (Dhangidis) above 12 year of age from a group and sleep in the house of a elderly widow of the village. The dormitory serves as a guesthouse, meeting place for elders and a granary for the village. Important musical instruments like the Changusi (tambourine) and drums are kept hanging from the extended deer antlers fixed to the walls. In front of the dormitory is and open space which serves as the dancing area for the unmarried boys and girls of the villages. On one of the corners of the dancing area, at a little distance, lies the sacred shrine of Gainsiri Khunta, made of a round piece of carved wooden pillar and representing the tutelary deity of the village. The boys take are of thatching and repairing of the dormitory where as the girls do the cleaning and plastering of the walls and the floor. The
association between the boys and girls continues so long as they are unmarried and the membership in the dormitory is terminated with their marriage.34

The economic life of the Bhuyans mainly centres around shifting cultivation (Tila Chasa) which act as the primary source of their livelihood. To a large extent in its supplemented by collection of minor forest produce and to some extent by wet and dry cultivation and by hunting, fishing and wage earning. The Bhuyans domesticate various animals like cow, bullock, buffalo, goat, sheep and fowl.

Rice, the staple food of the Bhuyans is considered superior to all they types. Besides rice they make preparations of millets and other cereals. Forest acts as the food bank of the Bhuyans. Usually the adults eat twice or thrice and the children many times a day. They drink various type of liquor such as Mahua, rice beer, toddy etc. during festivities and ceremonies. Liquor is offered to their deities and ancestral spirits to appease them. There is nothing special in the dress of the Bhuyan man and women. Men wear dhoti, banyan, shirt etc., and women wear sarees and use ornaments of the type which are used by the Oriya women.

Family is the smallest social unit of comprises both consanguineal and affinal relations. The family is mostly nuclear and patrilineal and consisting of husband, wife and their unmarried children. The next biggest unit is the lineage or kutumba formed by the group of families related to one another by blood. The members helps each other in the lineage during needs. Several Kutumbas form an exogamous unit called Khilli (clan) descended from a common ancestor. The next bigger unit is the village, which is divided into two groups – Bandhu villages where marriage is possible and Kutumba villages were marriage is not possible.

Bhuyans believe that every human being must pass through different stages of life, i.e. birth, marriage and death. Birth is always welcome in Bhuyan Society, whether of a boy or a girl. The expectant woman and undergoes several restriction during her pregnancy. Birth takes place in a separate shed constructed as a hyingin room. An elderly experience women acts as midwife (Sutrunihari). The naval string is cut by the boy’s mother with an arrowhead if
the child is male and split bamboo is the child is female. The placenta and the cord are buried in a pit dug at the back of the house. In the case of difficult delivery, the head of the family prays the ancestral spirits at the Bhitar with a pot full of water. After the worship is over, some water is sprinkled on the woman and some is given to her to drink. On the 7th day both the baby and the mother take their first purificatory bath and the population is remove.

No Bhuyan marries outside the tribe because the tribe is endogamous. Similarly, marrying within own clan is prohibited because it is exogamous. Previously all the households of a village belonged to a single khilli or clan. Generally marriage is monogamous but if the first wife dies or does not bear any child he may take a second wife. Widow re-marriage is not common, but cases of such marriage are met within some villages. Cross-cousin marriage is not common and the cases or sorrorate or levirate marriages or levirate marriages are very rate. Similarly marriage by exchange is a rare occurrence.35

Various forms of marriage are met with among the Bhuyans. These are; marriage by negotiation (mangi bibha), love marriage with arrangement (phulichusi), marriage by capture (ghicha), marriage by elopement (dharipala). The marriage by arrangement is very much elaborate and also expensive, because of the involvement of a heavy bride price and feasts to the guests.

When a person dies, his kinsmen and near relatives start wailing loudly till the dead body is carried to the burial ground. Both cremation and burials are practiced. A pit of sufficient length and breadth is dug and the corpse is laid down with head facing north. The eldest son puts the soil first on the corpse. The pollution period lasts for three days. The family members throw away the used earthen vessels and clothes are properly washed. At the end of it, the villagers are given a feast by the deceased's family. The lineage members clip their hair, share their beards and both men and women pave their nails.

In every Bhuyan village there is a traditional Panchayat which meets at the darbar whenever required. The villages headman, Padhan presides over the Panchayat. A group of villages form a confederacy called Pirha. The panchayat at this level is called Pirha Panchayat and the secular headman who presides
over it is called Sardar. The other leaders are Dehuri or ritual functionary, Dakua or the assistant to Pradhan and Dehury. The Pradhan and Sardar were very powerful and women of authority. They used to collect land revenue and help to maintain peace in the village. The panchayats are to decide partition of properly among brothers, distribute land for shifting cultivation, organize religions ceremonies and maintain peace and other in village.

The Bhuyan believe in the existence of three spheres, namely *sarga* (heaven or place of human being after death), *bhuin* (earth or place of all human beings when alive) and *Patal* (earth's crust or place of unknown spirits). They believe in the existence of innumerable deities having their abode in the village and nearly spring and in the surrounding hills and forest. For their safety and security they offer food and drink to their supernatural beings through religions headman of the village named Dehuri. They have two important gods known as Dharam Devata (Sun god) and Basukimata (Earth Goddess) who are always benevolent.

Boram which is represented by a stone boulder place in the sacred grove on the outskirts of the village, is another important village deity. Pat is another village goddess and everybody is afraid of her wrath, so rituals connected to her is strictly followed. Like the Juang, the Bhuyans worship the river Baitarani as a powerful goddess. The Bhuyans have nero started worshipping Hindu gods and goddesses like Siva, Laxmi, Jagannath, Radha and Krishan on such occasions as is prescribed in the Hindu ritual calendar.36

The Bhuyans have a tradition of wall paintings on the house wall made of wattle and daub. The canvas on the walls is prepared by a red wash. The paintings are mostly religious drawn during various festivals and occasions. The images are those of Goddess Durga, Laxmi, Saraswati, Jagannatha etc mostly drawn during the Dushera. Similarly paintings are also drawn during the first sowing which is otherwise known as *Akshya trutiya*. During the *Akshya trutiya* the pictures of domestic animals such as cow, bullock, goat and domestic birds such as parrot, hen, peacock are drawn. After drawing the pictures, the pictures are consecrated when the deities are invoked for blessing, wellbeing, fulfillment of desire and peace and prosperity. Bhuyans believe that before commissioning
any work certain pictures should be drawn, consecrated and worshipped for success and prosperity. During the harvest seasons Laxmi feets and lotus flowers symbolizing goddess Laxmi are drawn on the house wall as well as the floors inviting goddess Laxmi for good harvest and prosperity. The pictures are mostly drawn by the housewives. The pigments used for such paintings are white, red and green. White is from pulverized rice, red is from hematite and green from leaves. Thus wall painting of Bhuyans are for bliss, peace and prosperity.37

**JUANG**

The Juang is a primitive tribe found only in Orissa. It is divided into two sections, namely the hill Juang and the plain Juang. The hill Juang are confined to the hill ranges of Keonjhar and Pallahara, where as the plain Juang are distributed among the plains of Dhenkanal and Keonjhar districts. Ethnically the Juangs are considered as a branch of the Munda group and have their own language known as Juang. Now a days they can also speak Oriya.

According to the 1991 census the Juang population was 35,665 or 0.5 per cent of the total tribal population of the state. In 1981 their population was 30,876. Thus the growth rate of the Juang during the decade 1981-91 was 15.51 per cent as against 18.89 per cent and 20.06 per cent of the state’s tribal and general population respectively.38

Juang claim the Juang *Pirh* or Keonjhar as their homeland. Those who live in this area are known as *Thaniya* (original settlers), while those who have migrated to the plains of Keonjar and Dhenkanal districts are called *Bhagudia* (those who have fled away).

There is a popular myth about their origin. The Juang believe that they are the first human beings to be born on earth. Their ancestors were born from a *Rusi* couple (a saint and his partner) who were living in *Rusi Tanger*, a hillock near Gonasika in Keonjhar district.39

The term Juang is explained as "Man" by the Juang themselves. Anthropologically they are of medium stature with brachycephalic head,
prominent cheek bone and broad nose having little depression at the root. Their hair is rather black and course while the skin colour varies between brown and dark brown.

A Juang settlement is generally located on foot hills or hill slopes close to a stream, suitable for shifting cultivation which is selected by divination. The villages present a scene of scattered houses. An unique feature of the Juang settlement pattern is their frequent changes of village site. The main reasons being the shortage of taila land (land under shifting cultivation) around the village, the spread of epidemics, frequency of deaths in the village etc. Now a days they live in permanent villages.

The Juang houses are rectangular in ground plan and small in size. The walls are raised with wooden poles stuck into the ground vertically close to each other and plastered with mud and cow dung mixed together. A door is provided in front which serves as both entrance and exit and there is no window in any house. The roof is thatched with thatching grass. A small narrow verandah runs in front of the house.

A Junag house is divided into three distinct parts, called as daala or the stone, ukusugn or Kitchen and kelang or the sleeping place. The house has a courtyard in front with a scaffold enclosing it.

Conspicuous in every Juang village is the bachelor's dormitory, which is called Mandaghar in Keonjhar and Majang in Dhenkanal district. It is the largest hut built in the centre of the village. A wooden platform is raised in the enclosed part adjacent to the back wall, where communal paddy grains are stored in straw grain bins. All the wooden pillars of the Mandaghar are beautifully carved, with human as well as animal figures. At the middle, the sacred fire is kept lit day and night throughout the year. The musical instruments (Changu) are kept hanging from deer horns which are fixed to the walls, with simple floral paintings and geometric designs. These decorative aspects are virtually absent in individual houses. In front of the dormitory is a specious ground where the youth perform Changu dances. By its side is the Gramsiri (village deity) under a flowering tree which oversees all activities.
In early days there are two youth dormitories in Junag society, one for the unmarried boys called Kangers and the other for the unmarried girls called Selana. The boys dormitory is known as majang or mandaghar while the girl’s dormitory is called melainyang which does not exist any more now a days. The majang is constructed by the kangers who sleep here at night. The Selana plaster and maintain the majang all the year round. The youth of the villages became the members of the dormitory after following some special rites and rituals during the day of Amba Nuakhia or first mango eating ceremony. Any negligence in duties to the majang leads physical and verbal punishment, depending on the degree of offence.

The majang is the centre of entertainment for the villagers and the meeting place where all kinds of deputes are settled. Hence decisions regarding rituals and festivals are taken by the village council. The majang teaches discipline and duty consciousness to the Junag. Due to contacts with the mainstream civil society, this institution undergoes massive changes now a days. Youths now hardly take the majang as an institution of education. Some even do not come to the majang at all and discipline is eroding. 41

The Junag diet is never standardized nor systematic. During agricultural season they eat food grains while during the off-season they satisfy their hunger with leaves, fruits, tubers etc. Rice is the favorite food of the Juang. They are extremely addicted to liquor and drink different varieties such as mahuli, rice bear, toddy and liquor made from maize and other cereals. These are omnivorous; hunt all sorts of animals for food.

One of the striking features of the Juang is their past attire – the leaf dress. While the females wore leaves of Shorea robusta (Sargi), the males wore the bark of Careya arbora (tumboi). It was captain Johnstone, the then superintendent of Kendujhar state who banned leaf dress and forced the Juang to wear cloth. 42 Now the men wear a dhoti, the women a Sari. Women adorn their body with verities of ornaments such as bangles, rose rings, earrings, toe rings, anklets, armlets made of brass or alloy and multicolored bead necklaces of different designs. Women like to have tattoos on their foreheads and arms.
For generations, the Juangs have been depending upon their surrounding forests for all types of requirements including food. Shifting cultivation is the life-line of the Juang economy. Hunting, fishing and gatherings of different forest products are their other means of subsistence. They pursue cultivation on four types of land: (i) *taila* (land under shifting cultivation), (ii) *guda* (upland), (iii) *badi* (kitchen garden), and (iv) *bila* (wetland). Paddy is cultivated only in *bila*. The Junags of Pallahara make various types of bamboo baskets and raise cows, goat, fowls and pigs in small numbers either for agricultural or for religious purpose. They depend upon mango and jack fruit through out the summer season when they ripe and are available in plenty. The hill Junags of Keonjar do not like to work as labourers. In Dhenkanal most Junag are agricultural labourers or share croppers. Above all in general the Junag live a poor life.

The smallest social unit among the Junag is the family which is invariably of nuclear type. It comprises parents and unmarried children. Some times old parents who cannot live alone are found living in the family of one of their sons. The family is patrilineal, patrilocal and patripotestal. The next larger social group is the lineage (*baunsa*), which comprises of number of families.

The most characteristic feature of the Junag social organisation is their village exogamy. The village is uniclan and marriage within it is forbidden. The clan is called a *bok*. It is patrilineal, totemic and governed by the usual society may be grouped in to two divisions known as *bandhu* clans and *kutum* clans. The members of a *kutum* clan are considered parallel cousins and as such marriage or sexual relations with members of a *kutum* clan is taboo.43

The traditional village council among the patriarchal Juang consists of mainly three traditional leaders: *Dehuri*, *Pradhan* and *Dangua*. The *Dehuri* who is also known as *Boita* or *Nagam* is the ritual head and officiate in all the communal rituals of the village and to distribute *taila* land. *Pradhan* is the headman of the village and is in-charge of secular matters of the village, such as collection of tax and distribution of lands to the families of the villages. *Dangua* belongs to the decision-making elites in the village and is the mediator between the villagers and *Dehuri* and *Pradhan*. But now the Juang political
system has undergone a great change because of the government interference through the Juang Development Agency.

The supreme god of the Juangs are the Dharam Deota (Sun God) and Basumata (mother earth), who are the creators and preservers of Juang society. Next in order of importance is Gram Siri or the village deity, which is represented by a pointed stone installed in front of dormitory house. She protects the villagers from all Calamities and is therefore worshipped on almost all occasions. The Jung observe various rituals throughout the year to propitiate their deities and ancestors. Their important festivals include Puspunei, AmbaNua, Tirtia, Asadi, Pirh-Puja, Dhan-Nua etc. During these occasions they prepare special type of food to offers their ancestor with mahuli liquor. During Puspunei the Nagam kills a pig and sprinkles blood over the grains collected from each household which is kept in the mandaghar for seed purposes. Now the Juang observe many Hindu festivals in their annual festive cycle.

Birth, Puberty, marriage and death are the most important stages in the life of the Juang. Some kind of ritual is associated with each stage of their life cycle.

During pregnancy a Juang women observes many restriction in the matters of food, movement and work. At the time of delivery a midwife or elderly women from the village is called to assist the expectant women for easy delivery. If it is a girl the cord is cut by means of knife and if it is a boy child it is cut by means of an arrowhead. The placenta is buried at the back of the house or at the place of delivery when the umbilical stump falls it is wrapped in a leaf and tucked in the thatch uttering blessings and wishes as "May many more children be born".

In the name giving ceremony (nimincha) which is performed five days after child’s birth, the names of the deceased ancestors are always preferred to the child. On that day child’s father sacrifices chicken and offers the meat to the ancestors and other deities.

Marriage is the most important event in the life of an individual. It not only satisfies their biological urge but also gives them a status in society. There are
several methods of acquiring mates in the Juang Society. These are (i) Marriage by negotiation, (ii) Marriage by Capture (digar kania), (iii) Love marriage (Mana mani) and (iv) Widow Marriage (buraha kania). Divorce is socially permitted in the Juang society. Divorces and widowers can remarry if they like. A widow is expected to marry her late husband's younger brother. Payment of bride price is in vogue among the Juangs.

Juangs believe that death occurs due to the wrath of supernatural powers. As soon as death occurs the relatives apply turmeric paste and oil on the dead body. The body is carried by the elders to the cremation ground where it is placed on the pyre with its head pointing towards the east. A feast is arranged on the following day at the same hour when the person expired. Then death pollution is observed for two days in Keonjhar and ten days in Dhenkanal.

On the day of purification every one takes a bath. Food is offered to the departed soul and a feast is given to the villagers. The Juang believe that the spirit of their ancestors live inside their house under the daala, the place where paddy and other grains and household utensils are stored.

Juang dance is characterized by spontaneity. Specially the "Changu dance" for which the Juangs are very famous is performed by both sexes combinely. The song, dance, rhythm, movement of the limbs, gesture and posture with appropriate musical accompaniment are some of the striking features of the Juang "Changu dance".

The Juangs are famous for their art and craft. Their walls are decorated with coloured painting of various designs during Amba Nuakhia festival. They mostly use earth of red colour which is available in their locality. It is also manifested in relation to festivals and various ritualistic observances. It is said that their artistic skill is transmitted from father to son and mother to daughter. The Juang decorate their house in alpana design. In this case they follow a common procedure by throwing liquid rice of white colour on the wall and lay thumb impressions thereon making geometric designs and paddy plants. This type of decoration is to be seen in every rural Oriya house during the month of
Margasira. Presumably this is the influence of tribal motifs on the Orissan alpana design.

The Juang art is more pronounced for carving on wooden and bamboo objects. Their youth dormitory called Mandadhar is a museum of art. Its pillars and beams are often richly engraved with beautiful birds, animals, graphic human figures, flowers, chevrons, zigzag lines and various geometric designs, which are not only magnificent but also ritually relevant. Chevrons depicted on the pillars are triangles carved one after another covering the circumference of the pillar. Again the chevrons may be present in single or double line. The majang beams are carved and engraved with realistic pictures. The figures of man, bird, flowers are always present in the beams of the majang. The figure of man is carved with double lines and body is somewhat triangular in shape.

The Juang youth make excellent combs made of bamboo to present to their sweet hearts. Here they express their artistic skills by carving on the comb the figures of human beings, dancing party, men with arrows and bows and various designs of flowers birds and animals. Swastik marks, diamonds, parallel lines and denticulate, wavy lines oriented inside and outside the human outlines mark the speciality of these combs. On the outer surface of the lighter and tobacco cases one can find some crude figures and scenes.

The Juang like the Kutia Kondhs, decorate their doors with various deigns. Generally the wooden plaques of the door are thick and carved with floral, geometric and fish motifs. Sometimes the symbol of the sun and the Venus are carved on the door of the boys dormitory. In rare case the Dehuri and his wife (man and nature) are shown by exposing their Phallic and Vulva, which is the mark of creations. The Venus design is very interesting and with a simplified abstract form of a women. The division of space is well maintained, rhythmic and well integrated. Two hands and pair of breasts are carved prominently. Most of the wooden doors are decorative. They consist of minute triangles carved in a single line and some time double.

Two kinds of flowers can be distinguished. The flowers engraved on the beams are made of concentric circle and semi-concentric circles (often 'U')
shaped) are made to symbolize the petals. Another type of flowers consists of petals surrounded by a circle and again the circles surrounding these, consists of small triangles on them and leaves are carved out in between each two triangles.57

The Juang women tattoo their body for personal decoration or to promote the beauty of their body. Almost all the women have three vertical lines tattooed on their foreheads just above the nose. Their arms and hands are seen with various designs of plants, flowers and birds that show their artistic impulse58. The Junag women have a belief that if some impressions of the great gods remain on the body they will remain immune from any external danger. They emphasis on the sun motif; because after the death of person, he takes nothing with him except the Surya sign. In fact they paint their hands, legs, chests with different types of geometric designs. The sun symbols are made on the body in a very crude process which never fade. A special kind of black is applied on the pinched portions59. Tattooing is gradually disappearing as they have started realizing that it is spoiling the beauty of their faces.

KANDHA

Kandha the largest group among the 62 tribes in Orissa, with a population of 11,40,374 according to the 1991 census constituted 16.20% of the total tribal population of the state. The tribe registered a growth rate of 15.27 percent during the period 1981-91. 60Kandha is spelled differently such as Kandh, Kondh, Kond and so on by different people. They can broadly be divided into three broad groups: Kutia, Dongria and Desisa Kondh61 According to Mac Pherson, the word Kandha is derived from the Telugu word "Konda" means a hill.62 . The Kandhamal (Phulbani) district is predominant by the Kandha tribe and renamed after the tribe (Kanda – hill tribe, Mals - a hilly track). Desia Kandhas are very common in this district. The Dongria Kandhas are mostly confined in the contiguous area of the Niyamgiri hill range. It covers some portion of Bassam-Cuttak, Muniguda and Kalyanisinghpur block of Rayagada district and Biswanathpur area of Langigarh of Kalahandi district of Orissa. Kutia Kandha, a primitive section are predominately found in Belgarh. Guma, Lankagarh, Jhiripahi Grampanchayats of Tumudibandh block and in
Subanagiri area of Kotagarh block of Phulbani district. The Kandhas of Phulbani district are famous for their historic human sacrifice in the turmeric farm.63

Racially, the Kandha are related more closely to the Proto Australiod stock with considerable Mongoloid mixture. Having medium stature with brown to dark brown skin, they possess a broad head with a wide nose and hair on body are scanty. They speak *Kui* language which has a Dravidian origin.64

The settlement pattern of the Kandha village is of linear type. Two rows of houses on either side of the central street is the average pattern of settlement. The thatch of the adjacent houses merge in such a way as to give an impression of a long roof stretching from one end of the village to the other. There is an attar to the Earth Goddess called *jakhri* at the centre of the village street. In some villages, among the primitive sections, they have well organized dormitories called *dhanger iddu* for both unmarried boys and girls.

The layout of a primitive Kandha house generally consists of front and near verandah, a bedroom in the centre and a small kitchen. The floor is slightly above the level of the central street. The walls are made of mud, and the roof is grass thatched. Each house has a low ceiling which provides as a garret (*attu*).65

The Kandha way of life has made them conditioned to the local climate, which indirectly helps them to manipulate their traditional dress. Women wear two pieces of clothing, one around the waist up to the knees and another for upper portion of the body. Kutia Kandaha men wear only a lion cloth, where as Dongria male wears a cloth called *Kodhi*. A turban is worn by the groom during marriage. Kandha women are very fond of ornaments and beautify themselves with hairpins, ear rings, nose rings and head necklaces. Wristlets and ear rings are used by men among the primitive sections. Men also like to grow their hair long and tie it in traditional fashion. The Kutia Kandha tattoo their faces and hands whereas the Dongria do not.66

Men and Women dine together *Peja*, a gruel prepared from millet (*ragi*), serves as morning Tiffin and lunch also. The day's hunger is relieved by drinking sago-palm juice (*Sclap*). In dinner they eat rice and vegetable curry.
They are fond of fish, crabs and snails. Dry fish is relished with the greatest satisfaction. The Kandha use both distilled and fermented liquor for socio-religious purpose. They love salap and date palm juice (tadi) in comparison to mahua. Tobacco leaves are rolled in siali or sal leaves and smoked as Pika.

Most of the Kandhas live in hilly tracks with forest cover are economically backward and most of them are below the poverty line. The primitive groups practice shifting cultivations and produce paddy on the uplands and wherever available at the foot of the hills, but mainly depend upon minor millets and cereals. They also produce cash crops like turmeric, ginger, mustard, riger, black gram, arrowroot, etc. The Kandha who live in the plains and in coastal areas are simply agriculturist. The Dongria section of the Kandha community produce fruits like bananas, pineapples, oranges, jackfruits etc. All these sections raise life stock. The primitive sections also keep buffaloes for sacrifice. They use their cattle wealth mainly for feasts and festivals. But the Desia Kandha use their cattle mainly to plough the fields. The barter system is still the traditional method of exchange among the primitive section. Now-a-days steps are being taken by the government to improve the economic condition through various schemes and projects.

Family the smallest unit in Kandha social organisation is mostly nuclear and Patrilineal. The Kandhas used to pay great respect to their superiors. Women are assets to the Kandha family and treated with much honour. They usually did not touch wine except on the festive occasions. Joint and extended families are rare. The sons separate after dividing the property into equal shares. The father is head of the family and he exercises authority in every sphere, which is passed on to the eldest son after death.

The religion of the Kandhas exhibited the transition from the rude worship of the primitive races of India to the composite structure of Aryan beliefs and aboriginal rites of which modern Hinduism is made up. The proper Kandha name for a deity was Punne.

The Kandha believe in Dharani (the Earth Goddess), the Supreme Being. She is all powerful and the highest of all deities. She is, therefore worshipped in
all ceremonies as a mark of honour and respect. She is represented by eight blocks of stone erected in a hut. She has her own twelve disciples, who are represented by different stone slabs. The entire structure is called a Jhaker. She is responsible for the growth of vegetation and other produce of the land. She used to be satisfied with human blood only, which was called meriah by the Dongria section and toki puja by the Kutia section of the Kandha community. This custom was suppressed long ago by the British, and buffalo are sacrificed instead at present.

In addition to Dharani, the village deity Jatrukudi is installed at the outskirts of the village. Gungi Penu, Bhima Penu and Lei Penu are deities of stream, hill and forest respectively. They are not installed in any temple nor are they represented by any image but they are worshipped periodically. The Kandha worship ancestors, who are called dumbos. These ancestor spirits appear in dreams when they desire to receive periodic worship. Sita Penu is considered to be the deity of wealth. Birna penu is responsible for giving rain. There are various deities and spirits, who differ with the different localities that are inhabited by the various sections of the Kandhas. Apart from these spirits, they believe in the existence of ghosts (mahane), which are controlled by the shamans. The Kandha also believe in white and black magic. They are fatalists and believe in chance and luck.

The Lamba, Jani, Pujari, Dishari, and Beunis or Kalisis are various religious functionaries who preside as and when necessity arises. The Lamba presides only when the Earth Goddess is worshipped during the Meriah festival. The Jani is the village priest and offers rituals to different gods, deities and spirits at the village level. The Pujari is the assistant of the Lamba. The Dishari is the medicine man-cum-astrologer. The Bejunis or Kalisis are the shamans.

Dependence, conciliation, propitiation and prayful submission are the various means used to appease supernatural forces. The materials and objects required to satisfy these forces are standardized. Un-boiled rice, incense powder and joss-sticks are the main items to worship. Buffalos, cows, pigs, lambs, goats and fowls are sacrificed. Animals are tortured and killed to obtain the desired result quickly. Eggs are also offered as a ritual food to satisfy the
ghosts and spirits. The Kandha have drawn up a programme of feasts and festivals throughout the year for better yields of crops: two festivals such as Chaitra parab observed before sowing paddy and other millets and the Meriah or Kedu festival, observed in the month of February-March, are the most important and are observed with pomp and grandeur. The Hinduized section also observes the Hindu festivals in addition to these festivals.

The primitive sections still have well-organized patterns of traditional leadership not only at the village level but also at the mutha level. The Hinduized sections have no such organization at present as they have become subservient to the caste panchayat of the village. However, the Jani, who is the religious headman, is also the secular headman of the village among the primitive sections of the Kandha community. His post is hereditary. The Bishmajhi is the assistant to the Jani. The Barika or village messenger belonging to the Domb or Pano community is the assistant of the Bishmajhi. The post of Barika is remunerative. The Mandal is the head at the mutha level. While this is the system among the Dongria Kandha, the Kutia section call their leaders at the village and mutha level the Majhi and Patro respectively. Since the mutha is gradually losing its importance, the mutha heads have also become unimportant.

Generally, the venue of the village panchayat is the seat of the Earth-Goddess, Jhaker. This body consists of all households in the village and is strictly limited to easies of black magic, witchcraft, incest, adultery, rape, divorce, etc. Matters regarding bride price, land disputes, etc., are referred to the mutha panchayat. Since the tribal believe in customary laws and go by their own codes, they generally avoid referring any case to the law courts. At present, the tribal are also nominated as statutory leaders in Kandha society.

In the three great incidents of human life - birth, marriage and death the Kandha delighted to be surrounded with ceremonies and solemnities, all of his own. Kondhas love children very much. An expectant mother is loved by everybody. The delivery is attended by an old lady and umbilical cord is severed by the midwife with the help of a sharp edged arrow and then subsequently buried in a deep hole in the back yard or near the threshold. The baby is then
given a thorough wash in lukewarm water mixed with turmeric powder. Both mother and baby spend the next six days in rest and are carefully attended by the midwife. On the sixth day a chicken is sacrificed to the dead ancestors. The blood is smeared on the walls using a piece of bark from a mango tree. A portion of it is hung at the entrance door to avert evil eyes. This frees the child from birth pollution, though the mother remains confined to the lying-in-room for a month, after which the head of the family offers rituals again with chickens to the dead ancestors. On that day the child is given a name and mostly the child was named after one of the ancestors. The children helps their parents when they grow to five or six years of age.69

Marriage is the accepted form of union between a man and woman in the Kandha society. The Kandhas were very lascivious and youths frequently used to meet and make love with a partner of their own inclination. (Chakraberty, C., *The Racial History of India*, P.298). The girl was generally a few year older then the boy. (Dutta, S.C., *The Wild Tribes of India*, P: 93).

The marriages were of various Kinds. Those were by mutual consent of the parties involved in the love affair, by purchase, by service, by elopement, by capture, by selection from the *Dhangidi Basa* or dormitory housing girl and marriage arranged by elders but performed after the consent of the concerned parties.70 Among these marriage by consent and marriage by capture are very popular. The bride comes to the groom’s house for marriage. A grand feast is organized on the occasion with buffalo meat and barrels of distilled liquor. Young boys and girls of different clans have an opportunity to dance, sing and woo each other for the whole height. In marriage by capture the bride price is more and the groom’s father pays a penalty as compensation for the bride’s loss of prestige. Levirate and sororate marriages are prevalent in Kandha society. Polygynous marriages are also preferred if the first wife proves to be barren or indolent. Widows remarry widowers and no bride price is paid. Kandha society recognised the chances of friction between man and wife in domestic life and also provided for maladjustment. Divorce and mutual separation were freely allowed and the grounds were incompetence, cruelty, desertion and adultery. 71
The Kandha practice cremation, but burial is also undertaken when the death is due to infectious disease. After death the corpse is taken outside after an hour to give the body a through wash. Female affine do this. The hair of the corpse is shaved and the body is covered with a new piece of cloth, after smearing it with castor oil. Men and women both follow the bier. The corpse is kept on the pyre and one of the consanguine inserts a bunch of grass and lights it by means of burnt firewood. They all leave the pyre still alight. On the way back they bath in the stream and become free from pollution.

The final offering to the departed soul is performed on the eleventh day. The ancestor spirits (dumba) are worshipped by the Shamans (Bejuni). The earth goddess is also worshipped by the village priest or Jani. The ceremonial function comes to an end when Jani sprinkles water on the feet of each person present there to absolve the house finally from death pollution. The evening is devoted to a grand feast which is attended by the members of the patrilineage, as well as affine.

Kandhas are also famous for their dormitory organisation. The Dogri Kandha girls’ dormitory is meant for the maidens only. It is known as da-she-hada or da-she-hala. It is named after da-she meaning an unmarried girls and hada or hala living house. They do not have any specific sleeping house for the young boys. They boys usually sleep in someone’s verandah or in the house of a widower in small group. This place is known as Dhangrenga Duki. The size of the dormitory varies from village to village depending upon the population of unmarried girls in a village. A dormitory member of a matured girl is known by the name da-she and a group of them as da-she-sika. A young boy is known by the name Da-we-yu and a group of them Da-we-ga. The term da-she also refers to dhangudi and the da-we-yu to dhanguda.

Besides, spinsters, divorcees and widows without children are allowed to visit the dormitory. The oldest member of a dormitory acts as the head and is known by the name Kajari. Every member is expected to obey her. It is a Kajari who more often selects the Dhangudas for pairing, makes distribution of works on festive occasions, fixes dance expeditions. Both male and female shamans
(Beju and Bejuni) do not visit the dormitory as a customary prohibition. Each da-she-hada is approximately rectangular in its ground plan.

Generally a girl after attaining puberty is eligible to enter the dormitory. But, there is no taboo on the younger girls to attend it, though they might not be allowed to sleep there at night. On the other hand, the young boy becomes a dhanguda only after he develops mustache.

The dormitory organization, da-she-hada is an important traditional social institutions of the Dongria Kandha. In spite of incursions of modernity the institution is still found in an active state; people value all its functioning in the greater interest of the community.

The Kandhas were no less artists either. Of course the inconvenient atmosphere and general poverty had considerably discouraged their artistic achievements. They had to find satisfaction of their artistic impulses in the decoration of their own bodies. The custom of adorning the skin by tattooing survive among the Kandhas. The designs which the Kandhas used to tattoo their bodies elicit admiration from others. Generally a Kandha girl in the marriageable age got her face tattooed with some quaint designs. Concurrently ear-boring used to be performed. However the tattooing was done for ornamentation of the body. It was considered so graceful an ornament that no Kandha would accept a girl who had not adorned herself with such ornamentation. The face was tattooed with the fine line keeping the nose as the centre. Across both the cheeks, from temple to the lobes of the years, were drawn straight, dotted lines at right angle to one another. Then over the forehead and chin a string of small regular geometrical figures, such as triangles, circles and diamonds, were punctured. The same figures were also punctured near the lips and eyes. Sometimes the calf of the leg and the arm, hands and chest were tattooed with the figures of flowers, fishes, crocodiles, lizards and scorpions. Some tattoo marks were also said to have represented moustache, beard and the implements used in tilling the soil for cultivation. The punctures for the tattoo marks were made with a thick needle and were smeared with a mixture of lamp-black and the juice of the plantain, after which liquid turmeric was rubbed over the tattooed surface. Nothing acidic like
tamarind was to be eaten until the punctures are healed. The operation was performed by Kandha women. They are paid some money for tattooing.

Furthermore, the manner in which the Kuttia Kandha dancers decorated themselves with white and red stripes exhibited their artistic genius. The tobacco-tubes and tobacco cases used by the Kandhas speak of their sense of artistic beauty. The tobacco-cases were made from a single node of bamboo and ornamented with the fine point of knife. It was rubbed with oil and ash. The Kandhas displayed their artistic skill on bronze. The bronze artifacts of the nineteenth century can be found in the Madras Museum, the Victoria and Albert Museum of London and in the Tribal Research Institute of Bhubaneswar.

The Kandhas used to make figures of elephants, peacocks, dolls (i.e. humans), fishes and the like in brass. Those were kept in their houses. The bronze figures of the Khandha mother with facial tattooing and the baby preserved in the Victoria and Albert Museum of London is a fine specimen of the Kandha bronze-art. The masks made of wood or gourd were other specimens of the Kandha art.

An important requirement in the Meriah sacrifice was the pole to which the victim was bound. Those were wooden ones, well-decorated. These pillars were five to six feet high and generally forked.

The wall-decorations and the wood-carvings in the houses are the other distinguished features of Kandha art. Wall painting on the verandas of houses are meant for Bhimul Pennu which are quite impressive, although they lack in perfection and fineness. The background of the paintings was a smooth dark earth, only rarely smeared with cow dung, but sometimes washed with a red clay against which the white designs stood out sharply. These paintings were the most evanescent of all; once made, no one ever looked at them; sometimes those were rubbed out and new patterns were prepared. The mud on a Kandha wall was so thinly plastered that is used to be quickly washed away during the rains and worst of all, the entire village was shifted every few years, the houses were broken up, and the labour and art forgotten. The wood-carvings, particularly those on the doors of Kandha houses are good specimens of the
Kandha-art. Sometimes these carvings were done by the Panas. The figures of peacocks, elephants, and the hunting scenes carved on the doors are quite impressive.\textsuperscript{72}

The Kandhas thus have a great tradition in the field of art, which of course, never prized them.

\textbf{SAURA}

Saura is one of the most primitive tribes of Orissa. They are distributed throughout the state and adjacent Andhra Pradesh. Their main concentration extends over the Paralakemundi sub-division of Gajapati district, Gunpur sub-division of Rayagada district, and Koraput and Ganjam district of south Orissa. They are called by various names such as Savara, Sabara, Saur, Sora etc. Racially they belonged to the proto- Australoid group and linguistically to the south Munda division of the Austroic language family. They too have a script known as the Saura \textit{Sompen}. According to the 1991 census they constituted 5.74\% (4,03,510) of the total tribal population of the state and 1.28 \% of the total population of the state. On the basis of their numerical strength they occupy fifth position among the 62 tribal communities. Within a span of ten years from 1981 to 1991 the tribe registered a growth rate of 9.04\%.\textsuperscript{73}

The tribe has a remote antiquity as preserved in the Puranas and Epics. Aitareya Brahmana mentioned them along with the Andhras and Pulindas. In the Valmiki Ramayana there is reference to the tribe in the Savari episode, where a Savari with sweet fruits entertained Rama during his search for Sita. In the Mahabharata, it is the Jara Savara that brought the tragic end of Lord Krishna. Ptolemy in first century A.D. describes them as \textit{Sabarais} and Pliny in second century A.D. mentions as \textit{Shauris}. In Madalapanji Lord Jagannatha is described as the Savara devata (deity). In the Indradyumna-Visvavasu story it is mentioned that Lord Jagannatha was originally enshrined and worshipped by the Savara chief Visvavasu.\textsuperscript{74}

In appearance the Saura resemble the other Dravidian tribes. The have long heads and flat noses with expanded alae. The brow ridges are prominent but not to a great extent like the Konchs. There is a depression at the root of the
nose. Facial prognathism is marked. The hair is wavy and curly, but individuals with straight hair are not unusual. Some individuals have epicanthic folds in the eyes. Skin colour is generally brown to dark brown, though there are quite a number of fair-complexioned individuals with yellowish shades. The Saora are not strongly built like the Kandha, but they are better in body build in comparison to the tribes of north Orissa. The most noteworthy point is their efficiency in climbing and walking on hills.75

The tribe is broadly divided into two categories such as plain Sauras and hill Sauras taking into account their habitat and subsistence economy. The hill Sauras living in the hills of Western Ghats are also known as Lanjia Sauras, because of a long tailed loincloth, which they wear. The loincloth passes between the legs covering the genital with the ends hanging both on the rear and the front. The rear flap being unusually very long looks like a tail. Women wear a short cloth covering up to the knees. They wear wooden plugs in the ear, metal tips on the nose, necklaces of beads, metal bangles and anklets. They have tattoo marks on the forehead, nose, cheek and chin.

Saura villages are situated in the most inaccessible areas and in many cases lie hidden in forest-clad hills, making it difficult to reach them except along steep zig-zag hill paths. They build their houses on the foothills or slopes. Saura villages do not conform to any particular type of settlement pattern. Houses are often built in rows with a street left in between. In some villages there are several rows of houses with streets crossing each other at right angles. Sometimes houses facing the same direction are arranged in rows one above the other like terraces. In many cases the houses are jumbled up, and there are narrow lanes and small openings on to which the doors of the houses open. Saura houses are rectangular in shape and fairly high. The plinth is high while the roof is proportionately low. The houses are generally single roomed thatched structure built on a raised ground. The walls, mostly made of wattle and daub, are washed in red geru (hematite) clay. Paintings are found in one of the inner wall, not very conspicuously visibly to the outsiders. Many household articles like bows and arrows, sickle, knife, hand-axe, etc are stuck to the roof.76
The economic life of the Saura rests on shifting cultivation to a large extent and terraced and wet cultivation to some extent. Their other means of subsistence economy are occasionally hunting, rarely fishing and forest collecting throughout the year. The economic composition and employment status of the Saura as a whole at the 1991 Census reveals that workers comprise 41.04 per cent of the Saura population. Among the workers, cultivators constitute 42.59 per cent and agricultural labour 46.76 per cent. The remaining 10.65 per cent are engaged in other economic pursuits.

The Saura observe certain rituals in connection with terraced cultivation and shifting cultivation (bagada chasa). The co-operative labour system, which is called Ansir, is in vogue among the Sauras. In this system of work different families help each other by working on the fields during agricultural seasons. Barter system is also prevalent in Saura economic life.

The principal food of the Saura is gruel (pej) prepared from rice, ragi, jana or ghantia. They also eat vegetables grown in the kitchen gardens, and fruits, roots, leaves, tubers and honey collected from the forest. Non-vegetarian food is released much more than the vegetarian diet, and no festival is observed or guest is entertained without non-vegetarian food.

Family is the smallest social unit of the Saura society. The nuclear family type is most common and also the most numerous. Family is male dominated and senior most male member of the family is the head. It is, therefore patriarchal. The ownership of property always goes to the male members on a hereditary basis. The sons enjoy greater rights than the daughters.

Every Saura village has well established political organization. Each village, politically speaking, is autonomous and locally self supporting like Mundari trines of central India. The Sauras have no indigenous centralized political authority or political confederacies. Among them each village has a secular headman called Gomang who is a man of high prestige. Equally important is the village religious headman who is known as the Buyya. The offices of secular and religious headmen are hereditary and the rule of primogeniture regulates succession. In addition to these offices which are
indigenous, there is in some villages an astrologer called *Disari* and this post is achieved not ascribed like the religious and secular headmanship. In many villages there are village *shamans* (sorcerers). There are diviner — *shamans* and doctor — *shamans* and they are of either sex. In most villages there is a post called *Barika* who acts as the village messenger. Invariably he belongs to either Domb or Pano community.

The annual cycle of festivals and the date and time of holding them are decided unanimously in the village meeting. Cases relating to the partition of property, sales and mortgage of land, divorce and other social matters are also decided there. The Gomang must preside over every village meeting, initiate discussions and take decisions in consultation with the elders of the village.

Of all the tribes of Orissa, the Sauras are the most religious. They live in the world of the spirits and supernatural beings which are believed to influence the course of nature and human life. As a result, they devote most of their time, energy and money to propitiate these spirits and deities. They worship these deities with great devotion and with a sense of gratitude. They appease the wrath of the malignant spirits with customary offerings and sacrifices and keep them in good temper. They also worship the indifferent natural spirits to seek relief from evil spirits. The Sauras believe that every part of the world and every object is possessed by a spirit. The hills, trees, streams, lands, in fact every nook and corner of the Saura inhabit are possessed by different spirits.77

*Sonnum* or *sunnam* is the general name for the general name for the Saura deities and spirits. The deities are called in different names such as, Labo Sum, Rude Sum and Karuni Sum etc. The word *sonnum* is used in a general sense when applied to any deity or spirit, and in a restricted sense when applied to a particular order of deities. Besides these, the Saura worship a number of evil and malevolent deities. In addition, those who die in the house appear in dreams and direct that they should be given the offerings. Sometimes these devils enter cattle sheds and make cows and oxen ill in order to make their displeasure known.78
The Saura love their children very much. As soon as the labour pain starts the woman is confined to a corner of the house. As experience elderly women is immediately called for to help her in delivery. The umbilical cord is cut by the midwife by a sharp arrowhead. The placenta is buried in a pit in one corner of the house. The mother and the baby are given bath in tepid water. The period of prohibition lasts for seven days. On the last day the woman takes bath and cooks food which is shared by the other member of the family. After a few days a name is given to the baby. For this purpose the name of an ancestor is chosen for naming the child.

Out of the different forms of marriage prevalent in their society, viz. marriage by arrangement, capture or service, the Saura, have accepted the first form as the rule and others as expectations. Polygamy in the form of polygyny is widely prevalent.

The Sauras practise both sorrorate and levirate typed of marriage. If a man has many swidden patches he has to have more than one wife so that each of them can clear a patch of land thereby growing more crops and getting more produce from the fields.

The Sauras cremate the dead body in a case of normal death but if it is a death by accident, by cholera and small pox, the practice of burial is followed. The corpse is carried to the cremation ground accompanied by musical band and the body is placed on the pyre and burnt. Next day the family members of the deceased visit the cremation ground to examine the ashes and to find out the signs of the cause of death. In the evening a fowl is killed in the cremation ground and cooked with rice and neem leaves which is shared by the mourners.

After a year or so the Gaur ceremony is observed. On this occasion menhirs are erected on the ground and a large buffalo is sacrifice. This is followed by three successive Karja ceremony in every second or third year to commemorate and honour the dead. This ceremony is observed in the month of March or April when the people are generally free from agricultural operations. Magic and ritual occupy an important place in the socio-religious life of all primitive communities. An important and characteristic feature of Saura religion
is the custom of making drawings on the walls of houses in honour of the dead, to avert disease, to promote fertility and on the occasion of certain festivals.\textsuperscript{80}

There are two distinct stages in this mural art. In the first stage the ritual divination of the priest leads to the identification of the "spirit" or "power" that had caused a disease or death and that needs to be propitiated. It is at this stage that the words of the spell are used. Secondly instead of an attempt to ward of the evil or malevolent spirit here the malevolent spirit is brought in or rather pulled or dragged in and installed / imprisoned in a ritualistic one dimensional temple in the icon.\textsuperscript{81} The Saora icon is the drawing on the walls and therefore it is called ITTALAN (ID = to write, KITALAN = a wall).\textsuperscript{82} This term varies from one area to the other. For instance, the Sauras living around Chandragiri refers to it as ANITAL (as the wall is called KINTAL hence, the drawing on walls are called ANITAL). The Sauras of Serango area refer to it either as IDISING or ANITAL (among them the wall is called as KINTAL as in the case of the Sauras of Chandragiri).\textsuperscript{83}

The icons are generally drawn by the Kudan, the priest in the sorcerer of the village. If any male member knows the technique of drawing the icons, he is also free to draw the icons. Often there is a prescribed season for drawing these icons. The icons are drawn generally in the month of \textit{Falgun} during \textit{Dolapurnima} or in the month of \textit{Aswin} during \textit{Dashara}. The icons are drawn on the inner side of the walls of a house. The major icon is drawn on the wall close to the entrance of the house or on the wall facing the front door of the house. Unlike other tribes men who make their pictures in red or black on a white background. The Sauras nearly always paint in white on a red background.\textsuperscript{84}

Most of the Saura icons are built up round the ideas of a "house" — a square, circle or rectangle, which is filled in and surrounded with the figures of men and animals. The artist makes the outline of the house first, for this determines the approximate size of the picture and then proceeds to decorate and fill it in. In drawing a human figure for example, he first makes an outline of the whole body with two opposed isosceles triangles which meet at the tips. He adds the arms, then the legs then, the head and finally fills in the two triangles
to make a solid body with a sharply accentuated waist. The making of a house is also done through the above process.85

When the artist has finished the preliminary draft of the picture, he sends for a shaman who at once proceeds to complete the course of true art with fissey religious inspirations. He offers rice and wine before the icon and calls on the spirit for whom it has been made to come and inspect it. He falls into trance, takes his sacred lamp in his hand and inspects the drawing by its light; he criticizes it and suggests its improvements. Once it has been accepted and dedicated, after sacrifice is offered, a pot or gourd is hung up above it, the icon is regarded as a little temple within the house. The icons are always drawn in the morning. The icons are drawn for several important purposes. They are (i) Generally satisfying deities and ancestral spirits, (ii) Averting any mishap including illness in the family, (iii) Reaping a bumper crop and improving the fertility of the soil, (iv) Enabling easy delivery of the child.86

For the above purpose separate icons are drawn. The icons of ancestors are generally drawn on the inner side of the wall in some inconvenient place away from light so that they do not come in sight of the visitors easily.

The icons designed to promote or preserve the fertility of the crops included a man ploughing, a pregnant woman, a woman carrying seed, a potter laden with pots, gods seated on an elephant etc. The fertility icons are made either for Labosum, the earth god or the ancestors whose interest in the harvest is thus emphasised.87

Hill icons may be painted if one has inadvertently offended a hill-god by cutting trees or cleaning hills or by plucking herbs or leaves without his permission. The important symbols relating to this hill gods are picture of a hill, climbing monkeys, a potter with his load of pots, gigantic lizard etc. The icons dedicated to gods to avert disease in some cases may be very simple consisting of nothing more than a nude symbol of the god.88

Icons are always painted at the time of a marriage between a shaman and his tutelary. These icons are generally rather elaborate, for many of them tell in picture from the story of a tutelary's relationship with the shaman and this
is often complicated. Most of the pictures relating to this had a scene of a sexual intercourse. The icons which the Sauras made in honour of the dead ancestor are ride about on horses and elephants, bi-cycles, cars and even aeroplanes. They also made icons for those who have gone abroad, i.e. outside the state.  

The Saura icons are made for use rather than for display. They are for the eyes of spirits, not of men. In the painting itself, symmetry and balance are less important than the inclusion of everything likely to please the spirit for whom it is made, a comb, a lizard, a cycle may be added without any consideration of its effect on the general scheme. The gods are not interested in beauty; they want flattery. The icons vary in style, but they show a remarkable general similarity throughout the area. The variations are often due to a greater or less degree of elaboration. The mountains and houses are shown symbolically in geometric patterns of great variety.

It is curious that, although in wood carvings of the human figure the Sauras exaggerate or distort the sexual organs, they never draw them in the icons, where there is hardly any sex differentiation at all. A woman may be recognised by a pot on her head or bulge at the side if she is pregnant, but otherwise the only way to distinguish male and female figures is by their occupation. The world *italan* suggest writing rather than painting and it might be argued that the icons belong to literature rather than to art. In one sense they are graphic message to the spirits. The Sauras have no art that is not inspired and directed by religion. They have no secular art for decoration or entertainment.
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