

ବନଜା ● BANAJA

SOUVENIR PUBLISHED ON THE OCCASION OF
ADIBASI EXHIBITION 1986



HARIJAN AND TRIBAL WELFARE DEPARTMENT, GOVERNMENT OF ORISSA

ବନଜା ● BANAJA
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MESSAGES

RAJ BHAVAN
BHUBANESWAR
January 13, '86

I am glad to know that the Annual Adivasi Exhibition is being held at Bhubaneswar from January 26, 1986 and a Souvenir is being brought out on the occasion.

I send my greetings and good wishes to the organisers and hope that the Exhibition will make a useful contribution towards focussing the tribal culture and habitat as also the problems affecting the lives of our tribal people into the mainstream of our society.

I wish the Exhibition and also the publication of the Souvenir all success.

B. N. PANDE
Governor, Orissa

ମୁଖ୍ୟମନ୍ତ୍ରୀ, ଓଡ଼ିଶା
ଭୁବନେଶ୍ୱର
ଜାନୁଆରୀ 15, 86

ପବିତ୍ର ଜନରାଜ୍ୟ ଦିବସର ଶୁଭ ଅବସରରେ ରାଜ୍ୟ ସରକାରଙ୍କ ଉଦ୍ୟମରେ ଭୁବନେଶ୍ୱର ଠାରେ ଜାନୁଆରୀ 26 ତାରିଖ ଠାରୁ ବାଷ୍ପକ ଆଦିବାସୀ ପ୍ରଦର୍ଶନୀ ଆରମ୍ଭ ହେଉଛି । ଓଡ଼ିଶାର ମୋଟ ଲୋକସଂଖ୍ୟାର ଶତକଡ଼ା 38 ଭାଗ ହେଉଛି ଆଦିବାସୀ ଓ ହରିଜନ । ସେମାନଙ୍କର ସାମାଜିକ, ଅର୍ଥନୈତିକ ଓ ସାମ୍ପ୍ରତିକ ବିକାଶ ଉପରେ ହିଁ ଓଡ଼ିଶାର ସାମଗ୍ରିକ ବିକାଶ ନିର୍ଭର କରେ । ଏହି ଦୃଷ୍ଟିରୁ ରାଜ୍ୟର ଆଦିବାସୀ ଅଧ୍ୟୁଷିତ ଅଞ୍ଚଳମାନଙ୍କରେ ବିଭିନ୍ନ ପ୍ରକାର ଉନ୍ନୟନ ଯୋଜନାମାନ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟକାରୀ କରାଯାଇ ସେମାନଙ୍କର ସର୍ବାଙ୍ଗୀନ ବିକାଶ ନିମନ୍ତେ ନିରବଚ୍ଛିନ୍ନ ଉଦ୍ୟମ ଚାଲିଛି ।

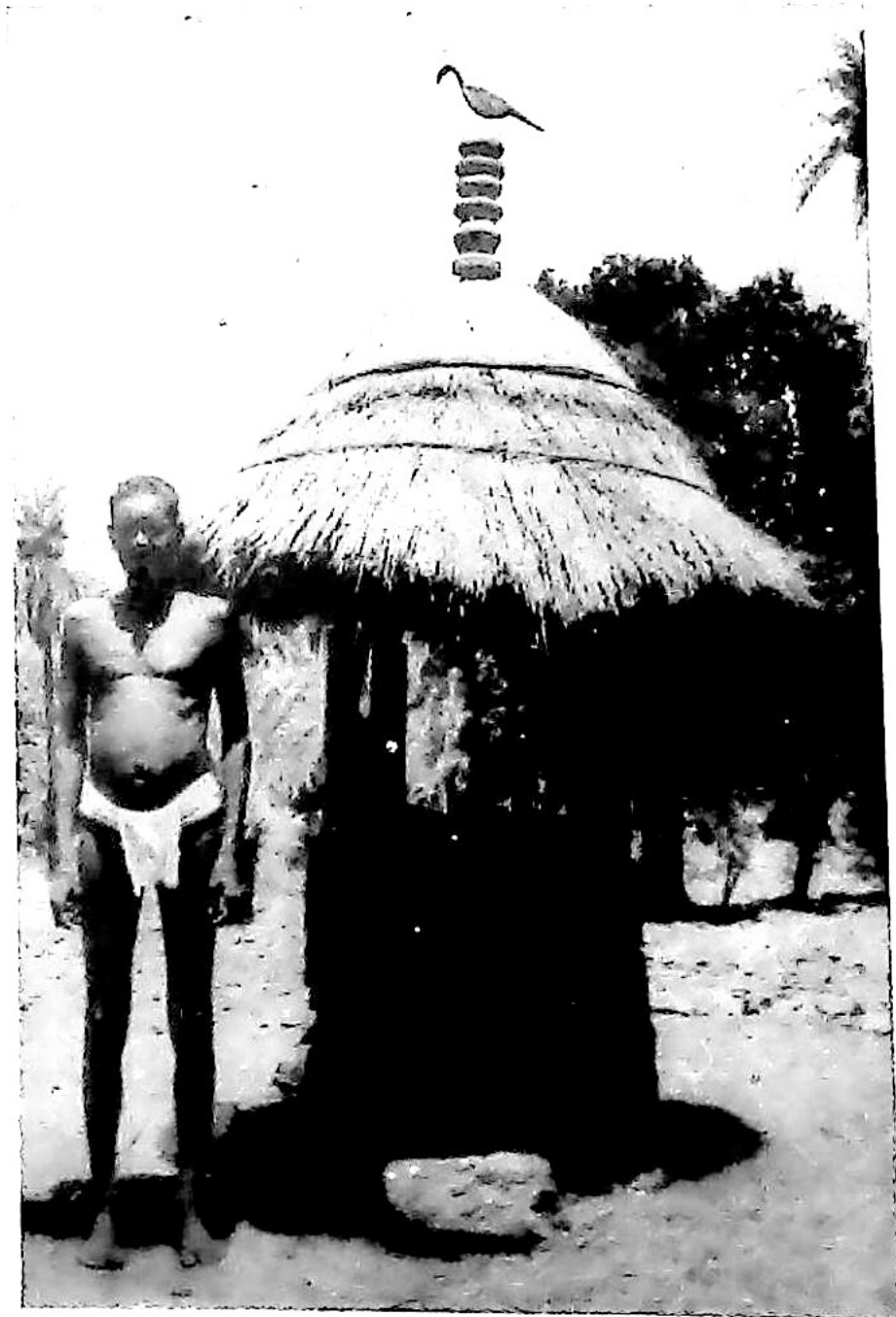
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ଜାନକୀ ବରୁଣ ପଟ୍ଟନାୟକ

MINISTER
HARIJAN & TRIBAL WELFARE, ORISSA
BHUBANESWAR
JANUARY, 13, 86

I am happy to learn that a Souvenir is being brought out on the occasion of the Annual Adivasi Exhibition which will commence from 26th January, 1986. While wishing the endeavour all success, I hope, this Souvenir will go a long way in highlighting the colourful tribal life and culture as well as the achievement of the administration in the field of tribal development etc.

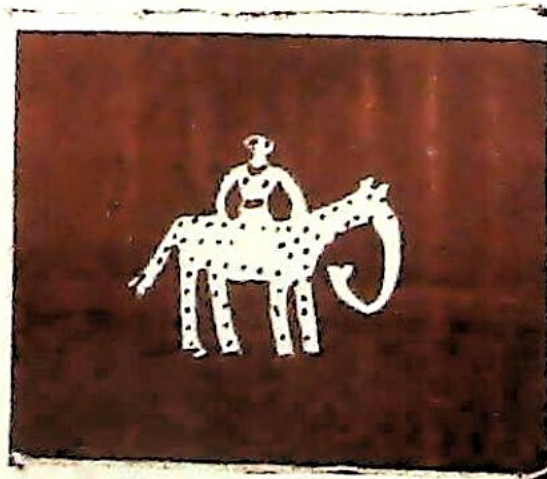
BHAJAMAN BEHERA



Tangarsum-Wayside deity of Saoras

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Gusada Sum-Benevolent deity of Saoras

BRINGING THEM TO SCHOOL

Sitakant Mahapatra

The importance of education as an instrument of development and modernization is universally recognized. Education enables faster adjustment to change and enables the educated people to be more aware of their responsibility and reduces the scope of their exploitation by others. Above all, it makes possible the growth and development to become an integral attitude of mind and a part of community aspiration.

No wonder, in the Seventh plan greater emphasis is laid on development of tribal areas. Unfortunately, however, even after the Sixth plan the growth of education in tribal areas has remained unsatisfactory. In Orissa, for example, against the percentage of literacy of 34.20 as per the 1981 Census, the equivalent percentage for the tribal population is only 13.95. The percentage of female literacy is even worse. It is only 4.8 as per the 1981 Census. Coupled with this is the problem of heavy drop-out which results in considerable wastage.

The reasons are not far to seek. Many primary schools do not have buildings of their own. The teachers are mostly outsiders and are not acquainted with the local cultural and social ethos and the language or dialect. The medium of instruction is the local State language while at home the child speaks his own tribal language.

Most of the school-goers are first generation learners, whose parents have no share whatsoever in the joys and sorrows of their learning process. If only one looks at the spectrum of primary education from the tribal child's point of view while keeping the above constraints in mind, it will be clear what an unenviable and bleak prospect the tribal child faces !

The school as an institution is either non-existent, or when it at all exists, is not sufficiently attractive. Often it is at a great "cultural distance" from his home. The teachers are often unsympathetic and generally not very communicative. In addition to his own language or dialect the child has to learn Oriya and possibly English and Hindi if he goes higher up.

Because of the language problem, pedagogy has its peculiar difficulties. His parents are either uninvolved and indifferent or unsympathetic, when they are not hostile to this business of school going. Even though the national norm is that a primary school student should not be required to walk more than 1.5 Km from his home to the school, in tribal areas, with its hilly and jungle terrain, this itself could be a long distance.

Keeping these problems in view the State Government has initiated a number of steps to tackle the situation. One important measure initiated during the Sixth plan was to provide at least one low-cost hostel for 50 students at a primary school in each panchayat of the Tribal Sub Plan area.

Villages in tribal areas are very small and separated by long distances. This alternative was considered better than taking a school to village. In such a hostel students are given free boarding and the teachers have naturally more time at their disposal to look after the children.

Out of the panchayats in the Tribal Sub Plan area of the State, nearly 400 have one such hostel by now. Some of the remaining hostels are at different stages of construction. The balance, will be taken up to the Seventh Plan.

In these hostels the teacher will have opportunity of being with the students throughout the day and therefore he cannot only have the flexibility of time to impart education but also the advantage of spending more time with them and making up for the lack of interest and mental resistance. The teacher can also meet the parents in the evening when they are at home and persuade them to send the school-going children to his institution. He can have fruitful dialogue with the parents in such cases where the child is very irregular in attendance or drops out of the school after attending a few days or months. In a social setting where there is no enthusiasm for education due to many complex and obvious reasons, the teacher alone can provide the much needed social leadership to keep on a dialogue and slowly convince the community of the need and importance of education both as an instrument of social change and as a method of ensuring implementation and higher income for the family.

Secondly, it has been decided to provide a structure to the buildingless primary schools out of the funds available under the Rural Landless Employment Guarantee Programme and in this the tribal areas are getting priority. Care will be taken to see that not only a primary school has a structure of its own but that the school itself becomes a focal point of community life and social change in the village. It is also being envisaged to make the school as attractive to the tribal child as possible by its look and its surroundings so that he feels at home.

Ideally it is necessary to attach to the school a small, even a one-room teacher's quarters so that the teacher will be able to stay in the school and perform his role not merely as a teacher but



Bonda boys at school

also provide the very necessary element of social leadership to bring the children to the school, and what is more important, to retain them. If only the teacher stays in the school can he have an opportunity to talk to the parents in the evening, discuss their individual problems, overcome their resistance or hesitation and make universalization of primary education a possibility. For this purpose funds, however, are a constraints for the State Government and it would be worthwhile for the Centre to consider assistance for this particular purpose as it would discourage dropout and ensure higher enrolment in tribal areas.

The State Government took up a number of studies on the model primers to be used in the primary schools of the tribal areas. Based on such studies and teacher/student responses, graded primers for three major tribal regions of the State have been devised. The model is based upon creating primers using a vocabulary which is a mix of words taken from the tribal dialect of the local tribal region and Oriya in a graded manner.

In the lowest class a larger percentage of words in the local tribal language is used in the primer. To illustrate the point : in the primer, below a picture of mango, the word given in Oriya script is not the Oriya word for mango but the local tribal word for it. When the child reads or hears the word he has known or heard at home and not a completely new or "foreign" word, the process of learning becomes easier. As a child goes higher up in the primary stage, the percentage of Oriya words in the total vocabulary used in the primer gradually increases and proportionately, the percentage of local tribal words decreases. The State has three major tribal language areas and three different sets of primers for this purpose have been prepared and tried out in a limited scale. From the next academic year they will be put into universal use.

For the tribal child the learning process is often a lonely job. Being uneducated his parents have no share in it. At least part of the situation can be improved by suitably designing the curricula. This can be possible by incorporating in it, certain subject matters and themes which have direct relevance to the parents in their normal avocation of life and which is before them through the programme of economic development the Government has taken up in these areas. These include bee-keeping, sericulture, orange or pineapple cultivation-schemes that have been taken up through the Integrated Tribal Development Projects. The curriculum can suitably incorporate ideas on these and some practical demonstration of these could also be there in the school compound. When the child sees a silk cocoon

on a mulberry plant in his school or sees how the bees bring honey to the hive, he can find some themes on which to start a dialogue with his parents. No longer his learning will be a lonely encounter with the school.

Various facilities are being offered now in the State as also in other States as incentives to bring the child to school. These include supply of free nationalised text books, attendance scholarship to girls, and sometimes, uniform to the students. In my view more important than all these is an arrangement for the child to eat something during the school hours. A regular mid-day meal with an arrangement for cooking inside the school may not be a very desirable step. Elsewhere such a scheme has been introduced and I have had an opportunity to see such schools. I was left with the impression that the school looks more like a kitchen and its rhythm is more tuned towards cooking and eating rather than studies. Fuel stacks and vegetables fill up the corners in different school rooms. Instead of this it would be a much better idea to give some packet food of local available material such as *Chura* mixed with molasses or *Mudhi* or other processed millets. Many children come to school without a proper morning meal and it is difficult for them to sustain their interest in the teaching programme.

In that masterly analysis of poverty its manifestations and causes why the poor People Stay poor Michael Lipton lists among other reasons, the incapacity of an under-privileged society to come together for self-help and cooperative ventures as a major reason for self-perpetuating poverty. The poorer a society, the greater is its inability to organise cooperative activities. The school by providing a focus on learning to be, cannot only play a crucial role in initiating and accelerating change but also provide the social capital that would render exploitation by others impossible and organising for self-help and cooperative ventures a reality.



PRIMITIVE TRIBES AND STRATEGIES FOR THEIR DEVELOPMENT

N. Patnaik

Of the 62 different tribal groups inhabiting the State of Orissa some tribal communities and some sections of other tribal communities have been identified as primitive tribes. The basis of recognizing a tribal community as primitive is its low growth rate, pre-agricultural level of technology and extremely low level of literacy. In some cases all these three criteria are applicable fully and in other cases any two of the three criteria are applicable.

The whole exercise of such identification is meant for bringing the primitive tribal groups under location specific and aptitude based micro projects for their all round development. Therefore, careful attention has been given to the problem of distinguishing certain tribal communities or section of particular tribal communities as primitive on the basis of above mentioned criteria.

How can a micro project be formulated? What components should go into its formulation? What structural and administrative requirements are necessary for effective implementation of the developmental programme? How can the impact of the developmental schemes be evaluated? Of the many questions which arise in mind regarding the micro projects the above mentioned ones are fundamental and we will try to throw some light on the basic requirements of the exercise in planning and formulating developmental projects.

The tribal communities which have been identified as primitive tribes are listed below in order of their numerical strength.

Sl. No	Name of the tribe	Approximate No. of households	Occupation	Level of literacy	Where found (district)
1.	Birhor	100	Semi-nomadic, Hunting and food gathering and rope making	4.1	Sundergarh
2.	Mankidia	175	Semi-nomadic, Hunting and food gathering and rope making	0.2	Mayurbhanj
3.	Didayi	433	Shifting cultivation	0.8	Koraput

4.	Dongria Kondh	535	Horticulture	0.3	Koraput
5.	Paudi Bhuyan	727	Shifting cultivation	14.9	Dhenkanal
6.	Bondo	774	Both shifting and settled cultivation	1.4	Koraput
7.	Lodha	788	Settled agriculture, wage earning and criminal activities	7.5	Mayurbhanj
8.	Kutia Kondh	1348	Shifting cultivation	0.2	Phulbani
3.	Langia Soura	1636	Shifting cultivation and terrace cultivation	4.0	Ganjam
10.	Soura	1743	Settled cultivation	10.1	Ganjam
11.	Juang	4876	Shifting cultivation	5.8	Keonjhar
12.	Kharia	23089	Hunting and food gathering and collection of forest produce such as honey & lac	2.5	Mayurbhanj

These primitive tribal groups live under different environmental conditions and show different patterns of culture. It should not mean that the patterns of culture which we notice among the primitive tribal groups are environmentally determined. The types of social organizations, magico-religious beliefs and practices and the total value system of a community may or may not be directly governed by the physical circumstances. Different communities living in the same geographical environments and having same levels of technology present different patterns of culture. Likewise, those living in areas different from one another are found to share many cultural traits.

Nevertheless the eco-system and the environment exert considerable influence on human cultures. The component of the environment which require consideration are (1) natural resources, (2) climate and seasonal variations, (3) topography and road communication and (4) demography. Each of these

environmental components is treated in the following sections in the context of the cultural diversity which are noticed among the primitive tribes of Orissa.

The Birhors lead a semi-nomadic life. They move from place to place in the forest and depend upon hunting and food gathering for their subsistence. Although suitable lands are available for cultivation in the places where they put up their temporary settlements (Tanda) consisting of several leaf-huts (Kumbha) their level of technology do not permit them to take up settled agriculture. The specialities of the tribes are that they are skilled in collecting fibres from Siali creeper plants and make ropes of various types and small baskets out of such fibres. The location of the Birhor settlement is determined by the availability of Siali fibres. As soon as the fibres are exhausted in a particular forest area they shift their camp to some other places where these fibres are available.

The Hill Kharias live in the thick forests of Similipal hills of Mayurbhanj district. The forests are full of different flora and fauna yielding different types of forest products. The Kharias are very much skilled in collecting honey from this area. Recently they have also started collection of lac from their habitat. This tribe presents an example which shows that even though there are different natural resources in a particular area the tribes inhabiting that area do not exploit all available resources. There may be two reasons for exploiting certain raw materials and failure to exploit others in a particular region. One of them may be the choice of the community in question and the other is the failure to perceive the potentialities of particular natural resources.

The Lanjia Souras of Parlakhemendi Sub-division of Ganjam district are famous for their terraced cultivation in the hill-slopes. Nowhere else in Orissa such a type of cultivation is found so extensively as in the Ganjam agency and the Lanjia Soura is the only tribe in the State which practises terraced cultivation. It is very difficult to say why terraced cultivation is not found in other areas of the State although there are no physical limitations. But one thing is certain that the Souras show a special knack for making terraces fully protected by stone packed walls and contour bunding in the hilly terrain. The ingenuity and skill of the Souras is also noticed in the management of water for irrigating the terraced paddy fields. In many places we have seen man subjugated to nature. But the Souras show that man can mould nature and have mastery over it to his greatest advantage.

CLIMATE AND SEASONAL VARIATIONS

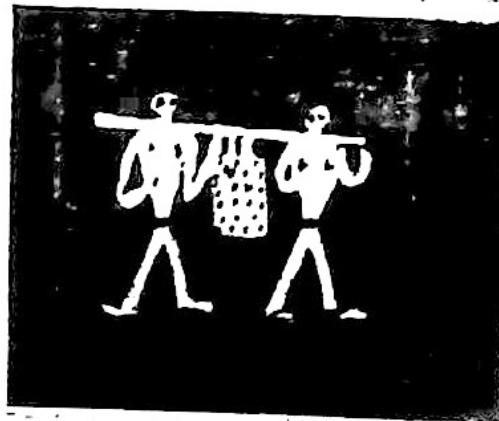
The seasonal cycle of climatic variations affects different cultures in different ways. For example, the nomadic life of the Birhors is determined by the availability of Siali creeper plants which provide fibres for making ropes. The creepers are available in different places in different seasons. Depending upon this availability the Birhors move from place to place to collect the fibres. Many pastoral people are seasonally nomadic. As we have seen among many cattle herders moving their herds according to a cycle determined by climatic conditions and availability of pasture. However, it is among the agriculturists that the seasonal cycle is of greatest importance. The study of the life of the shifting cultivators as well as terraced and settled cultivators shows that work, recreation, socio-cultural activities and magico-religious practices follow a seasonal rhythm and the whole social system and the attitude of the people towards work and leisure are geared fully to this rhythm. This is one reason why the primitive tribal communities resist agricultural innovations and novelties in socio-economic life which are introduced by various change agents and officers in charge of tribal developments.

The main significance of the seasonal cycle lies in the economic field. The sequence of economic activities is directly correlated with the seasonal variations. Its character varies with the community concerned and the nature of their ecological activities. It is our observation that many tribal communities practise a common occupation like shifting cultivation but the months in which different activities associated with shifting cultivation are performed vary from one tribe to the other. Therefore, the periods of hard work and light work vary with the communities from one eco-system to the other. However, one thing appears to be common among different shifting cultivators. This is in respect of seasonal correlation between food production and food consumption. Among those communities who practise shifting cultivation a striking characteristic of their ecology is that food supplies are at the lowest at a time when strenuous efforts are called for in the economic activities, while they are most abundant at times of minimal agricultural effort. Another characteristic of the seasonal rhythm of the activities is that non-economic social activities tend to take place during such seasons when very little efforts are necessary in the activities of food production. Marriages are held during this season and many joyful recreational activities and ceremonies are held in such seasons.



A typical soura village

Sometime back a study was conducted among the Lanjia Souras, Paudi Bhuiyans and Kutia Kondhs with the purpose of collecting data about the shifting cultivation which they practise as their principal means of livelihood. The villages which were studied for this purpose are (1) Tumkur, a Lanjia Soura village located in Guma block of Ganjam district, (2) Sundijuba, a Kutia Kondh village located in Thuamul-Rampur block of Kalahandi district and (3) Sankarai, a Paudi Bhuiyan village located in Banspal block of Keonjhar district. The monthly calender of various activities as observed in these villages is given in the following pages.



Monthly Calender

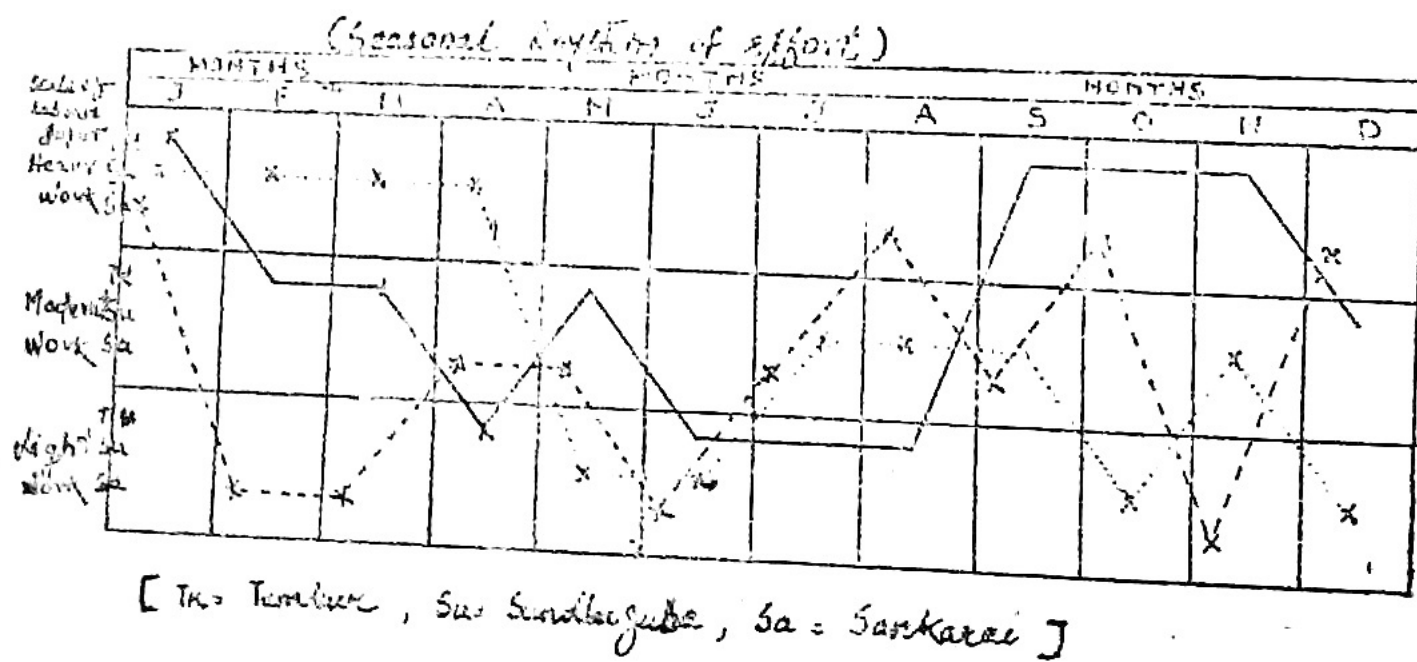
	January	February	March	April	May	June
	W i n t e r		S u m m e r		S u m m e r 26.8°C—32.3°C	
Tumkur (1500 m)	1 Harvesting Kandula & Jana	7 Harvesting Kandula	6 Forest clearing Firing	12 Forest clearing Firing Dibbling Kandula Harvesting Turmeric	5 Dibbling Kandula Hoeing Sowing Ghantia Jana Ganga Burubudi Jhudanga	10 Weeding
	W i n t e r 28°C		S u m m e r 41°C		R a i n y	
Sundijuba (800 m)	1 Harvesting Kandula Clearing Tree felling Storing	4 Harvesting Kandula Tree felling	3 Forest clearing Tree felling	2 Firing Spreading ash Hoeing	10 Spreading ash Sowing	12 Spreading ash Hoeing Sowing
	C o l d w e a t h e r North-East		H o t w e a t h e r Monsoon 21.4°C—26.6°C		H o t w e a t h e r	
Sankarai (800 m)	3 Harvesting Storing	10 Tree felling Debushing	12 Tree felling Firing	7 Tree felling Firing	5 Sowing	11 Debushing Sowing

of Activities

July	August	September	October	November	December
	R a i n y average 1295.6 m.m rainfall	R a i n y		W i n t e r 26.9°C—12.2°C	
9 Weeding	11 Weeding	4 Watching Harvesting Kangu & Suan	2 Watching Weeding Harvesting Kangu	3 Forest Clearing Harvesting Ghantia Ganga Watching crop	8 Forest Clearing Harvesting Ganga Jhudanga Burubudi
(S.W. Monsoon) Average 1378.3 m.m. rain fall			Post monsoon winter		
5 Sowing Weeding	6 Weeding Debushing	6 Weeding Lopping	11 Lopping Weeding Watching	7 Watching Harvesting Watching	9 Watching Threshing Storing
General Rains S. W. Monsoon		Retreating Monsoon S. W. Monsoon 1575 m.m. rainfall			
6 Sowing Hoing Ploughing	1 Weeding	8 Weeding Debushing	4 Weeding	9 Watching Harvesting	2 Watching Harvesting

The figures from 1 to 12 indicate ranking of activities in ascending order from heaviest to light works such as figures 1 to 4 stand for heavy works, 5 to 8 for moderate works, and 9 to 12 for light works.

As indicated above some activities require heavy input of labour, some moderate amount of labour and some other activities need less labour. Thus, the scale of efforts can be divided into three categories such as (1) Heavy work, leaving very little time for recreational, ceremonial and ritual activities with food supplies at their lowest, (2) Moderate work with some spare time to devote on socio-cultural activities and with manageable food supplies and (3) Light works with plenty of time for ceremonial and cultural activities accompanied by feasting, drinking and merrymaking. Based on the data which are presented in the above table the scale of activities is presented graphically in the following chart which gives the seasonal rhythm of effort.



The chart shows that although Lanjia Souras, Kutia Kondhs and the Paudi Bhuinyas practise shifting cultivation for their livelihood, the seasonal rhythm of effort varies from one to the other. For example, the month of February shows heavy work for the Kutia Kondhs of Sundijuba village, moderate work for the Lanjia Souras of Tumkur village and light work for the Paudi Bhuinyas of Sankarai village. Likewise, variations in monthly rhythm of effort are observed in other months.

However, in the midst of such variations similar scale of efforts is observed in some months. For example, the month of January presents heavy work for all the three tribal communities in the study villages.

Another significant feature is noticed in the chart is in respect of the number of months coming under different scales of efforts. It is seen that in all these three cases the three scales of efforts i.e. heavy work, moderate work and light work have covered uniformly four months each. But these months under each of these scales of efforts vary from one study village to the other mostly. For example, in the case of Tumkur the months which come under heavy work are January, September, October and November. But they are different in the other two cases. In the case of Sundijuba heavy works are done in the months of January, February, March and April while in the case of Sankarai they are January, August, October and December. However, in all cases the month of January happens to be the time requiring heavy input of labour in the fields of shifting cultivation. Similarly, the month of June is characterised by easy work and provides plenty of time for leisurely and ceremonial activities.

For a layman the practice of shifting cultivation as carried out in these three villages may appear alike. But the techniques involved in such cultivation, crops grown in these areas and the religious beliefs and practices associated with each phase of agricultural activities are different from one tribe to the other and also from one eco-system to the other. It is imperative that everywhere the man must adapt himself to the physical environment in which he lives so that his essential needs are satisfied. It is, therefore, necessary that a planner who is entrusted with the task of formulating a plan for the development of the primitive tribes should have a thorough knowledge about the types of relationship which exist between a primitive tribe and the environment in which he lives. It implies also that the planner should also have a detailed knowledge about the ethnography of the tribe and how different cultural traits and immediate physical surroundings and environment interact with one another and with what effect. A scientific stock of knowledge about the environment and culture of different niches inhabited by primitive tribal communities is badly needed at the present moment when very serious thoughts are being given at present to evolve suitable strategies for the development of the primitive tribal groups.



TREK TO KORODA

U. N. Patnaik

I was told that Koroda in G. Udayagiri taluk was an area of mystery and that no magistrate had gone to the area for more than two decades in the past. I was told that it had very good agricultural possibilities and that its inhabitants so to say, were cut off from the rest of the area. I ascertained that it was a Kondh area within the jurisdiction of an Oriya hill chief who led the life of an adivasi to all practical purposes except only that he was called "His Highness" "Raja" by his Oriya subordinates and was called by the Kondhs 'the Raja'. He had relations among the Oriya Patros and in some cases among the ruling houses of the Garjats. No civil and criminal litigation came to the courts and it led to the inference that he was disposing of all cases himself. There was a practice of the Madras Government that whenever the local magistrate or his superior officers visited the place, the chief would have to meet him on the path or at the bungalow first.

The area was cut off from the taluk headquarters on account of the steep drop which one had to take for about four miles. Practically from Deegi the earthen road of the Revenue Department would abruptly stop within a rugged bridle path from the crest of a range of hills. This path would drop rapidly within a gradient of 1 in 12 and 15 for a few miles and one would reach the crest of another hill range. The downward drop would become gradually easy and after about a mile would go over plain land within orchard trees and waste lands—At its end lies the Koroda plateau.

I got interested and decided to pay a visit to the area. I left Raikia in the afternoon and it was about 3 p.m. when I passed Rammunda. It is a big tank—or rather a small reservoir. It is capable of good irrigation within small improvements. I was told that there were divine fish in the tank of the size 5'—6' in length and had hairy skin. It was also the belief that great evil would overtake any one who would touch the fish.

From here Deegi was a short distance and there was a revenue restshed there. It was dusk when we reached Deegi. The restshed was cleaned up and made tidy on my arrival. There was no well in the revenue shed and no water source anywhere nearby. My men—three of them started to fetch water from a spring. They carried the usual lathy and lantern with them. The bungalow watcher led them. They were absent from more than one hour and my cook became nervous. After a long wait the men returned with water and explained to me that the water source was at a deep and dangerous place and hence this delay. I wanted to verify the fact later.

After a night's rest I took the chowkidar and went to see the water source. It was at a distance of about 1 mile from the restshed from where the foot path ended—there was foot path descending into the bed of a stream. On either side there was thick underground and the path was so uneven that even

in day time one would stumble unless he leans his weight on a long staff. The descent was for about 50 yards when it landed me on the bed of a hill stream. This was the water source from which my men had fetched water and I was told that the tribals and others depended on this stream. I decided then and there that I would reconstruct the restshed and sink a well in its compound.

Towards 10 a.m. I started for Koroda after breakfast. It was a venture worth the trouble—The bridle path in spite of its course full of serpentine curves had its gradient necessitating the support of a bamboo staff. The strain on the leg muscles was great. Pit falls had to be voided and enjoyment of the scenery around was possible at short stops during the descent. The panoramic scenery was awe inspiring. The high hills behind and those at the distance on either side within the mighty trees and green foliage was indeed wonderful. At a distance in the front lay the plateau standing out in strong relief to the hilly back ground. Walking carefully and cautiously for about 7 miles brought us to the village limits of Koroda.

This small village settled as it were lies close to a hill at its periphery. Huge bamboo clumps and old mango trees were to be seen in plenty. The drainage of hill-streams perennial in nature and was going down in a small rivulet. It crossed the village path more than twice. We passed by the house of the chief and there was none to welcome. We marched on to the Revenue Restshed at the end of the village. It was about 4 p.m. The Restshed was in a neglected condition. There were huge big trees and a small jungle in the compound. The compound was about 4 acres in extent. The Restshed had two rooms and out houses. The walls were of wattle and daub and the doors and windows of hand hewn planks and the roof was of thatch. The Revenue Department would do the annual repairs on the customary vety labour system. Payments would be made according to the time honoured rates and there would be no measurement or check measurement. I asked the choukidar whose pay was probably Rs 7/- a month as to why he kept the premises unkept. He explained that he was afraid of coming to the place even in day time as in the southern room he found blood stains daily. He was sure that some malafic deity was having her residence there and was having daily feast of living creatures. He showed me the marks of blood. I told him that some wild animal might be taking shelter there and eating its kill and that deities would not stay in bungalows.

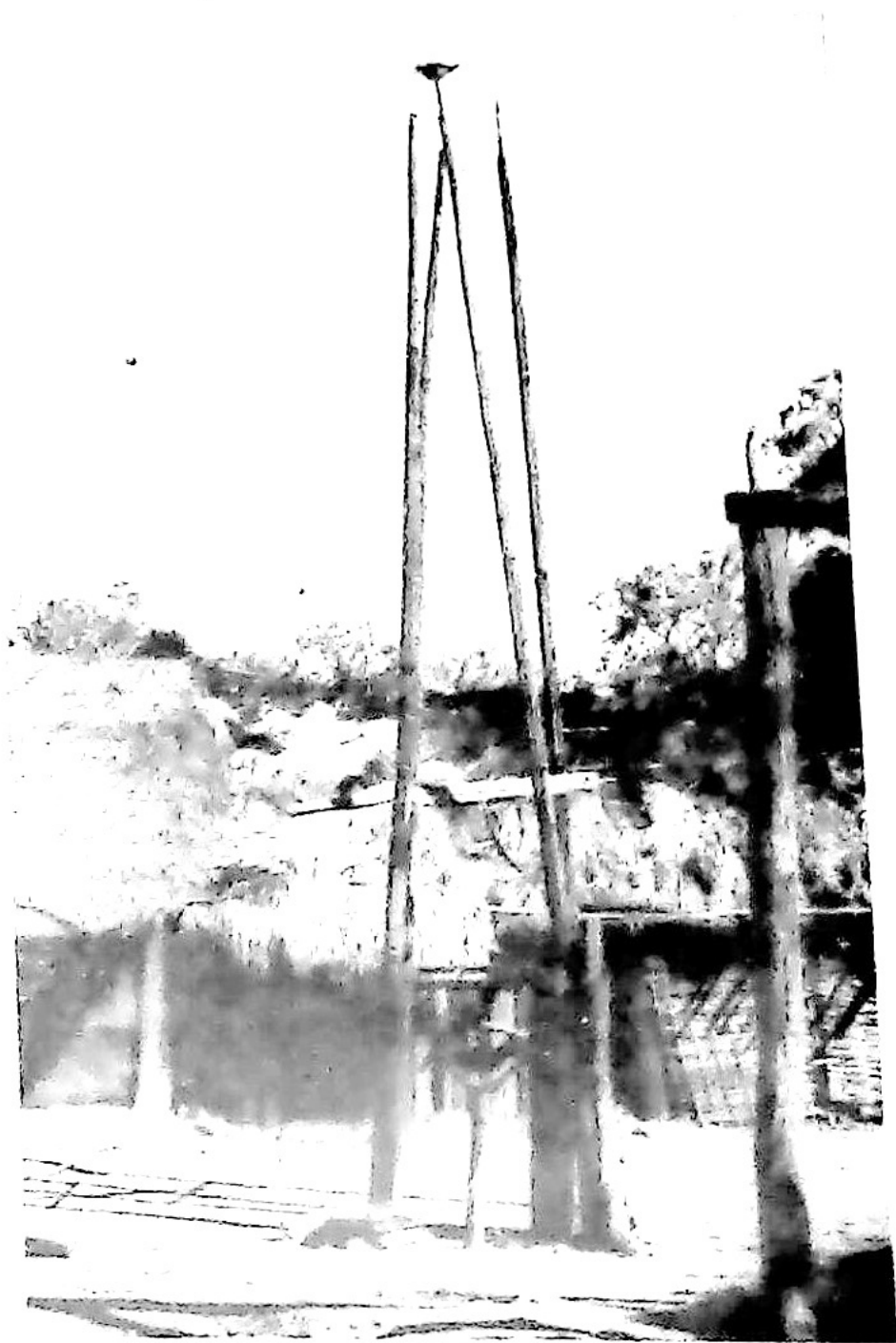
I had to stop the night and saw to it that a sufficient number of Kondhs would sleep at the bungalow overnight. So be honest I too was scared not to small degree. Preparations were on for dinner

and I had my bath and tea. It was while taking food I noticed that between [the so called place of the chief and the Revenue bungalow a singular forest had sprung up obstructing the view of the Restshed. This I thought was the reason why the chief took no interest in my visit. Perhaps it was a vanity, but in general administration vanity is a necessity. It makes an officer more sincere and honest in his work. It creates a spirit of competition between him and other officials or his predecessors. It gives him courage to face dangers and clarifies his common sense while dealing with administrative problems.

I decided that by the next evening I would get the jungle cleaned. I sent a message to this effect to the chief who was bound to treat it as an order and execute it. A man of the chief came and informed me that it would take at least a week to muster the mutha and that the contemplated work could not therefore be done in 24 hours. I got naturally annoyed because the chief did not welcome me on my passing by his house and secondly because he did not call on me and explain the problem. I decided to give a very rude shock and I immediately started working out my plan.

I ordered for Rs. 10/- worth flat rice to be delivered at the bungalow the next noon and paid for getting required food. I started on a round of the Kondh villages, there were about 10 of them close to Koroda at short distances from each other. I visited each village and called the people to a meeting. I talked to them in their dialect and told them something of their mythology and history in their language and at the conclusion of the sitting I directed the tribal head to go to the Restshed the next morning with one hand from every house—with axes, sickles and ropes because there was some work to be done. It was about 10 p.m. when I came back to the Restshed. The Kondhs took me not only as the local magistrate but as an authority who knew their history, etc. The manner in which they were approached also appealed them. The hill chief who had his spies heard of the activities I indulged in and was scared of a Kondh rally against him.

The next morning the Kondhs arrived in groups singing songs and sometimes vilifying the chief who was tyrannous and never looked to their welfare and accordingly extracted heavy fines during arbitration. As they arrived, the groups were put to the job of cutting the trees and clearing the shrubbery. I had a good stock of bidis (country cigar) which I gave them to smoke and break the monotony. The flat rice was arranged and by about 1 p.m. arrangements started to prepare the soaked *Chuda Chakta* as it was called. Just then the chief's emissary came with a huge bunch of ripe plantains giving the message that His Highness was unable to come to the Restshed due to his illness and that he sent the



Shrine of Dharani Penu—A place of worship for the Kondhs

plantain bunch for the Kondhs. I smiled at this turn of the events. I had my lunch and called the Kondhs to the lunch break. In a few buckets flat rice and molasses were mixed with ripe bananas and every Kondh was given enough to eat. By this time more than half the jungle had already been cleaned and I got an injury on my right leg—the scar of which is still continuing. After lunch the Kondhs had their smoke and were again called to work. By about 4 p.m. the jungle was cleaned and I could have a view of the chief's so called palace. The fallen trees were moved and it gave the appearance of the work of weeks. I called the chowkidar and told him that if he were to live on the premises with family I would allow him to cultivate 2 acres of the land. He willingly agreed. I stopped for the night there and left for Ronoba the next morning.

When I reached the Kondh plateau down the hills, I noticed the following agricultural facts. The growth of paddy was luxuriant and I was told there was a variety of rice grown there. The chief had a few wheat fields and I saw that the ears of wheat were unusually long and the seeds quite healthy. I took this as a discovery since in the hills—there was thorny place where wheat was grown as a crop. I was told that the chief used the produce for his domestic purposes. It was grown as a single crop in the cotton fields. I took a few samples and sent them to the Director of Agriculture who asked his A.O. to inspect the fields and to submit a detailed report. The black gram was having a luxuriant growth. As regards mango, jackfruit and lime the crops were reported to be very good and beautiful. I wonder it to the present day any agricultural survey has been made of the area. Some beans of the shrub variety were also being extensively grown here. The plants had grown up to the height of soya-beans, and the fruits were be of the same shape as of the Indian beans (the sima in Oriya) but much smaller in size and of the flat variety. The seeds would naturally be smaller. Similarly there are many other tribal areas which are endowed with rich natural resources having immense potentialities for agricultural development. It is, therefore, imperative to have an exploratory survey in all the tribal areas an inventory of soil types, vegetations, cropping patterns and such other environmental and ecological information which are prerequisite for the formulation of realistic plans of development.



ORAL LITERATURE OF PRIMITIVE COMMUNITIES

Ch. Prasanta Ku. Mohapatra

INTRODUCTION :

Literature is basically thought of being a written piece of prose or verse by an imaginative individual. The term 'Oral Literature' may, therefore, seem to contain an element of paradox. But this is not so because functionally there are numerous forms of verbal art among non-literate primitive societies which do not have a script and therefore not in a position to maintain written documents of their verbal art form. However, myths, tales and epic songs can be considered as vehicles for the artistic expression of the life of a people. Even when we look to the history of any literate society we find that folktales were being told much before writing came to be invented. Therefore, oral literature of primitive societies is not only analogous to the written literature of literate societies but also is a forerunner of any kind of literature that existed the worldover.

It has been held that, broadly, folklore is of two types. It includes both verbal and non-verbal forms of artistic expression. The non-verbal forms are those that relate to games, folk dances and mimes. The verbal forms only relate to the oral literature which includes folk tales, folk songs, riddles, proverbs, charms, tongue-twisters and puns. Alternatively it is called the folk narratives. In many cultures there are two basic divisions of oral literature such as myths and folklore. In western cultures there is yet another division in addition to myths and folklore such as legends.

2. DIFFERENCE BETWEEN MYTHS, FOLKTALES AND LEGENDS :

Generally myth is considered to be based on fallacious conceptions. But to the folklorist it is not so. It is to him a sacred narrative transmitted orally from one generation to another. The narrative mainly revolves round the creation and existence of earth and man in the present form. The most common characteristic of all myths points to an universal search for the basic needs of life such as fire or water. In myths a culture hero struggles for acquiring fire or daylight for the whole world. This is in contrast to the folklore where a hero attempts to win a princess for himself or kills a demon to save his kingdom from destruction. The characters work for their own ends. The essential difference of a legend lies in the fact that it is set in the parameter of time and space of the real world of today. It may relate to spiritual world, ghosts and fairies. But the time and space factors always point to the present world and necessarily after creation of earth.

An useful mode of differentiating myths, folktales and legend can be made by resorting to the temporal dimension they present in their narration. In a myth, there is no fixed point of time prior to creation. It begins from no point of time till the creation is revealed. In folktales one finds no specific point of time but always it is post creation. The legends are not only lodged in the recent past and present but also extend to an open ended future. The action of the characters in myth, folktale and legend, therefore, have different dimensions as regards the factor of time.

3. ORAL AND WRITTEN LITERATURE—A COMPARISON :

We find quite an appreciable number and volume of analysis made of the written literary works in terms of their structural, aesthetic, philosophical, stylistic and psychological values. These attempts could also be precisely made in respect of the oral literature of primitive communities. But what we do find in ethnographic work is that a number of such myths and folklores are only appended to the original ethnographic work without any kind of systematic analysis. There has, however, been attempts of transliterations of themes in respect of oral literatures (tribal poetry) of some of the primitive communities of Orissa. Instances of the valuable work* of Dr. S. K. Mahapatra may be cited in this respect. These works are examples of oral literature that co-exist with written literature and continue to provide inspirations to enrich the later in order to enable them to become a masterpiece literature. In fact oral literature of many primitive communities have thrived in literate societies due to their co-existence. It is more widely known in these cultures than written literatures. It is interesting to note that in our own societies far more people sing folksongs than songs or poems belonging to written literature. It will, therefore, be seen that oral literature is found universally in every culture whether a culture is primitive or otherwise. In spite of this we find numerous students in contemporary societies are devoted to study and analysis of written literature rather than oral. As pointed out earlier what is needed urgently is a systematic collection and analysis of the oral literature that exist among the primitive communities in order to present a literary anthropology or in other words a kind of anthropological literary criticism. With an account of certain general points of comparison between oral and written literature we may now turn to some specific differences between them in order to be able to understand and make an effective analysis of oral literature of the primitive communities.

*The Empty Distance Carries—1972
Men, Patterns of Dust—1981

(i) AUTHORSHIP

The first of these relates to the authorship of the verbal forms. In case of written literature the author of a work is well known and the work in a printed form is transmitted from one generation to another without any change in the original text. Therefore the work has a fixed or unchanging form. This is in sharp contrast with the oral literature. The oral literary products are collective rather than work of an individual. Although it is true that a tale or song is composed by one individual, in order to be transmitted the work is to be related orally by people other than the original creator. Therefore the original form is never transmitted accurately. In the process of transmission either the locale or the characters will change slightly. Study of these changes is vital as it helps in providing clues to understanding the personalities involved, the trend of culture change and ethnocentrism of the transmitters themselves. In case the original work does not change it also helps in understanding the degree of cultural conservatism at work among a given society.

(ii) NARRATION CONTEXT

The factor of narration context in study of oral literature is important. This is because in written literature the author may live and create a masterpiece work in isolation of the audience or readers but this is not possible in case of oral literature. While the author of a written work need never face any of his reader the oral artist must face all his listeners. The link between the audience and the narrator is considered vital to oral literature because among other things the process provides a scope for feedback to the narrator. The audience may exert an influence over the narrator either by encouraging him or correct him for committing errors by straying in to areas which are not traditional.

(iii) TYPICAL SPEECH AND ELEMENT OF PERFORMANCE

Typical speech characteristics and the element of performance are other important factors which are to be taken into account to distinguish between oral written literature. In narration of oral literature a narrator is a creator as well as performer. He has special abilities of delivering the speech which is required while narrating orally. Movement of hand, head and eyes ought to match the narration of a successful oral theme.

Successful performance is considered vital because the story or the narration is not unfamiliar to the audience. In spite of familiarity, the narration is enjoyed fully because each audience expects a rediscovery of the familiar in a novel manner every time. Therefore, the theme of the narration, though familiar, provides entertainment to its audience over and over again. So far written literature is concerned there are not many novels and short stories which an individual reads more than once or twice in his life time.

4. ORAL LITERATURE IS FUNCTIONAL

The motivation for collecting data on Oral literature was originally conceived as a method to reconstruct the history of a people as this literature was thought to belong to the hoary past and within the verge of dying out. In doing so the importance of oral literature as a cultural reality of the present day was overlooked. It is obvious that since such literature continues to exist in a given culture it must constitute a functional element. No attempt was made to relate these forms to the cultural context. It was for this reason that we find collection of oral literary forms of a culture have been piled together without their real context. It is not known as to who told the tale, to whom, at what time of the year or the day for what purpose and to what end. If all these angles could be taken to view the different forms of oral literature, the diversity of functions can well be assessed to comprehend the underlying implications.

There is yet another function of oral literary form which influences the relationship between the addressor and addressee. A joke or a riddle can be told by a person to another only within the permissible cultural parameter. There are jokes which can not be told by a male to a group of females if they stand in a prohibitive relationship with each other. Therefore, collection of such oral literary forms indicate the importance of functional elements they constitute in a given culture.

Viewed theoretically, the functions of oral literature are manifold. It can educate, amuse, promote group solidarity and provide a platform for social protest or serve as a means of escape from reality. Further it transmits, maintains and strengthens acceptable social behavioural norms and also provides an institutional outlet for escapes from these norms. For example in jokes a behaviour which is

otherwise considered a taboo in real life can be accepted without any guilty consciousness. In a folktale a hero is found to frequently ignore culturally prescribed rules. These are considered important functions of oral literature. This aspect is particularly important and of interest to ethnographers because from analysis of the contents of oral literature of a culture one can obtain information about themes and topics which may not be easy to discuss using the conventional questionnaire method. Since oral literature is a collective phenomenon an individual informant need not accept any personal responsibility for the content of the tale or joke. He is merely reporting what others say.

V. USES OF THE STUDY OF ORAL LITERATURE

The collection and classification of oral literature by eminent scholars have led to analysis of the origin, function and the different forms they have all the world over. These have helped in many ways than one in the use of such data. Comparative studies have helped in obtaining ethnohistorical information about cultures. The greater the number of common tale types between two cultures than more likely it is that these cultures are genetically or culturally related. Oral literal borrowings have also indicated the index of acculturation in a culture. Sensitive kinship relations can also be studied by help of oral literature. A reference may be made to an article "Myths of Juang" written by the present author * in which it has been shown that the myth of Juang which has been told in five different areas have undergone change in the process of being transmitted orally from one place to another. The nature of change, while analysed, indicated considerable relevance between the locale and the text. For example, the Juang of different localities have a different version of their own in respect of the myth concerning creation. Some of these versions are profoundly influenced by the religion of surrounding Hindu population who are numerically stronger than the Juang. In such locale the central theme of the myth which centres round sacrifice of human being is changed to sacrifice of buffalo in order to spare the feelings of Hindus for whom human sacrifice is a crime. Similar changes in respect of the original theme are also noticed.

Oral literature is considered to belong to humanities as well as social science. As a subject of humanities, the study of oral literature can be subjected to any of the techniques of literary analysis used in any study of written literature. On the other hand, study of oral literature provides rich source of material for social sciences. From one angle of vision it can be considered an expression of human

* International Folklore conference Publication-1980

personality and culture. Therefore attempts to study oral literature calls for drawing up of refined tools of investigation from both the disciplines of humanities and social science.

VI. THE NEED FOR URGENT RESEARCH

The primitive tribes of India and specifically of Orissa have received attention of scholars administrators, Social Scientists, planners and politicians not only for an all-round development of these communities but also for merging them with the main current of national integration. Sooner or later the objectives are apt to be achieved. However, it remains to be seen whether or not the belaboured philosophy for tribal development which once constituted the focal theme of development planning for tribal communities is considered valid because it advocates the communities to develop according to their own genius. Preservation of the value systems, cultural norms and aesthetic aspects of their culture are moral obligations on the part of those who claim responsibility of bringing them on to par with other communities. In view of what has been delineated above it may be realised that preservation of oral literature which is one of the vital aspects of the tribal culture should also be taken in to account while any attempt is made to develop these communities. Economic upliftment alone will not render an all-round development because such a development will necessarily become lopsided. National integration also presupposes emotional integration and this is not possible without giving a due share to the development of oral literature of these communities which are embodiment of psychological and aesthetic expressions of a given culture.

There are as many as 62 tribes in the State of Orissa, all of which have been subject to changing environment over the past decades. There are tribes which are changing fast whereas among some the pace of change is comparatively slow. There are also sections of a tribe which have been completely assimilated with the surrounding population with least vestiges of their tribal cultural traits still apparent. This is also true of the primitive dialects they speak. Among few, the dialects is being still spoken. Among most, speaking of the dialects is still in vogue while the regional languages are being largely incorporated as a second language. Among some the tribal dialects have completely been

replaced by regional languages. All these situations present a varied phenomena of change in process. This is high time that an attempt should be made not only to collect and classify but also to analyse them in order to preserve the rich aesthetic expression of primitive communal life. As has been mentioned earlier these resource rich fields can also help in enriching the written literature among which they exist and therefore the situation calls for an attempt to induct an urgent research in the virgin field of oral literature.



A FEW OBSERVATIVES ON TRIBAL WELFARE

Gopinath Mohanty

The tribal world in Orissa has been changing, the pace of change accelerating with the years. Its isolation has been breaking up as communications are being opened, bringing tribal communities more and more in contact with outsiders and exposing them to unfamiliar influences. Due to various reasons, there already was shortage of lands for the tribals and this has grown more acute with the growth of population and the increasing infertility of the rocky uplands and hill slopes which the tribals cultivate occasioned by the dwindling of the forests due to continued *podu*, causing soil erosion, and its concomitant evils including drying up of hill-streams. At places, erstwhile forest-land and cultivable lands are giving place to mining, power projects, industries and urban centres. The forest was a great reserve of food for the tribals and much of their occupations were forestbased. Their life and culture had the forest in the back-ground and it gave them a typical individuality while it afforded them privacy, a sense of freedom and a feeling of repose. With every stroke that they have continued to deal on trees in pursuance of their chronic habit of *podu*, they have been contributing to their own change and upsetting.

Their age-old problems of want, exploitation, addiction to liquor, illiteracy, superstitious beliefs, spend thrift habits, conservatism, ignorance, disease, squalour, lack of amenities and etc. have been well known and measures to remove them have been launched for years past. Some improvement in the situation is noticeable at places even among the most backward tribes as compared with conditions that prevailed twenty years ago, much yet remain to be achieved both in quality and in coverage. More and more improvements are expected to take place in the years to come inspite of constraints and diverse problems; there have been heavy outlays of money in the official programme.

I shall confine myself here to only a few observations :

Since in the present context, change in the tribal outlook and way of life is inescapable, it must be consciously guided in his best interests without loss of time, while at the same time, attempting to retain the best and the noblest in tribal character and culture to the extent possible. This would require spread of mass scale information and general and vocational education together with provision of modern occupations. The tribal must be enabled to hold his own in a competitive modern world as much as any able and competent non-tribal even though this entails a sea change and some bemoan the loss of noble values and colourful, poetic way of life that had still lingered in their society, they have to survive first.

Before the uprooting of masses of tribals from the areas where they have lived is attempted, for any reason, they should be adequately settled and rehabilitated and provided with no less opportunities for earning their livelihood than what they had. Before industries are set up in their areas, they should be given technical training so as to be employed in such industries and should be given such gainful employments. Industries which pose a hazard to health and safety by polluting ecology should not be located near tribal villages.

While tribal development programmes extend to tribal areas, no machinery for taking care of tribals exists for concentration of tribals when they flock to cities and to urban centres for employment, this needs looking into.

Afforestation and soil conservation in tribal areas have been going on for years, these programmes need to be taken up on a massive scale and to be speeded up. Importance has long been laid on provision of land for the landless, provision of the means for cultivation and on improved agriculture, horticulture, and etc. and on providing alternative occupations including cottage industries. Wherever any such programme is taken up, care need be taken of its practical utility having regard to the conditions varying from place to place, its suitability to the locality, the ability and aptitude of the tribals concerned, the utilisation and marketability of the product and the income to be derived from the occupation in preference to higher incomes which could be derived by the tribals in other ways elsewhere if they could be induced to try those other ventures and be helped to do so. A tribal who has received education in a school is now hardly willing to maintain himself by doing *podu* or cultivating barren rocky hill slopes and uplands and many of them flock to the towns even to work as rickshaw-pullers.

Exploitation is still a problem with tribals though its forms have changed. Not until the tribal becomes stable and strong can he escape it. Till then, all attempts should be made to stop it, and vigilance should be tightened and kept up. The tribals' chronic and persistent addiction to liquor has been the major cause of his impoverishment and disaster. Though it is difficult to stop it at a time when the drink evil has been spreading in non-tribal and so-called 'civilised' communities, it needs to be curbed with emphasis.

It is not enough if a scheme for tribal development is sought to be implemented. Vested interests have continued to thrive on the ignorance and weakness of the tribals and on their general backwardness



Tattooing typical of the Konkh ladies of Phulbani District.

and backward tribals are prone to be swayed easily. It is necessary that dedicated workers should be posted to stay with the tribals in close contact with them in their villages for years, keep in touch with them, guide them and watch them and function as a link between the individual and his needs on the one hand and the administration on the other.

One reason for the impoverishment of tribals is their belief in superstitions leading them to offer costly sacrifices of poultry and animals now and then. Such beliefs have to be shed. Since there are no reformers among backward tribals the role has to be taken up by social workers and by officially appointed advisers. It would also be of use to educate tribal priests, soothsayers and village elders in whom even now, tribals have faith and who command influence.

Existing tribal institutions such as the tribal village panchayat, the village common room, the unmarried youngmen's club and dormitory, and the young women's club and dormitory need to be associated with programmes of development.



THE PARADIGM OF KOYA CONCEPT OF HUMAN DISEASE

Dr. N. K. Behura

The Koyas constitute the principal tribe of the Malkangiri sub-division of Koraput district. They are primitive and belong to the Dravidian group of tribes. Originally they were shifting cultivators and pastoralists. With the resettlement of Bengali refugees in the area, pressure on land has tremendously increased. Lack of adequate fallow land and governmental restrictions on use of land have forced them to undertake settled agriculture with which they are unfamiliar. They get a very poor yield of crop from their land, which is utterly inadequate for a family to sustain itself till the next crop. In the past they depended on the forest for food and for other purposes, but now their dependence on forest produces is very negligible. Now forests cover an area of 1,29,401 hectares or nearly 30 per cent of the total area of Malkangiri. They are now confronted with a lot of problems and most of them live below subsistence level. In general they suffer from malnutrition, and consequently are susceptible to various diseases.

Their food habit is a stereotyped one. They take one principal meal a day which consists of boiled rice, or rice/millet gruel and some boiled pulses or vegetables. During summer or *endkalam* the principal meal is supplemented by *tadigal* or palmjuice and *marka* or mango. During *wankalam* or rainy season the principal meal consists of *janajowa* or millet gruel and boiled wild greens and spinach. During this season they get varieties of *putuku* or mushrooms, which they eat after cooking.

And during *salkalam* or winter their condition is relatively better as it is the harvest time. During this time they eat stomachful of *nukadara* or boiled rice, *ittneclu* or tamarind soup and *pessili* or boiled pulses. In winter they invariably grow different types of vegetables in their kitchen gardens for their own consumption.

Koyas rear cattle to meet the requirement of their ritual sacrifices. They eat beef but seldom consume milk or milk products. Some of the Gummin Koyas rear buffaloes and trade on clarified butter or ghee, but they never consume that themselves. This, they have learnt from some of their kinsmen who live on the other side of Potteru river in Andhra Pradesh.

Koyas have a distinct culture of their own, which delineates their attitude towards their own ecosystem, towards the members of their own society, towards their other ethnic neighbours and towards their manes and supernaturals. They have their own concept of good life, happy life, human health, sickness, disease, diagnosis, treatment and cure of diseases. Similarly, they too have their own concepts of livestock and plant diseases and their treatment. In other words, their culture accounts for their cognitive pattern.

Health and hygiene comprise a vital sector of human society everywhere. In tribal India not much has been done in this important sector. And whatever little has been done, it is always from the view point of modern medical science. Modern allopathic treatment presupposes certain conditions which go along with it and follow it too. Such conditions are almost totally non-existent in primitive tribal societies. However all tribals, primitive or advanced, consider disease as pernicious and detrimental to normal health. It is certainly a departure from the state of health.

The Koyas, like other non-literate tribals, do not consider any disease as the cause of neglect of body or its organs. They consider disease as an integral part of the life process. They believe that disease causes both transient and intransient illness; and disease means tragedy, fear, expense, impoverishment, suffering and death. For them diseases are caused by supernatural entities, particularly by malevolent spirits. As such, they do not believe that diseases are caused due to physiological disorder by parasites. They think that their happy life is occasionally disrupted by diseases which are caused due to the indignation of the malevolent spirits and due to sorcery and witchcraft. They think that one is immune to disease so long he is free from supernatural wrath and enjoys supernatural protection.

Among the Koyas there are indigenous medicine men, called *Wadde*. There is a professional hierarchy among the *Wadde*, which is based on knowledge of diseases and their treatment efficiency.

Koyas classify diseases into various categories, such as, (i) frequent diseases, (ii) seasonal diseases, (iii) hereditary diseases, (iv) mental diseases, (v) incurable diseases, (vi) male-diseases, (vii) female-diseases, and (viii) child-diseases. Koya *Wadde* or medicine man diagnoses a disease through divination and study of symptoms. He too collects the history of the disease in order to ascertain its aetiology. In Koya society there are both male and female medicine men or *Wadde*, but the former outnumber the latter.

Time and space do not permit an exhaustive discussion of all the diseases that the Koya suffer from and their native method of diagnosis and treatment. Only a list of the diseases will be furnished hereunder in order to get an idea of the problem.

1. Frequent Diseases : *Edek* or fever. It is a *ver rogam* or common disease, and its symptoms are : (i) *gatikasta* or high temperature, (ii) *gatisal jalab* or rigor, (iii) *nedis bel wate* or

THE PARADIGM OF KOYA CONCEPT OF HUMAN DISEASE

Dr. N. K. Behura

The Koyas constitute the principal tribe of the Malkangiri sub-division of Koraput district. They are primitive and belong to the Dravidian group of tribes. Originally they were shifting cultivators and pastoralists. With the resettlement of Bengali refugees in the area, pressure on land has tremendously increased. Lack of adequate fallow land and governmental restrictions on use of land have forced them to undertake settled agriculture with which they are unfamiliar. They get a very poor yield of crop from their land, which is utterly inadequate for a family to sustain itself till the next crop. In the past they depended on the forest for food and for other purposes, but now their dependence on forest produces is very negligible. Now forests cover an area of 1,29,401 hectares or nearly 30 per cent of the total area of Malkangiri. They are now confronted with a lot of problems and most of them live below subsistence level. In general they suffer from malnutrition, and consequently are susceptible to various diseases.

Their food habit is a stereotyped one. They take one principal meal a day which consists of boiled rice, or rice/millet gruel and some boiled pulses or vegetables. During summer or *endkalam* the principal meal is supplemented by *tadigal* or palmjuice and *marka* or mango. During *wankalam* or rainy season the principal meal consists of *janajowa* or millet gruel and boiled wild greens and spinach. During this season they get varieties of *putuku* or mushrooms, which they eat after cooking.

And during *salkalam* or winter their condition is relatively better as it is the harvest time. During this time they eat stomachful of *nukadara* or boiled rice, *ittneclu* or tamarind soup and *pessili* or boiled pulses. In winter they invariably grow different types of vegetables in their kitchen gardens for their own consumption.

Koyas rear cattle to meet the requirement of their ritual sacrifices. They eat beef but seldom consume milk or milk products. Some of the Gummin Koyas rear buffaloes and trade on clarified butter or ghee, but they never consume that themselves. This, they have learnt from some of their kinsmen who live on the other side of Potteru river in Andhra Pradesh.

Koyas have a distinct culture of their own, which delineates their attitude towards their own ecosystem, towards the members of their own society, towards their other ethnic neighbours and towards their manes and supernaturals. They have their own concept of good life, happy life, human health, sickness, disease, diagnosis, treatment and cure of diseases. Similarly, they too have their own concepts of livestock and plant diseases and their treatment. In other words, their culture accounts for their cognitive pattern.

Health and hygiene comprise a vital sector of human society everywhere. In tribal India not much has been done in this important sector. And whatever little has been done, it is always from the view point of modern medical science. Modern allopathic treatment presupposes certain conditions which go along with it and follow it too. Such conditions are almost totally non-existent in primitive tribal societies. However all tribals, primitive or advanced, consider disease as pernicious and detrimental to normal health. It is certainly a departure from the state of health.

The Koyas, like other non-literate tribals, do not consider any disease as the cause of neglect of body or its organs. They consider disease as an integral part of the life process. They believe that disease causes both transient and intransient illness; and disease means tragedy, fear, expense, impoverishment, suffering and death. For them diseases are caused by supernatural entities, particularly by malevolent spirits. As such, they do not believe that diseases are caused due to physiological disorder by parasites. They think that their happy life is occasionally disrupted by diseases which are caused due to the indignation of the malevolent spirits and due to sorcery and witchcraft. They think that one is immune to disease so long he is free from supernatural wrath and enjoys supernatural protection.

Among the Koyas there are indigenous medicine men, called *Wadde*. There is a professional hierarchy among the *Wadde*, which is based on knowledge of diseases and their treatment efficiency.

Koyas classify diseases into various categories, such as, (i) frequent diseases, (ii) seasonal diseases, (iii) hereditary diseases, (iv) mental diseases, (v) incurable diseases, (vi) male-diseases, (vii) female-diseases, and (viii) child-diseases. Koya *Wadde* or medicine man diagnoses a disease through divination and study of symptoms. He too collects the history of the disease in order to ascertain its aetiology. In Koya society there are both male and female medicine men or *Wadde*, but the former outnumber the latter.

Time and space do not permit an exhaustive discussion of all the diseases that the Koya suffer from and their native method of diagnosis and treatment. Only a list of the diseases will be furnished hereunder in order to get an idea of the problem.

1. Frequent Diseases : *Edck* or fever. It is a *ver rogum* or common disease, and its symptoms are : (i) *gatikasta* or high temperature, (ii) *gatisal jalab* or rigor, (iii) *nedis bel wate* or

sudden chill of body alternates with rise of fever, (iv) *Kalanopi* or bodyache, (v) *dokaubta* or swelling of abdomen, (vi) *mukum toita kalktoita* or swelling of face and legs, (vii) *porsenadi* or vomiting, and (viii) remission of temperature with sweating.

Koyas believe that the disease is caused either by witchcraft or sorcery. The treatment is two-prong, namely, (i) *Walam tungitan* or exorcism of the evil spirit, and (ii) administration of indigenous medicines. Here the medicine is *Phapmara* or margosa leaf-juice three times a day. The patient is not allowed to eat *angor* meat and is advised to drink and use hotwater.

Other types of *edek* or fever are: (i) *Wasa edek* or malaria, (ii) *bicenopi* or filaria, and (iii) *bechata edak* or headache fever. Other frequent diseases as per Koya conceptual framework are: (i) *talanopi* or headache, (ii) *origoba* or one-side headache, (iii) *toita* or swelling of the body, (iv) *gadtulgada* or swelling of inguinal lymphglands, (v) *bis* or nephrotic syndrome (vi) *dokamandita* or colic pain, (vii) *kanchaka* or malnutrition, (viii) *aripukudu* or hook worm infestation, (ix) *asapukudu* or round worm, (x) *utgary* or amoebic dysentery, (xi) *netur dak* or blood dysentery, (xii) *Kil* or jaundice, (xiii) *peg* or piles, (xiv) *wedabatita* or diabetes, (xv) *sakabatita* or blood discharge through urine, (xvi) *medakaya* or maums, (xvii) *mursulnopi* or lumbago, (xviii) *peettand* or rheumatoid arthritis, (xix) *rompa doog* or cold and cough, (xx) *baakada* or syphilis and gonorrhoea, (xxi) *Kundal* or hysteria, and (xxii) *dokadata* or diarrhoea.

2. Seasonal Diseases or *Kalam rogum*: The common diseases of summer or *endkalam* are: *utgary* or amoebic dysentery, *peettand* or rheumatoid arthritis, *mursulnopi* or lumbago, *netur dak* or blood dysentery, *wasa edek* or malaria and *talanopi* or headache. The diseases that occur during rainy season or *wankalam* are: *dokadata* or diarrhoea and *edek* or fever, *Ubsa* or bronchitis, *gauga* or enlargement of tonsils: *medakaya* or maums, *rompa doog* or cold and cough and *orgoba* or one-side headache. And the common diseases of the winter season are: *dula banga* or scabies, *mugbedi* or bleeding from the nose, *edek* or fever, *rompadoog* or cold and cough and *amatalur* or small-pox.

Koyas conceptualises some diseases as peculiar to men and some others as peculiar to women. They identify *pabana* or physiological immaturity as a male disease. Likewise, they too consider some diseases as peculiar to women. Such diseases are: *toita* or swelling of body, *porsenadi* or vomiting, *chandagada* or inflammation of breast, *gabsam* or an obstetrical disease, *belarata* or a gynaec disease.

They also consider some diseases as child-specific, which occur in children. Child-diseases or *sudupilla rogum* are: *nistataqada* or evil-eye disease, *kakita* or milk vomiting, *Kanchka* or malnutrition, *penduku* or child-fever, *nemata* or ricket and *dokadata* or diarrhoea.

Koyas also identify some diseases as *talka rogum* or skin diseases. They consider *cheba* or yaws as a contagious fatal disease. Other skin diseases are: *sobem* or leucosis, *gaji* or ringworm, *dula banga* or scabies and *gade* or itching. They consider *masa* or leprosy as a hereditary or *inti-rogum*. Other hereditary diseases for them are *Kasidagu* or tuberculosis, *wadabatita* or diabetes, *kundel* or hysteria, *bicenopi* or filaria and *kantak poita* or *gudibana* (blindness).

Koyas consider bodily deformities as the anathema of the Almighty. A person with bodily deformity is considered as an inauspicious being. They have no treatment for possible rectification of deformities.

They attribute several causes for the occurrence of diseases, which range from the wrath of supernatural entities to witch-craft, sorcery, evil-eye, breach of taboo and displeasure of the manes. The cause of a disease is deciphered through divination by the concerned Wadde or medicine-man. Now-a-days they have started realising that some of the diseases are also caused by physical factors, such as, lack of food, effect of weather, excess exposition to sun or rain or cold, and physical contact with a diseased person.

As Koyas distinguish between health and disease among humans, they too conceptualize the same dichotomy among animals, birds, reptiles and plants. They are quite sensitive to the symbiotic relationship which nature provides between humans and other living organisms on the surface of this planet. They consider their domesticated livestock and plants as integral parts of their living process. Hence they care for the health and growth of their livestock and plants as much as they care for the humans. But as they live under stark and grim economic condition, they do not spend money for the treatment of their livestock and plants. However, they resort to such treatments which do not cost them much. They are conscious of the fact that like humans, animals, birds and plants are living organisms, and as such are prone to diseases and sickness. Although they are anxious for the good health of all in order to live a happy life, they pay more attention to the health of humans, which they consider more precious. They opine that when they are unable to ward off diseases from humans, how can they pay due attention to livestock and plant diseases.

Disease in some form or other is a fundamental and vital problem that faces every society, and every known society has developed methods for coping with distress caused by diseases. Consequently every society, primitive or civilized, has developed medicines for the treatment of diseases. With the development of science and technology modern medical science has made unprecedented progress. But the fruits of medical science has barely reached the primitive communities. No country can register overall progress unless it ensures good health for all of its citizens. In India particularly, the tribal segment has not been fully articulated to the public health measures. With the spread of education the tribal communities by and large are becoming sensitive to modern methods of treatment which are quick-result oriented.

When efforts are being made to tag up the tribal communities with the state and national network of family welfare and health services, no attempt is being made to survey and study their traditional indigenous medicines which they use for the treatment of humans, their livestock and plants. They collect most of the herbal medicines from the forests, and as large scale deforestation is in the offing, most of the precious medicinal plants will disappear. Some of the plants are locality and climate specific, and with the reclamation of forests, some such plants will disappear from human knowledge once for all.

From the development perspective it is essential to prepare a health-profile of all the tribal communities, who suffer from large scale malnutrition and some chronic diseases. While formulating panacea measures for these age old maladies it is imperative to record the indigenous medicines which they use for treatment of human, livestock and plant disease. It is also essential to study their taxonomy of diseases, their concept of symptoms of diseases and their notion child / adult, male / female and mental / physiological diseases. Such knowledge will undoubtedly enrich the modern medical science, will provide a strong empirical base for effective implementation of health programmes. We have something to learn from them too. We should shun our complexes and collect these vital information, which will be lost after a couple of years from now.

IN LIGHTER VEIN

Devendra K. Mishra

I was a B. D. O.—more than a quarter century back. Don't look askance, and for heaven's sake, do not be shocked how such a man still exists. For civil servants, what is not on record does not exist. So, have a look at the Civil list (a roll call of slaves). I do exist and may exist till 28th February, 1995, unless God will otherwise. Sorry for the digression. As unguided B.D.Os then (for there were no Panchayat Samities) we were groping to find solutions to the problems of agricultural development (sorry to bore you, it was called 'Panchseel' of agriculture—a five Point Programme) drinking water supply, primary education, village industries, community (or is it individual) development and the like. To-day (1986—talk of 21st century) the same problem continue—more or (and not) less. In those days a journal called 'Gram Sevak' used to be published in English. In some issue (being old, I hope memory doesn't deceive me—it was June 1959 issue). I read a poem titled 'A B.D.O's challenge to Lord Krishna. I remember the poem though not verbatim. In the present context—when tribal development has suddenly become the fashion (thanks to our young Prime Minister) I at times wonder in what plight the poor Project Administrator of I.T.D.A. is. All sympathies to him. This inspired (or is it despired) me to pen the poem, following the foot steps of 'Gram Sevak'.

A PROJECT ADMINISTRATOR'S (P. A.) CHALLENGE TO LORD KRISHNA

Many a feat you did, in many a birth,
Now come as P. A. and measure your worth.
Arjun you changed by Geeta instruction,
Now change the tribals by dint of extension.

You commanded the Gopas, I admit, in fact,
Now Captain the I.T.D.A. Team—fathom your tact.
You controlled the whole world, my great grandmother told,
If only you can control the B. D. Os, will I think you bold.

'Giri Gobardhan' you lifted, the Puranas say,
Without any effort and all in play,
Innumerable guidelines heaped into towers,
Lift them and measure your powers.

We hear, you launched Mahabharat campaign,
And earned a fame, though without any gain.
In the I. T. D. A. has started an endless train,
Of I. R. D., E. R. R. P., poverty eradication campaign,
O Lord Krishna of Mahabharat fame,
Now work as P. A. and protect your name.

A single Sudama, you turned very rich,
And brought your fame to the highest pitch.
Thousand of tribal Sudamas exist now,
Let the world see, You enrich them how.

When Draupadi roamed in wilderness,
Helpless, hungry and shorn of happiness,
Her but you flooded with delicious food,
And turned her melancholy into a cheerful mood.
Now thousand of tribals are in saddest plight,
Solve their multifarious problems and assess your might.

A FAIR DEAL FOR THE LODHAS

N. Swain

The Lodha tribals inhabiting certain contiguous areas of Mayurbhanj, Balasore and Midnapur districts have migrated a century ago from their original habitat in Madhya Pradesh, where they are known as Thakurs or Kharias. They are essentially a forest folk and marginal agriculturists. A sturdy and insular people, they have resorted to habitual thieving by stealth and show of force over many years. As such they are loathed and feared by their neighbours who too are tribals in various stages of socio-economic development. Lodhas always posed problems for the district administration. No wonder, they were treated as members of a criminal tribe and suffered the humiliation of restricted movements, perpetual Police suspicion, surveillance, arrests and worse. Years of social persecution and ostracism drove the Lodhas to their own social cell and lead a life of isolation, bearing grudge against all their neighbours and taking frequent revenge against them in the form of looting their property ranging from cooked rice and fowl to jewellery and cash. On the wake of Independence criminal tribes were denotified, which included the Lodhas too. In 1956 only, they were notified to be a scheduled tribe. This did not make much difference to them.

Post-Independence years were marked with sweeping socio-economic changes having special bearings on the growth and development of the Tribal population all over the country. But the Lodhas, long alienated from the Administration and the neighbouring communities continued to lag behind. They failed to partake of the new socio-economic progress as they were mentally unprepared and ill-equipped with skills required in the changed context. For nearly half a century they were forced out of their forest habitat on account of the enforcement of new Forest Laws and extensive exploitations of Forest wealth by Forest contractors. Shifting cultivation, free hunting of games and birds, collection of Forest Produce at will and breeding of Tussar cocoons were no longer feasible. Perforce, they had to settle in small colonies of huts on the outskirts of villages or nearly wooded areas. Whatever little forest, waste land they reclaimed and developed for cultivation passed into the hands of their neighbours mostly by fraud. They could earn something by working as agricultural labourers during the season but most of the time they had to remain unemployed. An otherwise sturdy people, active and healthy, they gradually became lazy and scheming. Hunger and want drove them to the doors of their neighbours as thieves, robbers and dacoits. The first thing they laid their hands on was cooked food; then fowls, goats, sheep and pigs, later, utensils, clothes, jewellery and cash. There was no dearth of receivers of stolen properties in their neighbourhood. After every such crime, Lodhas would flee to their jungle hideouts and feast on food. Nothing like the warmth of food on empty stomach. Lodhas are still unsettled, migratory and hungry. Whether they detain a Bus on the National Highway and loot the

passengers or ambush traders and travellers in solitary forest junctions and relieve them of cash, the main motive of their crime is to satisfy hunger and not to grow rich or enjoy affluence. Lodha tribal population is not confined to Mayurbhanj alone. According census statistics, Savar Lodhas and Kharia Lodhas are inhabiting various other districts of Orissa where they are not known to be habitual criminals. The dubious distinction of criminality clings on to the Lodhas inhabiting a compact area comprising 2 Police stations of Jhargram sub-division in Midnapur district, 6-7 Police stations of Balasore district adjoining Mayurbhanj district. Their number varies between 4-5 thousand only. All of them are not criminals though by and large they approve of crime as a way of life. It is necessary to study in depth why Lodhas living outside Mayurbhanj-Midnapur-Balasore belt have not taken to crime for their livelihood, whereas their brethren living in this belt have done so. Does it suggest that Lodhas by nature and inclination are not crime-prone but their socio-economic background and present plight have made them criminals.

Lodha population being small, the problem of their socio-economic rehabilitation appears to be a pocket size problem. Hence there seems to be no reason why Government would fight shy of tackling this problem in a comprehensive manner. Lodhas are not criminals only. Backward and primitive, they also possess considerable potential to develop Tussar cultivation, Sabai grass and Lemon grass plantations and conservation of Forest wealth, provided they are reformed and suitably trained. Their group and clan bonds are strong and they are likely to succeed in organised co-operative efforts, particularly co-operative farming of sabai and lemon grass and tussar breeding on an extensive scale. Their employment in extensive farming and marketing of these three commodities on co-operative basis is likely to help them settle down as law-abiding citizens free from basic wants. What is necessary is a comprehensive long term plan of rehabilitation and development and an understanding and painstaking leadership to execute the same stage by stage. Any long term plan drawn up for this purpose should try to cover the entire Lodha community and not a few selected groups.

It has been seen in 1975-78 that those not residing in the rehabilitation colonies tempted the inmates to commit crimes. During the entire period of plan execution the Police has to be closely associated and bear with erring and vacillating Lodhas and their infuriated neighbours. Crimes committed by Lodhas would not come to 1-5% of the total crimes registered in Mayurbhanj district. Police is known to be a little too sensitive towards crimes registered as highway robberies and dacoities for fear of displeasure of the superior hierarchy and crime debates in the State Assembly. During the plan execution period Police fears should be allayed by its top leadership and Lodha crimes should be seen in their proper perspective.

It is time for the state Police headquarters to dispassionately examine the merits and demerits of armed police deployment in addition to penal actions taken by the local Police stations to curb Lodha crimes. No amount of punitive actions taken by the special armed police contingents in shape of armed encounters would put an end to Lodha depredations. In an encounter there is loss on either side. Feelings get embittered and sense of revenge is sharpened. Brutality breeds worse brutality.

Lodha crime is by and large crude. Lodha criminal is still poorly armed. Use of fire arms and explosives is almost unknown. Leadership in the planning and execution of crimes is still confined to Lodhas. Once non-Lodha leadership from across West Bengal or Bihar is implanted and prosperous villages and towns become the targets of attack, the local Police will find it well-nigh difficult to meet the resultant situation. Lodha's strong attachment to the clan and insularity of his character have prevented him from messing up with others, which is a matter of some consolation. Lodha crime is now getting more and more sophisticated and daring as is evident from ambushes on interstate buses and looting of passengers' properties. Added to 'thieving', Lodha criminals have started victimising women folk in course of raids on their houses and in solitary patches of forests where women folk of other tribes collect firewood or graze cattle. Such outrageous conduct has totally alienated them from their neighbours. Before they deteriorate further and acquire new vices, such as kidnapping for ransom, raids on Banks, particularly the rural banks, business houses, etc. They should be settled in rehabilitation colonies, made to surrender arms, take public oath for eschewing crime, engaged in suitable work and paid due wages and live under close watch from their group leader, known as Sardar.

The age-old village council could be suitably reoriented and the popular village councillors and their chief motivated to check the criminal activities of the residents of their respective villages. The institution of village council should in fact be revitalised under an official stamp and obliged to oversee and report. It is essential that the 1975 spirit should be recaptured; hope of a better future projected before the people at large and the Lodha community and necessary ground prepared before undertaking execution of plans suggested above. Valuable time has been lost from 1979 onwards. The experiment of rehabilitation and police confrontation cannot run side by side. Rehabilitation on paper and in the field are two different things. Lodha rehabilitation programme needs good understanding of Lodha mind and behaviour, his social background and above all, a dedicated leadership wedded to a cause. Here, the cause is the restoration of an ancient community to its rightful place in the larger society with dignity and shorn of its vices.

An action plan has been formulated by the Tribal and Harijan Research Institute for setting up a Lodha Development Agency during the plan period of 1981-85. It is a realistic and comprehensive plan but it should embrace the entire community in Mayurbhanj district, which alone will ensure lasting result. As pointed out elsewhere great emphasis should be given to co-operative farming among the clan conscious Lodhas.

Eragullas and Dandasis of Ganjam district were a terror once upon a time to the local people. They too were criminals and members of ex-criminal communities. During the last 30 years they have been assimilated in the local society as agriculturists and wage earners without resorting to habitual crimes. This was possible in the context of overall economic development of the district. This leads one to believe that no person or community is congenitally criminal. The situation they are in, drives them to commit crimes. Given necessary opportunities to earn their livelihood and live like human beings, they could eschew their hazardous criminal ways. A promise indicating this possibility was seen in 1975-1977 in the Lodha rehabilitation, which should be revived without any regret.



Dongria kondh woman with traditional dress.

TRIBAL PAINTINGS

Dinanath Pathy

The painting traditions of Orissa may be assessed in a three fold division, first, the tribal traditions, second, the folk or rural traditions and the third, the classical or urban traditions. These three, phases are distinctly clear in their conception, approach, formulations and flavour and their relational problems are also different. About 24 percent of the population in Orissa are tribal. They have their own paintings, sculptures and various artifacts which are associated with their way of life. They decorate their houses, prepare and use beautiful artistic utensils, decorate their own bodies, wear fashionable ornaments and costumes of large varieties. Most of their artifacts are bound up with faith and institutions. For example, the Saura cult of the dead results in the Saura *ittal* (paintings), the Kondh's dread of Bhimul finds expression in decorated walls, doors and bane as well as in tattooing. The Juang dormitory also serves as galleries of remarkable wood carvings and mud wall reliefs. The Saura hair pin, brass armlets, wooden funerary pillars, Kutia—Kondh brass hair-pins, tobacco tubes of decorated bamboo, decorated door panel, the mass of ornaments worn by Bonda girls, Juang combs, Gadaba iron lamp-stand and Kondh bronzes are a few of the artistic achievements of the tribes in Orissa.

The antiquity of painting is best preserved in the Saura traditions. The central theme of the Saura painting is a house which is represented by a square, circle or rectangle. The painting is regarded as a little temple within the house. *The spirit of the dead sits in his *ittal* as a fly.

The Saura paintings resemble those of the Gonds and Pradhans in being made ceremonially and in a few points of style. Both use the same medium, the wall of a house, and both the paintings are overcrowded with figures and motifs. Both fill the wall space in casual and unrelated details, as they occur to them, both affect the frame drawn either with multiple straight lines or of parallel lines elaborately enhanced. But the Sauras carry the practice far beyond anything imagined by the Gonds or, so far as, by any other tribe.*

The Saura paintings are done on the wall after the wall is washed with red clay inside the living room of the family. When this painting is to be made, the house holder may either make it himself following the inspirations of his dream or he may engage a *kuranmaran* (priest-cum-painter) or *ittalmaran* (he who executes an ittal) The *ittalmaran* or the *kuranmaran* has to dream the previous

*Verrier Elwin, The Tribal Art of Middle India P. 190

night the theme of the painting he has to draw the following day. After the painting has been done, the *shaman* (priest) is called-in to infuse religious inspiration. This process of infusing spirit into the painting can be compared to the *pranapratishta* ceremony of the Hindus.

The Saura paintings are intimately related to religious beliefs and it is done in the way of appeasement to the demigods and ghosts, who, if neglected, insulated or kept hungry, bring diseases to the Sauras. Sauras' security measures are ensured in making of itals, which is combined with animal sacrifice.

In the painting, the spirit of the deadman lying on a cot, attended by chaparasis and physicians, occupies the major attention. All other figures like trees, monkeys, birds, lizards, peacocks, tigers, etc. are meant to project the beautiful nature around intended for the spirit to enjoy. The list of the figures in the painting can be more or less, depending on the wall space or on the dream the painter perceives. The paintings get crowded when the painter adds pictures according to the demand of the unseen spirit such as a comb, or a bicycle or more number of chaparasis at his gate.

Some of the interesting motifs of the painting are the horse rider, elephant rider, rows of dancers, rows of men with guns, trees, monkeys, peacocks, lizards etc. The figures of Sahibosum* also appear in the Saura paintings. The Sauras have shown tremendous adoptability in accommodating aeroplanes, motor cars, bicycles and trains in their paintings. The forms of these motifs are so well imagined that they suit perfectly to the general compositions. This kind of adoptability is totally absent in the realm of folk and classical paintings. Apart from these paintings, there are also other paintings for the purpose of improving the fertility of the crops. These are made every year on the wall of a priest's house before the ceremonial bringing out of the seed for sowing. These paintings often depict agricultural operations, ploughman with bullocks ploughing the lands, pregnant woman, potter and his wife and gods seated on elephant.

* Sahibosum is in fact, the projection of a tribal Xenophobia in concrete form. He is the Sahib God but not the God of the Sahibs. He is the touring officer of the other world. The Tribal Art of Middle India, P. 123. by V. Elwin.



Saora Ikon

The Saura paintings are in the manner of silhouettes of solid white figures on redochre back-ground. These resemble the *jhoti*. But the thematic content of these motifs overpowers the decorative geometrical patterns of *jhoti*. In a Saura painting a human figure is formed either with a single triangle or with two opposed triangles which meet tip to tip. The same technique is followed in drawing animal figures. A horse is made with two opposed triangles similar to those for a human figure but turned on their sides. These basic human and animal forms are repeated in wood carvings on house doors, clay reliefs on the walls and combs of Juangs. Though these are in the framework of the general tribal art forms like those of Sauras, yet they are more linear and tend towards details with decorations composed of crisscross bands, and hatching lines.

The Kondh wall paintings of Ganjam and Koraput districts portray a different style in their execution. These paintings are done in honour of Bhimul-pennu* on walls and grain bins. Like the Saura paintings, the patterns in these paintings are guided by dreams. The elephant with a rider is also repeated in these paintings which symbolises the cult of fertility. Bhimul is also counted for the dead or such other allied deities for whom the painting is done. The adding of figures and changing new patterns for the old is done at the instance of Gods.

The Kondh wall paintings are very sketchy, the figures are less formal in comparison to Saura pictographs which seem to be more patterned. Sometimes the figures tend to be naturalistic and at times far from general patterns of tribal art.

The Santals also paint their houses. But these paintings are in the nature of decorations only, which are depicted through a few figurative pattern. Tribal wall paintings are distributed throughout the state of Orissa. Though their style differs yet there is a common pattern of picture making which resemblance the paintings by the Gonds, Pradhans, Sauras and the Kondhs.

The tribal art of painting has a rich and continuous tradition of thousands of years. We are surprised to see the remarkable continuity of style and tradition in the Saura paintings of

* Bhimul Pennu is linked with the mighty hero of Mahabharat. He is worshipped as the giver of fertility and rain by the Kondhs.

today found in Koraput and Ganjam Districts. These can be compared with the materials collected and published by Verrier Elwin some thirty years back. The painting style has been very successfully followed through these years because these are not based on craftsmanship of a particular class but on the belief of a tribe who pursue the forms in paintings scrupulously for fear of losing good will of the spirit propitiated. To some extent, the survival of these paintings can be attributed to their involvement with institutions, such as the cult of dead cult of fertility etc.



TRIBAL DANCES OF ORISSA

Priyambada Mohanty

Tribal dances usually take their names after the tribes that perform them. The primary impulse of tribal dance is *rhythm*. The women usually dance, men participating in a few, but the accompanying music is invariably provided by the men. Nearly more than a quarter of Orissa's population belong to 62 tribal groups, each with distinct customs and dialect. Dance and music amongst these people are part of their life, sometimes spontaneous and sometimes a part of the ritual for propitiating Gods through festivals. Since the majority of the participants are unmarried girls and boys, dance amongst the tribes is also an art for wooing a mate.

GADABA :

The popular dance of the tribes of Koraput district, is performed during festivals like *Dushera*, *Pausa Purnima*, *Chaitra parva* and *Gater* festival. Dressed in their keranga sarees, large round ear-rings almost touching the shoulder and their unique hair style; the Gadaba women bend forward and move back and forth with light footed steppings using their heels, to the rhythm of music. The Gadaba women stand in a semi-circle with interlocked arms holding one another's waist. They move in remarkable precision their dance can best be described as a stylized walk starting in a slow tempo gradually building up into a fast sinuous movement. Occasionally they split into two groups to rejoin again. The music is provided by the men playing the drum (*Dhol*), *Tamak*, *Kiidi* and *Mahuri*.

GOND DANCE :

The Gonds of Koraput district dance throughout the year but also have special dances for special occasions. Both boys and girls participate in their dance. The male dancer wears colourful coat, turban adorned with *Kauris* and other decorations; the girls wear knee-high sarees, silver jewellery; and dance in circles. Both boys and girls sing and dance. Only boys play the musical instruments. They have peculiar instruments known as *Dudura* made of *dumuri* wood, *Mudri* a drum made of clay and *chitkuli* a type of small cymbals.

KONDH DANCE :

Only unmarried girls and boys participate in this dance. On special occasions, the girls dressed in their special attire, link arms and dance to the intricate drum beats. The movement of the group is

rather serpentine, the line of dancers coiling, uncoiling and swiftly moving away and therefore the kondhs are referred to as the "Snake dancers of Orissa". While the girls move in rows holding one another, the boys play the instruments in front or move around the line of girls. Some of the steppings are very sophisticated.

KOYA DANCE :

The Koyas are the dravidian speaking tribe of the Malkangiri subdivision of Koraput district. The Koyas dance during the Chaitra parva (March-April). The girls usually topless with heavy jewellery made up of beads, wear a cap on their head and strike the rhythm on the ground with sticks fitted with *Gujaris* (bells). A series of winding and unwinding circles are formed during the dance. The women interlink one another with the left hand and strike the ground with the *Gujaris* to the play of the drums. The manner in which the women take a step and then keep the rhythm by hitting the ground with the stick, is peculiar to the Koyas. They move three steps forward at an angle followed by three steps backward measured in such way that the line moves in circles. The male Koya drummers wear the spectacular head gear fitted with bison horns with strings of *Kowris* hanging in front. The large Koya drums (*Dula*) and the flute (*Wasad*), are the main accompanying musical instruments. Though, the drums are very impressive looking the rhythm follows rather simplistic patterns.

ORAON :

The dance of the Oraons of Sundergarh and Sambalpur districts, is performed in the *Akhada* ground. The boys and girls participate in the dance. The line of dancers go round and round headed by the leading dancers. Oraons have an impressive variety of dances where the girls sing in a high pitched voice. In the *Sarhul* the girls punctuate the dance by leaping off the ground at regular intervals.

PARAJA :

The Parajas are found in the hilltracts of Kalahandi and Koraput districts. They dance during the *Chaitra parva*, the dance often lasting from dusk to dawn. The boys play the



Changu dance of Juangs

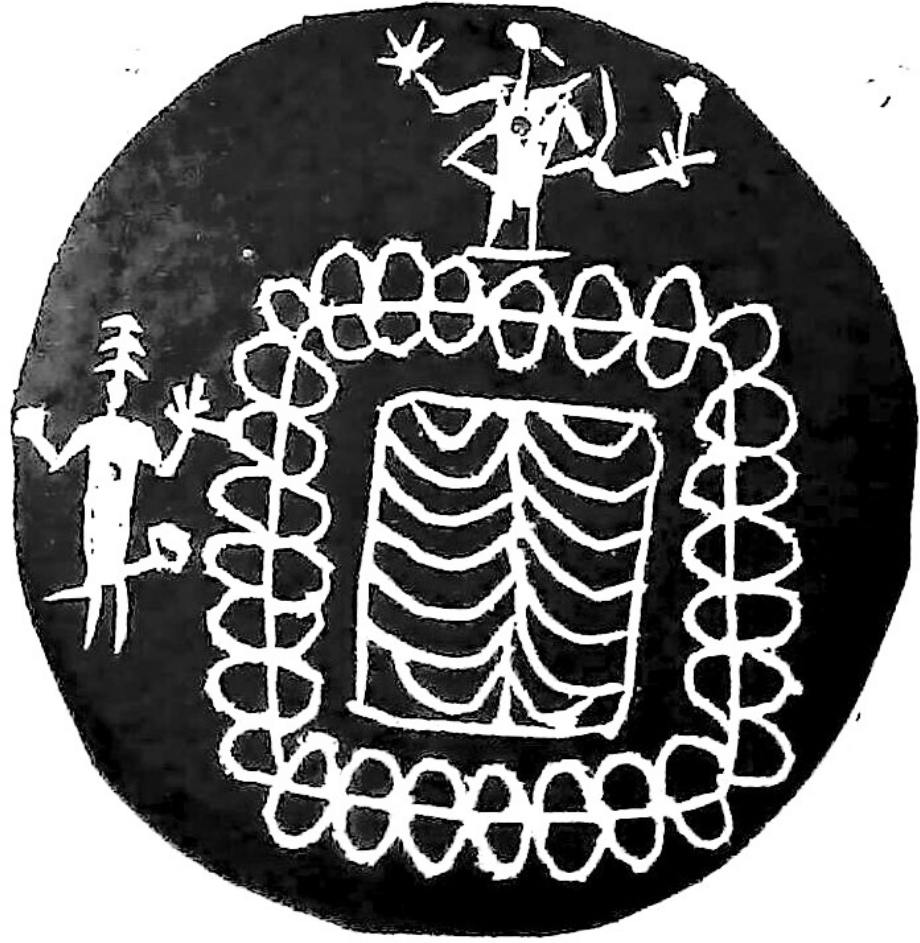
musical instruments. The girls wearing colourful hand woven sarrees, silver and brass jewellery ; hold one another interlocking their arms and move with a typical swing in a graceful formation. The leader of the group holds a bunch of peacock feathers in her right hand by which she keeps the rhythm. The dance starts with a stylized walk in a slow tempo ending in a fast moving climax. The music is provided by the drum, flute and the *Dudunga* the countrymade string instrument.

BONDA :

A most backward tribe, the Bonda inhabit the high hills to the north-west of the river, Machkund in Koraput district. Their dance is very informal affair having no particular rhythm or formation. The individuals mainly move as they go turning and twisting as they want.

SAURA :

The dance of Sauras is performed for the sheer pleasure of the performers. It can best be described as simplest in character without any form or rhythm. There does not seem to be any ordered steps. Prevalent among the Sauras of Ganjam and Koraput districts, it is a dance where the whole family-men, women and even children participate. The dancers in their casual attire, hold sticks, axes, drums and dance in the village streets. The dancers move forward and backward to the accompanying songs and music interspersed by jumps, turns and leaps of individuals.



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ଏହି ନିଗମ ଆଦିବାସୀ ଉପଯୋଗୀ ଅଞ୍ଚଳରେ ଆଦିବାସୀମାନଙ୍କୁ ଉତ୍ତମ କୃଷିକ୍ଷେତ୍ର ଦ୍ରବ୍ୟ ଓ ସେମାନଙ୍କ ଦ୍ୱାରା ସଂଗୃହିତ ହେଉଥିବା ନିମ୍ନଲିଖିତ ଜମି ବନଜାତ ଦ୍ରବ୍ୟ ନ୍ୟାୟୋଚିତ ମୂଲ୍ୟରେ ବିକ୍ରୟ କରିବା ପାଇଁ ସାହାଯ୍ୟ କରିଥାଏ ।

ଖାଦ୍ୟପୋଷାକ ତୈଳକୀକ :- ଖିରି, ଚିକା [ଅଳସୀ], ସୋରିଷ ଓ ଚିନାବାଦାମ ଇତ୍ୟାଦି ।

ଅନ୍ୟାନ୍ୟ ତୈଳକୀକ :- ଶାଳ, କରଞ୍ଜ, ବୁସୁମ, ମହୁଆ, ନିମ ପ୍ରଭୃତି ଗଛ ମଞ୍ଜି ।

ଖାଦ୍ୟ ଶସ୍ୟ :- ନାଣିଆ, ମକା, ଜହା ଇତ୍ୟାଦି ।

ଡାଲି କାଢ଼ୀୟ ଦ୍ରବ୍ୟ :- ବିରି, କାନ୍ଦୁଲ, କଟିଂ, ଗଜମା, ଝୁଡ଼ଙ୍ଗ, କୋଇଥ ଇତ୍ୟାଦି ।

ମସଲ କାଢ଼ୀୟ ଦ୍ରବ୍ୟ :- ହଳଦୀ, ଥରା, ଇକା, ତେଲୁକି ଇତ୍ୟାଦି ।

ଔଷଧ ଓ ରସାୟନ, ଶିଳ୍ପୋପଯୋଗୀ ଦ୍ରବ୍ୟ :- ଅଁଳା, ବାହାଡ଼ା, ହଡ଼ିଡ଼ା, କୋଡ଼ିଇ, ପାତାକଗୁଡ଼, ସୁନାରୀ ଛାଲି, ସିକାୟା, କାପୁ, ମରୁ, ପାକୂଅ ଇତ୍ୟାଦି ।

ଆଗ୍ରହୀ ବ୍ୟବସାୟୀ ଓ ବ୍ୟବସାୟ ଅନୁସାରେ ଏହି ନିଗମର ମୁଖ୍ୟ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟାଳୟ, ଭୁବନେଶ୍ୱର ତଥା ନିଗମର ବ୍ରହ୍ମପୁର, ସୁନାବେଡ଼ା ଓ କେଉଁଝରଝିତ ଆଞ୍ଚଳିକ ପରିଗ୍ରହକଙ୍କ ଦହିତ ସେ ଗାୟୋଗ କରିପାରନ୍ତି ।

ଉପରେ ଅନୁରୂପ ଅଞ୍ଚଳର ଆଦିବାସୀ ତଥା ଉତ୍ତମ ଖାତେ, ବ୍ୟବସାୟୀ ଓ ବିଭିନ୍ନ ବ୍ୟବସାୟ ପ୍ରତିଷ୍ଠାନମାନଙ୍କ ସେବାରେ ।

“ଓଡ଼ିଶା ଆଦିବାସୀ ଉନ୍ନୟନ ସମବାୟ ନିଗମ”

ଆପଣଙ୍କ ସେବାରେ ଓଡ଼ିଶା ବନ ନିଗମ ।

ଓଡ଼ିଶାର ପୁରପତ୍ନୀ ତଥା ବଣ ଜଙ୍ଗଲରେ ବାସ କରୁଥିବା ଅଧିବାସୀମାନଙ୍କୁ ମୁହଁମେଘ ଧନୀକ ଠିକାଦାର କବଳରୁ ମୁକ୍ତ କରି ଉଚିତ ପାରିଶ୍ରମିକ ଦେଇଆସିଛି ବାର୍ଦ୍ଧ 24 ବର୍ଷ ଧରି ।

ବନ୍ୟା, ବାତ୍ୟା, ଘରପୋଡ଼ି ଆଦି ଦୈବୀ ଦୁର୍ବିପାକବେଳେ ଗରିବ ନିଃସହାୟ ଲୋକଙ୍କୁ ଶସ୍ତା ସୁଲଭ ମୂଲ୍ୟରେ ବଲ୍‌ହା, ବାଉଁଶ, କାଠ ଇତ୍ୟାଦି ଗୁଣ୍ଠୋପକରଣ ଯାଗାର ଦେଉଅଛି ।

ଗରିବ ଓ ଆବାଦିସାଙ୍କଠାରୁ ସରକାରଙ୍କ ନିର୍ଦ୍ଧାରିତ ଦରରେ ପାତ ମଞ୍ଜି ସଂଗ୍ରହ କରି ଅନୁତପୂର୍ବ ପ୍ରଶଂସାସହ ଠିକାଦାରମାନଙ୍କ ଶୋଷଣରୁ ସେମାନଙ୍କୁ ମୁକ୍ତ କରିଅଛି ।

ଦିଗତ ପ୍ରକୟକରୀ ବନ୍ୟାରେ ନିର୍ଦ୍ଦିକ ହୋଇଥିବା ଦୁଇଟି ପ୍ରାମ କମାପାସନ ଓ ଗୋବିନ୍ଦପୁର, ନିଃସ ଗ୍ରାମବାସୀଙ୍କ ପାଇଁ ଆବର୍ଣ୍ଣ ଘର ତୋଟି ବାସରୂପ ଅଧିବାସୀମାନଙ୍କୁ ଅଭିଆନ ପାଇଁ ୧୦ ଲକ୍ଷ ଟଙ୍କାରୁ ଉର୍ଦ୍ଧ୍ୱ ଆର୍ଥିକ ସାହାଯ୍ୟ କରିଛି । ଚନ୍ଦନୁରୁପ ସମ୍ଭଳପୁର ବାତ୍ୟା ବିଧ୍ୱସ୍ତ ଅଞ୍ଚଳରେ କାଷ୍ଠ ସାମଗ୍ରୀ ଓ ବାଉଁଶ ସାହାଯ୍ୟ ସର୍ବ ନିମ୍ନ ଦରରେ କରିଛି ।

ନିତ୍ୟ ବ୍ୟବହାରୀ କାଷୋପକରଣ ଓ ଶିବ ଉପଯୋଗୀ କାଠ ଉଚିତ ଦରରେ ଯୋଗାଇ ଜନସମାଜର ଅଶେଷ କଲ୍ୟାଣ କରୁଅଛି ।

କେନ୍ଦ୍ର ତଥା ରାଜ୍ୟ ସରକାରଙ୍କ ଆୟକର, ବିଜ୍ରାକର ଓ ଶକ୍ତସର ବିଶେଷ ରୂର୍ଦ୍ଧି ଘଟାଇପାରିଛି ।

କାଲେଣି କାଠର ଅଭବ ପୁରଣ ପାଇଁ 450ଟି ସୁଲଭ କାଟ କାଠଜୋର ଖୋଲିଅଛି । କାଟ କାଠ ଡିପୋମାନଙ୍କରେ 'ସ୍ତ୍ରୀୟାର୍ତ୍ତ' ତୁରୁ ବିଜ୍ରା କରିବା ଦ୍ୱାରା କାଲେଣି ଖର୍ଚ୍ଚ କମିପାଇଛି । ବୃଷଭେପଣ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟକ୍ରମ ହାତକୁ ନେଇଛି ।

ଭରତୀୟ ରେଳପଥ ପାଇଁ ଉଚିତ ଧରଣର ସ୍ୱିପର ଯୋଗାଇ ଟେକ ଲନ୍ଦନ୍ ପ୍ରସାର ଦିଗରେ ସମର୍ଥ ହୋଇଛି ।

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ବିଶେଷରେ ଓଡ଼ିଶାର ଗରିବ ଆଦିବାସୀମାନଙ୍କୁ କର୍ମଯୋଗାଣ ଓ ଶ୍ରମସଂସ୍ଥାନ କରିପାରିଛି ।

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ସ୍ଥାପିତ-1962

(ଓଡ଼ିଶା ସରକାରଙ୍କ ଏକ ସଂସ୍ଥା)

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ଓଡ଼ିଶା



।। विविध ।।

वसना

