

Social Anthropology of Orissa: A Critique

Nava Kishor Das
Anthropological Survey of India
India

ABSTRACT

Orissa is meeting place of three cultures, Indo-Aryan, Dravidian, and Munda and three ethno-linguistic sections. There are both indigenous and immigrant components of the Brahmans, Karna, who resemble like the Khatriyas, and others. The theory that Orissa did not have a viable Kshatriya varna has been critically considered by the historian-anthropologists. We will also see endogenous and exogenous processes of state formation. The Tribespeople had generally a two-tier structure of authority- village chief level and at the cluster of villages (pidha). Third tier of authority was raja in some places. Brahminism remained a major religion of Orissa throughout ages, though Jainism and Buddhism had their periods of ascendancy. There is evidence when Buddhism showed tendencies to merge into Hinduism, particularly into Saivism and Saktism. Buddhism did not completely die out, its elements entered into the Brahmanical sects. The historians see Hinduisation process intimately associated with the process of conversion, associated with the expansion of the Jagannatha cult, which co-existed with many traditions, and which led to building of Hindu temples in parts of tribal western Orissa. We notice the co-existence of Hinduisation/ peasantisation/ Kshatriyaisation/ Oriyaisation, all operating variously through colonisation. In Orissa, according to Kulke it was continuous process of 'assimilation' and partial integration. The tribe -Hindu caste intermingling is epitomised in the Jagannatha worship, which is today at the centre of Brahminic ritual and culture, even though the regional tradition of Orissa remaining tribal in origin. Sanskritization, Aryanization and Hinduisation are widely used concepts in available literature denoting the social change process. In their study of culture change in western Orissa in 2004, N.K.Das and Santanu Mitra observed that there is a strong tendency towards de-Sanskritization and re-Tribalization, which appears to be thriving force of cultural change. Indeed the tribespeople did adopt some traits of more popular Hinduism but continued to pursue religions of the tribes concerned (Naggbansi, Gonds, and the Binjhal, Gond, Savara, Sounti, Bhuyan, Kisan, Bathudi, and Mirdha). Orissa has a rich tradition of anthropological studies. Historians, archaeologists, political scientists and linguists have also dealt with the anthropological themes in Orissa. Right from the colonial era Indian anthropologists/ scholars have been engaged on Orissa communities, their culture, language, architecture and social change. Thus while Professor N.K.Bose studied the Juangs of Orissa (1928), S. C. Roy studied the Bhuiya (1935). The Orissan ethnography witnessed a turning point when Verrier Elwin published works on Juangs (1942), Bondo (1950) and the Savara (1955). Utkal University, Sambalpur University and research and training institute of the Orissa state have brought out several works from time to time. At university level we may mention contributions of A.Aiyappan, L.K.Mahapatra, N.Patnaik, K.K.Basa, Jagannath Dash and N.K. Behura. Works on

Pottery techniques by N.K. Behura remains an important contribution. In more modern times the contributions of the German scholars has been phenomenal. A.Eschmann, H.Kulke (1978,1986), and Schnepel (1993-94) have brought out a number of books on the Jagannatha cult of Orissa. H.Kulke (1978,1979) has particularly dealt with the historical dimensions of spread of this cult and state formation. A significant contribution of this team is compilation of volume *The Cult of Jagannath and the Regional Tradition of Orissa*, Edited by Anncharlott Eschmann, Hermann Kulke, Gaya Charan (2005). One Oriya scholar G.C.Tripathy has collaborated with this team in bringing out this volume. Another German scholar Dr. J. Lidia Guzy from the Freie university of Berlin has studied the Mahima cult and more recently the Dalit folklore in western Orissa. She has sung Oriya folklore in her own style and brought out a cassette of folk- songs too. Georg Pfeffer and D.K.Behera have brought out a series of tribal studies. Anthropological survey of India's People of India data on Orissa's 279 communities have shown that in all forty- three languages are spoken in Orissa. Orissa is the meeting ground of three language families, (Indo-Aryan, Dravidian and Austric) which are present in higher proportions than in other states, making Orissa linguistically one of the most heterogeneous states of India. They have diverse modes of linkages between them. The Oriya speakers show a wide range of bilingualism as they are found to be simultaneously conversant in many languages.

REVIEW OF LITERATURE:

Orissa has a rich tradition of anthropological studies. However in any review of anthropological research in Orissa, it will be inappropriate to ignore the contributions of the historians, archaeologists, political scientists and linguists. They too have often touched upon some or the other themes of social anthropology. In this review however we will basically focus on the anthropological works, though for comparison some works of the historians/ linguists will also be referred to. We may start with the colonial ethnography/ anthropology. Dalton's *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal* (1872), *Ethnographic notes of W.W.Hunter* (1872-73) and *Tribe and Caste Volumes* prepared by British officers during 1891-1937 covered numerous communities of Orissa and neighbouring states. Some British officers like E.L.Samuel (1856), J.P.Frye (1860) and J.A.May (1873) wrote first hand ethnographic notes on the Orissa communities such as Juangs, the 'Khond' (Kandha) and the Bondo. These volumes were meant for administrative purposes mainly. Most of the early writings were replete with value-loaded annotations often discourteous in naming and even describing the life styles of the communities. S. C. Roy wrote the monograph on the Bhuiya of Orissa in 1935. The Orissan ethnography, according to Vidyaarthi (1972) witnessed a turning point when Verrier Elwin started his works among the Juangs in 1942. He published several papers and books on the Juang (1948), Bondo (1950) and the Savara (1955). By 1952 a research institute was established in Orissa to collect information on ethnographic situations, mainly tribal. In 1957 F.G.Bailey published his highly acclaimed book *Caste and Economic Frontier* using data on the Kandha tribe and the Pan caste of south Orissa. Using this data Bailey also wrote the famous paper for the 'Contributions to Indian Sociology', wherein the concepts of 'tribe' and 'caste' were delineated. In fact the Juangs have been one of the best-studied tribes of Orissa. Dalton wrote about the Juangs of Keonjhar that "they are still semi-nomadic, often changing the sites...they cultivate in the rudest way. They thus raise little early rice, corn, pumpkins, ginger and pepper seed". Professor N.K.Bose studied the Juangs of Orissa as early as 1928. In Dhenkanal he observed two divisions among the Juangs. He also found the existence

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of Darbar and dormitory among them. He noted only two clans, bandhu and kutumba, among them. In 1945, Verrier Elwin wrote a full monograph on the Juangs of Orissa. He covered Keonjhar and Dhenkanal districts in the monograph. He too found the dormitory as also the practice of bride price in settling a marriage. He also described the headmanship among these people. There is a Juang Development Agency working for the economic development among them. In 1956 the Podu (shifting cultivation) Prevention Act was enforced which forced them to go for labour work increasingly. Urbanization has now affected them considerably. Besides Dalton, Elwin (1945, 1948), and Bose (1929), N.Patnaik (1963) has also studied the Juangs.

The Cult of Jagannath and the Regional Tradition of Orissa, Edited by Anncharlott Eschmann, Hermann Kulke, Gaya Charan (2005) is an important multi-disciplinary contribution. It deals with the role and significance of regional Hindu traditions that emerged in the beginning of the early medieval period out of an interaction of elements of Classical Hinduism with autochthonous local religious practices and belief. State Formation in Ancient Orissa by Prafulla Kumar Mohanty (2002) is a general study of the state formation process in Orissa from the earliest time to the beginning of the twelfth century A.D. Forest Tribes of Orissa: Vol. I: The Dongaria Kondh, edited by Klaus Seeland, Franz Schmithusen attempts to document the Dongaria's traditional knowledge of their natural environment; how they classify trees, plants, hills, forests, crops and soils and how so far they have been managing their forests. They Sing Life: Anthology of Oral Poetry of the Primitive Tribes of India by Sitakant Mahapatra (2002) is an anthology of the oral poetry of selected tribes of Eastern India. These songs combine the sensibility of a major poet and the insight of an anthropologist. However it is unfortunate that the scholar uses the redundant notion of primitive to describe the tribes. Tribal and Indigenous People of India: Problems and Prospects/ edited by R.N. Pati and J. Dash. New Delhi, APH, 2002, includes several articles dealing with Orissa situations. Some articles devoted to Orissa are titled as Tribes of Orissa and their population/Jagannath Dash and Suresh Chandra Pradhan, Tribal languages of Orissa/K. Mohapatra, Status of tribal communities of Orissa/N.K. Behura, Classification and enumeration of scheduled tribes in Orissa/L.K. Mahapatra, Atrocities against SC and ST : some remedies and ramifications/Raghunath Patnaik, Problems and welfare of Orissa tribes/L.K. Mahapatra, Profile of bonded labour system in India with special reference to a primitive tribal community of Orissa/R.P. Mohanty, Undone Ujias and their tribal identity/Jagannath Das, and Food and nutrition situation in 10 tribal dominated villages of Lamtaput Block, Koraput district, Orissa/R.N. Pati. Some other titles are the concept and treatment of diseases among the Dongria Kondhs of Orissa/Jagannath Dash and Suresh Chandra Pradhan, Problems in tribal education with special reference to Orissa/N.K. Behura, Impact of forest policies on the indigenous peoples : a case study of Hill Kharias in Similipal Hills, Orissa (India)/Jagannath Dash, Customary right in land and forest and the state/L.K. Mahapatra, Entitlement for food and social security and environment management/L.K. Mahapatra, Impact of industrialization in socio-cultural frontiers : a case of Oraons/Nilakantha Panigrahi and Prakash Ch. Parida, Tribes of Orissa and their development/B. Chaudhury, The Saora view of "Good life", "Happy life" and development/G. Mohapatra and A Kondh view of good life and development/Gopinath Mohanty. Fact remains that the issues addressed in this book are of practical applied value such as unequal access to and inadequate educational opportunities, persistent and increasing burden of poverty, inequalities in access to health. Focussing on another applied aspect of research Nilakantha Panigrahi deals with the issue of development of eco-tourism in tribal regions of Orissa. Eco-tourism both at conceptual and empirical levels is significant in a number of respects. Traditionally it encapsulates

scientific, aesthetic, and philosophical approaches which reflect the structure and function of the society. Over the decades numerous changes have been observed both in the content and context of eco-tourism. With globalisation the processes of these changes not only widened and multiplied, but also gained in importance. The present research paper in observing the treasure of tourism of the Orissa region in eastern India, emphasises the potential of eco-tourism in the scheduled areas which are largely dominated by the tribal communities. It argues - and concludes by way of recommendations - that if eco-tourism is properly developed it can not only attract tourists from far and near, but can also generate more revenue for the inhabitants of the region and for the state.

Dr. Angana Chatterji and Mihir Desai have come forward with "An IPT enquiry" (September 2006) which sheds light on the issue of Communalism in Orissa .The report of the People's Tribunal on Communalism in Orissa documents the growth of communalism in Orissa, highlighting the criminal activity and human rights violations; the consolidation of these forces and their relationship to state and civil society, and the related growth of social and gendered violence against disenfranchised groups and religious minorities, such as Adivasis, Dalits, Christians, and Muslims. Based on its findings, the Tribunal recommends that the Government of India and the Government of Orissa treat the communal situation in the state as on par with an emergency, and act promptly to address the injustices perpetrated on minority and disenfranchised persons and groups as a preventive measure against future injustices. K. Suresh Singh in his review ' A perspective on the ASI', Seminar issue on 'Situating sociology' [November 2000] observed that the People of India Project (PoIP) launched in 1985 in terms of the parameters of a rapidly emerging postcolonial ethnography extends beyond the territorial limits of colonial ethnography. Orissa is exhaustively covered under this project. Unlike British colonial ethnographic surveys, the People of India Project did not generate first-hand anthropometric data but drew on its earlier surveys and studies to cover biological dimensions. In short, the new People of India study sought to present a composite bio-linguistic, cultural profile of all communities of India. The concerns for environment, resource use, gender relations, impact of change and development, market and technology were appropriately reflected in a 15 point format which was uniformly canvassed for all groups. The project also involved the updating and publication of the old data sets generated by all India projects in the 1960s. While the continuity of ethnographic tradition was stressed by using the previously gathered information as a benchmark, the focus of PoIP was on change.

Bailey went to work in the southern tribal area of Orissa, which he conceived analytically as an "encapsulated region" and also as a zone in which the national state and local villages constituted intersecting political fields, populated with brokers and fixers in middle getting things done (lobbying projects, mobilizing votes, through exchange/transaction). He conducted 38 months of field work between 1952-1959, from which he then produced three volumes of ethnography: 1957: Caste and the Economic Frontier: A Village in Highland Orissa. Manchester: Manchester University Press.1960: Tribe, Caste and Nation: A Study of Political Activity and Political Change in Highland Orissa. Manchester: Manchester University Press.1963: Politics and Social Change: Orissa in 1960. Berkeley: University of California Press. As the title of his 1960 monograph suggests, he analyzes politics in three arenas or levels. In each, he located a political structure that contributed to the environment of local political action: the encapsulated village of Bisipara, a tribal village in the Kond Hills of highland Orissa, whose Kond inhabitants were organized in a segmentary lineage system, the Orissa state and the caste system of the Oriyas, who entered the highlands from the surrounding

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plains, the nation of India and the rules and regulations of the British colonial order and, later, the Indian nation-state. These political systems (lineage, caste, and state) coexist and offer alternative concepts and normative rules. His studies are of "the ways people in one setting, the village of Baderi, respond, and fail to respond, to the different possibilities of action that these structures provide" (Jacobson 97-98).

Bailey extensively uses cases of decisions and disputes--events that he then situates in a context of multiple structures. His 1960 *Tribe, Caste, and Nation*, for example, is largely focused on the extended analysis of a single argument that arose between the Konds and Oriyas living in Baderi village at the time he was doing fieldwork. Bailey also distinguished three levels of explanation: the cultural model, which is the actor's own model of his political action; the sociological model of groups and interrelations within village; the external view of relations outside village, "demonstrating how certain groups within the village are enabled to challenge, and to some extent to overthrow, the established order" (Vincent 346-347). Bailey went on to elaborate his individualized view of politics as strategizing, manipulating norms, maximizing advantage, seeking power, etc. into general propositions about politics, power, and structure as emerging out of that maneuvering. He presented a general statement of his position in his *Strategems and Spoils* in 1969, which he intended as a kind of handbook of the universal rules of the game of politics. Like Barth, Bailey's version of an individualist political anthropology engendered sharp critiques. One of the early influential critics was Sydel Silverman. Unlike Barth, whose career has been marked by serial ethnography in different locations, Bailey has been productive as an essayist, producing a number of short studies that extended and modify his position (and several books that revisit and rework his 1950s field materials).

The synthetic cultural traditions, Jagannatha tradition and fascinating tribal and caste communities of Orissa attracted several foreign scholars. For a long time the German team of the free university has been contributing towards the Orissan research in a serious manner. Izkowitz (1953) from Sweden, F.G.Bailey (1955, 1958,1960) from England and Herman Neiggermeyer (1964) studied different aspects of life in Orissa. Herman Neiggermeyer (1964) wrote a monograph on the Khutia Khond tribe. Izkowitz (1953) presented an ethnographic account of Gadaba tribe. Bailey worked in two villages, Bisipara (1952-54) and Baderi (1955), in Koraput and Phulabani areas and published several papers and books, *Caste and the Economic Frontier* (1958), *Tribe, Caste and Nation* (1960) and *Politics and Social Change* (1963). Iravati Karve studied the Oriya kinship system in her celebrated work "Kinship Organisation in India" (1965). L.K.Mahapatra, N.K. Behura, K. K.Basa, Jagannath Dash, Nityananda Patnaik, S.N.Rath, D.K.Behera and K.K.Misra have made important contributions. M.C.Behera and Premananda Panda have also brought out some studies recently. N.K.Das made a three dimensional comparative study among the Dongaria Kandhs mainly measuring and evaluating the social realities as depicted by the noted Oriya writer Gopinath Mohanty in his novel "Amrutar Santana" by comparing with the old ethnographic writings and ethnographic facts collected in the field (Das1973). N.K.Das as part of Masters Degree in anthropology made this comparative study under guidance of Professor T.B.Naik at Raipur University. A team of German scholars such as A.Eschmann, H.Kulke (1978,1986), and Schnepel (1993-94) has brought out a number of books on the Jagannatha cult of Orissa. H.Kulke (1978,1979) has particularly dealt with the historical dimensions of spread of this cult and state formation. A significant contribution of this team is compilation of volume *The Cult of Jagannatha and the regional tradition of Orissa*. One Oriya scholar G.C.Tripathy has collaborated with this team in bringing out this volume. J. Lidia Guzy has studied the Mahima

dharma and the Dalit musicians of western Orissa. She is mainly studying the intangible cultural heritage of the western Orissa at present. On this theme the IGRMS, Bhopal, has recently brought some books. Nabakrishna Chaudhury centre for development studies at Bhubaneswar is constantly contributing to enrich the tradition of anthropological research of Orissa. Contributions of N.K.Behura and Nilakantha Panigrahi of this centre are noteworthy.

The Anthropological Survey of India and the state level Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe Research and Training Institute (SCSTRTI), established in 1955, have conducted several studies in Orissa. SCSTRTI has published a large number of monographs on several caste and tribal communities of Orissa. It also publishes a scientific journal "Adibasi", which contains research findings of the Institute. One of the earliest works of the ASI is Data on Orissa brought out by N.K.Bose. S.Bose of the ASI conducted a land survey in quantifying the carrying capacity of land in relation to cultural setting of people. K.A.Razeq (1989) studied the acculturation issue among the hill Saora of Ganjam and Koraput. Weekly markets played important role in bringing social and cultural change among the Saora. S.Das (1989) studied the Gadabas of Koraput, south Orissa. He found that the Gadabas have been exposed to a dam, new Bengali refugee settlements, and hydroelectric project. Gitanjali Misra (1989) studied the Juangs of Keonjhar district. She observed that the Juangs indulge in shifting cultivation, which they call *taila*, or *dahi* cultivation. She also observed the customs of bride price and the headmanship. N.K.Das has studied the ethnicity factor and electoral politics in tribal belts of western Orissa (Das, 1997). He has also written about the Simko movement led by Nirmal Munda, a lesser-known freedom fighter, who launched his movement against imposition of unjust British colonial laws and taxes on poor tribes who enjoyed jural rights over their land in then princely state of western Orissa (Das 1990). Das studied the identity issue and culture change in contemporary era in the aftermath of the process of state formation in the Binjhal community.

The Anthropology Department of Utkal University has been very active in social, physical anthropological and pre-historic-archaeological researches in Orissa. A.Aiyappan, N.Patnaik, L.K.Mahapatra, N.K. Behura, and K.K.Basa, Jagannath Dash have done significant works among various populations of Orissa. L.K.Mahapatra prepared a doctoral thesis "A Hill Bhuiya Village: An Empirical Socio-Economic Study" at Hamburg University, Germany in 1960. Professor N.K. Behura has made significant contributions in the fields of pottery technique and its relation with wider caste system in Orissa. He has written several books on theoretical anthropology, ethnographic accounts of Orissa tribes, tribal development, quality of life, etc. Prof.Behura also brought out a journal called *Manav* on behalf of the Anthropological Society of Orissa. Professor P.K.Nayak of same department has brought out a book "Blood, women and Territory: An analysis of clan feuds among the Dongaria Konds" (Nayak 1989). Prof.K.K.Basa has published several books dealing with the pre-historical and archaeological sites of Orissa. Dr.N.Patnaik has evaluated the impact of community development blocks on tribes. As director of state tribal research he had brought several monographs on tribes of Orissa. As fellow of Indian Institute of Advanced Studies, Shimla, he brought out a critical study of Jagannatha phenomenon in Orissa. Professor S.N.Rath of Sambalpur University has brought out several important publications. D.K.Behera of same department and Georg Pfeffer have brought a series of volumes under the common title of "Contemporary Society: Tribal Studies". Georg Pfeffer, a German professor of ethnology at the Freie university of Berlin has studied the cults and kinship of scheduled tribes in Koraput region of south Orissa. Nabakrishna Chaudhury Institute of Development Studies at Bhubaneswar has been conducting several important works among different

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populations and regions of Orissa. Dr. Nilakantha Panigrahi is currently working on poverty related issues among the tribals, displaced populations, and other communities facing economic crises. Dr. P.K. Mohanty and Prof. Jagannatha Dash have written books on foraging, and other tribal communities of Orissa. The Census Organisation of India has studied some villages and it also studied the uprooted tribal families of Rourkela (Tondon 1970). Archaeological and historical researches have been prominently carried out in Orissa, crafting its identity. V. Ball (1876) had initiated prehistoric studies in Orissa. Acharya (1923) and Banerjee (1930) and then N.K. Bose and Harani Sen (1948), in 1940s, were responsible for excavating palaeolithic sites at Kuliana (Mayurbhanj). It was the excavation at Kuchai by B.K. Thapar where evidence of neolithic culture in Orissa in general and in Mayurbhanj area in particular was established on a firm footing (Thapar 1985). Orissa underwent through a metal age (a protohistoric phase) before emerging into the early historic phase. Copper double axes are reported from Mayurbhanj region during early part of the last century (Basa 1999). Although the first written account in Orissa is known from the Asokan inscriptions at Dhauli and Jaugarh in the third century BC as in the case with the Gangetic valley. This is because Kalinga figures in the list of sixteen Mahajanapada. Recent excavations of Lalitgiri have thrown light on early culture and also transition from Hinayana to Mahayana form of Buddhism (Basa 1999). Since hunting, fishing and gathering were the primary modes of subsistence, such hilly terrains of Neolithic, central and southern Orissa were appropriate places for pre-historic men with regard to raw materials for manufacturing tools as well as abundant plant and animal resources as well as forest for hunting, fishing and gathering activities (Basa 1999). Dr K Ravi and Dr Rammana have recently studied the status of traditional knowledge in parts of Orissa and Bastar regions.

Culture Zones, Etymology and the Oriya Identity:

Orissa is divided into three eco-cultural zones: the coastal plains, the northwestern highland or plateau and the southwestern region, Dandkaranya. Orissa has the highest proportion of the scheduled castes and tribes too. K.S. Singh observed that abundance of toddy trees in the coastal area explains the presence of toddy tapers, Siyal, Pasi and the links with distillers, Sundi and Kalar. Geographically, Orissa is regarded as a state of the eastern region of India, but culturally it is as much a part of northern India as it is of southern India. This cultural synthesis has influenced the course of its social history to a considerable extent. South Orissa feels some sense of homogeneity with the southern states and the coastal districts have affinity with the North. Western Orissa on the other hand has strong linkage with its tribal past, which characterises its folk culture. The state of Orissa is thus a confluence of the multiple strands of Indian culture. The names Kalinga, Utkal, Odra and Kosala have found mention in ancient Sanskrit and Pali Literature. Except Kosala, the other three geographical names are still applied to modern Orissa (Panigrahi 1981: 4). However a Kosala identity is in existence in western Orissa particularly in terms of a political demand for a separate state forming the Sambalpur region. The name Kalinga occurs in the Puranas in association with Anga, Vanga, Pundra and Sumba. The evidence furnished by Asoka's Inscription thus clearly proves that Kalinga in his time included the entire region now known as Orissa. It seems that its southern boundary extended upto the river Godavari (Panigrahi 1981: 5). In one of the earliest copperplate records of Orissa, known as Sumandala Copper Plates of Prithvivigraha, Kalinga as a rashtra (kingdom) has found mention. Orissa can be broadly divided into four natural regions viz. (a) the hilly areas in the north and northwest, (b) the Eastern Ghats, (c) the central and western plateau, and

(d) the coastal plains. The hilly areas in the north and northwest and the central and western plateau constitute the mineral belt of the state. Most of the tribal population of the State lives in this region. The important rivers of Orissa are the Mahanadi, the Brahmani, the Budhabalanga, the Subarnarekha, the Salandi, the Rushikulya, the Banshadhara, the Bada, the Bahuda and the Indravati. The Chilika Lake is about 64 kilometres long and 16 to 32 kilometres wide. Climate of Orissa is equitable; it is neither very hot in summer nor very cold in winter. There are three well-marked seasons in the State. They are summer, rainy and spring. The summer continues from March till June when the temperature rises very high, though not as high as in northern India. There are occasional showers during this season. The rainy season continues from July till October and there is heavy rainfall in the month of August. Gopalpur-on-sea, Puri, Bhubaneswar and Chandipur, on account of their pleasant weather, are good summer holiday resorts (Dash 1997: 30).

In Orissa people live in 50 5,734 villages and 81 towns which covers an area of 155, 701 sq. km. The coastal areas of the state are thickly populated (47.33%) while Koraput district is very thinly populated. There are 91 Scheduled Castes and 62 Scheduled Tribes community in Orissa, as per official records of which 3,310,850 (71) is Scheduled Caste persons. The proportion of rural population to total population in Orissa according to 1991 census is 86.6 percent which is much higher than the national average of 76.30 per cent showing more population of Orissa as rural based. The literacy rate in rural Orissa is 60.44 percent and that in urban areas is 80.95 percent, as per 2001. The Scheduled Tribes in Orissa constitute 22.21 percent of the total population of the state which is much higher than the national average of 8.01 (1991 census). The literacy rate among the Scheduled Tribes in Orissa is 22.31 percent (34.44 percent among male and 10.21 percent among females) which is lower than the national average of the literacy rate of the Scheduled tribes i.e. 29.6 percent as per 1991. The female literacy rate among the scheduled tribes in Orissa being only 10.21 percent is very low when compared to their national average i.e. 18.19 percent. Of the total population of the Scheduled tribes 40.24 percent (57.51 percent males and 23.00 percent females) are returned as main workers and 9.12 percent marginal workers as per 1991.

Orissa lies across routes of migration of peoples and cultures from north and east to south. Orissa and Andhra have had a strong relationship in history, polity and culture. Developments in Indo-Ganga plains too impinged on Orissa, as did developments in central India. An extraordinary range of diversities marks Orissa, ecological, linguistic and cultural. Oriya identity has evolved over centuries. It is now marked Oriya language, the territory, many elements of culture, vibrant folk and oral traditions, flourishing crafts and the majestic presence of Jagannath. In all parts of the country, all communities, particularly the tribal and non-tribal have interacted. Both Buddhism and Jainism had strong influence in Orissa, as they were associated with political authority, trade and business, mining and metallurgy, religion and rituals. Some of the features of Oriya society such as equality and vegetarianism etc. could be traced to these religions and Bhakti movements through which these ideas percolated to the people.

Orissa derives its name from "Odra Vishaya" or "Odradesa". The fragmentary concepts of Kalinga, Utkala, Odra, Kosala etc. are from time to time, homogenised through Asoka, Kharavela, Kapilendra Deva, Utkala Sammilani, and even the British (Patnaik, H.S. 2002). Orissa may have been known as Kalinga, Utkal or Odradesh, but it is Odissa /Orissa that synthesizes the region's ancient past with a vibrant present in a dynamic manner. A unique feature of Orissa is its rather uninterrupted cultural

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development. Even during the heyday of Muslim rule in India under the Mughals, inaccessibility allowed Orissa to preserve its traditions till 1803, when the East India Company defeated the Marathas, who has ruled Orissa since 1751. An uninterrupted Tribe-Caste Hindu inter-communion characterizes the cultural history of Orissa. This feature finds its lasting manifestation in the Jagannath tradition of Puri. The crucial role-played by the Oriyas in spread of Indian Cultures and religions in vast South East Asian regions generally remain less noticed. Seaports flourished along the Orissa coast as early as Fourth and Fifth centuries BC, when Oriya Sadhabs went to the islands of Java, Sumatra, Borneo and Bali with their merchandise. Not only did they bring home wealth, they also carried glorious Indian civilization with them and helped its spread abroad. The Odras and Utkals were Austric people. They derived their names from two kings, who were brothers, known as Gaya and Utkal (Dash 1997: 5).

The Oriya identity has evolved over centuries. Oriya language, distinct territories, many elements of culture, vibrant folk and oral traditions, blooming crafts and the majestic cult of Jagannath, mark it. Orissa lies across routes of migration of peoples and cultures from north and east to south. Both Buddhism and Jainism had strong influence in Orissa, as they were associated with political authority, trade and business, mining and metallurgy, religion and rituals. Some of the features of Oriya society such as equality and vegetarianism could be traced to these religions and Bhakti movements through which these ideas percolated to the people. Orissa has been a centre of Brahmanical traditions as also of non-Brahmanical traditions, even anti Brahmanical traditions. As mentioned above, there have been anti-Brahman movements like Mahima Dharma movement. The number of the believers of tribal religions is much higher in Orissa than the national average.

Linkages of languages and growth of syncretism:

People of India data have shown that more than ninety percent of the people of Orissa have Oriya as their mother tongue and thus Orissa is predominantly a unilingual State. In the southern districts, Telugu is also used as the official language for limited purpose (Dash 1997: 66). Asoka's inscriptions in Orissa, like those of other parts of India, are in Pali. Asoka's invasion of Kalinga not only influenced its language, but also its culture. The Chedis of whom Kharavela was the third member were a people of northern origin and were a branch of a dynasty of the same name originally ruling in Madhyadesa or Magadha. The language, in which the Hatigumpha Prasati has been composed, is also of Sanskrit origin. Jainism, which Kharavela professed, was a religion of northern origin with a sacred language of Sanskrit origin. The ruling dynasties of Orissa like the Vighrahas and the Matharas have all used Sanskrit in their charters. A change in the official language from Prakrit to Sanskrit took place from the fourth-fifth century A.D. The revival of Hinduism and of Sanskrit in the Gupta Empire had its repercussion on Orissa also. A great work like The Panchatantra was composed in Orissa during the rule of the Matharas. Sanskrit, Prakrit and Pali were never the spoken languages of Orissa, but the Orissan people ultimately adopted a language derived from all of them (Panigrahi 1981: 283). Most of the ancient Sanskrit and Oriya literary works are in the shape of palm leaf manuscripts.

The development of Oriya script is ascribed to a period from the 6th century A.D. to the 12th century A.D. The Natha and Siddha literatures are the earlier works in Oriya. Serious writings in Orissa

started in 14th century during the times of Gajapatis. The demand for Mahabharata and Ramayana in Oriya grew at this time and the Oriya Mahabharata of Sarala Dasa could meet the demand substantively. Balarama Dasa is famous for his Ramayana, which is to be found in each and every Oriya home. Vilanka Ramayana, which contains the episodes of Sahasrasira Ravana, is available in Orissa. Apart from Ramayana, Bhagavata is another popular work. The sixteenth century Vaishnava poet Atibadi Jagannatha Dasa had composed Bhagavata for the first time in an Eastern Indian language. Jayadeva was a wandering ascetic. It was at the lotus feet of Sri Jagannatha at Puri that Jayadeva composed his famous Gita Govinda (Das, Harish C.N.D). The tribes of Orissa are ethnolinguistically classified into three groups: Munda (Austroasiatic), Dravidian and Indo-Aryan. The tribal languages began to appear in written forms only in the last century. The Christian missionaries took the initiative to study the languages and to produce and publish Biblical texts in Roman script. However, due to certain historical factors from 1930's onwards, some tribal leaders and writers attempted to shape their literature and even invent scripts to provide indigenous writing systems for promoting literacy and literary activities in their languages. Publication of more and more books in many tribal languages during the last few years by adapting Oriya writing system has greatly expanded literary activities in the tribal languages (Mahapatra, K, 1998).

Orissa is the meeting ground of three language families, (Indo-Aryan, Dravidian and Austric) which are present in higher proportions than in other states, making Orissa linguistically one of the most heterogeneous states of India. In all forty- three languages are spoken in Orissa. They have diverse modes of linkages between them. The Oriya speakers show a wide range of bilingualism as they are found to be simultaneously conversant in Telugu (73,338), Hindi (1,540,159), Kui (36,776), Sanskrit (14,481), Santali (7,199), Khond (6,721), Ho (5,313), Bengali (3,476), Munda (3,842), Parji (3,791), Savara (3,387), Urdu (1,850) and English (1,661). The Telugu speakers are bilingual in Oriya (3,23,198), Hindi (29,163) and Kui (1,006). On the other hand, Hindi speakers are bilingual only with Oriya (346, 816), Gondi (1,930) and Urdu (1,807); the Urdu speakers in Oriya (135,191) and Hindi (31,335); the Bengali speakers in Oriya (12,266) and Hindi (10,386). The tribes are bilingual, mostly so, in Oriya, Telugu, and Hindi or other tribal languages. The speakers of Bhumij (16,227), Gadaba (12,774), Halabi (3,048), Juang (11,136), Koda/Kora (1,588) and Konda (2,042) are mostly bilingual in Oriya. But Parji speakers are mostly bilingual in Telugu (1,350); Gondi speakers are bilingual in Hindi (4,191) and Oriya (15,607); the Ho are bilingual in Oriya (89,654), Hindi (3,715) and Santali (1,792) ; the Kharia are bilingual in Oriya (41,564) and Hindi (8,802). The Khond/Kondh are bilingual in Oriya (122,126), Telugu (6,157) and Parji (382). The Kisan are bilingual in Oriya (94,882) and Hindi (4,790). The Koya are bilingual in Oriya (33,498) and Telugu (1,296). The Kui speakers are bilingual in Oriya (251, 581), Telugu (9,333) and Parji (212). The Munda speakers are bilingual in Oriya (96,946), Hindi (16,666) and Santali (1,208). The Mundari speakers are bilingual in Oriya (46,761), Hindi (5,969) and Santali (742). The Santali speakers are bilingual in Oriya (1,96,781), Hindi (4,692), and Ho (1,370). The Savara speakers are bilingual in Oriya (1,16,388) and Telugu (7,301). An interesting case is that of the Gadaba who speak three languages belonging to the three language families, namely, the Dravidian language of Gadaba, the Austric language of Gutolic, and the Indo-Aryan languages of Oriya and Halbi.

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An admixture of scripts called Kalinga or later Kalinga script existed in the Eastern Ganga dynasty during the period from the 7 to 11 century. Earlier, Gaudi script derived from Siddhamatrika prevailed from the 10 to the 14 century. The Oriya and the Perso-Arabic scripts are commonly used in Orissa. There are two tribal scripts, one invented by Pandit Raghunath Murmu Ol Chiki for Santhali language and the other by the Savaras who claim to have transited from daru brahma (Jagannath) to akshara brahma (script). The tribal scripts have been used as identity markers. The beginning of Oriya literature is traced to the 8th century and its flowering to the 14th century when an enormous range of creative output appeared with a dozen variety of the Ramayana and four versions of the Mahabharat and translation of the Bhagavat Purana of Jagannatha Das. Among the contributors to the literary heritage of Orissa were people from all sections of society, sudra muni, Sarla Das, a weaver Gangadhar Meher, a Brahman Jayadeva whose Geetgovind is sung at the temple everyday, a Khond poet Bhima Bhoi, a Khandayat Fakirmohan Senapati (1843-1918), father of modern Oriya literature. A feature has been the incorporation of rich tribal material into Oriya literature .

The origin and development of Sanskrit and Oriya languages can also be gleaned from the inscriptions. The sculptures supplement our knowledge on the social life of Orissa in ancient and medieval times. There are also sculptural representations of dress, ornament and coiffure of both men and women as well as toilet used by both the sexes. The Puranas such as the Visnu Purana, the Vayu Purana, the Skanda Purana, the Brahma Purana throw much light on the caste system of Orissa in ancient and medieval periods. The dramas like Anarghaaghava and Prabodhachandrodaya depict about the theatrical performances that were popular in Orissa. The Sahityadarpana mentions about some games of the people of Orissa. The Manasollasa reveals the caste system as well as the food habits of the people of Orissa during the period under survey. The Gitagovinda indicates the status of the devadasis as well as the dance and music that were popular in Orissa during the period. (B. Das 1985). In addition to the aforesaid Sanskrit Works some Oriya works also can be relied upon to reconstruct the social history of Orissa in ancient and medieval periods. The Sarala Mahabharata and the Adalapanji contain stray references to various aspects of the social life such as caste system, position of women, food and Siddha food habits, musical instruments, the position of weavers, Hadis, Dombas, Savaras, etc. The chewing of betel is more widely in vogue in Orissa than in other states. In fact, the Orissan epigraphs refer to betel nuts and betel-leaves at several places. Jayadeva is among the central most figures in Oriya culture. It is established fact that Jayadeva's works, have spread to southern India, where verses of the poet's work have been incorporated into the Kathakali and Bharatnatyam classical dance forms respectively. It is Jayadeva's ashtapadis that are sung in dance performances of Odissi, the classical dance of Orissa. Oriya bhajans (devotional songs) are based on ragas and talas specified by Jayadeva's hymns. The Gita Govinda composed by Jayadeva is one of the popular themes in the traditional patachitra paintings of Orissa. Jayadeva's ragas do not match the lyrical patterns of Bengal, which unlike Orissa, does not possess a classical vocal tradition (Reference -Barbara Stoler Miller's book, Love Song of the dark Lord). Even earlier, the first English translation of the Gita Govinda, published by Sir William Jones in 1792, identified Kalinga (Orissa) as the saint poet's birthplace. The government of Orissa, through the Odissi Akademi, has initiated an

annual Jayadeva Utsav (festival) in Bhubaneswar and New Delhi to commemorate the great poet's birth in Orissa, through classical music and dance. The people of Orissa have now been able to establish the fact that the 12th century saint-poet Jayadeva indeed belonged to their state.

Classical and Popular Folk Performances

Orissa has a rich tradition of folklore, theatre and theatrical presentations consisting of music, dance and dramatics in many varieties and forms. Jatra groups of Orissa move from place to place. There are many items which are performed solo like the Bohurupi, Ghantapatua, Mundapota Kela, Janughanta, Jogi, Ghuduki, Dhankoila, Galpasagara, Kathaka, Harikatha, etc. There are items which are enacted in duets like Ghata Kalasi, Dhoba Nacha, Sabara Sabaruni, Kela Keluni, Dasakathia and such others. There are items, which need four to eight persons such as Gotipua, Sakhinata, Ghudukinata, Dhumpa Geeta, Nachuni Nach, Mahari Nacha, Naga Nacha, Patua Jatra, Chaiti Ghoda, Pala and such others. Dhankoila Jatra, Humo, Dalkhai and other Jatra items need a term of twenty to sixty persons. They are the Leela, Suanga (Titinatya, Gitabhinaya), Dandanata. The Pala and Dasakathia are most popular forms of folk performances of Orissa. In Dasakathia a colourful and popular performance is rendered by two-member, one singer (Gayaka) and the other accompanist (Palia). This performance is ritualistic and secular in nature. The dramatic performance includes verbose stanzas of various types including pauranic episodes. The origin of Pala goes back to Muslim-Mughal period, when assimilation of Satya Narayan of Hindu pantheon with pir of Mohammedanism, brought about a synthetic cult known as Satyapir (H. C. Das 1978). We have two types of pala in Orissa-the Baithaaki (sitting) and the Thia (standing). The Thia pala is taken to be the developed form of danda nata. The group of performers consisting of six persons is including the Bayak or the drummer (who plays on the Mrudanga) the chief singer known as Gayaka. In pala performance songs of various types in different styles predominate the dance to the tune of music. Patua Jatra, similar to that of pala, is a well-known form prevalent among the low caste people. (Das 1978). Jhoomar Dance named after the accompanying Jhoomar songs is current among the Mahanta and Munda communities of the Sundargarh district. Among the Mahantas the men perform the dance only. Among the Mundas the singers who accompanying the dancers sing songs and the dancers follow them in chorus in accompaniment of Madal. The Mundas are especially experts in this dance particularly in intricate footsteps, movement of hip and wrists and movement of body (H. C. Das 1978).

The tribes of Orissa have very rich tradition of folklore, songs and dances, which often have secular, religious and seasonal character. Among tribal dances may be included the colourful spring time dance of the Santals with their musical instrument, Madal performed by the maidens, their pastoral dance during ripping of grain, the dance of the Kolha at the time of planting of the seeds in honour of their deity performed by men and women, the dances of the Gonds done in dedication to their deity Bhimsen, at harvesting festival time, marriage celebrations, accompanied by several musical instruments like the horned-drums, flutes and clarinets, the spring dance of the Bhatra with beautiful dresses, silver ornaments of women. Karma is a folk ritual based on folk dance in honour of the deity Karam sani or Kararani, ritualistic in character. This dance type is confined to the Binjhal, Kharia, Kisan and Kol tribes who perform it in the month of Bhadrab from the eleventh day of the full moon day. The boys and girls chop off a branch of Karam or Sal tree and bring the same to a well decorated place of the village where the priest locally known as Jhankar performs the ritual such as pouring

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liquor, offering fowl, sweet meats etc. This is followed by singing and dancing in accompaniment of drum (madal), cymbal etc. with colourful costumes in exuberance of red cloth, set in peacock feathers skilfully designed ornaments made of small conch shells. Both men and women take part and continue to engross themselves for the whole night. The technique of the Karma dance varies from tribe to tribe. The Sua dance of the Sambalpur tribes is performed by the young girls in the spirit of adventure and romance accompanied by drummers and musicians, and the ring dance of the Oran performed during all festivals and in the spring and autumn seasons are other popular dances in a circle. The women dancers placing their arms at the back of their neighbours and clasping the hands of the next in the courtship dances of Ho is worth seeing.

Chhow dance is a famous dance form of Orissa. It has earned name and fame in the international arena for its famous martial art based Chhow dance. This variety of dance is prevalent in the Mayurbhanja, Nialgiri and Sareikala (now in Jharkhand) regions. Exclusively men perform this dance. The steps and movements, the attack and defence, the performers each holding a sword and shield, dividing themselves into two parties, the drums and their mode of play, the huge, kettle drum known as 'Dhumusa', being must in the orchestra, its reverberating powerful beats energizing the dancers, all signify that chhow dance is unmistakably originated from martial practices. Puppet dance known as 'Kandei or Sakhi Nata, a rare and unusual type of stylised indigenous drama and dance based on mythological stories, is performed in various parts of Orissa. The puppetry of Orissa may be classified into three categories, such as hand puppets, string puppets, rod puppets (H. C. Das 1978). In western Orissa, we find different types of folk dances and music. An important folk dance of the area is Dalkhai. The unmarried grown-up girls form a semi-circle and dance outside the village. We have another form of dance -song -worship all combined in the Karma or Kelikadam Dance. This dance is generally performed on the Ekadasi (the eleventh day), which is known as the Bada Ekadasi (the big eleventh day) of the month of Aswin (September) every year. N.K.Das and Santanu Mitra observed karma performed in great style in western Orissa. Das and Mitra observed that among the Binjhal it is celebrated with much pomp and ceremony. After completion of the rituals and offerings to Karmasain the Binjhal priest narrates to the village folk the miraculous deeds of Karmasain in form of stories. Dance takes place only at the completion of the narration of the story by Jhankar (the Binjhal priest). The Karma dance is also performed when natural calamities occur or disease persists. Male and female take part in the dance. The drummer plays the drum at the centre of the dancing group. The Madal (drum) used in the Karma dance is an earthen made leather drum. This drum is bigger than Mridangam. The tune of the Madal reaches a radius of three to four Kms. and attracts people of nearby villages with its sweet and scintillating music. The Madal is the central piece of musical instrument of this dance. Ghumara dance also portrays love, joke and the pangs of separation. Tal, Ghumara and Nisan Tal, these three musical instruments accompany the dance sequence. The dancers wear tight trousers and loose shirts, a long piece of cloth is tied around the head in the form of a turban and peacock's feathers are fixed to it. The origin of the Danda dance has been ascribed to the kingdom of Boud (modern Boud district of Orissa), where Buddhism was the cardinal religion. The Prabha dance resembles that of Lord Siva's Tandab dance (the dance of destruction). Musical instruments like Mardala, Gini, Flute and Mahuri accompany the chief musical instruments of the Danda dance, Dhol (Drum) (Panda 1978). Dhapa Dance is generally performed in majority of the tribal villages. Samprada is a Mridangam type drum, but it is different in its process of construction from the Mridangam and is biggest in size. One individual, who becomes the centre of attraction, performs the Samprada or Bahak dance and his assistant simply repeats his songs and

sayings. Spiritual and devotional prayers, chanda and choupadi find place in the songs of the dancer. An assistant (Palia) helps the dancer with a Khol (a flattened drum). This dance is generally performed on the eve of the spring festival (Panda 1978). Danda Nata is performed with great religious fervour. An artist dressed in multi-coloured skirt and tight-fitting attire of local design appears and announces the opening of folk theatre in a jovial manner. Dhol a double-sided drum, and Mahuri (Shahanai) are the only musical instruments used at that time. Lately, this typical dance drama, Danda Nata, assumed the character of yatra performance on mass scale. The dance-drama continues for a period ranging from 13 to 21 days (C. B. Patel 2002). Dhap folk dance was prevalent in western Orissa. It derives its name from Dhap, a musical instrument of the shape of typical Khanjani. The performers hold the instrument in one hand and beat it with sticks in the other hand. This folk art medium is performed mostly by the Kandhas. Unlike Danda Nata, in Dhap both men and women participate in equal ratio (C. B. Patel 2002).

Odissi dance, which has earned world reputation for its elaborate grace and charm, is the continued tradition of ancient Odra nrutya, a highly civilised dance that existed 2,000 years ago. The history of Odissi dance is largely the history of the Devadasis (dancing-girls) attached to important shrines of Orissa. The practice of dedicating dancing-girls in honour of gods was at one time prevalent throughout India. There are quite a few anthropological studies on this tradition. In Orissa it began with the growth of Siva temples at Bhubaneswar. History also proves that the powerful Ganga rulers first attached the dancing -girls known, as Maharis in Orissa to the shrine of Jagannath at Puri in early 12th century. Prataprudra Deva, the son of Purusottama, in an inscription, dated July 1499 A.D. regulated the performance of dance. It was ordained that the dancing-girls were to dance and sing only from Jayadev's Gita-Govinda at the time of food-offerings (Bhoga) in the Jagannath temple. Dancing was not only confined to the Devadasis, as an art of honour. Princesses also practised it. Gradually the Devadasis ceased to be respected as they took to easy virtues. The dances of the "Gotipua" and "Sakhipila" (young boys dressed as girls) took its place catering to the taste of the general public. Abhinaya Chandrika, the code of Odissi Dance written in 15th century by Sri Maheswar Mohapatra, gave the ground for re-establishment of Odissi dance. Within few years Odissi could be revived and put in the rightful place in the classical dance map of India. Odissi, with a religious import and devotional intent has a rich and varied repertory embracing both Nritya (pure dance) and Nrutya (interpretative dance). The theme is rooted in religion; the urge is as much spiritual as aesthetic. A performance of Odissi opens with Mangalacharan, an invocatory piece of dance followed by singing of a sloka in obeisance to lord Ganesha or Jagannatha. Batu Nrutya is an item of pure dance laying stress on sculpturesque poses. A piece from Gita Govinda is indispensable, Dasavatar being the most popular item. Odissi is a highly stylised dance, with strict rules governing every aspect of its rendering. Odissi is full of sculpturesque poses known as Bhangis. Mostly these Bhangis are based on the "Tribhanga" or three-bend concept of Hindu iconography (Panda, Pathy and Ratha 1999).

Orissa cultural history and linkages with South East Asia:

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By the time of Mahavira and Buddha, Kalinga-Utkal regions on the eastern coast of India had acquired recognition and fame (M.N. Das 1962). The political history of Orissa opens with the rule of the Nanda Emperors of Magadha. The Hatigumpha Inscription of Emperor Kharavela at Udaygiri refers to a Nanda King twice, that the Nandaraja constructed an aqueduct in Kalinga, and that he took away to Magadha the sacred seat of the Jina, which belonged to Kalinga (Kalinga Jinasana). However, when Chandragupta Maurya succeeded to the throne of the Nandas, Kalinga did not form a part of his empire (M.N. Das 1962). Ashok's Kalinga invasion was an epoch-making event of ancient times, an event of far-reaching consequence in history. Kalinga was conquered but the conquest changed the heart of the conqueror. The change in Asoka changed the course of religious and cultural history of Asia. It is in his Kalinga Rock Edicts that Asoka enunciated some of the finest principles of a good government and declared, "All men are my children". The next great epoch of Orissan History was the reign of Kharavela. The history of this emperor is recorded at the Udaygiri Hill near Bhubaneswar and is famous as the Hitigumpha inscription. The date of Kharavela has been debated among scholars some of whom regard his rule in the first half of the 2nd Century B.C., while others in the 1st Century B.C. His achievements, however, were remarkable. He conquered many countries, gave them a good administration, and played a prominent part in religious activities. His army went as far as Mathura in the north; and in the far south, the Pandya king recognised his supremacy. Side by side with wars and conquests, the emperor involved himself with public works, such as, reconstruction of the city of Kalinganagar, laying of embankments and gardens, and repairing canals. In the thirteenth year of his reign, Kharavela retired to the Kumari Hill at Khandigiri near Bhubaneswar where one hundred and seventeen caves were constructed to serve as the resting-place for the Arhats. Kharavela was a Jaina. The ruins of Jaina architecture of Kharavela are still to be seen on the twin hills of Udaygiri and Khandagiri, in the vicinity of modern Bhubaneswar (M.N. Das 1962). In the middle of the 4th Century A.D. when the Gupta Emperor Samudragupta undertook his military expedition to the South, Orissa was a divided territory. In the 8th Century A.D., the most remarkable feature of the Orissan History was the culmination of Orissa's overseas activities in the establishment of the Sailendra Empire in Malayasia. From ancient times, the people of Kalinga were pioneers of maritime adventure. Commercial relations continued for many centuries side by side with settlement of colonies in Bali, Java, Sumatra, Borneo and Malaya. By 7th Century, the Chinese had learnt to call Java as 'Ho-ling', the Chinese equivalent of the word Kalinga (M.N. Das 1962). During the 8th, 9th, and 10th Centuries, a powerful dynasty known as the Bhauma-Kara ruled over Utkal. The SomaVamsi rulers flourished during the 10th and 11th Centuries (M.N. Das 1962). A new chapter in the History of Orissa was opened with the coming of the Ganga Dynasty to power. By the end of 11th Century A.D. and in early 12th Century, they rose into prominence and brought the whole of Orissa under their sway. Vaishnavism received the royal patronage, and Vaishnavite temples were built at many places such as Mukhalingam, Srikurmam and Simhachalam. The most prominent manifestation of this new movement was the foundation of the great Temple of Jagannath at Puri. Ramanuja came to Puri during the days of Chodagangadeva, which had profound religious significance. The temple was completed by the successors of Chodaganga notably, Anangabhimadeva (M.N. Das 1962). For a long time the Gangas were in control of Hindu Orissa. In 13th Century, Orissan architecture reached its climax in the construction of the famous Sun Temple of Konark by Narasimhadeva I who ruled from 1238 to 1264 A.D. The time of Prataprudra saw the rising tide of Bhakti movement in Orissa. Sri Chaitanya came to Puri and preached there for long. The King became a devout disciple of the Master. This in consequence adversely affected the political

strength of Orissa at a time of external invasions. In 1568, Orissa lost her independence - being almost the last Hindu Kingdom of India to fall to the Muslims (M.N. Das 1962).

Diverse religious predispositions and syncretic Jagannatha tradition:

There are various sects within and outside Hinduism and in Orissa they provide collective identity. They are also central and unifying force in Oriya society. The overwhelmingly important Vaishnava sects have their supreme deity, Jagannatha, whose main temple is at Puri on the sea, where the famous annual festival with huge wooden chariots dragged for the regional divine triad - Jagannatha, Balabhadra, and Subhadra (goddess sister) - draws about half a million devotees. The famous Lingaraja temple of Lord Shiva at Bhubaneswar, the famous Viraja goddess temple at Jajpur, both in coastal Orissa, and Mahimagadi, the cult temple of the century-old Mahima sect of worshipers of Shunya Parama Brahma (the absolute soul void) at Joranda in central Orissa, are highly sacred for the Oriya people.

The people of Orissa profess Hinduism overwhelmingly (96.4 percent), with Christianity (1.73 percent), Islam (1.49 percent), Sikhism (0.04 percent) and Buddhism (0.04 percent) trailing far behind. Tribes pursue their own religions even though many have declared Hinduism as their religion. Apart from supreme beings, gods, and goddesses of classical Hindu religion, the Oriyas propitiate a number of disease spirits, Village deities, and revere ancestral spirits. The religious practitioners belong to numerous categories. In the villages each Brahman priest has a number of client families of Kshatriya, Vaisya, and some Sudra castes. There are also magicians (gunia) practicing witchcraft and sorcery. Kalisi or shamans are consulted to discover the causes of crises and the remedies. Ceremonies. A large number of rituals and festivals mostly following the lunar calendar are observed. The most important rituals are: the New Year festival (Bishuba Sankranti) in mid-April; the fertility of earth festival (Raja Parab); festival of plowing cattle (Gahma Punein); the ritual of eating the new rice (Nabanna) ; the festival worshipping the goddess of victory, known otherwise as Dassara (Durga Puja); the festival of the unmarried girls (Kumar Purnima); the solar-calendar harvest festival (Makar Sankranti); the fast for Lord Shiva (Shiva Ratri); the festival of colors and the agricultural New Year (Dola Purnima or Dola Jatra); and, finally, the festival worshipping Lord Krishna at the end of February. In November-December (lunar month of Margashira) every Thursday the Gurubara Osha ritual for the rice goddess Lakshmi is held in every Oriya home. Arts. The ancient name of Orissa, Utkala, literally means "the highest excellence in the arts." The Oriya are famous for folk paintings, painting on canvas (patta-chitra), statuary and sculptures, the Orissan style of temple architecture, and tourist and pilgrim mementos made of horn, papier-mâché, and appliqué work. Classical Odissi dance, the virile Chhow dance, colorful folk dances with indigenous musical instruments (percussion, string, and wind) and also Western instruments, dance dramas, shadow plays (Ravana-Chhaya) with puppets, folk opera (jatra), mimetic dances, and musical recitation of God's names are all very popular. Orissi music, largely following classical (raga) tunes, and folk music, are rich and varied. Medicine. Illness is attributed to "hot" or "cold" food, evil spirits, disease spirits, and witches; and mental diseases to sorcery or spirit possession. Leprosy and gangrenous wounds are thought to be punishment for the commission of "great" sins, and, for general physical and mental conditions, planets and stars in the zodiac are held to be responsible. Cures are sought through herbal folk medicines, propitiation of supernatural beings and spirits, exorcism, counteraction by a gunia (sorcery and witchcraft specialist), and the services of homeopathic, allopathic, or Ayurvedic specialists. Death and Afterlife. Death is considered a transitional state in a

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cycle of rebirths till the soul (atma) merges in the absolute soul (paramatma). The god of justice, Yama, assigns the soul either to Heaven (swarga) or to Hell (narka). The Funeral rites and consequent pollution attached to the family and lineage of the deceased last for ten days among higher castes. The dead normally are cremated.

In the first part of the seventh century A.D. Sasanka, the king of Gauda, who was the overlord of Kongoda, gave a definite turn to the ascendancy of Saivism in Orissa. His coins indicate that he was a follower of Siva and Yuan Chwang's accounts represent him as an enemy of Buddhism. The Saiva temples of Jaipur, built during this period, bear Tantrik influences. Viraja, the presiding deity of the place, has found mention in the Mahabharata and the Harivamsa and her antiquity is to be traced to a much earlier period. Tantras had become inextricably mixed up with all forms of religions in Orissa, when the Somavamsis started their rule in this country about A.D. 931. The Somavamsis were the staunch Saivas, as their surnames Mahasivagupta and Mahabhavagupta indicate. They revived the most important Vaisnava shrine of Jagannatha at Puri; the kings of this dynasty were instrumental in raising the great Saiva temple of Lingaraja at Bhubaneswar and Udyota-kesari's mother Kolavatidevi built the temple of Brahmesvara at Bhubaneswar. They thus seem to have been cosmopolitan in their religious outlook, retaining all the conventions that had acquired religious sanction through long practice in the preceding centuries (Panigrahi 1981: 319). The Gangas were originally Saivas, but after their conquest of Orissa they became more inclined towards Vaisnavism as represented by the Jagannatha cult.

Sacred texts suggest the prevalence of the goddess cult in the early history of Orissa. The inland part of Orissa has strong tribal roots. Many of the people here were absorbed into Hinduism within the last several hundred years. This is probably the main reason for the prevalence of the non-brahmin style of worshipping the goddess, with its associated animal sacrifice and independence from Jagannath at Puri. By contrast, temples on the coast are located along the pilgrimage corridor where there is a long history of Hinduism (Preston 1980 : 20). In Orissa only the temples of the goddess Bimala at Puri, Biraja at Jaipur and Bhubaneswari at Bhubaneswar are mentioned as pithas in the classical Sanskrit literature. In Orissa the appearance of Sakti cult can be traced back to the 2nd century B.C. The orthodox made up their mind and worshipped Stambhesvari, Seen Matrukas along with Virabhadra and Ganesha, and folk deities. The spread of Sakti cult was marked by the worship of different Durgas. The two-armed Viraja at Jaipur in the district of Cuttack is the earliest form of Mahishamardini Durga. The various images of Buddhist Tara worshiped attest to the popularity of the Sakti cult in Orissa (Panda et.al. N.D. : 48).

Etymologically, the word Jagannatha means the Lord of the universe. Lord Jagannatha epitomizes love and universal brotherhood. The cult of Jagannatha has assimilated the influence of many religious creeds, sects and has thus become unique (Khuintia 2002). Jagannath is a splendid synthesis of not only the different schools of thought in Hinduism, it has also assimilated within its concepts and core thoughts of Buddhism, Jainism and Tantra. This spirit of integration is even apparent in the architectural style of the Jagannath temple. Jagannath has been looked upon as Krishna, Rama, Buddha, and Narayana, all in one. He has also been identified with the Mahayana Buddhism's Surya and the Brahma of Advaita Vedanta. It is wrong to characterize the religious ceremonies or philosophical ideas surrounding Jagannath worship as Jagannath cult. Since long, different theories have been propounded pertaining to the origin of the Jagannath cult. Stevenson first mooted the

hypothesis of Buddhist Origin of Jagannatha. General Cunningham in his *Bhilsa Topes* discussed the theory that Jagannatha Triad represents Buddha, Dharma and Sangha. At Puri, the Buddhist Stupa was erected with the usual carving of Triratna symbol of the Stupa in the 1st century A.D. At that time the Trinity was known as Jagannatha, the other name of Buddha. The celebrated poet Jayadeva (12th century A.D.) who composed *Gita Govinda* at Puri mentions Buddha as the ninth incarnation of the Lord. Since then, Jagannatha has been hailed by a larger number of Oriya people as the manifestation of Lord Buddha (Baba Mishra 1995: 47-48).

There is a strong tradition in Orissa, which suggests that Jagannatha had a tribal origin. At Chodaganga's time the Jagannatha cult offered both the necessary prerequisites to combine the two types of legitimation: it retained on the one hand a strong 'aboriginal' and autochthonous element. On the other hand it was no more a simple Hinduized cult, but had already enjoyed royal patronage and had thus been brahmanized. Once the identity of Jagannatha with Purusottama was well established, a further identification, namely that Krishna almost suggested itself. The cult of Lord Jagannatha has two broad dimensions; physical and spiritual. When we look at the physical dimension of the cult, its emergence in a particular way to depend on we need evidences from historical anthropological or cultural sources. The primary source of such a belief is the myth of Biswvasu, the Savara chief, his daughter Lalita, and the Brahmin son-in-law, Vidyapati. One has to believe that all his so-called tribal temple servants are nearest to him. It is only tribal Daitas who can worship him for 30 days during the Car Festival without uttering any Sanskrit or Vedic mantras. They do all the rituals in a typical tribal manner. Significantly enough, they are also treated as the lineage members of the deities, as a result of which they have to weep when old idols of the Triad are buried and have to observe all the rites of the mortuary on the occasion of Navakalevara ceremony. Though Lord Jagannatha is worshipped for the rest of the eleven months through Vedic practices, these observance of tribal rites for a period of one month are crucial and they prompt us to trace out the tribal link as well as the origin of Lord Jagannatha.

It also happens during the famous Navakalevara ceremony that only the Daitas, the tribal servants of the Lord, take a leading role in the expedition team for the procurement of the sacred "Daru" or wooden logs (of Neem tree). During this period, these Daitas live in a place near the temple of Goddess Mangala and the place is named as Savara Palli (village) of the Savaras, a tribe of Orissa. All the rites here are performed as per the tribal practices of spirit worship, ancestor-worship and the worship of village goddess (here Mangala). It is often said that the Saoras, a Mundari speaking tribe of Orissa, has some linguistic connection with the temple traditions.

Rath Yatra or the car festival is foremost among the twelve yatras of Lord Jagannatha, the presiding deity of Purushottama-Kshetra, i.e. Puri. It is celebrated on the 2nd lunar day (tithi) of the bright fortnight (shukla dvitiya, conjoint with Pushya Nakshatra) in the month of Ashadha (June-July). In Rath Yatra, however, the Deity himself has to be taken out in a Car in procession to a garden (bithika) near a tank or the riverside. The journey should be the longest among his annual peregrinations, and the stay out, for a period of 7, 9, 19, 15 or 30 days. After Snana Yatra (the Bath ceremony) held on the full moon day of Jyestha, the three deities like ordinary mortals fall sick. They take a rest, remaining on sick diet i.e. pana and fruit alongwith medicine (modaka-s) administered by Rajavaidya for a fortnight. On the 16th day, i.e. on the eve of Rath Yatra, they present themselves for worship after the ceremony of opening of the eyes (Netrotsava) and attainment of rejuvenation.

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Ratha Yatra which extends over a period of 9 days has three components, namely (a) the inward journey (Purva Yatra), (b) the halting week (Adapa) and the return journey (Bahuda Yatra). On the fifth day of the Yatra, i.e. on Shukla Shasthi Lakshmi, the consort of Jagannatha is taken in a vimana to spy the activities of her lord at the Gundicha temple. While on return journey, the Car of Jagannatha is detained near a small temple called Mausī-Mā's (maternal aunt's) temple. Ratha Yatra comes to an end ceremonially with Naladri Vije.

Alekha: Satya Mahima Dharma:

Satya Mahima Dharma otherwise known as Alekha Mahima Dharma or Kumbhipatia Dharma has its origin in Orissa. Many people belonging Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes have embraced this sect. According to Mahima Dharma, Brahmo is one and only one. He is alekha (who cannot be written), Anadi (without any beginning), Ananta (without any end) and Anakar (without any shape). Thus Mahima Dharma preaches the theory of monotheism. Hindus believe in idolatry. Mahima Dharma preaches the theory of shapeless God. Mahimaism was originated taking a bold step against caste prejudices by proclaiming equality of mankind before God. The disciples of Satya Mahima Dharma believe that Mahima Gosain, the founder of this sect, was the incarnation of great brahmo who came to this world to revise Hindu religion from the state of degeneration. Several anthropologists such as Lidia Guzy have studied the mahima dharma and its ramifications. During the life time of Mahima Gasain the sect was divided into two sections, viz., Kumbhipatias (Who wear bark of Kumbhi tree) and Kanapatias (Who wear red ochre dyed cloth). At that time there was conflict among these sections. Kanapatias and Kumbhipatias generally attended the annual festivals held at Mahulpada and Joranda, respectively. After the death of Mahima Gasain his followers were divided into three groups. They were known as Chappan Murtia, Tetis Murtia and Kodie Murtia according to number of sanyasis in the group (TRB 1968).

The followers of Mahima Dharma may broadly be divided into two groups Sanyasis and Gruhis or Asritas. The Sanyasis have to renounce the worldly life. It is essential for all sanyasis to devote life for realization of truth. Sanyasis lead a life of wanderings to preach ideas and thoughts of the sect. Gruhis on other hand live in their homes and enjoy worldly life, with certain restrictions. The Gruhis wear red ochre dyed cloth as uniform of Mahima Dharma. There is a common belief that red ochre dyed clothing is not polluted. The Gruhis are not allowed to rear goat, sheep, fowls, as these are sacrificial animals for Hindu deities. Common Rules for Sanyasis and Gruhis. The followers of Satya Mahima Dharma should wake up at dawn taking a purificatory bath they salute seven times to Brahmo under the canopy of sky. Likewise before sunset they salute five times. The followers do not take food after sun set. Except Brahmon, no other Hindu deity should be worshipped Brahmo is one and only one. Image worship is discouraged. Intoxicants specially drinking are strictly prohibited. But they can chew tobacco or smoke Ganja. They should spend leisure by Bhajana, kirtana and Smarana. Western medicines are also discouraged. After Gosain's death it spread to other parts of Orissa as well as outside the State. Some centres have been established in Assam, Bengal, Bihar, Andhara Pradesh, Nepal, Burma (TRB 1968).

Tribal State Formation and patterns of social change:

With the separation of Chhattisgarh from Madhya Pradesh recently, Orissa has emerged as the state having the largest tribal population concentrated in north western and southwestern parts of the

state. Of all the tribes the Saoras / Savaras were most intimately related to others in the ancient texts where they were mentioned both generically as any forest based group and specifically as forest dwellers in Orissa and central India. They participated in state formation, owned the land where they worshipped the early incarnation of Lord Jagannath and passed on the cult to the king and Brahmins. The Sudh Savaras are still active players in rituals.

In Orissa one encounters both endogenous and exogenous processes of state formation. The tribals had generally a two tier structure of authority, one at the level of the village chief selected by members of the village and the other at the level of a group of villages (pidha) inhabited by the tribe. A Rajput chief used to ritually marry a tribal girl and accord a position of honour and a significant role to the chief of the main tribe in coronation ceremony, adopt the tribal practice of naming the grandson after the grandfather etc. Third, a distinction should be made between Kshatriyazation and Rajputization. Some tribal chiefs claimed the varna status of Kshatriya but would not give up the jati status, for example Nagvansi, the Gonds, Binjhal retained their jati status even while claiming a place in varna order. Some tribes "stole" minor Rajput scions and installed them as their rulers, for example, in Bamara, Gangpur etc. Fourth, the tribal chiefs of Bonai, Keonjhar, Mayurbhanj, Gangapur who originally belonged to the tribal groups went through the process of Kshatriyazation and Rajputization. Thus the Bhuinya of Bonai and Keonjhar and the Bhanj of Mayurbhanj which means breaking of the eggs of the peacock claimed the status and got recognised as Rajput or later as a high status Rajput. Fifth, the tribes became peasants and Hinduised while maintaining a great deal of cultural autonomy such as Sounti, Bhuyan, Kisan, Bathudi, Mirdha, Gond and Savara. Sixth, the tribe remained a tribe among hunting-gathering groups.

Many other elements of Oriya identity emerged during the medieval period, language, literature, script, Jagannath cult etc. The Jagannath cult is traditionally traced to the 5 century AD when the founder of Somvansi dynasty Yayati Keshari brought the wooden images from western Orissa together with Daita priests and set up the images in the new temple constructed by the ruler. However it was during the 400 year rule of the Gangas (11 to 14 century), when Orissa was territorially and politically integrated that the temple dedicated to Purshottama was constructed in 1196 AD., and Jagannath was elevated from a rashtradevata to an imperial god. Anangabhim in 1216 AD. called himself a deputy (rauta) and the son (putra) of the three deities, Purshottama, Rudra and Durga.

After the downfall of the Gupta Empire, the process of state formation shifted from the provincial centres to the hinterland. At this stage of state formation, there was need for legitimising the Hindu tribal rajas that ruled over relatively egalitarian tribal communities. The consolidation of state faced two sets of problems. First, the political problem of institutionalising powers over the people and translating it into authority. The new Hindu rajas, the nouveau riche among the former tribal chiefs, usually followed a long-drawn strategy. They sought the tribals' loyalty and, in exchange, patronised their powerful deities as the state deities (rastradevata), which helped to legitimise their rule over tribal or Hindu-tribal frontiers. The generous patronage of these deities and their priests helped to politically bridge the gap between the new rulers and the ruled. Secondly, the economic and administrative problems relating to the newly established kingdoms were resolved by the rajas by systematically inviting new settlers, who were often drawn from the Brahmin and upper castes, as ritual and administrative specialists. The main function of Brahmins was the propagation of the new

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idea of Hindu Kingship and the hierarchically structured caste society with the new Hindu rulers and priests at its top. They were responsible for the erection of the whole infrastructure of the New Kingdom, particularly its administration (Kulke, 1979: 24). This social consolidation of small kingdoms and principalities was a long and gradual process. The king needed their land for the gradual extension of peasant agriculture to generate sufficient surplus for sustaining the state. In Orissa, it was continuous process of 'assimilation' and partial integration (Kulke, 1978: 32). The tribe - Hindu caste intermingling is epitomised in the Jagannatha worship, which is today at the centre of Brahminic ritual and culture, and the regional tradition of Orissa, yet tribal in origin.

Tribal people have been in continuous contact with the Caste Hindus and in the process each has influenced the other in various facets of social life. Sanskritization, Aryanization and Hinduisation are widely used concepts denoting the process. In our study of culture change in western Orissa in 2004, we observed that there is a fusion of two processes of Sanskritization and tribalization, which appears to be contrasting but complementary processes of cultural change. Karma festival is widely prevalent among the tribal people of central and eastern India. Though it is more a tribal festival, it is well within the fold of the Sambalpur Hindu folk tradition. Karma is a beautiful example of the tree worship among the tribal people in central and eastern India. The adorable deity of Karma festival is Karamsani who is represented by twig branch called Karma dal. The twig branch of Sal tree is worshipped as Karamsani in Sambalpur. From religious point of view, it may be suggested that use of a twig branch of Sal tree in Sambalpur may be due to some impact of Buddhism. According to the legend, Lord Buddha died in a grove of Sal trees. Also the Sal tree is associated with his birth. It is because of these associations that Sal tree is regarded as most sacred by the Buddhists. In ancient period, tantric Buddhism flourished in Sambalpur area. Buddhist monks had set up innumerable centres in this area. Today, most of the ruins are found in the forest and hilly tops which are inaccessible and richly inhabited by tribal people. Besides, some of the Karma songs are in Malashree raga, which is reportedly used, in the tantric form of the mother goddess worship. In view of his, the possible link between the Buddhism and the uni-conical image (Sal tree) of Karamsani deity may be taken into consideration. Karamsani has been regarded as the Goddess of vegetation, fertility and destiny. Both the tribal people and caste Hindus in the village worship her. Karamsani is believed to have a dual personality. On the one hand she is a gracious mother and on the other, a ferocious power, on one side she is the savior or preserver of the tribal society, provider of their welfare and thereby merciful towards people and on the other as destroyer (C. Pasayat 1994). Karma is observed on various occasions. Bahma Karma is held at the time of crop failure and drought, which are caused by Bhama, an insect that destroys the crops. Thus, Karma puja is celebrated in times other than the day of Bhadrava Ekadasi to get blessings of Karamsani and to recover from untold sufferings or miseries. Karamsani is propitiated rather than adored. The ritual unity of the village is prominent during such festival. Karamsani is worshipped for curing diseases, well being of the children, and ensuring good crops, restoring, hope and confidence among the people. The annual worship in the month of Bhadrava marks an important stage in the agricultural operations and calendar in the village (Pasayat 1994). Not only Karma but in many rituals and festivals we note the participation of both tribes and caste people at village level. We observe that despite considerable influence of Hinduism and other religions such as Christianity, a large section of the tribes of Orissa continue to pursue in traditional manner the old tribal religious practices, often with engagement of tribal priesthood. The hill tribes consider the mother earth as the supreme deity and she is to be pleased by offering sacrifices of blood of any living being, either of animal or even of bird. The Kandhas even

used to offer human beings to propitiate earth goddess. Further their deities are usually symbolised by images of stone slabs or stocks; the trunks of the big tree. Totemism and non-recognition of Supreme Being are two other features of tribal cult. Animism, i.e. the attribution of a soul to natural objects and phenomena and fatalism belief in charms, magic, witch craft and ghosts are two other characteristic features of the cult of the hill tribes. In fact the majority of tribes have gradually absorbed Hindu customs and they are found to have been largely Hinduised (J. Patnaik 1998). Like the Hindus the tribal folks are polytheists. The Kondhas' pantheon, consisting of 84 deities are broadly divided into two types of deities – the native and imported. The Earth God, the Iron God and the village deity are considered to be the chief tribal Deities. The third category of deities among the Kandhas are those who have been borrowed from the Hindu Pantheon. They are Mahadeo, Hara-paravati, Kali etc. Mr. Taylor, who was the sub-divisional officer for more than 48 years during the British rule, thus writes about the Hinduised cult of the Kandhas “The Kandhas are in fact completely Hinduised”. They venerate cow, set up a Hindu God, get a Hindu priest to minister to them and adopt. Some of the customs of the pure Hindus and thus become in time recognized as low class Hindus. Like every Hindu village having its own deity, every Khanda village has its own Grama Devata or Thakurani as guardian spirit (Patnaik 1978).

The Santal tribes, which stand numerically next to the Kandhas, are also polytheists. Their supreme deity is Thakur Jiu who is also called Sin Bonga or Dhorom. In their theological pantheon another chief deity, Maran Buru, has taken a prominent place. They have several village deities too who are worshipped in all public festivals. The Santals like other tribes are also found to have been influenced by the Hindu pantheon. Many traditional Hindu deities such as Rama, Hari, Paravati have been adopted and given a place in Santal pantheon of Bongas (Patnaik 1978). The Gonds constitute the principal tribe of the Dravidian family and perhaps the most important of the non-Aryans of the forest tribes in India. They are polytheists. They worship Jangadeo, Lingadeo and Bura Deo. Bura Deo is considered as their supreme deity. Their pantheon also includes many Hindu Gods and the animals and implements to which the Hindu names have been attributed. There are also households deities like Jhulan Devi, the gods of Forest nymphs and crops and the goddess of Earth. They are worshipped to evade sorrows and miseries. They also worship Hindu Gods like Mahadeo Jagannath, Krishna, Rama and the goddesses like Kali and the educated among them read Oriya Bhagbat, Ramayan and Mahabharat and other Puranas. The Bhumijis who also constitute one of the major tribes worship quite a number of like clan deity, jungle deity, village deity, ancestor deities and minor mischievous deities. They also believe in magic, witchcraft and ghosts (Patnaik 1978).

As in the case of other religions, there exists priesthood in tribal society. Different tribes call their priests in different names such as the Kandhas say Jani, the Gonds, Disari, the Bhuija, Dehuri or Ojha and so on. There are priests both aboriginal and the Hindus. The Bhumijas require Brahman priests for their marriage and funeral rites. But offerings to their own deities are made through Dehuri belonging to their own tribe and not through Brahmins. Now a days with the exception of the chief God namely Bera Penu, no hereditary priesthood exists among the Kandhas. Any man who can win the belief of his neighbour by show of magical arts and incantations became a priest. Even on the strength of a dream or a vision a man could elevate himself from the common man and may not eat with the laymen nor partake foods prepared by them. They also possess extraordinary power like walking on burning charcoal. The presence of a priest in the Meriah Sacrifice festival performed by the Kandhas to propitiate their Bera Penu was a must. When this was substituted by another festival

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called Kedu Jatra, the Kandhas also used to invite the priest to this festival to perform the rites. In Gond village a priest either a male or a female is appointed to perform this function. On the closing day a goat is killed and the priest drinks the blood of the goat and walks on the burning charcol in a ditch specially prepared for the purpose. The followers who observe this function also join the priest. The priests are also consulted to find out the auspicious day for certain occasions like Nuakhia or first eating of the new crop. When anybody falls ill, it is believed to be the work of the evil deity, which is to be driven out by means of incantations, to be performed only by the shaman priests. The Bhumijas take to magic with the help of the Shamans so as to cure their diseases. Even in case of difficult delivery, the Shamans or the Ojhas are called to perform rites so as to expel the Ghosts supposed to be creating obstacles (Patnaik 1978).

Both the tribal and non-tribal people of Sambalpur worship the major regional tribal deity, Samaleswari Devi. She is believed to be the guardian of this area and regarded as the supreme deity. There are other deities like Pataneswari, Budhima, Mahamayi, Saramangala and Batamangala, who receive offerings of the devotees. These deities are collectively called sat bahuni (seven sisters). They are also feared as they may cause calamities when they are displeased. Significantly, the non-Brahmin priests worship her. The image of Samaleswari Devi is found in the form of a large head-like stone. The deity is worshipped in the form of a stone. Deity is descended through spirit possessors of lower caste people. Deity was worshipped under a semel tree in the past. Later, the deity has been enshrined in the temple. This may be a part of Sanskritisation as regular puja is performed with the Vaishnavi mantra. Most of her sevakas are tribals in origin. Both vegetarian and non-vegetarian offerings. The practice of buffaloe sacrifice was stopped in the mid-twentieth century. Nowadays, only he-goats are offered to the deity (Pasayat 2002).

Mahavira's connection with Kalinga (Orissa) is suggested by the traditions recorded in the Jaina sacred literature. The Jaina Harivamsa-Purana records that Mahavira preached his religion in Kalinga and Jaina Haribhadriya-vritti says that he went to this country as its king was a friend of his father. The early spread of Jainism in Orissa is evident from these traditions and it will not be unreasonable to conclude that Jainism made its first appearance in Orissa in sixth century B.C. when Mahavira visited it, and since then it continued to be one of its major religions at least up to the end of the first century B.C. when Kharavela's dynasty seems to have ended. Jainism was the major religion of Kalinga in the fourth century B.C. and we shall not be far from the truth, if we conclude, that it was its state religion. There was thus a period of proselytisation following the conquest and ushering in the new religion of Buddhism which in consequence obtained a foothold in Orissa, but it can not be imagined that Buddhism ousted the old religion of Jainism (Panigrahi, 1981:297). Jainism suffered an eclipse with the subsequent rise of Buddhism and Saivism in Orissa. It must be noted that Brahminism remained a major religion of Orissa throughout ages, though Jainism and Buddhism had their periods of ascendancy. Several Jaina images have also been preserved in the Orissa State Museum at Bhubaneswar. Most of the images referred to above, are those of the Tirthankaras and were no doubt the objects of worship. The Saiva temple of Muktesvara at Bhubaneswar has thus a number of miniature Jaina images on the outer face to its octagonal compound wall. These short inscriptions clearly indicate that the Khandagiri again became the centre of the Jaina activities in the eleventh century A.D. in the reign of the Saiva king Udayatakesari who evidently tolerated them. (Panigrahi 1981: 303).

The spread of Buddhism in Orissa started in right earnest from the third century B.C. after the Kalinga war of 261 B.C. We have already seen that Asoka conquered Kalinga after devastating this country in a terrible war and then incorporated it into his empire. The war greatly changed the mind of the great emperor and he found solace in Buddhism. Soon after the Kalinga War he became a Buddhist and started propagating Buddhism throughout India and outside. It is Kalinga, which gave him a new faith, and therefore, this country also became the region of his special propaganda and proselytisation. He introduced some new features in the administration of Kalinga, which did not exist in the administration of his other provinces. In his Kalinga Edicts the emperor has expressed his solicitude for the people of Kalinga, who must have received his special attention for their material and spiritual uplift. After the Kalinga War Asoka firmly believed that it was through Buddhism that the uplift of the spiritual and moral conduct of people could be achieved (Panigrahi 1981: 304).

By the seventh century A.D. the Hinayanas and the Mahayanas had become sharply divided in Orissa. Yuan Chwang during his visit to Odra (Orissa) saw the temples and the monasteries of both the sects. From the beginning of the Bhauma rule in the first part of the seventh century A.D. the existence of Buddhism in Orissa is attested. The first three Bhauma rulers, bore the Buddhist titles, Paramopasaka, Paramatathagata and Paramasaugata clearly showing that they were Buddhists. But the Buddhism Mahayana form, was of a very different type. It seems that Buddhism of this period was tending to merge into Hinduism, particularly into Saivism and Saktism. It is stated in the Neulpur Plate of Subhakaradeva I that Ksemankaradeva, the first member of the dynasty, placed the castes in their proper positions. This evidence proves that he was the supporter of the caste system, even though he was a Buddhist.

The great monastery of Ratnagiri had become in this period a centre of Buddhist religion, learning, Tantras and Yoga. In the Tibetan work Pag Sam Jan Zang it is stated that Bodhisri practised Yoga at Ratnagiri in Orissa. The first part of the Bhauma rule in Orissa was thus marked by the ascendancy of Mahayana Buddhism, but the subsequent rulers of the dynasty, as their titles in their inscriptions indicate, became Brahmanical Hindus. Buddhism did not completely die out, but it became changed and it distributed its potentialities among the Brahmanical sects (Panigrahi 1981: 312). Orissa is intimately associated with the spread of Buddhism in India and abroad through the efforts of Emperor Ashoka during the 3rd century B.C. The historic Kalinga war was fought and won by Ashoka. The war transformed Chandasoka to Dharmashoka; it also made Buddhism a potent spiritual and cultural force in the Indian subcontinent. A new era of peace and goodwill began. The message of Budha, world's earliest message of peace and non-violence, inspired Tapassu and Bhallika, who became disciples of the Enlightened one. One of these two merchant brothers carried Buddha's Kesa-Asthi (hair relic) to Orissa. The sacred tooth relic of Budha was taken away to Srilanka from Dantapura, the capital of Kalinga (B. P. Samal 2002). Excavations have led to the discovery of several monasteries and stupas at different places in Orissa. It is believed that Buddha had visited South Kosala in his life time. Buddhism continued to prevail in Orissa till about A.D. 13th century, long after it had vanished from most of the other regions of India. The Bhaumakara rulers are believed to have patronised Buddhism. In Orissa, the Vajrayana of Indra-Bhuti and Sahajayana of Laxmikara of Oddiyan, one of the four-tantrik pithas of India, flourished during the 8th century. Lalitgiri, Ratnagiri and Udayagiri are the three great centres of Buddhism in Orissa. The Buddhist Complex at Lalitgiri formed one of the important seats of Buddhism (B. P. Samal 2002).

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Both Jainism and Buddhism took root and spread in Orissa after the 5th century B.C. In the 3rd century B.C., during Ashoka's time, Buddhism reigned supreme, and in the 2nd century B.C. during the rule of Kharavela, Jainism became the State religion. Then, from the 3rd century A.D., Buddhism began to flourish again and this continued for 5 centuries after which Brahmanism once again gained ascendancy. Orissa became the stronghold of the Vajrayana offshoot of Buddhism, and one of the ways in which this manifested itself was through a new and vigorous school of Buddhist art, influenced by the Gupta tradition, which came into existence and rapidly spread everywhere (P. Misra 1962).

In Orissa one encounters both endogenous and exogenous processes of state formation. The Tribals had generally a two tier structure of authority, one at the level of the village chief selected by members of the village and the other at the level of a group of villages (pidha) inhabited by the tribe. A third tier of authority was also emerging with a raja selected in a peculiar way. Of all the tribes the Saoras / Savaras were most intimately related to others in the ancient texts where they were mentioned both generically as any forest based group and specifically as forest dwellers in Orissa and central India. They participated in state formation, owned the land where they worshipped the early incarnation of Lord Jagannath and passed on the cult to the king and Brahmans. The Sudh Savaras are still active players in rituals. The historical processes of Kshatriyazation or Rajputiazation never operated in their standard mode. Some tribal chiefs claimed the sort of Varna status through adoption of Singh title but no clear jati status was accorded to them in all cases. Tribal rituals and tribal priesthood always survived. We may cite the examples of the Nagbansi, the Gonds, and the Binjhal. This author has studied the Binjhal state formation closely. K. S. Singh has observed that some tribes "stole" minor Rajput scions and installed them as their rulers, for example, in Bamara, Gangpur etc. in his view the tribal chiefs of Bonai, Keonjhar, Mayurbhanj, Gangapur who originally belonged to the tribal groups went through the process of Kshatriyazation and Rajputization. However there are scholars who feel that Kshatriyazation and Rajputization processes never operated in Orissa. This author observed that even the Jagannath trend had limited impact in western tribal areas. The tribes became Hinduised while maintaining a great deal of cultural autonomy such as Sounti, Bhuyan, Kisan, Bathudi, Mirdha, Gond and Savara. K.S.Singh has reviewed the theory whether Orissa had or did not have a viable Kshatriya Varna (Sahu, 1992). He thinks the issue deserves reconsideration in view of the presence of indigenous ruling lineages, a strong peasant warrior- caste, like in the other parts of the country, the Khandayats (wielder of the swords) which emerged in the medieval period and the influx of Rajputs from other parts who toppled the tribal kingdoms or established their own. The Kshatriya class was always of obscure origin including the Nandas. Those who managed to acquire power became Kshatriyas or Rajputs. Orissa was no exception. The Karan - Kayasthas emerged as state functionaries and masters of sashtras. There was a flourishing vaishya class of traders. The Sudra consisted of peasants (gahapati/kutumbin) artisans, potter (kambhakara), bronze-smith (kamsyakara), weaver (tantravaya), Ccwherd (gokuta), distiller (saundhika), blacksmith (lauhakara), coppersmith (tamrakara), carpenter (patakara), oilmen (telikas). There is no explicit mention of untouchables; the Domba, Pana, Hadi, Ghasi

and Chandalas appear later in the medieval centuries with the consolidation of the caste system (Sahu, 1992).

The theory that Orissa did not have a viable Kshatriya varna (Sahu, 1992) also deserves to be reconsidered in view of the presence of indigenous ruling lineages, a strong peasant warrior- caste, like in the other parts of the country, the Khandayats (wielder of the swords) which emerged in the medieval period and the influx of Rajputs from other parts who toppled the tribal kingdoms or established their own. The Kshatriya class was always of obscure origin including the Nandas. Those who managed to acquire power became Kshatriyas or Rajputs. Orissa was no exception. The Karan - Kayasthas emerged as state functionaries and masters of sashtras. There was a flourishing vaishya class of traders. The Sudra consisted of peasants (gahapati/kutumbin) artisans, potter (kambhakara), bronze-smith (kamsyakara), weaver (tantravaya), Ccwherd (gokuta), distiller (saundhika), blacksmith (lauhakara), coppersmith (tamrakara), carpenter (patakara), oilmen (telikas). There is no explicit mention of untouchables; the Domba, Pana, Hadi, Ghasi and Chandalas appear later in the medieval centuries with the consolidation of the caste system (Sahu, 1992). We studied Chandal, a small scheduled caste in Orissa, a community of settled cultivators and weavers who are very different from the Chandal described by Manu.

People of India Project: Communities and Social Organisation:

Many important conclusions could be drawn from the material available in People of India project publications. Anthropological Survey of India has studied 279 communities under the POI project in Orissa. One community, a territorial unit, Kummari/ Kummeri was added later. Most of the communities i.e., 226 constituting 81.0 per cent live in rural areas and only 13 communities (4.7 per cent) live in urban areas. About 36 communities constituting 12.9 per cent live in rural/ urban settings. The major communities of Orissa and their approximate population according to 1931 Census is: Brahman 21,01,287 Khandait 8,82,195, (including Bihar) Kayastha Karan Prabhu 5,30,185 (includes Bihar). The major tribal and scheduled caste groups (1981 census) are Khond, Kondh 9,89,342, Dom / Dumar 4,27,078, Dhoba/Dhobi 4,18,383 Gonda 4,18,956. Gond, Gondo 6,07,249 (1981), Munda 3,38,936 Sabar, Lodha 3,29,209), Saora 3,70,060 Kotha 3,26,522, Paroja 2,67,185 and so on. Of 279 communities 67 are scheduled castes and 56 belong to scheduled tribes. Scheduled castes/ include Bauri, Bhuminj, Dom/Dumar and Ganda, while the scheduled tribes include Khond/Kondh, Saora, Juang and Paroja to mention a few. A large number of communities are aware of varna order (247 /88.53 per cent) and recognise their place in the varna order (217/ 77.78 per cent). One hundred sixteen communities (41.58 per cent) recognise themselves as Sudra, followed by communities which can be put under the category of Vaishya (52/18.64 per cent), Kshatriya (36/12.90per cent)- which are relatively large - and Brahman (12/7.89per cent). However, as mentioned above, historically, the rajas in Orissa have upgraded the individuals and families to higher ritual status. Orissa has reported sharing and linkages from most of the communities, on a larger scale than elsewhere because of the equalising influence of Jagannath cult. These linkages and sharing include acceptance

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of water (268/96.06 per cent), exchange of water (210/75.27 per cent), kachcha food (265/94.68 per cent) and pucca food (257/92.11 per cent), sharing of water resource (206/73.84 per cent), cremation ground (141/50.54 per cent) and religious shrines (227/81.36 per cent). Putative kinship (195/70 per cent) and symbiotic relationship (187/60.03 per cent) exist extensively in Orissa within the framework of caste system. The functional castes like Dhoba, Barika etc. have specific roles in various phases of rite-de-passage of the castes they serve. The Ghasi and Hadi are cultural workers, drum beating musician and scavengers. Brahmans acts as priest of the people of high and middle castes. We collected data on the rise of operators of modern linkages such as enterepereneurs, white collar employees, artists, teachers etc. and found that Orissa's position was less than the national average. The same was the picture in respect of the rise of leadership at village, regional and national levels. This reflects general backwardness and retarded progress in education and political mobilisation.

Like major cultural and linguistic regions of India, Orissa has its own cluster of communities including tribes, fisherfolk, 'dalit' castes, peasants and former 'warriors'. There are both indigenous and immigrant components of the Brahmans, Karna (like the Khatriyas), and others. Orissa has dynamic indigenous communities. Orissa has the distinction of being the meeting place of three cultures, Indo-Aryan, Dravidian, and Munda corresponding to the three ethno-linguistic sections of the population, according to findings of POI. The important Mundari tribes of the State are the Santals, Hos, Mundas, Birhors, Bhumijis, Kharias and Juangs, constituting the northern group and the Gadabas and the Bondos forming the southern-most extension of the Mundari speakers. The Khonds (referred to as Kandhas by the Oriya), Gonds, Bhumias, Kisasns, Oraons and Koya are the more important among the Dravidian tribes found in Orissa. A good proportion of the Khonds has given up the Kui language and speaks only Oriya. The process of transformation of rich tribals into Kshatriyahood as observable in the apast is not observable now. In Keonjhar, a Kond priest performs, as a relic of the past, "certain religious rites to a rough-hewn stone inside the chief's house, though the ruling family has long since been converted to Vaishnavism." The Gonds have thoroughly Hinduized and retain very few of the traits of tribal culture; they claim to be treated as Kshatriyas! Tribal pattern of life can still be seen in the hill sections of the Konds, Juangs, and the Bhuiyas though it is rapidly changing (Aiyappan et.al. 1962). In orissa, many village godlings worshipped by the villagers are tribal in origin. Priests of these godlings are invariably men of the lower castes. The Karans (the writer caste) closely correspond to the Kayasthas of Bengal. The Khandayat mostly recruited from the farming castes constitute the militia and claim Kshatriya rank. Castes such as the Bauri, Dom, Hari, Sundhi, Teli, and others are closely analogous to those of Bengal. The Brahmins of Orissa constituting the Utkala branch of Pancha Goudas and show considerable regional variation in their organisation (Aiyappan et.al. 1962). The high status groups referred to as Sasan Brahmins are later immigrants. They perform the highest rituals while the temple Brahmins (Panda Sevaks) perform the pujas, etc. The agriculturist Brahmins who work with the plough and the forest Brahmans are among the most backward among the Brahmins. The service castes such as the barber and washerman do not live in a Sasan village but a little away from it. Resley reported the rise of a caste consisting of ex-communicated persons out of the famine of 1866. This caste came to be known as Charar-khai. There exists now in Orissa a caste, called Charar-khai, recorded in the lists of 1881, which is made up of people who lost their caste in 1866 for eating in relief-kitebens (chatras). The caste is divided into an

upper and a lower sub-caste – the former comprising Brahmans, Karana, Khandaits and Gop-Goalas, the latter consisting of the castes ranking below these in the social scale. Members of each sub-caste marry within that group, irrespective of the caste to which they originally belonged; but no intermarriage is possible between members of the two sub-castes. (Resely 1891, p.viii).

The villages are still fairly well knit; the service castes and their patrons are still bound by several ties of mutuality. The horizontal extension of caste through well-organised caste assemblies is another interesting feature in the social scene. Several castes such as Oilman, Fisherman, Barber and Sudra have caste councils which sit regularly once or twice a year to discuss matters relating to their castes social reforms have been undertaken through them. The textiles of Orissa have been famous over the centurie. The Chola kings of Southern India settled weavers from Kalinga in the imperial capital at Tanjore; the best fabrics known to the Tanjore court was named after Kalinga. There exist a large number of weaver castes each with its own special techniques and monopolies.

The most remarkable symbolic feature of the socio-religious life of the communities of Orissa is the relationship with the Jagannath temple. Not so well known feature however, is the practice of exchange of the Mahaprasad (food offered to Lord Jagannath) to establish bond friendship. Two persons intending to enter into strong, unbreakable bond friendship get Mahaprasad from Puri and put a morsel of it into each other's mouth. The institution of bond friendship of above type and various other types is widely prevalent in Orissa and is an important device to establish intimate personal ties beyond caste, factions and the narrow bounds of the religion. There are bond friendships known as sahi, sangata, and maitra. Two persons engaged in the same or similar business or occupation enter into the sahi form of bond friendship; if they have some physical resemblance to each other, they become sangata; if they have the same given names, they become maitra. To establish these relationships, there is usually ceremonial exchange of clothes. To this class of institution belongs the common practice of establishing ritual kinship i.e. "ritual brother," "ritual son" (dharam bhai, dharam pua) (Mishra 1995).

Of particular interest are the weavers and metal workers of Orissa who have been for centuries engaged in exploiting natural resources and pursuing traditional crafts. Tanti or weaver is a term commonly used in Orissa for a person engaged in handloom. The Weaver castes of Sambalpur and Bolangir are divided into seven groups. These seven groups, in spite of their common caste occupation, function as seven distinct castes. These castes are – Bhulia, Krushna, Dhera, Patra, Rangini, Kuli, and Ganda (TRB 1972). The first four castes weave superior type of clothes. Kuli and Ganda weave inferior and coarse type of clothes. The Ganda are equivalent to the Pano Caste and are regarded as one of the lowest among the Scheduled Castes. They also have matrimonial relationship with the Pano Caste. Patra and Rangini specialise in the weaving of "Pata" or silk clothing. Krushna are specialised in the weaving of "Matha" clothing, which is a type of handspun silk different from that of "Pata". The Kulis have been more hard hit because they specialise in coarse and inferior type of clothing, which is generally used, by the poorer section of the people. (TRB 1972). Bhulia are famous for tie and dye designs mostly on silk commonly known as Sambalpuri design. The bell-metal ware occupies a pride place in Orissa's casting history. The bell metal and brass utensils of Orissa are remarkable for the beauty of thir shape and exquisiteness. They blend a striking harmony of beauty and utility. Even during the era of stainless steel and synthetics, rural folks in Orissa still prefer to sue the bell-metal pots be it is for their watered rice "Pakhala" during lunch break or be

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fuffed rice or "Mudi" during breakfast or evening tiffin. Traditional method manufacture of bell-metal wares was however purely casting method. The brass and bell-metal utensils produced in Cuttack, Sambalpur, Puri and few places in Balasore and Mayurbhanj districts do have high reputation.

Not just bell-metal, but the fancy brassware of Orissa is totally different than that produced elsewhere. The flexible brass fish of Belguntha in Ganjam district is one such unique product. The metal casings (Dhokras) of the Sithulians are typical example of tribal metal ware of Orissa, though it has now spread into non tribal belt also. These products are cast in brass by lost-wax-process and display an intriguing wire work finish. The wax-work done with great skill form wires of bees-wax. These pieces with their antique look go well with interior décor. Basically a 'tribal technology' it was subsequently adopted by others and are now are being produced in several places of Orissa. In past, it was produced out of base elements like brass and bell-metals, mixing at liquid stage after heating. Although this method continues in some pockets, in many places it is produced out of broken brass and bell-metals mixing molten tin at appropriate proportion. There are a couple of Dhokra producing villages in Mahurbhanj district which thrived with Royal patronage during earlier year. In Cuttack district Dhokra is being produced in Badamba and Narsingpur belt otherwise known for weaving too. In the districts of Sambalpur, Phulbani, Bolangir and kalahandi; there are a number of villages known for the production of Dhokra. While during British rule, these art flourished only in the areas ruled by feudal chiefs, the independence completely changed the complexion. The artisans could get appropriate support from state handicraft Development Corporation with backward and forward linkages upto certain extent. (Ghosh G.K. 1993).

Filigree work in gold was also introduced upto certain extent utilising the talent of the same group of artisans. The silver ornaments produced around berhampur in Ganjam district is unique. They are different from the designs of Cuttack and are close to South Indian designs. The artisans of Berhampur are known also for manufacture of silver utensile. The "Banias" of Orissa are also known for production of gold ornaments. They adopt various designs to attract the customers. Traditionally three type of designs are adopted in Orissa according to area. The first is adopted by coastal orissa usually having influence of Muslim art and Bengal design, second by Southern Orissa with influence of South India and the last by Western Orissa with influence of Marhatta and tribal designs. The migration of goldsmiths from other States primarily Bengal, Gujarat and Andhra Pradesh during past few decades has also changed the complexion of the designs. The brass ornaments produced in Sambalpur is also unique. (Orissa Dazzle, Ghosh, G.K. 1993: 124).

Development and social change:

Orissa is predominantly an agricultural state. The percentage of people dependent upon agriculture in the state is as high as eighty. The total cropped area in the State is 79,34,000 hectares. The principal crops grown in Orissa are cereals, pulses, condiments and spices, oil-seeds, fibres, vegetables and fruits and cash crops like sugarcane, jute, cotton and tobacco (Dash 1997: 33). Rice, jowar, bajra, maize, ragi, millets, wheat and barley are the cereals grown in the State. Of these, rice is by far the most important crop and is grown all over the state. There are local varieties of forest crops and seed traditions, which are part of the traditional knowledge systems.

The existence of the Central Rice Research Institute at Cuttack, which carries on valuable research for the development, and improvement of paddy cultivation benefit the state. The State produces pulses or Rabi crops like mung, gram, biri or black gram, Kulthi or horse-gram and arhar. The people or

Orissa being predominantly rice eating need these pulses for the preparation of dal, which is an essential ingredient of a good rice meal. Mung is the most common pulse used for dal; poor sections also use biri and kulthi for preparing dal and other subsidiary food (Dash 1997: 34). Except the coastal belt rest of the districts are partially or fully declared as scheduled area out of which the district of Mayurbhanj, Sundargarh and undivided Koraput are fully declared as scheduled districts. Of the total 314 number of C.D. Blocks of Orissa 128 (37.3%) numbers of blocks are tribal block (Panigrahi 1996). Around 2200 sq. kms. i.e., 36.6% of the total land area of Orissa is declared as Scheduled Area, which constitutes nearly 31% of the total scheduled areas of the country.

Orissa has an average of 150 cm rainfall and the rainy season is of only four months' duration but different crops grow in different seasons for which regular flow of water is very necessary. Orissa's rivers are in high flood during the rains but they dry up in other seasons. The Government of Orissa paid serious attention to the expansion of irrigation facilities in the State and it resulted in building up of water reservoirs under the Hirakud Dam Project, the Rushikulya Project, the Delta Irrigation Project and the Ghodahad Project; the total irrigated area through perennial canals is now about 11 lakhs hectares constituting about twenty-two percent of the total cropped area. (Dash 1997 : 38). By the end of 1992-93 we notice that 32,682 villages had been electrified. This constitutes 69.6 percent of the total number of villages in the state. The energy generation in the state is inadequate as the supply is much less than its requirement.

As discussed above Orissa is famous for its filigree works, bell-metal industries, stone, wood and Chalk carving, basket making and horn works. Besides these, applique work, tassar, eri and other materials also excel in artistic quality. Orissa has always been a leading producer of handicrafts and products of cottage industries. Cloth is woven in handlooms with artistic borders and pictures in the districts of Sambalpur, Bargarh, Cuttack and Ganjam whereas tassar and matha are woven in Mayurbhanj, Sambalpur and Balasore. Bell-metal industry has flourished in Bhatimunda in Cuttack, Remuna in Balasore, Balakati, Bhainchuan and Kantilo in Khurda, Jagmohan, Boirani, Purushottampur and Belluguntha in Ganjam, Paralakhemundi in Gajapati and Bhuban in Sdhenkanal districts. Fish made of brass and bell-metal at Belluguntha in Ganjam has a world market. Utensils are made of stone in Nilgiri, Bhubaneswar, Soro, Remuna and Baripada. The silver filigree works with similar artistic ornaments in gold are produced at Cuttack which has earned worldwide fame. The Government of India purchases these products for presentation to foreign dignitaries visiting India. In horn works, Cuttack and Paralakhemundi are equally famous (Dash 1997: 41) The Orissa Textiles Marketing Organisation has taken up the responsibility of marketing the cotton, Matha, tassar and other varieties of textile goods.

There are industrial estates in Barbil, Rajgangpur, Rourkella, Jharsuguda, Sambalpur, Bargarh, Balasore, Rupsa, Baripada, Jajpur, Aska, Berhamour, Sumandi, Nawapara, Mancheswar and Cuttack. Government give loans to the artisans directly or guarantees loans taken by them from the State Finance Corporation. The Orissa Small Industries Corporation has also undertaken to construct buildings, purchase machinery and supply raw materials and marketing facilities to the industries. The All India Khadi and village Industries Board has a State unit in Orissa. The Government of Orissa with a view to revitalising the handicrafts have encouraged the establishment of the Orissa Cooperative Handicrafts Corporation Limited. It has its branches at Puri, Bhubaneswar and New Delhi. A Handicraft Training and Design Centre has been established at Bhubaneswar and craft institutions are imparting established at Bhubaneswar and craft institutions are imparting training in

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different crafts, namely, golden grass weaving, cane bamboo and Lalia grass and ornate weaving (Dash 1997: 44).

A cement factory at Rajgangpur in Sundargarh, a match factory in Talcher, a soap factory in Khariar in Kalahandi district and a few ice factories in Cuttack and Sambalpur districts were all the industries that Orissa could boast of in 1947. There is a glass factory at Barang and a textile mill at Chauduar in Cuttack district. Sugar mills are at Rayagada in Koraput, Aska in Ganjam and Banki in Cuttack district.

The Orissa Industrial Development Corporation, set up in 1962, is in direct charge of the aforesaid undertakings. The Government of India have also set up large scale industries in the public sector. These includes Rourkela Steel Plant under the Steel Authority of India, the MIG Aero-engine factory under the Hindustan Aeronautics Ltd. at Sunabeda in Koraput district, a fertilizer unit under the Fertilizer Corporation of India at Talcher, the Paradeep Phosphates Ltd. at Paradeep for production of phosphatic fertilizer, and the National Aluminium Company Ltd. (NALCO) – the biggest integrated bauxite/ alumina/aluminium project in Asia. A heavy water plant is in operation at Talcher.

Orissa is a larger producer of high-grade iron and manganese ores. Iron ore deposits are found in the districts of Sundargarh, Keonjhar and Mayurbhanj. Orissa is one of the largest producers of manganese and its deposits are found in Jeonjhar, Sundargarh, Bolangir and Kalahandi districts. Orissa accounts for twenty percent of the total output of manganese in India. Coal is mined in Talcher in Angul district and Sambalpur. Other important minerals found in Orissa are limestone, dolomite, graphite, china clay, fire clay, white clay and soapstone. India is an exporter of iron ore and manganese, and Orissa has a major share in this export trade. The port at Paradeep is important on account of iron ore exports to Japan. The State Government has established the Orissa Mining Corporation for exporting the mineral wealth of the State. Orissa produces 5.2 percent of the minerals produced in India (Dash 1997 : 47-48). There are 1,624 kilometers of national highways in Orissa. National highways nos. 5 and 6 which pass through Orissa, are now linked with many laces through assistance given by the World Bank. There are 5,007 kilometres of State highways. Major district roads and other roads are of 29,435 km. There are 2,322 kilometres of railways in Orissa. The railway line of the South Eastern Railway which links Howrah with Chennai passes through the coastal districts. (Dash 1997 : 50).

There is a modern Airport at Bhubaneswar. There are regular flights from here to Delhi. Plane services also link Bhubaneswar with Calcutta, Bombay, Chennai, Hyderabad and Nagpur. The State is served by 8,048 post offices, 2,409 post and telegraph offices and 538 telephone exchanges. Electronic mass media plays a vital role in entertaining and informing the people throughout the State. Doordarshan network comprises three high power transmitters at Bhubaneswar, Sambalpur and Bhawanipatna, 27 low power transmitters and one programme production centre at Bhubaneswar. All India Radio with four full fledged MW radio stations at Cuttack, Sambalpur, Jeypore and Bhawanipatna; four local radio stations at Keonjhar, Baripada, Berhampur and Bolangir and one commercial broadcasting service at Cuttack covers about 86 percent of State's population. (Dash 1997 : 50).

Review of the developmental planning and investment over decades in different regions shows that the human resource development in five districts viz : Cuttack, Balasore, Puri, Ganjam and

Mayurbhanj appears to be relatively higher than the state average, whereas in Bolangir, Kalahandi, Phulbani and Koraput area remain highly backward (Parida; 1987). Similarly as regard to infra-structural facilities the districts like Cuttack, Balasore, Puri, Ganjam, Sundergarh and Sambalpur are seen to be relatively developed as per the state average and the remaining districts like Koraput, Kalahandi, Mayurbhanj and Dhenkanal are more backward. In area of economic activities which include both farm and non-farm operations Sundergarh, Puri, Cuttack, Sambalpur and Ganjam are relatively advanced whereas, Koraput, Kalahandi, Mayurbhanj and Keonjhar are found backward. It can be said that the under development of the state is highly related to be low level of economic activities, human resource development and infrastructure facilities in one hand and positive correlation between human resource development, infra-structural facilities and economic activities on the other (Panigrahi 1996)

The situation of industrial development in Orissa largely related to the agriculture expansion, and agricultural development, basically depends on industrial development. The large-scale application of agricultural inputs viz., fertilizer, pesticides, pumps, sprayers, tractors, power tillers, etc. are the product of industrial development. In spite of limitations prevailed with the people, the state and the market the state could bring a landmark achievement by establishing units like Rourkela Steel Plant in later part of fifties, and Sunabeda Mig Factory in early part of sixties. In 1980 the industrial policy of the state promoted joint ventures, established IPICOL in 1973 Industrial Development Corporation in 1956, liberalising term loans through Orissa Financial Corporation and implementing other financial subsidy based schemes. In the later period during Sixth Five Year plan aluminium Complex of NALCO at Angul and Damanjodi, Phosphate Fertiliser Plant at Paradeed and Defence Ordnance factory in Bolangir were established. The thrust of revised industrial policy of 1986 were to generate employment in general and for women in particular, to spread industrial establishment in backward areas, to adopt antipollution measures, to introduce appropriate turnover package of incentives for rehabilitation of sick industries, etc. (Panigrahi 1996).

From 75% of the total cultivated land of Orissa only 22% have irrigation facility. Due to the lack of irrigation facilities and poor use of fertilizer the yield is low and income of the farmers is low, resulting constraints in industrial development (Sahoo: 1987). The facts as stated above seem that the state has failed to coordinate the integrated development of agriculture and industry. As a result, the expectations desired out of such development to meet the basic needs of the people become a mystery. The solution lies with the combined efforts to be made jointly by planners, implementors, politicians and NGO workers while adopting a well coordinated and integrated strategy for agro-based development commensurate with the need of the people as people defined for themselves. People oriented and resource oriented developing strategies are equally important (Panigrahi 1996).

The gradual increase in their population and rapid loss of their means of production pushed the tribals as landless labourers who earn their living either as wage earner or as agricultural labourer. The creation of scheduled areas and restriction imposed in post independent era on their traditional practices of cultivation and use of forest not only brought a huge tribal population to penury but encouraged the capital to grow using the cheap tribal labour. Moreover, the restrictions imposed on their rights to land, forest and its resources have threatened their very survival since the British period has been encountered by many tribal groups in a militant way (Panigrahi 1996).

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As regard the shifting cultivation as the major modes of production and economy of the tribals various legal prohibitions have been imposed on them which has forcibly brought many to the level of labour. Since independence till date Orissa is one of the states to have few major-developmental units as irrigation dams, industries, minings located in inland areas largely dominated by minority groups. Some of such project units are multi-purpose hydro-electric units viz : Hirajud Dam Project, Upper Kolab Dam Project, Machakund Dam Project, indravati Dam Project, Rengali dam Project, Subarnarekha Dam Project located in the districts of Sambalpur, Koraput, Dhenkanal and Mayurbhanj respectively; the major industrial units are Rourkela Steel Plant (SAIL), Hindustan Aeronautic Limited, Ordinance Factory, Aluminium Factory; Mining of iron, coal, bauxite, limestone etc. in the districts of Mayurbhanja, Kenojhar, Sundargarh, Sambalpur and Koraput. Through some of such units started since 1950s, but Govt. of Orissa did not emphasise on their displacement, rehabilitation and resettlement till 1975. The adhoc approach in the form of cash compensation for displacement was largely adopted. Through a few colonies have been made for the displaced in case of Mahanadi hydro-election project, Rourkela Steel plant, but provision of civic amenities to such settlement colonies were not given much importance. The need of enlarging the scope of previous rehabilitation strategy becomes a necessity to settle the displaced of Rengali multi-purpose project. However, Govt. of Orissa adopted policy resolutions in 1975, 1977 and 1978 for rehabilitation of the displaced in a more liberal approach (Panigrahi 1996).

Orissa has 49.1 percent literacy. The rate of literacy in Orissa is lower than the national rate because the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes constitute more than forty percent of the State's population and the literacy rate among the Scheduled Tribes and Castes is less than fifty percent. There are several universities in Orissa. They are the Utkala University founded in 1943, the Orissa University of Agriculture and technology founded in 1962 and the Berhampur and the Sambalpur Universities established in January 1967 and Sri Jagannath Sanskrit Vishwavidyalay, Puri started in 1982. The Utkala university has at present a faculty of Engineering with a private Orissa College of Engineering at Bhubaneswar and the Indira Gandhi Institute of engineering at Saranga in Angul district. Berhampur University has no Engineering faculty at present. There are 615 degree colleges affiliated to Utkal, Berhampur and Sambalpur universities. In Orissa, there are five engineering colleges, three Medical Colleges, ten Teachers' training colleges, one Agriculture College, One College of Veterinary science and Animal husbandry and one College of Agricultural Engineering. There are departments of Hindi literature and language in some of the major colleges of the state. Two colleges in Orissa - the Ravenshaw College at Cuttack and the Khallikote College at Berhampur in the district of Ganjam - are over a century old. The number of students on the rolls of the Ravenshaw College is about four thousand. (Dash 1997 : 53).

From the period of the Second Five Year Plan, considerable attention has been given to the training of teachers. The Government of Orissa have proliferated certified post-matric teachers' training and elementary pre-matric teachers' training institutions throughout the state. There is a Sainik School, and the Regional College of Education for the eastern region is also located at Bhubaneswar. Education has been very popular in Orissa from time immemorial and the system of pathshalas is continuing from the past. The institution of Bhagabatgadi, which is a collection of palm-leaf manuscripts worshipped by the people, reminds one of Oriyas' love of learning, and the Bhagabatghar, a common reading-room where the Pandit reads Puranas and scriptures for the benefit of an audience consisting of men and women from a number of adjoining villages, has been a

popular institution which operates in most of the villages of coastal Orissa. (Dash 1997: 55). The Adivasis in Koraput district were described as excluded areas under the Government of India act, 1935 and kept under the direct administration of the Governor. The district of Sambalpur was called a partially excluded area and was the special charge of the Governor. The Adivasi-inhabited areas of Ganjam were known as Agency areas and they had also been parts of the excluded areas of the Province to be administered by the Government at his discretion (Dash 1997: 79). Rice has become staple food of Adivasis. Certain cereals growing naturally on the hillsides are also used as food. Country wines called Mahula and Salapa are in use among them. The drinking of wine is so much a part of their social and religious life that the Government of Orissa while introducing prohibition had excluded the districts with a large Adivasi population out of its purview. They were advised to use rice, pulses and ragi as their food for which they have recently taken to cultivation. In rocky areas, hardly a plain field was available for the purpose of cultivation; they were clearing the jungle on the mountain sides and practicing podu shifting cultivation. As there was no alluvium in the soil, they were shifting from one place to another in search of land on account of which they had no permanence in habitation. Because of this mobility, they have been responsible for a good deal of deforestation. They also cultivate Haldi and Kandula, a kind of rabi crop and sell them in the market. (Dash 1997 : 81).

The Government has established Sevashram Schools where education up to the primary standard is imparted. The higher institutions are called Ashram Schools, which impart education up to the middle school standard. There are 100 Ashram and about 2,300 Sevashram schools in the State and the number of students on the rolls are eight lakhs. The Government also provides free tuitions and reading materials to Adivasi boys and girls pursuing studies in the ordinary schools and colleges, and in many places Adivasi hostels have been built. Besides, women workers are being trained in the Gopabandhu Seva Sadan at Sakhigopal, the training centre in Angul and Harijan Udyogsala in Delhi. These trained women workers are to work in the tribal areas for their development. Steps have been taken to set up mobile dispensaries and distribute free medicines.

Adivasis are being settled on free lands and assistance in diverse ways is being rendered to them for their agricultural and other forms of economic development. Law has prohibited alienation of agricultural lands from the tribal people to the non-Tribals. This may be more of an ideal position. Reality is that whether the tribes or the scheduled castes, both have suffered enormously in recent years. Multi-purpose cooperative societies have been formed to grant them credit and also provide them with improved marketing facilities for their agricultural and industrial produce and forest items collected by them. They are also being taught the art of bee keeping, poultry farming and wood shearing. The Government has a Department of Harijan and Tribal Welfare. This is in charge of a Minister. There are district welfare committees to look after the administration of welfare measures. There is a Harijan and Tribal Research-cum-Training Institute in Bhubaneswar through which data are collected about the tribes. Useful information collected through them help the Government in formulating plans and schemes for improving the conditions of the Adivasis (Dash 1997: 83-84).

Bhubaneswar, Puri and Konark constitute the golden triangle of Orissa. Bhubaneswar is the ancient capital of Kalinga Empire, and now the capital of Orissa, Bhubaneswar history indeed goes back to more than 2000 years. Konark is the 13th century Sun temple also known as "the Black Pagoda", is the crowning glory of Orissan temple architecture. Legends say that Samba, the son of Lord Krishna, was

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afflicted by leprosy. After 12 years of penance, Surya, the Sun God, in whose honour he built this temple, cured him. Puri is most popular sacred place of state. It is said that one obtains moksha from the cycle of birth and rebirth, if one stays here for three days and nights. A place known by many names over the centuries - Nilgiri, Niladra, Nilachal, Purushottam, Sankhakshetra, Sriksetra, Jagannath Dham, Jagannath Puri. (Orissa Review, November 2002, p.23). These historical places not only emerge as palaces of worship but also as great tourist destinations, leading to economic growth. The industrial resources of Orissa are considerable. The industries are mostly based on minerals. Rourkela and Anugul-Nalconagar are the major industrial cities of Orissa. Rourkela has one of the major steel plants of India and Nalconagar has Asia's largest aluminum plant. Other industrial towns are Rajgangpur, Belpahar, Sunabeda, Talcher, Chowduar, Koraput, Jeypur, Brajarajnar, Mancheswar (outskirts of Bhubaneswar) etc. Paradeep is the only modern port in Orissa. Hirakud dam (near Burla-Sambalpur) on the Mahanadi River is the fourth longest dam in the world.

Summary and Discussion:

Orissa's folklore particularly of Mahakoshal and Garhjat have been intensively explored (Elwin, Mishra). Most of the communities have a repository of folklore as per POI findings (252/90.32 per cent) and folktales (197/70.61 per cent). Some of the outstanding Oriya literatures have incorporated the tribal material into the corpus of Oriya literature, as mentioned above. Orissa has a vibrant folk tradition which is partly influenced by Jagannath cult, as mentioned above. The art of floor and wall painting is in vogue in 80 communities (28.67 per cent) and 59 communities (21.15 per cent) respectively. The art of modelling exists in nine communities (3.23 per cent), carving in seven communities (2.51 per cent), engraving in 10 communities (3.58 per cent), and drawing in 16 communities (5.75 per cent). Basketry (45/16.13 per cent) remains the most important craft. Besides, textile weaving (26/9.32 per cent), pottery (8/2.87 per cent) and cloth embroidery (15/5.38 per cent) are important crafts of Orissa.

Scholars have generally noted the relative placidity of Orissa's social situation, even passivity of Oriya people in recent years. (Sahu, 1992) It is said that there has been no large-scale militant uprising or a large scale movement in Orissa. The Mandal agitation did not create a ripple and the Naxalite movement has had a limited impact, while the neighbouring states are in flames. The Oriyas did participate in all phases of the freedom struggle from the Paik rebellion and the first war of independence in 1857, through all phases of freedom struggle including the movements led by Prajamandal against princely states and numerous tribal uprisings. There have been other forms of protest and dissent, such as the attack on Jagannath temple in 1881 by some followers of Mahimadhram which presented a critique of the orthodoxy and rigidity of some aspects of Jagannath cult, as perceived by some people. Ancient and medieval history is marked by bursts of military activities, and martial traditions and warrior communities survive, as do dance forms like chou or paika. Orissa has had its share of inter-caste and tribe-caste tension, but it has not manifested in class or caste wars like in Bihar and Andhra. The POI reported socio-religious movements seeking political advantages, social reform and upgradation on a

smaller scale in 23 communities (8.24 percent against the national average of 13.01 per cent). Is the placidity or passivity due to the homogenising influence of Jagannath cult and Oriya literature or is it due to relative accessibility of resources for almost all sections of populations, a stagnant economy etc.?

The Oriya diaspora in the country emerged early, marked by Jagannath cult, Odissi dance form, Sambhalpur saree, vibrant language and literature with a strong tribal component, crafts, etc. We have referred to the distribution of the Od community of the earth digger. The Oriya labour formed a sizable proportion of tea garden labour in the North East and of textile workers in Gujarat.

Biswamoy Pati (2004) has provided a good review of the theme of culture change in tribal society of Orissa, though he often uses some old models, which may not be very appropriate today, from anthropological perspective. As an historian indeed he deals with a wide gamut, and talks about the pre-colonial, early medieval Orissa, highlighting the process of social formation and changes taking place historically. In doing so he refers to historians and anthropologists alike. Referring to work of Bhirabi Prasad Sahu he highlights the dynamics of the feudalisation. He says the rise of the Kshatriyas/Karanas was a feature associated with the emergence of feudalism. Varna system was a major legitimising force in process of state formation. We also witness the Gonds of Sambalpur inventing new legends to re-locate themselves within the framework of Hinduism, and the Gond zamindars wearing the "sacred thread". He also mentions the Kandhas of Ranpur (princely state) who preferred to be identified as "Oriya Kandhas" that indicates an allied component of the process of Oriyaisation. Consequently, the connection between a decline of the Adivasi population and the phenomenal increase of the Khandayats should be borne in mind while discussing the question of conversions and Hinduisation in Orissa. Shifting identities marked the phenomenon of conversion. For example, one witnesses some "advanced" Binjhals - a tribe in the Sambalpur region - claiming Rajput status and adopting the practice of burning their dead. Indeed N.K.Das and Santanu Mitra in their study found that the secular mobility is given priority and thus the 'Singh' title of former times is no more attractive. However Pati is right when, like others, he says that there is great contribution of the oral tradition that highlighted the Savara -tribe- origins of Jagannatha. It formed the most vital component through which the colonial system and the internal ruling classes (princes and zamindars) negotiated with a region that had a very large adivasi population. One can illustrate this by citing the example of the Pengo Parajas of Koraput, who began using Jagannatha's mahaprasad for "purification" rites. Though purificatory rites did exist among adivasis in some form or the other, what was new was the entry of the mahaprasad into these cultures. Thus, if one argues about the specificities of Hinduisation/peasantisation, which were intimately associated with the process of conversion, then one has to keep the Jagannatha cult in mind. Although one can notice continuities with the eighteenth century, the power of the cult was never felt so seriously, given its links with the efforts of the colonial establishment and the internal ruling classes to extend and tap agricultural resources over the nineteenth century. These features associated with the expansion of the Jagannatha cult co-existed with drives to build Hindu temples in parts of western Orissa. In this way, Hinduisation made deep inroads into western Orissa. According to Pati, what we see is a complex process that saw the co-existence of Hinduisation/peasantisation/Kshatriyaisation/Oriyaisation, with the colonisation of Orissa. It was largely inclusive vis-à-vis the already peasantised adivasis, or those who - with the exception of the paharia folk - opted to work as settled agriculturists. This was

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in a context of major agrarian interventions and drives that saw a significant shift towards moneytisation and the growth of a market for agricultural production. The landless section was mostly from among the outcastes and the pahariah adivasis. It constituted the mass of people who worked as landless labourers or those who migrated out to far off places in search of employment or a feature that seems to have started prior to Orissa's colonisation, but which became clearly so over the nineteenth century. Pati refers to the theme of resistance in the development of popular cults like the Mahima Dharma, as a counter to Hinduisation and upper caste domination. This was especially triggered off by the post-1866 Famine context, which made life extremely difficult - even for those who survived - if they had accepted relief ('chattrā') from the centres established by the colonial administration since they were ex-communicated. We witness the emergence of Chattrā Khia as a new caste (outcaste), directly associated with this period. In fact K.S.Singh in his foreword to people of India state volume refers to this fact.

The Mahima socio-reformist movement that united the western and the coastal tract was also marked by its ambiguity vis-à-vis colonialism. This latter aspect is perhaps demonstrated in the way its followers did not take up Christianity, which made its presence particularly felt in the coastal tracts in the immediate context of the Famine and also in the western tracts over the nineteenth century. In fact, Gandhian politics saw the advent of a new phase in the history of conversions. Adivasis and outcastes in large numbers gave up beef and liquor. Gandhian ideas of renaming the outcastes as 'Harijans' made deep inroads into the different parts of the region. Pati is concerned mainly with the theme of conversions in the context of Orissa; some of the complexities observed, according to him are visible in many other parts of India as well. While most studies assume that conversion is not possible with regard to Hinduism, Pati situates the shifting material conditions and identities as well as the evolution and changes in society to emphasise how this actually happened. An allied feature was the development of popular cults and Christianity that emerged to challenge brahminical Hinduism, with the shift to Christianity gathering momentum after the retreat of colonialism. Taken together these features demonstrate aspects of selectivity associated with the adivasis and outcastes. Pati uses the materials from two scholars who look at adivasis as non-Hindus in the pre-colonial period - Bhairabi Prasad Sahu, ('Orissan Society: Past and Present Manifestations'; paper presented at the Training for Development of Scholarship Society', Pune, 1987; and his 'The Brahminical model viewed as an instrument of socio-cultural change: An autopsy' in the Proceedings of the Indian History Congress 1985, Indian History Congress, Delhi, 1986, 180-92) and Richard M. Eaton, (Essays on Islam and Indian History, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 2000, chapter 11, 'Who are the Bengali Muslims? Conversion and Islamisation in Bengal', 259-75). There are references to works of Hermann Kulke, ('Kshatriyaisation and Social Change: A Study in Orissa Setting', in S.D.Pillai ed., Aspects of Change in India: Studies in Honour of Prof. G.S.Ghurye, Popular Prakashan, Bombay 1976), which focuses on the issue of Kshatriyaisation in the context of medieval Orissa and extends its relevance upto the seventeenth-eighteenth century A.D. He emphasises this as more useful/relevant than Brahminisation and the functional reality. Surajit Sinha, 'State Formation and the Rajput Myth in Central India' in Hermann Kulke, The State in India, 1000-1700, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1995, is also referred to which states that the diffusion of the Rajput model of the state and the indigenous developmental processes could gain ground only among those tribal groups who had attained the technological level of settled agriculture. Thus, as he puts it, we do not find shifting cultivating groups like the Juangs or the Hill Bhuiyas of Orissa developing a kingship supported mainly by their primitive technique of cultivation. However, it is also made clear that it was not essential for the use of the plough to determine the rise of kingship (Sumit Guha, Environment and

Ethnicity in India, 1200-1991, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1999, 110-16; H. Beverley, Report on the Census of Bengal, 1872, Bengal Secretariat Press, Calcutta, 1872, mentions the absence of a 'pure' Kshatriya caste in Orissa and refers to the Khandaits - swordsmen - who formed the erstwhile militia and who took their caste from their profession which corresponds to the military class in the four-fold division of northern India). We also get that F. G. Bailey, demonstrating that castes like the Warrior caste (Paikas or Khandayats) also emerged from among the Kandhas and other adivasi groups. This in fact illustrates the process of conversions of adivasis via Hinduisation/Kshatriyaisation/Oriyaisation, and his reference to the Oriyas should also be seen as an extension of this process that was perhaps 'happening' even while Bailey was doing his field work in the area. Elliot's Report mentioned specifically the coronation ceremony where a Khond Pat Majhi of a particular Khond family, was dressed especially for the occasion.

As we discussed above Orissa has a vibrant folk tradition, which is partly influenced by Jagannath cult, as mentioned above. Orissa's folklore particularly of Mahakoshal and Garhjat has been intensively explored (Elwin, Mishra). Most of the communities have a repository of folklore (252/90.32 per cent) and folktales (197/70.61 per cent), as per POI data. Some of the outstanding Oriya literatures have incorporated the tribal material into the corpus of Oriya literature. The art of floor and wall painting is in vogue in 80 communities (28.67 per cent) and 59 communities (21.15 per cent) respectively. The art of modelling exists in nine communities (3.23 per cent), carving in seven communities (2.51 per cent), engraving in 10 communities (3.58 per cent), and drawing in 16 communities (5.75 per cent). Basketry (45/16.13 per cent) remains the most important craft. Besides, textile weaving (26/9.32 per cent), pottery (8/2.87 per cent) and cloth embroidery (15/5.38 per cent) are important crafts of Orissa. Scholars have generally noted the relative placidness of Orissa's social situation, even passivity of Oriya people in recent years (K.S.Singh, Sahu, 1992) It is said that there has been no large-scale militant uprising or a large scale movement in Orissa. The Mandal agitation did not create a ripple and the Naxalites had a limited impact, while the neighbouring states are in flames. The Odiyas did participate in all phases of the freedom struggle from the Paik rebellion and the first war of independence in 1857, through all phases of freedom struggle including the movements led by Prajamandal against princely states and numerous tribal uprisings, including Nirmal Munda movement studied by this author. There have been other forms of protest and dissent, such as the attack on Jagannath temple in 1881 by some followers of Mahimadhram, which presented a critique of the orthodoxy and rigidity of some aspects of Jagannath cult, as perceived by some people. Ancient and medieval history is marked by bursts of military activities, and martial traditions and warrior communities survive, as do dance forms like Chhou or paika. The POI reported socio-religious movements seeking political advantages, social reform and upgradation on a smaller scale in 23 communities (8.24 percent against the national average of 13.01 per cent). Orissa, a region of many diversities and contradictions, still retains many unique features of Hinduism, manifested in particular in the Jagannath cult. Orissa's geography and topography helped to preserve its local cultural identity to a large extent. Hinduism in Orissa, however, had never been a monolithic discourse; rather it represented a confluence of diverse cults and sects, such as Shaivism, Vaishnavism, Tantrism and Shaktism, reflecting a marvellous mosaic: Sanskritic and non-Sanskritic, all-India and regional/local, textual and popular, urban and rural. There remained a strong presence of the tribal religions too.

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Orissa's permanent relationship with Muslims began only in 1568 when Kalapahar, the general of the Afghan ruler of Bengal, defeated Mukunda Deva, the last independent Hindu king of Orissa. The Mughals replaced the Afghans in 1578 and continued to rule for about two centuries. In 1751, Orissa passed into the hands of the Marathas and it finally came under the British occupation in 1803. The 'Muslim conquest' of Orissa was not only late chronologically compared to other regions of India, but it also failed to attain the strength and permanence as it did in neighbouring Bengal. Unlike Bengal, in Orissa, conversions did not take place on a large scale; Islam could make few converts in Orissa. Thus, Islam failed to penetrate among the native population. According to Pralay Kanungo (2003) in Orissa the structures of pre-colonial legitimacy were reinvented by colonialism, acquiesced to by the nationalist and the post-colonial leadership/discourses and appropriated by an identity-seeking Hindu upper caste-middle class. This has offered a congenial climate for the development of Hindutva. Kanungo (2003) says 1991 Census puts the 'Hindu' population of Orissa at 94.67 per cent. 'Muslim' rule left an indelible imprint on Oriya language and literature. Many Persian and Arabic words were very much internalised by Oriya writers and readers. Before the 18th century, their use by Oriya writers was negligible, probably for two reasons: either because of their bitterness towards Muslim rule or due to their insufficient knowledge of these languages. However, in the late 18th century they began using these words more frequently. Fakirmohan Senapati, the father of modern Oriya literature, used many Persian and Arabic words like 'mamla', 'chalan', 'laik', 'mehenat', 'khod', 'malik', 'babad', 'khatar', 'dastakhat', 'taraf', 'khalas', 'tadarakh', 'ustad', and 'meherbani' in his novels and stories. Salbeg, a very popular Oriya poet, who had a Muslim father and an Odiya Brahman mother, composed innumerable bhajans dedicated to Jagannath, which are recited every morning at the Jagannath temple even today. Muslims, who were mainly local converts, continued to observe some of their old religio-cultural practices. Though the urban Muslims consciously adopted Persian, the Muslims of rural Orissa retained Oriya as their mother tongue. Even the Persian used by the urban Muslims was heavily loaded with Oriya, thus creating a distinct local variant of Persian. Kanungo writes that these instances of a syncretic culture do not of course deny the occasional assertion of 'Hindu' identity over the Muslims. However, Hindus and Muslims by and large lived in peace and harmony in Orissa. Moreover, Sufism gained popularity in Orissa and led to the emergence of the Satya-Pir tradition. Even today Hindus worship Satyanarayan and Pir together, an example of the synthesis of Hinduism and Sufism in the province. However, like Bengal, Muslims in Orissa have almost ceased to worship Satya Pir, perhaps conceiving this as an impediment to their identity. Conversely, the Hindus continue with this practice as Satya Pir could be 'comfortably accommodated' into the hegemonic theological structure of the vaisnava avatara theory. Drawing the political history of Orissa and the contribution of Jagannatha in the growth of Odiya identity, Kanungo observes that Radhanath Ray's epic Mahajatra and Ramashankar Ray's play 'Kanchi Kaveri' projected a sort of vague 'Hindu' nation. As Orissa had a predominantly Hindu population and since Jagannath was a powerful symbol of Oriya identity, obviously, these perceptions did not much distinguish between Hindu nationalism and Oriya

nationalism. Even the advocates of Indian nationalism in Orissa, like Gopabandhu Das, swore by Jagannath. As Das wrote: "If the world were a tank and India a lotus in it, then the filament of that lotus would be the holy Nilachala (Puri)." Gopabandhu, a devout Hindu, became president of the Hindu Mahasabha's Orissa branch in 1927. For Madhusudan Das, an ardent champion of Oriya nationalism, Jagannath was not merely a Hindu deity but was also an embodiment of the Oriya nation. Das, a Christian, was twice elected president of the All India Christian Association. However, his religious faith did not stand in the way of his efforts to unify the Oriya-speaking tracts, with Jagannath as the pivot. Thus, multiple variants of identity complemented each other and were woven around Jagannath and his cult. Consequently, Oriya identity was shaped not only by the Hindu religion but also by a host of other elements, including Orissa's specific regional and cultural traditions in which Jagannath was made to play a crucial symbolic role.

Acknowledgement:

This paper is based on review of vast and scattered literature on Orissa. The works, which are of anthropological nature, are given priority. Works available in the Anthropological survey of India and particularly the People of India findings as contained in the writings of K.S.Singh, are referred to, in length. The author is thankful to Dr.V.R.Rao, Director-in-charge, for his kind support and encouragement in writing this paper. The views expressed are those of the author alone. The author is also grateful to Professor Sachchidananda for inviting this author to contribute the earlier version of this paper in a seminar on "the state of the art social anthropology in eastern India" in early 2007 at Patna. Critical suggestions received from Professor Sachchidananda in finalising the paper are gratefully acknowledged.

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