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ACADEMY OF TRIBAL DIALECTS & CULTURE

WELFARE DEPARTMENT, GOVT. OF ORISSA

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BANAJA

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EDITORIAL

'Banaja' is the mouthpiece of Academy of Tribal Dialects & Culture. It took birth in the shape of a Souvenir released on the occasion of Annual Adivasi Exhibition in the year 1989. Considering its importance in the field of applied social research for promotion and transformation of tribals of this state and their cultures, there is a proposal to bring it out periodically as a research journal.

This issue of 'Banaja' is being released as a research journal, not as a Souvenir of Annual Adivasi Exhibition. In fact it was scheduled to be released as a Souvenir for the Annual Adivasi Exhibition, 1995 but could not, since the Exhibition was cancelled.

In this issue fifteen articles reflecting various aspects of tribal cultures of which twelve are in English and three are in Oriya, have been incorporated. Senior and leading Anthropologists, Educationist, Linguists, Social Activists, Writers and Men of Letters have contributed these articles.

Scholarly articles of Anthropologists namely Dr. N. Patnaik, Prof. L. K. Mahapatra Prof. N.K. Behura, Prof K.K. Mohanti, Prof. P.K. Nayak, Dr. A.C. Sahoo and Shri S.C. Mohanty dealing with various dimensions of tribal cultures, their problems and prospects have adorned the pages of Banaja. Dr. N. Patnaik's article on Ethnic Tourism in Orissa have opened the door to a new emerging concept and prospects for promotion of tourism into the unexplored wonderland of exotic and colourful tribes and their picturesque habitats which will be an expedition to the "splendourous bounties of Nature, Panorama of social life and culture and achievements of its people in art and architecture". Prof. L. K. Mohapatra's paper on the indigenous diagnostic, curative and hygienic practices of the Pauri Bhuiyan of Bonai is only a leaf from his large volume of research materials on the primitive tribal group. Prof. N. K. Behura in his thought provoking paper on the 'problems of Tribal Education' have thrown light on various visible and invisible barriers against spread of education among the tribals of Orissa and have recommended for awareness building flexible educational system, vocational training, residential schools and teaching through tribal dialects at the primary level so as to make education socially relevant, useful as well as attractive and acceptable to the tribal students. Prof. K. K. Mohanti's paper in Oriya on the fundamental concepts and the world views of the tribals as "the way a people looks out on the Universe" and as "the insiders total vision and conception of everything" is a scholarly analysis and synthesis of the ideas of Robert Redfield and other Anthropologists. Prof. P. K. Nayak's comparative elementary structure of beauty and love of the Bonda and the Dongria Kondh, is a brilliant cross-cultural study on the aesthetic lives of two primitive tribal groups of Southern Orissa. In Dr A.C. Sahoo's paper the need for establishing a tribal museum in Orissa comes to the forefront. But this museum should not be a conventional museum but a "Cultural Centre for Traditional and Contemporary Performing and Visual Arts".

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ପରମାନନ୍ଦ ପଟ୍ଟେକ

PROBLEMS IN TRIBAL EDUCATION - WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO ORISSA

N. K. BEHURA

INTRODUCTION :

Education is instructional communication of special knowledge and communication is mutually shared verbal and symbolic behaviour. In human societies communication takes place through the medium of language, which is a unique possession and ingenious device of man. Through communication socio-cultural life is acquired, shared and transmitted to the in-coming members of the society. Thus language is a "part product and vehicle of culture". Language facilitates sending and receipt of messages in codified form, as well as teaching and learning processes. In literate societies knowledge is also imparted and shared through written literature. Thus the literate societies are in an advantageous position as regards recording of knowledge for its dissemination and proliferation. The non-literate societies lack this advantage. The non-literate societies are otherwise known as "tribes". In the Constitution of India they are referred to as Scheduled Tribes. The word "tribe" has not been defined anywhere in the Constitution of India. But it has been stated in Article 342 that the Scheduled Tribes are "tribes or the tribal communities or parts of or groups within tribes or tribal communities which shall for the purposes of this Constitution be deemed to be Scheduled Tribes in relation to that State". From one estimate there are 427 distinct Scheduled Tribe communities in the country. However, when the Statewise list of Scheduled Tribe communities is computed the aggregate may add upto more than 600 groups. The total tribal

population in the country as per 1991 census is 67,758,380 ; and out of this 5,007,354 only live in urban areas, and the rest reside in rural areas.

Scheduled Tribe communities, by and large, are economically and educationally backward than the general communities. All the tribal communities are not on the same socio-economic level also. They are at varying stages of the general techno-economic parameter. At one end there are economically and educationally advanced communities like the Mina, Bhil, Khasi, Mizo, Naga, Garo, Bodo, Santal, Munda, Ho and Oraon, and at the other end, several primitive groups, like the Onga, Jarwa, Sentinelese, Bonda, Juang, Lanjia Saora, Birhor and many others are there, who are still at the hunting, fishing and gathering stage. Government of India have identified 74 primitive tribal communities, spread out in 17 TSP States and 2 Union Territories for preparing specific micro plans for each them, and they are being attended to.

The prerogative for their economic and educational development in free India ensues from Article 46 of the Constitution of India which states that : "The State shall promote with special care the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people, and in particular, of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, and shall protect them from social justice and all forms of exploitation".

All the tribal communities of the country ethnolinguistically are classifiable into four broad categories, namely (i) Indo-Aryan, (ii) Austro-asiatic, (iii) Tibeto-Burmese, and (iv) Dravidian. Speeches of the tribal communities belonging to Austro-asiatic, Tibeto-Burmese and Dravidian language families are genetically definable as autonomous. In other words each of the tribal communities of these language families has a separate language of its own, whereas the languages of the tribal communities of the Indo-Aryan language family are not autonomous. Their speeches have affinities with the regional Indo-Aryan literary languages of their respective regions. Therefore, students of these tribal communities have a relative advantage over those tribal students whose mother-tongues are autonomous, at the initial learning stages in schools.

THE ORISSA SITUATION :

In Orissa there are 62 Scheduled tribes, and out of this 12 communities, namely, Lodha, Kharia, Mankirdia, Juang, Pauri Bhuiyan, Bonda, Dongria Kondha, Kutia Kondha, Lanjia Saura, Soura, Didayi and Birhor have been identified as primitive. There are also some advanced tribal communities in the State, such as Santal, Ho, Munda, Bhumija, Kondha, Bhuiyan, Bathudi, Oraon, Kisan and Gond.

The total tribal population of the States is 7,032,214 as per 1991 census, and out of this only 361,708 live in urban areas and the rest reside in rural areas. All the 62 Scheduled tribe communities of the State are classifiable into three categories, namely (i) Indo-Aryan, (ii) Austro-asiatic (Mundari) and (iii) Dravidian. The speeches of the tribal communities of the Indo-Aryan category are the variant dialects of the regional language ; whereas each of the tribal communities of the other two categories has its distinctive

speech. The Tibeto-Burmese language family is absent in Orissa.

The provision of universal elementary education has all along been conceived as an integral part of the national system of education in India. The prevailing model of education, a legacy of nineteenth century elitism, begins with a single point entry, sequential and full-time process of institutional instructions provided by professional and full-time teachers in the schools and colleges.

In order to eliminate the upper class bias various alternative paradigms had been suggested from time to time to universalise primary education for all children in the age group of 6 to 10. But no serious thought has been paid to any one of them. For effective integration of the masses with the classes the Education Commission (1964-66) recommended adoption of "neighbourhood school" concept at the primary and later at the secondary stage. It also contemplated of multiple entry system and of non-formal education through part-time courses and self-study. The implementation of this system is still lackadaisical.

The Constitution came into operation in 1950. Article 45 of the Constitution states that the State shall endeavour to provide for free and compulsory education for all children until they complete the age of 14 years. This has no doubt been given a trial. But there is a lot more to be done. Primary education continues to be prominent among the neglected sectors. It continues over the years in a humdrum routine manner. Alongwith the growth of literacy rate in the country the number of illiterates is also constantly rising. India is said to be entering the 21st Century with the maximum number of illiterates in the world.

Literacy is an essential feature of human dignity and self-image, a window to the world of knowledge around and a prelude to modernisation. Literacy has been defined in the census enumeration as the 'ability to read and write a letter with understanding denoting formal schooling at least upto the primary level'. But this test is seldom applied to persons claiming literate status. Literacy is also often equated with the ability to sign one's name. However, literacy bestows glory and self-esteem on a person.

There is a wide difference between the national literacy rate and the literacy rate of the Scheduled tribes of the country. As per 1981 census the percentage of literacy among the Scheduled tribe population was 16.35 as against the national literacy rate of 36.23. The percentage of tribal women was dismal, which is 8.04 per cent as against 24.52 for tribal men. Another difference was also noticed in respect of the literacy rate of urban and rural tribal women. The percentage of literacy among the rural tribal women was 6.82, whereas among the urban tribal women it was 27.32 per cent.

When one examines the State level percentage of literacy of Orissa with that of the Scheduled Tribes in the State a similar difference emerges. According to 1981 census the percentage of literacy of the Scheduled Tribes was 13.96 as against the State literacy rate of 34.75. The literacy rate of Scheduled Tribe men was 23.27 as against 47.10 for men in the State. Likewise, the percentage of literacy of tribal women was 4.78 as against 21.12 for women of the State. However, these are effective literacy rates and refer to the population which is in the age group of seven years and above.

Low level of literacy and educational backwardness among the tribal communities are

due to (i) acute indigence of the tribal people, (ii) want of positive motivation for education, (iii) lack of adequate educational infrastructure in their neighbourhood, and (iv) deficient communication system.

Over the years the number educational institutions have increased in tribal areas, but these are still inadequate, because the number of students seeking enrolment in schools is constantly increasing. The present position of educational institutions provided by the welfare Department of the State Government to facilitate education of tribal students is as follows :-

| | |
|---|--------|
| Sevashrams (Primary Schools) | : 1032 |
| Residential Sevashrams (Primary Schools) | : 106 |
| Ashram School (Middle Schools) | : 101 |
| For Boys | : 73 |
| For Girls | : 28 |
| Higher Secondary Schools | : 174 |
| For Boys | : 130 |
| For Girls | : 44 |

The total number of Sevashrams/Primary Schools is 1138, which means that for every 6000 tribal population there is one such school in the State of Orissa. But since tribal habitats are dispersed there should be at least one such school for every 5000 population, and thus there should be 1400 Sevashrams/Primary Schools.

From one study it has been found out that about 50.47 per cent of tribal children in the age group of 6 to 14 years do not enrol in any school (Nayak, 1980:46). The incidence of non-enrolment among the tribal girls is comparatively higher than among the boys in the same age group. The percentage of non-enrolment among the tribal girls is 63.01 per cent (ibid p. 47).

A similar trend has been observed in respect of dropouts of tribal children. About 17.79 per cent of the total enrolled tribal children in the age group of 6 to 14th years discontinue their studies before the successful completion of their respective grades/classes (ibid, p. 47). Besides, there is seasonal absenteeism or non-attendance by the students in the same age group. Attendance in the schools is low during the period from December to April, than the period from August to November. During the former period most of the tribal rituals and festivals are observed, which impel some of the students to stay back at home, and during the latter period there is general scarcity of food at home. Therefore, efforts should be made to ensure reasonable attendance of those students who enroll for study.

There are some remote tribal pockets in the districts of Nawapara, Kalahandi, Nowrangpur, Malkangiri, Koraput, Rayagada, Gajapati, Phulbani, Keonjhar and Mayurbhanj, which continue to remain unaffected by the general literacy programme of the country. It is, therefore, necessary to make special approach for these problem areas and groups. By designing special schemes it is possible to help the primitive / sub-marginal groups to attain a reasonable level of economic and educational development. In order to achieve this, micro-level planning is essential as the problems of one group / micro-region varies from another. Education among the tribal communities should be given highest priority for the simple reason that it holds the key to socio-economic development.

There is bewilderment in tribal development because the Government Administrative Machinery is an impersonal omnibus. Administration always lays stress on the fulfilment of financial and physical targets. In other words development is measured in terms of

money spent. Development signifies both quantitative and qualitative achievement. For realisation of this objective, development priorities, strategies and Implementation modalities should be tailored to the special problems, situations and felt needs of the tribal beneficiaries. There are certain constraints in the educational process of tribal children and these must be obviated. What is true of Orissa is also true for rest of the Country.

THE CONSTRAINTS :

There are certain fundamental constraints in the process of educational development of the Scheduled Tribe communities apart from those that have been mentioned above. These are (i) inappropriate medium of instruction in the lower classes (ii) imperfect teacher-pupil communication (communication barrier) in the lower classes, (iii) unsuitable curricula and text books for lower classes and (iv) incompatible formal school environment. However, abject indigence is the most important constraint in the educational development of some tribal communities.

The Scheduled Tribes, particularly the primitive groups lack income—generating durable assets, and hence suffer from abject poverty and multiple deprivations. Though anti-poverty programmes like IRDP and ERRP are in operation along with JRY with a view to pushing 50 per cent of the tribal families above the poverty line, the achievement is deplorable, because the poverty line has been raised to Rs. 11,000/- per annum. When there is no food at home, a tribal child has to assist its parents in food quest as well as in domestic chores in several ways. Moreover, in such families children are always under-fed or ill-fed, under such a stark situation how can a tribal child be expected to mind its studies? Therefore, in order to attract tribal children for

schooling only residential schools should be set up in the tribal areas, so that the number of enrolment of tribal children can be increased and drop-outs can be checked.

Language is a major barrier in the initial schooling stage of tribal children. Tribal children are monolinguals. They only know their respective mother tongues. When they are admitted into the Primary Schools they get dumbfounded initially as they fail to communicate with their teachers, who too lack the knowledge of the language of their pupils. Students of one tribal community are also unable to communicate with their peers belonging to other tribal communities. Thus when there is a gap of communication between the educants and their teacher, instruction becomes unsuccessful. A child's cognitive frame is in tune with its mother tongue, culture and physical environment. And therefore, when instructional communication is done at the pre-primary stage in a language other than that of the educant, then what is the quantum of receptivity is anyone's guess. Language is a visible identifier of successful schooling. Hence a teacher must necessarily learn the language of his pupils so as to make the teaching meaningful and successful at the pre-primary and primary stages. In the present system of primary education a tribal child remains in physically, culturally, linguistically and psychologically disadvantaged position. The teacher seldom appreciates the cultural values of his pupils. A tribal child cannot be expected to be multilingual and multicultural, though a multilingual person is better equipped and a multicultural person is better educated.

Language is a tangled problem in a multi-ethnic and plural society. In order to reduce the magnitude of dropecutes stagnation and wastage in pre-primary and primary education of tribal children the three language formula

should be strictly adopted. At the Pre-primary and primary stage (upto third standard) a tribal child has to be taught in its mother tongue only. Text-books for the pre-primary and primary classes should be prepared in tribal languages exclusively using the scripts of the regional language. As a result of the rise of minority consciousness, in Orissa Santal, Saora, Ho and Kondha elites have evolved *Ojchiki*, *Sompen Warrang chiti* and *Kul* scripts for their own languages respectively. Adoption of tribal scripts should not be encouraged, because that is likely to create more confusion and make the problem unwieldy. After the lower primary stage the tribal child has to be introduced to the regional language, which is generally the medium of instruction and examination at the Secondary, Higher Secondary and University levels of education. Thus it is a essential and inevitable to introduce a bilingual-transfer model at the Upper Primary stage in order to overcome the instructional communication barrier. At the Secondary stage the student has to operate through the medium of regional language only and Hindi and English will remain as subsidiary or supplementary languages. This is an academic strategy likely to serve better the educational purpose of tribal children better, whose mother tongues are different from that of the school language or medium of instruction. The transfer model aims at a smooth change over to the school language by the end of the Primary stage. This proposition assumes that the linguistic wealth of the child must be fully used in the class room in the interest of tribal children as well as in the context of successful education. It envisages a time-bound gradual transfer to the school language from the linguistic repertoire of the native tribal children.

In order to make Primary education successful, text books need be prepared in the language of major tribal communities using the scripts of the regional language. The

general primers and text-books are being written in the regional languages now by the non tribal authors, who lack comprehensive knowledge about tribal societies and cultures. They incorporate such subject matter in the primers which are beyond the pale of imagination and comprehension of average tribal children. Such materials need be incorporated in the text books which would be more perspicacious for tribal students. The authors require to be educated first about the ecosystem, flora and fauna of tribal habitats as well as about the tribal cultures and languages before embarking upon the task of preparing primers for tribal children. It is necessary to promote a special class of text book writers for pre-primary and primary tribal students.

The home environment of a tribal child is natural, picturesque, serene and delightful. whereas the school atmosphere is formal, impersonal, serious and time-bound. The glamour of environment for a tribal child is so strong that right from infancy it remains submerged and inebriated in the splendour and vehemence of its vastness and beauty. While growing up, a tribal child becomes an inextricable part of its sedate and quiet habitat, and gradually gets acquainted with the sleepy hillocks, undulating plateaus, rolling, ridges girdled by chains of tortuous streams and rivulets and the medley of flora and fauna in the labyrinth of the verdant forest. The tribal child, living along with its parents, kins and neighbours in the village is gradually exposed to the total environment around, and his knowledge about the elements of its environment steadily increases and it develops an intimate relationship with the world around.

In order to attract tribal children to schools, the environment and atmosphere of primary schools be made informal, homely and compatible. Now when a tribal child comes

to a school for the first time, he finds himself in an altogether different world. He is separated from his family members and peers for specific periods, and on the other hand is subjected to the discipline of the school. He resents and sometime revolts against the curtailment of his natural freedom and 'happy life'. Initially he gets perplexed and loses his normal composure; and thus he remains in search of an opportunity to run away from the School.

The incidence of non-enrolment and absenteeism is high among the tribes for two important reasons; firstly, there is acute poverty, and second there is lack of parental motivation. Hunger wipes out the urge for education. A hungry child cannot be expected to go to a school for study. Tribal parents are negatively motivated towards the present system of education. They say that there is no certainty that their children will do well in studies, and even if they do well, there is no job security. They also say that the present system of education alienates one from honest labour. It infuses false vanity into the mind of an educant; and as a result, he/she refrains from manual work. Tribal parents, particularly the unlettered ones, have no aspiration to educate their children, when they find educated youths, in their communities, are unemployed, who have become liabilities for their respective families.

In recent years, consciousness of ethnic identity and awareness of minority status have been growing among some advanced tribal communities. They are forming political pressure group of project their real or putative problems and plights, such as poverty, illiteracy, linguistic barrier and political exploitation etc. They claim that they are disadvantaged as they do not possess the literary background, general attributes and skills of the majority groups, and are thus distanced from the

sources of power and status in the country. therefore, in order to promote a socio-economically integrated healthy society in the country, tribal communities, who constitute the weaker section along with some others, will have to be elevated both economically and educationally.

In order to overcome the problems of non-enrolment, drop outs and stagnation among the tribal students the following measures may be given a fair trial. These problems are not peculiar to the tribal communities of Orissa. These are the common problems in tribal education in the country too. Thus the following suggestions are relevant for most of the tribal communities.

(i) Special attention should be given to extreme low literacy tribal pockets, and certain flexible institutional forms be adopted, such as pre-primary residential sub-schools; (ii) Non formal and adult education centres be opened in every tribal village. Such centres should also cater information (should function as mass communication sub centres) to

generate general awareness among the tribal masses: (iii) There should be more emphasis on vocational training at the middle school and higher secondary education stages; (iv) Sports and games should be made an important part of the curriculum, and suitable playgrounds be constructed in tribal areas; and (v) School timings, weekly holidays, vacations and school environment should be tuned to the on going socio cultural life of the tribal community/communities of the area. And teachers having the knowledge of the language of their students and having the required aptitude to dedicate themselves to the cause of tribal education be posted in tribal areas. All pre-primary and primary schools be converted to residential types in tribal areas.

Education should be made socially relevant. When the general curriculum carries no relevance, it has to be designed in the light of society's needs. Development should not be measured in terms of the volume of money spent or invested. Both quantitative and qualitative development should be envisaged.

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TREATMENT OF DISEASES AND SANITATION AMONG THE PĀUṚI BHUIYĀN OF BONAI

L. K. Mahapatra

The Pāuṛi Bhuiyān are one of the 12 primitive tribal groups among the scheduled tribes of Orissa. Their specific population is not available, as they are subsumed in the Bhuiyān category in general. However, they are found in villages after villages in Bonai, Keonjhar, Pal Lahara and Bamanda ex-princely states, which had contiguous hills and plateaux in Orissa's present districts of Sundargarh, Deogarh, Anugul and Kendujhar. This people was studied by me in 1953-54 in Bonai's interior region of Mahulpada. Tasra village, where I camped, was a village on the hill less than 2000 feet in height, 6 kilometers east of Mahulpada. I was familiar with 12 old villages around Mahulpada besides the rehabilitation settlements for the swiddeners from the hills in Daleisara and Dhokamunda colonies.

General Observations :

Pāuṛi Bhuiyān women play crucial role in collection of forest produce, whether for food and nutrition, or for fuel, or for treating diseases with herbal medicines. Various roots, tubers, yams and taro, plums & berries, fruits, edible flowers and leaves, as also oilseeds are collected from the forest. Women and children collect eggs of jungle fowl, peafowl, and some other birds from their nests. Drinking and water for cooking is carried by women from the water-springs with great difficulty from a distance of

half a kilometer up and down and hill. Through only a few activities are sex-bound the division of work falls heavily on women and girls. Headloads of fuel wood are carried by women from the swiddens or fallow bush jungle. Women are exclusively entrusted with husking grains, planting seeds, or pieces of taro in swiddens, cultivating turmeric in gardens, cracking 'dhunk' bean-pods, weaving mattresses, making inspissated mango juice, and worshipping some spirits and deities. Overwhelmingly the women prepare food, rear children, keep the house, collect millets, vegetables etc. from swiddens, cut bushes and undergrowth and tread 'jatangi' and mustard oilseeds and millets, clean cattleshed, and take care of goats and fowl and carry dung manure to the maize garden for upland cultivation. For children they have to learn about many simple herbal medicines and treat them in the first instance.

The Pāuṛi Bhuiyān are noted for their endurance. They will not mind a moderately high fever, common cold or small open cuts, till they cannot work or the gangrene sets in a cut, or the common cold or fever persists. The yaws, which is rampant in the hills, does not bother them till they cannot walk or work. However, they are by contrast very quick in attending to the ailments of infants and small children, as of the cattle.

1. Causes of Diseases

We may divide them under the following categories : (a) Natural ; Possession

or Intrusion by (b) deities or 'deotā', by (c) spirits; (d) Punishment for sacrilege, (e) Sorcery or 'Pāngan-nāshan', or simply 'pāngan'.

(a) Natural Causes

Firstly, we must note that there is a conception of 'hot', and "cold" effects of material objects, especially of different kinds of food. Whether, water and wind also affect the body and cause fever, common cold and cough. Yaws is believed to be originating from the intestines and ultimately being exposed on the soles of feet. Fracture of bones and cuts are referred to their obvious natural causes. Some people complain of stomach disorders because of taking native beer. Indigestion, constipation, and diarrhoea are similarly explained in reference to food.

(b) Deities or 'Deotā' as Cause

Deities of various powers and nature are held responsible for a large number of diseases.

i) The weakest deity seems to be the one causing joint aches, called 'sandhibindhā deotā'. From back muscles, the nape of the neck, shoulder joints down to the stomach level aches are mobile, and one patient feared that the 'deotā' might have gone inside the chest and stopped the heart-beat.

DIVINATION :

In a sudden attack, say, of blood dysentery, or persistent fever, dysentery, blood in phlegm, etc., or malignant boils,

gangrenous wound, or repeated outbreak of fever with the same symptoms in about the same month in consecutive years, the cause is sought to be divined by professional diviners, called 'saguniā'. They divine with a length of 'Chana' grass. They can deduce there from if a deity or a spirit or scrcery had been the cause of an affliction.

In serious cases affecting the village well-being, like epidemics of cholera, pox and measles, or of livestock diseases, a recourse is taken to what is known as spirit-possession; actually a person is possessed by some deities who announce through the medium who they are and what will satisfy them if they are not to plague the village any more. Those who sway under such possession are known as 'Bāru.

- ii) 'Bāuti'—This deity is responsible for numerous superficial lesions on the legs or head, leading to death, if not appeased.
- iii) 'Paghurā'—This deity consumes from within the body, as in a case of persistent occurrence of blood in phlegm, or in case of persistent fever of a child. This deity is often mentioned with 'Tunuā', a spirit.
- iv) 'Deurā-Kācuni'—'Deurā' is the younger brother of 'Paghurā' and is always named with 'Kācuni'. They also consume the patient from within. A case of accidental cut growing gangrenous was attributed to them.

- v) 'Hingulāi'—This Hindu goddess is responsible for cholera, pox, measles ('gundi'), and persistent constipation ('shulā maidān').
- vi) 'Bishri Thākuranī'—This Hindu goddess usually appears in dream. She causes epidemics of cattle, and certain human diseases and even epidemics like cholera.
- iv) Ancestral spirits.—A baby did not take mother's milk on the first day and even in the morning of the second day. But in the evening of the first day (note how urgently steps were taken), it was divined that the father's father had possessed him.

(d) Punishment for sacrilege

Besides, in one case astrological explanation of broncho-pneumonia inflicted by 'Sani' or Saturn was borrowed from the Hindu and the Gond in the valley.

(c) Spirits

- i) 'Mashani Bhuta'—The "spirit of the grave" (the spirit of death ?) is the most harmful one. It caused a child to be unconscious, not blinking the eyelids, and not taking food or milk for many days, persistent fever in the same month for three consecutive years, and serious troubles in a carrying woman.

There is a 'Rākās' or demon in the 'Jari' tree near the water-pool in Upar Tasrā. Once in the old days a villager had cleaned the earthen cooking pot in water, which is strongly forbidden as a sacrilege. Before the villager had crossed the adjacent maize garden he was vomiting blood. Immediately, however, the demon was pacified by worshipping him and ritually purifying the water with turmeric and sun-dried rice. Then the patient recovered.

Sacrilege and neglect of deities and ancestral spirits are also punished with sickness or epidemics.

(e) Sorcery

- ii) 'Curuni' is the spirit of a woman died in pregnancy. She causes especial harm to pregnant women and babies.
- iii) 'Tunua' is alleged to be a 'Pitāsuni' that is, the spirit of a deceased maiden. But it is also said to be the spirit of one who has died vomiting blood. It is taken as the cause of still-birth by "eating" the embryo. But it is most often associated with 'Paghurā' deity. Goats are also affected by this spirit.

Some actual cases of suspected and "proved" sorcery are recounted below to give a vivid picture of the atmosphere of the belief. The Pāuṛi Bhuiyañ women are feared in the valley for their sorcery. But some Tasrā villagers themselves opined that 'Khāḍiā' tribal women are the most powerful, then come the Gond and Casā women in the plains, and the Pauri women are relatively less harmful or powerful. In Tasrā there are at least three former 'Pāngani' or Sorceresses, all of whom

were driven out of their husband's villages. Khaḍkā, a settled village of Pūṣi Bhuiyān in Pal Lahara, had at least 2 sorceresses and 2 sorcerers who were driven out and were accepted in Taṣṭā in the recent past, to the intense private criticism of many villagers. The Headman and his second wife are feared and hated intensely as committing sorcery. But the drivenout sorceresses are considered as only potentially dangerous. Sorcery has to be learnt from old practitioners. But I have not studied this aspect. They usually utter some spells at the sight of objects to be affected or send some deities or spirits, like 'Deurā-Kacuṣi' to inflict an ailment. It is believed by some that sorcery hastens death in 4-6 days, when the individual's fixed life-span ('Āisa' from Sanskrit Āyus) is nearing its end.

- i) A priest of Ladudih, adjacent to Taṣṭā on Pal Lahara side, had a cut from the iron plough-share in the right leg above the ankle. Afterwards it became gangrenous and showed an exposed part above the ankle. This was unusual and sorcery was readily suspected. Three medicine-men-cum-diviner or 'Rāulā', of a higher order than 'Sagunia' referred to above, independently named a sorceress, a widow. The woman was later driven out of the village and was admitted into Upar Taṣṭā in 1954.
- ii) A sorcerer had directed his evil-eye by uttering spells to himself against a man eating rice. The latter suffered from blood-dysentery so much so that he had to make a pit in the house for passing stool, as he was too much weakened to be able to go outside. It was ascertained that sorcery was committed.
- iii) In a case of 'Ganthi-bathā' or rheumatism (repeated attacks) in adulthood after one in the childhood, a 'Rāuḷia' was consulted and he divined with 'Chana' grass that somebody had committed sorcery. Recourse to sorcery-explanation was taken in the third-stage. In the first instance he took some herbal medicine and was not satisfied. Then some medicine-pills from a Hindu merchant was taken along with the powder or 'khai' (fluffy roasted rice) from black paddy and it had worked.
- iv) An important 'Māṭiāji' man, Member of the Grām Panchāyat of Mahul-padā region as a representative of Taṣṭā, had recently died of perhaps bronchopneumonia. When he was not being cured for a long time, before his death, sorcery was suspected as committed by his rival, the Headman, living in the other Hamlet. They had old grudges, it appears, and the Headman, was alleged to be jealous of the popularity and external connections with powerful officials, which the Member had through his office. After his death it was ascertained

- that the Headman and committed sorcery. But fearing his sorcery and position no action was taken against him. This sorcery would have also worked against the lives of two sons of the deceased, if it was not counter-acted soon after the death. A son of the deceased attributed to sorcery even the fact that the paddy that year had dried up the in seed.
- v) and (vi) Once this sorcery was "established", other men of the hamlet immediately pointed to the same Headman's sorcery for the same type of cold and coughing with rapid short breathing ('dhain'). The Headman had once asked for a youngman to be 'Haliā' or hired labourer for a year. His father's brother and guardian had objected to it 2-3 years ago. In 1954, when the above-mentioned Member died, he was again requested for the youngman and he refused again. This youngman had suffered from malarial fever in 1953 January-February, and again in 1954 at about the same time. Thus it was obvious now that the Headman had directed his evil powers against the youngman. A 'Māṭiāji' priest householder also suspected the Headman of directing sorcery at him, because he had the same ailment, on the basis of superficial symptoms, as the Member had succumbed to. In the former case some steps were taken to avert sorcery.
- vii) The Headman's son-in-law called his mother-in-law names in a domestic quarrel by addressing her as 'wife's sister hundred times my wife's sister', a vile form of abuse. So it was believed by men in the other hamlet that the mother-in-law must have inflicted him with sorcery; otherwise, why could he be unable to walk at that time? I do not think anything was done about the alleged sorcery.
- viii) A woman was showing me her right leg which was swollen at the place where once there was a wound. She said she was bewitched and therefore the wound did not heal up properly. When I asked her wherefrom the sorceress came, she replied to me pointedly, 'From this village; why should one of another village bewitch me?' She had, however, not consulted a diviner-cum-medicineman.
- ix) The Headman's sorcery was also suspected in stopping the bloodmarks of an escaping 'sambar', which was hurt by a marksman of Lower Taṣṭā. The quarrel arose on the point that the Lower Taṣṭā people claimed the head all for themselves, although some other hunter from the Headman's hamlet might have also hurt and thus had a claim to it in this communal hunting.
- Thus we have seen how the range of sorcery stretches from causing

serious diseases or ailments in men to affecting the crops and even animals-ultimately thus affecting men. Except in the first two cases where the relation between the affected households and the sorcerer or sorceress is not available, the atmosphere of jealousy, resentment, disappointment or deprivation was always at the root of suspicion of sorcery. From the telling remark in the case (viii) it is revealing how the villagers themselves are conscious of the tensions which bring about acts of sorcery among the near and even the dear ones. Whether sorcery is a fact or fiction is out of the scope of the present investigation. This much is, however, certain that the belief in, and suspicion of, sorcery is very deep-rooted.

2. The Remedies :

The traditional remedies may be described as against one or the other categories of causation of diseases and afflictions.

(a) Against Natural Diseases

- i) Cicatrization with a heated piece of iron, called 'Cur Luña', was observed to be used against headache on the temples, against throatache on the throat, and against tooth-ache and swelling on the cheek.
- ii) Folk Medicine. Against stomach-ache one had taken crushed hot chillies in water, against three

days' stopping of motions cocked 'Sajana' leaves, and against headache pounded 'Cunkul' bark was applied on the head. We have noted how change of diet and basking etc. were made at the time of child-birth for protection of the child and mother from their 'cold' condition. Many leave eating goat meat for relief in yaws. A piece of 'Kantā sapti' plant was once tied to the necklace of a small child against his fever.

Besides such folk medicine known to ordinary Pāuṛi Bhuiyān there are some others purchased from Hindu merchants of herbs or from practitioners of old Indian system of medicine, known as 'Vaid'. One Pāuṛi Bhuiyān of Tanuguḷā is a 'Vaid' though Taṣṛā men frequent more the one in Jagati village in the valley and some go to far-off villages in Keonjhar. But the Tanuguḷā 'Vaid' is known to be dealing rather with herbal folk medicines than with Indian medicine. Yaws was treated with a paste out of 'mahan girā', available at Kola and Mahulpoda markets. Even a fracture of bone could be set, it is claimed, by applying 'Hād shankā', a parasite plant, in a special preparation.

- iii) Western Medicine : Dr. N. Patnaik had compiled statistics of patients treated at a Government Dispensary

at Daleisarā colonies for 10 months in 1956 (1957, Geographical Review of India). Patients visited the dispensary for digestive troubles, respiratory diseases, malaria, skin diseases, eye diseases etc in a descending order of frequency. It is not known what percentage of the 4467 cases treated were from the hill-villages. So far as I know, the figures include many non-Bhuiyān patients also. But it is certain that the picture reflects the general incidence of diseases in the region except perhaps in the case of Malaria, many moderate cases of which are not reported. In Tasrā there was demand for paludrine and a few other common medicines which I carried with me. But nobody was willing to take the trouble of going to Daleisara dispensary for a treatment. One lost a complete day by going there. I induced a few villagers to go there and take injections against Yaws, but they did not continue till a course was finished. Because, they had already got sufficient relief by taking a few injections, and now the urgency of attending to yaws, known as 'Rasphuti', is gone. They are, however, very much impressed with the success of western medicines, especially of injections, and of surgical treatment of wounds, cuts etc. The medical official Daleisarā assured me that the tribal patients, including Pāuṛi Bhuiyān, responded to a treatment with western medicine very quickly.

But some western medicine like phenyle does not work on some cattle. And this may spoil all the good name of the particular medicine in treating animals. In one case of unsuccessful treatment with phenyle a man turned to folk medicine and made the cow drink the juice of 'araca' roots and 'pudhai' roots (hanging down). Now this created a disbelief in phenyle, so that another man was thinking of omitting it altogether and applying pounded leaves of 'bel' tree.

(b) Against Affliction by Deities

- i) Cicatrization of the areas supposed to be plagued by the 'Sandhibindha Deota' was a sufficient remedy to contain it.
- ii) Exorcism and sacrifice : After divining the deity who is causing the disease, a 'Saguniā' or 'Rāuliā' keeps sun-dried rice, turmeric powder and vermilion in a new earthen pot in the honour of the deity, as a token offering with the promise that the rest of the offering, usually a sacrifice of goat or fowls, will culminate in a worship of the deity after the patient recovers.

On the day of worship the 'Rāuliā' invokes and exercises the deity from the patient and offers the sacrifice. Unfortunately I have not recorded more details on the procedure of the worship. The deity is not only exercised but also asked to be satisfied with the sacrifice and give no further trouble.

iii) Special sacrifices and offering of food ('Khai' and molasses) are given to 'Hinguḷāi' goddess in case of an epidemic. Otherwise, almost every year a household with children sacrifices a fowl and offers food at the annual festival of the deity at Kumudih.

For averting cattle epidemics and guaranteeing general welfare of the village 'Bisri Thakurani' is also worshipped and offered sacrifices, in Tasdā from 1957.

(c) Against Spirits

i) Exorcism or 'Neuñchāpakā'-After divining that there is 'Mashāni Bhuta' in the patient, the 'Saguniā' or 'Rāuliā' utters some spells and at the same time blows puffs of air over the patient and promises the sacrifice of fowls or even goat when the patient gets well.

On the day of exorcism the 'Saguniā' or 'Rāuliā' visits the patient in the early morning. Taking a handful of sun-dried rice, turmeric powder, 'Sal' resin as incense and charcoal powder he moves the hand over the patient three times ending on the head. On exercising the spirit from the hea, he immediately goes into the jungle without looking back with the materials in a leaf ('pusā'). Relatives of the patient follow him with the materials for the sacrifice and ritual. On a cleaned space a place is washed by the 'Rāuliā' or 'Saguniā' who will worship. Three lines are made to cross other three lines at a right angle, thus giving nine

meeting points. The lines are made with white rice-powder. Charcoal powder is sprinkled round the drawing. 9 heapfuls of sun-dried rice and turmeric powder are placed at the meeting-points of the lines. The 'Sal' incense is placed in the east at the centre and the worshipper sits on the west side facing east. Meanwhile he has baked a small cake of rice-flour, which is now placed on the central heap.

In one case I observed, a black fowl was first sacrificed to 'Mashani-Bhuiā' or the spirit of the Grave-yard. The fowl was twisted at the neck and the head was placed on a heapful with the beak to the east. The blood from the trunk was allowed to pour down on the heapfuls; then it was thrown into the jungle, never to be recovered.

Next a white fowl was offered to 'Mashāni Bhuta'. It was cut across the neck and then the same procedure was followed as in the last sacrifice.

A third, red, fowl was offered to the 'Guru' or 'teachers' It was also cut and met the same fate. Then he sprinkled water round the 'mandala' or the circle of worship, symbolizing the end.

The two trunks of the white and the red fowls were cooked. The worshipper alone could eat the 3 heads offered, which should be cooked separately. Thus five people had a grand feast of 2 Kilo rice, fowl meat, cakes out of rice-flour and the inevitable native beer given in honour of the worshipper.

I cannot say how the sacrifice is offered when a goat is promised to 'Mashāṇi-Bhuta'. Most probably the 'Mashāṇi Bhumi' and the 'Guru' are offered fowls always.

3. Worship and sacrifice

In the case of an ancestor spirit plaguing a child, a 'bamsa' (lineage) man worshipped the ancestor spirits after the child recovered. A fowl was sacrificed to the spirit of grandfather and another to the brother-spirits as a further security. Offering of rice-porridge of 8 Kilo rice was also made. The whole family of the worshipper and that of the child-victim besides a brother of the worshipper had a grand meal.

(d) Against Punishment for Sacrilege

It has already been noted while describing it as a category of causation of disease. ('Tuṇuā' spirit is treated as a deity as it accompanies 'Paghura' deity.)

(e) Counteracting Sorcery

After divining that the repetition of rheumatism was a case of sorcery the 'Rāuljā' took 7 'Sāl' leaf-stems and sun-dried rice and exercised the evil factor (deity or spirit, it is not recorded) and offered sacrifices to it in the manner similar to that described in the exorcism of spirits. In the case of gangrenous cut with ploughshare 5 fowls were offered to 'Baghiā' and 'Deura-Kācuṇi' deities in the exorcism or 'Neunchā' ritual.

(f) Appeal to higher deities

In a case of failure of exorcising deities or spirits, or of serious cases, when natural treatment fails, and sorcery or possession by deities or spirits is not indicated, an appeal may be made to higher deities like 'Bharāli Pāṭ'. 'Bisri Ṭhākuraṇi' or even to Kanta Kuāṅri' to save the patient. Some good sacrifice is promised and if the deity 'listons' to the invocation the promise is kept.

(g) Amulets

Not uncommonly amulet made of a copper container encasing some magical medicine is worn to avert evil spirits or certain illness. It is known as 'ḍeñria' and is also worn by Hindu castes of Orissa. Copper itself has magical properties against spirits.

Before we leave the topic of remedies we must note that again and again the remedies were used in combination or in succession. In the case of rheumatism the antisorcery exorcism was joined to some folk-medicine treatment. The patient was also forbidden to take goat meat, 'biri' pulses, 'ruhmā' beans, fish or crabs, curds, gourds, 'marisha' and 'makhan' leaves, 'kanduṇi taro', 'kulthi' pulses, and 'suturi' beans. He gave up all of them for 5 years and took the medicine for 21 days.

4. SANITATION

Compared to villages in the valley, Tasrā is not less clean. Women regularly

clean their houses, yards, cattle and goat sheds, clean the utensils and cooking pots scrupulously, keep drinking water separately, and take daily bath. These are daily chores. Public places like the 'Manda Darabār' or 'Mandaghar' are also cleaned daily. One takes care not to take a bath in the common pool of water, wash the cooking pots, or leave certain noxious/toxic food-articles to be washed in the pool, wherefrom drinking water is collected. But many other food articles and clothes are washed, and in the winter when the stream flows nominally, and in the summer when the pool gradually shrinks up, the water gets really dirty and unhealthy. The water-pools are, of course cleaned about once a year. The clothes remain clean only for 2-3 days after a washing with the ashes of banana plant or 'ashan' bark etc. This is due to the habit of sitting on the ground. People wear most of the time dirty clothes and no doubt suffer from skin diseases, in spite of taking daily baths,

The interior of the houses is dark and ill-ventilated, and when there is fire and

the inevitable smoke the eyes burn, and no wonder that eye-troubles are very common. This smoke nuisance is most harmful in winter months when fire is the main protection against the cold. Add to this the smoke of native cigars or 'pika' which is a constant companion of the Pāuṛī. They urinate just beyond the house and spit on the fireplace with not a very careful aim, and outside the house spit out anywhere beyond the working or gossiping place. As there is sufficient jungle around there is no problem or disposal of the night-soil. Although there is no stink of the swine, the open heaps of cow-dung, kept on the maize-gardens ringing the habitation-site, and leaves and other dirt scattered by the fowl in the kitchen gardens at the back of the houses are neither presentable in sight nor wholesome in smell. Fortunately, there are no cesspools or water standing for long, as the hill topography provides natural drainage. Hence, mosquitoes do not infest the hill villages as they do the valley.

PROSPECTS OF ETHNIC TOURISM IN ORISSA

N. Patnaik

SECTION - I

1. ORISSA—LAND AND PEOPLE :

Natural beauty and works of man and architecture

Orissa is unique in the Country for the splendrous bounties of Nature, panorama of social life and culture and glorious achievements of its people in art and architecture. Here is a state that is endowed with all that the international tourists like to see. The sea view, lake view, greenery of forests, hot spring, water fall, hill stream, river gorge are some of the gifts of the sprawling beauty of the Nature.

Amidst such natural bounties are present wild life sanctuary reserve, Zoological park, botanical garden, forest bungalow, wooden log house and camping ground.

Apart from its distinctive landscape Orissa is famous for ancient monuments. The temples in the cathedral city of Bhubaneswar and the sun temple at Konark. and the great temple of Jagannath in the magnificent beach at Puri beckon the tourists all over the world to have a glimpse of such master pieces of engineering skill and architecture. The famous Buddhistic complex of Lalitgiri, Ratnagiri and Udayagiri, and rock edicts and caves at Dhau-ligiri and Khandagiri are of great attraction to the tourists.

The marvels created by human hands are not only seen in the shape of richly sculptured temples and other ancient monuments but they are also reflected in many fine arts and crafts such as tie and dye textiles, applique,

pattachitra, terracotta, dhokra works turned out by lost wax process, are in great demand by the tourists.

2. TRIBES OF ORISSA—THEIR LIFE AND CULTURE :

On the top of scenic beauty, temples and monuments the tribal people of the State are most fascinating and attract the foreign visitors most. The sixty-two tribal communities that inhabit the State are widely different from one another in terms of their demography, house pattern, dress and ornament; economic life, social organisation and religious practices; plastic and performing arts and traditional crafts; language and degree of acculturation.

On one hand of the folk-urban spectrum there are hunting and foodgathering Bihors, Bondos and Kharias; swidden cultivators like Juangs, Lanjia Saoras and Kutia Kondhs; and at the other end there are the Gonds, Santals and Oraons who have taken to settled cultivation in the plains and industrial work in mining and industrial belts. In between these two extremes are found many tribal groups who are horticulturists, artisans and cattle tenders.

3. PERFORMING ARTS—SONGS AND DANCES :

Some of the primitive sections of the tribal groups like the Bondos and Dongrias, Juangs and Saoras, Gadabas and Parajas are most colourful and are frequented by tourists and visitors. Whatever may be their economic backwardness and development most tribal communities have a fairly high

level of performing and plastic arts. Songs and dances punctuate their individual and social life. Appropriate to different social and ritual occasions different songs are sung and different dances are performed. To them dances and songs are part of their life and sources of enjoyment and relaxation. Different musical instruments (Nagara, Tamak, Dholki, Flute, Cymbol, Gong, String instruments) are used in accompaniment of singing and dancing. Birth, death, marriage, name giving, attainment of puberty by a girl, sowing of seeds, harvesting, wearing new flowers and eating new crops and fruits, hunting, curing illness, thanks giving to dead ancestors and unseen spirits and Gods—every occasion has its appropriate songs and dances.

Their song—poems are charged with directly-livid intense, often passionate experiences and speak simply, quietly and without any concern to decorate or beautify their thoughts and feelings. Their theme is universal timeless like the meandering hill-streams and never divorced from basic human concern. They express emotions concretely, unobtrusively, whether it is the Juang love song, the Paraja marriage song, the Santal Bakhen, or the kondh meriah song—the qualities mentioned above stand out in clear outlines, unmistakable and moving in their intensity.

Although there are several characteristic features common to different tribal groups, every tribe has its unique pattern of dance. A few examples are given to illustrate tribe wise distinctiveness in dance.

The most celebrated Koya dance features a long row of girls with heavy ornaments and caps on their heads. They dance by striking a rhythm which is produced by hitting the ground with sticks fitted with bells. They dance and sing forming a series of winding and unwinding circles to the tune of the music

provided by the male members who put on the spectacular head-gear fitted with bison-horns with strings of cowries hanging in front. This is the tribe which uses the longest double membrane drums.

Among the Paraja, the most characteristic dance is known as 'Demsa'. Girls who put on typical short saris and deck their heads with flowers form a long row by interlocking their arms. They move with typical swinging motion in a graceful formation. The girl who lead the dance holds a bunch of peacock feathers by which she gives direction about of their movements. The dance starts with a stylized walk in slow tempo ending in a fast moving climax. The music is provided by the male members.

The Gadaba dance does not differ much from that of the Paraja except in their dress and characteristic ornaments. The girls put on Keranga cloth and large coils of metal wares in their ear-lobes almost touching the shoulders and do up their unique hair-style. The music is again provided by the male members.

The Kondh girls in their special attire and inter-locking arms dance to the music played on by the male members. The movement of the group is sometimes forward and backward and on other occasion is coiling and uncoiling circles.

In case of the Saoras, persons belonging to all age grades irrespective of sexes join the dance. The dancers hold sticks, umbrellas, axes and other similar objects and move forward and backward to the accompanying music

Among the Bhuiyans and the Juangs of North Orissa, the popular dance is called Changu dance. Boys standing in a row sing and beat changu (a single membrane drum) and the girls interlocking their arms dance

in front of them by moving forward and backward. The most striking feature of their dance is the musical sound produced by the girls by hitting their metal bangles against each other.

Among the Santals, both boys and girls dance with interlocking arms and in long rows. They dance to the music played by the male members. The most important features of their dances are the movements of feet, arms and the head. The Oraon dances too resemble the Santal dances. In both these cases the musical orchestra is provided by the male members.

4. PLASTIC ARTS AND TRADITIONAL CRAFTS

As in the case of performing arts each tribe has its own plastic arts and traditional crafts—distinctly produced to meet its own cultural and religious needs.

Saora icon-making is related primarily to matters of disease and sickness, epidemics, childbirth and death. There are two distinct stages in the making of this art. In the first stage the ritual divination by the priest leads to the identification of the 'spirit' or the "power" that has caused a disease or death and that need to be propitiated. It is at this stage that the words of the spell are used. Secondly, instead of an attempt to ward off the evil or malevolent spirit here the spirit is brought in or rather pulled or dragged in the installed imprisoned in a ritualistic one-dimensional temple in the icon.

The Saora houses are tiny structures with mud walls and thatched roofs. Very rarely the thatch is of tiles. Sometimes it is of dried palm leaves but mostly it is straw. The mud walls are generally smooth though not as elegant or smooth and firm as the walls of Santal houses. The icons are drawn on the inner side of the walls of a house. The major icon is drawn on the face close to the entrance or the one facing the

entrance. In some houses smaller icons are drawn on other walls of the house. The icons are generally drawn in the month of Phalgun that is April or Dashera that is October.

The icons are generally drawn by the priest or the Kudan. Sometimes other male members also draw. Women are not allowed to do this work. The actual drawing of the icon is preceded by a ritual worship when the village Gods and ancestors are invoked by the Kudan. The main ingredient for the drawing is the white paint made from pulverised rice powder. The brush is a split bamboo or the twig of a palm tree. After the icon is drawn, the priest starts worshipping the deity which is represented in the icon and when all work is over he goes to his own house and breaks his fast by taking food and drink.

In some cases, besides the white colour of the rice paste, colours prepared out of mixing ash and water as well as lamp black and red ochre are also used. In all cases, however, the icons are drawn round the idea of a house either square or circle or rectangle in shape. The icon in fact represents the uni-dimension of the house. Most of the icons include figures of men, women, animals, flowers, fruits, line designs, heavenly bodies, means of transport including bicycles, jeep, furniture, foodgrains, agricultural implements, weapons and all other conceivable things present in a household.

The Santals, however, decorate their houses very beautifully and without any ritual bias. It is pure and simple a product of the instinct to adorn, to decorate. The Santals use mostly coloured earth for this purpose. They are lucky, for in the local area three primary colours which they prize namely white, red and yellow, are available as that kind of earth. All that they have to do, therefore, is to dig up and bring the earth. The fourth colour, black, is prepared from indigenous material, either burnt straw or shoot collected by burning kerosene lamp inside an earthen vessel. These

days they also sometimes use other synthetic colours. Apart from linear mixing of colours, they paint various kinds of geometric designs, flowers, creepers, birds, animals. Their sense of line, perspective and form is exceedingly sharp and realistic as compared to the ritualistic Saora icons or pictograms. They too have certain conventions regarding the reason for wall-paintings. It is mostly the work of the womenfolk.

Apart from the Santals the Bhulyans, the Dongria Kondhs, the Juangs and the Gadabas also decorate their walls in various ways. The Juang Mandaghar is beautified with wall paintings. They are fond of criss-cross circles for designs and often it resembles lotus. They use white and red earth and black colour from burnt straw. The concentric circles drawn by the Juangs are indeed fascinating.

Their artistic impulse is evident in several articles of daily use which they make or fabricate. A tobacco container of a Kutia, an article of daily use and the wine container of the Lanjia Saora, an object of ritual use are both objects of fine art. It shows that in tribal societies there is no distinction between art and craft; between an activity that is done in leisure time and another activity which is of the normal working day. Art here is no monopoly of specialists. On the other hand it is the concern of every person and very much a product of social and family requirement. Whether it is the carved doors of the Kondhs with traditional figures and images, or the Juang combs made of bamboo etched superbly with various designs; whether it is textiles of the Dongria Kondhs and the Bondos woven in very small handlooms; whether it is the tobacco patch or the paintings on grain baskets during the Kedu festival of the Kondhs—all these show unmistakable signs of a highly developed impulse to adorn, to decorate and to beautify.

The innate sense of beauty is evident in their dress, ornament, musical instruments, women's hairstyle, and many objects of daily use. Ornamentation of different parts of the body with beads and metal decorative objects is prevalent among several tribal communities and more particularly the Juangs, the Bondos, the Koyas and the Santals as also the other Mundari speaking people. The cane and bamboo basketry and leaf basketry of some tribal communities could be the envy of sophisticated manufacturers. Once the Dongria and Bondo women are trained to use larger-sized looms they can produce textiles of beautiful designs which are so traditional to their tribes. With golden grass and various kinds of ropes of trees they also make many objects of great excellence. In some parts of Sambalpur the local tribals turn out highly innovative articles in pottery by using their own sense of design, form and motif. Similarly in timber the Saoras and Kondhs also fashion the local deities apart from household articles including carved doors and windows, the Meriah pillar of death on which the bird of death perches. The costumes of traditional dance items are sometimes very fascinating. The Koya head-dress with bison-horn and the cowries hanging from the animal head, the Gadaba ear-rings, the Bondo necklaces of coloured beads and metal rings are examples of beauty. Tribal women are fond of different patterns of hairdo and they use flowers both as garlands and as decorations not only for occasions of dancing but also even for day to day purpose.

The tribal people show no less creative urge and talents, ingenuity and craftsmanship in domestic and other functional architecture. The intimate linkage between the house and the life style of a family which is not often met within urban housing projects is very clear in tribal housing. In a tribal society a house is not merely an enclosed space in

which a man lives. It is a sanctified stadium in which various facets of man's life from birth to death are staged. It shapes a man's attitude, is symbolic of his hopes and aspirations, frustrations and angers. It is the space in which numerous rituals are performed. A sacrificial fire, an offering to ancestors, a relic of birth with cowries on the walls, wall paintings symbolizing undimensional shrines dedicated to ancestral spirits and Gods in the house has been an essential dimension of man's life shaping both his psyche as also his interpersonal relations in society.

From very simple wind breaks and temporary conical leaf-thatched single roomed huts there has been successive developments of a great variety of settlement patterns and house types with multiple rooms set apart for different purposes. Houses having circular ground plan with conical roofs are special to the Gadabas. The Santal houses which are generally rectangular in ground plan roof excel in painting and decorating walls with matching colours including line and floral designs and pictures of animals. Among the Saoras the wall painting is also common. But in their case the designing and painting is done exclusively on the inner walls and the outer walls which are made of stone of irregular size and set in position by earth are not made smooth and not given any colour washing. In their case the wall paintings or icons are meant for ritualistic purposes and not for the sake of decoration as in the case of the Santals. On the whole the pattern of tribal housing reveals a close correspondence, in the act of house building, between values and felt needs, between culture and climate, between human dream and material availability. A visit to tribal settlements and a stay in a tribal hut for sometime reveal that the impulse to adorn runs parallel with the desire to make it functionally useful and ritually sanctified. The house becomes an extension an extension of

personality of man and his culture and not merely an enclosed space where somehow one has to live.

The tribal life and culture of Orissa has influenced and is also influenced by the non-tribal world in more ways than one. Each has shared to an extent in the life-style and celebrations of the other. Scholars who have looked into the origin and development of Chhau dance have always felt that apart from its martial-royal tradition some ingredients of the local folk-tribal dance forms have also shaped its basic rhythms, movements and gestures. The orchestra of the Chhau comprises strains and influences of Santal-Ho musical patterns and their far reaching influences. This is only one instance. They can be multiplied and all these go to show how in the work-ways and thought-ways, in society and religion, in ritual and culture, in plastic and performing arts the tribal world in Orissa has stood in close proximity to the neighbouring non tribal world, each acting on the other, learning from the other and thereby enriching both the parties. The tribal life and culture in Orissa is not a world apart; it is an integral part of its general life and culture of the non-tribal world.

5. PRESERVATION AND PROMOTION OF TRIBAL CULTURAL HERITAGE:

It can be said without doubt that the life-style and culture of the tribes of Orissa have such fine qualities, artistry, grandeur and colourfulness which are unmatched by any other State in the country. As mentioned earlier as many as sixty-two tribal groups numbering about 6 million (22.43%) in a total population of more than 26 million inhabit the State of Orissa. Waves after waves of these autochthones belonging mainly to two racial stocks—proto australoid and pre dravidian—with admixture of other racial strains migrated and peopled the State. With the commingling of various peoples arose a variety of cultures and life-styles which attract the tourists greatly.

Today 28 different languages belonging to two broad speech families-Austic and Dravidian are spoken by the tribes of Orissa, Ranging all the way from small groups of seminomadic hunting bands and artisans to sizable groups of shifting cultivators and large groups of settled farmers and industrial workers-these communities present a rich cultural mosaic in their dress and adornment, in domestic architecture, in language, economic life and social organization, in plastic and performing arts and traditional crafts and in their religious beliefs and practices and festivals. These fine qualities of tribal life and culture are slowly vanishing or disintegrating under the influence of modernization. It is urgently needed that something should be done so that the rich cultural heritage and colourful life, traditional arts, crafts and architecture are preserved and promoted.

The tourists coming to the country from all over the world are very keen to visit the tribal areas, have a glimpse of tribal life and cultural performances. The more enlightened sections among them are more interested in getting the insight view of the life-affirming features of tribal society and culture and very keenly seek to understand what is that makes a society stand up to trag-dies and deprivations and keep up its zest for living. They are very keen to discover what are those secret springs of happiness and endurance, togetherness and intimately interlaced web of social living which nurture joy in life against poverty, ill health and odds of hilly terrain. Concrete measures need be taken urgently for the preservation of arts and crafts, values and qualities of tribal life and culture with the sole objective that the ethnic tourism is promoted and the enquiring mind of the tourists satisfied with high return and dividend to the State.

SECTION : II

1. PROPOSED PROGRAMMES OF WORK FOR PROMOTION OF ETHNIC TOURISM :

1. Photography- To take photographs of settlement pattern, house types, domestic articles and artifacts, and implements, art objects, dress and ornaments, economic activities, festivals, main events of life cycle birth marriage, death-dormitory life, dance, musical instruments and such other items of tribal life and culture.

2. Tape

Recording— a) To tape record various types of songs-love songs, marriage song, meriah song, agricultural and hunting songs,

b) To tape record recitation of magical formulae used for curing illness, and appeasing Gods and spirits.

c) To tape record annotation of all such songs, poems, mantras and speeches.

3. Drawings of Material

objects— a) To draw sketches of different house types, settlement pattern, ornaments, art objects, artifacts, implements, weapons and musical instruments.

4. Visual

Presentation- a) To video tape life in a tribal village and tribal house.

b) To video tape different activities, functions, festivals, hunting trips, works in fields, life in dormitory, visits to markets and other places.

c) To video tape various types of dances performed in different occasions.

5. Publication — a) To collect data through survey and research about tribal habitat, society and culture.

d) To bring out district-wise booklets on different tribal communities giving information about the following topics :

- 1) Location and History of the District
- 2) Habitat, Economy, Culture and Society
- 3) Flora and fauna
- 4) Ethnic Composition (Sch. Caste, Sch Tribe, other Castes and their ethnographic



features with special reference to patterns of tribal housing, plastic arts and performing arts / songs and dances/dress and ornament, family life, economic pursuits, festivals and rituals).

5) Places of Tourist Importance

- a) Pilgrim Centre
- b) Prehistoric and Archaeological sites including temples, monuments and caves.
- c) Places of Scenic beauty
- d) Special places-Sanctuary, Tiger / Elephant reserve, Botanical garden and Zoo, Lakes waterfalls, Springs, Sea-beach, Arts and Crafts.

6) Road net-work

7) Places of stay and types of food/drink available

8) Travel facilities (to commute locally)

9) Conducted Tourist Circuits

10) Special district products and handicrafts for shopping such as Textiles, Bone and Horn work, Brass work, Filigri, Dhokra Earthen wares, Stone work, Aplica, Carpet.

11) Information for foreign tourists

12) Tourist Guide Map

6. Organization of Conducted tours

of tourists— a) To orient tourists about tourism in Orissa in general and about tribes of Orissa in particular through audio-visual aid

at the Nodal Centre located in Bhubaneswar.

b) To organize conducted tour of the tourist for their visit to different tribal areas.

7. Arrangements for showing performing arts-dances and other cultural programmes and setting up Museum for displaying arts and artifacts

- 1) To set up a museum in each rural cultural centre and display the artifacts and art objects collected from neighbouring tribal areas.
- 2) To arrange get together of neighbouring tribal communities and also arrange performance of dance and music by the local tribal artists.

SECTION - III

INFRASTRUCTURAL FACILITIES NEEDED

1. NODAL ORGANIZATION :

An autonomous research institute headed by an experienced Anthropologist and located in Bhubaneswar may be recognized as the Nodal organization to implement the programmes of work and remain in direct charge of the Ethnic Tourism in Orissa under administrative control of the Directorate of Tourism and Culture, Government of Orissa. It is proposed that the Social Science and Development Research Institute, (SCADRI) at Plot Number 1243, Nageswartangi, Bhubaneswar-751 002 which is registered under the Registration Act may serve in collaboration with the Academy

of Tribal Dialects and Culture (ATDC) as the Nodal organization for the Ethnic Tourism in Orissa.

The institute has its own building where the tourists will be given orientation batch by batch (each consisting of 15 to 20 tourists) throughout the year. The orientation will cover a period of 2 days for each batch and after 2 to 3 batches are oriented they will be taken out to any rural cultural centres in a bus hired from the OTDC for this purpose under the guidance of the tourist officer and guides of the Nodal organization.

The tourists will be provided accommodation in the OTDC and other places and all the charges towards boarding and lodging at Bhubaneswar and in rural centres and transport and hire charges will be borne by the tourists as usual.

2. RURAL CENTRES :

Taking into consideration the cultural elements distribution and affinity of such elements with one another four centres may serve the purpose. They are :

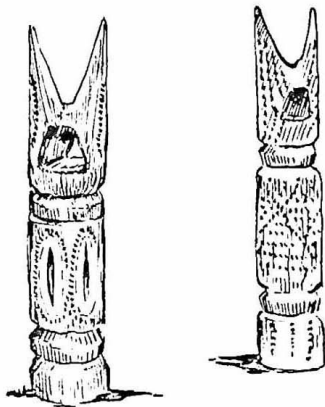
| <u>Centres</u> | <u>Districts Covered</u> |
|---|---------------------------------------|
| 1. Chandikhol (acculturated tribes) | Puri, Cuttack, Balasore and Dhenkanal |
| 2. Suakati (North Munda group) | Keonjhar, Sundargarh and Mayurbhanj |
| 3. Nrusinghnath (Gondid tribes) | Sambalpur, Bolangir and Kalahandi |
| 4. Taptapani (Pre-dravidian tribes and South Munda group) | Koraput, Ganjam and Phulbani |

Each Cultural Centre will comprise a museum hall (40' x 30'), two small rooms (16' x 13' each) for office and store, one platform or stage (35' diameter) and a shed with accommodation for 20 artists and two toilets.

Dances and cultural activities will be performed on fixed days selected as per calendar of tribal festivals observed in the locality. Conducted tours will be organized

on such days so that the tourists are enabled to participate in such performances at different centres.

Wherever Panthanivas or tourist bungalows are available at the proposed centres or near about such centres such bungalows may be handed over to the Nodal Institute which will use them as cultural centres till such period as is required for the construction of the centres.



THE LANGUAGE FACTOR IN INTEGRATION WITH THE TRIBALS

KHAGESWAR MAHAPATRA

1. India is a multilingual country. Sir Grierson listed in 'Linguistic Survey of India' (1903-28) 225 main languages and 544 dialects spoken in the British India. The 1971 Census Returns note as many as 1652 languages spoken as 'Mother tongues'. These Languages, leaving aside the 'Un-classified' 601, ethnolinguistically belong to the following four different families :

| | |
|----------------|-------|
| Indo-Aryan | (607) |
| Dravidian | (153) |
| Austro Asiatic | (65) |
| Tibeto-Burmese | (226) |

The Constitution recognises only 17 languages as major languages under the 8th Schedule and the Sahitya Akademi recognises 22 languages as literary languages. The rest 1600 and odd are just the dialects of the minority, illiterate and backward communities. Nevertheless, 181 of such minor languages have more than five thousand speakers and about 700 are spoken by more than one thousand people.

2. In this situation, the language factor in national integration needs to be considered on two different levels.

- (i) Integration of the literate sections using, the major and literary languages.
- (ii) Integration of the literate and the illiterate sections using the non-literary spoken dialects.

As regards the problems at the level (i) there has been a policy decision for solution through the "three-language formula". (ii) But the problems at the level are surfacing gradually in alarming magnitude. People of different localities and ethnic communities living in a linguistic State now want recognition of their dialects at least at the State level. Some linguistic groups are even trying to assert their special or separate State consciousness. Thus, it seems, each State has to adopt some sort of language formula, or else the linguistically diversified micro-structure of the country shall be further divided into many micro-structures of linguistic States.

3. Integration of languages is not an attainable objective, but integration through language is a desirable method. Any minority community, even if speaking a 'Primitive' dialect, should not be forced to give up their mother-tongue, rather they should be encouraged to speak and acquire literacy in the local standard or state language. Similarly, the elites should always try to minimise the communication gaps by acquainting themselves with the languages of masses, instead of imposing on them an elitist jargon.

For instance, the nation wants the primitive tribals to be integrated in the national mainstream. An Ouat trained Agricultural Extension Officer is posted in the Bonda Development Micro-Project to motivate the tribals to take up cultivation of cash crops. The AEO by habit and learning can express effectively only in English and literary Oriya. So the Bondas who speak their tribal dialect

'Remo' find it difficult to communicate with the AEO who talks in a language different from their own and thereby the plan for integrating them with the national mainstream suffers from set backs.

In such circumstances the strategy at the beginning ought to be adoption of various integrating factors. Language is definitely one of such factors and is perhaps the strongest. The AEO, to achieve his objectives, should be able to communicate his message to the target groups in a mutually intelligible medium, so that it is neither distorted nor misunderstood.

It needs to be made clear at this point that "All languages are efficient and viable systems of communication serving the needs of the community in which they operate. No language can be said to be intrinsically 'richer' than another, each is adapted to the characteristic pursuits of its users" (John-Lyons). The elitist contempt is based on wrong notion and is a dangerous attitude.

4 In this context another issue emerges regarding the script. Some 'Speech Communities' want to have their own scripts in their bid to maintain their separate linguistic identities. Three of the tribal languages-Santali, Sora and Ho, are now being written in separate scripts innovated recently. Like the languages, the scripts also reflect their own identities some people in western Orissa identifying their speech as a separate language prefer to use a script other than Oriya.

This emerging trend will further enhance the problems for the integration of languages. It is, therefore, desirable to encourage literacy in hitherto unwritten languages through prevalent writing systems of the script of the local standard language. Multiplication of

scripts will rather increase the burden than multiplicity of languages in the country.

5. Regional and communal factionalism is now emerging everywhere. Language plays a crucial role in segmenting national unity into different linguistic entities. Next come the sectorialism based on religion and regionalism based on language. The leaders of the freedom struggle and early independence days had thought that the people would widen their outlook by the new enlightenment and economic prosperity and in course of their forward march race, religion, language etc. would become non issues. But after only a few years of independence the politics for power and money changed the course and the vision. The national leaders became dependent on the state leaders and the local leaders at the state level rivalled with each other for finding and creating footholds among the masses by raising emotional issues according to convenience. As the number of these local leaders goes on increasing their areas of operation get delimited and the larger communities get further and further intersected for carving out the 'base' for leadership. This being a political tactic our aim should be to free the language from politics by evolving processes to diffuse and neutralise apparent controversies on language issues. The speech communities vulnerable to political exploitation need to be protected linguistically.

6 The tribals who constitute 7.95% of Indian population and speak about 400 dialects, mostly form the minor speech communities. Besides economic conditions, their culture and language habits keep them alienated. The communication gaps with them have to be bridged. Anybody entrusted to work among the tribals should be able to communicate with them. As a positive step in this direction their languages should be studied and also all facilities should be provided to them for

studying the regional standard language. With this objective in view, steps are to be taken to compile bilingual dictionaries, manuals of grammar and collection of folk-literature.

7. In conclusion, these words of a linguist may be recollected, "Linguistic features serve both centripetal and centrifugal purposes in social structure. Without the cement of communication through language, humans could never have achieved anything like the complicated methods of co-operation on which

even the simplest society depends. On the other hand, most social divisions, although not caused by language are accentuated by the existence of linguistic differences and the use which many persons make of these latter for enhancing their social position, a process of linguistic snobbery. Our use of language as inextricable interwoven with our existence both as individuals and as members of human society." (Robert A. Hall)



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

P. K. Nayak

PRELIMINARIES :

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

The structure of beauty and love can be very closely and conveniently examined and its basic foundations could be discovered on the basis of comparative study and understanding of the relatively pristine cultures continuing with the beliefs and practices, mostly of their own, in spite of the impinging forces of change and modernization. These cultures are designated as primitive and/or tribal cultures and specifically in the Indian context more well known, officially as cultures of the scheduled tribes. In Orissa in the Indian Union inhabits sixty-two varieties of them and among the

areas of tribal concentration, the erstwhile Koraput-Ganjam region the strategic importance in the sense that in it inhabit primitive tribes belonging to two major linguistic groups, Dravidian and Mundari, occupying the Eastern-Ghat mountains, sharing more or less the same ecological niche. Among the most important colourful tribes of the region are the Bonda Highlander, the Gadaba, the Saora, the Koya and the Kondh, the Kutia and the Dangria Kondh. Culturally these tribal communities could be seen to have formed a "complex", from outside at the surface level displaying diversities and from inside at the internal bed-rock level reflecting unities, which have been assumed to have been the main thrust of the present exercise. Thus, it has been assumed that the tribal cultures of "Koraput Complex" in their varieties are not totally very different from one another, rather one is the variation of the other. Keeping in view the above delineated theoretical stand and basic premise, it has been intended here to bring to light some of the aspects of beauty and love and examine them structurally at the elementary level as they are there in the two most culturally prideful communities of Orissa, the Bonda Highlander and the Dongria Kondh.

COMPOSITION OF BEAUTY AND LOVE :

Beauty attributed to women in one society may be exactly the reverse in another society. Take for example, the length of hair. In the Dangria Kondh society in particular hair is women's crowning glory, and she wears it

rather longer than that of her husband. But in Bonda society it is the custom for women to crop their hair close to the head, and for men, especially for youngmen to wear it long down their backs. The custom is not a matter of simple taste or habit. It is linked with a host of ritual, religious and other institutional behaviours and practices. While women shamanism is widely and elaborately in practice among the Dongria Kondh, where whirling long hair of women in trance is positively valued bringing success and goodluck, absence of such predispositions among the Bonda, where women are cursed and men are the main performers, speaks of the connection at a hypothetical level. Girl's dormitory as a very sportive social institution among the Dongria Kondh having decisive control over men's affairs in many matters, including regulating love and marriage contrasts with that of the Bonda where winning over the love of a woman is very much restricted to the limited rules of marriage. Contrarily, men's love for women while is symbolically depicted and inscribed in massive wooden posts and cross bars, particularly the women's bosoms, the seat of the passions and feelings, the group consensus being ritualistically transformed among the Dongria Kondh, there is no such symbolic depiction found in the Bonda culture, and in reality, the half-naked Bonda woman, with her self-woven bare minimum bark skirt and thorax heavy necklaces of multi-coloured jungle beads guarding the bosoms can be contrasted with the half-clad Dongria women's self-embroidered full-skirt and apron made of cotton cloth.

To put the contrast in ordinary language, the Bonda women are half naked and their Dongria counterparts are half-clad. In ethnological language, the Bonda cultural order goes hand in hand with the natural order, whereas

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

Group dances of men and women in full-moon-lit night are performances by both the sexes to express love to one another, the community of youngmen to the community of young ladies and the vice versa, displaying a total situation of love, not just love of one to the other at the individual level, although it may terminate into that. Young men or young women coming from affinal clans and villages used to be treated warmly and cordially and organising group dances on the occasion, on the part of the hosting-girl's dormitory being the custom, the basic principle is to make love, express love, admire each other's beauty and glory through the medium of verbal questioning, quering and quizing in the form of songs which flow in succession upto the point of winning each other's heart. The concept of time in these cases are bivalent. the breaks, the set to work. go to the woods; the night falls, they go to sleep, descend down to the

girl's dormitory. Festivities are marked by the congregation of men and women, more of affinal kinsmen than the lineal kins in all their colourful dresses and adornments as if competing with one another to attract or get attracted, and at the same time to love and be loved. The attributes of beauty and love go together. Unless someone fulfils the minimum requirements of a total sense of beauty, he or she is never to be loved. Love here need not be understood in terms of satiating biological urge, but a total acceptance, appreciation and surrender. The Bonda and the Dongria do have the above delineated customs of appropriating beauty and expressing love, but the system is relatively more elaborate among the Dongria than it is among the Bonda.

MAPPING ELEMENTARY ALIGNMENTS :

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

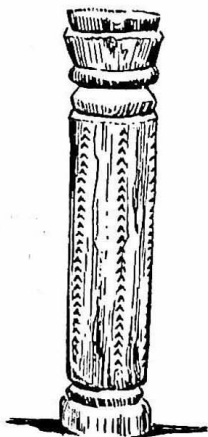
Man or woman, each in vertical order could be conveniently divided into six horizontal parts, each part of which has definite order of adornment. These hexa-divisions of body correspond to the six possible zones of the natural biological body of man which get adornments in varieties of ways, in various forms in various types of societies. Both men and women in most archaic form of societies used to adorn the different parts of their body in definite proportions, of course the man differing from a woman in specific form. The six hexa-divisions of body composing the seats of adorn-

ment, beauty and love are the zones, such as, respectively from head to toe, head and face, neck thoracic, arm, waist and pubis, ankle and foot. The adornment in each horizontal zone could have only vertical alignment or horizontal or both. In the next step the number and type of items in each alignment order could be determined to reflect upon the variation, and presence or absence of any one of them in one culture or another and their explanation in complex combinations can further explain the cultural variation relatively comparatively, and, in the last step it can answer the why questions to variation and explain the ultimate structural variation among societies and cultures. Understanding these variations among the indigenous cultures comparatively, through the mapping of the alignments is easier than that of the heterogeneous forms of societies. Thus the method of mapping the alignment can be proceeded with step by step in an equational order to arrive at definite formulations.

At a very preliminary level when we compare the alignment of adornment of the Dongria with the Bonda, say only their women's wear and adornments, we find that in the head and face zone there are differences; the Dongria while wears long hair and nose rings, these are never found with the Bonda woman. The women's wear in the two cases are dissimilar, yet follow the same order so far as their elementary structure is concerned. One could juxtapose the structural alignment of the order of beauty and love with other structural alignments of their respective culture, such as alignment of houses, settlements and other visible structures or constructs and finally their corresponding links with the levels of structural relations.

At the end I would say that I have tried to give vent to my ideas of understanding and explaining the cultures of beauty and love and the elementary structural principle which guides them at a very preliminary level with

the hope of developing it further and further. My thanks are due to Dr. A. C. Sahoo, who urged upon me to contribute a write-up relating to the aesthetics of tribes of Orissa and in response this was the outcome.



GLIMPSES OF MUNDA CULTURE OF BHUTAPARA

S. G. RABBANI

The oral epics, sagas and folklore of the Mundas of Bhutapara, a hemlet of the Village Charbhati of the old town Sambalpur situated on the bank of the great river Mahanadi, testify that their ancestors were the masters of the land who under the benign influence of their chieftains had envolved a refined culture which was diffused by a spirit of animism.

Their religion, mistakenly judged to be based on superstition, is in essence, a form of pagan heathenism. Since they never underwent conversion to Christianity, or any world religions, their faith in the Pagan world still persists. The names of their deities, gathered from their myths and legends, suggest that theirs is the religion older than Hinduism.

Their Primeordial rites, magic formulas and charms have attained the solemnity of a universal phenomenon of a religious character. Their social customs of a hoary past have found ample opportunity for purification, ennoblement and enervation, in an edifying atmosphere of ethical and moral education. Their undying beliefs and customs stand face to face with the scientific temper of the modern age. Their deep moral tone has much to purge the human mind of its debasement.

The beatific vision of the seers of their race, that comes to mind, after listening to their myths and legends, is one of lamentation over the degenerate nature of carnal spirit,

that has no occasion to catch a glimpse of the high ideals which inspire mankind to build heaven on earth. There flows in them, a deep undercurrent of all civilizing influences of the spritual yearnings of man that have laid the solid foundation of the great Civilizations of the world.

The sublimation of sexual instinct is the prime purpose for which the whole of their literary and artistic world of dreams and imagination is created. Although the common notion of a hedonistic mind is that consummation of sexual passion is the only means to attain heavenly bliss; yet there remains a consentious urge in the singing voice of tribal bards to transcend the mundane plane of the stark biological needs. There lies in them the aspiration of the noble savage to transform himself into a sage through his perpitual meditation on the beauteous glory of nature.

Their cultural heritage, in this way, offers a striking contrast to all other cultures of the present-day-world. Its value lies in the fact that it is the imprint of the first step of mankind towards immortality. Had it not been taken, man would not have been there, where he finds himself now. Whether it should be preserved or ignored depends on the role assigned to Adam in tracing the origin of man.

Since the habitat plays a significant role in the evolution of a culture, it is necessary to decipher its meaning. The place-name

Bhutapara, a seat of Munda culture has been subjected to many interpretations. The most popular meaning is that it is the dwelling place of the bondmen. For the word 'Bhutihar' (भुतिहर) in Sambalpur language stands for bondmanship. It is a key word that throws a searching light on the history of socio-economic slavery of the Munda inhabitants of the place about which detailed discussion cannot be made here due to want of space and time.

Another meaning of the place is derived from the word 'bhuta' (भूत) which means past, dead and gone. According to this interpretation the place is treated as the abode of the spirits of the dead which are believed to haunt the place in the witching hour of night.

In another sense, it means the appearance of the invisible into visible forms like the sky, air, water, fire, ether and the earth. Thus the whole world of created beings is called Bhoot. In this sense, Bhutapara is Bhootpuri (भूतपुरी) or the abode of mortals who in order to forget their fear of death annually participate in a water sport which satisfies their instinctive urge for adventure.

Unfortunately, the only meaning of the place that has caught popular imagination is that it is the land of ghosts and goblins. The Mundas being black in complexion are sometimes compared with them by the high-borns.

Therefore, it is believed that the inhabitants of Bhutapara practise sorcery. They worship the lord of the internal world the God of wine and revelry. He lives in the grave yard where he performs his cosmic devil dance with ghosts and goblins to put down rebel demons and his consort, the kind and bountiful mother-goddess the earth, follows him. In this dance he shoulders the destructive

powers of the earth to protect it from all forces of destruction and deliver it from sorrow, suffering and misery. He is thus the protector and preserver of this world, the life of the universe and all its manifestations, the centripetal force, the creative power that pervades in all directions. He is omnipresent and omniscient.

His votaries are said to be his cup-bearers who celebrate the festival of dance with music, song and mass orgies to gain divine power to walk in the sky and assume any forms they like through magic and sorcery to fulfil their desires.

They take a kind of celestial drink as a votive offering to their deity, which provides vigour, inspiration, pleasure and happiness; enables them to exhibit their valour; protects the body from all accidents; drives out evil fortune; removes anger and ill will of the enemy; cures ailments; increases wealth and gives the poor hallucination of being rich.

It descends from heaven like the beams of the full moon night. So the earth welcomes it. It is as intoxicating as the full moon. It is immortal and bestows immortality on man. All the Mondays of the year, the full moon nights of Vaisakha, Sravana, Kartik, Margashir Pausa and Magha are consecrated to it.

All these cultural phenomena occur in the dense forest which symbolises the stillness and solitariness of the night. It is personified as a nymph who has lost her path in the maze of dense forest. She is not harmful as long as outsiders do not intrude upon it to destroy the trees and wild animals. The countless wierd sounds that come out of the forest at night explain the reason for the forest life and its eerie atmosphere.

The old world Munda culture of Bhutapara, the product of the thick forest is fading away. For where the city stands now, there was once the forest. Now the Mundas of Bhutapara, cut adrift from their forest life, virtually surrounded by the city, witnessing rapid urbanisation and industrialisation since the completion of the Hirakud Dam on the 13th January, 1957, with their kinsman living on the outskirts of the city called Remed, Baraipali, Ainthapali, Bhalupali, Dehuripali Gengutipali, Sarlakani, Gopalmai,

Katurdhua, Dhuchurapara, Motijharan, Sonapali, Charbhati, Tangarpali, Sakhipara, Putibandh, Majhipali, Danipali, Panchchakia, Beheramunda and Dukupara, feel ill at ease in an unaccustomed, unsuitable urban atmosphere in which their forest based culture is fated with an untimely and unnatural death. Their reverence for the ecological system, their love of nature, their concern for the preservation of biotic resources are the issues which no city dweller tries to understand from their point of view.

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

MAHENDRA KUMAR MISHRA

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

But although the co-existing ethnic groups project a composite and universal Indian culture, they do not completely give up their ethnicity and cultural moorings. There are

certain reasons and compulsions for maintaining their ethnic identity. The economically dominant groups have ideological predominance over minor ethnic groups living around them. In course of time, the ethnic minorities are either assimilated within the dominant cultures losing their identities or they zealously try to preserve and maintain their distinct cultural identities.

One ethnic group is different from the other in terms of objective cultural differences. "The member of an ethnic group", writes Sharp, "spoke one language, held to a distinctive set of practices and showed a common system of beliefs. Because of these objective characteristics..... the members of the group showed common interest, and would naturally unite in order to propagate and defend their interest", (1988 : 79)

Role of Folklore in Ethnic Identity :

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

Studying the role of folklore in retaining ethnic identity, Hoppal writes, "Folklore as creative communicative process articulates different forms of ethnic symbolism, and being

a fact of social reality, belongs to the mechanism of culture which reproduces the ethnic consciousness of identity of the given people." (1993 : 6)

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

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

In this context the aim of this paper is to study the oral narratives of the 'Kamar' of Kalahandi in Orissa and to find out how their ethnic identity has been reflected in their folklore. The Kamars are also known as 'Paharia'. They are an offshoot of the Gonds. But they claim to be autochthones, of 'Katpar-Purabadi' hill range of Central India. (Russel and Hiralal ; 1916 : 323)

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

According to 1911 census, the approximate population of the Kamars was 7000 in the

Central Provinces (Madhya Pradesh and some portion of western Orissa were parts of Central Provinces) and at present they number 19,750 in Madhya Pradesh (Srivastav ; 1990 : 117) and about 5000 in Orissa. In Madhya Pradesh they are related as a Scheduled Tribe, whereas in Orissa they are not considered as Scheduled Tribes, because they have been wrongly identified as 'Kamar', another caste of 'Iron melter' (blacksmith).

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

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

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

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

The Kamars are divided into two sections, viz ; 'Budharajia' and 'Makdia'. The Makdias are monkey eaters, so they are looked down upon by the Budharajias. The Kamars

maintain their distinctiveness by living in separate settlements or isolated hamlets in multi-caste/community villages and they do not like to live with other communities.

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

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

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

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

They are as follows :

Narrative—1 : Creation myth of the Kamar

Narrative—2 : *Kechra Dhurus* (legendary epic based on a Kamar hero)

Narrative—3 : Origin myth of Goddess *Duarsani*

Narrative—4 : An epic story of Kamar widow

Narrative—5 : An epic story of *Gandhu Paradhya*

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

Narrative— 1 : Creation myth of the Kamar

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

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

Mahadeo wanted to create man on the earth. He made a bird out of the dirt of his body and sent the bird in search of a man in the deluge. The bird discovered the *Jhapi* and brought them to Mahadeo. Mahadeo asked the two children inside the *Jhapi*, "who are you?" The boy and the girl said "we are a pair of brother and sister". Mahadeo separated them for twelve more years, and disfigured their faces with pox marks so that they could not recognise each other and got married. Thus the Kamars are said to be the children of this couple.

Narrative—2 : *Kachra Dhurus* : A Kamar Hero

According to the legend, there was a Kamar ruler in Bindra Nawagarh, the present

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

Narrative—3 : Origin myth of Goddess Duarsani

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

Next day, the Kamar brought the stone—the symbol of the Goddess and started worshipping it. But he could not appease her with blood through offerings of animal sacrifice. So he transferred the priesthood to a Gond. The Gond appeased the goddess with ample sacrifices. Then, the Gond transferred the priesthood to the Bhunjias, a small tribal group of the same area. The Bhunjias are also considered as an offshoot of the Gonds.

Narrative—4 : An epic story of Kamar widow.

This is an epic sung by the people of the Kamar tribe in Central India. The name of the epic is "Maa randi poo tura", the literal meaning of which is the story of an "widowed

mother and her orphan son". The gist of the poetic narration may be summarised as follows.

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

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

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

One day Laxmi advised the son of the widow to cut the jungle and prepare the field for cultivation. The boy prepared the field and borrowed plough and bullocks from the Gond headman. But he was unable to collect the seeds. Laxmi took some straw in her hand, made it small pieces and advised the boy to sow it in the field. The villagers laughed at him and thought that the boy had gone mad. But surprisingly there was a

bumper harvest It was quite difficult in their part to bring all the paddy to their house. Laxmi told the old woman to go to the village headman and hire six 'Kodi' (one 'kodi' is equal to twenty) carts to lift the paddy from the field. Being asked of the rent for transportation, the village headman (Gauntia) thought that yesterday she was working in his house as a domestic servant and now she needed six 'kodi' carts to lift her harvest. However, the Gauntia reluctantly agreed to provide the carts being assured by the widow to receive the stipulated transportation charges. The paddy was transported from the field to the widow's house. But there was no place in her small hut to keep all the paddy. So it was kept outside her hut.

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

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

He gave this proposal to the old widow. She gladly accepted it and the marriage of the

Kamar widow's son with the only daughter of the headman was solemnised.

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

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

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

Narrative - 5 : Gandhu Paradhiya

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

Gandhu Paradhiya was a hunter. He killed a deer. By this time the Gond prince and his followers of Bindra Nawagarh kingdom arrived at the spot and claimed that they had killed the deer. So there was a fight with Gandhu and they took away the skin of the deer. Then Gandhu decided to take revenge of this defeat. He made a beautiful bamboo handicraft and presented it to the king of

Subarnapur. The king gladly accepted the gift and in turn gave him some gold coins and expressed his inability to help him in his objectives. Gandhu returned with the gold coins.

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

ANALYSIS

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

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

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

In Narrative-3, it is seen that the Kamars were the first discoverer of Goddess 'Duarsani' now the tutelary deity of the Gonds. Goddess Duarsani was worshipped by the Kamar priest who was replaced by a Gond priest. This story validates the empowerment of the Gonds over the Kamars in the process of control over the state, transfer of the power base and the religious priesthood. It is found in western Kalahandi that the Gonds were the administrative heads called "Gauntia" and

"Makaddam". They were also acting as religious heads achieving priestly status. This symbolises the transfer of political and religious power from the Kamars to the Gonds. So the truth of over-lordship of a peasant community the Gonds, over the primitive tribe - the Kamars, is established through a power shift. It is a great loss on the part of the Kamars. The loss of the land and Goddess have continued to be blackspots in the racial memory which might have been projected in their folklore. In narrative - 5, the fight over the deer skin symbolises the intervention of the Gonds upon the territory of the Kamars. Even to compensate for the degradation of their socio political status they have projected themselves as superior to the Gonds. It is evident from their folk narratives.

ETHNIC PRIDE OF THE "KAMAR"

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

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

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

Here, an event may be mentioned. A certain kind of grass called "Debadhun" is not cut off from the jungle unless the brightmoon of Bhadrava comes. Once some Gond and Dom people entered the forest and cut off the grass. They were obstructed by a Kamar. He told them that if they took away the "Debadhun" the forest Goddess would be angry with, and their entire community and supernatural punishment would come. But when the outsiders did not bother to listen to him and cut off the grass, the Kamar killed one of them shooting an arrow in his bow. Two others saved themselves by running away. The police arrested the kamar and he replied in the court that as they had disregarded their religious tradition by cutting off the grass he had to kill one of them. He confessed his role in the homicide without any hesitation and did not consider his action as sinful. Rather he was happy that he had done his duties to uphold the tradition. This depicts the distinct ethnic pride of the Kamars.

Sense of Isolation and withdrawal

In narrative-5, we see that Gandhu Paradhiya was betrayed by the tribal warrior 'Kokobhaini' who defeated the Gond King of Bindra Nawagarh on behalf of Gandhu and got back the deer skin but he did not return it to Gandhu. It symbolizes introduction of another tribal power to their territory. Out of anguish and sense of diffidence he ran into the jungle as a mark of self withdrawal. A sense

of insecurity alongwith a challenge to his self esteem as well as his self identity, take over his mental process. He started a new settlement, where he expected not to face any outside intervention. Till today it has been observed that the Kamar tribe does not allow people from other castes/tribes in their exclusive settlements. They always build their habitat only at the feet of some hill adjacent to a jungle and like to live in isolation. Even their language, customs, traditions and rituals are entirely different from other communities. In narrative -3 we see that their sense of withdrawal is much more intense when Goddess Duarsani is also appropriated by the Gonds and handed over to the Bhunjias. But at first instance, the Kamars were the traditional devotees of the Goddess and, the priest, i.e. the first worshipper is always from the Kamar community.

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

Esoteric Elements In Kamar Folklore

No other ethnic group knows about the esoteric elements inherent in Kamar Folklore. The ethnic self image and the ethnic stereo

type of Kamars in relation to the Gonds and their indifferent attitude towards other communities are not visible in the present Kamar life style. But when the traditions of their folklore are carefully studied and analysed, the esoteric components would be revealed. Similarly their folklore has given them a sense of unity and integrity in their in-group building and ethnic mobilisation.

Cultural Diffusion

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

Narrative - 1 : Creation myth :-

- i) Mahadeo - Siva as Supreme God, (a supreme God of Hindu Pantheon)
- ii) Concept of deluge and creation of earth, bird and animal by Mahadeo (a concept similar to those of the Hindu myth of creation.)
- iii) Floating of a box in deluge and the first brother sister in the box.
- iv) Brother - Sister incest.
- v) Talking deer warning a deluge on the earth,
- vi) Creation of man from the union of brother & sister.

Narrative - 2 : A Kamar Hero :-

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

Narrative - 3 : Laxmi :-

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

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

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

witnessed a talking deer. This shows the cultural influence of Hindu mythology in a tribal culture of Central India.

The narrative of a Kamar hero Kachra Dhurua is also influenced by the Chauhan Origin myth. A Pregnant Kamar woman taking shelter in a Brahmin's house in Patna State resembles with the origin myth of the Chauhan kings of Western Orissa. (Ramsey; 1910 : 281-303). Similar myths are also found among other tribal communities of Central India (Mishra ; 1993 : 20).

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

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

Ashok Kumar Dasbabu

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

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

were kept hidden inside a temple made of cement. There are three small gates in it. According to the Sora, these gates are named after three Hindu Supreme Gods; Bramha, Vishnu and Maheswara.

The news of invention of the Sora script by Mongei created a great stir among the Sora society. Travelling village to village he tried to create a consciousness among the people. But the Sora people who were living in the darkness did not accept it easily. From Gunupur to Gudari, many Gomangos opposed it. Still Mongei Gomango devoted to his duty never gave up. He suggested to all his known persons that, in the absence of this script their language would perish. Slowly but steadily his message reached his tribesmen. Basing on this script a new religious sect was formed in the name of "Matter Bramha Dandree". The followers to this new religion were persuaded to give up the use of country liquor and animal slaughtering before God. In one way it helped their economic upliftment and in the other it created a consciousness among them to become better men. In the beginning, Mongei made verbal propagation of those principles. Those baptised by him tried to lead a disciplined life. This newly invented script was then linked to this new religion and thus it gradually gain acceptance among the people. All believed that "Daru Bramha" has come back in the form of "Akhvara Bramha", Mongei devoted himself day and night to propagate it. From 1936 to 1952 only verbal propagation was carried on. Towards 1952 Mongei started propagating it by writing in small pocket books. But it was not possible to provide the books to

all Soura brothers in writing. So he tried for a permanent solution.

In the year 1905 he travelled to Vijaywada of Andhra Pradesh, where he contacted the "Inter Press" to arrange printing in his script. At first the letters were printed by using stone blocks. But mistakes were found in some letters. So Mongei made some changes. In this time, a Soura language book named "SABARAMKLAYNAMI" was published from "Swatantra Art Press" of Vijaywada.

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

Being financed by Nilambar Sabar (Ghanatri), Bisa Sabar (Adlas a), Suku Sabar, Bamuri Dangar), Narasingha Sabar (Damsara) and Pechang Sabar (Damsara), Mongei left for Srikakulam in 1966 to purchase a printing machine. At last he purchased an old printing machine from "Rama Press". But, he could not get the licence to start his own press. Still Mongei did not lose patience. Later, in the year 1972-73, he got a licence. Pechang Sabar donated a piece of land at Damsara to establish the press. At first only letters were printed. Then starting from primers, religious books and history books were also printed. In total 23 books were printed and the writer of all the books was Mongei. Published books were distributed among the Soura people free of cost. Publication of all these books in their own language evoked new thinking, new consciousness in them. In the year 1976, for the first time a Soura school was established in Marichguda village. It was named as "Matter Bnam Bigyan Prachar Ashram". Later on many such schools were established in different Soura villages. Many educated Souras taught there honorarily. All the Souras came out with a great joy for the sake of development of

their own religion. Many schools were also opened not only in Orissa but also in different parts of neighbouring state Andhra Pradesh.

There were no specific curriculum in these schools.

Also there were no guidelines regarding the syllabus or text books for different classes. Only the books of scripture, moral education, arithmetic and grammar were taught. Certificates having the signature of the President, Secretary and the teacher of the "Matter Bnam Bigyan Prachar Ashram" were awarded to the qualifying students.

Mongei Gomango himself was an educated person. For the development of his community he introduced the script through the medium of a religious community in order to see that the backward Soura Community do not lag behind the march of time and civilisation in this modern era. He fought day and night to root out the age old prejudices & superstitions from his community. He won the heart of the people by sharing their sorrows and happiness. He knew both Astrology and Mantras which also helped him to win the confidence at his tribesmen. He prepared the herbal medicines from indigenous roots and herbs and cured people from many incurable diseases. Again using "JHODA PHUKA" (a primitive magico-religious curative practice using 'Mantras'.) he could invoke belief in the minds of his people. As a result people loved and respected him.

He campaigned against the tradition of ritual sacrifice of animals and drinking of country liquor by his tribesmen. He went on travelling from village to village to propagate his script and reforms by crossing the remote mountainous and densely wooded Soura country for the betterment of his own community. He used to stop his journey wherever night fell

and took whatever food available there. At last became know as 'Sora Guru'. He used to write using pen and paper wherever he stayed.

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

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

liquor to build up a healthy society and environment.

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

PERSISTENCE AND CHANGE IN THE JUANG SOCIETY

Sarat Chandra Mohanty

(I)

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

The Juang is a mundari speaking tribe found exclusively in the State of Orissa. Their total population as recorded in 1981 census is 30,875 accounting for 0.52 per cent of the total tribal population in the State. The bulk of their population is concentrated in the hills, highlands and adjoining plains of Gonasika region of Keonjhar district and the neighbouring Pallahara region of Dhenkanal district. The Gonasika hills—the birth place of the holy river "Boitarani", is regarded by the Juangs as their place of legendary origin.

They narrate legends to say that they are the children of a "Rusi" (saint) couple who appeared as the first human beings on the earth, with growth of their population, they have spread in and around the remote Gonasika hill region and many of them have migrated to the Pallahara area.

Juang settlements are scattered hidden inside hills and forests of Gonasika region. The community is socio-economically and educationally quite backward. The Juangs living in remote hill regions are more backward than the Juangs living in adjoining plains. The Hill-Juangs eke out a precarious subsistence out of shifting cultivation and collection of minor forest produce. The plain Juangs earn their livelihood from wage earning, bamboo basketry, forest collections and settled cultivation, though very few of them own cultivable lands.

The Hill-Juang villages of Gonasika area are grouped under four *pirhas*—the territorial confederation of villages and maximal traditional, territorial, socio-political units namely, *Satkhand, Jharkhand, Kathua, Rebena*, which had received due recognition and patronage from the then rulers of ex-Keonjhar State for over centuries. Each *pirha* is led by a traditional tribal chief designated as *Sardar*. Each Juang village is an autonomous socio-political unit managed by a set of traditional leaders and a corporate body of village elders called "Bhala bhai" or "Barabhai". The Juangs pursue a communalistic life-style—i. e. a kind

of primitive communism. "The village community owns and manages all the productive and useful natural assets such as the shifting cultivation sites, forests grazing grounds, grass lands, habitation sites, foot paths etc. which lie within their village territory. The individual is not the owner, but he can be allotted with swidden lands and other sources of livelihood by the *Barabhai* according to his actual needs and utilisation capacities.

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

Other distinguishing features of the Juang are their strong kinship organisation dividing them into *Kutumb* (brother) clans and *Bandhu* (friend) clans, homogenous uniclans village organisation village exogamy, their undifferentiated society, their strong belief in supernaturalism and their keenness to preserve their group solidarity and cultural identity. As a primitive, preliterate and preagricultural community, they are more custom-bound and tradition oriented, which means their exposure to external world is minimal and therefore their acceptance to change is slower. As such

they have so far preserved the core of their ancient culture by interpreting and incorporating in their own way certain essential changes in their age old life style to cope with the changing times. This is more true in case of the Hill-Juang of Gonasika region. This paper is based on a study of the Juang of Gonasika area in Keonjhar district of Orissa.

II

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

Custom orientation of Juang society may be well established from the practice that when their traditional councils decide cases, they always refer to the precedents and decision is not taken by a Judge or a single person of authority but by general consensus.

As regards administration of law and justice in modern society there are atleast two parties - one complainant and one opposite party. In Juang society a serious issue involving violation of important taboos and customs thereby affecting the integrity of their community can be taken up by the community even if there is no complainant. Any infringement of established custom can not escape the watchful eye of the community.

For example, the unmarried boys (*Kangerki*) and girls (*Selanki*) of two *bandhu* (friend/relative) villages though allowed to mix freely to dance and joke, they can not indulge in sexual intimacy. If they violate this custom and take sexual liberties with each other, the village elders condemn their conduct, punish them and warn them so that they would not dare to repeat such act in future. Following case study shall illustrate this point.

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

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

The rapidly changing circumstances of the ongoing post-independent era have affected the Juang society more or less. The Juang are no longer isolated from the national mainstream as before. They have started to feel

the joy of freedom and liberty. The impact of grampanchayat system, democratic election system, spread of communication and education and many other development programmes implemented by Government and non-Government welfare agencies have created an awareness among them and made them try to adapt to the changes. But the direction of change is more towards their very survival than towards progress.

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

(1) Emergence of Modern Leadership.

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

way to the ambitious younger generation to meet the emerging needs of their people which they are unable to meet. There are areas of common interest where both of them join hands to work together. There are also some dynamic and Charismatic personalities who work successfully in both the fields harmonising the tradition and modernity.

II Formulation of New Customary Rules

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

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

1. Prohibition of Beef-eating

Juangs claim themselves to be '*Rusiputras*' —the descendants of the great *Rusi* (Saint) and *Rusiani* (his wife) according to their legendary tradition. Some children of the *Rusi* took beef stealthily. When the *Rusi* knew about it he cursed the sinners to lead a wretched life. These children became Juangs

while other children who had not taken beef became the Bhulyan a brother tribe.

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

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

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

2. Prohibition of Wearing of Beads for Women.

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

- i) The beads worn in different parts of the body such as neck, forearm, lower arm, ear and nose were very heavy and created inconveniences while working.

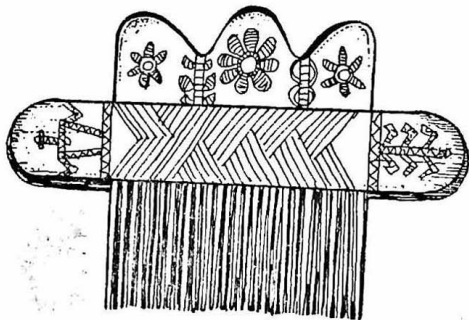
II) Beads worn round the neck of a Juang woman were barely covering her breasts. As the women wore beads, they were not interested to wear clothes in their upper parts covering their breast region because clothes may cover their beads. As a result their upper parts remained uncovered.

Because of this practice, their civilised neighbours looked down upon them as uncivilised people and sometimes tried to take sexual liberties with Juang women. When the Juang community became aware of the dangers of wearing beads they tried to give up this out dated practice. Young Juang leaders persuaded the women folk to give up wearing beads and to wear sarees covering their upper parts. A meeting of village leaders and *pirha Sardars* was organised at Janghira *hat* to discuss about this issue and it was decided to stop this practice and

3. Ammendment of Certain Marriage Rules :-

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

Jagabandhu Juang, a charismatic young leader belonging to the village Khajuribani took initiative to organise the conscious Juang people of his neighbouring Juang villages to build a public opinion in these issues. At last he succeeded in organising a public meeting at Talapanasanasa with the active co-operation of Nata *Sardar* of Jhar-



encourage women to wear sarees. Juang young men came forward to help in creating an awareness among women against wearing beads in their respective village areas. There was some resistance from old women while young women co-operated. Gradually, this reform gathered momentum and popularity. Now Juang women have totally given up this practice and they are wearing sarees covering their upper parts.

khand *pirha*. In that meeting every one agreed that the old rate of bride - price should be reduced and the outdated practice of marriage by bride capture should be discouraged with a view to stop it gradually with passage of time because it is not possible to stop this old practice immediately.

4. Some Other Important Social Reforms.

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

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

- iv) To fight against the exploitation by unscrupulous local money lenders.

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

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



'OL CHIKI'

A CULTURE AND LANGUAGE MOVEMENT

Ramray Majhi

The Santals are one of the major tribes of India. They are said to be the descendants of non-Aryans and aborigin of the Indian subcontinent. Santals are now concentrated in the districts of Balasore, Mayurbhanj, Keonjhar and Sundargarh of Orissa State, Singhbhum, Dhanbad, Hazaribagh, Santal Paragana, Bhagolpur, Puranea, in Bihar and Purulia, Midnapur, Bankura, Birbhum, Burdwan, Hooghly, Matda, West-Dinaj Pur, Darjeeling and Coochbihar in the State of West Bengal. They are also scattered in the hilly districts of Assam and Mizoram. They inhabit a mountainous county stretching from Nilgiri hills of Orissa to Darjeeling hills in the eastern coast of India. Besides they are also found in Nepal and Bangladesh too.

Among the sixty two categories of Adibasis in Orissa, the Santal numerically constitute the second largest group. They are first among Adibasis in the language map of Orissa. They are firm devotees of the Almighty 'Marang Buru' Goddess 'Jaher Era', 'Moneku', 'Turulko', family Gods and Goddesses. They have their holy weapon 'Ak Saar' (Arrow and Bow) and holy place 'Jaher Than' as their protecting force since the time immemorial. They observe festivals like Nawa Serma, Magh Baha, Eroh, Sendra, Makmone, Dasain, Sahrai etc. Traditionally they give the name of grand father to their first son and grand mother to their first daughter, as the englishmen, give e.g. George-IV, George V, and Luis-XIV, Luis XV and so on. As such there would be many Ramrays in a particular family as time rolls on. The Aryans believe that they would enter into

heaven or hell after their death, but the Santal believe that they enter into their ancestral home as a family God after conducting the ritual called vandam (purificatory rituals after death).

It is claimed that they are more advanced educationally in comparison to other tribal communities. Now Santals are very keen on promoting their own script, 'OL CHIKI' which was invented by Pandit Raghu Nath Murmu in 1925 who is revered by them as their 'OL GURU'.

ORIGIN AND EVOLUTION OF 'OL CHIKI' : PRIMARY STAGE

Pandit Murma who was serving as a teacher in a government primary school felt that Santal students who constituted the majority among the school students accounting for more than eighty percent were not being able to pick up the Oriya Language. It was very difficult for them to learn in any language other than their mother tongue. He vividly examined the grammar of Oriya and observed that students had to learn more than three hundred and fifty alphabates including juktakhyar (Joint alphabets) and matras. He started experiment to teach Adibasi students with a small number of letters. It was highly encouraging. By 1930 he completed arrangement and regrouping of alphabates, thirty in number and only with three matras. He called this new script 'OL CHIKI' First it's letters were typed by hand made wooden

blocks for which at that time law of the land was to chop out the hands of the person who invented a new thing. He presented it to the then Maharaja of Mayurbhanj State in 1934 in the exhibition held at Baripada the State Capital. Sauna Murmu who was his close aide, devised some meaningful examples of words which could not be pronounced with the script of devanagari and those were phonetically producing appropriate sound with 'OL CHIKI'. Maharaja of Mayurbhanj State was convinced and he allowed for spread of 'OL CHIKI' in the State for the upliftment of Santal Language and literature.

Secondary Stage

Then after he became free to impart teaching in villages, Pandit Murmu, resigned from service in 1946 and formed 'Kherwar Jarpa Samiti' at Jamshepur. He wanted to establish a printing press for promoting his 'OL CHIKI' script. Swadeshi Foundry of Calcutta was approached to supply types for the printing press. The Foundry hesitated to supply as the script has not received the approval of government and had no circulation in India Murmu showed a letter from America which he had received from his friend and it was written in 'OL CHIKI' script. Proprietor of Swadeshi Foundry was astonished to see the script and that too was from America. He agreed for casting of types A 'OL CHIKI' printing press was established with the help of K. J. S. Murmu. At first a book 'Ol Uprum' (Identification of Script) and *ngel jong laigit ol* were printed. His first drama book 'Bidu-Chandan' had paved the way for his 'OL CHIKI' movement.

He persuaded traditional village and regional Adibasi leaders and motivated them through songs and dramas written in his

books. Meeting after meeting were held in the Adibasi areas. Without the script of their own, the Adibasi culture at that time was being amalgamated with others. With the amalgamation, their dialects were being distorted and culture perverted. An example of such a song in Santali may be quoted here.

Saridilo sankha dilo

Baju tukun kene nai dilogo

Bhalare negang napung

bhalare Bareng go

Hai Hamar

Eto duk-kenere dilo bachha

kenera dilo go.

(Meaning - I have been presented with Sari (Cloth) *Sankha* (red bangles) but I have not been given *Baju* (armlet) "O" brother, 'oh' parents, why I have been so agonised I

In this song there are only four Santal words viz; *negang* (mother), *napung* (father) and *bareng* (brother) and *bachha* (hello) and the rest are borrowed from rural Bengali language.

R. N. Murmu tried to revive and purify the Santali language and his *Chiki* movement received tremendous response. During the period he wrote books - *ngel jong laigit ol, ol uprum, ol chemed, parsipoha, parsi itun, bakhen, Ronor, lucture, sereng, hital, elkna potab, bidu chandan, kherwar bir, daregedhar. Hor sereng* etc. and simultaneously led *Chiki* and language movement. At last he became old and physically weak for which he formed an association, "Adibasi Lucture Semlet" in 1963 to carry his movement. Later on, it was in registered shape as 'Adibasi Socio-Educational and cultural Association' (ASECA)

having registration No. 2667/269 of June, 1964. His movement was accelerated through this association. In due recognition of his contribution towards Santali literature, the Ranchi University conferred on him D. Litt. and Orissa Sahitya Akademy honoured him for his outstanding contribution in Santali Language on 28. 3. 1978.

Tertiary Stage

'Adibasi Socio-Educational and Cultural Association' started functioning with the sole intention to nourish the Santali language and its sister languages with the use of 'OL CHIKI'. Rairangpur in Orissa became the nerve centre of the culture and language movement. Social workers from far and wide like Bihar, Bengal, Assam etc. started pouring into the nerve centre to chalk out the ways and means to accelerate the Chiki movement. ASECA spread its wings to the neighbouring Adibasi pockets of adjacent states like Bihar, Bengal and Assam.

ASECA Rairangpur has opened more than seventy branches in Orissa. Though ASECA of Orissa was pioneering the movement, ASECA of Bengal became powerful to press their demand to State Government to impart education in primary stages and Govt. of Bengal passed an order (No. 311/1 (70) T. W. dated 5-7-1979) to impart education with the use of Chiki in Bengal from 1979. Education is the panacea of brain and mind. Acknowledging Pandit Murmu's great contributions towards promotion of tribal language and education. West Bengal Government honoured him at Kendbona P.S. on 2. 6. 1979 awarding him a bronze medal.

While 'CHIKI' movement through ASECA was gearing ahead, all ASECA groups again

thought for an unified struggle and formed. All India Santal Council (AISC). AISC prepared a Santali Festival Calendar to ensure uniform observance of annual festivals by the Santals all over India. In this respect the first All India Santal Council meeting was held at Betkundridih (Indira Maidan) in West Bengal, on 18. 2. 1977 and adopted the resolution to include Santali language in the 8th Schedule of the Constitution. Having travelled a long way in Chiki movement, they felt the need of uniform courses to be introduced in the schools in OL CHIKI in Bihar, Bengal, Orissa and Assam. Although the education policy is a state subject, AISC held a seminar of ASECA group in Orissa at Baripada on 25-26 Dec. 90 to chalk out the Syllabi to be introduced. But same could not be implemented as it has not received the approval of respective state governments.

Leaders who were spearheading the Chiki movement could not remain in silence. They organised the International Santali Language and Literature conference from 13-15 Dec. 91 at Jamshedpur in India. One of their notable resolution passed in the Conference was introduction of OL CHIKI in the schools and colleges and inclusion of Santali language in eighth Schedule of the Indian Constitution. Again the Second International Santal Language and Literature Conference was held at Chandraguri of Nepal in the District of Jhapa on 13-14 March 1993. The same resolution was adopted again and the Governments of India, Nepal Bangladesh etc. were requested for acceptance of Santali language International Santal Council has now become a permanent body and raising the Chiki slogan time and again.

As a part of language movement several organisations joined hands to

encourage the writers in Santal Language. All India Santal Writers Association (AISWA) has been formed for honouring and awarding Santal writer for their rich contributions. Previously the Santali language had no common script for writing and enriching Santali literature. But since, writing needs script and scripts give shape to languages the resolution was adopted to accept *Oi Chiki* in the AISWA's conference held during 1991 at Mihijam of Bihar.

At present post-graduate degree certificates are being awarded by the Ranchi University in Santali language. Government of Orissa has passed a resolution (vide No.-XIXE No. 15/91E Bhubaneswar dated 25-2-1991) providing for adoption of Santali language and *Oi Chiki* as medium of instruction in thirty schools.

'*Oi Chiki*' In National Intergration

Oi Chiki is ever essential and never avoid able by Santal students, because education is the panacea brain and mind and it is not

only a means of livelihood. Government should shun their apprehension that the development in Santali language and *Oi Chiki* will jeopardise the national integration. Santals believe that they are much more nationalistic than any other linguistic group and the development of Santal language and culture will definitely help in the national integration.

BOOKS

List of some Santal Books printed in *Oi Chiki* script are given below.

Galang baha, Galang gele, Bir baha, Chiki chinnau, Atu orah, Peya lipua larhai, Ing do okoy, Romjhom Pata mai, Chiki chhanda, Sido Kanhu hul, Parsi panja, Parsi bahamala, Dhorom Arang, Oi Itum Chiki Inai, Sawan Saonhed, Saonta barte, Jomsim binti, Montar, Ere sala, Oi Ita, Parsi Chemed, Ramhara rede, Nalha tumal, Hor Kahami, Samkasati, Guru-gira, Pe-jor Kahami, Chiki chiyak Saonta Tarash, Kherwal hehel and many other, books are available in open market. '*Parsi Chemet*' in *Oi Chiki* is primer published by Govt. of Orissa.

THE CHANGING SCENE IN THE SANTHAL SOCIETY

Dayanidhi Marandi

My objective is to evaluate the contemporary Santhal society in the perspective of rapid changes it is under going. The peculiarities of change associated with the society has two major directions. One is primarily due to exogenous factors influenced by Hinduism and Christianity and the other is steered by endogenous forces as an attempt to restore its originalities (those) have undergone appreciable changes due to the earlier process. Certain sections of the society most vulnerable to the influence of Christianity have undergone conversion bringing about a socio-religious dichotomy. The rest of the section whether partially influenced by Hinduism or totally untouched, is witnessing the process of "revivalism" or "horizontal solidarity" by the way of reinforcing the traditional values and customs and at the same time trying to adopt itself to the changing need of the modernism. It is a period of societal upheavels and turmoils resulting into the "crisis of identity".

My discussions in this essay is confined to the section of the society not influenced by Christianity but mostly by Hindu society. The Santhal society like many other tribal societies is typically unstratified. Unfortunately the society as a whole has been treated as if within the hierarchical system and was also the victim of dreaded social evils like untouchability. Some termed it even as a backward Hindu society. The very basis of this topic lies on the foundation that THE SANTHAL SOCIETY had not been or is not a part of the Hindu society. It is illustrated by its varieties of cultural uniqueness and demonstrated by its religious distinctiveness and other traditional socio-cultural elements. In fact with the

passage of time the society with the process of "acculturation", "integration" or "diffusion" effected by the impact of interaction with neighbouring societies and by the various policies of the Government to bring it into the national mainstream, has undergone many changes.

STRENGTH AND WEAKNESS :

Perhaps the greatest inherent weakness of the Santhal society is the absence of institutionalised system of education. It remained primitive and the education was limited to the transference of methods of earning livelihood like agriculture, animal husbandry etc. and the knowledge related to medicine, religion and cultural activities. Whatever systems it had, were highly unstructured and unorganised. Innovations in the fields of agriculture which remained the mainstay of livelihood was not appreciable and systematic developments in the fields of philosophy religion, culture etc. was lacking. It resulted into stagnation which retarded the process of its positive growth into a modern society.

Geographical isolation was one of the major factors which acted as a hindrance to any cultural contact with other societies. Though many consider this as a primary factor for the community's backwardness but still on the other hand this has helped in maintaining their cultural distinctiveness without much dilution of their traditional structure and cultural elements. It has saved them from the danger of loss of cultural identity.

When we try to traditionalize ourselves by reviving the old customs either diluted or completely forgotten, are we reversing the process of modernisation? In fact a society must change and adopt itself to the changing environment if it has to exist. Even though the Santhal's efforts to traditionalise appears to be against modernisation. Some changes are bound to occur due to the impact of the persuasive forces of modernisation. In their traditional 'Majhi-Parnik' system, the offices of the Majhis, and the Parniks etc. are hereditary. But under the present circumstances, the operation of democratic process has influenced the process of selection of leaders in Santhal society for which the Majhis and the parniks instead of inheriting their respective offices are often being selected by general consensus. Thus the traditional institution continues by incorporating modern values. This however is not difficult as the change has been mainly initiated by the elites with rational and democratic commitments.

EMERGING TREND

In the traditional Hindu society the inherent rigid and closed model of caste structure and its egalitarian nature had forced the lower caste groups to seek status enhancement in the

hierarchical order by the process of sanskritization. After the independence with the incorporation of many modern values in the constitution like equality, freedom, universal adult franchise etc., the concept of sanskritization has become obsolete and in turn desanskritization and horizontal solidarity in the form of formation of caste associations have become pervasive. Many social scientists are of the opinion that the latter trend could produce the people with political power by forming pressure groups. But in the Santhal society the orientation though to some extent is true as above but it is a movement with an intention of identifying themselves as a distinct society rather than to form a pressure group or to acquire political power.

After all a human being does not exist by food, clothing and shelter alone, but needs a recognition as a human being and to be treated at par with his counterparts belonging to other societies. The tangential line of social change effected by simultaneous interplay of the processes of modernisation and traditionalisation taking place in contemporary Santhal society seems to be directed towards this end.

Nevertheless, it is a question of 'ethnic identity'.



ORISSA NEEDS A TRIBAL MUSEUM : A CULTURAL CENTRE FOR TRADITIONAL & CONTEMPORARY PERFORMING & VISUAL ARTS.

A. C. SAHOO

'Museum' as a concept and an institution is as old as human civilisation. In reality the Museum is a repository of material objects knowledge, ideas etc. reflecting the material and non-material dimensions of human culture and civilisation. It functions as a cultural centre through its exhibits, research projects and planned activities. It is preeminently a holy temple of education and research to promote such activities as collection, classification, cataloguing, documentation, preservation, display as well as study of its specimens.

Rome was not built in a day; so also are the human civilisations. Many civilisations have come and gone leaving their foot-prints on the sands of time. Many others have survived the test of time and advanced further by adapting to the changing time and environment. Though the dynamics of change has affected all the human cultures and civilisations more or less, all of them have not developed uniformly. As a result the existing human cultures and societies lie at different levels of socio-economic development starting from those of the savage to the civilised. At one extreme, there are simple, techno-economically backward, folk societies, especially the tribal societies and at the other, there are technologically superior, industrialised, urbanised and advanced complex societies. The chronological records of their past and present are like books, some of whose pages are preserved in their respective museums for posterity. But in reality while the advanced cultures have their museums, the folk societies representing the past and manifold diversities of human cultures,

lag behind in this respect. Their history and culture remain alive in their short individual memories, oral literatures and traditions transmitted across generations and manifest in their dances, songs, music, arts, crafts and artifacts, which need to be preserved and promoted not only for the sake of maintaining their respective distinctive cultural identities but also before they vanish or die under the impact of modernisation in the present environment of rapid socio-economic transformation taking place in most of the folk societies around the world. In this situation the need for establishing "Tribal museums" assumes greater importance. It is more so, in cases of States like Orissa having a sizeable tribal population accounting for nearly one fourth of its total population and as many as 62 categories of tribal communities spread across the length and breadth of its territory.

These aboriginal communities, most of whom claim themselves to be the 'sons of the soil' live within diverse eco-cultural niche and therefore remain at different levels of socio-economic development. There are hunters and food gatherers like the Hill-Kharis and the Mankidia; cattle-herders and pastoralists like the Koya; shifting cultivators like the Juang, the Paudi Bhuiyan, the Lanjia Seora the Didayi, and the Kutia Kondh; settled cultivators like the Bhumia, the Oranaty, the Bathudi, the Gond, the Bhottada, the Bhumij, the Kissan, etc.; the horticulturists like the Dongria Kondh and educationally advanced groups like the Santal, the Munda etc. They differ from one another in material culture, economic

condition, social organisation, political life, language, dance, music and folk traditions. They also exhibit similarities and dissimilarities in application of tools and technology, settlement and house pattern, personal adornment, beliefs and practices, food habits, mode of behaviour and several other trades.

These tribal people of Orissa make varieties of craft items expressing their creative talents and imaginative ideas. Each of them is distinguished by their indigenous and traditional skills, expertise, craftsmanship, artistry, aesthetic manifestations as well as originality and simplicity.

Their indigenous technology for designing the objects for their use and their architectural designs, symbols and motives deserve mention in view of their socio-cultural significance. In other words, the material and non-material dimensions of the arts and crafts of the tribals help them in maintaining their respective group identities.

In present times, the persuasive forces of modernisation, urbanisation, and industrialisation have struck at the roots of age-old tribal industries and made their products obsolete. Due to lack of market and demand, because of the invasion of cheap industrial products in the local markets, the traditional tribal products are fighting a losing battle and gradually becoming antiquities or being forgotten. As a result the traditional tribal craftsmen and artisans throwing away their age-old inherited skills and expertise are either facing starvation or searching for their livelihood in their diversified occupations in order to keep their body and soul together.

In this situation, there emerges an urgent need to revive and promote the beautiful traditions of tribal arts and crafts. To realise this objective, there lies the need for establish-

ing a "Tribal Museum" and especially a "Museum of Tribal Arts and Crafts" in Orissa.

The Tribal Museum shall not only take up collection, preservation, documentation, display and study of tribal arts and crafts, expressing the rich and diverse cultural heritages of the colourful aboriginal communities, but also act as a catalyst for development intervention to improve their quality of life. The primary function of this museum will be to preserve the rare and beautiful objects of the tribal communities of the state, which will reflect their social, cultural economic, political, religious, and ideological aspects and also highlight their material culture. It will give a thrust to their all round socio-economic development as well as moral and ethical refinement. The museum will be a versatile institution to play a key role in inculcating the spirit of dignity, self-sufficiency among the tribal folks and liberate them from bondage and servitude, poverty, hunger, and starvation. Further it will ensure participatory development, gainful employment and adoption of modern technology. It will be a lively institution to depict the present and future of the tribal way of life and their material culture in historical perspective. Since these objectives are broad-based and there is ample scope the museum will provide adequate space and infrastructure to store the indigenous knowledge and traditional technology of the tribal people of the state in a natural setting.

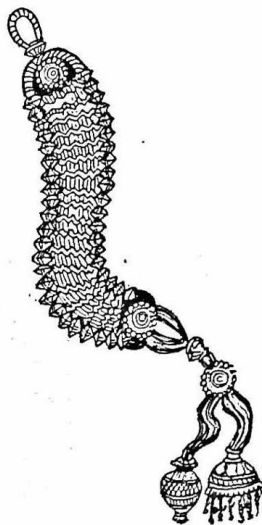
A first and foremost requirement for establishing the "Tribal Museum" is the basic infrastructure of a museum building. The building has to be designed in such a manner that it should have enough space to accommodate the specimens and all the activities of this institution. Its architectural design and arrangements would depict the tribal life-style and material culture. It should have display

halls for scientific exhibition of museum objects. It should also have functional units comprising craft demonstration area, sales counter, auditorium, store rooms, toilets, library, audio visual sections, carography unit, computer section, documentation unit, preservation unit, administrative unit, reception, enquiry etc. The walls, floors, ceilings, partitions, doors, windows, and other components shall be designed to reflect the tribal patterns. The environment in and around the museum should be such that it should inspire creativity and innovativeness among the insiders and outsiders. Keeping these aspects in view the site for locating the museum complex should be chosen with due care and caution to make it conspicuous, congenial and conceptual.

The primary activities of the museum shall start with collection of specimens. This will be done in a tribe-wise manner and attempt shall be made to collect all the important items of a particular tribe which will give a total picture of their material and non material culture. At the time of collection, required ethnographic data depicting the object's cultural background is also to be recorded. It would comprise collection of information about the origin of the objects, materials used, the techniques of manufacturing and manipulation, special skills applied, its socio-cultural significance as well as the tribal craftsmen who have designed these objects.

Before collection of objects arrangements shall be made to prepare photographic inventories of the material culture of different tribes which will help in identifying, locating and procuring their objects in a systematic order. Even a particular object or its process of action should be supplemented with recorded evidence and related activities. If possible the tribal craftsman and/or the end-user shall be interviewed about the manufacturing process,

mode of use and other aspects of the objects. Attempts should also be made to look into the origin and development of the object in historical perspective. The museum objects can be collected by various means such as by purchase and by way of gift, donation, and exchange from their owners.

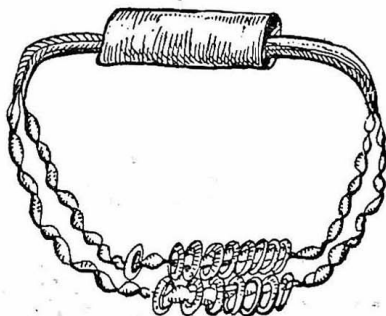


After collection important activities like scientific preservation, documentation, study and exhibition of the specimens shall be taken-up. The documentation shall be based on required and relevant data about the objects which shall be collected from all sources both primary and secondary. During and after the collection, all specimens should bear permanent accession/catalogue numbers. Each specimen shall also be represented in catalogue index cards. Computers will come handy in this

operation In this process photographic documentation of the objects appearing in shape of catalogue cards shall be useful for the purpose of identification and security. The photographic records shall also be useful when the specimens are sent to different places for exhibition or when exchanged. To prevent damage to the objects by direct handling, the photographic catalogue will help in comparing the details of the delicate and fragile materials and restoring their originality.

like ants, insects, pests, dust, humidity, heat, cold, fire, direct sunlight, other climatic factors, corrosion etc. by use of appropriate scientific methods. Wherever necessary chemical treatment, gas treatment, and application of preservatives shall be carried out.

Next comes the task of storage, display and exhibition of the specimens. The rare collection and antiquities shall be displayed along with their identification cards in the



The urgency of documentation of ways and patterns of human behaviour with the desire to salvage the vanishing culture is to be seriously traced upon. Preservation of material objects and its proper documentation for future can help for scientific analysis and interpretation of man and his works in an anthropological perspective.

Scientific preservation of museum specimens is a very important task that has to be carried out along with documentation. The method of preservation shall vary according to the nature and physical condition of the objects. Necessary steps shall be taken to restore the original condition of the damaged and delicate objects. All the specimens shall be preserved and protected from harmful agents

exhibition halls. The rest are to be stored for display on specific and special occasions. The duplicates are to be preserved either for the purpose of exchange or for sending those to distant places for exhibition. In the exhibition halls the specimens shall be displayed following an order and some principles say, community-wise, item wise, area wise, function wise, and the like, so as to depict a theme and give a meaning to the item in the context of a holistic concept of its cultural background.

Moreover preparation of clay models, moulds casting etc. may be very useful for open air display. A photo gallery and a portrait gallery may be established. For scientific study of indigenous tribal technology, a technology division may be established where

various technologies starting from pottery, textiles, agriculture, engineering, transportation up to sophisticated *modus operandi* of hunting and trapping can be depicted.

To make the museum very attractive, popular, meaningful and educative, the specimen should be interpreted scientifically to give a clear idea about the object and the people behind it. The activities of the museum can be brought into lime-light through its publications. The museum would provide necessary educational services through lectures, demonstrations, photographs, exhibitions, publications, seminars and workshops. A team of Anthropologists, Artists, Photographers, Audio-Visual Technicians shall look after the arrangements, presentation and display of the museum specimens.

cular individual or groups, political and magico-religious behaviour of the people are also to be documented. Motion picture photography with sound recording shall help in this respect to identify and represent the pattern of communicative events and behavioural patterns. Computerisation of such data shall help in accumulation of data for preserving vital information in compact form. By administration of schedules and questionnaires, a baseline survey data base can be prepared on the museum specimens and their cultural backgrounds.

Documentation of ethno-medicine of the tribes of Orissa will be an important task of the museum which will comprise taxonomy, identification and nomenclature of plants and herbs, comparative anatomy, morphology,



Attempt should be made to record the ritualistic aspects of tribal communities. Life cycle rituals, manners and etiquettes, physical gestures and postures, methods of greetings, salutation and address and other communication patterns which reflect the psycho-cultural aspects of various tribal communities are to be documented very scientifically. The specialised functions and significant role of parti-

ecology, ethnobotany etc. Documentation on rare medicinal plants, ethno-medicine, diagnostic and curative concepts and practices shall be useful for the service of the mankind.

Major thrust shall be given for exploration and management of natural and human resources available with various tribal communities and their respective habitats, so as to

bring about a sustainable development in their quality of life. In the process, attempt shall be made to involve the target people in all stages of their creative activities through scientific planning and articulation.

In these days, there is a growing demand within the country and abroad for the exotic items of tribal arts and crafts for their cultural heritage and aesthetic manifestations. Therefore, the tribal craftsmen need to be given a new orientation, skill upgradation and modernisation through adoption of modern technology and trained for best and scientific utilisation of the available natural resources in order to meet the demands of present day market. The craftsmen should be given ample scope to develop new designs. The Tribal Museum can take up this responsibility. It can also arrange the marketing. The tribal women who act as the pivot of tribal family and economy can be motivated and trained to produce marketable items and thus can earn additional income.

Since every tribal is a craftsman by nature and need, the training programmes to be organised by the museum can provide them with gainful employment opportunities. In the vocationalisation process, emphasis will be given to the functional aspects of the crafts and also the historical background and cultural heritage. The combination of tradition and modernity in craft items may bring about value addition for the purpose of marketing which will be organised through publicity, advertisement, workshop, exhibitions etc.

The tribal people of Orissa are also famous for their rich cultural heritage of wall paintings. It is a part of their socio-religious life. Tribes like the Saora, the Santal, the Kondh etc. create designs and motifs which depict their artistic excellence. The motifs materials and tools they use for this purpose are very simple, natural and drawn from their environment. If the skilled artists can be trained in

this line this can be utilised for improving their living conditions. There is also the art of tattooing fondly practised by many tribal communities. Now-a-days, it is gaining popularity among the people all over the world. This art can be modernised for the purpose of providing gainful employment opportunities for the tribal tattoo technicians.

Organisation of seminars, workshops and exhibitions on tribal crafts in the museum shall give enough exposure to the tribal craftsmen to come across various similar crafts of other tribal communities which will enrich their knowledge for development of their respective craft items to attract the attention of the perspective buyers, art lovers, critics and researchers. As such, keeping in view this scope, demand, artistic skill and feasibility of marketing, the circulation of fascinating craft items to which the outsiders are attracted may be promoted through the workshops on regular basis.

There should be demonstration programme of varieties of craft items to make the visitors acquainted with the process of making and use of indigenous raw materials for production of the same. This may create a feeling among the visitors to purchase this specific item which they can try for making of their own with similar raw materials. In the craft demonstration area people from different tribal communities shall be invited which will give enough scope to the participants to acquire knowledge on each others technique, making process, and design development. It will also inculcate a feeling of togetherness and oneness in cross-cultural perspective.

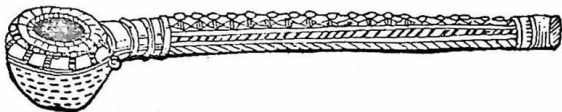
In conclusion, it may be said that, the state of Orissa with its rich tribal heritage needs a Tribal Museum not only to highlight the material and nonmaterial dimensions of its diverse tribal culture but also to act as a vehicle for

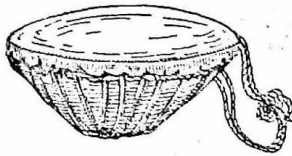
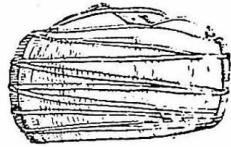
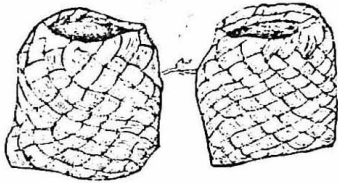
bringing about a planned change in the socio-economic life of the backward tribal people. It will act as an artifact of the society to see what can be learned about them. As a cultural centre for traditional and contemporary performing and visual arts, it can better serve the public interest, especially the interests of the tribals and help in effecting an overall, material cultural and recreational development. Moreover it will play a constructive role in enriching the lifestyles of the tribal people in the state.

The traditional museum with its elaborate and extensive exhibit constructions resembling more or less a Disneyland is still in vogue. It is now becoming evident that such museums serve a limited purpose and a limited clientele mostly belonging to educated sections. Yet it is difficult to deviate from this conventional stereotyped model, without discarding the term 'Museum' itself and perhaps that is what required at present. Considering the broad

spectrum of activities proposed to be taken up by the Tribal Museum as discussed previously, it will be more appropriate to call it a 'Cultural Centre' or more appropriately a "Cultural Centre for Traditional and Contemporary Performing and Visual Arts". Anthropologists with their holistic approach to society and culture are ideally suited to initiate and manage such cultural complexes that could help in promotion and regeneration of the cultures of the tribals whose own ways of living are subjected to risk because of rapid change, dislocation, domination and exploitation.

Preserving the past is certainly important, but rather than simply being a "Mausoleum" of the past, this "Cultural Centre" can work more effectively and its anthropologists more energetically to make past more relevant to the people today and at the same time to enhance the quality of life of all people in general and the tribal people in particular.





ଜନଜାତି ସମାଜର ଜଗଦ୍‌ଶ୍ଵୀ

କୃଷ୍ଣ କୁମାର ମହାନ୍ତି

ପ୍ରତ୍ୟେକ ମାନବ ସମାଜରେ ଜଗଦ୍‌ଶ୍ଵୀର ପରିବର୍ତ୍ତନ ମିଳିଥାଏ । ଏହା ମାନବ ସଂସ୍କୃତିର ଏକ ଗୁରୁତ୍ଵପୂର୍ଣ୍ଣ ଅଂଶ- ବିଶେଷ ଅଟେ । ଜନଜାତି ସମାଜ ଓ ସଂସ୍କୃତି ପ୍ରତି ଦୃଷ୍ଟିଦେଲେ ସେମାନଙ୍କର ପରମ୍ପରା, ଘଟଣା, ଗୁଣଗଣ, ଆତ୍ମର ବ୍ୟବହାର, ପ୍ରଚଳିତ ସାମାଜିକ ପ୍ରଥା, ଚର୍ମିକମୂର୍ତ୍ତି, ମୌଳିକ ଚିନ୍ତନ, ବିଶ୍ଵାସ, ଅନୁରୂପ, ବୋଧଶକ୍ତି, ଅର୍ଦ୍ଧ ବିଶ୍ଵରାଧା, ଗୌରବ୍ୟ- ବୋଧ, ଭକ୍ତିପ୍ରେମ, ଲୋକତଥା, ଗୁଣନୈତିକ ଶୈଳି, ଅଭିନ ଓ ନ୍ୟାସ, ଅର୍ଥନୈତିକ ଜ୍ଞାନଧାରା, ଅଧିକୃତ ଉପଲବ୍ଧି ତଥା ଚିନ୍ତାଧାରା ଏବଂ ସାମୁହିକ ଜୀବନ ପ୍ରଣାଳୀ ସମ୍ପର୍କରେ ଜ୍ଞାନ ଲାଭ ହୋଇଥାଏ । ଏହି ସାମୁହିକ ଜୀବନ ପ୍ରଣାଳୀର ସୂକ୍ଷ୍ମ ବିଶ୍ଳେଷଣ ଓ ଅନୁଶୀଳନ ଦ୍ଵାରା ସେମାନଙ୍କର ମୌଳିକ ଚିନ୍ତାଧାରାର ସ୍ଵରୂପ ଜଣିବା କଷ୍ଟକାରୀ ଏବଂ ସେହି ସହଜ ମୂଲ୍ୟବୋଧ ଓ ନୈତିକତାର ଆଧାର ମିଳିଥାଏ । ତତ୍ତ୍ଵ ସ୍ଵରୂପ ସଂସ୍କୃତିର ପୁଣ୍ୟମି ଉପରେ ପ୍ରତ୍ୟେକ ହୋଇଥିଲେ ମଧ୍ୟ ପ୍ରତ୍ୟେକ ଜନଜାତି ସମାଜର ସ୍ଵଭାବ ଜୀବନ ବିକାଶ ଗୌରବ୍ୟ ଦେଖାଯାଇଥାଏ ଏବଂ ତାହାରେ ଉପକ୍ରମଣର ଧାରାବାହିକତା ଲକ୍ଷ୍ୟ କରାଯାଇଥାଏ ।

ବିଭିନ୍ନ ସମାଜଗୁଡ଼ିକ ତଥା ନୂତନସମାଜେ ଜଗଦ୍‌ଶ୍ଵୀ ତଥା ବିଶ୍ଵଦର୍ଶନ ସମ୍ପର୍କରେ ଅଲୋକପାତ କରନ୍ତୁ । ସେମାନଙ୍କର ବିଭିନ୍ନ ସଂକଳ୍ପନା ଏହି ପରିପ୍ରେକ୍ଷାରେ ଉଲ୍ଲେଖ କରିବା ସମ୍ଭବ ନୁହେଁ । ତାହାଙ୍କ ଫୋଟୋ ମତାମୁତାକୁ ବିଭିନ୍ନ ସମାଜର ବିଶ୍ଵାସ ବିକାସର ସାମିତ ନ ହୋଇ ଉପକ୍ରମ ପ୍ରଥା, ଚର୍ମିକମୂର୍ତ୍ତି ଓ ସାମାଜିକ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟାବଳୀରୁ ଲୋକମାନଙ୍କର ଜଗଦ୍‌ଶ୍ଵୀ ଜଣିବା କଷ୍ଟକାରୀ । ସୁଦୃଶ୍ୟ ବିଶ୍ଵାସ ତଥା ସେହି ପରିପ୍ରେକ୍ଷାକୁ ବିଶ୍ଵାସ ଉପରୁ ହୋଇଥାଏ ତାହାର ପାରିସଂସ୍କୃତି ମଧ୍ୟ ଜଗଦ୍‌ଶ୍ଵୀର ଆଧାର ମିଳିଥାଏ । ଦୁଇଟି ଲୋକତତ୍ତ୍ଵ ଓ ତୋରୋସ୍ତା ଲୋକତତ୍ତ୍ଵ 'ନାଗହୋ' ଜୀବନଧାରା ଅନୁଧ୍ୟାନରୁ ନୈତିକତା ଓ ମୂଲ୍ୟବୋଧ ବ୍ୟତୀତ ସେମାନଙ୍କର ମୌଳିକ ଅବବୋଧ/ଅଭିବ୍ୟକ୍ତିର ଆଧାର ପାଇଥାନ୍ତି । ଦୁିତୋର୍ତ୍ତ ବିପରୀତ ଏଥର୍ (ethos) ଓ ଜଗଦ୍‌ଶ୍ଵୀ ମଧ୍ୟରେ ପାର୍ଥକ୍ୟ ଦର୍ଶାଯାଏ । ବୋଧଶକ୍ତି ଓ ଅଧିକୃତ ସମ୍ପର୍କରେ ଲୋକମାନଙ୍କର ଧାରଣା, ସେମାନଙ୍କର ଜଗଦ୍‌ଶ୍ଵୀର ସୂଚନା ଦେଇଥାଏ । ପ୍ରକୃତ, ସମାଜ ଓ ସ୍ଵପ୍ନ ସମ୍ପର୍କୀୟ ସଂକଳ୍ପନା ମାଧ୍ୟମରେ ଜଗଦ୍‌ଶ୍ଵୀର ଆଧାର ମିଳିଥାଏ ।

ସୁଦୃଶ୍ୟ ତାଙ୍କ ମତରେ ଗୋଟିଏ ପରିସ୍ଠିତି ସଂକଳ୍ପ ସହଜ ମୂଲ୍ୟବୋଧ ସଂସ୍କୃତି ସ୍ଥାପନ କରିଥାଏ ଏବଂ ତାହା ଜଗଦ୍‌ଶ୍ଵୀ ଏବଂ ଏଥିସ୍ଵ ମଧ୍ୟରେ ପାର୍ଥକ୍ୟ/ସଂକଳ୍ପ ଦର୍ଶାଯାଏ । ମାଗ୍ନେଟିକମ୍ ଜଗଦ୍‌ଶ୍ଵୀ ବିଷୟରେ ଉଲ୍ଲେଖ କରି ମନୁଷ୍ୟ- ମନୁଷ୍ୟ ମଧ୍ୟରେ, ମନୁଷ୍ୟ-ପ୍ରକୃତି ମଧ୍ୟରେ ଓ ମନୁଷ୍ୟ- ଅଧିକୃତର ଉପାଦାନ ମଧ୍ୟରେ ସଂପର୍କର ପାର୍ଥକ୍ୟତା ଉପଲବ୍ଧି କରନ୍ତୁ । ଆଜ୍ଞା ଓ ଶ୍ଵୀର ମତରେ ଜଗଦ୍‌ଶ୍ଵୀର ବିକାଶ ଅନେକାଂଶରେ ଅନୁପ୍ରାଣିତ ଏବଂ ଲୋକମାନେ ଏ ସଂପର୍କରେ ପ୍ରତ୍ୟକ୍ଷ ଭାବରେ ଅଲୋକପାତ କରାଯାଏ ନ ଥାନ୍ତି । ଏହାର ଅର୍ଥ ନୁହେଁ ଯେ ସେମାନଙ୍କର ଜଗଦ୍‌ଶ୍ଵୀ ନାହିଁ । ପ୍ରତ୍ୟେକ ସଂସ୍କୃତିର ଏକ ସାମଗ୍ରିକ ଦୃଷ୍ଟିକୋଣ ବିଶ୍ଵର ପରିସର ମଧ୍ୟକୁ ନେଇ ଅନୁନିହିତ ପରିସଂସ୍କୃତି ଜଗଦ୍‌ଶ୍ଵୀ ପ୍ରତି ଲକ୍ଷ୍ୟକଲେ ତାହା ଯେ କୌଣସି ସଂସ୍କୃତି ବିକାଶ ଯଥା, ଜାତି ସଂପର୍କ, ଶିଶୁ ଲଳନପାଳନ ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥା, ଗୁଣନୈତିକ ତଥା ଅର୍ଥନୈତିକ ଜୀବନଧାରା ମାଧ୍ୟମରେ ପ୍ରକାଶିତ ହୋଇଥାଏ । ସୁଦୃଶ୍ୟ ସେ ଲୋକତତ୍ତ୍ଵକୁ ଜଗଦ୍‌ଶ୍ଵୀ ଅନୁଧ୍ୟାନର ଏକ ଗୁରୁତ୍ଵପୂର୍ଣ୍ଣ ବିଷୟ ରୂପେ ଗ୍ରହଣ କରିଥାନ୍ତି । ଲୋକତତ୍ତ୍ଵ ବିକାଶଧାରାରେ ଲୋକମାନଙ୍କ ବିଶ୍ଵାସର ସ୍ଵରୂପ ଜଗଦ୍‌ଶ୍ଵୀ ସମ୍ପର୍କରେ ସୂଚନା ଦେଇଥାଏ ।

ପ୍ରାକୃତିକ ଓ ମ୍ୟାକ୍ରୋକୋସ୍ମିକ ମତାମୁତାକୁ ପ୍ରତ୍ୟେକ ସଂସ୍କୃତିରେ ଜଗଦ୍‌ଶ୍ଵୀ ତଥା ବିଶ୍ଵଦର୍ଶନ ମନୁଷ୍ୟର ଅନୁରୂପ ସହଜ କରନ୍ତୁ ହୋଇଥାଏ । ପ୍ରତ୍ୟେକ ଗୋଟିଏ ଅନୁରୂପ ଲୋକ ସମଷ୍ଟି ଅନ୍ୟ ଲୋକମାନଙ୍କୁ ସୂଚକ ଦୃଷ୍ଟିରେ ଦେଖିଥାନ୍ତି । ଅମେ ଓ ସେମାନେ, ସୁଦୃଶ୍ୟ ଓ ସ୍ଵୀ ତଥା ମାନବ ଓ ମାନବତର ପ୍ରାଣୀ ମଧ୍ୟରେ ଦୃଷ୍ଟିକୋଣର ପାର୍ଥକ୍ୟ ଦେଖା- ଯାଇଥାଏ । ସୁଦୃଶ୍ୟ ସେ ବ୍ୟକ୍ତିଗତ ଏବଂ ଅତ୍ୟନ୍ତଗତ ଜଗଦ୍‌ଶ୍ଵୀ ମଧ୍ୟରେ ପାର୍ଥକ୍ୟ ଦର୍ଶା ସୂଚନା ଦେଖନ୍ତି । ବ୍ୟକ୍ତିଗତ ଜଗଦ୍‌ଶ୍ଵୀ ମନୁଷ୍ୟକୁ ଜଗତ ବା ବିଶ୍ଵର ନେତୃତ୍ଵକୁ ରୂପେ ଗଣନା କରେ । ପ୍ରକୃତର ଚେତନା ବା ଅବବୋଧ ଶକ୍ତିଥାଏ । କିନ୍ତୁ ଅତ୍ୟନ୍ତଗତ ଜଗଦ୍‌ଶ୍ଵୀ ଅନୁରୂପୀ ଜଗତ ବା ବିଶ୍ଵରେ ମନୁଷ୍ୟର କୌଣସି ଜଗଦ୍‌ଶ୍ଵୀ ସ୍ଥାନ ନୁହେଁ ହୋଇ ନ ଥାଏ କିମ୍ବା ପ୍ରକୃତର ଚେତନା ବା ଅବବୋଧ ଶକ୍ତି ନ ଥାଏ । ତାଙ୍କ

ଅନୁଭାବୀ ନାଭିନାତ ଉପାଦାନକୁ ଶୁଣାଇଲେ ପୋଡ଼ିବା କମ୍ ଅଧିକାରୀର ଶକ୍ତିଗୁଡ଼ିକ ଦ୍ଵାରା ସିଂହର ଜୀବନ ପୁରଣାର ଅଭିପ୍ରାୟ ଦେଇଥାଏ । ଅନ୍ୟ ଏକ ଉଦାହରଣ ଅନୁଭାବୀ, ଗୋଟିଏ ଲୋକର ମୁଖ୍ୟ ପଦ୍ଧତି ପରେ ତା'ର ଅନ୍ୟ ସର୍ଗାମୀ ହୋଇଥାଏ । ଅନ୍ୟୋନ୍ୟ କିମ୍ବା ସମୟରେ ତା'ର ଅଭାବ ପ୍ରକଳ ଦ୍ଵାରା ଶୁଣାଗୁଡ଼ିକ ହୋଇ ଦ୍ୟାକୁଳ ହେବା କରାଯାଇ ନପାଏ । ଏହୁ ପ୍ରକଳତ ନିଷେଧାତ୍ମକ କାରଣ ହେଉଛି, ହେନଲ୍ ଜେଡ ଅନୁପ୍ରାପ୍ତ ସର୍ଗର ପୁରମ ରାସ୍ତାରେ ଅଭାବ ରତ ନିମନ୍ତେ ପ୍ରତିବନ୍ଧକ ସୃଷ୍ଟି କରାଯାଏ । ଅପରପକ୍ଷରେ, ମୂଳଦ୍ୟୁତର ପର ଦୂରରେ ଗୋଟିଏ କଣା କରାଯାଇ ଦେଖିବାଟେ ଅନ୍ୟ ସମ୍ପର୍କରେ ସର୍ଗାମୀ ହୋଇଥାଏ । ଏହୁପକ୍ଷ କେତେକ ପ୍ରାମାଣିକ କିମ୍ବା ପ୍ରାକୃତିକ ପ୍ରକୃତି ଥୋ ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥାଗୁଡ଼ିକ ଅଧ୍ୟୟନ ଦ୍ଵାରା କରାଯାଏ । ସମ୍ପର୍କରେ ଜ୍ଞାନର ଉପଯୋଗିତା । ପୁନଶ୍ଚ ଗୋଟିଏରେ ମନୁଷ୍ୟ ଜୀବନର ଅଭିମୁଖ୍ୟ ବସ୍ତୁରେ ଉଦ୍ଦେଶ୍ୟ କର ପ୍ରତ୍ୟେକ ରୋଗିତା ଏହା ଓ କରାଯାଏ । ପୁନଶ୍ଚ ଗୋଟିଏରେ ମନୁଷ୍ୟ ଜୀବନର ଅଭିମୁଖ୍ୟ ବସ୍ତୁରେ ଉଦ୍ଦେଶ୍ୟ କର ପ୍ରତ୍ୟେକ ରୋଗିତା ଏହା ଓ କରାଯାଏ । ପୁନଶ୍ଚ ଗୋଟିଏରେ ମନୁଷ୍ୟ ଜୀବନର ଅଭିମୁଖ୍ୟ ବସ୍ତୁରେ ଉଦ୍ଦେଶ୍ୟ କର ପ୍ରତ୍ୟେକ ରୋଗିତା ଏହା ଓ କରାଯାଏ । ପୁନଶ୍ଚ ଗୋଟିଏରେ ମନୁଷ୍ୟ ଜୀବନର ଅଭିମୁଖ୍ୟ ବସ୍ତୁରେ ଉଦ୍ଦେଶ୍ୟ କର ପ୍ରତ୍ୟେକ ରୋଗିତା ଏହା ଓ କରାଯାଏ ।

ତଥା ସଂଯୋଗିତ ମତଦ୍ୟୁତ ଭବିଷ୍ୟତ ବସ୍ତୁରେ ଉଦ୍ଦେଶ୍ୟ କରାଯାଏ । ଏଠାରେ ପ୍ରତ୍ୟେକ ରୋଗିତାଙ୍କ ନିମନ୍ତେ ମତାମତ ନିମ୍ନୋକ୍ତ ରାସ୍ତାରେ ବର୍ଣ୍ଣନା କରାଯାଇ ସମାଜର ମନେହୁଏ :-

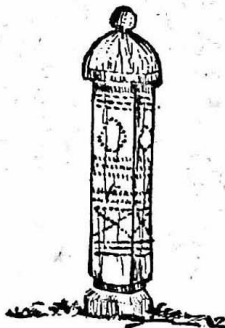
“World view does not start from any choice of a particular segment of cultural life. It does not emphasize economy or social structure or personality or even ethos, system of moral norms. It enters seriously into the possibility of devising a form of thought for general use of the real whole of the little community that awaits the insider's total vision and conception of everything” (Redfield, 1955 : 95).

ଭାରତୀୟ ଜନଜାତି ଗୋଟିଏଗୁଡ଼ିକ କରାଯାଏ । ପ୍ରତ୍ୟେକ କେ. ଡି. ମେଡ଼େର ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥା ସମାଜସଂସ୍କୃତି, ନୂତନତ୍ଵରତ୍ଵ ଓ ବ୍ୟାପାରମାନଙ୍କର ଅନୁଧ୍ୟାନ ବସ୍ତୁରେ ଉଦ୍ଦେଶ୍ୟ କରାଯାଏ । ପୁଣ୍ୟ ତଥା ଭବିଷ୍ୟ କେବଳ ତଥା ଅନିବାର୍ଯ୍ୟ ପଦାର୍ଥର ସୃଷ୍ଟି ସମ୍ପର୍କରେ ଜନଜାତିମାନଙ୍କର ସ୍ଵୟଂ ଧାରଣା ଓ ମତାମତ ଦେଖାଯାଇ ଥାଏ । ପ୍ରତ୍ୟେକ ମିଥ୍ (myth) ତଥା ଲୋକକଥା ମାଧ୍ୟମରେ ପ୍ରକାଶିତ ହୋଇଥାଏ । ଏ ଗୁଡ଼ିକର ସମାଜବାସ୍ତୁକ ବିଶେଷତା ତଥା ଅନୁଧ୍ୟାନ ଜନଜାତି ଗୋଟିଏର କରାଯାଏ । ସମ୍ପର୍କରେ ଅନୁଧ୍ୟାନ କରାଯାଏ ।

ପରଲୋକରେ, ଏଠାରେ ଉଦ୍ଦେଶ୍ୟର ସେ, ଜନଜାତି ସମାଜର କରାଯାଏ । ସମ୍ପର୍କରେ ଅନୁଧ୍ୟାନ ଦ୍ଵାରା ସମାଜର ବସ୍ତୁ ମୂଲ୍ୟବାନ ବସ୍ତୁରାଧାର, ପରଲୋକ ଅଭିମୁଖ୍ୟ ତଥା ସାମୁଦ୍ରିକ ବିଶ୍ଵାସର ବସ୍ତୁରେ ଦ୍ୟାକୁଳତା ଲକ୍ଷ୍ୟ କରାଯାଏ । ପୁନଶ୍ଚ, ଉପରୋକ୍ତ ଅନୁଧ୍ୟାନ ଯୋଜନାବଦ୍ଧ ଉପସ୍ଥାନ ପରପ୍ରକାରେ ବିଶେଷ ସହାୟକ ହୋଇଥାଏ ।

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ଓଡ଼ିଶାର ଆଦିବାସୀ ହସ୍ତକଳା : ଏକ ଅଜ୍ଞାତ ଅନୁରକ୍ତନ

ଶ୍ରୀ ରବିନ୍ଦ୍ର ନାଥ ସାହୁ (ଭବଶିଳା)

ଅଦମ କାଳରୁ ଯେଉଁ ଜାତିର ସ୍ତ୍ରୀ, କଳା ଓ ସଂସ୍କୃତି ଏ ପ୍ରାକୃତ ଅପରାଧିତ, ଏକ ସାମିତ ସଂସ୍କୃତୀୟ ମଧ୍ୟରେ ବିବର୍ଣ୍ଣନା ଓ ଦୃଢ଼ ପରମ୍ପରା ଅବହଳି ଧାରା ଯେଉଁ ସମାଜରେ ଅଦ୍ୟାବଧି ପ୍ରବାହତ, ସେମାନଙ୍କୁ ଅମେ ଆଦିବାସୀ ବୋଲି ଅବ୍ୟାପିତ କରାଯାଏ ।

ଓଡ଼ିଶା ଏକ ଆଦିବାସୀ ଦେଶ ରାଜ୍ୟ । ଏହି ରାଜ୍ୟର କଳା, ପ୍ରାପନ୍ୟ ଓ ଐତିହାସିକ ସଂସ୍କୃତିର ପରମ୍ପରା ସମ୍ପାଦନ ମୂଳ ଉତ୍ସ ରୂପେ ଆଦିବାସୀଙ୍କଠାରୁ ଅବ୍ୟାପି ହୋଇଥିଲେ ହେଁ ସେମାନେ କେହି ଏକ ବୃତ୍ତମୟ ଯନ୍ତ୍ରଣାରେ ଅଧି-ମାନଙ୍କଠାରୁ ଅଧିକରୁ, ତଥା ଅଧିକରୁ କେବେ କେବେ ଲବନପାତ୍ର କରୁ ଅଧିକରୁ ଉପଯୁକ୍ତ ପୁସ୍ତକାଳୟ ଆଦିରୁ ଅଧିକ ଦୁର୍ଗତର ସମ୍ପୂର୍ଣ୍ଣ ଛୋଟ ଅଣାନ୍ତରୂପ ପ୍ରଦତ୍ତ ଲକ୍ଷ କରୁ ପାରୁ ନାହାନ୍ତି । ପ୍ରାଚୀନ ଓଡ଼ିଶାର ସମସ୍ତ କଳା-କାଶିକର ମୌଳିକ ରୂପରେଖ ଉପରୁ ଶୁଣି ଗାନ୍ଧୀ ସହ ସାଧାରଣରେ ଏକ ଅଜ୍ଞାତ ବିଷୟ ହୋଇ ରହିଯାଇଛି । ସେ ସମ୍ପର୍କରେ ସମ୍ୟକ୍ତ ସାରଣା ଦେବା ଏହି ପ୍ରବନ୍ଧର ଅଭିପ୍ରେୟ ।

ପାରମ୍ପରିକ ଲୋକକଳାର ଅନ୍ୟ ଏକ ଭର ହେଲା 'ଆଦିବାସୀ କଳା' । ଆଦିବାସୀ କଳାର ବିଭିନ୍ନ ମାଧ୍ୟମ ଯଥା : ନୃତ୍ୟ, ସଙ୍ଗୀତ ପରି ହସ୍ତକଳା ମଧ୍ୟ ପ୍ରାମାଣିକ ଚ୍ୟାନ୍ଦରତ ତଥା ପରାଦର୍ଶିତ କଳା ଗୁଣ ଅଧି-ସଂସ୍କୃତିର ଉତ୍କର୍ଷ କଳା ନାମରେ ଅଭିହିତ । ସଂସ୍କୃତ ମାନକ ହସ୍ତ ପ୍ରସ୍ତୁତ ଶିଳ୍ପ କଳାର ଦୈନିକ-ପୂର୍ଣ୍ଣ ନମୁନା ପ୍ରାଚୀନତାପୂର୍ଣ୍ଣ ଯୁଗର ଅବଶ୍ୟ, ପରାକରଣ ଏବଂ ଅନ୍ୟାନ୍ୟ ଉପକରଣର ଗଠନ ଶୈଳୀର ରୂପାନ୍ତର ମାଧ୍ୟ । ସେହି ଅଦମ-ହସ୍ତକଳାର ରୂପରେଖ ପରବର୍ତ୍ତୀ ସମୟରେ ମାନବସୃଷ୍ଟିର ଶ୍ରେଣୀ ବିଭକ୍ତ ଯୋଗୁଁ ବିଭିନ୍ନ ଜାତି ଦ୍ୱାରା ନମୁନାର ଗଠନ ପ୍ରକ୍ରିୟା ଏବଂ ସେଥିରେ ସ-କଳା ରୂପର ଅଭେଦ ସମ୍ପର୍କେ ପ୍ରାମାଣିକତା ଉଦ୍ଧତ ଓ ରୂପସୂତ୍ର ହେଲା । ଯେତେବେଳେ ଜଣାଯାଏ, ଅଧିକ ମାନଙ୍କର ପ୍ରବେଶ ପରେ ଏହି ଅଦମ-ସମାଜର ହସ୍ତକଳାର ଗଠି ବ୍ୟାପାରୀ ହେଲା ଓ ଦୁର୍ଗମ ବନ-ଶିଳ ଅଞ୍ଚଳରେ ଇତିହାସିକ ଦାସ କରବା ଦ୍ୱାରା ସେମାନଙ୍କର ସମ୍ପର୍କିତ କଳା-ଜ୍ଞାନ ସାମିତ ହୋଇ

ରହିଲେ । ସେହି ଦିନଠାରୁ ସେମାନଙ୍କର ସମସ୍ତ କଳା-ସୃଷ୍ଟି ଆପଣାପଣା ପରିବେଶ ମଧ୍ୟରେ ସଂରକ୍ଷିତ ହୋଇ ରହିଲେ । ପ୍ରକୃତ କୋଳରେ ଜନ୍ମିଲେ କିଛି ଦୁର୍ଗମ ଅଭିଭାଷ-ଅଞ୍ଚଳକୁ ଜଳର ବାସସ୍ଥାନ ରୂପେ ବାହାରେ ନେଇ ଜଳକୁ ସରସ ପ୍ରଦାନ କରିବା ପାଇଁ ଜଳର ପ୍ରଥମ ଚକ୍ରା ଓ ତେଜା ଦ୍ୱାରା ସମସ୍ତ କଳା ସୃଷ୍ଟି କରି ଚାଲିଲା । ଯାହା କି, ଗାଁର ଜଳରେ ପ୍ରକୃତ ଅନନ୍ଦ ଅଣି ଦେବା ସଙ୍ଗେ ସଙ୍ଗେ ଜଳର ସାମିକ-ସୃଷ୍ଟିର ପରମ୍ପରା ବଜାୟ ରଖି ପାରିଲା ।

ଓଡ଼ିଶାର ପାରମ୍ପରିକ ହସ୍ତକଳା ଅବଶ୍ୟ ବିଭକ୍ତ ତତ୍ତ୍ୱ ଦଶନ୍ଧ ଧରଣ ସମଶା ଦ୍ୱାରା ସଂସ୍ଥାପିତ ହୋଇଛି । ନାଲି କୁଟିଳ ଗଠରେ ଏହି ମହତ୍ତ୍ୱ ହସ୍ତଶିଳ୍ପ କଳାର ପରମ୍ପରା ଏହି ସୂତ୍ର ଅବ୍ୟାପି ଦିଆଯାଇ ତଥା ମୂର୍ତ୍ତିସ୍ଥ ଅବସ୍ଥାରେ ଥିଲା । ବିଭକ୍ତ ପ୍ରାଧିକାରୀ ପରଠାରୁ ସରକାରଙ୍କ ଶୁଭଦର୍ଶି ହେଉ ଧାରେ ଧାରେ ଯଦି ଯୁବ ସହକ ଚାଲି ଦେଇ ଅଜ୍ଞର ହସ୍ତକଳା ଅମ ସମ୍ପୂର୍ଣ୍ଣରେ ଉପସ୍ଥାପିତ । ତଥାପି ଯଦି ଯୁବର ଦାନସ୍ୟ ରୂପରେ କଳକତ ହୋଇ ପହଞ୍ଚିବା ଆହୁରି ଅନେକ ହସ୍ତଶିଳ୍ପ ମଧ୍ୟ ଏ ପ୍ରାକୃତ ସଂସ୍କୃତି ରୂପେ ଅଧିକ ପ୍ରକାଶ କରିପାରି ନାହିଁ । ତା ମଧ୍ୟରୁ ଆଦିବାସୀ ହସ୍ତକଳାର ଯେଉଁ ଗୌରବମୟ ପରମ୍ପରା ତାହା ସଂସ୍କୃତି କେନ୍ଦ୍ର ହେବାକୁ ବର୍ଧିଲଣି । ଏବେ ସମସ୍ତ ଅଧିକ, ହୁଏତ ତାହାକୁ ପୁନଃସୃଜନ କରାଯାଇ ପାରଲେ ଓଡ଼ିଶା ହସ୍ତକଳାର ଅଭି ଏକ ଅଜ୍ଞାନ ଅଧ୍ୟାତ୍ମର ବାଟ ଖୋଲିଯିବ ।

ଉତ୍କଳର କଳା ଗୌରବ ଅଜ୍ଞ ଦାହାଶୁକ୍ତ ଅବସ୍ଥାରେ ନୁହେଁ । ମାତ୍ର ଓଡ଼ିଶାର ଆଦିବାସୀ କଳା ଯେ ଧାରେ ଧାରେ ବିସ୍ତୃତ ତଥା ଅବଲମ୍ବିତ ହେବାକୁ ବର୍ଧିଲଣି, ଏତଦା ପ୍ରାୟ ଅନେକକୁ କଥା ନ ହୁଏ । ସାଂସ୍କୃତିକ ସ୍ତରେରେ ବିସ୍ତୃତ କଳାକୁ ପରା ସଂସ୍ଥାପିତ କରାଯାଏ ଏବଂ ଦୂରରୁ ବ୍ୟାପାର । ଉକ୍ତ କଳାକୁ ଯଦି ଏବଂ ଠାରୁ ଲୋକ ଲୋକରୁ ଅଭାସିବାର ପ୍ରଚେଷ୍ଟା ନ କରାଯାଏ, ତାହାଲେ ଅଭି କିଛି ବର୍ଷ ପରେ ଓଡ଼ିଶାର ଏକ ମହାନ ପ୍ରାଚୀନ କଳାର ପରମ୍ପରା ଲୋପ ପାଇଯିବାର ସମ୍ଭାବନା ଯଥେଷ୍ଟ ଅଛି ।

ଉତ୍ସବରେ ଉକ୍ତ ସାମଗ୍ରୀଗୁଡ଼ିକ ବ୍ୟବହାର କରି ଛବିନକୁ ସରସ ସୁନ୍ଦର ଭାବେ ଉପଭୋଗ କରନ୍ତୁ ।

ଅଦବାସୀ ସମାଜରେ କଳାର ଗ୍ରାମ ତା'ର ସଭ୍ୟତାର ପ୍ରତୀକ । ଶିକ୍ଷାକ୍ଷେତ୍ରରେ ଅନୁପ୍ରାପ୍ତ ହେଲେ ମଧ୍ୟ କଳା-ନୈରୁତ୍ୟତା ଦୃଷ୍ଟିରୁ ସେମାନଙ୍କର ଗ୍ରାମ ତହିଁ କମ୍ ରୁହେଁ । ଅଦବାସୀ ହସ୍ତକଳାର ଏପରି ଏକ ସୃଷ୍ଟି ଦୈଶିଷ୍ଟ୍ୟ ଅଛି, ଯାହାକୁ ବାଦ୍ଦେଇ ଓଡ଼ିଶା ହସ୍ତକଳାର ପୂର୍ଣ୍ଣ ଅଭ୍ୟାସ୍ୟ

ହୋଇ ପାରିବ ନାହିଁ । ତେଣୁ ସେମାନଙ୍କର ଲୁଚିକାନ୍ଦିତ ସଫଳ ସୃଷ୍ଟିକୁ ଆମ ତଥାକଥିତ ହସ୍ତଶିଳ୍ପରେ ଅନ୍ତର୍ଭୁକ୍ତ କରିବା ଏତାନ୍ତ ବାଞ୍ଛନୀୟ । ଯେଉଁ ମୁଣ୍ଡମେସ୍ ଅଦବାସୀ ନାଶରରଙ୍କ ଦ୍ଵାରା ଉକ୍ତ ଦ୍ରବ୍ୟମାନ ପ୍ରସ୍ତୁତ ହେଉଛି ସେମାନଙ୍କୁ ଚିତ୍ତ କରି ସେମାନଙ୍କୁ ସର୍ଥାବଧି ଉଚ୍ଚତର ତାଲମ ଦେଇ ଏହି କଳାର ସଂରକ୍ଷଣ ଦିଗରେ ସଂପୂର୍ଣ୍ଣ ସଭକାରକର ଗୋଷ୍ଠୀଦଳ ମିଳିବା ଅବଶ୍ୟକ ।



ଆଦିବାସୀ ଭାଷାଶିକ୍ଷା : ଉଦ୍ଦେଶ୍ୟ ଓ କର୍ତ୍ତବ୍ୟ

ଅନନ୍ତ ରଣ ସାହୁ
ପରମାନନ୍ଦ ପଟ୍ଟେଲ

ଆଦିବାସୀ ଭାଷା ଆନ୍ଦୋଳନର ପରମ୍ପରା :

ଇଂରେଜମାନଙ୍କର ଭରଣେ ଅପମାନ ଉପସ୍ଥିତ ଦେଶୀୟ ଭାଷା ମାଧ୍ୟମରେ ଶ୍ରେଷ୍ଠତମ ପ୍ରଭୃତି କଣ୍ଠେ ପାଠି ମିଶନାରୀ ପାତ୍ରୀମାନେ ଯାତାୟତ ଭାଷା ଉପରେ ଗୁରୁତ୍ୱ ଅପେକ୍ଷା କରୁଥିଲେ । ଭାଷାଶିକ୍ଷା ପାଠି ଅବଶ୍ୟତ ଭାଷା ପୁସ୍ତିକା ପ୍ରସ୍ତୁତ ଉପରେ ପଦକ୍ଷେପ ଗ୍ରହଣ କରୁଥିଲେ । ସେତେବେଳେ ଇଂରେଜମାନଙ୍କର ଦ୍ୟାକରଣ-ରଚନା ପ୍ରମୁଖତା ପ୍ରଦାନ କରିବା ପାଇଁ ଲେଖିକା ପାଠି ପଦକ୍ଷେପ ନେଲେ । ଏହାର ଅଧିକାରୀ ହୋଇଥିଲେ ଶ୍ରୀ ଉତ୍କଳୀୟ ମାନବଜ୍ଞ ମାଧ୍ୟମରେ ୧୮୬୦ ଖ୍ରୀଷ୍ଟାବ୍ଦରେ । ତେବେ ୧୯୦୧ ରେ ଉତ୍କଳୀୟମାନଙ୍କ ଲେଖକ ଚନ୍ଦ୍ରକାନ୍ତ ଭଞ୍ଜାରେ ଉତ୍କଳଭାଷାମାନଙ୍କର ଅନୁବାଦ ଭରଣେ ଭାଷା ପ୍ରମୁଖତା ଅଧିକାର କ୍ଷେତ୍ରରେ ଏକ ନୂତନ ଉଦ୍ୟମ । ସେ ସମ୍ପର୍କରେ ଭଞ୍ଜା ଉପରେ ଲେଖିଥିବା ଲେଖିକା ଦ୍ୱାରା କରାଯାଇଥିବା ଉଲ୍ଲେଖ ଦେଖିବାକୁ ପଡ଼ିବ । ତଳତ୍ୟ ଭାଷା-ଭାଷା ମଧ୍ୟରେ ଯଦା ରୂପରେ, ଅନୁକ୍ରମେ ଥୋ ଦ୍ୟାକରଣରେ ପାଦୁଣ୍ୟ-ଦେଶାତ୍ମକ ଉପରେ ଲେଖିକା ଲେଖିକା ନ ଥିବା ଯୋଗୁଁ ଭାଷା ସମ୍ବନ୍ଧରେ ପ୍ରକୃତ ଚିନ୍ତା ଉପସ୍ଥାପନ କରାଯାଇ ଅନୁକ୍ରମ ଥିଲା । ଭାରତରେ ସଂସ୍କୃତ ଲେଖିକା ଦ୍ୟାକରଣ ଉଚ୍ଚତାର ପରମ୍ପରା ଅଦାକ୍ରମେ କାଳରୁ ଚଳି ଆସୁଅଛି । ମିଶନାରୀମାନେ ତାଙ୍କ ଦ୍ୟାକରଣରେ ତାହା କ୍ଷତି (ବ୍ୟୟନ) ଦ୍ୟାକରଣ ଶିଳ୍ପରେ ପ୍ରସ୍ତୁତ କରାଯାଇ ପ୍ରସ୍ତୁତ ହେଲେ । ସେ ଯାହାକି ଭାଷା ଶିକ୍ଷା ଲେଖିକା ଅନ୍ଦୋଳନ କରାଯାଇ ପାଠି ମିଶନାରୀମାନେ ଭାରତରେ ପ୍ରଥମ ଉଦ୍ୟମ କଲେ ।

ଏହାପରେ ଅନେକ ମନସି ଭାରତୀୟ ଭାଷାମାନଙ୍କ ଉପରେ ଅଧ୍ୟୟନ ଆରମ୍ଭ କଲେ । ଡ. ଏ. କେ. ହେନରୀ ୧୮୮୮ ମସିହା ଦେଲେ ଅଧିକାରୀମାନଙ୍କୁ ପୁଣି ଓ ପ୍ରାକୃତ ଭାଷା ସ୍ତର କୋଳି ଅନୁକ୍ରମ କରା ଯିବାପ୍ରତି ଉପମାନ ହୋଇ ପାରିଥିଲେ । ଭାରତୀୟ ଦ୍ୟାକରଣ ମାନବଜ୍ଞାରେ ଅଧିକ ଦ୍ୟାକରଣ ମାନଙ୍କ ଭାଷା ଉପରେ ଅନ୍ଦୋଳନର ଲେଖିକା ଅଣା କରାଯାଇ ଦୃଷ୍ଟା ଥିଲା । ତେବେ ଦ୍ୟାକରଣ, ଶିକ୍ଷା, ଶିକ୍ଷା, ଶିକ୍ଷା, ପ୍ରାକୃତ ଲେଖାଦି ମାନବଜ୍ଞ ପୁଣି ଭାଷା ଅନ୍ଦୋଳନର ଅନ୍ୟ ଲେଖିକା ଉଚ୍ଚତା ମିଳି ନ ଥିଲା । ଯଦ୍ୟଦିଏ ମାତ୍ର ମୁଦିତ ଲେଖା

କ୍ରମେ ପୁଣି ଭାଷା, ପ୍ରାକୃତ ଓ ଅଧିକାରୀମାନଙ୍କୁ ସ୍ତର କୋଳି ପ୍ରତିପାଦନ ହେଲା । ଏହା ଫଳରେ ଭାଷାମାନଙ୍କୁ ପାରିବାଣିକ ଭାଷା ଦୃଷ୍ଟିରୁ ଅନ୍ଦୋଳନ କରାଯାଇ ପାଠି ମାନଙ୍କୁ ପ୍ରଗତି ହୋଇ ପାରିଲା । ୧୯୫୦ ରେ ପାଠି ଥୋମାସ୍ ଏଭିଆଲ୍ ଭାରତୀୟ ଭାଷାମାନଙ୍କୁ ଦୁଇ ଶ୍ରେଣୀଭିତ୍ତ କରୁଥିଲେ । ୧-ପ୍ରାକୃତ ମୂଳକ, ୨-ସଂସ୍କୃତ ମୂଳକ । ମାତ୍ର ୧୯୫୨ ରେ R. Caldwell କି ଦ୍ୱାରା ରଚିତ A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian or South Indian Family of Languages ପୁସ୍ତିକ ପ୍ରକାଶିତ ହେବା ପରେ ଭାରତ ଉପ-ମହାଦେଶରେ ଭାଷିକ ସଂସ୍କୃତିର ଚିନ୍ତା ଯଥେଷ୍ଟ ଗୁରୁ ହୋଇ ଯାଇଥିଲା ।

୧୯୬୨ରେ ପ୍ରକାଶିତ ହେଲା ନଳ ଦ୍ୟାକରଣ ରଚିତ Out lines of Indian Philology । ଏଥିରେ ସେ ଭାରତୀୟ ଭାଷା ସମ୍ବନ୍ଧକୁ ଦୁଇ ପକ୍ଷରେ ଅନୁକ୍ରମ କଲେ । ୧-ଭାରତୀୟ ଓ ଭାରତୀୟ ଉପଶାଖା ସମ୍ବନ୍ଧରେ ପରିଚାଳନା, ୨-ଶ୍ୟାମ ଦେଶୀୟ, ହିମାଳୟୀୟ, ଦକ୍ଷିଣ, କୋଳି ଏବଂ ପ୍ରାକୃତ ଲେଖାଦି ସମ୍ବନ୍ଧରେ ଉଲ୍ଲେଖ ପରିଚାଳନା । ପରେ ପରେ ଦ୍ୟାକରଣକ୍ରମେ ୧୯୬୫ରେ ରଚିତ ଓ ପ୍ରକାଶିତ Specimens of Languages of India, Including those of the Aboriginal Tribes of Bengal. The Central Province and the Eastern Frontier, ଭାରତୀୟ ଭାଷିକ ସଂସ୍କୃତିର ଗୁରୁତ୍ୱରେ ଏକ ଉଲ୍ଲେଖ ଉଦ୍ୟମ । ଏହି ସମୟର ଅନ୍ୟ ଗଣେ ଭାରତ ଉଲ୍ଲେଖ R. N. Cust କି ଦ୍ୱାରା ରଚିତ A Sketch of the Modern Languages of the East Indies (୧୯୨୮) ଭାରତୀୟ ପୁଣି ଭାଷା ପରିଚାଳନା ଉପରେ ଅଧ୍ୟୟନ କରାଯାଇ ଶେଷରେ ଏକ ଉଲ୍ଲେଖ ମୋଡ଼ି କେରୁଥିଲା ।

ଭାରତୀୟ ଶାସ୍ତ୍ରୀୟ ଶିକ୍ଷା ଅନୁକ୍ରମ ଭାରତ, ସୁଦେଶୀ ଓ ବିଦେଶୀ ଦୁଇ ଭାଷା ଉଲ୍ଲେଖମାନଙ୍କ ଦୃଷ୍ଟି ଅବଶ୍ୟକ କଲା । ୧୯୮୨ ଦେଲେ ଉଦ୍ୟମ ଉଲ୍ଲେଖ ଲେଖିକା ଲେଖିକା ସମ୍ବନ୍ଧରେ ଏକ ଉଲ୍ଲେଖ ମୋଡ଼ି କେରୁଥିଲା ।

ଭରତ ପରକାରଙ୍କ ନିକଟରେ ନିଜର ଦାମ ଉପସ୍ଥାପନ କଲେ । ଭରତ ପରକାର ଏହି କାର୍ଯ୍ୟର ପୁଣ୍ୟପାତ ୮୮୮ ମସିହାରେ ନର୍ତ୍ତ ଶ୍ରୀପୁରପଦଙ୍କ ଚତୁ୍ରାବଧାନରେ ଆକମ୍ପ କଲେ । ଶ୍ରୀପୁରପଦଙ୍କ ଦ୍ଵାରା ପରିଚାଳିତ ପର୍ବେ ମୁଦାବଳ ଭରତରେ କଥିତ ଭଣା ସମୁଦ୍ଧକୁ ଆର୍ଯ୍ୟ, ଅର୍ଦ୍ଧକ ବା ମୁଣ୍ଡା, ଦ୍ରାବିଡ଼ ଏବଂ ଭିଲଖ୍ୟ-ବର୍ମାନଭବରେ ବର୍ଣ୍ଣୀକୃତ କରାଗଲା । ଏଥିରେ ସମୁଦାୟ ୧୭୯ଟି ଭଣା ଓ ୫୩୯ଟି ଉପଭାଷା ପ୍ରଚଳିତ ହିସାବ ଦର୍ଶାଗଲା ।

ଶ୍ରୀପୁରପଦଙ୍କ 'ଭରତୀୟ ଭଣା ପଦ୍ୟସଙ୍ଗ' ବିଷୟ ଭବରେ ଭରତର ଅଦବାସୀମାନଙ୍କ ଭଣା ଉପରେ ଆଲୋଚନା କଲେ । ଫଳତଃ ଅଦବାସୀମାନଙ୍କ ଭଣା ଉପରେ ଆଲୋଚନା ପାଇଁ ପ୍ରଶସ୍ତ ମାର୍ଗ ପ୍ରସ୍ତୁତ ହୋଇ ପାରିଲା । ତଥ୍ୟ ସଂଗ୍ରହ କଳ୍ପତ ସାମାଜିକତା ଅବଦ ପଦ୍ଧତି ଭଣା ବଜ୍ରାନ ପଦ୍ୟରେ ବର୍ଣ୍ଣନାହୀନ ଅଲୋଚନା କରି ସେ ବ୍ୟାକରଣ ରଚନା ପଦ୍ୟ-ସ୍ଵରୁ ଅଦ୍ଧର ପୁସ୍ତକ ରଚନା କଲେ ।

ଭରତର ଭୃଷିକ ପ୍ରୀତି ଉପରେ ଏକ ପୁଲ ଧାରଣା ମିଳି ପାରିବା ପରେ ଭଣା ସମୁଦ୍ଧର ବ୍ୟାପକତା ଏବଂ ବିବିଧତା ଛଟାଠୁ ବୃଦ୍ଧମାନଙ୍କୁ ଆକୃଷ୍ଟ କରିବା ସାଧ୍ୟକ । ସେମାନଙ୍କ ନିକଟରେ ଭରତ ଏକ ଭଣାସେଷ ହୋଇ ଉଭୟହେଲା । ଦେଶ ବେଦଗଣ ବହୁ ବିଦ୍ଵାଜ, ବିଶ୍ଵବିଦ୍ୟାଳୟ ଏହା ପରେ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟ ହାତକୁ ନେଲେ । ବିଦେଶରେ ଅନେକ ବିଶ୍ଵବିଦ୍ୟାଳୟରେ ପ୍ରାଧ୍ୟାପକ୍ୟ କେନ୍ଦ୍ରମାନ ଖୋଲିଯାଇ ଭରତକୁ ଧ୍ୟାମାନଙ୍କ ଉପରେ ଅଧ୍ୟୟନ କରିବା ପାଇଁ ପଦକ୍ଷେପ ନିଅଗଲା ।

ଓଡ଼ିଶା ଏହି ଭଣା ଅଧ୍ୟୟନ କ୍ଷେତ୍ରରେ ଅନ୍ୟତମ ଭଣା କ୍ଷେତ୍ର ରୂପେ ନିର୍ଦ୍ଦେଶ ଦେଲା । ଏହା ଏପରି ଏକ କ୍ଷେତ୍ର ଯେଉଁଠି ଭିନ୍ନ ଭିନ୍ନ ଭଣା ପରିବାରର ଏକତ୍ର ସମାଗମ ହୋଇଛି । ଦ୍ରାବିଡ଼-ମୁଣ୍ଡା-ଆର୍ଯ୍ୟ ଗୋଦ୍ଵାର କ୍ରିଡ଼େଣ୍ଟି ପଦ୍ୟ ଏଇ ଓଡ଼ିଶାରେ ଏପରିକି ଗୋଟିଏ ଗ୍ରାମରେ ମଧ୍ୟ କେନ୍ଦ୍ରୀୟ ଥିଲା । ଓଡ଼ିଆ ଭଣା ମଧ୍ୟ ଏହି କ୍ରିଡ଼େଣ୍ଟି ପଦ୍ୟ ପ୍ରସ୍ତୁତ । ମାକଣ୍ଡେୟ ଭରତକ "ପ୍ରାକୃତ ପଦ୍ୟ" ପାଇଁ ଛଳନ ଉଦାହରଣ । ଅପଭ୍ରଂଶର ନୈଷିଷ୍ୟ ନିର୍ଦ୍ଦେଶ ପ୍ରଦାନ ସେ କେହିକେ— 'ବିଦ୍ୟାଧ୍ୟା ଏକୋକ୍ତି' ଯୋଗାହୁ ଉଦେଶ୍ୟ ଯୋରାଦେଲ୍ୟା ଦେୟା । ଏହାର ବ୍ୟାଖ୍ୟା ହେଲା "ଦେଶାନ୍ତା ଓଡ଼ିଦେଶ ପଦାନା" ଶୌର ସେନାପତି ପଦାନାତ ଯୋଗାହୁ ଶକ୍ତଭଣା ଦର୍ଶ୍ୟା ମେଦ ଓକ୍ତିସିଦ୍ଧିତ ।" ଅର୍ଥ କଲେ ହେବ "ଓଡ଼ି ଦେଶର ଲୋକିକ

ଭଣାର ଏବଂ ଯୌରସେନା ଲିଖିତ ଭଣାର ପଦ ସମୁଦ୍ଧ ପଢ଼ିତ ଶବ୍ଦ ଭଣାର ସଂଶ୍ଳେଷ ନିଜେ ମିଶ୍ର ଭଣା ହିଁ ଓକ୍ତି । ଯୌର-ସେନା ଲିଖିତ ଭଣା ଅର୍ଥ ସମାସଭବରେ ସଦିକଟବର୍ଣ୍ଣା ମଧ୍ୟଦେଶୀୟ ଶାଖା ଏବଂ ମଧ୍ୟ ପୂର୍ବ ଶାଖାପ୍ର ଅବଦକ ଏବଂ କୋଶଳୀ ଅପଭ୍ରଂଶ ପ୍ରତି ସୁଦନା ଦିଅଯାଇଥିବା ସମ୍ଭାବନା କରାଯାଇ ପାରେ ।

ଓଡ଼ିଶାରେ ଭଣା ବିଦ୍ୟାନର ପରିଚ୍ଛାବ ଧର୍ମ ସନେ । ଏହାର ପ୍ରାଚୀନତା ଭରତମୁଖ୍ୟ ନାଟ୍ୟ ଶାସ୍ତ୍ର ମିଳିଥାଏ (ଖ୍ରୀ. ପ. ୧୦୦-୧୦୦) । ଓଡ଼ିଶାକୁ ଆର୍ଯ୍ୟମାନଙ୍କର ଅପନୟନ କୋଶଳ ଏବଂ ବଜ୍ର ଭରତୁ ହୋଇଥିବାରୁ ଏବଂ ଏଠିକାର ଭୌଗୋଳିକ ଅବସ୍ଥିତିକୁ ନେଇ ଓଡ଼ିଆ ଭଣା ପଶ୍ଚିମାଞ୍ଚଳୀୟ, ଦକ୍ଷିଣାଞ୍ଚଳୀୟ ତଥା ଉପକୂଳାଞ୍ଚଳୀୟ ଓଡ଼ିଆର ପ୍ରଭେଦ ସହଜରେ ଅନୁମେୟ । ଓଡ଼ିଶାରେ ଆର୍ଯ୍ୟ ଭଣା ବ୍ୟତୀତକେ ଦ୍ରାବିଡ଼ ଓ ମୁଣ୍ଡା ପରିବାରର ଭଣାଭଣାଙ୍କ ଅବସ୍ଥିତି ମଧ୍ୟ ଯଥେଷ୍ଟ । ଓଡ଼ିଶାର ସାମଗ୍ରିକ ଜନସଂଖ୍ୟାର ୨୨.୨ ଶତାଂଶ ଅଦବାସୀ । ସରକାରୀ ଭବେ ସ୍ଵୀକୃତ ଏହି କ୍ରିତ୍ୟ ପରିବାରର ଗୋଟାଁ ସଂଖ୍ୟା ଦାସୀ । ଓଡ଼ିଆ ବ୍ୟକ୍ତ ଏମାନଙ୍କ ମଧ୍ୟରେ ଅପାଚିତ ଭୂକିଣ ପ୍ରକାରର ଭଣା ପ୍ରଚଳିତ ।

ଅନୁବଂଶିକ ବର୍ଣ୍ଣନାର ଚାହିଦାରେ ଏହି କ୍ରିତ୍ୟ ଭଣା ପରିବାର ଉପରେ ଏକ ପୁଲ ଧାରଣା ଦର୍ଶାଯାଉଛି ।

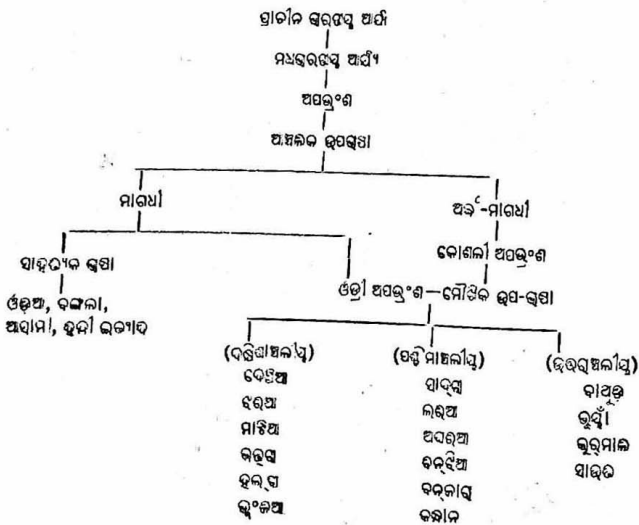
ଓଡ଼ିଶାରେ ପଚଳିତ ଆର୍ଯ୍ୟାନ୍ତର ଉପଭାଷା ସମୁଦ୍ଧର ଯିତି ଭବେ କେଡ଼ି ଉପଭାଷା କେଡ଼ି ମୁଖ୍ୟଭାଷା ସହିତ ସଂପୃକ୍ତ ଅନ୍ୟାନ୍ୟ ନିର୍ଣ୍ଣୟ କରାଯାଇ ପାରିନାହିଁ । ଦକ୍ଷିଣ-ପୂର୍ବ ଶାଖାରେ ଦେଶିଆ-ଭରତ, ଦେଶିଆ-ହାଲିଦା-ବିଶା, ଦେଶିଆ-ଲିଖା ଛତାଗଡ଼ ଉନୋଟି ପରିହର ସମୁଦ୍ଧର ଉପ-ଶାଖା ହିସାବରେ ଗହଣାୟ ହେଉଥିବା ବେଳେ ପଶ୍ଚିମା-ଞ୍ଚଳୀୟ ଶାଖାରେ ସାଦୃଶ୍ୟ-ଲିଖା ଛତାଗଡ଼-ଅଦଶା, ସମୁଦ୍ଧରୁ ବଜ୍ରାନ ନେହିଁ ବନୁକା-ଲିଖା, ପରିହର ସମୁଦ୍ଧାନ୍ତର ତଥା ଉପକୂଳାଞ୍ଚଳୀୟ ଶାଖାରେ ସମୁଦ୍ଧରୁ-ଲୁଧି-ବାଧୁଡ଼, ବାଧୁଡ଼ କୁରୁମାଳ-ପାଠେ ପରିହର ସମୁଦ୍ଧାନ୍ତର ଉପ ଶାଖା ହିସାବରେ ଗ୍ରହଣ କରାଯାଇ ପାରେ ।

ଦକ୍ଷିଣାଞ୍ଚଳୀୟ ଶାଖାର ଉପ-ଭଣା ସମୁଦ୍ଧ ମୁଖ୍ୟତଃ ଅକରଣ କୋସୁଡ଼, କୋହାଣ୍ଡି ଛଣାରେ ଅଦ୍ଧ ଛଣାଧିପା ବେଳେ ପଶ୍ଚିମାଞ୍ଚଳୀୟ ଶାଖାର ଉପ-ଭଣା ସମୁଦ୍ଧ ଅକରଣ କଳାହାଣ୍ଡି, ବେଝର, ସମୁଲସର, ସୁନରଗଡ଼ ଛଣାରେ ତଥା

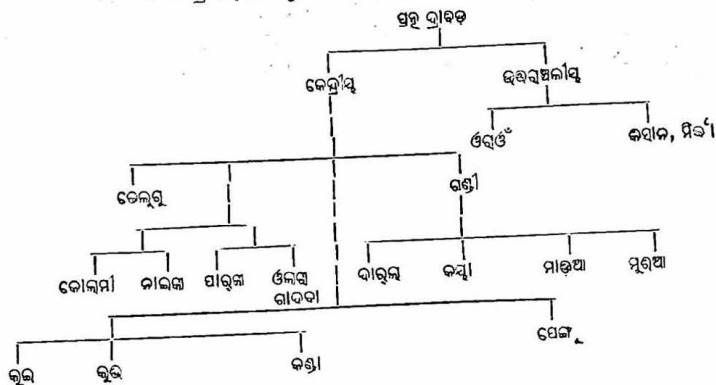
ଉତ୍ପାଦନା ଶାଖାର ଉପ-ଶାଖା ସମୂହ ସୁରକ୍ଷକ, କେନ୍ଦ୍ରୀୟ, ମଧ୍ୟମରାଜ୍ୟ ଇତ୍ୟାଦି ସମୂହରେ ପ୍ରଚଳିତ । ଏ ଶାଖା ତ୍ରୟୀର ବର୍ତ୍ତମାନ ରୂପରେ ଚୌପାଦ୍ୟ ମଧ୍ୟ ଉତ୍ପାଦନା-ପତ୍ରି ମାହଲୀୟ-ଦଣ୍ଡପାହଲୀୟ କ୍ରମରେ ରହିଛି । ସାଂସ୍କୃତିକ କ୍ଷେତ୍ର ତଥା ଭାଷିକ କ୍ଷେତ୍ର ଉଦ୍ଦିଷ୍ଟ ଅଧ୍ୟାୟନ ନିମନ୍ତେ ଏହି ଅଞ୍ଚଳ ଉଦ୍ଦିଷ୍ଟ ସଂଗ୍ରହରେ ଶାଖା ତ୍ରୟୀର ରୂପିକା ସୁରୁତ୍ପସ୍ଥିତ ।

ପୁନଶ୍ଚ ଏ ସମସ୍ତ ଉପଶାଖା ଓଡ଼ିଶାର ସମସ୍ତ ମାଲ ଅଞ୍ଚଳକୁ କେବଳ ପରିଦେଶ ତଥା ଏ ଅଞ୍ଚଳ ବିଭିନ୍ନ ସମୟରେ ବିଭିନ୍ନ ପ୍ରଶାସନ କେନ୍ଦ୍ର ଦ୍ୱାରା ଶାସିତ ତଥା ସାଂସ୍କୃତିକ ସମନ୍ୱୟ ଏହି ଶାସନ ସମୟରେ ସାଧିତ ହୋଇଥିବାରୁ ଭାଷାଭାଷା ମଧ୍ୟରେ ପାରସ୍ପରିକ ସଂପର୍କ ପରିଚାଳିତ ।

୧ । ଭାରତୀୟ ଆର୍ଯ୍ୟଗୋଷ୍ଠୀ



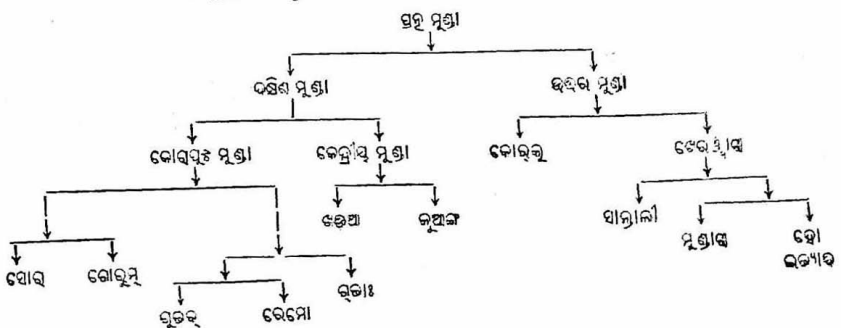
୨ । ଦ୍ରାବିଡ଼ଗୋଷ୍ଠୀ



ଏହି ଭାଷା ଗୋଷ୍ଠୀ ମଧ୍ୟରେ ଉତ୍ତରାପସ୍ଚିମୀୟ ଶାଖାର ଓରଓ-କଥାନ ପରମ୍ପରା ସମୃଦ୍ଧ। ମିର୍ବା-କଥାନର ଅନ୍ୟତମ ରୂପ । କେନ୍ଦ୍ରୀୟ ଶାଖାର ସମସ୍ତ ଡେଲୁଗୁ ଭାଷାକୁ ଛାଡ଼ିଦେଲେ ଅନ୍ୟ ଅବଶିଷ୍ଟ ଅଧିକାଂଶ ଭାଷା ସମୃଦ୍ଧ ପରମ୍ପରା ସହ ସମ୍ପର୍କିତ। ଦକ୍ଷିଣ ଓଡ଼ିଶାର ଦର୍ବଦଳ ଧରି ମାଡ଼ିଆ ପ୍ରାୟତଃ ଏହି

ଅଧୀନସ୍ଥ ହେବା ତଥା ସଡ଼ୋଗୀ ସମ୍ପର୍କ କଳତ ଓଡ଼ିଆ ଭାଷାରେ ଏମାନଙ୍କର ପ୍ରଭାବ ବହୁଳ ଭାବେ ପରିଲକ୍ଷିତ । ତଥା କ୍ଷେତ୍ର ଉତ୍ତରେ ଅଧିକାଂଶ ଭାଷାର ପ୍ରଭାବ ମଧ୍ୟ ସ୍ଥାନୀୟ ସମ୍ପର୍କ (Lingua Franca) ଭାଷାରେ ପ୍ରତ୍ୟକ୍ଷ ।

୩ । ମୁଣ୍ଡାଗୋଷ୍ଠୀ



ସହ ମୁଣ୍ଡାର ତନୋଟି ଶାଖା ମଧ୍ୟରୁ ଉତ୍ତର ମୁଣ୍ଡା ଓଡ଼ିଶାର ପଶ୍ଚିମ ଭିତ୍ତିଭାଗରେ ଯଥା ସମୁଦ୍ରପତ୍ତ, ସୁନ୍ଦରପତ, କେନ୍ଦୁଝର, ମୟୂରଭଞ୍ଜ ଜିଲ୍ଲାମାନଙ୍କରେ ବିଶେଷ ଯଥା । ଲୋଦ୍ଧାୟକ ମୁଣ୍ଡା ଓ କେନ୍ଦ୍ର ମୁଣ୍ଡା ବହୁତା ଦକ୍ଷିଣ ମୁଣ୍ଡା ଅନ୍ତର୍ଭୁକ୍ତ । କେନ୍ଦ୍ର ମୁଣ୍ଡା କୁହୁଅ, ଓଡ଼ିଶର ସମ୍ପର୍କ ଦକ୍ଷିଣ ମୁଣ୍ଡା ସହ ନିକଟତର । ଲୋଦ୍ଧାୟକ ମୁଣ୍ଡା ଅବଲମ୍ବ ଲୋଦ୍ଧାୟକ ଜିଲ୍ଲା ତଥା ନୂତନ ଭାବେ ସୃଷ୍ଟି ଗଜପତି ଜିଲ୍ଲାରେ ବ୍ୟାପ୍ତ । ଦକ୍ଷିଣ ଶାଖା ସହ ସଂପର୍କିତ ଓଡ଼ିଶା କୁହୁଅ ଉତ୍ତର ଶାଖା ଅଞ୍ଚଳର ବାସିନ୍ଦା । ଦକ୍ଷିଣାଞ୍ଚଳର ସମ୍ପର୍କ ଭାଷା ଦେଖିଅ ସହ ଦକ୍ଷିଣ ଶାଖା ପଞ୍ଚମର ହୋଇଥିବା ବେଳେ ଉତ୍ତର ଶାଖା ମଧ୍ୟରେ ଯାଦ୍ଧାୟକ ସମ୍ପର୍କ ଭାଷା ରୂପ ସ୍ୱତନ୍ତ୍ର ।

ଅଦବାସୀମାନଙ୍କ ମଧ୍ୟରେ ଅଧିକା ସଂଖ୍ୟା ପ୍ରକଳତ ସ୍ୱର୍ଣ୍ଣାୟ ଗଣା ଉପ-ଭାଗର ପ୍ରକଳତ ଶୁଭ ସାମିତ । ଅନ୍ତର୍ଗୋଷ୍ଠୀୟ ପ୍ରକଳରେ ଏମାନେ ସମ୍ପର୍କ ଗଣାର ପାହୁଡ଼ା ଅଧିକ । ଏପକ୍ଷର ପକ୍ଷର ମୁଖ୍ୟ ଗ୍ରାମ୍ୟ ଲୋକେ ତାଙ୍କ ସମ୍ପ୍ରଦାୟର ନିକଟରେ ଗ୍ରାମ୍ୟ ସମ୍ପର୍କ ଗଣାରେ ବସାବାସୀ ନଗରୀନ୍ତ । ସ୍ୱଳ୍ପ ଏ ସମସ୍ତଙ୍କର ଦ୍ୱି-ପଦ ନିକଟ ଗଣା ଅଳ୍ପ । ମାତ୍ର ପ୍ରାୟେଶ୍ୱର ପ୍ରକଳ ଶାଖାନ୍ତ ଗୋଷ୍ଠୀ ଗଣା ସ୍ୱ ମାତ୍ରଗଣା ପାଇଁ ସୋପାନର ଅଳ୍ପ ବୋଧସ୍ୱର ସେମାନଙ୍କର ଭାଷା ବିଲୁପ୍ତିର ନାଶ । ଅଳ୍ପ ମଧ୍ୟ ଏହି ଶମ ନାଶ ରହୁଛି । ତନ ଅଧିକ ଅନେକ ଉପ-ଭାଷା ନାଳ ବନ୍ଧରେ ବାନ୍ଧୁ ହୋଇଥିବ ।

ଅଦବାସୀମାନଙ୍କ ମଧ୍ୟରେ ପ୍ରକଳତ ସ୍ୱର୍ଣ୍ଣ କଥିତ ଗଣା ମଧ୍ୟ ସମାନ ପ୍ରକଳ ନୁହେଁ । ଏଥିରେ କେତେକ ସଂଖ୍ୟା ନଗରୀ ଗୋଷ୍ଠୀର ଗଣା ଅଳ୍ପ ; କେତେକ ସଂଖ୍ୟାକୁ ସଂସ୍କୃତାୟର ଗଣା ରହୁଛି । କେତେକଙ୍କ ଭାଷା ଶୁଦ୍ଧ ଅର୍ଥମ ପ୍ରକଳ । କେତେକ ପ୍ରକଳର ଗୋଷ୍ଠୀ ସ୍ୱ ଗଣା ସୁନ୍ଦର ପ୍ରକାର କର ଶ୍ୱି ପ୍ରକଳିତ କରୁଛନ୍ତି । ଅନେକ ଗଣା ଅଳ୍ପ ପାହୁଡ଼ା ସମ୍ପର୍କ ଲୋକ ପାହୁଡ଼ା ରହୁଛି । ଏହି ସହ ବିବିଧତା ଦୃଷ୍ଟିରୁ ଅଦବାସୀଙ୍କ ଭାଷାକୁ ଅଳ୍ପ ପରସ୍ପରରେ ମଧ୍ୟ ବର୍ଣ୍ଣିକରଣ କରାଯାଇ ପାରେ ।

- ୧ । ସ୍ୱଳ୍ପ ଗୋଷ୍ଠୀ ପରସ୍ପର ଯାଦ ଅନ୍ତର୍ଗତ ଭାଷା :
(ସିଦ୍ଧା, ସାମ୍ବାଲ, ମୁଣ୍ଡା, ହୋଇ ଇତ୍ୟାଦି)
- ୨ । ସ୍ୱଳ୍ପ ଗୋଷ୍ଠୀ ପରସ୍ପର ଯାଦ ମିଶ୍ରିତ ଭାଷା :
(ବାୟୁକ୍ତ, ଉତ୍ତର, ବନ୍ଦୁନା, ଇତ୍ୟାଦି)
- ୩ । ଲୁପ୍ତ ଗୋଷ୍ଠୀ ପରସ୍ପର ନ ଯାଦ ଅନ୍ତର୍ଗତ ସଂପର୍କ ଭାଷା :
(ସାୟକ୍, ଦେଖିଅ, ଲିଖିଅ ଇତ୍ୟାଦି)

ଏହାଉପରେ କୌତୋକନନା ଅଧାରରେ ତନ ଭାଷା ପଞ୍ଚମରକୁ ତନ ଭାଷାରେ ବର୍ଣ୍ଣିକରଣ କରାଯାଇ ସମ୍ପର୍କ ଭାଷା ଭିତ୍ତିରେ ଅଦବାସୀର କରାଯାଇପାରେ ।

- ୧ । ଦକ୍ଷିଣ ଓଡ଼ିଶା—ଦେଖିଅ (ଉତ୍ତର, ଗଙ୍ଗାମୀ ଓଡ଼ିଶା)
- ୨ । ପଶ୍ଚିମ-ଓଡ଼ିଶା—ସାୟକ୍ (ସମୁଦ୍ରପତ୍ତ, ଲିଖିଅ)
- ୩ । ଉତ୍ତର-ଓଡ଼ିଶା—ବାୟୁକ୍ତ (ଉତ୍ତରମାଳ, ଭୂୟା)

ଏକ କୌତୋକନ ପକ୍ଷ୍ୟ ମଧ୍ୟରେ ପରସ୍ପର ଦୃଷ୍ୟାଧ୍ୟ ଭାଷିତ ପରସ୍ପରର ଏକାନ୍ତ ସହାବସ୍ଥାକ ସେମାନଙ୍କୁ ଭାବର ଅଦାନ ପ୍ରଦାନ ପାଇଁ ଦ୍ୱି-ଭାଷିତତା ଜଣିବା ପ୍ରକାରକ । ଆତ୍ମିକ ନିକଟ ଭାବରେ ଏମାନେ ଅଧିକନତା ଭିତ୍ତିରେ ଏକ ଭୂତାୟ ଗଣାକୁ ଅନ୍ତର୍ଗୋଷ୍ଠୀୟ ପ୍ରକଳରେ ସଂପର୍କ ଭାଷା ହସାବରେ ସ୍ୱଳ୍ପତ ଜଣି କେଲେଛନ୍ତି । ଏହି ସଂପର୍କ ଭାଷା ଦ୍ୱି-ପଦ ଏକ ପ୍ରକାର ଗୋଷ୍ଠୀର ବ୍ୟବସାୟ/ପ୍ରଶାସକର ସମ୍ପର୍କ ଭାଷା ହସାବରେ ପ୍ରକଳତ ହୋବା ଦ୍ୱାରା ପରବର୍ତ୍ତୀ ପର୍ଯ୍ୟାୟରେ ମୂଳ ଅଧିକାରୀଙ୍କ ଦ୍ୱାରା ସଂକଳିତ/ସଂସ୍କୃତ ହୋଇଥାଇ ପାରେ ।

ଆଦିବାସୀ ଭାଷାର ନବଜାଗରଣ :

ପାଶ୍ଚାତ୍ୟ ସମସ୍ତ ସଂସ୍କୃତ ଲେଖକଙ୍କ ହୋଇ ଏକ ମୁଖ୍ୟମେୟ ଗୋଷ୍ଠୀର ମୌଳିକୀ ସମ୍ପର୍କ ହୋଇ ରହିଥିଲା । ସାଧାରଣ ଲେଖକମାନଙ୍କ ପାଖରେ ଏହି ଭାଷା ଶିକ୍ଷିତର ବା ଜାଣିବାର ସହଜ ସାଧନ ନ ଥିଲା ।

ଏହି ପରସ୍ପରରେ ସାଧାରଣରେ କଥିତ ଭାଷା ସମୂହ ସଂସ୍କୃତର ଏକଭୂତ ଶୁଦ୍ଧକର୍ତ୍ତୃକ ଜଣି ନିଜ ନିଜ ଅଧିକ ଭିତ୍ତିରେ ଅସ୍ୱପକାଣ ଲିଖି କରାବାକୁ ବସିଲା । ଗ୍ରାମ୍ୟର ଗଣାକୁ ସ୍ୱଳ୍ପ ନିଜ ପ୍ରାକୃତ ଭାଷା ସମୂହ ପରବର୍ତ୍ତୀ ପର୍ଯ୍ୟାୟରେ ଅଧିକ ଲେଖକ ବିଦ୍ୱଜ ବିଦ୍ୱଜ ହୋବାକୁ ଲାଗିଲା । ଏକ ଏକ ଲେଖକଙ୍କ ପରସ୍ପର ମଧ୍ୟରେ ଅଧିକ ଭିନ୍ନ ଭିନ୍ନ କଥିତ ଭାଷା ସମୂହ ପ୍ରଶାସକଙ୍କୁ ପୁଷ୍ଟିପାତକତାରେ ସୃଷ୍ଟି ଭାଷା ସହ ଏକାନ୍ତ ହୋଇ ନ ପାରି ଅନ୍ତର୍ଗୋଷ୍ଠୀ ହୋଇ ପଡ଼ିଲା । ପୁଷ୍ଟିପାତକତା ଲିଖି କରି ଉପଲେଖି ଭାଷା ଧର୍ମ ସହ ନିକଟ ହୋଇ ଏକ ସମସ୍ୟାକୁ ସଂହତ୍ୱିତ କରିଦେଲା । ସାଧାରଣତଃ ଅଦିବାସୀ ଅଦବାସୀ-ମାନେ ପାରସ୍ପର ପୁନଃପଞ୍ଚନ ସାମାଜିକ ବିଚଳନ ସଦୃଶତର ନିଜ ସଂସ୍କୃତ କରକର ପରିସ୍ୱକାଣ ଏହି ଭାଷା ମାଧ୍ୟମରେ

ଭାଷାର ପ୍ରକାର୍ଯ୍ୟ :

ଭାଷା ମନୁଷ୍ୟର ଭାବ ଏବଂ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟ ସହଜ ଏକାତ୍ର ଭାବେ ସଂସ୍କୃତ । ନିଜ ଜାତସ୍ୱତ୍ୱା ଧର୍ମ ଏବଂ ସଂସ୍କୃତି ସହ ଏହାର ନିଜତ୍ୱ ସଂପର୍କ ବିଦ୍ୟମାନ । ଧନ, ନିର୍ଦ୍ଦଳ ନିର୍ଦ୍ଦିଷ୍ଟତାରେ ସମସ୍ତଙ୍କର କାର୍ଯ୍ୟ ସୁଧା ଓ ଉପସ୍ଥଳ, ନୀତି, ଅଦସର ବିଦାନଦନ ପାଇଁ ଏହାର ସମ୍ପୋଗ ଅପରିହାର୍ଯ୍ୟ । ଭାଷାର ବିସ୍ତୃତ ଯୋଗୁଁ ଶିକ୍ଷା କ୍ଷେତ୍ରରେ ଏହାର ନ୍ୟୁନତମ ନିଶ୍ଚୟ ହେଉଛି ପଠନ । ଚେଣ୍ଡେ ଶିକ୍ଷାର ସମସ୍ତ ବିଭାଗ ସହଜ ନ୍ୟୁନାଧିକ ପରିମାଣରେ ହେଲେ ହେଁ ସ୍ୱଳ୍ପକଳ ଭାବରେ ବ୍ୟବହୃତ ହୁଅନ୍ତି । ଭାଷା ଶୂନ୍ୟରେ ନେତେହେଲେ ବିଦସିତ ହୁଏ ନାହିଁ । ଏହା ନେତମାନଙ୍କର ସଂସ୍କୃତିର ଏକ ଅଭିନ୍ନ ଅଂଶ ଏବଂ ସଧାନ ଉପାୟ । ଏହୁ ମାଧ୍ୟମରେ ହିଁ ସମାଜର ପରିସମାନେ ଯୋଗାଯୋଗ ପ୍ରାପନ କରିପାରାନ୍ତି । ଭାଷା ଚେଣ୍ଡେ ସଂସ୍କୃତିର ସଜ୍ଜ । ଗୋଟାଏ ବୃତ୍ତାନ୍ତର କାଳରେ କେନ୍ଦ୍ର ପରି ଏହା ମଧ୍ୟ ଦେଇ ଅନ୍ୟ ସଜ୍ଜଗୁଣକ ଅସ୍ତ୍ରସମାଗ ଲାଭ କରିଛି ।

ଏକାଧିକ ଭାଷା ଶିଖିବାକୁ ହେଲେ ସେହି ଭାଷା ଦେଇ ପ୍ରସ୍ତୋଗ ଅର୍ଥରେ ପାର୍ଥକ୍ୟ ଗୋଟିଏ ଗୋଟିଏ ସମନ୍ୱୟ ହୋଇ ଦେଖା ଦେଇଥାଏ । ଅବଦାର୍ଯ୍ୟ ଭାଷାକୁ ବିଚ୍ଚର ପରିସର ଗୁଡ଼ିକ କରାଯାଇ ଏହାର ସର୍ବାଧିକ ମହତ୍ତ୍ୱ ପାରେ । ମୁଣ୍ଡାସ, ସାନ୍ତାଳୀ, ହୋ ପ୍ରଭୃତ ମୁଣ୍ଡାଗୋଷ୍ଠୀ ଭାଷାମାନଙ୍କ ପାଇଁ ଗୋଟାଏ ଗୋଟାଏ ଶବ୍ଦ ବିଶେଷ୍ୟ, ବିଶେଷଣ, ବିଧିୟା ଅର୍ଥରେ ଅବଶ୍ୟକ ମତେ ପ୍ରକାଶିତ ହୋଇଥାଏ । ଦ୍ରାବିଡ଼ ଭାଷା ପରିବର ଭାଷା-ମାନଙ୍କରେ ମଧ୍ୟ ପୁର ଧୁଳିର ସାମାନ୍ୟ ଉପ-ଦର୍ଯ୍ୟ କେତେରେ ଏକ ଶବ୍ଦ ଅର୍ଥରେତ ହୋଇଥାଏ । ମାତ୍ର ଏହି ପାର୍ଥକ୍ୟ ଅନ୍ୟ ଭାଷାଭାଷୀଙ୍କୁ ସାମାନ୍ୟ ଭାବରେ ଜଣାଯାଏ ନାହିଁ କିନ୍ତୁ ବାଣିଜ୍ୟ ନାହିଁ । ତେଣୁ ଏହି ସବୁ ଭାଷା ଶିକ୍ଷଣର ଅର୍ଥ ଭାଷାଭାଷୀର ନେତ ସେହି ଭାଷାର ଶତସ୍ତ୍ରୀକର ଅର୍ଥ ଏବଂ ତା'ର ପ୍ରସ୍ତୋଗ ବିଧି ଜାଣିବା ଏକାନ୍ତ ଅପରିହାର୍ଯ୍ୟ ହୋଇପଡ଼େ ।

ଅପେ ଯେତେବେଳେ ଅବଦାର୍ଯ୍ୟମାନଙ୍କ ସମ୍ପର୍କରେ ଶୁଣିବା ସଂପର୍କରେ ଅସିବାକୁ ଚେଷ୍ଟାକରୁ, ସେତେବେଳେ ସେମାନଙ୍କର ଅପଠାତ୍ତ ପୁତ୍ର ଏକ ନିର୍ଦ୍ଦିଷ୍ଟ କେଶୀ ଓ ପରମ୍ପରା ପ୍ରକାର ଧାରଣା ଅମ ମନରେ ବଳବତ୍ତର ହୁଏ । ଏକ ନିର୍ଦ୍ଦିଷ୍ଟ ଭାଷା ଏକ ନିର୍ଦ୍ଦିଷ୍ଟ ପରିବେଶ, ଏକ ନିର୍ଦ୍ଦିଷ୍ଟ ପରମ୍ପରା ତଥା ଏକ ନିର୍ଦ୍ଦିଷ୍ଟ କୌଶଳୀକ ପରିବେଶ ମଧ୍ୟରେ ସେମାନଙ୍କୁ ସମ୍ପୂର୍ଣ୍ଣ କରିଦେଇପାରେ ଅପେ କାଳୁ ଅବଦାର୍ଯ୍ୟ କହିଦେଉ । ମାତ୍ର ଏ ଦେଖିବାହା ଉପରଠାଊଣିଅ, ତାକୁ ଅନଳନ କରବାର କାହାକୁହି । ତାଙ୍କ ସଂସ୍କୃତି, ଧାରଣାକୁ ଉପଲବ୍ଧ୍ୟ କରି

ପାରିବାର ଦୃଷ୍ଟି ନୁହେଁ । ଅପେ ତାଙ୍କ ସଂସ୍କୃତିକୁ ଭୁଲିବା, ତାଙ୍କ ସଂସ୍କୃତିର ଅଭିସ୍ତୁତ ଜାଣିବା ଉପାଦେ ଅବଶ୍ୟକତାକୁ ଗଣା ମାଧ୍ୟମରେ ହିଁ ପ୍ରମୁଖ କରାଯାଇ ପାରେ । ଏକ ପରିସ୍ପଷ୍ଟରେ ଭାଷାଶିକ୍ଷାର ଉଦ୍ଦେଶ୍ୟ ହେଉ ଏହାକୁ ବ୍ୟବହାର କରିବାର ସାମର୍ଥ୍ୟ । ସଂସ୍କୃତ ସଂସ୍କୃତିର ଅଧିକାରୀମାନଙ୍କର ବୋଲି ଏବଂ ରଚନାକୁ ସେମାନଙ୍କ ଦ୍ୱାରା ବ୍ୟାଧି ଅର୍ଥରେ ତାଙ୍କର ମୁଖ୍ୟ ଧାରଣା ଏବଂ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟ ସେମାନଙ୍କୁ ବୁଝିପାରିବାର ସାମର୍ଥ୍ୟ ବୋଲି କୁହାଯାଇ ପାରେ । ଗୋଟିଏ ଅବଦାର୍ଯ୍ୟ ଏକ ନିର୍ଦ୍ଦିଷ୍ଟ ଭାବରେ କିନ୍ତୁ ବ୍ୟାଧି କଲି ଏବଂ ସେ ନିର୍ଦ୍ଦିଷ୍ଟ ଭାବଟା ତା'ର ଅପେ ଯତ୍ନ ଜାଣିବାରେ ଅସମର୍ଥ ହୋଇ ଅପ ଅର୍ଥରେ ଶୁଣିବ କଲେ କେବେ ତା'ର କହିବାର ଉଦ୍ଦେଶ୍ୟକୁ ଅପେ ଯଥାର୍ଥ ଭାବରେ ଉପଲବ୍ଧ୍ୟ କରିବା ନ ହୋଇ ଉପର ଠାଉଣିଅ ହୋଇଲେ । ନେତ ସମ୍ପର୍କରେ କୁହାଯାଏ, ଅମ୍ଭୁକ ଯଥାଟି ଅବଦାର୍ଯ୍ୟମାନଙ୍କ ଅଭିସ୍ତୁତର ଏକ ଦୁଷ୍ଟାନ୍ତ । ପ୍ରତ୍ୟେକ ଗୋଷ୍ଠୀର ନିଜସ୍ୱ ଚଳଣୀ ଅଛି, ତନତାକୁ ନେଇ ଦେବେକ ବିଶ୍ୱାସ ପମ୍ପେତ୍ତ ଗଢ଼ି ଉଠିବ । ତାଙ୍କ ଅର୍ଥରେ ଯାହା ବିଶ୍ୱାସ, ପରମ୍ପରା ରୂପରେ ପ୍ରଚଳିତ ଗାଳୁ ଅପ ଅର୍ଥରେ ଅଭିସ୍ତୁତ କହି ଉଦ୍ଦାର୍ଯ୍ୟକ ଭାବରେ କଥାର ବିସ୍ତୃତ ଦେବ ନ ଥାଇ ଯାହା ଫଳରେ ସେ ସଂସ୍କୃତି ସେ ପରମ୍ପରା ଅପ ନିଜତରେ ଗୋଷ୍ଠ ହୋଇପଡ଼େ । ଏକ ଉଦ୍ଦାର୍ଯ୍ୟକତା ବ୍ୟାଧି ଅପ ସମାଜରେ ଏତେ ବଳି ଯାଏତ୍ତ ସେ ଅବଦାର୍ଯ୍ୟମାନଙ୍କ ପ୍ରଥ ସମ୍ପର୍କ ଧାରଣା ଅପ ନିମ୍ନ ପ୍ରକୃତ ବୁଦ୍ଧିଯାଉଛି । ଏହା ଗୋଟାଏ ପ୍ରକଳୟୀ ଅଧିକାରୀ ନିଜସ୍ୱ ସମାଜ ପ୍ରଥ କୁଠାଠାତ୍ତ ହୋ ଅଧିକ ହୋଇ ପାରେ । ଅଧିକ ବି ସମସ୍ତ ଅଛି, ତାଙ୍କ ଭାଷାର ପ୍ରକଳୟ ଉଦ୍ଦେଶ୍ୟକୁ ଅନୁଶୀଳନାର ସହ ଫଳା କରାବାର ; ଭାଷା ମାଧ୍ୟମରେ ତାଙ୍କ ସଂସ୍କୃତିର ଅନୁଭବମ ମହତ୍ତ୍ୱର ଉଦ୍ଦେଶ୍ୟକୁ ଉପଲବ୍ଧ୍ୟ କରିବାର । ତାଙ୍କ ସଂସ୍କୃତିର ପରମ୍ପରାକୁ ଅନ୍ତତ୍ତ ଚିଣ୍ଡି ପ୍ରକଳୟ ପାବକ୍ତରେ ସେମାନଙ୍କୁ ଛାଠାଠାବାର । ନେତ୍ରତ୍ତ୍ୱ ଚୋଧାଧି ଏକ୍ଷେତ୍ତରେ ମନେ ପକାଦେବାର ଅବଦାର୍ଯ୍ୟ ବିଶ୍ୱ । ତାଙ୍କ ଭାଷାରେ: 'ମୁଁ ଜି'ର ସଂସ୍କୃତି ନୁହେଁ କାହାର ଜନନଧାସ ଉଦ୍ଦେଶ୍ୟ ଅମର ନା ଅବଦାର୍ଯ୍ୟକ ? କେତେକ କାହାରେ ସେମାନଙ୍କର ଯେ ଭଲ, ଏହା ନାସଦେହ । ନୁହେଁ ଉଦ୍ଦାର୍ଯ୍ୟକ ଭାବନେଇ ତାଙ୍କୁ ବୁଝିବା ଓ ଶିଖାଇବା ଏକାନ୍ତ ଅସମ୍ଭବ । ସେମାନଙ୍କୁ ଅମର ହୁନେଇ ନକଳରେ ପରିଣତ କରାବାର ପ୍ରଚେଷ୍ଟା ସତ୍ତ୍ୱା ଅନୁଭବ ।'

ଅଧିକ ଗୋଟିଏ ଦୃଷ୍ଟିକୁ ବିସ୍ତର କରାଯାଉ । ଅପ ଭାଷାରେ ସଂଜ୍ଞାମ ପଦ ନିର୍ଦ୍ଦିଷ୍ଟ ହେଉଥିବୁ-ଅନୁଶୀଳନ, ସାଧାରଣ ଓ ମାନବୀୟତା (ଭୂ, ଭୂମେ, ଅପଣ) ମାତ୍ର ଅବଦାର୍ଯ୍ୟ ଭାଷାରେ

ସବୁ ଭାଗରେ ଶିକ୍ଷା ଦେଇ ପାରିବ ଭଲ ଯୋଗ୍ୟତା ସମ୍ପନ୍ନ ଶିକ୍ଷକ ଅବଦାନମାନଙ୍କ ମଧ୍ୟରେ ମିଳିତା ପମ୍ପକ ନୁହେଁ । ହୋଇପାରେ, ଅଧିକ ଇଚ୍ଛିତ୍ତେ ଏକ ମୂର୍ଖ୍ୟ ବଣା କରୁଥିବା ପ୍ରତି ସଂଖ୍ୟା ଘଟ ଅନୁପାତକ ହାରିବେ ଉପେକ୍ଷ ଥାଏ । ଧରଣ ଉ, ଏକ ବନ୍ୟାଳୟରେ ସାମ୍ବାଳ ପ୍ରସଙ୍ଗ ସଂଖ୍ୟା ଶତକଡ଼ା ପଶୁଣି ଭାଗରୁ ଲଭୁ ; ତେବେ ସଂପୂର୍ଣ୍ଣ ବନ୍ୟାଳୟରେ ସେହି ଭାଗ କରୁଥିବା / କାଶିଥିବା ଶିକ୍ଷକଙ୍କୁ କିପୁ ଉପଯୋଗ ପାରେ । ଏତଦ୍ୱାରା ସଂପୂର୍ଣ୍ଣ ଭାଗରେ ସେଠାରେ ଶିକ୍ଷକମାନଙ୍କୁ ସଂକ୍ଷିପ୍ତ କରାଯାଇ ପାରେ । ଅର୍ଥ ଏକ ସମାଧାନର ସୂକ୍ଷ୍ମ ହେଉଛି, ଅଧିକାଂଶ ଅବଦାନୀ ଦ୍ୱି-ଭାଗିକ । ସେମାନେ ସ ମାତ୍ରଭାଗ ବ୍ୟତୀତରେ ଅଧିକ ଇଚ୍ଛିତ୍ତେ ଏକ ଉତ୍ତମ ଭାଗକୁ ଅନ୍ତ-ଗୋରାସ୍ତ୍ର ପ୍ରଭରେ ଭାବର ଅଦାନ ପାଇଁ ସଂପର୍କ ଭାଗ ହୁଏତବେଳେ ଶୁଣିତ କର ନେଇଥାନ୍ତି । ତେଣୁ ସଂପୂର୍ଣ୍ଣ ଅଧିକରେ କରୁତ ସଂପର୍କ ଭାଗ ମାଧ୍ୟମରେ ପାଠ୍ୟସୂତ୍ର ପ୍ରଚଳନ କରାଯାଇ ପରବର୍ତ୍ତୀ ପର୍ଯ୍ୟାୟରେ ମାନକ ଓଷ୍ଠଅଧିକ ଶିକ୍ଷାଦାନର ବ୍ୟବସ୍ଥା କରାଗଲେ ପ୍ରକୃତି ପକ୍ଷରେ ପାଠ୍ୟ ବିଷୟ ଶୁଣିତ କରଣ ବା ସୁଧା ହୁଏତ । କରୁବା ପାଠ୍ୟ ସୂତ୍ରକର ବିଷୟକୁ ଅବଦାନୀ ଭାଗ, ଶିପକ୍ଷିତ ଓଷ୍ଠିଆ ବା ସଂପର୍କ ଭାଗ ଓ ମାନକ ଓଷ୍ଠିଆର ମିଶ୍ରିତ ରୂପ ପ୍ରସ୍ତୋତ କର ପାଠ୍ୟ ସୂତ୍ର ପ୍ରଚଳନ କରାଯାଇ ପାରେ ଏବଂ ଏଇ ହାରିକୁ କ୍ଷମଣା ପରବର୍ତ୍ତୀତ କର ମାନକ ଓଷ୍ଠିଆରେ ପାଠ୍ୟ ସୂତ୍ର ପ୍ରଚଳନ କରାଯାଇ ଅବଦାନୀ ଭାଗକୁ ମୁଖ୍ୟସ୍ତୋତ ସହ ସାମିଲ କରାଯାଇ ପାରେ ।

ଅନ୍ୟ ପକ୍ଷରେ ପ୍ରାଥମିକ ବିଦ୍ୟାଳୟର ଶିକ୍ଷକମାନଙ୍କୁ ଭାଗ ଶିକ୍ଷା ଦେବେ ତାଙ୍କମ ଦେବା ବାଧ୍ୟତାମୁକ୍ତ କର ଭାଗ ଶିକ୍ଷାକୁ ଯୋଗ୍ୟତାର ମାନଦଣ୍ଡ, ଶିକ୍ଷକ ପଦରେ ଅବଦାନୀ ଅଧିକରେ କିପୁତ୍ର ଓ ସଦୋନ୍ମତ ଦିଆଗଲେ ଅବଦାନୀ ଅଧିକରେ ଶିକ୍ଷାର ପ୍ରସାର ତିନ ହୋଇ ପାରନ୍ତା । ଏହି ପ୍ରକ୍ଷେପ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟକ୍ରମ କିମ୍ପ ପକ୍ଷପ୍ରେକ୍ଷାରେ କରାଗଲେ ଶିକ୍ଷକ ବିକ୍ରମ ରୂପେ ପ୍ରକ୍ଷିପିତ ହୋଇ ପାରିବେ ।

- (୧) ଅବଦାନୀ କରନଧାରୀ ସହ ପକ୍ଷରେ କରାଯାଏ ।
- (୨) ନୂତନ ଶିକ୍ଷାଦାନ ପଦ୍ଧତି ସମ୍ପର୍କରେ ପ୍ରକ୍ଷିପିତ କରାଯାଏ ।
- (୩) କର୍ତ୍ତୃକ ଅବଦାନୀ ରାଧିକ ପ୍ରସ୍ତୋତାପକ ଓ ବ୍ୟାହୋଗକ ଦର ସହ ବିକ୍ରମ ରୂପେ ପକ୍ଷରେ କରାଯାଏ ।
- (୪) ଭାଗ ବିକ୍ରମ ପ୍ରାଥମିକ ଓ ପ୍ରସ୍ତୋତାପକ କର ସହ ପକ୍ଷରେ ହେବା ।

ଏହି ପ୍ରକ୍ଷେପ ଦେବଳ ଶିକ୍ଷକମାନଙ୍କୁ ଦେଇଦେଲେ ହେବ ନାହିଁ । ଶିକ୍ଷା ସହଜ ସଂପୂର୍ଣ୍ଣ ବ୍ୟକ୍ତିବିଶେଷ ତଥା ପାଠ୍ୟ ସୂତ୍ରକ ରଚନା ସହ ସଂପୂର୍ଣ୍ଣ ବ୍ୟକ୍ତିବିଶେଷ ମଧ୍ୟ ଅଂଶ ଶୁଣିତ କରଣୀ ଅବଶ୍ୟକ ।

ଏତେକ ପ୍ରାଥମିକ ଶିକ୍ଷା ସହ ଅବଦାନୀ ଭାଗ ଶିକ୍ଷାର ଦର । ଏଥରକ ଉଦୟନ ସହ ଅବଦାନୀ ଭାଗର ସଂପୂର୍ଣ୍ଣ କର ପକ୍ଷରେ କି ଅପାଧ ପାରେ । ଅବଦାନୀମାନଙ୍କୁ ମୁଖ୍ୟ ସ୍ତୋତପତ୍ର ସାମିଲ କରଣ ପାଇଁ ତଥା ଶାସନକୁ ତାଙ୍କ କରକରେ ପହଞ୍ଚାଇବା ପାଇଁ ଏବଂ ଅମ ଭାଗ ଶିକ୍ଷାଦାନ ପାଇଁ ତାଙ୍କ ଭାଗ କାଶିବା ଏକାନ୍ତ ଅବଶ୍ୟକତା ରହୁ । ଅବଦାନୀମାନେ କିକ ସମସ୍ୟା ଅମ ଭାଗରେ କରୁବା ସମ୍ଭବ ନୁହେଁ ଦୁର୍ଭ ଉଦୟନର ଦର ବିଦ୍ର କରୁଥିବେ ସତେକ କରାଯାଏ ମଧ୍ୟ ଅମ ଭାଗରେ ସମ୍ଭବ ନୁହେଁ ଏହି ଏହାର ମଧ୍ୟମ ପକ୍ଷା ହେଲ ସେ ପର୍ଯ୍ୟନ୍ତ ପ୍ରଦେବ ଅବଦାନୀ କାହାକୁ ଭାଗ ସହ ପକ୍ଷରେ ହୋଇ ନାହାନ୍ତ ସେ ପର୍ଯ୍ୟନ୍ତ ଅବଦାନୀ ଅଧିକରେ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟକର ପ୍ରଦେବ ଶେଷ କର୍ମରୂପମାନଙ୍କୁ ପ୍ରାକ୍ତ ଅବଦାନୀ ଭାଗରେ ପ୍ରକ୍ଷିପିତ କରାଯାଏ । ସାଧାରଣତଃ ନୃଷି, ଭାଗସ, ଗୁଡ଼, ଶିକ୍ଷା, କଳା, ସମବାସ, କଳ ସମ୍ପଦ, ବ୍ୟକ୍ତି, ଯୋଗାଯୋଗ, କେବ-ସମ୍ପର୍କ, ପ୍ରାଣ, ପଞ୍ଚାୟତରାଜ ପ୍ରଭୃତି ବିଷୟ ସହ ଅବଦାନୀ-ମାନଙ୍କର ଭାଗ ଅଧିକେ ସମ୍ପର୍କ ରହୁଥାଏ । ପ୍ରଶାସନର କେ ପ୍ରଭୁ ଏହି ବିଷୟମାନ ଅବଦାନୀଙ୍କ ସହ ସଂପୂର୍ଣ୍ଣ । ସେମାନଙ୍କର ସହ ତାଙ୍କ କର୍ମ ସଂପର୍କ । ଉଦୟନର ବ୍ୟତୀ ସମ୍ଭୃତ ସେଇ କିମ୍ପ ପ୍ରଭୁ ହିଁ ଅଧିକ । ତେଣୁ ତାଙ୍କ ସମସ୍ୟା ସହ ପକ୍ଷରେ ହେବାକୁ ହେଲେ ତାଙ୍କ ଭାଗ ମାଧ୍ୟମରେ ତାଙ୍କ ସହ ଅନ୍ତଶିକ୍ଷା ପ୍ରାପନ କରଣୀ ଅବଶ୍ୟକ । ସମତ୍ୟ ସେମାନଙ୍କର ସମସ୍ୟାକୁଶଳ ଅତି ସହଜରେ ବୋଧାତମ୍ୟ ହୋଇ ପାଶବ ଓ ଉଦୟନର ପଥ ସମ୍ପର୍କ ହୋଇ ପାଶବ । ବିଶେଷତା ଅବଦାନୀ ଅଧିକରେ ଅପ୍ରାପିତ ବିକ୍ରମ ଶେଷାଧିକାର ସ୍ୱଳ ଓ ପଞ୍ଚାୟତ ପ୍ରଭରେ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟକର ଶିକ୍ଷକ ତଥା କର୍ମରୂପ ଏବଂ ଅବଦାନୀମାନଙ୍କ ମଧ୍ୟରେ ଭାଗର ବିକ୍ରମ ସ୍ୱଳ ହୋଇ ପାଶଲେ ଅବଦାନୀ-ମାନଙ୍କର ପ୍ରକୃତ କେନ୍ଦ୍ର ଓ ମନୋଭାବକୁ ସେମାନେ ଅଦାୟାସରେ ଉପଭୋଗ୍ୟ କେପାକ୍ଷରେ ତଥା ତରୁଣାସ୍ତ୍ରୀ ଅବଶ୍ୟକ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟପକ୍ଷା ଶୁଣିତ କରପାଶବେ । ତେଣୁ ତାଙ୍କର ଉଦୟନ କିମ୍ପେ ଅବଦାନୀ ଭାଗ ଶିକ୍ଷାର ଅବଶ୍ୟକତାକୁ ପ୍ରାଧାନ୍ୟ ଦିଆଗଲେ ଉଦୟନ ମଧ୍ୟରେ ଭାବର ଅଦାନ ପ୍ରଦାନ କରକ ବିକ୍ରମର ଦୂର ହୋଇପାରନ୍ତା । ଭାଗଶିକ୍ଷା କିମ୍ପ ସେମାନଙ୍କ ମଧ୍ୟରେ ଅନ୍ତଶିକ୍ଷା ପ୍ରାପନରେ ତରୁଣତା ତରକ, ବିଦାଶ ସମ୍ପର୍କ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟ ସମ୍ପାଦନରେ ଅନୁଧ୍ୟାୟ ହୁଣି ହେବ ।

ଅବଶ୍ୟ ଅବଦାସୀ ଅଞ୍ଚଳରେ ଭଣ୍ଡା ଦେଖିବ ସିଖା ସମସ୍ୟାକୁ ଅସ୍ତି ଅବଶେଷ ରାସି ଭବ୍ୟ ସରକାର ଓ ବେସରକାରୀ ପ୍ରଭୃତି ଏହାର ସମାଧାନ ପାଇଁ ବ୍ୟାପକ ଉଦ୍ୟମ ଅବ୍ୟବହର କରୁଛନ୍ତି । ଅନେକ ପ୍ରେକ୍ଷାକ୍ଷେତ୍ର ସଙ୍ଗଠନ ମଧ୍ୟ ଏହାର ଚଳାଣ ନିମିତ୍ତ ବନ୍ଦନ ପଦକ୍ଷେପ ନେଉଛନ୍ତି । ହୋ, ମାନ୍ଦ୍ରାଳ, ମୁଣ୍ଡା, ଭୂମିକ, ବାସ୍ତୁତ୍ତ, କୁଳ, ପଦ୍ମବ, କୋସ୍ତା ପ୍ରଭୃତ ଅବଦାସୀ ସଂସଦାସ୍ତ ମଧ୍ୟ ବନ୍ଦନ ସଙ୍ଗଠନ କରି ନିଜ ଦାମ୍ଭିତ ଥୋ ସଂସଦାସ୍ତକ ପୁନର୍ଭୁବାର ନିମନ୍ତେ ଚେଷ୍ଟିତ ହେଉଛନ୍ତି ।

ସରକାର ମଧ୍ୟ ଏହି ସମସ୍ୟା ପ୍ରତି ଅବହୃତ ଥାଇ ଅବଶ୍ୟକ ପଦକ୍ଷେପ ନେଉଛନ୍ତି । ମାନ୍ଦ୍ରାଳ କିମ୍ପିତ ପ୍ରାଥମିକ ଶିକ୍ଷା କ୍ଷେତ୍ରରେ ପଢ଼ାମାତ୍ରକ ଭବନେ ପ୍ରବର୍ତ୍ତନ ଫୁଲକ ତାଙ୍କୁ କିମ୍ପିତ ପ୍ରକାଶପତ୍ରରେ ସ୍ୱୀକୃତି ପ୍ରଦାନ କରିଛନ୍ତି । ଏ ପ୍ରସଙ୍ଗରେ ସେମାନଙ୍କ 'ପୁସ୍ତକ' କିମ୍ପିତ ପ୍ରାଥମିକ ଶିକ୍ଷା ପ୍ରଭୃତି ପ୍ରବର୍ତ୍ତନ କରିବାକୁ 'ହୋ'ମାନଙ୍କ ସଙ୍ଗଠନ "ହୋ ସମାଜ ସଂଗ୍ରାମ ସମିତି"ର ଦାବ ଏକ ଅନୁରୋଧ ତଥା ସରକାରଙ୍କ "ସୋସାଲ୍ ସୋମ୍ପେକ୍ଟ" କିମ୍ପିତ ଅନୁରୋଧ ସ୍ୱରୂପ ପ୍ରାଥମିକ ଶିକ୍ଷା କ୍ଷେତ୍ରରେ ପ୍ରବର୍ତ୍ତନ ତଥା ସ୍ୱୀକୃତି ପ୍ରଦାନ ନିମନ୍ତେ "ମାତ୍ର ନିମ୍ନ ବିଜ୍ଞାନ ପ୍ରଭୃତି ଅଙ୍ଗ" ର ଦାବ ମଧ୍ୟ ବିଚାର ହାସିଲ ।

କ୍ଷା ହିଁ ବିକାଶର ମାଧ୍ୟମ । କ୍ଷେତ୍ର କ୍ଷା ମାଧ୍ୟମରେ ବନ୍ଦନ ସଙ୍ଗଠନ, ସମାଜର ଦାସ୍ୟ ସୁଦୃଢ଼ୀକରଣ ସହ ବିଚାର ପରିସରକୁ ଅଗା ଯାଇପାରେ । ସାମ୍ପ୍ରାଧିକ ପରିସର ବନ୍ଦନେ ଏହାର ସମାଧାନ ପାଇଁ ସରକାରଙ୍କ ପ୍ରଚେଷ୍ଟା ଅବ୍ୟବହର କରୁଣା ସାବଧାନ । ତାହାକି ଯେକାନ୍ତ ଅନୁରୋଧ ମାଧ୍ୟମରେ ବନ୍ଦନ ଅବ-ସ୍ୱୀକୃତ କ୍ଷାମାନଙ୍କର ଭବନ ବିଧାନ ପାଇଁ ମଧ୍ୟ ଅବଶ୍ୟକ ପଦକ୍ଷେପ ସ୍ୱରୂପ କରିଦିବା ଅନିବାରଣ୍ୟ ।

କ୍ଷା ପରିସରକାରଙ୍କ ଦେହାସ୍ତ କ୍ଷା ସଂସାଧନ ମଧ୍ୟ ଏହିପରି ଭବନୀୟ କ୍ଷାମାନଙ୍କର ସଂରକ୍ଷଣ ଓ ପ୍ରସାର ନିମନ୍ତେ ବନ୍ଦନ ସଙ୍ଗଠନ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟକାରୀ କରୁଛି । ମାତୃଭାଷା ବିଭିନ୍ନ ଶିକ୍ଷାଦାନ ମାଧ୍ୟମରେ ଶିକ୍ଷାର ପ୍ରତି ସମ୍ପୂର୍ଣ୍ଣ ଏକ ଅନୁରୋଧ ଭବନେ ତାଙ୍କର ମନୁଷ୍ୟ ପ୍ରତିଷ୍ଠା । "Seaming through mother-tongue is itself a part of the process of child development whereas the learning of other languages helps the child acquire that process of

one's own mother tongue and its second development. It is in this context that or foreign language is mutually interdependent and reinforcing in the shape of its development. It is unanimously agreed upon by scholars of different place in the development of mental faculty of the child. Therefore, learning of the second language should be based on the foundation of the mother-tongue. "ତାଙ୍କର ଏ ପଦକ୍ଷେପ ବାସ୍ତବରେ ସ୍ୱାଗତଯୋଗ୍ୟ ।

ଶୁଣ୍ଠା ସରକାରଙ୍କ ଦାସ୍ତ ପ୍ରସ୍ତୁତ ଅବଦାସୀ କ୍ଷା ସଂସଦାସ୍ତ ଏକାଡେମୀ ମଧ୍ୟ ଏ କ୍ଷେତ୍ରରେ କାର୍ଯ୍ୟକାରୀ ଅବଦାସୀ ଅଞ୍ଚଳରେ ନିର୍ମୂଳକ ଶିକ୍ଷକ ତଥା କ୍ଷେତ୍ର ନିର୍ମୂଳକ ମାନଙ୍କୁ ସାଧ୍ୟ ଅବଦାସୀ କ୍ଷାରେ ପ୍ରଗତିଶୀଳ ଦେବାର କାର୍ଯ୍ୟକ୍ରମ ହାନୁ ନେଇ ଏହା ବନ୍ଦନୀୟ ଅଞ୍ଚଳ ହାସଲ କରିପାରେ । ଏତଦନ୍ତର ସଂସାଧନୀୟ ସମ୍ପୂର୍ଣ୍ଣ ଅବଦାସୀ କ୍ଷା-ଉପକ୍ରମ ସମ୍ପୂର୍ଣ୍ଣ ଦ୍ୟାନର ଶିକ୍ଷକ, ଦେବଦା-ଗଳ୍ପ ସଂଗ୍ରହ, ପ୍ରକଳନ, ଭୁଲକାସ୍ତ ବନ୍ଦନେ କ୍ଷାମାନଙ୍କର ଅଧ୍ୟାସ୍ତ, ଅବଦାସୀ-ମାନଙ୍କର ସଂସଦାସ୍ତ ଅଧ୍ୟାସ୍ତ ମୂଳତଃ ଉପରେ ନିବେଷଣ ପ୍ରକଳନ ବା'ର ମାନଙ୍କ ଅବଦାସୀ ନୃତ୍ୟ ସଙ୍ଗୀତକୁ ସାମ୍ପ୍ରାଧିକ, ଅବଦାସୀ କବି, କେବଳମାନଙ୍କର ସମ୍ବେଦନ ମାଧ୍ୟମରେ ପରିସ୍ପଷ୍ଟ ସଂସଦାସ୍ତ ଭବନ ଅଦାନ ପ୍ରଦାନ ପ୍ରଭୃତି କାର୍ଯ୍ୟକ୍ରମମାନ ହାତକୁ ନେଇଛି ।

ପରିଶେଷରେ ଏହା କହୁଣା ଅନାବଶ୍ୟକ ଯେ ଅବଦାସୀ କ୍ଷା ଓ ସଂସଦାସ୍ତ ଏକାଡେମୀର ନିଷ୍ଠା ତଥା ସଦ୍ୟମରେ ଅବଦାସୀ କ୍ଷା ପ୍ରଗତିଶୀଳ ବେମ୍ବମାନ କୋଉପାରି ଅବଦାସୀ ଅଞ୍ଚଳ ପ୍ରାଥମିକ ଶିକ୍ଷକମାନଙ୍କୁ ତଥା ପଦାଧ୍ୟାପକମାନଙ୍କୁ ସ୍ୱରୂପ ସ୍ୱରୂପ ପ୍ରଗତିଶୀଳ ଦିଅରିବା ଦାସ୍ତ ଅବଦାସୀମାନଙ୍କ ମଧ୍ୟରେ ଶିକ୍ଷା ପ୍ରତି ଅବନ ପ୍ରକାଶ ପାଇବା ଏକ ଶୁଭ ବାଚନ । କ୍ଷା ମାଧ୍ୟମରେ ଅବଦାସୀମାନେ ତାଙ୍କ ଅବଦାସ୍ୟକୁ ଅବଦାସୀ ଭିନ୍ନସ୍ତର ସହ ସଂସଦାସ୍ତ ପଦାଧ୍ୟାପକମାନଙ୍କ ନିକଟରେ ପରିସରକାର କଣ ପାଠୁଅବା ସରକାର ଅନୁମୋଦ୍ୟ । ଏ ପ୍ରକେଷ୍ଟର ଅନୁ ନାହିଁ । ତାଙ୍କ ସହ ଏକାସ୍ତ ହେବା ପାଇଁ ସଂସଦାସ୍ତକ ପରିସରକାର ଅସ୍ତିତ୍ୱ କିମ୍ପିତ ତାଙ୍କୁ ମୁଖ୍ୟ ଗ୍ରୋରେ ସାମିଲ କରିବା ପାଇଁ ଏ ଅଭିପ୍ରାୟ ବ୍ୟବହାର ସମସ୍ତଙ୍କର କାମ୍ୟ ।

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